

The Biakkers Maritime Network in the Western Coastal Region of Papua in the Nineteenth Century

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ABSTRACT

Based on A.B. Lapien's study of the history of the Sulawesi Sea region in the 19th century (1987) and Sutherland's recent work on eastern Indonesia (2021), this article discusses the west coast of Papua as a place that developed within the maritime network of the Indonesian archipelago in the 19th century. This was due not only to the region's commodities but also to the role of its people. The Bickers were a group that controlled the maritime network of Papua until the 19th century. What happened and why the Biakkers were on the west coast of Papua are fundamental questions of historical geography (Mitchell, 1960) and 'human geography' (Fouberg, Murphy, Blij, 2015), which are the approaches used in this study. This study found that the Biak-Numfor people built maritime networks and migrated to the Sorong-Raja Ampat region, the Onin Peninsula and the Maluku Islands. In the context of trade, meetings and bartering, the Biak people acted as intermediaries between the Bird's Head region and traders from Seram, Maluku, Sulawesi, China and Europe in the 19th century. The Biakkers also formed an alliance with the Sultan of Tidore in the hongi expedition. This study uses historical methods and sources such as archives, travel reports, and other related literature.

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1. Introduction.

1.1. Background.

In the collective memory of the Papuan people, there is a well-known slogan associated with the Biak-Numfor people: 'The Biak people are nowhere, yet they are everywhere.' This is a reference to the migration of resilient sailors from the Biak-Numfor Islands between the 14th and 19th centuries. Almost all regions of Papua, especially the north and west, have Biak communities; they are scattered and everywhere. The mobilisation of the Biak people outside their region to various parts of Papua was due to geographical, socio-cultural, economic and political factors.

The Biak Numfor people live on a group of islands in the northern part of Saireri Bay called the Schouten Islands, between 135 and 136 degrees east longitude and 201.45 degrees

south latitude. Among the Schouten Islands are Biak (± 2400 km²), Supiori (± 700 km²) and several small islands located on the edge of a vast reef. To the south of Supiori are Insubmabi and Rani, and to the northwest are Miosbefondi and Ayawi. According to F.C. Kamma (1945: 7), the largest of these small islands is 10 to 15 km² in size. Biak and Supiori are separated by a shallow strait due to the coral reef. This coral formation is also found on the coast, south of the reef, sometimes 100 metres above sea level, while the coast itself appears here and there as two lines where the waves break about 5-10 metres above sea level. On Supiori and northwest of Biak, there are several hills ranging from 200 to 780 metres in height. The island is not very fertile. Farming is only possible in a few shallow valleys and along small rivers. Swamps suitable for sago palms are very limited. Although rainfall is evenly distributed throughout the year, people still distinguish between the rainy season and the dry season. During the rainy season (December–March), westerly winds blow; during the dry season (July–September), the wambrau (southeasterly) winds blow, which are very fierce. Especially during the wambrau season, sea transportation is

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very difficult because most of the sago supply is obtained from Yapen Island. (Budjang, 1963)

The Biak people calculate time based on the stars. Their year begins on 31 March. This date can be determined by taking the midpoint between the northernmost sunrise and the southernmost sunrise known to occur in the east. In Bosnik (Biak), this date is determined by observing the lowest tide that occurs at that time, causing a large reef to dry up. This date is very important because it marks the beginning of the dry season at the start of the year, when the winds do not blow and people can undertake long voyages and trade. (Budjang, 1963). The types of traditional boats commonly used by the Biak people for sailing and trading include: Wai Mansusu (Trading Boat), Wairon, Wai Karures (War Boat) (Kamma, 1972: 44). The three types of boats mentioned in the Koreri myth, namely Wai Mansusu, Wairon and Wai Karures, were used by the Biak people for sailing and trading along the coast of Cenderawasih Bay to the west coast of Papua and Maluku for centuries before the advent of steam ships and Johnson motorboats (Rumbekwan, 2022: 4).

In maritime connections, the Biak people encountered sailors from the archipelago, China and Europe through barter trade, exchanging various commodities such as slaves, birds of paradise, parrots and massoi bark for trade goods such as Chinese metal and porcelain objects, silk fabrics and beads from these sailors. (Mansoben, 1995: 270-271; Kamma, 1984: 60-61). As a result, the culture of the Biak tribe was greatly influenced by the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, which in the 16th century ruled over several areas of Raja Ampat and several areas on the north coast of New Guinea. (Sinaga 2013: 36)

The western coastal region of Papua stretches from west to east and consists of several peninsulas and bays. As is common with coastlines facing the ocean, the contours of the coastline towards the sea tend to be steep. If we look at a map of Papua, the westernmost part of Papua looks like a protruding head with an open mouth. The Bird's Head (or Domberai Peninsula) forms the upper part. Just west of its 'nose' are the four main islands of Raja Ampat and more than a thousand smaller islands. The open mouth to the south is MacCluer Bay (or Berau Bay), with Bintuni Bay as its deepest inlet. The lower 'jaw' is the Domberai Peninsula. Its western point, which resembles a lower lip, is the Onin or Fakfak peninsula, which juts out towards Seram. The eastern part of this large Maluku island, and the small islands that stretch to the southeast, have ancient trade links with the coast of Papua.

