

## Conference Paper

# Biblical Allusions in Papuan Mythical Folktales and Their Effects on Material Culture Development for the Papuans

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**ORCID:**Reimundus Raymond Fatubun: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5946-5422>**Abstract**

Powerful texts may have great impacts on the many people who read them. This article examined the biblical allusions found in two Papuan myths and discussed their impacts as seen in the material culture. The books in the Bible that the myths allude to are the Old Testament: Isaiah, Exodus, Genesis, and Deuteronomy and the New Testaments: Luke, John, Mark, and Revelations. The sources suggested that the biblical information might have been heard sporadically by the Sawi/Auyu and the Tabi from earlier Europeans. The formal contacts which brought the Bible, though, came in the 1800s. This means that the impacts of the great biblical stories had not been there long enough to internalize in the people's lives so as to trigger significant material culture - let alone the highest linguistic diversity. Furthermore, the geographical challenges made it even worse for the people to have to endure the hardship, and made it difficult to obtain healthy, nutritional, and sufficient food sources for the improvement of human resources which would have been necessary for creating significant material culture.

**Keywords:** biblical allusion, Papuan mythology, material culture, Kwembo, AtaphapkonCorresponding Author:  
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## 1. Introduction

This article begins with two quotes about the Papuans. The first is the more contemporary one from Muller's *Introducing Papua* (2008) and the more archaic one is from Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago* (1989). Both quotes celebrate the progress of the Papuans in the past, Muller for their advancement in agriculture in the antiquity, and Wallace for their intellect:

“Papuans were among the first people on earth to begin agriculture. They domesticated sugar cane, a strain of bananas and cultivated root crops (yams and taro) long before there was any farming in Java. Surplus food allowed a large-scale rearing of pigs, essential for huge feasts in the highlands.” (p.7)

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“Of the intellect of this race it is very difficult to judge, but I am inclined to rate it somewhat higher than that of the Malays, ... the Papuans have never yet made any advance toward civilization. ... for centuries the Malays have been influenced by Hindoo, Chinese, and Arabic immigrations, ... the Papuan race has only been subjected to the very partial and local influence of Malay traders. The Papuan has much more vital energy, ... greatly assist his intellectual development.” (pp.588-589)

If Muller and Wallace were right, there should have been some remains of great material culture found. Great civilizations from the past took roots in the great myths. From the great myths the people started to think of ideas to develop various aspects like architecture, food, arts, etc. I use two myths to explain this. The first, *Sawapacu-Ataphapkon* (Strelan, 1977), is from the Sawi/Auyu tribes inhabiting the areas around and along the Digul River, representing the Ha-Anim *Adat* Region. The second, *Wetuwe, the Kind and Mysterious Crocodile* (Pratomo, 1983), is from the Tabi culture inhabiting the Arso area, in Jayapura regency, representing the Mamta *Adat* Region. There are 7 customary laws (*adat*) regions in Papua.

## 2. Literature Review

One universal myth is the great flood, found in Hindu myth Manu and the flood, the Chewong people of Malaysia with their god Tohan punishing people through drowning, western Australia's Noah story, the Inca's god Viracocha also punishing humankind through flood, or the Greek flood by Zeus punishing arrogant humans, etc. ((Wilkinson and Philip, 2007). In the literary criticism, criticism related to myth is founded in the works of Jung, for example 'On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetic Art' (1923) in *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (1928) and Campbell's *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (2008). Bodkin (1934) also published his *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry* discussing myth in terms of archetypes. Or later, Frye came with his famous *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957).

For Papuan oral literature, studies on myths are still rare. A number of studies has been anthological or structural in nature, e.g, *Sastra Lisan Ekagi* ((Dharmojo et al, 1996); *Struktur Sastra Lisan Sentani: Prosa* (Fatubun, 2000), and *Struktur Sastra Lisan Biak-Numfor* (Fatubun, 2003); *The Structure of Lani Oral Literature: Prose* (Kogoya, 2018; see also Asso, 2018, Arfan, 2018). Studies on myths are like *An archetypal Reading of the Manarmakeri Myth from Biak, Papua* (Fatubun, 2017), *Learning from and Promoting*

*Wise Indigenous Values on Environment and Beyond Through Local Oral Literature* (Fatubun and Kusmayanti, 2016), and this present article.

