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Mokmer, Wundi, Krawi (Yapen), Numfor, dan kemudian berbalik ke jurusan barat menuju Naja Ampat dan tempat-tempat di sebelah baratnya lagi. Menurut kepercayaan, Yawi Nushado atau Mansar akan kembali ke tempat asalnya (Biak-Numfor) sesudah jangka waktu tujuh turunan. Lalu meninggalkan beberapa perintah, dan salah satu perintah atau ajarannya yang terpenting ialah: "Jangan melakukan pertumpahan darah, karena dengan pertumpahan darah perdamalaman tidak akan mungkin terjadi, dan dengan demikian an Koreri tidak akan kunjung datang." (Ed. I.S.)

FAFYAR BEBA MANARMAK’RDI

Yawi Nusyado bebe Manarmak’rdi (Manarmakeri)

Snon oso ro m’nu Sopen snor’i Yawi Nusyado. Yawi Nusyado dom yaf ya ro urek bero m’nu Sopen bande ya bori. Dom yaf an ya ra ibro, ifrom i ma ikun i ra immai kyir i kuku Japan, ifen ma bakdi. Ro fyor ro kaker na nasur kwar Yawi Nusyado iffrur ayar ya fa idwar’k yaf ya insana randip syan san aer ro kaker na. Yawi Nusyado imarisen kaku snar myam Japan, ifen ma bakdi byan’na nasur pyum. Fyoro ba Yawi Nusyado myam randip ya dan yaf byani. Yawi Nusyado imban syewar yan ayar ya ‘fama myam pak robaidi wongkir oryo ayar ya ba. Ras-ras randip ya dan ker yaf ya isof Yawi Nusyado fyafayaf kaku mura kyara faibe isin randip ya fa myun i. Ro rob ya Yawi Nusyado dun makbak byedi ma rya isin randip an ya ro yaf andir ya. Ro rob ri fandu Yawi Nusyado ryow’r randip an ya be rakrek ro yaf ya dor. Yawi Nusyado fyaku randip anya ro naar andir ya isof myam pduk kaku i insape syo makbak byani ra kyur ro randip an. Bape ro fyor makbak ya kyur ro randip an ya Yawi Nusyado ikander kaku snar ryow’r randip an ya dar ba boi dawos be snonkaku, dobe: "yamnai".

Meser ya ido Yawi Nusyado rya syewar randip an ya weur byena insama iyau u’a’r i ‘fama myam randip weur no ba boi weur.
Mananarmak'rdi ibur m'nu Sopen

Ror ras oso mananwir bero m'nu Sopen romawa snon kabor byeja
dun marylai ma ikois byesya bo imbran farma ro swan andir ya.
Fyoro ba myam rapon manswar ya isar kir be yen andir ma imbran
be bosen ya bo iwanda, romawa snon kabor an ya dores byair fais
manswar an ya ro ibe iffruy ya. Manswar an ya ryanda imbran
syewar kyon ya ramrai kyain ro kyon an ya dori. Manswar an ya
kyain fyoro m'nggun ramrai dores ma imbran be yen andir besyor
iwande. Ryande ro mob esyay ya kiyik' buken byuya ma in kasun
mawa bero bur byesya sisapi ro yen ya bori. Fyoro ba binkabor
m'nggun beypum ya dores kir ro aibur mawa bero yen andir sa ya
kyain israi in mawa an s'ya ma iser si ro inawen ya ramrai dek
aryyas kyain ro manswar an ya dokor ya ma susun kir be sup ya
dori. Romawa snon kabor an ya sneri ryi inkabor beypum manswar
ya byanya ibu ilri def be m'nu ra iisan wos be bnon bebor bero
m'nu ya dori, imfa meser ya sisasyar kam fa sai warek ma sfor
manswar ya kuku inai inkabor m'nggun beypum kaku mnyam an.

Messer an ya fyas snon bebor bero m'nu Sopen sisasyar fa
'sevor manswar ya ma inai bin kabor m'nggun an ya ro sup ya
dori. Se kayam bo 'sai warek ifmama ono sipok fa sfor su ba. Ra rirya
bo se sevor ker snar mananwir ya romawa snon kabor byeja ikofen
kwar bo dobe oso fyos manswar ya ma inai bin kabor m'nggun beypum
ya fa byuk i ido nari nya sar m'nggun byedi (mananwir ya inai
kasun barsa byedi.) Mananarmak'rdi ryow' saxewar ine mura
imarisen dakseye pyan. Fama kawasa bero m'nu ya sikof'in i bo
sohe: "Siwara ma snon bepduk ma besamrab ya derer bape se
fama sipok ba, insape ro bar ebe mansar bo ekri'k ba au ya auso
na befor manswar iwara au ya?" Manswar Mananarmak'rdi ryow'r
monda wos san'na bo imbran user snon bebe nai besun be sup ya
dori, ma Mansar Mananarmak'rdi ima be kor andir ya ma kyain
yofek ro kris knam ya furoi i. Fyoro ba ryow'r mbrus beba ya
ya ryok ro sup ya dori. Snon ansya 'sai warek manswar an ya
su kwara fama manswar an ya iffrar kir ai warek an ya ma iffrar ra
kor andir iwara, ma iffrar sasar ra mob Mananarmak'rdi dit ro
ya, mura Mananarmak'rdi dores fasau ra byuk alkyon byeja
syaver manswar an ya wemin bye su isof isapi, ro diya Mananar-
mek'rdi fryor inai bin kabor m'nggun an ya dun kawasa byesya bo
sibur be sup Yapen, befnai babo ine manswar ono sakro sup Biak
ba. Mansar Mananarmak'rdi dun inai bin kabor m'nggun manswar
ya byani ma ryir faro mananwir ya romawa snon kabor byanya, fa
byuk i.

Ro bomis ba faro Mananarmak'rdi isoeine mananwir ya roma-
wa snon kabor byani bye ra wos ikofen kwar an ya ba, boi randip
ri byuk be Mansar Mananarmak'rdi mura Mananarmak'rdi bye randip
an ya fa keret ma kawasa byesya sman i sikun i insama skan kam
e. Mansar Mananarmak'rdi kawasa byansiya sra susinSIM, robyeyan
ma bakdi ram ro ya fay byani. Sman randip an ma sbarapen i kuku
robyeyan ma wei bebor sun kwar ro mansar Mananarmak'rdi yaf
byani. Apen an ya myas ido kawasa ansya san pres robyeyan, wei
ma randip ker sya fa sibro bur Mansar Mananarmak'rdi. Ro diya
Mansar Mananarmak'rdi imnok kawasa byansi ma ryir ibur m'nu
Sopen m'nu iswar, fama kawasa byesya se syowi i ba.

Mananarmak'rdi marandan byedi

Mananarmak'rdi barburt byedi

Mansar Mananarmak'rdi iswar kaku m'nu byedi Sopen m'nu iba
ro, ma bo sanararo byedi mo dom Komal ma mo iwan randip ya fa
ikofen wos "yamnai" mura m'ngguni dor bo anya be Yamnaibori.
Iswar kawasa byesi kaka fama armaker byesya sifnai fa m'ngguni
kawasa byena sikofen i ma se syowi i ba. Kawasa byesya sakfaw
sawarwar ba, snar san rokaker bebor byena ma randip byedi. Man-
sar Mananarmak'rdi n'ya roil no bese ba kwar, roil bedawer ya iso
ainkyon byeja ma vai kabaaya m'nggun yas bedaw kwar ya suyrian
kwar. Ro fyor ryaryas kyain ro m'ngguni ro Yamnaibori ma swar
user byena nayawan kam be koreri myam kvar an ya, ibur fasau ba bo kawasa byesya san apen ya besiper bur i, imever dawos kuker robyeyan ma randip dakan ba boi isu monda vai kabasya byani. Dun monda kaboresses, kanarem ma ainkyon byedï bo byores isye andir iarwa be mun oridek. Ro fyor ya wambraw ya iso mura soren ya imarmer boken isof Mansar Mananarmark'rdi kyara fa byores pdef ba bo bye ryar ro m'nu Maundori. Ro fyor ya bosen ya syo ro kyur ramen ya ma sau o ba. Mansar Mananarmark'rdi byuk ainkyon byanya isrib uk bosen an ya fa fob ma bye sau ma byores munde ro. Ro bosen ya bande ri byuk ainkyon yi ifrur rwaren ya fa ipyar ro. Snar ro safisu ya Mansar Mananarmark'rdi imbrow ma war no nayyan ba mura byuk ainkyon byani ifrur war ya fa isayyar ro karui bero yen andir na. War an ya bye duber fa kawasa bebor m'nu Maundori sna be war ma isya sor kaker i be "war Ma-

Marandan bera be Mokmeri ma Meokbundi (Meos Wundi)

Ro fyor wam ya ryer e Mansar Mananarmark'rdi dekk ro wai kabasya mmggun byani ma isye andir iarwa be Samberi. Fyanaam be Samberi ido Mansar Mananarmark'rdi daron fa myun innamen beba ya kuku ainkyon benik byani. Ibyaum innamen an ya ro wai kaba-
syai mmmgun ani ma byores be rum manibob byedï ro m'nu Samberi. Skok innamen an ya ramnai sikun i ra myas e san pres i bo bin bena rum yu kaar ker o ba. Ro fyor Mansar Mananarmark'rdi ifa-

ya daikan innamen ker o ba mura imai bo ibur m'nu Sambe-

eri, byores be m'nu Mokmeri. Ro m'nu Sorido bandi ri Mansar Mananarmark'rdi byuk ainkyon benik byanya myun in beba ya wer fa dun bo ibur snar napirmun byedï Padawankan ro Mokmeri. Ro m'nu Mokmeri Mansar Mananarmark'rdi iriya snar isrow mi fayyair us napirmun byedï Padawankan, fyorok kwar susrow su ba. Ro fyor an ya Padawankan swar ryande rya bar ro sup bo ibur baim, ro diya sikun in Mansar Mananarmark'rdi myun ro Sorido an ya fa san pres i bo Padawankan swar dakna ker o ba. Ro mun mandira
ro wai sema familia skur pampum sko. Insoraki srar kasun bye Saneraro iswar sko mura dado fa kyain us sko ro Meokbundii.

