CHAPTER XIV
LIFE OF MANKIND

1. Ajré
   a. Introduction
The story of Ajré describes a journey through the Jaqaj country (see Map 5). We see how Ajré did everything better than former occupants. This lengthy myth is given here in an abbreviated form with short explanations. It was told by Tambim, the old counsellor of Képi, in the Jaqaj language.

   b. Text
   "Ajré came rowing down the river Kawa (= Kao). He called to the people living on the Kawa and went on his way to the river Edera ... Joda ... Nambéömön ... Mappi ... Toba ... Miwamön ... Dakémoqon ... Képi ... Rajöm ... Masin and from there back to Joda. Everywhere people asked him, 'Who are you?' He answered, 'I am Ajré. I have come because the people of my own settlement did not give me a woman'. He stayed at Joda for five days. Then he said, 'Friend, I shall go and get you a bag full of sago'. He came home when it was still daylight. His friend spoke, 'How is it possible that he should be back so soon?' And he said, 'Friend, did you fell a tree so quickly by using fire?' Ajré answered, 'Yes'. When he came home, his friend's daughter baked some sago."
   Explanation: Apparently Ajré already had a stone axe but he did not show it to the others. The importance of the axe is stressed by telling that people, before they had axes, had to burn the trunk of the tree to get it down and finish the work on it. The story goes on to tell how Ajré constructed the first real house.
   (Text) "Maggots crawled on the pigskin [of the roof]. Ajré said, 'Friend, that is too bad, that is humiliating, they may fall into the sago while it is being baked'. Ajré said, 'Friend, I want to cut wood for a house'. His friend asked, 'With what do you intend to cut it?' Ajré smiled. When he had put all the wood on a pile in the settlement, he placed the poles upright in the ground, laid the rafters, fixed the joints
for the walls, fastened the rafters, left an opening for the doorway and set out in search of roofing. He ‘sewed’ the leaves of the roof while the men and women were looking on. He said, ‘That is how you must make the roof’.

He said to the man, ‘Friend, please sit down’. Then he ‘sewed’ the roof until he had finished it. Next he showed it to the women. He said, ‘The other settlements may adopt my way of building and when they learn it from me, they will pull down their pigskin huts and cover their houses with leaves’. He said, ‘I asked people in all kinds of settlements and I would have been quite willing to teach them how to build a house, but only you took pity on me and gave me a woman’.

Then he went to find wood to pile up over the fire . . . and some bark for a sleeping place. The next day he went down the river and asked his friend, ‘Which part of the river belongs to you, where do you always build your weir?’ His friend answered, ‘This is the place’, and he showed him a place in the river where the bottom was sandy. He made a weir and fastened the traps. Ajré said, ‘Now you go home. I am going to the source area near the upper course of the stream where it is very narrow’. Then he sat down. With a bamboo knife he cut open the skin of his hands, his feet and his body. First an axe fell from Ajré’s anus into the water. It rolled in the water. He shouted lest the weir should be upset. There was foam on the water as he shook axes from his ribs, his back, his legs and hands. The axes all floated into the traps. Some drifted to the upper course but they came back down the stream. Ajré was standing on the bank. He felt pleased because the axes had left his body. The axes shook the weir when they floated into the traps together with the fish. He saw dirt coming to the surface and cried, ‘Steady! Because they have given me a woman, I put a weir in my brother-in-law’s ground’. They calmed down. He put on his decorations in the mooring-place where he was. He put the big shell round his waist. He placed the shell [cut into two curls] through the hole in his nasal septum. He fastened the skin of the cockatoo on his forehead. He put the band of human hair around his waist.”

Explanation: Ajré gives birth to the axes. The first fell out from his anus. Among Jaqaj males the anus has special significances. The decoration he puts on pictures him as a man who is allowed to wear the belt of human hair around his waist, the mark of honour of a great headhunter.

(Text) “He returned home. His new relatives looked at him. The daughter said, ‘Father, whence does this man come to us?’ Her father
said, 'This is your bridegroom'. He entered the house. The father said, 'Son-in-law, why have you put on your marks of honour?' He said, 'Because you are going to place your foot on them. The axes are there. I gave birth to them'. The father said, 'Son-in-law, let us first eat. We are eager to go to the weir'. He ate and drank and smoked. When they stood in the mooring-place the water churned out of fear for his relatives. He spoke, 'This is my father-in-law. He has just given me his daughter'. He said, 'Father-in-law, look how the water is churning'. The father of axes spoke, 'Axes, go upstream, my in-laws have come'. The axes moved quickly to the source area.

They got into a canoe and with a hook he pulled up the fish traps. When the sun was high in the sky, he went into the water and loaded the canoe with the axes, traps full of axes and fish which he piled up in the canoe. He collected the contents of all the traps; they gathered the axes and the fish in the mooring-place. There were plenty of them. They put the axes and the fish in separate bags and took them home. They put the fish over the fire to roast and the axes they placed above the fire where the firewood lay. They fetched wood to roast the fish and harden the axes. The next day the woman went with her husband to her family to tell what had happened. The man and the woman were in the settlement. They entered the men's house of her younger brother. Then the elder sister called, 'Brother, come, let us go, Ajré has come to us and I have given away my eldest daughter'. They asked, 'Where did that man come from?' She said, 'He came from the source area of the river Kawa. Today he has given us these axes, because I have given him my child'. The women and the men came to look and to cut wood with the axe. She praised Ajré, saying, 'My son-in-law is a good son'.