### 3. Research Method

Paradigmatically this is a qualitative study since qualitative research is a research method to explore and understand the meaning that some individuals or groups of people think come from social or human problems (Creswell, 2009), specifically it is an ethnographic study. The data were collected through interviews and recordings. Literarily, it is a structuralist study because this issue is an aspect usually studied by the structuralists. The structuralists look for and analyze prose narratives, relating the texts to some larger containing structure as has been done in this study, such as (a) the conventions of a particular literary genre, or (2) a network of intertextual connections, or (3) a projected model of an underlying universal narrative structure, or (4) a notion of narrative as a complex of recurrent patterns or motifs (Barry, 1995:49). The more specific criticism used here, then, is Genette's architextuality (1997). Genette (1997a:1) states that "The subject of poetics is not the text considered in its singularity... but rather... the architextuality of the text... the entire set of general or transcendent categories – types of discourse, modes of enunciation, literary genres – from which emerges each singular text." This article will look at the relationship between the hypertexts, that is, the present texts with the hypotexts, that is, any earlier texts that the hypertexts have alluded to (Genette, 1997a:5). In this case, this article will find out and explain the allusions in the hypertexts that may point to any hypotexts, particularly the Bible.

Frye (1973:33-43) states that works of fiction may present the main characters according to whether or not he or she has power to control others and his or her natural environment. He divides them into five types: (1) If the character is a divine being, the level is mythical; (2) if the character is a romance hero, the level is romantic; (3) if the character is a leader, the level is high mimetic; (4) if the character is one of us, the level is low mimetic; and (5) if the character is lower than us, the level is ironic. Combined with Genette's architextuality, Frye's character reading has been applied in the analysis of the data in the article.

### 4. Result and Discussion

#### 4.1. Plot Summaries of the Two Myths

#### 4.1.1. The Sawapacu-Ataphapkon myth.

This myth may be divided into: the coming out of the underground, life until people disobeyed Ataphapkon, Nunas and the flood, Abu the second prophet, the tribal wars, division of the tribes. The plot summary is just on the important parts:

All tribes on earth were living underground, a wide and open place where everyone lived in one community. One day Kema and his wife went into the forest to look for food. The wife looked up and saw a small hole going up to the surface of the New World. But as they looked up, they both fainted because of a bright light. When they gained consciousness, they saw Sawapacu-Ataphapkon, the bright light. They fainted again because they were too weak to look at the light. He said that this world was his creation. He told them to go back and tell the others what he said. He gave them 7 days before they came out: Day 1 - the announcement; Day 2 - looking for food and preparing it; Day 3 - the killing of all their livestock; Day 4 - the throwing away of old clothes and the wearing of new clothes; Day 5 - the washing of themselves and their tools; Day 6 - the coming out and the singing of two songs; Day 7 - they would receive cargo.

Each tribe was to choose the things they liked. Westerners chose the axe, knife, machete, clothes, and rifle. The Papuans chose the stone axe, bow, and other kinds of decorations. The tribes demanded too many things from Ataphapkon that made him angry. Each tribe started to go their own ways around the world, in every direction. The Sawi/Auyu remained with Ataphapkon. After the dispersion of the tribes, a new people began to multiply, but did not follow the laws of Ataphapkon.

Ataphapkon sent Nunas to make a canoe with a house on it with rooms to hold food, possessions, and all animals to save them from perishing. After Nunas had finished building the canoe, Ataphapkon told him to prepare food and herd all the animals on board. Only Nunas' family entered the house. While Nunas was making the canoe, people made fun of him and his family, but they did not feel care. Nunas faithfully warned them about what was going to happen, the flood and fire. The next day, rain began to fall, along with winds and thunders. Nunas' family were all inside the boat house. They could not tell whether it was day or night. Nunas used two birds during the flood. When the flood finally dried up, Ataphapkon arrived on the shore and started a village. From Nunas' family originated a new generation and multiplied and forgot Ataphapkon's orders for them.