Ro mun mandira ya Manarbew ibiser mura dor robeyan faro
snar Insoraki, snar Insoraki iwan bo dobe: "Rwa wani kmam babara
byansi wa." Manarbew rya dor robeyan ro kmaw Mananarmak'rdi
mura kmaw Mananarmak'rdi iwan i fa syun randum maw ro sim ma
maw robeyan bebor naisya kaem. Manarbew ikofen badir faro
snar Insoraki ma Insoraki syun randum maw ma ikandor bo ikram
fais ro sneri. Ras-ras robeyan na nradiya kwar bo skan monda.

Ro ras oso Mananarmak'rdi rya ikun manggundi ro kabui kmaw
ma ro myos ya mun benir be Kawayi. Ro mun mandira ya Mananarmak'rdi
imran ibur be rum Manarbew maw i ro swaf ebikwan ma
ikofen yoob snar Insoraki: "Wawi, wakwan yai osa iyama." Insoraki
ikyar ba bo dobe: "Bardai aver ba kmaw ima byabara bo dar-
maker." Ibur ra ro rum insape Insoraki ifawi kaku Mananarmak'rdi
fyawder kifbekwar byeja ukker kif bebabo ma myaw be Roma-
wa snon kabor kraf bepduk e. Manarbew ikofen faro snar Insoraki
bo dobe: "Wawi, yai ima inik kaku fa ifrur ro nayafa kaem,
ikofen monda ba aibo ma robeyan naisya kaem. Komam kama
kada fyawder manggundi kwar fa byabao ma i ero fauna kebedine." Rand-
dak ya Insoraki ikofen mawgung ro Manarbew ikofen na ba, ba-
pe fyoro mura sneri ikyar e. Mura ro ras ya midi Insoraki insor
swar i Mananarmak'rdi bo dobe: "Rosia befnai fa wakofen badir
manggun au ro randak ya ba insama kawasa ayesiwa sibor aver
ko." Fama Mananarmak'rdi dobe: "Wamnsor aver ba nari koyau
us ri sii.

Mesor ya Mananarmak'rdi ryanda dores ro yen andir ma isik
wai mansusu ya ro yen ya bori. Ryos pun wai isik an ya ra
ryanda ipyaur ro masen ya, fama myaw mansusu ya ma dun sneri
ba. Isik wiron ya ma ryos pun i wer fama imev'iri snar kawasa
sibor ifrur i kwar ryaw imev'iri. Ro diya isik wai karures
beba ya wer, ryos pun i randa ipyaur ma i Mananarmak'rdi myaw ma
imarsen ya. Ro diya skobyaw'n robebor skebena ma skayun
skobur Meokbundii be Krawi fa skomam kawasa skobansi.

Ro Krawi be Numfori

Mananarmak'rdi, Insoraki, Manarbew ma me byedi Saneraro
skayun kuku karures ani ma fasau monda skofyafjer ro Krawi. Ka-
wasa Meokbundii bebur ani sisyi kam ro diya. Mananarmak'rdi
ikofen munbe yob mbambowy ma inbanyo bye suya insama suranda
suberek ma sisu wai karures an ya ro subsun na. Insar mansar
ansuya sumewer kaku, suko'n manyi Mananarmak'rdi, suyobe ima
da ro kaku yo iryandari dobe wai byeja fyak baken subena be
afyak ri. Kawasa ya sisan pum Mananarmak'rdi ma imasr si bo
dayun ibur be Numfori. Sobe sifawi kada nari siso pyum wos
byena, ma rairiya nari sakafder kraf ma kif bekwar sena fa sha-
bo ro mob byabao ra i. Mambowy ma inbanyo an suya ras ri suba-
reki ma karures ya irure sopen su kada na sufadwer baken subena
fa subabo kako summis Mananarmak'rdi manggundi. Wai karures an
ya dayun be bar orisyn ma ifyafjer ro myos Numfori. Manarbew
kyans ibe ifnak ro yen snar dares ya isam boken. Ro diya Mana-
narmak'rdi syo karui ya rande bye myos fa nyir be Poiru. Manar-
bew dado rande ifnak ro yen bero myos mnggun ani. Myos Poiru
isof babo ine komam kada isya ro m'nu Pakreki banda ri. Ro
myos an ya bori Mananarmak'rdi n'yer aiknam ri fyak, ma ai kmaw
ri fyak an skoya skobe kerer beba ri fyak, skoiyo: Rumberpon,
Rumansa, Angeraidifu, Rumberpur. Ebe bukor ro keret ri fyak
an skoiye isoine "punkawaysan".

Barburr bera be sup Korano Fyak ma mun orisyn

Mananarmak'rdi skobar yor mnggun ro Numfori. Mana-
narmak'rdi ikof'n yob kawasa sya bo dobe: "Nari yafur roi be-
frur kandor ro myos ine imfama yor fa mnggosy pyum ro yakof'n
na. Oso imar ido mnggokan's aver i snar nari ikbawes wer fa
I. THE MYTH

The Words Koreri and Manarmakeri

The two words Koreri and Manarmakeri, which in the dialect used in the text is Mananarmakeri or Mananarmak'redi, both come from the Biak language. The word Koreri consists of ko 'we', rer 'apparent skin', and i 'personal pronoun'. 'Apparent skin' refers to the skin of snakes and other animals which can shed their old skin and receive a new one, evidently without suffering any damage in the process. Thus, Koreri literally means 'We shed the old skin and wear the new one'. This word is used in certain spiritual movements on the islands of Biak, Numfor, and Supiori, which hold the opinion that the suffering, death, poverty, and wars of this world will be superseded by Koreri, i.e., by a time in which man will live in complete peace and eternal happiness equal to what is expected of life in heaven.

The two words Mansar Manarmakeri make up the name of a certain man and can be translated as 'scabious old man'. Man- sar means 'old man' as a term of respect. The form man can mean 'male' or 'bird'. Armaker means 'scabies', and i is again the personal pronoun manwir. Mansar Manarmakeri is the name of the protagonist. In addition to this name, the hero of the myth is also called by several others, such as Mansaranggundi, Maneren Manggundi, or Maneren Koreri. His original name was Yawi Nushado.

Manarmakeri's Family Tree

The following is the family tree of Manarmakeri or Yawi Nushado, which is identical with Kamma's presentation (1972:22) except for Kamma's suggested name of Menufandu, which according to our Biak informants is to be Menufandu; where Δ = male,
The Story

Yawi Nushado becomes Manarmakeri

Yawi Nushado had his garden on a mountainside behind the village of Sopen. Despite a fence he had built around the garden, a pig came in and rooted up his crop. However, when Yawi Nushado inspected the fence to find a hole or a damaged place where the pig could have entered, he found no sign of destruction. Therefore, one evening Yawi Nushado took his makbak 'spear' and kept watch in his garden. He wanted to kill the pig with his makbak when it entered his garden.

Towards morning, he heard a pig eating the crop in his garden. Yawi Nushado immediately threw his spear in the direction of the noise of the pig. But he was quite astonished when he heard the pig cry out with a human voice: "Yammai", which means 'I'll stop'. When it was light enough to see, Yawi Nushado set out to follow the pig's tracks, but he could find only human footprints, which every now and then were accompanied by drops of blood. He followed the footprints to the entrance of a cave, but he saw no one there. Upon entering the cave, he saw a path leading on into the deeper parts of the cave, so he decided to follow the path. After a few steps, he saw his spear lying there - but it was now snow white and showed no sign of blood.

Yawi Nushado went further, and deeper inside the cave he heard gay laughter. Astonished, he looked around, but he saw nothing. He was startled when all of a sudden he heard a human voice, scolding him and saying: "You there, human being, where are you going and what are you looking for?" Yawi Nushado could not utter a word. Then he heard the same voice again, saying: "Take your spear, but you must do as I say: Turn around and walk backwards; then you can go home." But Yawi answered:
"I don't know how I am to go." The voice repeated: "Do as I said. If you don't, you will slip and fall." Now Yawi Nushado was able to do as the voice had instructed him. Then the voice began again: "Do you hear the voices and do you recognize them?" Yawi Nushado answered: "I hear only voices which are singing and happy." Then his eyes were opened and he saw a beautiful village, where the inhabitants were all young people. Yawi recognized some of them as people who had died of old age. But in this village, these people had all become young again. And the people's voices were filled with happiness.

When Yawi Nushado had seen all of this, the voice said again: "Your time has not yet come. You cannot yet stay here. Therefore, you have to return home now, for you are still a part of the old world, that is, the world with the old skin. What you see here is Koreri. Now take your spear and go home." However, Yawi Nushado could not take his spear, because a snake lay next to it, guarding it. After he had returned home, Yawi began to ponder Koreri, which he had seen while visiting the cave. From this time on, he kept increasingly aloof, and while working in his garden he pondered the joy he had seen in the cave. He spent so much time pondering Koreri that he neglected his personal hygiene and became covered with armaker (scabies).

