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Social Organization and Rites of Passage

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Social Institutions and Customs



Limau.

Social Organization and Rites of Passage

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National Museum of Ethnology

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This chapter deals with the social and kinship organizations as well as with the folk customs associated with the rituals of kinship in Limau Village in particular and Galela society in general. It does not attempt to discuss these subjects thoroughly, but rather to describe the data collected during two months of fieldwork. Since only a short time was spent in the field the data are rather fragmentary. It is hoped, however, that they will provide some useful information on the topics since there is virtually no other material available.

I. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

One of the most noteworthy features of Galela society readily apparent to even the casual observer is the high rate of geographical mobility, which presumably was characteristic of the traditional society. This may explain the lack of highly institutionalized social groups. In the past two major social groups existed; the *bangsaha*, an extended family, and the *soa*, a localized kin group. Yet these were flexible units with mechanisms which permitted the easy incorporation of in-migrants. Today these social groups have disappeared completely, and exist only in the memories of senior villagers. These aspects of social organization are described below.

1. The Present Community Organization of Limau

In 1936 Limau Village was organized by the Dutch Colonial Government as an administrative unit that drew several *soa* into one settlement (Fig. 12).

According to my census (1976), Limau Village consists of 41 households (44 families)¹⁾ with a population of 246, excluding 17 villagers residing in other villages

and Sub-districts, and including 5 semi-permanent residents from other Sub-districts. Twenty-six of the 98 married adults are non-Galela (11 from Maba, 5 from North Sulawesi and 10 from other Sub-districts). The village settlement is divided informally into two sections; a Muslim neighborhood and a Christian neighborhood. Except for two families (HN 14 and 15), the Christian families are recent resettlers who returned from Morotai as well as in-migrant families from North Sulawesi and Kau. The recently established Muslim family (HN 18) living in the Christian neighborhood was formed by an in-migrant from Maba who married a widow from Limau. There is no friction between Muslims and Christians in Limau. Apart from their religious activities, both Muslim and Christian families interact closely in everyday life through the lending and borrowing of fishing canoes and *goti* for extracting sago, as well as through helping other families with agricultural labor. They also work together on any corporate task for the village community. The village community is the only organized social grouping above the household level, and today no social grouping exists in Limau for any purpose whatsoever.

The village is administered by the village headman (*kapala kampong*) who is elected at the village meeting and formally appointed by the Sub-district Administrative Chief (*camat*). The village has other elective officials who become part of the administrative staff under the headman; they are assistant of village headman (*wakil*), the clerk (*juru tulis*), and the chief of culture and sport (*ketua L.S.D.*). These officials are also elected at the village meeting and are appointed by the headman. The main duties of the headman are keeping records of births, deaths, marriages, divorces and the like for the villagers, allocating land to in-migrants, tax collection and the transmission of instructions and information from the Sub-district office. A village headmen's council is called as often as once a month by the *camat*, and all headman of the Galela Sub-district gather in Soasio. Village officials

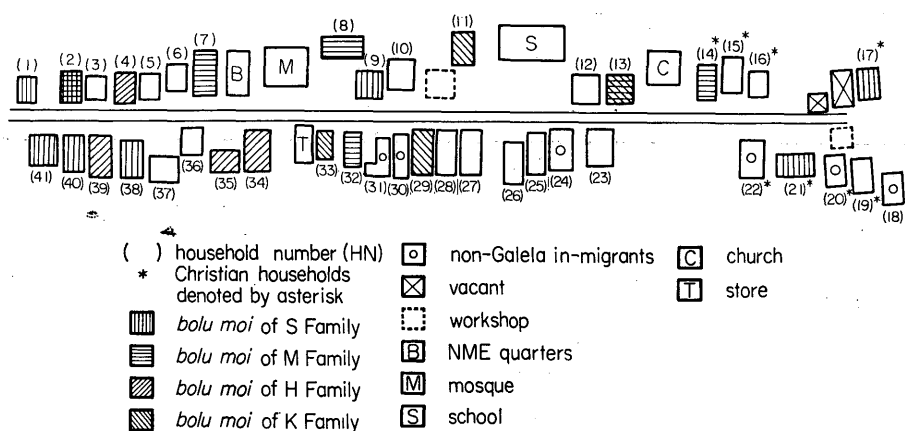


Fig. 1. Distribution of households in Limau.

1) For an explanation of the concepts of family and household, see p. 349.

are compensated for their part-time work with monthly allowances from the Sub-district office. Respectively, these are Rp. 2,000 for the headman, Rp. 1,500 for the clerk, Rp. 1,000 for the assistant of the headman, and Rp. 500 for the chief of culture and sport. There is no office building for them to work in, and their administrative work seems to be rather loose.

Besides these formal officials the villagers elect traditional officers; the *adat* chief (*kapala adat*) and the head of the mosque (*imam*). As in other parts of Indonesia, the *adat* is a set of social regulations or customary law for the security of community life. It regulates the social behavior and the interrelationships of the villagers. The *adat* chief is assumed to be the person with a thorough knowledge of the village *adat* and who can be relied on to guide the villagers in abiding by its regulations. Since the *adat* is just an oral tradition, the *adat* chief is responsible for authorizing sanctions as prescribed for an offender. He serves as the village religious leader, conducting daily prayer services and personal religious rites. In this village only two men can read Arabic script, and the *imam* is one of them. These two traditional officials are not compensated materially, but they are respected by the villagers. (The status terms of the village officials mentioned above are all Indonesian.) Women's participation in the political life of the village is very limited.

As a corporate unit, the village occupies its own territory, which includes the house lots and the surrounding swamp, forest and coastal area (Map 2). No villager owns land according to our concept of ownership. The rights to use land and to collect resources from the village territory are distributed equally to all eligible villagers. A villager can make a clearing for swidden agriculture, cut trees for sago in the swamp or plant coconuts in the coastal land. There is still more than ample land for village needs, so newcomers can apply to the headman for the right to use it. According to some in-migrants, the right is granted readily and a house lot somewhere in the settlement is assigned by the headman. The villagers hold the rights to the swiddens that they clear and own the coconuts, sago, banana and other crops that they plant.

In addition to village lands, the mosque, school and school teacher's house are considered community property. The church is considered formally as community property, but it belongs in particular to the Christian neighborhood. Compared with the large and solid building which houses the mosque, with cement walls and floor and a zinc roof, the church is one-room village house built of local materials by the corporate work of the Christian families. It does not appear as solid as the mosque. The mosque and the school are maintained through the corporate expense and labor of all villagers, but the church is maintained by just the Christian families. The village owns a boat powered by an outboard motor and kept by the village head for the use of the villagers. Boats of this type were given to each village in the Sub-district by the government.

Social stratification within the village seems to be minimal, political, economic, educational and occupational differentiations being slight among the villagers. A difference in political status between native Limau villagers and the in-migrants from

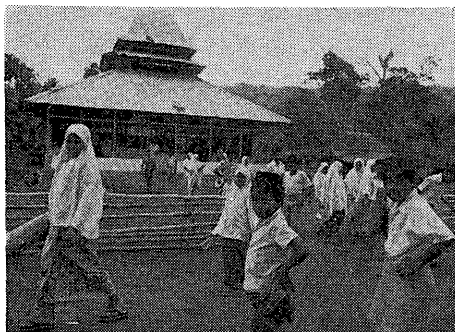


Photo. 1.



Photo. 2.

Photo. 1. The village mosque and Muslim villagers coming back after the Friday midday *salat*.

Photo. 2. Christian families in front of the village church after Sunday Service.

non-Galela areas is implicitly manifested in the formal aspects of community affairs, that is, decision-making power at the village level generally resides in natives who form more or less the core members of the village. The present officials are all natives of Limau. At the village meeting opportunities to express a personal opinion are open to everyone. Those of the native Limauans may be more influential and more highly considered, but in the everyday village affairs this political power is of no significance.

Economically the levels of living are low in Limau compared with other Galela villages of the Sub-district. Therefore, the difference between income strata appears minimal although it is impossible to obtain reliable information on income from villagers to whom the calculation of income is of no importance. According to one villager, only 7 men in Limau pay income tax. These are men who own coconut palms and who may earn more income than the average villager. However, in the level of living there is little distinction between the households of those who pay tax and those who do not. Villagers who earn a little more money may eat rice more often and wear more formal clothes at festivals. In Limau there is no rich man nor is there a strong motive to gain more income.

No adult male villager has received schooling beyond the level of the village school, and few women have ever attended the school. Today most children attend the school, but only two families send their children to high schools in Soasio or in Ternate and Manado. There is no full time occupational specialization except farming, nor is there any prestigious or respected occupation in the village, which is a most egalitarian community.

2. The Present Family and Kinship Organization

1) THE DOMESTIC GROUP

In the Galela language there is no word for "family" or "household." *Tahu* means "the house building" in which the villagers live, but it does not apply to the domestic unit, as it does in many cultures. Today the family or the household is

recognized in the Indonesian language as *satu pamili* (one family), which is obviously a Dutch loan word. The term “household” is used here to mean the domestic group characterised by common residence and the sharing of resources, and “family” is used to refer to the core kinship unit consisting of a married couple and their children—by blood or adoption—and sometimes including the larger category of kinsmen. A “family” does not necessarily live in the same “household,” since “family” is defined in terms of kinship relationship, although they usually coincide.²⁾ The interchangeable use of the word *satu pamili* (family) and the native term *bolu moi* (“one crowd,” bilaterally extended family) is a source of confusion.

The household as a domestic group can be clearly recognized and also it is a basic social group through the membership of which the villagers obtain social recognition as members of the village.

(1) Composition of the household

As shown in Table 1, the nuclear family type of co-residence consisting of husband and wife with their young children is the dominant form of domestic grouping in Lima. The nuclear type A, including the 14 households which contain some co-resident dependents, comprises 88 percent of village households. Generally, the man builds a separate dwelling and establishes his own household as an independent unit at the time of marriage. However, not uncommonly a newly married couple lives in the household of the husband’s or wife’s parents until they decide where to settle.

This is the case for Type C. The 3 families among Type C-1 and 2 previously

Table 1. Types of household composition

Type	A	nf	21	
	B	nf + c	14	
		1. nf + sb/sbch	(8)	
		2. nf + pa	(3)	
		3. nf + k	(2)	
		4. nf + nk	(1)	
	C	nf + nf	6	
		1. nf + s'nf	(2)	
		2. nf + d'nf	(2)	
		3. nf + b'nf	(2)	

notes: nf =nuclear family
c=co-resident
sb=sibling
ch=child
s=son
d=daughter
b=brother
k=kinsman
nk=non-kinsman
pa=parent

2) Bohannan made a clear analytical distinction between a family and a household: The family is a kinship group and must be defined on the basis of the kinship relationships (putative or real) among its members. The household, on the other hand, is a group which lives together and forms a functioning domestic unit. He also mentions that the kinship group must be distinguished from a kinship network, which is composed of the biological relationships among human beings [1965: 72–85]. Here, however, the term “kinship network” means the social relationships of people who are socially recognized as kinsmen, either consanguines or affines.

lived in Galela villages of Morotai, Kau, and Ngidiho, respectively, for a while after their marriage, and moved subsequently into their parents' households in the village. Two of these families have decided to stay with their parents since the parents are growing old, but the other has not decided where to live. Such a decision is not made at any particular time. The 2 co-resident families in Type C-3 originally came to stay temporarily with their brothers' households, but now have lived in Limau for several years. They say that when they do decide to settle in the village they will build their own dwellings. The co-resident family, HN 40, is now planning to build its own house. Therefore, Types B and C, which resemble the linear and joint types of households, appear to be a transitional phase in a domestic group's developmental cycle. This cycle also appears to be a migratory process. The village households are composed of a married couple, as a core, with or without their young children and co-residents. There is no household without a married couple.

Another distinctive feature, shown in Table 1, is the frequent inclusion of co-residents in each household. About 50 percent of the households contain temporary or semi-permanent co-residents who are mostly kinsmen, but also can be non-kinsmen. This feature seems to result from two specific conditions of Galela society; the high rate of mortality and the high rate of geographic mobility.

All the co-residents in Type B-1 are orphans under the age of about 15. Although young orphans are usually adopted by their kinsmen and sometimes by childless villagers, their parental siblings and elder siblings are responsible for rearing these children until they become of marriageable age. The example of HN 7 illustrates this. The couple is raising the husband's younger brother and sister and the wife's sister's son in addition to their own 4 children. The husband is the oldest of 8 siblings in his family. His parents and 4 siblings died many years ago. His married sister, who lives in the neighbour village of Lalonga, would have taken their unmarried brother and sister, but the head of this household considers it his responsibility, as the eldest child, to bring up his younger brother and sister, unless there was not enough room for them. During our stay in the village, the brother was preparing to marry a girl from the sister's village. He was assisted in constructing his new dwelling, across the street from his brother's house, by his eldest brother and his brother-in-law. Meanwhile his wife is sharing the responsibility of bringing up her deceased sister's young children, together with her eldest brother, who is living in the neighborhood (HN 8). Her brother, the village head, has married four times, rearing 5 of his own children, 2 step-children and 3 children of his deceased sisters. The couple of HN 7 wanted to take one of the children into their household. It is generally said that the primary responsibility for rearing young orphans rests with either their parents' surviving siblings or with the children's siblings, particularly the eldest, unless he or she has some particular difficulties or lives far from the natal home.

The other co-residents in Types B and C are mostly temporary residents who may establish their own households by marriage, or who may move to other areas. Among the parents in Type B-2, one father is living with his son's family, but he sometimes goes to the daughter's house in Kau. Another father is living with his

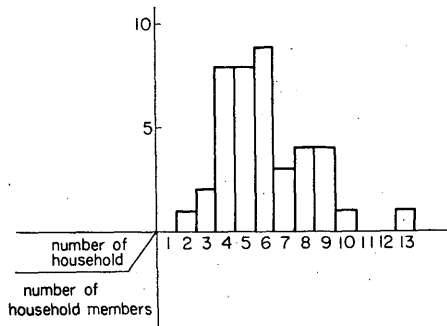


Fig. 2. Distribution of household size.

daughter's family after having divorced his wife, and is hoping to find a job in another village. He is likely to remarry a widow either in this village or in another. The parents in HN 41 are ready to move to their new house built next to their son's. This father is a native of Limau. He moved to Morotai in his boyhood and married there. The son grew up in Morotai and returned to the father's natal village, and then married a village girl. A few years later the parents followed the son and have been living with their son's family until they built their own dwelling. Since they are still active they want to live independently from the son.

Parents in Limau may choose freely with which child they would prefer to live in their old age, and no particular child has an institutionalized obligation in this regard. A non-kin resident is also treated in the same manner as kinsmen. An unmarried in-migrant is said first to reside with his relatives or with a friend who has established his own household, and then to build his own house when he marries. The domestic group in Limau seems to be a relatively open institution, although the core is always composed of the nuclear family. Therefore, a change in household composition occurs frequently owing to the joining and leaving of kinsmen as co-residents, whereas change in the core composition may often occur through the death, and divorce and remarriage of a spouse.