The western coastal region of Papua is geographically close to the Maluku Islands. This proximity has led to maritime traffic, trade and cultural influences between the two regions. For example, the kings of the Onin Fakfak Peninsula have ancestral ties to the Seram region of Maluku. In addition, the communities in this region have Chinese and Arab descendants. This may be due to the maritime network connecting the western coastal region of Papua with the outside world. The regions of Sulawesi and Maluku were entry points for traders/sailors (Chinese, Arabs and Europeans) who came to trade or search for certain commodities that were in high demand/famous in the past.

In Valentijn's report (1862: 248), as well as in Muridan's

description (2013: 153), the Papuan ethnic group in the maritime context of Sorong-Raja Ampat and Onin [western coast of Papua], which was notorious and feared at that time, was a group referred to in Dutch reports as Papuase Zeerovers (Papuan Pirates). This name refers to the Biakkers group (a term used in Dutch archives). The Biakkers group had the capacity to be formidable sailors. They were Biak-Numfor people from Cenderawasih Bay (Geelvink Bay).

In accordance with the background description above, this study aims to describe the Biakkers maritime network in the western coastal region of Papua in the 19th century.

1.2. Problem Formulation.

The problems in this study are as follows:

1. How did the Biak Numfor people migrate to the west coast of Papua?
2. How are the Biakkers connected by sea to the west coast of Papua and the wider archipelago (Nusantara)?

1.3. Literature Review.

In Indonesian historiography, not many researchers have studied the voyages of the Biak people on the west coast of Papua. Based on a literature search by researchers, several books have been found that write about or describe sub-topics related to the voyages and trade of the Biak people of Papua.

The first monumental work on maritime affairs in Eastern Indonesia was written by AB. Lapien (1984). Lapien was the first Indonesian maritime historian to write about or introduce the concepts of seafarers, pirates, and sea kings in Indonesian historiography. This book includes a section on the famous Papuan pirates from Cenderawasih Bay, who were known for their excellent seafaring skills.

The second reference is by Leonard Andaya (1991). His work includes a description of the Papuan hong. According to him, Seram Laut was a distribution point for spices and massoi (the bark of a certain tree used for medicinal purposes) brought by the inhabitants of Seram Laut Island from the coast of New Guinea. This occurred in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. He describes the slave depot in Ceram Laut, where Papuans were held 'until market conditions were favourable'. Papuan slaves rowed Seram boats used for trade and piracy; they were fed sago and dried fish, and were very cheap.

The third piece of literature is an article written by F. Huizinga (1997). This article provides an overview of the hong. It also discusses the number of crew members, which does not seem to match the description of Tidore's kora-kora in the 19th century. This assumption is based on information about the kora-kora of Maba, Patani, and Weda (Halmahera), which were part of the Tidore hong in 1844, 1858, and 1890. It also appears that no distinction was made between rowers and soldiers; they seemed to be both at the same time.

The following article is according to Tom Goodman (1997). Goodman examined the sosolet exchange network and the history of the Seram Sea and its surroundings in the 17th and 18th centuries. Before the arrival of Europeans, sailors from

the southeastern islands of Seram travelled to specific settlements along the southwest coast and the islands of New Guinea to exchange Indonesian luxury goods – mainly cloth and iron tools – for Papuan products that were famous throughout the archipelago, particularly aromatic oils, bark cloth and slaves. He argues that the trade relations with New Guinea followed many Melanesian trade patterns that supported exchange during most of the Dutch East India Company period.

Literature confirming the existence of sosolot was written by Roy Ellen (2003). In this work, Ellen describes the role of Seram and Gorom in inter-island trade on the west coast of Papua through the sosolot system. Sosolot was a meeting place for traders and collectors of commodities from the interior.

The fourth source is according to Roy Ellen (2003). This work explains very well the role of Seram and Gorom in inter-island trade on the west coast of Papua through the sosolot system. Sosolot is a meeting place for traders and collectors of inland commodities. In the context of trade, meetings and bartering, the Biak people acted as ‘intermediaries’ connecting the Bird’s Head region with traders from Seram, Maluku, Sulawesi, China and Europe in the 19th century.

The fifth book is by Muridan Widjojo (2013). Muridan explains how the Papuans from the Geelvink Bay area were notorious for the speed of their ships and their sudden raids using traditional weapons that were deadly to their opponents. Muridan narrates that Raja Ampat, Papua Onin, was an ally of Tidore in winning the rebellion of Prince Nuku from 1780 to 1810.

The prowess of Papuan sailors in the 18th and 19th centuries can be found in the work of Albert Rumbekwan (2014). This work describes the voyages of the Biak people in Cenderawasih Bay in the 19th century. This work has been simplified by researchers into a research article published in the Proceedings of the Cenderawasih University Research Institute (2017). This article provides an excellent analysis of the Biak people in the Cenderawasih Bay region in the 18th and 19th centuries.