**Manarmakeri leaves his village of Sopen**

One day the son of the village chief of Sopen was walking on the beach. He had his bow and arrow along. Suddenly he saw a cassowary come out of the forest and go down to the beach. The cassowary ran into the water, which was at ebb tide, and sat down on a coral reef. He remained sitting there until a number of small fish had swum into his feathers. Then he returned to the beach and shook himself so that the fish fell onto the sand. When he had done this, a young girl came out of the bushes along the beach and quickly gathered the fish into her basket. Then she climbed onto the back of the cassowary and returned to the forest with him. After the young man had seen the cassowary and the young girl, he returned to the village and called together all the men of the village to hunt the cassowary and catch the girl, so that she could become his wife. He promised his younger sister to the man who should capture the cassowary and the girl.

All the men of the village tried to capture the girl from the cassowary, but no one was successful. Again and again they took up the hunt, but always without success.

Manarmakeri also knew about the fruitless hunt for the girl of the cassowary and finally he also offered to participate. But many people ridiculed him, saying: "If all the strong and healthy men have failed, how do you expect to be successful? You are old, scabby, sick, and weak!" When Manarmakeri heard these words of ridicule, he did not join the main group, but instead made his way alone.

Manarmakeri hid among the mangrove trees and kept watch. He did not know that the main group had already left earlier. They had flushed out the cassowary with the girl, but had not been able to catch them. The cassowary broke out of the bushes and raced back into the woods. In doing so, he had to pass the mangrove trees where Manarmakeri was hiding. The cassowary fled at top speed to escape his pursuers. Then he met his fate. From the mangroves, Manarmakeri suddenly stepped out with his staff, faced the cassowary and grabbed the girl. He then handed her over to the chief's son to become his wife. In return, Yawi Nushado was given a pig, rather than the younger sister who had been promised the one who could capture the girl and hand her over to the chief's son.
The pig was given to the whole family and the clan to eat. They gathered wood, and pumpkins for vegetables, to roast the pig in the stone cooking pit. When the meal was ready, the members of the family and their friends ate up all the meat and the vegetables and forgot about Manarmakeri. As a result, Manarmakeri became furious and left his people in Sopen.

Manarmakeri's Journey

In Maundor

Mansar Manarmakeri left Yamaihor in Sopen, West Biak, and headed for Maundor with his outrigger boat, which was in quite poor condition. At that time there was a strong south wind, so Mansar had to look for a place to land. But off Maundor coral reefs made landing impossible. So he took his staff and made a small passage for his boat. With his staff he also made a pond near the village. While Mansar was staying in Maundor, a drought came on. With the help of his staff, he caused water to flow from a rock. There is still a spring in that place today, from which the villagers fetch water. The name of the spring is War Manarmakeri. War is the Biak word for 'water'.

Via Mokmer to the Island of Wundi

Manarmakeri left Maundor for Samber. On the way, he was able to spear a large fish, which he took to his relatives. They ate the fish, but forgot to leave anything for the wife of the host. This made Manarmakeri angry and ashamed, and he left for Mokmer. On the way he was again able to catch a large fish and took it to the house of his relative by the name of Padawankan. But the same thing occurred as had happened in Samber, so that he was ashamed to face his uncle and went on to Meoswundi. There he became famous for tapping palm trees to make wine.

The occurrences on the island of Wundi

One day Yawi Kushado found that someone had drunk his palm juice. He asked all the inhabitants of the island, but no one knew anything about it. On the following morning the same thing happened again. Manarmakeri became angry and decided to lay in wait for the palm-wine thief. On the first day he kept watch under the palm tree, but he was unable to catch the thief. So he set up a platform at the middle of the tree trunk, hoping that he could notice the thief better. But on the second day he was again unsuccessful. So on the third day he made a seat up among the palm leaves and kept watch again. Then at twilight he saw the thief coming down onto the palm tree from above. It was evident that the thief was Makmesi, the morning star. Now Manarmakeri decided to catch the thief, and the two of them began to fight. Manarmakeri held fast to the star, who wanted to get away quickly, for it was almost daybreak. But Mansar said: "I will not let you go until you give me something."

Finally, the morning star gave up and imparted to Mansar Manarmakeri the secret of life, that is, the secret of life after death. The morning star instructed Mansar to go to the beach when the most beautiful girl of the village came to bathe. Then he was to pick a bintanggur fruit and throw it into the sea.

Mansar Manarmakeri did what the morning star instructed him to do. Then it occurred that the bintanggur fruit that he threw into the sea floated to the girl and touched her breast. She took the fruit and threw it back into the sea, but it floated back and touched her breast again. This happened three times. Then the girl returned home and after a few days she became visibly pregnant. After one month she bore a son who was named Manarbew, which means 'bringer of peace'.

As the child grew older, it cried constantly and kept
asking about its father. Therefore, the girl's parents decided to hold a dancing festival or war in which all the young men, the boys, and the old men were to participate. All the males, in the order of their age and their rank in the village, danced past Manarbew and his mother. Finally, the dance of the old men began. Mansar, too, took part in this group, carrying his staff in one hand and a bunch of leaves in the other to shoo the flies from his scabious wounds. As the dancers drew near to Manarbew and his mother, the child suddenly began to cry: "That is my father!" and he ran and embraced Mansar. The procession broke up and everyone left. All the inhabitants of the island of Wundi and the surrounding area were furious at the old man who wanted to marry the lovely girl. The name of this girl was Insoraki. Everyone left the island, leaving the old man there alone with Insoraki and her child. The story goes that Saneraro, Insoraki's younger brother, was the only one who stayed with them. These four remained on the island. Because the others were so angry, they threw away the water and blocked up the springs. They destroyed the boats and felled the palm trees. They did this as punishment, so that the four people would starve. Then they all left for the island of Yobi, to the north of Yapen. After their departure, the island was called meos kobur indi, or 'the island we have deserted'. Finally, the name was shortened to Meos Wundi, i.e., 'the isle of Wundi'.

Manarmakeri and his family on Wundi

Mansar and his family remained alone on Wundi. After a while, Manarbew began to cry and begged for something to eat. But his mother said angrily: "Go eat your father's sores." Manarbew went and told his father what his mother had said. But his father told him to go inside, for in the hut there was plenty to eat. When both had finished eating, Manarbew took a bunch of bananas to his mother as proof. Now his mother also wanted to see if there was food in the hut and found that it was true. There was plenty for all to eat. Every day they had more than they could eat.

Manarmakeri changes his skin and leaves Wundi

One day Manarmakeri burned himself. He jumped into a flaming fire where it was hottest. When he came out of the fire, he had become a strong young man. When he returned home, Manarbew told his mother that his father was coming back. But the mother said: "That is not your father. Your father is full of scabies."

Manarbew told his mother again and again that there was a wonderful secret about his father. At first his mother only laughed at him and would not believe him, but finally she did believe what was told her about Mansar. Then she became angry and said to Mansar: "Why didn't you show this to all the people of the island? They would not have left us." Mansar answered: "There is no reason to be angry; we'll leave immediately and follow them."

One day Manarmakeri went to the beach and drew a large outrigger boat or wai mansusu in the sand. Then he stamped once on the picture with his foot and at once the boat became real and was anchored off Wundi. But it was not quite what he had wanted, so he drew another boat, just as large as the first but with a different shape, called wai run. But this boat was also not quite what he wanted, for both of these types of boat had already been used by the inhabitants of Wundi. Therefore, he drew a third boat, called karures. They used this third boat for the journey to look for their family, who had deserted them.
Via Krawi to the island of Numfor

At first they came to Krawi, north Yapen, and met their family. Mansar sent a message ahead, in which his parents-in-law particularly were informed of the arrival of the boat. When the boat was drawn up onto the beach, they were to lie down and allow themselves to be used as rollers for the boat. When the boat was drawn over them, they would also become young.

The parents-in-law refused to comply with this request. This angered Mansar and he continued his journey westward to the island of Numfor. Manarbew cried and wanted to play on a sandy beach, for it was quite hot. Mansar threw out the stone Poiru, which means rise up. Then the island of Poiru rose up out of the sea with beautiful white sand on which Manarbew could play. The island of Poiru lies off the village of Pakreki on the island of Numfor. On Numfor, Mansar planted four palm trees, and these trees became four large clans: Rumberpon, Rumansara, Anggradifu, and Rumberpuri. These four clans were led by a man with the title of Punkawyan.

The journey to Raja Ampat and on westward

Mansar stayed in Numfor for quite a while with his family and the four clans. Mansar told them: "I will do great wonders for you as long as you follow my orders: When someone dies, do not mourn him and he will rise again. When you run out of food, do not fetch any new sago from Yobi, for you will receive abundantly." But all of these orders were rejected and not followed by the people of Numfor. When someone died, they mourned him and when they ran out of food, they got their boats ready and went to Yobi to search for more food. Because they did not believe in him, Mansar became angry and decided to journey further westward. When he was ready to go, his son Manarbew was still playing on the beach at Poiru. So Mansar sent poisonous snakes to frighten Manarbew into running to the boat. There are still many poisonous snakes on the island of Numfor. From Numfor, Mansar journeyed on to the Raja Ampat Islands and from there he went on further west.