The size of a domestic group varies from that of a married couple to 13 members in the largest household (HN 8, Fig. 2). According to my genealogical survey of all nuclear families of the village, the death rate of young children appears to be more than 50 percent, although it is not possible to give a precise figure. Primitive medicinal practices and beliefs must have led to many deaths in such a tropical rain forest environment. Furthermore, as boys grow older, at about the age of 15, they often leave home and go to other villages and areas where they have relatives with whom they can stay. Under these social conditions the size of the domestic group varies from time to time. Judging from the household size in the village and from the construction pattern, several household members could be accommodated.

(2) The household as an economic unit

The household is the main producing and consuming unit, and the adult members

of which (not only the husband and wife, but also the co-residents) carry out daily economic activities according to assigned sex roles. Men work at clearing, planting and harvesting crops in the swiddens, as well as sea-fishing. Women also work in the fields planting and harvesting crops, collecting firewood, in addition to carrying out routine domestic duties. Among these duties, cooking and caring for the infants are the women's primary household duty. The household also enjoys corporate use rights to possessions such as fishing and sailing canoes, tools for fishing and farming, household utensils and the like. The villagers daily lives are largely dependent on a self-sufficient economy which utilizes the various resources available in their local environment.

The usufruct of a swidden is owned formally by the individual who cleared it. Informally, however, it is used jointly by the members of a household who farm together and share harvested crops. Some co-resident individuals and families have cleared land to which they hold usufruct, which indicates that they intend to establish their own household in the future. Other co-residents who are still considering whether or not to move to another village do not attempt to clear land that requires heavy labor. The formal ownership only becomes explicit when a household divides into two. For example, Rh and his wife with 5 children are living at his elder sister's house (HN 40). His family came to live in his natal village 3 years ago. His brother-in-law, Sd, came alone from Sulawesi several years ago and married Rh's sister 5 years ago. Since Rh has decided to settle in Limau he has cleared three fields with assistance of his brother-in-law and some other kinsmen in the neighborhood. Living together, the two couples work jointly in each other's fields, and eat together whatever they harvest. However, the men, Rh and Sd, each feel responsible for managing their own fields. When Rh's family establishes a separate household the fields of which he holds usufruct will be used only by the members of his household. Other examples of the establishment of usufruct is Hd in HN 7, as well as Hb in HN 4 who lives in a non-kin's household. These two young men have already held the right to a few fields which are reserved for their future household after marriage. At present, being single, their fields are not fully cultivated, according to the estimate of some villagers.

Earning cash is necessary for a household's economy in order to buy the certain necessities such as sugar, tea, rice, cooking oil, lamp oil, soap, clothes, utensils, tools and so on. Although the villagers' cash income seems to be quite limited they earn small amounts of cash by occasionally selling coconut oil, copra, *katu* (roofing material made of sago leaflets), smoked fish, sago and other products within the village and in Soasio. The first two items are sold only by the families who own relatively large numbers of coconut palms.

The money earned by individual members of a household is not merged into the household budget. Yet, in most cases, a husband and wife earn income by their mutual work. Such money will be used for their primary family members and young co-residents for whom they are responsible, and then for the household necessities. Adult co-residents also contribute their earnings toward the purchase of consumer goods, particularly food. The tools and utensils that they buy are considered to be

owned by them, but are usually used by other household members. The non-kin co-residents in households HN 4 and HN 30 do not pay or contribute cash for room and board, but they sometimes buy food at the bazaar in Soasio for household consumption. How often and to what extent they provide such necessities is of no concern to anyone. The economic attitude of Limau villagers may be explained in terms of the absence of a strong motive for property acquisition and cash production. Traditional self-sufficient production is still the villagers' major concern and cash production is of minor interest. However, these priorities were reversed in Duma Village, which I visited for several days.

(3) Ownership and inheritance

No property in Limau is corporately owned by a household, and even the usufruct of such major property as swiddens, sago and coconut palms is held by individual villagers. The ownership of such material items as canoes, farming and fishing implements, household furniture or utensils also belongs to individuals according to sex specialization. However, since the concept of ownership does not entail a principle of exclusive use in our sense, the relationship between ownership and usufructuary privileges must be clarified here. The household has mutual usufructuary privileges over what the members own, and these privileges are seldom denied to the other members. Ownership is jural and formal; whereas usufructuary privileges are informal and practical.

Formally, the principle of inheritance is based on the agnatic line, but in practice it is based on residence. An elderly father may divide his coconut palms among his sons and/or daughters who are living in Limau or an adjacent village. But the sons often receive more. Usually, items belonging to the father are inherited by the sons and those of the mother may be shared by the daughters. This principle also varies according to the post-marital residence of sons and daughters.

A son of HN 15 can serve as an example. He returned to Limau with his wife, whom he had married recently in Tobelo, her native village. He had been away from Limau for a few years. The newly married couple had not yet decided whether to live in Limau or to return to Tobelo. The father indicated that he would share his fields with the son while together they cleared more fields, and in the event that the couple decided to establish their own household, his parents would provide whatever necessities they could spare. But theirs is a poor household with little to divide among the sons. Were the next son to marry soon the father would have little left to divide. So the father noted that if he had nothing to divide and give to the next son, the son who had married recently might have to live in his wife's village or else separately.

Today among the Galela the most important property seems to be coconut palms. It is said that in some villages along L. Galela, where coconut plantations provide the major subsistence resource, private ownership of the groves has begun. In the absence of such commercial production in Limau the principle of

private property ownership and inheritance has not been clearly separated from usufructuary privileges.

(4) Role relations in the family

Within a family the husband is likely to have more authority over his wife than other family members. In general, making major decisions relating to family affairs is done by the husband. Although male Muslim informants emphasize their authoritative power in the family, there are few occasions for the husband to exercise his power. In particular, the authority of those husbands from other areas who settled in Limau and married Limau women appears tenuous. Wives, on the other hand, enjoy managerial privileges within the household domain. When we visited each household for our family survey, the wife usually called her husband to meet with us. In answering about her natal family, she often consulted the husband, seeking his approval. Both husband and wife often told us that women cannot understand complicated matters.

Both parents exhibit an equal amount of affection to their children. In the evening it is not uncommon for a father to be seen carrying his infant while the mother prepares the family meal. As children grow older distinctions between boys and girls become clear, and approximate adult roles; a son becomes increasingly free and independent, whereas a daughter is increasingly bound to the household, helping her mother with domestic tasks and caring for her younger siblings. As adolescent son

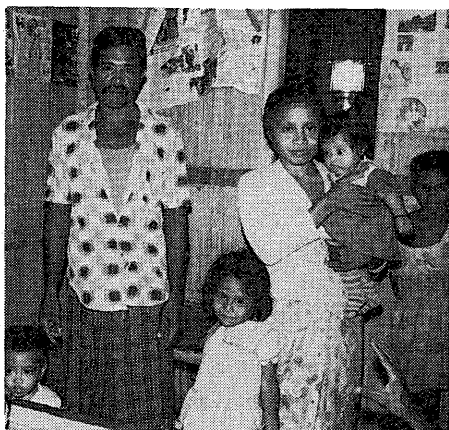


Photo. 3.

Photo. 3. A villager's family.

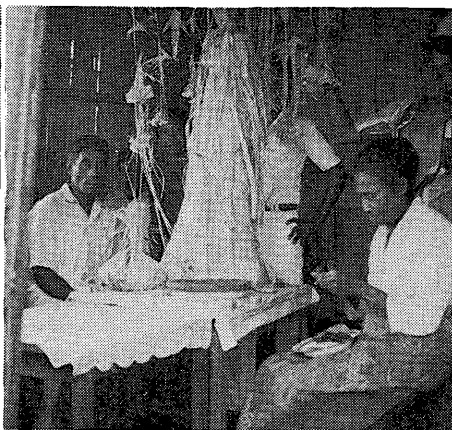


Photo. 4.

Photo. 4. *Tamo oko* (the tall bundle of cooked rice decoratively wrapped in pandanas leaves), *waji* (the smaller crown shaped bundle of rice cakes, also wrapped in pandanas leaves) and a peanut cake offered in a dish, all of which have been presented by the girl's family to the boy's family. The boy's mother (seated to the right) is preparing betel for chewing, which she will share with the girl's family.

is free to leave the village to find a work wherever he wishes. Sometimes a few friends may migrate together. A son who remains in the village and assists his father with subsistence labor also engages in small-scale cash-earning activities such as making *kaku*, fishing, processing sago or cutting trees for timber. He is now conscious of his impending marriage and is preparing for the bride wealth. A daughter usually stays home and learns from the mother the skill of making *tungutu*, the sleeping mat regarded as an important gift given by the female side at weddings and funerals.

Parents today seem to have little authority over the selection of a marriage partner for their children. Yet in this a son has more freedom of choice than a daughter. As parents grow old sons and daughters have an equal obligation to take care of them. Usually parents move around, staying with different children and seeking a comfortable place to live during their remaining years.

Only limited observation of sibling relationships or step-parent and step-child relationships was possible during our survey. However, observation of sibling relationships among adult villagers indicated that the eldest brother and sister have a quasi-parental obligation for their younger siblings after their parents' death. It is said that traditionally the siblings of opposite sex have a more formal relationship with each other whereas those of same sex are more intimate and indulgent, especially toward younger siblings.

Step-relationships are found in five Limau households, all cases having been caused by the remarriage of a parent following the death of a spouse. None was the result of divorce. Adoption of an orphan by an uncle or aunt is quite common. It is not clear whether the villagers distinguish between formal and informal adoption. Whether the child was given full jural rights the same as a natural child means little because no important property or status is held by the adopted father or mother. It seems that all the cases of adoption in Limau are informal, and the child is reared without any formal change in its jural status. Step-parents seem to make no distinction between their own children and step- or adopted children in terms of either material treatment or affection.

2) MARRIAGE INSTITUTION

Today, most traditional customs or *adat* have been abandoned in Limau. However, the marriage customs are still regarded as so important that people must follow the *adat* to a certain extent, even if in a more simplified form.

(1) Courtship

The *adat* always condemns premarital sexual relationships in Limau as well as in other Galela villages. A young couple was never seen holding hands when walking together, nor were they observed talking alone. There is never any public physical contact or touching between the sexes, and activities are largely segregated by sex. Even at western-style dances, held on festive occasions, couples do not hold hands but simple interlock index fingers in a very proper way. Showing interest in the opposite sex, especially for a girl, is considered immodest.

Nevertheless, love marriage seems to be popular among the villagers. Opportunities for a social intercourse among young people occur at festivities when they make preparations jointly, and eat and dance together. But still they must behave properly. When such a feast is held in the neighboring village of Lalonga young men from Limau join in the feast. It takes them about 30 minutes to reach Lalonga by walking along the shore. On the other hand, some young men move to other villages partly to find marriage partners and partly to obtain a job to earn cash. They usually fall in love and marry in the other village. Some of the young men may settle elsewhere, and others may return with their wives to Limau. Although no case of a marriage arranged by parents was reported in Limau some may have been of this type, which is said to have been common in former times.

(2) Marriage restrictions

Marriage is prohibited among the *bolu moi* relatives who are recognized as the descendants from one ancestral pair of *dopora* (Ego's great-grand parents). In practice, marriage of second cousins is permitted if the groom's family pays 6 *reyal* (about Rp. 1,500) to the *adat* chief of the bride's village. However, no case of first or second cousin union was found among the villagers. The marriage of levirate and sororate are prohibited. Any debt of a bride must be cleared before marriage; this may refer in particular to a remarriage of the bride whose family has not completed the return gift (*sosoka*) to her former husband. These restrictions are still strictly observed. No particular preference of marriage was discovered.

(3) Marriage process

Among the marriage customs of the villagers the ceremonies of paying marriage wealth and paying for the wedding feast are considered to be most important. The community recognizes a couple to be legally married only after these two ceremonies have been completed. Christians may arrange for a church wedding with the minister. A young man from Maba or Sulawesi who has settled in Limau may marry a village girl by following a simple version of the Galela customs; however, regardless of other customs followed, the two ceremonies are indispensable in Limau.

During our stay in Limau, a son of HN 12 and a daughter of HN 11 were planning to marry. Since the daughter's parents are natives of Limau they are required to follow the more traditional marriage customs. The following information was obtained from the girl's mother and two relatives of the families involved. The wedding feast was scheduled to take place in December, after we left.

The boy and the girl had become serious about their marriage sometime in March. They had grown up in the same neighborhood and had known each other since childhood, as had their parents. When the boy made up his mind to marry he told his parents, who had already realized his decision. Soon they paid a formal visit to the girl's house and asked her parents to consider the proposal seriously. Although her parents had no objection to their daughter's wishes, they called on their kinsmen in the village to discuss the prospective marriage and the bride wealth.

Several days later the boy's parents formally visited the girl's family again, taking the betrothal gift. Generally, this gift is given some days after hearing the acceptance of the girl's family, but in this case the boy's parents already knew that the proposal would be accepted. The betrothal gift consisted of *momolo moi* (one good ceramic plate), *nawo dodopo* (smoked fish), *peda ruru moi* (one sack of sago), *dena* (betel nuts) and *tabako iha* (4 bundles of tobacco leaves).

After hearing the formal acceptance of the bride's parents, but before presenting the gift, the two families discussed the bride wealth and the date of wedding feast. Once an agreement had been reached the boy's parents presented the betrothal gift. In return, the girl's family then served betel nuts. Chewing betel nuts signifies the mutual consent to the marriage.

Some days later (October 10), the girl's family made a formal visit to the boy's family to present the return gift, which included *tamo oko* (cooked rice), *waji* (rice cake), *fofoki* (eggplant) and *samanka* (watermelon). The gift was prepared in the house of the FFZD (the girl's father's cousin, HN 40). Preparation started early in the morning. The husband of the father's cousin and two other kinsmen carried his gift to the boy's house in the evening (about 5 p. m.), the traditional time for this visit. The gift was decorated with pandanas leaves (Photo. 4). Following this a ceremonial dinner was served to the members of the girl's family and kinsmen at the boy's house. The future couple also participated.

The bride wealth must be paid before the wedding feast. According to the boy's family, it includes Rp. 40,000 in cash, one bolt of white cloth and 12 ceramic plates. Besides the bride wealth, a contribution to the wedding feast is also given to the girl's family. The contribution of the boy's family to the feast was to be Rp. 4,400 in cash, 3 pieces of cloth, 80 kg. of rice, 12 sacks of flour, 15 kg of sugar, 5 kg of onion, 1 package of tea and 1 goat. The families invite their kinsmen, for the wedding feast, including not only those from Limau but also those residents in other villages of Galela, Morotai and Maba. The guests give such gifts as cash, rice, smoked fish, sugar or tobacco for the wedding. The entire population of Limau is invited to the feast. These guests are not expected to contribute food, but only to assist in its preparation and serving. Those village families with extra beds will invite those kinsmen of the couple living far distant to stay during the feast, which lasts for 3 days and nights.

