

F. Ch. KAMMA

# KORERI

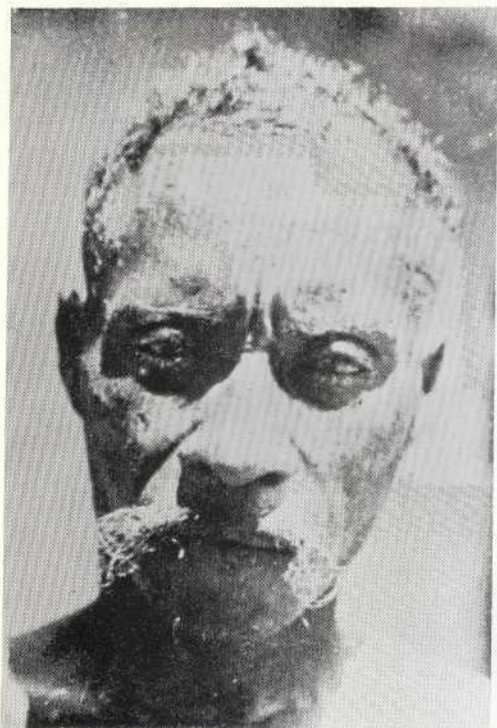
# K O R E R I

*MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS IN THE BIAK-NUMFOR  
CULTURE AREA*

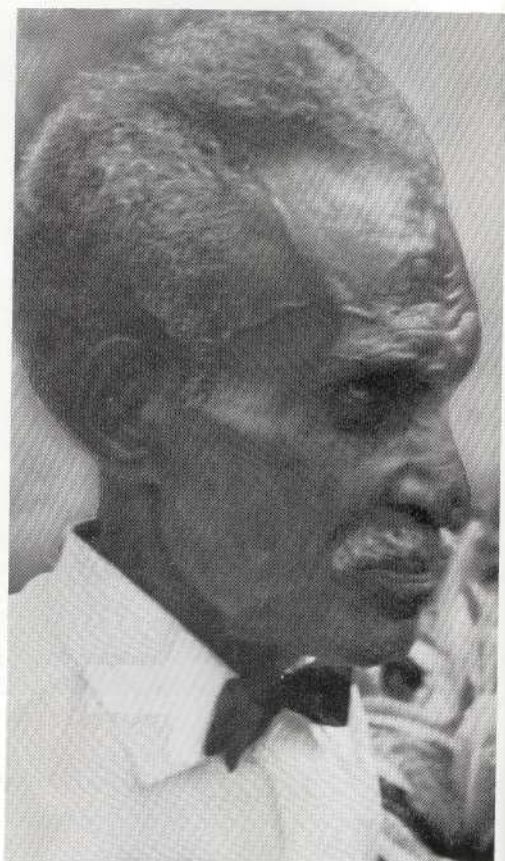
*To the memory of Frans Johannes Frederik van Hass  
(1894-1931 missionary in New Guinea)*



1.  
*Rodjau Obinaru from Wardo, the informant in 1952 with the original Kanken (Kedwai) Koreri shield (cf. pp. VI, 126-127, 260).*



2.  
*Konoor Warbesren Rumbewas in prison (1934)*  
(*cf.* pp. 150ff.), 1965 †.



3.  
*Pamai Jacadewa, visionary of Ormu in 1962*  
(*cf.* pp. 283, 284 and 295).

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FREERK CH. KAMMA

# K O R E R I

MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS IN THE BIAK-NUMFOR  
CULTURE AREA



This book is published under a grant  
from the Netherlands Ministry of Education and Sciences

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*DE MESSIAANSE KORÉRI-BEWEGINGEN IN HET  
BIAKS-NOEMFOORSE CULTUURGEBIED*

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The English translation was made by Mrs. M. J. van de Vathorst-Smit

The manuscript was edited by Mrs. W. E. Haver Droeze-Hulswit

## PREFACE

This study developed out of the personal experience of daily life that I and my family had in the years 1932-1942 among the Biak-speaking people of the Radja Ampat area (Sorong), West New Guinea. Our family had become integrated into the community as far as possible, and we used the Biak language every day.

Three of the movements described in this book took place in that area, so that I was able to study them under the favorable conditions of direct participation and observation.

The first edition of the book in 1954 (in Dutch) was the writer's doctoral thesis (Ph. D.), written under the guidance of the late Professor J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong.

I am very grateful to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden, for publishing the revised English edition in its Translation Series. The Biak material deserves more readers than the Dutch edition was able to reach.

Except for this Preface, the Song of Manarmakdi and the conclusions and summary, the translation was made by Mrs. M. J. van de Vathorst-Smit. To make easy reading of the old-fashioned archive-language was not an easy task. I offer her my sincere thanks. Mrs. W. E. Haver Droeze-Hulswit undertook the tedious work of comparing the quotations with the bibliography, checking the often incomplete names and titles of the latter, and preparing the whole revised edition for the printer, complete with indexes. Any degree of accuracy that the book may possess is largely due to her painstaking efforts, for which I am deeply grateful. Mr. S. O. Robson M.A. was always willing to help disentangle knots, for example in some footnotes, the Song of Manarmakdi, and some additions which had to be made. I am also grateful for the help I received from Dr. J. C. Anceaux, who checked the spelling of geographical names and the spelling rules for Indonesian and indigenous New Guinea languages. Dr. R. Roolvink assisted with the nomenclature of governmental officials.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Dr. F. J. Ormeling, Director of the International Institute for Aerial Survey and Earth



Sciences (I.T.C.) in Enschede, who was so kind as to provide me with new drawings for the maps.

To the many Biak informants, especially the *Rodjau* Obinaru and the *Mananir* of the village of Wardo, whose knowledge has been extremely valuable in the formulation of this study of the *Koreri* Movements, my heartfelt thanks. The extent to which I am indebted for the material that my friends and colleagues put at my disposal will be discovered in the following pages. I mention here only the late Revs. I. S. Kijne, H. J. Agter, and F. J. S. Romainum, as well as Messrs. M. W. Kaisjepo and Kumense Mandof and Rev. J. Bijkerk.

This study is dedicated to the memory of my late colleague F. J. F. van Hasselt, as a token of my admiration. For 36 years he worked in New Guinea and taught us missionaries that a deep love of people is the only condition for a real knowledge of their way of life.

After I obtained access to old German periodicals some additions turned out to be necessary, and the total number of *Koreri* Movements has therefore risen to 45. In a supplement (Chapter X) the reader will find some discussions of publications on the general topic which have appeared since 1954, and in the Appendix it will be seen that the list of similar movements in West New Guinea has risen from 13 in 1954 to 26. In Chapter IV the Song of the "Messiah" figure has been added. I am aware that many more movements have occurred and are still occurring, especially in times of political unrest and socio-economic uncertainty.

For a variety of reasons pseudonyms have sometimes been used instead of the real names of clans and persons.

Some comment on the bibliography, quotations and oral sources must now be made:

1. Some quotations have been abbreviated, in order to avoid the long-winded, old-fashioned style of the original, but the reader can rest assured that the original meaning remains.
2. The numbers following quotations indicate the number in the bibliography; when a year is mentioned periodicals are intended. The last number always indicates the page on which one can find the quotation or the explanation.
3. The spelling of Indonesian words and names follows the rules for Bahasa Indonesia. For words and names in indigenous languages the rule is that consonants have English value and vowels continental value.

4. The italicization of words and passages has mostly been done by the present author.
5. In the General Index persons' names have generally been listed under the first name. For example, Kumense Mandof is to be found under K.
6. In various places in this book there is reference to texts which are in the possession of the author and will be published at a later date.
7. Two maps show the places and areas where movements occurred; in the Legend of one of the maps some comments are given. The small map shows similar movements which occurred in other parts of West New Guinea (Irian Barat).

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## INTRODUCTION

The use of the term 'messianic' in the title of this book implies a conclusion which has yet to be proved correct. But even apart from that it presents some obstacles which might give rise to misunderstanding. I wish to point out, therefore, that in using this term I do not presuppose any Jewish or Christian influence, nor a fundamental identity, but am merely referring to a formal analogy occasioned by the appearance of Messiah-like figures and by the utopian expectations attached to their return. Common practice dictates the use of the word 'messianic' for the belief in an expected deliverer or savior (Webster's New International Dictionary), while the term is in general use in cultural anthropology to describe such phenomena as are discussed in this study.

In addition, the bearers of the so-called primitive cultures have themselves noticed the above analogy, and it is this especially that justifies the use of the term in this context. Only recently, for instance, I was told by a Biak informant that the message of the Gospel had initially created the impression, in Biak, that Christ and Manggundi were the same person. This idea led the Biak people to conclude that Manggundi had journeyed westward, and hence they identified the geographic west with their mythical west, *i.e.*, the abode of the souls.

The Messiah-like figures show surprising similarities to the preachers of the Old-Testament, who proclaimed messianic salvation without divine judgment and are accordingly called false prophets, and on the other hand they resemble the pseudo-Messiah figures of Judaism and Christendom and the *Mahdi* of the later Islam.

There have undoubtedly been persons who abused existing utopian expectations to further their own ambitions, but the deep seriousness of many others is striking. This appears to be independent of the cultures in which they arose.

Moses of Crete — in the fifth century A.D. — called himself the Messiah, and his persuasive powers were such that many of his followers threw themselves from a promontory into the sea because he had promised to take them dry-shod to the Land of Promise (Palestine), and thus many perished (334, 27).

The Guarani of South-America wandered about for a hundred years, and suffered countless hardships, in search of the country 'without evil' in which they believed (226, 425ff.).

In 1846 a medicine man of the Guiana Indians (S.-Am.) professed to be the Messiah and proclaimed that only those who voluntarily went to their death would be resurrected as millennial beings. Four hundred of his followers had such confidence in him that they killed each other (61, 44).

This occurrence has its counterpart in the case of the Arabian pseudo-Messiah of 1167, who claimed that he would rise from the dead to prove that he was genuine, and therefore requested of the Sultan of Fez to behead him. The Sultan took him at his word and that was the end of the pseudo-Messiah (334, 182).

The appearance of Sarili in Africa (1856) had catastrophic results. Misled by the initial success of the Russians in the Crimean War he announced that the Russians would also come to Africa to drive the English away, after which the millennium would begin. "The Russians with their broad chests are Kafirs", he said. If all the believers killed their cattle the ancestors would be resurrected. When the Russians did not appear on the day and in the place he had set, he ascribed this to half-hearted measures and demanded rigorous action. 400,000 head of cattle were killed. The consequences were disastrous, for 37,000 people died of starvation (300, 38-41).

W. D. Wallis in his book (334) shows that movements of this type have occurred at all times and in all places. He rightly concludes that "the yearning for a Messiah is almost as old as written records" (334, 1). He points out, for instance, that nearly 1500 years prior to the first allusions to a Messiah in Jewish writings, Ipuwer in Egypt formulated messianic expectations.

Wallis mentions 49 Jewish, as many Muslim, and 46 Christian movements (334, 187). Katesa Schlosser describes several in Africa (300, 67), and nearly as many movements are known from America. Movements have been reported from Ancient Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Persia, Turkey, and have occurred all over Europe, in China, in India, in Indonesia (including Madagascar and the Philippines), Melanesia, and Polynesia. They occur in so-called primitive religions, but also in Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christendom.

A review of the very extensive literature seems to justify the conclusion that expectations of salvation in this form are of the essence of man, who will not be restricted by reality or by the limitations imposed by



his culture and tries to break through, if necessary by force. The expectations are either connected with a supernatural reality in a strictly religious sense, or take the form of a secularized utopia.

It is also possible to view them in the context of acculturation, and to attribute them to a stimulation of human creativeness or imagination due to the strain of circumstances, but this approach does not lead us to the heart of the matter. Though important, it is only one of many aspects, the indirect reaction, by means of symbolic concepts, of the culture of a frustrated human community. It is true, however, that people may attach a strong symbolic value to specific situations which obstruct their full development as human beings. In such cases they expect salvation from the discontinuation of these situations. It is important to recognize this factor and to trace the ways in which a living community in rebellion falls back on its own mythical associations. That is the aim of this study. In pursuing this aim it became clear to me that a theoretical classification of the reactionary movements of this kind according to their main aspects is a much simpler matter than to determine the place and the fundamental background of each movement separately. Such classifications are often determined merely by those aspects that receive most stress within the movement, or those that are most apparent to the investigator. The summary of the present state of the problem included at the end of this book brings this out very clearly.

The phenomena which R. Linton (219) called 'nativistic movements', and which are referred to as 'movements' in the present study, may possibly be classified under four headings, although these cannot, of course, represent more than a provisional summary.

1. *Messianic movements* arise from expectations of salvation and involve the return of a Messiah-like figure. These movements hark back to a mythical prehistoric time (a reality of faith); their starting-point is religious, and they contain apocalyptic elements. The revolt is against human dependence in general (sickness and death) and, in addition, against recent crisis situations in particular. A critical attitude towards the culture in which they appear is inherent in these movements. When no specific re-appearance of a Messiah is involved they might be called *millennial movements*.

2. *Revivalist movements* bear a strongly reactionary character and are directed against any acculturation whatsoever. They aim at the restora-

tion or revival of an earlier cultural situation. The predominant motives in these movements are psychological ones.

3. *Anticipatory assimilation movements* are forced attempts at re-orientation. They often have an economic aspect and oppose anything that obstructs their aim. The new culture elements, which are found eminently desirable, are subjected to a mythical interpretation, and an attempt is made to win their 'secret' by applying traditional magic. These movements are based on a fallacy and they grow under the pressure of discontent with an existing situation. Where the attempt at re-orientation is inspired by rational motives the movement becomes nationalist in nature, but such great symbolic value is attached to the aims that utopian expectations come to be associated with the idea of national independence.

4. *Syncretistic and sectarian movements* are apparently individualistic and often reach back to falsely interpreted elements of the great world religions to which the leaders or prophets give a mythical explanation. They are chiefly religious in nature and are strongly antithetical.

In the present study I will make no attempt to place the Biak *Koreri* (*cf.* p. 18) movements in the general framework of seemingly similar movements elsewhere in the world, but try to view them against their own cultural background and explain them from it. However important the former problem may be, a movement can only be understood in its own cultural setting. The material from Biak should make it clear that an attempt to characterize these movements exclusively by the external and often spectacular events that occur in them is a precarious undertaking. In this book I have tried to show what is involved in a concrete case. Our principal need in this area of study, is not of general collections of analogous traits only, but of detailed descriptions that clarify the background. Once these have been obtained some fruitful comparisons and generalizations may be made. For it is not the incidental or accidental that matters, but man in his totality as expressed in his culture. Essentially this is not merely a socio-economic or psychological problem but a cultural one, and for this reason all aspects of human life should be taken into account.

## **KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

### **SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk I**

De Biakse samenleving kent een grote mate van onzekerheid, zelfs ten aanzien van de meest elementaire levensbehoeften. Dit is vooral het gevolg van de onvruchtbare bodemgesteldheid en de geografische ligging van de Biakse eilanden, waardoor de onderlinge verbindingen en die met gebieden in de Geelvinkbaai worden bemoeilijkt. De geïsoleerde ligging en de gebrekkige communicatie heeft een sterk regionalisme in de hand gewerkt. Dialectgroepen, dorpen en clans, stonden dan ook op de voorgrond. Veelvuldige emigraties, contacten met de buitenwereld op de verre rooftochten in de oudste tijd en later op tochten naar Tidore en als reizende smeden, brachten vreemde goederen in het ceremoniële ruilverkeer. Er werd veel waarde gehecht aan het verkrijgen van deze vitale waardegooederen. Huwelijk en groepsvorming werden door offensieve en defensieve motieven en in latere jaren door economische factoren bepaald.

Een sterk afhankelijkheidsbesef werd gecompenseerd door kennis van magie, de verering der voorouders en banden met de hoogste Godheid (de Hemel of de Zon) door een alles omvattend ritueel. In het religieuze denken van de Biakkers wordt een duidelijk onderscheid gemaakt tussen "de ideale en de feitelijke wereld." Voor de mythische wezens, demonen en halfgodengestalten komen de stichters van de eigen clan en de recente voorouders in de plaats. Dit komt omdat er een neiging bestaat de herovering van het verloren gegane geheim van leven en dood van de voorouders te verwachten. Alleen in het ritueel verbonden met het offer aan de Hemel (*Fan Nanggi*) kent de Biakker een eenheid, die over de subculturele grenzen heen reikt. De eenheid van het Biakse volk is daarom religieus en niet politiek bepaald; ze draagt het karakter van een cultusgemeenschap.

Het heilstaats-ideaal omvat echter tevens het herstel van de oergemeenschap en een overwinning van de rivaliteitsverhouding.

## **KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

### **RINGKASAN - Bab I**

Masyarakat Biak amat diwarnai oleh ketidakpastian yang sangat tinggi, juga mengenai kebutuhan dasar hidup mereka. Hal ini merupakan akibat dari tanah yang tidak subur dan posisi geografis kepulauan Biak yang menghalangi komunikasi internal dan mempersulit hubungan masyarakat Biak dengan daerah lain di wilayah Teluk Cenderawasih. Keadaan terisolir dan komunikasi terbatas itu menyebabkan berkembangnya sifat kedaerahan (regionalisme) yang kuat. Oleh karena itu kelompok bahasa atau logat, kampung dan suku, amat terpengaruh. Arus emigrasi yang tinggi, hubungan dengan dunia luar dalam ekspedisi perang di masa lampau dan kemudian pelayaran ke Tidore serta ketrampilan sebagai pandai besi berjalan, mengakibatkan masuknya benda-benda luar dalam pertukaran seremonial setempat. Oleh karena itu, perolehan benda-benda penting itu makin dikaitkan dengan wibawa. Perkawinan dan pembentukan kelompok-kelompok ditentukan oleh alasan ofensif dan defensif, dan pada tahun-tahun kemudian oleh faktor-faktor ekonomis. Golongan-golongan sosial tidak mampu mempertahankan dirinya karena tidak ada golongan endogamis dan adanya pengangkatan budak-budak, tetapi dari sisi lain karena ada ketegangan terhadap wibawa yang dikumpulkan secara perorangan.

Perasaan ketergantungan kepada sesuatu yang disebabkan oleh keadaan alamiah yang bertentangan diimbangi dengan pengetahuan tentang ilmu mantera, kepercayaan terhadap roh-roh nenek moyang dan sebuah ritus total yang berhubungan dengan Yang Maha Esa (Cakrawala atau Matahari). Menurut orang Biak ada perbedaan jauh sekali antara dunia "yang nyata" dan dunia yang "ideal."

Para pendiri suku dan nenek moyang yang baru jadi berposisi sebagai setan-setan mitologis dan setengah dewa-dewa karena ada kecenderungan untuk menghubungkan penemuan kembali rahasia hidup dan kematian dengan nenek moyang. Mereka juga memperbolehkan menggantikan mereka dengan Yang Maha Esa (*Manseren Nanggi*) dalam mitos-mitos sebagai tanda pengurangan keterlibatan mereka karena ada pengetahuan tentang rahasia yang merupakan syarat untuk kekuasaan riil. Cuma dalam pemberian yang berkaitan dengan pemberian kepada Cakrawala (*Fan Nanggi*) suku Biak mendapatkan persatuan yang melebihi perbatasan-perbatasan golongan yang rendah. Oleh karena itu persatuan orang Biak ditentukan oleh agama, bukan oleh politik. Persatuan itu tidak bersifat sebagai komunitas ritual melainkan ideal yang sempurna (Utopis) menuju kepada pemulihan komunitas awal dan penindasan persaingan.

## **KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

### **SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk II**

In de mythe van Manarmakeri is een traditionele of werkelijke voorouder de hoofdfiguur. In hem krijgen veel mythische helden gestalte en zijn elementen geconcentreerd die verspreid in de gehele Biakse mythologie voorkomen. Hij is een held, die het geheim van het zielenland heroverde en daardoor de mythische oertijd wist te doen herleven. Hij ontdekte, dat de feitelijke werkelijkheid in wezen slechts de omhulling is van de ideële werkelijkheid, doch hij wist deze omhulling te doorbreken door het geheim daarvan te heroveren. Dit stelde hem in het bezit van de "schatten en het voedsel." hoofdbestanddelen van het ceremoniële ruilverkeer en voorwaarde voor het functioneren der samenleving. Door deze herovering had een einde kunnen komen aan het zwerven, de verdeeldheid en de dood, maar noch in the vermomming als Oude Man noch in die van de door de vuurdoop vernieuwde jongeling herkende men hem als Heer van de Heilstaat (*Manseren Koréri*). Daarom trok hij weg naar het Westen, echter met de belofte eens te zullen terugkeren.

## **KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

### **RINGKASAN - Bab II**

Dalam mitos Manarmakeri dikenal adanya nenek moyang tradisional atau sejati sebagai tokoh utama. Ia mengandung banyak pahlawan mitologis. Banyak unsur yang tersebar dimana-mana dalam ceritra rakyat dan kepercayaan orang Biak dipusatkan pada tokoh itu. Dia adalah pahlawan yang memiliki kembali rahasia dunia orang mati dan oleh karena itu, dia diperbolehkan untuk membarui zaman awal yang bersifat mitologis itu. Dia mendapati bahwa keadaan sejati tersembunyi tetapi karena dia menemukan kembali rahasia itu dia berhasil memperlihatkannya. Keberhasilan itu memberikan "harta benda dan makanan" kepadanya yang merupakan unsur-unsur utama pertukaran seremonial dan kegunaan masyarakat. Melalui kemenangan itu dia mampu mengakhiri penjajahan, persaingan, dan kematian, akan tetapi, karena menyamar sebagai orang tua maupun sebagai orang muda yang menjadi muda kembali oleh permandian api, masyarakat tidak dapat mengenal dia sebagai tuhan dari Utopia (*Manseren Koréri*). Oleh karena itu, dia berangkat ke arah barat setelah berjanji pada masyarakat bahwa pada suatu saat, dia akan kembali.

**KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

**SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk III**

Onze kennis van de mythen, waarin over deze wederkomst wordt gesproken, dateert van de eerste ontmoetingen met de Biakkers en Noemforen. In dit tijdsperspectief is duidelijk waarneembaar hoe in deze mythen nieuwe elementen werden opgenomen en verwerkt.

**KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

**RINGKASAN - Bab III**

Kami mengetahui adanya mitos-mitos yang menceritakan kedatangan kembali tersebut sejak menjalin hubungan pertama dengan orang Biak dan orang Numfor. Dalam kurun waktu itu bisa ditemukan proses penggabungan unsur-unsur baru dalam mitos-mitos itu.

## **KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

### **SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk IV en V**

De verscheidenheid in de versies van de hoofdmythe danken hun ontstaan aan subculturele factoren. Integratie van een motief in de Biakse cultuur is namelijk merkbaar uit het feit dat bepaalde groepen een eigen versie hebben geaccepteerd. Tevens werd duidelijk dat er vier mythische centra bestaan als plaatsen waar zich de gebeurtenissen in de hoofdmythe afspelen. Verwantschap of relatie met de hoofdfiguur en locale contacten met hem, leiden vaak tot een eigen versie en tot het nemen van het initiatief voor een beweging.

Uit het geheel van mythen blijkt, dat alle elementen waaruit de hoofdmythe is samengesteld vaak in de Biak-Noemfoorse mythologie voorkomen. Voorbeelden daarvan zijn: 1. de vermomde figuur, aanvaard of afgewezen; 2. contact met de voorouders en het zielenland; 3. de belangrijke functie van de cocospalm; 4. de tochten van West naar Oost en het generatiegewijze optreden; 5. de functie van de maan, de zon en de morgenster; 6. het voorkomen van verschillende dieren uit de mythen; 7. de functie van het clanheiligdom als mythisch machtscentrum en de verplaatsbaarheid daarvan.

De identificatie van het mythische en het geografische Westen bood de mogelijkheid het Westen en alles wat daarmee samenhangt in de mythische sfeer te adopteren en aan een mythische interpretatie te onderwerpen.

## **KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

### **RINGKASAN - Bab IV dan V**

Perbedaan antara versi-versi mitos utama disebabkan oleh faktor-faktor kebudayaan tingkat rendah karena perpaduan unsur baru dapat dikenal dari tingkat sejauh mana kelompok-kelompok kebudayaan tingkat rendah telah memasukkan unsur baru dalam versi mereka sendiri. Ada empat pusat utama mitos-mitos dimana terdapat unsur mitos utama. Ada juga hubungan lokal dengan tokoh utama yang mendasarkan versi istimewa dari mitos utama dan yang juga menjadi inisiatif untuk memulai suatu gerakan.

Unsur yang merupakan mitos utama sering ditemui dalam mitologi Biak-Numfor, yaitu: 1. tokoh tersembunyi, diterima atau ditolak; 2. hubungan dengan nenek moyang dan "dunia orang mati"; 3. fungsi utama pohon kelapa; 4. pelayaran dari Barat ke Timur dan kumpulan menurut generasi; 5. fungsi bulan, mata hari dan Bintang Kejora; 6. aneka bintang yang tampil dalam mitos-mitos; 7. kejadian ciptaan oleh tokoh-tokoh utama; 8. fungsi tempat keramat suku sebagai pusat kekuasaan khayal dan mobilitasnya.

Identifikasi dunia mitologis dengan arah geografis Barat merupakan kemungkinan transportasi ke Barat dan semua hal berkaitan dengannya dalam lingkungan mitologis dan memungkinkan penafsiran mitologis.

**KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

**SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk VI**

In de adventsnachten met hun georganiseerde climax door middel van geëigende liederen en dansen zien we hoe het contact met de doden en het door imitatieve magie bewerkstelligen van de komst van de Koréri poogt te benaderen. Verschijnselen van massapsychose, kunstmatig bewerkstelligde visioenen en glossolalie treden daarbij op.

**KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

**RINGKASAN - Bab VI**

Pada malam-malam menjelang kedatangan messias, mereka memberi instruksi-instruksi tentang bagaimana menghubungi orang mati dan bagaimana mendatangkan Koréri. Hasil itu dapat tercapai melalui suatu luapan kegembiraan dalam pertunjukan lagu-lagu dan tarian serta penggunaan ilmu merupakan tiruan. Kegilaan masal, penampakan buatan, kerasukan roh, dan pembicaraan meracau adalah fenomena yang menyertainya.

## **KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

### **SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk VII**

In het historisch overzicht worden vanaf 1855 37 bewegingen beschreven. Hoewel sommige gegevens zeer summier zijn, kan op basis van de kennis van andere bewegingen toch een goede beschrijving worden gegeven. In de oudste bekende bewegingen is geen sprake van een reactie op de vreemdelingen, met uitzondering van die van 1855, waarin een verzet tegen de schatting aan Tidore tot uiting komt.

Het blijkt uit het verdere verloop dat niet alleen in de mythen, maar ook in de oproepboodschappen van de voorlopers, vreemdelingen en hun goederen mythisch werden geïnterpreteerd. Ontdekking van het Westen en contact met de blanken, die aanvankelijk voor herleefde voorouders werden aangezien, leidde tot opname van verschillende figuren in de mythen. Gaandeweg verliezen ze echter hun mythologische betekenis. De toenemende uit het Westen afkomstige invloeden roepen psychologische weerstanden op, waarvan de neerslag in de mythen en bewegingen steeds sterker wordt. Bij de bewegingen laten de verschillende mythische machtscentra zich gelden. Verwantschap met de Oude Man, soms zelfs via de matrilineale lijn, blijkt voor het konoerschap zeer belangrijk te zijn. Hoewel de bewegingen de grenzen van de taal en cultuur doorbreken, zijn er ook verschillende gebieden, zelfs van Biakse emigranten die zich afzijdig houden. Dan blijkt de achtergrond en wezenlijke inhoud van de door de emigranten overgenomen cultuur, met de aard van de beweging niet in overeenstemming te zijn.

## **KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

### **RINGKASAN - Bab VII**

Penelitian historis tentang gerakan-gerakan messianis ini sejak tahun 1855 menggambarkan adanya 45 macam gerakan. Walaupun data tentang beberapa gerakan sangat kurang, ciri-coraknya bisa digambarkan melalui kesamaannya dengan gerakan lain. Kecuali dalam suatu gerakan pada tahun 1855 yang ternyata melawan pembayaran upeti kepada Tidore (yang berkuasa di Barat Laut Nieuw-Guinea), tidak ditemukan reaksi negatif terhadap orang asing didalam gerakan-gerakan awal. Setelah itu, ternyata ada penafsiran mitologis terhadap orang asing dan harta bendanya dalam mitos-mitos dan juga dalam proklamasi pelopor-pelopor gerakan. Penemuan dunia Barat dan hubungan dengan orang Eropa yang pada awalnya dianggap sebagai nenek moyang yang hidup kembali, memasukkan beberapa tokoh asing dalam mitologi mereka. Akan tetapi, secara berangsur-angsur muncul demitologisasi dan peningkatan akulturasi yang menghasilkan perlawanan mental, dan dampaknya makin tampak dalam mitos-mitos dan gerakan-gerakan messianis itu. Dalam gerakan-gerakan tersebut, aneka pusat kuasa mitologis makin nyata. Sistem kekeluargaan, kadang-kadang dilihat melalui garis keturunan perempuan, dan orang tua berperan sangat penting sebagai *konoor* (bentara messias yang akan datang). Ada beberapa daerah, termasuk yang didiami masyarakat emigran Biak, yang menjauhkan dirinya dari mereka walaupun gerakan-gerakan itu melintas batas-batas kebudayaan dan bahasa. Faktor utama dalam proses itu adalah bahwa latar belakang dan isi aktual kebudayaan yang diambil oleh kaum migran tersebut tidak cocok dengan sifat gerakan itu.



## **KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

### **SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk VIII**

De grote beweging van 1938-1943 geeft ten slotte een dergelijke manifestatie in al haar aspecten te zien. Dankzij vele gegevens van deelnemers was het mogelijk uiteen te zetten hoe intens een beweging beleefd wordt en hoe heterogeen de verwachtingen en motieven zijn. Merkwaardig is dat men zelf dit heterogene onderkent. Onder invloed van politieke motieven kan men aanvankelijk een centralisatie constateren, in een later stadium doet het Biakse regionalisme zich gelden. Assimilatie en gebruikmaking van Christelijke elementen geven de beweging een schijn van syncretisme. Door het opnemen van moderne Westerse goederen en communicatiemiddelen krijgt het economisch aspect in de mythen een sterke nadruk. Met volle kracht komen nu ook de gefrustreerde gevoelens naar boven. Weerzin tegen overheersing en bevoogding in elke vorm voert tot een felle reactie tegen de bereikbare vreemdelingen. Gewapend verzet tegen de Japanners leidt tot het dramatische einde.

## **KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

### **RINGKASAN - Bab VIII**

Gerakan messianis besar pada tahun 1938 sampai dengan 1943 menggambarkan semua aspek tersebut. Data yang diperoleh dari para penganutnya kiranya menjelaskan tentang intensitas gerakan itu dialami dan aneka-ragam harapan serta alasannya. Ternyata perbedaan itu juga disadari begitu oleh penganut-penganutnya. Pada awalnya ada sentralisasi yang diakibatkan oleh alasan politik; setelah itu muncul daerahisme di Biak. Asimilasi dan penggunaan unsur Kristiani memberi sifat sinkretisme kepada gerakan itu. Penggunaan harta benda ekonomis Eropa menggarisbawahi aspek-aspek ekonomis dalam mitos-mitos. Perasaan kegagalan muncul dengan cukup tinggi. Perlawanan terhadap penindasan dan pengawasan dalam bentuk apapun memberitahukan kritik terhadap orang asing (*amberi*) yang dekat. Pemberontakan terhadap tentara Jepang mengakibatkan akhir yang dramatis.

## **KORÉRI: De Messiaanse Koréri-bewegingen in het Biaks-Noemfoorse cultuurgebied**

### **SAMENVATTING - Hoofdstuk IX**

Uit het overzicht van de historische factoren die de beweging zouden hebben kunnen beïnvloeden blijkt dat in eerste instantie de voorkomende crises ontstaan uit de objectieve feiten, zoals het geografisch milieu, ziekte en dood en dat daarnaast de sociaal-economische factoren (voedsel en goederenruil) van betekenis zijn geweest. Contact met vreemdelingen had hierop aanvankelijk geen invloed. Hoewel onderwerping aan Tidore een ernstige ingreep betekende, is het aannemelijk dat de onzekere situatie door de hierboven genoemde oorzaken vermeerderd met de scherpe rivaliteitshouding en het ontbreken van onderlinge veiligheid, meer hebben bijgedragen tot het ontstaan van crises dan de invloed van het verre Tidore. Pas langzamerhand wordt de acculturatie een factor van betekenis. Positieve waardering van de voortbrengselen der Westerse techniek wisselt dan af met een weerzin tegen bevoogding.

Al heeft de Zending (sedert 1855) noch het Gouvernement (sedert 1898) door ingrijpende maatregelen de Biakse samenleving in een acute crisis gedreven, toch roepen kunstmatige pogingen tot de invoering van vreemde elementen, ook al worden die begeerd, een innerlijke weerstand op, die algemeen menselijk en dus ook Biaks is. Werkelijk leven betekent in de eerste plaats zichzelf zijn.

## **KORÉRI: Gerakan Messianis dalam Kebudayaan Biak-Numfor**

### **RINGKASAN - Bab IX**

Penelitian faktor-faktor historis yang bisa mempengaruhi gerakan-gerakan tersebut menjelaskan bahwa krisis-krisis muncul dari fakta objektif: lingkungan geografis, penyakit dan kematian, dan faktor-faktor sosio-ekonomis, yakni makanan dan pertukaran seremonial. Hubungan pertama dengan orang asing tidak mempengaruhi gerakan-gerakan messianis itu. Walaupun ketaklukan terhadap Tidore mendatangkan unsur campur tangan yang hebat, anggapan bahwa situasi yang tidak menentu yang diakibatkan oleh berbagai sebab yang dipicu oleh persaingan yang berkepanjangan dan ketiadaan rasa aman ditengah masyarakat Biak, merupakan unsur-unsur yang lebih berpengaruh sebagai penyebab krisis daripada pengaruh Tidore yang sangat jauh.

Pada waktu akulturasi mulai muncul penghargaan terhadap kemajuan teknologi Barat yang disertai dengan perlawanan terhadap pengawasan. Walaupun Misi Protestan (sejak tahun 1855) dan Pemerintahan (sejak 1898) yang memaknai tindakan yang drastis mengakibatkan krisis mendalam terhadap masyarakat Biak, upaya artifisial untuk memasukkan unsur-unsur asing (juga diinginkan) mengakibatkan perlawanan secara alamiah. Untuk hidup manusia sejati harus mampu menonjolkan diri.

## CHAPTER I

### THE SETTING

#### a. *Geographical and historical background*

A more complete description of the Schouten Islands and the Biak and Numfor cultures will have to be postponed until the data have been supplemented by a more systematic investigation *in situ*. To provide the necessary framework for the messianic movements an indication of some main features may suffice here.

The Schouten Islands, Biak (c. 925 sq.m.), Supiori (c. 270 sq.m.), and some smaller islands belonging to the group, are situated in the northern part of the Geelvink Bay in West Irian between Long. 135° and 136° E, and between Lat. 20' and 1° 45' S. Some of the Padaido Islands to the east of Biak, for instance Meokwundi, lie on the fringe of a vast atoll. To the south of Supiori there are Inumbabi and Rani, and to the north-west Meosbefondi, Ayawi, and others. The largest of these smaller islands are between four and seven sq.m. in area.

Biak, which is separated from Supiori by a shallow strait clogged with coral growth, gives the impression of being a raised reef, for there are coral formations to be found nearly everywhere along its coasts, in many places in the south more than 300 feet above sea level, while here and there the coast itself has double surf lines at 15-30 feet above sea level. In Supiori and the north-west of Biak there are some mountain tops varying from 600 to 2500 feet in height.

The soil in these islands is not very fertile. Arable land only occurs in some valleys and along the reaches of the small rivers. Swamps suitable for sago culture are sporadic. The soil is porous, so that the rain water disappears rapidly, although the rainfall may be called considerable, amounting to 115 in. in 228 rain days in 1952. During the months of July and October, 1952, absolute maximum temperatures of 89.6° and 91.5° were registered, while the lowest mean temperature (72.14°) was registered in the month of August, and an absolute minimum (66.9°) in January (289, App. III). Although the rain days are relatively evenly distributed over the year there are a wet and a dry monsoon. During

the wet monsoon a westerly wind prevails (December-March), while during the dry monsoon (July-September) the desiccating and notorious *Wambraw* (south-east wind) blows. This wind is feared because it is precisely during the *Wambraw* periods, when the communication between the islands by outrigger canoe is at its most difficult, that Biak has to rely principally on the Island of Japan for its sago supplies. At the turn of the monsoon, in the months of October-November and April-May, some calm periods occur.

The time-reckoning of the Biak people is based on the constellations. Their year begins on March 31, the day on which the sun rises at a point exactly half-way between its northernmost and southernmost rising points; they know that this is the east.

The people of *Bosník* determine this date by the lowest spring-tide which occurs at that time and leaves a certain coral rock dry. This day is of the utmost importance, since at the beginning of the vernal turn of the monsoon the wind drops away and trade voyages can be undertaken (92a, 2-6).

The twelve moon periods are called after constellations, in the Numfor area, for instance, after various parts of the body of the Scorpion. The night is divided into four periods, *mandira* (6-9 P.M.), *rob* (9-12 P.M.), *rob(di) fandu* (0-3 A.M.), and *meser muryas* (3-6 A.M.) (92a, 1).

The seasons are chiefly governed by two constellations, Orion (*Sawakoi*) and Scorpio (*Romangwandi*). *Romangwandi* (Dragon) includes some other constellations besides Scorpio, for instance the Southern Crown, which is supposed to be the curling tail of the heavenly dragon. As long as the Scorpio is below the horizon it is the time of the west monsoon with its heavy seas. Once the Dragon rises above the horizon the quiet period has begun. The Dragon begins to ascend when Orion disappears into the sea: the pursuing males (Pleiades and Taurus) have seized the pursued females in the sea, so this is the general mating season.

The planting season begins when Orion disappears and the Dragon is seen in its entirety above the eastern horizon at sunset (I. S. Kijne). By planting during the various positions of this constellation the people try to find out exactly when conditions are most favorable. If a position proves successful they put up a stone in the garden to mark it for a later occasion. Various root crops are grown in the sparse garden-land. Sugar cane and bananas are planted, if possible, near the houses. Almost all the garden-lands are at a fairly great distance from the villages, often behind a narrow but steep coastal range. Millet and a small variety of brown

beans are particularly susceptible to the monsoon. The island people grow very little tobacco, in contrast to the inhabitants of the mainland of Irian. After the East Monsoon the gardens are cleared, shrubs and weeds are burned and the planting can begin.

Some groups, such as the Soweik people in South Supiori, whose villages are near or surrounded by rhizophore forests, know the art of preparing a sustaining dish from the long, bean-like fruits of these trees. They apply this time-consuming method of preparation especially in the periods of shortage, while in times of stress a certain variety of sea grass (*ando*) also serves as food. Here and there pigs are raised and a few lean chickens are kept. Since most of the villages are on the coast, molluscs and fish form part of the daily menu. Picking molluscs and fishing on the reefs is the work of the women and children, while the men engage in deep-sea fishing with the aid of set-lines, floating hoop-nets (for flying fish) and harpoons.

The chief means of communication is the outrigger canoe, a hollowed-out tree trunk with a single outrigger for short voyages, or with double outriggers and bulwarks for long trading voyages or (formerly) war. The inland villages of Biak and the cultivated plots of the coast people are connected by narrow forest paths.

The inhabitants of the Schouten Islands and their emigration areas may be regarded as a mixture of Melanesian and Papuan elements, being a little shorter in stature than the Melanesians, and a little more robust than the genuine Papuans of Central New Guinea. Most of them have the typical frizzled hair, although some have wavy, a few even straight hair. In a few regions (for instance in Wardo) there are traces of Indonesian and Micronesian influences due to mixing with captured slaves or castaways. A few very dark types reveal the influence of adopted slaves from the mainland. The population of the interior of Biak, formerly called the Arfak<sup>1</sup> people, are generally darker-skinned than the coastal population, and they have frizzled hair. H. C. Bos, who investigated blood groups, found a conformity between the proportions of blood groups in Biak and in Sahu (Halmahera), Seram (Kaibobo and Wemale), Amboina, Sangir, the Kai Islands, and Alor. He con-

<sup>1</sup> Arfak — the name given to the people of the mountains near Manokwari and formerly also to the inhabitants of the Biak interior. Arfak people (the Biak people call them Faksi) in the interior of the Island of Biak must have been quite numerous. M. W. Kaisjepo mentioned the *keret* (patriclans): 1. Abidondifu; 2. Ansek; 3. Arwam; 4. Bubre; 5. Fureuw; 6. Kararibo; 7. Kmur; 8. Mandobar; 9. Mansimor; 10. Masosendifu; 11. Mnumumes; 12. Odyaba; 13. Orboi; 14. Rumanasen and 15. Smas.

cluded that "this might indicate earlier migrations in these regions . . ." (49, 158). It is indeed not unlikely that this conformity is due to emigration of Biak people and absorption of captured slaves and castaways.

The Biak people all speak the same language, although they can be divided into nine dialect groups in the Schouten Islands and Numfor, and three in the emigration areas Roon, Dore, and West Waigeo. One of the oldest migrant colonies, that of the Sawai, is to be found in East Halmahera and probably in North Seram. Like some smaller groups in Central Waigeo and some that mixed with the Moi and the Madik of the North-West Vogelkop they have adapted themselves to their surroundings and do not speak Biak any longer. The same is probably true of some inhabitants of the Island of Gebe.

There are roughly 40,000 Biak-speaking people, nearly 30,000 of whom live in the Schouten Islands, while the remainder live in the above emigration areas. According to the legend cycle of Fakok and Pasrefi, and to data from Tidore, the Biak people lost their independence around the end of the fifteenth century. Fakok and Pasrefi came originally from the neighborhood of Djayapura (Sukarnapura former Hollandia). In Biak they introduced iron, the use of which they had learned on their raids in Halmahera.

At about the time of their subjection by the Sawai of Halmahera another Biak hero, Gurabesi, went on a voyage to Tidore. He became a vassal of this state by his marriage to the Sultan's daughter. It is probably due to his influence that some of his compatriots were appointed as mediators between Tidore and some inland groups of the Vogelkop (181, II, 536).

The four kings (*Radja Ampat*) are said to be descended from Gurabesi. At that time East Halmahera and Gebe were most probably subjected to Tidore, for we know that the Biak people had to pay their tribute to Tidore through the mediation of headmen in East Halmahera and Gebe whose supremacy they had already acknowledged.

The extent of Biak raiding before this time is not known, but they got to know the Moluccas and other regions such as Timor, Gorontalo, and even Saleyer and East Java, as oarsmen in the Tidorese *hongi*-fleets<sup>2</sup> and on expeditions they undertook on their own (181, II, 537

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<sup>2</sup> *hongi*-voyages = annual voyages to cut down trees in West Seram, where the clandestine trade with Macassar still continued. A *hongi* was a fleet of coracles or large praus propelled by oars (Hall, D. G. E., *A History of South East Asia*, London 1964).

and IV, 264). For the Timorese of Kisar, for instance, the word *papua* means pirate (172, 266).

When the leaders of the Biak groups brought their tribute to Tidore they received a title in return. These titles initially referred to real functions: *Radja* (prince), *Sengadji* (head of district), *Dimara* (*Gimalaha* = village headman), and *Korano* (*id.*). They were conferred according to the Tidorese division of the Biak regions into districts (181, III, 180-183). In Tidore a village consisted of nine or four compounds (*kampung*) (65, 280), hence probably the division of the Biak-Numfor regions into nine districts and four wards (= the four chief clans of Numfor) (66, 166).

With his title the functionary received a flag and official dress. Later this was omitted and the titles were conferred arbitrarily. The Biak people themselves then proceeded to confer titles on their trading friends (*manibob*) and on the Arfak (90, 43). The way in which the son of a titled person received his title after his father's death shows that there was no longer any real function involved: he was asked to choose from a series enumerated by one of the village elders.

The contacts with Halmahera and other islands resulted in the adoption of some elements of material culture, such as bellows for forging, plank-canoes (*karures*), the bulwarking of canoes by means of boards, the shape of the outriggers (especially in the Radja Ampat Islands), and small dancing shields. The china and copper wares brought back by the islanders from their voyages and raids gradually acquired an important function in the ceremonial exchange of presents.

The first Europeans to come into contact with the people of Biak were the Spaniards in 1527. The Dutch followed 89 years later. The islands of the Biak people owe their name to Captain Willem Schouten, who with Jacob le Maire sailed along the north coast in the year 1616. These explorers found Chinese porcelain and amber-colored beads ('Indian corals') in the islands. In the course of time the number and variety of these valuables of foreign origin multiplied. Gongs and copper-ware, china, earthenware, beads, lengths of red and blue cotton, hatchets, and iron bars were the most important. They had a fixed exchange value with regard to each other.

Although the Protestant Mission had worked in New Guinea since 1855 it was not until 1908 that the first mission post was opened in Supiori. The government authorities, who had confined themselves to visiting voyages from the Moluccas, definitely established themselves in the Manokwari region in 1898 (103, 107). From 1913 until World

War II Biak belonged to the Japen subdivision and the authorities were represented by an Assistant District Officer. After the war Biak became a separate district headed by a District Officer. The actual pacification of Biak took place in 1915 when the authorities took action after the murder of a *guru* (mission-teacher). This intervention also put a check on the frequent murders that resulted from the fighting out of old feuds after copious palm-wine drinking.

Since 1920 the number of schools has greatly increased, and all of the roughly eighty villages in the Schouten Islands have now been christianized. From 1912 to 1914 and from 1919 to 1920 a European missionary was stationed in Bosnik (Biak), and after 1922 in Korido (Supiori). Within the framework of the Evangelical Christian Church in New Guinea to be established in 1956, Biak became the first seat of a District Synod in 1946, and a Biak preacher educated in a Theological School was appointed chairman of this Synod in 1952. Biak teachers educated at the Training College at Depok, Java, and in New Guinea itself since 1917, have from the beginning taken part in the teaching and missionary work, while many Biak people also did pioneering work in other regions of New Guinea. Medical aid was initially provided by the missionaries, but in 1935 a medical center was established in the newly founded hospital in Korido. After the Second World War this was moved to Biak, and a doctor attached to it makes his rounds by motor boat.

#### b. *Plans of houses and villages*

Most of the villages are on the beach, where the pile-dwellings are built on beach reefs or along inlets. The roofs, which were formerly tortoise-shaped, are now straight-ridged. All the dwellings have a front porch, and some a back porch as well. They are built according to two main types, one (*aberdado*) consisting of a wide passage with rooms on both sides, and the other (*rumkambar*) of a passage with rooms on one side only. Over the central or side passage (*rumdido*) hangs the unrigged hull of the big trading-canoe. As a rule the house is inhabited by a man and his married sons. Each of the rooms is occupied by one family or, in a polygamous household, by a woman and her children. After the introduction, in 1924, of one-family dwellings, a rule which did not, however, continue to be strictly enforced, the smaller houses of one *keret* (clan) were whenever possible built in a row in a common enclosure.



Where the houses are built in two rows the village plan consists of a front (sea-side) and a rear (land-side) part, and where they are built in one row of an eastern, a central and a western part. The names of the *keret* are often derived from the location of the houses in the village plan. When a clan splits up the new *keret* receive names derived from the place they formerly occupied in the big clan house, or from the byname of their mother's room if she was a second or third wife in a polygamous marriage.

In the past each clan house had its young men's house (*Rum Sram* or *Yaberdares-Snonman*) on the seaward side, as well as a dance place (*bubes*). To landward there are the 'wharf' and the smithy.

### c. Social organization

The Biak *keret* (clan), also called *er* in Numfor, derives its name from the raised part in the center of a big canoe (or *vice versa*). This is the seat of the *keret* elders, who are called *eribo*, those who sit on the *er* or *keret*. *Keret* and *er* are synonyms for head clan, while the sub clans are usually called *keret kasun* (small *keret*).

The *keret* or *er* is a preferably exogamous, patrilineal kinship group. The head *keret* traces its descent from a traditional ancestor, and the small *keret* (sub clans) trace theirs from a real ancestor. The latter may therefore be called lineages.

As a rule *keret* members do not marry each other, but marriage is allowed between members of the fourth generation, *i.e.* those with a common great-grandfather. Only the house (*rum*) is strictly exogamous, as there are never more than three generations living in it at a time (in the case of one-family dwellings the term house should be replaced by enclosure). Since cross-cousin marriages are regarded as incest the term bilateral house (or enclosure) exogamy applies here.

Apart from the principle of direct exchange between two clans (*farbuk indaduwer* "maiden-comes-back-marriage"), which is practised in a few cases, there are no preferential mating rules based on kinship. In the past the matter was decided by considerations of safety and ability in combat, and later by economic motives. Marriage is patrilocal, although bride-service (up to the birth of the first child) sometimes requires matrilocal residence until the young son-in-law has finished a task (built a house, laid out a garden, etc.) specially set as a condition of marriage.

The brideprice (*ararem*) is composed around a fixed core consisting

of articles of ceremonial value (*robenei*) which are all, except the shell wrist-bands (*samfar*), imported from elsewhere. By agreement the bride-price may also include canoes and utensils.

The return gift (*bar bekaber* — the part that returns) from the bride's family's side amounts to about a quarter of the *ararem* and is given by the bride to the bridegroom's next of kin during the marriage ceremony and later on the occasion of the festivities marking the various stages of the children's life cycles. The whole of the bridegroom's *keret* (or lineage) is obliged to contribute to the brideprice, and the givers are entitled to a part of the *bar bekaber*. The part that does not return, roughly three quarters or two thirds, is called *bar bemsar* (the part that sinks). At the most important stages of the life cycle, those of initiation into *keret*, village community and cosmos, the husband's *keret* as a rule organizes the festivities and entertainment, while the wife's *keret* brings the gifts. These customs as well as the nature of the bride-price differ locally, for instance in Biak and Numfor.

The initiative for a celebration can be taken by either of the parties. The collecting of food or articles of value by one party is an incentive for the other. The acquisition or loss of prestige involved make this institution one of the strongest motive powers for economic action.

Since the mother's brother acts as initiator in the chief rites of passage and generally plays a great role in the life of his sister's children the avunculate is undoubtedly an important function in Biak culture. In Biak, as in the Trobriand Islands, this function entails conflicting duties resulting from social obligations and parental love (234, 6). Sometimes a man renounces his prerogatives as eldest son in favor of his eldest sister's son. There are cases in which this has even led to matrilinearity. One informant from Numfor stated that it was being considered to make this the rule when the eldest child was a daughter.

The strong bond between brothers and sisters was formerly accentuated by the fact that the sisters mixed the blood flowing at their brothers' circumcision (more correctly, incision of the prepuce) into their food. This is probably the reason why Fr. Joh. Jens wrote, "in the Schouten Islands matriarchy preponderates, or rather there is a transition to be found from matriarchy to patriarchy" (166, 406).

The organization and plan of the Biak village (*menu*) was in accordance with its character as a fighting group. Although the function of *keret* elder (*adir* — pillar), the representative of the *keret* in the council of elders (*kankein karkara*), was known, it was the *mambri* (hero) who especially enjoyed prestige. This was emphasized at the

ceremony of initiation as *k'bor* (adult young man) when the initiate was fed by the men with *undaim mambri* (heroes' leaf) (166, 409). In the village organization, various activities were arranged by the *mampapok* (authorized representatives) (55, 13). As a result of the voyages (see p. 13) to Tidore a new function of *mananur menu* (village headman), called *Dimara*, came into being. More important were the *Sengadji* (district headmen), but in practice these were titular headmen enjoying little authority outside their own *keret*.

The coming of the Mission brought new functions with it: teachers, evangelists, church elders, and deacons. The establishment of the administration entailed the appointment of *kepala kampung* (village headmen) and their deputies (*wakil*).

In all probability there were formerly three groups, arranged in a clear social hierarchy. They derived their importance chiefly from economic factors, privileges appertaining to the land of the founders and their descendants. The three classes were, first, the *manseren* (lords, free men, 143, *s.v.*), the oldest inhabitants of a region; secondly, later immigrants who came under the jurisdiction of the *keret* elders of the founders' group; and, thirdly, slaves. The absence of class endogamy and the practice of adopting slaves were decisive factors in the later development of these groups.

Titles derived from Tidore did not give any political power, nor did they give authority in the internal affairs of the group. Biak culture characteristically shows a tendency towards decentralization, causing subcultural factors (influence of *keret*, lineage, dialect group) to be relatively important.

In the past an important function beside that of the *mambri* (hero) was that of the *mon* (shaman, priest, seer), partly on account of the prestige that could be gained in this function (achieved status). A *mambri* might distinguish himself in distant raids from which he brought home slaves and spoils, or by successfully resisting attackers, while a *mon* might gain prestige as a successful leader of the total ritual or as a medicine-man or magician. Canoe builders, blacksmiths and wood-carvers (of bowls, prau-ornaments, and spirit effigies or *korwar*) were held in high esteem, but nowhere did they form separate guilds. It is true that the members of certain *keret* might specialize in pottery-making or wood-carving, but this became a practical monopoly, not a formal one.

Although the 'ascribed status' was inherited and highly valued, the prestige it formally entailed always failed to carry real authority. This was due to historical influences, the main stimulus in this culture being

in the direction of 'achieved status' (218, 115). It is thus not only to the shamans, priests and seers, the 'charismatic authority', but to the Biak people in general that S. F. Nadel's remark about leaders applies: "Paradoxically speaking, the society might expect and even idealize the unexpected achievement . . ." (247, 190). Experiment and improvisation in any field are appreciated by everyone, but especially when the result is sensational.

Of course, recognition is sought within the traditional norms. The above observations, therefore, are in no way contradicted by the fact that the bearers of new functions initially remain marginal figures. To underline their rank they wish to be invested with outward signs of their dignity. In the course of integration, however, the members of their *keret* come to participate in the esteem attached to these functions.

In fact, the Biak people do not remain passive even in this age of increasing acculturation. They put their stamp on every trait that is absorbed (95, 82<sup>1</sup>). In the past, great honor was accorded to the heroes who brought back slaves and booty. Even those who took tribute to Tidore and returned with a title, a flag, and ceremonial dress, celebrated the acquisition of these attributes of dependence with the same ceremony that was performed on returning from a successful *raak*<sup>3</sup> (*hong*i, head-hunting expedition), and they were held in high esteem. This attitude is still typical of the Biak people. They find a thing strange only as long as it is not their own property, but as soon as it is 'conquered' the conqueror is assured of the same prestige that was enjoyed by the pirate of the past when he unloaded his booty on the beach amid the loud cheers of the members of his *keret* and his fellow-villagers.

#### d. Religion

The central power in the universe is *Nanggi* (the firmament, the starry sky). Some *keret* identify it with the sun. The only total ritual is the *Fan Nanggi* (feeding of the sky) performed in times of scarcity and uncertainty. The *mon*, who conducts the ritual standing on a scaffolding beside the offerings, feels by the vibration of his arms that the sacrifice has been accepted. He is in a state of trance, possessed by *Nanggi*, and acts as oracle, prophesying the coming events, removing uncertainties concerning the fate of absent persons, and giving good as well as bad

<sup>3</sup> In the Biak-Numfor language the word *raak* is usually used instead of *hong*i. The meaning is always a headhunting expedition.

tidings. Hunting and fishing tools are laid at the foot of the scaffolding to be 'blessed' by the descending *Nanggi*.

The Biak image of the world is strongly dualistic. The east and north are the seat of those powers that are well-disposed towards man, the west and south are inhabited by the adverse powers. Their home is the world of the clouds, the layer below *Nanggi* (177, I, 194 and 198).

The third layer is the earth, inhabited by rock and reef demons. The fourth is the underworld, situated underneath the sea and in the earth. This is the realm of the dead, to which caves and springs in certain places (Meosbefondi, Numfor, etc.) give access. All animals that change their skins and have their holes or nests in the ground or in caves are considered a special class of creatures. Some people (Wardo) believe that all life originates from a big banyan tree. After the great deluge, which brought the first world to an end, mankind owed its renewed existence partly to some species of animals which are *for* (tabu) to their descendants. These animals are addressed as 'grandfather' (*kpu*).

The secret of eternal life, ever again rising from death, reposes in the firmament and in the underworld. The latter is the source of all abundance: goods, and the foods produced by the earth. The dead go to this underworld, all are young again and free from want. But every person has two spirits, one of which (*korwar*, *aibu*) can be bound by making a spirit effigy for it (*amfyanir*, *korwar*). These spirit effigies, however, must prove their usefulness for the members of the *keret* by averting catastrophes and sickness, and by giving help in hunting and fishing.

The role of the ancestors, the spirits of the dead, can be summarized as follows. Being representatives of the living in the spirit country, the world of wind and clouds, or reincarnated in animals, they act as mediators for the well-being of the living, and punish offences against *adat* (customary law). The spirits of neglected or renegade members of the *keret*, on the other hand, may take revenge and turn against the *keret* as *Mandur* (spirit creatures) and helpers of the *Korano Faknik* (demon prince). Finally they may play a role in a-social shamanist practices, and be raised by persons who do not belong to the *keret*, the magicians or *mon* (177, I, 205).

The name of *mon* was also given to founders of new *keret* or leaders of emigrant groups, who after death were worshipped in the former *Rum Sram*. In such cases this building fulfilled the function of clan sanctuary. Since not all the ancestors or pioneers revealed themselves through dreams, only the *mon beyawawos* (speaking *mon*) were wor-

shipped. People who did not belong to the same *keret* could also take part in this worship.

In the Biak and Numfor regions of the Geelvink Bay the *mon* were often also the *konoor* (heralds of the Messiah). Black magic was not so important here as in the Radja Ampat Islands, where the *mon*, though medicine men, were hardly ever *konoor*. There was a distinction between *mon inarwur* (shaman) and *mon bemar* or *mirino* (*keret* priest). The introduction of iron from Halmahera and Gebe and the magic attached to the art of forging brought with it more importance for the shaman, for it was he who took up the profession of blacksmith being already familiar with magic practices.

The techniques of white magic are private property and are inherited from one's father or mother's brother, but black magic in many forms may be learned and applied by anyone. Special secret methods and devices are acquired in the Radja Ampat Islands, or from the Waropen or Arfak people who are notorious for their knowledge of black magic.

As far as is known the Biak people have a clan totemism in the form of combination totems consisting of a number of birds and land and sea animals. Although in religion magic is predominant, the "religious" attitude certainly occurs. It finds its greatest expression in the *Fan Nanggi*. The consciousness of the dependence of man, whose physical surroundings have so often showed him to be vulnerable, is also time and again expressed in the myths.

According to G. J. Held (151, 116) the outrigger canoe has served as a model for the social organization of the Biak and Numfor culture. The linguistic data from Halmahera and Seram seem to indicate that the reverse is true, but even so Held's comparison is meaningful. The Biak people are wanderers who have to struggle hard to provide for their most elementary needs. They have a slogan which expresses their ideal: *k'an do mob oser* (to be able to eat in one place). In the expectation of *Koreri* this ideal is extended so as to include the totality of the living and the dead, the unity and abundance in one place, the unification of what is separate, the change and subjection of everything to the eternal order called *Koreri*.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MYTH OF MANARMAKERI

In the nine versions of this myth published so far (and an equal number of versions borrowed from these) only the main passages are recounted (90; 113; 128; 134; 178; 250; 267; 323; and 333). This means that many important facts are not mentioned, while much, too, has been lost in rather too free translations.

In the version presented here, as well as in our discussion of other versions, we have tried as far as possible to render all the episodes contained in the nine published texts as well as in another twenty recorded or collected by myself. These original texts will, I hope, be published at a later date. The following text is one of the most modern versions, deriving from a participant in the 1938-43 movement. For purposes of comparison it is interspersed with fragments of other versions, in small print. It appears that the texts have been influenced by lacunas in the story as well as by a tendency to involve the whole of New Guinea.

#### *Names*

Something needs to be said about the confusing variety of names and terms used in texts and publications.

The central figure of the myth, whose real name was Yawi Nushado, is referred to as: Manarmaker(i), Mandarmakeri, Mansarmakeri(di), or Manarmakdi. All these epithets consist of the words *mansar*: "old man", and *armaker*: "scabies". Possibly the name is also connected with the word *mak*: "star". Alternatively, the name could thus mean "the scabious old man" or "the old man of the star". The name Mandarniaki ("the old man of debt") which occurs in one of the oldest texts must be due to some misunderstanding. It occurs nowhere else.

After his baptism by fire the principal character receives various titles: Manseren (freeman, lord) Manggundi (himself). He is often called just Manggundi, which may signify: the Man Kuri and would in that case point to some connection with the mythical couple Kuri and Pasai. More likely, however, as is suggested by F. J. F. van Hasselt

(140, 249) and Kijne, the word comes from *manggun*: "strong, powerful". It would then mean: "the powerful one", which is in accordance with his position. Manseren Koreri (Lord of *Koreri*), *Korano* Konori (King of *Konori*, as his son was called), *Kayan* Biak or *Kayan* Sanawi (the Rich Man of Biak and the Rich Man who scratched himself from *snau* "to scratch") are some other titles. The Biak emigrants in the Radja Ampat Islands use the appellation Sekfamneri. This is also the name of the son of the woman who is left behind in the myth of the dragon. This name illustrates well how precarious translations of such titles are, and how easily popular etymology may seize on one of various meanings, causing old terms and real meanings to be forgotten.

*Sek* is an old mythological word for "coconut" but *sek* also means "they see, they view" and "they climb, embark". *Fammer* means "reject" but it may also be used as *fa-mner*, *fa*: "spathe" (flower-sheath) and *mner*: "remnant". There are thus three possibilities: he is regarded as the rejected one (expelled, left behind) or: the one they left behind when they embarked, or else: what was left or came out of the coconut flower-spike, or: the man of the coconut flower-spike. That was where the Old Man kept watch.

Kijne is in favor of the last translation, since coconut and skull have such an important function. He further draws a parallel with a curious myth from West Seram, the story of Hainuwele. Ameta (the black one) climbs a coconut tree (which has miraculously shot up from a coconut) cuts the flower-spike and in doing so cuts himself. From his blood and the juice of the flower-spike Hainuwele is born (169, 60).

Another significant word is *Koreri*, usually translated "Ideal State" or "Utopia". Its root is the word *rer* "to change skins", like a snake, for instance. For this reason J. V. de Bruyn rightly translates "metamorphosis" (54, 314). According to his informants, however, *Koreri* is not derived from the word *rer* as is stated by J. L. and F. J. F. van Hasselt (143). It "denotes an eternally static condition free of problems, misery, illness or death. People there are eternally young and the slave will be master" (54, 314).

This paraphrase agrees pretty well with what Van Hasselt says. About the meaning of the word *Koreri* there is no difference of opinion, as the sources indicate, only about its etymology.

Some expressions used in the myth itself argue against the explanation given by De Bruyn's informants. The prologue mentions the inhabitants of the earth "who are still in the husk" (here called *sasor*). A *konoor* calls the people with the words "Come and pay homage to me with a



woman, *insama mgo rer*" (in order that you may turn into *Koreri* beings) (183, 18). Or else: "*Mgo wor yano mgo myaren sa mgo rer*" (Dance, be diligent, that you may *rer*).

*Koreri* is a noun formed from *rer*, but not according to the usual pattern, which would give *rareri*. In present-day usage it literally means *Ko* ("we" incl.), *rer* ("change"), *i* ("it"), i.e. we change it. Kijne says: "If the coming Utopia is *koreri*, this may be explained as *ko rer*: 'we become permanent, eternal'; or else 'we shall change our skins like the snake', but this looks to me like popular etymology. *Ko* is probably not the personal pronoun 'we' but more likely the same *ko* that occurs in the word *konori*, perhaps a prefix *ka*". He believes, therefore, that *Koreri* and *Konoor*, the name of the Old Man's son (and of his herald at his return), are two expressions for one and the same thing, someone or something with much *or* (miraculous power).

Striking, both in the myths and in the movements, is the fact that the name of the principal figure is not mentioned. He is referred to as *mansar ani* (the Old Man in question) or else he is called by one of the many titles or epithets mentioned above. Most people do not know his real name. This cannot be mere coincidence. The mythical atmosphere calls for symbols rather than names.

The myth is concerned with a typical figure, viewed in certain light. This is clear from the epithet *Sekfamneri* ("the repudiated one" as popular etymology has it). This name typifies his dramatic role in the myth. He is the rejected one, who disguised himself and was not recognized. A similar figure is found in several other myths. The old man's real name is known only in the centers of his origin. Elsewhere people either do not know his name or consciously ignore it. There are two categories of beings that have no names: slaves, who have no relatives and no rights, and supernatural beings, who are referred to by a generic name or a title. The name *Mandarmakeri*, "the scabious old man", suggests rejection. Before his recognition he is, in fact, treated as a slave: his relatives repudiate him. Afterwards, however, he is called *Manseren* (Lord, freeman) or *Korano* (chief) and these titles precede any other names, as we have seen.

There is a general tendency among the people of Biak to call persons by their titles or functions. This has led to a confusing variety of titles and descriptions of status, also in the texts. The use of disguised language (especially in rowing songs) (131) and myths, and the special names for objects and parts of the canoe, derived from *keret* (clan) privileges and monopolies, make the explanation of names even more complicated.

We shall start with the prehistory of the Old Man. These genealogical data, supplied by his "kinsmen", would seem reliable, since no others made any attempt to offer suggestions in favor of their own *keret*.

When speaking about genealogical matters the narrator moves on dangerous ground. The Biak people have a ceremony, *Kuk Sarita*, in which the firmament itself (*Nanggi*) is called to witness, so they will beware of illicit annexations to their genealogies (177, 309).

### *Prehistory*

In the times of the two heroes Fakok and Pasrefi (see p. 8), who travelled westward and performed heroic deeds, there were two other great personages in West Biak, who resided in Insusbari.

Their names were Kumense Mandof and Sanadi<sup>1</sup> Pasan Wanma. These two heroes had a following consisting of the *Keret* Mandof, Wanma, Mar, Padwa, Mayor,<sup>1</sup> Suruwan,<sup>1</sup> Sawai and others. For their expeditions they chose to go eastward. It is said that their wanderings extended far past the present Australian border. From their raids they brought slaves and booty back to the Biak Islands.

Kumense Mandof had a sister called Inserenbenyar. She was still unmarried. One day she went to gather a certain type of bamboo (*barwaf*) to make a basket. While she was doing so, the grass-stalks (*inseiram*) kept grazing her breasts. Because of the intense itching she began to scratch and this caused her breasts to swell: she proved to be pregnant. She gave birth to twins and called the boys Mansonanem and Mansernanem. Once when she and her children had no food, Inserenbenyar gazed fixedly at a particular part of the country and behold: two big sago-plantations sprang up. One of these she called Sermngai. Together the three lived at Mambubes, close to the Mardori river. When the two boys were grown up, Inserenbenyar married Mansonanem to Insawai and Mansernanem to Inmar (*in*: "woman", *Sawai* and *Mar*: their *keret*.)

One day the two brothers measured their strength. They proved to be equally strong. After this they used their spears and now Mansonanem hit his brother in such a way that he died. Desperate with grief Mansonanem shot a poisonous fish (*Wuskandik*) which he ate. He died too.

Between the two *keret*, each with their supporters, a fierce conflict broke out and as a result the *keret* Mar went westward and settled in

<sup>1</sup> Names derived from Tidorese titles and therefore of fairly recent date.

the neighbourhood of Sausapor while the *keret* Sawai went to East Halmahera. They both took their sago-plantations with them. The one that belonged to the Mar (Sermgai) is now located near the village of Makai (Mega).

The two young widows proved to be pregnant. Insawai had a son whom she called Jejau Mandof, and Inmar gave birth to two daughters Inggimios and Inserenduwe.

When Jejau Mandof had grown up he gave his (classificatory) sisters in marriage, in exchange (*farbuk indaduwer*) for two wives. He married Inserenduwe to a man from Soweik and in return got Insoweik. He gave Inggimios to Boyowen Nushado from Sopen, receiving Jene Sopen in return. Nushado and Inggimios (the elder of the two sisters) had a son called Yawi, the later Manarmakeri. The Soweik man and Inserenduwe also had a son whom they called Menufaur.

Looking at the genealogy (see diagram, p. 22), a few striking features are to be noted. In the first place the miraculous conception of the twins Mansonanem and Mansernanem (*man*: "man"; *ser*: "grasp, catch"; *so*: "throw", for instance a spear; *nanem*: "successful"). They were conceived through the touch of a certain type of grass (*inseiram*). The people of Soweik are not allowed to carry bags made of this grass in their canoes, they might cause a gale.

The twins' mother's brother was the great hero Kumense Mandof.

Since their mother was not married the boys received his name and probably also his function, that is, his title of *Mambri* (hero), for both their names denote heroes: "the successful catcher" (of slaves, etc.) and "the successful spear-thrower". The avunculate does not only imply this possibility, but in this case, since the hero's sister was not married, positively requires that her children be his heirs. Mansernanem's elder daughter was the mother of Manarmakeri. No boys are mentioned but even if Inggimios had brothers, she would still be the elder daughter and we have already discussed the consequences of this: Inggimios' eldest son (Yawi) is entitled to the inheritance (function, title, magic formulas, etc.) of her father. The latter, being the elder son, had inherited his own father's title of hero which he now in turn passed on to his grandson (Yawi). Special circumstances thus gave Yawi (Manarmakeri) an accumulation of titles, authority, and power.

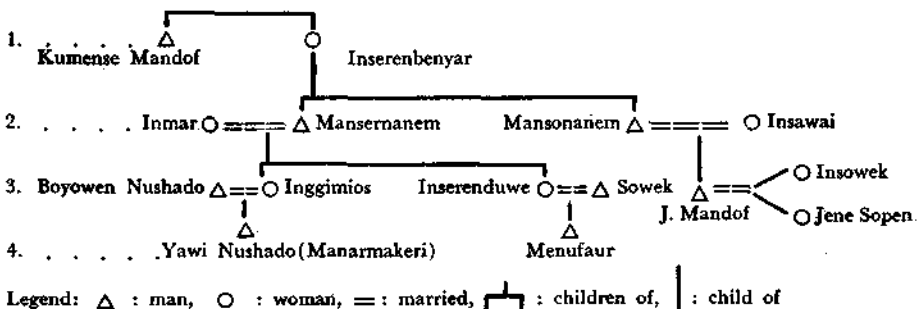
In this way Yawi Nushado (Manarmakeri) united in himself a supernatural origin (contact with the higher powers) and the prerogative of being a hero (giving him a claim to a prominent position, of which he had to make himself worthy by his own actions). This prerogative

gave him the right, but likewise the obligation, to win "treasures" for himself. These two traits, therefore, play a part both in the myth and in the movements. This "heritage" is further evident in the fact that Manarmakeri is said to have lived on the Yamnaibori mountain, where he practised the arts of woodcarving and poetry. Both these arts, but especially the former, may only be practised by those who have inherited the necessary knowledge while in addition possessing the right talents and character. The requisite ascetic way of life and the use of *ai* (medicine) charge the artist with a "power" which, if not put to a positive use, may turn into the reverse. For this reason close attention is paid to the character of the candidate artist. Inheritance of these privileges, therefore, does not depend only on kinship relations. The latter factor does not count unless the candidate fulfils the other conditions.

For the Biak people Manarmakeri was thus endowed with all conceivable prerogatives, having been judged worthy in character.

In conclusion it must be pointed out that reckoning from the first-named: Kumense Mandof and Inserenbenyar, Yawi (Manarmakeri) represented the fourth generation. In Biak four stands for totality. Three generations form an exogamous lineage, one house. The fourth generation is a repetition of the first and the beginning of a new cycle. The data I obtained give only these four generations, and I believe that these constitute the "holy lineage" in which all the glory of Biak is united and which could be invoked by all later "lineages" (houses) as a model to be "recreated" in restored mythical times.

#### GENEALOGY OF MANARMAKERI



## ON THE HEIGHTS OF YAMNAIBORI

*Prologue*

A man lived on the Yamnaibori plateau, who had made a garden there in which he planted all sorts of tuber crops. Around the garden he had made a strong, high fence.

When the tubers were big enough, he dug up as many as he needed every day. How great was his alarm when he found one day that a pig had got into his garden and had eaten of his *kladi* (taro). He walked all along the fence but did not find a weak or low spot anywhere and was greatly astonished. He then made a big fire, so that the smoke pervaded the whole plantation, and went to his house. Next morning, however, it was like the day before and again there was no trace of a weak spot in the fence. He now also realized that the pig did not root up the *kladi* at random, but had continued pulling them out where the man had left off the day before. The man thought it over and decided to keep watch and kill the animal. He got his spear ready, a *makkak* (sharpened *nibung* wood) and went to his garden. There he sat all night and only towards daybreak he heard the smacking sounds of a pig eating. The animal did not notice the man who crept up and hurled the spear in his direction. When it was hit it said with a human voice: "*Ya mnai?*" (I stop). At this the man was greatly alarmed. He was sorry he had thrown his spear and grew afraid.

Not long after this it was dawn and the man looked for the pig's tracks. How shocked he was to find, not the tracks of a pig, but human footprints. Nor did he find his spear. Now he wanted to know what all this meant, so he followed the footprints and the bloodstains from the spear-wound. He walked on until finally he came to a deep cave. There he saw much blood, but no man, so he went into the cave. Here it was bright day and there was a fine path which he continued to follow. When he came down to a certain point he saw his spear standing there. He inspected it closely, but he saw no trace of blood and it was not broken. He stood there hesitating, not knowing what to do. Then he heard a noise of many voices laughing and rejoicing. While he looked around on all sides he suddenly heard a voice calling him and saying "*Manaiŋa, wa be rwa be rio ma rosai wamarisen rwama wun ro dineni?*" (Not-real-man, where do you want to go and what do you wish to take from here?)

The man was so startled that he could not utter a word, he only listened. The voice continued, saying, "Take your spear and go back,

but walk backwards". Then the man opened his mouth and said: "I do not know how I should walk". The *snon soroka* (man of the land of souls) spoke: "Just do as I say and you will not stumble, otherwise you are sure to fall". Then he started walking backwards. But again the creature of the land of souls spoke and said: "Do you hear those voices, singing and rejoicing?" "Certainly I hear them". "Did you recognize any kinsmen?" he went on. "No", replied the man, "the voices sound far away, I cannot recognize them". "Would you like to see them from nearby?" "Certainly I would like to".

Then it was as if his eyes were opened. He saw a multitude of people in a huge village, where the roofs of the houses were joined one to the other. It was an uncommonly beautiful village and it was filled with the singing and dancing of the inhabitants. There he saw his kinsmen, but the others remained hazy to him. Men and women were together and they were all singing and full of joy. Among them he saw not a single old man or woman, they were all youths and young girls. When he saw all this he was filled with great joy and did not want to leave again. The *snon soroka* said to him however, "Your time has not come yet, you are still in the husk (*sasor*), still subject to sleep and hunger. This here is the place of those who are free of that. This is a *Koreri* place".

Then the man went away, walking backwards, but he no longer saw the nebulous creatures, he only heard their voices. Thus he came back to where his spear was, but he did not take it, for near it lay a snake. He wanted to walk on as fast as possible but he no longer knew the way, so he turned around and walked out of the cave facing forward. In his heart were sorrow and regret.

So he came to his garden once more; but the fruits of the earth were gone, only one *labu* (pumpkin) was left. Then he went a bit higher to a little hill-top. There he sat down and thought about all he had seen and heard, and his heart was filled with great sorrow.

The plateau of his garden he named *Yamnaibori*, after the first words he had heard the *snon soroka* speak.

He sat there and pondered over it all: the word *manaibu* by which he had been addressed, and that his time had not yet come because he was still in the husk. He meditated and was full of remorse because he had no part in the *Koreri*, having walked out of the cave forwards instead of backwards as the creature of the land of souls had told him, and also because he had not taken his spear. He felt no desire any longer to attend to his garden and he left the single *labu* to grow whichever way it turned out. He met his people and they asked what

was wrong, but he did not answer. Some showed pity, but most of them had only scornful words for him. Those who were sorry for him kept asking "How is it that you, who used to be so industrious in your garden, now sit and stare all day, neglecting everything, even yourself?" And then he told them what had befallen him. Some believed his words, but when they told it to others, there were some who mocked and spat on the ground when they heard it.

Thus the man grew old and grey, neglecting himself until he got a skin disease and was called Manarmakeri.

The Old Man's heart was stirring with these thoughts: the land of souls and the firmament (*Nanggi*) are both perfect, only this world is not, for here it still is night. And: all people are still in the husk, they are *Man-aibu* (not real people). Therefore he wished to find *Koreri* for the people.

How was this to be achieved? One thing was clear to him: his own mistakes must be avoided in future. There was to be no more bloodshed, and no pigs were to be kept; snakes, too, were no longer to be killed, for they guard the way to the *Soroka Koreri*.<sup>2</sup> And when *Koreri* comes it will first be night for three days, since he himself walked in the dark three days before he reached the *Koreri* place.