Manarmakeri's commandments

The story says that Mansar Manarmakeri, or Koreri, will return after seven generations. Mansar Manarmakeri left some commandments, the observance of which is prerequisite to being one of his followers. The commandments are as follows:

1. Eat no pumpkin and no pork, for pumpkin and pork caused Mansar Manarmakeri to leave Sopen.
2. Eat no snakes or crabs, for all animals which shed their skins have a special relationship to the change which took place in Mansar's body.
3. Shed no blood, for where blood is shed there can be no peace, and this prevents Mansar's (Koreri's) coming.
4. Build houses for the dead, who will be raised by Mansar.
5. Build storehouses for the food which Mansar will bring with him.
6. Gather a great deal of firewood, for before Mansar's arrival there will be darkness for three days.

II. INTERPRETATION

The collection of information

The details of the myth of Manarmakeri or Koreri were collected during February and March 1976 by the third-year students of the Theological School of the Gereja Kristen Injili in Irian Jaya. The recollections of those students who themselves came
from Biak of tales they had heard earlier from their parents served as the main source. In addition, some of the oldest people from Biak living in Jayapura, who had themselves experienced one of the Koreri movements, were interviewed. After the results of all these efforts had been compared with the material gathered by F.C. Kamma in his book on Koreri, we settled on a final version of the myth which appeared to us to be the oldest, so that we could approach it with the methods of historical criticism.

It is of course clear that this procedure is really hardly tenable. One cannot simply declare as original a certain version of a myth which has not yet been written down in a generally accepted form. A story still, today, being told from village to village is told in each area according to the tradition of that area, which is surely different from the tradition of another area. On the other hand, a fixed text is prerequisite to any more profound exegesis. For this reason we attempted, with our extremely limited possibilities, to establish what we held to be the oldest and purest text. We took the disadvantages of this method in the bargain, since we had set as our program for the limited time available to us with the students the interpretation of a myth such as that of Manarmakeri or Koreri.

In the material we collected in this way, certain portions are clearly open to further development. For example, we included, with a modification, Kamma's family tree of Yawi Nushado, as well as references to the three mountains behind the village of Sopen, although obviously these pieces of information were really of no use for our version of the story. It is almost certain that there are other versions which develop these points at length. For us, precisely this sparsity in the embellishment of details served as an indication that we had perhaps not entirely been without success in our search for the oldest form of the myth. However, it will become clear that even in our version influences from outside the realm of the Biak culture may be felt.

The transformation of Yawi Nushado to Manarmakeri

Yawi Nushado is evidently quite an average citizen of the village of Sopen. Nowhere is any indication to be found that there was anything special about his rank or of any other peculiarities. He was chosen completely at random. Nor is there any indication that a divine choice was made to decide on Yawi Nushado. For he is not given any particular commission nor told to instruct or lead his fellow men. Actually, Nushado's miraculous experience in effect separates him from his fellow villagers, for Yawi's heart is filled with contemplation and longing, and the people who have not had such an experience or vision cannot comprehend this at all. Here it already becomes clear that there is no distinction or opposition between the spiritual and the physical in the realm of the myth. A spiritual separation effects a physical exclusion as well; Yawi Nushado's health becomes impaired and he becomes scabious. His contact with Koreri and his constant contemplation of Koreri increasingly destroy human reality. New life means the collapse of the old life.

The close relationship between the divine and the physical, up to and including complete unity, becomes clear in the sentences concerning the pig. For this pig can enter the garden without damaging the fence; it cries out with a human voice and makes human footprints; it is without doubt an unusual animal. But on the other hand the pig comes for the purpose of rooting in the garden and can be hit with a plain, ordinary spear. All wild pigs can be hunted by men in this way. It is quite clear that the pig is not the powerful god. Then there was the
power that appeared in the "human voice" in the cave. This voice is able to command and to scold. The myth thus acknowledges an almighty power, which can be heard but not seen. What can be seen and experienced is the incarnation of the god in the form of a natural being. The pig, and later the cassowary, do not simply represent dead tools, but are rather incarnations of the omnipotent which can move about independently.

Evidently the myth acknowledges a close relationship between nature and the divine without, however, equating the two. The dividing wall comes between these two realms on the one hand and human life, including the whole cultural realm, on the other, whereby all power is to be found on the side of the omnipotent and of nature. Both the jungle and the ocean with all their inhabitants are felt by men to be strange and make them uneasy. It would be impossible to say here that the realm of nature has been subordinated to the power of man who is to have dominion over it and form it according to his will. Quite the contrary; the realm of human life is harassed by the realm of nature and constantly kept fearfully respectful, for this is where man encounters the divine power.

In addition to the two realms of the human and the divine, there is a third distinct realm, and this is the realm of Koreri. This is an exact mirror image of the human realm, but without any faults. The village of Koreri is large and beautiful; only young, healthy people live in it. They sing and live full of joy. Yawi Nushado even recognizes some of the inhabitants from the time when they lived in his village. But those who were old and sick then are now young and strong. Koreri is a world apart which really is a world and not merely a dwelling place for souls and spirits. Koreri is a real world, a world filled with happiness.

But it is not possible for men to enter this happy world or to bring it about through their own efforts. Yawi can do absolutely nothing which will help him attain this goal. He is merely led and does not himself understand where he is being led to. He is angry about a wild pig which has destroyed his garden and wants to spear it. The fact that the pig has a human voice and makes human footprints does not produce any real astonishment in Yawi. He follows the tracks just as he would on any wild pig hunt. There is no indication that Yawi starts thinking about things and thus has his own independent ideas about what is going on. Yawi Nushado does nothing on his own initiative; he is acted upon and simply led, and in such a way that he himself does not even notice the fact.

Koreri is something man cannot attain by himself; he can only contemplate it and dream about it. Koreri is separated from the temporal world by a cave, clearly a symbol of death. Without death, without the end of everything old, there can be no Koreri. As long as Yawi Nushado is still alive, he cannot become an inhabitant of the beautiful village. He cannot even retrieve his spear, for it has already come in contact with the incarnation of the omnipotent. The spear has already become a part of Koreri and is thus pure and no longer spotted with blood. Now the spear is guarded by a snake to make sure that it cannot be removed from the cave. It would perhaps be more precise to describe the snake not merely as a guard, but as a part of the dividing wall. Snakes, crabs, and all animals which shed their skins are venerated as a promise and an assurance that the old world is sure to become the new world. It is believed that this possibility is given and will come to pass — even if man can do nothing in his own power to facilitate it.

There is absolutely no possibility for Yawi Nushado to enter Koreri. He can only contemplate it again and again. By doing so, he becomes estranged from his neighbors; he keeps more and more aloof and as a result he is not only lonely but also despised. He is treated like a leper by his fellow
villagers. Yawi Nushado becomes Manarmakeri, who has already had a vision of Koreri, but has received neither the ability and possibility to enter it on his own nor the ability and possibility to impart his experience to his fellow men. As far as his fellow men are concerned, Manarmakeri is just an old, scabrous man, equivalent to a leper and thus useless for purposes of furthering the interests of the village.

**His departure from the village of Sopen**

At this point we no longer hear anything about Yawi Nushado. He has already changed completely into Manarmakeri, lonely, and isolated. When he offers to participate in an undertaking of the village as a whole, the others merely ridicule him and do not take his offer seriously. For how can a man who looks so old, scabrous and weak be successful where all the other villagers have failed? Thus, Manarmakeri is unable to join the main group; he has already been ostracized and has become an outcast. Thus he lives outside the realm and the protection of common tradition. It is no longer necessary for his fellow men to honor him as any normal member of the society would be honored. It is not considered necessary to hold one's promises to such a person. For this reason Manarmakeri is not given the younger sister of the chief's son to be his wife. He can be paid off with a pig. And finally even his own family show him what they think of him by taking all the vegetables from his garden and eating them along with all the meat of the pig without even waiting for the real owner, Manarmakeri, to join them. Thus, Manarmakeri is left with no other means of vindication. His rights as a citizen in his own area have been denied him and he is practically forced to leave it. It does no good for him to get angry.

Here a peculiarity of Koreri becomes even more distinct. The knowledge of Koreri does not give rise to any endeavors to attain deliverance. Manarmakeri is not able to get any closer to Koreri through his own efforts, and of course he is not able to bring it about. By knowing about Koreri he becomes increasingly estranged from his fellow men; he becomes increasingly isolated to the point where he is forced to leave all places and all people who have not received this knowledge of Koreri. The myth of Manarmakeri does not treat of the coming of Koreri, but rather of the absolute separation between the temporal and the eternal world. Here there is no hope of developing eternal life within the temporal world.

Nor is this separation due to any failure on Manarmakeri's part. He has done nothing wrong. The separation comes as the result of success in a task at which all others have already failed. On the other hand, Manarmakeri himself does not really do anything to achieve this success. He simply remains quiet, hides, and waits. His success is not earned; it just happens. Thus, one cannot really in good conscience speak of "success". Success is the result of effort and achievement. The greater the effort, the greater the success. But this rule does not apply within the realm of the myth. Manarmakeri negates all human efforts, and precisely for this reason he attains the goal for which all were striving. In the realm of Koreri, human efforts merely create a disturbance. In the realm of Koreri, it is good to get something for nothing.

At this point there is room for a great deal of discussion as to whether one can really say that Manarmakeri has no sense of initiative. For, after all, he had to hide and develop his clever plan. But in the text itself there is simply no indication that Manarmakeri exerts any sort of effort at all. Everything happens more or less accidentally. Only when Manarmakeri approaches the cassowary with his staff does any sort of activity on his part seem to appear. Thus the discussion about
activity on the part of Manarmakeri finally centers on the problem of the staff as a consciously used tool.