A recent study describing Southeast Asian maritime affairs, including the Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua regions, can be found in Sutherland’s work (2021). According to him, voyages and trade in the eastern part of the archipelago, especially on the west coast of Papua, followed a pattern of coastal connections and exchanges. Trade did not recognise specific ports. For him, coastal and inland exchanges were established due to the need for certain commodities. In this trade, slaves were an important commodity, and the hong of Tidore, assisted by Biakkers sailors, were highly respected in the past.

Criticising a number of the literature mentioned above, it appears that each author expresses their writing according to the aspects of the issues that are the subject of their study. Revelations about the west coast of Papua, the Bird’s Head region (Sorong) and the Onin Fakfak Peninsula in maritime connections and the socio-economic potential that drives shipping and trade relations have not been revealed.

In addition, the time frame also differs from the author’s study. Through this article, the author reveals the Biakkers’ maritime network in the western coastal region of Papua.

1.4. Research Methods, Sources & Conceptual Framework.

This research emphasises historical studies with stages beginning with data collection/heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. (Gottschalk, 1986: 18; Garraghan, 1957: 33). Once the data has been collected, its validity is assessed, analysed or interpreted, and then, once it is deemed valid, it is organised within a pre-established writing framework. The following conceptual frameworks are used: Historical Geography (Mitchell 1960), Human Geography (Fouwberg et al. 2015), Sea People, Pirates, and Sea Kings (Lapian 1987), Sutherland’s (2021) concept of connections, ‘trade routes’ and ‘coastal exchanges’ between inland and coastal areas.

2. Research Results and Discussion.

2.1. Biak-Numfor Migration (Biakkers).

From the beginning, the migration of the Biak Numfor people followed the story (myth) of Gurabesi. Among other places, the Biak-Numfor people migrated to the north coast of Vogelkop. In Van der Goot’s report (1938-1939: 415), it is mentioned that a boat arrived at this place with passengers from four different clans, who sat in the following order: 1. Warwei; 2. Gifilem; 3. Siwolo; 4. Makanan. Upon arriving at the Mega River, all disembarked except Warwei, who continued on to Sorong. While Gifilem remained on the coast, members of the other two clans moved inland. Siwolo joined Moi at the mouth of Klayili and Kalamede, while Mealim united with Madik in Sainkeduk. Regarding the members of the last clan, Crockett (1942: 45) reported that they were reluctant to continue the journey any further because they enjoyed the scenery of the sago swamps and the clean waterways with their abundance of shrimp and eels.

The Biak people of the Mar clan also settled at the mouth of the Mega River, which was later absorbed to the east by the indigenous people whom they named Karon (indigenous people) (Kamma, 1951-1952: 2). However, this integration process did not apply to all Biak-Numfor migrant groups. In addition to the Warwei clan mentioned above, members of the Mansamber and Warfandu clans also settled at the port of Doom Island. They maintained their identity, formed the village of Sorong and played a major role in the external contacts of the Moi community. The latter differed from members of Numforse clans such as Amberpoon, Anggradifu and Rumsarai. They settled on the islands of Jefman and Sasi in the strait between Salawati and the western coast of the Moi region.

Since the first Biak-Numfor migration began, as mentioned before the end of the 15th century (Kamma, 1947-1949: 365), the migration continued for hundreds of years. Moreover, the migrants often moved from place to place as long as they did not (immediately) integrate with the indigenous population. An example of a change of residence is ‘Rumangai’ in the southwest of Amsterdam Island and Middelburg. In 1705, Jacob Weyland’s ship reached this settlement, ‘becoming the first ship to sail on land’. In his footnote, Haga (1884: 163) expressed his suspicion that it was a settlement near the villages of Mar and Warsai. However, subsequent travel reports no longer mention

‘Rumangai’ on the north coast west of Cape Hope. This also applies to the village of ‘Sorong Massomberi’, which was also located on the coast of New Guinea in 1705 by Jacob van Geyn and Pieter Leupe (1875: 229), but no longer exists. Perhaps this is the village of Mansamber, which is now located on Doom Island. Finally, the different locations of Mar and Warsai, apart from their home village in Biak, provide a third example of the mobility of Biak-Numfor migrants. In 1887/8, De Clercq (1893: 166) noted that the inhabitants of these two villages had moved from the mouth of Mega to the mouth of Wewe. However, they later migrated and were found again in 1902 by Hille (1905-07: 203) in Wewe.