In his search for *Koreri* the Old Man walked down the hill and went to the village of Sopen at the foot of the mountains.

(What happened to him there and what caused him to leave for the East is told in the different versions of the myth of Manarmakeri, which all begin with what happened in Sopen.)

## THE MYTH (prose text)

### a. Introduction

On the south coast of Biak there is a river called Sopeno and on its bank lies the village of Sopen.

This village is considered holy by all the people of Biak, because the myth of Manarmakeri, as well as practically all the myths of the Biak people, their history and culture, originated here. From this village, too, come their cosmogony myths and the princes or lords (= heroes and

<sup>2</sup> *Soroka* is derived from the Malay word *surga* ("heaven"). The Biak word for the land of the dead is *yenaibu* ("beach" or "underworld"). *Nanggi* means "sky, firmament" but in normal usage "the Lord Sky". *Aibu* means "not real", i.e. not real as on earth and the Old Man was confused because when he, a "real" man, was called "not real" by the creature of the underworld the normal situation was reversed.

dignitaries); it is also the place where the worship of the "gods" originated.

Behind the village of Sopen there are three mountains. The first is called Yamnaibori (Mountain of Rest), the second Sumbinyabo (Mountain to which the princess was carried off) and the third Manswarbori (Mountain of the Cassowary or Mountain of Love).

On Mt. Yamnaibori lived Manarmakeri, who possessed the "secret". He practised wood-carving and other art-forms (poetry) of the people of New Guinea (Biak).

His name was Yawi Nushado and he was a widower. His mother was Inggimios Mandof and his father came from Nushado *keret*.

He had a garden with *labu*-plants and kept a pig.

#### b. *The story*

One day it came to pass that a prince (son of the village-headman) went out with his bow and arrow to shoot fish on the beach.

Not far from where he was he saw a cassowary, fishing in a lagoon. The bird would lie down and when it felt that enough fish had got into its feathers it went out of the water, and shook the fish out on a dry spot on the beach.

By the edge of the lagoon the bird had seated his grandchild, a princess of extraordinary beauty. She picked up the fish and put them into a plaited basket (*nawen*). Thereupon grandfather cassowary took his grandchild and the basket on his back and returned to his dwelling-place (Manswarbori). Then the prince went home. In the evening he gave orders to catch the princess to be his sweetheart and whoever succeeded in capturing her he promised his sister for a wife.

Other versions relate that two young girls discovered the bird, who was carrying on his back a young man they both desired for a husband. They offered two pigs as a prize for whoever captured him.

Next morning an army set out. They placed themselves in an ambush and at that very moment the princess arrived, seated on the back of her grandfather, the cassowary, to go fishing as they did each day.

Suddenly the cassowary and his grandchild were surrounded and with much shouting, beating of drums and gongs and blowing of triton shells the men attempted to seize the princess. The grandfather cassowary, however, nimbly escaped through the army ranks with his grandchild, the maiden, and fled into the forest.

The army returned empty-handed.

The following day they (another age-group) again went into ambush



in order to capture the princess, but once more the grandfather escaped with her.

In this way it went on for several days, so that many lost courage.

Suddenly an old man appeared, covered with *cascado* and scabies and excessively ugly. He asked permission to join the army.

The Old Man walked bent over his stick, and in his other hand he held a bundle of leaves to chase away the flies from his sores. All who saw him laughed at him and mocked him for his request. "You, ugly old man, would succeed where we strong men have failed?"

"Just allow me to join you" was his reply. Finally they gave him permission.

The Old Man was placed beneath a mangrove tree. Then, with loud cheers, the army once more set out in pursuit of the princess and her grandfather, who ran with all his might towards the mangrove tree. Suddenly the ugly old man (Manarmakeri) came out and hooked the crook of his golden staff around the princess' neck, so that the cassowary had to stop. In the end Manarmakeri caught her, and gave her to the prince to be his wife.

On the two of them Manarmakeri bestowed wealth, glory, and plenty and they became king and queen and reigned over Biak and New Guinea (Irian). From that moment on Manarmakeri revealed himself and his secrets, so that all of New Guinea shared in his blessings. At the wedding feast of the Princess and the Prince he composed many songs and melodies. These included some that showed that the New Guinea mainland was then already being roamed by Manarmakeri and the people of Biak.

The following poem (song) makes it clear that New Guinea actually bears the name of Irian. The name Papua was not known to the inhabitants.

Father *Kayan* Sanawi (Manarmakeri) stand up, you are holy.

You eclipse the sunlight on Mount Yamnaibori, the mountain of the maiden (princess) of Biak.

In order that we may put everything on board (his blessings) and leave for Irian, the mainland.

For my eyes have beheld the Morning Star (*makben* = pig star) rising, which did not stay in Kumamba in the east.

In the meantime the cassowary had fled into the forest, alone and full of grief. Finally he grew so angry that he called all his people together and left with them for the Isle of Japen. And that is why there are no more cassowaries in Biak. But from that time on the cassowary, named Mawis, was called Manswar ("the

loving bird") because the cassowary had loved a human being. The mountain was given the name of Manswarbori.

The pig that Manarmakeri had received, instead of the young woman he had been promised, was taken up to his *labu* garden by the members of his *keret* and his friends. There they all gathered for a feast. They asked for his hatchet to kill the pig and he gave it to them. The Old Man himself took his canoe and went straight to his cousin (mbson) of the *keret* Mandof. (To fetch a plate as a return gift for the feast-giver). That night he slept there and in the morning he went back, but then it proved that they had already killed the pig and had not thought of him.

Furthermore they had used the fence of his garden for firewood and his hatchet had been damaged when they split the pig's skull in half. They had also torn all the leaves off his *labu*-plants, to wrap the meat in for the oven. Then they gave him a small piece of the pig's meat, but the Old Man refused and gave it to a grandchild.

The people of Sopen ate of the pig and mocked the Old Man Manarmakeri. And these were members of his own family, of the *keret* Nushado and a village headman with the title of *Sengadji Gim*. When Manarmakeri, on returning to Sopen, saw all this and heard the mockery he grew angry.

"If you have eaten my pig, let it be so, but destroying my garden, pulling down my fence for firewood and tearing all the leaves off my *labu*-plants, that is too much, and therefore I am leaving this place".

He went down to the beach, climbed into a small canoe and set out in a south-easterly direction.

When the people saw that he was really leaving, the women sang a song expressing their contempt: *Ara baeri, imsor roi kakuba boi imsor kuker randip kor ma bakdiram* ("Poor fellow, it is nothing important that has made him angry, but he is annoyed over pig's bones and *labu*-leaves").

Passing Maundori he grew thirsty and went on land. He found no water, though, but standing at the foot of the cliff he called forth a spring which is still there now and is called War Manarmakeri.

Arriving in the neighborhood of the village of Samber he dived with his golden staff and hooked a big fish Inmanen behind the gills. He pulled the fish into his canoe and went towards the village of Samber, where he put up at the house of his friend (cousin: mbson or fbson). This man bore the title (name) of Padawankan.<sup>3</sup> From there he set out for the Padaido Islands.

At Samber he gave the fish he had caught to his cousin, who divided it and kept nothing for his absent wife.

This made the Old Man angry and he left for Sorido. There he saw a big fish, which he pierced with his stick. He then went on and went ashore at his cousin

<sup>3</sup> Padawa(n)kan = Bugi two-master.

(*napirem*: mbson) Padawakan's place in Mokmer (Yarsbari). He gave the fish to him, and he too cut it in pieces which he distributed without keeping anything for his absent wife. When she came home she smelled the fish and asked about it. Her husband told what he had done. At this she grew angry and said: "Why didn't you keep something, so that I might eat of it too. The Old Man will leave because you have been unkind".

According to the various versions of the south-east Biak groups where Manarmakeri went on land, the Old Man asked for food in each place, after having given the fish. But everywhere the women of the village said: "What? Would we have any dealings with a man who is in such a state?" At this he left, taking the tail part of the fish, either to eat himself or, according to another version, to offer it at the next halting place. A text from S. E. Biak then continues:

Then he came to his *napirem* (mbson) Padawakan at Mokmer and this man offered him hospitality and his wife gave him food. In the morning he asked for a net to go fishing. "That we may all eat". After a very short time the net was quite full with all sorts of edible fish. His *napirem* was greatly amazed and thought the Old Man had used poison since he had caught so many fish at the one time.

The next day the Old Man wanted to leave, so Padawakan gave him two coconuts to take with him. One already sprouting, to plant, and another to eat. He also gave him a bamboo filled with water. Before the Old Man left he cut a large fish in two, giving Padawakan the head and taking the tail himself.

He arrived at the Island of Meokbundi (according to an older spelling Meoskowundi (295, 24) = *Meos-ko-bur-i*, "the island we left behind") where he stayed. On this island he devoted himself to his favorite occupation, the tapping of palm-wine.

He went to Meokbundi, where he pulled his canoe ashore at Wushomi ["sand gathered by the wind"]. This place is also called Amoyaundi and is situated at a corner of the island on the side where the sun rises. Here he planted his coconut which was already sprouting and went to live in Sokani. There was a *Rum Sram* there at which he put up. (At that time there lived on Meokbundi the *keret* Rumbarak, Koranu, Samfane, Rumpapap, Rumambor and Rumbino<sup>4</sup>).

Manarmakeri asked the inhabitants for a coconut tree to tap palm-wine from but no-one agreed. Then the coconut he had planted grew so fast that in a month's time it had become a tree and Manarmakeri could slit the flower-spikes. He then placed four bamboo vessels (*ambesau*) under the spikes he had cut. After the first night he climbed up, fetched the palm-wine that had oozed out and drank it. In the afternoon he did so once more.

For this tapping he used a bamboo knife and he did his best, so that he collected a lot.

<sup>4</sup> Rumbino. The late D. B. Rumbino, who died in Sweden (1969), drew my attention to the well-known fact that his clansfolk were among the original inhabitants of Meokwundi. When they all left, it was Serebi Rumbino who stayed to the very last. The Rumbino's left for the Island of Japan, later on went to Biak and from there they returned to Meokwundi, where the present writer met some of them. It is a remarkable fact that D. B. Rumbino, who was very ill, expressed the wish that his remains should be buried at Meokwundi Island. His body was cremated and his ashes were brought back to Meokwundi.

One morning he climbed to the top of his coconut tree again and discovered that his palm-wine was gone. He raised an outcry and interrogated the people to find out who had drunk it. But no-one confessed.

Next morning he climbed to the top of his coconut tree again and what had happened? Once more his palm-wine had been drunk by a thief, as he thought.

That day he built a platform at the foot of the tree and spent the night on it to spy on the thief. But all the time, till morning, he noticed no thief's footsteps. When he climbed up, however, the palm-wine proved to have been drunk again by the thief. Once more he was angry.

Now he made the platform higher up against the tree-trunk and kept watch there all night. And what did he find in the morning? His palm-wine all gone. Still higher up he tied his platform, spent the night there, but his palm-wine vessel was empty. So he kept raising his platform right up to the leaves of the tree and he was obliged to sleep on the stalks to guard his palm-wine.

Towards morning he saw a great light descending from the sky and in this light the Morning Star (Sampari) descended on the top of the coconut tree. The Morning Star intended to drink the palm-wine again. Suddenly Manarmakeri seized the Morning Star, putting his arms around him, and said: "Finally I've caught you".

Manarmakeri said: "You here? Have you no pity? Think of the miseries I suffered. First you stole *kladi* from my garden. Now I've come here, planted my coconut, and again I get no reward for all my trouble. Can't you see what I look like? I am unable to provide my own food, I have no possessions and moreover I am a widower" (*i.e.* I even have no wife to work for me).

*Kayan Biak* ["Rich Man of Biak", as the Old Man is called here] would not let go of the Morning Star, so the latter said: "Let me go, the dangerous one [the sun] is coming". That means: "Let me go, for dawn is already here" (*Pwir aya snar robefor ayena nasbak kwar*). But *Kayan Biak* said: "I cannot let you go before you have given me your blessing and divulged your secret to me".

Then the Morning Star began to divulge his secrets to *Kayan Biak*, saying: "Do you wish to have riches?" *Kayan Biak*: "That secret I already possess".

Morning Star: "Do you wish for a life of plenty without want?"

*Kayan Biak*: "That secret I already possess".

Morning Star: "Do you wish for riches, glory and constant profit?"

*Kayan Biak*: "I have all that already".

*Napirno*, let me go, for the dangerous one is coming, I shall give you the

medicine of property. Successively, and introduced each time by the Morning Star's request, Manarmakeri is offered: Medicine for fishing, for eating in one place (*Koreri*), all riches and honor. Except for *Koreri* the Old Man refuses everything and does not let go.

Morning Star: "What then do you want?"

*Kayan Biak*: "What I want is *Koreri sheben*" (Resurrection of the dead and coming of *Koreri*).

Morning Star: "In order that the resurrection of the dead may come about take the fruit of the *bintangur* (*maresbon*), cast a spell on it and throw the fruit at Princess Insoraki. She will become pregnant and give birth to a son, who will be called Manarbew (Bringer of Peace). This child will bring about resurrection and eternal life".

"I desire the secret of eternal life", replied the Old Man.

"Then make a fire of an ironwood tree, leap into it and you will become as I am. Take then two fruits of the Mares tree<sup>5</sup> (*Calophyllum* Spec.), cast a spell on them and throw them at the girl you desire and she will be a mother". Now Manarmakeri let go of the Morning Star and Sampari rose to his place in the sky. Then the sun came up and it was dawn.

Then *Kayan Biak* let go. The Morning Star departed and it was dawn.

Manarmakeri returned (to the village of Sokani) and as it happened Insoraki was just then bathing near the beach. Manarmakeri had brought a *maresbon*, he cast a spell on the fruit and threw it at Insoraki. The fruit touched her breast several times, so that finally she felt a great itching and started to scratch. She proved to be pregnant and gave birth to a son called Manarbew.

The daughter of the village headman Rumbarak, named Insoraki, went bathing in the sea opposite the Mares tree. Then the Old Man came, he picked two fruits and threw them into the sea. They floated towards the girl and touched her breasts. The girl threw the fruits away, but they kept coming back. Then she hurled the fruits a long distance away and said: "*Roi mowina* ["those damned things"]" and went on land. Her breasts began to itch and she scratched and scratched until the areola turned black, as with a married woman who is expecting a child. She, too, proved to be pregnant. She went home and four days later her child, a son, was born, and she called him Konori. After four days the child had grown up, and her parents asked the mother which man was responsible for this.

Manarbew grew bigger each day and people were amazed at the child's birth, but no-one knew who his father was.

Manarbew, however, cried without a pause. For this reason the inhabitants of the Padaido Islands and Biak started deliberating about organizing a big dancing feast, to find out who was his father. All

<sup>5</sup> Another name for Mares tree is *aibesobin* (*ai* = tree, *be* = "that", *so* = throw, *bin* = woman), which literally means: tree to be thrown at the woman.

Meokbundi was swarming with people who had come to see how this would turn out.

Then Insoraki's father, *Korano Rumbarak*, ordered the whole village: "Go fetch bows and arrows, each according to his age [: two kinds of women's bows, one for adult men and the hero's bow, an indication of the strength required to draw the bow]. Tomorrow everyone will dance".

First the children were picked out (with children's bows) to sing and dance, but this had no effect. Then the young men and next the adults [married men with two children], after which the old men had their turn, but all to no avail.

At the edge of the dancing place (*bubes*) the young mother was sitting with her child, who kept crying: "Yayo, (father) yayo, yayo!!" And it went on crying, so that the people couldn't bear it.

Then it was the turn of the very old men, and they came forward and last came Manarmakeri, leaning on his stick, with (in his other hand) a bundle of leaves to chase away the flies that were swarming around him.

When he appeared everyone laughed at him and the men called out: "*Wawor kankaremo* (start a *kankarem*, answer-song) so that we may answer and sing". They had hardly said this when he started: "*Sarai ramo, ramo, ééé-sarai ramo, ramo ééé. Savairam beraro Korer Korwama* — (coconut-frond coming from the *Koreri* from the realm of the dead —)". Then they started dancing.

The moment when the dancers, going round the *bubes*, came to the place where Manarbew and his mother Insoraki were sitting, Manarbew straightaway called out: "*Yai iso i wu, yai iso i wu* (there is my father, there is my father)" and he went towards the Old Man and embraced him.

Then the group of dancers scattered; everyone ran away, for no-one would agree for the beautiful Insoraki to be the Old Man's sweetheart. They departed in all directions and the people of Biak went to the east and west of the land of Irian and settled along the coasts.

Everyone started to shout, reproaching the girl for having taken up with such a hideous creature. Her father gave orders to get the canoes ready and leave the island. Then the men cut down the trees and pushed them into the sea to float away, in order that Manarmakeri would not be able to make a canoe and follow them. The houses were destroyed, fruit-trees cut down and drinking wells filled up with sand. After this they pulled their canoes into the sea.

On the beach of Meokbundi Island, Insoraki, Manarbew and Manarmakeri stayed behind. They begged to be allowed to come too, but each time (when they caught hold of a canoe) the rowers struck them on

their fingers and forbade them to come. Thus the three of them stood there and watched the canoes leave one by one.

Insoraki's (younger) brother, Saneraro (= the stirred heart) was filled with pity for his sister, jumped ashore and stayed behind with her and his brother-in-law.

He said to his sister: "I'm staying with you; if we live, we live, and if we die, we die together". The fleet of canoes left for the bay of Krawi on the Island of Japen.

That afternoon when the boy Manarbew grew hungry and asked his mother for something to eat, she sent him to his father with the words: "Go to your father and ask him for his *casgado* (scurf) for food".

Manarbew then went into the eating-room and saw that the food was there, all prepared. He ate as much as he could. Then he went to his mother and told her what he had done. The mother went to have a look too and it was really as her child had said. She was amazed at everything she saw there.

"Come with me", said his father, "I will show you something and you shall eat". Then he took the child to his room and behold, it was filled with all sorts of fruit and food. The boy got a ripe banana and ran to his mother. Neither she nor her brother would believe it and they went to have a look themselves. What the child had told them proved to be true: the room was full.

Then those two began to cry: "Why didn't you do this sooner, then our kinsmen would not have gone away, now we are alone". But when the three of them had eaten and got up all the food had disappeared. The next day the same thing happened: again the room was full and they ate.

Manarmakeri slept on the front verandah, for his wife despised him because of his scurfy skin. After the fourth day he woke up at midnight and spoke: "I wish you would no longer despise me and come to me, for I suspect that we will be leaving sometime to follow your relatives".

When morning came he got up and said he was going fishing. He took his spear and went to the beach. There he hurled it at a school of fish. They were strung on the spear so that the whole shaft was full. After this he went home. And that night they did not smoke the fish over a fire, yet the room was light as if it were day. Next morning Manarmakeri went to the beach again.

Suddenly Manarbew called out: "Mother, look, there comes father". The mother went to have a look (who was coming) but she said straight-away: "Why, you, that is not your father. Your father is covered with *casgado* and scabies". Apparently Insoraki did not know what had happened. For Manarmakeri had rejuvenated himself in the fire of a burning tree. His old skin was burnt away, so that Manarmakeri had changed and looked like a very beautiful youth. His former skin, covered with *casgado* and scabies, had turned into magnificent, valuable goods.

He then tried on all sorts of clothes, a coat, pyjamas and such, but

he looked in a mirror (the sea) and was not pleased. He then put on a white loin-cloth, looked in the mirror once more and said: "This is much better".

Day came and Manarmakeri went along the beach to Maudiru (Yaunya). There he made a big fire, as the Morning Star had taught him, and leapt into the middle of it. His old skin burned away and he stepped out of the fire. The old skin had turned into antique plates, shell armlets, beads, and other valuables. He then stood on a stone and looked at himself in the seawater, and behold, he was whiteskinned like a European. This did not please him, so he leapt into the fire once more until he was burnt a brown color. He looked in the mirror again and liked it this way. First he put on European clothes but rejected them. Then he wrapped himself in the Biak loin-cloth of beaten banana-tree bark, put a comb in his hair to which he tied cock's feathers and adorned himself with armlets and beads. After this he took colored leaves, stuck them in the bands around his upper arms and looked in his "mirror" once more, standing on the stone: now it was right.

Then he started on his way home. He waved his hand landward and there was thunder and lightning.

He walked along the beach and hurled his fishing spear once more and straightaway caught a lot of fish. The life of plenty had begun. Manarmakeri went to his house and it was lit up by a magic light. He now dealt out his blessings to all the people of Irian. Some received much sago, as did the inhabitants of the mainland. To the Biak people he gave an axe to clear the forestland and make gardens there. That is why the Biak people are cultivators and can only support themselves with a lot of labor. To those of Soweik he gave the *kofya*-shell for preparing the fruit of the mangrove. But Manarmakeri did not intend to keep the secret to himself, he wanted to communicate it to his people. Since he did not have a canoe he drew one in the sand, all complete with sailors, and spoke: "If my father and mother were freemen (*manseren*), let this canoe come up, go to the sea and float". Thereupon he stamped his heel on the sand and there was the canoe afloat with crew and captain.

When Manarmakeri got home and the child kept shouting: "There is father", Inoraki finally believed him and saw the child was right. After this their life was without want through the magic power of the Lord of *Koreri*, as the Old Man was now called. But the young mother Inoraki and her brother Saneraro were daily grieving for their kinsfolk. Therefore Manseren Manggundi (the Lord Himself, or: the Mighty One) went to the beach of Sokani and drew a *mansusu* (trading-canoe) in the sand. He started dancing, but his drawing did not turn into a boat. Then he scratched a *wairoon* (war-canoe) in the sand and danced to get it into the sea but again without success. Then he drew a *karures* (plank-canoe), danced and behold: there the boat was already floating in the sea right in front of the Mares tree. Once more Manseren *Koreri* danced and behold: in the atoll a deep lagoon appeared.



One day Manarmakeri set out in his canoe for Krawi, N. Japen, in pursuit of his wife's people.

When they had reached the Island of Urbasi (Konori on the maps) the boy started crying and wanted to play. So they went ashore there.

When they arrived at Krawi, Manarmakeri wanted to take his canoe (boat) in and have it hauled ashore. He demanded, however, that his mother-in-law should lie down on the beach to serve as a slide. True, she would have died, but Manarmakeri would have raised her up again, for he had been given the secret of life and death by the Morning Star. Then his boat would have turned into a splendid palace. Then *Koreri* would have come there: the people would have had no more want. And what is more: the old people would have changed their skins and grown young again. The dead would have arisen and all secrets would have been divulged to all humankind. But what happened? The crowd would not receive him, so Manarmakeri went to the east. And he took his canoe up the Mamberamo river, up to the high mountains, to see them and place his sign on them. This is set out in the following poem:

Hear ye! friends of the ancestor:

Girls! your mockery on the Sopen river was the reason.

Ye women of Biak, therefore, yes therefore, I descended (from Mount Yamnaibori) and (paddled) upstream to the Mamberamo, the whirling stream.

I went upstream, but did not stay there.

I did not stay in the land of Darakya,

But I placed there the sign of our country Biak over yonder.

The sign that kills just like that [property-sign with deathly power, K.].

After this he left for Tabi (Humboldt Bay) calling at various islands, such as Kumamba, Yamna, Masimasi. So he went on further eastward all the way to Tabi. He also visited Tabisi (Tabati). Then Manarmakeri turned and headed west. He travelled around the Geelvink Bay and then he came to the Island of Numfor. In those times Numfor did not yet exist, only a small island that is at present situated just offshore opposite the village of Pakriki.

Because Manarbew wanted to play, his father threw a stone named Poiru (= rise up) into the sea and there arose the Island of Poiru or greater Numfor with its white sand, where his child Manarbew could amuse himself.

In this way Manarmakeri had already called up the Islands of Aibai, Meosindi, Rani and Insumbabi. The large island called Manarer or Numfor was not inhabited. It was quiet and lonely there. Then Manseren Manggundi placed four sticks in the sand and these became the four big *keret* houses Rumberpon, Anggradifu, Rumansra and Rumberpur with their inhabitants.

The people who lived on Poiru Island were called Numfor and their headman was Fun Kawyan.

Manarmakeri's canoe was anchored at Rwasidori. On this island Manarmakeri wanted to perform his miracles and divulge his secrets to all mankind, that many might be comforted.

He therefore asked the people of Numfor: "What shall we do?" An old woman called Infadwarni Rumbruren answered: "What we will do is plait mats and carve wooden cups to trade in the land of Arwa" (Arami or Japen).

An old woman answered: "Our men will make paddles, we women will plait mats and we will exchange these for food on the Island of Arwa (Japen)". By this answer the people decided their own fate: they would have to paddle and work and wander everywhere to look for food. When Manseren Manggundi heard this answer he cursed the island and that is why there is no sago there right to the present day. And many poisonous snakes came there. One day when the people returned from Arwa Island where they had fetched food, a child became ill and died. Now Manggundi had told the people not to lament and weep, for then the dead would not come back to life. But when the child died, they started a song of lament.

Manseren Manggundi then asked the old woman Infadwarni: "If someone dies, will he return to life?"

The old woman answered: "Those who die do not return". At that Manggundi grew very angry. He took a mat, folded it and tied a rope around it and gave it like that to the people of Numfor: like this you will wrap up the dead who, because of Infadwarni's unbelieving answer, will not come back to life.

Because the people had not grasped his meaning he grew angry. By way of an oath he then threw a cannon (*shade*, big stone) on the spit of land called Inaryori (the princess goes up) and said that he would go west, to return east again when his time had come.

Next morning Manseren Manggundi had disappeared to the west. There he brought plenty and eternal life to the peoples, so that they grew rich and built factories. To him they owe all progress. After eight generations (*cf.* pp. 81-82), however, he will return and then *Koreri*, will come for New Guinea.

The Numfor people spread southward and westward and together with those of Biak they inhabited the Korano Fiak (Radja Ampat) Islands, the north coast of the Vogelkop and in the south the shores of the Geelvink Bay (*Swanyabruri*).

### CHAPTER III

## THE RETURN OF MANSEREN MANGGUNDI AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE MYTH

### a. *The return*

Opinions differ as to whether the myth of Manseren Manggundi originally included the belief in a Return. This point, which comes up in the conclusions of the various versions of the main myth, requires some discussion, as does the additional fact that the expectations expressed here figure importantly in the rallying messages of the *konoor* (heralds).

De Bruyn summarized his opinion as follows: "... According to those who recorded the myth it includes the expected return of Manar-maker... It may well be, though this is pure hypothesis, that initially the legend did not mention any return of M. M., but that this idea developed afterwards as an eschatological element!" (54, 320). De Bruyn admitted, however, that he lacked the historical material necessary "for an adequate explanation" (*ibid.*, 322).

He based this hypothesis on the fact that some of his informants were not sure whether the legend itself included a return of Manseren Koreri. According to them, "people had interpreted it like that" and "Manseren Manggundi himself had never claimed he would return some day" (*ibid.*, 320).

A comparison of all the available versions shows that no less than eight out of nine published versions, and thirteen out of nineteen manuscript versions, mention a Return. Of the six manuscripts that do not include it, four were written by non-New Guineans. A fifth version as told by Simbiak in Meokwundi was written down for the present author by Simbiak's grandson in 1952. Even at that time, however, people speak of myth and movement only with some reluctance. At the time of De Bruyn's investigation the sensational movements in which hundreds of lives had been lost were only recent history, and possibly the negative answers received by him were due to an unwillingness on the part of his informants to compromise themselves.

Though De Bruyn was trusted he remained, to his informants, the

government official. Everyone knew from the past that the authorities might take drastic action against *Koreri* followers. Further, even if the investigator knows the language it takes a long time for the informants to overcome a certain hesitation. Getting at the truth is made more difficult by psychological inhibitions towards a stranger who does not believe in the myth. Some, moreover, are not allowed to communicate any episodes of which their own *keret* has no separate version and not every informant is in possession of the facts. There is some reason to suspect that the episode of the Return in particular is bound up in a special way with those clans that claim patrilineal or matrilineal descent from the Old Man. For it is striking that a *konoor*, when calling up the people, always justified himself either by stating his kinship with the Old Man or by claiming some other relation with the Old Man's clan or village. Such a relation might be that the Old Man took his wife from his (the *konoor*'s) village (Meokwundi), borrowed a present, struck a well, left his gong, or spent the night there.

It is also worth noting that four out of six negative answers came from Numfor, and that among the Numfor people the idea of the Return is least developed. But the negative versions do not state definitely that no Return is expected; the episode is simply omitted. Of course it is impossible to find out with absolute certainty whether the idea of the Return was originally part of the myth, but probability approaches certainty when we take the large number of movements into account. The *konoor* evidently could always be sure of getting support, they never called upon the people in vain, all they had to do was demonstrate that the fulfilment of their message was close at hand. Surely the fact that the people continued to be receptive towards new messages after each inevitable disappointment can only be explained if expectations of *Koreri* linked with the return of Manseren Manggundi really lived among them and the *konoor* did not have to convince them afresh each time. This would also seem to be a strong argument against the undue stress placed on the role of forerunners and messengers in those publications that ascribe all these movements to the activity of prophets (*vide* the bibliography). Psychologically it is unlikely that in that case, having been "deceived" a number of times, people would still be willing to believe.

De Bruyn is right in saying that historical events are important, but it is to be doubted whether "... to arrive at a correct understanding of the Manseren Movement we must try to explain the movement historically..." (*ibid.*, 320). We should have to neglect the whole cultural

background to be able to agree with him here. The same is true of the statement which De Bruyn borrows from R. H. Lowie, "... that only historical reconstruction can give an adequate explanation of the Ghost Dance ..." (*ibid.*). For, as L. Spier has shown, the Ghost Dance is unthinkable without its religious background in Sioux culture (*cf.* p. 233).

Of course De Bruyn is justified in directing attention to historical factors. In a diachronical survey, which brings out the dynamic character of a culture, these factors often play an important part, as we hope to show with regard to the *Manseren* movements. But we also hope to demonstrate that the impact of confrontation with western culture was not the motive force in these movements, even if its effect was to be found in them later. For the Biak people the discovery of the western world (this includes Indonesia) proved that in another part of the world *Manseren Manggundi* was still alive.

It is now in the first place of importance for us to know what the historical material has to tell us. The oldest publication dates from 1854 and derives from material collected by G. J. Fabritius and recorded by J. P. (ijnappel) Gz. a year before the first missionaries set foot on New Guinea. It says, "They expect him to return some day to found an earthly land of plenty in which the dead will be resurrected and immortality will reign on earth" (279a, 383).

The first publication of the myth in 1857 by C. W. Ottow and J. G. Geissler, the first missionaries, does not contain any reference to an expected return, but only three years later Mrs. A. Ottow-Letz writes of "... prophets who have arisen and can now achieve that not a single Papuan will die any more ..." (268, 1860).

Fabritius, who travelled in the Geelvink Bay between 1850 and 1860, had his data worked out by A. Goudswaard and published in 1863. These contain a slight deviation from the first publication by J. P. Gz., for the relevant sentence runs, "... They expect his *son* Konori to return some day ..." (113, 87).

J. L. van Hasselt, who arrived in New Guinea in 1863 and returned to Holland in 1907, wrote: "The saga does not say where he has gone. In one thing not only the Numfor people but also other tribes agree, that is, that *Manggundi* will return. When he does, they will no longer have to work, but they will eat and drink without working and without dying" (127, 35).

F. J. F. van Hasselt, who worked in New Guinea from 1894 to 1931 and who was an authority on the language and culture of the Numfor and Biak people, wrote: "*Manggundi* will return, according to the

Numfor people, and then the golden age for the Papuans will begin, when no one has to work any longer and food is abundant. The Biak people expect even more of Manggundi's return, for it will mark the beginning of the age of *Koreri*. The sick will be healed, the dead resurrected, and the living will no longer die. The belief of the Numfor people in Manggundi's return and in the *Koreri* is much weakened but not completely dead [1914]. The Biak people wholeheartedly believe in these things which have been handed down to them from the ancestors" (134, 95).

These oldest reports make it plain that the Return was an integral part of the myth even a hundred years ago. Unfortunately we have no information at all about the three preceding centuries, the era of contact with Tidore. Our historical survey will include the account of an action on the part of Tidore against a movement ( $\pm$  1855). Very likely an investigation into the archives of Tidore will yield many more valuable facts.

#### b. *The conclusion of the myth*

In Fabritius' version Manggundi left Numfor for *Sub Kalingga*, and Fabritius adds: "... Sub Kalingga, of course, is the country of Kalingga or the coast of Coromandel, the seat of Brahmanism whence, as is known, from the earliest times onward many missionaries went out to preach the doctrine of their religion in the most distant regions..." (113, 88). He supposes, "... that in former times these regions were visited by a Hindu priest and that his fate and the doctrine preached by him may have given rise to this legend..." (*ibid.*).

D. W. Horst used this information to prove that the baptism by fire, the Phoenix motif, was likewise of "Hinduist origin". He also attributed a Hindu origin to the *Rum Sram*. "The cult of the rum-serams not ancestor worship but Çivaism (Lingam worship)" is the title of the fourth chapter of his book (164, 155).

A. Riesenfeld, who wrote a detailed study on the Melanesian immigrants who in his opinion migrated via the Philippines and New Guinea to Melanesia, gave the following explanation of expectations of this kind. "... These migrations, and the ever recurring departure from the places in which they had temporarily settled down, have found their mythological expression in the final departure of the numerous culture heroes of the stone-using immigrants. Since they had brought a higher type of culture to a more primitive people it can be easily understood that their

departure was deeply deplored. This concern is expressed in the myths in the very frequent statement that the departing culture heroes took all the good things with them, and that living conditions deteriorated after their departure" (291, 667-668). It is impossible to judge the validity of this hypothesis as long as it rests on archeological material, for in archeology the next find may well invalidate conclusions reached on the strength of former discoveries.

P. J. B. C. Robidé van der AA had yet another hypothesis. When C. B. H. von Rosenberg visited Biak in 1869 and mentioned a region called Sopen, Van der AA commented, "... This village of Sopen surely is the Soping in the Island of Biak whence, according to the legend, the holy man came [...] Fabritius presumes that this holy man was a Hindu priest from Kalinga or Coromandel. This village bears the same name as the kingdom of Soppeng in South Celebes, and I would rather suppose that the trading Bugi had extended their voyages to this part of New Guinea even before their conversion to Islam..." (295, 44).

The age-long contact between New Guinea and the west is, however, an established fact which does not need any hypothesis based on the meaning of one place-name. As early as 1616 Jacob le Maire saw in the Padaido Islands "... a vegetable bowl and a dish very crude, painted red and green, it was porcelain, which they gave up very easily, for two strings of beads..." (88a, 88). Le Maire thought that Spanish ships must have been there before him since the people did not show any curiosity. Schouten, his captain, mentioned "Chinese Porcelain" in his journal and said that the population was "very desirous of small beads and iron articles" (88a, 208). Le Maire also mentioned "yellow Indian beads, amber-colored, in the possession of a woman" (*ibid.*, 88). It follows that at that time the Biak people already knew iron. For a long time the "yellow beads" were among the most precious objects of exchange, as they still are in the Humboldt Bay.

A. Wichmann wrote, "As appears from the reports of travellers in the sixteenth century, trade relations between the Moluccas and the Schouten Islands must be very old" (337, I, 223). It was pointed out above that the Biak people themselves went a long way westward in their forays. As late as 1872 J. L. van Hasselt met an old man who knew the Island of Timor. He had been there to "rob and murder" as he said, adding, "the Papuans formerly went to Timor and Seram on robbing and head-hunting expeditions" (126, 1872, No. 11, 193). From Halmahera it was reported in 1876 that, following the rumor of the "prophet of Kau", the *Ratu Adil*, canoes had arrived there from the Geelvink Bay. It is

fairly certain, too, that the Biak emigrants who reached East Halmahera and North Seram maintained contact with their mother country in some way. The striking correspondence between both the myths and the blood groups of the inhabitants of these regions and those of Biak is evident.

The closeness of these ties cannot, however, be established with any certainty until all the cultural and historical material relating to the eastern Moluccas has been made available. It is not only possible but even very probable that acculturation did take place. The lack of exact data prevents us from knowing what the culture elements were that were absorbed by the Biak people. These people have been living in the Schouten Islands for centuries, and they have a material culture in which foreign elements have come to fulfil a function of their own, but neither the function of these elements nor that of possible absorbed spiritual culture elements can be explained by the fact of absorption alone. No Timorese would dream of using pieces of cloth for purposes of ceremonial exchange, endowing them with a supernatural origin, in the way this is done in the Vogelkop. Nor will the manufacturers of yellow and blue beads have had an inkling of the fact that these beads were to be valued in New Guinea as diamonds are elsewhere. There was a time when canoes came especially from Hollandia to Manokwari to buy these beads from the Christianized population of Mansinam (132a, Nov. 1909). N. Jouwe has found that people today still know who participated in these voyages which contributed highly to the prestige of the oarsmen, and that even the names of these famous beads are remembered (1954). The origin of these culture products obviously does not enlighten us in any way concerning the function they acquired later.

If too much stress is placed on the origin of elements of the material or spiritual culture it becomes difficult to imagine the kind of culture that existed before the introduction of these elements, for there cannot have been a vacuum. Nadel expresses this very clearly: "Even if the diffusion of cultural items is unequivocally demonstrated, it offers no understanding of the past beyond the implied suggestion, however strong, that there must have been reasons, apart from occasions, for the acts of 'borrowing' — that the latter filled a pre-existing need or matched the outlook and mood of the society in question" (247, 4).

The inquiry into the origin of the *Manseren* myth and the figure himself will therefore not be pursued here. If it was borrowed, there are two possibilities. Either in the long run it influenced the whole mythology, or, conversely, it was borrowed because in the existing



mythical material these ideas were already common property, as will be shown from the myths.

Let us now return to the final episodes of the various versions of the main myths. Mrs. Fabritius reports a version that she claims to have heard personally from the population. This very remarkable report was hitherto left out of consideration by all the authors.

This version starts from an idea exactly like the story of the fall of man in Genesis, mixing it with elements that are derived from a myth, well-known in Roon, about the snake Ikowaan. What concerns us here is the arguments adduced by the son of *Korano Konori*, as the Old Man is called, to persuade the people to listen to his father's "commandments". "If they obeyed, he would always remain with them and make them happy, but if they persisted in their evil ways they would be punished by becoming black-skinned and frizzly-haired and he would leave them. And what happened? The Papuans disregarded his warnings and he disappeared. They themselves were punished for their disobedience as they deserved, they became black-skinned and frizzly-haired. And out of sorrow over the departure of her son the mother turned into a stone" (113, 92). Almost a hundred years were to pass before this motif reappeared in the myth.

The visit of the ship *Etna* in 1858 led to a publication which is still of value (254, 155). Describing the *Rum Sram* of Dore, one of the authors writes, "Further inquiry made it clear that this building is connected with the fable [= the myth of Manggundi, K.]. This story does not, however, contain any information concerning the fate of that man, his wife and his son, after the four above villages had arisen out of as many dwellings in Myfore". The author cited the myth as recorded by Ottow and Geissler (267, 155-159). "It has now come to our knowledge that the above old man and his wife and son died without further descendants. But he commanded the people, 'in remembrance of the miraculous origin of the Myfore [= Numfor] tribes, to put up an empty house in which the ancestors or clan-fathers would be kept in remembrance by means of effigies'" (254, 155-156). The connection between the *Rum Sram* and the movements will be further discussed below.

O. Finsch, who consulted both Goudswaard and the author quoted above, arrived at the following remarkable "free" rendering of this part: "*Nachdem Mangundi noch lange Jahre der glückliche Stammvater einer zahlreichen Nachkommenschaft geworden war ging er nach Mesra (eine Insel etwas nördlich von Mafor) um sich hier lebend zu verbrennen*". ["After Manggundi had become for many years afterwards the happy

ancestor of a numerous progeny he went to Mesra (an island a little to the north of Mafor) to burn himself alive there"] (93, 112). He goes on to say that in the *Rum Sram* of Dore two effigies had been erected, "... they are called Konori and Mangundi..." (*ibid.*, 108). According to the Etna report, however, "... the two effigies are called Kaïri and Sawari..." (254, 153). Evidently Finsch thought it ought to be Mangundi and Konori, and in his book the thought became a fact. This is one instance of how an incorrect translation and an arbitrary construction put on the material may lead to a downright misstatement of fact.

In E. Tydeman's paper we read that the Old Man, after his stay in Numfor, proceeded to the Island of Waigeo. "Since then nothing has been heard of Mandarniaki. But among the inhabitants of these regions the prophesy still exists that M. will certainly return and that, with his coming, the golden age of the Papuans will begin" (323, 254-255). The name of Mandarniaki would seem to be a writing error. *Niaki* means debt, and this compound occurs nowhere else.

A remarkable feature of W. K. H. Feuilletau de Bruyn's version is that the baptism by fire occurs twice, the first time in Meokwundi and the second time in Numfor. Presumably this is a combination of a Biak and a Numfor version. This myth ends as follows. Since his departure Manseren Koreri has stayed on the upper reaches of the Mamberamo River, whence he will return along the stem of a coconut palm which will bend down all the way from there to Meokwundi, and then "the age of *Koreri* will begin for all Papuans". The power of his magic wand will ensure that there will always be plenty of food. The aged will regain their youth, the sick their health, and the dead will be resurrected. "There will be women in abundance, as well as ornaments and weapons. All will continue to live on together in eternal youth, beauty and harmony and... there will be no Company<sup>1</sup> to make them do forced labor and pay tax" (90, 126).

The coconut palm episode, too, occurs only in this version, but it is consistent with the important function fulfilled by the coconut palm, palm-wine and palm-oil in the movements. A North Biak version contains a reference to a coconut palm on which Manggundi will descend. The Mamberamo River is mentioned in many versions, one of these even states that Manggundi "placed his sign on the high mountains". It is possible that this biggest river of northern New Guinea was connected

<sup>1</sup> The Government — this is a survival from the time when the Dutch East India Company was active in these parts.

with the underworld, the land of souls. The reference to the Snow Mountains is clearly a recent addition. The place of the Mamberamo River in this connection will become clear in the historical survey. Taxes and forced labor were introduced in 1912, and this version is the first to contain a reference to them (1916).

A version deriving from the Biak people in Numfor mentions Manggundi as the man who gave all the peoples of the north coast their food. He shot small arrows made of the stalks of sago-palm leaves towards those regions that now have sago as their main food. Biak got only a little sago, but Manggundi threw stones (coral), a planting stick and a hatchet in their direction: they would have to work hard in the calcareous soil. He also called forth the reefs, threw out nets and taught the people of North Biak how to improve their canoes by bulwarking with planks and the way to catch flying fish, while he taught the Soweik people how to prepare food out of the fruits of the rhizophores. Manar-makeri, the scabious old man, has here become the typical culture hero.

At his departure he established the relative *Koreri*, that is, culture, but simultaneously he became the creator. In the versions from the Ayau Islands (to the north of Waigeo) this is extended to all peoples, he threw rice to Java, a piece of bread to Holland, and in this way he gave each people its own food. "In Numfor he sprinkled rice on a pandanus mat, and since then pandanus plants have grown in that place (Noribori)".

In North Batanta (Sorong) they say that "he departed to the west, taught the people all kinds of skills, so that people in Holland are now learned and wealthy. After seven generations he will return to New Guinea".

The myth was given its most modern additions in the rallying messages and during the advent nights. The people of Beser (W. Waigeo), for instance, said that "Sekfamneri ["the rejected one", as the Old Man is called there] went to the west, and then round the world. His wife Inseren Seinona went to Japan, where she will arrange for a war between Holland and Japan". This was some years before the Second World War, at a time when many Japanese schooners were already appearing in the waters of the Radja Ampat Islands.

Around this time, too, the word *fabriek* (factory) appeared. It became a short formula for the miracle of technology, as alien to them as the word *fabriek* which occurred again and again on packing-cases and wrappings and in advertisements.

A short myth tells of "the tree of riches" which grew out of the grave of a lory and bore fruits in the form of valuables, such as *sarongs*,

clothes, china, guilders. But the tree, having been neglected by an old woman, departed for "*Sup Amber* [the west], that is why they are rich there now".

When the older men and women see all the goods that have come out of factories they say, "Formerly we had the tree of riches, but it left us, therefore we are poor now" (201, 25). In a movement in the Radja Ampat Islands it was said that Manggundi was going to found a *sarong* factory in North Batanta.

A version from Ayau has it that Manseren Koreri departed for *Sup Koreri* ("the country of *Koreri*"). In the notes to this version this is, however, translated as *Sup robena kaku* ("the country of the real treasures"), or *Sup fabriek robena* ("the country of the treasures factory" [Europe, America]). "Yes, Manseren Koreri taught professional skills to all the peoples who have them now. One day he will come back. In former times he only showed part of the *Koreri*, but then we will experience total *Koreri* and . . . *k'an do mob oser*" (i.e. have plenty in one place, united with the compatriots who were dispersed after Manggundi's departure and with the resurrected dead).

A Biak version from 1945 has it that the Old Man went to Holland and was on his way to New Guinea during the war with Germany. "When he comes, the Papuans will become white and the rest of mankind black. They will become rich and the others poor".

A version from Sopen goes as follows. "When Manseren Koreri pushed his canoe into the sea in Meokwundi the reefs sank and in that place there appeared a deep lagoon and an exit to the open sea". This is the lagoon that was used by the Americans as a naval base in the Japanese War. It is a very curious coral formation, creating a splendid open-sea harbor there (*vide* the map of Meokwundi). In this manner Manggundi prepared the way for "the fleet full of treasures" (supplies).

The influence of modern times is evident in a version originating from Sopen. "When Manseren Koreri had rejected the *mansusu* (trading-canoe) and the *wairoon* [war-canoe, of which a prau is on display in the Museum voor Volkenkunde (Nat. Museum of Ethnology), Leyden] he drew a steam ship in the sand. He stamped his foot and there the ship floated. Everything was complete, the sailors, the engineer and the captain. The engineers started the engine and then the captain came and said to Manggundi, 'Come aboard, the boat is departing'. In Numfor, Manggundi fell out with the people. '*K'an do mob oser?*', he asked, but an old woman answered, '*Mob oser* nothing, we are going to cut paddles and wooden bowls and row to Japan'. Then the boat

left Numfor and went to *Sup Turki*. There they slept on the beach where the Turks were at work. The Turks wanted to kill them, but the king forbade it and sent for them. When he asked where they came from they answered, 'We are from the country *ro ori babndi* [under the sun]'. Then the king commanded them to go to work, they had to cut wood. But Manseren Koreri and his son said, 'We are from a country where we do not work — *k'an do mob oser*'. The king wanted to test that statement. He ordered a sword to be given to Konori [the son] and told him to cut wood. And see, it was obvious that Konori really was not accustomed to it, for he missed and destroyed the cement of the kitchen. Then the king became angry and Manseren Koreri barely managed to escape with his son. They went to *Sup Siam* and stayed there. Where they went after that we do not know".

The widening horizon, and the Papuans' characterization of the Dutch, come out clearly in the version told by Simbiak from Meokwundi. "When Manseren Koreri departed from Japan he went with his *karures* (plank-canoe) to Menado, and then straight to Holland. On his arrival there he beckoned to a man on the beach and asked him, 'Where are your people?' 'Oh, they are inland', he answered.

'Call them to draw my canoe on land'. Then the man went away to call his people. But after a short while he returned alone and said, 'They wish to know what you can give them'. 'Let them come and see for themselves', said Manseren Koreri. And when they came he gave them beautiful loin cloths, wrist-bands, and combs for their hair, and had them look in a mirror. But they did not like it. Then the Old Man took a pair of scissors, cut clothes, and commanded them to put them on, and that was what they liked.

At once they were prepared to pull his canoe on the beach so that he could remain with them. He taught the Dutch various skills until he became old, died, and was buried there". The conclusion. "... that is the reason why we are getting all the goods and clothes from Holland, and it probably will always be like that, for Manggundi is buried there...", was not said aloud. The informant was an old man who obviously did not believe in any future industrial centers in New Guinea. His version expressed the rationalization of his views.

The most detailed and fantastic extension of the myth is found among the people of Beser, emigrants from Biak in North-East Waigeo. This material was unfortunately lost in the Japanese War except for one speech delivered by Manggundi previous to his departure from Numfor after Infadwarni had made her fatal choice for all her people by saying

“dead is dead”. Manggundi’s speech depicts the consequences of these words.

“Then the man said, ‘Do not listen to him. Come, let us listen to commands that may be better than *Koreri*. He (Manggundi) is only a stranger, let us go and trade in Wandamen, let us go to the country of Arwa (Japan). Let us go then and embellish ourselves with wristbands, loin cloths, and the *asis som* [festive combs]. Let us go and cut paddles and leave for our villages’. Then Manggundi spoke, saying, ‘Very well, I will no longer remain with you, so that you will work and die. *Hongi* gangs will come to take your lives; you will lay out gardens, but you will be bitten by a snake and struck by a falling tree. Work, then, till you lie down and die. And this fate will strike all those who some day will be your descendants’. And then he went down to the coast, boarded his canoe and left Numfor”.

In this chapter we have seen that the conclusions of the various versions of the main myth show a gradual shift towards a notion of commodities being one of the most striking features of the west. These people, who did not know any precision instruments beyond the knife and the fishbone were confronted with products of western technology such as ships, airplanes, submarines, electric torches, guns and kerosene pressure lamps. Small wonder that it all found expression in the myth. What was a canoe in the older versions became a steam boat, then a motor boat, and finally an airplane bringing Manggundi back. Secularized technology held no surprise for people who, on seeing these “miracles”, could only think factually and did not connect any of it with human achievement. All they could do was worship these manifestations of supernatural forces.

Likewise, the content of the *Koreri* ideal of *k'an do mob oser* changed. The people saw the arrival of whites who always and everywhere *sanan do mob oser*, for the ships followed them wherever they went, and unprecedented things emerged when the hatches were opened. The greatest manifestation to match this in their myths had been offered by Manseren *Koreri* when his old skin turned into treasures whose origin was equally unknown to them: old porcelain, gongs, silver wrist-bands, etc. Though realizing the provenance of the products of western technology they could only make sense of them if they based their explanation on Manggundi’s miracles. To them it was evident that “their Manseren *Koreri* (Lord of *Koreri*) had gone on manifesting his power, though now, inappropriately, in foreign regions”, as they commented, being concerned with Biak rather than with the rest of the world. Since he had the power

over life and death Manggundi must be alive now. And the proof of his being alive was in all these objects that came from the west. One day he must return, like the heroes of old who could not forget their country and people forever. One day he would return to his country where his people lived. How had they lost him? By showing disbelief and suspicion. How should they call him back? By showing belief, that is, by destroying their gardens, killing their pigs, by demonstrating this belief with empty hands, and by removing all annoyances. The movements showed how seriously the people took these ideas.

#### CHAPTER IV

### THE MEANING OF THE DIFFERENCES IN THE VARIANTS OF THE MYTH

In the more than thirty different versions of the myth that have been recorded in the course of a hundred years, the time perspective is, as might be expected, clearly discernible. But it is not primarily the factor of time that has caused the differences. Although integration of new elements in the Biak and Numfor culture led to incorporation of these elements into the text of the myth, the result was the modernization of objects in the spheres of material culture and means of communication, while the essence of the myth was not affected. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong wrote, "The myth supports and stabilizes the whole view of life and must account for anything this life may bring, therefore also for recent events and modern conditions . . ." (173, 217). This statement is illustrated by the various versions of the myth in Biak. On the basis of the traditional outline the new features have been fitted in so that these elements too have received the typically mythological stamp. The most radical changes appeared in the rallying messages. As North and West New Guinea gradually became unified under colonial administration, political and geographical ambitions were occasionally displayed. In this connection the ancient heroes were cited, whose influence had extended as far as Halmahera and across the Australian border. The emphasis lay not so much on political and imperialist ambitions as rather on a sort of "missionary call". The *Koreri*, it was said, would extend over the whole of this area. All the inhabitants had to do was believe, and show their belief by bringing presents. But neither the expectations nor the proclamations were homogeneous. In some of them the stress was on secondary elements, and it is necessary to decide in each case what is really representative.

Among the versions available to me none are identical. A complete collection should probably contain as many variants as there are *keret*. It is true that most of my material originates from the centers of the movements, but even there the informants disagreed about the correct



text. For the purpose of this study I had to take the risk of assuming that the available material is representative. It is also impossible to deduce from the material the frequency of occurrence of a specific episode. To eliminate the possibility that rarely occurring parts have sprung from the imagination of an informant it will have to be proved that such features fit into the framework of the culture.

Most of the versions were collected in connection with the movements, and the majority of these date from the period following the Second World War. The older sources will be indicated separately.

The myth was published for the first time in 1857 by Ottow and Geissler, the first missionaries, who on February 5, 1855, established a post in the Island of Mansinam in the Bay of Dore (267).

The next version is better known. It was recorded by Captain Fabritius who, in his schooner *Fear Not*, traded in the "waters of New Guinea" between 1850 and 1860. His data were published by Goudswaard in 1863 (113, 83). Much of this material must have come from Biak, but Fabritius probably heard the myth itself in the Island of Numfor since, in his version, the baptism by fire takes place there. Goudswaard does mention, however, that the principal character originally came from Sopen. This feature is absent in the versions of the two Van Hasselts and in that of Feuilletau de Bruyn, although not a single Biak version leaves it out. The twenty versions in my possession all mention Sopen as Manggundi's place of origin, and the same is true of the poetical texts.

The report of 1854, which to my knowledge is the first to mention the Papuan Messiah, includes all the elements which were to characterize the movements in later years. Part of this publication follows here (*cf.* p. 39):

"From Mr. Fabritius' information it would appear that there exists a Papuan tradition of a strange prophet who was here in former times and implanted milder ideas concerning religion in the minds of the people, although these ideas have now largely been obliterated. The people still show his footprints, the stone from which he departed, and they expect him to return one day . . ." (279a, 383).

The greatest cultural and linguistic differences within the Biak culture province are those between the Numfor and the Biak people. The Van Hasselts, in their dictionary, repeatedly refer to the Biak variant as being "Biak dialect". But the reverse would be more correct, and in fact they themselves admit that the Biak people belong to an older stock. In the versions of the myth, too, the greatest differences are those

between the texts from Biak and those from Numfor. Most of the inhabitants of Numfor, however, are migrants from Biak, and there are only a few small groups of genuine Numfor people left.

The Numfor texts not only have the baptism by fire take place in their island, but they also derive the existence of the Numfor people from Manggundi's visit. After the baptism by fire he created the four original groups, the *keret*, which they call *er*. Their versions of the myth omit the whole first episode in Sopen and the journey along the coast of Biak. The events in Meokwundi are only given in broad outline.

All the versions include the conflict with the Morning Star, but the Biak versions give it at greater length. Some claim that the Old Man remains in contact with the Morning Star who goes on teaching him. Others say that, when the Mares fruits touch the girl again and again, the Old Man appears and says, "You should do it like this", taking the fruits from her and hanging them back on the tree.

In some versions Manggundi acquires a magic wand, for instance in the shape of a bark-cloth beater. Others mention a golden wand which he already possessed and with which he had caught the granddaughter of the cassowary. Only a few contain a reference to Manggundi's accepting the secret of rejuvenation, although nearly all mention the baptism by fire. Two Numfor versions mention a bath during which his old skin falls into the water and is there miraculously turned into treasures.

Some versions give neither bath nor baptism by fire, but I believe these are concise renderings in which some fragments have simply been forgotten. The rejuvenation is one of the main elements of the myth, since it was this that gave the chief personage mastery over life and death. It should be remembered that later he demanded that the women of his wife's *keret* should give proof of their belief in his power by lying down on the beach to be killed by his canoe which was to be drawn on land over their bodies. He promised to revive them as young women. This is a punishment that also occurs in other myths both in Numfor and in East Halmahera (87, 225).

In Numfor he wanted to give another instance of his power. But, although he had forbidden it, the parents of a dead child broke into the lament, so that the dead could not be resurrected there.

From their great diversity it is evident that the variations are connected with local, and especially *keret*, annexations. It is the *keret* near Sopen that give the genealogy of the Old Man and emphasize his origin. On the strength of this origin, and also of his genealogy, he was entitled to supernatural power.

In this way the "miracle" is put four generations back. Through the avunculate the Old Man receives his power from his great-grandmother's brother, and the secret of supernatural and eternal life from his grandfather (mother's father) who had been conceived in a miraculous way. Accordingly he applies this secret power continually, stringing fish on a wooden pin, catching a net full of fish in next to no time, calling forth a spring, and making a coconut grow into a tree in a matter of days.

The series of coastal villages at which he called during his voyage represent "the world", as the dancing generations represent "mankind", in which the Old Man always comes last (*Manapuperi*, "the hindmost"). The Biak versions put special emphasis on Mares fruit and the unknown paternity in the episode with the Morning Star. But in all the versions it is evident that the Old Man represents "salvation" in disguise, and in this disguise he is not recognized. On the contrary, they regard him as rejected: *Sekfamneri*.

The story of the cassowary is only found in the Sopen region and among the groups claiming kinship with the Old Man. It is in these versions only that the three mountain tops are important. The myth related in the prologue originates from Wardo.

Naturally, the inhabitants of the coastal villages which were the Old Man's ports of call regarded his experiences there as the most important. Their version is the only one that includes the story of the spring of Maundori, and especially the episode in Opyaref. When the Old Man has been kindly received there he gives the people, on his departure, the tailpiece of a big fish called Inmanienef. He forbids them to grill the animal, they are to boil it. But hardly has he reached the Island of Auki on the opposite side of the strait when a canoe comes up after him and the persons on board shout, "Come back, come back, the fish came alive again and swam away". It appears that they disregarded his warning and grilled the piece. If they had not done so they would have had plenty of fish for ever, for the animal would have grown again. The Old Man returns with them and says, "From now on none of you are allowed to eat that fish. When you eat sago, first form parcels of it in the shape of the fish's tail. Before grilling these parcels on the fire you must stamp on them with your foot, and no member of your *keret* will fall ill". Having said this he leaves for Meokwundi.

The present inhabitants of Meokwundi, though they are not related to the Old Man, describe at great length what happened in their island. During the movements they explained their privileges from the fact that "here in our island he looked for a wife". Although the American

bulldozers have leveled all the sacred places, shoved the Mares tree into the sea, and filled in the well of his house, the people can still point out their location. In their versions they name the number of trees, the number of bamboo palm-wine vessels, and the four different places in which the four age groups danced. The names of the mother and the child are here derived from those of two promontories, Inerandoi and Sauandoi.

The most divergent version originates from a practically unknown center, North Biak. The people in Sor have a story of an old man who lived in the village of Wari and who came from the *keret* of Irio. The tales about him are roughly the same as those about the Old Man. He, too, manages to seize the Morning Star, but here he promises to tell him the secret of how to catch flying fish. This should be done during the west monsoon by means of a landing-net in which a little palm-wine has been poured, and which is then allowed to float with part of a coconut palm leaf as a buoy. After revealing this secret the Morning Star teaches the old man how to bulwark a dug-out canoe with planks. These canoes are called *wai-papa* ("plank" is *ambafen* in Biak, *papa* = *papan*, Ind.).

In this North Biak version the emphasis is obviously on these two elements, while the promise of *Koreri*, here comprised in the question, "*Wobo wa kein ro mob oser ro bebor nakam napyan?*" (do you wish that you can get everything while living in one place?), is put somewhere in the middle and is not accepted by old Irio. Yet here, too, *Koreri* plays a part. When F. J. F. van Hasselt visited North Biak in 1909 the people pointed out a coconut tree "which they were not allowed to cut down. And if the tree fell of its own accord they were to plant another in the same place, for over this tree the Morning Star would descend when Lord Manggundi returned" (132a, 3-10-1909). Evidently the Morning Star is here expected to accompany Manggundi on his return. The same belief appears to have existed among the Numfor people of the Dore Bay.

After the appearance of a comet in 1883, J. L. van Hasselt reported, "Four nights ago we thought a *raak* [*hong*i, headhunting expedition] was imminent, such a deafening noise was made by the people of Mansinam, Manokwari and Kwawi [all Numfor people] when they saw the comet. We thought they had taken leave of their senses, the way they jumped and danced, shouting, 'the sign is here that *Korano* Konori [king, prophet] has come'. They shot their arrows into the air for joy, danced and cut about them with their hatchets, and some shouted, 'let

the *katjang* [beans] be, and let us go to the Island of Mefoor [Numfor] to meet the *Korano* Konori'. When one of the Christians shouted back that it was only an ordinary star shining in the sky, they replied, 'that is not true, you are lying to us, this is the sign for our Konori, now the good times are coming' " (126, 1883, No. 11, pp. 198-199). This also clearly illustrates their expectation that Manggundi would return to Numfor.

Numfor was the second important center, and for years the scene of great activity. Nearly all the Numfor variants leave out the initial episode. They only speak of Sopen as the place of Manggundi's origin, while Wundi is only mentioned in relation to the episode of the Morning Star and the girl. Some also mention Japen in passing, but only to go on at great length about Manarmakeri's adventures in Numfor. When he arrives, there is only the small Island of Meosnumfori across from the village of Pakriki. The Old Man gives the island the name of Poiru, or, as Van Hasselt spells it, "Forriur" ("*pemali* unites"; see p. 57). His small son wants to play there, so he creates the large island. He draws his canoe ashore on Cape Orkeri, translated as "a little sunlight", the explanation being that it is still early morning when they land. A certain stone is still pointed out as being the anchor which he dropped here. The Numfor people also situate the baptism by fire here, on Cape Inaryori. He calls his wife and child, and shows them the treasures into which his old skin has changed.

In 1857 it was reported that "...of all these miraculous treasures a clan in Mansinam still possesses a dish. To this day the dish gives a sign when a member of the clan is going to die. It gives off a sound as if someone knocks on it..." (267, 159).

In the episode of Manggundi's creation of the Numfor clan houses (*er*), most of the variants mention four, others three (Biak), some eight, and one variant nine *keret*. Curiously enough, eight effigies of women, serving as piles, were to be found underneath the oldest known *Rum Sram*, that of Dore, which was also the largest. No author, not even P. Wirz, has mentioned these women. Considering that Dore was the oldest center and that Mansinam, which was founded later, was of secondary importance, I think we are justified in associating the eight original *keret* with these eight women's effigies. The eight names include the four that are mentioned most frequently as the four *er* of Numfor. One of the Biak stories about the deluge also mentions the eight families as constituting the second human race after the deluge. Elsewhere it was two families that formed *keret* between which symmetrical con-

nubium then became the rule. Perhaps this is the origin of *farbuk indaduwer* (direct exchange = symm. connubium). I found something similar, at least, among the Mar-Sarwa of Sausapor, who even explained that *farbuk indaduwer* had formerly been the rule, but that after the splitting up of the *keret* two exogamous moieties had developed, which in the course of time again lost their meaning as house exogamy became the rule.

Certain trends in the social organization revealed here are to be investigated further elsewhere and only a few aspects could be discussed here. In my opinion the only way to gain insight into this subject is by diachronic study, starting with the numerous migrations and their causes and effects. This will bring out particularly the great adaptability of the groups, their ability to absorb foreign elements or to be themselves absorbed into other population groups. All this can only be touched upon here.

The version of the myth presented in Chapter II includes the episode in which the origin of death is related. It is preceded by the question asked by Manseren Manggundi as to what people have to do in order to stay alive. The old woman Infadwarni (translated by F. J. F. van Hasselt as "woman who causes a stir", 135, 7) then says that the only possible thing to do is to carve paddles and wooden bowls (these bowls, *sayer*, are specially used for preparing the sago-mash) and row to Japen, meaning to exchange these for sago. Manseren Manggundi reacts to this by creating the present local situation in the spirit of her own decision; he shoots an arrow with two tail feathers to Japen and to Wandamen, and these become the sago areas.

The people were already familiar with death. This was evident when the old women refused to serve as sleepers for Manggundi's canoe and be resurrected as young girls. To them, dead was dead. They had the myth of the moon, in which the loss of the power to be resurrected is described. Their belief in the *Koreri* power of Manseren Manggundi, who stood before their eyes as a young man, Manarmakeri reborn, was now tested for the second time. The death of the child which must not be mourned but which was nevertheless lamented was referred to above. "Will they live again?" was his question. "Dead is dead", was the answer given by the same old woman Infadwarni and through the disbelief manifested by these words she was proved right once again. They had the opportunity to let it be otherwise, but they lost it. All this is narrated at length in the Numfor material. Even the Biak emigrants in Numfor, I found, have abandoned the specific Biak version and shifted the scene

of the baptism by fire to a place in Numfor, Cape Ikersbari. Here, too, the treasures appear when the Old Man steps from the fire, and he mirrors himself in the water he pours into a large shell. It is to this place, too, that the spirits of the dead were thought to go, which is why it is also called the "Cape of the Spirits" (251, 71). This was the "sacred" place of Numfor, therefore this island can be compared with Meosbefondi (Meoskorwar), where the bones of the dead were taken. *For* means (*pemali*) "forbidden, isolated, sacred"; this *for* occurs in *Meos-be-for-i*. The final *i* (the article) sometimes causes the *r* to be nasalized, making *for-i* into *fondi*, hence Meosbefondi. The name Numfor consists of the words *nus* (island) and *for*. The names of the two islands are therefore identical, which is reflected in their mythological significance.

The fact that the Biak emigrants choose, or create, a version similar to the one that is current in the place where they have settled in preference to the version that was current in their place of origin is to be regarded as a rationalization and justification of their emigration. In this the Biak emigrants of Numfor are not alone, the same thing is found among all the other groups. They appear to cling to their kinship relations, using them as a justification or as a basis for actions. And evidently it is this kinship with the mythical Manarmakeri that gives the necessary support to the activities of certain persons. Perhaps this is also what gives them the right to manipulate the myth and adapt it to the local atmosphere of the place to which they have emigrated and to enact certain fragments of the myth.

A curious element is found among the Beserese Biak people in the Radja Ampat Islands, who repeatedly mention the wife of Manggundi by name, which is rare. She is here called Inseren Seinona instead of Insoraki. According to an informant this means *Sai-no-nya* = "whatever it is, she has it". She appears as Manggundi's equal (*cf.* movements 40 and 41, pp. 150-151). Her name is also mentioned in the poetical text, but nowhere, except among the Beserese groups, did she play a role in the movements. Why this stress on the woman?

The explanation would seem to lie in the fact that the Soweik people are related to the Old Man through a woman (see the diagram p. 22). His mother's twin sister married a man from Soweik and their son received the name of Menufaur. In the great movement of 1938-43 a woman from this family played an important part. It should be noted that the people of Beser are emigrants from Soweik. It was, therefore, in the interest of the people of both Soweik and Beser to place special

emphasis on the significance of the woman. Such instances of bilateralism are encountered time and again in circumstances that require rationalization because they diverge from the norm. Perhaps we should call this opportunistic bilateralism. Nevertheless the importance of women is considerable in Biak culture. Although, unlike those of Waropen, the people of Biak have no female *mon* they do make *korwar* (spirit effigies) of women; the gate to the underworld is guarded by a woman and in many myths it is a woman who recognizes the power of the spirit country in snake disguises.

This comparison of the various versions of the main myth allows some conclusions to be drawn. In the first place we note a strong regionalism, the result of subcultural influences. It is therefore inevitable that the integration of a mythical element results in a large number of versions. Secondly, it has become clear that there are four mythical centers, in each of which the principal events took place in much the same way. These centers are:

1. Meokwundi, with Sopen as a starting-point,
2. Wari in North Biak,
3. the Island of Numfor, and
4. the Island of Kurudu. Its inhabitants are emigrants from Samber in South Biak. They also have the baptism by fire take place in their island (*cf.* pp. 144-145).

A fifth place, the Island of Reni in the Ayau group north of Waigeo in the Radja Ampat Islands, can be regarded as a secondary center of Biak emigrants. This island, too, is alleged to have been created by Manggundi.

#### *The poetical text of the myth*

The factual content of these texts is of the same nature as that of the prose versions. Subcultural influences have similarly led to fairly divergent episodes. In some parts, as for example in the core of the myth, the texts contain identical passages. The whole poem is in the *beyuser* (narrative song) form, in which the subject is first described in a *widwom* (top), and then enlarged upon in the *fuar* (stem).

In the opening lines it is stated that ridicule and contempt were the causes of the Old Man's departure. This reproach is put into his own mouth and occurs repeatedly in the song.



On his trip along the south coast of Biak to Meokwundi, according to some texts, the Old Man visits five different places, Maundori, Waroi, Samber, Urfu, and Bariasba. The places where a dance was held to determine the question of paternity are also mentioned.

A curious addition, however, is found in the end of the song. Mangundi is staying on the Mamberamo River, under the sun (the country of the dead); here is the "city of the dead", where the roofs merge into each other (so great is the number of houses). There are treasures here, and they are the treasures "which the lord Deki brings with him every time he comes". Other versions say "the lord Lieutenant", or "the Pionier". These versions evidently date from the time when Feuilletau de Bruyn was pacifying Biak with a *dekkings* (covering) detachment.

The poetical text is scarcely translatable; several times allusions are made, and symbolic language is used, which is known to the singers and spectators, but which, without further comment, is incomprehensible in a foreign language. A literal translation makes no sense. The following translation is an authorized version composed of different texts, but basically the version of my late friend Robert Rumkabu.

### *The Song (Beyuser) of Manarmakdi*

#### *Fuar*

#### (a. *Introduction*)

1. Oh, you brethren of the ancestor,  
Who left Yamina mountain,  
From the landward side of Sopen.
2. It was the mockery, yes, the mockery,  
Which caused the famous chiefs  
To disperse, yes, to scatter.

#### (b. *The song (monologue of the Old Man)*)

3. This was the reason, Oh maidens:  
You mentioned me in dismay, both of you saying:  
Someone whose anger arose about nothing, really.

4. Someone whose anger arose because of small bones:  
The tailbones of a pig.  
Someone whose anger arose because of leaves:  
The leaves of the *bakdi*-fruit.<sup>1</sup>
5. A widower I was, so I went away,  
Descending the mountain, embarking in a canoe,  
The small *kabasa*-canoe.<sup>2</sup>
6. I was a widower and had scabies all over my *skin*,  
So I left and went along the coast,  
I went until I saw the Uri<sup>3</sup> rock.
7. I floated on the spot, took shells from the rock,  
Which once the hero Uri had perforated adulterously  
In his pursuit of women.
8. I went along the coast,  
Arrived at the shore of *Bariasba*,  
Meeting there my nephew, *Padawankan*,  
And my nephew showed me pity.
9. He gave me a spear and I speared a *Manenef* fish.  
He took the head, I took the tail.  
I took the tail to *Sokani*<sup>4</sup>  
To the shore of the bay of *Sokani*.
10. He gave me a coconut,  
Which I did not eat as I wanted,  
But brought with me, brought to *Sokani*.

(c. *Intermezzo*.)

11. The woman of *Anyoba*,<sup>5</sup> *Anyoba* far away,  
She gave it, yes, she gave me the coconut,  
Which I brought with me and planted.

<sup>1</sup> *Bakdi*-fruit: a creeper; leaves are used in the steaming-pit.

<sup>2</sup> *Kabasa*: small prau, a canoe with an outrigger on one side only.

<sup>3</sup> *Uri*: mythical hero, one of the famous *Uri* and *Pasai* adventurers.

<sup>4</sup> *Sokani*: a village in the *Padaido* Islands (see map I).

<sup>5</sup> *Anyoba*: possibly: *In-* or *Yenaibu* (land of the dead). *Kijne* suggests that she is the pig from *Yamnaibori* (cf. pp. 23, 30, 78), who led the Old Man to the realm of the dead, and gave him his secret. In the top of the coconut palm *Manarmakdi* got hold of the Morning Star: contact with the metaphysical world.

12. This was the one I planted,  
And it grew and grew, and blossomed —  
The one which I tapped and tapped.
13. Maids, it is because of your mockery,  
Because of your despising me,  
That the Island of Auki lies in the way,  
Hampering the view (to Meokwundi Island).
14. And this was what you said of me:  
From his very youth, yes, when still a child,  
He walked with a cane and a twig,  
A twig to drive off the flies (from his ugly sores).
15. I was a widower, so I descended,  
I descended seeking a woman,  
The lady of Anyoba, far, far away.
- (d. *Continuing the narrative*)
16. And the star, the Morning Star descended.  
It was the star who drank, he did the drinking,  
I, however, accused and accused.
17. I accused the woman, for whom I lay in wait,  
I accused the men passing by in their canoes.  
I accused the women of the place.
18. How ashamed the Morning Star must have been,  
How utterly ashamed,  
When I took hold of him.
19. He promised me the spell for wealth,  
But I refused.
20. He promised me the spell for fishing,  
But I refused.
21. He promised me the *Koreri*,<sup>6</sup>  
To be realized at one spot,  
But I refused.
22. Then he offered me the Mares fruit,  
And being a widower,  
I accepted and took hold of the fruit.

<sup>6</sup> It is remarkable that the *Koreri* is refused, and priority is given to a woman in order to become a father. Some Biak people explain this thus: he had already secured the secret of *Koreri*.

23. I threw the Mares fruit at the chosen **maid**,  
(I threw it and it hit her),  
And her breasts itched, they itched.
24. And that day did not become night  
Before she had given birth —  
She gave birth to her child.
25. And the dance(rs) started and they sang,  
They danced at Yuberi-beach,  
The child watched and watched, alas, my mother,  
Alas, my mother, father was not among them.
26. And the answering-dance started in the shadows,  
The shadows of the oil-tree; the boy watched, **but alas**,  
Alas, my mother, father was not among them.
27. And the dance started at Sokani-beach.  
The child watched, and watched, **but alas**, my **mother**,  
Alas, my mother, father was not among them.
28. And then they started, the dancers and the singers,  
Under the *Aibesobin* (Mares) tree.  
Behold, my mother, behold, my father is there,  
Leaning on a cane, and holding a switch.
29. They tore the place to pieces,  
They demolished our village and left it,  
Yes, they scattered and left it.
30. When a canoe went you took a bat,<sup>7</sup>  
You took a bat to strike my grasping fingers,  
Grasping the side of your canoes.
31. Everyone left, left us alone,  
And I, I addressed my brother-in-law, saying:  
Stay behind, join me, let the two of us use the tap-knife.
32. It's because of the oil-tree (coconut palm)  
That the Indwar fish crowd under our sleeping-place,  
Feeding on debris and sea-weed.

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<sup>7</sup> Bat: really: a piece of wood, used to prevent the Old Man from embarking on one of the canoes leaving.

33. And he (my brother-in-law) ate, and he ate  
Until satisfied, satisfied.  
But I went to the beach and speared,  
Speared the fish so that they floated.
34. Before that day turned into night,  
Yes, before nightfall, I descended,  
Descended and roasted my body in flaming wood.
35. I descended again and drew a ship in the sand,  
I designed it and it became a boat,  
A loaded boat, its cargo-mark nearly submerged.
36. And we floated in the direction of Krawi,<sup>8</sup>  
Krawi the bay of abundance,  
But they rejected me, yes, they rejected.
37. What shall I do now, what must I do?  
Reincarnate myself in a dolphin,  
(Between) Runi and Ayawi?<sup>9</sup>
38. The stream I followed, upriver I went,  
The Manberamon,<sup>10</sup> the current in turmoil,  
Directing myself under the setting sun.
39. I am awaiting our ancestors,  
But no-one is coming, no-one came.  
Go and watch for their tracks in the dust.
40. Go to the town of the dead, the great town,  
Where the roofs are touching, touching each other.  
There you will find the treasures which I possess.
41. These are the treasures and the wealth,  
Which the gentlemen (the strangers) have.  
These are the treasures which I own.
42. These are the treasures  
Which the gentlemen (the whites) see and possess,  
And bring along with them (always) when they are coming.

<sup>8</sup> Krawi: a village on the Island of Japen, where the refugees or emigrants went. Later on they went back to Biak and eventually to Meokwundi.

<sup>9</sup> Ayawi (see map I). Located far to the west of the Schouten Islands, and also in the Radja Ampat Islands.

<sup>10</sup> Manberamon: literally: man-who-went-to-become-a-mon (soul of the dead). The big river Mamberamo is meant here, but also the gate to the underworld.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CONNECTION WITH BIAK MYTHOLOGY

"Every society is held together by a myth-system, a complex of dominating thought-forms that determines and sustains all its activities" (Robert M. MacIver, cited in 38, 296).

As the messianic movements in Biak were evidently closely connected with the myth of the Old Man it is necessary to study the place occupied by this myth in the framework of Biak mythology. The main elements, to which also the expectations of the messianic movements are related, are all found in some form or other in the current myths.

These main elements refer to ancient mythical times, when the land of souls and the human world were one and were still linked with the upper world (starry sky). In these ancient times men did die but, like the moon, they had the power to return to life. There was no mutual rivalry, and everyone lived in one place, had plenty of food, and enjoyed eternal life. The secret of life, consisting of unity, eternal life, and the possession of the "treasures" (ceremonial valuables), was lost through stupidity and disbelief (in some versions accidentally). The moon, who had until then been a human being living on earth, ascended to the starry sky, and death began its rule, men started to fight each other, blood was shed, and the people dispersed.