Ataphapkon promised the Sawi/Auyu concerning five periods of time: Period 1: from the coming out of the ground up until the great flood; Period 2: from the great flood

until the change of language occurred; Period 3: from the change of language until the war between the Simiki and the Sawi/Auyu; Period 4: from the war until the murder of Abu; Period 5: from Abu up until now. Ataphapkon gave signs of his return: (1) at the beginning of period 5; (2) that it would be sudden; (3) that it would be when people intermarry; (4) at the birth of a baby boy, short with big teeth, and a long beard.

In 1955, the Dutch entered the area and started the village of Pirimapun. This became the main Dutch outpost. The first time the Kamurs met with the Dutch, they were afraid because they remembered Ataphapkon. They began to make preparations for his return, but it did not happen. In 1962, Rev. Don Richardson from the US arrived in Irian Jaya (now Papua) to bring the Gospel, including to the Sawi. We can still read his anthropological novel "Peace Child".

#### **4.1.2. Watuwe, the kind and mysterious crocodile myth.**

This myth may be divided into: Towjatuwa meeting with Watuwe until its killing, the journey of Towjatuwa and his son and friends to Mount Sankria, the starting of the flood until it subsided, the memorial party until people opened the bundle, wrapping Watuwe's heirloom and found two large stone adzes (in 1953). The plot summary is for the important parts only: Watuwe helped Towjatuwa's wife with the birth of her child called Narrowra using some herbs. The traditional practice was that every pregnant woman's stomach had to be cut open to take the child. That means the mother had to die. The killing of Watuwe made Kwembo, the All Powerful, angry. Towjatuwa only asked for Watuwe's scrotum. Towjatuwa and his son, his son's friend, his friend's sister, and his sister-in-law left for Mount Sankria. The Jankwenk were already there. Facing the 4 points of compass, the Jankwenk blew their flutes. Rain poured down and the earth was drowned. Only Towjatuwa and family were safe. They sent first a kangaroo, next a parrot to check if the land had dried but they returned; finally, a pig and it did not come back which meant the ground had dried up. They took the seeds from the Jankwenk to create new human beings and to replant the earth. They made a new settlement and lived on Mount Sankria. Their descendants are now still living there.

## **4.2. Characters in the Myths**

#### 4.2.1. Myth 1: four important characters

a. **Ataphapkon**. In his role as the creator of the world, he is similar to God (Isaiah 40:28; Romans 1:25; John 1:3; Proverbs 0:4; see also Armstrong, 2001, Storm, 2003 for 'Allah' in Arab mythology, Parker, 2010 for 'Viracocha', in Inca mythology). Ataphapkon is similar to God, or Allah but with no divine hierarchy. If in the Bible, God created the world in 7 days, there are also 7 days in which the people from the underground need to prepare to come out into the new world by the order of Ataphapkon. In myth 2, Ataphapkon is similar to Kwembo; b. **Kema**. He is somewhat like the biblical Adam, but the difference is that he and his wife had already existed before they met Ataphapkon. He and his wife found the way out from the underground. Kema and his wife also lived an earthly life just like any other human beings. Unlike Adam and Eve, Kema and his wife had sex when they were in the forest. Kema also had sex with the spirit of a girl who died and went back to the underground. Even though the girl wanted to call him her father, Kema wanted her to be his wife. The death of the girl was the first death since life in the underground was perpetual. Death finally spread and now we experience death; c. **Nunas**. The younger brother of Kema, he is very similar to Noah sent by Ataphapkon to become the prophet over the people, and every tribe was obedient to the law of Ataphapkon. This part of the story is very similar to the biblical flood and Nunas's role is very similar to Noah: his building of the canoe (cf. Exodus 25:10-16), his taking of the animals into the canoe, his being patient when people made fun of him when they looked at him building his canoe. Being similar to Noah's flood except that Nunas sent out two birds, Huyame and Hainao, to check whether or not the earth had dried up.