(4) Bride wealth and the wedding feast

Cooley pointed out that "the payment of the marriage-wealth seems to be the crucial part of marriage *adat* in the Moluccas... The marriage wealth is a very common institution throughout Indonesia [1962: 26]." This is true among the Galela, but the wedding feast is also considered to be as important as the bride wealth. Galela bride wealth consists of three items; money, one bolt of cloth and one or one dozen of ceramic plate(s). The cloth is said sometimes to be white as is the case in Ambon, described by Cooley [*ibid.*: 28], but at other times to be any kind. In former times a large, old ceramic plate was used but today some people say that 12



Photo. 5. The arrival of a newly married woman at her groom's village of Limau. The couple have travelled by canoe from the bride's village in Tobelo, and they are now being welcomed by the groom's family. The bride is seated under a black umbrella.



Photo. 6. The shy bride, accompanied by the groom's mother and sister, all stand under the umbrella which the mother holds. They are standing in front of the groom's parents' house, which the bride is about to enter for the first time. All the villagers have come to catch a glimpse of the new bride.

plates of any kind is acceptable. The meaning attached to these and other items used in the process of marriage is no longer remembered.

Generally, the wedding feast is held in both the bride's village and that of the groom. However, the family that assumes the main responsibility seems to depend

on the postmarital residence of the couple. If, for example, they live in the groom's village his family will give a two day feast, and a one day feast will be given by the bride's family. When a village endogamous marriage occurs, as in the above example, the bride's family takes the major responsibility for a 3 day feast, whereas the groom's family shares the expenses.

Another marriage illustrates ethnic exogamy. A son of HN 15 had been away from Limau for a few years, working in a Tobelo village where a relative of his father lived. He and his Tobelo bride were married at the church in Tobelo. The bride's family gave a wedding feast for two days and nights in the village, which the groom's parents and relatives attended. After the feast the newly married couple came back with their parents to Limau (Photos. 5-6). On arriving at the groom's house, the minister of the village church conducted prayers in the bedroom for the couple's happy married life. The bed was covered with new *tungutu* made by the groom's mother and married sister. Some villagers, both Christian and Muslim, came to a small feast held that evening in addition to kinsmen. Food and palm wine were served, then followed traditional dances, lasting until early in the morning. The couple had not decided definitely to settle in Limau and were likely to return to the bride's village. In the case of marriage between different ethnic groups, the groom's family must follow the *adat* of the bride's group.

The following is some examples of bride wealth and wedding feast contributions:

- i) Mr. Ad (aged about 50), the village headman. The bride wealth in his first marriage, consisted of Rp. 50,000, 12 ceramic plates (about Rp. 5,000), and 1 bolt of white cloth (about Rp. 2,000).
- ii) Mr. Ay (aged about 35), the *adat* chief. He married a woman from Lalonga and his bride wealth was Rp. 4,000, 1 ceramic plate, and 2 pieces of cloth. In addition he gave one pair of sandals, a knife, a mirror, face powder, underwear, a pair of earrings, and one *cola* (brassiere). The wedding feast, which lasted for 2 days and nights at his house, and one night at her house in Lalonga, cost about Rp. 3,800.
- iii) Mr. Al. (aged about 30), an in-migrant from Maba who, married a Limau woman. His bride wealth consisted of Rp. 1,500, one ceramic plate (about Rp. 9,000), and one bolt of white cloth (about Rp. 4,000).
- iv) Examples obtained from a discussion that included several men in Limau showed that bride wealth generally averaged around Rp. 50,000, 12 ceramic plates (20-30 cm in diameter), and one bolt of cloth (10 m or more in length). A feast may cost around Rp. 93,000, including the bride wealth.³⁾

During our stay, a big wedding took place in the village of Makete. The eldest daughter of the village headman and a young man from Sangir (North Sulawesi)

3) These data were obtained by Ishige.

were married at the village church. Although all the villagers of Makete are immigrants from Sangir, this wedding was said to be a typical Christian wedding and one of the largest feasts that had taken place among the present-day Galela.

The wedding ceremony at the church, conducted by the minister, was quite similar of any typical protestant church, and included hymn singing, prayers, scripture reading, a short sermon, an oath of the groom and bride, the exchange of rings and the blessing of the marriage (Photos. 7-8). After the ceremony the bride and groom were led to the bride's house by her parents. Another short ceremony was held in the couple's bedroom, as is required by the *adat* of Sangir.

The wedding feast started at about 6 p. m. with a speech of welcome, thanks and greeting by the bride's father, followed by speeches by the *camat* of Galela; administrative officers, the groom's school teachers, and ministers of the local churches, who were all formally invited. During the speech, food (17 types dishes) and tea were served by the village girls. The bride and groom dressed in western style costumes, walked among the formally invited guests to greet them.

According to the bride's father, preparations for the feast had begun 10 days earlier. The villagers took turns in helping the family during these days by building the feast place, killing animals, collecting firewood, carrying water, cooking food, and



Photo. 7. The bride and groom are leaving the bride's house (in the background) and entering the Makete church. They are followed by their parents and kinsmen. The roof to the left shelters the site for the wedding feast.

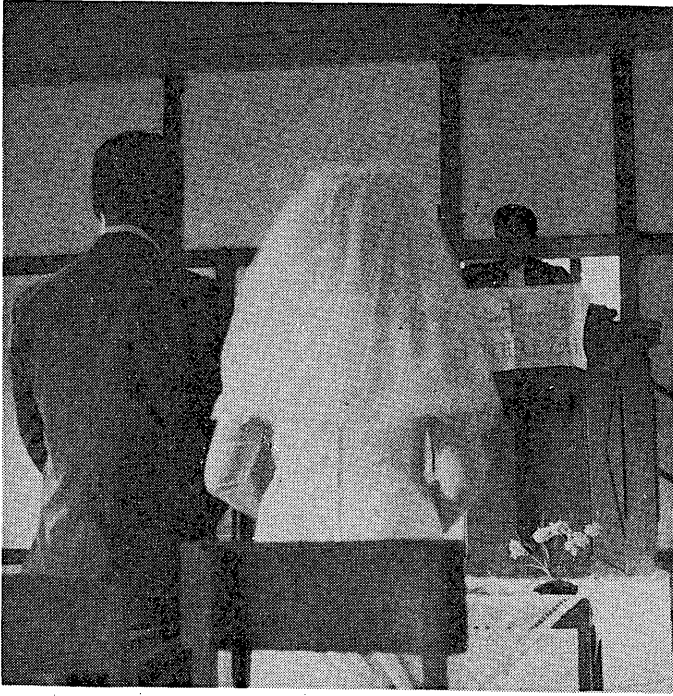


Photo. 8. Bride and groom receiving the minister's blessing in the church wedding ceremony.

the like. The families of the groom and bride delivered 100 formal invitation cards to Sulawesi, Ternate and Galela Sub-districts, and for the feast 240 seats were set up under one roof. The bride's father calculated the total expenses for the feast to be approximately Rp. 250,000, which was spent mostly for 3 oxen, 4 goats, 30 chickens, 150 kg of rice, 30 kg of sugar, 20 packages of tea, as well as such things as *katu* for the roof, firewood, invitation cards and so forth. The groom's family contributed about one third of the expenses, in addition to the bride wealth which consisted of Rp. 80,000, one bolt of cotton cloth, and many dishes, plates and cups. In addition the kinsmen of both families brought a large amount of fish, vegetables, tea, and some gave cash as wedding gifts, which would be used by the couple for their living expenses. More than 300 people attended the feast.

The groom's uncle started the dancing with the *cakalele* (the war dance common in Maluku) and other guests followed suit. Soon most people joined in traditional and western dancing. After the formally invited officials departed at about 11 p. m., more villagers joined in the dancing, which lasted until 5 a. m., although many people from other villages had left by 2 a. m.. The festive eating and dancing continued for the next two days. The older adult participants were only villagers and their kinsmen, but the younger men and some women who attended came from both the neighboring villages and also Soasio. Many of these stayed in their kin's houses near the village.



Photo. 9. Makete Village men cooking chicken barbeques for the wedding feast, enjoying the happy and joyous occasion.

(5) Divorce and remarriage

Divorce seems not uncommon in Limau, particularly between couples of different ethnic groups but occurs quite rarely between village couples. Generally, it is thought that it is extremely difficult for a wife to initiate divorce. Divorce carries neither stigma nor shame among the villagers. Lacking the affiliation of any corporate social, kin group larger than a household by marriage, the pressures against breaking up a marriage seem to be very limited. Divorce is therefore readily obtainable if a couple is unhappy owing to personal conflicts or childlessness.

Al from Maba, for example, married a woman from Limau. But after 15 months they divorced. She went to her elder brother's home, and soon remarried a man from Limau. She died after giving birth to her first child. Her second husband then moved to Morotai and remarried, and the child is now being brought up in Limau by the deceased woman's brother. Upon divorce either former partner, but frequently the wife, leaves the house. The one leaving takes only his or her personal belongings since there is no common property to be legally divided. Children usually stay with the parent who remains in the house. Divorce caused by the adultery of a spouse is said to involve complex *adat* regulations.

Most adults in Limau experience being widowed and remarried. According to my census, 9 men and 17 women among 42 couples (excluding in-migrants) have remarried mostly twice and some 3-4 times. Among the couples over 30 years of age nearly 90 percent of the wives have been remarried. The experiences of men and women are not distinct, but women experience remarriage more than men, partly because of the age differences at the time of marriage and partly because men's lives are riskier than the women's.

People who divorce or are widowed normally marry again within a year or so, since the close kinsmen of such a person immediately begin to seek a remarriage

partner. Since the household economy is largely dependent on self-sufficient production it is extremely difficult for a widow or widower to live alone, particularly one with young children. A divorced or a widowed person prefers to move to another location and to seek remarriage, and he often leaves his children in the care of a sibling. On the other hand, a woman is unable to relocate and experiences great difficulty in living alone with her young children. A household without male labor cannot obtain fish or sago, the main foods of the villagers. The widow of household HN 38, whose husband died several months ago, lives alone with 5 young children. The family of her younger brother, which lives in Limau, provides fish and sago and the male labor which she cannot undertake. In all probability she will remarry soon.

(6) The pattern of marital residence

Today, neolocal residence within the village is the common rule in Limau. A newly married couple establishes a household separate from their parents, but this may be in either the bride's or the groom's village. Thus if the village is regarded as defining residence, then the residence of the villagers may also be said to be utrolateral.

The analysis of 42 couples living (except 6 in-migrant couples) in Limau shows the following:

Marriage between the villagers	11 cases (26%)
Marriage between a Limau man and a non-Limau woman	13 cases (31%)
Marriage between a Limau woman and a non-Limau man	18 cases (43%)

It is difficult to define what constitutes "a native villager"; i.e. is a man "native" who was born in Maba but who returned to Limau, his father's native village, or is a woman "native" who married into Limau from a village of Galela but then who was widowed and remarried a man from Maba who married into her household in Limau? In addition to data limitations, the high rate of mobility and remarriage among villagers makes it difficult quantitatively to analyze and evaluate the situation.

Moreover, utrolateral residence of a newly married couple may not be considered permanent. To reside in the village of either spouse's parents enables the couple to rely on the parents' assistance in farming and fishing activities. It is not necessary, however, that such kinsmen be their parents, but the couple may choose a village where they have one or more close kinsmen of their generation (usually siblings and cousins). In Limau 38 of 45 married men have either their own or their wife's married classificatory siblings in the village and 5 men have either parents or married children's families, whereas only 2 couples lack such close kinsmen. Since parents die early, classificatory siblings' residences must be a significant factor when a couple is selecting its residence. The villagers' residential options seem to have little relevance to any principle of marital residence.

3) KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Galela kinship terminology for reference belongs to the Hawaiian type in Ego's

generation, but the bifurcate collateral type with some modification in Ego's parental generation.

Terms for sibling (Fig. 3) : As common in Oceania, the Galela distinguish terminologically between elder and younger siblings of the same sex as the speaker, and employs a pair of alternatives for siblings of the opposite sex. Accordingly, a man refers to his elder brother as *ria* (meaning "elder" as an adjective) and his younger brother as *nongoru* ("younger" as an adjective), and to his sisters—both elder and younger—as *bira*. On the other hand, a woman refers to her elder sister as *ria* and her younger sister as *nongoru*, and to her brothers—both elder and younger—as *hira*. These sibling terms are extended to both cross and parallel cousins of Ego.

Terms for uncle and aunt (Fig. 4) : The same principle regulating the sibling terminologies is applied to the terms of parents' siblings. Namely, the siblings of the same sex of respective parents are distinguished between elder and younger, and those of the opposite sex employ a single term. Ego's father's elder brother and mother's elder sister are referred to as *baba ria* (elder father) and *meme ria* (elder mother) respectively, and Ego's father's younger brother and mother's younger sister are *dodo* and *jaru* respectively. The Ego's paternal aunts are referred to as *owa*, and his maternal uncles as *epe*. This feature resembles a symmetrical cross-cousin institution in the parental generation. Both Ego's father's elder brother and mother's elder sister assume jural status of his own father or mother in case of his or her death. On the other hand, Ego has an intimate friendly relationship with his maternal uncles and paternal aunts.

Terms for lineal kin (Fig. 5) : Lineal kinsmen are recognized in 5 generations ascending and descending. Each term can be extended to the collateral relatives of its generation, except the parental generation. The fourth and fifth ascending and

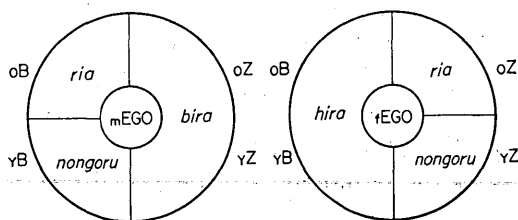


Fig. 3. Terms for sibling.

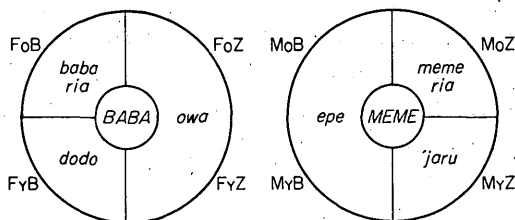


Fig. 4. Terms for uncle and aunt.

	m	f
G ₊₅	<i>galawewe</i>	
G ₊₄	<i>dotu</i>	
G ₊₃	<i>dopora</i>	
G ₊₂	<i>tete</i>	<i>ede</i>
G ₊₁	<i>baba</i>	<i>meme</i>
G ₀	<i>ego</i>	
G ₋₁	<i>ngopa</i>	
G ₋₂	<i>dano</i>	
G ₋₃	<i>topora</i>	
G ₋₄	<i>dotu</i>	
G ₋₅	<i>galawewe</i>	

Fig. 5. Terms for lineal kin.

descending generations are recognized by alternate terms. Thus, Ego and *dotu* or *galawewe* are referred to as *dotu* or *galawewe* by each other. In practice no villager has living *dopora*, *dotu* or *galawewe*, but referential terms of these ancestors are important in the conceptualization of kin category among the Galela. A functional kinship network is organized by the descendants of Ego's *dopora* or of even remoter ancestors.