Since that time the secret has been known only in the land of souls, in the depths of the earth, on the bottom of the sea, and in the upper world (the starry sky). The link between these regions and the earth was broken, and the recovery and loss of this link forms the theme of many myths. In the prologue to the main myth we saw an instance of this. It is worth noting that the beings from the land of souls can contact human beings only in disguise, the metamorphosis not taking place until they are recognized. The dramatic element in many myths is formed by the fact that the humans do not see through the disguise.

In the prologue it was said that the whole of mankind and its world are "in the husk". Superficially there is nothing to show that this husk is a disguise. Beings from the land of souls are incarnated in hideous old people, snakes, birds, marsupials, fish, or other creatures, which do

not differ from their species except in their ability to make their wishes known to men.

It might be said that the Biak people "in their husk" believe they show their true shape during festivities, in dances, and in the various ceremonies. During the ritual they "play" what by rights they ought to be. On such occasions goods and food are plentiful, rivalries are temporarily forgotten even if there is an element of competition in the quantities of food and objects. For a time there is unity. Marriage itself is a symbol of this lost unity. As an institution it is a tie, a proof of unity and reconciliation between rivals.

The myths also move within this sphere. They tell of men's experiences with beings from the land of souls, and the behavior of these persons sets the norm for their descendants. The content of the myths is considered history, not allegory, and accordingly they are taken literally. The subcultural influences determining the order of clan and subclan, their regions, islands, and totem creatures, have obscured the system in the myths behind a confusing variety of data. Nevertheless there is an all-embracing system of symbols, a system that people possess unconsciously, like the phonetic and grammatical systems of their language.

It is an error to presume that mythology is based entirely on flights of fancy. If the imagination is allowed free play, the outcome is a fairy-tale, not a myth. What is curious about the myths is not that they have been composed, but that they are believed. Belief, though, depends on the existence of a specific tradition. Every myth must contain a point of contact for identification. Not everything is believed, not everything is suitable for being handed over to later generations. A mythology without a system would be chaotic, it would not provide an acceptable basis for society.

Sometimes the structure and functioning of a society can be deduced from its mythology. R. Pettazzoni stresses this fact — like MacIver in the motto heading this chapter — to indicate the element of factual truth in the myths. "[Forming] . . . a whole world full of miracles, [they] constitute a transcendental reality which cannot be doubted, for it is the premise and indispensable condition for the existing reality . . ." (168, 4).

This reality comprises, however, the whole of society in all its aspects, the totality of which cannot be encompassed in a monistic explanation, whether sociological, religious or economic. The same is true of a purely psychological explanation. The myths are too much a product of culture for psychology to be able to explain their content. All it can do is explain man's attitudes towards them.

Yet the myths also express the psychological tensions between the individual and society, between personal ambitions and cultural limitations. At the same time the myths mirror the dynamic forces inherent in a culture, while reflecting the personal crises caused by hunger, sickness, and death. In the ritual of mourning and initiation, for instance, personal crises are made the concern of the whole community.

It should be kept in mind that not all the elements of the mythology are relevant to the society. Emphasis on cosmological aspects, for instance, will give such irrelevant features undue importance. Elaborate constructions regarding the backgrounds of moon and sun mythology, such as have been developed by W. Schmidt and others, may be interesting in themselves but do not lead to a better understanding of the society in question. For Biak, too, it is fully relevant what De Josselin de Jong wrote: "... Archaic cosmology is never in the first place popular cosmography and even, essentially, it is not popular cosmography at all, the latter element being always a by-product, the fairy-tale element in the myth..." (172, 167).

A major element in Biak mythology is formed by passages concerning "treasures" and ceremonial valuables. It occurs in no less than 35 out of the 75 available myths.

In the introductory chapter it was pointed out that contacts with the Moluccas, where the Biak pirates went to get their spoils, made valuables of foreign origin increasingly important. The older valuables, shell wrist-bands, canoes, and utensils, retained their importance, but the foreign goods became more numerous. They were mainly cotton, lengths of cloth (which counted as units of value: *chelopen*), porcelain, beads, and bronze gongs. All of them were articles whose manufacture was a mystery to the Biak people. In former times, iron had been among these goods, but when subsequently the art of forging was also imported in Biak, the mystery of iron was transferred to the smith who alone, as initiate and adept of the secret, could practise this trade. Usually the smith was also a shaman.

These commodities having been completely integrated into Biak ceremonial exchange customs it is small wonder that the prestige factor became closely attached to their procurement and to the men who procured them, the heroes (*mambri*). In the ceremonial exchange traffic that is set in motion, for instance, by a marriage, the brideprice and the return gift mainly consist of these valuables of foreign origin which are so hard to obtain. The circulation of goods and foodstuffs is the life-blood of the society, since it governs the socio-economic aspect of its



culture. Only those who have the disposal of such goods are full members of the society. The valuables can only be acquired in one of two ways, through connections (trading friends, marriage) or by raids into foreign parts. This second possibility ceased to exist long ago, so people try to form as many connections as possible and to place others under an obligation by help and gifts.

The extent to which economic activity is influenced by the obligatory festivities, which keep the circulation of goods and foodstuffs going, has already been discussed. The emphasis on material goods is fully expressed in the myths and in the various movements termed "Cargo Cults". This will be dealt with at greater length in the final chapter. The foregoing has made it clear, at least, that in Biak society goods and valuables of foreign origin became increasingly important.

The main theme of the principal myth is the breaking of the husk encasing man and his world by a human being — by Manarmakeri. But people fail to recognize him either in his disguise as an Old Man or after his metamorphosis through the baptism by fire, and the breakthrough does not take place. The contact with the ancestors, the land of souls, and the world of the stars is linked up with the "secret" of the ancestors. The problems of old age and death, of life and afterlife, and the whole social organization which may be called the "relative order" (*vide* p. 68) as distinct from the "eternal order", *Koreri*, come up time and again. For the relative order is bound up with the social recognition that proceeds from participation in the gift exchange. The principal personages of the myths occasionally also play the part of culture heroes, and their acts of creation derive from their knowledge and control of the secret of life. We are even told that the Lord Sky (*Nanggi*) yields his place to a human being who possesses this secret.

A further remarkable feature is that, in the myths, the divine ancestors — when they have been overcome by recognition and obedience, or sometimes by combat — themselves collaborate in their surrender, thus allowing the relative order in the first place, but something of the eternal order as well, to pass into the possession of men. Abundance, and complete command, of "treasures" are characteristic features of this. The ability to control nature, to create islands and staple foods, is also typical of the great mythical figures that human beings become once they have secured the secret. These may be regarded as the main elements in the myth of the Old Man, but in one way or another all of them occur in the current myths.

It is very unlikely, therefore, that this principal myth as a functional

whole should have been borrowed from outside. Kijne's suggestion is more plausible: "The fact that this story contains so many mythical motifs may rather be regarded as an indication that there must have been numerous myths, and that elements from these myths were grouped round a very prominent figure in this myth". To go a step further I would suggest that this principal figure should be regarded as an ancestor equipped with the characteristics of several different mythical heroes, so that in fact the ancient mythical times and figures are hidden behind a historical figure, who has been given the name of Manar-makeri. Time and again we find in Biak culture this tendency to include historical figures in the gallery of mythical heroes. This shows that historically it is possible for the mythical times or *Koreri* to break through into the present time, which precisely is the possibility on which the *Koreri* belief is based.

In this chapter the main elements of the myth of the Old Man are arranged in groups, and representative examples from the available mythical material are given in support of the contention that they are generally part of the system of Biak mythology.

### 1. *The disguised figures, rejected or accepted* (149a, 180ff.)

Roughly half of the available myths deal with disguised figures. Coming from the land of souls they are ancestors who have their abode either in the depths of the earth or on the bottom of the sea. In the first case they live in caves in the shape of animals that dwell in holes in the ground or in caves and are able to change their skins, such as snakes, lizards, dragons, etc. It is these animals that pre-eminently symbolize the underworld and the ancestors. In the second case the substitutes are marine animals, porpoises, sea-snakes, whales or other creatures. Sometimes land and sea elements are combined, as when a snake turns into a canoe. The point at issue is the secret that disappeared with the ancestors into the other world. This is the world, too, where sickness and death come from. Thus to secure the secret means to vanquish death.

Life in camouflage, in disguise, however, also exists by the grace of the ancestors, and this relative order is revealed again each time to the initiates who plunge and submerge themselves in the world of the secret, where the ancestors reveal the social order to them. The secret of the relative order is connected with the circulation of goods and foodstuffs, which receives a new impetus every time contact with

the ancestors is achieved. It is also connected with the prohibition of incest and the probably originally dualistic structure of the social organization. This dualistic aspect of Biak culture also finds expression in the cosmology, in the contrast between good and evil as categories and not as ethical values, since they think in substances and not in relations. There is a cosmic opposition between East-West and North-South. In the socio-economic sphere this is reflected in the probably originally exogamous moieties, in the joint totems consisting of birds and fish, and in the combination of women's goods (+ land-iguana-food) as opposed to men's goods (+ sea-crocodile). Within the clans themselves there is the contrast between spiritual and secular chiefs (*mirino*, *mananir*), while in both the men's and the women's world snakes and eagles are regarded as representatives of the land of souls and the upper world. The totality of the secret is expressed in a fish, a sea-snake, and an eagle. On the male ancestor image this totality is symbolized by *korwar* plus snake, dragon, etc., and on the female ancestor image by *korwar* and eagle.

The secret is therefore bound up with men's and women's goods, which are of great importance in the myths. "The secret is the power that can be conquered in order to make the chaos into a cosmos. The vanquished snake gives its conqueror goods, every security and certainty. Men conquer the snake by combat and stratagem, women by marrying him, after which he will give up the secret himself" (Kijne). And this is the way in which, figuratively, not only the origin of the secret but also that of the social order is illustrated. "Surrender of the woman to the snake (the initiator and ancestor) here really means surrender to the *adat* (the social order), which dictates the circulation of valuables on the occasion of a marriage as against the circulation of foodstuffs . . ." (Kijne).

In the main myth of the Old Man we saw that he managed to break through his disguise with the help of the secret which the Morning Star had imparted to him. This at the same time makes the treasures available to him. In numerous myths the principal personage is an old man, often too it is a snake, or sometimes an old woman.

In the myth of the "poor man" (133, 513) the main character is left behind by his people, and when he travels after them they chase him away because of his repulsive skin disease. By means of a stratagem he manages to catch a large snake which has "gold in its throat". In the night this gold gives out a great light. "The big light is in the canoe of the poor man", the people shout. In exchange for the light the king gives

him ten houses filled with treasures, and later the poor man even becomes king of the country. Then he says to his wife, "We used to be poor, now we have many treasures. Who has given all this to us? Look upward".

In a similar myth, likewise treating of the upper world, Ori (the sun) and Paik (the moon) play a part. They live on the earth as brothers. Their father hides them in a cave, and in the night Paik serves him for a light. But Ori betrays Paik's hiding-place to the humans. The people take him away, hang him in a tree and wantonly shoot at him with arrows. Little by little he goes up, until in the end he stands in the sky. Ori and the people go after him, but in vain, he has ascended to heaven for good.

In Windessi they tell the myth of Karubukawi, the old double-headed snake. This snake lives in a cave and manages to entice a young pregnant woman to his lair. He and his wife bring up her child, but are discovered by the real father, who has to make six attacks before he succeeds in liberating his son. The "grandfather" snake then changes his body into a canoe and sets out to find his grandchild. He goes via Roon, Numfor, Gebe, passing Salawati and Manokwari on his way back, until he returns to his point of departure and is recognized by his grandchild. The real father also recognizes his father-in-law and gives him presents: a slave, many goods, lengths of blue cotton, dishes, bracelets made of shells and of silver — then the snake throws off his old skin and is received with great festivities. The child's mother puts on ornaments and "she looks out for them, and she recognizes her father, her child, and her husband". Then the exchange of foodstuffs sets in. "The snake who has become a man calls forth a house, much drinking water, fish, many bananas, and all kinds of garden fruits. They sit down and eat them. Then the boy's father takes his wife and son, and they leave again for Windessi" (15, 486-487).

This myth obviously illustrates the social organization. The man is not entitled to his child until the brideprice has been paid. As soon as this has been done, the father-in-law loses his character of a rival, he becomes the feast-giver, and the circulation of goods and foodstuffs begins.

Sometimes a young man disguised as an old man (the ancestor), is the opponent of a giant snake, for instance in the myth of Ropokai. This dragon swallows people, houses and all. Ambonai, a young man, disguises himself as a scabious old man and is despised by his wife. But when he succeeds in killing the dragon and is rejuvenated, she regrets

her aversion. Then the myth goes on as follows! "The next morning the woman wakes up and behold, their room is beautiful, for there are many treasures such as cushions, fine sleeping mats, dishes, cups, gold earrings, and ornaments". The man makes a canoe out of the snake's body which he has cut to pieces, and in it they go to look for their kinsmen who have fled. When they are at sea the man says, "Let there be much food, much pigs' meat, tea, sugar, and let there be all sorts of things on the boat" (15, 503). He then goes to Numfor in his canoe and brings his parents-in-law back to Waropen. There he distributes the bones of the snake "in accordance with the empty houses". He resuscitates the dead, all those who have been swallowed up by the snake. "Then they all live again, all the snake's bones turn into people. Ambonai says, 'Let there be a new sago wood, sago in abundance, let all the old sago decay'" (*ibid.*).

What takes place in this myth is total restoration. By the power of the ancestors, here appearing in disguise, life and order are restored. The victor has the power of calling forth not only goods, but also food-stuffs, while in addition he performs acts of creation. These are all features that occur in the myth of Manggundi. The Biak variant of this myth is worth noting; it tells of a woman who is pregnant, and who is left behind by her kinsmen who have fled from the snake. After a time an eagle comes to the rescue and takes care of the woman and the child that has been born in the meantime; later the eagle suggests a way in which the young man can kill the snake. The snake then relinquishes his secret himself: the treasures are in his belly, and these now come into their possession (186, 15). (The mother calls her child Sekfamneri, in popular etymology "the rejected one", or, "the one they left behind when boarding their canoes". This is the name which the Biak emigrants of the Radja Ampat Islands later gave to the principal character in the Messiah myth).

The chaotic power, which brings death and destruction, is conquered by the power from the upper world (the eagle), and the vanquished one is subject to the authority of the ancestors who distribute goods and make life possible again. The same dualistic or ambivalent character is expressed even more clearly in the myth of the snake Inuri. This monster is vanquished when the youngest sister marries him after he has been rejected by her elder sisters. But he is mistaken for an ordinary snake and cut to pieces. One piece becomes a breaker, others turn into wind, rain, thunder, lightning, a water spout, one piece becomes a crocodile, and another a porpoise (15, 447).

Here, too, there is a failure by some people to see through the disguise; the life-giving and abundance-bringing power disappears. Instead of a cosmos the chaotic powers of nature are unleashed against man, and nature reveals its essentially inimical character.

But not all of it is negative. There is the creation of the porpoise and the crocodile, the animals in which the ancestors usually incarnate themselves, and in whose shape living men can disguise themselves. In Biak the crocodile represents the power of the sea, and it is the totem animal of all the Biak clans.

The sociological importance of this kind of myth is to be found in the fact that the dragon can represent the ancestor and the initiator demon. The monster devours the child, but allows the young man to be born as a full member of the clan, a representative of the ancestors and bearer of their powers. Only in this way — through culture — can nature be controlled. The initiation symbolizes this possibility, and the identification during the initiation ceremony aims at a magical effect. In Biak the relativity and limitations of culture within actual reality finds expression in the fact that the eagle (representing the upper world) is the real victor. The Biak people reach out towards this power, too, in the myth. Manarmakeri wins both the secret of the land of souls (the ancestors) and that of the upper world (the Morning Star). But during the initiation Manarmakeri does not appear as the victorious Manggundi, but in the disguise of the Old Man, as Held has made clear. We might vary Held's words by saying that only when the initiation demon (ancestor), the initiator, and the initiate really become one again, actual reality coincides once more with the supernatural, the secret is known again, and the time of Paradise (*Koreri*) has begun (151, 203).

There is also the myth of the cockatoo who lures young widows with his beautiful crest, and induces the fairest of them to marry him. Then he jumps into the fire, and "the fire consumed him completely until he died. Then he turned into a man, jumped out of the fire and sat down. The cockatoo's feathers changed into shawls, gold, dishes, and all kinds of desirable things" (15, 505). This is one of the few myths which include a "baptism by fire".

The bilateral quality of Biak culture likewise comes out in the myths. It is found in the "kangaroo woman" myth, in which an old woman is the principal character. Her son is kidnapped, but she swims by way of Oransbari to Numfor. There she finds him, and she attaches herself to Cape Inaryori. At her suggestion the son cuts her body to pieces and places some of these at the foot of a number of trees. "... Then the son

stamped with his foot on the sand, . . . and the people rose. His mother's body had changed into people, houses, and canoes . . ." (15, 453).

From all these disguise myths it has become clear that complete recognition and acknowledgment are followed by victory and abundance, but that partial recognition may have catastrophic results. It is precisely this ambivalent attitude which is a source of danger for mankind, which even threatens the relative order of customary law, and makes nature man's enemy. Can the consequences be warded off? The answer is given in the myth which was recorded by the present author in Biak, the story of the man who married the daughter of a snake (text).

When this man comes home one day and sees his child being licked by a big snake he kills the animal. His wife returns and bursts into tears over the death of her mother. She can only ward off the revenge of the dead woman by mourning and singing the lament for the dead (*dokayob*).

In this way all the various elements of Biak culture are dealt with in the myths, one after the other. If all the myths were available they would together contain practically the whole of the culture. The handing down of general norms to posterity by narrative means is one of the most important aspects of Biak mythology. In the above examples the main elements of the Messiah myth can already be distinguished.

Another important element in the myths is:

## 2. *The contact with the ancestors and the land of souls*

The prologue to the main myth has the finding and losing of the way to the land of souls for its subject. Here it is not a human being who is disguised, but only the creature from the land of souls, who appears in the shape of a pig.

There are two myths that deal with the resuscitation of dead persons through the love of their relatives. The most typical feature here is that the demonstration of this love consists in singing the lament for the dead. In the chapter on the Advent nights we shall see that the singing of the *kayob* (lament for the dead) is one of the conditions for the return of the dead.

In the myth of the sea-urchin and the sea-crab (133, 493-494) a woman plays the leading part. Because her husband mourns on her grave, that is, sings the *kayob*, her skull jumps out again, saying, "You love me, I will follow you". And so it does, for wherever the man goes the skull rolls after him, even to his house. At night the skull becomes

a woman. The man does not want this, and throws the skull into a river. It is carried out to sea by the current, and washed ashore. There a coconut palm grows out of the head. A sea-urchin and a crab, passing in a canoe are called by the palm-tree which says to them, "Climb into me, throw me down, peel me, split me, drink the milk and eat me". The crab and the sea-urchin say: "He is addressing us". The crab climbs the tree, picks the coconuts, and throws them down. But the sea-urchin, instead of gathering the nuts, as has been agreed, eats them all himself. They paddle on in their canoe and soon the crab sees a piece of drift wood. He says to the sea-urchin: "Jump, catch that turtle". The sea-urchin jumps and is dashed to pieces so that all the coconuts come out again. This is how men got coconuts and "they planted them everywhere and therefore we now eat coconuts". The connection between skull and coconut will be discussed below. The emphasis here is primarily on reverence, as it is in the myth of Serapasamai (15, 510). This man, an ardent hunter, is not satisfied with his many spoils, and sets out time and again to establish his prestige as a feast-giver. But through too much exertion (presumably on the occasion when his newly-born son is to be brought outside for the first time) he falls ill and dies.

He is buried. Through a bamboo pipe his father pours water into the grave until the skull is clean. His wife takes the skull with her whenever she goes to her work. Then the child begins to weep for its father, and he speaks to it from the top of a tree. When the crying child is scolded by his mother's sister the father reincarnates himself and goes home with his wife and son. Other women are jealous and spy on his wife, and she betrays the secret of his resuscitation by a slip of the tongue. Her husband then departs for good to the land of souls. The woman manages to follow him, but when she breaks her promise for the second time Serapasamai says, "This is the end, we are all going to stay in the land of souls and we shall not return to the earth. Then his wife sits down and weeps for her father and mother, and on the earth her parents mourn for her. Therefore it is said: 'those who die go to the land of souls; they return, but because Imbarasei did not obey her husband it is finished. Indokki, the old woman, has taken hold of them; they die, they do not change any more, but they disappear at once to the land of souls . . .'" (15, 515). This is the explanation of how death became irrevocable; apparently, resurrection was originally possible.

Skulls appear in many other myths. The most relevant to our subject is the myth of Doberoki, which was recorded by Rumainum. The scene is laid on the mountain of Yamnaibori, the abode of the Old Man. On



the top of the mountain two men have a garden which, in spite of a high fence around it, is visited night after night by an exceptionally large pig. When they have caught this monster, one of the brothers goes to look for fire and discovers a small hut in which wood is smouldering. No one is there. The man bends down to take a piece of burning wood, and a skull on the hearth-rack begins to speak. It asks the man to walk slowly when he goes away.

The man does so, and the skull "hops" after him with two spears in the place of its ears. When they slaughter the pig the two brothers ask the skull to take its choice from the best parts of the animal. When they leave, the skull expresses its gratitude by promising the men, "In three days I will come to your village [Sopen], but nobody is to show any surprise, look to that". After their return in the village they recount their experience and repeat the skull's serious warning. All the people promise solemnly to abide by it. But a small boy, who is at play on a sand-bank in the river, does not hear about it. After three days there is a strange noise from the direction of mount Yamnaibori. Rumbling and roaring the trees come marching down, hung with precious goods and fruits of exceptionally large size, and with food of all kinds. At the head of this curious procession there "hops" the skull Doberoki with fiery red hibiscus flowers for ears.

In mute astonishment the people of Sopen watch all this, but then suddenly the voice of the small boy is heard: "Aéé, look there! Here come the trees and look what they are bringing!", he shouts with excitement. At the same moment the procession halts. Doberoki falls down on the spot and turns into a stone; the red flowers fall to the right and left of the path. The trees stand rigid and stiff, and they have stood there ever since. On the top of Yamnaibori there still lies the skull Doberoki, and to its right and left grow the hibiscus shrubs (text).

This myth expresses more clearly than any other that *Koreri* will be ushered in by the ancestor. In the place Yamnaibori ("I will rest on the top", or, "I finish") the *Koreri* is expected to become a fact again one day. It is the spot where once there was contact with the land of souls, as is described in the prologue of the main myth.

The resuscitating power of the ancestors' skulls is also described in the myth of the *Wor Beba* (the big dance) (text). Here it is the skull which, during the absence of the occupants, leads all the furniture in a ritual dance on the dance place of the house. As soon as the voice of a living person is heard, everything falls down on the spot.

The function of the soul effigy, the skull *korwar*, and its substitute,

the wooden skull, becomes clear now. The *korwar* is not only the means of contact with the dead person, but also a means of reaching the land of souls.

Dreams and visions, whose content can be traced back to the existing mythological ideas, are also important for the contact with the land of souls. The Sade Movement in Wandamen, where the chief personages act as medicine men after having been in contact with the land of souls, belongs to this category.

Sade, the movement of 1932 which centered round M. Sobei, was the result of a dream. Sobei had been to the village of the dead, of which he drew a plan for Kijne, and there he learnt to know ten kinds of medicine to cure first himself and then others of the smallpox. "Entrance into the country of the dead was gained by dancing in a completely closed house in the forest during the night and eating unpalatable and nasty things. (The idea that everything is reversed in the country of the dead also occurs in Seram)" (Kijne).

"When during the great change-over to Christianity in Roon [*cf.* 184, 54] a dying Papuan dreamt of a golden ladder which took him up to the heavenly house, this was not an idea suggested by a *guru*, but an essential part of a Roon myth in which there is a golden house in the better world which could formerly be entered by all, but to which the way was blocked later through the stupidity of men" (200, 90).

The mythological drawings of the Radja Ampat Islands contain numerous pictures of houses situated in the upper world. This world, the starry sky, the stars, the moon, and the sun play an important role in Biak mythology. The land of souls is often identified with the upper world. The Old Man's Morning Star and the pig in the prologue of the myth are identical. Both the star and the pig are disguises. The Biak emigrants in the Radja Ampat Islands believe that the Milky Way is the abode of the spirits of the dead. The eagle, the Morning Star, and Paik (the moon) are sometimes identified with the ancestors. Or is it that features of moon and sun mythology have been transferred to the ancestors?

In this connection Kijne's account of the tale of the drowned man is important. This story is a borderline case between myth and history and is probably illustrative of the way in which myths come into being.

It must have happened shortly before a smallpox epidemic broke out in Wandamen. A man went turtle-hunting and was dragged down when he grabbed hold of a turtle which had freed itself from the harpoon. Three days later he was found on the beach, where he returned to life.

He said he had been in the underworld for three days and met the dead there. Homage was paid to him and to a female *Shen* (Wandamen equivalent of *Manseren*) who also claimed to have had contact with the dead. The couple built a house in Wasior, in which the rear end was screened off by a mat. Behind this partition the two *Shen* claimed to maintain their contacts with the ancestors. They prophesied that the dead would return, and that they would emerge from the forest border above the well-known "green spot" on the slope of the Wondiwoi Range, at a short distance south of Mieï. In the large grass field at the foot of this range the worshippers gathered in great numbers to wait for the return of the dead. After a long time the *Shen* proclaimed that the return had been postponed, but that meanwhile the waiting people might undergo some changes; the complete *Koreri* would begin later. The multitude was allowed to choose a new skin color, brown, yellow, or white. They chose white. The *Shen* then scolded them for asking so much right away. Why not brown first? They would be punished by becoming neither one nor the other, but their skins were going to be studded with pimples and spots. It happened accordingly, for not long afterwards the smallpox broke out. It is not impossible, Kijne adds, that the smallpox epidemic was explained as a result of the curse of the two *Shen*, and that this was in fact a *Koreri* movement. The connection between the land of souls, the ancestors, and the movements is unmistakable. It is also an instance of how recent events are fitted into the traditional framework.

### 3. *The meaning of the coconut palm*

In the Numfor myth the coconut palm sprouts out of the skull of a woman. This myth was summarized above. There is therefore a very close link between the country of the dead, the coconut palm, and the woman. Not only does the fact that in some languages of the Geelvink Bay the same word is used for both bear testimony to the identity of skull and coconut, but this identity is also expressed in various myths. "The ancestors did not eat coconuts, for they dared not. If we take a close look at a coconut we see two eyes, a nose, and a mouth..." (133, 493-494). The analogy between the "skull buried or entombed" and the coconut planted in the earth must have inspired the myth.

Furthermore, the coconut palm is the only tree to bear fruits containing a liquid. This liquid is called *stai-rur* (liquid of the coconut palm). But this is the same word *rur* that is used for the soul of a person

as well as for all plant juices. Now the Biak people call any magical remedies or medicines *ai* - "wood". All trees, but particularly the coconut palm and the banyan tree, have a special meaning, the coconut palm being the more important of these two. This is evident from the importance attached to coconut leaf, fruit, wine, and oil. It is the leaf that sprouts first from the nut. This leaf is praised in song by the Old Man in the myths as "coconut palm leaf coming from the *Koreri* in the country of the dead". The poetical text further includes a eulogy of the tapping-knife with which the flower-spike is incised to draw palm-wine. Owing to this tapping-knife the fish collect in shoals beneath the sleeping-place (*i.e.*, beneath the pile-dwelling built over the sea). This passage would be obscure if there was not an implied analogy with the way in which flying fish are caught. This method, taught by the Old Man to the Biak people, consists of pouring some palm-wine into a floating hoop-net and putting a young palm leaf on it as a buoy. The ancestors from the land of souls on the bottom of the sea make the catch successful.

Not all places give entry to the country of the dead, nor do coconut palms, which are thought to be the bridges of the souls, grow in every soil and every spot. A place where they did grow was, for instance, Samber, formerly called Saba. In the myth of Bekpadi (text) an old man is the principal character. By a ruse this man kills his attackers, and he makes a *korwar* of their leader. With this effigy he proceeds along the traditional route from west to east, the same that was followed by the Old Man, and tries everywhere to "plant" the *korwar*. He does not succeed until he has arrived in Saba. There he establishes contact with the land of souls; it should be noted that it was here in Saba (Samber) that the Old Man received the coconut from his *napirem* (father's or mother's brother's son), out of which grew the tree in Meokwundi in whose top he took possession of the secret of the Morning Star Sampari. Who was the Morning Star? Some texts say the star changed itself into a young man, others say a young woman, and one text refers to a "human being" (probably bisexual). But the coconut is associated with the woman.

It might be objected that in one of the texts (p. 30) it is said that the Morning Star and the being from the land of souls are identical. On closer reading it appears that this being was the pig that stole the tuber crops from the garden. For woman and pig belong to the same category, as will be made clear later. The Morning Star Sampari, however, bears a name which is identical with *samfar*, the shell wrist-band,

one of the components of the brideprice (151, 137). This cannot be a coincidence. It is the brideprice that "binds" the woman. The woman in the top of the coconut palm, identical with the pig from the land of souls inside the earth, therefore controls the secret of the ancestors. The tree itself has sprouted from the earth, from the land of souls, and the tree is therefore the link with the land of souls and the symbol of the ancestors' power of resurrection. In North Biak it is said that Manggundi on his return will descend on the top of a coconut palm growing there. When this tree falls down, another must be planted in the same spot. The great emphasis put on this specific place comes out clearly. The same is true of the Mamberamo river. In Feuilletau de Bruyn's version of the main myth we read, "... From Numfor Manseren Koreri proceeded to the west. It is not known how he returned later, but at present he resides on the upper reaches of the Mamberamo. One day he will return. Where he lives now he will plant a coconut in the ground... it will grow, become very tall, and he will return along the stem which will lean over to Meok Wundi..." (90, 126).

Mamberamo in the west. The poetical texts also mention this repeatedly: *ro ori babndi* (under the sun). There Manggundi is awaiting the return of the dead; there, too, he has the treasures of the ancestors at his disposal. It was pointed out before that the Mamberamo river might be identified with the land of souls. The river would then be of the same order as the caves and springs mentioned above. This is corroborated by Kijne's information that in the South Japen language, which is closely related to that of Biak, the word for the dead is *manberamon*, those who have become *mon* (in this case: dead persons). In relation to Biak the Mamberamo river is in the south-east, but it should be remembered that the Biak people originate from the region between Sarimi and Djayapura. This explains everything. For them the Mamberamo was situated in the extreme west "where the sun sets", and to the Biak people of former times the geographical west was also the mythical west. Manggundi will return from the country of the dead one day with the treasures of the ancestors and the resurrected dead. The coconut palm here again has the traditional function of "bridge". It is not surprising that during the great movement of 1938-43 a special species of coconut palm with curled-up leaves served as an "aerial" for receiving "news" from Manggundi.

Between the country of the dead, the skull, and the ancestors on the one hand, and the coconut on the other there is, therefore, an unmistakable connection, and Kijne very rightly says, "The coconut palm

is a kind of tree of life, as the nut is also the fruitful skull, the country of the dead in miniature as it were, from which life and perpetual wealth are expected".

All this receives additional emphasis through the function fulfilled by palm-wine. "The Old Man was fond of it", as the myth says. This does not mean that he was a drunkard. From what we have just seen and from the function of palm-wine during the Messiah movements, it is clear that this statement should be interpreted quite differently. The wine is used as a means of getting visions. The genuine believers do not even take food at such a time, and the resulting glossolalia is explained as follows: the ancestors are coming back and are already speaking through the mouths of the "possessed". The fact that the principal personage was fond of palm-wine therefore means that he aimed at establishing contact with the ancestors.

In the main myth the motifs intermingle. In the different versions a specific motif often gets special stress, for instance, the fact that Manggundi was looking for a wife. This may be taken literally: he looked for and found a wife in Meokwundi. But it is more in accordance with the essence of the myth that he sought to establish contact with the land of souls in order to participate in the secret of the woman through the coconut palm and the palm-wine. The mysterious woman, the "one who was much looked for", gets quite a different meaning in this way. Apart from these religious motifs sociological components often predominate in the myths of Numfor, as in the tale of "The young man who disguised himself as a snake" (133, 545).

This is about a coconut palm in which halfway up the stem a snake guards the nuts. Two brothers, who are hungry, want to pick the fruits, but the snake is in the way. They first promise the animal a gong, then a gun, and in the end their sister for a wife. To the last proposition the snake agrees. He marries the younger sister of the two brothers, after which he throws off his disguise and emerges as a beautiful young man. But in the daytime he is a snake.

In the prologue to the main myth the snake is called "guardian of the land of souls". The coconut palm and nut (food and goods of the ancestors) are guarded by the young man who represents his ancestors in the guise of a snake. The theme is here that a man has access to the goods and foodstuffs of another *keret* only through his brother-in-law (wife's brother).

The custom of anointing (with oil) the initiates and the bride and bridegroom is also important. Each phase of the life cycle is a crisis

in which the initiates are brought into contact with the ancestors (immersed in a spring, as in Wandamen, or bathed in the sea, as with the Biak people). Lastly they are rubbed with coconut oil and led to the dance-place (read: the world, the cosmos) by their mother's brother. The ceremonial food is copiously mixed with grated coconut, especially the enormous cake on which the initiates are carried around by the initiators. The *korwar* (soul effigies) are also rubbed with coconut oil.

Finally, the hourglass drums on which the dances are accompanied have a special meaning. They are covered with iguana skins. The iguana is opposed to the crocodile, and the drum is opposed to the triton shell; the latter is blown as a sign of victory and is associated with the world of men. The drum gives off the sound of the iguana. This animal is associated with the woman but also with the mythical ancestors, and the sound of the drum is the voice of the ancestors from the land of souls. The people dance for many consecutive nights, thus imitating the festive nights of the ancestors in the land of souls, who are not subject to sleep and hunger. Drums are inherited, and as *romowi* (inheritance) they are sacred, moreover, drums are the depositories of the magic leaves, the secret medicines, the knowledge of which is also inherited. Each drum has its own name and tone, it is the voice of a specific ancestor and sometimes has the same function as the *korwar* (soul effigy).

#### 4. *The voyage from west to east, and the role of the generation groups*

In several of the myths there occurs a voyage along a series of places from west to east, and always in a canoe. A fuller analysis would probably reveal a moon-mythical background; the boat/moon-crescent analogy, and the direction from west to east already point in this direction. But in the myths this element serves as a designation for "the whole Biak area", just as in the Bible the expression "from Dan to Berseba" stands for the whole country of Palestine. In the same way the generation-groups that successively play their part signify "the whole people". The population is represented by the eight different age-groups appearing in turn, as for instance in the main myth when they attack the cassowary in an attempt to capture the princess. In the myth of the girl and the betel-nut six age-groups try to capture her (133, 566). When in the myth of Karubukawi the grandfather snake carries off his grandchild because the brideprice has not been paid he is attacked by six successive age-groups (15, 484). It is evident that in

each case the age-groups represent the whole population. The different numbers of age-groups may be due to local differences. For the Biak people the number four signifies the totality. When doubled it means the superlative degree, though sociologically this may be connected with a division into exogamic tribal or village moieties. This interpretation is further supported by the frequent mention of pairs: two girls, two children, two village headmen.

### 5. *The moon, the sun, and the Morning Star*

The Biak people have no less than sixteen names for the phases of the moon and its modes of rising and setting. Van Hasselt speaks of a "moon cult". "... The moon cult is based on the belief of renewal. The moon, waxing to its full power, then waning, and finally dead, reflects the stages of human life, and invariably the new moon comes. Only recently I was told in Biak that this perpetual renewal of the moon is regarded as a symbol of the renewal of man: life and resurrection" (142b, 1918, 39). In almost the same words J. G. Frazer writes of the Hottentots, that they "... associate the phases of the moon with the idea of immortality, the apparent waning and waxing of the luminary being understood by them as a real process of alternate disintegration and reintegration, of decay and growth repeated perpetually..." (101a, Vol. I, 52). The Biak people interpret the moon in the same way, but, unlike the Seram people, they have not thereby solved the problem of death. In Seram the decline and resurrection of the moon symbolizes the successive generations. With death, sexual intercourse, menstruation, and birth came into the world; the individual dies, but human life arises anew in the following generation (169, 12). The Biak people, on the other hand, emphasize personal resurrection. To them death is a violent crisis, and the individual resurrection is deferred until *Koreri*.

The moon cult to which F. J. F. van Hasselt refers consists of a very simple ceremony. "When the men are away on a voyage to Tidore or Seram, the wives and sisters come together on the day preceding the reappearance of the moon, and at one o'clock in the afternoon they begin to sing to the accompaniment of the *tifa* (drum) or gong. On seeing the new crescent they shout for joy. They say, 'Now our friends see the moon too, now we know that they are well'. They also claim that sickness and death would strike their friends if they were to omit this singing. Apparently the moon is invoked as a tutelary deity..." (127, 30).

Though this information is a little vague, a parallel is found in the



ceremony in which the young men are brought outside after initiation. Their skins rubbed with oil they enter the dance place. When there is a halo round the moon the Biak people say, "The moon makes a circle around the men's house" (*paik i yar sram*), which they explain as signifying that the moon clears the dance place around the men's house in order to take up its abode there. During the initiation ceremony they implore eternal life for the young men. The women then sing, marking the transition from the dark of seclusion (death and the contact with the land of souls and the ancestors) to the light of their entrance (accepted as full members of the society) in the dance place (the world).

The singing during the men's absence in the west (symbolically the country of the dead) has the function of invoking and effecting their resurrection (return). It is auspicious to see the moon reappear (*i.e.* returning to life). If the crescent is obscured by clouds it is a bad omen.

In ancient mythical times the moon lived on earth among the people. Like the moon, man was doomed to die but always came to life again. According to a Numfor myth this came to an end when the people were deceived by a werewolf. Owing to the disobedience of man who allowed himself to be tempted, the power of resurrection was lost and from then on man died for good. "If the people had been more discerning we would still return to life as invariably as the moon" (P. Wandow, manuscript).

Nowadays when someone has died and the crescent moon appears a few days later, the next of kin weep loudly for their deceased relative who will not come to life again. Our informant added, "Many younger people do not know this story, though formerly it was known to everyone".

In the myth of Wakui-Wosei, which is performed in Windessi at the end of the mourning ceremony, a giant snake harrasses the whole region but is vanquished by the twin brothers Semiri (the sun) and Mandoi (the moon) who are born out of the only remaining woman (16, 572-574). Here the sun and the moon are brothers. The Beserese Biak people say the same of Ori and Paik (sun and moon). The sun and the moon were originally terrestrial beings related to man. They managed to escape death and ascended to the firmament: to the Biak people the land of souls and the starry sky are identical and perpetual resurrection reigns in both these regions. Some clans worship the sun as *Nanggi* (Lord Sky), but in a number of myths the latter cedes his power to people who prove to possess stronger magical powers than *Nanggi* himself (*cf.* pp. 14 and 87, text).

According to the criteria of P. Ehrenreich and Schmidt the figure of the Old Man in the main myth displays distinct moon-mythical features, though not in the parallel myths where the child Sekfamneri, or the brothers, sun and moon, overcome the giant snake (for the meaning of the name Sekfamneri see p. 18). The Old Man goes from west to east, then departs in a westerly direction whence he will return one day. On analysis it becomes evident that there is at least one moon cycle to be discerned in the life of the Old Man and after his metamorphosis. As an Old Man he travels in a small canoe from west to east, and then his disguise comes to an end. The Morning Star reveals the secret to him, which then takes full effect in the following way. After the birth of the child (four days) the dance of the four generations is performed (four days), after which the relatives depart in anger. The foursome remains behind, and then it turns out that the Old Man gives off light, for it is light in his room. He gives his son a yellow banana (crescent moon). Four days after this the baptism by fire takes place, from which he steps forward "in resplendent youth".

So twelve days elapse between the meeting with the Morning Star and the baptism by fire. During new moon the luminary is invisible for three days, after which it is visible for twenty-five days; it is full on the thirteenth day (baptism by fire).

Although the three days of complete darkness expected before Mangundi's return might be attributed to Christian influences, this period, as pointed out above, corresponds with the three days' voyage of the Old Man in the dark before he reaches the land of souls; there is every reason to assume that this period is analogous to the new-moon period. The cycle ends with the voyage of the resplendent youth as Manseren Koreri or Mangundi to the west, where he disappears and whence he will return one day.

This would seem to prove that the Old Man has some features appertaining to a moon-myth figure. But does it give us more insight into Biak society? The Biak people themselves deny any connection between the principal character and the moon. To them the myth is history. Perhaps the connection is based on the unconscious system behind the myths, which can only be discovered by historical reconstruction.

A close analysis of the myths reveals the heterogeneous combination of motifs. Around the principal personage a cumulation of mythical elements of a religious, sociological and psychological nature has taken place. In their own versions the different clans emphasize one or more

of these elements according to their interests and their geographical and historical backgrounds. But all the clans have this in common: the moon with its phases has become a symbolic quantity, a symbol of resurrection and *Koreri*.

When the Old Man recovered the secret of *Koreri* this victory became a historical fact. The mythical figures of "prehistoric" times have merged into this "historical" figure, this "ancestor", who has become the symbol of resurrection and has assumed the role of the moon. Unconsciously the moon symbols are applied to him. In this way he has taken the place of the moon, the symbol of the mythical past when the world of the living and that of the dead were one, as the symbol of the coming *Koreri*, the mythical future. He has become Manseren, Lord of, *Koreri*.

#### 6. *The animals in the myths*

Snakes and dragons have been mentioned above. They were evidently mythical beings: double-headed or of enormous size, symbolizing their character in their shape. But there are also real animals in the myths. In one well-known tale the cassowary, *manswar* (the loving bird), is represented as the twin brother of man (267, 162-163). He is killed by mistake. With its rudimentary wings the animal is the symbol of man who lost his former glory, became earth-bound and was doomed in spite of his real predisposition.

No animal equals the pig in social and economic importance. It is closely associated with the main component of the ceremonial food which the feast-giver is expected to provide as a return-gift. As valuables are bound up with the men's world, and finding and organizing them is one of the man's prerogatives, so the pig completely belongs to the women's world. The woman looks after — and sometimes even suckles — the animal. The distribution of the pieces of the slaughtered pig at a feast is the touchstone for the acknowledgment of rights in (and correct application of) the social organization. Lack of appreciation and quarrels on this score were very often causes for emigration. The pig is the symbol of the woman-providing *keret* and as such of the woman herself. In the brideprice (goods) and the pig the woman-receiving and the woman-providing *keret* oppose each other in a relationship of rivalry.

"The relation between affines, like the relation between future marriage partners, reflects the elemental division and in the same way both marriage and the repeated reconciliation in the myths of other parties who initially regard each other as weird beings, scabious creatures, snakes and pigs, but later discover, recognize and have intercourse with

each other as human beings, are symbols of the expected *Koreri*" (Kijne).

The disappointment of the principal character in the myth when his rights are not acknowledged is explained when we realize that the return-gift which he had borrowed from a relative to be able to participate in the festivities had now also lost its value. Sharing the pig here equals obtaining possession of the woman. This is comparable to a Bantu custom. Their bride-gift (*lobola*) consists of cattle, and the brother of the bride can say, "*elle est mes boeufs* (she is my cattle)" (216, 581).

Woman herself and the women's secret (connected with the land of souls and the secret of life) are represented, in the myth, by a pig. This becomes quite clear when we note, for instance, that the being from the land of souls, who enters the Old Man's garden in the guise of a pig, is identified with the Morning Star (Sampari). In West Seram, Tuwale gets a pig for a bride instead of Rabi for whom he has asked. In the story of Ameta the bride appears as a hideous, still disguised, creature. Ameta hunts the pig and it is drowned in a pool after which it floats to the surface with a coconut on its tusk. From this nut a tree grows with great rapidity, and the tree bears the child Hainuwele (169, 49 and 59).

In Waropen mythology the pig is the women's guide to the men's world and thus the agent that caused men and women to start living together, which in turn led to the relative order, social organization. As an animal of the relative order it has become the symbol of the absolute order, *Koreri*, in the same way as marriage — the condition for collaboration and the circulation of foodstuffs — could, in the form of "sacred marriage", become a symbol of *Koreri*.

In Biak mythology, too, there is a bride who appears in the guise of a pig. She is a pig-princess, who resurrects a dead girl by pouring dew into her mouth (133, 498). In the Windessi myths a number of marriages between men and pigs occur (15, 463). In Biak it is a pig which gives birth to a human child out of the curve of its hind leg (text).

In Biak society treasures (valuables) are the men's supreme pre-occupation, and pigs that of the women. This is not only due to avarice and devotion to valuables or livestock, but treasures and pigs are conditions for the functioning of society and symbols of *Koreri*.

### 7. Acts of creation by the principal personages in the myths

Though the creator of culture, man is not as such the center of attention. Culture is thought to be of a supernatural order and to have been instituted for the ancestors after the ancient mythical times came

to an end. To the Biak people, in fact, culture is only a substitute, a relative makeshift in the absence of the absolute and eternal. *The* problem for them, as Kijne expresses it, is that "*hal yang padat dan tetap itu berisi harga, tetapi tidak hidup, dan hal yang lalu itu berisi hidup, tetapi fana*" (what is permanent and stable is full of value but does not live, and what is transitory is full of life but does not last) (202a, 3).

The origin of culture is regarded as an act of creation which Biak people attribute to anthropomorphous figures. Such acts of creation mainly concern objects in the world of the humans. In addition to islands, fruit trees, and fishing-reefs, these are mostly culture goods and institutions such as are commonly attributed to culture heroes. Manggundi draws a canoe in the sand and it becomes a real canoe floating on the water. This is a frequently occurring theme. Eight times in different myths it is described how in this way canoes, houses, and people were created. Manggundi comes closest to the character of a culture hero when, by throwing tools — axe, hatchet, fishing net, planting stick — and giving instructions, for instance, for building plank canoes, he determines the peoples' future ways of life. One of the manuscripts contains the story of the man who, having climbed up to the Lord Sky along a water-spout and on account of his knowledge of potent magic having been allowed to take the place of the Lord Sky, throws down fruits and the models of canoes and houses to the earth — a suggestive metaphor for the inspiration of artists and architects (text).

The most important thing for the people of to-day is magic power, *or*, the word that is found in *ori* (sun), and *konori* (son of Manggundi and herald of his return); it really means: to have the powers which the mythical ancestors possessed. Magical devices are also called *or*. To possess them is to be able to control nature, and that is why all the mythical creatures which serve as disguises for the ancestors also have this power. The miracle-working, creating, human being is thus ranked with the heroes of ancient mythical times. The same is true of prominent persons in recent times, as has become evident in the movements.

### 8. *The function of the clan sanctuary as the center of mythical power and the moveability of this center*

It has long been obscure what function the buildings called *Rum Sram* in the Numfor and Biak language, and *Anio Sara* in Windessi, fulfilled. In view of some data supplied by P. Wandow from the papers left by F. J. F. van Hasselt, and of information provided by Kijne, I think the question should be considered anew, as this material

seems to prove that the relation between Manseren Manggundi and the *Rum Sram* was not as the Etna Report suggested (254, 155-156).

It was thought originally that these buildings were connected with ancestor worship, or that they were men's houses in which the young men stayed and went through a kind of pedagogic course. Here follows first Kijne's information on the *Anio Sara* of Dusner, which is important to us because Dusner is a former Biak settlement. Briefly the myth of its origin is as follows.

In ancient times an old man, Mandomaka, and a snake, Nawusoi (Ina-Wuso), are living near the source of a small river between Wasior and Sobei, where the snake lies tied to the original *Anio Sara*. When on one of his trips to the coast the old man is robbed by a boy he threatens him and says, "If you do not bring me your sister for a wife within three days I will bring a dense darkness and a cloud-burst over you all". The boy is so frightened that he says nothing to his parents, and old Mandomaka fulfils his threat. He curses the country, leaves in anger and never comes back. "In this way that first time of security and well-being came to an end. Chaos and evil broke loose, caused by the snake Nawusoi, no longer kept in check by its partner". The whole village is destroyed and the snake crawls away, dragging the *Anio Sara* with it.

The *Anio Sara* runs aground on a big rock, but the building gets afloat again when two brothers appear, one of whom pierces the rock on which it is stuck. From the hole a deluge emerges. The other brother jumps on to the *Anio Sara*, and he sings and dances while floating on the big flood past all the Wandamen villages. But nowhere is his song understood, except in Dusner, where he is washed ashore. Here the building is dragged on to the shore and put upright again. "In this way a new security arose, a new time of well-being".

Evidently Nawusoi, the snake, has vomited the flood and is itself lost in the deluge. At intervals during the wandering of the *Anio Sara* a number of beams have apparently come loose, so many that one is washed ashore at each village in Wandamen Bay. These become the main piles of their various *Anio Sara*.

Several young men's houses were supported by two main piles, while those of Waropen are known to have been supported by one only. Curiously enough various Biak texts say that the *Rum Sram* stood on one pile, though in reality this was not so. I think these stories show what is regarded as the ideal situation while also indicating that the square *Rum Sram*, though resting on many piles, actually represent this one original building. People did not venture to imitate this dangerous

construction in a real building. The house in Dusner was the abode of the Lord of the *Anio Sara*. It was divided into a front and a rear part. In the center there apparently stood a main column in the form of a cross. The rear part was the sanctuary of the Lord. "... But this Lord is no longer there; by sacrificing himself he has transferred his state of well-being to all the men of Dusner. He hung a beam or spear in the top of the *Anio Sara* and lay down beneath it. This object fell and pierced him, and there was a flood of blood all around him. After that the initiation rites for the young men (*tubo*) were started. For the good of Dusner (and apparently ultimately for the good of all Wandamen) the *Anio Sara* had to be maintained in good order. All the bits of string that held together the *atap* of the roof had to point in one direction. When a calamity occurred the *Anio Sara* was inspected and usually a knot was soon found pointing in the wrong direction..." (Kijne).

From the material collected by Wandow it appears that the *Anio Sara* of Dusner is also associated with *Manseren Boryas* (the *Manseren Nanggi* of the Biak people). The presence of *Manseren Boryas* was symbolized by smoke. When the building was nearly hidden from view by heavy smoke the people knew that he was there. Through this smoke the novices entered the building. They had to sit down in the room called *sim araryor* (room of supplications).

The initiated were seated in the next room. They were called *mandowondi* (men of the outside), here signifying "sacred", that is, "different", or as Kijne terms it, men who have knowledge of the other side. The other side is the "essence", the secret of the land of souls and the ancestors. The task of these men was to initiate the young men. In the *sim araryor* they supplicated *Manseren Boryas* to grant successful crops and to avert sickness, but above all to grant the young men eternal life. The novices were told that the prohibitions imposed were subject to sanctions from *Manseren Boryas*.

Kijne mentions a center column which was joined to a short cross-beam in the top of the building, so that a cross was formed. From Wandow's data it now appears that on top of this cross-beam there was a small room with a name clearly denoting its function: *sim besininba* (the room that is to be avoided). I suspect that this room was regarded as the abode of *Manseren Boryas*. Held, discussing the men's house in Waropen, mentions a myth in which the men were said to live "with a grandfather who stayed in the loft" (149, 153). Concerning the Humboldt Bay, which the Biak people call *Sup Tabi* (country of the sun), Jouwe gives some curious data. In his paper on the Seu movement

of 1927-35 he includes an illustration of the *Rumah Bari*. This house, in which a new cult was celebrated on a traditional basis, has windows in the top on the east and the west side. Entrance to the *sisi* (room) on the east side was forbidden to everyone except the leader. "*Tiap pagi, sebelum . . . 'air kelepasan dan kesembuhan' diberikan kepada orang sakit, pertama-tama air itu ditundjuk kepada matahari dari djendela ketjil itu*". (Every morning, before the water of deliverance and healing was offered to the sick, first of all this water was exposed to the sun from that little window) (174, Appendix I). A big eagle stands on top of the building.

The importance of this information is clear when one realizes that the Biak people originally came from the east. The "healing water" is immediately reminiscent of the "*air kabal*", the invulnerable-making water used during the great movement of 1938-43. A man from Soweik obtained this water by placing a bowl of water under a little window made below the ridge of his roof in such a way that "the sun could shine into it during the zenith period". Of these same Biak people and of some other groups it is known that they invoke the sun as *Nanggi*. They celebrate the *Fan Nanggi* at noon. The sun is also called *Mon Beba* (in this case, "the great demon or deity"). One of the oldest texts includes a description of a ceremony performed for an eagle (*manggangan*); this ceremony is practically identical with that of the *Fan Nanggi* (text). In another text, *Boryasdi* is identified with *Nanggi*: "*Boryasdi isoine Nanggi*" (*Boryasdi* that is *Nanggi*). It is also worth noting that in Tabati (Humboldt Bay) the same word, *tab*, is used for sun and for rain. In the Biak language *Nanggi* means firmament as well as rain.

These facts would seem to lead to the following conclusions. Some Biak groups still have a sun cult which most of them have confused with the cult of *Nanggi*, the firmament. The still existing cult of the eagle, which is associated with the sun, bears witness to this. The name *Boryasdi* ("the one from above") is neutral; it may mean the sun, but also *Nanggi*. Among most Biak and Numfor people it has come to mean the latter, but the Numfor people tend to replace *Nanggi* by the divine ancestors, whom they also call *Mon Beba*. Among the Biak people there has probably been a historical development from sun worship to the worship of *Nanggi*, while the mythical ancestors in their turn may take the place of the latter. At least this seems to have happened in the case of the *Anio Sara* in Dusner, where the novices had to imitate the fate of the mythical ancestor, the original Lord of the *Anio Sara*. One of them was made to die in the same way. The blood and brains of the



youth were mixed with the sago mash to form the secret power-giving food of the *Anio Sara*. "It is no longer possible to ascertain", says Kijne, "whether this sacrifice actually took place or whether some kind of substitute ceremony was performed". Wandamen families who sought prominent positions for their sons had them initiated in the *Anio Sara* of Dusner. Initiated men (*tubo*) were important dignitaries. Through the repetition of the sacrifice, and the stay in the sacral space, they obtained knowledge of the secret of life and shared the power of *Boryas* and the ancestors. They were also buried in a special way, just behind the village and in a sitting posture with their hands in front of their eyes like field-glasses, evidently (writes Kijne) in order to hold the village in their beneficial gaze forever.

Thus the *Anio Sara* that had been constructed around a washed-shore pile of the original *Anio Sara* were considered inferior to the real building in Dusner. Wandow confirms this and writes, "There were in that region only two real *Rum Sram*, one in Dusner and one in Yomber (on the Island of Roswar); the houses called *Rum Sram* elsewhere were not real ones".

Nowadays all the young men's houses in the northern Geelvink Bay are called *Anio Sara* or *Rum Sram*, but in Biak they are sometimes called *Yaberdares Snonman* or simply *Sram*. As F. J. F. van Hasselt pointed out, this was misleading. "What Mr. F. de Bruyn saw in Biak and described as *Rum Sram* are the young men's houses which the people used to build near the *Rum Sram*, like the buildings still found near the spirit temples in the eastern part of North New Guinea. In the Schouten Islands the *Rum Sram* fell into disuse about 1897 when the last *Rum Sram* in the Doreh Bay collapsed and was not rebuilt. The smallpox epidemic of that time proved fatal for these temples" (137, 108-9). The Mission was not established in Biak until 1908, therefore the *Rum Sram* lost their importance through internal causes; they failed in a violent crisis.

It is clear that the *Rum Sram* and the Windessi *Anio Sara* were sanctuaries, not only for one clan but for a whole region. The Wandamen people recognized the new center in spite of the fact that it was in the care of the Biak immigrants, their enemies, who continued to call the building *Rum Sram*.

The myth of origin is obviously also of Biak provenance: only the people of Dusner understood the words sung by the Lord of the *Anio Sara*. Who was the Lord who took the place of old Mandomaka? Was he a mythical ancestor? Surely more than that, for the *Anio Sara* was more

than a clan sanctuary. *Manseren Boryas* (*Manseren Nanggi*) fulfilled a central function during the ritual described above, for he took the place of the Lord of the *Anio Sara* after the latter had sacrificed himself.

Another question is whether the Biak people introduced their *Nanggi* cult into the Wandamen region. It is worth noting that during the *Fan Nanggi* a specific clan shaman (or preferably two) acted on behalf of members of more than one clan, so that it became a total ritual. With the Biak people *Nanggi* was not worshipped in the *Rum Sram* as far as we know. But it is possible that, either through decentralization or due to the decline of the cult in these buildings, the *Fan Nanggi* continued to be celebrated as a total ritual, though now performed in the open air.

As regards the *Anio Sara* of Dusner it would seem that, through the absolute sacrifice of the Lord of the *Anio Sara*, *Manseren Boryas* (or *Manseren Nanggi*), the Lord of all life and well-being, was associated with this building and further that the people made sure of his ties with this specific place by repeating the sacrifice, or a substitute ritual, at the initiation.

The well-known *Rum Sram* of Dore has a curious shape: a double roof with upward curving ends like a canoe with a high stem and stern (254, Appendix S). About Sawari Rumbabe and Bari Rumburen, the founders of the settlements of Dore and Rowdi, K. W. Galis gives the following information: "... One day these two came with their relatives to the Doreh Bay looking for the lost Manseren Manggundi, the Lord of Heaven..." (103, 107). This identification of Manggundi with *Nanggi* (the actual Lord Sky) is probably due to a misunderstanding. What is important, however, is that Galis gives the names of the men who, according to various data at my disposal, were also the founders of the *Rum Sram* of Dore. The Etna Report says about this, "The old man (Manggundi) commanded before his death that, in remembrance of the miraculous origin of the Myfor clans, a house should be constructed for each clan, to be built by all but to remain empty, in which the memory of the forefathers or ancestors is kept alive by effigies, and also that all unmarried young men should nightly guard this house up to their betrothal" (254, 156).

We will let the motivation in this last quotation rest, since the part preceding it contains some errors too. It says that Manggundi died in Numfor, but if they really believed this the men would not have gone and looked for him in a westerly direction, unless the West is to be regarded as the mythical center, the country of the dead.

The connection between the foundation of the *Rum Sram* and Manggundi is, however, very plausible. In analogy to the origin of the Biak *Anio Sara* of Dusner it even seems quite probable. The Lord of the *Anio Sara* restrained and governed the powers of the underworld, and because the people of Dusner recognized him this place became a center of mythical power. Manggundi was a human being equipped with all the features of a moon-mythical figure, and he secured the secret of *Koreri*, from the land of souls and the starry sky.

When the leaders of the two Numfor *keret* went to the west, they left the mythical center, their island, behind. They founded the *Rum Sram* and built it in the shape of a canoe lying at anchor. In the center of the roof there is an elevation resembling the *papidan* (house) over the *keret* or *er* of a canoe, the seat of the prominent persons. Stern and stern are decorated with a ball like a melon, representing the valuable beads, the treasures of the ancestors. Here the ancestors were worshipped, the great *Mon Beyawawos* (the speaking dead) who were sometimes identified with Manseren *Nanggi*. For it was emphatically claimed that *Nanggi* had his abode in this house. I suppose that the *papidan* on the building had the same function as the *sim besininba*, the small room over the cross-beam in the top of the *Anio Sara*. Manggundi sometimes has the attributes of *Nanggi*. In the myths, too, *Nanggi* frequently yields his place to persons with special powers. One wonders why no *korwar* was ever made of Manggundi. Is it because it is firmly believed that, possessing the secret of eternal life, he never died?

It seems to me that Manggundi is supposed to be in the land of souls as a human being, not as the spirit of a dead man. This is why more is expected of him than of the spirits. A Manggundi movement aims higher, promising more than did the ritual performed in the sanctuaries. It may well be that the failure of the ritual to produce the desired results in times of disaster and crisis, even in such personal crises as sickness and death, gave rise to the suspicion that deliverance was not really certain, or that the mythical power center had been moved. Possibly this is one of the reasons why in Biak the *Rum Sram* fell into disuse, or at least were not connected with the Messiah movements. But in Dore and Dusner (*cf.* the historical survey) the movements led to the rebuilding of the *Rum Sram*, thus bringing a restoration in both the literal and the figurative sense.

Among the Numfor people no movements occurred after the collapse of the *Rum Sram* and their failure to build new ones, but among the Biak people movements arose both before and after their last real *Rum*

*Sram* collapsed (1897). And in fact the movements are more compatible with the Biak culture, with its emphasis on charismatic rather than inherited prestige. Here we find the struggle with history, the struggle against the uniqueness of life and of all that happens, the straight line, to gain the cycle, the repetition of the eternal order of *Koreri*. It is the attempt to combine the eternal, the secure, the treasures which are permanent, with life which is temporary (*Kijne*). This combination does exist in the land of souls and the firmament.

In the myth the human world is called "the world that is still in the husk", that is, still subject to sleep, hunger, poverty, old age, and death. In this world people live outside the secret which has been revealed, on yonder side, to the dead in the underworld and the firmament. The moon, returning to life again each time, symbolizes the escape from earthly limitations.

Here and there, in particular places, the secret was revealed and fastened down; things mythical were geographically bound, as in Meokwundi, Meosbefondi, Numfor, Dusner and Dore. But only incidentally, for the revelation has never been completed; through the stupidity and wickedness of the people the opportunity was lost time and again. The secret disappeared. Where did it go?

This question, too, is answered in the myths. Everything goes to show that the moveability of the center of mythical power is a basic notion in this culture. The native country and the cult centers are only relatively important. The fact that the center of mythical power could move, as shown in the myths, facilitated migration. This center is always associated with the source of the flood from the underworld. After their migration to Biak the Mamberamo river, in olden times for these people the extreme west where the sun set, became the powerful south. In the Wandamen Bay and the south of the Geelvink Bay called *Swandirwu* (origin of the sea), there was another such center. This is mentioned in the story of the great flood in the myth of Mandomaka, and also in a myth describing how those of Ambumi came to be separated from the other Waropen people: their rafts were dispersed by the great flood from the south (text). In the myth of Manyova, as recorded by G. Mandowen of Numfor, the origin of the Geelvink Bay is explained. In order to punish his subjects for their disobedience Manyova caused the plain to be flooded, which put an end to the mythical past. The Island of Biak, whose highest mountain hardly rose above sea level, became the new center.

This center could apparently be moved, or there were several centers:

Numfor, Meosbefondi, and afterwards, farther to the west, Ayau (north of Waigeo). In fact the center or centers moved ever farther westward, for the mythical west receded as the geographical west became known through the voyages to Tidore, the Moluccas, etc. The West, the land of souls, was at the same time the source of power and riches in the form of ceremonial exchange-goods.

In the myth of Mandomaka it is shown how the center moved from Wasior-Sobei to Dusner. The new center was not always near the old. Kijne writes, "In Rasie (Wandammen Bay) the story is told that, after the great flood, a man who had taken refuge on a mountain descended to the beach, made a canoe there, and paddled out of the bay looking for the origin of the flood. Near the Island of Rumberpon he met a man who was on his way south for the same reason, for the land of origin (*Swandirwu*, the origin of the sea) had always lain in that direction. The man from Wandammen indicated to the other that they should now paddle northward and then to the west. In this way they went on until they came to Tidore. There they found the origin of the flood. They received an *airora* (magic wand) with which they could make everything. Endowed with this power they returned to their country. During the voyage they lived on the fish that they conjured out of the water".

According to Kijne this myth shows that there was a time of crisis when the source of eternal bliss was thought to have been transferred from the original and actual south to the now fascinating Island of Tidore. Thus the idea of salvation is coupled with what is regarded as a center of power. In the same way the decline or breakdown of the center of power causes the notion of Manggundi to be transferred, for instance, to Holland, Japan, or later America. Evidently the secret of ultimate well-being is believed to exist somewhere on earth all the time, namely wherever there is thought to be a center of power and riches. This belief that their region constituted a center of mythical power has been the mainstay of all world empires.

From the above it is clear that the mythical south means the original west, associated with the land of souls. This would seem to be the reason why the west (wherever it was supposed to be) always remained connected with the dead.

The myth recorded by Kijne and the conclusions to be drawn from it increase our understanding of the conceptions of the Biak people as laid down in the newest versions of the main myth. It is the evident moveability of the center of mythical power that makes these people

accessible to anything coming from the west, because they can incorporate it in their myths.

As in the Middle Ages the Europeans on discovering a new country invariably thought they had found the "gold-land", so new perspectives, but in a much deeper mythical sense, opened for the Biak people with regard to their *Koreri* when they got acquainted with the west. The ever-receding geographic west was seen against the background of their mythical west (*cf.* for Chapter V 149a, *passim*).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ADVENT NIGHTS

The nights of waiting for the arrival of Manseren Manggundi, the Messiah, which are spent singing and dancing, are of the greatest importance for our knowledge of the nature of the movements. This importance lies not only in their organization and in the fact that each *keret* plays its own role but especially in the songs used on these occasions. The order in which they are sung reflects the rising tension among the participants.

The believers come to the village of the *konoor* in answer to his proclamation. It is not necessary for everyone to go to the center, for those who remain behind take the same measures as those at the center, only on a smaller scale. The preparations that have to be made are the same for both groups. Houses are renovated and enlarged for the reception of the risen dead, and food, water, firewood and lighting materials are collected for the three days and nights of darkness that will precede the beginning of *Koreri*.

Those who have remained in their villages assemble with their *keret* in the largest house of the clan. The participants who have travelled to the *konoor* village are accommodated in the houses of friends and later enter the dance-place (*bubes*) *keret* by *keret*. The largest dance-place in the center of the village is used, or else a level space outside the village, specially prepared for the purpose. This is often on the beach, if the high tide leaves sufficient space there.

In the house of the *konoor* himself only those are admitted who have fully embraced the belief in the coming of Manggundi, and have proved it by the most drastic measures, the killing of their pigs, the destruction of their gardens, etc. As a rule, the leaders of the "pilgrim groups" belong to this category. But the *konoor* himself remains out of sight. With a number of other dedicated persons he stays in his own room, where he "keeps the secret". Sometimes he exhibits parts of it — miraculous objects and glittering articles made in foreign countries — or he makes peculiar sounds which are meant to convince the participants that part

of *Koreri* has already come. Sometimes there is a screen, a special partition which "divides heaven from earth" (151, 184). Behind the screen is the land of souls; those who sit there are different creatures and all objects there are of the *Koreri* order. This may perhaps be regarded as an instance of imitative magic.

During the Advent nights no fire must be lit anywhere, and fishing with flares on the reefs is forbidden, for a miraculous light is expected, that will descend as once the Morning Star descended to the Old Man. To make a light would be a sign of doubt that might keep Manggundi away. It was because of disbelief and ridicule that he originally departed, so the fullest belief should now be shown.

On the first day the dancing (*wor*) begins toward sunset and on the following day at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the hour at which the "long night" is expected to begin. The first meeting starts with a *wor beyuser* called *do besower* (song of homage). The participants assemble around the house of the *konoor* and sing, "Good evening, good evening, hail to the owner of this house. Brother! Good evening, good evening, hail to the prince, the owner of this house, yes, this house".

Until midnight they sing the various melodies in a specific order. They dance (*wor*) to the songs, or sing them to the accompaniment of hour-glass drums. The texts differ from *keret* to *keret* and often have a kind of monopoly value. On no account is anyone allowed to sing (weep) other songs of mourning than those of his own *keret*. The songs are grouped as follows.

1. *Beyuser Koreri*. The *beyuser* is a narrative song about a great variety of subjects. It is used to reproduce events or to praise, ridicule, or even abuse persons or things either allusively or by direct narrative.

These evenings are usually begun with a general *beyuser* not directly concerned with the *Koreri*, but later this becomes the main subject. It seems that only the Old Man's kin are allowed to sing those passages that directly refer to Manggundi. This song is performed in the *wor* form, enacting the cycle with the successive generations following each other, the men in front with the drums, the women behind them, turning round and round. When the Old Man is represented he comes last with his stick and a bundle of leaves (151, 203).

2. *Do Erisam*. At about 10 o'clock they begin to sing the *erisam*. This form is commonly used during long canoe voyages "*insa si pok ro soren*" (in order to be strong at sea). It is a true travelling song, but it is also



used in the celebration of victories, and as such it is a fighting song in praise of the effort and the battle that lead to victory. *Koreri* is at hand, the dead are on their way, and together with them the believers fight the difficulties that remain to be overcome.

3. *Do Beba* (the great song). At about midnight the *erisam* passes into this form. This is the song of the victory, a victory that is anticipated with vehemence and boldness. It is a *wor* form used to celebrate a successful *hong*-trip, when the sea-farers return to their village with captured slaves.

4. *Randan*. Some two hours after midnight the *randan* begins. This is the Song of the Return, in this case the return of Manseren Manggundi. With increasing intensity all participate in it, and the tension grows because this dance will be followed immediately by the

5. *Tandia* (*Sandia*). A *wor* which is danced "to test" (*mas saso*), that is, to test the solidity of a newly built house. It was pointed out above that the houses were renovated and enlarged for the dead who were to be resurrected. This dance is performed in these houses. The whole crowd dances across the rattling floor boards and then hurries outside — the dead may appear at any moment now, the houses are ready.

The approaching arrival of the dead is meanwhile also demonstrated in dances of ecstasy, which become particularly frequent towards morning. Some especially prepare for this by taking no food all night and drinking nothing but palm-wine. Sometimes the ecstasy takes on a collective character and the people succumb to it despite themselves. This may grow to such proportions that a whole house may shake with the convulsions of the "possessed". The glossolalia that occurs in these persons is believed to be caused by the spirits of the dead who have already arrived and who announce themselves by speaking through the mouths of media. They are not only the spirits of compatriots but also those of foreigners, Dutchmen, Chinese, etc., souls that wish to participate in the general *Koreri*. While some are in ecstasy, others go on with the regular program of the nights.

6. *Kayob Kumesri*. The *kayob* (song of mourning) of the Morning Star is sung towards daybreak. *Kayob* is the name of any song celebrating the ancestors, their deeds, possessions, songs, voyages, victories, etc.

Although the people say "*ko kanes kayob*" (we weep the *kayob*) it is done in an ordinary singing tone but slowly, with poignant sound variations which are sometimes reminiscent of weeping. In the *kayob* they honor the ancestors, and when the Numfor people participate they sing this form all night through, alternating it with the other songs mentioned above. The Biak people, however, aim at a climax in which the tension among the participants grows as morning approaches. They do not sing the *kayob* for the Morning Star only, but go on to include all the dead.

The special *kayob kummesri* (Sampari), also called *yuser dorek* (the narrative song of dawn) goes as follows. "Great Lord, ah, do not be dangerous, do not be dangerous so that I can follow the dawn" (see p. 30). "Sampari, the Morning Star, descended on the wood [tree]; this wood was thrown, thrown towards the woman. He threw like a man who seized [seized the Morning Star], he threw towards her breast, he [the star that was caught by the Old Man] was lost".

My informant Mandof (235a) said that during the singing of this passage the participants identify themselves with the Old Man in his victorious struggle with the Morning Star. But during the great movement there were others who thought of Jacob wrestling with the Angel at the ford Jab'bok (Gen. 32 : 24-27).

While singing the *kayob* each *keret* calls up its own dead, those they have known and those long forgotten, "so that no one will remain behind". Only *keret* members may join in this song. Some dances (*wor*) are sung by all participants, and as the melodies are the same, the textual differences of the various clans give no trouble. During the great meetings, where thousands of people had gathered and hundreds of drums were used, as for instance in Rani, this must have been overpoweringly impressive. One participant formulated it as follows, "If Rani had been a ship we would have danced it to the bottom on those nights".

Particularism, stimulated by the *keret* texts especially in the *kayob*, could go very far, witness the prayer by a participant from Sorido, "Ah Lord, turn this world round so that it may exist no longer; let the *Koreri* come quickly, and when it comes, grant that it begins in Sorido".

In the singing of the *beyuser Koreri* those parts of the poetical text are selected in which the principal character can show his proficiency in mime. The passage about the inquiry into the paternity question is especially suitable for this purpose. When these parts are enacted the representatives of the participating *keret* (*damai*, p. 165) take the lead.

Like the simplified form of the *Fan Nanggi* which is also occasionally celebrated at midnight, these performances may assume the form of a total ritual. In Biak the total ritual is rare; except for the *Fan Nanggi*, which is more general, it takes the collective tension of an Advent night to break through the lines that divide the *keret*, and even then there are such particularists as the man from Sorido.

During these nights the people are allowed to sleep in turns, but they must lie down with their knees drawn up (the position of the novices in the *kamboi* [seclusion]) lest they "kick the *Koreri* away" with their outstretched legs. This is the position for the uninitiated, those who are socially incomplete, and in this case, those who are "still in the husk" (p. 24). But the true believers do not sleep. By watching through the night they demonstrate and anticipate the *Koreri* in which they will no longer be subject to sleep. When dawn breaks and it turns out that the "long night" has not begun, or *Koreri* has not appeared, the participants are allowed to go to their gardens, or to the beach to fish. But only the sceptics go.

Not everyone expects the same of the *Koreri*. Some people think that food will descend from heaven, others believe that with the coming of *Koreri* hunger will cease to exist, to be replaced by a perpetual feeling of satiety. With respect to the beginning of the *Koreri* there are similar differences. According to some it will be preceded by the "long night", but others do not believe in such a period.

When the people have been together in this way for a number of nights (four or eight), they finally disperse. They are "tired of waiting", but put the blame for the non-arrival of *Mangguni* and *Koreri* on the many who did not join in. They do not reproach the *konoor*, although some do accuse him of deception and demand compensation. After the movement of 1912, in which many had killed their pigs, a feud arose between the followers and the members of the *konoor's keret* which was to last many years. Only rarely do the disappointed participants take action against those who failed to join in but, as we shall see below, the scoffers play with their lives. Sometimes an ambitious *konoor*, casting about for reasons for the failure, uses the opportunity to air personal grievances against the authorities and foreigners. The history of such movements in all parts of the world has many examples of the lengths to which an excited crowd may go when fasting and dancing have made it lose normal critical control of itself.

## CHAPTER VII

# HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENTS

1855-1967

### *Introduction*

What is a *Manseren* movement? The messianic movements among the Biak and Numfor people came to be known by this name, but the participants themselves speak of *Koreri* belief or of "making *Koreri*". A *Koreri* movement is a concentration of small or large groups of believers preparing for the return of Manseren Manggundi which is to usher in the revelation of *Koreri*. They prepare for this by dancing in specific centers during a number of consecutive nights. In its first stage such a movement consists of members of one clan; as rumors of the movement spread it is joined by members of other clans and even of other tribes.

A movement comes into being with the appearance of a herald, a *konoor*, who claims to have had a vision or dream of Manseren Manggundi announcing his approaching return. This return will usher in *Koreri* (*Koreri sheben*), the dead will be resurrected and the living will be changed (*rer*) into creatures of *Koreri*. A time of abundance will begin, and "treasures" and food will be within everyone's grasp.

To prepare and speed up this return the believers must respond to the appeal of the *konoor* and assemble in the place indicated in his message. They must give him the desired tribute (*som*), cease keeping or eating pigs and growing *labu*, and demonstrate their belief by dancing for several nights on end.

De Bruyn speaks of three essential characteristics which must be present in a true *Koreri* movement: *konoor*, *Manseren*, and *Koreri* (precursor, deliverer, and metamorphosis, 54, 314). As far as *Manseren* and *Koreri* are concerned, however, this definition refers only to the *expected* order of events, for nowhere did a movement develop beyond the *konoor* stage. The expected *Manseren* never came, nor did *Koreri*. But it may be said that a movement was not a true *Koreri* movement, or at least not a complete one, if one of these three elements was lacking in the proclamation of the *konoor*.

We shall see, however, that the *konoor* stage itself may be divided into three distinct periods or stages:

1. The individual stage, in which the seer either gets dreams or visions, or else as it were prepares himself for the *konoorship*, by a successful career as a medicine man or shaman (*mon*).
2. The proclamation stage, in which the *konoor* proclaims that he has had a vision of Manggundi and now calls upon the people to rally and bring tribute. This is a risky step for him, since people will not be prepared to accept him as a true *konoor* without further proof. In answer to his message deputations are sent to form an opinion.
3. The collective period, if the reports brought back by the reconnaissance parties are satisfactory. People then come and offer tribute, and sometimes take such extreme measures as clearing out or destroying their gardens or killing their pigs.

In the preceding chapter we saw how the days and nights were passed once the people had assembled. If the authorities did not interfere the movements usually came to an end when, after a series of such nights, the participants dispersed in disappointment.

The most curious aspect of these movements is the fact that, in spite of repeated disappointments, the people never gave up hope. For them it was always "not yet", and the next *konoor*, sometimes the very same person, could once more be assured of a following. The whole period of a hundred years to which our scanty data refer might therefore be summarized as "a century of disappointments and unbroken expectations". In the preceding chapters it was shown that this ineradicable hope was not meaningless if seen against the cultural background of the Numfor and Biak people.