The other part of the story alludes to Moses going up to the mountain to receive the Ten Commandments (Exodus 24:12). Ataphapkon sent Nunas to some holy ground to receive a vision from him. Ataphapkon told Nunas to pick a coconut, peel it, and then clean it so that Nunas was able to use it to write down the vision (cf. Exodus 34:1). Nunas wrote the visions as Ataphapkon spoke them (cf. Exodus 32:16). The difference is that, Nunas wrote down Ataphapkon's words. Then the coconut was divided into two parts: Ataphapkon took one part and Nunas took the other. In the Bible, Moses took the two tablets down to tell the Jewih people (Exodus 32:7). Nunas brought the written vision to the people in order to tell them about the laws of Ataphapkon. The drawing of the vision still exists today. The drawing "Kuno" was written as he received it from Ataphapkon. It represents the world and human existence on earth. The three circular triangles in the drawing represent the dwelling of Ataphapkon, and the six circles are representations of men's life on this earth. Nunas' proof of Ataphapkon's rules is in the

form of the drawing. In the Bible, God's writings are on two tablets which are preserved in the Ark of the Covenant (Exodus 25:17-21); d. **Abu**. Abu is similar to John the Baptist or Christ in a way. He has his message of salvation like Christ's but people did not listen to him. The Auyu/Sawi killed him (cf. Mat. 27:26; Luke 23:33; Isaiah 53:3-5) and cut him into pieces, similar to what the Jewish did to Jesus in some way. His blood became two birds of which one of them is the bird of paradise. But his heart and some flesh were left and became a man and ascended into heaven which is similar to Jesus' ascension into heaven (John.7:33-65; Acts 1:1-11; Luk. 24:31).

#### 4.2.2. Myth 2: five important characters

a. **Towjatuwe**. This is a man from the village of Sawja, with mere good luck, he met Watuwe that would help his wife with her labor. It is from his wife's pregnancy that he met Watuwe whose death angered Kwembo and became the cause of the deluge; b. **Narrowra**. This is Towjatuwe's son whose birth was not through the cutting up of the mother's stomach. Both his mother and himself were saved. He was prophesied by Watuwe to become a great hunter. He took over his father's role after the flood. He was also given some power by the Jankwenk to create human beings from banana stems after the flood to fill the empty world; c. **Watuwe**. This crocodile is mysterious, appearing out of the blue and would help Towjatuwe's wife with her labor. It then was killed with its scrotum preserved according to its wish. Watuwe itself had predicted its own death and that Kwembo would be angry. Because of its killing, Kwembo sent the great flood to destroy the earth. In the memorial party for their safety from the flood, they decorated themselves to look like with layers of croc scales on their bodies to remind them of Watuwe. They also wore cassowary feathers just like Watuwe used to. They then scattered to different places to build their own villages.

In Liberia, where circumcision was part of the initiation rite at puberty, scars on the penises of the initiates were said to be the marks of a crocodile which had swallowed them as boys and returned them as adults (Tressider, 2011:344-345). In Papua New Guinea, the Chambri tribe would cut the skin of boys a number of times to resemble crocodile scales. This legend of crocodile may have relationship with this neighboring culture. In Egypt, there is the crocodile god Sobek (Wilkinson and Philip, 2007:224; Storm, 2003:70). d. **Kwembo**. He is similar to God and Ataphapkon, since he is 'all powerful', or Manseren Nanggi (Fatubun, 2017). In a sense, his role is similar to God (cf. 'Allah' in Arab mythology, in Armstrong, 2001, in Storm, 2003; cf. also Zoroastrian 'Ahura Mazda', in Wilkinson & Philip, 2007: 31). To some extent he is similar to Allah except that

there is no mention about Kwembo having children like Allah having three daughters (Storm, 2003: 16-17, 51; Black, 2010: 97; Amstrong, 1993:135), and with no pantheon. In the Arab pantheon, Allah is on top; e. **The Jankwenk**. These are real angels, with depictions of their bodies glowing with light and having wings, similar to the biblical ones. They behave like the angels announcing the end of the world with their trumpets (Revelation 14:6). In the Noah flood, the archangel Ariel warned Noah about the deluge (Enoch 10:1-4). The Jankwenk may also be equated with the Zoroastrian ‘Amesa Spentas’ who is said to serve Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Lord (Storm, 2003:17).