Affinal terms (Figs. 6-8) : There is a separate set of affinal terms, which do not merge in consanguineal terms. The term of *toroa* is used by a male Ego in reference to his parents-in-laws, their siblings and ascending generations, his elder sister's husband and his wife's elder siblings, who in turn refer to the Ego as *dorooa*. A female Ego employs separate terms to her senior in-laws in accordance with sex differences; *tunu* for her father-in-law and *dunu* for her mother-in-law. The terms of *tunu* and *dunu* are extended to the collateral and ascending kins men of the parents-in-laws. She is in turn referred to as *dorooa*. Another term, *moli*, is employed by both male and female Ego, but in a different manner. A male Ego refers to his younger brother's wife and a female Ego to her husband's elder brother and sister and her younger sister's husband as *moli*.

The senior affinal kinsmen referred to as *toroa*, *tunu*, *dunu* and *moli* must be treated with respect and obedience, particularly in the practice of name avoidance. The custom of name avoidance, widespread in Oceania, is called *saali* in Galela. Ego cannot mention the personal name of any of these affinal kins. Therefore, if the name of the father-in-law is *moku* (betel nut), the son-in-law in speaking of betel nut, cannot use the word *moku*, but may say "red mouth." If the name of the mother-in-law is *gula* (sugar) the son-in-law must give an explanatory word in place of it, for example, "something sweet" when talking about sugar. This prohibition is considered as an *adat* to regulate a new relationship established by marriage. Among these senior affinal kinsmen, a man must pay deep respect and behave with obedience particularly to his father-in-law who paid his bride wealth. It is said that the

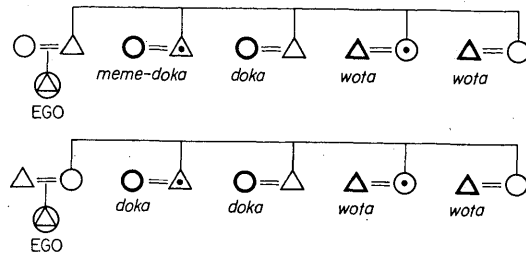
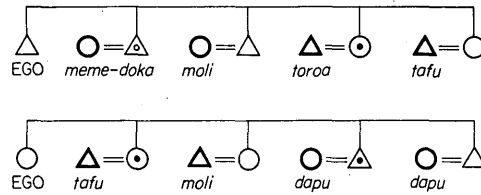
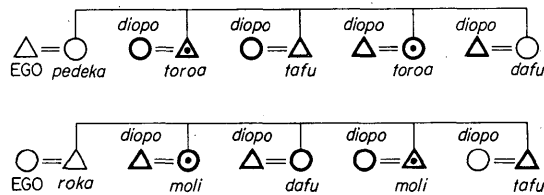
Fig. 6. Terms for affinal kin (G_{+1}).Fig. 7. Terms for affinal kin (G_0).

Fig. 8. Terms for spouse's siblings.

villagers still consider this *adat* important and observe to a great extent even today. The offender must pay a proper compensation to the victim. The other affinal terms are listed in Figs. 6, 7, 8.

In Galela kinship terminology, there is no unilineal emphasis as shown by the symmetry of the consanguineal kinship terms. The affinal terminology is rather complex, and may have corresponded closely to behavioral patterns in a traditional extended household called *bangsaha*, which will be discussed later, under the traditional social organization.

4) KINSHIP CIRCLES

At present, the Galela kinship system seems to be bilateral. There is no functional unilineal or cognatic descent group. Descent is conceived of as extending a kinship circle from a common ancestral pair both through male and female lines, and thus the kinship circle consists of all those persons with whom any Ego can trace cognatic connection. The Galela recognize such a kinship circle as *bolu moi* (lit. 'one crowd'). *Bolu moi* is said to refer ideally to all the descendants of a pair of *galawewe* (great-great-great-grandparents) or *dopora* (great-grandparents). However, no villager knows those kinsmen who are related cognatically through their *galawewe*. There

are only 3 families whose *bolu moi* circle is recognized clearly as connected genealogically to their *dopora* as the apical ancestor. Therefore, the range of *bolu moi* is not as large as their theoretical conceptualization makes it. In practise it extends to only a *dopora* and in most cases only from *tete* and *ede* (grandfather and grandmother).

The genealogical knowledge of a villager varies depending on such factors as the geographical distance of residence, the frequency of mobility, the age at the death of Ego's parents, personal preference and the like. For example, the head of HN 1 could name 32 families of his *bolu moi* not only in Limau but also in Morotai and the other regions of Halmahera. In his family's case the *bolu moi* kinsmen are living in the limited area that includes North Halmahera and Morotai, and the migrations of these kinsmen have been taken place mostly between North Halmahera and Morotai. On the other hand, Mr. Dj of HN 14 knew only seven families in Galela area, because, according to him, he lost his parents in his early childhood and was brought up in Limau by his mother's brother. In addition, he married a native Limau woman, and has never lived outside Limau for a substantial period. As a consequence, his genealogical knowledge was the shallowest among the villagers. Moreover, there is a general trend that if Ego is living in the father's natal village he knows better the genealogy of his father's side. On the contrary, if he is in the mother's natal village he knows more that of his mother's side. However, regardless of the different range and emphasis of Ego's genealogical knowledge of his multi-lineal ancestors, the *bolu moi* generally includes some of the second and third cousins of Ego, even though the conceptualization of successive genealogical links to these kinsmen seems to be rather weak.

The alliance among siblings of the same sex (including cousins as the classificatory siblings) seems to be strong among the Galela. This sibling circle is also referred to as *bolu moi*. However, the term *gia nongoru* is sometimes used particularly to refer to the sibling circle. It remains questionable whether or not the villagers recognize two different categories of their cognates according to the genealogical propinquity.

Bolu moi is an Ego-centered kinship circle, composed of some close cognates as the core members and expanded to include more remote cognates as needed. Therefore, *bolu moi* remains a nondiscrete and only vaguely bounded unit, but it has some economic and ritual functions in social life. The *bolu moi* kinsmen in the same village are expected to assist not only in their daily lives but also ceremonial occasions of the families. As mentioned before, the kinsmen have culturally defined obligations to present certain gifts at the marriage and funeral ceremonies: The agnatic kinsmen bring the male gifts (meat of game animals, fish and palm wine) and the uterine kinsmen the female gifts (a pandanus mat, white cloth and sarong) to the person concerned. Moreover, they have obligations to bring-up young children whose parents died and to support aged kinsmen who have no family to take care of them.

The villagers also maintain intensive contact with their *bolu moi* kinsmen within a limited area by visiting one another. During our stay in Limau, we often saw some strangers who were visiting their kinsmen. Sometimes these visitors continue to stay

with the families. It is ambiguous whether these temporary visitors are considered as visitors or co-residents. The existence of a further broad circle of *bolu moi* kinsmen becomes explicit when the villagers move to other places where their *bolu moi* kinsmen live. These kinsmen living in remote areas are remembered as potential kinsmen from whom any Ego can obtain some benefits if he relocates. They may provide reliable information on local resources available, temporary shelter or other necessities and assist in establishing a new life for a newcomer. It seems that the existence of the *bolu moi* network encourages geographical mobility.

3. Geographical Mobility of Limau Villagers

A distinctive feature of Limau society is the frequent movement of the people into and out of the village. Among 24 married native villagers, 8 have no experience of living outside Limau for a substantial period, and the other 16 men have spent some time (either childhood, youth or post-marital period) outside the village. On the other hand, of 29 married native villagewomen, 7 persons have lived away from the village either before and after marriage. The other 21 women have never left Limau. My genealogical survey of the villagers also supports the fact that men have traditionally moved out far more frequently than women. I could not obtain materials enough to do statistical analyses of the villagers' mobility, particularly since data on some villagers who have been away for many years are lacking. Therefore, I will describe some general features of their mobility based on the data on both native and non-native villagers who were living in Limau at the time of our survey.

The mobility of villagers may be better described in terms of "geographical mobility" rather than "migration." Piddington indicates, "The term 'migration' usually implies permanent or semi-permanent settlement at the destination of the migrant, or a regular 'nomadic' pattern of migration, usually seasonal. I wished to include visits and other occasional contacts between geographically separated kinsfolk [1965: xj]." One of the characteristics of the villagers is that they move from one place to another with no clear intention to settle in their destinations either permanently or semi-permanently. Many of the non-native villagers in Limau either came there to visit their kinsmen or happened to arrive there during the course of their wandering. The latter is the case of men from Maba; they came with some friends, and have settled in Limau after marrying native women. Some have already left the village. The families of those villagers now living away from Limau do not consider it important whether they live away permanently or return to the village. Many villagers tend to think migration to be permanent if they have been away for many years and have established their own households. However, this does not mean that such people consider their new residences as permanent or semi-permanent. In fact, a few people among the in-migrants in Limau still expect to move elsewhere, mostly to their natal places.

The second characteristic is the ambiguity of motivations for the people's geographical mobility, which is closely related to the first one. Mobility seems to be motivated neither by economic, ecological, political, nor religious factors. The

abundance of sago palms in the communal forest and fish resources off the public seashore may attract some people. However, it is difficult to believe that the economic lives in their homeland are harder than those in Limau, judging from what these settlers told us. The purpose of their migrations could not be to seek better economic prospects. In fact, only few in-migrants have been ambitiously utilizing the village land for planting coconut palms and natural resources to improve their cash income and better their economic position. Instead, many villagers seem to have taken advantage of the abundance of easily obtained primary food resources without looking too far into the future. Therefore, the reasons why a villager might decide to move away from his natal village and to settle in another village after living there temporarily for some years seem not to be economic. However, they remain uncertain. I have found no positive reasons, but imagine that there might exist a complex interaction of several motivations which encourage a person to move.

The third characteristic is that there is no conspicuous direction of mobility of the people either vertically or horizontally. As shown above, the villagers' mobility is by no means directed economically upward, and their migration rather takes place geographically in multiple directions beyond ethnic and linguistic boundaries. As the result of mobility in a large geographical area, inter-ethnic marriages have occurred frequently between in-migrants and native villagers, despite problems of language. Besides language, conflicts between outsiders and native villagers appear not to be serious, partly owing to the open system of the social organization based on the bilateral recognition of kinship relationships which has a mechanism to absorb the following generations into the native kinship circles, and partly as a result of common features of *adat* in the Maluku area as a whole. Nevertheless, people continue moving from generation to generation. At this moment a major motive of mobility may be seen as arising from the "wandering spirit" of the people, although future intensive research is necessary on this subject. To a certain extent the following five patterns may represent the variations of the villagers' migration.

1) MIGRATION BETWEEN LIMAU AND MOROTAI—THE CASE OF THE S FAMILIES

According to Mr. Fs (HN 1) and Mr. Hy (HN 41) of the S families, who are brothers, their grandparents were both native to Limau. The mother was born in Limau and married a native Limau man, their father. Since the father's siblings all died before marriage, they do not remember any remote kinsmen of their father's side. Soon after marriage the parents moved to Morotai. This was when the Galela had started establishing their new settlements in Morotai. Later, some of the mother's brothers and cousins moved to Morotai to join them, whereas others remained in Limau to marry. Mr. Fs and his siblings were born in Morotai. He married a Galela woman there and in 1964 returned to Limau with the wife and two children. Mr. Ps, another brother of Mr. Fs, came back to Limau, too, after marriage, but went back to Morotai. His two children were born in Limau but the other two were born in Morotai. In 1963 his wife died. Then he came back to Limau again and remarried a woman from Tanjung Lelei, whom he had met in Morotai.

They are now living in HN 19. The son and daughter of Mr. Ps returned to Limau in 1966, and married a woman from Loloda and a man from Kau, respectively. They are living in HN 17 and HN 21. Another daughter married a Galela man and has remained in Morotai.

Mr. Hy came back to Limau in his youth, and married a native of Limau. Later he went back to Morotai with his wife. Their children were all born there. In 1966, he decided to return again to Limau with all his eight children. One of his sons married a native villager and is living in HN 2. He and his wife, together with their unmarried children, are living with his married daughter's family in HN 40.

Moreover, the cousins of the three brothers have also moved mainly between Limau and Morotai, although some are living in other Galela villages. Many of these brothers and cousins own a large number of coconuts palms that they planted in Morotai. Seasonally, at harvest time, they go to Morotai for a short period, staying with their kinsmen. However, most of the S families in Limau told me that they consider Limau as their home village and also their ancestors' homeland. Nevertheless, they are not sure if they will live in Limau for the rest of their lives. The same type of migration between Limau and another area is found in cases of H families and K families, both of whom are core families in the villages.

2) THE MIGRATION IN A LARGE AREA

Mr. Ad of HN 8 is a native of Limau. His grandparents were both from Limau. The siblings of his grandparents had moved to many places in North Halmahera and therefore their descendants are now scattered over the island. His father also married the mother of a native of Limau. The mother's brothers moved to Bacan and Maba, and married there. Most of his cousins of both the father's and mother's sides moved to Maba, Kau and Tobelo. Therefore, during their youth, he and his brothers moved from one kinsmen to another in different areas. One of his younger brother died in Kau and the other died in Maba. He first married a woman in Tobelo and had one child. Soon he divorced, and remarried in Tobelo. After the death of the second wife, he came back to Limau with the three children and married a woman he had met in Mamuya. His third wife, after giving birth of two children, died. His present wife, the fourth one, is from Soasio, and they are living with all his children in Limau.

Many of his *bolu moi* kinsmen have scattered all over Halmahera and even to other islands such as Bacan and Ternate. The kinsmen have moved frequently, visiting their kinsmen and marrying in various places. However, Mr. Ad thinks that one of the male descendants should stay in the homeland of their ancestors. He intended, he said, to come back to Limau after wandering widely during his youth. His younger sister has lived in Limau, getting married a native villager. But, he said that as a man he felt a responsibility.

Some families (HNs 15, 16, 23, and 26) have *bolu moi* kinsmen scattered over a large area, and a few descendants continue to live in the village beyond three generations.

3) THE RETURN TO THE ANCESTORS' BIRTH PLACE AFTER A GENERATION

Mr. Jg of HN 5, Mrs. Ak of HN 17 and Mrs. Jd of HN 23 came back to Limau, which is the homeland of one of their grandparents, through marriage with native villagers. Their grandparents moved from Limau after marriage, and thus their parents' generation was all born elsewhere. These 3 persons said that they all learned that Limau is their grandparents' homeland from their parents, but never had a chance to visit the village prior to marriage. They seem not to have had any clear intention of returning to their ancestral place, as Mr. Ad mentioned.

4) MIGRATION FROM MABA.