The earlier reports did not speak of a *Manseren* or *Koreri* movement, but only of the appearance of a *konoor*. The son of Manarmakeri and Insoraki also bore this name. Since the myths do not contain a single reference to the son after Manseren Manggundi's departure there seems to be no connection between this son and the herald of the Return. But Fabritius reports that "they expect his son Konori to come back one day" and Goudswaard adds in a footnote, "Of a return of Manggundi they never speak; it is always Konori who is expected back" (113, 87), while Held says that the name of *Konoor* is also applied to the future

reincarnation of the Old Man on his return as the Messiah (149, 294). But these claims are at variance with our historical data. It is always the father who is expected to return. At most one meets the remark, "Manggundi has come and has for the time being reincarnated himself in the herald who calls himself *konoor*". In my view this is to be interpreted as follows: as in the Advent nights the souls of the dead who are to be resurrected are supposed to be temporarily reincarnated in the bodies of those participants who have attained a state of trance by dancing and drinking palm-wine, so Manggundi is supposed to have temporarily reincarnated himself in the *konoor*. This is sometimes confirmed by the *konoor*'s behavior. There is also a certain analogy between the child Konori who alone recognizes the true identity of his father, and the herald *konoor* who is the first to recognize the returning Manggundi in his dreams or visions.

Van Hasselt's dictionary gives for *konoor*, "One who represents himself as a herald of Manggundi or as the latter himself. In Roon and environs the word *konoor* is used to refer to what are elsewhere [among the Numfor and Biak people] called *mon*" (143, *s.v.*). This last remark explains the confusion in past reports on messianic movements. F. J. F. van Hasselt (132a, Nov. 22, 1921) says about it, "In the old reports and in other information on New Guinea *mon* and *konoor* are very often confused. The *mon* is the witch-doctor. In the Windessi and Wandammen languages he is called *inderrri*". J. L. D. van der Roest states that the *konoor* (in Windessi) is held in more respect than his colleague the *inderrri*, and is in touch with his 'lord' "whose abode is near the village in a hole in the rock" (294, 169).

It follows from this that the function of *konoor* exists not only in Roon but also in Windessi. The Numfor people, too, often use the term *konoor* instead of *mon*, so that it is always necessary to check whether they mean a herald of Manggundi or a medicine man or shaman.

In the Wandamen Bay the word *konoor* is also used for a triton shell. J. Eygendaal writes, "... it is supposed to contain creative forces. The shell is feared as well as honored. Great festivities are connected with it, which were vigorously opposed by the authorities..." (89, 61-62). The nature of these "festivities" is not made clear, but according to an oral communication by the same author there was a connection between these triton shells and the former sanctuary, the *Anio Sara* (see pp. 87ff.). It seems that after the collapse of this building in Dusner two triton shells were preserved as a representation of it. By "festivities" Eygendaal probably meant initiation rites, but there certainly was a link

between the messianic movements and the cult of the *Anio Sara* (see p. 88). Whether this connection still existed at the time about which Eygendaal writes (1911) is doubtful. I suspect that the use of the word *konoor* led the authorities to suppose that there was a *Koreri* movement involved.

The first report on the movements came from Captain Fabritius. After 1855 there are the reports of the missionaries who had established themselves in the Dore Bay. Although they recorded the myth of Manggundi they did not systematically investigate the movements based on it, so that their ideas were quite often confused. In their reports they did not deny the "earnestness of paganism" but they repeatedly fulminated against the "impostors". J. L. van Hasselt writes, "There is a deeply rooted popular belief in the return of their imagined prophet and clan headman Manggundi. Whence this phenomenon? Are we right in denouncing all these legends, which hold out a prospect of higher and better things, simply as deceit of the devil? Might not these things serve as a starting-point for the preaching of the Gospel? I for one do not hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative" (126, 1872, No. 1, p. 3).

In the following historical survey the present author does not wish to give the impression that we are at all well informed on the number and size of the movements of the past hundred years; on the contrary. But at least this outline may serve to show that they did take place and that their number was considerable even in the limited area under discussion.

## THE MOVEMENTS

### *The oldest report*

In the first reference to the figure of Manseren Manggundi, which occurs in a publication of January 1854, we read: "He is expected to return some day to found an earthly kingdom of plenty", but no mention is made of any movement as yet (279a, 383). In 1857 Fabritius came into contact with Goudswaard, who five years later published the data which had emerged in his conversations with Fabritius (113). This report contains the first description of a movement. In 1861, on the occasion of a later movement, Geissler alludes to a previous one with the words, "as happened before". Fabritius met Goudswaard in 1857,

so this first movement on record should be dated about 1855. The relevant report follows here in full.

1. *c. 1855 in Numfor*

"Some time ago a Papuan impostor returned from Tidore. He settled in Mafor [Numfor] and made it known that Konori was with him, and that the latter had now come to fulfil the expectations regarding him. Near his house the prophet had built another in which Konori was alleged to dwell but, as was to be expected, he kept him hidden all the time. Before Konori would make a beginning with the liberation of the people a great many offerings were to be brought to him. These arrived from all sides in great quantities, so that the impostor did well out of it. Finally he began to incite the people to cease paying tribute to the Sultan of Tidore, and when they protested that the Sultan would promptly retaliate by sending a *hong*i-fleet he assured them that Konori would destroy such a fleet with a single word. This had the desired result, the people readily believed his assurance and the Sultan did not receive any tribute. But no sooner did the Sultan hear the reason for the delay than he sent his ships against the recalcitrants, and when the people were punished the deceit came to light. The imagined divine messenger was none other than an old slave who had assisted his master in the latter's impostures and who had cleverly managed to keep up his role for a long time" (113, 93).

As was pointed out above, the voyages to Tidore for the purpose of paying tribute carried a certain prestige for the leader (p. 9). From the occurrence here described, and from a similar incident in 1884 (p. 127), it is evident that ambitious persons could use, or rather abuse, the situation and make a bid for the *konoorship* (54, 316). By his contact with the Sultan (while prostrating himself before the Sultan he would be allowed to touch the latter's big toe) the leader of a tribute voyage was thought to have been charged with special power. On his return the people greeted and touched him enthusiastically in order to get a share of the *barakas* (*berkat* = blessing). In this sphere of "secret power", removed to a new center (Tidore) with which contact had been established (p. 95), it was evidently possible to find credit for a *konoor*.

The resistance against the paying of tribute is a curious feature, but it is even more curious that control was exercised by Tidore in this form. Communication with Tidore was maintained by means of canoes and sailing vessels, and there was no question of a regular connection, so the movement may have continued for a fairly long period.



Unfortunately the report fails to mention any place-names, but the people concerned were presumably Numfor natives and not Biak immigrants, for an account of Numfor dating from the year 1858 mentions only three villages, and these are all genuine Numfor *keret* (clans) (254, 199).

## 2. 1860, Numfor

From the Island of Numfor, the original home of the Numfor people in the Dore Bay, the island where Manggundi had come to the fore as a creator of men and a culture hero, it was reported that two men had come forward claiming to be *konoor*. Missionary Ottow, who wrote about it, reports that their influence was already waning, from which we may conclude that these men had been agitating for some time and that the stage of the Advent nights had already been passed. Ottow writes, "their light is already very dim and I believe they will soon disappear in the dark. What enthusiasm there was for them in the beginning! And how much greater it would have been if we had not been here! Miraculous things were told about them. They had come from heaven (the Papuan heaven is deep down in the earth). The time was now at hand when heaven would break and all the dead would come to the surface of the earth. Then there would be an end of dying; food and drink would come to everyone without labor. Wonderful..." (266, 1861, 83).

Ottow comments that, as his readers could imagine, he had not kept silent in face of this "nonsense". He had told the inhabitants of Mansinam and Dore, his fellow-villagers, that they had better begin by waiting quietly to see whether the promises of the *konoor* would be fulfilled. He thought it a fair assumption that most of them had already abandoned courage and hope. "But", he writes, "people from there [Numfor, K.] would often come here with all kinds of stories by which the hope was revived every time. One of these people told me quite candidly what he believed and what he and his compatriots had already given to the *konoor*" (*ibid.*, 84).

Ottow then expresses his amazement at the credulity of the Papuans and says, "if I were a godless man I would also play the *konoor*". Now we know from later reports that foreigners have in fact done just that, for instance the Japanese in eastern New Guinea. But Ottow, who was the first to carry out a fairly detailed inquiry into the "manners and customs" of the population, might have known that the expectations concerning Manggundi's return were bound up with a whole complex

of social phenomena. Although the term was not used yet in those days, this case and many others are clear instances of "imitative magic" and there was no question of "downright deception and swindling" as the missionaries thought.

In the course of his account Ottow records a remark he made which is particularly curious in view of what happened later. He writes that more than once he challenged the "impostors" to come to Mansinam and take him with them as a witness next time they went to the Papuan heaven. "I also said they were impostors and if they really had the power they claimed to have they should cause me to die so that the people here might see they could do something" (*ibid.*). He goes on to say that the two *konoor* had not appeared yet, although they had promised to come. Two years later Ottow died. It is not recorded anywhere, but it stands to reason that his death was associated with the challenge he had so publicly expressed, and that it served to strengthen the belief in the power of Manggundi.

Mrs. Ottow, the first missionary's wife in New Guinea, writes about the two *konoor*, "The people claim that these two men have spent five days in the Papuan heaven which they suppose to be situated underneath the earth. Everything there is made of silver and gold, and the people wear warm clothes, for it is cold there, yet beautiful and glorious. And now, having been in heaven, they are regarded as saints omniscient like God and possessing a divine power enabling them to achieve that not a single Papuan will die any more..." (268, No. 22, p. 177). Ottow himself adds, "When they come, the two prophets will take me to their heaven. It seems that formerly this sort of thing took place very rarely, but lately there have been frequent occurrences..." (265, No. 22, p. 178).

Here, then, we have a movement in all its aspects. If we compare the data with the myth of the Old Man (*cf.* the section of Chapter II dealing with the hill of Yamnaibori) we find that all the important elements are there. The five-day trip to the underworld: one day for the journey there, a stay of three days, and one day for the return journey, these are features from the myth associated with the symbolism of the phases of the moon. That there were two *konoor* is not necessarily an objection. The missionaries did not systematically investigate the organization which usually accompanies a movement. Even if he has not had any mystical experiences himself, a man who believes in the experience of the initiator is rapidly "infected", though the initiatives usually come from one person only.

Tribute is mentioned, even a fair amount of it, and there appears to have been a wide-spread following. The course taken by the movement is reflected in Ottow's remark that the hope of the participants was beginning to fade.

We do not know whether it came to a wholesale slaughter of livestock (pigs), but this may well have happened. Finally there is Ottow's remark regarding the descent to the underworld (the Papuan heaven), which "formerly took place very rarely, but of which lately there have been frequent occurrences". Since this component was an integral part of the whole complex of the movements it may be concluded on the basis of this information that this was not the first time a movement occurred, and that movements were becoming more frequent at the time of Ottow's writing. The available data are obviously incomplete and the number of movements must have been much greater than we know. The contact between Mansinam and Numfor was temporarily lost on account of a smallpox epidemic in Mansinam which diverted the attention of the public from the movements elsewhere.

### 3. 1861, *Mansinam*

A schooner from Ternate brought the smallpox to Mansinam. Many were affected by the disease and many died; Geissler estimated the number of deaths at over 150. "At the same time a holy man, an impostor pretending to be a *konori*, set foot on shore. He claimed that he could cast out the disease and the evil spirits. The people readily believed him, showered presents on him and did what he said; they began to rebuild the *Rum Sram* of Mansinam" (113, 101). Otto Finsch, who also writes about this movement, says, "Suddenly, in the year 1861, a prophet who pretended to be a *konori* appeared among the Papuans. At the prophet's command they began to build an idol temple and make idols" (93, 45-46).

As yet the typical features of a movement were evidently lacking, but the same author makes it clear, in a description of the interior of the *Rum Sram* noted down during a visit to the Dore Bay, that the prophet was involved in a movement of this kind. On the large supporting piles of the building, he says, male *korwar* had been hung, "which, however, are much bigger than usual and represent the ancestors of the Papuans at the time they still lived in Myfore [Numfor, K.]; they are called *Konori* and *Manggundi*" (93, 108).

It is curious that these *korwar* do not occur in the description of the *Rum Sram* of Dore (*cf.* 254, 154-155). Possibly the use of these effigies

(Konori and Manggundi) was a prerogative of particular clan groups. But there certainly was a connection between the *Rum Sram* in general and Manggundi. "Before his death, the Old Man (Manggundi) commanded that, in remembrance of the miraculous origin of the Myfore clans, each of them should always keep a house, to be built by the community but to remain empty, in which the memory of the ancestors or progenitors might be kept alive by effigies" (254, 155-156).

In case of omission or postponement of ceremonies relating to the life cycles of one or more individuals the "overdue debts to the ancestors" can be made up through exuberant and combined ceremonies. But if a whole village or region has been thus neglectful, like the people of Mansinam who had failed to rebuild the *Rum Sram* that had collapsed years ago, a kind of total crisis may arise. Even if his eventual aim is *Koreri*, a *konoor* will then first have to concentrate on rebuilding the *Rum Sram*. For if in accordance with the *konoor's* message *Koreri* should come, the returning Manggundi would recognize his own people in the first place by the *Rum Sram* he would find among them. In the event of his coming it is essential that they should show both obedience and belief, and they would be obviously lacking in obedience if the *Rum Sram* were no longer there.

Seen from this angle it is clear that the *konoor* who appeared in Mansinam was not simply a medicine man (*mon*), for if he were he would not have urged the people to rebuild the missing clan or tribal sanctuary. The movement in Mansinam broke up after the *konoor* himself fell a victim to the smallpox epidemic.

#### 4. 1861, Wandamen

When the smallpox broke out in Mansinam, while the population was being stirred up by the *konoor*, Geissler decided at the request of a schooner's crew whose captain had died to take the latter's place on a voyage to Wandamen. Geissler does not mention any place names, but in view of the existence of the sacral center in Dusner it is not improbable that the messianic movement which had also begun in this region had its origin in this village (*cf.* pp. 88-89). Geissler reports that here, too, a ". . . saint had appeared. He called himself the Prophet of the Papuans, and claimed he could speak foreign languages and resuscitate the dead. He preached his revelations only at night in a language that no one could understand . . ." The surrounding population brought him tribute, ". . . which the Papuans only bring to the Sultan of Tidore . . ." (113, 102). The following remark shows that this *konoor* found support

for miles around: "He is supported by all, he is honored and feared. The people bring him presents, some because they honor him, some because they expect that he will fulfil their desires, and some because they are afraid he will bring them harm if they give him nothing . . . A canoe from Gauër [Yaur, to the south of the Island of Roon in the Geelvink Bay, K.] brought him *Sawa*, a princely tribute which the Papuans only bring the Sultan of Tidore". Geissler adds, "I will inform the Sultan, and he will have him seized, as has happened before with such a *konoor* (false prophet)" (113, 102).

There is no record to show that Geissler carried out this intention, but the fact that the Sultan of Tidore did sometimes intervene is sufficiently proved by this remark (*cf.* p. 106). We have no data on the further development of this movement, for contacts with this region were only incidental. That the movement did not last long may be inferred from the fact that nothing more, not even a rumor, was heard of it, although such rumors quickly spread to the coastal region, as we shall see in the account of the next movement in Wandamen where Dusner is mentioned as the center (1867).

##### 5. 1864, *Amberbaken* (north coast of the Vogelkop)

After the terrible earthquake of 1864, in which hundreds of people, especially in the interior, lost their lives, and many coastal villages were swept away by a tidal wave, the Dore Bay was full of the debris of houses, out of which the inhabitants first of all saved their *korwar* (spirit effigies). Some time previously one of the Mansinam people had asked Th. F. Klaassen "whether now the hard times were at hand of which Ottow had spoken so often" (188b, 1864, No. 11, p. 15).

We understand from this that the first missionaries frequently preached on the subject of the day of judgment. When the earthquake took place, therefore, the population naturally thought of the "hard times at hand" that had been mentioned in the sermons. As catastrophes in those times were regarded as relatively local phenomena it is not surprising that the population of the bay took refuge in Amberbaken. From other sources we know that the earthquake put many islanders on the move, and that in the course of these spontaneous migrations Numfor people drifted to Mansinam, and Biak people to Amberbaken, in their canoes. All the big clans had their own trade relations and their special ports of call there where they could freely perform their ceremonies. Klaassen writes, "The Papuans, driven away by the earthquake, imagine that an Angel or a

dead man's spirit has told them all to go to Amberbaki" (188b, 1864, No. 10, p. 19).

The Papuans would not have told him what had really happened, for naturally these things had to be kept secret. But since there is never any mention of "messengers", "Angels", or "spirits of the dead" in any other ceremonial and ritual context than that of a *Koreri* movement, I suggest that these references point to a local movement. Hundreds of people must have been involved, but it did not last long. Though the earthquake was regarded as a calamity, it was on the other hand thought to be a part of the apocalyptic phenomena that were expected to accompany the coming of the *Koreri*. According to Geissler the people were convinced at the time that the first thing to do was to avoid the proximity of the missionaries, for "the population regards the missionaries as the cause of the recent catastrophes" (108b, 1865, 13).

#### 6. 1866, Roon

The inhabitants of this island are former Numfor people. They were related to the inhabitants of the Dore Bay but this did not prevent them from later waging a war on them that lasted a number of decades.

Contact had already been established with the missionaries and the island had for a long time been an important trade center where Captain Fabritius had stayed for three years with his wife, when in 1866 a rumor came from Roon that "a new prophet" had appeared there. "The spirits of the dead came to him in the night to tell him everything, while they brought him sago" (245, 1866, No. 8, p. 145).

C. F. F. Mosche adds a curious remark, of which we cannot be certain that it represents a part of the message, but which does on the other hand bear witness to the "rapid adjustment" of a movement to the results the population expected from the coming of a missionary in those days. He says that "the new prophet proclaimed to the people that they should not lie, steal, use abusive language or kill, because the great God who lives above the stars will not allow it. The spirits of the dead also urged the people to try and get *Pandita* (missionaries), for then they would become better men" (245, 1866, No. 8, p. 145). As was explained above, "the great God who lives above the stars" meant Manseren *Nanggi*, who is not infrequently associated with these movements.

#### 7/8. 1867, Dusner and Wandamen

It was the unusual behavior of the inhabitants of Mansinam and Dore that first drew attention to these movements. It was reported that

they celebrated their rituals with unwonted exuberance, and that even those who had handed in their *korwar* because they wished to become Christians were beginning to make new ones. Geissler writes, "For two false prophets have appeared in two different places. They compete in dazzling and tempting the poor people with all kinds of deceptive and false promises. One of them claims to have created the Papuans and to have given them commandments, but as they did not listen to him formerly he had departed and left them to their fate. Now he has returned to pay them money and make fine promises. He says he is omnipotent, he can make beautiful objects and precious goods at will and wants to distribute them among the people. He also claims he can raise the dead, and says he has already resuscitated three people, which the Papuans believe. Many go to do homage and to honor him, hoping he will be able to revive their dead. He further promises youth and immortality to old people if they will stand in the smoke of a fire he is going to light.

When he was told that the missionaries had said he was a liar he replied, 'soon they will all come and worship me, yes, the Resident of Ternate and the King of Holland will all come and pay homage to me. If a steamboat comes here to do us harm I will immediately call forth 36 steamers from the sea to destroy that one steamboat' " (108a, 1868, 7).

This is the classic message of Manggundi speaking through the mouth of a *konoor*. It was perhaps due to a failure on the part of the missionaries and native informants to discern the finer distinctions that everything was attributed to the *konoor* only.

Evidently there were two different *konoor*. In a report by Missionary Mosche we read that one of them lived in Dusner. We do not know where exactly the second movement took place. Mosche adds that the *konoor* of Thousenier [Dusner, K.] claimed "he had created the Papuans, but because the people had not listened to him he had gone away to where the sun sets. Now he is returning to see whether they will listen to him" (245, 1868, No. 5, p. 71).

Here, too, the *konoor* had to prove that he really had the power he pretended to have. "The Wandammen people do not fully trust him and say that they will kill him if it turns out that he is deceiving them". For the *konoor* had claimed that he could raise the dead and could feed the whole village with one sweet potato (245, 1868, Nos. 5 and 8, pp. 71, 138). The myth of Akak (text) contains a reference to one sweet potato on which the crew of a large canoe could feed simply by smelling it. Apparently the *konoor* was to cause this occurrence of mythical times

to be repeated. The uncompromising attitude of the Wandamen people towards the *konoor's* pretensions is probably due to the fact that the inhabitants of Dusner are not of Wandamen but of Biak origin.

Two different reports make it clear that the *konoor* directed himself against foreigners, *i.e.*, against the missionaries who just about that time had established themselves in Roon and Meoswar. "The *konoor* would give the Lord of Roon (the missionary and trader R. Beyer) anything he asked for; but if he should want to buy anything he would be chased away" (107, 1867, No. 12, p. 197). This is an obvious gesture of superiority, for the foreigners bought and sold things, but never gave presents. Geissler writes, "Matters have even gone so far that some of the followers of this liar want to make away with Br. Beyer by poison, a surprise attack or some such means, but they are afraid to do anything in public" (108a, 1868, 7). Van Hasselt says that the population of Mansinam was assiduously building the *Rum Sram* and making images (*mon* and *korwar*). There were all kinds of terrifying rumors. "If the *konoor* so much as shook his head the whole of the Arfak mountain range would collapse" (127, 111-112).

Evidently a mood of enmity against the foreigners prevailed, which found expression in various ways, including apocalyptic threats. Probably the Mansinam people also applied these threats to themselves. Since the recent great earthquake, in which the eastern part of the Arfak mountains came down in a red avalanche, and prior to that when the smallpox broke out in 1861, many had felt that something was wrong somewhere. In Manokwari, where the people also began to rebuild the *Rum Sram* in 1875, the same thought prevailed. One of the builders maintained — and this motive was identical with that of the Dore Bay population in 1867 — that "the *Rum Sram* collapsed in the earthquake of 1864, but since then we have suffered from the ill effects. The Dutch were the cause of all these calamities that have visited the population, for all these things [smallpox and earthquakes, K.] were unknown before they came. Manseren *Nanggi* was angry with the people because they did not follow their *adat* as faithfully as before" (40, 1875, No. 4, p. 57). We do not know how this movement ended, but it is known that the *konoor* made a new attempt three years later. A rather notorious medicine man from Dore went "on a pilgrimage" to Dusner, so that we may conclude that the influence of the *konoor* was considerable (126, 1868, No. 5, p. 71).

Here for the first time we read of an organization of some sort, set up by the *konoor*. Geissler writes, "In all the villages the *konoor* of Wan-



dammen has appointed his delegates" (107, 1868, No. 5, p. 73). As we shall see in the great movement of 1938 and the following years, this meant that each village willing to take part was making preparations which at that time included the restoration or rebuilding of the *Rum Sram*.

9/10. 1868, *Waropen and Numfor*

Information on this movement is very scanty. Mosche tells us of another prophet who has appeared in Waropen, and of yet another who "in Mefoor [Numfor] tempts the people. The first seemed to do the better business" (245, 1868, No. 8, p. 138). Further, the people of Meoswar told him that the "prophet" of Waropen was very angry with those who listened to the missionary and had even threatened to burn down the village. Their reply was, "we have a *Pandita* (missionary) of our own to instruct us. In Wandammen there is only killing" (245, 1868, No. 8, pp. 138 and 144). Here, then, the message of a *konoor* is referred to as "instruction", but all it can mean is the giving of directions in connection with the imminent return of the Manggundi figure.

The influence of the *konoor* of Numfor cannot have been great, for his message did not reach the Dore Bay. The Waropen of Mosche's report is the village of Ambumi on the Wandamen Bay. According to Held the inhabitants belong in fact to the Waropen-Kai people. The Old Man figures largely in their myths (149, 293). Movements also took place in the Waropen-Kai region (*ibid.*, 310). The *konoor* were visited by people from the surrounding villages, which always means that tribute was brought.

Meoswar seems to have been under a threat during the movement of the Waropen *konoor*. Mosche writes, "The Wandammen people, perhaps at the instigation of the false prophet, said they meant to come [to Meoswar, K.] and burn down the village. They were prevented, as they said, by the presence of the *Pandita*" (245, 1868, No. 8, p. 144). Evidently this movement, too, contained the element of enmity against the foreigners.

11. 1868, *Wariab* (north of Rumberpon)

The only information on this subject is the sentence, "Many had gone to the *konoor* of Wariab and had come home the poorer for it" (126, 1868, No. 8, pp. 150-151). Evidently the Mansinam people had

initially believed in the *konoor's* message and started out with their tribute, but returned home disappointed after the movement had silently broken up.

## 12. 1868, Dore (a pseudo-konoor?)

The good faith of the *konoor* in this case is open to doubt, but we cannot be quite certain of this because the movement contained some important aspects that may be regarded as typical of the real movements. A curious feature is that this *konoor* lived practically next-door to J. L. van Hasselt and, more important, that the missionary was an eyewitness to part of the *konoor's* performance. This makes it a unique case since in later years it happened only very rarely that a white man "took part" in a movement, and for this reason we will deal with it at some length.

An article on the affair based on Van Hasselt's account is prefaced by some remarks, that are extremely relevant to our subject. The article is entitled, "The Magician of Doreh" (130a, P., No. 73, 1871).

"In New Guinea such an impostor is called a *konoor*, i.e. soothsayer or bringer of good fortune. These magicians of New Guinea do indeed have something special. They mostly keep hidden for some weeks or months and then suddenly make their appearance, or rather make themselves heard, for rarely do they come out in the open. They usually claim to have come in the name of the dead ancestors and make the gullible people believe anything. They give one promise after the other, and the more gifts they receive the greater are their promises. Sometimes such a promise happens to come true, not because the *konoor* has foretold it but because it would have happened anyway. The Papuans, however, attribute such an occurrence to the power of the *konoor*. This increases his influence on the people, which is not infrequently an obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel.

From time to time, then, one hears that a *konoor* has appeared somewhere. He establishes himself in someone's house and the owner of the house may expect all kinds of blessings. No Papuan will therefore refuse a *konoor* the use of his house".

In the notes I made in Biak in 1952 I find that at that time the procedure was still the same there. "The *konoor* can even go to a strange village [cf. the *konoor* who arrived in Mansinam at the beginning of the smallpox epidemic, p. 109] and there claim a house, to which the owners will not dare refuse him admission, on the contrary. For they will

presently get a share of the tribute that will be brought to the *konoor*".

Van Hasselt goes on, "Once a *konoor* has established himself in such a dwelling he proceeds to make his prophesies and promises, preferably at night time. For there is no better time for deception than the night, and this is particularly true in New Guinea, because people there have no light when the moon is not shining".

Armed with candles, Van Hasselt and a colleague went to pay a visit to the house of the *konoor*. "It was late in the evening and the house was crowded. When the Papuans saw the missionary coming they made some room so that he could get in front near the *konoor*. But we could not see him since he was hidden behind a large mat which was as wide as the room and hung from ceiling to floor, so that we could see nothing of what was happening behind it. Hardly had we sat down when a most curious sound struck our ears. It came from behind the mat and sounded like a child wailing, a bull roaring, and the scratching of a nail on a hard surface, like iron scraping over a slate. Who made that noise?

One Papuan said it was an evil spirit, another thought it was a ghost, and a third that it was the *konoor* who was making it. But most of them said, 'We do not know where it comes from', and stood there quaking with terror. There was a deadly silence, in which only that dreadful shrieking sound was heard. The Papuans were so frightened they hardly dared breathe.

The people came from far and near to hear the *konoor*, and they all brought something for the owner of the house as well as for the *konoor*. Since they have no money they bring objects of value, for instance, iron, earthenware dishes, wooden bowls, lengths of cloth, tortoise shells, and all sorts of other things that the *konoor* will appreciate, so that the fortune he tells will be good. The *konoor* accepts everything, but takes good care that he is not seen, lest the Papuans should notice that he is nothing but an ordinary man".

We shall see below that the *konoor* claimed that Manggundi had already descended, and that he was behind the hanging. But he was not going to show himself to the people yet, for his real and public return would be accompanied by catastrophes, the rising of the dead, etc.

"The presents are placed close to the mat and the *konoor* lifts the mat a little, so that in the prevailing darkness he can 'invisibly' take the presents away.

What is it that he promises? This particular evening he promised someone who gave him a hawksbill tortoise that he would resuscitate a dead relative, only later he forgot to do so. Another, who gave the

*konoor* a length of cloth, was promised that his sick son would recover, but this son died shortly afterwards. In both cases the *konoor* kept the presents, but not the promise.

And what happens when the *konoor* does not keep his word? Well, then the explanation is that the present was too small, or that they should have given something else, or that some evil spirit prevented his magic from working. The people will always make excuses for the *konoor*, because they are afraid that he will bring evil on them if they speak ill of him".

Van Hasselt writes that when they had enough of this game his colleague lighted the candle and he himself suddenly lifted the mat. "Not for all the world would the Papuans have dared to lift that mat, lest some calamity should befall them". So in the middle of those strident noises that went on and on, Van Hasselt unexpectedly jerked the mat away but there was nothing to see or hear, except a splash in the water [the house was built on piles over the sea, K.], and the magician had gone. To this village, Dore, he never returned (*ibid.*).

This is a typical instance of imitative magic. The *konoor* represents Manggundi, who on the one hand is invoked, while on the other hand it is believed and hoped that he will speak and act through the *konoor*. Van Hasselt found that "the *konoor* had arranged some cups, saucers, and brass plates in such a way that when drummed they produced a musical sound". He further writes, "Many were afraid [sic!] that now perhaps the real *konoor* had come; others wondered whether the Lord Sky (*Nanggi*) himself was now descended" (126, 1868, No. 8, p. 151).

Sometimes the *konoor* withdraw in a sort of retreat, hoping to get visions by fasting and by eating special leaves, through which they may receive a message for the people.

Was this a genuine *konoor*? The *bona fide konoor* is quite as disappointed as the others when *Koreri* does not come. His prestige is not at stake, unless he persists in the face of failure, and even then it is usually only for the sake of keeping the presents. By taking to flight, however, a *konoor* shows his bad faith.

But to the population it was a genuine movement by which they let themselves be guided. For a long time they had been hearing of *konoor* making their appearance, it might be that this *konoor*'s attempt in Dore would be successful, and who would not wish to be a witness?

The fact that the missionaries of the time had no patience with this sample of imitative magic was due not only to their rationalistic attitude towards all aspects of the native religion, but also to misinterpretation

of the attitude of some of the participants. Like the ideoplastic meaning of the ancestor effigies the application of this symbolism was not axiomatic. The possibility of *mala fide* impostors taking advantage of the existing *Koreri* expectations was always there. This means that it was not a question of gullibility on the part of the people, but of a very real expectation, in which the subjective beginning of these ceremonies might unexpectedly merge into objective reality. It was for this that the people waited.

There is another aspect to which I should like to draw attention here. Van Hasselt wrote, "many were afraid that now perhaps the real *konoor* had come". "To be afraid", *mkak* in the Numfor language, means not only "to be filled with fear", but, as in English, "to be filled with concern over an unwanted contingency", for instance in the sentence, "I am afraid I shall have to disappoint you". The negative implication in the Numfor sentence might be interpreted as follows, "we are afraid, in case this is the real *konoor*, which no one can know beforehand, that we might miss our opportunity if we do not participate".

### 13. 1869, *Dusner*

Although I wrote in the Dutch edition of this book that the *konoor* of *Dusner* had been able to keep his movement going for three years, I find on second thoughts that this cannot reasonably be true. Some *konoor* do not stop at one attempt and try their luck a second time. We shall see several examples of this in our historical sketch. For a movement leads to a climax, which is inevitably followed by a sometimes very deep depression. The *konoor* of *Dusner* probably made his second attempt after three years, and the following is reported of it: "... At present the prophet of *Dusner* is more and more losing credit because they now realize that he deceives them..." (345, 1870, No. 2, p. 23). This is what had happened. "Recently a child had died, and the parents went to the Prophet because he claimed to possess the power to resuscitate the child. For this they gave him a slave and some traditional exchange goods. But he gave the parents one of his own slave children instead. The parents noticed the deception, but the Prophet said, "It is indeed your child, but when I resuscitate them they become like that" (*ibid.*). The expectation that he will be able to raise the dead is, as we know, an integral part of the myth of *Manggun*, and the clearest reference to this is the episode in Numfor, where the relatives of a dead child began the lament, which was resented by *Manggun* because by doing

so they showed that they believed the child to be dead for ever. If they had not lamented, Manggundi would have resuscitated the child (*cf.* p. 36).

#### 14. 1875, *Mansinam*

The new *Mansinam konoor* was originally only a medicine man (*mon*). One day he came with the message that he had been called upon by Manseren *Nanggi* to heal all the sick, on condition that the population did as he instructed. "The future will be wonderful. They will not fall ill or die, nor will they grow old; the aged will get good teeth and new strength. He can resuscitate the dead and cause the ancestors [the wooden effigies] under the *Rum Sram* to dance. The population believe in him, they do homage to him and load him with presents, also from the surrounding villages" (40, 1876, No. 11, pp. 185-186).

Later we read, "The *konoor* had instructed the people to build a road through the forest in the Island of *Mansinam*. When this road was finished the dead would rise". This road was about a mile long and passed the *konoor's* house. Once, when Missionary G. L. Bink met the *konoor* on this road, the latter denied having promised to raise the dead and even proposed to treat Bink's son, who was very ill at the time. Bink answered that the *konoor's* work was the work of the devil, "even if you do your best to make people believe that the true God has appeared to you in a white garment and is giving you all kinds of trivial instructions". Some bystanders took the *konoor's* part and said, "A lot of use it is our making Sunday and coming to church, it would be worth the trouble if we did not die or fall ill, but what is the good now?" (40, 1876, No. 11, pp. 190-191).

This *konoor's* influence extended far into the Geelvink Bay. Missionary J. H. Meeuwig, who worked in the village of Moom, reported, "The influence of the *konoor* (prophet) of *Mansinam* was considerable. The population finished their sago-pounding in a hurry to go and visit him. After their return to Moom the festivities began in such excitement and high spirits as if it was already certain that not one of them would age or die" (235f, 1877, No. 11, pp. 173-174).

And here for the first time we hear that the contacts between *Halma-hera* and *New Guinea* included rumors of *Koreri* movements. Apparently these contacts were so close that news from *Kau* caused the influence of the *konoor* of *Mansinam* to decline.

"It seems that the inhabitants of *Moom* in *Mansinam* had heard that

in Džilolo [their name for Halmahera, K.] an even greater *konoor* had made his appearance". The Mansinam people organized a voyage to Halmahera, "and the *korano* of Moom was also going to join his people in this voyage". In October 1876 the travellers started out on this 400-mile voyage (235f, 1877, No. 11, p. 174). In their enthusiasm they were clearly prepared to take extra risks, for they would have to paddle against the rising wind of the West Monsoon most of the way. The voyage must have taken them at least a month. Nothing is known of the outcome since none of the reports refer to it. But what concerns us here is the fact of this participation of the Mansinam and Moom people in a movement in Halmahera. The "prophet" of Kau had become a direct competitor of the *konoor* of Mansinam, notwithstanding the enormous distance.

Since in 1876 the influence of the *konoor* of Mansinam was already on the wane, or, as one report has it, "the sun of the *konoor* of Mansinam is fading since his promises fail to be fulfilled" (40, 1876, No. 12, p. 204), it was not surprising that he could not compete with the "prophet of Kau". In the beginning of 1877, Bink writes, "the *konoor* has lost much of his credit since they have seen that death continues to take its toll" (40, 1877, No. 11, p. 176).

#### 1875-6, the Prophet of Kau (Halmahera)

As we have seen, this movement attracted Papuans from as far as the Geelvink Bay (Moom and Mansinam), and since a later movement in Mansinam shows a curious resemblance to the one in Kau we include some of its main features in this account of the movements in New Guinea.

It was explained above that there were fairly regular contacts between New Guinea and Halmahera, notably through the tribute voyages to Tidore. On these voyages the Papuans presumably put in at Halmahera (they went by way of Gebe and Patani) and passed on what they heard there to their clansmen in the Radja Ampat Islands, Amberbaken and the Geelvink Bay.

In Indonesia, movements of this kind are usually called *Ratu Adil* (righteous king) movements. In the Indonesian book *Penduduk Irian Barat* ("The Population of West Irian") of 1963 this term is used for *Koreri* and similar movements as an indication of the direction in which such movements tend to develop (189b).

On the Prophet of Kau we find the following information: "Among

the Alfuresse a prophet has appeared who calls himself *Adil*, the righteous one. He claims to have had visions of the deity, in which he was told what will happen in the future" (23, 1876, No. 1, p. 9). The vague term "deity" here is clearly due to the still prevailing general ignorance about religious and mythical backgrounds.

"This *Adil* lives between Kauw and Tabetlo in a hut especially built for him, and people are only allowed to approach him with the greatest respect. He has said that in some places villages will soon be submerged, and also that there will be an eclipse of the sun" (*ibid.*, pp. 9-10). The man drew immense crowds and allowed himself to be honored like a king [one of the reasons why the Sultan of Ternate intervened in such movements was his conviction that they constituted a political rebellion against his authority, K.].

The *Adil* also often retired, and at these times no one was allowed to speak to him. He did this not so much to practise asceticism as to establish contact with his divine instructor. "A village of eighty dwellings was built for him, where many awaited the predicted miracles, *i.e.* the resurrection of those who had recently died. So firmly did the people believe in this that some postponed the burial of their relatives until the total decomposition of the corpse made it absolutely necessary. The condition for the return of the dead was that no tear must be shed and no lament must be heard" (113a, 1876, No. 5, pp. 67-68). The similarity here to the requirement set by Manggundi in Numfor is striking indeed (*cf.* p. 36).

A curious circumstance was that a pretender to the throne, who called himself "Hassan, Prince of Djailolo", claimed to be the legal heir to the supremacy over East Halmahera, and, obviously for political reasons, began a close cooperation with the Prophet of Kau. He planned to go to Ternate with a fleet and about 10,000 men, to negotiate with the Resident and with the Princes [Sultans]. "For this purpose he went from Tabetlo to Galela and via Tabetlo back to Kauw, and afterwards joined his cousin who had brought together some hundreds of Papuans" (23, 1877, No. 3, pp. 34-35). Who were these Papuans? Possibly they came from the Radja Ampat Islands, for the Numfor people from the Geelvink Bay could hardly have reached East Halmahera by that time. Now we know that in mythical times the Sawai people from Biak settled in East Halmahera, that several Biak texts from the Radja Ampat region contain references to a "*Radja of Djailolo*", and also that it was this name that drew the Mansinam people to Halmahera. In the Radja Ampat region there are the remains of an old fortress associated with a



"*Radja Djailolo*" (105a and movement No. 45). History and myth are inextricably interwoven here, so that we can only guess at the real course of events. But the historical sources do yield some factual information, and two of them, as we have seen, refer to participation by the Papuans. The *Adil* movement was undoubtedly widespread; a number of 30,000 participants is mentioned.

The invaders engaged in armed combat with the Ternatans, some dozens of whom, as well as some Tidorese, lost their lives. The population began to build roads for the entry of the new ruler, and in combination with the battle this implies that a politically ambitious person thought he could make political capital out of the movement of Kau. The anti-foreign trend here took the form of resistance against the Sultans of Tidore and Ternate.

It is tempting to make a comparison between the *Koreri* and the *Adil* movements. For diffusionists several footholds are offered, and it is true that the formal elements do not differ much, while there is proof of historical contacts. The question remains whether the ancient Biak elements in Sawai (East Halmahera) influenced the movements that arose there, or whether we should rather assume an influence of Halmahera on the Papuans. Each is historically possible. But it is curious that the Papuans did not adopt the word *Adil*. We must let this matter rest because it does not lead to an explanation of the function of the movements. We only suggest that in their mythical character the *Koreri* movements may be more dependent on Halmahera than has been assumed till now.

It should be pointed out, however, that the statements of a certain *konoor* in Biak were contradicted once on the basis of former contacts between one of the headmen of Wardo and an Islamic ruler. This ruler had told him that God was enthroned in heaven and would not appear on earth (*cf.* movement No. 21). This passage not only indicates considerable outside influence but also implies that in some movements the people really expected Manseren *Nanggi* (the Lord Sky) to come to earth in the person of Manggundi. The term Manggundi (Himself) then refers, not to the Old Man, but to "the Lord Sky", although usually it is the Old Man who is regarded as a deity.

#### 15. 1877, *Mansinam*

A *konoor's* activities usually end rather ignominiously. This also happened to the *konoor* of Mansinam, who had to give in to the com-

petition of the Prophet of Kau and simultaneously saw his own medical "practice" come to grief. On February 13, 1877, a patient already three quarters dead was brought to Missionary W. H. Woelders. He asked them why they did not go to the *konoor*, and they replied, "the man and his relatives have already given all their possessions to the *konoor* but he cannot help us, all he does is lie to us".

Woelders goes on, "The *konoor* in Mansinam is falling in the estimation of the population here. The Papuans now say calmly, 'He lies to us, we shall seek another'" (345, 1878, No. 1, pp. 2-3). In the middle of 1877 it looked as if a new *konoor* was really going to present himself, for the Mansinam people said they had "'now found their Lord...'. He is a small white boy who has come up out of the ground. A slave has seen him; he pursues him all the time and foretells what will happen in the near future. There will be an earthquake, the mountain in Marewari will grow very tall, and the Island of Meosmapi will change its place, so that no ships will be able to enter the [Dore] bay any more. Meroi, one of the candidates for baptism, is the master of this slave, and he tells the same story to Missionary C. Beijer, though adding, 'My slave has the devil'" (36a, 1878, No. 12, pp. 207-208).

The crux of the matter was, however, that this slave possessed charismatic qualities, which are valued above social position and biological descent when they touch the realm of mythology. In such a case the owner encourages the slave, not only for the sake of social prestige, but especially with an eye to the economic advantages. In the beginning the Mansinam people believed the slave, but not long afterwards we read, "the people were very angry with the slave, so that they planned to burn his house. Not so much because of what he had told them as because his prophecies had not been fulfilled" (36a, 1878, No. 12, p. 208).

#### 16. 1880, Mansinam

Airi, the *konoor*, was a medicine man who attempted to heal the sick, but also ventured upon the prophesy that he would resurrect the dead. He spoke of a kind of inspiration he received "from a man who whispered things into his ears". When his promises failed to come true he stopped his attempts and covered his retreat with the words, "I threw away that animal [vituperative for the 'person' who had inspired him]" (126, 1882, Nos. 8 and 11, pp. 150 and 196).

17. 1881, *Meoswar*

In December of that year Woelders met "an aged man from Meoswar, of whom it was said that he spoke 'the words of God' which he had heard from Mosche and N. Rinnooy [missionaries, K.]. Woelders addressed him on the subject, saying, "Friend, I hear that you speak the words of God?" Immediately the man began to utter various unintelligible sounds. Woelders then asked a boy, who had also attended the school of Mosche and Rinnooy, whether he understood him, but evidently he did not. Nevertheless he insisted that he was speaking the words of God.

Woelders warned the people, saying, "he is lying to you like the *konoor* of Mansinam". The alleged prophet then got angry and turned his back on Woelders (345, 1882, No. 7, pp. 139-140).

We shall see later that glossolalia is often part of the *Koreri* message, and since this does not occur in any other connection, apart from contacts with the dead, it may be assumed that the old man was the leader of an incipient *Koreri* movement.

18. 1882, *Mansinam*

Nungrauwi, the new *konoor*, began his career, initially as a medicine man, in a curious way. "He is setting to it with a will. He would be heard singing in the night in a loud voice so that the whole village could hear him, or beating a gong or other noise-producing object; or else he jumped around yelling loudly like a madman to exorcise the demon from a sick man" (126, 1882, No. 11, p. 193). But later it proves that he, too, turned *konoor* and prophesied the return of the dead. At that stage, however, J. L. van Hasselt intervened, for the people were shouting, yelling, and beating the drums for nights on end, "enough to melt stones and drive people mad". The nature of this "noise" is discussed above in the chapter on the Advent nights. Van Hasselt himself says, "My interference was very disagreeable to them, especially because the *konoor* had told them that they should sing away night after night, for after four nights of this the dead would rise, and now the missionary stepped in and broke the spell" (126, 1882, No. 11, p. 195). We are not surprised to learn that this interference nearly cost Van Hasselt his life.

Shortly afterwards the *konoor* lost his reputation when he suffered for weeks from an arrow-wound. Ultimately he came to the Missionary

W. L. Jens for medical help (in: 126, 1883, No. 5, p. 67), thereby proving himself incompetent in the eyes of his followers. This was the end of his fame as a *konoor*. Clearly invulnerability belonged to the "equipment" of a true *konoor* (126, 1882, No. 11, p. 196).

Nungrauwi's complaint to Missionary Van Hasselt is illuminating. He said, "Oh Sir, people are so bad, they do not want to go to church or school. They are very bad, very bad, they do not listen to me". Van Hasselt seems to have thought that Nungrauwi meant he was urging the people to go to church and school, for he replied, sarcastically, "I thought you once told them something quite different and that they did listen to you then" (126, 1883, No. 5, p. 67). But Nungrauwi was obviously alluding to the fact that his *Koreri* message failed to get a hearing from his former supporters and this made him understand the situation of the missionaries to whose message the population did not wish to listen either.

#### 19. *Biak*

The preceding movements chiefly occurred among the Numfor people of Dore, Mansinam, Roon, and Biak emigrants. The following reports come from the Biak Islands. In a historical account written down by the present author in Wardo three movements are mentioned, of which only the last one could be dated. These facts, which bear testimony to the critical nature of the proclamation stage, follow here in the Biak narrative style.

The *Kayan* [a title, K.] of Samarbori (of the Rumbino people, in the interior of Biak) made *Koreri*, and he sent his message to Wardo, saying, "Come and honor me with a woman, the festive meal is ready".

The *Rodjau* of Wardo sent a coconut shell back with the messengers and some of his own men, and told them to say, "It is simple to do homage to you, but first return this coconut shell as a dish, then we shall come and honor you with a woman". But the coconut shell came back and no dish. Then the *Rodjau* sent his heroes with the shield *Kanken Koreri* (the *Koreri* door), saying, "Heroes, go and defeat them, for it is not the true *Koreri* in which they want us to believe".

And the heroes went, defeated the impostors, and returned home in triumph. They celebrated for many nights because the *Kanken Koreri* had shut out the imitation *Koreri*. (N.B. Mark the meaning of this special shield in opposition to the core of the message of each *konoor*, i.e. *Koreri i sheben* = the *Koreri* will be opened).

20. *Biak*

Not long afterwards *Korano* Mandender of Dadikam sent word, saying, "*Rodjau*, let the Wardo people come with a woman and do homage to me". Again the *Rodjau* replied with the coconut shell, and when it was brought back unchanged he reached for his shield and called up the heroes, saying, "Go out, you heroes, and if the report is true and the Lord Himself has come, you will all die". The heroes went behind their shield-bearer and they did not die, but they defeated the men of Dadikam without having seen the Lord Himself [Manseren Manggundi]. They returned as victors.

21. 1884, *Biak*

*Korano* Baïbo of Mokmer came several years later. His message ran, "*Rodjau*, bring your people here, including the women, to do homage to me '*insama mgo rer*' [so that you may be transformed, *i.e.*, into beings of *Koreri*]".

The reply and the result of the sending of the coconut shell were as before. The *Rodjau* now commanded, "Heroes, defeat them. He is not the *Manseren* he claims to be". The conclusion of the speech addressed by the *Rodjau* to all the inhabitants of Wardo is curious. "Men of Wardo, in our world we are familiar with the Realm of the Four Princes [the *Radja Ampat*], and one of these princes has assured me that we cannot expect any *Manseren* [Lord] on earth. *Manseren Nanggi* [Lord Sky] is the only one" (183, 19-20). So far the information from the Wardo source on three movements.

A curiously analogous case of scepticism towards the messengers of a "Prophet" occurred in Fiji. "I only heard of one man, a coast chief, the *Mbuli* of Tavua, treating the matter with any degree of sanity. When he was visited by some of the prophet's preachers he took a plate and smashed it into little pieces. Then he turned to the recounters of the miracles performed by their head and said, 'by a word restore that plate to its original condition and I will become one of your followers' " (52, 241).

The last movement mentioned by the Wardo informant could be dated because corroborative evidence is available from various sources. The reactions in word and deed to the proclamation of and rumors concerning the *konoor* are remarkably varied. The most typical are the following.

From Mansinam in 1884: "In the Biak Islands rumors are now

circulating regarding a great miracle-worker called Mongundi, who sends messengers to exhort the population to do homage to him and bring him tribute. Kwawe, too, was visited by canoes with Biak crews who, by reporting all kinds of miracles performed by the *konoor*, try to induce the people to do homage to him and bring him tribute" (167, 1884, No. 12, pp. 207-208). This completely confirms the report of a Wardo informant in 1952.

About a year later, in 1885, the influence of the *konoor* had apparently greatly increased. Information came from Numfor that the *konoor* really performed miracles. He was said to fish blue cotton cloth and silver coins out of the sea, turn a cigar stub into a rifle and tree-leaves into fishes, while by means of a rejuvenation cure he could restore youth to the aged. When the Mansinam people heard this they set out to investigate. Clearly they had ignored the first rallying message. They wished now to see with their own eyes what they had heard with their ears. But their investigations had a negative result. "The man mumbled under his breath and threw water around" (126, 1885, No. 11, p. 212).

J. A. van Balen reports from Wandamen that a *konoor* (medicine man, see p. 104) and his men were building a very large canoe to go to the Biak Islands. Van Balen gathered from his informant's confused account that many people were assembled in Meokwundi, but that they refused to listen to the *konoor*, so that he had got angry and left for Mapia with all his goods. As it was impossible to reach this island with an ordinary canoe they were now building an extra large one.

A report by Captain Amos was clearer. He spoke of many people "from various tribes, who had come to Meok Wundi, such as the people from Ansus, Wandammen, Windessi, Roon, and Waropen" (14, 1886, No. 5, pp. 66-67). The *konoor* had evidently chosen the traditional center as his residence, an additional reason for this choice being the fact that a comet had appeared over Meokwundi. The *konoor* had also claimed that "shortly, through his efforts, a large steamship with all kinds of goods would arrive for them, and everyone who wished to avail himself of the opportunity should now come and bring offerings to him" (14, 1886, No. 5, p. 66). From these data we gather that the collective stage had been reached, but there is no information as to how the movement ended.

1886. But the affair did have an ending after all. About six months later, on Thursday, July 22, 1886, the trading vessel *Coredo* was attacked in the roadstead of Bosnik by the *konoor* and his men. The captain and three sailors were killed, the ship was ransacked, and an attempt was

made to set fire to it. Trader Yambruk managed to lay hands on a rifle and escaped with the ship (126, 1887, No. 4, p. 50).

What motives had led to this sack and murder? In the first place the *konoor* had been active for more than two years and had not honored a single promise. In one way or another he had apparently managed to pacify the people time and again, winning their belief in new promises. A participant from Roon said that the *konoor* had claimed that a "fireship" [steamship] would appear with all the desired treasures on board when he should point at the sea. Then the *Coredo* came to trade with the islanders, and the "prophet" said to his followers, "There is my fireship, but there is a Dutchman on board who must be got off first" (238, 48).

Another motive, and probably one that weighed heavily, was that the captain, whose name happened to be H. C. Holland, appears to have derided the *konoor* and his pretensions when the *konoor* had said that it was he who had caused the steamship *Havik* to run aground on its trip up the Mamberamo river (126, 1887, No. 4, p. 53). The loot, however, consisting as it did of merchandise and silver coins, was in itself sufficient inducement for action on the part of the Biak warriors.

In this movement, the fact that the population felt frustrated came out clearly for the first time in a discussion carried on by Missionary Jens with some followers of the *konoor* in the Dore Bay. When Jens advised them "not to lend ear to the false *konoor* but to listen to the true Prophet who brought salvation for all the peoples", he received the following reply: "The Lord in Heaven [the Numfor people presumably said 'Manseren *Nanggi*' = the Lord Sky] made the Papuans first, when he did not yet quite know how, therefore they are stupid and black and do not wear clothes. After that he made the Malays of Ternate, they are lighter-skinned and wear clothes. And it was only after that that he made the Dutch; they are white, wear good clothes, know a great deal and eat bread and good food every day" (167, 1884, No. 12, p. 209).

The tenor of this pronouncement is clear from the context: now, in the end, with the coming of *Koreni*, the Papuans would receive full compensation, and at last justice would be done. The connection between the creation of man and the wearing of clothes may have been established in their minds by the story of creation as told to them by the missionaries. When Missionary Woelders of Andai urged the people to use the large amounts of money they earned by catching birds of paradise to buy clothes, they did not want to hear of it at first. "It is our custom to go

naked", they said. Woelders replied that he knew this, but the question was whether God approved, too. The Andayans said, "We do not know", and Woelders answered, "You do not want to know, for I have told you many times that the Lord God Himself made clothes for Adam and Eve". The Andayans' reply to this was, "Why does not the Lord do the same thing for us then?" (345, 1890, No. 6, pp. 91-92).

### *The reprisal*

A month after the murder, H.M.S. Tromp came to punish the villages concerned. The report on this trip is very vague, so that we do not know what measures were taken (163, 217-260).

A year later Resident F. S. A. de Clercq visited the same islands and held a peace-gathering. On the occasion of this meeting he accepted "a slave-girl and two strings of tortoise-shell", because the *korano* of Mokmer wished to be sure that compensation for the murder of Captain Holland had been accepted before he met De Clercq. The *korano* was then (on October 15, 1887) by permanent appointment "attached to the Colonial Administration" (64, 161-162).

It had presumably been established that the *korano* had not been directly concerned in the murder, or it may have been considered a tactical move to give the *korano*, who had got his title from Tidore, a permanent appointment with the Colonial Administration. Be that as it may, the Biak people explained it as an obvious victory. A Biak canoe came into the harbor of Mansinam with the crew singing the following song: "We murdered a Dutchman [Holland] and they did nothing to us; our *konoor* has become a *Radja*" (126, 1888, No. 3, p. 42). When they heard this, the Mansinam people planned to board the Resident's ship when it came there, to tell him that they, too, were going to carry through their plans of revenge. "They still want some heads of Roon people and they shall have them. 'If the Biak people', so they say, 'can murder Captain Holland with impunity there is no need for us to be afraid of killing a Roon man'" (126, 1888, No. 11, p. 163). We shall read below how a candidate for the *konoorship* reacted to the decision of the Colonial Administration.

Nothing more was heard of the *konoorship* of the *korano* of Mokmer. The man himself must have welcomed the solution of his appointment, as he had in fact outlived his fame as a *konoor*. De Bruyn, who spoke to the relatives of the *korano* just after the Second World War, is of the opinion that the *korano* had never claimed to be a *konoor*. No gardens



had been destroyed, and there was the fact that he was not convicted by the authorities. But it seems to me that neither argument is enough to support his view. The destruction of the gardens will be discussed below. We pointed out that the information from Mansinam in 1884 fits in with that from Wardo in 1952. Since in both cases the name was included (54, 315ff.) there can hardly be a mistake. In addition there is the following report from Tydeman in 1912, who wrote of the *korano* of Mokmer, "His proclamation that he was the returned Mandarniaki caused a great sensation everywhere. He seized upon the circumstance of a comet appearing over the Island of Miok Wundi to proclaim to the people that this was a sign that Mandarniaki had returned, and that he honestly believed he was this mythical figure himself. People flocked together from all directions, Andai, Waropen, Amberbaken, etc." (323, 255).

## 22. 1890, *Mansinam*

The *konoor* Dory, who had established himself in Saraundibu, did not get beyond the individual stage. Like most *konoor* in the Dore Bay area he was a medicine man. He proclaimed that those who believed in him would neither fall ill nor die.

He himself lived under enormous pressure. "The beginning of his career was difficult. Some years previously one of his children had fallen through the floor into the sea and been drowned, and another had been wounded by a coconut tree falling on to his house. Nevertheless the people were willing to listen. When yet another of his children died he seemed distracted with grief, there was singing and dancing". Although nothing more is said of this dancing or of the ecstasy that usually followed, perhaps the report "that in a few days he will make the King of Papua rise from the sea" is connected with this (126, 1891, No. 8, p. 122).

Before the movement could go much beyond this faint beginning of the second stage the *konoor* was summoned aboard the vessel of the Administration by the Resident. "There the *Radja*" (of Waigeo probably) "banished him from the territory of Tidore and made the population swear that in future they would have nothing to do with the *konoor*" (126, 1891, No. 8, p. 123).

## 23. 1892, *Dore*

From the foregoing it is clear that the function of *mon* (shaman,

medicine man) among the Numfor people often tended to develop in the direction of the *konoorship*; it is of interest to trace the underlying causes for this. In my opinion the visions are a very important factor. Jens gives us a clear idea of the psychological tensions from which a candidate for the *konoorship* suffers: "After a meeting, one of those present, Sibiebai, lingered on. The man was obviously laboring under great excitement, and in a spate of words quite unusual for this otherwise so quiet man he told me that for several nights he had been worried by all kinds of visions; often it seemed as if someone in a white garment seized his arm, and sometimes gripped his whole body so tightly that he could hardly breathe. 'What is this, *Tuan*, is it the devil or the Lord Jesus who is calling me?' I looked at him inquiringly and saw by the red color of his eyes that he was feverishly excited. His pulse confirmed this. When I asked him what he thought of it himself he replied, 'I think it is the devil who wants to make me a *konoor*'" (167, 1893, No. 7, pp. 111-112). In this case *konoor* really meant *mon*: the young man was a candidate shaman, as will appear further on. But one function obviously followed quite naturally from the other, since contact with higher beings (here called "the devil") was a condition for both. Once this contact has taken place, the consequences often depend on the reactions of the relatives.

Jens continues, "I could find no evidence of deceit on the part of the young man, but it was clear that his relatives encouraged him in his idea that the spirits of the ancestors were calling him and inspiring him to be a *konoor* (*mon*). To become a *mon* a man also needed to be familiar with the healing power of certain herbs. This young man did have some knowledge of these things, too, but he continued to resist" (167, 1893, No. 7, p. 112). From *mon* to *konoor* it was no great step, but the risk entailed by the latter role was very much higher.

The risk of proclaiming oneself to be a *konoor* was illustrated some years later. "At Saraundiboe (Mansinam) the people once more wanted to kill somebody who had the reputation of being a *konoor*. Fortunately we could prevent this plan" (126, 1896, No. 9, p. 157).

#### 24. 1894, Roon. A woman as medium and *konoor*

This case is particularly remarkable on account of its syncretic features and because a missionary was included in the mythology connected with it.

"A woman is continually visited by her son who died a year ago. The

mother claims that the child is on intimate terms with *Manseren* Jesus. The child tells her to advise the people to listen to me [Bink], for then the great *korano* (*Manseren*, Lord) will come soon and the good life will begin. They are also to build a bed for the *Manseren*" (40, 1895, No. 2, p. 24).

"The great *korano* will not come from heaven but from the sea, and they must beat a drum and a gong to indicate to him where to come ashore. He will come in a boat shaped like a fish, which can travel under water. The woman has already received some treasures from her son (coins), which she is not allowed to show until the great *korano* comes up out of the water" (*ibid.*, pp. 24-25).

For the propaganda she was faithfully assisted by a relative, a *Sengadji*. He had known the late Mr. Woelders well and placed the missionary in the sphere of the miracle-working ancestors. "Once he was standing in a room with Woelders, and while the missionary was speaking to him about God he was suddenly visited by an Angel with wings so large that he filled the whole room. Woelders then took a large bowl and poured water into it until the water stood as much as half a fathom on top of the bowl without flowing away; it stood up like a pole. The Angel saw this and went away, for this was beyond him" (*ibid.*, p. 25). According to Bink, the allusion to a submarine was due to the fact that they had seen pictures of one. He also reported that some of the people were making preparations for the *korano* they were expecting. "Presumably this will not last long; if the *korano* fails to appear they will say, 'This one too has tried to deceive us like the others'" (*ibid.*). Modern influences are beginning to appear, foreign elements are annexed, but it is clear that the third stage was not completely achieved. Nothing is said about the outcome.

25. 1897, *The Island of Waar* (132, 1897, No. 9, pp. 153-154)

In connection with the smallpox epidemic several new medicine men made their appearance, and in the Island of Waar the propaganda of one of these men tended towards the *Koreri*. "He urged the people to sing and dance assiduously, then the smallpox would not come. He also promised that when the S.S. *Camphuis* [a K.P.M. (Royal Packet Nav. Co.) steamer, K.] came it would be accompanied by a ship loaded with silver coins, lengths of blue cotton, earthenware and copper dishes, rifles, gunpowder and shot, commanded by *Manseren* Jesus Christ who would distribute it all among the people" (40, 1897, No. 9, p. 155).

The attempt of the previous *konoor* to involve the missionary had apparently not been successful, for now the message was, "Do not listen to the missionary; he does not know anything about it, for he is no more than a sailor" (*ibid.*). When the S.S. Camphuis arrived without the promised Messiah-ship, the *konoor* told his followers that the ship had been delayed and would now come together with the next mailboat (two months later). This was believed and the dancing continued, although some voices were raised in doubt. When the ship did not come the movement petered out without any dramatic incidents.

## 26. 1900-1908, *Roon*

The name of the *konoor* here was Marisi. He was a former foster child of Bink's (who had died in 1899) and might be described as the opposite number of Bink's successor J. Metz. Metz, in his unpublished diary, begins his account with an extensive description of the activities of a *konoor*. His report differs from other texts when he says that "Manseren Manggundi has gone to heaven. He is still there, but the joyful day of his return is at hand. Then there will be a heaven on earth. Then no more trouble or suffering, no sickness or worries, and no more dying, but eternal joy and freedom from care. No more poverty. Everyone will possess as many silver coins and as much blue cotton as he wants to have. They persuaded the population to prepare everything and give him a worthy reception. These preparations consisted in coming together every night to sing and dance in honor of the one who was coming. The *konoor* must be honored with presents and trusted completely. The more they gave, and the better they carried out the instructions, the sooner Manggundi would return.

Now such a *konoor* has appeared in our village. His house is built over the sea to the right of our house. The man is called Marisi. Some years ago he lived in the house of the missionary as a foster son. Some branches have been put on top of the *konoor's* house as an indication that he has a message to proclaim". As a rule people only decorated their houses with branches after a successful headhunting expedition. Marisi said that the branches also served to keep off the smallpox, although at that moment there was no sign of smallpox anywhere.

"He boasts that the Lord Jesus has promised him a guard of a hundred angels. Let the sick come to Marisi! He does not ask for payment, but there is no need to come empty-handed either. The news of the *konoor's* miracles spreads like wildfire through the islands. He has a miraculous

oil, of which only he knows the recipe. They say that a woman fell out of a tree and that her condition was hopeless, because she had been transfixed on a sharp-pointed branch which ran through her breast and came out at her back. Through the shoulderblade the branch had gone. Marisi had treated her with his medicine and she was cured. But nobody knows where the woman lives" (238a, 227-8).

Metz regarded the *konoor* as an impostor; he entered into disputes with him and once challenged him to thresh out the matter with him in church. Nothing came of it, for Marisi stayed home. By that time he had fixed a seat on the ridge of his roof for Manggundi to sit on. He also had a flagpole set up.

A year after his first appearance he went so far as to administer Holy Baptism to two of Metz's candidates for baptism, who had to pay five guilders for it. About this time he also imitated the Lord's Supper by celebrating the Eucharist with a dish of sago mash (238, 311).

When Metz's wife died six months later (in 1901) Marisi told the population, "My *korwar* [spirit effigy] has killed her" (*ibid.*, 312). It is a pity that Metz approached the matter in such a controversial spirit; this made him unable to report the *konoor*'s real motives for imitating the Christian sacraments.

Metz repatriated in 1901 and was replaced by an Amboinese teacher. After that, little was heard of Marisi at first. But shortly after the beginning of the Awakening when at last the mass of the people started showing an interest in the Gospel, Marisi reappeared in the limelight. He moved to a small island across from Roon, where the Awakening had set in. From here he called upon the people to come and dance, and proclaimed his message again, with the result that part of those who were being prepared for baptism by the teacher went to Marisi. For Marisi had said, "I will see to it that the *guru* (teacher) has no one left to teach but pigs and dogs" (238, 319). That was in 1905. Two years later the movement pushed through towards Christianity, partly on account of a very curious dream which placed the Bible message within the framework of the Roon myths, and Marisi went back to Roon and himself became a candidate for baptism.

At that time a smallpox epidemic broke out, but it did not inspire Marisi to infuse new life into his movement. He now abided by the word of the missionary and was sadly enough one of the first to succumb to the disease. The missionary of Windessi, who was also in charge of Roon, had no vaccine on hand, and Marisi had formerly refused vaccination (238, 325). He was one of the few who died.

On the basis of the scanty data we can conclude that an important role in this movement was played by exogenous factors, *i.e.*, the death of Missionary Bink, and the smallpox epidemic before that. The Colonial Administration had been established in Manokwari in 1898, headhunting and reprisal action were forbidden, but the "strong arm" of the Administration did not reach so far as to be felt in Roon when Marisi came with his first proclamation and put in his claim as a *konoor*.

#### 27. 1901, Numfor

An unnamed *konoor* sent the District Officer in Manokwari two yellowed Mares leaves on which small figures had been drawn, and a bottle of water. The bearers said that a man had appeared in their island, who had come neither by canoe nor by ship, and he had commanded them to deliver the letter to his son the District Officer. The Biak men said that the *konoor* had wrenched a tall ironwood tree out of the ground, that he had resuscitated the dead, etc.

The *konoor* had spoken of the District Officer as "my son". But the District Officer did not go to Numfor to visit him, and therefore he himself came to Manokwari. In his decorated canoe he had his men paddle past Mansinam, for this island would sink to the bottom should he go ashore there.

The District Officer sent him to prison, but released him soon afterwards. His influence was broken, probably because what had happened to him had proved that he had no power and was not invulnerable. F. J. F. van Hasselt writes about him, "It seemed to me that he suffered from autosuggestion; he insisted that he had descended from heaven" (134, 98).

#### 28. 1909, Biak and Numfor. Koreri and the arrival of guru

The position of the *konoor* is associated with knowledge of "the secret". This knowledge implies contact with a power center or with representatives of such a center. It is certain that the Europeans were sometimes regarded as such representatives. Their possessions and special knowledge were there to prove it. In the popular imagination the trained teacher was probably analogous to the *mon* (shaman), the wood-carver, and the blacksmith, who also had to go through a period of apprenticeship and thus became acquainted with potent medicines and magic ritual, that is, with secrets.

As early as 1898, when *guru* P. Kafiari, who had been captured as a child and sold, returned to Biak for a visit, the people saw this compatriot not only as a *guru*, an initiate, but also as an example of the metamorphosis prophesied in *Koreri*: the slave had become a lord. Particularly his preaching of the Gospel was associated with Manggundi. With difficulty Kafiari and his fellow *guru* managed to keep the people from doing homage to them as *konoor* (136, 33).

According to rumor, however, this did happen in 1909.

In 1908 Kafiari had been posted to his own native village of Maudori (Supiori) where he became the first *guru*. People came from far and near to see him, the first native Biak *guru*. He was paid back all sort of old debts that were due to his relatives. When he started clearing a small island to begin a coconut plantation, it was rumored that he was clearing the place to receive Manggundi, and that *Koreri* would begin there (136, 53). An investigation established that the *guru* had not given cause for the rumor, but that his relatives had helped to spread it. As late as 1952 I was told that a gramophone which *guru* Kafiari had brought with him was one of the "marvels" and had been one of the causes of the rumor.

Once in 1908, when Kafiari stopped in Numfor on his way to Biak, there was a famine there, caused by a caterpillar plague. Kafiari prayed with the people for deliverance from this calamity, and when he passed there again two months later the people flocked to him to thank him. The plague had stopped, and now they asked him what medicine he had used to achieve it (132a, 15-4-1908).

A similar development was feared when the Numfor people got their first *guru*. On this occasion one of the Christians of Mansinam addressed the people warning them not to associate *Koreri* expectations with the coming of the *guru* as he had heard they did (*ibid.*, October 1908).

### 1910, Mamberamo and Manggundi

Both in the prose and in the verse texts of the myth of Manseren Manggundi the principal personage is said to have gone to the Mamberamo river. When in 1910 the Corps of Topographical Engineers began its Mamberamo expedition, the Papuans naturally wondered what they were looking for. The Biak people thought that *Koreri* was to be found there (*cf.* p. 94). It was the abode of Manggundi, and that was what they thought attracted the Company. The Numfor people said,

"The Company is looking for gold, that is the origin and aim of all trade".

When in 1884 the ship *Havik* ran aground on the island in the Mamberamo river that bears its name, the then *Korano* of Mokmer said it was his doing. "He claimed he had made the water dry" (126, 1887, No. 4, p. 53).

Now in 1910 the son of this *konoor*, the *Korano* Amos of Mokmer, went to the Mamberamo river to investigate, and when he arrived there it turned out that he was not the only one, for a large number of canoes from Padaido, Kurudu, Yobi, Soweik, Saunek (R. Ampat Islands), Sarmi and Samber (Biak) had already arrived. They did not find the expedition, but they did find a German called Max Moszkowski, who has reported on this visit, on the dances performed for him, etc., in a lengthy article. According to this author, the *Korano* Amos of Mokmer visited him 155 miles upstream and lured him down to the coast. The rumor to the effect that he could work miracles — turn sand into gold, resuscitate the dead, etc. — is attributed by him to his success in curing some patients (246, 327-328). In the end, the *Korano* Amos of Mokmer came to the conclusion that "Manggundi is not on the Mamberamo river, we only found an *Inggris* (Englishman) there".

#### 29. 1910, *Mangginomi* of Numfor

It was the exact opposite of *Korano* Amos' findings that *Mangginomi* of Bawe brought to Numfor, for "Manggundi had appeared to him on the Mamberamo river and had instructed him to make preparations for his arrival in Numfor. He described Manggundi as a giant who could eat a great deal" (134, 99).

*Mangginomi* built a house in Bawe and summoned the people to bring him presents. He showed the believers some examples of the treasures to come when *Koreri* began. "He had been to Manokwari and bought some glittering baubles from the Chinese traders aboard a K.P.M. steamer. The people in Numfor had never seen anything of the kind. He organized a celebration and invited many people. The drums were beaten, there was dancing and singing, and as soon as the people were in a mood of intoxication he showed them his treasures. They were dumbfounded with wonder, so that they were ready to listen to his message" (315, 16). In his house he had built an attic in which he kept some young women hidden. At the peak of the night-time dancing these women came out and mingled with the dancers. When the excitement



became too great they disappeared upstairs. In the uncertain light of the torches this led the people to believe that they had seen celestial women. From everywhere people came to bring the *konoor* goods and young girls in tribute. Celestial women and loads of blue cotton cloth awaited the "Radja Papua" if he should come. The house was partitioned in such a manner that a space was reserved and closed off by a trellis on one side. The public were not allowed to enter this space, but kept at a suitable distance. "They told me that now and then the kings of Ternate, Tidore, Djailolo, Batjan, Holland and England came here to dance in honor of the prince of the Papuans whose coming was imminent" (135, 28).

When Mangginomi came into conflict with the *guru* and threatened to kill them, and when it was rumored that he was inciting the population of Numfor against the lawful authorities, he was taken prisoner by a patrol under Lt. Tydeman on May 16, 1911, and convicted to five years' hard labor (323, 256).

This was evidently a complete movement, which continued to influence the population even when the *konoor* was in prison. The people asked repeatedly when he was going to return.

"In May 1916 the term of imprisonment of this *konoor* (Mangginomi) expired, and when he was due to come back his influence on the population was still so great that every *kampung* [village] along the whole of the Biak south coast delegated a canoe to bring him tribute and compensation for the suffering he had undergone in the prison of Ternate" (90, 73). But in the meantime the influence of the Colonial Administration and the Mission had made itself felt, and the population of Numfor could no longer be made enthusiastic for a repetition.

### 30. 1920, Manokwari. Semi-movement around the Regent of Tidore

The demeanour of a Tidorese Regent, appointed by the Sultan of Tidore on request of the Resident for New Guinea, gave rise in Manokwari to associations with Manseren Manggundi, of whom he was thought to be a reincarnation. He had come to liberate them from the Colonial Administration. The Biak people went farthest in their stories. "He has come to abolish taxes and forced labor. He was angry because the Administration had been collecting taxes for eight years, while he had only given permission for four years. The taxes of these four years had been intended to supply the brideprice which his father needed to pay to marry a Dutch girl. And now his aim was to claim the surplus and

return it to the people. He had also demanded re-instatement of the old *adat*, the drinking of palm-wine, polygamy, and the restoration of the old festivities. Already there were *Koreri* rumors. The people stopped working their gardens and making copra (according to a Chinese trader) for their King would take care of them" (132a, 24-11-1920).

The Regent does not seem to have given cause for these rumors, but Van Hasselt thinks that the attitude of the population was due to the activities of some officials who had been retained in office in spite of complaints from the population, so that the people now looked to the Regent to help them (*ibid.*).

Three years later, however, the Regent was called to Amboina by the Colonial Administration, because his presence had caused great unrest and because in Numfor he had claimed to be the representative of Manseren Manggundi. This unrest was also noticeable in Japen and Biak. In Numfor the people began to slaughter pigs and enlarge houses. All this is evidence that a movement may arise without a *konoor* actually assuming leadership.

### 31. 1923, *Biak*

This was a short-lived and small-size movement in the village of Makuker. Since the peoples of the coast and the interior were repeatedly at war with each other, a trip to this village in the interior was not without danger. For this reason the number of supporters remained small (Biak informant).

### 32. 1926, *Biak*

Kabarkuri of the village of Sauri was the *konoor* here. Followers came mainly from Wadibu and Opyaref. The arrest of Kabarkuri put a check on the movement right at the beginning. The people had not yet begun to destroy their gardens (Biak informant and letter 1953 from H. J. Agter).

### 33. c. 1926, *Padaido Islands*

The movement of Korapik was probably the same as that of Morin of Meokwundi. He chose the small Island of Meosmanggwandi as a center.

Korapik of Meokwundi justified his proclamation by referring to the fact that the Old Man had once taken a wife in their island. The Old Man had announced that his anger would cool down and he would

return if the people believed him again. Korapik's message linked up with the expectations awakened by the Regent of Tidore. For the people would turn into *Amberi* (foreigners, in this case Tidorese). They would receive much money and many possessions, a palace, ships, and so on. During the collective period that followed many pigs were killed, *labu* torn out of the ground, and gardens destroyed. If only they had the courage to be drastic, the dead, too, would rise.

The Biak emigrants in Numfor also joined the movement and came to the *konoor*. Intervention by the Colonial Administration put an end to this movement (Biak informants).

We have remarked several times on the wide geographical spread of many of the movements. From the Radja Ampat area (Sorong and the Papuan islands) people came to the Geelvink Bay and the other way round. When a movement was launched in the Geelvink Bay area itself it was almost beyond question that all the coastal areas would join in. The influence of the movement in the Padaido Islands stretched as far as the east coast of the Vogelkop, and this time the sources only reveal the participation of these distant populations after the event: they refer to a widespread discontent prevailing after the failure of the Morin movement, which sprang from the fact that on the instigation of the Soweik people they had killed their pigs and all their chickens and had received nothing in return.

We also hear that they had been told to build a large house to accommodate the ancestors who were going to rise, and in this connection we learn that once, long ago, a house with forty rooms was built in this region (Wedoni). But this time they did not obey the instruction, although they did cut the necessary wood.

During a quarrel with some Soweik people who, at intervals, used to stay near Oransbari and had apparently acted as organizers for the Morin movement, the anger of the Wariab and Wedoni population culminated in the murder of a Soweik man. The informant (Petrus Wandow) adds that they kept the affair concealed from the Colonial Administration and that they paid the man's next of kin a compensation in the form of one silver bracelet, one large pig, one *samjar* (shell wristband) and one Timorese cloth (used in ceremonial exchange by the people of the interior).

This course of events makes it clear that after the failure of a movement participants occasionally take revenge on the *konoor* or his representatives, and we may conclude that the launching of a movement was not without risk.

## 34. 1927-28, Biak

On this movement, which took place in Korem, we only have a brief report by F. W. Hartweg, which says, "The Papuan Messiah was expected once again, and many acclaimed him enthusiastically and offered him presents . . . There were also some Christians among the participants. He has deceived them once more, and now the people come to me, indignant and disappointed, asking to be taught and baptised" (123, P., July 1928).

During the decade that followed no movements were reported from Biak, though it is impossible to ascertain whether none did in fact take place. In this period practically the whole region was covered by *guru* and evangelists. Undoubtedly the message contained in the Gospel reminded many of their *Koreri*. In view of what we know about the background of the Biak way of thought we may perhaps be justified in assuming that, at this time, the people sought *Koreri* in the Gospel. But we also know that they realized fairly soon that they were mistaken. As an elder said at the grave of a child, "We do not quite know yet".

During the great movement of 1938-43, however, it was to become clear that the people had in fact formed a specific conception of the connection between the *Koreri* and the Bible.

## JAPEN AND KURUDU

Culturally the Island of Japen belongs to the Geelvink Bay. It has several languages, but broadly speaking Japen has been influenced by Biak in the north, and by Windessi and Waropen in the south, while there are also contacts with inhabitants of the mainland beyond the coastal strip.

