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The Traditional Spirit World

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Belief Systems



The seashore.

The Traditional Spirit World

NAOMICHI ISHIGE

National Museum of Ethnology

Introduction	5. Sago wa gere
I. The Cardinal Elements of Man	6. Baja-bito
1. Baarda's Interpretation	7. Toka
2. The Present Concept	8. Putiana
3. Man's Spirit after Death	9. Meki
II. Moro	10. Hoga
1. The Relocation of Limau Village and the Moro	11. Momote
2. Baarda's Description	IV. Categorization of the Mystical Beings
3. Invisible People	1. A Change in Galela Folk Belief
4. Brief Ethnography of the Moro	2. A Model of Galela Folk Belief
5. The Origin of the Moro	V. Relations with the Spirit World
6. Communication with the Moro	1. An Effect from the Spirit World
III. Spirits and Mystical Entities	2. Precaution against Mystical Beings
1. Jini	3. Potion and Incantation
2. Wonge	4. Gomahate—the Shaman
3. Hantu	5. The Collapse of Folk Belief
4. Tona ma ruhutu	

INTRODUCTION

At present, more than half of the Galela population is Muslim, and most Galela villages have mosques under the control of the Indonesian Muslim organization, *Majilis sura Muslimin Indonesia*. Although the exact date of the introduction of Islam to the Galela is unknown, tradition dates it from the seventeenth century, when they were incorporated into the Sultanate of Ternate.

The propagation of Christianity among the Galela started at Duma Village, in 1864. All the Christian churches in Galela are Protestant. (For the role of Islam and Christianity in the present village community, see Matsuzawa in this volume pp. 354–398.)

The present day Galela believe in either Islam or Christianity, to the exclusion

of other religions. It is said, however, that before World War II some older people, called *kafir*, adhered to a traditional religion.

No people who can explain the concepts of the traditional Galela religion remain alive, since all present-day Galela were brought-up in the Islamic or Christian worldview. The present generations have been taught that true morality can be found only in Islam or Christianity, and that the animistic traditional religion should be paganized by both Islamism and Christianity. The remaining primary information on the traditional religion of the Galela is found in certain rituals and in the fragmentary practical knowledge on the treatment of disease. Moreover, this fragmentary knowledge is considered to be a superstition and talking about it in public is regarded as a profanity. The ban on the traditional religion is observed with particular severity by the Christians, and a person would be excommunicated from the Christian church if he becomes a shaman (*gomahate* or *gogomahate*), a medicine man who, when possessed in a trance by a spirit, mediates between the spiritual and the secular world. Muslims are somewhat more lenient about this, since the Galela traditional religion originally incorporated and adapted Islamic concepts. But this is not to say that the traditional religion is fully accepted by Muslims, as only such trivialities as the utterance of traditional incantations for treating disease or the incantations and contributions to certain supernatural entities during the rituals for cultivating new swiddens are tolerated.

The traditional religion does not survive as a complete system in the present life of the Galela people, but rather is handed down only fragmentarily as a 'technique of living,' as it were, in the spells for performing rituals and folk-medicine spells for the treatment of disease. Even this fragmentary tradition tends to be lost in the younger generation. Thus an old informant was obliged to give up his role as a medicine man, owing to the construction of dispensaries by the government and the sale of Western medicine at drug stores. Ironically, when ill this same old man had to ask me for medicine.

This state of affairs makes it impossible to reconstruct the Galelan traditional religion on the basis of the primary data alone. Fortunately, however, Baarda, the only ethnographer who has described the old Galela culture, was a missionary and naturally was most interested in traditional Galela religion.¹⁾ He investigated the traditional religion around the turn of this century, when it still flourished. Invaluable as it is, however, his report tends to focus on folk religion, an apparent result of his vocation as a missionary, and thus omits certain important topics that are essential to a study of Galela spiritual life. This chapter, drawing largely on Baarda's report, attempts to interpret the traditional Galela concepts of supernatural entities. It also describes how these concepts have changed since the time of Baarda's investigation.

1) Riedel also made a brief report about Galela religion [1885: 58, 66–69], but it is not cited here owing to inaccuracy and a lack of clarity.