The next time she came back with her younger brothers. They arrived and entered the house. The good man, Ajré, was there and again and again they addressed him as 'brother-in-law'. Sitting in the house, they looked at the roof and those who lived with Ajré said, 'He showed us how to do it'. They also looked at the walls of leaves. He distributed fish for them to eat, saying, 'The fish on the fireplace is yours, so are the fish in the traps. I collected these fish for you, eat them'. They ate sago, drank water and smoked tobacco. Then they went to the weir in the river. They saw that the weir was underwater. While they were at the mooring-place, the axes were restless in the water. Ajré called to them, 'This is my wife's family; they have just given me a woman'. They shook the axes from the traps and loaded them into the canoes which were filled with many fish and axes. At the embarkation place
the relatives took them out of the canoes and put them in their bags, one bag for the fish and one for the axes of jat stone, baqaraep stone and uj stone, which is the best. They carried them into the house. The next day they returned home with the bags filled with the axes.”

Explanation: The stone axe was the most important part of the payment made for a bride. Ajré’s act of decorating himself is part of what the Jaqaj did on important occasions, e.g. before they stab somebody. Important things should not be done without ceremony. Here the birth of the stone axe is announced. The tension between bride-givers and bride-takers is reflected in the restlessness of the axes, a restlessness which reappears as soon as the brothers of the mother-in-law come to the weir. The “meeting” also reflects the actual life situation, “again and again they addressed him as brother-in-law”. The stone axe is called uj in the Jaqaj language, after ‘the uj stone, which is the best’. (Text) “He advised them, ‘If at night you dream that the edge of your axe is broken, do not set out the next day, for you might break your axe. When your wife has just given birth to a child, do not take up your axe, for it might break. When you spend the night outside the settlement and you have eaten pork, first let the smell of the pork disappear. Do not go out, stay indoors. When you have killed a crocodile, do not go out, do not take your axe with you’.

He made a canoe for his wife’s family. They pulled the log from the forest to the water and at the settlement they pulled it ashore. First he cut the bottom into the right shape and thickness. Then he finished the inside. The following day they finished the canoe and called out, ‘Formerly we used rafts, we used vessels made of the bark of the sago tree or the bark of other trees. Now he has taught us something new’.

He said, ‘Listen, all of you, people will die everywhere; place them in a canoe, make a hole in the bottom so that the fluid of the rotting flesh can flow away. Some you may bury in the ground. The bodies of those who have fought and of those who went head-hunting must be placed in canoes and you must hang the heads from the trestles on which you have laid them in state in their canoes’.

They agreed to set out on a head-hunting raid. First they celebrated the feast of the new canoe with the guests. They gathered meat, fish, coconuts and all the other requirements in the house. After they had formally rowed out, they smashed the coconuts and distributed the fish among the children. They started after raising their battle cry at the mooring-place. They reached the area of the people they wished to
fight and hid in the swamp. They were standing in the canoes. *Ajré* spoke, ‘Kneel down’. The next day those people were going to empty their canoes with the heads and the bodies. Then they returned to the settlement, beating the sides of the canoes to announce their success and roaring with their battle cry. The women heard these sounds and began to dance on the embankment. They accompanied the men to the settlement. The men mentioned the name of those who had killed, ‘He has killed and he has killed’. They walked in procession to the settlement and roasted the heads. *Ajré* said, ‘When you attack people of a hostile settlement, always use the trick of placing your canoes undercover in the reeds of the swamp’. Then he spoke solemnly, ‘Prepare a feast’. They prepared the feast. They collected sago grubs, they put pigs in the cages. They invited the guests to come to the feast which they celebrated in the old settlement for days on end. First there was the passing of armbands, then the fixing of the decorations to the bamboo knives and then they solemnly distributed the marks of honour, ‘You may wear the belt of human hair round the waist, you may hang the decorated bamboo knife round your neck, you the decorated gourd, you the string of pig’s teeth’. They started dancing.

Then they went outside and moistened the heads of the children with water, cut off some of their hair with the bamboo knife, and handed them the sago fibre decorations. The guests shot the pigs, some in the cages, others while they were walking about. He [Ajré] planted a tree, saying, ‘Tie their legs to that tree’. They shot and killed many pigs. They laid the pigs on a platform. The fat was hung on threads for the female guests. The meat they distributed among their families and among the guests. On the point of their arrows they presented the fat to the female guests. The following morning the guests returned to their settlements. They picked sago grubs from the bark of sago trees that had been felled before, and they collected pork as a return present. In the songs they sang of their raid in the land of the enemies. When the people returned from the feast, they were attacked in turn on a retaliation raid. Such were the goings-on there. ‘Make a feast like that’. *Ajré* settled near the upper course of the river and there he stayed.”