### 4.2.3. Frye's Fictional Modes and Characters in the Myths

Both myths concern with the flood, with myth 1 being the longest and most complex the Auyu/Sawi with biblical allusions. Apart from Ataphapkon, there are no other divine beings. In myth 2, Kwembo is similar to Ataphapkon for sending a great flood to destroy the earth. With the presence of Kwembo and the Jankwenk, the story seems native. Except for Kwembo and the Jankwenk, there are no other divine beings with specific functions. Looking at Frye’s modes in his *Anatomy of Criticism* (1973) and the characters, one can say that Ataphapkon and Kwembo and the Jankwenk are at the mythical level; Kema, Nunas, Abu, and Towjatuwa belong in the high mimetic level; Narrowrais in the romantic level.

TABLE 1: Frye’s Fictional Modes (Frye, 2000:33-34) and the Characters in the Myths

Mode	Characters in Myth 1	Characters in Myth 2
Mythical	Ataphapkon	Kwembo and the Jankwenk
Romantic	-	Narrowra and the Crocodile
High Mimetic	Kema, Nunas, and Abu	Towjatuwa
Low Mimetic	-	-
Ironic	-	-

One can see the influence of great oral or written literature in the development of material culture in civilizations. The remains can still be witnessed anywhere: Micronesia with its Nan Madol in the Western Pacific, Ester Island with its Mysterious Colossal Heads, etc. Regardless of place, great material culture may emerge anywhere.

### 4.2.4. Elaborations on Archetypal Ideas and Symbols in the Myths

a.**Preparations**. The preparations before the flood is very similar to the biblical Noah story (Gen.6:13-22; 7:1-16) for myth 1. Ataphapkon sent Nunas to make a canoe, with a



house with rooms to hold food, possessions, and all animals. After finishing it, Ataphapkon told him to prepare food and herd all the animals on board. Only Nunas and family boarded the canoe. While Nunas was making the canoe, people made fun of him and family, but they did not care. Nunas warned them about what was to happen, but they did not listen. In myth 2, Watuwetold Towjatuwa that it would be slaughtered and would make Kwembo angry and that Kwembo would drown the earth. Before the flood, 5 people led by Towjatuwa went to Mount Sankria and stayed there; b. **The flood.** In myth 1, the next day, rain began to fall, with winds and thunders (cf. Gen. 7:17-24; Gen. 8:1-19; Hillegass, 1991:28-31 for Gilgamesh flood; or the Greek flood, 54-56). Nunas' family members were all on board, and outside people were calling for help. They could not tell whether it was day or night, except by two birds named Huyame and Hainao. When the flood dried up, Ataphapkon arrived on the shore to start a village. He threw a party to celebrate their safety. From Nunas' family, originated a new generation of people who multiplied and forgot Ataphapkon's commandments, similar to the Israelites. Cirlot (19962:79) says "The delude is found in all parts of the world. Science appears to have verified its historical reality... It represents destruction of forms but not forces, thus leaving the way open for the re-emergence of life." In myth 2, when Towjatuwa knew Watuwehad been killed, he told his son, his son's friend, and two women to be ready for the journey to Mount Sankria. They immediately were on their way, knowing that Kwembo would send a deluge. When they had arrived there, the Jankwenk facing all 4 points of compass blew their flutes together. And, it began to rain with thunders. After the flood, they made a memorial party and started new villages and everything all over again. A comparison: Noah story, myth 1, and myth 2in the following table.

A comparison: The Book of Genesis and the Gilgamesh Story, myth 1, and myth 2 in the following table.