However, if one now attempts to picture in one's mind just how this staff is used to capture the girl, one encounters certain difficulties. For it is hardly possible that the cassowary had to be knocked down with the staff or that the staff had to be thrown between his feet. For if the cassowary were caused to fall, the girl would fall off his back and could well hurt herself. But none of these things is within the realm of possibility within the framework of the text.

If one really takes the text seriously as it stands, there remains only one method for capturing the girl which is really imaginable. The cassowary comes tearing out and races back into the forest—right past the place where Manarmakeri is hiding. He steps out at the last moment and suddenly becomes apparent to the cassowary. But the cassowary can no longer stop or change his direction and simply races on. When he is even with Manarmakeri, the latter simply reaches out and grabs the girl from his back.

But the staff is of no possible use if one considers this to have been the course of events. The goal is achieved simply by Manarmakeri's coming out of his hiding place and grabbing hold of the girl. Here the staff would rather be in the way than be a help. Is it possible that there is an older form of the story in which no staff is mentioned as a tool used by Manarmakeri? After a more thorough examination of the section \textit{In Maundori}, this possibility will present itself as being highly probable. The staff came into the story from the outside at a later date and provides evidence that the story has been influenced by outside sources.

At first glance it is not quite clear where the omnipotent appears in this story. Some see it in the girl, since the cassowary serves her so tenderly and submissively in all things. However, this is untenable, since there is absolutely no sign of omnipotence to be found in the girl. In the end, she becomes the wife of the chief's son and thus disappears from the further course of the story as a normal villager. All initiative and all wondrous deeds can be traced back to the cassowary. Just as was the case with the wild pig in the first part, here it is the cassowary which is an incarnation of the omnipotent, which in this section is not mentioned. Thus once again the close connection between virgin nature and the omnipotent is confirmed. Wild animals such as wild pigs or a cassowary are closer to the divine than are men, which of course does not mean that divine qualities can be attributed to every animal.

The fact that not every pig is a holy pig is seen in the fact that no one has any qualms about eating pork. At first this may seem rather surprising, until one recognizes a basic difference between wild pigs and domesticated pigs. The wild pig can be called a part of virgin nature, but the domesticated pig cannot. However, this also does not mean that every wild pig must be regarded as an incarnation of the omnipotent. Up to this point it is merely clear that a wild pig can be such an incarnation, and one should not be too quick to generalize here.

\textbf{The Journey}

As the various stages of Manarmakeri's journey progress, two basic tendencies become clear. In the first place, it becomes increasingly manifest that Manarmakeri is a bearer and agent of Koreri. His deeds become ever more miraculous. In the end, one is even justified in saying that Koreri has become revealed and present in him. Manarmakeri has become \textit{Mansren Manggundi}, which is the Biak phrase meaning 'the Lord Himself'.

But at the same time Manarmakeri becomes increasingly estranged from the rest of mankind. Even the four clans which he
founded himself are not capable of living in obedience to his will. The inevitable result of this is that Manarmakeri is forced to separate himself ever more from his milieu. He simply has to leave wherever he is, which emphasizes what was said previously, i.e., that there is no connection between the temporal world and Koreri. This world cannot simply be transformed into Koreri. Koreri comes as an inversion of the temporal world after its demise and disappearance. For this reason it would be false to understand Manarmakeri's commandments as a sort of condition for the coming of Koreri. Nowhere is the promise to be found, "if you do thus and so, Koreri will come." The commandments are to be followed, but in the myth Koreri can nevertheless not be forced to appear.

The Sojourn in Maundori

This part of the story does not really fit into the context of the rest, for here we have the only tales in which Mansar, the Old One, actually uses his staff as a tool. One can even gain the impression that the staff is the real source of his miraculous power. But this is quite incongruent with the impression hitherto that the omnipotent becomes incarnate only in virgin nature, such as the wild pig or the cassowary. The content of this section is obviously foreign in the context of the myth as a whole. For normally Mansar does not use any sort of inanimate tool as a magic instrument to carry out his deeds. He does not use a staff for drawing the different boats later on, although it would have been quite helpful there. Nor is miraculous power ever to be found in artificially produced tools, but only in living nature. It is also quite strange that Mansar should suddenly develop initiative of his own here, of all places, where it is really of little significance for the myth as a whole. It is surely correct to conclude that the events in Maundori were added to the myth at a later date, and therefore it is not necessary to take them into account in an interpretation of the original myth.

On the other hand, this example of the staff clearly shows how fundamentally an outside influence can change the context of the myth. We have already seen how the staff also suddenly appeared in the section: Manarmakeri leaves his village of Sopen. In another version, the staff is used to plant the four clans. And finally, there is a version in which the staff is even mentioned as the real gift of the Morning Star on the island of Wundi. But despite all this we see no reason to insert the staff, which really does not fit into the general framework of the myth, in places where it has not already been mentioned. On the contrary, all the evidence indicates that it would be proper to delete the staff wherever it appears in our version.

The Mokmer-Wundi Trip

In this section, nothing really new is presented, except for the fact that here it is not merely Manarmakeri himself who is treated with contempt, but the contempt also rubs off on the relatives he happens to be staying with. However, since neither Mansar's relatives in Samber nor those in Mokmer, both of which are villages on Blak, play a role in the rest of the story, one can perhaps assume that the contempt for Mansar's relatives is aimed at Mansar himself. Thus, this section is basically a repetition of some of the previous sections. Evidently this point is so important to the myth that it is repeated several times. It is simply not permissible or possible for Mansar to live at peace among other people. Each time he tries to establish contacts, he is soon forced to set out again anew. One could call Manarmakeri's journey the journey of his defeats. Not one single step toward the coming of Koreri is successful.
Here another point made above is also emphasized, i.e., that Mansar demonstrates absolutely no efforts to tell others anything about Koreri. He has been affected by koreri himself, but he is incapable of communicating anything about it to others. Absolutely the only consequence of his knowledge of koreri is his estrangement from all other human beings.

The Events on Wundi

The pattern of this section corresponds approximately with that of the section: Yawi Nushado becomes Manarmakeri. What was a garden there is a palm tree here. The role of the wild pig there is played by the Morning Star here. There the result was that Yawi Nushado became Manarmakeri and here Manarmakeri in the end becomes himself a true incarnation of the omnipotent, a fact which is merely expanded and interpreted in the following sections.

Just as there the wild pig, the cassowary, etc., as representatives of virgin nature, served to bring about something miraculous, here also the Morning Star is basically nothing more than a tool which is used in order that Mansar can receive what is called "the secret of life". Of course the Morning Star is a much more magnificent tool and of greater dignity than a wild pig or a cassowary. Correspondingly, the Morning Star's gift is considerably more wonderful. This fits in well with themes from many other Irianese myths in which the Morning Star repeatedly appears as the primary aide of the moon, which is itself quite often the omnipotent.

At first glance, this appears to be the first occasion where Manarmakeri undertakes something on his own initiative and does not simply fail in all his efforts. But this first impression does not hold up under closer inspection.

In the first place, it is certain that Manarmakeri does not plan how he can acquire "the secret of life"; he simply wants to catch the one who is stealing his palm wine. It is only the fact that this thief turns out to be the Morning Star which creates a new situation. In the second place, it is true that Manarmakeri succeeds in catching the thief and hanging on to him, but the subsequent struggle merely plays the same role as the spear in the first story. It is nothing more than the path on which Manarmakeri is led to receive the secret of life. This becomes particularly clear when one compares the gift with what Manarmakeri probably wanted to achieve. Mansar is looking for a thief, and when he has caught him he will certainly demand repayment of the damage and perhaps an additional fine. Since Mansar surely does not know in advance whom he will catch, he also cannot have decided beforehand that he ought to demand "the secret of life". This means, however, that the acquisition of the secret of life is not the result of a direct effort on Manarmakeri's part, but that it is given to him without his previously having desired it.

It does not become very clear in the myth itself just what is meant by "the secret of life". For this reason the storyteller was of the opinion that he should attempt to explain it in an afterthought, i.e., in the phrase: the secret of life after death. But one cannot really take this explanation seriously. For the ability to live after death is by no means a secret; it already became clear in the first part of the story where Yawi Nushado recognized several inhabitants of the beautiful village, Koreri. And in the second place, life after death plays no role whatsoever in the further course of the story. For what Manarmakeri really receives is information on how he can beget a son with the help of a bintangur fruit. But this sort of miraculous thing is well within the realm of imagination of the myth and is also not particularly secret. Perhaps the secret is that Manarmakeri will be able to bequeath his miraculous characteristics as Mansen to his son. The
child's name, Manarbew, i.e., 'bringer of peace', would seem to point in this direction, as well as does the miraculous way in which the child finds his father.

But neither of these is really sufficient to make clear what is meant by the secret of life. The myth itself is not clear at this point. This is quite astonishing in view of the fact that this point constitutes the center and real substance of each and every Koreri movement. The followers of the movement hold that the secret of life is really koreri and its advent. However, the myth itself does not really permit such an interpretation. Thus the secret of life remains a secret which is given to Manarmakeri alone. And, just as before, the only result of this gift is the final separation between Mansar and all other human beings. Mansar makes no attempt to bridge the gap and the others are not capable of understanding Mansar with his secret. There is absolutely no indication that this relationship could change and people could be made capable of causing Koreri to come about or even to receive it.

In the course of the myth itself, Manarbew's role remains quite vague. According to his name, he is the one who can bring something and give it to mankind. But no mention is made of how and with what success he does this. Thus all undertakings in this direction must be regarded as being outside the framework of the myth and thus irrelevant to this investigation.