There are 12 persons (9 men and 3 women) from Maba living in Limau. Seven men came with their siblings and the others came with friends. A few of their siblings and friends have left Limau after staying a few years. The 3 women from Maba did not migrate, but married men from Limau in Maba, coming back to their husbands' natal village. The men who have settled in Limau married native Limau women, except Mr. Yt who migrated to Limau with his family. The following is the life-history of Mr. Al, collected by Ishige. It will be taken as an example of these in-migrants from Maba.

Mr. Al's father and mother were from Maba. His elder brother, Mr. My, was born in Maba, but Al was born in Lolobata where their parents relocated. He is one of 8 children. Two children died in early childhood. His 3 married sisters are now living in Maba, and he and his brother came to Limau.

During World War II, he moved to Kau as a servant of the Japanese soldiers, and worked for 17 months in farming and watching for the enemy. But when the Allied Forces started bombing the area he escaped into the mountains with friends, and stayed there for about 16 months. After the war, he went back to Lolobata, his natal village, and built a house of his own. In 1948, after his father's death, he moved to a village near Tobelo, and worked there for 4 months as a farm laborer in the coconut field owned by a Chinese. Then, he moved to Tobelo town, working for 2 months in a coconut field as a laborer. Finally, in 1949, he came to Limau, where he had heard from his friends in Maba that sago palms are abundant. In 1951, his brother's family with the mother migrated to Limau to join him. He married a Limau woman in 1963, but divorced after 15 months. He has adopted one of his brother's sons, and is living next door to his brother's house with the adopted son. Since he wants to go back to his natal village in the future, he has not built his own house nor opened his own field. They are now the co-residents of his friend's family. He extracts sago and catches fish for household consumption and earns a fairly large cash income by practicing folk medicine in Limau and Soasio.

The other men from Maba followed more or less the same pattern, wandering here and there on their way to Limau, although some are younger and others are older than Mr. Al. It is said that the Galela have also long since moved to Maba and

established their new settlements there. As a result the Maba have a good knowledge of Galela society and villages.

5) FORMAL MIGRATION—THE CASE OF THE Y FAMILIES

The Y families (HNs 20 and 22) decided to move to the Galela Sub-district from Menado, in North Sulawesi, after hearing about better economic opportunities in North Halmahera from their friends in Menado. One of the significant reasons for migration was, they said, the economic hardship of living in Menado. As a planned permanent migration, they applied to the local authority of North Sulawesi, and were accepted by the Sub-district authority of Galela Sub-district in Soasio, in 1972. The families of Mr. Yg and Mr. Fg (father and son) came to Soasio together with the families of Mr. Yg's brother and cousin. They settled in Limau whereas the others live in Pelita, far to the north of Limau. They had no kinsmen and no friend from the same homeland in Limau, and no knowledge of the Galela language. Even today they remain still relatively isolated from the rest of the families in the village. However, as Christians, they are affiliated with the Christian church and have established intimate friendship to other Christian families in the community, on whom they can rely for mutual assistance in daily life. Since they settled in Limau they have cleared fields on the mountain sides and have planted many coconut palms. Besides farming, they also engage actively in fishing by building canoes and making *katu* for a cash income. It seems that they are two families among a few of the villagers who are clearly oriented toward improving their economic lot.

4. The Traditional Galela Kinship Organization

Galela society, in common with the other ethnic groups of Halmahera, has undergone a long outside influence, particularly from the Islamic culture, under the subjection of the Sultan of Ternate since 1814, and later of Christian culture through Dutch missionaries. Therefore, the term "traditional" used here simply means "the condition before World War II," which is said to have resulted in the disorganization of the previous Galela social structures. Today the prewar features of their social organizations are hardly found and just as remain fragments in the memories of senior natives (over 50 years old). To a certain extent it might be possible, however, to reconstruct the traditional Galela social organizations by extensive comparative study throughout the Maluku area and by careful analysis of Baarda's work, in addition to more intensive fieldwork. This task will be left for the future.

According to Neill [1973] and Geertz [1965], since about the 15th century, the Maluku area had been the scene of frequent warfare among sultanates who fought over monopolizing the spice trade. The peoples of Halmahera were also involved, especially before 1814, when the island came under the control of the Sultan of Ternate. There had been fighting between Tidore and Ternate over Halmahera. Moreover, the peoples of Halmahera were known historically as daring pirates whose exploits extended far beyond the adjacent islands. The Galela, too, are said to have been pirates. Judging from this they must have been a most mobile people not only

in North Halmahera but also in the adjacent islands. Such geographic mobility might have operated as a factor disadvantageous to the organization of unilinear corporate kin groups. Therefore, the *soa* organization in the Galela society varies from that reported from Ambon by Kennedy [1955]. Another traditional kinship organization of the Galela is the *bangsaha* (extended family). What are unique features of these social organizations? The following descriptions are mainly based information provided by senior native informants.

1) THE BANGSAHA

According to informants, traditional Galela people lived in large houses (*tahu lamo*), which were architecturally remarkable for their high roofs and octagonal floor plans. Such large houses were no longer to be found in Galela at the time of our research. It is said that these large houses existed in Soasio until the 1930s. Judging from drawings and interpretations obtained from the natives, I believe it is not presumptive to infer that the *tahu lamo* is the same as the *adat* house existing in Loce village of the Safu people in North Halmahera, which was investigated by Sasaki. Figure 9 is a hypothesised house plan of a *tahu lamo* inferred from Sasaki's original drawings of the *adat* house in Loce (Fig. 10 and the photo. 10 of the *adat* house).

The most important part of the house was the *bangsaha*, the rectangular space formed by the four main posts in the center of the house. The people living in the *bangsaha* space were also referred to as *bangsaha*. The word *bangsaha* is apparently a loan word from the Malay '*bangsah*' (Sanskrit origin, Malay), which means "race", "descent," "family" [Wilkinson, 1955]. On the both sides of the central aisle of a *bangsaha*, 4-6 rooms were constructed. Each room (*gongihi*) was partitioned from its neighbor by a side wall made of *katu*, and occupied privately by a married



Photo. 10. The *adat* house in Loce Village of the Safu people.

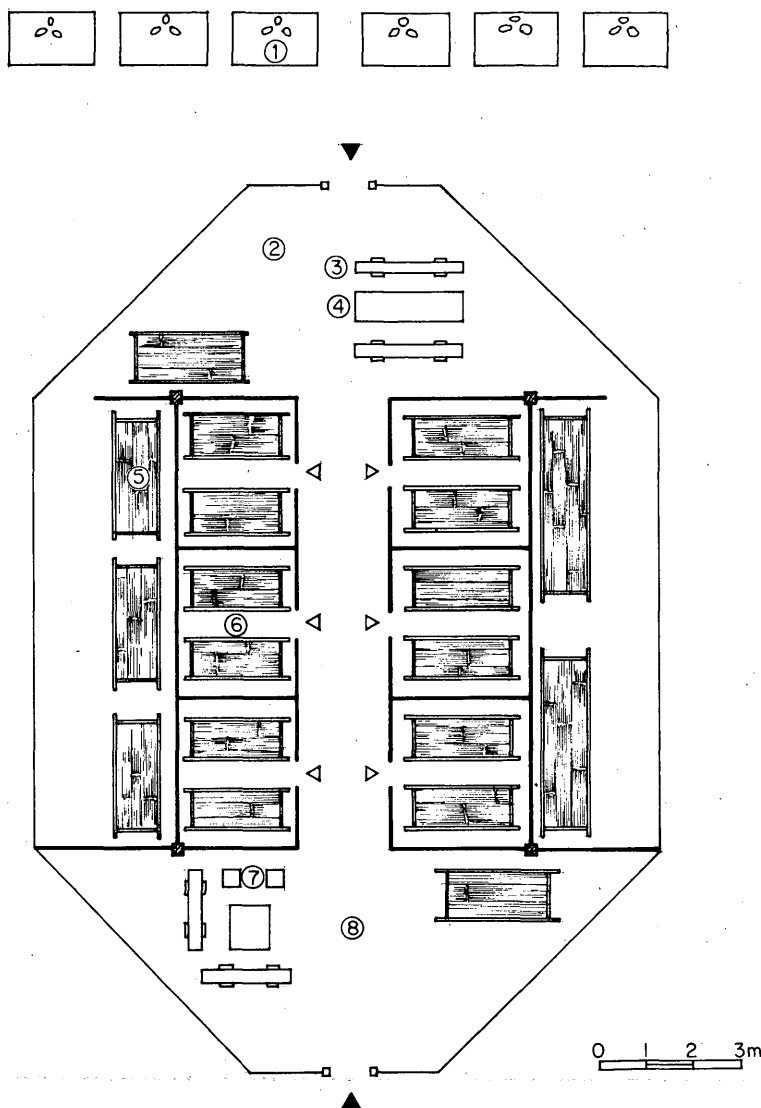


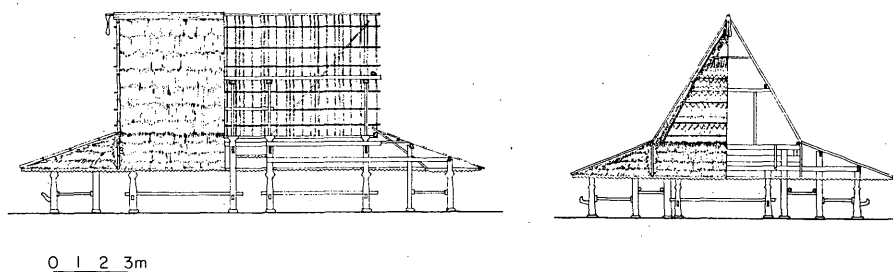
Fig. 9. Hypothesised floor plan of *tahu lamo* (large house).

- ① *hito* (cooking hut) ② *pandopo* (dining) ③ *bako* (bench) ④ *meja* (table, *Mal.*)
 ⑤ *dangi* (bed and bench) ⑥ *gongihi* (bedroom) ⑦ *kurusi* (chair, *Mal.*)
 ⑧ *gandaria* (living and guest room)

couple. Inside the room, two beds were placed for the couple and their babies.

The echelon formation in the front of *bangsaha* was used as a guest room as well as the living room of the extended family. The same formation behind was used as the dinning room. Both sides of *bangsaha* were the bedrooms for the retired parents in the right side and for unmarried young children on the left side, respectively.

The extended family was a residential group, but not an economically corporate

Fig. 10. *Adat* house.

group in its full sense. Each nuclear family in the *bangsaha* had its own cooking hut (*hito*) in the backyard. Important personal belongings of a couple, such as clothings, sleeping mats, knives, ceramic plates and the like, were kept in their bedroom. The coconut palms which the couple planted and the fields that they cleared were considered as their own property, and not those owned jointly by the extended family. However, if the nuclear family moved to another area, the property could be used by any family of the *bangsaha*. Furthermore, the properties of these nuclear families jointly used for ceremonial feasts and bride wealth by anyone of the extended family. In everyday productive activities the men engage in farming and fishing together, and the women helped each other in their activities. The foodstuffs they collected were stored together in the dining room and were consumed by each family. The aged parents, often widowed, could eat with any one of their sons' families. Taking care of old parents was regarded as one of the most significant obligations of a son.

The nuclear families which lived in the *bangsaha* were composed of agnatically extended families, but the agnatic relationship was never strict. Even in the old days geographical mobility was said to have been rather common. Withdrawal of a son's family and joining of a daughter's family of the extended family was always permitted. Figure 11 shows a possible, ideal composition of a traditional extended family.

Within the extended family the *adat* was strictly observed. One such regulation

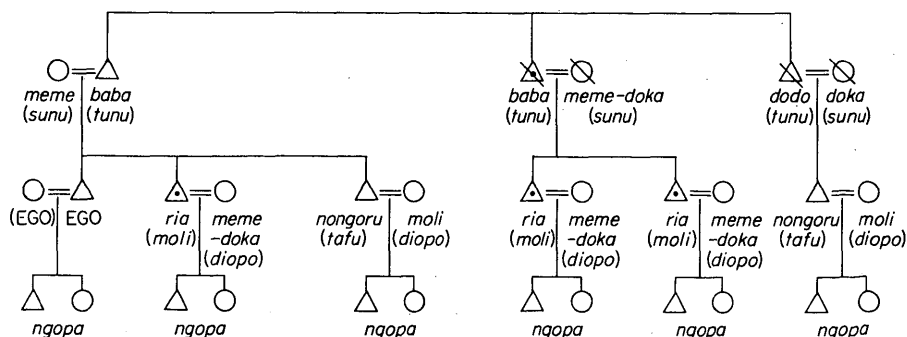


Fig. 11. A possible composition of a traditional extended family.

controlled free trespass into the house. A guest was welcomed to the guest room in the front, however, he was not allowed beyond that room. If he or she was a kinsman of the extended family, he or she could go through the aisle to get the dining room only by asking permission from a senior person of the family. Nobody but the couple who occupied the room could enter the bedrooms of both sides of the aisle. A kinsman visiting the family might be allowed to sleep in the aged parents' room or the children's room. Moreover, no men, even the members of the family, were permitted to use the exit at the back of the house. If he had to use it he had to ask permission of one of the women in the family. The cooking hut and the dining room were completely under the control of the women. The offender against *adat* was sanctioned by the payment of fine according to the areas intruded. The heaviest fine (24 guilders) was imposed in case of the intrusion into a bedroom of a couple, then followed by the dining room (12 guilders), the aged parents' room (6 guilders), and trespassing into the aisle from the guest room (3 guilders). This *adat* is still observed by the villagers (see Ishige in this volume, p. 467).

The other *adat* concerns avoidance taboos among the in-laws in the extended family. The relationship between the parents-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law was characterized by respect and obedience. In speaking with the parents-in-laws they had to be attentive, treating them with formal respect and obedience. The in-law siblings of the same sex on the one hand were expected to be mutually loyal, helpful and cooperative, although the younger had to show respect to the elder. On the other hand a particular emphasis was placed on the opposite sex-relationship, especially the relationship between a *moli* and a *diopo*. It was characterized by avoidance and shame: A man should not undress in the presence of a woman, nor should they eat together. A woman should not utter coarse expressions and make jokes, but should keep a certain distance from him. It was strictly forbidden for a man to be alone with his sister-in-law, especially inside of the house, and to show any interaction which might have even the slightest sexual connotation. If such a behavior was observed by another person he might be killed by her kinsman, being considered to have committed adultery. My informants failed to remember any specific restrictions imposed between a *moli* and *diopo* and sanctions given to the offenders, but they still remember how strictly they had to observe these avoidances and restrictions.

2) THE *Soa* ORGANIZATION

It is said that the most important social organization in the traditional Galela society was the *soa*, which has been widely reported from Maluku neighbors, even though their languages belong to the Austronesia family. I have not found the etymology of the word, *soa*.⁴⁾ In Galela, however, *soa* means primarily "between," and the word is used mainly in relation to "place." For example, *soa-nije* means "an empty place," *hutu i soa* "white hair here and there," and the like.⁵⁾ Moreover, *soa mogiowo* (or *motoha*) and *soa sio* were presumably two clusters of 10 (or 5) pagan *soas* and 9 Muslim *soas*, respectively. However, informants were not clear at all about the meaning of such 10 and 9 divisions.⁶⁾ It is said that there were the *soa*

mogiowo and the *soa sio* in the traditional Galela society; the former was divided into two *soa motoha*. One consisted of Tobaru, Dokulamo, Ngidiho, Seba and Ngahi (the present village of Duma), and the other of Seki, Tagawa, Konola, Igobure and Bare.