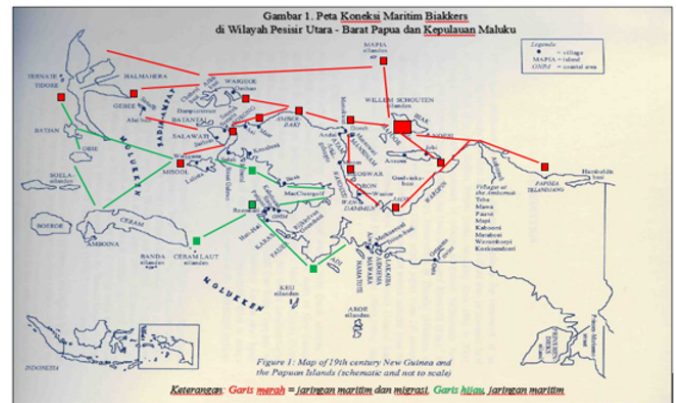
The extent of the Biak-Numfor migration wave can be seen from the distribution of the Sawai clan, who first settled on the Patani Cape in East Halmahera. From there, the Sawi tribe developed into its own community with settlements in Raja Ampat and even in Central Maluku, as evidenced by names such as Njandesawai (Sawai land route) in Waigeo, Jensawai (Sawai coast) in Batanta and Sawai in Seram. (Kamma, 1947-1948: 368; 1956: 23) During this migration, the Biak Numfor people became familiar with iron objects and their production.

Particularly in Patani and Gebe Island in the east, they learned forging techniques such as annealing, shaping and hardening. They began to use these skills as itinerant blacksmiths. Their iron products became highly sought-after items of exchange and had an attractive effect on the indigenous population. (Kamma, 1961: 25) They mention a specific migrant group, called the As, who used to trade these iron products in the past. When asked, these ‘As people’, or simply ‘As’ – who in a 1871 travel report were referred to as ‘the best blacksmiths in the region’ (Robidé van der Aa, 1879: 58) – turned out to originate from Raja Ampat and Halmahera (Patani), and still live in the villages of Moi in Asbaken and Mega. They may be descendants of the Sawian tribe just mentioned, but it is certain that their presumed origins are not only related to the iron route to the north coast of Vogelkop but also to the presence of the Patan, Salawati, and Gebin tribes, who, according to them, are descendants of the Sawian tribe, according to Miedema, (Miedema: 1984: 6) missionary Van Hasselt reported in 1888 that the indigenous people originally came from Biak, specifically from the village of Sopendori.

2.2. Biakkers’ Voyages in the Nineteenth Century.

The seafaring activities of the Biak people, who leave their region due to geographical and economic factors, are caused by the natural and environmental conditions of the Biak, Supiori and Numfor islands, which do not guarantee food security for the economic life of the Biak-Numfor people. (de Bruyn, 1920: 2-13; Mansoben, 1995: 264-265) Another factor is the customs of the Biak people, which cover all aspects of life from birth to death and must be carried out in the form of initiation and rites of passage ceremonies. Therefore, in order to meet the needs of traditional ceremonies, considerable economic support is required (Kamma, 1981: 274-317). Politically, the Biak people developed an attitude of korfandi/fanindi (mutual competition/rivalry), or known as ‘au kada, aya kada’ (attitude of pride in oneself), which encouraged voyages around the coast from

Figure 1: Network Diagram by Researchers.



Source: Sources on Netherlands New Guinea in The Indonesian National Archives The General and Political Reports of Ternate Residency (1824-1889). ANRI Jakarta, 2001. p. xvii.

the east and north to the western region of Papua (Rumansara, 1995: 37-38). And the events of inter-tribal wars caused the Biak people to disperse to other areas.

The success of a voyage and exploration undertaken by the Biak people is inseparable from the support of traditional Biak poems or songs, known as: ‘Wor’, such as war songs (dow mamun), rowing songs, and wor-wor specifically intended for trade, such as wor Manibob and wor som, or ceremonies for paying tribute to the Sultan, when the Biak people successfully sailed to Maluku to pay tribute and received prestigious titles from the Ternate-Tidore sultanate. (Kapisa, 1994: 37)

The spread of the Biak-Numfor ethnic group to various villages and islands on the north coast of Papua was recorded by Zendeling Geissler in his report that; “Every descendant of the Biak-Numfor clan had their own boat, and with that boat they made long sea voyages, which increased their prestige. The Biak and Numfor people used to sail as far as the Maluku Islands, and even Gorontalo (North Sulawesi) and Timor are mentioned. They also visited Seram, Nusa Laut, Buru and Salayar. To the east, these voyages initially stretched to the islands of Arimoa and Kumamba, and later to Humboldt Bay.

It is certain that by the mid-15th century, the Biak and Numfor people had reached the west (the Maluku islands), while the Biak people had visited Tidore. Perhaps one of their clans, the Sawai, settled in Halmahera and then in North Seram (Kamma, 1981: 60). Van Hasselt (1899), when visiting the islands of Biak-Numfor, wrote that ‘Papuan’ (the Biak people) liked to travel. In years long past, they set out in large boats to places far from Papua, as far as Seram, Timor and Sulawesi. They would travel for weeks, even months, enjoying moving from one place to another and staying temporarily wherever they pleased. (Hasselt, 2003: 33)

The spread of Biak-Numfor culture covers the Saireri / Air-mambo region, stretching from Mamberamo to McCluer Bay in Kepala Burung, south of Arguni Bay (Bintuni) above Fak-fak. The Biak people divide Papua into three regions: the first is Hermambo, stretching from Mamberamon (Mamberamo) to