Here, too, the two heroes Kuri and Pasai from Wandamen are the principal figures in the myths. D. C. A. Bout, who established the first missionpost in Japen in 1924, reports that the people of this island believe that these heroes came from the mountains beyond the village of Ariepi. They expect Kuri to return from the east and Pasai from the west, Pasai being the one who will bring with him all the products of the west and cause a time of abundance to begin. But in the various movements in the island their names are never mentioned, probably, as Bout says, because "the Manggundi movements were only found where Biak elements occur". In the movements reported so far the reader will have noticed that people from Japen and Kurudu were repeatedly mentioned as being among the participants. It is not certain

whether these were only Biak migrants. In view of their own myths we may suppose that the people in the interior of Japen were not unresponsive towards the *Koreri* message of the Biak people, witness the myth which Kijne recorded for the villages of Mantembu and Unai in central Japen. The hero is an ancestor called Mambori, who possesses the secret of rejuvenation. He moves among the people disguised as an old man. When his secret is betrayed to his brother-in-law by his wives, he departs and curses his wives who turn into stones. He tears his old skin to bits, and with it the secret of rejuvenation is lost.

The threat that unbelievers will be turned into stones occurs repeatedly in the movements on Japen. Although contacts with the Mission had existed since 1910, it was not until 1924 that the first missionary was established in the island. This is the reason why we only have information on the occurrence of movements there since that date.

### 35. 1925, Japen

Saumira of Serewin claimed to be "the Lord God". He had climbed a tall coconut tree to tap palm-wine. "There", he said, "I was suddenly gathered up by a cloud and led into heaven, where I stayed for three days. It was so beautiful there that I would have liked to stay, but Manseren Manggundi said, 'Saumira, go back to the earth and tell the people that I will come myself at the next moon. Then it will be dark on earth for ten days, and after that the sun will not set for ten days. Earthquakes will rage in multitude and fierceness. You must then do quickly what you have to do, collect wood, food, and kerosene, and kill all your hens and pigs. Anyone who dares pronounce my name will be turned into a stone. No one is allowed to have iron pots in the house when the prophet comes. You must throw away everything that the foreigners have brought into the country. Also you must see to it that you have food in the house when he comes. He wishes to have rice cooked in bamboo vessels. Whoever keeps any pigs or chickens will be turned into such an animal himself'" (51a, P., May 1926).

The similarities and differences between this message and those of Biak are obvious. The negative attitude towards the products of western culture, except for kerosene, is an element not found in Biak.

A run on the shops for rice and kerosene proved that the people listened to the message. In the end there was no money left, but lengths of blue cloth, dishes, beadwork dancing aprons — their valuable ceremonial exchange goods — were given in return for the desired

articles. When the shops were sold out streams of people came to the Mission house.

The number of pilgrims to the *konoor* increased all the time. Sumera (Saumira) showed some people of Serui a dish that was luminous in the dark. He also ate a fish and subsequently showed that the animal had grown whole again. Those who visited him had to wear a loin cloth and nothing else. The visitors brought him presents. The tension increased when the new moon rose, for they had been promised, "When you see the crescent of the new moon, know then that I am coming". They began to slaughter pigs, for instance in Ansus (50, 9-11). Everything was carefully kept secret from the foreigners, and on their journeys the older people showed their children oddly shaped stones that once used to be human beings.

The people stopped working and left the resin behind in the woods. The believers stayed together until the moon was nearly full, but nothing happened. Then the Government intervened, and while the village headmen were being questioned the *konoor* retreated to a hiding-place far into the woods. Now his former supporters began to ridicule him, calling him Manseren *babi* (Lord of the pigs), but no one betrayed his hiding-place (50, 12-13). He stayed hidden for two years.

All the elements of the Biak movements were present here, even a scene from the voyage of the Old Man, namely the miracle of the fish at Opyaref (p. 53).

The anti-foreigner attitude, which is very pronounced here, was probably provoked by a drastic measure carried out by the Authorities in that year. "By order, the large clan houses along the whole coast of Japen were demolished and replaced by family dwellings, and now lamps, and consequently kerosene, are in great demand" (51b).

### 36. 1927, *Kurudu*

This island, an old center of Biak emigrants and inhabited by a number of clans including the *keret* Samber, is often mentioned in history. *Hongi*-trips from Korido or Biak took place as late as 1886, so that there is some justification for the supposition that there was a deep-lying feud between these clans and their mother country. Relations among themselves were not exactly peaceable either. Possibly the antagonism between the two main *keret*, Sikowai and Samber, was the result of a former social dichotomy.

Curiously enough, these Biak emigrants made their island into a

center of the *Manseren* cycle. According to their version of the main myth, the baptism by fire took place in Kaipuri (Kurudu), "where the Sikowai and Samber *keret* live" (250, 50). In the movements that took place in Biak and elsewhere, people from Kurudu were often found among the participants. From a very brief report we know that the movements also occurred in the island itself. "Recently one of the men of Kurudu claimed to be Manseren Manggundi. The people built towers on their houses and did everything they were told to do. The illusion did not last long. The *Manseren* was taken prisoner and then the people came to me and said, 'Please give us a *guru*'" (51c, P., December 1927).

#### THE RADJA AMPAT AREA

In discussing the migrants from Biak and Numfor we mentioned that there are seven different groups living in this area. As far as we know no movements occurred among the Biak people here who were assimilated by the original population, such as part of the Moi group and those who were absorbed by the Madik people. But they did occur among the Amber of central Waigeo, who assimilated a part of the *keret* Rumbiak from Soweik.

As was to be expected, the Biak people here added local elements to their own myths, supplementing the main myth of the Old Man with features of their new geographic environment to which they sometimes applied names derived from the islands around Biak and, in doing so, shifting the extreme west from Meosbefondi and Ayawi west of Supiori to the islands north of Waigeo (*cf.* map I).

In broad outline, the version of the myth of the Old Man which the Muslim *Radjas* of this area use as a rationalization of the supremacy of Waigeo over Numfor goes as follows.

#### *The origin of the four kings*

A married couple, Allaf and Bokidunia, who lived in the village of Wawayai, one day found six eggs which they placed under an antique dish and a bark loincloth to hatch. Five eggs broke open, and from them there emerged War, Batan, Djohar, Mohamed, and a girl Pintoke. This girl was later put into an antique dish by her brothers and pushed out to sea. She was washed ashore in Numfor. Through the intermediary of a jinn a son was born to this beautiful maiden, and she called him *Uchili* Kurbessi [*Uchili* or *Kaichili* = prince (Tidorese), 65, 294]. A scabious old man was accused of having fathered the child,

and the indignant relatives left the island and went to Dore. To dispel his loneliness the young *Uchili* drew a canoe in the sand, which magically turned into a big canoe *masurun* [*mansusu* = trading-canoe] complete with singing oarsmen. He then left the island in a westerly direction. His mother gave him some heirlooms to present to his uncles in order to prove his identity. *Radja* War, it turned out, had become ruler of Waigeo, Batan had crossed to Salawati, Djohar to Lilinta (Misool), and Mohamed lived in Kilwuri (Seram) as a *Radja*.

Kurbessi then went exploring, discovered Gebe, and brought it under the authority of the *Radja* War of Waigeo. He proceeded to Tidore and conquered Ternate by using magic. As a reward he was given one of the Sultan of Tidore's daughters called Boki Taiba for a wife (162).

This myth thus includes the episode of the Old Man as well as parts of the Biak cycle of the Fakok and Pasrefi myths.

Seven Biak and Numfor emigrant groups may be distinguished in this area. They are

1. The Numfor people of Efman and Arar, who have been living here for centuries. They became Muslims in 1912. No movements occurred among them.
2. The Beserese, who originally came from Soweik and are now living in West Waigeo, Pam, and Kofiau. They mixed with the Tobelorese of East Halmahera. It is their mythology which has been most strongly influenced by their environment (177, 188-189).
3. Biak people from Wardo, Usba, and Mamoribo, now living along the north coast of the Vogelkop, the east coast of Waigeo, and the Ayau Islands. They are probably the most recent emigrants and have completely retained their Biak character.
4. The Omka or Kafdarun from Soweik, now living in North Batanta. On their forays to Seram and Haruku they captured slaves whom they adopted, but their culture remained Biak.
5. Biak people who were wholly absorbed in the Moi tribe of the N.W. Vogelkop. They originated from Sor (N. Biak) and adopted the clan name Malibela. Fear of the dead, an intrinsic element of Moi culture, kept them from taking part in any movement (179, 332-341).
6. Biak people from Soweik, part of whom were absorbed in the Madik tribe beyond Mega, while another group travelled on to Sorong. The



*Sengadji* Warfandu and Warwei, well-known and influential Muslim district headmen, were descended from the latter group. They did not take part in the movements.

7. Members of the Rumbiak *keret* from Soweik, who were washed ashore in the inner bay of Waigeo and were there assimilated by the Siam or Amber tribe.

### 37. 1931, *Ayau Islands* (178 and 280)

These islands to the north of Waigeo have been inhabited for about a century and a half. Before that, these migrants from Biak had settled in Waigeo, and the oldest legends concerning these groups date from about A.D. 1500.

The center of this movement was the Island of Reni, where the *keret* Faidan was the main group. The first movement on which any data are available took place in 1931.

Reni is the island from which, according to the local version of the myth, the Old Man departed and to which he will return. The population was therefore greatly excited by the message of Wasyari Faidan, a heavily built, laconic Biak man, who had had a vision of Manseren Manggundi saying he was going to appear in ten days. The world would grow dark and sink away, but the believers would escape in a large canoe, of which Wasyari had been given the model. He drew the model in the sand for his supporters. A big ship would then come, and the believers could embark by means of the large canoe.

Wasyari was a member of the lineage of headmen which was held in great esteem, and the proclamation period got away to a good start. The result was that various small non-Biak tribes also took part, such as the Kawe of Selpele and the Amber of Lamlam (see group 7 of the emigrants). The collective stage, including the taking of drastic measures, was reached rapidly. The Lapon clan of the Amber tribe harvested all that was eatable in their gardens. As marks of identification those who had remained behind in the villages received *korwar* from Wasyari. They were instructed to put these up in their villages.

Unbelievers and mockers would be turned into stones, pigs, fishes, or demons. Taxes and forced labor would be abolished when Manggundi came.

In Reni thousands of people came together. According to one informant, supporters even came from Numfor. A large number of canoes, on their way from Numfor to Reni, were intercepted by a government

vessel and sent back. At the climax of the Advent nights a vessel of the Administration came and fetched the *konoor* away. He was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment.

An official report and a rumor may here serve as illustrations. The court indictment said that he had created unrest among the inhabitants of the Ayau Islands and part of Waigeo by spreading a false report and had claimed to be the *Manseren* or *Radja* Papua. The terminology was obviously influenced by the interpreters' choice of words in their Malay accounts. This difficulty of rendering the mythical background in Malay was also responsible for the strangest rumors. A person who lived in Selpela at the time reported, "*Radja itu menyiarkan kabar, bahwa ia ada membuat kapal lengkap dengan serdadu-serdadu untuk mengangkat perang*" (This king spread the news that he had made a boat complete with soldiers to begin the war).

The extent of the distortion becomes clear when we compare this report with Wasyari's message and take the character of the movements into account. There was no reason whatsoever to suppose that Wasyari was planning to act as "*Radja* Papua", let alone to begin a war by means of a ship manned with soldiers. It was not the last time that fear and language difficulties combined to put these movements in a completely false light.

### 38. 1932, Amber villages, Waigeo

Wasyari was still in prison when Tanda of the village of Kabilol came forward as a *konoor*. His compatriots belonged to the group mentioned under No. 7. Tanda, too, spoke of visions, which he had been having for five months.

On account of a quarrel with his two wives he lived in the solitude of the woods. On the river Kaiwat he had a vision of three figures who took him to the Island of Reni in a motorboat. The message he received there from Manggundi was almost identical with Wasyari's. Apocalyptic happenings, earthquakes, and darkness were at hand, and the ship that was coming was of enormous size, it would take half an hour to paddle its length in a canoe. Here, too, a canoe was to be made ready for the embarkation.

Once more, the collective period was reached rapidly. Crowds of people came to Kabilol. A peculiarity in this movement was that Tanda told the crowd that Manggundi had arrived already, but that he needed a while to regain his strength. The Advent nights should be celebrated in

the customary way. Tanda slept on a mattress under a sheet of white cotton. Every evening he went into his room with a torch to see the *Manseren*. The dancing was to last for eight nights, but at the climax of the last night Manggundi did not show up, nor did Tanda: he had taken to the woods.

The participants dispersed in indignation, but as it turned out, Tanda had gone to the place where he had received his first revelations; from there he sent word that he would see to it that the *Manseren* would appear after all. At that moment, however, the Government intervened and Tanda was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. After his release nothing more was heard of him.

### 39. 1933, *Ayau Islands*

Tanda had not yet been discharged when Wasyari returned and began again. This time his message was more detailed. Manggundi, who had appeared to him, had a reddish skin and his hair stood out like a crown around his head. He had commanded Wasyari to build a house and had given him a jar filled with curative water over which he had blown his magic breath. In no time the number of supporters ran into the hundreds and the people began building the house. The Advent nights were ushered in with a general *Wor banngamor* (dance to wash off foreign influences) (177, 306). When this had no result, Wasyari got a new vision: the Coming had been postponed and for the time being Wasyari was allowed to live in the house until it was finished. In the meantime Wasyari cured the sick with water from the jar. The Government then intervened for the second time, and the *konoor* was sentenced to another four months' imprisonment.

But Wasyari had left a message which was repeated to me by the inhabitants of Seget (Moi-Segin) in the extreme south-west of the Radja Ampat Islands at an enormous distance from Ayau. Evidently his influence had again spread over a large area. The promise was, "In three years' time the *Manseren* will come in his large boat after all. In the boat a tree will grow which gives two kinds of fruit. The young men need no longer look for wives, they can wait for the celestial women who will come with the ship". I found that the people of Seget, too, had already sent tribute to Reni.

When Wasyari was released, a *guru* had been appointed to his island at the request of the population. In prison he had himself heard the Gospel, and he now joined in with his fellow-villagers. Just before they

all embraced Christianity he took the initiative for a grand farewell dance lasting one night. To judge from the report this farewell was to be regarded as an explanation to the ancestors, as well as to Manseren *Nanggi*, for their change to Christianity. In a last *Fan Nanggi* (see p. 14) they likewise gave account to the Lord Sky. They rationalized it by saying, "Jesus Christ is the revelation of Manseren *Nanggi*". Although this might be judged an instance of syncretism, it should be kept in mind that during four years' preaching of the Gospel Manseren *Nanggi* had gradually been equipped with the qualities of Manseren *Allah* about whom they were told every day.

#### 40. 1934, *Batanta*

In movements 37 + 39 there had been few participants from the second and fourth groups of Biak emigrants. The *konoor* of Yensawai (North *Batanta*), Warbesren, however, who started a movement with fanatic zeal, found support mainly among these groups.

The curious thing about his "visions" was that he spoke of both *Manseren* and *Inseren* Seinona (Manggundi's wife). He saw two persons clad in black. The Lady (*Inseren*) informed him that Manggundi was coming to earth. They were to build a house for him. She blessed a jar filled with water, and those who drank from it would be free from sickness and ill-health and would not die. Warbesren was to demand tribute in the form of pearls, amber, birds of paradise, tortoises, mats, and the like.

In the collective period the *konoor* gave a repeat performance of his vision, in which he imitated the voice of *Inseren* Seinona. He also employed a mirror. Here too, apocalyptic disasters would accompany the coming of Manggundi. The participants all drank of the "sacred water" to which red pepper had been added.

After the arrest of Wasuari and Tanda they went about their propaganda with the utmost secrecy. Nevertheless, participants came not only from the second and fourth groups but also from groups that were not of Biak origin, the *Tiping* of North Salawati and, once more, the people of *Seget*. Once more, too, the latter gave the game away and the Government intervened before the Advent nights had reached a climax. Warbesren was a nervous type and his mental balance was precarious. In court he retracted his statements, but when he received the extremely heavy sentence of five years' imprisonment and was taken to *Ternate* he said emphatically on parting that he had not misled the people.

An old man from his village told me, "When he comes out we are all going to a distant island where no Company can find us, and there Manggundi will appear to us".

When Warbesren returned home years later he kept quiet. I visited him a number of times. He was in low spirits, for all his children died, including those he had by a young woman who had been given him as a tribute, and his fellow-villagers regarded this as a punishment for making a bid for "the Power". But as late as 1951 he asserted that all the Christians would perish in a great flood, that he would be "king" (*Manseren*) and receive a *sarong* factory in which those who paid him tribute would have a share. It was not until 1962, however, that he started another movement (see movement No. 45).

#### 41. 1936, Pam

Movements 37, 38, and 39 had begun in villages where the Mission had not yet been established, and movement 40 in a village where it had only recently started work. But in Pam there had been a *guru* for eight years.

In spite of the *guru's* presence, Pam, like the other Beserese villages, was a stronghold of shamanism, and the *mon* was a dreaded and honored personage. Nyawamos the *konoor*, and his assistant Tabulan who lived in Arefi (North Batanta) were both *mon*. The message they received in their visions was identical with that of Warbesren, but with the following curious addition. The *Manseren*, who here, too, sent his revelations through the mouth of *Inseren* Seinona, said that he was going to bring about a war between Japan and Holland. In this struggle all white people would be killed. Nyawamos would kill the *guru* of Pam, and Tabulan the *guru* of Arefi, and Tabulan was also to behead the *Pandita* (the present writer) when the great celestial vessel with ten masts and as many funnels appeared. Here, too, the Administration intervened, and Nyawamos died in Sorong prison in June 1938. Tabulan told me the above details after his release. When I asked him what he thought of the task assigned to him he replied, "I would have thought it a pity about you, but I would have done it nevertheless".

After this movement there were occasional rumors which were sometimes true, but usually utterly unfounded. The old man who told me about Warbesren's parting words was put in prison in 1937 only because of his imprudent remarks. He died of the consequences of imprisonment. In those years and later there were repeated rumors of meetings in lonely

islands. It is very likely that movements did occur there. Without intervention, however, any movement breaks up after the climax of the Advent nights.

#### 42. 1941, *Ayau Islands*

An extremely nervous type got visions, and his case was certainly one of syncretism, for he confused the figures of Manggundi and Christ. My notes of a conversation with him were unfortunately lost during the Japanese occupation. I had known this young man for years. Though usually very quiet he now fell a prey to violent inner tension caused by visions. His stories were already beginning to cause some excitement in the village.

In the course of a conversation that lasted a number of hours I succeeded in calming him down, but I am convinced that lack of understanding and the use of force would have triggered off a movement here. Having worked off his emotions in a quiet manner this *konoor* did not get beyond the individual stage.

#### 43. 1947, *Yefbo*

In the Memorandum of Transfer 1947, District Officer R. Hoogveen (162) mentions a movement among the Moi people of Yefbo (group 5). His very brief report goes as follows. "A young man preached the coming utopia of a *dolce far niente*, and induced the population to abandon their daily work. This young man always had a goat with him, and the movement ended when he fell ill". The author does not tell us what this "pleasant idleness" was supposed to consist of. His informants probably did understand, for they spoke of a *Manseren* movement. It seems that the collective period had begun, but of this we cannot be certain.

Although rumors of the great movement of 1938-43 did reach the Radja Ampat region, it does not seem that any of its inhabitants participated in it.

#### 44. 1938-1943, *Biak, Numfor and Japen*

See for this movement Chapter VIII.

## KORERI MOVEMENTS AFTER WORLD WAR II

There seem to have been several embryonic movements in various places both in Biak and along the north coast of the Vogelkop but none of these passed the *konoor* stage. There were reports of dreams and visions, of persons risen from the dead who prophesied *Koreri*. The political situation on the whole left little scope for a movement, for the area was intensively patrolled both by administrative officials and by missionaries and later, when the Evangelical Christian Church became independent, by the ministers of this church. One full-fledged movement did, however, develop. This occurred in the Radja Ampat area, in the Papuan islands situated between West Irian and Halmahera. The people of this region did not participate in the big Biak movement (1938-1943), but their *Koreri* expectations had by no means vanished, despite the fact that most of them had become Christians long ago.

45. 1962, 1966 and 1967, *Arefi-Yensawai*

In 1956 K. W. Galis, J. Mamoribo, and the present writer undertook an archaeological investigation on the Yenbekaki peninsula (North Batanta), east of Arefi. We found large quantities of finely decorated pottery fragments, red earthenware modelled heads, etc. Because Yenbekaki was near Arefi we asked the inhabitants of this village for information. It appeared that Yenbekaki was where the Biak people had lived together with their messiah, Manarmakeri. The well could still be identified and there were obvious traces of habitation (105a, 206). Members of two clans, we were told, had followed the Old Man when he left Numfor. The *keret* were those of Kapisai and Rumbewas, led by their respective chiefs Baiboi and Rante. The messiah was said to have departed from Yenbekaki in a westerly direction and it is from the west that he will return for the people of this region. They asked us were we looking for the Old Man? Evidently we did not succeed in convincing them that we were only interested in archaeological remains, for even while we were still there (we spent a fortnight altogether on this expedition) dozens of canoes arrived carrying curious visitors. Almost directly after we had left reports reached us that "strange figures" had been seen in Yenbekaki. Presumably attention was particularly drawn to Yenbekaki by our request not to start digging at random after we left, to prevent unnecessary destruction of valuable material. It is not surprising that our interest in the traditions concerning the messiah figure stirred everything up again and made it into a daily

topic of conversation. The rumors about "strange things" happening on the promontory continued to be heard but it was not until 1962 that a really large-scale movement developed with Yenbekaki as its center. The following message to the people was attributed to the present writer: "I have to go now, but wait for the coming of Manseren Manggundi, who will soon appear in Yenbekaki. Look after the place and guard it carefully, for the time is at hand" (264c).

The *konoor* of the 1962 movement was Wilhelmus Rumbewas, the same man who had started an extensive movement in this island in 1934. At that time he was still called Warbesren (*cf.* movement No. 40, p. 150). Now again the *konoor* had visions; "... he was struck by lightning and he heard voices telling him that *Koreri* was imminent...". This time, however, all his visions exhibited strong syncretic features so that the Administration initially believed it was dealing with a Christian sect.

A big house was built in Yenbekaki. It was about 28 yards long and was divided into three rooms: the longest for the participants, the middle one for the *konoor* and a small one for the expected messiah. Imitative magic was practised and gifts in food were brought, which were consumed by Manggundi, who was supposed to have arrived already, and by the participants. This looked very much like an imitation of the Lord's Supper. From far and wide people came to join in. Non-believers would be punished when Manggundi came, and the dead would rise at the end of the "long night" which was expected. Apart from the syncretic features in the proclamation (which also included the building of a house for the Lord Jesus, with one central vertical post with a cross-beam attached, *i.e.* in the shape of a cross) this movement offers no new aspects compared to those in Biak. Alarmed by the extent of the movement the church leaders intervened and attempted to make the people change their minds. I received a report on the movements and to explain that their reference to me was unfounded I wrote a long letter in their own language to the people concerned. This letter was mimeographed, distributed among the participant villages and read out aloud to the inhabitants. The result was that, for the time being, the movement came to a halt.

In November 1965 the *konoor* Wilhelmus Rumbewas died, but shortly before his death he had a dream in which he was told that *Koreri* would come towards the end of 1966. Four ships would arrive, carrying Christmas decorations and much cargo. The names of these ships would be Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nasareth and Efrata. The believers felt not a



little fortified in their expectations when on December 23, 1966, a ship named Bethlehem arrived in Sorong from Hong Kong, by way of Sukarnapura (Djayapura), Biak and Manokwari. By then each village had its *Koreri* jetty and shed ready for the expected ships.

At the critical moment there arrived at the *Koreri* jetty of Arefi the Rev. Mamoribo, a Biak man himself, who at that time was vice-president of the Evang. Christian Church. Quite ignorant of what was going on, he had come to spend his holidays in his wife's native village. In the conversations that followed the matter was fully discussed. Mamoribo writes "At those meetings each side clung to its own point of view. The natives claimed they had gone to Yenbekaki following an order given them by the *Pandita's* Kamma and Mamoribo in 1956 at the time of the investigation of the fort there. This order had been given additional significance by the visions of Rumbewas, the *konoor*. In the course of a calm discussion lasting several days many misunderstandings were, it seemed, put right. It proved that there were differences of opinion within the villages and that there were controversies between the natives and the local missionary-teacher (*guru*), all of which played a part in this affair. Typical of this discussion is the following remark by a church elder from Yensawai: 'The people of the Mission have told us that Bethlehem is in the west, but that isn't true, it is in the east and it is Meokwundi [*cf.* map I]. The missionaries did not wish to tell us that. I have been a church elder for 20 years and all that time my eyes were closed. But now they have been opened: Bethlehem is in our own country'. They called the Yenbekaki fort "*Benteng Mananarmakeri*" although both the fort and the potsherds are clearly of non-Biak origin. Agreement was reached on January 3, 1967, and a document was drawn up in which the natives undertook not to start any more movements, and which was signed by the prominent men of the village. After this Mamoribo, accompanied by the leading men of Arefi, went to visit seven Besew-Biak villages (Pam, Meosmanggara, Arborek, Saungrai, Yenbekwan, Yenbuba and Yenbesew) from which people had participated in the movement (*cf.* also movements Nos. 40 and 41, pp. 150-151). Long discussions took place everywhere and agreement was reached, putting an end to the second movement. A strong desire for more information was expressed and in various parts of the country people asked for a translation of my book about the *Koreri* movements in the Biak-Numfor culture area. Rev. Mamoribo mentions that these movements were not restricted to the Radja Ampat area (Sorong and surroundings) but occurred also in Ayamaru, Teminabuan, Manokwari and Tanahmerah

(west of Djayapura). He attributes them to the circumstances and the unsettling influence of new situations and political currents. Towards the end of 1967 the movement started for the third time, Arefi, Yensawai and Yenbekaki again being the centers. The men who had signed the agreement referred to above were this time fetched, and some given a beating, by the authorities who feared a political rising. Once more Rev. Mamoribo visited these places, but this time instead of endless discussions the people were merely told they could go ahead with their *Koreri*, but in that case the *guru* would be taken from them. On January 1, 1968 the leaders decided to call the movement off. They organized a great feast at which various foods were eaten that had been prohibited during the movement (including lobster and pork). Nobody believes, however, that this has put a definitive end to the *Koreri* expectations. The curious thing is that, although no movements had occurred here since 1936, the *Koreri* idea became at once, after 26 years, very much alive as a result of an archaeological investigation which offered a starting point for associations (105a, 186b, 264c + Letters and Archives; cf. also J. Mamoribo, *Benteng Jenbekaki dan Pergerakan Koreri* (Mythe Mananarmaker jang sudah berangkat kesebelah Barat) ("Fortress Jenbekaki and the Koreri Movement (The myth of Mananarmaker and his departure to the West)") [Djayapura], September 1971).

In other parts of West Irian movements still occur at least at a small scale. The last report of such a movement on the Island of Numfor dates from 1971. No description or comment is available.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MOVEMENTS OF 1938-1943 IN BIAK, NUMFOR AND JAPEN

The description of these wide-spread movements is based on a great deal of material not previously published.<sup>1</sup> For various reasons the informants will be nameless, but the islands of their origin will be given.

The rumors and reports will be rendered as literally as possible to facilitate an understanding of the tension they caused. By comparing information from the different regions we have tried to arrive at a reliable classification and chronology of a conglomeration of often very contradictory data.

#### 1. *c. 1938, the Beginning of the Movement in Supiori*

For years Angganitha Menufaur was the central figure here. She was born about 1905 and before her baptism on 25-9-1932 she bore the same name as the ancestress, Inserensowek, through whom she was related to Manggundi. She was married and had three children. She must have been an uncommonly gifted woman and had a reputation as a poet. Later, in the great movement, the texts of her songs were used in dancing and singing.

It was said that her husband and one of her children died on one of their voyages around the Radja Ampat Islands. From grief she became ill, she caught beri-beri and a skin-disease. She neglected her health and fell into a decline, growing worse every day. Finally she was taken to Aiburانبondi, a small island, where as an outcast she provided for herself by crawling about to gather roots and leaves on the land and shell-fish from the reefs. Now and then she was visited by her son who brought her some food and water. One of the informants in Biak said that she was also occasionally sought out by an Islamic trader (a relative by marriage) who supposedly taught her all sorts of magic.

<sup>1</sup> I have extensively used K. Mandof's manuscript on the movement for the main points of this Chapter.

Later, she told the following tale. A "man" comes to see her. He comforts her, gives her food and medicine, and she is cured. The stranger blesses her and says he has chosen her to be the messenger and leader of the life that will not end. Through her the country and people of New Guinea will be renewed; she will usher in the *Koreri*. When she realized she was really cured she went to the Island of Inumbabi, where she found her kinsmen, who could hardly believe their eyes. Her return was like a resurrection since they had sooner expected tidings of her death than herself. When she told them what had happened all were deeply impressed. She stayed in Inumbabi, but her fame spread all over the Biak Islands, thanks to her kinsmen who zealously started a propaganda campaign. They were instructed to be careful lest the Dutch authorities or the representatives of the Mission — the *guru* and church elders — should hear of it.

Everywhere the story of Angganitha's cure spread, soon followed by her own statement about the MAN who had visited her. According to this statement it was Manarmakeri, *Kayan* Sanau, or *Kayan* Biak who cured her. He had spoken to her as follows: "I have seen thy misery and all thou hast had to bear, the sorrow and the persecution, and all the foreign oppression. I shall give thee a reign of permanent peace and therefore thy name will be: *Bin Damai* or *Nona Mas ro Judaea* (Woman of Peace or The Golden Lady of Judaea). Today I send thee forth to lead thy people to *Koreri*. In order that this may come about thou shalt never shed blood, for blood bars the way to *Koreri*, since I know thy people is one that likes to wage war. And this shall be the token to thee all, the flag that shall fly out over all New Guinea in blue, white and red — faith, peace and courage — or, from above comes peace or war. I am *Kayan* Sanau who came from the West and who wages all the wars of the world. Do not fear, for great peoples will wage war but that people that shall do right to thee all shall conquer the whole world. If, o Irian, thy right and thy flag are not recognized, if again thou art oppressed, then a third world war shall destroy the whole world. But I, *Kayan* Sanau, shall lead the world war, do not fear" (told by Kuri of Numfor).

For two years this message, which grew longer as time passed and rumors about the world war increased, went through the islands.

At the outset it was the miraculous healing above all that attracted attention. Many sick people were taken to Inumbabi; for Angganitha was considered to have great healing powers. Before long she began to distribute bottles of medicine. Gradually the rumors about Angganitha

increased, she was regarded as a very exceptional woman and people began to worship her.

In hundreds they came to the island to see her, to ask her help for the sick, and to listen to her songs. They sang for nights on end and all were deeply impressed. Those who returned from the island told of the strange things they had seen: at night the body of the *Bin Damai* radiated with a marvellous light.

Her house, too, was miraculously lit and spirits of the dead arising mingled with the living every night and sang with them.

All those present joined in the singing, hoping their dead would rise too. Some saw a great light in the treetops, others the shadows of ships in the moonlit nights, and a golden ladder reaching down from heaven stood on the Island Aiburambondi, now called Bethlehem.

The shadow ships would come and be transformed into the large ship with which Manarmakeri and his wife Insoraki with their son Manarbew and his uncle Saneraro were going to land on Insumbabi. All the people of Biak were to pray, observe the commandments, cleanse themselves, and look forward to the day of the renewal of the world. If Biak kept the promises of peace, the whole world would live in peace. These were the rules:

1. Do not shed blood, for blood is a bar to renewal (*Koreri*). If the Biak people enter into a fight the whole world will be destroyed by wars.
2. Do not eat pork, nor the fruit or leaves of the *labu*-plant. It was anger at this that made Manarmakeri leave Sopen.
3. All animals that change their skins are symbols of *Koreri*, do not eat them but respect them.
4. Do not bathe in the sea, but pour fresh water over yourself.
5. Do not eat any part of the fish Inmanen, of which his friend Pada-wakan was given the head and the people of Samber the tail, for this fish was caught by Manarmakeri with his golden staff.<sup>2</sup>
6. It is forbidden to make a fire at night, for that is the time when the glory of *Koreri* will become manifest and the *Manseren* ship will come.

<sup>2</sup> The various versions of the myth differ on this point. According to the version given in Chapter II above, the people of Mokmer got the head, and Manarmakeri took the tail with him.

All this became known along the coasts of Biak before any official person was aware of it. It was the protracted absence of so many people and their silence about their journeys that first attracted attention. Inquiries, made in Insumbabi, brought to light what was afoot. The Adjunct-Assistant District Officer and the missionary of Korido talked to the people of Soweik and advised them to stop the movement and bring Angganitha to Soweik. When Angganitha did not consent to this, word was sent to the Assistant District Officer of Bosnik, who dispatched a police patrol to the island. All the houses, Angganitha's included, were burnt down and the people of Soweik were forbidden ever again to build houses in Insumbabi.

This action had the opposite effect of what was intended. Within a few months there were more houses than ever before and people came to the island in hundreds.

When the authorities heard of this, a second police patrol arrested Angganitha and took her to Bosnik, from where she was sent to Serui for trial.

It was her fellow-villagers who paddled her to Bosnik and who were now instructed to take her to Serui. According to another version she was taken directly from Korido to Serui. These villagers and even some of her kinsmen were the principal witnesses in Serui. These Soweik people, traditionally traders in fish and magic substances as well as famous smiths, were great travellers and were accustomed to meeting strangers. They managed to make a favorable impression on the District Officer at Serui, whom they told that the rumors were exaggerated and that Angganitha did not mean to attract attention. She herself behaved very timidly, stammering only a few words. After they had promised not to receive any more guests for Angganitha, the Soweik people were allowed to take her with them.

In this way Angganitha returned to Soweik after an absence of some months. This was towards the end of 1941. Her return was regarded, and celebrated, as a victory. Previously, those who had constituted themselves *konoor* had always been punished and often sent away from New Guinea, mostly to spend their term of imprisonment in the Island of Ternate. Once more hundreds of visitors came to see her. Her messages now directly attacked the Administration, the Mission and their representatives; for it was these representatives who had warned the missionary of the regular absence of so many people, and he had used his influence to stop the movement.

In this second period Angganitha showed a much fiercer attitude

towards the government officials. She threatened that, if they should dare to land in Judaea (Insumbabi), their canoes or ships would be turned into stones or smashed on the reefs. In the meantime the war with Japan had broken out and rumors about it circulated everywhere diverting the attention from Angganitha, so that her influence could increase rapidly, practically unhindered.

Next, news was received about mass-meetings in Insumbabi. Disputes and fights broke out between those who clung to the Gospel proper and the followers of *Koreri*. The latter tried to prove from the Bible that their movement was not incompatible with the Gospel. When they did not succeed they spoke of deceit. The foreign missionaries and the *guru* had removed a page from the Bible — the very one where it was written that in reality Jesus was Manggundi.

As early as 1861 a man in Numfor, on hearing the message of the Gospel, had said to the Missionary J. C. W. Jaesrich: "The Dutch call him Jesus and the Numfor people Manggundi, but actually it is the same person" (127, 84). Although it was not always openly expressed, some people persisted in this conviction. In several cases it was the reason for their initial enthusiasm for the Gospel. Some examples of this are given in the historical survey.

According to their interpretation the foreigners from the West, who had first been regarded as ancestors and later as bearers of the message of Manggundi, would not relinquish their secret. They called themselves Christians, they all held higher social positions than the local population, and they could afford to give orders, impose taxes and lock people behind bars for offences the native population regarded as heroic acts (*witch-killing and headhunting*). All this fostered the belief that an essential fact was being suppressed, *i.e.* that Jesus Christ was in reality Manggundi, that He was born in Meokwundi but that the foreigners had kept this from the population who were His legitimate heirs, so as not to be forced to cede His inheritance — power over life, death, and wealth — to the rightful claimants.

From this period date the names "Mary" for Angganitha, "Bethlehem" for the little island where she had stayed as an outcast, "Judaea" for the Island of Insumbabi, and "Gadara" for Rani. For in the Bible Gadara was the place where the unclean spirits had their dwelling among the tombs (Mark 5 : 1-20, Luke 8 : 26, 37). Later this was the place where the *Koreri* army had its headquarters, and where the *Amberi* were detained. During Angganitha's first period the people with "unclean spirits" were taken there, *i.e.* those who wanted war and had shed blood.

Sampari, the Morning Star, was called "Gabriel" after the Angel who had announced the birth of Jesus (Luke 1 : 26). Insoraki (= the woman of the *hong*i-voyages) the young woman of Meokwundi, was now called "Mary" after the mother of Jesus. Her son Konori or Manarbew (according to the informant Kuri, the second name meant bringer of peace), was called "Ye-sus" by some. This name is explained as follows: *Ye-sus* (big by his mother's breast) because his mother's breast had been hit by the *maresbon*. After the subsequent decentralization several groups gave biblical names to their own areas.

In the beginning Angganitha did not set herself up as a *konoor*. But her experiences, the miraculous cure, and the fact that she distributed bottles of medicine shows that the classical sequence in the appearance of a *konoor* — particularly known among the Numfor people — is also found in Angganitha's case. Often a *konoor* first appeared as *mon* (medicine man) and combined this with shamanistic practices at a later stage. The ability to communicate with the dead was usually a prerequisite for a *konoor*. Undoubtedly Angganitha's experiences made her a potential *konoor*, and her kinsmen must have used this in their propaganda. Her "messages" were not recorded until much later and by that time they had been amplified on account of the changed situation.

Once the word *Koreri* had been spoken everyone knew how things stood. The meetings in the island, initially arranged for the healing of patients, soon acquired the character of the "Advent Nights" described in an earlier chapter.

Right from the beginning there were several different groups of participants, a fact that is probably true of all these movements. The informants speak of real-*Koreri*-people and of participants in general. The former showed symptoms of ecstasy, followed by glossolalia. This is not particularly uncommon. In similar circumstances it occurs all over the world. It might be called a kind of mass-psychosis to which some people are sensitive. Age or sex are of no account in this respect. An informant from Biak said that 8 to 10 year-old children also showed these symptoms in the *Koreri* periods, even under fairly normal circumstances. They fainted, tumbled from their seats and spoke gibberish. Participants of the Advent Nights in Insumbabi gave the following information about the exact proceedings.

Usually the gathering began with the joint singing of songs for which Angganitha had composed the words. These were antiphonal songs, usually in *beyuser* or *kankarem* form (narrative or answer-and-question form).



The combined singing of men and women is stirring, by the way the deep male voices sound the lower registers, while the female voices or the higher male tenors seem to tear the melody from the sombre grip of the deep basses of the men and the drone of the drums. It is reminiscent of the struggle of a canoe on the waves of a turbulent sea. This kind of singing always makes a deep impression, even on strangers. It is particularly moving when there are hundreds of singers.

Participants asserted: "When we join in the singing, after some time it seems we are dwelling in a mysterious world". An informant's words translated into Indonesian from the Biak dialect were: "*Oleh karena pergerakan dengan lagu<sup>2</sup> yang sangat menarik perasaan orang, maka akhirnya ada roh yang menggerakkan lidah orang akan berkata dengan rupa<sup>2</sup> bahasa*" (in consequence of movements together with melodies that stir the people's emotions to a high degree, there is eventually a spirit — which comes over the people — which loosens their tongues so that they speak in several languages).

The "several languages" refers to the glossolalia. An eyewitness account runs as follows: "On their arrival in the island the visitors, after having been welcomed by the guards standing stiffly and sturdily at attention, join the people already present. They sing with the others at sundown when the time has come. When everyone begins to succumb to the influence of the songs, and the world has become unreal to them (often because they have not eaten), Angganitha steps outside.

In the meantime darkness has fallen, the fires are burning low and everything is wrapped in a reddish glow. Those who want to participate rise and go to meet her. One by one she takes their hands and literally says to them: 'Ye-sus Christus and liberty'. Firmly clasping their hands she slowly moves the upper part of her body to and fro and makes strange sounds. The body of the disciple begins to tremble and eventually to shake. It is the spirit who has come and whose name Angganitha will presently pronounce. It may be Saul, David, Adam, John, or some other biblical figure, and this becomes the disciple's *Koreri*-name. Sometimes it is the name of one of the candidate's deceased relatives. The disciple, who has lost consciousness, then begins to sing in a strangely high-pitched voice and says words that only Angganitha can explain. The spirits of the biblical figures are qualified in different ways. Adam's spirit, for instance, brings peace, the spirit of Enoch strife. The 'possessed' one continues his singing, his body is oddly cold, his eyes are turned up, and his voice is high-pitched and stifled. When the singing stops the candidate falls to the ground. Sometimes the spirits possessing the people

are bad ones and Angganitha has to exorcize them. They are the spirits of Kuri and Pasai — the mythical heroes — and of snakes, crocodiles, pigs, sea-spirits, or spirits of the rocks”.

There are several ways in which one may become inspired by spirits and take part in the glossolalia. The candidates can be guided by the “Priestess” of *Koreri*, Angganitha, who teaches everything connected with *Koreri*. If the disciples do not respond to the clasp of her hands she tells them the reason; there are still many unconfessed sins that prevent the spirits from coming. The word “sin” here means a breach of the *Koreri* rules (see above). The lessons are accompanied by the beating of hour-glass drums.

Some people, however, are so sensitive to the singing, the beating of drums, and the whole atmosphere of the gatherings that they are overcome of their own accord and begin to tremble and sometimes even to speak with strange guttural sounds. This category need no help from Angganitha.

A third category reach the climax by first getting intoxicated on palm-wine, after which they spontaneously join in the glossolalia. Some of them talk extremely boldly, drink invulnerable-making water, and think they cannot be hit by enemy guns or rifle-fire.

He who has participated in the glossolalia in one of these ways has become a different person. He covers his forehead with a white cloth, wears only a loin-cloth, and puts a bamboo comb with cock’s feathers in his hair. After the participation his body is very limp, he cannot bear bright sunlight and has to stay in the shade during daytime. His former physical strength returns only very slowly. Sometimes huts of leaves are built for *Koreri* people where they can stay until they have recovered.

Angganitha came more and more into the limelight through these events, and some people even worshipped her as a goddess. According to the informants she distinguished between *Koreri*, the Ideal State, and *Korore*, progress (*Korore* is the Biak form of the name Tidore). Judaea was connected with *Koreri* and Gadara with *Korore*. In this conception progress can be achieved only by war and blood-shed. Without doubt the link Tidore-Gadara-progress has some bearing on the past, when the Tidorese *hong*i-fleets, often manned by Biak people, used to set out on their raids. And the connection between progress and war must have been influenced by the Japanese invasion. The flag, too, was changed. A white star (Sampari) was put in the center of the blue bar of the Dutch flag turned upside down, and a horizontal blue cross was put in the white bar. Side by side with it a new flag was

chosen, entirely white, with on it the same blue cross. This flag was regarded as the Christian banner of the cross and the counterpart of the Japanese flag with the rising sun. Later, in battle, this flag was carried in front, and the war-cry "Ye-sus Christus and liberty" was sounded. Sometimes this cry was raised in speaking-chorus by the men who were to march against the Japanese. They kept it up — standing around the flag and holding each other's hands — until some of them reached a state of frenzy.

Because of the action taken by the government against the movement, and the threat uttered against Angganitha on her release that severe punitive measures would follow any repetition of her actions, the second period of Angganitha presented a more reactionary character. With the assistance of her kinsmen a new organization was built up. In each village a representative was appointed who was given the title of *Damai* (Peace). These men were ceremonially initiated by Angganitha.

In doing this she showed that she knew her people. As was explained in the introduction all are equal in daily life except those men who enjoy hereditary functions. No one would dare to act on his own initiative without having the authority to do so; he would lay himself open to the mockery of his fellows. Only a title gave him this right and authority, it served as a kind of certificate. To say that these people are "crazy about titles" would be oversimplifying the matter. Only a title gives the necessary sanctions. A hero, *mambri*, distinguishes himself by his deeds; an ordinary person can therefore act only on the strength of the titles given to him, preferably supported by such visible insignia as clothing, headgear, medal, or flag.

The title raises the status of its bearer, and Angganitha realized this.

This attitude is reflected in the numerous names given to Angganitha and later to her successors. A person who wants to represent Angganitha in his own village as *Tuan Damai* (Man of Peace) or *Bin Damai* (Woman of Peace) has to go to Insumbabi (Judaea) in a large canoe. There he has to appear before *Angganitha Makbon* (Star of the Mountains) or *Bin Damai Judaea* (Woman of Peace from Judaea) or *Ratu Mas ro Judaea* (the Golden Queen of Judaea). In the roadstead of the island the canoe has to go around three times (*i yar naga* = going round the dragon) before landing. All paddlers are stiffly standing at attention in the canoe and the guards who await them on shore also stand at attention. The parties greet each other with the wish: "*Jow Damai kiein so mgo*" (Hail, Peace be with you). Then the head of the anchorage steps forward and asks: "Whence comest thou and with what

aim?" When the skipper has given his answer he is told at what hour the "Star of the Mountains" will give audience. The crew then go ashore. At the appointed hour all who want to appear before her go to her house. In the yard they are received by the guards who conduct them to the front veranda. The guards at the door once more ask them the purpose of their visit.

Then they are admitted. The inside guards stand rigidly against the walls. There the "Golden Queen of Judaea" sits on her throne. They all greet her by raising their hands and uttering the blessing: "Hail, peace be with you". When she allows them to come nearer, they do so with the greeting: "Hail to you, my Queen", then everyone sits down on the floor. Those who have already been given a high function are allowed to sit on a bench or chair.

At a sign from Angganitha the candidates express their requests, greeting her in the same way as before, and then leave by walking backwards. After having once more greeted each guard they gain the exit. If Angganitha grants the request, the receiver of the title is ceremonially presented with a *Koreri* flag, which on his arrival home he will fasten to his house, with appropriate festivities. The special form of greeting and homage and the trouble that was taken to observe all the formalities as laid down by Angganitha, were characteristic of the real *Koreri*-people. The "Star of the Mountains", moreover, particularly required them to strengthen the mutual ties and thus attain and keep unity.

After the ceremony all the *Tuan* and *Bin Damai* returned to their villages where they soon began to quarrel with the other villagers. They all called themselves Christians, but one group consisted of "*Koreri*-Christians" and the other of "Gospel-Christians". Since the Advent Nights caused a general atmosphere of extreme irritation and excitement, the disputes were not confined to words but arms were often taken up. Because the *Koreri* rules unambiguously condemned bloodshed, there was, at the beginning, no loss of life. The mocking remarks did, however, touch a tender spot. Had not the Lord of *Koreri* left Biak because he was mocked? The Advent Nights captured the imagination, heightened the tension, and everyone wanted to do his bit and expedite the coming of *Koreri*. It was thought that, when all conditions were fulfilled, Angganitha only had to speak to evoke all that was expected of *Koreri*: modern houses, palaces, ships, airplanes, food, clothing, and the dead as well. Just as in the land of the spirits everything is different from life on earth, so shall *Koreri* bring about a complete change in all things. No more hunger, but satiation; no more illness, but permanent health;

no need to go naked, but clothes in plenty; no more huts, but palaces; no death, but eternal life; no ageing, but eternal youth; no dying, but resurrection of the dead.

Spirits from the past had already entered into the living, making them speak in foreign tongues. The spirits of the prophets and great kings had already spoken by mouth of some participants. Among them were some spirits of recently deceased persons, even of Japanese soldiers killed in battle. It was said that the spirit of Manarmakeri's brother-in-law had promised through a medium to urge Manarmakeri to come soon. These expectations and events were a daily subject of conversation and singing. People were filled with excitement and they watched and sang through many nights. They kept this up until fatigue got the better of them. Several three- and four-night periods had already been completed, but *Koreri* did not come. What could be the reason? Had blood been shed somewhere, or had some people omitted to clear their gardens, or to kill their pigs, had they eaten *labu* or possibly the fish that the Old Man had forbidden them to eat? Or should perhaps the mockers be dealt with first?

But whatever was thought to cause the delay, the eventual coming of *Koreri* was never doubted. One day Manggundi would come. Excited by the dancing and encouraged by the glossolalia ceremonies, people tried to overcome their disappointment by increasingly drastic means. Some tried magic: medicines, magic wood and wands. Some fasted, others indulged in palm-wine. They wanted to see visions and to that purpose forced their tired bodies to perform the strangest exercises. At this stage they believed any rumor, they shouted for the spirits of the deceased, reeled over the graves, and finally lost their senses. Kuri, the informant from Numfor, expressed it like this: "*Raisof marisen sedya faro Koreri i pok namsimba, raisof si mser boi si mabak Koreri*" (this goes on until their eagerness for *Koreri* has become unspeakably strong, until they are drunk, and even possessed by *Koreri*).

The gatherings assumed the character of mass meetings as more and more people participated. Informants put their number at 6000. At dusk the singing began, started by one individual in a high voice, but at once joined by hundreds and before long by thousands of singers in a turbulent antiphony, drowning the sound of the breakers against the shore. Hundreds of drums boomed and the dancing feet stamped. An eyewitness said: "We danced until we saw nothing but leaping figures; the thumping of drums sounded dully and the ground beneath our feet quaked, we sang, we shouted, we leapt; if the Island of Insumbabi

(Judaea) had been a ship we would have danced it to the bottom that night”.

It must have been an arduous task for the leaders to keep a grip on the participants when, once more, after this climax they realized in the drab light of dawn that everything was as before. The delayed coming of *Koreri* was now imputed to the smallness of the number of participants. Although great crowds attended, too many people still kept away. Therefore it was decided to make more propaganda. To this purpose five men were appointed, who were to be assisted by the local *Damai*.

This happened in the spring of 1942. Clashes now occurred much more often. In Korido one of the propagandists came to blows with an Amboinese policeman and killed him. A Biak policeman barely escaped the same fate. He owed his life to the intervention of the missionary of Korido. The Assistant District Officer of Korido fled, leaving behind all he had.

Again the government was called in and in May 1942 the authorities took action for the third time. With a small police detachment Tilly the Assistant District Officer of Bosnik landed in Insubabi and for the second time all the houses were burnt down. On May 8 Angganitha was seized and taken to Bosnik. No opportunity to send her to Serui (at that time administrative center of the sub-district) being available, she was put in prison in Bosnik for the time being. On May 11 the Japanese fleet made its first appearance off Bosnik, but it was not until the second visit of the Japanese on June 29 that Angganitha was taken away. A small fleet of canoes had just arrived in Bosnik to free her, but on their request to release Angganitha, Tilly told the men that the Japanese ship was to take her to Sowek. This was probably the reason why no action was taken at the time.

The Japanese ship did go to Supiori, but only to disembark a new administrative official in Korido, a man who had been the former warden of Manokwari. After that the ship went on to Manokwari taking Angganitha. This breach of promise made the fury of the *Koreri*-people rise to boiling-point.

In the meantime a new leader had arrived in Insubabi: a prisoner from Manokwari who had been released by the Japanese. Warden and prisoner were therefore within close proximity of each other, a circumstance which partly influenced the later course of events.

## 2. 1942, the New Leader, Stephanus Simopyaref

This new leader, a native from Manswam (South Biak), had been

convicted by the Dutch Government for murder. He had first been sent to Ternate and Java, but when the Japanese arrived he was in prison at Manokwari. The informants said that during his stay "abroad" he had mastered all kinds of knowledge, including occult practices. It was said, for instance, that he possessed water making the user invulnerable, that he had tamed a venomous snake, and that he could practise all sorts of artifices which in Indonesia are attributed to the *tukang sulap* ("witch-doctor").

These rumors about him went round even before his release. In prison he heard the news about the *Koreri*-movement from his fellow-prisoners, among whom there was a certain Birmori Bosren. This Bosren had a remarkable life story. According to the information of D. A. ten Haaft (120, 12, stencil) Birmori had murdered some people in 1932 and had been put in prison, but he escaped and went into "hiding" in his own village. Naturally he kept very quiet and he behaved so well that he was left alone. But one day someone discovered that he was an escaped prisoner. Correspondence with the government, however, proceeded so slowly that the matter was allowed to lapse. In the meantime Birmori was catechized, and in baptism received the name Korinus. Eventually he was appointed village headman. He now regularly appeared at the Administration Office to hand over the tax money of his village. Then, at last, the reply to the first letter about the "escaped" prisoner came in. It was not difficult to arrest him once more, and he was taken to the prison in Manokwari where he met Stephanus. Both were true Biak men and the new movement had their keen interest.

Particularly when Birmori began to get visions the two men believed to be directly involved in the movement. In a vision a man came in to Birmori and led him outside. There the war was in full swing. Bombs fell and bullets flew about their ears, but they were not harmed. Manokwari harbor was filled with Japanese warships incessantly firing their guns. According to Birmori the strange "man", walking along unharmed, announced that he intended to constitute his kingdom in New Guinea. That this "man" was Manggundi himself was never doubted.

When, a month later, this vision became partly true it was Stephanus who claimed this time to have seen Manggundi. He said that Manggundi danced and gamboled ahead of the Japanese while singing a Biak song.

Later Stephanus spoke with great contempt of the behavior of the *Amberi* during the Japanese invasion: "They fled like women, and their attitude towards the Japanese contrasted so sharply with the arrogant

way in which they had always treated the native people that it could really be said that: Those who have the highest income and live in the best houses have only a parading courage. As soon as they get an opportunity to really earn their salaries, they prove to have the characters of women and not of men”.

Stephanus was not the only one who sharply criticized the attitude of the *Amberi*, as Biak people call all non-white foreigners. When the *Amberi* were taken into Japanese service, fear sometimes made them act harshly. To prevent revenge they denounced many villagers to the Japanese. “In the hearts of the population bitter rancor was now added to utter contempt for all the *Amberi*” as it was literally formulated, and the same opinion was expressed independently by informants in oral as well as in written statements. Presumably these were broad generalizations, but they must have been provoked by the behavior of some *Amberi*.

During his captivity in the Moluccas and in Java, Stephanus had heard much about Islam, and he could imitate the behavior of the followers of the Prophet in such a way that one of the informants wrote, “He carried himself with the dignity of a prince of the Moluccas”. He was tall in stature and spoke and acted with great self-assurance. Later his speeches were interlarded with quotations from the Bible, as for instance from the Sermon on the Mount. When after the capitulation of Manokwari the Japanese general made his bragging speeches, there was one passage that Stephanus found particularly impressive. For the general declared with much aplomb that the Japanese would respect all existing organizations and their functionaries. This seemed to Stephanus the chance to fill the *Koreri* ideal with political substance. For no central organization existed besides the Government and there was no sovereign state of New Guinea. Angganitha, being a woman, had not been in a position to use her power in this direction. But Stephanus could use her influence and have a try himself.

According to the informants he was an honest and unselfish man. He only sought to serve the interests of his people, though he later became completely wrapped up in the *Koreri* atmosphere and did not object to being called *Dewa* Stephanus (the god Stephanus) or the returned Manseren Manggundi. He realized that he would lose his following should he resist, and that he could use the influence emanating from the *Koreri* expectations to effect the indispensable unity.

After the bombing of Manokwari there was much robbing and pillage, but Stephanus (so the informants asserted) had nothing to do with it.



After his release he saw the Japanese loot all the houses. They threw out pictures, some representing biblical subjects, and of these he took a few. He had a special reason for doing so.

Before long the rumor about Angganitha's arrest reached Manokwari. Now things became urgent for Stephanus and his followers. Many people still went to Rani and Insumbabi.

From Sorong, Babo, Ransiki, and other places large groups of dismissed workers were on their way home. Stephanus went with such a group to Wandamen and on the way met another group of several hundred men on the Island of Roon. Stephanus himself had no money or other possessions. The little he had been able to take with him from Manokwari had been stolen in Oransbari by fleeing *Amberi*, which increased his bitterness against them. Moreover, he had witnessed how food and clothing supplied by the Japanese had been appropriated by the *Amberi* who themselves acted as distributors. Stephanus himself, filled with rage, said "Of course the first-class people had to be provided for first and it was not necessary to pay any attention to the fifth-class creatures our people are considered to be — and that in our own country".

When a small fleet of canoes was ready to take the refugees back to their villages, Stephanus began to organize. Everywhere people began to re-instate their traditional dances — he gave the instructions for this and joined in the dancing — for only in this way could the men be put in the right frame of mind to listen to his plans. They departed and for a week elaborate discussions were held on the small Island of Wabruk, to the north-east of Roon. These discussions began on June 8, 1942. At the beginning of the proceedings Stephanus proposed to proclaim Angganitha queen. Her descent and her relationship with the *keret* of Manarmakeri and her appearance as *konoor* left no doubt on this point. But she was a woman and therefore needed the full support of men who could bear the responsibility. Stephanus was to act as General and organize an army. After elaborate discussions the following points were formulated:

- A. To achieve a firm unity, as much propaganda as possible is to be made.
- B. Angganitha Menufaur must be liberated and return to Judaea.
- C.
  1. All those who are hostile towards the movement must be destroyed.
  2. Those autochthones who are not willing to join will be forced to do so.

The following categories will be put in prison:

- a. All foreigners (*Amberi*).
  - b. Indonesians who are in the Japanese army.
  - c. All government officials.
  - d. Native preachers who do not join the movement.
  - e. Teachers, Papuan as well as *Amberi*, who insult the movement.
3. Autochthonous teachers will be allowed to become officers, or to hold other important posts. Those who are reluctant will be coerced.
  4. Imprisoned preachers must not be maltreated. If they confine themselves to their real task, the Church, they will not be molested.
  5. *Amberi* who want to join the movement may stay.
  6. Schools must not be destroyed but will be closed for the time being.
  7. Religious services shall not be interfered with. Churches must be saved even if they must be fought for.
  8. Any ruffians must be kept in check.
  9. Robbery and theft are strictly forbidden and will be severely punished.

D. The *Koreri* army will be named A.B. (*America-Blanda* or *America-Babo* = New America). Eventually the army will help the A.B.C.D. Front (America, Britain, China, the Dutch).

The army will be composed as follows:

1. *Muris Swan* (the fleet).
2. *Muris Sup* (the army).
3. As a weapon to coerce autochthones the *karbere* (an ironwood club known from the myth of the dragon) will be used.
4. Real weapons such as hatchets and spears can be used against the Japanese.
5. The people will be allowed to use the magic powers they have inherited from their ancestors. (Stephanus himself was an adept.)
6. The A.B. army will be composed of members of all the peoples of New Guinea.

E. *Symbols*

1. The *Koreri* flag — blue, white, red (faith, peace, courage, or From Heaven comes peace or war).

2. The Peace flag. A blue cross on a white flag.
3. A white headcloth is to be worn.
4. A white star (Sampari) will be put in the blue bar of the *Koreri* flag, and a blue cross in the white bar.
5. All will wear white loincloths.
6. The bamboo comb with the cock's feathers will be introduced.
7. The Biak *sirep* (hour-glass drum), gongs, and triton shells will be the instruments to call the people to war.
8. The *Do mamun* (*hong*i songs) will be sung.

F. The Japanese army will not be molested except in extreme necessity. Efforts will be made to persuade Japan to recognize the movement to unite the whole of New Guinea, and its flag.

G. The whole of New Guinea, from Gebe to Hollandia and Merauke, will fall under the protection of the new flag.

1. All tribes will be one.
2. Each tribe will have its own leaders.
3. All the leaders will meet in Rani (Gadara), the center.
4. The local wars that formerly used to occur must not be resuscitated. Now is the time for the people of New Guinea to make peace with each other. The name *Angganitha Bin Damai* (Woman of Peace) will exemplify the pacifism of all the people.

#### H. Positions

1. *Angganitha Menufaur Bin Damai ro Judaea* will be recognized as queen of the whole of New Guinea.
2. To this end the Biak people must work very hard.
3. *Stephanus Ronsumbre Simopyaref Rumgun Kababur Tuan Damai Ro Gadara* will be general and leader of the A.B. army.
4. Three of Stephanus' brothers will be appointed commanders of the fleet.
5. Any functionaries appointed by Angganitha will be acknowledged by the other members and by the officials of all grades.

#### 3. Considerations

The leaders of the movement were aware that to start a fight against Japan would be tantamount to suicide. The movement among the

population, however, had grown so strong that it could not possibly be ignored. Therefore the leaders would have to do their utmost to keep the masses in hand. They could not yet see how this spreading enthusiasm might be used. They all realized that they were embarking on a hazardous enterprise. Some of these considerations derive from one of the leaders, who supplied a detailed account of his thoughts at the time. The above points are from the pen of the same informant. All this demonstrates a deep commitment to the cause. The people had risen in revolt. Without leaders they would drift out of control. To take leadership, however, would mean full responsibility in case of failure, even if things got out of hand. Moreover, many would take shelter behind the authority of the leaders. Atrocities might be committed going directly against the intentions of the movement and particularly those of its leaders. Hence the need for titles which would impress by their length and content of meaning. They would give prestige to the leaders and authority to their active measures. Two men were to act as "spies"; they were given mythological names, Kuri and Pasai. The first was called the black ghost of Kuri. It was his task as well to deliver Manokwari and the Vogelkop from the Japanese.

When the considerations reach this point one increasingly meets such lamentations as "our task was hardly possible, yet what could we do, there was no way back, the whole population was astir".

It is not surprising that in those stormy days events developed quite differently from what could be foreseen at the time. A common viewpoint had not grown out of joint planning and instruction. Since there were no weapons to keep the masses under control the leaders had to join them whether they liked or not. Appointed leaders, insufficiently informed as to the direct aims of specific actions, allowed themselves to be carried away by the stream of collective emotions. Instead of getting a grip on the masses they lost their heads themselves. Calm reflection was impossible, the masses rushed into the relief of action or into collective hallucinations. There had been plans, soundly prepared and put down in black and white, but in the course of events they were disregarded like trampled pamphlets in a riot. They can be picked up and smoothed out afterwards. The program, of which the different points are given above, should be seen in this light. It does not diminish the earnestness of its composers and explains the origins of the slogans. It may also be regarded as the rationalization of the intellectuals, the teachers, who from sheer necessity resigned themselves to the situation.

Let us now follow the main outline of the events.

#### 4. Further Developments

About June 20, 1942 Stephanus with his small fleet reached the Island of Rani. He and our informant, who was to go to the Island of Numfor first, parted on June 15. Once again they reminded each other of the great aim to be pursued. Their first action would be to liberate Angganitha from the prison at Bosnik and on August 1, 1942 in Judaea (Insumbabi) she would be anointed and proclaimed queen. The two leaders parted with the words "*Untung batu tenggelam, untung sabut timbul*" (= sink or swim).

On their arrival at Rani, where hundreds of people were still assembled, interest at once increased. People came to the island in thousands to meet the prisoner who had become "lord". They also wanted to see their leader, no longer a stranger but one of their own people, with their own eyes. Stephanus' first decision was to send *Laksamana muda Zadrach Ronsumbre* with 200 men to Bosnik to free Angganitha. They went in two enormous canoes and arrived in Bosnik on June 28. On the same day the Japanese ship *Daito Maru* put in with the Japanese Resident of Manokwari and his interpreter Iwata on board. Accompanied by dozens of village headmen Zadrach Ronsumbre asked for Angganitha's release. In vain. She was handed over to the Japanese, who promised to bring her to Korido; there was no cause for worry. Tilly, the Assistant District Officer, assured them this was true. Thus Angganitha was taken aboard.

Before the Japanese arrived, Angganitha had sent her followers a letter in which she wrote "If the Japanese disembark me in Korido all will be well. Our country and our people will know peace. If this does not happen, a hard fate awaits us for my work will be unfinished. But after these dark times the Morning Star will rise in the east, Japan will be defeated, and we shall rise again". The informant added "By the Morning Star in her prophesy Angganitha meant MacArthur".

On June 29 the *Daito Maru* put in at Korido. Stephanus himself came and asked for the release of Angganitha. His request was not granted, though another person was put ashore, none other than the prison warden of Manokwari who had been made the Assistant District Officer of Korido. Stephanus and Picauly were therefore old acquaintances. The Japanese acted upon the advice of the *Amberi* and the Church leaders and took Angganitha to Manokwari.

The indignation was boundless. To prevent trouble the Council of War (*Fandurna Mamun*) called a secret meeting. Here all the points

of the Wabruk program were repeated and explained. All the islands had sent representatives but now the difference came out between the real *Koreri* followers, the visionaries waiting for a miracle, and the *Koreri* army, which wanted action. Stephen Wanda, Angganitha's right hand, thought the *Koreri* army was getting too much influence. He was called *Radja* (King) Supiori and went so far as to favor Japan — one of the first signs of a division which was to repeat itself time and again. Each small group's own interests always came first and gave way to the necessary unity only during the discussions. But the meetings on the 4th and the 5th of July presented a different picture from the Wabruk meeting. A striking difference was that, here much more than in Wabruk, the syncretic trend came to the fore, *i.e.* magic and Bible, *air kabal* (invulnerable-making water) and prayer. The opinion was expressed that everything would be cleansed by the war cry of "Ye-sus Christus and liberty".

The *air kabal* played a prominent part in the preparations, for all the administrative stations were to be raided and the teachers who did not cooperate taken prisoner. For a weapon the short club was to be used and for a shield only the *air kabal*.

July 6 saw the first attack on Soweik. The capture of the government clerk Saleh Bin Hamisi and his police officer did not come off since they were not present. Now the people vented their rage on the Amboinese *guru* and two Chinese. Later the clerk and his men were overtaken in Sawendi and arrested. The next day the men went to Korido, and there the ex-warden was standing on the landing-stage. He had disregarded all warnings, and at the last moment his two policemen did not shoot. They had only 25 cartridges each and the attacking force, four large canoes, was very numerous.

The warden was chased, beaten, and tied up. The *guru* fled but, since first his children and then his wife fell into the hands of Stephanus, he gave himself up the next day. All the captives were then taken to Rani and interned there. Prisoners now arrived from all directions. The men were forced to wear loincloths, but the *Amberi* women were allowed to wear their own clothes.

On July 9 the Assistant District Officer Tilly went on tour. Irritated by his provocative actions in the village of Sorido and by the shots fired by his police, the villagers made a counter-attack in which Tilly lost his life and his "soldiers" (as they were called) were carried off as prisoners to Rani.

Next, those who resisted the movement were sought out to be coerced.

The whole action was accompanied by a great tumult and the prisoners were beaten and maltreated amidst much shrieking. The shedding of blood was strictly forbidden and the real *Koreri* followers certainly tried to prevent it, but no one could control the excited crowds. This undisciplined action was partly due to the old Biak custom that all participants in an expedition should take an active part in the affray. This part consisted of the dealing of a blow. Generally the group was led by a *Snon Damai*. He demanded of the recusants that they join the movement. When they refused the "soldiers" took action. If the number of captured victims was small, they had to take many blows before each participant had fulfilled his part.

Rani became a center of great activity. Meetings of representatives of the *Koreri* army with pronounced political tendencies alternated with demonstrations by the real *Koreri* followers. The wildest rumors went round. The police in Korido had fired, but the bullets had been changed into water.

Stephanus showed pictures which he alleged had fallen from heaven. There would be no lack of food, for it would fall from heaven like it once rained manna in the desert for the people of Israel (Ex. 16 : 15).

Angganitha's father still played an important role. He was called Deputy, and he distributed *air kabal* which consisted of rain water collected through a hole in the roof-ridge of his house.

This water was prepared in a special way, so that those who drank it were seized by a kind of frenzy. There seem to have been different kinds of water, however, and not everyone drank it. The morning ceremony, described by the imprisoned warden, consisted of a solemn gathering where Stephanus blessed and distributed water. This water was put in small bottles and hung around the neck. The real *Koreri* followers expected their dancing to bring about the Change. They would become white and the *Amberi* black. An eyewitness, in perfect good faith, said: "I saw a light descending from heaven, it was like a kerosene pressure lamp so bright, it hung between the tops of the coconut palms for a moment, and then it disappeared". Others said "Ships broke the surface of the sea around the island and then disappeared again". Other informants thought these objects might have been flares and sub-marines.

The daily program during the time of imprisonment of the warden and the others was described as follows. After the morning ceremony of the *air kabal* the dancing began. There were approximately 6000 people who danced all morning in dozens of dancing places. Dancing

had been forbidden for years, now they wanted to dance till they were exhausted. At noon they stopped for a time in order to eat. For food they picked young coconuts from the palms. When the hottest part of the day was over the dancing was resumed, many continuing the whole night.

On July 13 a ship arrived in the roadstead, the *Ursula* from Manokwari. Stephanus forbade the men to attack the ship since Angganitha was still in Japanese hands. He thought it better to negotiate.

One leader, however, could not control himself. He steered his canoe towards the *Ursula* whereupon the Japanese opened fire. The canoe was shot to pieces and four of the crew were killed. According to a fantastic version of the event Stephanus paddled round the ship in a wide circle to see whether Angganitha was on board. He was fiercely shot at, but when the smoke cleared he was standing in his canoe, completely unharmed.

A Japanese delegation then went ashore. The interpreter Iwata made a long speech. Everyone was free, that was the Japanese aim, but all must help, then they would become children of Japan. Japan was the elder brother, Indonesia the younger, and Tenno Heika was the Father.

Stephanus on his part demanded:

1. The release of Angganitha.
2. Recognition of the blue-white-red flag.
3. Expulsion of all *Amberi* from New Guinea.
4. Freedom for the Papuans to live according to their own customary law.
5. Freedom and progress for New Guinea without any retaliatory measures.

Iwata answered that Angganitha would be released, but that it would be better if Stephanus himself were to go with the ship to Manokwari to plead his proposals. As to the flag, Tokyo would have to be asked for permission. The population could arrange its affairs in accordance with its own rules. Dancing was permitted, as was the drinking of palm-wine, and the singing to drums.

If the Biak people would help Nippon, their leaders would be sent to Tokyo to be trained to build houses, ships, and airplanes.

After this impressive speech opinions differed. Some were suspicious. Stephanus thought he would succeed in freeing Angganitha, even if the Japanese were to put him in prison. Therefore he went with them



although he did not trust Nippon. His parting-words were "*Pis ya i bur mgo, fama krafya kiein*" (the shell must leave you, but the kernel stays).

The ship took all the imprisoned teachers and officials to Manokwari. Initially Nippon seems to have hesitated what to do with Stephanus and Angganitha, but according to the leaders of the movement it was the *Amberi* who convinced them that it was better to kill the two prisoners. In all probability they were murdered in August. Rumor had it that they were brutally butchered.

### 5. *The Development in Numfor*

It is understandable that the movement spread to Numfor, for its inhabitants, except those of some villages in the western part of the island, are Biak emigrants. Since the appearance of the last great *konoor*, Mangginomi, the Numfor people had followed the developments in other parts of the country and sent their representatives there. During the movement of 1931 Numfor canoes were even on their way to the Radja Ampat Islands. Mangginomi had lived at Bawe, the place to which the Samber of South Biak had emigrated. And this place Samber plays a role in the myth of the Old Man, because a cousin of his (*fa-br-son*) lived there so they were regarded as relatives. Time and again the relatives of the Old Man turn out to be involved in the movement, because it is expected of them and some cannot resist this urge. They often take control, although they have had no direct "contact" with Manseren Manggundi. Their participation is regarded as a sanction for the *konoor*.

During the years 1938 and 1939 many canoes went to and fro between Numfor and Biak. Everyone in the island knew about the movement, but it was not until the middle of 1941 that certain steps were taken, showing that, here too, the return of Manggundi was eagerly expected. In November of this year the people began to repair and enlarge their houses, and to stock great quantities of food, fuel, and drinking-water. It was said that the "new world" would begin in this month. When this did not come about there was a kind of interval, but as soon as tidings came that Amboina had fallen everything started anew. Now all the pigs were killed, the *labu*-plants were destroyed, certain fish were forbidden as food, and quantities of palm-wine were made.

Curious symptoms of mass psychosis appeared. It began with a group of young people dancing and becoming very excited. Some of them

were not quite normal through drinking too much palm-wine which, according to an informant, sometimes took the place of food. The continued dancing brought on trembling and raving fits, and later a kind of glossolalia. Certain words were pronounced very rapidly after each other, a jumble of all sorts of sounds, but curiously enough including very old words that had been long forgotten, or in any case were unknown to the younger people. During the next stage the children, who had only come to look, became infected and joined the dancers. The village headman and some parents went to the teacher to complain that their children were unmanageable and behaved very strangely. The *guru* went to have a look and found some 40 adults and children jumping about and uttering strange sounds; some of them fell down and were seized with convulsions so strong that the pile-dwelling was shaking. The parents could do nothing, calling the children had no effect. Later, the older people were also infected and no one dared to go near any longer to stop the proceedings, for time and again this resulted in participation. All resistance seemed to melt away. The situation finally became so serious that a great many of the villagers were taken by these seizures; the houses shook and visitors imagined themselves to be in a world where everyone had lost his senses. This was reported by two eyewitnesses.

From Bawe the movement spread, but those who began it more or less remained in control.

In January 1942 the missionary from Manokwari visited Numfor for the last time and had a meeting with the teachers, the elders, and the village headmen. He warned them against the movement, and before leaving he appointed two Amboinese *guru* as his representatives.

In April there was a clash in Bawe between one of the *guru* and the followers of Angganitha who had recently returned from Rani (Gadara). When the Assistant District Officer Diponogoro of Namber heard that the *guru* had been taken prisoner, he sent some policemen to fetch the *guru* and the other parties concerned. On April 6, a group of 22 men from Bawe arrived at Namber. They all had white cloths tied around their heads and when they came before Diponogoro he noticed that their bodies shook with an odd and apparently involuntary tremor. They did not use the usual greeting, but said *Jowou Tuan* (*Jow* = Tidorese: "Lord").

When questioned about their strange behavior, they answered that this was their new religion, which their *guru* had kept away from them, it was contained in chapters 5-16 of the Gospel of John. The speaker

was obviously confused, for in his explanation he said "for Jesus says that he has a meeting on a mountain (the Transfiguration on the mountain is meant. Matthew 17 : 4 ff.) and such a meeting I had with Adam".

The informant who told all this to Diponogoro said that they had learned this from Angganitha. While he was speaking the others all expressed their assent and this again led to an outburst of emotions, followed by glossolalia. Diponogoro wrote "They spoke like people deprived of their senses, all sorts of strange sounds, among which often the name of Jesus Christ, and several Dutch names. This *agama baru* (new religion, K.) has been occupying the people for a long time, but I heard that after the fall of Amboina the movement has grown".

He further gave as his opinion that this outburst of dancing rage was due to the fact that the people had been allowed to use the drums. They even claimed to hear the voice of Jesus in the drum. Diponogoro then stated that this sound excited the people, and he blamed Tomasilla and Pecanussa, the two Amboinese teachers of the village Pakriki, for having given permission to their congregation at a meeting on October 21, 1941, to use drums, even in church. As a Muslim and Assistant District Officer he did not like to interfere in matters of religion, but for the sake of peace and order, which otherwise might be disturbed, he felt obliged to sound a grave warning against the use of the drum and singing in the native manner. "This will land both the Administration and the Mission in difficulties".

There had, however, been 25 present at the said meeting, 18 of whom had voted in favor of songs with biblical and non-biblical texts sung exclusively to Biak melodies, whereas seven preferred to have only biblical texts. It was decided unanimously to restrict the number of drums used at family festivities to six, and to allow only one drum in church. From this it is clear that the people themselves were afraid of not being able to keep the masses in hand if too many drums were used. It has earlier been mentioned that the sound of the drums was taken for the voices of the ancestors.

In May, 1942, Numfor was surrendered to the Japanese who did not, however, leave a garrison. When in the middle of June the *Koreri* leaders from the Island of Wabruk came to Numfor, the organization started to work. In each village someone either set himself up as, or was appointed, *Tuan Damai*. The opposition made heated speeches. On July 10, all the families of those *guru* who were not natives of the island, as well as all the native *guru* and church elders who opposed the

movement were taken prisoner. This was accompanied by loud cries, drumbeating and blowing of triton shells, in the manner of the former *hong*i-raids. Although orders had been given in advance against looting or bloodshed, the movement had scarcely begun when the *hong*i spirit made itself felt and the victims, who did not resist, were sometimes beaten almost senseless and robbed of their properties. It was said later that there had been no plundering in Numfor, but this is at variance with the facts.

Full of indignation the informant enumerated the crimes committed by the "extremists", who had robbed, wrecked furniture, and spared no one. This had obviously not been the intention of the leaders, but things had got out of hand. The younger people saw an opportunity to rebel against a hateful institution. They smashed the antique china, which was the chief constituent of the brideprice and often formed an impediment to marriage since it was difficult to obtain for young people. With the cry "The old *harta* (valuables) bar the way to *Koreri*" they pounced on everything they could find. Stephanus himself had encouraged this by ruling that "It is sufficient for a young man to love a girl, the brideprice is no longer necessary". The older people were strongly against this. To prevent large-scale robbing, Stephanus ruled that: "Those who rob and steal will have only what they have stolen when *Koreri* comes and shall get nothing of all the new things". This kept most people from stealing, but during an attack or whenever they met with resistance they were allowed to destroy things. In laying down his "laws", Stephanus often used stories from the Bible. To restrain his followers from robbing he used the law of Joshua, which forbade the Jews to appropriate any of the spoils of Jericho (Joshua 6 : 18).