(The Book of Genesis and Gilgamesh by Lorey, <http://www.icr.org/article/noah-flood-gilgamesh/>).

c. **The animals used to check the ground: birds, kangaroo, and pig.** In myth 1, there were two birds, Huyame and Hainao, used during the flood, just like the two birds in Noah story. In myth 2, there was a kangaroo, a parrot, and a pig. First, the kangaroo was released but was back, then the parrot but it also returned, finally the pig was released. It did not return which meant that the ground could be traversed now. It is said that "Birds actually symbolize the power that help people to speak reflectively and leads them to think out many things in advance before they take actions" (Biedermann, 1992: 39). Cirlot (1962:28) states that "... birds, like angels, are symbols of thoughts, of imagination and of the swiftness of spiritual processes and relationships;" d. **The unwise selection of**

TABLE 2: The Deluges

Aspects	Noah's Story	Gilgamesh Story	Myth 1	Myth 2
Extent of flood	Global	Global	Global	Global
Cause	Man's wickedness	Man's sins	Ataphapkon's laws not obeyed	The slaughter of Watuwe, the crocodile
Intended for whom?	All mankind	One city & all mankind	All mankind	All mankind
Sender	Yahweh	Assembly of "gods"	Ataphapkon	Kwembo
Name of hero	Noah	Utnapishtim	Nunas	Towjatuwe
Hero's character	Righteous	Righteous	Righteous	Ordinary
Means of announcement	Direct from God	In a dream	Direct from Ataphapkon	Watuwe the crocodile was killed
Ordered to build boat?	Yes	Yes	Yes, a canoe	No. Went up to Mount Sankria
Did hero complain?	Yes	Yes	No	No
Height of boat	Several stories (3)	Several stories (6)	Not specified	-
Compartments inside?	Many	Many	rooms and a house	-
Doors	One	One	Possibly one	-
Windows	At least one	At least one	Not specified	-
Outside coating	Pitch	Pitch	Not specified	-
Shape of boat	Rectangular	Square	Not specified	-
Human passengers	Family members only	Family & few others	Family members only	Towjatuwe and his son Narrowra
Other passengers	All species of animals	All species of animals	All species of animals	Narrowra's friend Kunebuan plus two women
Means of flood	Ground water & heavy rain	Heavy rain	Rain, wind, and thunders	Rain, thunder
Duration of flood	Long (40 days & nights plus)	Short (6 days & nights)	Not specified	Not specified
Test to find land	Release of birds	Release of birds	Release of birds	Release of a kangaroo, a parrot, and a pig
Types of birds	Raven & three doves	Dove, swallow, raven	Huyame and Hainao (birds)	Parrot
Ark landing spot	Mountain Ararat	Mountain Nisir	Not specified	The five people on Mount Sankria
Sacrificed after flood?	Yes, by Noah	Yes, by Utnapishtim	A party held by Ataphapkon	A memorial party was held
Blessed after flood?	Yes	Yes	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

**the utensils and banana seeds.** In myth 1, Ataphapkon provided the things like the axe, the knife, the machete, clothes, and the rifle. These were chosen by Westerners. The

Papuan tribes chose the stone axes, the bows, and other kinds of decorations according to the Sawi/Auyu. This unwise selection may represent the stagnation in development which one can witness today (for a similar elaboration, see Fatubun, 2017). In myth 2, the Jankwenk provided banana seeds and out from these seeds, men and women were created by Towjatuwa; e. **The seven-day-preparations to come out.** This is only for myth 1. Ataphapkon gave the people 7 days before they would come out of the underground and enter the New World. These 7 days are compared with the biblical 7 days in the creation story (Gen:1:1-2:4) in which God created the world as seen below.