A *soa* was composed of several *bangsaha* families. Each *soa* as a named local group owned a substantial portion of land behind the settlement. It is believed that the ancestors of each *soa* were the first settlers in the area who then occupied the *soa* land. The same membership principle as applied in case of a *bangsaha* was also applied to a *soa*: That is, each person could choose to join either his father's, his mother's or his spouse's *soa*, depending on personal preference, housing condition, available land, local labor shortage and so on. Some members of a cognatic descent category who did not live in the *soa* could retain the potential rights on their ancestors' land to claim their membership when necessary. Therefore, a *soa* contained those members who were related to the others from the common ancestors and their spouses. It was not a patrilineal descent group as reported from Ambon by Kennedy [1955].

Each *soa* had a chief known as *soa ma sahe*, who administrated the *soa* and took care of the property. The significant roles of the chief were the distribution of swiddens and to represent the *soa* to the outside. Not only a man of the cognatic descent category but also a stranger, coming to live in the *soa*, had to ask permission to use any part of the *soa* land. It rarely occurred that such a request was refused, because there was more than enough land in the area. However, the stranger had to pay the tribute of one tenth of all his harvest to the *soa* chief, as long as he remained unmarried or married an outsider. Migrating alone into the *soa*, a man married a native *soa* woman, and was absorbed into the *soa* membership.

- 4) According to Prof. Sakiyama (pers. comm.), the word *soa* is not listed in the dictionaries of Roti, Ngadja, Timor, Tontemboan and Mangondow languages. He found *soa*, meaning "a village or town" which was stated as being derived from the languages of Ambon and Maluku. It is difficult to assume the correspondence both in sound and meanings with the word *soa* of Malay language, meaning "to meet or encounter." Therefore, he assumes that *soa* may be a word of Eastern Indonesian languages.
- 5) Baarda's dictionary lists the following Galela meanings related to *soa*: village, district, stem of race or family; *soa (i)*, a few here and there; *sosoa (i)*, within the space, put on a few here and there within the space, *o soa-nije*, a space: an open spot (the space or around a house, or the village field, etc.); and so on.
- 6) Cooley notes that two different views existed in Ambon regarding to the nine division (*pata siwa*) and the five division (*pata lima*). *Pata* in Ambonese means "grouping" or "division." One view is that *pata siwa* or *pata lima* refers to the *adat* system; that is, all the villagers in *pata siwa* or *pata lima* have *adat* systems which are similar in certain respects. The other view is that the nine and five divisions were introduced from the sultanates of Tidore and Ternate, *pata siwa* being connected with Ternate and *pata lima* with Tidore. He concludes as follows: "It seems more likely that *pata siwa* and *pata lima* were groupings formed or brought into being by political and military pressures from the power centers to the north at Ternate and Tidore" [1962: 13-18].

In Galela, there is another word, *doku*, to indicate a town, a village, a place, one's birth place, etc., and which is used as *doku moi*, meaning "the persons from the same village, or the people living in the same village." The distinction between *soa* and *doku* was not explained clearly by the villagers. Judging from the villagers

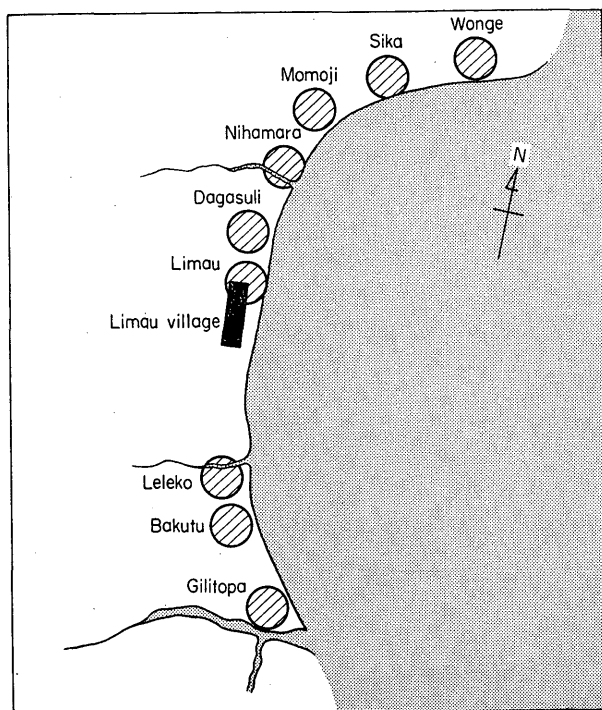


Fig. 12. *Soa* distribution.

Table 2. Remembered land and members of old *soas* around Limau

name of <i>soa</i>	land owned	members remembered
1. Limau	Kanaga, Jobubu, Sokiki	Am (3) Ad (8) Sf (7) St (14) Hn (15) JI (23) Ay (39)
2. Dagasuri	(government land) Tanaha Nguri	(moved to Bacan)
3. Niharama	Gawasa mogorugo	(moved to Bacan)
4. Sika	Tetewan	
5. Momoji	Tala	
6. Wonge	Wonge	
7. Leleko	Ngusu, Bukubuku, Niha, Pusu, Dodagoda	<u>An</u> (4)
8. Bakutu	Barataku	(moved to Soasio)
9. Gilitopa	Akelamo, Poga, Tubu, Loko, Ripa, Sale	Fs (1) Dr (11) Dj (14) Ps (19) HI (27) <u>Jm</u> (28) <u>KI</u> (37) <u>Rr</u> (38) <u>Kt</u> (39) <u>Bl</u> (40) Hy (41)

underlined: female members (): household No.

interpretations, the term *doku* seems to have meant just the place where people lived together (or settlement), not including the land of a *soa's* property.

Around the present Limau village there existed 9 *soa* (Fig. 12), but they were re-organized into the administrative village of Limau during the Dutch occupation. Some of the villagers still remember which *soa* they were affiliated with and which *soa* was owned the respective named fields (Table 2). The Soa Gilitopa and the Limau were large *soa*, and the others were small. After the re-organization of the village, the residents of the 3 *soa* (Dagasuri, Nihamara and Bakutu) all moved to Bacan and Soasio, respectively, and some residents of other *soa* have gradually dispersed here and there in North Halmahera. Today the *soa* is not a functioning social unit.

II RITES OF PASSAGE

1. Rites of Passage in Present-day Limau

Under the strong influence of Islam and Christianity considerable changes have taken place in the ceremonies and rituals practiced by village families, and some have even disappeared. It is still not clear if some of the rites observed among Muslim families are derived from Islam, or if they are indigenous customs modified by Islamic beliefs. Moreover, the villagers know little about the meaning associated with various elements of a rite, and data on the sociological and magical aspects of ritual awaits further investigation.

This part describes some rituals and ceremonies either observed or about which we received information during our fieldwork. Among the rituals practiced today the marriage and funeral ceremonies are considered locally to be the most important. Since the marriage ceremonies were described under marriage in stitution they are not repeated here (See, pp. 357–363). The Islamic and Christian funeral rites described below were observed in the villages of Lalonga and Duma, respectively, but the villagers claim that these rituals are essentially the same throughout Galela society, varying only in their degree of elaborateness according to the economic circumstances of the bereaved family.

1) RITES OF EARLY CHILDHOOD

In Limau every rite for children is the concern of the individual family and does not involve the extended family or the community as a whole. Mostly, these rites take place separately in Muslim and Christian families.

An infant's first bath : Immediately following birth an infant is given a ritual bath in order to protect it from evil spirits and place it under the protection of God (*Tuhan*).

Naming : No definite time is prescribed for naming, but in general the parents give a native name to the baby several days following its birth. Among Muslim

families, however, the formal name is given at the ritual of the first haircut, and Christian babies are named at the time of baptism. Muslim babies are given such Islamic names as Ibrahim, Abubakar, Sahiba, Adar, whereas the baptismal names of Christians are drawn from the biblical names like Imanuel, Piter, Marian, or Ruts. In everyday life native names are used more commonly than formal names.

The Rite of First Haircut (*ciru hutu*): Muslim infants are given the rite of the first haircut on the 44th day following birth. This is also the first day since birth that an infant is taken outside the house. Photo. 11 shows a village headman using scissors to cut ritually a small portion of the hair on an infant's forehead. The infant is wrapped in a fine sarong and held by his father. Many villagers are looking on.

Infant Baptism: Christian infants are baptized a few months after birth. Apparently there is no special ceremony for infant baptism, which takes place during an ordinary Sunday service. The Christmas service is the preferred opportunity for baptism, but baptisms occur at anytime since the parents of children born early in the year are afraid that their babies may die unbaptized. The church office in Duma issues a certificate of baptism and notes the Christian name of the newly baptized child.

Magical Protection (*kokotu*): Usually, one month after birth black cotton threads are tied around a baby's wrists, ankles and waist (Photos. 12 and 13). They are worn for about six months and then removed. It is believed that the magical power of these threads, made by the father, protects infants from illness and makes them grow big.



Photo. 11. The rite of first hair cut.



Photo. 12.



Photo. 13.

Babies wearing *kokotu*.

2) PUBERTY RITES

Circumcision: Alkema and Bezemer state, "The rite of circumcision should not be identified with Islam. It is known among many peoples who have had absolutely no contact with Islam... Circumcision, however, is now so closely connected with Islam in the minds of the peoples of Indonesia that has been prohibited by the Christian missions [1972: HRAF Files 516]." Limau people believe that circumcision is an Islamic practice, and therefore Christians do not practice it.

Boys and girls are circumcised ritually, but our data do not show how widespread this practice is among the Galela. Boys in their early teens are circumcised by the *imam*, and girls in early childhood by one senior male villager. The age and the date for the rite is not definite. Whenever one group of boys or girls are ready for circumcision the *imam* decides the date of the rite after consulting their fathers. In the evening of the ritual dancing and feasting takes place in the village, and *longin* and *cakalele* constitute the core of the ritual performance. It is not clear whether circumcision is regarded locally as a puberty rite or as a rite of Islamic affiliation.

The Teeth-Rubbing Rite (*igi ma roko*): This rite is practiced by both Muslims and Christians. The Galela considered it to be a puberty rite, and boys and girls

who have not received it are sometimes teased for "having egg-shaped teeth." After receiving the rite, boys and girls are considered to be marriageable.

The rite is usually, but not necessarily, held on November 10. During our stay in 1976 the rite was held. On that day 3 girls (no boy in 1976) underwent the teeth-rubbing operation at the house of the village headman. His daughter was one of the three girls. The operation was performed by a Muslim senior from Soasio, a co-resident of HN 36, and a person thought to be well-versed in Galela tradition.

At about 7 a. m. the bed on which the operation was to take place was prepared by covering it with a colorful, new *tungutu*, and by placing on it a pillow in a new pillowcase. The mothers of the girls whose teeth were to be rubbed prepared the offerings for spirits and the medicine for the operation. The offerings consisted of a dish of yellow rice (*tamo gurati*), an egg (*boro*) made to stand in the rice, several betel nuts (*dena*), 3 varieties of banana (*kosta*, *koi gofu* and *gorontalo*), and cash (each of the girls' families paying Rp. 100). After the operation the money was given to the practitioner. The medicines used for relieving pain and for stopping the bleeding were bamboo charcoal (*nongu*), an unidentified flower (*manuru*), lime (*gahu*), chili pepper (*rica jawa*), and a glass of water (*galasi*). These offerings and medicine were placed on a large plate and kept close by the practitioner during the operation (Fig. 13).

The practitioner prepared 3 stone adze blades (*roroko*) which he kept beside him in a bowl filled with water (Photo. 14). He ordered a girl to lie down on the bed and then covered her body up to the shoulder with a fine sarong and wrapped a piece of towel around her neck. Without first offering a prayer or performing any ritual he started rubbing the back of her upper teeth and then the back of her lower teeth until the edges assumed a triangular shape (Photo. 15). Several times during the operation the girl was allowed to rinse her mouth and take a short rest, but she seemed to suffer little pain. Around the bed her mother and friends stood watching the procedure. The 3 girls were operated on in turn, and each operation took less than an hour to complete.

After the operation, the girls were purified by a turmeric rice offering thrown over their heads, then the young male villagers performed a dance. Traditionally, the

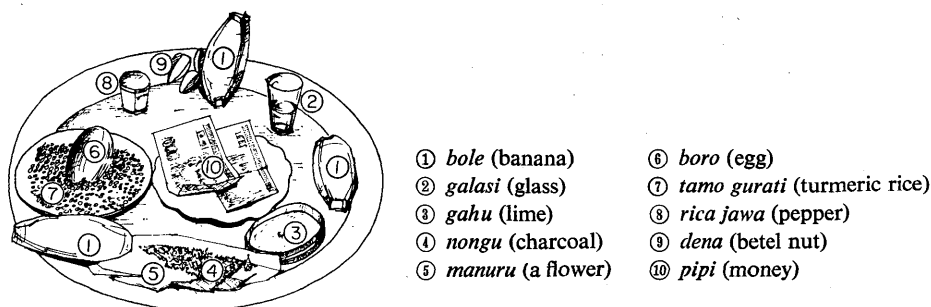


Fig. 13. Paraphernalia for teeth-rubbing rite.



Photo. 14.

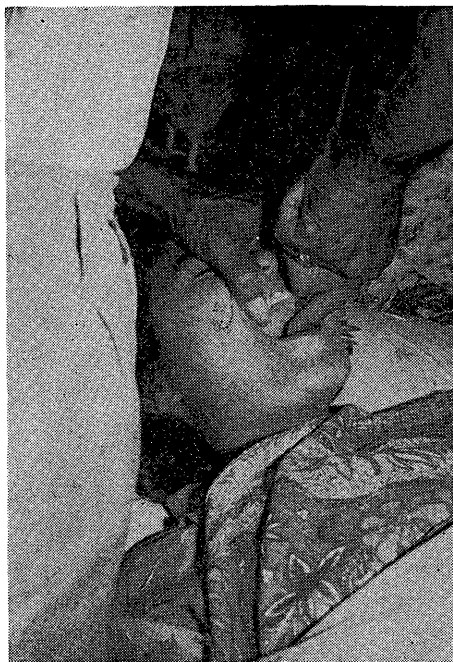


Photo. 15.

Teeth-rubbing rite.

operation was followed by a dance and feast in which the whole community participated.