Raja Ampat. Second, Warmamei (also known as Ifmei/Mamiat), meaning ‘along the coast where the water is murky due to the many rivers there (Digul River, etc.)’; from Sorong to Samarai, along the southern coast of Papua. Third; Wartabi (syab, isyabi (sunrise) from Mamberamo to the sunrise region, called the ‘Mamta’ (Mamberamo-Tabi) region, which covers the Mamberamo coast, the East Sarmi Coast, the Humboldt Bay region, Youtefa, and Skouw, in Jayapura (Ronsumbre, interview data, 2012). The division of Papua mentioned above then became a route for sailing and trade interactions as well as frequent ‘raak’ attacks between the Biak tribe and the tribes in Yapen-Waropen, Wondama Bay, Manokwari and others. (Hasselt, 2003: 33)

Initial communication between coastal communities in Cenderawasih Bay, who spoke different languages and belonged to different ethnic groups, was through oral traditions and specific symbols. For example, symbolic communication used rope knots to signify ‘a dog’, as a marker of the presence of the Numfor-Biak people in the Doreh Bay area, which was then responded to by the Arfak people, the indigenous inhabitants of Manokwari, who came out to barter and communicate, thus giving rise to trade friendships. (Rauws, 2009: 8-9) With their sailing skills, boat-building expertise and astronomical knowledge, the Biak people were able to undertake long voyages, establishing trade connections to meet their economic and food needs for survival. The Biak people also created sailing routes that connected them with other tribes for trade and exploration in the Cenderawasih Bay and the western coastal region of Papua.

2.3. Biakkers in the Sorong – Raja Ampat Maritime Network with the Maluku Islands.

According to Haga (1884: 6), the existence of the Papuan people as a seafaring nation predates the establishment of the Waigama kingdom in Misool in 1351. Miguel Roxo de Britto’s report mentions that the powerful kingdom of Misool not only attacked the surrounding areas of Papua, but also carried out attacks on Seram Island in the Maluku waters located south of Misool Island. After each attack, their boats never returned empty, always laden with loot. The accounts of Haga and de Brito indicate that long before Tidore expanded its influence to Papua, the Papuan people in the west, including the Onin people, were already engaged in trade and piracy around Papua and beyond. (Sollewijn Gelpke, 1994: 123-124)

In Valentijn’s report (1862: 248), as well as in Muridan Widjojo’s description (2013: 153), the Papuan ethnic group in the context of Onin [the western coast of Papua] that was notorious and feared at that time was the group referred to in Dutch reports as Papuase Zeerovers (Papuan Pirates)

The term Papuase Zeerovers in the 17th and 18th centuries, as observed by Gerrit Knaap, did not only refer to Papuans from Raja-Ampat, but was also given to Tidore subjects in the south-eastern part of Halmahera Island—Gamrange and the Bird’s Head Peninsula on the main island of Papua. In a number of cases of raids, sources also refer to Papuans living on the islands around Geelvink Bay (Cenderawasih) and Papuans from Onin living around the west coast of Papua. During Prince Nuku’s rebellion, the role of the Papuans who reinforced the rebel forces

in a number of clashes was decisive. (Valentijn, 1862: 248; Muridan Widjojo, 2013: 153)

The above description shows that the existence of the Papuan people as a warrior nation was greatly feared by foreign nations trading spices around the waters of Maluku and Papua. In addition to the Waigama kingdom on Misol Island, the kingdom ruled by the Papuan king on Waigeo Island in 1581 was also greatly feared by foreigners. These two kingdoms did not hesitate to attack their enemies to raid and plunder. Not only were they hostile towards foreigners, but they also treated other Papuan tribes on the north and south coasts of the island, as well as tribes inhabiting the mainland of Papua, in the same manner. They did not hesitate to attack and pillage the kingdoms in Semenanjung Onin. Wars were inevitable between the various kingdoms in the Raja Ampat Islands and the Onin Fakfak Peninsula. Regarding the ferocity of the Misool kingdom, J.H.W. Sollewijn Gelpke noted the following:

Those of Misool raid no place other than the island of Serdanha, which, as I have said, lies about thirty leagues to the south of Misol; and they do this by going there with a fleet of thirty to forty warships, none of which comes back without booty. The fleet first takes hostages, (then) releases them for a ransom, (and) returns to its base (in Misool red). (Sollewijn Gelpke, 1994: 318-332; Andaya, 1993: 67)

Due to the strength and power of the kingdoms on the coast and the tribes inhabiting the mainland, practically no foreign power ever occupied the island and technically administered it. The Sultanate of Tidore never definitively ruled the mainland of Papua. It only periodically sailed along the coast of this land to raid and collect tribute.