TABLE 3: What Done by God in the Book of Genesis ((Gen:1:1-2:4) and What Done in Myth 1

Days	What Created by God	What Done in Myth 1
Day 1	Night and Day	The announcement
Day 2	Sky and Sea	Looking for food and prepare it
Day 3	Land and vegetation	The killing of all their livestock
Day 4	The sun, moon and stars	Throwing away of old clothes, wearing of new ones
Day 5	Sea creatures, fish, and birds	Washing of themselves and tools they use
Day 6	Land animals and mankind	Out into the New World and the singing of two songs
Day 7	Rest	Receive cargo

Bibleinfo for the Book of Genesis <https://www.bibleinfo.com/en/questions/what-are-7-days-of-creation>

f. **Promise to return.** Promise of return of Ataphapkon is similar to Manarmakeri's promise to return (Fatubun, 2017:157-164) and the biblical second coming (Mat. 24:29-31; Luke 21:25-28; Mark 13:24-27). The promise, however, is not elaborate like Manamakeri's with all the prohibitions in preparation for the second coming. When the Sawi/Auyu heard about the Dutch for the first time they thought that Ataphapkon would return. They started to be ready for it, and it did not happen. This situation is similar to ancient Peru. When the Inca Indians met the white people for the first time, they thought their god Viracocha, 'Lord of the Universe' had come back. His shrine is at Cusco made of gold, and shown as a bearded white man in a long tunic (Wilkinson & Philip, 2007:281); g. **Kuno and the crocodile scrotum.** Nunas received Kuno from Ataphapkon, and since the place he was directed to go to receive it was special, it is like the biblical Moses' story. This Kuno consists of two parts which reminds people of the two tablets in the ark of the Covenant (Exodus 31:18; Deuteronomy 5:22) from God. The Kuno could have been a trigger for the invention of a writing system. In myth 2, the scrotum brought to Mount Sankria was now taken by Towjatuwa and his followers down and made it as a sacred object.

## 5. Implications for Material Culture Development

Imagination may emerge from great literary works at the mythical level both at the Dionysiac and the Apollonian types as discussed by Frye (1973). We now know that great literary works play an important role in triggering imagination which in turn results in intelligent ideas. These ideas are the embryos of great civilizations. Fatubun (2017:162) [23] maintains that:

... world great civilizations, either a civilization that grew up from within a people, like the Indians, the Greeks, or the Egyptians, or great civilizations growing up out of the influence of other great civilizations, the effects of imagination in developing the civilizations is really undeniable. These great civilizations emerged from the great literary works found in the cultures which are at the mythical level. There are also the ones in other levels of course.

In the Forward part of Kamma's book *Ajaib di Mata Kita* (1981), a translation from the Dutch one "Dit Wonderlijke Werk", it informs us that the Bible evangelization started in Papua in 1855. In Strelan's book *Kargoisme di Malenesia* (1989), it is also stated there about the beginning of more contacts of the Papuans with the outside world was in 1855. But according to this book there was a publication that had already mentioned cargoism in the Malenesian land a year before, in 1854. In Kamma's book *Koreri* (1954:v) the term 'messianic' was used but he did not use it in connection with the Jewish or Christian sense, he just used it as a formal analogy. This book was his observation of the Biak people in the Raja Ampat area in which he and his family lived from 1932-1942 from which the myth Manarmakeri comes. Kamma also worked as a missionary in the Tabi area, namely Ginyem, from 1931-1932, a place close to the area in which the second myth comes from. In book I of *Etnografi Irian Jaya* (1993), it is said that contacts with the Papuans had already been reported since 1500-1600s particularly by the Spaniards, Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Chinese. The areas along the central mountain range started to have contacts with the outside world only in 1950s, however, particularly the now Jayawijaya area by the Americans. A later book of *Etnografi Irian Jaya* (1996) mentions about contacts of the natives in the Merauke area from which the second myth is from. It is said that the Spaniards reported about these contacts, for example, Torres passed through there in 1606. The book *Sejarah Gereja Katolik di Irian Selatan* which is a history book of the Catholic Church in the southern Papua, in its Forward part, Archbishop Duivenvoorde gave a brief sketch about this "Terra incognita" as it was known then that for centuries, people just saw this big island from the distance; some came but just for a while because the natives liked to wage wars upon one another.