The secret of life has a special relationship to Mansar's marriage. This is made clear by the fact that the Morning Star really tells him how he can beget a son in an unusual way with the help of a bintanggur fruit. We have already seen how in the myth all special developments are brought about with the help of an element of virgin nature. And again it is not really clear who actually produces the desired result. Actually, Manarmakeri merely throws a bintanggur fruit into the sea. The fruit seeks its goal itself and it also returns by itself when the girl throws it back out into the sea. Once again the division becomes clear between the divine and nature on the one hand and mankind on the other. In actual fact, Mansar does not really seem to know beforehand why he should throw the fruit into the sea. And why does he not declare himself to be Manarbew's father if he is conscious of the fact himself?

The son distinguishes himself from his father in one important point. The son acts on his own. For it is the son who recognizes his father and not the other way round. In him miraculous power appears on the side of the humans for the first time - and it brings about the final division between this one family and all other people. They desert these four completely and leave Wundi, and they do so after they have destroyed all the normal possibilities for earning a living. Thus Mansar and his family are excluded from human society and committed to death. For now their connection to the omnipotent has become too close. A direct connection between the divine realm and Koreri on the one hand and the human realm on the other is simply not possible. Manarmakeri is not a kind of Messiah who causes Koreri to come about; he is a normal human being who has been elevated to the divine realm. But this is true of him alone, and his fellow men are not capable of comprehending this development. Thus we can once again conclude that the myth itself emphasizes the separation of the two realms and not their relation.

The fact that Saneraro, Insoraki's younger brother, also remains with them on Wundi is somewhat astonishing. No reason is given for it and Saneraro is never mentioned again in the rest of the story.

The Stay in Wundi

The following four parts of the myth simply elucidate what has already become clear; Manarmakeri fails repeatedly in his
attempts to return to human society and to concern people with Koreri. Yawi Nushado has changed completely into Manarmakeri, a powerful agent of the other world. As the representative of Koreri, he can now also undertake steps on his own initiative after the separation from human society has been completed. Now Manarmakeri can also perform miracles by himself without having to make use of natural tools and intermediaries. Now Manarmakeri has power over nature and can command it.

The first person who must be convinced of this is In soraki, his wife. She is evidently quite unstrung from having been deserted by all her friends. Presumably she is also furious at Manarmakeri for bringing this all about by choosing her of all people as his wife. Now she wants him to bear the burden of responsibility: He is to give his son, who is crying from hunger, something to eat. When Manarbew returns satisfied and replete, In soraki can hardly believe him. Visible proof is required before In soraki also goes to eat with her family. Once more it is Manarbew who convinces others. He, and not Manarmakeri, is the real intermediary between Koreri and mankind. For this reason it is so astonishing that the myth tells so little about Manarbew.

**Manarmakeri's Change of Skin and his Departure from Wundi**

Almost as an afterthought and in a very matter-of-fact way the myth reports the transformation in Manarmakeri's body and his general appearance. Nothing is said about the fire, i.e., whether it is a plain, ordinary fire or not. Nor are any other explanations given. An occurrence which has greatly and repeatedly excited the imagination of those who heard the myth is merely touched upon in the myth itself. In a way, this is not astonishing at all, for the transformation of Manarmakeri's body to that of a young, strong man is really only a necessary consequence in Manarmakeri's development, and this development has actually been inevitable since the previous story. Thus the actual physical transformation only needs to be mentioned as a necessary conclusion. From this point onward it is also proper to use one of the other titles mentioned in the introduction when referring to Manarmakeri, such as Munsren Manggundi 'the Lord Himself', or Munsren Koreri 'Lord of Koreri'.

And once again it is Manarbew who tells his mother about the new development. He must report and explain, since In soraki is at first incapable of recognizing Manarmakeri. And it is only this last development which really convinces In soraki that a miracle worker is living among them. Now it is she, and not Manarmakeri or Manarbew, who wants to tell their friends and relatives this good news. One wonders if this might be the reason the undertaking has so little success. One thing is certain: Manarmakeri himself undertakes nothing to draw people into the realm of Koreri. And even Manarbew, who up to now has always been the intermediary, does not suggest that they leave Wundi. It is In soraki, who is still a normal human being, who does this. Thus everything which follows is given a certain orientation right from the beginning; it is oriented toward failure.

The final part of this section is really an etiological story about the origin of various types of boats. Surprisingly, where a staff would have served well as an instrument for drawing, no mention is made of the use of a staff. Nor does Manarmakeri use any tools in the whole rest of the myth. He has no need of any, for now he has himself entered the realm of influence of the omnipotent. One could perhaps even say that he is now himself a part of power-saturated nature.

**Via Krawi to Numfor**

This section really consists of three stories which have
little relationship to one another aside from their geographical proximity. First, Manarmakeri's parents-in-law are given the opportunity to become young again, but do not take advantage of the opportunity. One could give as the reason the fact that they do not carry out Manarmakeri's demands. But one could equally well say that Manarmakeri's demands are so cruel and so far removed from human comprehension that they cannot be carried out. One can say it is the fault of the parents-in-law or one can say it is Manarmakeri's fault. Yet a third explanation would fit in even better with our interpretation. The conditions for entering the realm of Koreri are intentionally so harsh that they are impossible to fulfill with normal human capabilities. The people of this world cannot experience Koreri as long as they still live in the temporal world.

The second part is an etiological story about the origin of the island of Poiru, which becomes a playground for Manarbew. The last part is really also nothing more than an etiological story of the origin of four particular clans which play a role on Numfor. Here Manarbew essentially becomes a creator of man. The men are made from natural materials — they grow out of a tree. Thus man comes from living nature, i.e., from the realm of the omnipotent. The question immediately arises as to how the complete separation between man and nature came about which we have found demonstrated earlier. How did "the fall of man" occur? The extremely terse answer given here by the myth is not completely satisfactory. Can it be that this question, too, has been inserted into the myth from the outside, since the myth itself does not really answer it?

Manarmakeri's Westward Journey

Now it is once again emphasized for the last time that Insoraki's suggestion was crowned with little success. The complete separation between Manarmakeri's family and the rest of mankind finds its conclusion in their departure for the west, in the course of which they pass by Raja Ampat, where there are also Biak people whose tradition includes the myth of Koreri. Here Insoraki is no longer mentioned as taking part in the journey. She would be the only real human being in the group. Mention is made only of the departure of Manarmakeri and Manarbew. "The west" is of course not any particular place, but merely designates a goal outside the normal realm of imagination; no particular place was known. But no further explanation was required, for after all the sun set in the west every day, and no one knew where it stayed overnight.

Once again the repetition must be made: Even the members of the four clans created by Manarmakeri himself bring about the separation by their disobedience. But just as above, one can also pose the thesis that Manarmakeri himself brings about the separation with his impossible demands. And if one considers these demands more closely it eventually becomes clear anew just how deep the division is between the temporal world and Koreri. People who are no longer allowed to fetch food for themselves must die. And if death is no longer a reason for mourning, it has become something good, namely the entrance to Koreri. But it is the only entrance. There is no other way for the people of this world to enter Koreri. The reunion with Manarmakeri can occur only after death, after one has departed from this temporal world, just as he departed from it: the only way for men to achieve this is to die first.

Manarmakeri's Commandments

This final section of the myth is already an indication of how the myth finally came to be used to found the Koreri movement. Evidently the hope arose that with Manarmakeri's return Koreri, too, would begin and become a possibility for
the life of those who are found to be Manarmakeri's true followers and disciples.

However, the interpretation of the myth itself gives no indication of any basis for such a hope. According to our interpretation, the essence of the myth is precisely the fundamental separation between the temporal world and Koreri. Therefore, a hope that Koreri will come about in this world is completely contrary to the tendency of the myth. Thus the myth itself contains no indication that Manarmakeri will return at all, except for the one sentence at the end that he would return after seven generations. But even here it is not made clear why he would return or what he would change in case he returned.

The content of some of the commandments given can hardly be traced back to the myth itself, except perhaps the prohibition of eating snakes or crabs. For neither pork nor pumpkins were the reason Mansar had to leave Sopen; in fact, it was the attitude of the inhabitants of the village that made Manarmakeri contemptible, so that he became furious and left the village.

The shedding of blood is not mentioned in the myth, nor do the preparations demanded in the fourth to sixth commandments have any basis in the myth, which after all contains no clear indication that Manarmakeri will return at all.

Thus we can consider the myth of Manarmakeri to be material which has been alive in the area of the island and the people of Biak for a long time. But it is equally sure that the myth alone would not have been capable of generating a Koreri movement if it had not been for influences from outside Biak. One can regard the arrival of the first missionaries to Biak as one such influence. It is possible that at this time the old myth was further developed into a Koreri religion against outside influences. Another specific occasion when

influences from the outside were brought to bear is to be seen in the appearance of the Americans and Japanese during the Second World War. It is possible that this sparked a more politically-oriented Koreri movement such as actually appeared at that time.

Thus we can already see three levels of attitude toward Koreri, all of which exist parallel to or intermingled with one another to the present day in Irian Jaya: the myth itself, a religiously-determined Koreri movement, and a politically-oriented Koreri movement. However, it is quite difficult to explain logically how one of these three levels could have developed directly from the other two.