2. Ujnaki
   a. *Introduction*

The following story ends in a similar depiction of the origin of stone axes. Here the scene is on the Islands River among the tribe of the
Tjitak. Ujinaki, whose name contains the word *uj*, stone axe, is given a widow as his wife. It is possible that the Jaqaj actually received the stone axe via this route. The Islands River is, like the river Kao, a mountain stream. The main parts of this myth, however, do not deal with these elements but discuss the relationship between man and woman. The story was told in the Jaqaj language by old Raramuj of the village of Moin.

b. Text

"Ujinaki lived in the Kunda where he built his weir. Secretly others placed their fish traps there. He came to inspect his traps and saw that they were full of mud. Then he went to a place in the river where the bottom was sandy and where there were many weirs. Before he had left, he had smeared his daughter’s back, arms, legs, belly, breasts and eyes with the crumbs of a sago crust. He braided sago fibres in her hair, and tied bands around her waist, arms and legs. He put sago flour in her hair.

The next morning he left with his daughter for Rajamön. He said, ‘I am in search of a wife. I will give you my child in exchange for a woman’. The people of Rajamön said, ‘Your daughter is nothing much, we will not give you a woman’. He went to all the settlements on the river Oba... at last he came to Kogo on the river Miwamön. There he gave his daughter Kéaqab to Qaröm. The next morning Kéaqab baked sago for Qaröm. The next day they went in search of sago grubs. The women of his family said to Qaröm, ‘The girl is nothing much and she is shabby. Why do you fondle her and why have you not attracted another woman? You will have to pick the sago grubs all by yourself’. They climbed into the canoe and departed. She was sitting in the canoe. She had brought with her a fibre skirt, an axe, a string of dog’s teeth, cassowary pins and a parrot skin. Qaröm did not notice it. They moored and went to the sago groves of Qaröm and descended into the marsh.

Qaröm felled a tree. She took her axe and stripped the tree of its bark. Quickly she cut open a tree and then another. Qaröm cut open a tree deeper in the marsh. He said, ‘Are you still here?’ She said, ‘Yes, I am here’. She worked on another tree. The sago crust fell from her head, her eyes and nose while she pounded away at the sago trunk with her axe. She called, ‘Do not take any sago grubs from them’. He said, ‘We have already got so many’. Qaröm raised his eyes, when in all her beauty the woman went up to him. Qaröm embraced her because she was so beautiful, as beautiful as the sun. While he collected sago grubs,
she spread sago leaves on the path and strewed sago shoots on it. Then
he had sexual intercourse with her. They got up and she took a new
skirt from the leaf she had wrapped around it and put the skirt on
together with a string of dog's teeth, the arm strings and the shell. The
men and the women came to the mooring-place. Full of astonishment
they said, 'Where does that woman come from? She is beautiful'. He
said, 'The men did not want her'. The woman began to dance. Kéaqab
was dancing. While she was dancing so beautifully, Qaröm too began
to dance.

After the men returned from their singing and dancing, Qaröm began
to speak about a head-hunting raid. The next day, they set out in their
canoes to raid a settlement where they drove away the people from their
village and killed them. Some did not get a chance to cut off the heads
of the people that had been killed, but Qaröm did, he cut off five. The
next day, they hung the heads on the arms of the women. Qaröm was
the first to hang three heads on the arms of his new wife. Later on they
set out on another raid. There the enemies killed Qaröm. Weeping, the
men returned to their settlement and said, 'Kéaqab, they have killed
your husband'. She went to the water's edge and threw herself into the
water for sadness at the loss of her husband. Afterwards she stayed at
home thinking continually of Qaröm.

Many months later Aqaékind took her as his wife. She who was as
bright as a fire. Aqaékind went to find sago grubs for her. He said,
'Let us go and get sago grubs'. Kéaqab went with him. They went into
the sago grove. Aqaékind said, 'Kéaqab, you must stay here on the
edge, for you have only just cast off mourning'. Aqaékind collected the
grubs from the bark and ate of them. He filled two small bags for
Kéaqab. She cut sago ribs to make a new fibre skirt. She sat on a hill
near the spot where they were looking for grubs. She watched Aqaékind
eating sago grubs. She said to herself, 'How can you eat such a lot of
grubs?' Aqaékind said to her, 'There are but few grubs, I could only
fill two small bags for you'. Then Kéaqab threw her fibre skirt over her
shoulder like a drooping tail and got up. She said, 'I am going to gather
sago shoots'. She went up into a small tree while Aqaékind was col-
lecting sago grubs. Aqaékind cried, 'Kéaqab, are you still there?' The
gathering of sago shoots was nothing but an excuse. Aqaékind came
towards her, 'Are you still there?' She called to him. He looked up and
saw her sitting on a branch. He asked, 'Why are you sitting there?' She
said, 'Because you kept on eating sago grubs. Look, I have put on my
fibre skirt'. He took an axe and cut down the tree. She leapt to another
tree. *Aqaékind* roared, ‘What is the matter with you?’ He felled that tree too. *Kéaqab* escaped and danced. When the sun was setting, she danced and kept on crying the word ‘ikke, ikke’. Every time he cut down a tree, she leapt to another one. Evening fell. For a long time he stood on the spot where *Kéaqab* was sitting. When darkness fell he went home weeping aloud. He said, ‘People, my wife has run away. She wished to leave me’. The people of the settlement said, ‘How was that? Was it because you ate sago grubs?’ *Aqaékind* lied, ‘I did not eat any’. He felt very unhappy, because he desired so much to have a child. The following day *Ujnaki* departed saying, ‘*Qaröm* they have killed and my child has gone. I had better go too’. He rowed away, he travelled upstream (... and reached the Tjitak people [on the Islands River]. He made a weir ... cut open his skin and released the fish and the axes from his body ... etc. ...). He went into the water.”