Tidore also carried out many missions of attack, raiding, and slave purchasing to various places on the southern coast of the Bird’s Head region (Sorong) and the Onin Peninsula (Fakfak), and the northern Bird’s Head region to the Wondama Bay area, and the islands of Yapen-Waropen, as well as Biak-Numfor in Cenderawasih Bay. Specifically regarding Ternate and Tidore, the raids were carried out as punishment for the Papuan people if they did not obey by paying tribute to the sultan. As recorded by E. Katoppo as follows:

According to instructions from Sultan Nuku, who was based in Waru Seram Utara, Ternate hongi boats sailed along all the coasts of the Papua Islands to plunder and rob and burn all the villages and boats found in the waters, in the rivers and tributaries (meaning branches of rivers) and kill anyone who resisted. (Andaya, 1993: 68)

Sultan Nuku was the Sultan of Tidore (Crown Prince of Tidore) who migrated to Waru and Waigama in Misool Raja Ampat as a result of the war between Nuku and Tidore (due to the dispute over the status of the crown prince). Nuku’s instructions reveal a situation of fierce competition within the Tidore royal family. Because Papua was an important region for Tidore’s hegemony, Nuku’s instructions had to be carried

out in order to put pressure on Papua, so that it would not support Tidore with troops and trade goods that would strengthen Tidore's economy, thereby weakening Tidore politically and economically. This information can also be compared with Kamma's account of the Ternate or Tidore attack on the village of Ansus in the Yapen Waropen Islands. Because they did not receive tribute from the inhabitants, the Tidore ships burned the village of Ansus to the ground. Kamma further notes that in addition to the ships being attacked and the villages burned, the inhabitants' property was also looted. In this attack, approximately 70 (seventy) residents were killed, and many women and children were captured and taken away as slaves to Ternate and Tidore. (Andaya, 1993: 68)

2.4. *The Role of Biakkers in the Bird's Head Region: Exchange between the Coast and the Hinterland.*

The Biak-Numfor immigrants, at least they played a mediating role in external contacts with the native population. Established at strategic points on the coast, they controlled the "gateways" [ports/barter centers] to the towering mountains. (Kamma, 1947-1949: 540) According to tradition, the first contact between the migrants and the Moi tribe in the interior was made through dogs that roamed the coast and were lured with food. (Kamma, 1961c: 14; Kamma and S. Kooijman, 1973: 31) The newcomer takes a piece of rattan, makes it flexible, ties several knots and connects the ends with herringbone.

Tumpè (besides the word tumpè, the Moi people use bagon, comes from the word *gon* Biak-Numfor/Maluku which is described by Kamma (1975-78: 188) as "an agreement, by tying a knot on a rattan rope. A person counts the nights when an appointment to meet was made. After one night had passed, each interested party who took the gon, cut the knot of the rope) this was hung around the neck of the lured dog, this sight initially caused fear among the Moi people when they arrived. Nevertheless, they got the point and headed for the beach at the "appointed time." Once there, they were introduced to the immigrants and from then on exchange contacts were established.

The types of goods involved are shown in Figure 2. grouped according to their use: The Moi provide the means for living (I), shelter (II) and (subsequently) exchange (III, IV); the immigrants provided the means to decorate the body (A, B) and hunt (C). Moreover, the commodity exchange scheme is not comprehensive and the groupings are somewhat arbitrary. For example, resin may have been not only a good of exchange for immigrants but also, as a source of light, a good of consumption; for example, machetes are also used by the Moi outside of hunting; the cotton thus obtained may have decorated the window frames of the Moi people. But what cannot be doubted is the ceremonial significance that items B and C acquired after they began to circulate among the Moi as wedding gifts and dowries. Moreover, before entering the Moi area, these items already had an important meaning in the cultural area of the Biak-Numfor people. In their most extensive writing on this "iron complex", Kamma and S. Kooijman (1973: 31) point out three parang (Sing, parang) that circulate among the Moi to this day. The origins of one of them, the other (parang Seram), confirms the wide branching of iron routes between regions.

As contact (exchange) intensified, the number of Moi and Biak residents living on the coast, either temporarily or not, increased. The latter learned the language of the Moi people and married their brides on a limited scale. This interdependence is also visible, for example when Malahani beach suffers greatly from waves. Several villagers had to move to Asbaken and Sawatut respectively, and those who decided to move were members of the Moi and Poros (Biak) tribes.

However, it should be immediately added that this dependency had the character of slavery for a long time, a fact that is important for a good understanding of the history of the Moi people. Moreover, the Biak immigrants not only controlled the "gateway" to the interior, but also formed outposts of a political-colonial configuration whose center was the Sultan of Tidore.

The settlements of Mansamber, Warwei and Warfandu on Doom Island – together forming the three districts of Sorong – as well as those of Mar and Warsai, are part of the so-called "nine negori" (negeri Sembilan) which, according to De Clercq (1893: 159) and Hille (1905: 238-240) traditionally fell within the Tidore sultan's sphere of influence. Although according to Hille (1906:468) it is doubtful whether the village of As is also included in the "nine lands", the fact is that "As", apart from "Warassaij" (= Warsai) and "Maar" (= Mar), is already mentioned in the Memorandum of Surrender of 1710. in the list of places that "dwelled under the dominion of Tidore on the coast of Nova Guinea." (Haga, 1884: 193)

Exchange of goods between Biak migrants on the northwest coast of Vogelkop and Moi. Domestic goods are marked with numbers, foreign goods with letters. Explanation: sago = palm essence which functions as a staple food; roof = palm leaves for the roof; rattan = the trunk of a similar palm tree, used, among other things, as a binding material in the construction of houses; (white) resin = resin which provides light during firing and also functions as a raw material for shellac and varnish; parrots and birds of paradise, especially their feathers which are used as ornaments for women, are in great demand on the European market.