The earliest date that he gave about this land was by d'Abreu in 1511 who informed that he saw this big island from the distance. The earliest visit, he said, was by Otiz di Retes in 1545 who landed near the mouth of the Membramo River and called this land as "Nova Guinea".

There might have been some informal contacts from Christians, particularly the Spaniards or the Portuguese. The biblical allusions, might have been heard by the native people sporadically through these foreigners. In myth 1, it is said that the Sawi and the Auyu thought that Ataphapkon would come back and they tried to be ready when they met the white people, the Dutch for the first time, but did not get the biblical information from the Dutch.

The first Protestant missionaries arrived on the Mansinam island in Manokwari in 1855 (in Kamma, 1982; Archdiocese of Merauke, 1999; Wallace, 1869). About 50 years later the Catholic Mission started to found the town of Merauke in 1902 from where they spread the messages of the Scriptures (Resubun, 2008), but the Catholic Mission had already started in Fak-Fak in 1894 (Archdiocese of Merauke, 1999:6). Muller (2008) maintains that the Papuans arrived from Africa about 50000 years ago. If they had come with vastly different linguistic background, it would have made it difficult for them to communicate among them, and thus it would have made it difficult to spread any stories they could have brought with them. Acquired knowledge found in their myths could not have spread properly either. These biblical allusions suggest that the two myths were combined with local data after the stories were heard. According to Diamond the immense linguistic diversity may also be understood in another way. He states that "Those difficulties of terrain, combined with intermittent warfare that characterized relations between New Guinea bands or villages, account for traditional New Guinea's linguistic, cultural, and political fragmentation." (2005:306). This underdevelopment in terms of material culture may also be explained geographically and nutritionally. Diamond (2005:305-306) explains that there are at least three limitations that cause this stagnation:

First, although indigenous food production did arise in the New Guinea highlands,... it yielded little protein. The dietary staples were low-protein root crops, and production of the sole domesticated animal species (pigs and chickens) was too low to contribute much to people's protein budgets. Since neither pigs nor chickens can be harnessed to pull carts, highlanders remained without source of power, and also failed to evolve epidemic diseases to repel the eventual European invaders. A second restriction on the size of highland populations was the limited available area: the New Guinea

highlands have only a few broad valleys, ... the Wahgi and Baliem valley, capable of supporting dense populations. A third limitation was the reality that the mid-montane zone between 4,000 and 9,000 feet was the sole altitudinal zone in New Guinea suitable for intensive food production. .... Thus, large scale economic exchanges of food, between communities at different altitudes specializing in different types of food production, never developed in New Guinea.

This fundamental explanation has brought some light on my question. Food nutrition is the first building block for the creation of potentials like intelligence and imagination. Because of this lack of fundamental building block due to the geographical restrictions, human resources become less productive and imaginative. Human resources like this would not bring about innovations. The present government, therefore, should take heed of the health and nutritional matters in order to improve native human resources. Through this improvement better human quality may be realized and the statements by Wallace and Muller may someday come true.

## 6. Conclusion

Oral literature at the level of mythicalis important for the development of ideas which in turn brings about concepts both trivial and sophisticated and profound ideas.

When I read Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago* (1869), its conclusion says that there were two big races inhabiting the Malay archipelagos, the Malays and the Papuans. In terms of intellect, he favored the Papuans. In *Introducing Papua* (2008), Muller also talks of the Papuan. But if they have been correct, remains of significant material culture should have been seen, but not found yet. Maybe later? The two myths here are complex enough compared to the other ones. They might have been spread by the first tribal persons who made contacts with the first Christians they met (see (see Fatubun, 2017 for the *Manarmakeri* myth).

Since no early significant influence from great civilizations came to Papua, no complex mythologies were shared there. Christianity first came during the 19th century and the spread of Christian stories started then. This means that the stories did not have enough time to take roots in the idealization of the people to result in material culture. This is the reason there are no significant remains of early material culture of the past in Papua if compared to Java, for example, in which Hinduism and Buddhism had taken roots for a long time.

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