3. *Taémenu*

a. Introduction

This is the story of a woman who was after a great hunter. She eloped with him and married him. The Moïn version was told by Raramuj in the Jaqaj language.²

b. Text

“The intestines of pigs, cassowaries and other animals he threw away. They floated down the river under the water-plants. Time and time again they emerged on the undertow in the field of water-plants.

*Taémenu* spoke, ‘What kind of man did that? Where does he stay?’ She wanted to go to him, but the nipa palm prevented her. She would have gone right through the thick growth of the nipa palm on the river, but it was so dense that she could not get through. *Taémenu*, the mother, walked along the bank while her daughters beat the nipa with their clubs. All day long they rowed on and when it turned dark they slept on their way. They started early in the morning and rowed and rowed ... They rounded a bend and then they arrived at Tapari. They saw smoke and said, ‘There they are, mother. It must be those who threw away the intestines’. They could smell the scent of meat. They heard a voice speaking. At midnight the voice stopped. She attached a drug to a piece of wood. The man went to sleep after he had smoked. His second wife lay at the farther end of the house and his first wife lay with him. He had two children. She came rowing towards him without speaking a word. They saw two canoes, one of the second wife,
the other one was his own and first wife’s. She said, ‘Let me go out first, do not make any noise’. She went ashore and made for the settlement. She saw a lot of meat on the roasting platform. Using the drug, she cast a spell on the women and enchanted him too. She entered the house and touched his foot to see if he was fast asleep. Then she went to her daughters and said, ‘He is fast asleep’. He lay with his head near the middle door. One daughter pushed her hand under him. The mother did the same and they carried him to the canoe.

They laid him in the canoe. They took with them his tobacco leaves, his roll of tobacco and his bow and laid them beside him in the canoe. They made a fire in the bow of the canoe and departed. The mother sat in the middle of the canoe, at the back was the elder daughter and in front the younger one. They rowed during the night and returned to where they had come from. At Uwa they loaded firewood. He slept on as if he were at home. She said, ‘Off we go, off we go . . .’ At Tiköm-qáqáé he turned and stretched his arm. He struck the inside of the canoe with his arm and thought he had struck the wall of his house. He said, ‘Wretched house’. He moved the other hand and dropped it. He opened his eyes. There were stars in the sky. His hands shifted and he opened the mat in which he lay and asked Taéménú, ‘Who are you?’ She said, ‘I am Taéménú, I have carried you off in a canoe’. He looked at the woman, she was good-looking; he looked at the daughter, she was too good-looking. He looked around to see the elder one, she was also good-looking. She smiled at him. He said, ‘My wives are not here, nor are my children’. They said, ‘They stayed behind’. He fell silent. ‘Is my pipe here?’ She said, ‘It is, also your bow’. The man was homesick and said, ‘You did not take my wives and firstborn son’. They said, ‘He slept with his mother, so he stayed behind’. Then Taéménú said, ‘You had better get your wives out of your mind, do not think of them any more’. From there they set out for Joda. They spent the night and then continued on their way overland to her district. After that he had intercourse with the mother and also with the daughters. They reached Joda and stood close to the house. The men said, ‘That is what you call finding a husband’. They went inside. The elder sister said, ‘Younger brothers, I leave the decision to you, but he already had intercourse with me’. A younger brother said, ‘Well, let him keep her. We are already married’. Taéménú and Toqomor stayed at Joda. Taéménú’s family went home with the meat. He went hunting. His affines came. They killed pigs and cassowaries. They returned to their settlement with the game and distributed the meat in the settlement.”
4. *Jaqandi*
   
a. **Introduction**
   At one time women were dogs. The men lived with them at Wown. They had children with these dog-women. Two men discovered real women in the settlement of Makédé. This settlement was not situated on the river; a path connected it with a place called Arum where the canoes lay. In this settlement of Makédé, real women lived with men who were pigs. Therefore the text comments on cleaning the genitals. The role of *Joqown*, the second man who appears beside *Jaqandi*, is less clear. After the first meeting with the women he disappears from the scene until the end of the story, when he leads the pig-husbands to the forest. When the pigs are killed he flees, but not before he says that whoever wishes to shoot a pig must first call upon him. This myth was told in Indonesian at Katan by three older men named Moté, Taqaqaé, and Ngaën. A similar story was told by Qaqao, the old leader of the settlement Kamaqaé on the river Bapaé.