Figure 2: Exchange of Goods between Biak Immigrants on the North West Coast of Vogelkop and Moi.

	I Sagu	II Atap/rotan	III damar	IV Burung Cendrawasih	
Moi	Pakain katun A	Manik-manik gelang B	Ujung tombak/parang C		Imigran

Source: Authors.

2.5. *Biakkers in the Hongi Expedition.*

In the nineteenth century, only parts of the west and north coasts were directly under the rule of the Sultan of Tidore. These are the Geelvink Bay, Sorong-Raja Ampat, and Onin (Fakfak-Kaimana) areas. Geelvink Bay is an area called "Mafor" in the documents, the territory of the Biak-Numfor people. The three most important instruments used by the Tidore sultan when

exercising his "power" in the coastal areas and islands of Sorong-Raja Ampat, the Onin Peninsula (Fakfak-Kaimana), to Geelvink Bay, were the granting of the title of king, the appointment of tribal chiefs, the collection of tribute, and if not paid, dispatch of a fleet of war canoes, called hongi. In fact, the Hongi expedition turned out to be nothing more than a raid that brought death, slavery and destruction.

Hongi Tidore consists of a large war canoe called a kora-kora. An explanation of this can be found in Kamma. These ships, equipped with several small caliber (one or two pound) guns, were propelled by oarsmen. On board there might be fifty to sixty people, sometimes even as many as seventy. Tidore sends an annual fleet of eighteen to twenty kora-kora to the coast of New Guinea. (Kamma, 1947-1948: 559; 1981: 54) Kamma borrowed his data from F. Valentijn, who had described the Maluku kora-kora around 1700. Van Fraassen estimated the average crew of the Ternate kora-kora in the nineteenth century, and before that, about seventy-two people. In this he differentiates between rowers (52) and other explorers (18), including leaders and rowers. (Fraassen, 1987: 178, 501)

This description of the number of crew members does not seem to match the description of the Tidore kora-kora in the nineteenth century. This assumption is based on information about the Maba, Patani, and Weda (Halmahera Tidore) kora-kora, which were part of the Tidore hongi in 1844, 1858, and 1890. It also appears that no distinction was made between rowers and soldiers; they seem to be both at once. (Fraassen, 1987)

At the urging of the Resident of Ternate, in 1844 the Sultan of Tidore sent hongi to eradicate piracy in the waters around New Guinea. During this expedition "Papoea Woniem" (Onin) was visited. Very detailed information is available about this hongi; the village head, the number of crew members, and the weapons carried on each kora-kora are listed. Hongi consists of thirteen kora-kora originating from Halmahera Tidore. The number of crew members is 429 people. (Ternate Residency Archive 1846, 1847; Huizinga, 1997: 403). Therefore, each kora-kora carried an average of thirty-three people. All kora-kora were armed with only one half-pound caliber cannon. Only the kora-kora belonging to the commander of Hongi, the Tidore sea captain, were equipped with pounding tools. (Ternate Residency Archive 1846, 1847; Huizinga, 1997)

In 1858, a hongi escorted by a Dutch warship departed for Sekar (Onin). The aim of the expedition was to capture a Papuan, Koepang, guilty of slave trading and robbery, and to punish the villages that had aided him. This Hongi consists of six kora-kora from Maba, Patani, and Weda, three from Lilinta (Misool), one from Waigama (Misool), plus sixteen small vessels from Misool. Only the ship's crew was mentioned, numbering six kora-kora from Maba, Patani, and Weda, and of this number, the total was no more than 226 people. In other words, these ships had an average crew of thirty-seven to thirty-eight men. (Ternate Residency Archive 1846, 1847; Huizinga, 1997)

In 1890, a large expedition was launched to teach the Wandamen people a lesson. (Wichmann, 1912; 481-83). This punitive expedition consisted of two Dutch warships and a Tidore hongi. The Hongi consisted of fifty-five native ships carry-

ing collective crews in 1527. Among them were also eighteen kora-kora from Maba, Patani, and Weda. The final number of crew members mentioned was 657 people. (Ternate Residency Archive 1846, 1847; Huizinga, 1997) Therefore, each of these kora carried an average of thirty-six to thirty-seven people.

The core of the Tidore hongi seems to have been formed by crew members who came from Maba, Patani and Weda. It seems they were considered very suitable to collect tribute to Tidore. Not only were they skilled sailors, they were also feared as robbers and plunderers. (Goes, G. Roijer, F.G. Beckman, & J.H. Croockewit Hzn, 1862: 189; Kamma, 1948-1949: 177.) There are indications that during their activities they never ventured far into the interior. This explains why the 1890 expedition was actually a partial failure. Wandamen's punishment was limited to burning villages located on the coast. Forced to flee, the residents withdrew from the range because the kora-kora crews from Maba, Patani, and Weda refused to chase them to the mainland. They, they claimed, were only carrying out raiding and plundering expeditions, which was their custom on previous Hongi expeditions.