Several dozens of prisoners were brought together at Bawe where they were forced to join in the dancing. Cock's feathers were put in the hair of some of them, a loincloth was all others were allowed to wear. They were treated fairly well, but it was made clear that they would be taken to Gadara (Rani) where tall gallows were being put up.

The prisoners were detained at Bawe for four days, then they were put in canoes to be taken to Gadara. Only a part of the canoes reached their destination, others made no progress because of a strong headwind. Then the order was given "Rani can no longer be found, it is lost in the haze, we shall go back to Numfor". The reason for this return, however, was that word had come of the imprisonment of Stephanus. After the period of mortal suspense in which they were repeatedly told that the gallows were awaiting them, the *guru* regarded

this development as a miracle. They had paddled for 20 hours, but on the return voyage the same distance was covered in 3 hours. Back at Bawe, the prisoners were again interned and some of them were even tied up. One of the leaders, the *Tuan Radio Koreri*, took pity on them and came one day for an inspection during which he told the "council of war" how Manarmakeri had sent him a telephone message that all the teachers must be released and allowed to return to their villages. This was done and all went back to their posts.

#### 6. *Different Trends within — and in connection with — the Movement*

Before Angganitha was taken away, different trends had already emerged within the movement. One informant, who was one of the leaders, gave a description of the situation. The real nucleus was surrounded by all sorts of followers and adversaries, which explains not only the subsequent dissension, but also the excesses. It often happened that followers of one group were won over to join another group whose aims they had formerly denounced on grounds of principle. This was partly due to circumstances. Thus the followers of the consistent *Koreri* faith, which from its nature excludes all political activities, later made a complete change of front under the pressure of circumstances and even entertained politico-geographical aspirations. It is clear that the expectations of the different groups and persons were not at all of a homogeneous nature, and that they were changed and modified under the influence of internal and external changes.

According to a participant three different groups could be distinguished in respect to their relationship to the messianic movement.

- I. *Koreri* followers.
  - a. the real followers and
  - b. the pseudo-followers.
- II. The external *Koreri* followers.
- III. The anti-*Koreri* groups.
  - a. Relying on Japan.
  - b. Neutral.

#### I. *Koreri* followers

Ia. *The real Koreri followers.* They had initially been supporters of Angganitha Menufaur. Like her, they did not seek quarrels but were

peaceful and against any form of war. Their faith in *Koreri* was absolute. They were like ascetics and mystics who seek to fathom mysteries. They did not desire to be honored by others, they were humble, and never stole other people's property.

They ate little, but on the other hand drank much palm-wine, which, however, did not make them quarrelsome. It was their aim to achieve communication with the dead, and with the good spirits of the Bible, such as John, Peter, David, and the angels. Sometimes they were indeed possessed by these spirits who spoke through them with wonderful voices, singing like melodious violins. Their belief in Manarmakeri was strong and they expected his return, when he would renew the world and end all suffering and distress. Their dead would then also be resurrected.

Their bodies were weak and sensitive to the heat of the sun. Therefore they made no gardens. Since they could not work, they had to be assisted by servants. They always wore clean clothes. They were just and faithful and did not take pleasure in evil.

These real believers prayed to Manarmakeri, the Lord God, and the Lord Jesus. Sometimes they had visions from the world of mysteries, and they told things which were incomprehensible to ordinary people. Some of them distributed holy water to the sick, water to fight evil.

Ib. *The pseudo-followers.* These were the hangers-on, who exploited the *Koreri*-belief of others. They were the instigators of many quarrels within the movement, and they revived the old customs with all the pertaining festivities. They used *Koreri* propaganda to gain influence in their own villages. They also spied for their own villages and played off the leaders against each other. They assumed such fine-sounding titles as *Pandita*, Resident, Governor, *Manteri*, and Adviser. There were some who pretended to work for the propaganda as newsreporters, radio-operators, and spies. Some of them behaved with exceptional malice towards the *Amberi*. These pseudo-followers were to be found all over the Geelvink Bay. They did not tolerate strangers and were extremely chauvinistic. Though very ignorant, they thought their own people should be second to none. They were conspicuous for their extravagant behavior and were involved in all sorts of shady practices, e.g. black magic.

They thought they could do everything, although they had received no training at all. They acted as missionaries, baptized people with coconut milk, and celebrated the Holy Communion with bread made of tapioca flour, and *sagower* (palm-wine). They started digging for oil.

A Numfor man made a hole in his roof and stood there shouting that he was an angel and making flying movements with wings tied to his arms. He shouted to the people to go and dig for oil, and they believed him. Others tried to build a factory or an airplane. A group of them wanted to build a town and make guns, or telephones and radios. Some said they were philologists and claimed to know all languages, others disguised their voices and imitated the *Amberi* and the Chinese.

Stephen Wanda had an enormous ark built of large canoes, which could hold hundreds of people and served as a dancing and singing house. This huge affair was called Noah's ark. All who went to live in it would be saved when *Run*, the great flood came; they would then enter the new world, called *Milka*.

Jan Ronsumbre built the *Kota Manswan* with an enormous large house in the shape of an airplane, with all sorts of rooms, such as an arsenal, dormitories, an administration hall, a council hall for public meetings, and so on.

## II. The external *Koreri* followers

This group comprises all those *Koreri* followers who were not in direct contact with Angganitha. They were people from Biak and Numfor and any others who sympathized with the movement, wherever they came from. They had come to realize that the Japanese oppression was intolerable. They also strongly opposed the *Amberi* who had entered Japanese employment. The behavior of the Japanese, who beheaded innocent people, caused much resentment. They tried to use the *Koreri* movement as a means of instilling a strong sense of unity into the resistance. Hence the repeated efforts to achieve and maintain unity. They also tried to involve the Church. Each of the three groups would retain its independence if only they stood united against their enemies. Their aim was to liberate New Guinea with the help of the Allied Forces when the time came.

The Biak people in particular constituted themselves champions of their country. They would liberate it, if necessary, at the cost of their lives. Some behaved with arrogance but these were essentially out of key with the rest. They were like the *Amberi* who fancied themselves better than the other people.

This group was led by Stephanus Ronsumbre and Kuri, later assisted by Pasai. When Stephanus, on his way to Rani, stopped in the Island

of Wamari to the east of Meosnum, he sent a messenger from there to Japen and another, Kuri, to Numfor. Elaborate plans were made for the liberation of all New Guinea, in which everyone was to join.

### III. The anti-Koreri groups

#### IIIa. *The anti-Koreri group relying on Japan*

This group included first of all the *Amberi*. They fiercely opposed *Koreri*, since they were afraid to lose their position if New Guinea became independent. What right had they to higher positions than the autochthonous inhabitants? For that reason they tried to crush the movement, and failing to do so, they called in the Japanese. It was they who betrayed the whole movement to the Japanese and urged them to take vigorous measures. Particularly the *Amberi* in Manokwari behaved in this manner, for they had already been under Japanese influence before the war. They got in touch with the anti-Koreri group among the native population, and persuaded them to betray their country and people. This anti-Koreri group mainly consisted of those Christians who opposed the pagan aspects of the movement. They were right in doing so, but they were wrong to call in the help of Japan when they were driven into a corner by the tactless behavior of the pseudo-Koreri group. The real *Koreri* group demanded that all who refused to join the movement should be taken to Rani to be executed. Ridicule and defamation of *Koreri* was regarded as the principal offence. The most objectionable name for the Old Man was *Nabi dusta*, "false prophet". According to the real *Koreri* group many adversaries were guilty of these offences, and this was one of the reasons for the rough treatment they got. They refused to subject themselves to the Council for *Koreri* procedure, they grilled pork in the presence of *Koreri* people, or mocked the *Koreri* idea. No wonder that eventually this group was persecuted or that, from sheer necessity, they allied themselves with the *Amberi* and Japanese, thus committing treason. For two reasons this group was considered dangerous. First, because their words and deeds barred the way to *Koreri*, and secondly because by their betrayal they made impossible all action that could lead to the liberation of New Guinea (the chief aim of the political *Koreri* group).

IIIb. *The anti-Koreri who remained neutral.* This group consisted of people who kept quiet; they did not join the movement, but they did not actively oppose it, either by disparaging words or by provocative action. As seriousminded Christians they rejected *Koreri* on the basis of



the Gospel. Since the *Koreri* followers maintained that the movement could be strong only if it was grounded on the Holy Scriptures, a prohibition of Christian religious services was never even considered. Nor was this neutral group ever forced to return to pagan customs, or to take part in them. In their frequent discussions with the *Koreri* group, these Christians took care to offend no one although they did not hesitate to express their convictions. This group was fairly important, it never allied itself with Japan, and had more influence than has generally been recognized.

Here ends this outline by an informant who tried to explain why the movement presented so many aspects, but paid too little attention to the good faith of the group he called pseudo-followers.

#### 7. *Reorganization after the Imprisonment of Stephanus Ronsumbre*

When Stephanus was taken to prison, the others at Rani were thrown into great confusion.

They suggested the wildest plans to rescue both Angganitha and Stephanus. Some real attempts were made to reach this object, but as it proved the Japanese were stopping all the canoes from Biak. One Numfor canoe succeeded in crossing from Pakriki (Numfor) to the mainland, but near Oransbari it was overtaken by a Japanese motorboat. A large canoe from Soweke, Angganitha's native village, paddled directly to Manokwari. The men were going to allow themselves to be taken prisoner in order to see Stephanus and Angganitha, and contrive plans for escape together. On approaching Mansinam, the canoe was fired at by the Japanese and the men had to take flight in the forest.

In August the two prisoners were beheaded, but this news did not reach the islands till long afterwards.

The four victims of the Japanese attack (see p. 178) had been buried in the Island of Rani (Gadara). Over their graves flew the new flag — blue, white, red. Regularly the graves were surrounded by friends singing mourning songs. There were still thousands of people on the island. Something had to be done, everyone expected it.

At Bareididori in the Island of Rani, the council of war met. They discussed what was to be done if the imprisoned leaders did not return. Jan, Zadrach, and Kaleb Ronsumbre were appointed Stephanus' deputies. An attack on Manokwari was considered but they realized

that to set canoes against warships, or clubs against guns, would be suicide. The internal affairs also caused great concern. The native *guru* would be the most dangerous adversaries, if they were to go over to the Japanese out of fear.

Also serious was the revolt under Stephen Wanda, who called himself *Radja* (King) of Supiori. He resented the growing influence of the external *Koreri* group and rallied his troops to eliminate this group. To attain this object he even called in the help of Japan. Though Stephen Wanda did not quite belong to the real *Koreri* group, he agreed with it in wanting to remain in control.

It was evident that the real *Koreri* group could not fulfil its promises, since there was already a shortage of food in the islands. The danger existed that by accusations directed at the external *Koreri* group, speculating on the existing regionalism, the attention of those who had been disappointed would be diverted, in which case the whole movement might be split up into many antagonistic groups.

To avoid this danger the external *Koreri* group therefore tried to win and keep as many followers as possible for the great idea = the liberation. They made the following decisions:

The anti-*Koreri* people should not be coerced, but must be won over by means of persuasion. All the imprisoned Papuans must be released. The *Amberi guru* would also be set free and they could decide for themselves whether they would return to work. Those of the *Amberi* who were administrative officials or soldiers would be detained, but no longer in Gadara (Rani). In order not to provoke the Japanese too early, no action would be taken before the fate of Stephanus and Angganitha was known for certain. On July 19 they parted. The plans were carried out, the compatriots released, and all the *guru* permitted to go back to work. The Japanese took the *Amberi* from Biak to Manokwari. The Chinese shopkeepers in Biak expressed their willingness to join the A.B. (*America-Babo* = New America) movement.

When Kuri, the leader of Numfor, had carried out these orders he was replaced by a former village chief of Bawe (Numfor) Saul Sanghadji. In Namber, where the *Amberi* — the Assistant District Officer and his policemen — were still being detained, this man had taken command as *Tuan Damai* under the new name of Adam. Already in April he had met the Assistant District Officer, to whom he had explained his new name, and now he lived in his house. The *Amberi* had to work for the Papuans, who sat in easy chairs watching the *Amberi* perform the odious chores in their places. The Papuans *main tuan* ("played the gentle-

man"), says the informant. *Amberi* food, rice for example, was scarce, but all the food that had been seized from a Chinese shop by the Assistant District Officer, was now brought out. As servants of the new masters the *Amberi* and their wives had to prepare everything, they themselves got sago to eat and had to sit on the floor, being treated in the same way as they had treated the Papuans in the past. The Papuans now sat in their easy chairs.

These festivities in demonstration of the new times went on till the food gave out. Then all returned to their own villages.

On July 29 a canoe dropped anchor off the village of Mandori. It held three American officers and two Philipponoes who had escaped from the Philippines and were trying to reach Australia. They now came from Meokwundi. This fact set the whole of Biak in commotion, for having landed precisely in Meokwundi (*cf.* p. 29) the three Americans were thought to be the long-awaited Manseren Manggundi, Konori or Manarbew his son, and Saneraro his brother-in-law. The eldest had a beard, the second was a man of middle age, and the third appeared to be very young.

They had passed Rani and had met the leaders there. At first they had been asked to stay and lead the A.B. army, but their promise to send help as soon as they arrived in Australia held more security for the future. They hoped to be back about September 10 and help Biak with weapons. An airfield was to be made in South Biak, and in Manswam the army must be kept in readiness. In Numfor they became suspicious and soon they sailed in a westerly direction. Both the sail and the auxiliary engine were used. Numfor and Biak were enthusiastic about the new prospects, and therefore people were filled with fury when it was rumored that an *Amberi* Assistant District Officer near Sorong had lured the three men into a trap and killed them. This proved to be untrue, only one American had been wounded. Rumor had it, however, that because of his "courage" the Japanese had made the offender an officer in their army, and later appointed him Assistant District Officer of Numfor, and this was the last straw.

On August 15 a Japanese ship with the interpreter Iwata and two brigades of Japanese soldiers arrived at Namber. According to an eyewitness, this is what happened:

The *Sengadji* of Namber objected to the Japanese flag and also asked whether the ship would take all the *Amberi* to Manokwari. After the matter had been discussed for some time, one of the Numfor leaders, Lieutenant Marcus, leading 50 A.B. soldiers, came marching from the

forest to the sound of drums. He halted to await further orders. Aboard the ship the guns were loaded. The final result of the negotiations was a letter from the Japanese on August 16, 1942, which ran as follows:

To the *Tuan Damai Adam*.

We Panglima Nippon request you to fight with us tomorrow 16-8-2602 at Andei. We shall begin at six o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night.

signed Panglima Nippon  
Iwata

*Sengadji Namber*  
A. Mansumber

Within six hours the letter was taken by runners all around Numfor. From each village Adam wanted 50 men. The whole island was wild with excitement. The *Amberi* had already been taken aboard the Japanese ship. When the time arrived, approximately 2000 men were drawn up in battle array on the beach of Andei. Before the fight began the A.B. army demanded from Iwata, who had come ashore, that the Japanese should land and try their strength with the Biak men, in a hand-to-hand fight. But Iwata did not agree to this.

Iwata surveyed the battle array. Each group stood ready under its own leader, and with its own flag. They waited from six to twelve o'clock, but no one came except two other negotiators, this time two Biak men who were on board the Japanese ship. In the name of the Japanese they uttered threats. The whole of Numfor would be battered down, and so on. Hereupon one of the leaders could no longer control himself; with 20 men he jumped into a canoe, paddled to the ship, and challenged the Japanese to a hand-to-hand fight, if need be on deck.

The Japanese ship then weighed anchor and the crowd, shouting with exultation, saw the ship disappear in the direction of Biak. This was considered a victory and all went back to their villages.

### 8. *Stephen Wanda in Numfor*

On September 10 Stephan Wanda arrived in Numfor. He had announced his coming by sending a "mail-canoe" to Numfor with an "official letter" from his "office" at Paramiosna. Since Wanda can more or less be considered Angganitha's successor, it is important to know who he was.

He was an elder in a small congregation near Korido and had gone to Insumbabi secretly to see what Angganitha was doing. He himself said that he had been praying under a coconut palm when suddenly

from the tree a great light shone upon him. In this light he saw *Kayan Sanau* (the Old Man) who descended and began to speak to him.

Afterwards he went back to the village, but he was very much disturbed. He then visited Angganitha, who instructed him in *Koreri*. In this way he incurred the opposition of the church. He then proclaimed that: "The church withholds the real secret. *Koreri*, however, reveals all secrets. The leaders of the church are thought to be holy, but all of them are sinners, for they use the church as a weapon against freedom and against the desires of the human heart. The same holds true for the Administration by the *Amberi*".

Stephen Wanda was made headman by Angganitha, and he received the title of *Radja Supiori*. He moved to the village of Paramiosna which he named Kau. In a small rising, still under Dutch administration, he killed a policeman. This brought him into jail at Manokwari, but the Japanese released him. Thanks to Nippon he was a free man. Therefore he now sided with Japan and reproached the group of Stephanus for exasperating the Japanese with the revolt in Rani, which he regarded as the reason why they did not release Angganitha.

Stephen Wanda fiercely opposed the external *Koreri* group and tried to do it as much damage as possible. He had come to Numfor to extend his influence. But Stephanus' group had taken measures. Jan Ronsumbre sent part of the fleet to Numfor to carry out counter-propaganda, and to ward off Wanda, using weapons if necessary.

In Supiori, too, revolt broke out. Sowek, Angganitha's village, refused to be subjected and fights broke out between them and Wanda's group.

Next, Wanda and his wife Mary, accompanied by eleven large canoes, went to Numfor. Hundreds of people gathered. He was welcomed like a prince: the *guru* of Mandori and a group of schoolchildren with their flutes stood ready to add lustre to his arrival.

He inspected the school and the school materials, while outside people danced in honor of his coming. In the afternoon he inspected the school for adults, where the older people "possessed" by certain spirits, showed off their glossolalia. The evil spirits would be exorcized and the good spirits raised. Hundreds of people gathered in the "Van Hasselt church" at Mandori, and many stood outside. After an ardent speech the "possessed" began to tremble. Some claimed to be possessed by the spirit of David, Saul, Peter, or John, and one man was possessed by the spirit of Van Hasselt Jr. These were all good spirits, but some people had to be baptized anew with seawater to exorcize the evil spirits, and make way for the sainted ones.

Thus Wanda went around Numfor. Many people proved to be possessed by evil spirits, they raged like madmen, scolded, and stormed. After having exorcized these spirits he came to Sioribo.

In Sioribo there lived a man who had claimed to be Manarmakeri, had gone round as *Pandita*, had celebrated the Holy Communion, and so on. He had been called to Rani to account for these outrageous pretensions. Here he was given the title of *Koki* (cook) instead of the honorific names which he had adorned himself. He raised this name to an honorary title, however, by calling himself Captain *Koki*. When Wanda, on his arrival, again made a speech against the external *Koreri* group, Captain *Koki* and his men took up arms. Many people were wounded in this fight, including Wanda himself.

Nevertheless, Wanda went on and gave all the villages of Numfor names from the Bible. Mandori, for instance, was to be called Capernaum.

A remarkable fact was that Wanda and his wife even when they were in a quiet state of mind spoke together in a strange language which no one could understand. Wanda claimed this to be the language of the new world, called *Milka*.

People were greatly impressed by this and probably accepted it as a proof of his authority. When Wanda returned to Biak, he had stirred up the emotions but not achieved his real aim, the winning of Numfor for the Japanese cause. But the *Koreri* idea had received a new stimulus. The ecstasy was given new confirmation, albeit by a man who was considered to belong to the second category, that of the pseudo-*Koreri* followers.

Wanda's pretensions knew no bounds, he called himself *Allah Supiori* ("the God of Supiori") and gathered "disciples" around him. He even created the function of *Allah Muda*, "the younger (or second) God". But he lost his hold on the masses. Politics and *Koreri* had become so entangled that people no longer saw any advantage in following him; but his collaboration with Japan provided the greatest obstacle.

Later Wanda was completely corrupted by Japanese promises and gifts. He was promised a palace at Korido, he would become king of the whole of North New Guinea, and he would get a warship of his own, if only he saw to it that the Japanese army got enough coolies.

#### 9. *Birmori (Korinus) Sasiaber or Bosren*

Birmori has already been mentioned as Stephanus' fellow prisoner. Although he had been released together with Stephanus, he kept quiet

until Stephanus' role was finished. He retired to his own village, Wops, on the north-west coast of Biak. But when the influence of Stephanus' message penetrated into this region, he came forward. As we know he claimed to have seen a vision when he was in jail. Now he went to Yamnaibori, the sacred place of Biak. On this historic hilltop, an old man, named Wosbi Wamai, had his dwelling. He belonged to the lineage of Manarmakeri and could therefore live an undisturbed hermit's life on the mountain. He had built several huts of leaves, and it was here that Birmori visited him to be instructed in the secrets of *Koreri*. After he had stayed there some time he reappeared with the resounding name of *Birmori Damai Ro Wops Radja Bon Sinai* (*Damai* of Wops and Prince of Mount Sinai), as the mountain beyond Wops was called. He returned to his village where he managed to win much influence. Thousands of people gathered around him. At the foot of the Mount Poi (Sinai) he had a kind of town built.

His fairly elaborate ceremonies, supplemented with all sorts of "magic", which he had picked up in jail, made a deep impression on the people.

He could absolve sins, and he enabled the faithful to transfer their sins to him by allowing them to stand on his extended hands. For this purpose he would lie down on a white sheet, with the Biak Bible stories and song-book, wrapped up, on his hands.

On Yamnaibori a certain Sopen then started to gain influence, he worked together with the old hermit. On this sacred ground explanations were not necessary. Here, everything spoke of the past, and any descendant of the Old Man who announced a new movement could be almost certain of a following. Later Birmori joined him, and there was a time when thousands of people gathered in this old, historic, place.

### *Manswam*

A third place that became important was Manswam, the village of Stephanus. The brothers Jan, Zadrach, and Kaleb, who were to deputize for Stephanus, shifted the chief center of the movement to this village. This was the place where the Americans were to land with their airplanes. The three brothers obviously mixed political elements with their propaganda, although they appealed to the people in the name of *Koreri*.

The above places were the ones chosen by the *Koreri* leaders of the external group to play a significant role in the future. In the course of events they became centers of importance. I shall describe them in more detail later on, so as not to lose sight of the chronological sequence here.

In consequence of the great battle of the Coral Sea, the month of August 1942 was a critical period for the Japanese. It was therefore most important for them to keep the peace this side of the front. Thousands of coolies were recruited. At the beginning this met with strong opposition. But the food supplies of the population were giving out, so when the Japanese promised to provide both food and clothing, people came to work in great numbers.

The coming and going of the coolies promoted the speedy circulation of news and rumors. In this way the news was heard of the supposed murder of the three American officers, of the death of Stephanus and Angganitha, and of the Japanese defeat in the battle of the Coral Sea. Everywhere people trained enthusiastically, with weapons as far as they had any, or otherwise with short clubs (*karbere*) which, according to the *Koreri* belief, would change into guns during the attack. It seems that at this stage the real *Koreri* group was losing followers, and that the liberation of New Guinea became the chief aim of the more important leaders. The historical events that followed accordingly show a struggle for this liberation rather than any direct expression of the *Koreri* expectations. Such expectations required peace. Behind the front ranks, which consisted of large groups with weapons, there were the older people who tried to hasten the victory by meditation and ecstasy. What the word victory meant in those days was perhaps not realized by anyone but the leaders. For many people at least, the idea of victory was mixed up with *Koreri* elements. There developed a sort of crisis in these expectations. No clear idea had ever been formed of what *Koreri* would actually mean. It had always been said that Manseren Manggundi would return, equipped with all sorts of modern commodities such as vehicles, ships, and goods. If all this came true what would it mean? When it was heard that MacArthur was defeating the Japanese, the belief arose that he was Manseren Manggundi. A thorough investigation of the motives, actions, and rumors current in those years would reveal the most astonishing variety of opinions, coming from the most diverse sources. There was no unity, there never had been. Although the *Koreri* expectation brought people together, the discussion about the roles which the different groups were to play in it ended in a fight. In the past, people would rather move to other places than submit to the majority and in the same way they now retired and independently drew on the mythical sources, brought on hallucinations by fasting, or tried to strengthen their position by claiming relationship with the Old Man. The leaders, with their aim of liberation in mind, made a mistake



in thinking that *Koreri* would unite the people. When it comes to the point a Biak man will only accord with his group or his clan, in fact only with himself.

#### 10. *Chronological Outline of the Events after November 1942*

In the following summary of the most important events we will also briefly indicate to what extent these events either influenced the *Koreri* movement or arose from it.

In November 1942 the Japanese appointed three administrative officials in the Geelvink Bay, at Bosnik, Serui, and Numfor. It was thought that all three were officers in the Japanese army. Whether they were or not, two of them, anyway had a very bad reputation. When it was rumored that the man appointed in Numfor owed his commission to the fact that he had killed the three American officers, it was decided from the outset that no one would cooperate with him. The murder of the three officers had for the time being extinguished any hope of help from America in the near future. In addition their appointment meant that the Japanese began to concern themselves actively with the population. The new officials started a vigorous propaganda campaign, they distributed clothing and household commodities, but did not succeed in convincing more than a few people of Japan's good intentions.

Matters even came to such a pass that the police and the Japanese that had been attached to them, had to forcibly take their food from the gardens of the natives, because no one would accept the Japanese paper money. Inevitably this led to a clash between police and population. From Yobi (Japen) came the news that the police there had killed six persons and wounded others. It was said that any opposition against the said officials was reported to the Japanese.

Everywhere the Biak belief in *Koreri* was ridiculed and laughed at by the Japanese and the *Amberi*, who mocked the exalted titles which the Biak people bestowed on each other. The Biak and Numfor people, intoxicated with the idea of freedom as a result of the events and, particularly, the interpretation given to these events, were now cruelly brought down to earth. *Koreri* was long in coming, but according to the real *Koreri* group this was all the fault of the political leaders. Blood had been shed and the pseudo-*Koreri* followers had exposed the cause to the ridicule of outsiders. Within the movement the conditions had not been fulfilled, but now the gardens, which had been neglected, produced no more food, and the livestock had gone. Only the *Amberi*

and those who collaborated with Japan profited by the distribution of food. The people, not understanding the Japanese policy in this respect, blamed everything on the *Amberi*, and this resulted in violence.

In December 1942 General Birmori issued a number of strict instructions directed against the Japanese. These consisted of non-cooperation in every field, even if the schools had to be closed because the Japanese language had been made obligatory, and if people had to go about in loincloths. The *Amberi* who acted as Japanese spies would be punished, or even killed. Those Papuans who collaborated with Japan would be put to death.

### January 1943

It looked as if the A.B. group would lose all its followers now that the adversaries of *Koreri*, having been driven into a corner, had allied themselves with Japan. Moreover, since the real *Koreri* group refused on principle ever to shed blood, no actions could be taken against *Amberi* policemen.

General Septimus Mandof now rebelled against this. Together with his men he started to execute the new instructions of Birmori. They committed some acts of violence, whereupon the victims appealed to the *Amberi* administrative official, a native of Tidore. He came with a group of *jungke* (policemen) and pretended he wished to negotiate with Septimus. Instead, however, he set a trap, in which Septimus and nine of his men were killed. On the other side two were killed and several wounded.

This aroused the greater part of the A.B. army. Early in the morning of January 25, Hanoch of Sor led an attack on the administrative center of Bosnik. The garrison of Bosnik had been reinforced, but it was overrun. Although plundering had been strictly forbidden, it soon proved that some had taken part with only this in mind. The Chinese shops suffered heavily, everything was plundered. Here too, the younger people smashed all the antique china they saw. In the center of the village the Japanese held a sort of fortress, armed with machine guns. Preceded by the flag with the cross and armed only with spears and hatchets, Hanoch and a few courageous men assaulted the barbed-wire barricade. They managed to get inside but were killed. On both sides the number of casualties was considerable. Since they had not succeeded in capturing the radio station before it had signalled for help the attackers retreated to Wops, the village of Birmori, whose name, however, is not mentioned in connection with this attack.

*February-March 1943 in Numfor*

One of the leaders of the movement in Numfor, who worked under the name of Pasai, was called to Biak. Here he was informed of Birmori's new instructions which he was to carry out in Numfor. The instructions consisted of the following measures. All adversaries and slanderers of *Koreri*, and all spies for Nippon must be captured and, if necessary, killed. The Assistant District Officer who, according to rumor, had killed the three American officers must, however, be seized alive, and brought before the council of war at Wops. All must stand by for an attack on Manokwari, and gather as many supplies for the army and fleet as possible.

As a result of these orders the *Amberi guru* were daily spied upon, and all sorts of menacing rumors circulated. For this reason the Assistant District Officer called all teachers to the administrative station of Namber. A sort of fortification was then constructed around the premises of the station. This evacuation took place in February; the teachers immediately began to make gardens.

On March 9 the attack came, led by Pasai. Several hundreds of A.B. soldiers took part. They were waylaid by the police, however, who opened fire on them before they could force their way into the fortress. Pasai, with a copy of the New Testament fastened to his head and a bottle of *air kabal* (invulnerable-making water) round his neck, nevertheless managed to enter the fortification, for he had undertaken the task of capturing the Assistant District Officer with his own hands. He was hit by five rifle bullets and killed.

In the meantime some canoes belonging to the "fleet" were approaching from the sea when two Japanese motorboats arrived on the scene, preventing an attack from that side. Besides Pasai, the leader, at least ten A.B. soldiers lost their lives that day, for the victors, carried away by their lust for revenge, massacred all the wounded. An eyewitness aboard one of the Japanese ships immediately went ashore and found several corpses mutilated by knife wounds. This fact is not mentioned in any of the reports of *Amberi* eyewitnesses. One of them mentions two, another ten casualties. This massacring of the wounded, however, contributed to the ever growing hate for the *Amberi*.

*May 1943, The Bombing of Manokwari*

The Japanese supplies were stocked in the Dore Bay area near Manokwari, and the harbor there was used for refuelling. Hundreds of

coolies, recruited by the Japanese agents, were employed here. In the beginning of May the place was lightly bombed, and shortly afterwards a very heavy attack followed. It was striking that the victims were mostly Japanese and that the Biak people suffered no casualties. After the bombing, however, all the coolies took flight and the second great exodus began.

In Rani on August 3, a last meeting of the leaders of the A.B. army took place at which far-reaching decisions were taken.

The Biak-Numfor armies would liberate the whole of New Guinea from the Japanese. The line of action to be followed comprised 15 points.

1. On December 28 the general attack will start all over New Guinea.
2. The A.B. army will fight as far as Gebe, Merauke, and Hollandia.
3. Blue, white, red will be the national colors of New Guinea.
4. Stephen Wanda and his army are to be destroyed.
5. South Biak and Japan will together undertake the conquest of the eastern part of New Guinea beyond the Mamberamo river as far as the river Tami. Others will cross the Windessi isthmus and occupy Fakfak and Merauke.
6. North Biak and Numfor will occupy Waren and Ransiki, Manokwari and the whole Vogelkop peninsula as well as the Radja Ampat Islands.
7. Occupation forces will follow close behind the fleet and the army.
8. The population must not be molested. Women are to be left alone. A *prang salib* ("crusade-war") shall be waged against the Japanese blood flag (the red disc of the sun) and their flag with the rising sun (the war flag), representing the Shinto religion.
9. The liberated population is obliged to supply the A.B. army with food. There must be no plundering.
10. All the liberated inhabitants must go into the A.B. army, the village headmen will be made officers.
11. Isolation is not allowed. The Biak people must show that all the peoples of New Guinea are one. In future years, the Biak people must be regarded, not as plunderers, but as the liberators of New Guinea.
12. If they do not join the A.B. army wholeheartedly, the *Amberi* shall be turned out of New Guinea.
13. Those *Amberi* who have maltreated the population shall be punished.
14. The *Amberi* shall be called Papuans and the Papuans must from

now on be called New-Americans. Whoever speaks slightly of the population shall receive corporal punishment, and also other severe penalties.

15. Robbing and plundering is strictly forbidden. Everything of value is either for the nation or must be destroyed. The Japanese who have fought in the army shall be punished.

The *Koreri* ideal is no longer mentioned in these points. Freedom was beckoning. Efforts were made to come to a political agreement with the anti-*Koreri* group. Stephen Wanda, however, who considered himself the heir of Angganitha's claims, was rejected since he sided with Japan.

Soon it turned out that spies had been present. Within a relatively short time Japan knew all that had been decided. Since every effort had to be put into the construction of air fields and of a system of defence on the north coast of New Guinea, disturbances behind the Japanese lines were very unwelcome.

At first people submitted to the strong pressure of Japan. Some of the leaders even went to work as coolies in order to survey the strength of the Japanese fortifications. No beginning could be made in carrying out the fifteen points, for Japan started a direct action against the A.B. army. This army, which set in motion the broad masses of the people, was, however, still driven by the idea and expectation of *Koreri*. In the belief that they were invulnerable and that Manarmakeri would turn their clubs into rifles and the bullets of the enemy into water, the A.B. soldiers threw themselves into the fight against the newest weapons that science had devised.

#### *September 1943, Wardo carried off to Manokwari*

It has been mentioned in passing that the inhabitants of Wardo who, even before 1886, had resisted three different *konoor*, and who later embraced Christianity, now also strongly opposed this *Koreri*. In January 1943 the group of Birmori, together with the groups from Sopen and Yamnaibori, made an attempt to win Wardo over. For one night the inhabitants joined in the dancing on the slopes of Yamnaibori, but afterwards they stubbornly refused all cooperation. With a small army of approximately 800 men Birmori then set out to destroy Wardo. This was on the 20th of January, before the attack on Bosnik. From Korido and Wardo repeated attempts had been made to induce the people of

Yamnaibori to prevent unnecessary bloodshed and not to risk open revolt against Japan, which would be suicidal. The power of *Koreri*, however, was greater than was thought in Wardo. People had not been stirred to action by any rational assessment of the situation, but by a violent emotional reaction to the idea of *Koreri* on the ancient slopes of Yamnaibori. The crusade flag with the Morning Star in one corner became the *Koreri* flag. The struggle for freedom became a holy war. When Wardo persisted in its resistance against *Koreri*, it was decided to annihilate the village which had already been surrounded. But in the night before the attack, the leader Birmori had a dream in which Manarmakeri appeared saying: "Wardo is not to blame, do not molest it". Immediately the troops were withdrawn.

The people of Wardo, however, continued in fear of their lives. They asked the Japanese for protection, but the latter did not comply until they were in need of coolies. In September several ships came to evacuate the majority of the inhabitants of Wardo and some other villages. At the same time the Japanese sent a warning to Manswam, the new fortress of the Ronsumbre brothers. Birmori, too, was ordered to stop his action. In taking these measures the Japanese were thinking less of the danger of a revolt, than of the disadvantages of opposition which would prevent them from using the Biak people, the best workers of New Guinea, in the construction of fortifications.

#### *October 1943, Manswam destroyed*

Stephen Wanda, *Radja* Supiori, had completely gone over to the side of Japan. His army was disbanded and he became a policeman. "This gave him more power than ever. As a *jungke* (policeman) in Japanese service he could do whatever he wanted in the *kampongs*. One word from him to the authorities and people's very lives were not safe. Many *guru*, without employment as a result of the movement, allowed themselves to be persuaded to take service with or without compulsion, often as an only means of making a living" (120, 12, stencil). The A.B. army could therefore no longer count on Supiori. Manswam now became the main center, and in the beginning of October Japan began the offensive.

The first attack came across country via Wardo. The Japanese soldiers, tired by the long and heavy march, were beaten off by Kaleb Ronsumbre. Then the fleet took action and opened fire on Manswam. On the way to Biak several Biak canoes had been shot to pieces. October

the 10th saw the great attack. On the beach the A.B. army, led by Zadrach Ronsumbre — under his own flag — awaited the Japanese. After murderous shooting, the Japanese troops landed. Hand-to-hand fighting followed, hatchets and spears against rifles and bayonets. There were many casualties, but the Biak army fought fiercely. The odds were too heavy, however, the casualties too many, and the Biak people had to retreat to the hills. In the center of the fortress of Manswam the *Koreri* flag was flying from a tall pole. The retreating Biak troops hauled down the flag at the peril of their lives, and took it with them. In this slaughter hundreds of lives were lost (figures vary from 600 to 2000 casualties). The leaders Jan, Kaleb and Zadrach Ronsumbre were taken prisoner and beheaded at Korido.

#### *The End of Wops and Birmori*

When the *Amberi guru* in Numfor were taken prisoner, one of them, the Amboinese Tomasilla, had remained free. He was known as one of the best teachers, an excellent organizer, and architect of exceptionally well-constructed houses and churches. He spoke the Biak language fluently and had a thorough knowledge of manners and customs. It was, however, not for the sake of his excellent record that he was allowed his freedom, but because he had expressed his desire to join the *Koreri* movement. It is not clear to what extent he belonged to the "neutral" anti-*Koreri* group. No mention can be found of his being involved in any action.

On the occasion of the annihilation of Wops and Birmori, however, he did play a part. Those who know him personally think that probably he accompanied the Japanese as an interpreter in an endeavor to prevent unnecessary bloodshed. A Japanese officer, Yasimoto, was the leader of the Japanese group which consisted of several *jungke* (policemen) and a few Japanese soldiers. When they landed at Wops, Birmori was waiting for them. The two groups drew up facing each other, each with its leader in front. The Japanese leader came forward and called Birmori to negotiate with him. They faced each other, one with his hand on his Samurai sword, the other with his long Biak *sumber* (hatchet). Yasimoto taunted Birmori, saying that he was an agitator and a coward.

When the Japanese made play of drawing his sword, Birmori suddenly lunged forward with his hatchet and killed his adversary with one blow. A short but violent fight followed, and the Japanese group took flight.

Tomasilla tried to swim across a small river, but was hit by a spear. He was taken to Korido where he succumbed to his wounds.

Birmori realized that the Japanese would come in force to take revenge, and he fled to the forest. The Japanese availed themselves of the services of Stephen Wanda who was to hunt for Birmori and his men. There followed a period of confusion and disorder, of man hunts and retaliations on both sides because of actual or supposed betrayals. On one of these occasions Birmori's wife was killed. When Birmori heard this, he came out of the forest to find her grave, and since he had loved her very much, he dug up her dead body to have a last look at her. When he was thus occupied his own men set upon him and he was killed. The people were tired of being hunted, and since a price had been set on Birmori's head, they cut it off and took it to the Japanese, expecting thereafter to be left in peace. But their hopes were vain. The hunt for the *Koreri* and A.B. army groups continued. Biak policemen also played a considerable part. There was much killing on both sides in this period, but the annihilation of Manswam and Wops meant the end of the *Koreri* movement.

#### 11. *Koreri* Symbolism in Numfor (c. 1943-44)

Probably the last to hold on to the *Koreri* idea was a small group in Numfor. This group possessed a kind of retreat near a small lake in Numfor called Kawempi.

Their leader was an old woman from Bawe. Several huts made of leaves were built in the retreat to provide daytime shelter for the real *Koreri* followers who were sensitive to sunlight. One of these huts stood at the foot of a coconut palm with curiously rolled leaves. Such trees are rare, but it is even more uncommon for them to bear fruit.

In mythical times the Morning Star descended on such a palm, which is therefore called Manarmakeri tree. The tree near Kawempi was called *Srai Radio* ("radio coconut palm") because the Old Man was alleged to send his messages through it. In the little hut at its foot the old woman lived more or less like a hermit. She and her companions dreamed their dreams, had their visions, spoke strange languages in their ascetic ecstasy, and sat staring at the pool Kawempi. In the past the Anggradifu clan used to live here. This clan had regarded the pool as a source of omens. When a certain position of the constellation *Romanguandi* (Scorpio) caused much rain, they waited until the water rose so high that it flowed through a narrow channel to the sea. This



was an indication that the time had come to go on distant voyages, for it was said, *Kawempi siokir* ("Kawempi is flowing off"), it will warm the sea and quiet the waves of the west monsoon: *Suandi namar* ("the waves are calmed"). It had now become a symbol. From this place the powerful faith of the older people would make *Koreri* come, and the Pacific where Japanese warships were spreading disaster over the turbulent waves would some time come to rest. The turmoil of war and civil strife hardly penetrated to this secluded place. Here, both old and new songs were sung to expedite the coming of *Koreri*. One of the best known songs was:

Morning Star, greatest of all the stars  
 Come and be my herald, and make me a **hut of leaves**  
 in the east, in the East of Judaea.

After the occupation of Hollandia in April, when airplanes were daily in the air and the Americans had begun their heavy bombing of Numfor, it was from this place that the message came "The Old Man, Manarmakeri, is leading the Americans who are coming to liberate us".

*June 1944, Has Koreri really come?*

All expectations of *Koreri* had been drowned in blood. An early liberation, speeded up by their own efforts, had not been realized. When the Americans came with their powerful fleet and with their airplanes that came gliding along like black clouds, no one could take it in. People had not even had the remotest conception of these phenomena. It began at night, when the airplanes dropped flares. The bright colors, followed by heavy explosions, in short the whole business of modern warfare appeared to these simple-minded people in a haze of apocalyptic mystery. Was it Manarmakeri himself descending in the light of the flares, or was it the Morning Star? Such a "shower of stars" completely dazed them. What could they think when at night they stood staring at the bright sky in frightened rapture? How was this to be reconciled with their *Koreri* that would come falling like a light from heaven? These "Heralds from Heaven" in light and color proved to be the forerunners of a hell of fire and pain, and of large-scale destruction.

Then the first news from Biak came in. The Americans were constructing a naval base in the Padaido Islands, and . . . the great miracle had happened; not one ship, but hundreds of ships had come, loaded with

supplies which were put ashore on Meokwundi, the very island of the Messiah. The wide lagoon, created long ago by Manseren Manggundi as an outlet to the sea, provided the Americans with a naval base in the open sea (*cf.* map I). The whole island became one big warehouse and the Biak people, in their first astonishment, shouted themselves hoarse. They had been sent away from the island by the Americans but, of course, only to be called back later and receive their share of the treasures. The Americans, moreover, lavishly distributed clothing and food, material seemed worthless, ships came in hundreds, men in thousands.

The *Koreri* had come. All that had been prophesied was now fulfilled, all except the return of the dead. But the expectations that had been realized were drowned in the downpour of goods, the reality proved inexpressibly greater and more confusing than the dream. Eventually the *Koreri* was engulfed, amidst the tumult of war and the extermination of the Japanese, and washed away by the waves of western technology.

## 12. *The Great Movement in Japen*

Information from Japen shows that it was not until July 1942 that reports about the *Koreri* movement in Biak and Numfor became so positive that canoes were sent from Japen to investigate. As was to be expected, the first reaction came from the villages on the north coast where the people are either descended from or closely related to those of Biak, or whose culture, at least, has been much influenced by that of Biak. Various villages in Japen had already for a long time been trading with Biak and Supiori.

No *konoor* appeared in Japen, and there was no question of regionalism. The developments of the movement here took place under the direct influence of people from Biak, who often came themselves and played an important part.

The first messengers to Biak were sent from Dore, and later from Tindaret. Stephanus must have been in Rani still, for they returned with many stories and with *air kabal*. This invulnerable-making water was of great importance later.

About the origin of the *air kabal* many different stories were told. It was said that it came from the island where Angganitha had lain ill, and that she had been cured by drinking this water. The water was supposed to flow from a coconut tree, and have three colors, red, white and black. A *guru* in Biak, however, told us there was some connection

with a myth about a giant snake which had these colors and lived in a pool in the little Island of Nusambawi; this snake was said to have magical powers. Others regarded Sowek as the source of the water. Some described how the "water from heaven" was collected (*cf.* p. 177). In Japen it was said that it was prepared on a plate, in a house where the rays of the sun fell on the water through a glass window in the roof. Afterwards the water was mixed with oil and used in baptism. This water was called *air umur*, water for a long life.

The Biak people used to come to Japen in their canoes to distribute this water; they often gave instruction at the same time. A typical story is that told by one of the village headmen, on his return from a trip to Rani. The following report is given in as literal as possible a rendering.

"At four o'clock in the afternoon of September 10, 1942, the village headman arrived with the *air kabal* in the village Ambadiru. It was brought in from the North, and the sound of drums could be heard from afar. Thus the 'water' came into the village with the beating of drums.

The village headman immediately held a speech, which went as follows:

'Now I want all of us to begin dancing, for the news about the Manseren Koreri is true. If I had only heard it, it could be a lie, but I have seen the signs with my own eyes. First, when we danced at Karawal we saw a letter falling from heaven. This letter we took to a *guru* who explained it to us. It said: 'The old world is below, the new world is above. The time is at hand when the old world will disappear'. Secondly, when we danced at Ariobu we saw a light like a *lampu gas* (kerosene pressure lamp) descending to the tops of the coconut palms, and being drawn up again. Soon after we saw a large canoe emerging from the sea, which came to anchor at the landing-stage. After a short time it suddenly disappeared.

Therefore, if a *guru* or anyone else offers resistance to this new order, his head will be smashed and the sea will be his hell. All who obey the orders of the new Manseren Koreri, however, will be allowed to live'".

These orders were actually carried out. Consequently, many people in Japen lost their lives.

Initially, full emphasis was laid on the *Koreri* idea. The dancing on the north coast spread to several villages. In the church of Dore, people danced to the beating of ancient drums each afternoon from 3 to 7 o'clock. They sang hymns in praise of Manarmakeri, and songs to plead for his early return. As long as the *guru* and the Christians showed no

hostility towards the movement, life in the congregations — at least outwardly — could go on unhindered. During these months the church at Dore was faithfully visited on Sunday's, and as long as a *guru* did not speak against the movement not the slightest obstacle was put in his way. It was said that the *guru* had only taught the "shell" of the Gospel. The kernel of the Message had been kept secret and would only now be revealed by Angganitha and Stephanus. Unbelievers were threatened with heavy penalties, the Messiah would turn them into stones or pigs, when he came.

This movement was wholly regarded as an extension of the Gospel preached until then. The Dutch missionaries had done good work, the greater part of their message was true, but the statement that the Messiah was born of the Jews was a great lie. God in Heaven would tolerate no longer that the poor, oppressed, and repressed Papuans had to live with this "incomplete Gospel", therefore He had sent the prophetess Angganitha and the General Stephanus.

The messianic secret lay stored away in the *kampung* of Stephanus . . . in Manswam. In his house there was a chest. God Himself would disclose the secret of this chest on the day of the *Manseren's* return. Then the salvatio would become public and available to everyone. All the faithful would cast off their dark skins and become white; there would be no more dying, all would gain eternal life.

In their canoes the Biak people brought a small sheet of glass which was allowed, with much mysteriousness, to pass from hand to hand in the villages that were visited. When the glass was held at an angle before the eyes, and the sun's rays played on it, the chromatic spectrum could be seen. The beautiful colors offered a foretaste of the splendor which the new times would bring on the coming of the *Manseren*.

Here, too, glossolalia occurred. On the Island of Meosindi (created by Manarmakeri on his departure from Japan) everyone was infected by a mass excitement in which state glossolalia appeared. In Kanaki, a Biak village in the south-west of Japan, the same symptoms occurred on a large scale.

The dread in which the people held the graves and the spirits of the dead (apparently much stronger in Japan than in Biak) suddenly diminished. The graves were expected to open on the day of the return. Everywhere people were called on to mend their ways. The *Manseren* stayed his coming, and was greatly distressed, because his own people rejected him, whereas the people of Europe had accepted him, thus earning progress and prosperity.

Part of the above has been taken from an unpublished report (316a) by H. J. Teutscher. His account further shows that the strict rules prescribed by Angganitha, and later by Stephanus, but particularly by the real *Koreri* group, were taken seriously.

"It is noteworthy that much care was taken that the daily ritual dancing should not lead to excesses, particularly sexual excesses, as is wont to happen at dances. Everywhere the people were enjoined to anticipate the coming millennium with a life of holiness. It was strictly forbidden to dance after dark. Dancing was stopped as soon as dusk began to fall. Repeated and serious warnings were sounded against adultery and bigamy".

Very soon, however, the "revolutionary" element, as Teutscher calls it, asserted itself.

Outsiders have been all too ready to speak or write about the notions and actions of the Papuan population in a disapproving or derisive way, without earnestly attempting to criticize themselves, or the authorities who so greatly influenced the daily life of these people. It is striking, for instance, that in the reports, of which I have dozens at my disposal, and in the completed questionnaires about the movements, certain factors have been almost consistently omitted. Particularly those submitted by persons who were personally concerned in the movement, whether as victims or otherwise, suggest that important facts have been left out. One fact they often fail to mention is that in a great number of cases the action from the side of the population was a reaction. Only very little is known about this. Much criticism is directed at the Mission, such as the fact that *guru* dismissed by the Mission could find no other employment, or that the missionary would take decisions without sufficiently consulting the people.

The old customs were often too vigorously attacked, although it was chiefly certain *guru* who did much harm with their proverb *adat Papua, adat bodoh* ("the Papuan customs are stupid customs"). Their actions were, understandably, regarded as an extension and a consequence of the task of the missionaries. The population, however, could always make an appeal to the Mission, and this did in fact lead to many a punitive transfer or dismissal of persons who exceeded their authority.

Teutscher who personally learned the following from the population ten years after the movement, wrote in the above-mentioned report: "It was proclaimed more and more boldly that all non-Papuans, both white and *Amberi* (Indonesians), should be got rid of. They (the *Amberi*) had always been the oppressors. It was they who were to blame for the

backward conditions and the low standard of living of the Papuans. The often objectionable practices, in the past, of Amboinese government officials, *guru*, Indonesian traders, as well as of several Dutch District Officers provided plenty of food for inflammatory conversations. It is appalling how, even in those critical months, many *Amberi* showed such a lack of understanding of the precarious situation, that by their behavior they merely added fuel to the fire”.

The writer continues with an outline of the measures that were taken when the crusader flags of Manarmakeri were brought from Biak to Japen, and organizations under the leadership of a *Damai* arose everywhere, just as in Biak.

“In September 1942 a certain Assistant District Officer considered it high time to take strong action. Accompanied by a small group of *Amberi* policemen, armed with rifles, he set out on an expedition to purge the whole north coast from Pom to Yobi.

It was time to thrash out the rebellion in those villages where people still danced each day. When the expedition reached Dore, all the inhabitants were summoned to gather in front of the village headman’s house. All the men were told to lie on the ground face down, the women and children in a circle around them. The “*tuan* (master) administration” went round himself with the rattan cane beating the men, one after the other, black and blue. When he was exhausted and stood panting for breath, the assistant headman (the *Wakil*) was ordered to continue the punishment. He was forced to lash his own headman with the rattan till he bled. Next, the women were forced to perform endless deep genuflections until they fell down exhausted. In Tindaret the inhabitants were given the same chastisement, but when the ‘expedition’ came to Yobi this village had been sufficiently warned and the armed men took up positions. The gentlemen of the expedition were politely welcomed by the headman and then led into an ambush.

In the ensuing fight four men were shot. Then, chased by their enemies, the policemen took flight and two of them were wounded”.

Even if these reports are biased and grossly exaggerated, we may be sure that rumor supplemented them with every real or supposed grievance that could be remembered. The repercussions of these actions are clearly reflected in the rigorous instructions laid down by Birmori in Biak (p. 196).

Immediately afterwards the organization of the “*Koreri* army” was energetically taken up. Those who went to Biak returned from their “pilgrimage” promoted to *Damai*, officer, or any of the other ranks that

already existed in Biak. In June, 1943, the *Koreri* army was complete. The army officers of Biak had organized everything. For some months already a check had been kept on all canoe traffic on the sea night and day, to prevent the escape of any *Amberi*, whether official, *guru*, or trader. A big expedition went to Kurudu, where the majority of the population refused to cooperate. As a result of all sorts of terrorist activity the *Koreri* army had considerably gained in force. More and more villages, some of which at first had disagreed with the movement, now joined the army under this pressure.

It would carry us too far to follow the whole route of the army. Suffice it to mention that many victims were made, many churches were burned — among these the church of Kurudu, a paragon of the art of the Christian woodcarvers — and many *Amberi* lost their lives. Waropen, however, was not occupied. The headmen of the villages in this area presented a united front to the *Koreri* army. From the writings of Held we know that the *Sera-bawa* of Waropen have much more authority than the headmen in Biak. In cooperation with the *guru* they kept the *Koreri* movement out of their region.

When the Japanese started their action against the movement, they began in Japen. Several villages were burned down, and here and there groups of people were shot. That was how Nimrod of Randawaia, the leader of the *Koreri* movement in Japen, was killed by the Japanese on the football ground at Serui. This put an end to the public manifestation of the *Koreri* belief.

Concerning the movements in Japen, Teutscher concludes that "The impression is unavoidable that the movement in Japen developed more and more in a political and nationalistic direction". Among other things the 'eventful day' is expected to bring freedom, and although what this constitutes may be commonplace, it is at the same time proof of the fact that, in Japen too, the *Koreri* idea has been secularized.

### 13. *The Final Phase of the Great Movement*

In our historical outline of the movements we found that in each case the movement after a while petered out and the participants went back to their usual activities. This time, however, the way back, for many of them, was much more difficult. The most prominent leaders had lost their lives and the others could not simply retire to their villages. Too much had happened. Many people, among them Stephen Wanda, tried to find another way out.

When Stephen Wanda, as leader of the movement, lost his following, he took employment with the Japanese as a policeman. Many members of this Biak police force maltreated, betrayed and killed their compatriots in an inconceivably cruel and cold-blooded way. They particularly abused their power to commit sexual excesses. The coming of the Americans made them quickly change their policy. Wanda and many of his fellows announced their intention to join in with the Americans, which several of them later managed to do. The Japanese, however, learned of Wanda's intentions and so he was beheaded at Wari, a village on the north coast of Biak. The arrival of the Americans prompted the other policemen to make such a massacre of the fleeing and cornered Japanese soldiers, that they were honored as "heroes of the liberation". But the people themselves who had suffered under and by their brutal behavior, did not consider their earlier crimes paid for.

Another leader, Jacob Sopen of Yamnaibori, withdrew with his followers to the inland of Biak. He cherished no other ambition than to be a *konoor*. He therefore reacted quite normally when *Koreri* failed to come. At the time, the "Company"<sup>3</sup> had ordered him to live on the coast. But now he went back inland and began to organize dances. In his case the *Koreri* expectation had led to a sort of revivalism of the old culture.

Most astonishing, however, is the fact that all the followers of the movement later calmly attended religious services, as if nothing had happened. After such an unmistakable demonstration of how little they had understood the Gospel, one would rather have expected them to return to their "previous paganism", as Jacob Sopen did. This conclusion is not correct, however, not even in the case of Jacob Sopen.

In my opinion there were two reasons why the leaders mixed the *Koreri* message with biblical elements. First, because they were convinced, as they frankly avowed, that what they understood by *Koreri* was essentially not only similar, but identical to the Israelite and Christian Messiah and the Millennium. Secondly, because they wanted to convince the Christians that they could join the movement without any conscientious scruples.

From many statements dating from the period of the movement, it is clear that the real and emotional background of Biak culture fully asserted itself, and that, in an otherwise normal way, the new elements of culture and Gospel were assimilated in their mythology.

The use side by side of elements derived from different systems of

<sup>3</sup> See footnote to p. 44.



belief is called syncretism, but this is a vague term. Actually there is no question of a symbiosis of dissimilar constituents keeping their own characteristics. The religious systems in New Guinea freely accept all kinds of foreign elements which are, however, adapted and adjusted to the indigenous system, and may even wholly lose their original character. Since mental life is dominated by "paganism" with ancestor worship, magic, and mythically associated images, it is inconceivable that these associations should fail to arise within a relatively short time on hearing the Gospel. The associations will continue to rise from the subconscious, even if the conscious mind has chosen the Gospel. This also includes what might be called "the historical contents of the conscience". As long as the subconscious has not been fed from the new sources in the experience of several generations, mental life will continue to be dominated by the old norms and associations. Until such a time, people may believe, in perfect good faith, to have thought or acted according to the Gospel, whereas the thoughts and actions were essentially of a mythical or magical kind. It is impossible, therefore, for the so-called real *Koreri* followers to have any sense of guilt about their *Koreri* expectations. The same is not true of the followers of the pseudo-*Koreri* leaders, as already appeared from the fact that a distinction was made into different categories. This also became clear from the way in which the participants themselves, some years after the movement, viewed these matters. When they spoke of *kakiar sararer* ("false belief") and made fun of the extreme cases, it was indeed the pseudo-followers they referred to.

Their views on the essence of the *Koreri* belief are not so easily expressed. The "shy smile" to the outsider also indicates that they realize their inability to explain the substance of this belief to a stranger.

When Stephen Wanda had himself called *Allah Supiori* and claimed that he and his wife Theodora had "already ascended to heaven and appeared before God's throne, and that Jesus was Theodora's child", this might seem to us an expression of religious mania, if not megalomania. How could he have expected such an assertion to be believed?

In the myths, however, we hear a few times how a mythical figure climbs up to heaven where he meets Manseren Manggundi, who cedes his own place to him in deference to the magical powers he displays. Because of his miraculous powers Manggundi, the Old Man, is also identified with *Nanggi*. Stephen Wanda posed as the returned Manggundi, the Manseren *Koreri*, whose highest title Manseren *Nanggi* he used. Translated into Indonesian this is *Tuan Allah*, in English "the

Lord God". If it is said that Wanda called himself the God of Supiori, this interpretation is rather far removed from the original intention.

The wife of Manggundi was called Mary and her son Jesus. If Wanda was Manggundi and his wife Mary, Jesus would indeed be their son.

Within the atmosphere of the *Koreri* expectations, this identification would sound very natural to Biak people. But if these things were to be explained to a European, who knew nothing about the whole background of *Koreri*, what else could they do but smile shyly?

The little that was left after the violent end of the *Koreri* expectations was pushed back, but it partly found an outlet in a nationalistic direction. In particular this is true of the group which has already been referred to as that of the "external *Koreri* followers". The real *Koreri* followers — the visionary group — considered the political aims a derailment from the real cause. Already during the Japanese occupation they had openly expressed this view when acts of violence were committed: "Blood has mingled with our invulnerable-making water, *Koreri* will not come".

The *Koreri* expectation has not, however, died out. The longing for an "Ideal State", for an escape from the misery of life, is a common human desire, but the forms in which these expectations find expression vary greatly. Sometimes they take the form of a kind of utopism, an instance of which is found in Biak.

The so-called *Suara Rakyat* movement was started in September 1945, in one of the Padaido Islands called Nusi, by an Assistant District Officer. Refugees from the coastal region of South Biak were still living in Nusi at the time. This movement also won followers in Supiori and the north of Japen. Its purpose was to replace the by then restored Dutch Government by an American administration. Some American officers had, in a quasi-official way, shown the American army stores in Meokwundi to natives from different parts of the country.

Since at this time no taxes and no labor services were exacted from them, the people were not unwilling to see this situation continued.

The distribution of supplies among the population, in particular, made a deep impression. To perform civic duties in American service was considered a privilege since it offered an opportunity to get a share of the supplies. An American officer offered to forward a petition to President Truman in Washington. A few such documents were actually prepared and some meetings held, but then the Government intervened and the movement came to an end. The petitions of course did not reach their destination.

This movement was related to *Koreri* only in that it reflected the longing for a time of abundance without any cares. The very fact that people thought they could live in abundance without having to work, characterizes this expectation as a kind of utopianism.

When we examine the expectations which the Biak people hold at present with regard to the future, we find that the *Koreri* ideal is still dormant behind a more commercially adapted and formal participation in planned economic development.

Little by little the boundaries of what can be attained, here and now, have shifted. The ideal *State* has become a far more limited *province* and the expectation of resurrection has grown into an acquiescence in the Christian sense. Even so the expectations of social and economic opportunities entail the risk of *Koreri* ideals reappearing in a disguised form. There is no reason, however, to believe that this will occur always and in every case since, after all, thousands of people also took part in the movement without much inner conviction.

## CHAPTER IX

# THE HISTORICAL FACTORS AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE CONTACT-SITUATIONS ON THE MOVEMENTS

In this chapter we shall briefly survey the past contacts of the Biak people with the outside world and its representatives. These contacts were of great importance, as they were for every "primitive" people. In putting an end to isolation, they gave rise to all the various opportunities and difficulties of acculturation.

What influence have these historical factors had on the emergence and recurrence of the movements? The historical factors we shall consider here include also the internal history of the Biak people, since this led to many migrations and contacts with other peoples of New Guinea and the Moluccas.

The historical factors fall into six categories:

1. *Mutual rivalry*, which was the cause of many migrations. A clear instance is found in a report by Von Rosenberg. He states that about 1840 the former population of the Padaido Islands was "all but exterminated by the savages of Biak. The inhabitants of the village of Yobi, formerly situated in Meoskowundi (Meokwundi, K.), moved to the north coast of Japan where they founded a new village of Yobi". In a note, however, he adds: "This migration must have taken place long ago, for Weyland's map (1705) already situates the village of Yobi on Japan's north coast" (295, 24). In the myths, too, migration of one of the parties is often mentioned as the only solution to internal tensions. As far as we know, the first emigrants were the Sawai; they migrated to East Halmahera before 1500 and merged with the autochthonous population.

2. *The raids*, which penetrated far into the Moluccas, and even to

Celebes and Java. On these raids women were abducted and goods stolen. From these times (centuries ago) date the "treasures", the valuables of foreign origin, which since those days have played an increasingly important part in ceremonial exchange.

3. *The subjection to Tidore* after the defeat of the heroes Fakok and Pasrefi in their fight against the Sawai and the people of Gebe, who were or became tributary to Tidore. The Biak people suffered the same fate. The legend of Gurabesi tells how this hero from Biak, the ancestor of the four *Radja* (of the Radja Ampat Islands), married the daughter of Sultan Djamaludin of Tidore (1495-1512) and became a vassal of Tidore. This Sultan was the first Muslim of his dynasty (65, 150) and as a result some of the *Sengadji* of Biak (the district heads appointed by Tidore) also embraced Islam. In general, however, the Biak people refused to turn Muslim. The tribute which Biak had to pay was not exorbitantly high, but it had to be taken to Tidore. This was indeed a heavy obligation which they often failed to meet, thus provoking the notorious expeditions of the Tidorese *hong-i*-fleets to the Geelvink Bay (181, III-IV, 177 and 256). Tidore was not always to blame, for it is known that fleets from Gebe and East Halmahera made independent raids to the Geelvink Bay, claiming to act under instructions from Tidore.

The people of the Geelvink Bay never presented a united front of resistance against Tidore and the *hong-i* expeditions. Those of Biak, however, did take part in the rebellion (from 1780-1805) of Prince Nuku, the pretender to the throne of Tidore. When he was defeated at Patania (East Halmahera), he retreated to the Papuan Islands and called himself "ruling king" of the Papuan districts (181, IV, 262). For 25 years the men of Biak fought under his banner. Tidore and Ternate were conquered but nothing of this is mentioned in the myths and legends, probably because the oarsmen of Nuku's fleet were sold as slaves afterwards (181, IV, 263).

After 1854 the *hong-i*-voyages took place less frequently, coming to an end in 1861 (104, 22). The subjection to Tidore imposed a considerable restraint on the freedom-loving Biak people, but on the whole it would seem that the fighting and slave hunting among themselves were more serious factors of unrest and insecurity than the subjection to far-away Tidore. Those who took the tribute to Tidore thereby earned a title, and this became an important prestige factor. The myths of Numfor include several episodes featuring the Moluccan Princes. These appear

to be fragments from Tidorese mythology, concerning the origin of the four Moluccan Princes. F. J. F. van Hasselt comments: "The territories of Ternate and Tidore have always contended for supremacy. No wonder that among the Papuans, as faithful Tidorese subjects, a story originated which told that Tidore was more powerful than Ternate" (133, 537). This observation will be more understandable if it is considered against the background of the fact that Tidore was regarded as the mythical center of power after the great flood (*cf.* p. 95). One gets the impression that, although the significance of the Tidorese *hong*i-voyages should not be underestimated, the Biak pirates themselves caused at least as much terror and dismay among the surrounding peoples, and even among their own people. In 1886, for instance, Kurudu, a village of Biak emigrants from the Samber clan, was assailed by a fleet of 80 Biak canoes (337, 411). Typical of this mutual hostility is the fact that, as recently as 1952, an informant enumerating the omens which had been obtained from the oracle Meosbefondi first of all mentioned the sound of lamentations coming from Japen signifying: a raid is to be expected from that side. Cheering heard in the East meant: we shall undertake a successful raid in that direction and kill the population there to the last man (*ngo mun si ra si bro; cf.* also 184, 87).

In view of these facts it is my opinion that the strife and predatory expeditions among the peoples themselves played a far greater part in making life miserable than the subjection to Tidore. The messianic movements should therefore not be regarded as a means of escape from the "distress" created by Tidore. The situation was not unbearable and there was no question of groaning under the Tidorese yoke.

Resistance against the Tidorese domination did appear in the movement of 1855, when a part of the *Koreri* message stated that no more tribute should be paid. In the later movement the slogan "no more taxes and forced labor", reappears but this time it is directed against the Government.

4. *Contacts with Europeans.* Portuguese and Spanish sailing-vessels had been visiting New Guinea since 1527, and Dutch ships since 1619. The first contacts with the Dutch were far from friendly. The Padaido Islands owe their name, "Traitor Islands", to these visits. Biak attempts to raid the Dutch ships were chiefly to blame for the strained relationship. From the fact that the Biak people were not in the least impressed by the size of these ships, it may be inferred that they had seen this kind of vessels before. These visits did not have much influence on the course

of events in Biak. The Biak people never knew that in 1545 the Spanish took possession of North New Guinea for the Spanish crown. When in 1793 the first Europeans established themselves, with the permission of Prince Nuku, in a fortress on the Dore Bay, the Numfor responded by capturing the English garrison of this fort "Coronation" and selling them as slaves (120a, I, 337).

The history of New Guinea tells of the conflicts between the Dutch East India Company and Tidore, the latter being blamed for the Papuan piracy, but it was the inhabitants of the Radja Ampat Islands and Misool who were chiefly to blame, although emigrants from Biak certainly contributed their share. The *Sengadji* of Warsa (present Sausapor), for instance, detained 25 sailors who had come ashore looking for water (*ibid.*, I, 325). From the way the Biak people negotiated about the ransom to be paid for the prisoners it is evident, that they were accustomed not only to capture shipwrecked persons who were cast ashore, but any sailors they could lay their hands on (on castaways see 120a, I + II *passim*).

These few instances clearly show that in the 16th-18th centuries European influence was very slight. After 1828, however, it increased when Dutch Administrative officials, with warships, travelled along the New Guinea coast to put up escutcheons, appoint or confirm the appointment of headmen on behalf of Tidore, and punish slave hunting and headhunting. This intervention became more frequent after the Government was permanently established in 1898.

5. *The Mission.* In the first chapter this subject has already been mentioned. The Mission began its work in 1855, though initially its influence was slight and restricted to the immediate surroundings of the Dore Bay. In the many movements noticed by the missionaries soon after their arrival, there was no question of antagonism towards these foreigners. The subsequent hostile attitude of the *konoor* was a direct result of the criticism leveled at them and their activities by the missionaries. In 1861, when Geissler, already dejected because of the appearance of a *konoor* in Mansinam, went to Wandamen he discovered a similar figure in this area. In the early years, accordingly, the Mission can be ruled out as a possible direct cause of the movements. The historical outline moreover, provides 18 instances of movements arising in places where the Mission had not yet arrived (*cf.* Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7/8, 9/10, 11, 13, 19, 20, 21, 27, 29, 37, 38, 39, 43 and the case cited in Held's book on Waropen, 149, 310). The reaction to the coming of the

missionaries was limited to the incorporation of some of them in the rallying message of the *konoor*, and in new versions of the myths.

Ottow (1860), for instance, was promised participation in *Koreri*, and the Missionary-trader R. Beyer (1867) a free choice from the expected treasures. The deceased Missionary Woelders was mentioned in the message of the 24th movement in which, as a kind of propaganda, he was said to have performed several miracles. Because he showed displeasure at this, Bink, another missionary, was reduced, in the 25th movement, to the rank of ordinary seaman on the coming Messiah-ship. Van Balen was included in the gallery of mythical heroes: Eygendaal heard that he (Van Balen) had been cast for a St. George part. It was said that, when a large snake was making havoc in a certain area, he snatched it from its hole single-handed and wrung its neck (89, 60). Another story told how an *inderri* (witch-doctor) had come to the mission garden and, turning a stick into a snake, had challenged Van Balen: "Can you match this?". Whereupon Van Balen threw a handful of salted fish into a tub of water, and the fish returned to life and began to swim (*ibid.*).

The richness of the mission-house furniture in comparison to the contents of a pile dwelling, and the multitude of curious objects such as mirrors, undoubtedly appealed to the imagination of the population. Little babies were sometimes carried in procession around, or if possible through, the house of the Missionary Woelders at Andai, "so that they could see it all and become rich too" (*cf.* p. 270).

6. *The Government.* The first manifestations of the Administration consisted in flag-showing and now and then punishing headhunting and murder (*cf.* the 21st movement), but later all this changed. The increasing activity, designated by the term "pacification", did infringe on the usual course of things in which heroes could win distinction by successful raids, and each clan group laid down its own law.

The 27th movement brought the first reaction to the presence of the Administration but as yet no opposition. On the contrary, the *konoor* believed he could involve the District Officer of Manokwari in his movement. The further measures such as the appointing of village headmen, the punishing of witch-killing, and the prohibition, for sanitary reasons, of burial of the dead in their own yards, increasingly interfered with the life of the Biak people. Taxes were imposed and labor services demanded for the first time in 1912. Of the taxes it is reported that . . . "In general the collection gives little trouble. The levying of taxes in



the past by Tidore has made the people accustomed to the idea that foreigners impose taxes" (90, 143).

It is even reported that the payment of taxes was initially regarded as a matter of prestige. "Registration never met with opposition. On the contrary, some villages which had not been registered envied those that had, and voluntarily came to report or asked the Administration to visit them. Trips of several days were undertaken to Manokwari in order to pay the taxes personally" (142a).

This attitude did not last long. The movements that arose after this date all repeated the promise of "no more taxes and obligatory labor". The inhabitants of the mountains reacted in the same negative way to these institutions. When we went to visit people living in the mountains our interpreters would shout from afar, as a friendly introduction, "we do not come for taxes or labor services".

Because the payment of taxes was postponed as long as possible, mostly until a summons came from the authorities, this small sum of money was nevertheless felt as a burden. It was very difficult for the people to obtain the necessary money at short notice. Levies in kind, however, were even more difficult to collect, since products of market value are unequally distributed over the island. In Biak it repeatedly happened that people sold ceremonial exchange goods to Chinese traders in order to obtain cash money. The Government did try to meet these difficulties, particularly to protect the population from the usurious practices of the traders, but payment of taxes remained a hateful institution.

The labor services and *kampong* duties gave much reason for complaint, even more than the taxes. Sometimes people had to paddle for days to reach the places where they had to work. Some of the causes of complaint were the lack of provisions for the voyage and the duration of the work, and the fact that the members of the family who were left behind could not be sufficiently provided for. Moreover, the duties which they had to perform in the Administrative district centers, such as picking grass, digging ditches, and building jetties for the convenience of strangers only, were regarded as absolutely pointless. To describe the songs which the paddlers sang on their way to these "public duties", by the terms "lese-majesty" or "insubordination" is almost an understatement.

The spiritless way in which the men worked under the direction of a District policeman clearly demonstrated their aversion.

The Papuans never understood that this was the only way in which the Public Administration could get the population to accomplish

something for the common interest, and that the *kampung* duties contributed to public health (drainage system, wells for drinking water). The work was considered slave labor and meaningless, since its purpose was not understood. It is not surprising that people resented these duties, although no overt resistance was offered except in the messianic movements. Although every *konoor* mentioned taxes and obligatory labor in his rallying message, these were not the main causes of the fierce antagonism exhibited towards the Government by many followers of the movement. This attitude was due rather to the interference of the authorities with each new movement on account of "disturbance of peace and order and the deliberate circulation of alarming rumors", as the phrase goes. Henceforth, every *konoor* resisted the authorities. Strong injunctions of secrecy, on pain of death, towards government officials and strangers were part of the rallying message. Overt resistance against the representatives of the Mission occurred only if they were thought, or known, to have informed the Government of an earlier movement. In 1911 Van Hasselt Jr. acted as interpreter when Mangginomi was taken prisoner. But in 1934 there was no question of a *konoor* having been denounced; the present author even pleaded for a reduction of the sentence. Yet rumor asserted the contrary, and in 1936 he appeared on the list of persons to be annihilated.

The same attitude was found among the followers of the great movement of 1938-1943, when any *guru* who had informed the authorities or had mocked the movement were taken prisoner.

Important historical events therefore, have not had much influence on the beginning of the movements. It is true, on the other hand, that the measures taken by the Government on a previous occasion, and the attitude of other authorities towards the movement, determined the form and character of the next one. The reaction of the Biak and Numfor people to the expedition up the Mamberamo river and the subsequent movement have already been discussed (see pp. 137ff.). Here, too, it is not the contact situation which was decisive but the fact that a mythical center was involved.

If the contact situation really played a part in bringing about the movements, the pacification of the Schouten Islands by Feuilletau de Bruyn in 1915 and the following years, would be expected to have led to such a movement. This was an instance, if ever, of direct interference with the course of events. How the old Biak way of life, with its acts of heroism, its taking the law into one's own hands, and its blood feuds, was brought to an end on that occasion was still remembered by the

older people in 1952. But as far as we know this interference by Feuilletau de Bruyn did not cause a single *Koreri* movement. The only result was that he was included, as *Tuan Deki* (probably *Tuan Dekin*: commander of the "Dekkings" [covering] force) with his ship the *Pionier*, in the various versions of the myth of Manarmakeri. To Biak eyes the supplies and the equipment of the soldiers must have seemed enormous. The *Koreri* would come, they said, and the treasures which the *Tuan Deki* (or the *Pionier*) continued to bring would then be for the Biak people.

7. *Attitude towards strangers.* It is pertinent here to mention the general attitude of the Biak and Numfor people towards strangers, since this throws light on the manner in which the coming of strangers is assimilated in the myths and movements.

In different parts of the world the first white people were welcomed with remarkable enthusiasm; they were taken for returned ancestors, or gods who had gone away promising to return in the future.

In Haïti, Yucatan, and Peru the Spanish were received with open arms. The Aztecs were expecting their great ruler Quetzalcoatl to return, but they were soon undeceived by the behavior of the Spanish. "Instead of the children of an incarnate god they had welcomed a horde of incarnate devils" (61, 4-7; 243, 659). The revolt of the Zapotecs in 1550 was led by a native priest posing as the reincarnated "ancient god Quetzalcoatl" (61, 40). In the Hawaiian Islands, in 1779, Captain James Cook was welcomed as the god Lono who according to a prophesy would return on a floating island (229, Vol. I, 183; Vol. II, 57). Two centuries earlier two Englishmen, Amadas and Roger Barlow, had been received in the same way by the American Indians, who believed them to be the immortal spirits of the ancestors returning to the earth (343, 208).

In the years preceding the Second World War the Japanese newspapers often ran news about the "cargo cults" in East New Guinea. The purpose of these publications became clear after the invasion of New Guinea, for on landing the Japanese pretended to be messengers sent by the ancestors. In the neighborhood of Madang this met with success (160, 207-8). At Yamna, one day, F. J. F. van Hasselt was embraced by an old woman, who believed him to be her dead son, who had appeared to her in a dream and had said he would return.

In the same part of the country, at the beginning of this century, he met an old man who told him that he had been expected there for years. Before this man's mother died, she had regained consciousness for a moment and said: "My son, I saw a white man coming to our country

bringing a good faith. If ever a white man comes to live here, remember not to reject his words, for he will be a messenger from the Lord of Heaven".

Evidently, white people were associated with the ancestors. Sometimes others played a similar part. F. J. F. van Hasselt tells how in Warpaperi (Amberbaken) a spirit effigy was made of a Chinese who had been murdered there. "The figure was even said to be provided with a pigtail" (132a, 1908). At the back of the house in Malanu (Sorong), where I lived in 1936, was the grave of a Japanese. The people had dug up his skull which they worshipped and now and then brought offerings.

Well-known are the ancestor images from the Radja Ampat Islands, whose headgear bears a remarkable resemblance to the helmets of the Portuguese (202b). A similar image which I brought with me from the Ayau Islands, is to be seen in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leyden. This image has a hat resembling those of Rembrandt's Syndics in the famous picture; it was made to hold and conciliate the spirits of European castaways.

In the glossolalia which occurred during the great movement of 1938-43 it was thought that spirits of different nationalities spoke through the mediums. In the Radja Ampat Islands the shamans (*mon*) of Biak origin used divination books, and the writers of these were called upon to pass judgement. I was shown a volume of the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas in Spanish, a pocket diary of F. J. F. van Hasselt, the ship's journal of the bark Don Pedron for the year 1871, a membership book of a Californian swimming club, and several book fragments, some in Arabic. An Austrian planter who employed many Biak migrants told me that nothing was ever stolen, but that he had to lock his book-case whenever he went away (177, 413-14).