b. **Text**

   "*Jaqandi* left Wown and sat in a banyan tree. He was shooting birds. His younger brother, *Joqown*, kept watch at the foot of the tree. *Jaqandi* shot very far. His arrow fell in a sago grove. He looked through the hole in a leaf pierced by the arrow and saw two women preparing sago flour. *Jaqandi* looked for his arrow. The younger of the two women wanted to go a little further on to get some more sago. She saw the arrow. She hid it in a leaf. *Jaqandi* asked, ‘Elder sister, is my arrow here?’ She said, ‘It is here’. He asked, ‘Really?’ She said, ‘Really’. The woman called, ‘*Joqown*-oh, *Jaqandi*-oh’. *Jaqandi* said, ‘How is it possible that they know our names?’ The two men hid. They heard the breaking of the bark of a sago tree. *Jaqandi* saw the sago branch which the women were pounding. He stood at the end of it. The women embraced him. The elder one spoke, ‘I am first’. The younger one said, ‘I am first’. The elder one said, ‘I am first’. *Jaqandi* took the older one first, cleaned her genitals and had intercourse with her. Then he did the same with the younger one. The women wrung out the sago, put it in a bag and took it home. They cleaned some sago leaves and used them to make walls until they had partitioned off part of the women’s house as a room of their own.

   They returned and made a covering of leaves for *Jaqandi*. When the sun set the three went to the settlement. On their way they heard a loud noise in the settlement. They laid *Jaqandi* down, wrapped him up in
leaves, bound them together and thus carried him into the house and laid him against the wall. They fetched a bird from the forest and plucked it so that the other women could not notice the smell of the scorching feathers. During the night they unbound *Jaqandi* and roasted the bird. An old woman with a disfigured face smelled the bird and asked, ‘What are you two roasting? Give me a piece’. She made the hole near the rattan a little larger and saw the bird. The two women were in a cheerful mood and laughed. The old woman informed the other women that she had seen *Jaqandi*, a long-haired man. At dawn, the two opened the door and *Jaqandi* stepped outside. The other women embraced him. There were so many women that he got warm. They asked him, ‘Are there any more men among your people?’ He answered, ‘There are a great many’. *Jaqandi* told them to make arm-bands of palm fibres and skirts of sago leaves.

The two women appeared to be with child. The whole night long they had intercourse with him. The women made skirts and arm-bands and picked sago grubs. They piled them up high. They put everything in a bag. *Jaqandi* departed. The other women made a path from the settlement to the river, as far as Arum, the mooring-place. The children that *Jaqandi* had by the dog-women came to meet him at the mooring-place but he ordered them to go back to the settlement. He left the sago grubs in the canoe. He went to the settlement, carrying only his oar on his shoulder and entered the men’s house. When it was dark, he ordered his men, ‘Go, and fetch the arm-bands, the sago grubs and the decorated skirts’. He distributed the grubs among the men according to the contributions of the women. He showed the arm-bands and the men tried them on. When an arm-band fit the man said, ‘I choose the woman who has made this one’. Thus they made their choices. Some men took care that the dogs [women] would not see them. The men pilfered the cockatoo feathers, the shells used for decoration, the axes and bows of their wives, and took them all to the men’s house.

They prepared the canoes. The half-worn-out canoes they cut to pieces; they told the bigger boys to come to the men’s house. The girls were dogs. The men waited till the women were asleep and then they got into the canoes. They said, ‘Do not beat the sides of the canoes or else the children will begin to cry’. They asked *Jaqandi*, ‘Have you chosen a beautiful woman for me?’ *Jaqandi* went in front. When the men were in the middle of the stream the children began to ask for their fathers. They called, ‘Father...’. They were not there. They went back to their mothers and said, ‘Father is not there’. The mothers went
to the men’s house and saw it was closed. They cried, ‘How late you
sleep!’ Then they saw that the house was empty. They began to shout
and looked for the canoes. The smashed canoes had sunk. The dog-
women wanted to close off the river. They made the ground rise. That
is the reason why there are islands in the river nowadays. The men
arrived at Arum, the mooring-place. Jaqandi led the way to the settle-
ment of Makédé. The men yelled. The women rushed outside. Every-
one chose her husband, saying, ‘I have made this arm-band!’

The dogs were drowned in the river near Wowm and stayed in the
river forever. One man who had taken a dog as his wife had gone to
Togom on the Poré. Jaqandi told the women to go to the river and
clean their genitals. They returned and had intercourse. Joqown took
the pigs with which the women had lived until that time and drove
them to the forest. The pigs smelled the men’s body odours. They began
to scream and wanted to have intercourse with the women. All the men
appeared in the doorways. Jaqandi shot the first arrow. They all
followed his example. Those who were bad shots only chased the pigs
away. Those who were good shots killed the pigs.

Joqown too fled. He said, ‘Call upon me near the hedge in the sago
wood with the words, “Joqown, do you stand in front and I behind
you”? ’ The men got children at Uruvé and assembled at Taqamé.
There Jaqandi scattered the people to the four winds of heaven, saying,
‘Land, land of iron-wood, the current is strongest there’. From Taqamé
they went and assembled on the hill Qajno.”