Reference

POTTERY MANUFACTURE IN MANSINAM, MANOKWARI, IRIAN JAYA

Wilhelm G. Solheim II and Johs Mansoben

TEKSTISAR


The following description of pottery manufacture was obtained on September 6, 1975, from Antomina Rumbobiar of Kampong Mansinam, Mansinam, a small island just south of the town of Manokwari. The informant says that she is about 75 years old and the last potter left on the island. Pottery manufacture had been an active industry until during the Second World War. Local pottery stopped being made in 1949 because most of the potters were killed during the War when the Japanese executed many people of this kampong for disobeying their order against making fires at night.

Rumbobiar had learned to make pottery as a young girl from her mother and her mother in turn learned from her mother. Her grandparents had come to Manokwari from Numfor before the Christian mission had been founded on Mansinam in 1855. This mission was the first European outpost to be established in what is now Irian Jaya. There is a monument near the shore in Mansinam facing Manokwari dedicated to the two founders of the mission. Alfred Russel Wallace mentions visiting the missionaries in 1858 during
his stay in Manokwari (Wallace, 1962:377-378). Besides the pottery industry of the women, many of the men of this group were iron workers, as was Rumbobiar’s grandfather. Each family made its own pottery but the pottery and parang were also important trade items. These Mansinam people traded their pottery and parang with people on Numfor, Biak, and islands to the south in Gendarawasin Bay. In exchange they received food, principally sago and dried fish, and from Wandaman Island to the south, shell and stone bracelets, though the Mansinam people knew how to make these latter items. Rumbobiar’s grandfather was a famous war leader and led raids to Wandamen and Gebe, near Halmahera. In turn, headhunters from Wandamen sometimes came to Mansinam in many boats to take heads. Thus, while trade was active between these islands the exchange of heads in less pleasant circumstances was also active.

The clay for pottery was gathered in Kwavi, now in Manokwari, near the police office. It was gathered by the women who went by themselves, often one at a time, by canoe. Men were not involved in this task as this was women’s work. They did not take clay from near the surface but from a deeper level. Only a small amount of clay, enough for one day’s potting, was gathered at a time as the source of clay was so close by. Clay was called sapprop uren (sapprop = earth; uren = pot).

Clay was kept, after bringing it home, under or near the house, in the shade to keep it moist. To prepare the clay for potting a mat was spread on the ground and the clay on the mat. Either fresh or salt water was poured on it as it was kneaded by foot. Black sand was added during the kneading and any lumps noticed in the clay were removed. There was no cleaning of the clay separate from the kneading. For whatever type of vessel was going to be made, the same amount of sand temper was used. Most, if not all, of the prepared clay was used for one day’s pottery manufacture.

To make a pottery vessel the amount of clay needed for that vessel was rolled into a ball. A pestle-like stone, kero beso, was used to pound a hollow into the ball and then a rounded rock from the beach, kero bebaer, was used inside the hollow as an anvil and a wooden paddle used to paddle on the outside. (For details on paddle-and-anvil pottery manufacture, see Solheim, 1952a.) The first paddle used had a plain surface (Figure 1a) while the second was carved (Figure 1b). Unfortunately no pottery making paddles had been kept so we were unable to examine any of these tools. The plain paddle was called aibabaer and the carved aibabaer besyeke. The men made the wooden paddles and did the carving, choosing the patterns to be carved on the paddle. The paddles were made of different kinds of hardwood. (For details on carved paddle decoration of pottery, see Solheim, 1952b.)

Several vessels were made at the same time, in stages. When the first stage of a vessel was completed, it was put aside while the next one was brought to the same stage, and when this was completed for all, the next stage was started. The work was done inside the house in any kind of weather. When the day’s work was completed the finished vessels were dried in the sun for half a day.

Bowls were made both for cooking and serving food and were made in different sizes, but not in different shapes. A bowl for serving food was called bakon. Rumbobiar still had one of the bowls made in the kampong but there were no other earthenware
vessels left except for sago ovens, which are now imported from the Moluccas. She drew in the sand for us the common form of the rim of a bowl, and jars (Figure 2). There was a special tool for making the rim, made from hardwood. This tool was used to make the outturned rim like that on the pictured bowl (Plate 1). The flat top of this rim had been carefully smoothed but most of its original surface had eroded. The inside of the bowl had been smoothed and then polished, using the stone anvil. The outside of the bowl is plain with incised decoration around below the rim (Figure 3). Incising is called *famangoor*, which is also the word for carving. The incising was done with the point of an iron knife. Water storage jars with flat or rounded bottoms were made and the cooking bowls were also made with rounded or flat bottoms. When cooking, a round bottomed bowl was supported by three stones in the ground while a flat bottomed vessel was held on two stones. When making the flat bottomed sago oven *aplik*, the outside walls and bottom were made first and then the internal partitions were added (Figure 4).

Firing the pottery was also done by the women using coconut leaf stems and sago branches for fuel. Wood is placed flat on the ground and then ten to twenty pieces of sun-dried pottery are placed on top with more wood then placed over it. The fire burns rapidly in about half an hour. Out of about 20 vessels fired together, one or two may break because of a flaw in the vessel. After the pot has cooled it is filled with fresh water and placed over a fire to boil. When this has been done, the vessel is ready for use. Coating with resin was not known. Though questioned on the subject, no supernatural beliefs, sanctions, or precautions were found in connection with the pottery manufacture.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**NOTES**

1 The data for this paper were collected by the authors and Goenadi Nithamimono while in the field on an archaeological survey of coastal western Irian Jaya, sponsored by the Pusat Penelitian Purbakaala dan Peninggalan Nasional, University of Hawaii, and Gendhrawasih University with financial assistance from The Ford Foundation.
The pottery manufacture of Lake Sentani, done at Kampong Abar (on the south shore about at the middle of the lake) has been mentioned at least once before. The following description was made in 1903 (Sande 1907:235-236):

"On Lake Sentani the village of Abar also produces pottery; greyish black clay, found in the immediate vicinity, is used. Specimens of this industry have been discussed as Nos.68-73 (PI. I, figs. 22, 23, and 25). During a short visit I also saw other shapes in the making, which very much resembled the ordinary pot of Kajo Jenbi; these articles are, however, much inferior to those of Humboldt Bay. The clay is prepared before hand, and cleaned of stones in a very unsatisfactory manner, at all events, once when I saw women manufacturing a pot, which was nearly finished, they were knocking on the outside, brought to the surface small stones, of 4 cm. in diameter, which had to be picked out and the hollows made again to be filled up. A flat oval stone (No. 714, PI. XXV, fig. 2) out of of the island of Pjoo, was held inside, the flat, wooden beater (No. 715, PI. XXV, fig. 10), knocking on the corresponding spot of the outside surface, in a manner known elsewhere. I was convinced that these pots are started in the way mentioned by Pratt... of the Motu women: 'seize a lump of clay with both hands and make a hole large enough to get the right hand in,' and not by beating together a miscellaneous sandstone, plentifully found on the island of Pjoo, was held inside, the flat, wooden beater...

Concerning the pottery, Sande (1907:10) had this to say:

"The pots of Lake Sentani (nos.68-73, PI. I, figs. 22, 23, and 25) are shaped like basins, as a half globe, sometimes

with a rim somewhat bent outwards or broadened. They are
of a brown black colour and coarser than those of Humboldt
Bay. The average thickness of the walls is 7-11 mm., of
the bottom fully 19 mm., therefore the weight of these
pots in comparison to the capacity is much more unfa-va-
ble; pot No.69 f. i. has with a weight of 3,45 K.G., only
a capacity of 9.5 L... These pots generally have raised
borders baked on, undulating and circular whilst scratched-
in ornaments are absolutely wanting. All these pots were
obtained in the village of Abar, which, according to the
guides from Humboldt Bay, owed a reputation to this indus-
try. I also saw here a pot being made, which had the
'globe' shape..."

Abar continues in 1976 to be the only source on Lake Senta-
ni for earthenware pottery and there are several women there who
continue to make pottery for sale or trade. The large bowls for
cooking sago porridge (helai) are to be found in a number of
homes (Pl. I a) at many different kampongs on the lake. Two o-
ther kinds of vessels are for cooking fish (olomebe) and for
storing sago in water (hele). On Sunday, 2nd February, 1976,
we stopped at Abar in the afternoon to make arrangements with
Lucia Fele to visit her the following Sunday morning to inter-
view her on pottery manufacture. We found her in her house,
built on piles over the water, with her pottery making equipment
out on the floor in one corner and a partly completed bowl. She
was resting as she didn't feel well. We had the impression when
we left, as when we arrived, that she was the last remaining
potter at Abar, and on Lake Sentani.

We returned on the 9th of February to find that the old
lady was quite sick and not in condition to talk. We were a-
fraid it might no longer be possible to get first hand data on
Lake Sentani pottery manufacture. While we were talking this
over one of the old lady's son-in-laws invited us into the house
and we found her lying on the floor and her potting equipment
put away. About this time we discovered that there was another
active potter in the kampong so we decided to ask only a few
questions and go to the other potter for data on manufacture.

We tried to establish the old lady's age. She said that she
could remember ten different ondoafi (common term for the tra-
ditional chief, who has the power, the authority and the rights
over all the community) of Abar and when the kampong was still
pagan (they are now christian) and the people went naked. She
remembered, when she was a small girl, seeing the first German
missionary who came into the Sentani area, and that he had a
bad leg. Pointing to a girl of 16 in the audience, she said
that she was about as old as that girl when she started making
pottery on her own. In answer to a question she said that there
had been little, if any change in pottery styles since she start-
ed making pottery.

Moving to the present ondoafi's (Philipus Doyapo) home we
found that his wife not only was an active potter but was work-
ing on a large bowl when we arrived. While we were talking to
her and her husband another woman joined her and helped as she
was working. We didn't make an inventory of the active potters
in Abar but we talked to at least three and there appears to be
several more.