The three American officers who landed on the Island of Meokwundi during the great movements, were believed to be Manggundi, his son, and his brother-in-law (*cf.* p. 189).

The examples show that these are not isolated cases. The Biak people, and doubtless also the other peoples mentioned, must have had some foundation for their manner of welcoming strangers. The following report by a Numfor informant, Wandow, applies to Biak and Numfor. He writes: "When our ancestors saw the white men coming, they thought at first that these were not human beings. Since the strangers were white and tall like our dead, they were thought to be spirits of the dead. They did not know where these white men came from, for their food and their medicine also differed from ours. They did not work like we do, and they

had eyes like a cat's, just like the dead in the land of the spirits. This was the reason why our ancestors dared not eat the white men's food or take their medicine, for they were afraid this would turn them into spirits too.

Our ancestors were very astonished seeing all the things the white men brought such as mirrors, matches, clothing, and musical instruments. They argued that these things were not made by men but by the dead. Some said: 'The whites do not make this thing, but they create it' [for 'create' the word *aw* was used, which means 'to call forth', K.]

It is apparent from this quotation that the Biak and Numfor people also viewed the white people against the background of their mythology. The coming of the strangers was digested and subsequently assimilated in the mythological sector of their culture. It is understandable that in similar movements in almost all parts of the world the possessions of the white men created immense interest. Everywhere these strangers arrived with large ships, heavily laden with goods. Wherever the white men went or settled, these ships and supplies followed. According to the Biak *Koreri* ideal they could indeed "*anan ro mob oser*" (have abundance in one place). The close contact with strangers did not at once bring about a disintegration of the indigenous culture of Biak. For one thing the Biak people discovered that these strangers were ordinary human beings. This came as a shock. When Missionary Woelders died the Numfor said: "If even he dies, what will happen to us?"

Though the strangers had descended from the mythical and supernatural sphere to profane life, their goods which could not be believed to have any but a mythical origin remained in the sphere of the ancestors. That the strangers were not ancestors had already become obvious, since they kept all the goods for themselves, but people continued to believe that the goods were associated with the Papuan ancestors. The ancestors had sent the goods from the West (the land of the spirits) to their descendants, but the messengers (the white men) had changed the addresses and only the strangers profited by these consignments. In the eastern part of New Guinea, where the land of the spirits is believed to lie in the Cyclopean Mountains, the explanation was: the goods come from this mountain, they travel underground to Holland, whence the cargo is shipped. But the strangers have changed the addresses so that the people of New Guinea get nothing. J. Bijkerk, the first missionary who went to live in the interior beyond Hollandia, was often visited by people who came to look at a crack, made by an earthquake, which ran

exactly under his house. It was said that all his money (for the salaries of the teachers and evangelists) came by this way from the world beneath.

In the mythological way of thinking it is not inconsistent to ascribe all progress in the world, as it becomes known, to the ancestors. For the Papuans this is the only way of explaining anything miraculous and mysterious. For the Biak people everything is focused in the figure of Manggundi. The western world owes its progress to him; according to the myth he is the one who gave clothes to the Dutch. The initial defeat of the Dutch in the Second World War was said to be due to the fact that Manggundi had left Holland because the Dutch had appropriated all the goods that were meant for his people in New Guinea. He went first to Japan and then to America. It is quite consistent with mythological reasoning that on his return Manggundi will use the most up-to-date means of conveyance.

The perspective of time in the principal myth is reflected in the successive mentions of a trading-canoe, a plank-canoe, a sailing ship with ten masts, a steam ship with ten masts and ten funnels, a motor ship, and a submarine as Manggundi's craft, while eventually his message is thrown from an airplane, or enclosed in a bottle which is washed ashore in Meokwundi.

A parallel in East New Guinea may be pointed out in this connection. F. E. Williams writes in his study on the Vailala Madness that, here too, it was asserted that messages had been thrown from airplanes. One of the leaders was said to possess such a message. This was found to be a novel called *Love and the Aeroplane* (339, 29). It will be clear that only white people would consider this a ridiculous story. The following report demonstrates how the large supplies and the "riches" of the Westerners were associated with the dead.

When the Americans after the war began to destroy their bulk supplies, the Papuans accepted this without any fuss, but when in addition the bodies of the soldiers who had been killed in action were taken away to be returned to America, this met with opposition. "... one explanation offered... was that this was a measure for returning the magic secret of western prosperity where it belongs 'lest through these bones the Melanesians should get rich'" (IRM, Vol. 38, 1949, 59).

It is evident that no violent disintegration took place to cause an acute emergency, such as happened to the American tribe of the Sioux, where it led to the messianic movement known as the Ghost Dance (243). There is no denying however that a disintegration of the

old culture can have an important influence on such movements.

Could it be that in the Geelvink Bay, too, it was psychological tensions, even if they were not the result of a rigorous acculturation, that led to the beginning or recurrence of the movements, so that after all these could be regarded as an expression of resistance to pressure from outside?

8. *The Problem of Acculturation in the Geelvink Bay.* The growing influence of the Administration could be discerned not only in the manner in which headhunting, slave hunting, witch killing, and excessive consumption of palm-wine were repressed, but also in the creation of new functions in the appointment and instruction of village headmen and their deputies (*wakil*). Initially these functionaries were placed in an awkward dilemma, they had to choose between acting as faithful servants of the Authorities or as representatives of their own villages. They had only the formal support of the population, and the Authorities proceeded too much from the assumption that such functionaries appointed by themselves, and in some cases on the recommendation of the population, would thereby possess the right to act on behalf of their fellow villagers. Theirs was not an enviable position. The situation did not change until in later years these functionaries gradually acquired the character of leaders of their own group, no longer being mere "governmental outposts". At present this shifting of emphasis is most clearly to be observed in Biak, particularly since the experiment described by De Bruyn in his article "Een proeve tot de ontwikkeling van de Biaksche *menoe*" (Attempt to develop the Biak village) (55). It would take us too far afield to give an elaborate exposition of the efforts which were made by the authorities to stimulate the population to active participation in the development program.

From the outset the Mission settled only in those places where it was explicitly invited. Moreover, to show they were in earnest the population had to build a school and a house for the teacher. After the missionary had established contact with a village on his tours, the initiative for a mission post had to come from the villagers. As soon as a teacher or evangelist came to live in the village, the "climate" would change. The teacher became the "important man" and all the others his pupils, even outside school or catechism. Although people were left entirely free, in the long run they could not avoid accepting the newly preached norms, nor did they wish to do so. This does not at all imply that they realized the consequences of this choice. Since the teacher also officiated as

minister of the growing Christian congregation, his influence increased, while at the same time causing the influence of the older people to diminish. The members of the church councils which later were appointed in these parishes, had the greatest difficulty at first to get away from the idea of "being a pupil". The coming of a *guru* meant, to all intents and purposes, the beginning of a slow disintegration of the norms which primarily rested on the authority of the ancestors and on religious conviction. Eventually, the traditional ritual and all pertaining festivities fell into disuse. For at least forty years there was a difference between the illiterate people and those who had been to school. This immediately led to a separation between the older and the younger generation. Briefly the situation was as follows.

Those persons who had initially taken the lead lost control in the course of further development. In the process of acculturation it was not they but often strangers who were the leaders. The integration of new elements in a society can only be effected if the whole people, as a community as well as individually, are involved in the selection of these elements, but after a first initiative this came to nothing. In Biak society a true process of integration, such as often occurred in the past, is led by the elders who also determine its pace. But in this situation the direction was unknown, and at the very point where it would have been of vital importance to the actual integration, control was slipping from the hands of the elders. To use a metaphor taken from Biak life, one might say that they had together pushed the canoe into the sea, but once afloat the *guru* and the missionary took the helm, and they themselves were reduced to mere paddling.

The Mission recognized this danger and as early as 1892 the training of native teachers and ministers was taken in hand. At first these remained solitary individuals in their community, and it was years before they received support from the society itself. The new doctrine had to be taught by one person in deliberate lessons, whereas the old faith was nourished by life itself and supported by public opinion. But the formal recognition of the new principle of life, the conscious change of policy, even in those persons who acted in earnest and were not led by competitive motives, did not in the least imply that the course of the unconscious current of the mythical and magic sense of life had been altered. On the contrary, in the transitional period from old to new, two different worlds were involved, not only the world of the old and the new, but also that of the conscious and the unconscious. Only within the sphere of the conscious is it possible to assert one's personality, but



precisely this possibility was lost because the leaders came from outside. Man, who should be the subject in real integration, here becomes the object of the acculturation process, and is ousted from his foremost, active position to a secondary and passive one. The trouble is that, though he has himself to blame and by continuing to stimulate this course of events formally accepts the consequences, inevitably the "spiritual" and "technical assistance" will lead to "psychological resistance" (36). This resistance is found in every case where integration cannot keep up with the changed circumstances, even in those places where the population itself sought and keeps seeking these changes. Through the difficulties that arise they end up in a vicious circle. The people want progress, but to this purpose they have to accept guidance, and it is this very guidance from outside that causes the older people to lose their essential function. The older generations are eliminated, as it were, and their own "real" world loses its value. Formally they join in the new way of life, but actually they can be themselves only in the old. In the case of a negative reaction either of two things may happen. They may lose all interest in life and fall into a mental depression, a well-known phenomenon in the literature on acculturation. The other possibility is resistance, which implies falling back on the sphere of life where they can be themselves. They know that an appeal to the unconscious mythical sense of life and traditional associations will carry the masses. This resistance may then acquire an explosive nature and make it its purpose to liquidate everything new as well as those who are responsible for it.

In this case the aim is revival of the old customs. This revivalism might be called a negative reaction to the contact with another culture, but there is little evidence for this in the Geelvink Bay, although among the older generations some tendency in this direction has always been present.

The comparatively positive reaction in this area is probably due to the fact that neither the Government, nor the Mission, have by drastic measures forced the socio-economic life into an *acute* crisis, and that the crisis which did arise is rather one of *latent* psychological frustration. This frustration finds expression in a desperate participation in over-hasty development plans and dreams, accompanied in some cases by an almost pathological sensitiveness about the native's position side by side with an indifference which paralyses all initiative. The negative radicalism exhibited towards expressions of the indigenous culture is often due to this same frustration.

Although the Biak people became Christians, many of them never completely let go of the *Koreri* ideal. Unconsciously it influenced their thoughts and therefore their valuation of the Gospel. Conversely the *Koreri* ideal was modified by the process of acculturation and the growing knowledge of the Gospel. But even before this time the complex of expectations had never been of a homogeneous nature. This was not only a result of Biak regionalism, for even individual variations were accepted as long as they did not go beyond the traditional conceptions. These influences on the *Koreri* ideal continued to make themselves felt, even into the present period of acculturation. What people with a more synthetical turn of mind regarded as a messianic message with a, to Biak conceptions, universal character, was to others a means by which they believed Biak hegemony could be effected. The real *Koreri* followers lost themselves in mythical contemplation, dreaming of the eternal, statical order. What was secondary to them (ship's cargoes and abundance), was of primary importance to others. One group lived in the past and wanted to raise the dead, the other group turned to the future and was politically engaged. One wished for a cult community of all Biak people, others more egocentric and competitive sought *Koreri* for their own village.

For one group the Gospel represented an extension of the native tradition, with names borrowed from the Holy Scriptures, others quoted the Bible to prove that what it contained was essentially the same as *Koreri*.

In addition the movements contained an element of opposition against western conceptions and evangelical ethics, and against western intellectualism and against the lack of emotional outlets. Especially the "dancing rage", as it was called, was a symptom of this, "what for years had been forbidden, now again emerged". This prohibition must not be seen as coming directly from the authorities, for on adopting Christianity the people themselves had decided to leave off dancing because of its "pagan" associations. Something like it is found in Melanesia and Polynesia. A. A. Koskinen writes about a sectarianism which, in one way or another, was always connected with a reaction to the "morals of the missionaries" (190, 103).

An extreme instance is found in a movement which occurred in 1952 in a village near Hollandia. It contained a strongly erotic strain and was organized by an Evangelist and a church elder. They claimed to bring the true faith and the real meaning of the Gospel. The adepts had to choose a spiritual wife, dissolving their profane marriage. Free sexual

intercourse was obligatory. Their interpretation of the Gospel led to the following doctrine:

1. Heavenly salvation is found in the union of man and woman.
2. The paradise, and its entrance, is the female organ.
3. The keys to Eden (paradise) are the nipples of the woman.
4. The freedom of a Christian consists in general promiscuity.
5. Abraham's bosom (*cf.* Luke 16 : 22) is the woman's womb.
6. In their union with their "spiritual" partners the true followers will beget "spiritual children" (they had to be naked for the marriage ceremony and hold each other's organs).

When the excitement had subsided and they were called to order, a general confession of guilt took place, accompanied by very emotional outbursts, such as fainting. Little is known about the social organization of this area, but in *Die Gemeinde der Banaro* ("The Society of the Banaro") R. Thurnwald mentions "spiritual unions" besides the usual marriages (317a). Could something like this have existed here and did people return to this usage as a reaction to Christian ethics?

It never came to sectarianism in Biak. Usually this is one of the ways in which native culture and emotionality seek an outlet in revolt against official Christianity (300 and 314).<sup>1</sup>

In a certain respect the Biak culture exhibits a decidedly dynamic character. In this it resembles the culture of Humboldt Bay, where in

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<sup>1</sup> Repeatedly it is found that the unilateral adventist doctrines of certain Christian sects have caused the revival of "pagan-apocalyptic" movements. The book of Mormon influenced the Ghost Dance. In their turn the Mormons, on the strength of their eschatological expectations, recognized in the Sioux the ten lost tribes of Israël (243, 792). This also appears to be common, it has been reported from Africa as well as from the Pacific. Not only were some of the missionaries of this opinion, but certain native Christian sects actually called themselves "The Israelites" (190, 101). The origin of some movements in Africa was influenced by the literature of the Jehovah's Witnesses (here called the Watch Tower Movement; 279b, 217 and 69a). The cargo cults in the eastern part of New Guinea seem to have been stimulated in no small measure by the behavior of the Seventh Day Adventists (68, 90). From several sources it appears that the Simson movement (*cf.* appendix) was also influenced by the spiritistic literature and practices with which Simson came into contact in the house of a colonist on Lake Sentani (158, 488).

1927-35 the Seu movement, as described by Jouwe, presented a most remarkable instance of an almost complete reformation of the old religion in which even the land rights were changed (174).

The development of the acculturation process in Biak leads to the conclusion that the *Koreri* movements do not owe their existence to sheer revolt against this process, but are rather strained attempts at adjustment and interpretation, on the basis of the native tradition.

## CHAPTER X

### CLOSING REMARKS ON THE MOVEMENTS AS A PROBLEM

#### 1. *The Position of the Problem* (in general)

To provide the necessary perspective for the conclusions elicited by this study let us first consider the position of the problem with respect to similar movements such as are found almost all over the world. Although the literature on this subject is very extensive — a list of the most important studies accessible to me is given in the bibliography — the outcome is disappointing. Many of these writings, which are more journalistic than scholarly in nature, mistake the spectacular aspects for the essential and fail to give proper attention to the cultural background.

Because of this superficiality it is impossible to formulate a general definition of these movements, while even a mere classification is faced with great difficulties. J. Guiart's complaint about the information on Melanesia "... Unhappily for the wide discussion they would justify, we cannot as yet lean on an exhaustive survey" (116, 81) actually applies to all areas with the exception of America. In spite of the lack of reliable data, however, some authors have not hesitated to voice certain conclusions which are, of necessity, of a very provisional character while many also suffer from the defect of subjectivity. This is illustrated by the very diversity of the terms by which identical movements are described, though this diversity does have its positive side, too, in calling attention to the complexity of the phenomenon and the great variety of aspects it exhibits.

Broadly speaking, these *terms* may be grouped into twelve categories:

1. *general native*: nativistic movements (219, 230);
2. *ritual*: cults (187, 235); nativistic cults (206a, 1-2); messianic cults (226, 424); new cults (68, 87); modern cults (206a, 8); religious movements (44, 259);
3. *economic*: cargo cults (206a); the cult of the secrets of wealth

- (206a, 13; 56a; 164a; 164b; 197a; 204a; 261a; 261b; 275a; 332a);
4. *eschatological*: messianic expectations (90, 126); Messiah movements (151, *passim*); Messiah expectations (72); adventism (178; 46, 135); messianism (70, 975); millennialism (347, 213); messianic movements (17; 145, 128; 182, 148; 36b; 69b; 114c; 221b; 235a; 235b; 235c; 316a; 335c; 350);
  5. *revivalistic*: religious revivalism (248); religious reversions (57, 148); revived paganism (158, 487);
  6. *individualistic*: prophets (300; 314); prophetism (206a, 2); prophethood (211, 262); saviors (71, 351); certain primitive steps towards prophethood (211, 262; 51a; 58c; 114b; 114c; 203a);
  7. *syncretistic*: syncretistic cults (271, 11); mongrel religions (229, 53); semi-heathen heretic religions (190, 101); the new pagan movement (206a, 9);
  8. *sectarian*: fanaticism (302, 64; 188a, 89); religious fanaticism (188, 13); fanatics (160); christian fanatics (210, 309); sects (187, 235; 78, 316; 79);
  9. *acculturative*: the problem of the "europeanization" of the primitives (222, 17); contra-acculturative movements (153, 531); 13a;
  10. *new (sometimes meaning modern)*: new superstition (31, 35-36); new cults (68, 87); new religions (61; 63); new religious movements (3, 265);
  11. *reactionary and political*: native religious outbreaks (206a, 14); outbreaks of a quasi-religious nature (206a, 14); native reaction to white rule (206a, 14); the forerunners of nationalism (116, 81; 144a; 203b);
  12. *psychopathic*: queer religious hysteria (206a, 14); fanaticism (religious fanaticism, 206a, 11-13); religious delusions (204); religious mania (206a, 11); the great dream after the war (206a, 14); the Vailala Madness (339).

It appears that the term *messianism* is most frequently used in America; *prophetism* is the current word for Africa and is also used by Roman Catholic writers for Melanesia; the term *cargo cults* is mostly used for Melanesia; and the movements in China are often described as *sects*. The most extensive and thorough descriptions are those devoted to the movements among the Indians of North and South America. In 1896 J. Mooney published his monumental work on the Ghost Dance (243). About thirty years later a whole series of studies on this and

other movements appeared in North America. This was no coincidence. Roundabout 1930 ethnologists began to realize that every culture is dynamic in character, and to stress the need for diachronic studies to illustrate this theory. At the same time the problem of acculturation was claiming more and more attention (22, 622). This led to the discovery of all sorts of movements among the different peoples studied. In many studies, however, the dominant West European-American influence continued to receive too much emphasis. Yet it is essential that the background of all cultures involved in the contact should be equally considered. More attention was given to psychological factors than to the peculiar value and significance of the indigenous cultures. Insufficient appreciation of the dynamic character of these cultures led to the assumption that contact with the West caused a kind of cultural vacuum. It was supposed that whatever developed in this "void" would be quite new and of western origin. As recently as 1936 Linton discussed the messianic movements in a chapter called "Discovery and Invention" (218, 304). It was not until 1943 that he gave an exhaustive outline and a classification of the movements into "magical" and "ritual". He also proposed a definition: "Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (219, 230). Eschatological messianism is thus excluded, although the Ghost Dance — in which this is such an important element — is given much attention in most comparative studies. As early as 1904 A. L. Kroeber, in a brief report, called attention to a Ghost Dance which was in no way connected with any reaction to outside influences or tensions between different races (195a). In 1935 Spier provided evidence that the Ghost Dance of the Sioux (Mooney's book deals with the same subject) derives from the native American Indian ideology (310). Mooney had already pointed out that the belief in a Messiah who would come to restore a former ideal state, was almost universally prevalent among the American Indians (243, 658), but according to Spier he had only superficially considered parallel cases while failing to pay sufficient attention to the cultural background.

M. J. Herskovits agrees with Spier in questioning the opinion which held that the movements that had occurred among the American Indians since 1870, were born from despair and were to be explained as a reaction to socio-political subjection. What had been judged an exclusively contra-acculturative movement, had actually arisen from deep-rooted indigenous conceptions. Herskovits, therefore, considers Spier's study "... a corrective for the too facile approach that assumes that

anything which bears resemblance to European custom must, where native folk have been in contact with individuals or groups of European affiliation, be derived from this source . . ." (152, 78).

In 1936 Lowie published an unrevised new edition of his *Primitive Religion* (224), previously published in 1924. In his description of the Ghost Dance he contrasts the psychological and historical explanations. History, to him, includes the cultural as well as the incidental. From this point of view his argument that only historical reconstruction can provide true insight into a situation is quite correct. Although in 1937 Lowie is struck by the remarkable parallelism exhibited by similar movements arising independently of one another, he is also of the opinion that these movements are new and the result of, what he calls, "a deviation from the norm" (225, 207). He emphasizes the individualistic nature of the movements.

Not until 1940 does he discuss Spier's work, at some length, stressing the non-Christian nature of the movements and the decisive importance of the indigenous culture. As Spier had already previously done, he now includes C. Nimuendajú's study about the Guarani, written in 1914 (255, 287), in the discussion. For 100 years this small tribe wandered, looking for "the country without evil", showing that the expectation of a catastrophic end of the present world was an integral part of their own philosophy (*cf.* 226, 425-6). Material of similar import about the Tukuna of South America, also derived from Nimuendajú, was published by Lowie in 1952 (256, 137). He also mentions this in his last edition of *Primitive Religion* (224, 1948) but the section about the Ghost Dance is again left unchanged. Consequently, neither the results of Spier's study, nor those of Cora Du Bois are included in his book. In 1938 Cora Du Bois, investigating an aspect of the Ghost Dance of 1870, found that all her informants considered this doctrine neither new nor unique. Each generation knew its great shamans who preached the approaching return of the dead. New movements were only accepted if the people's culture provided points of contact. The Hupa, for instance, rejected the movement because a new dance it prescribed required their hair to be let down — for them a sign of mourning (46, 31). W. W. Hill mentioned a similar instance among the Navaho (154, 525). He discovered that a psychotic fear of the dead made the Navaho renounce the Ghost Dance, resurrection being the very aim of the movement. Cora Du Bois felt justified in concluding "With no grounding in the old culture, an adventist and revivalistic doctrine was meaningless" (46, 136).



Herskovits (152, 89), in his discussion of Ph. Nash's book (248), cautions against too strongly stressing "white influence" in studies on acculturation but, notwithstanding this fact and his earlier cited appreciation of Spier's work, he again establishes a necessary relationship between these movements and culture-contact by his term "contra-acculturative movements" which he applies also to the Ghost Dance (153, 531). To end this talking at cross-purposes a compendium of the research and conclusions of the different investigators is urgently needed (*cf.* Supplement).

Bengt C. M. Sundkler (314) and Katesa Schlosser (300) have supplied the most important books on the movements in Africa. Sundkler emphasizes their individualistic and sectarian nature; in an appendix he sums up no less than 800 independent native "churches". The structure of the Zulu societies is directly reflected in these sects, for instance in the great significance attached to spiritual leadership. In the past it was the diviner with his knowledge of oracles who was the leader, now it is the prophet. Consequently, both these authors take the prophet as their starting-point. It seems to me, however, that the individualistic aspect is given too much emphasis and that too little account is taken of the fact that a prophet's appearance will be successful only if his message holds a meaning for his audience. The prophet's message must be based on the cultural background he shares with his audience, for it is most unlikely that the very personal religious convictions of a particular individual could lead to such an — almost spontaneous — reaction.

Katesa Schlosser discusses 69 movements. A number of these occurred in Islamic regions, a dozen were of native origin, and the others appeared in regions where acculturation was already in full progress. She tries to classify these movements according to their principal characteristics. The result — a catalogue accompanied by a detailed bibliography — is in itself very useful, but her conclusions are rather premature. The reason for this is indicated by the author herself when she points out that incompleteness of the material does not really allow any general conclusions to be drawn.

Her conclusion that the fundamental causes which lead to the beginning of a movement are of a political and economic, rarely of a religious, nature is questioned by H. E. Hause, who points out that in Africa every social or economic crisis always leads to a religious revival (144, 85).

Information about Indonesia is also scarce and incomplete, with the exception of G. W. J. Drewes' dissertation in which he elaborately

discusses the background against which three Javanese *guru* preached their messianic doctrines. Apart from this we only have some brief articles which are mainly devoted to the immediate causes of movements. The cultural background is not neglected but only superficially dealt with.

As early as 1925 Drewes demonstrated that "the *Ratu Adil* cult of eschatological and messianic expectations was composed of ancient indigenous elements, mixed with *Mahdi* expectations brought by Islam" (76, 7). But . . . "since the notions connected with this cult remained Javanese, it would be more appropriate to speak of a Javanese influence on the *Mahdi* expectations than of the reverse. The *Mahdi* expectation, however, found a well-prepared soil awaiting it" (*ibid.*, 9). The present author was also told by C. C. Berg that cultural-historical research had discovered that the movements in Java were more strongly based on the ancient indigenous culture than was at first thought. In a radio lecture on Javanese expectations of the future he said "Collective expectations of the future play a part in every faith but it is the complex of collective experiences — the cultural history of a community — that determines the form both of this faith and of these expectations" (27, 3). He also points out that the origin of the Jayabaya movements was made possible by a poem in which this insignificant prince was identified with Arjuna. Five centuries later this historic figure could, therefore, still be seen in mythological perspective. The prophesies about the eventual restoration of the power and glory of Mataram were the standard form which provided the basis for many variations such as are found even to this day, when the old ideal is filled with modern political aspirations. Even R. P. P. Westerling<sup>1</sup> with his *Ratu Adil* army found a place in it. "The people of Java have learned to connect the prophesies with expectations of an ideal state" (*ibid.*, 7).

Contrary to the interpretations of Drewes and Berg, J. M. van der Kroef believes that Christian influences can be distinguished in the *Ratu Adil* figure (196, 161). This would probably apply only to the conceptions of those followers who are Christians or otherwise acquainted with the Gospel in which case, however, it is not only likely but almost self-evident.

On cursory inspection, the movements among the Batak of Sumatra,

<sup>1</sup> On January 23, 1950 Raymond P. P. Westerling, captain in the former Royal Netherlands Indies Army, with a small army managed to enter and take Bandung. He failed, however, when he tried to capture Djakarta, after which his army fell apart (335b, 245ff.).

which are connected with the figure of *Si Singa Mangaradja* (the *Pormalim* and *Parhudamdani* movements; 145a; 253; 28), have a pronounced reactionary and nationalistic character. They appear to be expressions of opposition to certain situations but, here too, the ultimate cause is probably connected with the culture as a whole. One might point to the mythical aspects of the figure of *Si Singa Mangaradja* and with E. E. W. G. Schröder draw the conclusion that he was essentially a moon-mythical figure (173a, 212), or with M. Joustra that he was "the son of *Batara Guru* and nothing less than a terrestrial appearance of Shiva himself" (*ibid.*, 220). We would need more complete material, however, to tell whether this is all there is to say. The same is true of the *Samin* movement of East Java (196, 162), the *Meyapi* movement (197, 135ff.), the movement around *Batara Gowa* in Celebes (320), the *Nyulie* movement of Borneo (235, 396), the *Ratu Adil* movement of Halmahera (23, 17), the spiritual movement of Timor (196), and the movement of the prophet Malafela of Alor (121, 112-113).

From the Philippine Islands where the *Supalado* and *Olot* movements occurred among the Bontoc-Igorot (61, 3-4), there is little available information. The same is true for Madagascar where, after 1834, Christians were persecuted because of a curious tradition about twelve kings (102). Ramilison Emmanuel's book *La Bible d'Andrianampoinimerina*, however — a most remarkable book of which I only saw a summary — appears to contain some curious particulars concerning the principal of these twelve figures (70, 975).

The publications on Melanesia do not provide a clear picture either. There is a large body of material but the information is highly fragmentary, while too often the focus is on particular aspects of the movements.

Though Williams (339; 340) did include the cultural background in his investigations, he too was mainly interested in psychological factors and in the crisis situation. He made one important contribution, however, in demonstrating the drastic changes that may take place within a native religion (340, 78).

Seven more or less detailed descriptions were published after 1940 (*cf.* 161; 274; 114; 24; 286; 117; 35).

Guiart (116) writes about the aspect of political awareness, and C. S. Belshaw (24) considers the "half-way situation" conditional for the movements. Roman Catholic missionaries tend to pay particular attention to the part played by individuals (prophets) but, like other missionary writers, they also use terms such as "fanaticism" or "religious

delusions" to characterize the movements (204; 80; 81; 160). G. Pilhofer, on the other hand, is interested in the sectarian nature of the movements while in addition pointing out syncretistic and secularistic trends (271, 11).

The term "cargo cults", borrowed from Pidgin English, has become a blanket term for the movements in Melanesia (206a). Quite apart from the derogatory meaning it has acquired, the term is incorrect. There is no cult of western goods. The cargo the ships are to bring is no more than a part of the expectations, it is not the cargo but the ancestors that are worshipped.

The belief that the movements are caused by crisis-situations resulting from contacts with white people, seems to be almost universally held. R. M. Berndt, in a critical outline of the existing theories, agrees with R. Firth whom he quotes "... despite their variation in form, they have a certain functional similarity. They are essentially reactions by the native people themselves, without European prompting, to the new forces introduced through contact with the West. They express on the one hand native dissatisfaction with existing conditions. On the other hand, they are attempts to get an adjustment" (35, 48; 95, 110-111). Firth further asserts that we have here, from the cultural point of view, "an instance of incompatibility between wants and the means of satisfaction", for which reason "... the New Guinea natives have turned to fantasy. They seek their satisfaction in an imaginative projection" (35, 156; 95, 113).

Berndt, in his lucid outline of a movement in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea, criticizes H. Ian Hogbin who makes no distinction between a "cargo cult proper" and a religious movement (35, 49). Is it possible, though, to speak of a "cargo cult proper"? These areas could hardly be said already to possess an isolated and secularized economic order. Here, too, the question to be asked first is whether the starting of a movement is a psychological or a cultural matter. Psychologically it is not only plausible but inevitable that in certain cases influences from outside lead to reactions. Whether or not a reaction will occur does not in the first place depend on the nature of the contact situation. Even when help from outside is gladly welcomed, it will eventually evoke psychological resistance (36, 225ff.). But this does not explain the form in which the resistance is expressed, and that is our very problem. Only a form that is culturally determined can be meaningful and acceptable to the followers. Not only should the psychological feelings find an appropriate form, but for the people involved there is

only one way to be themselves and that is in the terms of their own culture. For this reason Firth's argumentation seems to me typically rationalistic. Even if in a crisis situation the solution is sought "in fantasy", this "fantasy" is necessarily determined by the culture in question. In native cultures, too, there is a distinction between fairy tales and myths, between fantasy and associations founded on tradition, using "points of contact for identification" (283). It has rightly been said of acculturation studies in general, and particularly of those concerned with these movements, that they are predominantly of a psychological nature, being essentially interested in the role of the individual, and seldom offer psychological or cultural explanations (22, 636). Firth himself acknowledges that these movements make use of elements taken from traditional beliefs, and Berndt rightly writes that "the cargo movement must be viewed in its cultural perspective, against the background of indigenous life" (35, 50).

## 2. *Supplement*

Since the first publication of this study in 1954 a large number of books and articles have appeared that have a more or less direct bearing on our problem. On the following pages some of these will be discussed.

Jean Guiart published his book *Un siècle et demi de contacts culturels à Tanna* ("One and a half Centuries of Cultural Contacts in Tanna") (115a) in 1956, though he wrote it two years earlier. His article "Culture Contact and the "John Frum" movement on Tanna, New Hebrides" (115b) appeared in the same year. The recent occurrence of the events described did not, however, prevent him from going into the whys and wherefores. The historical factors that lent perspective to these movements were in the first place the Mission, (which had been active in this region for almost 100 years) and the Colonial Administration (40 years). Neither one of these institutions had succeeded in providing better economic prospects. It was the Christians, in fact, who initiated the movement, though in doing so they fell back on the myth to make their message creditable.

"John Frum... is said to be the reincarnation of the former God Karapenmun, whose name was invoked in the last century by the enemies of Christianization. This gives us the link: the message of John Frum provided for decisions for acts which were already in the minds of people... The myth here gave an opportunity for the crystallization of long pent feelings..."

Finally Guiart stresses the following point: "The value of the myth for a Melanesian society in transition, is not only as a way out of the problems felt, but in the first instance as a means of apprehending the contact situation, when the White man responsible has revealed his incapacity to offer a rational solution which would have seemed of value to the people..." (115b, 116).

In 1956 G. W. Locher wrote his paper "Myth in a changing world" (221a) in which he quoted C. Lévi-Strauss who demonstrates that myth is not an archaic remnant but an "operative value", and that "the pattern described is everlasting". Following in the footsteps of De Josselin de Jong (173, 217) he says: "myth explains the present and the past as well as the future. This can be made clear through a comparison between myth and what appears to have largely replaced it in modern societies, namely, politics" (221a, 191). In this connection Locher also mentions our study of the *Koreri* movements, which showed that "such a messianistic movement might change into a nationalistic one" (221a, 183).

A striking parallel is found 8 years later in B. Dahm's thesis *Sukarnos Kampf um Indonesiens Unabhängigkeit* ("Sukarno's Struggle for Indonesian Independence") (69b) in which he shows that the *Ratu Adil* myth played an important part in making the Indonesian people join the nationalist movement. In his introduction he mentions the belief in the *Ratu Adil* and the significance of the Javanese myth in the Indonesian struggle for independence. From this study it appears that Sukarno in his speeches made repeated references to these myths. We may add here that it is not by mere chance that most of Sukarno's supporters during the critical period preceding his deposition from the presidency were to be found in Central and East Java, the ancient centers of Javanese culture and mythology, and not in the modern city of Djakarta.

Nor was it by chance that in 1963 the Indonesian compilers of the volume entitled *Penduduk Irian Barat* ("The inhabitants of West Irian" [189b]) also use the name of *Ratu Adil* to characterize the *Koreri* movements (189b, 366). They give no new points of view, however, and sum up the movements in a chapter called *Reaksi penduduk terhadap perubahan Zaman* ("The reaction of the population to the changing times").

In his thesis (191a), W. J. H. Kouwenhoven writes about the *Kasiep* movement: "The idea of returning prosperity which is supposed to be the outcome of a *Kasiep*-movement, and expected to come from the world of the ancestors, is suspected by Elmberg to be a new interpretation

inspired by the Messiah message in the Christian religion (the regaining of Paradise)" (191a, 79). Kouwenhoven's investigation of the background, however, leads him to conclude that "the *Kasiep*-movement proves to be full of features which can be traced back to traditional Nimborean culture" (*ibid.*).

In 1956, A. F. C. Wallace wrote a paper entitled "Acculturation: Revitalization Movements", which he calls "a programmatic paper outlining the concepts, assumptions, and initial findings of a comparative study of religious revitalization movements" (333a, 279). He defines these movements as "deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture" (*ibid.*). They arise, he says, subject to two conditions: 1. "High stress for individual members of the society" and 2. "disillusionment with a distorted cultural *Gestalt*" (*ibid.*). He believes that a "series of functional stages" may be distinguished: "mazeway reformulation, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization. Movements vary along several dimensions, of which choice of identification, relative degree of religious and secular emphasis, nativism, and success or failure are discussed here" (*ibid.*). According to Wallace the link between these movements and the supernatural consists in "prophetic revelatory visions, which provide a satisfying relationship to the supernatural and outline a new way of life under divine sanction. Followers achieve similar satisfaction of dependency needs in the charismatic relationship" (*ibid.*).

The strict lines indicated by Wallace provide an essentially serviceable model, as has been shown by A. J. F. Köbben. Every schematic representation, however, is necessarily a forced one in some respects. Such models have a function in ordering a conglomeration of heterogeneous components in such a way that discussion about them is possible without too much misunderstanding, but they do not always accord with the reality of experience. This is what Köbben calls an "ideal-typic" model. The reality is more colorful and not confined by any limits: different stages may coincide or vary greatly in value and duration.

Köbben rightly points out that professional historians are on the whole unwilling to believe "that historical events take place in accordance with certain self-repeating patterns but . . . there are some who believe that a certain regularity is to be detected in the course of revolutions, or secularized prophetic movements, as we may call them" (189a, 141). Köbben's own typology will be discussed on p. 255 below.

Next to claim our attention is V. Lanternari who has two publications to his name, the first of which appeared in 1956 (203a, 203b).

This is written in Italian and deals with prophetism in Melanesia. According to a review by W. A. Lessa the aim of this study is "to probe into the pagan religious traditions of the people who adhere to them and to ascertain how they have provided a basis for the rise of these cults, which are a reaction to Western civilization and the subordination it has imposed" (213, 605).

As Lanternari sees it, the return of the dead was in former times expected out of the earth and at a later stage across the sea in boats, while the prophetic element, finally, arose "only a matter of decades ago". He adds: "This is in imitation of the prophetic nature of Christ" (*ibid.*). This last remark shows that the material which Lanternari had at his disposal lacked sufficient historical depth although he does make an attempt to distinguish the "historic levels" in the beliefs concerning the return of the dead. His conclusions, however, are rather one-sided and certainly not valid for all the movements. "Not able to acquire the coveted goods and freedom through empirical means, they resort to supernatural devices" (*ibid.*).

Although in his main work *Les mouvements religieux des peuples opprimés* ("The Religious Movements of oppressed Peoples") (203b) Lanternari does say that "the prophetic cults are extremely varied and complex religious formations" (203b, 18) he refers only to forms and not to motives. Köbben rightly comments that this is an instance of a one-sided view "which regards the prophetic movements primarily as expressions of protest against colonial rule. They are, says Lanternari 'the pure and unanimous voice of the oppressed peoples, who in this way expose the defects of Western civilization'. As a *general* characterization this is not acceptable" (189a, 138).

This is not to say that such motives cannot and did not play an important part — that is sufficiently proved by the great mass of literature about this subject. But what we are concerned with is the prophetic and messianic movements, and these have a broader basis and a more profound background. Colonial rule is only one of many motives and causes.

My personal objection against statements of this sort is that such explanations essentially wrong the peoples and groups in question. It almost seems as if these groups are thought to start stirring, whether in positive or negative reaction, only after they have come into contact with white man. Herskowitz, as we saw (p. 233), speaks of "the too facile approach that assumes that anything which bears resemblance to European custom must, where native folk have been in contact with



individuals or groups of European affiliation, be derived from this source”.

We might even go one step further and say that there is a too facile tendency to suppose that the so-called primitive peoples are not capable either of discursive thought and reflection about their own cultural heritage or of adopting a critical attitude towards the great problems of life that will always exist, even with a relatively high degree of integration. The assumption appears to be that it is only through contact with Europeans that these peoples became conscious of their problems. It is incontestably true that this contact did present new problems of hitherto unknown dimensions and this in itself was a problem which they tackled with their familiar mythico-magic techniques, supplemented with elements taken from the modern world. This shows, once more, that myth has an “operative value” (*cf.* 221a, *passim*).

In 1957 Judy Inglis wrote her paper “Cargo Cults: The Problem of Explanation” (164a), and W. E. H. Stanner published his reply (312a; 164b). Miss Inglis begins by stating that “In the last few years, these cults have appeared to die away; and it is possible that the material we have is virtually all there will be” (164a, 249). But nine years later G. Oosterwal remarks that “even now, there is hardly a month that passes without, somewhere in the vastness of this island world, another prophet arising to announce the imminent return or arrival of an ancestor, a ‘redeemer’ or a ‘messianic prince’” (261a, 469). Oosterwal seems to be quoting from J. K. McCarthy’s Foreword to the book *Road belong Cargo* by Peter Lawrence (204a). I know from personal experience that the movements continue to occur. This is true both of the northern, southern and central districts of West Irian and of the interior of the Territory of New Guinea, as I have been assured by persons who work in these areas (*cf.* also p. 156).

This takes us back to the question of the available material. In addition to numerous superficial descriptions a number of more detailed studies have appeared during the last few years, allowing us to penetrate into the backgrounds. Lawrence’s book is a good example. In the first, Dutch, edition of the present book I made a plea for detailed analytical studies in order that theoreticians might be confronted with the real beliefs and facts instead of a series of spectacular remarks concerning the movements. This need has only partly been met. Writing about the external, historic, factors, Inglis says: “I shall argue that the search for a general explanation in terms of a common historical factor, or factors, leads to formulations too general to be useful” (164a, 249) and in

conclusion she remarks that "because cults have arisen in such varied conditions, a general *historical explanation* [my italics, K.] cannot be given. We are led back to the particular and the essentially unpredictable" (164a, 263). She does believe there is a "cultural disposition to react in certain situations in this way" but "this disposition can only be understood by reference to religious beliefs and unfortunately little is known of them" (164a, 261). Köbben comments: "I grant her that the cargo cults are not predictable in the strict sense of the word, but I do not agree with her statement that only particular and no general factors can be indicated for them. It does seem to be so in some instances, but this can be attributed to incomplete knowledge and to our limited powers of analysis" (189a, 114-115).

The difficulty we thus keep meeting consists in a "lack of knowledge" of the real background of what might be called the endogenous factors. Inglis does not deny the possibility of generalization of endogenous factors. She explicitly states that she is unable to give "a general *historical explanation*" and thus clearly refers to exogenous factors. It seems to me that the endogenous factors might be covered by the general definition (*cf.* pp. 2-3, 278) of factors that cause a crisis, without referring to causes, which makes it possible to include cultural crises occurring both before and after contact with the West.

Stanner repeats, in somewhat more vehement language, the complaint already uttered by Inglis. His grievance is that, although "the accounts are clothed . . . with a wealth of often brilliant detail concerning the belief-systems . . . etc. . . the studies seem to be *about* the cults rather than *of* them . . .", while "endogenous and exogenous 'forces' are mixed up together". The question is, however, "how can 'belief' explain 'form' "? (312a, 5).

I hope that, for the Biak-Numfor movements at least, this has now been made clear. Nevertheless, I am convinced, that even with the most painstaking study some facets will inevitably escape our attention. Although the material for the present study was very extensive, and the co-operation of native informants beyond all praise I have no doubt that a native investigator would succeed in tracing more factors and backgrounds. Until the very moment of committing my findings to paper I remained hesitant and not sure that my material was truly representative. A considerable amount of material, too, especially concerning the significance of the "*harta*" (goods, cargo) had to remain undiscussed. Many New Guineans who read the book and were impressed by it frankly expressed their opinion that it was about time for the

Papuans themselves to write about these things. My book was a challenge for them to come forward with their opinions and inside knowledge. Since obviously all I could hope for was to present a "selection" from the facts, it was only the wealth of information from native sources, some of them written, that gave me the courage to continue. One educated participant laid down his experiences and ideas in 140 pages of writing. It is thanks to this document that what is said about the core of the movements may be considered almost axiomatic: these views are truly "of" and not "about" the movements.

The same objections are raised by Stanner. He says "It is a fair generalization to say that the conception which now rules over the interpretation of the Melanesian cults is that of a 'response' or a 'reaction' to a set of 'external' forces or causes. The determinisms of the reaction are somewhat putative and not a little vague" (312a, 4). In this connection it may be worth noting that a curious parallel exists between Stanner's assertions and the attitude of negro authors in the United States. There is no doubt that the protest attitude (*e.g.* as represented by Richard Wright) has produced some valuable literary works, but the younger generation, James Baldwin and others, sharply oppose this with the irrefutable argument that a negro author has something more to offer than the mere fruits of an attitude of protest. Endogenous and exogenous 'forces' are mixed up together, says Stanner. The reaction is not truly internal. First he discusses the question of ritual. "The belief-systems and the forms of 'ritual' seem to be considered unalterably continuous in function; but, plainly, they are in other senses discontinuous". He shows that "the cults are obviously so complex that a strategy of study is necessary". If "broadly speaking, there is a choice in intensive study between an emphasis on exogenous, endogenous and 'mixed' determinism", this is "simply a matter of hypothesis [which] rests on a given vision of the interconnectedness of facts". He points out that with "large hypotheses and extensive methods" we run the risk of producing "the present types of explanation or interpretation, which are 'about' the cults rather than 'of' them". He accordingly pleads for the opposite: "limited hypotheses and intensive methods". His objection to Inglis is that she "considers some of our main problems as factual. I take the view that they are theoretical" (312a, 6-7). Our discussion of Stanner's paper must necessarily be limited but let us note just a few other important aspects of his study. He stresses the specific meaning of the "cargo" about which we know far too little. Before proceeding to discuss "The factitious valuation of alien wealth" he warns us that

“the nature, symbolism and meaning of cargo have been treated almost as if of only secondary or incidental importance. It is here, of course, and only here, where one can find the standard of valuation because of which cargo is exalted” (*ibid.*, 15). About the investigators he remarks “When one studies facts in order to interpret or explain them, one sees the facts through a vision which is not only a complex but is also a compound. There is a *pre*-analytic vision, an analytic vision, and a schematic vision, all being interconnected” (*ibid.*, 10). And further on he rightly observes that “when obscurities appear [in the theoretical approach] the quality of the theoretical ideas should at once be suspected. It is now simply a fact of record that anthropology has handled the phenomena of cult in a very unconvincing way” (*ibid.*, 11). He rightly considers that there must be some sort of logic in the actions of the participants in a movement. Our failure to discover this “is but another indication that the study of the Melanesian cults has barely started” (*ibid.*, 13).

Stanner's main interest was the Cargo Cults of Melanesia and consequently he was familiar with prophetic figures and the role they played. He points out that “it is scarcely justifiable to speak of the Melanesian cults or movements as ‘messianic’. There is no typological warrant and, in any case, the crude materialism of ‘cargo’ is a world away from the spiritual and ethical preoccupations of the Semites” (*ibid.*, 23). On the face of it Stanner is right, of course, but is he not here passing an opinion on something he has just said has not been discovered as yet? But it is true that we must be careful. The fact that a comparison between the *Koreri* movements of the Biak-Numfor people and messianism is to some extent warranted (though with an important reservation, as set out in the Introduction) by no means implies that all movements which have certain elements in common with the *Koreri* movements are necessarily messianic in character. Or, to be more precise, let us say that in many movements no such tendency has as yet been detected. Nevertheless the present author felt already at an early stage of the investigation that the term “messianic” should be used if only because the Papuans themselves already pointed out the similarity between Messianism and their *Koreri* expectations decades ago. In the course of our investigation it became clear that certain elements that can only be called ethical preoccupations did in fact play a part.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> If the term “messianic” had not already been used by so many writers I would be inclined to prefer the word “soteriological” which has less of a historical taint to it.

Writing in "Oceania" in connection with Judy Inglis's article, J. Pouver refers to the *Koreri* movements. He concludes that "in my opinion (and Kamma's) the common basis of the movements is the gap between the ideal (the period of the culture heroes) and the reality. This gap is common to many cultures and perhaps to mankind as a whole" (275a, 248).

We might even go a step further than this, for although it is indeed sometimes a matter of restoring a former situation there are other aspects besides this "nativistic" one. Wallace (333a, 265) takes this step in fact when he defines "Revitalization movements", as he calls them, as "deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture". If, as Pouver says, the "gap is common to many cultures and perhaps to mankind as a whole", then surely we should expect such movements to occur everywhere? In my opinion it depends on the existing religious beliefs or, if you like, on the epistemology. Pressing problems may crystallize into such beliefs, such as reincarnation. Everything that happens then serves a purpose, has a meaning, and evidently the problem ceases to exist, for only the consciousness of being faced with a problem (illness, death, famine, earthquakes, etc.) will cause people to search for a way out. That they may go to great lengths in doing so has been shown by Pouver in his thesis. The people of Mimika have constructed a coherent picture of a to them completely strange world (275b). Here, too, myth clearly has a role. Does this mean that problems are solved by creating myths? In a sense, yes. Though the formulation may be somewhat too rationalistic and the viewpoint too much that of a spectator, there is some psychological truth, after all, in A. Oldewelt's assertion (made during a public lecture in Delft) that "a myth is a mode of reassurance respecting vital problems, a hasty conclusion in which weak credibility is eclipsed by the strong need for certainty".

In 1957 Peter Worsley published his extensive *The Trumpet shall sound. A study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia* (346). A. P. Elkin, in a review of this book, says quite rightly that Worsley is an arm-chair analyst, and that the best analyses must come from trained fieldworkers. This is not his chief objection, however. After all, the descriptions provided by trained fieldworkers should supply reliable material for the theoretician to use. To judge only trained fieldworkers capable of theoretical and analytical work would be to condemn the existing material as being too subjective for anyone but an insider to use (86, 242). Elkin's main objection, however, regards Worsley's starting-point,

for "the trumpet" of the book's arresting title is political and the key is Marxian" (86, 243). The manner in which Worsley interprets his data is thus clear in advance. He does not limit himself to Melanesia but also compares the movements to "the Millenarian cults in Europe down the centuries". Of course the author is quite within his rights, but when he reads things into his material that are not there the reader gets the feeling he is being indoctrinated instead of being informed about the real situation and backgrounds. The book cannot, however, simply be dismissed with this criticism. The author has collected a large body of material, some of it of great value, and his own comments too are sometimes (in spite of his bias?) most illuminating. He suggests an interesting answer, for instance, to the question why these in his view political movements express themselves in a religious form: "The answer lies in the divisions within this type of society" — in order to inspire movement into a multitude that is thus divided into groups and at the same time to prevent mutual jealousies, 'a political leader must avoid identification with any particular section of that society'... He must therefore show that he seeks to establish his movement on the basis of a higher loyalty. By projecting his message on to the supernatural plane, he clearly demonstrates that his authority comes from a higher sphere" (346, 237). The picture is correct in that many movements do indeed take place on a higher level than that of the group in which they originate and it is also true that the participants jointly submit to a "supernatural authority", but the author makes a mistake in crediting the leaders, prophets, heralds or whatever else they may be called with a positivistic intellect and a diplomatic adroitness that fit into a rational political world but not into the societies in question.

The "higher plane" is no diplomatic trick, but a reality of faith. The prophets believe in their own vocation, are deeply convinced of their message and revelation or dream and it is only the clever politicians who make use of the faith that exists among the people — such as Stephanus in Biak, or the Japanese on their arrival in New Guinea or perhaps Sukarno with respect to the population of central and eastern Java (*cf.* also p. 140).

In connection with the much-discussed subject of syncretism, Worsley makes a sound remark. There is no question, he says, of conscious selection, considered and deliberated, but "it is Christianity as they understand it" (346, 239). According to Elkin Worsley concludes that "the Cargo or Millenarian cults are all reactions and protest movements against a governing or an oppressing group, and even if they are not

patently anti-European or anti-the ruling class, they are incipiently so . . . It is one of a class of religious movements with a political function" (86, 243-244).

And he finally observes that "one thing seems clear, that no one factor or principle has been, or is, operating. The human situation in Melanesia as elsewhere, is very complex and does not admit of any single line of interpretation — religious, economic or political" (86, 244).

Kenelm Burridge (56a) made an important contribution to our problem in 1960 with his book *Mambu: A Melanesian Millennium*, based on fieldwork among the Tangu, a hill people in northern New Guinea.

He writes about the primal myth which explains why Europeans have cargo and natives do not. One would like to ask whether this is the real *primal* myth about a millennium, all the more when the author tells us that the *cargo* myth-dream must have begun to develop when the Tangu saw Europeans for the first time (pp. 125 and 154). After having written "millennium" in the title of his book, the author leaves the word on the title-page to refer to it again only toward the end of his book (p. 274), where he makes an important remark: ". . . Cargo movements represent a growth, an attempt at syntheses, a movement of values springing out of precedent systems of values . . . They are typical millenarian movements acted out in terms of a particular cultural idiom. And the key to the changes, new forms, and syntheses envisaged lies in the myth-dream" (*ibid.*, 274). This myth-dream forms the core of the book, in which the cargo ideology is expressed and which "may be reduced to a series of themes, propositions, and problems which are to be found in myths, dreams, . . ." (*ibid.*, 148).

It seems to me that the author gets into difficulties by using the term "Cargo Cult" at all. This term is used as Cargo, and cargo, but meaning much more than the word actually indicates. "Cargo also stands for reallocation and distribution of moral and divine powers which, in relation to the competent new man — who will have possession of goods and access to cargo — would be both the product and evidence of atonement achieved, a new dispensation" (*ibid.*, 281). And more clearly still: "If all the single problems contained in the Cargo could be separated out, together with adequate solutions, the notion of Cargo would hardly arise" (*ibid.*, 226). And: "One cannot but feel that Europeans who see in Cargo cult little more than reaction to white domination are taking themselves more seriously than do Kanakas" (New Guineans, K.) (*ibid.*, 243). Burridge also claims that "The most

significant theme in the Cargo seems to be moral regeneration: the creation of a new man, the creation of new unities, the creation of a new society" (*ibid.*, 247).

The notion of the myth-dream introduced by Burrige is striking. C. A. Valentine in his review summarizes: "The myth-dream is both an explanation for present reality and an expression of aspirations for the immediate future. Charismatic leaders personify important themes of the myth-dream and the myths which grow up around such figures add to the content of the ideology. These leaders symbolize the 'new man', who will transcend the limitations and dilemmas of the present in the 'new society' of the millennium" (323a, 1115).

Clearly the author points out the dilemma of the triangle in which the Tangu are caught: Traditional culture, Administration and Missions. We meet in this publication many traits familiar to us from the Biak-Numfor people. The author expresses the hope that the Tangu will understand his explanation of the myth-dream, but I doubt whether this hope is justified. We are presented with much comment, which nevertheless makes excellent reading — but will all this make sense for the Papuans in general and the Tangu in particular?

Is this theoretical picture drawn by Burrige real enough, and would more fact "from within" not have been more convincing?

Be it as it may, Burrige's study opens new vistas on our problem; he evaluates the movements positively and points the way to close cooperation between Papuans and Europeans, the moral European as he calls them, which means that man has to meet man on an equal basis, which is in short also the real meaning of the primal myth.

By way of conclusion we give here Burrige's definition, which leaves room for the fundamental ideas of the *Koreri*. "Cargo movements, often described as millenarian, messianic, or nativistic movements, and also called Cargo cults, are serious enterprises of the *genre* of popular revolutionary activities. Mystical, combining politico-economic problems with expressions of racial tension, . . ." (56a, Preface XV). ". . ., the attempt by Kanakas to establish their integrity as men in relation to administrative officers and missionaries, forms a large part of the story of a Cargo cult" (*ibid.*, 24). "Yet one should not be too hasty in assuming that Cargo cults are wholly derived from the colonial situation. They may be a cultural inheritance. Cargo cults may be a particular kind of expression of a similar type of cult with which the peoples concerned were already well acquainted. For if Cargo cults are symptomatic of social and cultural change, unless we assume a completely static historical



situation it is not unreasonable to suggest that movements rather like Cargo movements were occurring in Melanesia before the white man came there. The suspicion, at any rate, is legitimate" (*ibid.*, 25).

In 1964 Lawrence published a thorough study entitled *Road belong Cargo. A study of the Cargo Movement in the Southern Madang District of New Guinea* (204a). This book contains the results of a prolonged investigation on the spot. The author goes as far back in history as possible, and begins his book with an instructive chapter about "The native cosmic order (traditional society, religion, values, and epistemology)". He then describes, successively, the first three Cargo Beliefs (1871-1933), the fourth (1933-1945) and the fifth (1948-1950). This is not however, all there is to be said about the spreading of the movements. In the Foreword McCarthy writes "The book is aptly named for it follows the devious road with all its false trails, hardships, and pitfalls that the prophets of Madang have travelled and, be it remarked, are still travelling, for there is hardly a month that passes without, somewhere in the vastness of New Guinea, another prophet arising among its two million souls to preach the cult of cargo" (235d, vi).

McCarthy is of the opinion that the cargo cults circle about the aim "to release the gods and spirits held in bondage by the white man so that they will send goods to the people" (*ibid.*). He continues "the ways of the white man gave no immediate light and so in their darkness the New Guinea people looked back to their own. It is a belief now so widely held that it might well be regarded as a fundamental part of their life . . ." (*ibid.*, viii). He regards the cargo cults as "one of the great barriers that impede the advancement of the people. It must go if progress is to be achieved" (*ibid.*, viii). This negative opinion is perhaps understandable when we take into account that the writer, who holds a high position with the Administration and is a former District Officer of Madang, stands on the side that has to cope with all the resulting problems. Lawrence himself says: "If the Cargo Movement is examined on its own as a phenomenon *sui generis*, it may be regarded as, in the long run, a rudimentary form of revolutionary 'nationalism' — the people's first experiment in completely renewing the world order and achieving independence from European rule" (204a, 222). The many innovations the Movement often brought, however, must not blind us to the "forces . . . that counterbalanced its radical tendencies — forces that prevented its adherents from ever breaking seriously with their past" (*ibid.*). The author then concentrates on three questions in order that, as he says, the Cargo Movement may be seen "in clearer per-

spective". These questions are: "Why did the natives of the southern Madang District want cargo? Why did they believe that they could get it largely by means of ritual?" and finally, "What is the political significance of their attempts to do so?" (*ibid.*).

The history of socio-cultural change in the area between 1870 and 1950 shows that "the total social or cultural disintegration is not a necessary condition for cargo cult" (the publications of various researchers "have all described cults among peoples whose traditional way of life has been so little disrupted that it is still bound to influence their outlook"). Even in those districts where intensive culture contact took place there proved to be no question of anything like "total social or cultural disintegration". The changes were only superficial and formal, not essential. "The epistemological system, although given new content, preserved its original form". From this point of view the Cargo Movement might even be considered conservative, rather than revolutionary. Why? "Ideas could not be too unfamiliar: to be accepted they had to have some roots in tradition" (*ibid.*, 223). The author does not wish to deny that the Cargo Movement was caused "by the pressures of European occupation", but a distinction must be made between "precipitating and enabling conditions, the one being represented by the history of contact and the other by the native culture" (*ibid.*). Lawrence here says in other words what we have already stated, namely that it was both endogenous and exogenous factors, and the interplay of these, that caused the movements to arise. The motivation should, however, be qualified as being to a certain extent dependent on the contact situation, for "these reasons were never constant". As far as the means are concerned, the ritual, this "must be seen as their attempt to control the new situation by the same sorts of techniques as they had always had good cause to assume were effective in the old, very largely because they could not conceive any alternative" (*ibid.*, 224). The remarks that follow, about values and material culture, have nothing new to offer but do confirm the necessity of repeating this over and over again: "Material culture, apart from its immediate and practical uses, was also the symbol of all important relationships and social status" (*ibid.*, 225). Social organization constitutes the *first* "network of relationship" and linked up with it there is a second, on which the epistemological system is based, namely the relationship between man, deities, ancestors, and sometimes totems. The concept behind this second network of relationship is roughly the same as with the first: *do ut des* — but whereas in the first the bond with one's fellow-men is effected through exchange

and gifts, the ties with the supernatural powers are established through ritual. These are the factors that constitute the conservative aspect of the Cargo Movement.

The natives developed "an obsession" for cargo for two reasons. The first was economic necessity, for the new goods proved to be far superior to indigenous products, and the second reason was that "it became an index of their self-respect" (*ibid.*, 232). This is why initially the attitude of the population was not anti-European, as Worsley reports of the numerous movements he describes, but, Lawrence adds, quoting Worsley, this aspect "quickly became added to most of them" (*ibid.*). This is due, however, to the attitude of the Europeans, the punishments inflicted on the "prophets" and the explanations with which the population sought to account for the perpetual failure of the Cargo Cults. As we pointed out before, they believed the reason was that the gods and spirits were held in bondage so that they could not send goods to the people. But in addition to this we keep meeting the accusation that the Europeans intercepted goods meant for the natives and changed the addresses.

It is evident that the acculturation process is actively promoted from two sides: on the one hand the Administration and the Missions, on the other the people themselves. Both sides work towards the future, economic progress, cultural, political and religious emancipation. But the first group wish to reach their goal in an evolutionist or, in socialist terms, reformist manner, whereas the adherents of the Cargo Cults aim at realizing it in a revolutionary way. The comparison with orthodox Marxism, based on and determined by an ideology, on the one hand, and Reformism or democratic socialism on the other is an obvious one. We found Worsley employing these concepts and Lawrence, too, cannot avoid them. The temptation is great to elaborate this comparison and to find the opposition between the ideological nature of Marx's doctrine and the programmatic character of Reformism paralleled in the millennial expectations of the natives: the ideal society achieved through revolution and supernatural intervention as opposed to the attitude of the Europeans with their business-like organization and "prudent acceleration" of development measures.

Although Worsley and Lawrence tend to place too much emphasis on this aspect, the political element is not the only one they are concerned with, for inevitably the analysis of the backgrounds of a native society will uncover every aspect of its culture. Writing about the future and the way in which these movements must be undermined if any real

economic and cultural progress is to be achieved, Lawrence says: "We could perhaps take comfort from Worsley's conclusion that cargo cult is destined to give way to some form of secular or orthodox politics: that it 'is typical only of a certain phase in the political and economic development [of the people of Melanesia], and that it is destined to disappear or become a minor form of political expression among backward elements'" (204a, 264-265; 346, 255). This is acceptable only as a "long-range generalization", however, for "we should . . . be extremely cautious about adopting it in any single area as a short-term prediction, which may be all that we are allowed to make" (204a, 265). He follows this up by saying that it is impossible in Melanesia, where the religious and the secular "are so inextricably interwoven in the same order of existence" to classify an important event "as . . . either one or the other, to switch from a non-rationalist to a rationalist outlook in the matter of a few years" (*ibid.*). The Cargo Movement, with its long history, will not "suddenly and automatically wither away in conformity with some theory of evolutionary determinism" (*ibid.*). To suppose so might be fatal, Lawrence contends.

Finally he looks toward the future and deliberates on the factors that should be taken into consideration when plans for development are made. According to him, there is only one logical solution for modernization. "In building up closer liaison with the people, we must acknowledge and respect cargo ideology as a carefully integrated intellectual system which, as has been shown by its persistence over eighty years, is extremely durable" (204a, 272). What we are facing is not a "farrago of superstition" but "a coherent system" and "we should seek out carefully its weakest point for the spearhead of our attack". In doing so we must not stop at the cultural surface "but push through to the underlying social values and intellectual assumptions, which must be replaced by entirely new ones" (*ibid.*, and 273). It may be wondered if this is not going too far and becoming a case of manipulation of human groups? Acculturation can be organized, if necessary, but integration — and nothing less will suffice here — can at the most be escorted. Lawrence then describes what he considers the "weakest point", that is the focus or center from which the Cargo Cults draw nourishment, and the factors that lie behind this. "The weakest point in the total system is neither the socio-political nor the belief structure. They have evolved under certain conditions and cannot be attacked successfully until the conditions themselves are altered. It has been shown in this book that the cardinal factor which determined the nature

of native socio-political and intellectual life, both before and after European occupation, was economic" (*ibid.*, 273).

And so we come back to Karl Marx' dictum that it is men's "... socio-economic being that determines their consciousness..." but there is no reason why this should not be used as a working hypothesis. This conclusion has a positive value, moreover, in that it enables us actually to do something: give priority to economic planning. And there is much to be said for that, even though it is only one of the many aspects of acculturation.

One of the Chapters in Köbben's book (189a, 94) is entitled "Prophetic Movements as an Expression of Social Protest" and this is of some importance for our subject. With a soundness of judgment deriving from an extensive knowledge of existing literature Köbben presents the problem from a "functional-comparative" point of view. His typology of the prophetic movements appears to me to be one of the most practicable I have met in the course of my reading.

We shall first reproduce Köbben's outline together with his commentary and where necessary insert a few remarks. Köbben bases himself on the assumption that it is impossible to place all prophetic movements under one heading. "We may safely assume that one of the principal functions of *all* these movements is to offer relief to those who are, or feel themselves to be, humiliated and suppressed. Everyday life is too poor and wretched, too frightening and confusing, too degrading and oppressive, to be borne without protest. A means of rising above it is sought; not, or anyway not altogether or always, through actions which we regard as rational, but through setting supernatural forces into movement. The different societies, however, do not have the same image of the better, Utopian, world to come, and consequently no identical means of attempting its realization are employed. Types of prophetic movements differing in content and form may therefore be distinguished, as shown by the following outline".

<i>Content</i>	OUTLINE	<i>Form</i>
1. eschatological-nativistic		a. syncretistic
2. eschatological-adoptive		b. ecstatic
3. against (foreign) domination		c. iconoclastic
4. against witchcraft, sorcery (sickness)		d. led by prophet and/or organized
5. separatistic		
6. escapist		

In explanation of the terms used in 1. and 2. Köbben adds: "here the meaning of 'eschatological' is not so much the end of time-in-general as the end of this-period-of-misery and the advent of another and better world. One day this will come as a miracle, suddenly. Many authors use the term messianic or messianistic here, but the notion of one person who will appear as redeemer is comparatively rare". I must add here that I feel the use of the term to be quite justified in the case of the *Koreri* movements but that a look at, for instance, the list of references in Lanternari's book (203b) shows that no less than 32 authors have, whether rightly or not, considered the word messianic or messianistic adequate to describe the movements they were writing about which fact in itself seems to me a reason to include these terms in the typology. However, I would prefer the term "soteriological". In the lines preceding his typology Köbben speaks of social protest on the part of the *humiliated* and *suppressed*. In order to cover the whole range of causes I should like to go one step further back and add the word "*threatened*", meaning those who feel themselves threatened by illness, death, war and natural calamities, and realize that their culture, however untouched by foreign influence, offers no solace. The words *humiliated* and *suppressed* seem to refer in the first place to the results of outside influences which do not really become important until the acculturation stage, although they might be stretched to cover internal tensions. On p. 149 Köbben appears for a moment to include internal factors but he finally declares that "such an endogenous origin — arising purely from a group's own cultural values — has not been proved in a single case". The quoted authors would probably not agree and for the *Koreri* movements at least this possibility must definitely be considered. Without accepting the endemic character of the oldest known movements in Biak and Numfor I believe we should fail to do justice to the facts. We know, too, that some of the later movements arose as a result of epidemics (smallpox), and earthquakes, (1864 and ff.). I should at least like to leave room for this interpretation.

If we consistently affirm the dynamic nature of every culture this means that no culture ever really reaches its end or its aim. I hesitate to deny even the so-called preliterate peoples the capacity for discursive thinking and taking an objective view of their own culture, meaning that in some respects and under certain circumstances they, too, may adopt a critical attitude towards their culture. Most fieldworkers have encountered such sceptics who did not conform to the set norms and simply refused to fulfil their traditional obligations. The chapter on

"Law and Reality" (189a, 193) in Köbben's book seems to me important not only for distinguishing the ideal and the real pattern, but also for calling attention to the rational attitude of the people concerned. I should like to extend this to include the possibility of culture criticism in this case finding not a rational but an irrational, *i.e.* religious, outlet thus achieving a "social protest" on a mythical level.

About 1. and 2. Köbben continues: "*Nativistic* movements are based on a passionate longing for life as it was before the arrival of the white man, with the expectation that this will be miraculously restored. *Adoptive* movements, on the other hand, express an ardent desire for the culture of the whites; or at least for its material aspects which, as it were, are spiritually adopted. The belief is held that on the Day of the Miracle the natives will take over the entire wealth of the white man, and often (but not always) the followers make a radical break with their own culture and adopt white institutions, or what they imagine these to be" (*ibid.*, 95).

3. "This element, the revolt against a ruling power, usually a colonial administration, is of primary significance in a number of movements but is present as a secondary element in most others".

4. [against witchcraft and sorcery]. Here "the protest is directed against what are felt to be anti-social elements within the group. With others, the protest is directed outwards, mostly towards the existing political or religious order of the foreign rulers".

5. These movements have as their principle aim "to break away from the existing mission churches to form an independent organization of their own".

6. Escapist movements aim "to withdraw spiritually from everyday reality, without trying to bring about changes in that reality".

a. *syncretistic* — "combining elements of two or more religions, usually a Christian and a pagan one but a combination of two or more non-Christian religions may also occur".

b. *ecstatic* — occurs in the early stages of nearly all movements and is important as a form element only when it has a particular function.

c. *iconoclastic* — when they are not tolerant but destroy existing cult-objects and organizations.

d. *led by a prophet or organized* — "when a movement is strongly institutionalized and organized, it has become a *church* [or sect] and, strictly speaking, does not form part of our subject. We shall also consider a number of movements, however, in the process of becoming

*churches*. Of course *some* organisation is found in nearly all prophetic movements" (*ibid.*, 96).

So much for Köbben's typology and explanatory comments. By having the main elements printed in bold and the subsidiary elements that occur in the same movement in normal type, he succeeds in making lucid use of the whole spectrum of adjectives. His reason for this is, as he explains, "that practically no pure types will be met with. In a movement showing one principal characteristic, some of the others will show up as secondary ones. Sometimes all characteristics are united in one movement, with differences in emphasis only" (*ibid.*).

This seems to me a most commendable practice in that it relieves us of the strain of having to fit a whole range of phenomena under a single heading, which almost necessarily leads to one-sidedness and fails to do justice to many-faceted reality. After the first publication of the present book a striking amount of notice was given to my contention that the *Koreri* movements sprang from mythico-religious roots but little or no interest was taken in the conclusions which to my mind, clearly pointed out their many-sided character. Some believed that I meant to classify types of movements according to 12 distinct aspects, whereas my sole purpose was to classify the terminology used in the *existing literature* on the subject according to the aspects stressed by the various adjectives used (see p. 231).

A much more serious objection was voiced by Köbben and some others. From certain sentences that do in fact invite such a construction Köbben inferred that I doubt the possibility of a comparative approach to the interpretation problem. He quite rightly remarked that the very title of my book already implies a comparison and that without resorting to comparison we should not even be able to understand one another. This is quite true and an observation to this effect is in fact to be found in the introduction, where I account for the title. As explained there, the title really constitutes a conclusion, the correctness of which must be demonstrated. Köbben's reaction shows that my meaning did not come through clearly enough. In the present translation special attention has been given to this point. All I really meant to say was that the full background must first be unearthed from the culture in question, instead of applying the comparative method using incomplete material, which was all that was offered by most of the sources available to me at the time. Many authors complain of this incompleteness, this sort of newspaper report superficiality or, sometimes, mere cataloguing of sensational features and it was my irritation at this that was expressed in the passages



referred to. I failed to see how theorists could make profitable use of incomplete material in which the spectacular was passed off as being representative.

Guiart, whom I met in Fiji in 1956, told me that he had read my book and fully agreed with the views expressed in it and the method of depth-study employed. My remarks were, in fact, meant for colleagues who were in a position to test their truth on the spot.

I hope that this time my meaning has become quite clear. Only a *single* word needed to be added in the original text (Intr. p. 4) to eliminate the source of misunderstanding: *First* a detailed analysis of particular movements is needed and after that the comparative method can, and must, be applied. The problem of the prophetic movements, or whatever they may be called, must not be allowed to founder in the mire of confusing diversity and differences in terminology. This is why I find Köbben's typology so satisfactory. It provides us with a useful tool for further study, for there is no reason to believe that the end of the available material is as yet in sight.

Finally I should like to comment on Köbben's remarks concerning the role of religion in the movements. During our investigation in Biak and the Biak-Numfor migration areas we constantly encountered mythical conceptions. Add to this Köbben's remark that "... in those cases where we possess descriptions by professional anthropologists, this connection between myth and movement is often confirmed" (189a, 111) and it is clear that it is a tempting, not to say self-evident inference to suppose that a failure to mention this connection in any particular case must be due to a lack of depth in the investigation. One might be fortified in this opinion by Stanner's remark (*cf.* p. 246) that "it is now simply a fact of record that anthropology has handled the phenomena of cult in a very unconvincing way" (312a, 11) while he also believes that the fact that we have not yet succeeded in getting a real grip on the movements "is but another indication that the study of the Melanesian cults has barely started" (*ibid.*, 13). And Worsley, too, though viewing the problem from a Marxist angle, points to the prominent part played by religion, as does Lanternari, whose views on the subject are clearly expressed in the title of his book *Les mouvements religieux des peuples opprimés* (203b).

On the surface of it, Köbben's averment that the sort of myths on which the prophetic movements are based must be lacking in regions where no cults of this kind occur seems a logical and incontrovertible assumption. In the test-case referred to by Köbben, however, namely

New Caledonia, we cannot be certain that the historical material available is sufficient to justify such a conclusion on diachronic grounds. This may be illustrated by the following case. During my researches into the myths and the occurrence of *Koreri* movements I made enquires about the subject in Wardo (south-east Biak) which is the center of many myths connected with *Koreri*. Among others I recorded here the myths of Yamnaibori (*cf.* the prologue to the main myth), Manswarbori and Bomakwam. On being asked about the movements not a single informant could remember one having occurred there. They did know of three movements in neighboring areas (*cf.* Nos. 19, 20, 21, pp. 126-127) against which the people of Wardo took armed action. They did not even take part in the great movement of 1938-1943, on the contrary, they were attacked by the *Koreri* Army and evacuated to Manokwari. It seems a fairly safe estimate to assume that the people of Wardo have not participated in any movement for the past 100 years (*cf.* movement No. 21). The reasons for their refusal to take part are found in the speech of the *Rodjau* of Wardo (see p. 127) who declared to his people that one of the four princes (of the Radja Ampat Islands) had told him that the *Manseren* (Lord) would never appear on earth. The *Rodjau* of Wardo cannot have been the only one who was told this, but he does appear to have been the only one who took it to heart. Wardo continued to keep aloof and anyone asking whether *Koreri* movements took place here will receive a negative answer. We know beyond a doubt, however, that these people did take part in such movements long ago. I believe that in the case of New Caledonia, too, this possibility must not be ruled out. This does not mean that I am so sure of my own views on the matter that I expect eventually to be proved right, for that is not important. The important thing is to get as close to reality as possible, since it is only by facts that we should let our theories be dictated. Our conclusions, formed on the basis of the available facts, must therefore always be provisional and our minds must remain open to any hypotheses that may shed light on certain aspects.

It is unfortunately impossible in these pages to discuss in extenso all the various criticisms expressed by colleagues after the publication of the Dutch edition of the present book. The most serious of these have, I believe, been dealt with in connection with Köbben's objections. Let us conclude with a few observations by J. van Baal, who took great interest in the movements during the years he spent in New Guinea. Both in an article, "Erring Acculturation" (13a) and in a separate chapter of his book *Mensen in verandering* ("People in Transformation") (13b) these

movements are discussed. Van Baal asserts that we should not speak of "acculturation movements". A process of acculturation is necessary, he admits, if the participants are to reach their ultimate goal, "their participation as free nations in worldwide contacts and human progress" but "where this process goes astray and development turns in a direction harmful to the realization of the intended aim, I shall speak of 'erring acculturation'" (13a, 108). Clearly Van Baal views the Cargo Cults and other movements against the background of the *objective* need which an outsider may recognize as the ultimate aim of all acculturation, but at the same time it becomes evident that the *subjective* need of the people concerned, apart from a few educated exceptions, is hardly conscious of this aim and is directed at other, and to *their* minds attainable, goals. Of this Van Baal himself supplies various examples. He explains the attitude of the participants with a convincing exposition of the various backgrounds. The same vision, supported by a wealth of examples, is expressed in his book. Concerning the influence of the Missions he writes, for example, "that the special emphasis they placed on the significance of religious life was re-shaped by the Papuans in a way all their own. Their own world, a world full of secret intentions, has by the coming of the Europeans been extended but not essentially changed. The cargo cults are an attempt to master the new with means derived both from Christianity and from the world-view of their traditional culture. . . . The cargo cult is, therefore, not in the first place a movement of resistance or revolt, but a reaction to the meeting with a new world" (13b, 78). Van Baal devotes a special chapter to "Prophetic movements and nationalist movements". He distinguishes three categories:

1. Escapist movements, of which the Ghost Dance religion is a "magnificent example . . ." especially in its final stage where the participants aim at obtaining visions.

2. Eschatological movements, those of the Guarani, Bete, and Dida, and also the *Koreri* movements. Van Baal considers these movements less interesting than those which come about in modern contact situations. He mentions them nevertheless "because otherwise the impression might be created that prophetic movements are primarily a result of contact with the modern western world. The desire for salvation is not necessarily linked up with contact situations. It may happen, however, that in contact situations the belief is born that salvation is now within reach if only the correct means are employed" (13b, 84).

3. Contact-situation movements. This category includes a whole range of movements which may end up on the one hand as independent churches or on the other hand as nationalist movements or organizations.

In connection with the belief of the Mimikans, who say that their ancestors went to the West and became the ancestors of the white men, Van Baal makes the following significant remark: "the white people are in a way related and . . . they have settled in New Guinea. They must be fitted into the existing system, including the mythology. This is done in an interesting way. Without lowering themselves they construct a relationship which at the same time explains the supernatural accomplishments of the white men. They are different, yet the same. The fact that the land of the dead is always situated outside the area inhabited by the tribe here offered a splendid opportunity to fit in the Europeans in a fashion that was in accordance with the impression they made" (*ibid.*, 77-78).

Van Baal states very clearly in a publication (1968) on *De verhouding tussen de levende godsdiensten* ("The relation between the living religions") that "It is significant when the Australians speak about the mythical time, the primordial time, as the dreamtime. The mythical time and world are near. No less typical for this search are the countless prophetic movements in Melanesia, Africa and America. They are not simply reactions to contact; this search has always been there" (13c, 8). About Van Baal's vision in 1953 *cf.* p. 273.