I. THE CARDINAL ELEMENTS OF MAN

1. Baarda's Interpretation

In Galela, man is called *nyawa*. This term was adopted from the Malay language as an Islamic term. According to Baarda's interpretation, *nyawa* consists of three elements: *rohe*, *nyawa* (in its narrow sense), and *gurumi* [1927a: 253]. *Rohe* refers to the human body as the vessel of the spirit and the soul, whereas *nyawa* as a general term denotes a man; in the narrow sense this term is synonymous with "soul" (Dutch *ziel*); and *gurumi*, on the other hand, signifies a spirit (Dutch *geest*). Baarda translates *gurumi* as a "vital spirit" or "vital power." *Gurumi* is thus the most important element for man, providing *rohe* and *nyawa* with vitality.

Sometimes the existence of *gurumi* may be physically identified, as in the steam of a food offering. But as this term is derived from a word meaning an "image" or "reflection," it generally represents an entity invisible to human eyes. *Gurumi* also resides in objects of entities other than man.

A man's *gurumi* is capable of leaving the body to wander outside. If one sleeps on one's stomach, the *gurumi* leaves the sleeping body and ventures forth, happenings that are reflected in one's dream [BAARDA 1906: 193]. It is said, therefore, that to wake-up a person suddenly is dangerous, since the wandering *gurumi* will be deprived of a chance to re-enter the human body. A swooning or unconscious man is described as having his *gurumi* wander out of his body. A state of suspended animation is interpreted as one in which the *gurumi* visits the man's ancestors. If the man is predestined to live longer, the ancestors send back the *gurumi*, thus reviving him. A serious disease results if a man's *gurumi* is captured and taken away by the *toka*, an evil spirit or ogre living in the sky [BAARDA 1906: 191]. If this happens, it is necessary to ask a shaman (or medicine man, *gomahati*) to recover the *gurumi* from the *toka*.

The *gurumi* is considered to pervade a whole human body including the hair, nails and saliva, as well as the clothes in direct contact with the body [BAARDA 1927a: 256]. In former times it was customary after cutting one's hair, to slap the head with the hair removed to return the *gurumi* into the head and thereby keep the power of the head *gurumi* intact [BAARDA 1906: 198]. If one wants to harm a man by black magic, a bamboo tube is filled with his hair, saliva, nails, or if he is sleeping, with his breath. The tube, now containing his *gurumi*, is put on a termites' nest [BAARDA 1906: 195]. Although *gurumi* pervades all parts of the body it is concentrated in the liver [BAARDA 1906: 209], which is thus the primary food objective of *toka* and other ogres.

Baarda's description of *gurumi* is not coherent, often suffering from logical inconsistencies. Thus, while in one place [1906: 210] he claims that *gurumi*, corresponding to "spirit," resides in all kinds of living creatures, in another [1927a: 257] he states that the spirits or powers of natural objects other than human beings, such as plants, animals, and minerals are denoted not by *gurumi*, but by *giki* or *ruhutu* (or *duhutu*). Since these last three terms are now obsolete the distinction among them cannot be verified.

Baarda is also inconsistent about the relationship between *gurumi* and *nyawa*.

According to him, *nyawa* in its narrow sense does not denote an external object perceivable by human eyes, but an intangible, spiritual entity located at an invisible depth. It has a close connection with a man's body and vitalizes it, thus corresponding to "soul." Whereas *gurumi* can freely get leave and return to a human body, *nyawa* is only a part of *gurumi*, living inside the body at all times. On the other hand, Baarda [1906: 201, 210] also states that theoretically *nyawa* and *gurumi* are one and the same thing. Thus in his reports, he fails to draw a sharp distinction between *gurumi* and *nyawa* in human beings, sometimes calling a man's spirit or soul *gurumi* and sometimes *nyawa*.

According to Baarda, the word *sininga* in the Galela language represents the activities of *nyawa*. *Nyawa*, corresponding to "soul," is in charge of perception and recognition, thus creating the concrete images of physical objects. It also takes charge of emotions such as like and dislike of physical objects, and of desires, thus creating a will. The source of such mental and emotional activities is designated by *sininga*. This word therefore means "heart," "will," "mind," "understanding," and the like [1906: 209].