3) FUNERAL RITES

(1) A Muslim funeral in Lalonga

On October 9, 1976 a burial ceremony took place in the village Lalonga for a woman of about fifty years-of-age who had died at about 10 p. m. the previous night. According to some participants in the ceremony, the deceased had been born into a Muslim family in this village, and had married a man from Gotalamo. She was survived by her husband, one son and two daughters. On the night prior to the burial kinsmen of both the deceased and her husband, who live nearby, and other villagers gathered to help the family prepare for the funeral. Since the woman's death had not been anticipated, relatives who lived far away could not attend. We were informed that after her death the *imam* of Lalonga Village conducted a short prayer service at which the woman's husband and several kinsmen were present.

Early in the morning on the following day, the eaves of the house were extended to cover the tables set up for the feast that would be held after the burial. When we

arrived in the village at about 9 a. m., many villagers were waiting in front of the house for the procession to the cemetery (Photo. 16).

Inside the house family members and male kinsmen were preparing for the burial. The corpse was cleaned the previous night. The *imam* wrapped it with a white, cotton cloth. Then he tied it at the feet with a white rope (Photo 17), covered the wrapped corpse with a new, fine sarong, and then prayed together with the husband and male kinsmen. The corpse was laid south to north with the head pointing south. After this the female kinsmen wailed loudly over the corpse.

Outside the house some male villagers were preparing a bier of two boards placed lengthwise. The boards were doors from the house of the deceased. A new *tungutu* was spread, and a new pillow placed on the bier (Photo. 18). The sarong, *tungutu* and pillow used for this funeral were of the same type as used in the marriage ceremonies in Makete. Soon, several male kinsmen carried the corpse outside and placed it on the bier (Photo. 19).

After this the procession set out for the cemetery. The bier was carried by four men so that the dead woman's feet pointed toward the front of the procession. A village woman, holding an umbrella over the head of the deceased, followed the carriers (Photo. 20). The *imam*, the husband of the deceased and three kinsmen led the procession. The kinsmen and many villagers followed the bearers. The procession to the cemetery, which was located about 1 km along the shore from the house, was silent.

At the cemetery a grave had already been dug and was ready for the burial. The *imam* and the four male kinsmen stepped into the grave to receive the corpse from the bearers (Photo. 21). The body was then lowered into the grave and laid with its head pointing south and its feet toward the north. The face looked west, toward Mecca. Next the sarong that covered the corpse was stretched evenly over the grave, and beneath the canopy thus formed the five men performed a ritual (Photo. 22). When the ritual was finished the men in the grave rearranged the sarong so that it sloped, and placed planks, one by one, in a slanting position, high on the west side and low on the east, across the opening beneath the sarong (Photo. 23). Next the planks were covered with the *tungutu* used on the bier. After the men stepped out of the grave, handfuls of earth were cast onto the grave, first by the kinsmen and next by the mourners in general (Photo. 24). A man shovelled earth after most mourners had finished casting earth. The *tungutu* had been spread wide enough so that about 10 cm emerged around the edges of the grave after the grave had been filled with earth (Photo. 25). Now the edge of the *tungutu* was turned down and flowers were placed upright in the earth along the edge-line. These flowers had been picked in the cemetery by some kinsmen who then offered them.

The closing ritual was guided by the *imam*; a small fire was made at the foot of the grave and a bowl of rice and another of water were offered to the dead woman. All the kinsmen and friends prayed around the grave, and then the women wailed (Photo. 26).

Finally, all the mourners proceeded in silence to the house of the deceased.

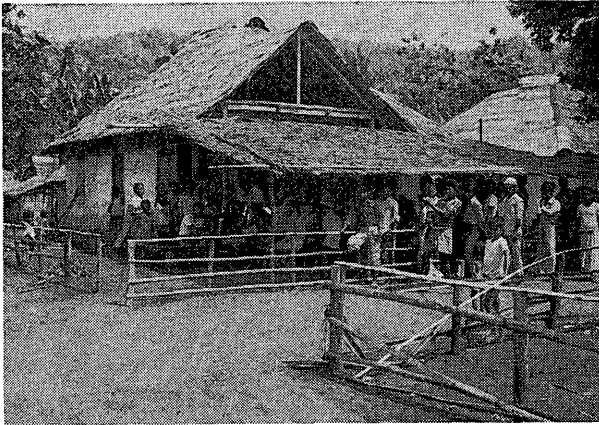


Photo. 16.



Photo. 17.

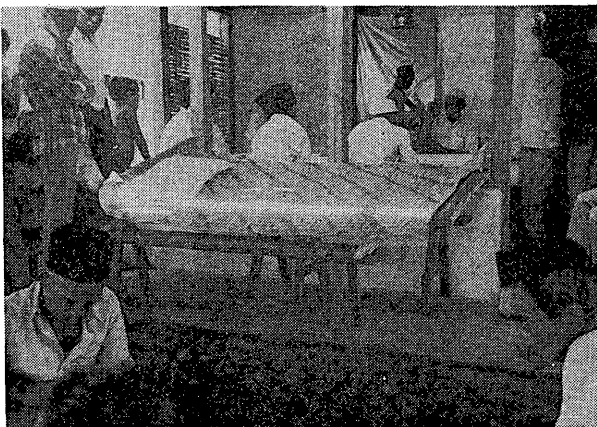


Photo. 18.

The process of Muslim funeral in Lalonga.

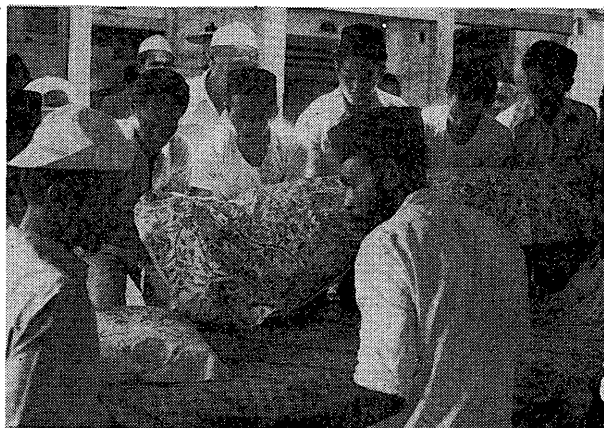


Photo. 19.



Photo. 20.



Photo. 21.

The process of a Muslim funeral in Lalonga.

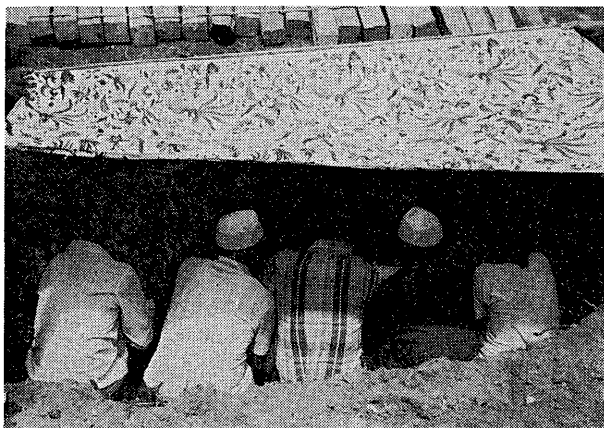


Photo. 22.



Photo. 23.



Photo. 24.

The process of a Muslim funeral in Lalonga.



Photo. 25.



Photo. 26.



Photo. 27.

The process of a Muslim funeral in Lalonga.

There a feast was held in honor of the dead woman. All the mourners were served tea and sweet rice cake (*waji*). Many villagers returned to their own homes after this, but later more rice and vegetable dishes were served to the kinsmen, family members and some villagers who had remained (Photo. 27).

(2) A Christian funeral in Duma

On the afternoon of the October 19, 1976, when I visited the village of Duma, I learned that a 4-year-old village boy had died from an unknown disease. A few close kinsmen of the bereaved family were sent from Duma to other Galela villages to inform the kinsmen of the sad news. After supper some kinsmen came to mourn and to discuss with the parents of the deceased the preparations for the funeral. However, we were informed that since all the villagers are Christian and belong to the same village church as a group, they assist one another more fully in special family ceremonies than do kinsmen who either are not locally resident or not Christian. For this funeral the young men and women of the church helped the family to prepare for the ritual. The church elders supervised as the young people dug the grave, made the bier and coffin, and organized the procedure for the funeral rite. The parents cleaned the body and wrapped it in a new sarong. The corpse was then placed on a bed covered with a colorful *tungutu*. Soon the church minister came to pray for the family in mourning. Many villagers joined in the prayers. Throughout that night, until the following dawn, the kinsmen and friends of the deceased sang hymns continuously.

At about 10 a. m. the next morning, kinsmen and villagers assembled at the house of dead child, and the funeral began. A table on which two pieces of *tungutu* were spread was set-up in front of the house, under the temporarily extended front eave. The coffin was made of wooden boards and covered inside with white cloth and outside with a black cotton cloth, on which a geometrical pattern was embroidered with white cotton thread. Then it was placed on the table. A piece of white cotton cloth was placed beside the coffin. Benches were arranged in several rows for seating the mourners. The minister stood in front of the coffin and the parents of the dead child stood on either side of him. Many people stood around the place where the ceremony was held.

The funeral rite, directed by the minister, took place in the following order: Hymn singing, the minister's prayer, hymn singing, reading from the New Testament, the minister's prayer, a short sermon lasting 15 minutes, and a closing hymn sung by the church choir. The lid was then removed from the coffin, and the parents and grandparents of the deceased were asked to bid him farewell (Photo. 28). The mother and grandmothers wailed for a while, and the children of the neighborhood approached the coffin and each one in turn offered flowers to the deceased. A few villagers then nailed the coffin half-closed before it was covered first with a new sarong and then with a white cloth. During these preparations for the procession the mourners sang hymns.

The bier, made from two stems of bamboo, was borne by four young, male

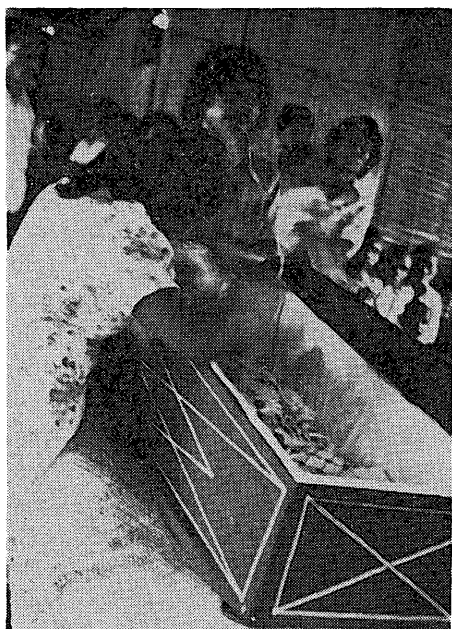


Photo. 28.



Photo. 29.

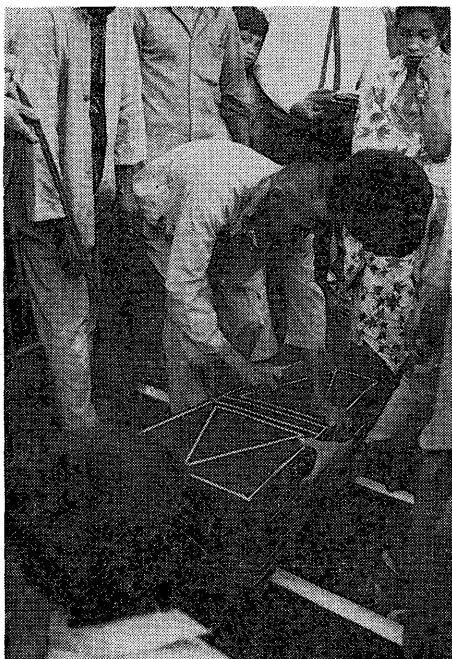


Photo. 30.

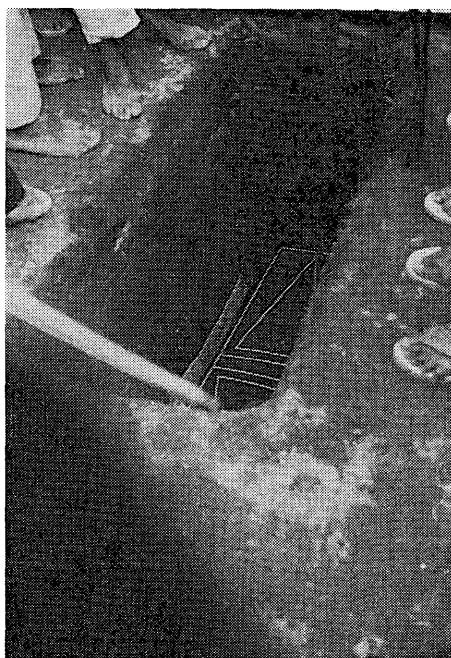


Photo. 31.

The process of a Christian funeral in Duma.



Photo. 32.



Photo. 33.

The process of a Christian funeral in Duma.

villagers who wore blue garments, that it was said, had been handed down since the establishment of the church in Duma, during the late 19th century. Preferably, the bier should be borne brothers of the parents or brothers of the deceased; the father or the husband should not be a bearer. When an adult is being buried 8-12 men usually act as bearers.

The procession to the cemetery was led by the bier behind which walked the parents, grandparents and kinsmen, who in turn were followed by many villagers (Photo. 29). Some children carried flowers. Guided by the choir, everybody sang hymns during the procession. In the cemetery the *tungutu* was removed from the coffin and spread over the bottom of the grave, and then the bier was placed across the grave (Photo. 30). The bearers of the bier buried the coffin. First the nails were driven home to close the top and then the coffin was lowered carefully into the grave. For this a rope was tied to the middle and a long piece of bamboo supported it at each end (Photo. 31). After this the minister directed the burial rite, which consisted of hymn singing, scripture reading and the minister's prayers (Photo. 32). During the rite the parents of the deceased child were standing on either side of the minister. The other *tungutu* was then placed over the coffin, and the children threw flowers into the grave. The mourners near the grave cast handfuls of earth onto the coffin. Next the bearers shovelled earth to fill the grave. After the surface was smoothed, the dead child's father placed a plant picked in the cemetery at the foot of the grave, as an offering, and some children walked near the grave scattering flowers over it (Photo. 33). A final hymn was sung following the minister's blessing of the family and the participants, and then the mourners dispersed.

The villagers went to their own homes, and no food or other refreshment was

served to the mourners by the family. Informants stated that in Duma there is no big feast following a funeral, and only close kinsmen of the deceased had a special meal at the house of the family in mourning. Three evenings later many villagers assembled at the house of the deceased and sang hymns until dawn.

Apart from the presence of more mourners, the funeral procedures for an adult are the same as those described above. The minister's sermon and prayers emphasized the Christian belief that the deceased merely left this temporary residence on the earth for the heavenly world in the hope of final resurrection.

2. Traditional Galela Rites of Passage

The following information was obtained from 2 Galela informants, Mr. Welong (aged 73) in Duma, and Mr. Nargotemo (aged 71) in Dokulamo. In large part the traditional marriage and funeral ceremonies have been replaced by those of Islam and Christianity, and the old forms are now remembered only by these senior men.