### 3. *Missionary views of the movements*

The close contacts between missionaries and natives, and their methods of working, have often been a source of confusion to outsiders. We know that during the Middle Ages, and even earlier, monasteries were centers of culture, and that in addition to the preaching of the Gospel a great deal of attention was paid to the economic development of the population. Initially, however, the purpose of these economic activities was to make the monasteries self-supporting, and the same is true of the methods employed by the missions during the nineteenth century. The true task of the Protestant Mission has been a constant subject of dispute. It was not that the economic side of life was considered unimportant, no, the question was rather whether it was part of the mission's duty to take the lead in this respect. Even at the recent Assembly of the World Council of Churches (in which a few years ago the International Missionary Council was incorporated) this point was

again touched upon. H. Berkhof sums up the problem as follows: "The point at issue was the fundamental theological question: what is the relationship between the personal Gospel of atonement and conversion, and the world-wide and also evangelical diaconal engagement with its, in our time, necessary manifestations of political demands and social programs? If these two directions — sometimes referred to as the 'vertical' and the 'horizontal' — are separated, the Gospel is narrowed down and becomes either an individualistic and introverted affair or a program for world-improvement" (34a).

This quotation seems important to me because the views and methods of the missions fluctuate between these two extremes. Radically vertical are, usually, the so-called Faith-missions as well as many groups referred to as "sectarian", including the Adventists and Pentecostal groups. This does not mean that these missions do no medical or social work at all: this is considered the task of 'auxiliary services', as it formerly was by the Reformational churches (in the 19th century).

The attitude of the missions towards the movements was mostly negative. The adjective "false" was practically always added when "prophets" were referred to and the movements were regarded as sources of disturbance in the more or less evolutionary pedagogical approach. They caused unrest and at a later stage often led to secession from the official mission churches. The latter problem occurs particularly in Africa, where the movements are usually institutionalized as "Independent Churches". Initially the missions adopted a very reserved attitude toward these churches but during the last few years the parties are moving closer together and confer for instance about common training-schools for ministers, which indicates a more positive attitude on the part of the mission.

With respect to the movements, whether messianic or cargo cults, attitudes have differed widely. J. L. van Hasselt, for example, who was a missionary from 1863 to 1908, quoted the words of J. J. van Oosterzee, who said in connection with certain ideas and movements "among the pagans there is a Christological tendency" ('Christological' here means 'soteriological', K.). Later, however, New Guinea missionaries always spoke of "false prophets" when referring to the *Koreri* movements and their heralds (*konoor*). The same negative attitude is still often exhibited by the independent native churches (churches that have come into being as the result of missionary activity). The positive attitude, however, is gradually gaining ground. Ever since H. J. Margull in 1962 wrote his book *Aufbruch zur Zukunft* ("Break-through to the future", subtitled

"Chiliasm-messianic movements in Africa and S.E. Asia" (235b)) in which he emphatically adopts a positive standpoint — and incidentally also discusses our book about the *Koreri* movements — more and more voices have been joining in this chorus. From the seeming periodicity of the movements Margull, however, concludes that they must be cyclical in nature. He makes them move in a cultic circle whereas in fact the aim of the movement is a break-through into the present time. For if a *Koreri* movement were ever to reach its third stage the socio-economic order would be totally disrupted and the exchange system obliterated. At least the problem is now receiving attention. Hans Wagner wrote *A field study of the Bongu Baged Circuit* (Madang, New Guinea) (332a) and J. Kuder his paper on *The Cargo Cult and its relation to the task of the Church* (197a). Peter Beyerhaus published a lecture "Kann es eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den christlichen Kirchen und den profetisch-messianischen Bewegungen Afrikas geben?" (Is Cooperation between the Christian Churches and the African Prophetic-Messianic Movements Possible?) (36b), and Oosterwal his article "Cargo Cults as a missionary challenge" (261a). Other important titles are listed in the bibliographies of these publications (335c, 235c, 114c).

Sundkler initially expressed the general opinion when he claimed that "The syncretistic sect becomes the bridge over which Africans are brought back to heathenism" (314, 297) diametrically opposed to which now comes Oosterwal's rather undifferentiated contention that "The cargo cults become a challenge to correct the lack of hope in the missionary churches and theology. Cargo cults challenge the missionary to return to the faith of those 19th and early 20th-century missionaries..." and "missionaries might even start to look upon some of these native beliefs as the work of the Holy Spirit" or even "cargo cults then may be seen partly as a result and a correction of the failure of the Christian Church to take seriously these early teachings on the Christian Hope and to live up to the expectations of the people" (261a, 476). Oosterwal points to "the striking parallel between the days of Caesar Augustus and our own. At the time of Jesus' birth in a number of areas outside of Palestine, prophets arose to foretell the coming of a Messiah". He then quotes E. G. White (335c): "Outside of the Jewish nation there were men who foretold the appearance of a divine instructor... Their words of prophecy had kindled hope in the hearts of thousands of the Gentile world" (261a, 476-477). White then states that among the peoples which the Jews at that time called Gentile there were men "who had a better understanding of the Scripture prophecies concerning the Messiah than

had the teachers in Israel" (*ibid.*). Although obviously arising from his Adventist beliefs, Oosterwal's parallel is indeed a striking one.

It goes without saying that there are many shades of opinion between the two extremes just mentioned, but we lack the space to discuss them all here.

Margull and Beyerhaus, after their analysis of a number of independent messianic churches and movements, come to the conclusion that they are authentic expressions of "real indigenous belief", though this is obviously only to be judged by its own standards. "They are wholly indigenous religious communities, they deal in an evidently to him convincing manner with the problems of the pagan African's life. The new forms, acquired through culture contact with European civilization and Christian missions, have been integrated to such an extent that the disparity between these and the older forms of traditional African culture is evidently no longer perceived. This, and not rigid ethnological conservatism is real indigenousness" (36b, 81).

The fact that these movements organize themselves and continue to exist even where political independence has been attained is interpreted by some as an indication that they owe their existence not only to a protest attitude but that in fact they constitute a new form of society. M. L. Martin comments: "... the African movements are not simply a matter of pre-political reaction but, in deepest essence, of a new, syncretistic, African religion" (quoted 36b, 14). One wonders, therefore, whether in all conscience "perhaps the nativistic movements are a judgment on a century of missionary activity that has failed to build up truly indigenous churches?" (36b, 15) — a question that is answered in the affirmative by various missionary research workers. An Eucumenical Consultation in Kiwe opposed to Sundkler's assertion (see above) the opinion that the Holy Spirit has given the older and official churches much to learn and think about in the existence of these movements and independent churches, many of which are of the type dealt with here. A Roman Catholic author goes even further when he says that "The native churches [and this refers also to the so-called nativistic groups] bear testimony to the fact that the Christian faith has successfully penetrated and their diversity proves the universal character of Christianity" (*ibid.*, 16).

These remarks refer in the main to the so-called Zionistic types, which might be called syncretistic in contrast to the so-called Ethiopian types which are more nativistic in character and tend to acquire nationalistic traits at a later stage of development. In a revised edition of his book

Sundkler adds a third category, the messianic types, which are related to the Zionistic but differ from these in having a strong leader whose personality is that of a divine redeemer from the social misery of the present (*ibid.*, 18). This leader combines the functions of the old tribal headman (now the bishop) and the soothsayer and medicine-man (which has now become the prophetic office). He is regarded as the new Moses "and put by the side, or even in the place, of Jesus". Many of them are reported also to preach apocalyptic political messages. In the caption on his photograph in the houses of his followers one such leader is called "Edward Lekganyane-King-Chief-Messiah". This man, however, is quite willing to co-operate with the official missionary churches and for the benefit of his Zionist Christian Church in South Africa desires to be theologically trained by one of the missionary churches. He supports the work of the South African Bible Society. The official missionary churches therefore, show a positive attitude towards him — not because he has understood the message of the Bible, but because there is a chance that during a three-year course of training he may either come to understand it or at least change his present views.

We have already seen that the so-called independent churches are divided into three categories. H. W. Turner has now amplified this typology with a subdivision of the Zionist or Aladura churches into three groups according to whether the emphasis lies on messianism, revelations, or healing (in: 144a, 13ff.). There are altogether about 6,000 of these independent churches, and, as is to be expected, none of them have been found to represent an "ideal type". There are many variations, overlapping characteristics and conglomerations of heterogeneous elements. An undifferentiated treatment of them therefore remains a purely theoretical affair.

If now we compare the movements in Africa with those of Melanesia one general conclusion may nevertheless be drawn, namely that in Melanesia the politico-economic tendency is growing stronger whereas in Africa the movements often lead to independent churches. In Melanesia this institutional tendency is hardly ever, or perhaps never, found. Even so there are certain similarities between the Melanesian movements and African movements of the messianic or soteriological type. In the world of the colored peoples the concept of messiahship sometimes grows into an obsession, especially where there are syncretistic tendencies. The title of Messiah is frequently used for instance for political leaders (Nkrumah of Ghana) and the thought takes root that Christ came only for the white people and that non-whites need a messiah of their own.



This idea is found in both Melanesia and Africa, but the solutions reached are totally different. G. Balandier reports a conversation with the leader of a Congo-Brazzaville movement who tells him: "We have Saviors who can speak for us, for they are with God. They are André Matswa and Simon Kimbangu. They have suffered for the black people. Jesus Christ only suffered for the Whites" (13c, 239). Wagner recounts how one of the leaders of a Cargo Cult said to him several times: "Jesus died only for the Whites, not for us New Guineans" and Wagner continues "From there we can understand their persistent thoughts of the necessity of human sacrifices (of New Guineans) to procure the 'cargo'" (332a, 78). Van Baal observed that "one thing is clear: the salvation they desire contains a secular element" (13b, 86). This secular, here economic, element, however, leads to strange consequences, as Wagner already mentioned. Nor was it just talk. "Such a human sacrifice was demonstrated by Lagit's killing of a human victim before the eyes of the Bishop of Sek at Abar in 1961" (*ibid.*). And elsewhere: "Wapei of Manus was also sacrificed when his prophecies of the imminent arrival of cargo ships did not come true" (*ibid.*). Wapei was conscious of his failure, for he confessed: "I have completely spoiled the 'talk of God'" *i.e.* the Gospel, as opposed to "talk belong Cargo". Wapei then goes on to say "Now, I desire that you, my two brothers, should kill me. Now I am wrong, nothing will appear". Those present did not think of the Gospel here but it occurred to them that Wapei's death "might atone for his mistakes and might yet bring the cargo", for while Wapei was still speaking they killed him in cold blood (332a, 79). Kuder, bishop of the Lutheran Mission in Lae, says with respect to this that it should not be supposed that such acts were committed by ignorant "heathens" but by the very people, who as leaders of a community, regularly preached the Gospel themselves. He reports the following instance "It is seriously proposed that at the dedication of a well-known church here one or two honored and well-known missionaries together with ninety-nine New Guineans are to be killed in a bloody sacrifice" (197a, 7). Whereupon Kuder remarks that these are the cases we know about, but what other things occur that we know nothing of?

These few examples were given to underline the seriousness of this matter. It is wrong to think that the people in question are involved in a struggle with purely theoretical difficulties for which they cannot find a solution; it is not that their childish imagination runs away with them, dangling before their eyes a hope that is without any real foundation. Our problem is that we can only view and discuss these

things as outsiders. For truly worth-while scientific work the researcher is supposed, sometimes even required, to possess some degree of congeniality, but nevertheless the result can be no more than a rational digestion of something that has quite a different aspect in the context of reality as it exists for the people involved. As Beyerhaus says, "their members are persons whose mentality, world-view, and conceptual horizon are deeply anchored in the traditional African religious culture" (36b, 81).

It appears, for instance, that in Africa the movements are directed against black magic and "spiritist powers", and this the Mission naturally considers a positive element. What is really regretted in missionary circles is that the preaching of the Gospel has not provided what the people in their distress really needed. This is due to an excessively pietistic attitude. The result was, writes Beyerhaus, that "the failure of the missionary message as expressed in the Church to meet the true religious and social needs of the Africans has caused a cleavage consciousness in the majority of missionary Christians which is absolutely deadly to the development of the true Christian faith and the Christian ethic" (36b, 81).

We often read of missionaries "converting" pagans. According to a commonly accepted view this is done by exerting a certain amount of moral pressure, by promises, or else by threatening those who will not listen with the punishments of hell. Although there may be some truth in it, this is only the seamy side. No missionary will ever be heard to say that he has "converted" people nor will he ever credit that any amount of pressure could make people present themselves for baptism. This is too naive a point of view and rests on the assumption that the majority of missionaries are mentally immature and mistake the shadow for the substance. Beyerhaus and many others with him will agree that the real problem of the Mission is the true integration of the Gospel with all its ethical consequences. Let us once more quote a few passages from Beyerhaus, as in my view they shed light on the problem of the psychology of the participants of a movement, even after they had become Christians, or at rate nominally so. He says: "... that nevertheless the true integration of the Christian faith in everyday life has not been achieved becomes clear at a later stage when the missionary Christians are involved in the real crises of life. Then they suddenly no longer find true support in their Christian faith and they return to the old religion..." (36b, 82). This, to my mind, offers an interesting insight into the psychological state of those who follow a movement, even after they have nominally become Christians.

Many people involved in missionary work now realize that, although millions have nominally accepted the Christian faith and independent churches have come into being, many of their representatives who go to international conferences are better informed about world problems than about the problems of their own people. This is another instance of the strange schizophrenia referred to by Beyerhaus. On the whole it would be true to say that during the nineteenth century the Mission's main aim was a spiritual one and that in his attitude towards the pagan the missionary was in the first place concerned with the welfare of his soul. It has become clear, however, that the religious aspect, though it may be distinguished, cannot be severed from the other aspects of life, the economic and social. What is more, although they were certainly not wealthy, the Missions brought with them, for their own comfort, many products of western culture which to the natives seemed to be of miraculous contrivance. Soon a supernatural origin was accorded to these "foreign goods", which were thus drawn into the sphere of the myths. The Mission failed to realize this in time. What seemed sober according to European standards was utterly marvellous in the eyes of the natives. The vertical approach (*cf.* Berkhof) had a significant side-effect since objects that were ordinary to Europeans were interpreted by the natives not only horizontally but also, in their own manner, vertically. Van Baal once heard an American missionary, belonging to one of the so-called Faith missions, say that the Gospel signified that this life is not important but that the life to come is all that matters. Van Baal told him that in that case he would need to shout very loudly indeed and pointed out the immense contrast between what he, as an American, brought with him (shelter, clothes, food, medicines, refrigerator, etc.) and the everyday life of the natives. "Would you have these people believe that this life has little value? You are yourself an incarnate gospel of the values that can be attached to this life" (13b, 76). This is a vivid illustration of what the natives did, and many missionaries and Europeans did not, realize at the time of their first contacts. In the eyes of the native valuables, ceremonial exchange objects, etc., have not only an economic (horizontal) but also a religious (vertical) dimension (*cf.* also p. 249).

All this is very clearly illustrated by some events that took place 100 years ago. Missionary Woelders was at that time living at the foot of the Arfak range in Anday and the natives of this place thus came into possession of goods which they received from the missionary either in payment for services or as gifts. With these goods they were able to

pay fines that were imposed on them (for headhunting or capturing of slaves) and to pay other tribes to carry out their acts of retaliation for them. In this way the presence of the missionary in Anday upset the political balance of power, although Woelders had no idea of it. It was one of the side-effects of his stay, but a very important one. The modest goods, axes, knives, beads and cheap earthenware plates, became status-symbols for the Papuans, and a means of upsetting the political balance. The people of Hatam in the interior planned to attack Anday, wipe out the village, steal the goods and get possession of the missionary, the source of the coveted treasures. In 1882 Woelders discovered that the people of Anday performed a sort of ritual with their first-born children. At the head of a procession of as many as 50 persons a five or six months old baby was carried to Woelders' house "so that she might see it". Everybody in the procession was carrying valuables which they held up high when the mother lifted the child to show it the house from different angles. "Our child will see the house and be happy" they said. It appeared that they had been performing this ceremony from the moment Woelders came to live in Anday (1868) but at first they had kept at a distance, for they were afraid of him. This is a clear instance of imitative magic. One might expect this ritual to be aimed solely at making the child rich in later life, but the rest of the story shows that there is something else which to my mind is rather important in connection with what Stanner called "the factitious valuation of alien wealth". Woelders proposed to let the child see the inside of the house as well, and this was accepted with enthusiasm. When asked, the people were unable to tell Woelders exactly what they were doing "but they did all agree that seeing the house would render the child rich and happy" (345, 1883, No. 11, p. 195). One of the headmen who explained this to Woelders pointed at his own daughter for whom the same ceremony had been performed some years earlier and said: "I was the first who came to, yes even into, your house that the child might see it, and look how big she has grown..." (*ibid.*, 195-196).

Woelders then asked whether this headman's little son, who had recently been killed by the people of Dore, had also been shown the house when he was a baby. "With tears in his eyes Komun said 'no, I am sorry enough we did not, but it is our *adat* to do this only with our first-born'" (*ibid.*, 196). Evidently a positive magical influence is attributed to certain goods. This is in accordance with a custom of the Meybrat of the Central Vogelkop, who with the object of curing a patient will place beside him the valuable cloths which play an important

part in ceremonial exchange. Unintentionally the missionaries have thus contributed to the overvaluation of "cargo". The goods in question always were commodities, the manufacture of which was a mystery to the natives, which were brought to New Guinea by ship, hence "cargo", but never addressed to the population.

To prevent any misunderstanding it must, in conclusion, be pointed out that in most cases the Mission did try right from the start to improve agricultural methods, give technical instruction, and so on. For this purpose missionary-specialists were sent to what was then New Guinea. These included a carpenter, an agriculturist and later a trader. It is definitely not true that the Mission was solely concerned with the spiritual welfare of the natives among whom its work was done. The two principles have always existed side by side but in theory the vertical principle received the greater emphasis.

#### 4. *The Manseren Movements of Biak*

J. L. van Hasselt sums up his comments as follows "There is a deep-rooted popular belief in the return of the supposed prophet, which finds strong expression every time a *konoor* comes forward" (126, No. 1, 1872, p. 3).

Moszkowski says it is easy to understand that the deep-rooted desire of all humanity for deliverance has, for the Papuans, whose life is surrounded by so many real and imagined dangers, come to be concentrated in their Messiah belief. Against R. Neuhauss, who considers it "a biblical subject cast in a Papuan mold", he maintains that it is a culture hero story that already existed before the arrival of the Mission (246, 327 and 344). On the basis of Moszkowski's data Herskovits concludes that, in periods of social turmoil, new and bizarre ideas may spring up as a reaction, but that, on the other hand, some may be quite original (152, 95).

Ten Haaft who wrote a detailed report of his research in the field mentions the myth of Manggundi's origin, the contacts with the Mission (in which terms and names from the native Biak religion were often indiscriminately used), and the use of traditional melodies for biblical stories, as factors which kept the mythical associations very much alive (120). Ten Haaft is of the opinion that the Biak people were disappointed in Christianity. They had thought that the preaching of the Gospel would be similar to their *Koreri*, their ideal of happiness, and now they felt cheated. In addition he points out the lack of economic

development and the prolonged tutelage which could not fail to provoke a reaction (119, 78-80).

According to Held the Papuans wish on the one hand to base themselves on the given reality of life which, on the other hand, they are unable to accept. "They still believe that this reality ought to be as once upon a time it was in paradise" (151, 189). "The origin of the movements does not lie in modern times. They are economically oriented revival movements, and it is no coincidence that they link up with the figure of Uri, the divine impostor" (*ibid.*, 192). "These movements appear as an expression of protest against the existing situation and also attack the cultural heritage" (*ibid.*, 192).

Hugo Pos regards the movements as a kind of Monroe Doctrine, "Papua for the Papuans" or a "pagan reveille" (275, 562).

S. Lekahema (212, 97) uses the term "Papuan Adventism" which, however, he borrowed, together with most of his material, from my publication of 1940 (*cf.* 178) without mentioning the source.

De Bruyn's views have already been discussed. In his opinion "such movements are purely psychological reactions to existing situations in which the people resort to supernatural forces from their own religion whether or not reinforced with elements derived from non-autochthonous religions" (54, 319). He views the movements "more as a self-assured cultural Papuan nationalism than as a religion" (*ibid.*, 329). Consequently he rejects H. K. J. Cowan's definition which describes the movement as syncretic adventism (*ibid.*, 313).

J. P. K. van Eechoud, on the other hand, maintains that in primitive cultures the different spheres of life (social, economic, and religious) cannot be separated as in a secularized society. He points out that, actually, the *Manseren* movement is a revolt against social changes, which confuse them, and that the Papuans strive for an ideal state in which internal conflicts have been solved (83).

A. Lommel, summarizing De Bruyn's conclusions, calls the movements "the psychological reaction of the autochthonous cultures to civilization" (222, 54).

Van Baal views the movements as products of a crisis "since their own world was losing its meaning, the one thing they retained was the notion of this, and any other world, as a mysterious world, and the key to this world is what they are looking for" (11). He also calls the movements "typical examples of a mixed pagan-Christian movement in which ancient pagan beliefs form the basis for analogous messianic expectations. There is a distinct hostility towards strangers, and political

motives mix with Christian and pagan ones. They are always heretical movements; world religions are mixed with elements of ancient paganism. They always occur among peoples who, for some reason or other, have been thwarted in their aspirations. The *cargo cults* are a desperate effort to win a better world of their own. They are fostered by strong secular desires, ill-concealed by the religious disguise they assume. They are short-circuit reactions" (12, 244-245, 247).

In conclusion let us quote the opinion of Kijne as set out in an unpublished lecture. "The *Koreri* belief (*Koreri* expectations and movements) cannot be dissociated from the religion as a whole, expressing as it does the consciousness of distress and the possibility of deliverance. From the myths and observances it is evident that this distress is thought to have been caused by the disintegration of an original unity into opposing forces. Because of this the true nature of man, of society, and of the whole world has been lost, and what remains to be seen at present is either one aspect or the opposite, like a mask imposed by one power or the other. The greatest contrast is that between transient life and permanent, but lifeless, wealth, corresponding with the contrast between the world of the living and the world of the dead.

With regard to these opposing forces, the religion is composed of three 'chapters'. 1. The search for and knowledge of the secret of these forces. 2. The binding of these forces. 3. The anticipation of an eventual unification of these forces; the one-ness, essentially, of transient life and lifeless permanence in which life loses its transience and wealth its lifelessness — signifying the unification of the world of the living and the world of the dead.

In the myths dealing with marriage, the original being is symbolically recovered when the snake-bridegroom casts off his skin. In the marriage ceremony the unification is symbolized by bringing together food (life) and valuables (wealth, permanence), and by the peaceful gathering of both parties.

The *Koreri* belief constitutes the third chapter of Biak religion. From this religion it cannot be dissociated, remaining in its essence independent of outside influences".

## CHAPTER XI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### *Summary*

Chap. 1. A high degree of uncertainty, even with regard to the most elementary requirements of life, appears to be characteristic of Biak society. This is primarily the result of the infertile soil conditions and the geographical position of the Biak Islands, which hinders communications internally and with the Geelvink Bay area which is important for the supply of food. The isolated position and the poor communications, often only along seaways endangered by gales from the west or from the south-east, facilitated the development of a strong regionalism. The subcultural centers, the dialect-groups, villages and clans predominated. Frequent emigrations, contacts with the outer world on their distant raids in earlier times and later during their voyages to Tidore and as travelling blacksmiths, introduced foreign goods into the ceremonial exchange. An increasing amount of prestige became attached to the acquisition of these valuables, which were of such vital importance to the community. Marriages and the formation of groups were determined by offensive and defensive motives, and in later years by economic factors. Social classes could not maintain themselves due to the absence of class endogamy and the adoption of slaves on the one hand, and to the emphasis laid on personally gained prestige (achieved status versus ascribed status) on the other.

A strong feeling of dependence caused by the adverse natural environment was compensated for by the knowledge of magic spells, ancestor-worship and a total ritual connected with their Supreme Being (The Sky (Firmament) or the Sun). There is a great difference for the Biak people between the "real" and the "ideal" world.

The founders of clans and recent ancestors take the place of the mythical demons and demi gods because there is a tendency to attribute the recovery of the secret of life and death to the ancestors. They even allow them to replace the Supreme Being (*Manseren Nanggi*) in the



myths as a sign of their reduced dependence resulting from their knowledge of the secret, which is a condition of real power.

Only in the ritual connected with the offering to the Sky (*Fan Nanggi*) does the Biak tribe acquire a unity which transcends the subcultural borders. The unity of the Biak people is therefore determined by religion and not by politics and bears the character of a ritual community. The Utopian ideal, however, aims at the restoration of the original community and the suppression of rivalry.

Chap. 2. In the principal myth of Manarmakeri a traditional or a real ancestor appears in whom many mythical heroes are embodied. That which appears scattered everywhere in the whole mythology of Biak is concentrated in him. He appears in the disguise of an Old Man. He is a hero with a genealogy who recaptured the secret of the land of the dead and was thereby enabled to revive the mythical *primaeval* time. He finds out that the true nature of things is hidden but by recovering the secret he succeeds in discovering it. This put him in possession of the "treasures and the food", the principal elements of the ceremonial exchange and of the functioning of the community. By this reconquest he could have put an end to roaming, dissension, insecurity and death, but neither in the disguise of the Old Man nor in that of a youth rejuvenated by the baptism by fire is he recognized as the Lord of the Utopia (Manseren Koreri). Therefore he departed westward, after having promised, however, that one day he would return.

Chap. 3. The myths in which a return is told date back to the first contacts with the Numfor and Biak people. The time perspective can be clearly observed and shows in which way these myths were enlarged with new elements.

Chap. 4. The various versions of the principal myth owe their origin to subcultural factors, because the integration of a new element can be recognized by the degree to which each subcultural group has introduced the new element in its own version. Four principal centers for the myths were found in each of which the events of the principal myth are said to have taken place. It also appeared that relationship to or even local connection with the principal figure were motive for having a particular version of the principal myth and for taking the initiative in starting a movement.

Chap. 5. All the elements which form the principal **myth** are frequently found in the Biak-Numfor mythology, to wit:

1. The disguised figure, accepted or rejected.
2. The contact with the ancestors and the "land of the dead".
3. The important function of the coconut palm.
4. The voyages from the West to the East and the grouping into generations.
5. The function of the moon, the sun and the Morning Star.
6. Various animals which appear in the myths.
7. The acts of creation by the principal figures.
8. The function of the clan sanctuary as a center of **mythical power** and its moveability.

The identification of the mythical and the geographical West created the possibility to transport the West and everything connected with it into the mythical sphere and to subject it to a mythical interpretation.

Chap. 6. In the nights preceding the expected return of their Messiah instructions were given on how contact with the dead and the return of the *Koreri* could be brought about. This was to be achieved by reaching an organized climax by the performance of appropriate songs and dances and by the use of imitative magic. Mass-psychosis, artificially achieved visions, possession and glossolaly are attendant phenomena.

Chap. 7. In the historical survey of the movements dating back to 1855 45 movements are described. Even though the data for some of the movements are extremely scanty, their character could be made out by analogy with other movements.

Except for the one of 1855, in which resistance to the payment of tribute to Tidore (which dominated the northwestern part of New Guinea) is apparent, there is no reaction to foreigners in the earliest movements. It is apparent from the further course of events that not only in the myths but also in the proclamations of the forerunners of the movements foreigners and their goods were interpreted in a mythical way. The discovery of the West and contact with Europeans, who at first were regarded as ancestors returned to life, led to the introduction of various foreigners in the myths. Gradually, however, a demythologization took place and the increasing acculturation gave rise to mental resistance, the results of which are becoming increasingly apparent

in the myths and the movements. In the movements the various mythical centers of power make themselves felt. Kinship, sometimes even via the matrilineal line, with the Old Man, appears to be very important to the function of a *konoor* (the herald of the returning Messiah).

There are various areas, even some peopled by Biak emigrants, which keep aloof from them, though the movements transcend the cultural and linguistic frontiers. The determining factor here appears to be that the background and actual content of the culture adopted by the emigrants were not compatible with the nature of the movement.

Chap. 8. The big movement of 1938-1943 shows a movement in all its aspects. Data received from informants who participated in it made it possible to explain how intensely a movement is experienced, how heterogeneous the expectations and motives are, and even that this difference is realized by the participants themselves.

At first a centralization took place, principally influenced by political motives; later on Biak regionalism asserted itself.

Assimilation and the use of Christian elements gave the movement an appearance of syncretism. The use of modern western economic products and means of communication, along with a craving for European goods, laid a stress on the economic aspect in the myths. The frustrated feelings now came with full force to the surface. Resistance to suppression and tutelage in every form ventilated itself now in vehement criticism against foreigners (*amberi*) still in reach and they were treated accordingly. Revolt against the Japanese forces led to the dramatic end.

Chap. 9 In a survey of the historical factors which could have influenced the movements it is evident that in the first place the crisis arose from objective data: the geographic environment, sickness and death, but along with them the socio-economic factors of food and ceremonial exchange. At first contact with foreigners did not affect the movements. Even though submission to Tidore meant serious interference, the supposition is justified that the insecure situation brought about by the abovementioned causes, aggravated by acute rivalry and the lack of internal security among the Biak people, contributed more to the origin of crises than the influence of far-away Tidore.

Then the acculturation process gradually starts. A positive appreciation of the achievements of western technology is accompanied by an opposition to tutelage. Even though neither the Protestant Mission (est. 1855) nor the Government (est. 1898) gave rise to an acute crisis in the

Biak community by resorting to drastic measures, artificial efforts to introduce foreign elements (even if desired) naturally aroused resistance.

To live truly means in the first place to be able to be one's self.

### Conclusion

1. The *Koreri* movements in the Biak-Numfor group of the Geelvink Bay culture area are in general reactions to the negative aspects of life wherein the "manifest rupture between ideal and actual reality" (151, 189) expresses itself.

2. The high degree of insecurity, due to the geographical character and the position of the islands, has often been the cause of many crises. The Biak people have no explanation for the phenomenon of death through which they can reconcile themselves with the unavoidable. The crises of their existence (the inevitability of sorrow and death) which make them painfully aware of their dependence constantly remind them of the relativity of their knowledge and ability and even of their whole culture.

3. Resistance to these crises is founded in the conviction of the possibility of breaking through the actual to the mythical reality and thus bringing the *Koreri* (Utopia) to this world.

4. The coming of the *Koreri* is closely connected with the figure of Manseren Manggundi who embodied in his person the possibility of its attainment. This ancestor figure, who as a human being recovered the lost secret, combined in himself all the characteristics of the mythical heroes of the past. Because of the absolute bond between Manggundi and *Koreri* he may be considered as a mediator. The *Koreri* movements are consequently messianic movements. The movements have a totalitarian character because they are founded on the mythology calling for the complete reversal of the actual reality in which all aspects of culture are involved.

5. The movements, being founded on the conviction of the possible bridging of the gap between the actual and the ideal reality, direct themselves against any situation in which the dependence of the human being and this gap are demonstrated.

At first the movements were directed against sickness and death, as is apparent from a historical survey, and further against everything which entered their range of vision and accentuated the negative and dependent character of mankind.

6. The movements have a genuine Biak character. There was no need

for the movement to adopt a single foreign element to give them the form which they have displayed in the hundred and ten years during which they have been observed.

They fit exactly into the mythological sphere and only render in a modified form that which is described in exuberant detail in the myths as a method of recovering the mythical *primaeval* time. The comparison of the two shows that in these movements the people have placed certain restrictions on themselves, probably arising from a conception of the fundamental opposition between mythical *primaeval* time and the real world in which they themselves still live. It is also particularly due, however, to the danger one knows to be connected with an arbitrary removal of boundaries, as the return of *Koreri* cannot be allowed to lose the character of mercy.

7. The so-called syncretic character of the movements is only of secondary importance. The character of the movements is not determined by the elements derived from Christianity, but rather the reverse is true; the form of these borrowed elements led to their adoption as they offered "points of contact for identification" (283, 296) in the mythical sphere.

8. The reason why the new cultural elements were subjected to a mythical interpretation, a fact which is generally ascribed to credulity, unlimited phantasy or imaginary projection and satisfaction, is really not only psychologically but foremost culturally determined.

This is perfectly in line with the character of myth as already indicated by De Josselin de Jong: "Myth supports and stabilizes the view of life and must account for everything which this life may offer, hence also for recent happenings and modern conditions. Archaic myth really appears to possess the ability to absorb and assimilate all of this" (173, 217).

As the historical survey shows, the Biak myths were expanded in this sense around the principal figure and the *Koreri* expectations. The selective character of the adoption of foreign goods and ideas is determined by what, according to the standards of the community, is considered of vital importance.

9. Consequently it is a misconception to ascribe what has been called "new and bizarre ideas" (152, 95) or has been considered as a tragic derailment or as "short circuit reactions" (12, 247) to "primitive mentality". This is much more due to what has been called by Van Baal in another connection "mentalité religieuse" (6, 27), and consequently is in the first instance culturally and not psychologically determined.

10. The position of the forerunner (*konoor*) was often a natural

extension of the function of the medicine-man or shaman (*mon*) who in his struggle against sickness and death was the obvious choice for it. Yet the function of "*mon*" was not a condition for the *konoor* function. Nor was the latter connected with a particular social status or a definite age-group. Because the receiving of visions was associated with it, persons with an unstable psychological equilibrium were particularly predisposed for this function. The *konoors* were expected, however, in the first place to emerge from the groups which were related to Mangundi, and which in the course of the years had become scattered over the whole of Biak and their emigrant areas. They were certainly not Prophet figures who introduced innovations which deviated from the cultural norms. Some of them were taken up in spite of themselves in a movement unchained by the traditional associations awakened by their own visions. However, no *konoor* was believed straightaway. Expeditions came from everywhere to determine the truth of his message.

11. The reaction and antithetic attitude towards foreigners was not an original feature of the movements. That later on this reaction arose was caused by the fact that the initial adoption of the white strangers (Woelders, Bink, Van Balen, Feuilletau de Bruyn) into their mythical sphere (through which they were taken up into the gallery of mythical heroes) due to their own attitude made room for degradation into the profane sphere.

The positive reaction, therefore, changed into a negative one because of the way in which the Protestant Mission and the Government reacted to the movements. The reaction experienced during one movement determined the negative character of the next one.

12. Together with the negative reaction against foreigners and their increasing influence during the acculturation period came a reaction to the morals of Christianity as professed by them, western intellectualism and political domination, because all of this became part of those powers which accentuated their feeling of dependence.

13. Nationalistic aspirations commenced to become a part of the movements when more educated people started to use the *Koreri* expectations for the purpose of finding acceptance, via a mythical interpretation, for their rational ideas.

In principle the *Koreri* ideal does not allow this association, but in practice opposition to the foreigners had already found a place on the list of expectations connected with *Koreri*.

14. The increasing extent of the movements was only indirectly influenced by the growing acculturation. The former passivity required

during the nights of advent changed into an active attitude when it was realised that they could hasten the return of *Koreri* by conquering resistance.

15. The psychological effect of emotional satisfaction which for the Biak people lies in the mass-meetings, the night-dancing, etc., which actually belongs to the secondary factors, acquired primary importance for many and came to dominate the official ritual effect which had been intended.

16. The messianic movements in Biak have an extremely heterogeneous and complex character. It is impossible to speak of an integrated, clear-cut behaviour pattern. A fixed nucleus does exist which is of primary importance, but towards the periphery secondary intentions and aspirations are to be found. These are sometimes of a secular character, sometimes precisely defined but more often of a vague and emotional nature. The following traits were regarded by some groups as of primary and by the other of secondary importance.

- a. The real *Koreri*-belief, with stress on the return of the dead, apocalyptic phenomena, the rejuvenation of the earth and mankind and a new community of a universal character.
- b. Strong regionalism and chauvinism of an exclusive character.
- c. Revivalism, with stress on the restoration and the revival of the old culture, along with a negative attitude with regard to all foreigners and everything foreign.
- d. Assimilation of all foreign elements, having the character of forced reintegration during which the strangers so far as they do not hamper the aspirations of the domestic population, are fully absorbed. The souls of the foreigners reveal themselves through the Biak media during extasy and glossolaly.
- e. Strong economically determined expectations for the future in which stress is laid on what will change in the economic aspect. In this sector belong the so-called "Cargo Cult traits". This can be attended by an extremely radical and negative attitude with regard to their own cultural possessions.
- f. Adoption of western forms of organisation on rational grounds as well as based on imitative magic.
- g. Extreme rejection of the products of modern culture, of the eating of pigs, *labu* and certain kinds of fish, in the conviction that one should avoid everything which once caused Manggundi to depart.
- h. The turning against foreigners (called *amberi*, i.e. Indonesians) and

teachers, but really containing an opposition to all foreigners.

- i. The drawing into their own mythical sphere of the contents of the Bible along with efforts to prove that the Bible is not in conflict with the *Koreri* ideal.

17. All these elements appeared simultaneously and are therefore not to be considered as evolutionary stages in which the following stage excludes the preceding, but as a continuous extension according to the consequences of the mythical orientation of their culture.

The messianic movements are to be considered as a positive expression of their own culture and contribute to the intensification of their selfconsciousness in times of stress and acculturation.

That is why violent suppression always has an adverse result. The movements can only be prevented on the one hand by a new ideological basis and on the other hand by a more rational understanding, by which the real limits of mankind's knowledge and ability can be known. This understanding must grow; it cannot be superimposed. Propaganda and plans for renovation will have to take account of the existing cultural background and not be too drastic; otherwise they run the risk of being purely Utopian. The tempo of the development and adjustment must not be superimposed by pressure from the outside but must be set by the degree to which the Biak people themselves can maintain the process.



## APPENDIX

### *Similar Movements in other parts of West New Guinea (West Irian)*

The notion of an ideal state, as expressed in the *Koreri* movements of Biak and Numfor, fits in with the structure of the other New Guinea cultures. The mythology of the northern coastal regions is often remarkably similar to that of Biak. In this area, and elsewhere, *Koreri*-like movements have been known to occur, but in most cases the available information is decidedly inadequate for a satisfactory understanding. A detailed discussion of these movements is beyond the scope of the present study. Our sole aim here is to draw attention to these movements and to enumerate the sources in order to facilitate further investigation.

1. 1925 — *The Movement of the White Man in Nimboran*. In the village of Genyem the people expected a long period of complete darkness which was to be followed by the coming of the "white man". On his arrival the earth would split open and the Nimboran plain would be flooded. For this reason the villagers asked for kerosene, stocked food, and built huts on hill-tops. They expected treasures (valuables) to come up out of the underworld. It was here, too, that the missionaries were thought to receive their money through a crack in the earth which had appeared after an earthquake and which, strangely enough, passed precisely underneath Missionary J. Bijkerk's house. Treasures, underworld, land of spirits, eternal life, and snakes all belong together here. Valuables have a particular significance since they are believed to have healing properties when placed around sick people. (58a and oral information Bijkerk).

2. 1928 — *The Pamai Movements around Lake Sentani*. Pamai, a man from Ormu, made his appearance at a moment of crisis for the indigenous culture. In 1925 the authorities ordered the "spirit-houses" on Lake Sentani to be burned down, and in this same period taxes and labor services were introduced. Pamai had visions in which he received messages. He persuaded the people of Lake Sentani to "make a clean

sweep" and to ask for schools. When the inhabitants of Gresi, on the other side of the lake, refused to perform labor services the authorities took action. The Mission had already raised objections to Pamai's activities because he was "paid" for them. He himself and his followers felt he was only accepting presents as a reward for his trouble. Pamai's movement was clearly an effort to force a reintegration on a combined mythological and biblical basis (160, 213; 80, 27; 184, 137; 58b; 58c; 137; 120b, 29-30).

The present author met Pamai himself, by then a very old man, several times in 1961-62. He proved to be a mentally rather unstable person, with very deep-set eyes, who always spoke with great earnestness. Even at that time he exerted a considerable influence on the people around him, most of them relatives of his who all appeared to take him seriously.

From his own lips I heard the story of the 1928 movement in which visions with a syncretistic content played a part. Even now he still claimed to be invulnerable and showed me the scars of a bullet that had passed right through him. Probably as a result of my interest in his story the past came alive to such a degree that again he started to have visions with a decided syncretistic tendency, in which I myself played a very positive role: when I arrived in Ormu the millennium would become a fact. I would see to it that young men were trained in Holland to take care of all the goods that were to be brought by ships. For himself he wanted to have a house built with two storeys, the top one serving for visions and meditation. New myths were being created before my very eyes. During my visit to his village, Ormu, I managed to put many things right but even so it was evident that Pamai had called forth certain expectations. For himself and his clan he claimed leadership over the northern Cyclopean range and ownership of its mineral riches a search for which was being conducted at the time. Ormu is not far distant from Tanahmerah, whence movements were reported in 1940-1943 (*cf.* p. 286).

3. 1928 — *The Daran Movement in Western New Guinea*. This was started by an inhabitant of Degen at the far end of the Patipi bay. By bathing in a "sacred" pool he established contact with the "spirits". When he did not die on being bitten by two white snakes, he considered himself invulnerable. His doctrine was based on mythical images connected with the spirit country and contained apocalyptic elements comprising the total reversal of the existing situation. Later he mixed

Islamic and Christian elements into his messages, and he resisted the appointment of a *Radja* in this region (307, supplemented with oral information).

3a. 1934-35; 1955-56 — *The Manggarega Movements* (Arguni Bay, N.W. Irian (New Guinea)) (221b).

In a thesis on this area J. Th. van Logchem reports that these movements occurred over a period of some decades. In 1937 they were defined as follows: "A kind of Messianic belief, promising that the world would change completely; a new Papuan ruler would arise, and the Papuans would live in abundance. They would then no longer be obliged to pay taxes or to work for the Government. This movement could of course not be tolerated" (221b, 196). A report on the movements in 1937 indicates that this kind of movement must in the past have occurred frequently. "...rumours about movements of this kind are constantly appearing in the area of the Arguni Bay" (*ibid.*).

The core of these Utopian expectations the inhabitants find in a myth which is generally believed in the central area (Tonggara village). In this myth the ancestors of the Arguni people left in primeval times and spread all over the world. These ancestors in fact, according to the myth, became the founders of the different tribes and races of the world. But everyone who left promised to come back bringing wealth and Cargo, or at least they promised to send these valuables (221b, 198).

These movements are named *Manggarega* (shamanism), as nearly always the shamans took part as leaders and instigators. The last movement reported took place in 1955-56, but this was not a mass-movement as in former days.

The reporter states that these *Manggarega* movements were not connected with similar movements occurring in other parts of the vast island (221b, 195-202).

4. 1935 — *The Damo Movement in Gresi* (beyond Lake Sentani) resembles the Nimboran movement and the later Kasiep disturbances. Contact with the land of spirits, recapture of the "treasures" and of the secret suppressed by the Dutch were of primary importance here. Damo displayed "letters" from the land of spirits: tax receipts and a catalogue belonging to G. Schneider, the missionary of Genyem. Although his house was burned down by the authorities Damo kept his following. Only when he got a serious wound on his leg which proved him "vulnerable", did the movement peter out. People here thought that the cleaning

of graves, recommended by Schneider as a gesture of piety, would bring about the resurrection of the dead (302, 64).

5. 1940-1943 — *The Simson Movement in Tanahmerah* (East New Guinea). Simson based his doctrine, which was called *agama kubur* (religion of the graves), on the existing mythology supplemented with stories told by a colonist who was a spiritualist according to some people, and an Adventist according to others. Simson wanted to right the wrong that the Whites (their resurrected ancestors) were doing to his people by keeping for themselves all the goods they obtained from the Cyclopean mountains by an underground sea-route. His doctrine explained that the Gospel had been mutilated and that for their greed the Dutch had been punished with the German occupation. In an excellent description of the movement, T. Hogerwaard established that participation in the movement was independent of existing social groupings. In 1944 Simson was beheaded by the Japanese. Bijkerk writes that the people of the coastal regions expected that the "white man" who had gone West would be carried back by a large fish and bring them abundance. This movement shows marked *Koreri* traits (158; 312; 237; 58a).

6. c. 1930 — *The Movement in Martawar* (west of Sarmi). The leader who called himself "ruler of the spirits" and "ruler of the living" induced his followers to build a large shed to store the "treasures" that would arrive by boat. His followers were captured but he managed to escape (335a, P., 1931, 2; for mythological background see 156).

7. 1947 — *Sarmi*. "Speaking in many tongues". Curious phenomena, resembling certain aspects of the Simson movement, appeared here. Contact with the dead via the graves and ecstasy, brought about by drinking a home-made medicine that was said to contain scrapings of human bones, led to a form of possessedness accompanied by glossolalia. Influences from Tanahmerah, Simson's district, and Wewak (Austr. New Guinea) also played a part here (237).

8. 1948 — *The Manseren Movement in Wasirew* (Manokwari district). Two women were the leaders of what the report called a "*manseren*" movement. The apocalyptic phenomena expected here had a practical purpose: the mountains would be flattened to allow cars from Manokwari to come to Wasirew (Diary of the D.O. of Manokwari, August 5, 1948, typescript, Government Office Hollandia).

9. 1950 — *The Agama Syariwari in Kwatisori (Wandamen)*. The leader claimed to have been in contact with the land of spirits, of which he could draw a map. He prophesied apocalyptic events and his doctrine was partly mythical, partly biblical (4a).

10. 1948-1952 — *The Kasiep Movements in Nimboran*. During the period of his stay in Nimboran, from 1948 to 1952, J. P. Kabel, who made a special study of *Kasiep* movements (175), noted four of these movements. In his opinion *Kasiep* is the spirit who reveals himself in trance symptoms (*ibid.*, 114). Van Baal, on the other hand, believes that the trance symptoms themselves are called *Kasiep*. The mythological background is, however, unmistakable. This is evident from the ancient expectations concerning the return of "the white man" and "the spirit whose name is not known", already noted in nos. 1 and 4 of this appendix. There is probably also a connection with *Bapa Yang tiada dikenal* ("the father who is not known") who brought about the great flood (text). In the later movements modern elements were added. In the same way as in the *Koreri* movements, reactionary traits appear in them, sometimes with a political tinge (88; 9; 105; 191).

11. 1952 — *The Spiritual Movement in Ormu* (see p. 228). This movement had very few followers and opposed Christian marriage ethics. The leaders based their doctrine not only on the "old ways" but also on a rationalization consisting of a new explanation of biblical terms, which they claimed had been misinterpreted (information from Kabel).

12. 1952 and 1954 — *The Situgumina expectations on the Wissel Lakes*. The myth of Situgumina who fled to the West with a stolen cowrie shell, performed miracles (she "created" lake Paniai), and eventually went to "Surabaya" where she made all the people rich, contains elements that might form a basis for *Koreri*-like expectations of the future. During the war De Bruyn made use of this myth to get food for his men (54, 330). In 1952 a mentally disturbed teacher from the Wissel Lakes claimed to be the returned Situgumina. In 1954 some newspapers reported that a "clan" consisting of several hundreds of people resisted every sort of outside interference. "This resistance is attributable to a kind of oriental superstition which prescribes that foreign influence should be averted in expectation of a 'Savior'" (*Nieuwe Leidse Courant*, October 12, 1954). "They believe in a Messiah-

like figure who will deliver them of all their troubles" (*Nieuwe Haagse Courant*, October 8, 1954). This news may be the confirmation of the fears voiced by De Bruyn in 1949 (54, 330). For further development see the "wege" movement in Paniai and east Tigi in 1960 (114b).

13. *1946 and 1953 — A Cargo Cult among the Muyu of Southern New Guinea.* All participants, except the leader, were Roman Catholics. The village headman of Kelapa Lima who organized the movement, had worked for years in the Australian part of New Guinea where such movements with a marked economic aspect are of frequent occurrence. It started with seances for adepts during which the leader had visions. In these visions "God Almighty" announced that the whole of humanity should cooperate "to win unity and prosperity for everyone". These revelations even referred to article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations. The messages further stated that all foreigners, except the white people, must go away if they did not change their attitudes. Factories must be set up, prices and working hours fixed, and schools founded. One of the messages said: "Fifty years have gone by (Dutch Administration in these parts was established in 1903, K.) and still we have not become human beings. God, the Almighty, rules". This is evidently a forced attempt at integration, in which all grievances and wishes that are present are indirectly expressed (275c).

In his dissertation (304, 249) on the Muyu, published in 1957, J. W. Schoolt deals at length with the movement. He also reports that it spread from Merauke to the Muyu area proper in 1953-55. Thirteen villages took part. Both movements came to end when the Civil Service intervened and the leaders were sentenced for having spread rumors capable of causing unrest among the population.

The economic aspect was dominant in this movement. "...The expected utopia consists of a western society for the Muyu, with their own shops, factories, machines, automobiles, and above all, money. They acquire this prosperity, and will acquire even more, through contact with the spirits of the dead, especially dead Americans. These spirits disclose to them knowledge and science. They believe, moreover, that this knowledge can be acquired in no other way than through contact with the spirits. This is a continuation of the traditional ideology in which religious ideas and practices were closely connected with material wealth. Western concepts of development and progress are foreign to them or are interpreted in a different way. These movements, therefore, express a desire to acquire knowledge of the west, and

especially western wealth. The movement in Merauke does include some political elements, but in the Muyu area the goal is less complicated, the movement there aiming almost exclusively at the acquisition of western goods and western money" (304, 270).

In addition to political elements highly rationalistic and even syndicalistic tendencies were to be noted in this movement. The leaders conducted a correspondence with the Resident about wages and prices and a long list of wishes was sent in. There was even some discussion about budgets, in connection with estimates computed by the movement for the Merauke subdistrict. Here we find the unmistakable influence of Government Officers. Evidently the switch from the mythical into the rationalist sphere presented no problems and was not experienced as an inconsistency (*ibid.*).

14. 1953-58 — *Auyu and surroundings*. K. H. Zevering, who served in this area as Administrative Officer from 1958 to 1960, found that the movement of the Merauke Muyu had spread over a large area. In a study called *Een heilsbeweging onder de Auwjoë* ("A cargo movement among the Auyu"), subtitled "a sketch of an acculturation process" (350) he gives an excellent outline of the movements. He writes: "The rapidity with which the Yakai people adopted these ideas from the Auyu, and the fact that in 1960 cargo movements occurred in practically every part of southern New Guinea, including Frederik-Hendrik Island and the mainland coast along the Princess Marianne Straits, indicates a great readiness to adopt these ideas of a utopia" (350, 41). We find here many traits analogous to the *Koreri* movements. The messiah here is Sumuru for the Auyu and Aghame for the Yakai. After having been killed while teaching his tribe the art of warfare he came to life again. People refused to believe him, however, and he was chased away, after which he became the ancestor of the white men to whom he gave his riches as well as eternal life. The "grandfather Auyu" as he is also called will return some day and the earth will open. This is why his followers are always looking for the "gateway to the earth". Eschatological phenomena will occur and there will be a world catastrophe in which unbelievers will be turned into animals or perish. The influence of the Roman Catholic Mission and the Administration, and the fact that even catechists and native policemen acted as propagandists of the movements have led to the appearance of syncretistic elements. Practically all the participants are Roman Catholic Christians, only a small proportion being Protestants.

Contact with the dead, here of their tribe, is sought by means of fasting, sexual abstention and medicines. Preferably the ceremonies are performed in the graveyard. Fainting, ecstasy and glossolalia occur.

As tension grows in the relations with Indonesia political elements begin to appear in the movements. The Papuans will become white (the color of the dead) and the Dutch flag turned upside down will be their symbol. They train in the use of weapons. Indonesian infiltrators in these years, but especially Indonesian workers in Sorong where the Auyu workers come into contact with them, use the existing expectations in their propaganda. From now on the earth when it opens up is expected to bring forth not only cargo but also weapons. Side by side with the desire for western goods there exists a strong antipathy towards foreigners. In Merauke there was a willingness to cooperate with the authorities but the opposite was true of the Auyu. Some directed their enmity against the whites, others against the Indonesians, Chinese and Eurasians. Zevering, who has made a fairly thorough study of Auyu mythology, concludes that "when the facts and the information given by the natives themselves are carefully weighed it proves that the belief in the mythical happenings around Sumuru [and Aghame, K.] is one of the most important means by which these groups rebel against the new situation. It is this myth too, that presents the possibilities of association by which new things may be integrated into the traditional and limited world of their own experience" (350, 60).

Resurrection and rejection by his own tribe are the starting point for an extension of the myth in which it was Sumuru (Aghame) who gave the white men their wealth. But this new dimension to the myth owes its origin to a need for rationalization after the arrival of the white men with all their "cargo".

Fasting, sexual abstention, etc. are regarded by the natives as a penance to Sumuru but according to Zevering they have been influenced by the celibacy of R.C. priests and their teachings concerning fasting, with which these practices link up more directly than with Auyu mythology.

The last great event in this district was a big meeting held at Salamepe on the third and fourth of October 1958, to which every village sent its representatives. It was thought that on this occasion participants would see the dead and the weapons from the earth. Two flags were to be hoisted and the date of the general revolt would be decided. Police patrols restored law and order in November 1958. The leaders of the movement were taken prisoner and subsequently punished for fraud.



This referred to the financial contributions that were expected from the participants for the success of the movement and to "open the gateway to the earth" (350, 59 and *passim*).

15. 1956-1961 — *The Hai-movement of the Uhunduni (Amungme)*. In 1954 missionaries of the CAMA (Christian and Missionary Alliance) and the Roman Catholic Mission started work in the eastern mountain district of West Irian. With this a large region was opened up, for it marked the beginning of an invasion of various missionary denominations who in the course of the following years founded dozens of mission posts. The Administration established itself in Wamena in 1956 and a large number of small airfields were constructed because for the time being a network of roads was an impossibility. At present there are about 60 such airfields, with a large central one at Wamena.

Among the Uhunduni, south of the Carstensz range, the Roman Catholic fathers, and further north in Ilaga the CAMA missionaries, found the belief in *Hai*. *Hai* is a kind of utopia with a basis in the myths. The arrival of the strangers was now linked with these expectations of the future.

The Uhunduni or Amungme (first men) as they call themselves, the lowest in status of all the inland tribes, were particularly susceptible to the message of the Gospel because it evoked associations with their *Hai* expectations. The myths of the Amungme, in which dreams and visions play a part, do in fact include a mention of strangers who will arrive at the beginning of *Hai*.

"This wonderful new place of existence would be brought by godmen or deities who would come to them from the outside world. According to the myths, their own tribal leaders would champion these godlike beings and present the gift of *Hai* to the tribespeople at the appropriate time . . . Because of their white skins and the fact that they came from the outside world, the missionaries immediately were regarded as demi-gods. When they began to preach the Christian Gospel with its promise of eternal life, their identification with the *Hai* myths was complete. It was a long time before the Uhundunis could be convinced that the missionaries were mortal men" (154a, 164-165).

The Roman Catholic fathers who worked among the Uhunduni of the Tsinggi region had earlier had the same experience. They were welcomed like divine creatures and the natives expected *Hai* to begin at their arrival. With their subsequent conversion to Christianity a dangerous situation was created for the Uhunduni, since on this occasion

their weapons were burned together with their sacred objects, making them an easy prey for their enemies. And in fact there were some killings. A particularly tragic fate befell a village in the Tsinggi region. Because the ardently desired cargo was so long in coming they moved to the south coast, for they knew that the cargo came from the coast. There they settled in a malaria-ridden area with extremely high temperatures. Their situation at present is most precarious. Many are dying and they evidently lack the courage to return to their mountains (154a; 186a, *passim*, and oral information).

16. 1958-1960 — *The Natelan-Katelan movement among the Dani.* *Natelan-Katelan* is literally "your skin-my skin" but it means "rejuvenation, renewal", as happens to the snake when it sheds its skin. The expression is said to derive from the myth of a race between a snake and a bird. The humans favored the bird as the winner, and win he did, but from that time onwards human beings die like birds (a fallen warrior is called a "dead bird") and do not have eternal life like the snakes. But some time this situation will change again. This will be when the creator-deity and culture-hero, Bok — who appeared originally in the east of the Baliem valley, created the land, the mountains and the human beings and subsequently departed towards the west — finally returns. When the Dani first saw white men they thought the time had come. Since then fairly extensive movements have periodically occurred, especially in those areas where missionaries were preaching. As we shall see, utopian expectations are unmistakably present here (69c, 154a and 186a all *passim*).

Inspired by the Amungme, the Dani of the Ilaga valley followed their example. Among the followers and disciples of the CAMA missionaries was a certain Yabonep. Being acquainted with the *natelan-katelan* myths he interpreted the preaching of the missionaries in his own way. After the Ilaga Dani had burned their ceremonial objects and became Christians, Yabonep set off for Baliem with the following message:

1. The people of Ilaga have received eternal life (*natelan-katelan*).
2. The first step towards this goal is to burn all ceremonial objects.
3. The next step is holy baptism.
4. Old women who are baptized are rejuvenated.
5. Those who are baptized will never fall ill again.
6. Those who wish to receive "eternal life" must stop all warfare, give up the religion of the ancestors, and henceforth follow the Gospel.

This message spread like a fire in dry grassland. Supplemented by rumor the news that reached Pyramid was:

1. A man is coming, short in stature, who has proved invulnerable because in 1938 a bullet, shot by a member of the Archbold expedition, passed right through his body and he did not die. He used to live in the Baliem valley, later he went to Ilaga but now he is coming back.
2. At his command the water of the Baliem river is parted and he walks through it dry-shod.
3. Should he die his relatives need only throw him into the river and he will return to life. Then, too, all the dead will rise.

The effect of this message was far-reaching. Movements started everywhere, even where no missionaries had been as yet, and once sacred objects were burned. In order to put right these premature conclusions concerning the Gospel-message arising from Amungme and Dani mythology, Missionary Gordon Larson of Ilaga set out with a group of followers on Yabonep's trail. But there was no stopping the movement that had already been set going. As a result of the message proclaimed by Yabonep the whole of the Baliem valley was set in motion, all except the eastern part. The natives there held on to their traditions, arguing that, since the deity Bok had come from the eastern part of the valley, the *natelan-katelan* message must also come from the east and not from the west (154a; 69c).

17. 1960-62 — *Swart valley and Bokondini*. Here the message took a different turn:

1. Participants would not die anymore and be set free from illness.
2. The burning of sacred objects was expected to bring "cargo" from the coast.
3. Mourning ritual, warfare, stealing and vengeance were prohibited.

After this there was a period of comparative calm, but in 1962 the movement started up again, kindled by the following causes:

1. a solar eclipse in February of that year.
2. an influenza epidemic in which many died.
3. a celebration of Pentecost by an "inspired" evangelist who preached the Gospel with great insistence.

All remaining sacred objects were now got rid of, including the sacred

stones (*yao*). Modern things were appreciated, desired and even expected. The brideprice was abolished "for brides would be paid for by the blood of Christ" (258, 287; 186a, *passim*).

18. 1962 — *Kuttima*. Here, too, sacred objects were burned but the natives here felt wronged because they had no airfield and received no medical aid (as in Katupaga). A large movement developed here in 1962, more or less without outside guidance.

Wingganggan of Kuttima had a vision which led to the movement. He saw his dead father who subsequently kept in touch with him. People were ordered to build a new type of houses and get rid of everything old. Their skins would become white, they would be equal to the white men and also receive the goods which up till now the airplanes had been bringing only to the white men. This movement lasted until 1963, when the leader, Wingganggan, went to live at the mission-post of Katupaga (Swart valley). In this movement we recognize various elements that were found also in the coastal movements (258; 186a, *passim*).

19. 1962 — *Mapnduma*. News of the movements travelled also to this area which is situated s.-east of the Baliem valley. The natives here, the Nduga, burned their sacred objects before any missionaries arrived. A CAMA missionary then set up a post here and shortly after his arrival baptized several Nduga who said they wanted to become Christians. When a few of these converts died some time afterwards the natives were very disappointed. Protests came from a neighboring valley where an evangelist had already been appointed. The people refused to hear anything more about the Gospel, burnt down their church building and chased the evangelist away. This example was followed in several other places. In some cases the *guru* (teachers) were cursed and even threatened with death. Attacks did in fact take place and several persons were killed. It was not until 1965, after a new airfield had been built, that the people of this region again got in touch with the missionaries and asked for evangelists. Resistance continued to smoulder, however, in the centrally situated village of Iniye (58d, *passim*).

20. 1956-1962 — *A Cargo Cult in the Mamberamo Area*. The importance of Oosterwal's article bearing this title (261b) lies in its being the first fairly detailed report of a movement in this area although these movements are known to have occurred here even before 1931 (*cf.*

pp. 137-138 and 205a, 53). A. C. van der Leeden remarked in 1961 "the spiritual climate in the Sarimi area is ripe for a cargo situation" (205a, 54). By that time, in fact, a movement had already been set in motion following the death of a child. Oosterwal says that "... Here the event has already been incorporated in a myth which supports and justifies the cult..." (261b, 4). From this it might be inferred that the movement came first and the myth was created later as a rationalization, which is by no means impossible (*cf.* Pamai, p. 284). This is not, however, Oosterwal's opinion, for he writes that "From time immemorial, before their contact with Western or Christian ideas, the peoples east of the Mamberamo have believed that the spirits of the dead, the *warría*, will return to earth with Jewme, bringing great material riches" (261b, 6).

There is a cannibalistic cycle of songs about Jewme, the goddess of the underworld, which are sung in the whole country from the Mamberamo to the Tor river. The goddess is expected to return, accompanied by the spirits of the dead, in a big ship laden with western goods. The world will be renewed, there will be food in abundance, no more sickness or death and the natives will be as rich as the Europeans. All this already exists in the country of spirits, and is controlled by the dead (*warría*) and the goddess Jewme. Worship of the dead is therefore one of the ways to achieve this situation also on earth.

It is striking that here, too, the analogy of the snake is found: the spirits of the dead, and in future also the living, stay eternally young because they are able to cast off their old skins and thus to rejuvenate themselves. The following is told about the goddess Jewme:

She was never a human being but once she lived on earth. "She is a very tall woman, even taller than Jame [another goddess, K.]. Her skin is light in color, though not as completely white as the skins of Europeans. She has long, fair hair" (*ibid.*, 7). She came to the earth and built a town for the dead, but the people failed to obey her orders and danced by daylight although she had forbidden it. "... Therefore Jewme left the land of the living and went to the village of the dead... But she did not disappear forever. One day, she promised, she would return again with the *warría*, and the people here would have the same abundance of food and the same riches as are now found in the village of the dead. Never again would anybody fall ill, never again would anyone die, and the dead would come out of their graves" (*ibid.*).

Whole series of songs anticipated the coming events. Visions of Jewme and the dead announced the return in 1959. Mass gatherings, at which practically all the available pigs and food stores were consumed ended

in disappointment, but not without an explanation. "... So long as the Europeans are here, Jewme and the *warrria* cannot come... That is the reason why our dancing, singing and sacrifices have no result". "Thus" says Oosterwal, "was born an 'embryonic nationalistic movement'" (*ibid.*, 10). "The Europeans keep the secret to themselves" became the cry, and here we recognize the atmosphere that developed around practically all these movements. In 1958 the former 'Pionier' camp (the name of the camp was kept from a former expedition of exploration) was rebuilt to house an administrative post, and many stores were transported up the river but soon afterwards, in 1960-61 the post was closed. This gave rise to a movement. Visions of Jewme were reported and expectations ran high. This was not restricted to the direct environs of the 'Pionier' camp, but the whole area was affected — to what extent ought to be investigated, according to Oosterwal.

Each movement ebbed away after disappointing experiences. The people danced, went into ecstasies and ate all the available food, after which hunger obliged them to stop. No Christian elements were included in these Jewme movements. "The cargo cult of the peoples east of the Mamberamo is, in essence, only one of many cults oriented toward the acquisition of food, health, and wealth. It has its roots in the indigenous culture and is only to be understood in this setting" (*ibid.*, 3).

Oosterwal disagrees with the opinion expressed by me that the name cargo cults only covers a part of the expectations on which these movements are based. He says: "A great desire for material wealth plays an extremely important role in Papuan-Melanesian cultures, providing a basis for social relationships in which the exchange of food and material goods constitutes the most fundamental regulating principle. The idea of exchange is extended to man's relationships with the supernatural" (*ibid.*, 1).

Since these points of view appear to be diametrically opposed the issue will have to be decided by the facts. Usually, however, the information at our disposal is insufficient to permit of a correct analysis. It seems to me that our dilemma consists in the fact that, although it is a postulate of cultural anthropology that these cultures are totalitarian in character and therefore require a holistic approach, nevertheless the three main aspects of culture are usually dealt with separately and viewed as if they were analogous to Western concepts. We tend to lose sight of the fact that they do not exist as separate entities in the minds of the bearers of these cultures and as a result we fail to appreciate their internal logic and significance. Oosterwal evidently also realized this, for

he notes that "wealth" has a special meaning for the Mamberamo people: "... In most of the societies of the region, cults are, in essence, supernatural means of acquiring wealth, especially if 'wealth' is taken in a broader sense to embrace power, fertility, and worldly happiness as well as food, goods, and material benefits" (*ibid.*, 1).

This may, indeed must, be taken one step further, however. "Economic" is not the same thing as "materialistic", as is also pointed out by Stanner when discussing "The Factitious Valuation of Alien Wealth" (312a, 16). Everything strange and inexplicable is charged with a special meaning. Where hatchet and knife are the most delicate tools known, a pocket torch is a marvel; where bark-cloth is the fashion, textile is miraculous. As we have seen in a report from 1883 (*cf.* pp. 269-270), the natives attach to material goods of foreign provenance a significance beyond the use for which they are intended. A magical power is thought to emanate from these objects, which causes children to thrive and makes the sick get well. According to Kijne they represent a permanence and durability which human beings lack. These objects thus acquire an added value which formerly we would perhaps have called animistic.

The *Koreri* movements of the Biak people contain, in addition, a trace of more universalistic aims. The *Koreri* ideal does not only mean "eternal life, power, and plenty" but it also includes unity with other peoples, peace. This same feature also appears in the Cargo Cult of the Mamberamo. When after repeated disappointments the ancestors continued to appear in visions and their voices were still heard, the explanation was: "Jewme and the *warria* cannot come until all the tribes of the region — from the Apauwar to the Tor and beyond — have heard of their imminent coming and have made preparations for the utopia at hand. Then the 'good news' was spread from the Apauwar to the Ferkami, the Woske, and the Tor" (261b, 12). No results of this action are reported.

There is nonetheless scope for messages of this sort also beyond the Mamberamo Area, as is evident from the myth of Emma of Yamna, east of the Tor, which I wrote down myself in this area in 1956. Like Jewme, Emma was a female deity with a light skin. She arose out of the earth, bringing riches, iron and gold. When she wanted to marry the man of her choice, however, an older unmarried man named Jobber seized hold of her and claimed her for himself. She managed to tear herself from his grasp and after that nobody could catch her any more for she was as slippery as an eel. She tore a tree out of the ground and disappeared into the hole thus formed, leaving the following message:

"Henceforth you will receive no more goods except from abroad. My ability to make them is going with me. You will see it again later". When the people of Yamna heard in later years that there was a queen in Holland named Emma (the grandmother of the present Queen Juliana) they said: "we thought this was the same Emma; she really belonged to us. But this Emma did not return, and so we are now waiting for the real one who will appear some day".

The millenarian movements in the Humboldt Bay Area (*cf.* 174; 105b).

21. *c.* 1900 — *Tabati and Indjeros*. Two main villages where they awaited the return of their dead, enlarged their houses and collected food. When nothing happened at the appointed time, there were rumors that a great earthquake would occur prior to the great event. Therefore the houses were fastened with big ropes.

22. *c.* 1908 — In the same villages a movement took place led by the sister of the Big Chief Chamadi of Tabati. All the followers went into a fit "and trembled like aspen-leaves" (105b, 145).

23. *c.* 1908 — *Sentani village Ayapo*. The leader went into seclusion and was served by "Vestal Virgins". The pregnancy of one of them ended the expectations and the movement.

24. 1927-1935 — *Seu Movement in Kayu Indjau* (*cf.* pp. 89, 230). The most radical movement ever known, including: religion (new Diety and temple), ignoring social organization (*i.e.* social class-prestiges and prerogatives), disturbing the economic order (ignoring traditional rights on arable land and fishing-reefs). Some of the outstanding clans, however, refused to join, and at the same time the Mission, in the person of a native *guru*, gained influence, thus signifying the end of a very remarkable movement (*cf.* especially 174).

25. 1938 — *The Bay Area*. The inhabitants were once more stirred by the predictions of the leader Waru.

26. 1952 — *The Bay Area*. A short-lived movement of the visionary Yowafifi.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA American Anthropologist. Publ. by: The American Anthropological Association, Menasha, Wisconsin U.S.A. 1888 — in progress.
- ARZ Archieven van de Raad voor de Zending van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, Oegstgeest. (Some items indicated by ARZ are still in the possession of F. Ch. Kamma).
- BKI Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië). Publ. by: Koninklijk Instituut voor (de) Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Ned.-Indië), The Hague 1852 — in progress.
- BUZV Berichten van de Utrechtsche Zendingsvereniging, Utrecht 1860-1917.
- CI Cultureel Indië, Leiden 1939-1946.
- H. De Heerbaan. Algemeen Zendingstijdschrift. Publ. by: De Nederlandsche Zendingraad, Amsterdam 1948 — in progress.
- I. Indonesië. Bimonthly, The Hague 1947-1957.
- IRM The International Review of Missions. Publ. by: The Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, New York-Geneva 1912 — in progress.
- JSO Journal de la Société des Océanistes. Publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Publ. by: Musée de l'Homme, Paris 1945 — in progress.
- KM Die Katholischen Missionen. Illustrierte Monatschrift des Päpstl. Werks der Glaubens-Verbreitung in den Ländern deutscher Zunge mit den Zentralen Aachen, München, Wien, Leitmeritz. Düsseldorf.
- MnC Le Monde non Chrétien, Paris.
- MTZ Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendinggenootschap; later: Tijdschrift voor Zendingwetenschap, Rotterdam; Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest 1857-1941.
- NMB Neuendettelsauer Missionsblatt. Fortsetzung der kirchlichen Mitteilungen aus und über Nordamerika, Australien und Neuguinea, Neuendettelsau, Bayern. First publ. 1911.
- NZMW Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Beckenried (Schweiz).
- O. "De Opwekker". Tijdschrift Ned. Indischen Zending Bond; later: Zendingstijdschrift "De Opwekker". Orgaan van den Ned.-Ind. Zendingbond, Soerabaya and Bandoeng 1855-1942.
- Oc. Oceania. A journal devoted to the study of the native peoples of Australia, New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Publ. by: The Australian National Research Council, Sydney, Australia 1930 — in progress.
- P. Het Penningsken. Hulpvereniging der Utrechtsche Zendingvereniging; after 1917: Het Penningske. Maandblaadje, uitgaande van de samenwerkende Zending-Vereenigingen, Utrecht 1865-±1940.
- PIM Pacific Islands Monthly. The Newspaper-Magazine of the South Seas, Sydney. (Pacific Publications Pty Ltd).

- TBG** Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Publ. by: (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Weltevreden (Batavia) 1853-1950.
- TNG** Tijdschrift "Nieuw Guinea". Publ. by: Nieuw-Guinea Studiekring, The Hague 1936-1956.
- UCPAAE** University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- ZfE** Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Organ der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Berlin 1869 — in progress.

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 mgo wor yano mgo myaren sa mgo rer = Dance, be diligent, that you may rer, 19.  
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 Pis ya i bur mgo, fama krafya kiein = the shell must leave you, but the kernel stays, 179.  
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 Watch Tower Movement, 229.  
 Wawor kankaremo = answer-song, imp.,  
     32.  
 Wege Movement, 238.  
 White man Movement, 283, 286.  
 widwom = top, 58.  
 Wilhelmus Rumbewas, 154.  
 Wingganggan of Kuttima, 294.  
 Wor = dancing, dance, 98, 99, 100.  
 wor banmgamor = dance to wash off  
     foreign influences, 149.  
 Wor Beba = the big dance, 75.  
 wor beyuser, 98.  
 Wosbi Wamai, 193.  
 Wuskandik, 20.  
  
 Yaberdares Snonman, 11, 91.  
 Yaboneb, 292, 293.  
  
 Yai iso i wu, yai iso i wu = **there is my**  
     father, 32.  
 Yambruk, 129.  
 Ya mnai = I stop, 23.  
 Yamnaibori = I will rest **on the top**,  
     I finish, 24, 75.  
 yao = sacred stones, 294.  
 Yasimoto, 201.  
 Yawi, 21, 22.  
 Yawi Nushado, 17, 21, 22, 26.  
 Yayo = father, when calling, 32.  
 yenaibu = beach or underworld, 25, 60.  
 Ye-sus = big by his mother's breast, =  
     Manggundi's son, 162, 163, 165, 176,  
     212.  
 Yowafifi, 298.  
 yuser dorek = the narrative song of  
     dawn, 100.  
  
 Zadrach Ronsumbre, 175, 187, 193, 201.




Meosbefondi  
(Meoskorwar)

P a c i f i c O c e a n



B. SCHOUTEN ISLANDS

1:1,000,000

 Boundary of coral reef

136°



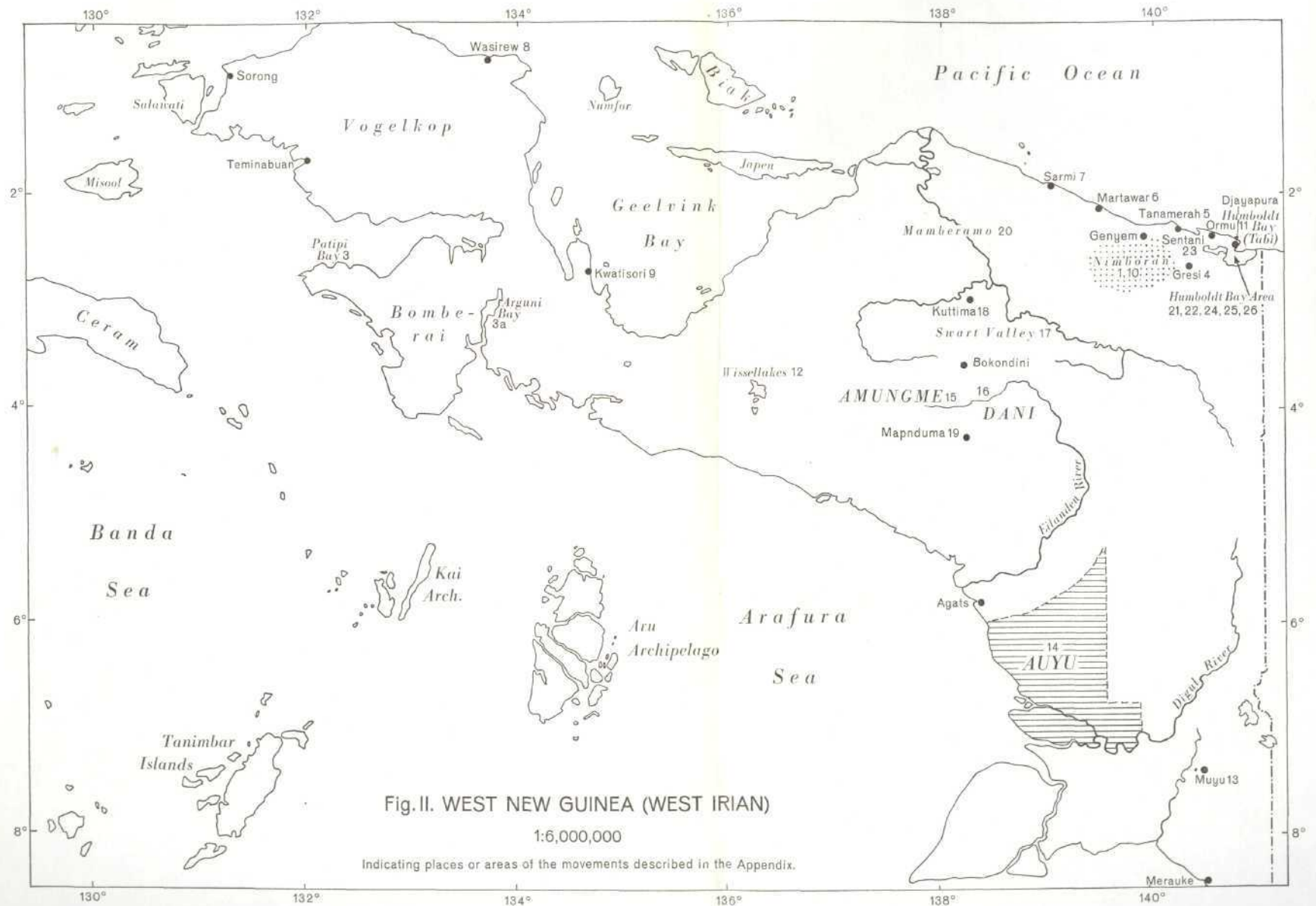


Fig. II. WEST NEW GUINEA (WEST IRIAN)

1:6,000,000

Indicating places or areas of the movements described in the Appendix.