After departing from Tidore, on his way to the west and north coast, Hongi gathered reinforcements so that it could consist of twelve or more ships (Bruijn Kops, 1850: 41). Exactly the same pattern was also followed by the hongi accompanied by Gronovius in 1850. This Hongi set out with two kora-kora and on his way picked up two kora-kora in Gebe, then collected eight more kora-kora provided by Waigeo and Salawati together, so that in the end the hongi consisted of twelve ships. (Ternate Residency Archive, 1846, 1847) In 1859, the hongi, led by Prince Achmad, departed with four kora-kora, plus two kora-kora from Gebe, two from Waigeo, and two more from Salawati. Both of these examples relate to hongi, which were smaller than the average force of eighteen to twenty ships, of which Kamma spoke.

The amount of kora-kora supplied by the Tidore territory mentioned here is smaller than the amount that must be supplied every year. A list stating the jobs that the Tidore areas were obliged to fulfill was included in the contracts made with Tidore in 1860 and also in 1872. This list also contained the tribute that had to be paid every year. This work includes providing manned kora-kora. "Based on the list, every year Maba must supply eight kora-kora, Patani ten, Weda six, Gebe five, Salawati three, and Waigeo eight." Within a few years, the subject area is expected to be able to supply ships for more than one expedition. A case like this occurred in 1850 when a hongi accompanied by Gronovius first sailed to the north coast, and then in the same year a hongi sailed to the west and south coast of New Guinea to place escutcheons (symbols/identification marks). (Ternate Residency Archive, 1849, 1850)

In the list attached to the contracts mentioned above, the workers expected from "Mafor" are also stated. Every year "Mafor" is expected to provide eight crafts. According to de Bruijn Kops, the village head in Dore was obliged to reinforce the hongi with three ships. (de Bruijn Kops, 1850: 183) From Gronovius' report it can also be concluded that Dore was bad at providing three ships. Goudswaard also mentioned the number three. Goudswaard argued that the Papuan chieftain appointed

by Tidore should provide three ships (Goudswaard, 1863: 59). Perhaps Goudswaard was alluding to Dore (Miedema, 1984: 7). Therefore, it seems that Dore and "Mafor" mentioned in the list of Tidore people are not identical. However, the list gives no clue as to what importance should be given to "Mafor".

The best source of information on this seems to be the report made by Prince Achmad about his 1859-1860 expedition to Geelvink Bay. Achmad was sent to investigate, among other things, the murder of a Bugis trader in "northern Mafor". To fulfill his duties, apart from visiting Dore, he also visited the islands of Numfor, Sowek and Biak. These islands, which were part of the northern settlement of the Numfor tribe in Geelvink Bay, apparently belonged to the northern part of the "Mafor". This leads to the assumption that the "Mafor" mentioned in the tribute and employment lists added to the contracts of 1860 and 1872 was used to denote the area in Geelvink Bay where the Numfor population settled. This is the same area where the Tidore hongi assisted Gronovius in placing the escutcheon (symbol/identification mark) in 1850, (an area that the hongi commander called "Mafor". (Ternate Residency Archive, 1849, 1850, 1851)

Since the KPM route was opened in 1891 to North and West New Guinea, the Doreh Bay area has become a bustling port with trading activities, traders from Ternate-Tidore, Seran, Maluku, Sangir and China, building stalls and providing various types of trading commodities. in the form of antique objects such as Chinese porcelain, beads, wine/alcohol drinks, and others for Papuans. The traders then bought up all the agricultural products, in the form of: resin, massoi, nutmeg, bird of paradise skin, sea products and copra. These traders also introduced money as a means of payment to the Papuan people. (Kamma, 1994: 74.81)

Conclusions.

According to written records, the maritime history of Papuans from Cenderawasih Bay dates back to the early 19th century, before the presence of Indonesian, Chinese and European sailors in New Guinea. The Biak people from the Biak Islands, Supiori and Numfor, are a group that has a fairly old history of contact with other tribes. The Biak-Numfor people (Biakkers) have also established contact with sailors from the archipelago, China and Europe when they sailed around to the Maluku region. Throughout the voyage, the Biak people formed a trading political system called: "Manibobi and Tumpe" (trading friends), and in each voyage there were also incidents of inter-tribal attacks or headhunting activities (raak mamun), carried out by the Biak people on the North and West coasts of Papua.

Based on geographical, economic, cultural and political conditions, Biakkers built a maritime network to the western region of Papua, Sorong-Raja Ampat and the Onin Peninsula. Biakkers migrate to the Bird's Head region and the Raja Ampat Islands. In maritime connections, Biakkers became a trade intermediary between coastal and inland areas. Biakkers also acted as Tidore's allies in the Hongi expedition using kora-kora boats or wairon boats. It is Biakkers' toughness and maritime

abilities that have caused them to play a role in the maritime affairs of the west coast of Papua.

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