5. Jaboq and Timon
a. Introduction
The woman Tanipqaqaé was married to Jaboq. He was too exacting
and therefore she ran away to Timon. In the latter’s settlement, Kaqajr,
the two men fought over the woman. A wife need not put up with a
husband who does not treat her well. If a woman appeals to another
man for help, the latter will stand up for her. The appeal made to him
demands this. And in this story the weaker party won even though he
was standing alone. The story was told in Indonesian by the older men
Moté, Taqaqaj and Ngaèn, inhabitants of Katan in the Nambéömôn
district.

b. Text
“Jaboq married Tanipqaqaé. He caught fish at Epoqo. His wife’s rela-
tives gave him a bag and said, ‘Fill it’. His own family gave him a bag
and said, 'Fill it'. The woman Tanipqaqaé wore only a leaf while fishing. The leaf was bright red. A man, Timon, lusted after her. One day Jaboq said to his wife, 'Let us go and get sago grubs'. Timon was hiding in the foliage. His penis stirred and his lust resulted in a seminal discharge. He was sitting quite close to her. Jaboq had intercourse with her as many as five times. The woman said, 'You asked me for sago grubs but you only wanted intercourse with me. Now stop it'.

She went farther into the bush. Jaboq was collecting sago grubs. He pushed the digging-stick, okom, beneath the bark. As he did so he fell backwards among the thorns. He asked for the fishbone, kamaré, which his wife wore in her nose, to remove the thorns from his skin. He returned the kamaré to her. The woman devised a trick. She said she was going to gather qaqaé leaves. She walked in a circle to see if Jaboq stayed where he was. He did. She climbed on a tree which had been cut down, put a shell on it and said, 'You are to answer for me if he calls'. She ran off.

The shell answered when he called. She fell into the grass, got up again, fell again, as many as five times, till she emerged from the tall grass on the plain. She stopped at Timon's place at Kaqajr. Timon's mother was plaiting fishing-nets. Tanipqaqaé passed the spot where the women relieved themselves, and stood close to Timon's mother. The mother went into the house with her, shut the door and produced sago grubs. Timon returned with sago grubs. He ate one small bag on his way; another he brought with him to the men's house; a third he gave to his mother. She pointed to the woman and said, 'Here is a woman who has come to see you. She is looking for you'.

Jaboq walked behind. He wore Tanipqaqaé's skirt round his neck. His relatives at Kaqajr said, 'Look for her in the house'. Jaboq had smeared his body with ashes. He went to Timon's men in the men's house. They had their spears ready because Timon had already informed them. They first tried to outwit him, but then they admitted that Tanipqaqaé was in the house of Timon's mother. Jaboq went to that house and asked, 'Is Tanipqaqaé here?' The mother looked outside and stepped forward. Jaboq called, 'Tanipqaqaé, come outside!' Tanipqaqaé came outside and spoke, 'Why have you deceived me? You said, "Let us go and get sago grubs" and when I came out of the grove you pressed me to have intercourse with you again and again. I do not want you any more'. Then she went into the house. Jaboq returned to his settlement and called together all the villages of the Jaqaj. All of them presented themselves. Early in the morning they were in Timon's
settlement. They stood in a line with their spears in their hands. Timon’s family stood with their arms crossed. Jaboq’s relatives shot their arrows at Timon. They did not hit him. Then Timon’s men retaliated and drove away Jaboq’s men. Timon first killed five men from . . . , five from . . . and five from . . . His men killed five people from . . . His party was the only one that was victorious, although it stood alone. The Timon people returned home, quite satisfied. This was the first fight."

6. Janggeron and Daw

a. Introduction

A Jaqaj settlement is situated on a river. Usually there is more than one place where the canoes can be pulled ashore, since each imu has its own mooring-place. Janggeron was able to submerge at one mooring-place and emerge again at the other end of the settlement at another mooring-place. He used this opportunity to get back home without his wife knowing it and eat his fill. The main lines of this myth are clear right from the beginning. A wife gets the better of a man who cheats her.

There are several details which are of interest. Janggeron is clearly pictured as a man who is neither bright nor talented; Daw, his wife, is depicted as energetic. Nevertheless she is sorry that she has to punish her husband. The relatives of Janggeron mourn his loss but in spite of everything are proud of the fact that his name will be mentioned in the formula which is spoken when a trap is lowered into the water. To others this formula is a joke, however, because according to Tambim it runs: “Daw, you made the trap because Janggeron ate your meat”. The relatives killed Daw out of revenge. She retaliated by announcing that she would keep part of the fish for herself. She would live in the swamp. This explains why they cannot catch fish everyday. Janggeron also remained faithful to his character. He turned into a bird which hid in the forest “for fear they should see me”, just as he hid underwater for fear Daw would see him. The story was told in the Jaqaj language by the old akiaq-radé of Képi, Tambim.

b. Text

“One day Janggeron went hunting. She, Daw, also went hunting. On their return they roasted the meat. Then they said, ‘Let us have a bath’. At the mooring-place Janggeron said, ‘Listen’. He counted off the days on his fingers. ‘In five days I shall come to the surface again’, and he
added, 'I want to stay underwater for a long time'. Then he swam underwater and came to the surface at another mooring-place. He went into the settlement and searched the bags for meat. He ate the meat, the meat of pigs, cassowaries and cuscus. He did not touch the meat of the wallabies. Janggeron dove back into the water. He placed a stick in the water. He did exactly as he had told his wife, 'When the stick moves, I am coming to the surface'. He emerged. She had noticed, however, that the water [in the mooring-place close to the house] had been astir. When he emerged he said, 'I stayed underwater for a long time'. To his wife he said, 'My belly is a water belly. I am swollen'.