1) BETROTHAL RITES

When a young man wishes to marry he must seek his parents' agreement. Generally, parents seldom deny their son's proposal. Then the parents call on their *bolu moi* kinsmen to discuss the proposed marriage and such requirements as the betrothal gift, bride wealth and the marriage feast. After the parents and the kinsmen reach agreement the parents ask 2-5 kinsmen to act as messengers (*mamoti*). Sometimes a villager with a good knowledge of *adat* is asked to be the head of the messengers (*si do di himo*, lit. "the elder"). These messengers are sent to the girl's home.

For the first visit, the head of messengers goes to the girl's home in the morning of the day appointed by the girl's parents, and asks them to consider the proposal. At this time the head of the messengers presents the girl's parents with 4 old Dutch silver coins, placed crown-upwards on a large ceramic plate. He leaves the plate with them. At about 5 p. m. on the same day the girl's family sends the head of the messengers of the girl's family to return the plate, with the coins turned over, to the boy's parents. In the meantime, on the previous day, the girl's parents have also called their kinsmen to discuss the proposal, and have elected their own messengers.

On the second visit the head of the messengers of the boy's family takes 5 coins, adding one more than on the previous visit, arranged on the plate as before. In the evening the girl's family returns the coins turned over on the plate to the boy's family. These visits are repeated five times, one more coin being added each time.

On the sixth day the messengers of the boy's family present 9 coins to the girl's family. At this time, the girl's family waits until the next day to make the return visit to the boy's family, in the interim discussing with the kinsmen whether or not to accept the forthcoming final proposal. The family having reached an agreement, the next day the messengers of the girl's side visit the boy's family to return the coins.

On the same day or on the following day the boy's side makes a seventh visit, at

which time a total of 12 coins are presented. At this the girl's family must give a definite answer to the messengers of the boy's family. If the answer is negative they return the plate with the coins turned over, but if they accept the proposal the girl's family returns the plate with the coins left as presented.

If the proposal is accepted, the girl's family at that time serve the messengers betel nuts in a box (*kabilano*) made of pandanas leaves, and discuss with the messengers the size of the bride wealth until a mutually satisfactory amount is agreed on. In former times 60 guilders were regarded as an adequate bride wealth. It usually took a boy's family 1-2 years to save that amount of money. It took 1-2 years for the girl's family to amass the food needed for the wedding feast, thus in those days the wedding date was set 1-2 years ahead of time, to give families enough time for preparation. The bride wealth consisted of three items, Dutch silver coins, a large ceramic plate and a bolt of cloth. This remains the same today, except that Indonesian money rather than Dutch coins is used.

After the wedding date has been agreed on, the messengers of the boy's family chew the betel, which signifies their mutual consent. When the messengers go back, they take the box in which the betel was served as a present from the girl's family.

2) WEDDING CEREMONIES

(1) Visit of the bridegroom to the bride's family

The bridegroom is taken to the bride's house by his parents and kinsmen, where he fasts for 3 days. On the first day he is made to stand outside the bride's house. The bridegroom is accompanied by two watchmen, one in front and another behind, selected from among the neighbors of the bride's household. While the bridegroom stands outside, his family together with that of the bride and close kinsmen feast inside the house, eating and drinking until late in the evening. At about 2 a. m., after the bridegroom's family has gone home, the watchmen also depart, leaving the bridegroom alone. Then, the bride's parents call him into the house, and ask him to prepare betel nuts for chewing for the bride's family. Standing near a pole of the living room, he works until the third day.

At about 2 p. m. on the second day a sister of the bride prepares food for the bridegroom. The food is carried to a house of one of the watchmen, where the bridegroom eats it. As soon as he is finished eating he must return to the bride's house and continue to prepare betel nuts.

On the third day the bride's family prepares a large meal which includes rice and vegetables cooked with coconut milk as the main dishes. In the afternoon the bridegroom's family and relatives come to the bride's house, bringing palm wine (*dalu*) and fish (*nawo*), and in the evening there is a feast. For this feast the bridegroom wears a beautiful sarong, tied with decorated belt, and a hair belt decorated with many ornaments. His torso is naked. At this time the bridegroom starts preparing his share of betel nuts.

Before the feast a ceremony called *kawinan sekaar adat* (In. lit. "marriage

followed by adat") takes place in the bedroom of bride and bridegroom. For this the room is decorated with colorful *tungutu* made by the bride's female kinsmen. During this ceremony the bride and bridegroom exchange and chew betel nuts. Afterwards they join the feast, drinking and eating with the kinsmen of the both families.

(2) The feet-washing ceremony

During this ceremony the bride's mother washes the bridegroom's feet. On this occasion the bridegroom dresses elaborately, as he did for the previous ceremony, but this time he wears a hat made of colored pandanas leaves and omits the hair belt.

Approaching the bride's house, he begins bowing about 30 m away from the fence. From then until he reaches the door of the house he bows seven times. The path over which he walks is covered with a colorful *tungutu*, and on entering the house he is seated for the ceremony in the lap of one of his male kinsmen.

Entering the room, the bride's mother says, "I am going to wash your feet." The guests surround the bridegroom and respond, saying, "Jo!" Then, the mother washes the feet using a small quantity of water taken from a bowl. She says again, "I wash your feet" and the guests again respond, saying "jo!"

After the ceremony the bride's family serves dinner, the main dish being called *tamo oko*, (cooked rice, photo. 4). The guests of both families join the feast. At the beginning the bride's mother takes one grain of rice from the top of the *tamo oko*, and puts it into the bridegroom's mouth, saying "You are my son-in-law." All the guests respond, saying, "Jo!" She continually says, "I give water to my son-in-law." She gives a little water to him and all the guests respond, "Jo!" Then, one of the guests shouts, "*wa tu*", and all the guests reply with "*jeee!*"

(3) The war dance

Soda, known also *cakalele* throughout the Maluku region, is a popular ceremonial dance. This ceremonial war dance follows the foot-washing ceremony, and is initiated by the bride's parents. The male dance is called *soda* and the female dance, *sisi*. Following the parents, the next to dance *soda* is the head of the messengers from the bridegroom's family. Then the other messengers dance in turn. The bridegroom is then asked to dance *soda*, and while he dances the *tungutu* which were presented by the kinsmen of the bride's family, are thrown to him as a gift (*guti*). When the bridegroom's dance is completed, a great feast is given by the bride's family. Her family prepares several types of rice dishes and the bridegroom's side contributes palm wine and fish. At this feast food is shared between the families of the couple.

(4) The last feet-washing ceremony

At this ceremony the bride goes to her future husband's home and washes his feet. The procedure is almost the same as that described above, but certain distinct aspects are noteworthy. On the day of the ceremony, several of the bridegroom's male friends "capture" the bride in a field as she works. Then, the friends take her

forcibly—at least pretending to do so—to the bridegroom's home. Later her parents and kinsmen come to the house, where the bride proceeds to wash the bridegroom's feet in the same way as her mother did earlier.

A large feast given by the bridegroom's family completes the series of wedding ceremonies. As at other feasts, this feast, too, is accompanied by music and dancing, enjoyed by the kinsmen of both families and the people of the bridegroom's community. Since a large quantity of food has been consumed during previous feasts, the date of this final ceremony is determined by the time necessary for both families to accumulate and prepare another large amount. Moreover, prior to this final feast, the bridegroom must complete payment of bride wealth. If he cannot do so he goes to the bride's house and works for her family. When staying at the bride's house for that purpose both he and his future wife must observe the *adat* strictly. They may not talk to each other nor be alone as a couple.

Uxorilocal residence occurs if the bridegroom cannot pay the bride wealth or if he prefers to live at the bride's home.

(5) The return gift

The bride's family must give a return gift (*sosoka*) on receiving the bride wealth from the bridegroom's family. The gift must include pandanas leaves (usually 4 sacks), two packages of cooked rice, (*tamo oko*) one of which must be placed in a carrying basket (*palaudi*), and pandanas mats (*tungutu*).

Besides the normal return gift, the partial return of the bride wealth, done in the following cases, is also called *sosoka*:

① Where a divorce occurs owing to the adultery or misbehavior of the wife the wife's family must return 30 guilders to the husband;

② Where a husband dies before completing the 60 guilders payment to the wife's family, the wife's family must return 30 guilders; and

③ Where a wife dies before presenting the return gifts to the husband's family, the wife's family must give the husband a *sarong* (*baro*), a pair of trousers (*calana*), a glass (*galasi*), a hair band (*towara*), a shirt (*kameya*), and a plate (*lelenga*).

3) FUNERAL RITES (*boosu ma odo*)

Immediately after death the corpse was wrapped with a piece of white cloth placed in an outstretched position, and wrapped again with a *tungutu*. Then for two or three days the corpse was placed on a bed covered with a few *tungutu*. The walls and ceiling of the temporary storage room for the corpse (*tungutu baguwa*) were completely covered with *tungutu*. At each meal, food, particularly the favorite food of the deceased, was offered to the body.

On the third day, the body of the deceased, together with all his personal belongings, such as clothes, ornaments and small tools, were placed in a coffin (*lalona*) made of leafstalks of sugar palm (*seho*). Then the opening of the coffin was covered with *tungutu*, and it was buried. A new banana plant was buried separately beside the coffin in the belief that this would prevent the spirit of the dead from bring-

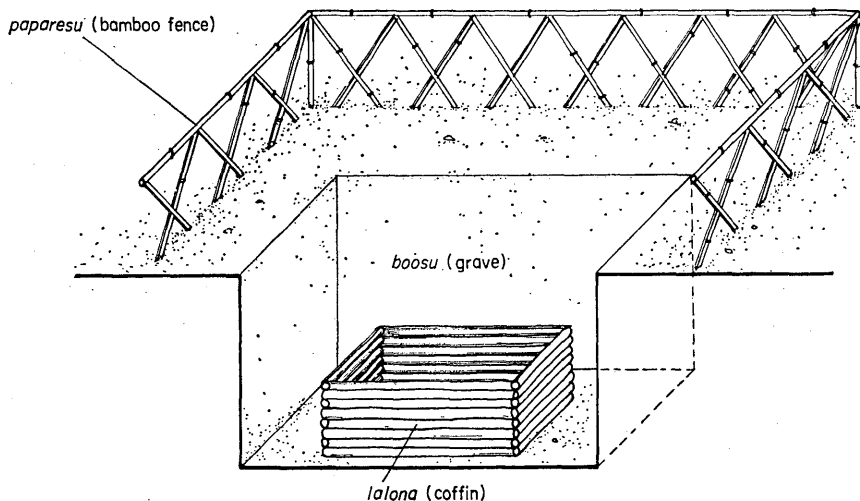


Fig. 14. Traditional Galela grave.

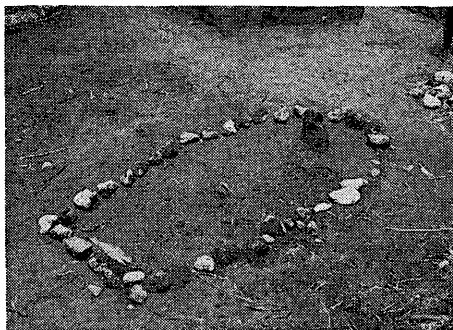
ing unhappiness to the family. Earth was then heaped-up above the grave, and a lamp placed at the head of the grave and a fire made at the foot. The family of the deceased offered food at the grave site for the next seven days, and on the seventh day after burial a bamboo fence (*paraesu*) was built around the grave (Fig. 14).

4) THE KAPALANG CEREMONY

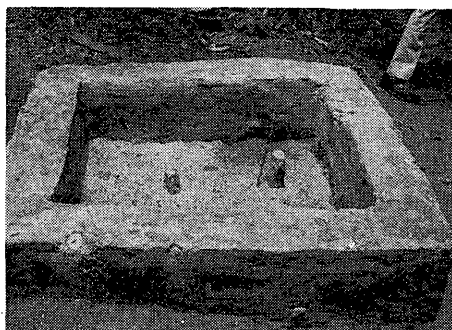
The ceremony of removing the bones from the grave takes place a few years after burial. Since this ceremony included a great feast that required the preparation of a large quantity of food, it was held corporately by several village families. Because of this complexity the date for the ceremony also was determined jointly.

A large ceremonial house was built in the village and a red flag (*panji*) made of *woka* leaves (*Livistona rotundifolia* [Lamk] Mart.) was placed in front of the house. The number of rooms in this house coincided with the number of participating families and each family occupied its own ritual room. The interior walls and ceilings were covered with *tungutu* to match those of the *tungutu baguwa* of the corpse. A bed also spread with *tungutu* was placed in each room.

On the first day of the ceremony, the families went to their respective graves to disinter the bones, which were cleaned and placed in a wooden box (*bakili*). The box was placed on the bed in the ceremonial house. The members of each family then assembled in their room and wailed for the dead. Following this a great feast was held jointly for the guests (the kinsmen of each family) by all of the participating families. At the feast, women wore a variety of ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, hair decorations, made of soft wood (for example, manioc). They wore also flowers (*yakototona*) made of *woka* leaves in their hair or on their jackets. The women first danced the *makoko* around the flag, and were followed by the men dancing the *cakalele*, *wela*, *toku* and *guule*. Dancing and music were accompanied by feasting.

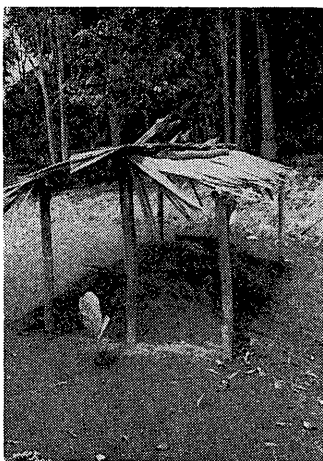


A. Lalonga Village.



B. Limau Village.

Photo. 34. Muslim graves



A. Lalonga Village.



B. Duma Village.

Photo. 35. Christian graves.

This ceremony lasted for seven days. On the seventh day the families wailed in their ritual rooms, and on that day the lamp in each room remained unlit. There was no feast. The people were afraid of the evil spirits (*doroko ma boso*) which were believed to wear tricorn hats. The next day, the *bakili* were buried in the original grave. The Galela believed that although the body of the dead person was returned to the grave, the spirit went to the other world.⁷⁾

7) Baarda states that the Galela did not have a custom of disinterment of bones of the dead. However, he also mentions that the bones were sometimes collected at the grave where no death-feast had taken place 1-2 years after the actual death [BAARDA 1927: 307-308]. It is not clear from Baarda's report whether the custom was practised or not in olden times. On the other hand, Alkema and Bezember report that a great festival was held when the bones were collected and reburied (HRAF Files: 201). At the time of our survey only the senior informants remembered the custom.

Since there are apparently many similarities between the Galela and other ethnic groups of Eastern Indonesia and the adjacent parts of Oceania in terms of social organization and customs, it might be possible to make a comparative study of these aspects of society. However, the data presented here are preliminary, and until more detailed and reliable information is obtained among the Galela, such a comparison would be premature.

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