Abar has a traditional monopoly on pottery manufacture for
all of Lake Sentani. There are four clans in Abar and there
are potters in all of these clans. The only marriage rule that
we noted is clan exogamy. Many women marry a man of another
clan in Abar and thus are born, live, and die there. Others
marry out of the kampong and in from outside. Dina Bol Doya-
po, our main informant and wife of the ondoafi, came from an-
other kampong. A girl may learn how to make pottery from her
mother or other female relative if she was born there. If
she marries in to Abar she may learn pottery manufacture as an
adult from a related or unrelated female. If a girl marries
out of Abar she may continue to make pottery in her new kampong,
even making it for sale or trade if she wishes. She must come
to Abar, however, to get the clay. Clay is available elsewhere
around Lake Sentani but it is believed by everyone that the Abar clay is best and pottery from any other clay is not as good.

The clay in Abar is owned by Abar and if a girl leaves Abar she is no longer a part owner. If she wishes to make pottery she must return to Abar and ask her mother, another relative or a friend, for the needed clay and they will give it to her but she may not gather it herself. When a girl has married out of Abar she may teach her daughter how to make pottery but she also must have the clay given to her and may well not be sufficiently well acquainted with anyone in Abar, even her grandmother, that she would be given clay, or at least very much of it. Pottery is, or at least was, made elsewhere than Abar but only the Abar pottery had a good reputation so through the monopoly of the clay Abar maintained its position as the one potting center for Lake Sentani.

Clay (kenda) for pottery comes from the base of a hill near the lake shore a few hundred meters west of Abar. Today the women gather the clay though if a woman is sick her husband may gather it for her. Formerly, the men gathered the clay and brought it back to the kampong. With the clay close by the women will go one or two together to gather the clay whenever they need it. The clay is not right on the surface but a short distance below. As they gather clay they have formed small caves within the clay deposits. Two different colors of clay are found, one rather black and the now more common, a red-brown. These are mixed together with no attention paid to the color. The clay was put in a dried palm leaf to carry back to Abar and for storage. To a direct question they replied that there are no beliefs or practices connected with the clay, or its gathering, of a supernatural nature. While it lasted — clay from one trip might last up to a month, depending on how much time the women had for potting — the clay was stored on the back porch, over water, and kept moist by adding water as needed. Cleaning of the clay ordinarily takes place as it is used for potting although they can clean all of the clay at one time if they wish.

When starting a bowl the potter first removes the quantity of clay from her stock that she thinks will be enough to make the first stage of the vessel she has in mind. Our potter worked on a square board of a composition material, on the front verandah where there was more light for watching and taking pictures. Ordinarily they work in the large back room which includes the kitchen. On the board she kneads the clay to make it good and plastic, picking out small stones and other material as she feels them during the kneading. She forms the clay into a cylinder (Pl. VII) and then with her thumb makes a hole, first in one end and then in the other, enlarging the outside of the cylinder and working the hole from both ends until the cylinder is hollow. The cylinder is then placed on end on the board and made solid to the board with some of the clay. Using her fingers the potter then draws up the clay from the inside of the cylinder, making the wall thinner and thinner and wider in diameter towards the top until the clay is about half the height and diameter of what the bowl will be when it has been completed. At this point, with the hole in the bottom, the half finished bowl is put out of the way in the house to dry for one to two weeks.

When we arrived at the ondoafi's house his wife was working on the second stage of making a bowl, after the product of the first stage had dried the needed amount. The potter, and her helper, were each breaking off a piece of clay from a large lump, kneading and cleaning it and then rolling it between the hands into a cylinder about 15 cm long and 1.5-2 cm in diameter. When four or more cylinders were prepared the potter added these, a piece at a time, on the top edge of the bowl, pinching
the roll on to the edge (Pl. II) and starting a new roll where
the previous roll stopped. After two or three rolls were added
she returned to the first roll and with the palm of her left
hand on the outside of the bowl, and the thumb of her right
hand inside, pressed against the roll of clay, down and dia-
gonally away from herself (Pl. III). At the end of this move-
ment she scraped the inner surface back towards herself with the
tips of her fingers, these alternate movements taking place
rapidly. After every two or three rolls of clay were well at-
tached the potter turned the bowl on its base. While this work
was being done with the fingers no water was used on the hands
or the bowl.

At this point of manufacture the inside of the bowl was
fairly smooth, though the finger marks were clear, while the
outside was rough and what looked like coils of clay were no-
ticeable. The potter started to smooth the outside of the bowl with
the back of her second finger, turning the bowl as she did this.
The hole was still in the bottom and was about 7 cm in diameter.
The clay was plastic but rather dry. The diameter of the top
of the bowl was 36 cm.

The potter now started gently patting the bowl on the out-
side with a wooden paddle (yanggalu), dipping the paddle fre-
cently in a pan of water at her side. On the inside, opposite
where she was paddling she used her hand as an anvil. The old
woman we had first talked to had a stone anvil (huga) with her
pottery tools that we had seen the week before. We inquired
about this and the potter told us that she also had a stone
anvil which sometimes she used and sometimes she didn't. Once
or twice during the paddling a bit of clay was added to the
outside. At all times the paddling was gentle and the process
lasted only five minutes. The primary result was a general
smoothing and evening of the outside surface.

The body of the bowl was now practically complete as far
as form is concerned with the bottom, rim, and decoration still
to do. The top edge of the bowl was ragged. The potter worked
around the bowl as she turned it, pinching off bits of the edge
between her thumb on the outside and three fingers inside, drop-
ing the clay she has pinched off inside the bowl, at all times
keeping her fingers wet. By now the outside of the bowl, and
to a lesser extent the inside, is slippery and wet. This pinch-
ing has produced even a rougher edge than before. The potter
then started to smooth the edge. With her thumb and third fin-
ger on either side she moved her hand back and forth along the
ege with her second finger flattening the top of the edge.
Here and there, to even the edge, she added small bits of clay
onto it from the clay that had been dropped inside the bowl.
When this procedure was completed the lip of the bowl had a
slightly concave surface from side to side.

She next started to flatten the lip by patting it with the
well moistened paddle (Pl. IV g). Then, with the paddle, she
patted the outer edge of the lip slightly outwards and down
while walking backwards around the bowl. This had broadened
the lip, and she further smoothed it while walking around using
her very wet thumb on the outside and fingers of her right hand
inside while patting the outer, upper side tightly with her
paddle (Pl. IV h). The completed lip now varies from a flat
to a rounded surface.

The bowl was decorated by applique and incising. The pot-
ter rolled out on the board supporting the bowl several pencil
thick cylinders of clay from 10 to 20 cm long. First she made
a circle about 3 cm in diameter, attaching the clay cylinder
to the outer surface below the rim in sort of pinching fashion.
She then applied the clay cylinders in a straight line around
the bowl about 5 cm below and parallel to the lip, pushing the
clay on to the surface with the second finger of the hand while
supporting the wall with the left hand inside the bowl (Pl. V).
This 'belt' around the bowl is called volu. She smoothed over the surface of the applique with wet hands. She next made an incised pattern using a stick the size of a match which she had prepared just before she started the incising. Above the applique ridge she incised a row of crescents, opening to the left around the bowl (Pl. VI). We had seen no present day Sentani pottery with incised decoration before. The potter told us that the woman who taught her how to make pottery, after she had married into Abar, taught her how to do the incising, as well as the applique (Pl. VII). After the bowl has been decorated it was set aside to dry for two or three days.

The bottom of the bowl had been left thicker around the hole than the rest of the bowl. After the drying the hole is closed over using the paddle and anvil. The completed bowl then dries in the house for two to three weeks. If it dries too long it may break during firing.

Firing is done one bowl at a time. The bowl is placed upside down on four rocks with dry pala or sago leaves underneath and piled over it. After it starts to burn it burns for about half an hour. There is no special place for firing. After the firing has been completed the still hot vessel is removed from the ashes using a coconut leaf and turned upside down to clear out the ash. Very seldom does a bowl break during firing. Some time after the bowl has cooled but before its first use it is placed upside down over the cooking fire in the house and green leaves are burned inside, making the inside black. It is then washed and ready for use.

Now that there is no more fighting between kampongs the pottery may be taken to other kampongs for sale by either the women or the men, or people from other kampongs may come to Abar to buy or trade for a bowl. The pottery is now sold for money or exchanged for beads and may still be used as a part of bride-price. Before they were exchanged for beads or stone axes.

When there was still active fighting between different kampongs the Abar people never took the pottery to other kampongs for exchange but when a family in another kampung needed a bowl they came to Abar to exchange for it. If the people coming by prao were from a kampong that was an enemy of Abar's they displayed a sign on the front of the prao indicating that they were coming for trade and as long as they did this they were safe while in Abar.

Reference
PLATES

Plate I a
*helai* for cooking sago porridge

Plate I b
*note* for serving fish or vegetables

Plate II a
Onoafi's wife, pinching clay cylinder unto top edge of bowl
Plate II b
Second potter, with the hole in bottom of bowl just visible

Plate III
Welding together added rolls of clay
Plate IV a
Finishing bowl with wooden paddle: flattening lip

Plate IV b
Finishing bowl with wooden paddle: smoothing lip and outside of bowl
Plate V
Applying clay decoration

Plate VI
Incising row of crescents above applique ridge
Plate VII

Decoration completed but bowl still with hole in the bottom. Potter is preparing a heavy cylinder of clay to start her next bowl.