They went home. The bags had been left on the mat. She said, 'Who is always eating our meat?' The next day they hunted a cuscus. She pointed it out to Janggeron. She said, 'Shoot the cuscus'. Janggeron climbed up a tree with his bow. At the top of the tree he said, 'You lied, there is no cuscus'. Janggeron climbed down; he beat his wife. He said, 'The tree has chafed my chest'. She then climbed up the tree with the spear. She speared the cuscus and killed it. She took it home with her. The next day Janggeron stayed at home. She went out hunting with the dogs. They killed a pig for her. She made a fish trap. She finished the trap. She came home with the pig. He cut the pig to pieces.

The day after he said, 'Let us go and bathe in the river'. They went bathing. The next day she came and constructed a trap at the bottom of the river. Then he said, 'Come let us go and bathe in the river'. She dove first and came to the surface again near the mooring-place. Janggeron dove and remained underwater. She counted the days until he emerged again. He said, 'I want to stay underwater for a long time. When the stick in the water moves, I shall come up'. He dove. He moved underwater. He got caught in the trap. He roared. The woman looked up. The surface of the water was covered with foam. The water became muddy because he rolled over and over. She said, 'The trap has caught him. He is done for'. She stood waiting for a long time. She counted the days on her fingers. The tears were running down her cheeks. The water was churning because he rolled over and over. Then she went home to have a look at the meat. The meat was in the house. It lay there. She said, 'I knew it was he who ate the meat time and again'.

Then she went to the spot where she had laid the trap. She looked up. The trap came up to the surface. She untied the rattan and laid him [he had turned into a fish] in the mooring-place. She removed his scales and cut him into slices. Then she said, 'Children, the trap kept
Janggeron a prisoner; I made it because he ate the meat, the meat I had put over the fire to roast for you, women. I was angry. Let us go now. Cut him to pieces’. They cut him to pieces. They all got their share. They started roasting the meat. They mixed the fat with the sago which they had baked in leaves. They ate. Janggeron’s relatives wept. They said, ‘Everywhere your name will be recorded. When people use a charm, they will use your name’.

While they were roasting the fish, Janggeron’s soul fled from the flesh. He turned into a bird. The people killed Daw; they put her in the fire. Then she said, ‘From now on I shall assert my rights over fish. I will stay in the swamp’. Janggeron said, ‘For fear they should see me, I shall hide in the forest’.

7. Joqoj
   a. Introduction
   While a man is hunting the women often hear his dogs barking but are not able to see the place where he has gone ashore. Joqoj makes the most of such opportunities. Joqoj is the name of a large bird of prey. It is the symbol of a great head-hunter or leader. The crocodile is another symbol for such a person. The leaders are expected to stand up for their people. Inside their own group they should keep their hands off the “beautiful women” of others.

   The myth also refers to the Rupé figure, the old snake-woman who sat on the hill Qajno when the sun shed its skin. Here, one should pay attention to the words spoken by the sun, “Let her live; do not kill her. You have done your duty”. Rupé escaped death on the hill Qajno. The sun granted continuous life to her. The story was told in the Jaqaj language by Tambim of Képi.

   b. Text
   “The man Joqoj built a weir and placed his traps in it. He spoke, ‘Everywhere on earth women and men pilfer fish. I shall see to it that I turn into a crocodile’. He said to his own people, ‘I shall go hunting with the dogs’. He asked the women, ‘Where are you going?’ They said, ‘We are going to fish together in your grounds’. He said, ‘Do’. He told his dogs, ‘You stay at the mooring-place’.

   He grew a tail. His arms and legs got shorter. His head became the head of a crocodile. He left a lump of sago at the mooring-place. Then he stepped into the water. First he went for the little ducks. He swallowed a good many. Then he said, ‘Things are all right’. He swam
underwater towards the women who were fishing together, seized a beautiful woman and killed her. The women fled in panic and said, ‘A woman disappeared in a whirlpool; we couldn’t get her out’.

Joqoj went to the mooring-place. He laid the woman in front of the dogs. The women said, ‘The dogs of that man over there are baying’. The women thought he had caught a pig but actually it was a woman. In the mooring-place he cut the woman to pieces and roasted her flesh on a platform. As the sun was setting, he came to the settlement with the meat. He put the meat in a bag, a large bag. He distributed the flesh of the woman among the men, who ate the meat. The women and the men asked, ‘Where did your dogs kill the pig?’ He said, ‘They killed it on the other side of the swamp. You heard the dogs baying at the mooring-place’.

The next day they did not set out because of mourning. ‘Let us stay in the settlement’, they said. At dawn the next day, the women went fishing at an early hour. [Joqoj caught another woman . . . and so on . . . ] When the sun set he returned to the men’s house. When darkness closed in he distributed the meat among the men and women. The long men’s house was fully provided with meat; so was the house of the women. Joqoj said, ‘Qajregambu has not had any meat yet, I have overlooked her’. He brought her some meat and said, ‘Here is some meat for you’. She did not eat the meat immediately because she had just had some fish.

The next day Qajregambu had a good look at the meat and said, ‘This meat is human flesh’. First she held it before her children, ‘Look at it carefully, it is human flesh. It is evident that he killed the women’. Then she showed the meat at another house, ‘Look at it carefully. This is human flesh’. They covered their mouths and said, ‘It cannot be true, wait, how upset the men will be’. She went from one house to another, so that nobody could say they did not know about it. That is why she examined the meat with all the women. Then she showed the meat to her sons. All the men examined it and said, ‘Be careful. He has killed the women. We have eaten a fellow-man. It was like pork, but actually it was human flesh’. They put their spears in readiness. They decorated themselves with cockatoo feathers. They told the women, ‘Now you go fishing together’.

Joqoj said, ‘I am off with the dogs’. Some men already had gone to the spot where he had killed the women and were waiting for him in ambush. The men watched him. His tail became visible. He turned into a crocodile. His legs became short. The men were sitting behind
him when he spotted the women. Jogoj said to his dogs, 'You stay here at the mooring-place, I am going to kill a woman'. Somebody was the first to stab, then the others stabbed him saying, 'You have deceived us'. One leg began to recover. He screamed. The men said, 'You just let out the cries of a crocodile'. He roared. They killed him in silence. After they had killed him they put him down in the mooring-place and with an axe they broke the vertebrae of his neck. They shot the dogs. Next they went to his mother in the settlement. They arrived at her house. She had put her tail as Rupé in the ground. They went for her, wearing their marks of honour. She asked them, 'Grandchildren, why have you come?' They said, 'We have come without any reason'. They speared her to the ground. She crept into the earth. They thrust their spears and hit her. She fell to pieces because of the thrusts. The sun spoke, 'Let her live. Do not kill her. You have done your duty'. The sun threw down the real spear.'

8. Makubonök and Ndumènd

a. Introduction

The separation of the sexes in houses for men and women makes possible the deceit practised by Makubonök. The story gives the origin of the formulas used near the pig fence and the pig trap. Ndumènd lived with a boar and was pregnant with pigs in her womb. When she was killed the pigs were born. She took all the credit for this herself: "I can be called like the pigs". What all this has to do with the singing of the morning bird, Qojöm, is merely guess-work. But when the morning bird starts singing, the people set out to see whether a pig has been caught in the trap. Ndumènd's son, Tépakud, took the credit for having killed his father — a pig — from behind a fence. People then had to call upon him. The change of the cries is an indication of a change of character. The myth was told in the Jaqaj language by the old leader Ikapé of the village of Toba.

b. Text

"During the night Makubonök made for the sago which Ndumènd had cut down and he ate it secretly. In the morning she saw that there was no sago left and said, 'Who has eaten my sago?' She cut down another tree. Again her husband went there during the night and ate the sago. When the morning bird, Qojöm, was singing, he returned home and slept wrapped in his mat. At dawn when she had brought sago from her house, Makubonök ate it and said, 'I have a toothache'. Because of
his toothache he stayed in another men's house and slept. The sun rose
and again darkness closed in. Again he went. He had laid a piece of
wood in his mat, so they thought a man lay sleeping there.

The following morning Ndumènd went to her sago and shouted,
'Oh, my sago, my sago, all eaten. Many pigs must have done this'. She
said, 'Maybe a man ate my sago, for there are no pigs here'. Makubonök
turned into a pig every time. His tail of fibres became a real tail. Her
sister-in-law said, 'Build a fence in the sago marsh'. Then she made a
fence from which to shoot pigs. Ndumènd had a swollen belly. It was
swollen because of the many children she bore. But her children were
pigs: the ate pigs, the qojöm pigs, and the gamé pigs. Then Tépakud,
the son of Makubonök, opened Makubonök's mat. He was not in it.
'For sure', he thought, 'it is Makubonök who eats Ndumènd's sago'.
Then he went away. He listened attentively while he was in the sago
marsh. 'Wèk, wèk', went the smacking of the one who was eating the
sago. Cautiously Tépakud drew nearer. He laid an arrow on his bow,
aimed from behind the fence, bent his bow, looked for a deadly spot in
the pig and shot.

The pig let out cries like 'ajaha . . . ajaha'. Tépakud said, 'Stop it.
The cry is oën, oën, as a pig does it'. Not far from the spot Makubonök
died. He did not escape.

Tépakud returned home. He looked at the mat. Makubonök was not
in it. He said to his mother, 'Mother, it is a fact. He ate the sago. I shot
him in the sago marsh. He is rotting. He is dead'. Tépakud's mother
went to the men's house and inspected the mat. She spoke, 'My child
has killed him indeed'. While she wept, she was beaten. She fled to the
outskirts of the settlement. Her name is Qojöm. There on the edge of
the settlement they killed her with a spear. Then pigs appeared from
her belly. Qojöm ran roaring through the settlement. She cried, 'I can
be called as you call a pig'. Then the leaders said, 'Let the people call
upon your name, Qojöm, in their charms'. Tépakud spoke, 'Near the
pig trap and the pig fence all the settlement shall call upon my name'.