The inconsistencies in Baarda's account of the distinctions between *gurumi* and *giki*, *duhutu*, and between *gurumi* and *nyawa* are reminiscent of the confusion among a number of investigators in accounting for the three aspects of human soul which comprise the Malayan worldview [ENDICOTT 1970: 47-95]. Earlier investigators of the Malayan religion confused the three concepts forming a human soul: 1) *sēmangat*, translated as the spirit of physical life, vitality, or vital principle; 2) *nyawa*, a soul which accompanies a human life and goes to another world after the man's death; and 3) *rohe*, the most individualized aspect of human soul, the spirit of life, of breath of life, which enables one to establish one's identity as a human being. Endicott clarified this confusion by showing that the three kinds of soul are but different manifestations of the *sēmangat* in the broad sense, i.e. the vital principle, which pervades all creatures. "Possession of *sēmangat* groups together all things, including man, that are set off as significant material entities from the Malayan point of view. These are distinguished from 'non-bodies' on the one hand the grain of rice or cup of water, and from non-material 'things' on the other spirits, for example. The *njawa* involves man in a class with most animals, set off against the lower animals, plants, and minerals as well as the non-bodies and non-material things. The *rohe* distinguishes man still further from rest of the world, even separating him from the higher animals; it expresses the uniqueness of man despite the involvement with the rest of creatures."

Baarda's *gurumi* resembles Endicott's *sēmangat*. Interpreted broadly, *gurumi* signifies the vitality of the objects with which man can have a spiritual sympathy, whereas in the narrow sense it represents the spirit which vitalizes man. On the one hand, Baarda fails to distinguish between the *gurumi* in the narrow sense, and *giki* and *ruhutu* (*duhutu*), the spirits of non-human entities, on the other. The confusion of *gurumi* and *nyawa* in Baarda's writings may be partly ascribed to the fact that *gurumi* is a native Galela concept, whereas *nyawa* is originally a Malayan concept,

presumably introduced to the Galela from the Sultanate of Ternate. Therefore, these two concepts are very similar in meaning: Namely, *nyawa*, related to the word *menyawa* "to breathe," denotes a life or a vital principle, whereas *gurumi* or *giki*, and *ruhutu* represents a universal spirit which is involved not only in animals but also in plants and earth. It is possible to assume that among these various manifestations of the universal spirit of living creatures, that associated with man is referred to as *nyawa*.

It can be safely assumed that what Baarda calls *nyawa* in general, comprises both *njawa* and *rohe* in Endicott's sense. What the Galela call *rohe* signifies the body as the vessel of *gurumi* and *nyawa*. *Rohe* itself has no spiritual power whatsoever, and is merely a lifeless shell if deprived of *gurumi* and *nyawa*.

2. The Present Concept

Today, the Galela seldom use the word *gurumi* in the sense of "spirit" or "soul." One possible exception is where *gurumi* is used to refer to a dead man's ghost (*gurumi ma dorou*, lit. "evil *gurumi*"). In this case, *gurumi ma dorou* takes the form of the dead man when he was alive. But since the dead body cannot move, the ghost is actually not the man himself but his image or shadow. It is thus assumed that the expression *gurumi ma dorou* arose from a focus on a particular aspect of the various meanings of *gurumi*, namely "image."

As Muslims or Christians, rejecting an animistic world-view, the Galela no longer believe that such vital principles as *gurumi*, *giki*, or *ruhutu* exist throughout the natural world. Yet even today special trees and places are believed to have supernatural powers, and some animals and birds are recognized as having intangible spiritual powers, but, as discussed below, these supernatural entities are only accorded specific individual names and the Galela no longer seem to recognize *gurumi*, *giki*, or *ruhutu* as a universal governing principle.

All informants maintain that man (*nyawa*) consists of *rohe*, *jiwa*, and *sininga*. In current usage *nyawa* denotes "man," a sense corresponding to Baarda's broad interpretation of the word. The common term for man's spirit and soul is *jiwa*.

Since the term *jiwa* does not appear in Baarda's dictionary, which contains Malay words as well as important Galela words, it is assumed that the Galela adopted

Table 1. The cardinal elements of man

element	Baarda's concept	present concept
man	<i>nyawa</i>	<i>nyawa</i> (<i>jiwa</i>)
spirit (in general)	<i>gurumi</i> (<i>giki</i>) (<i>ruhutu</i>)	<i>jiwa</i> *
man's spirit (soul)	<i>nyawa</i> (<i>gurumi</i>)	<i>jiwa</i>
activities of man's spirit (heart)	<i>sininga</i>	<i>sininga</i>
body	<i>rohe</i>	<i>rohe</i>

* only man and animals possess *jiwa*.

this term in the present century, presumably as an Islamic concept. *Jiwa*, which originates from Sanskrit, is now used by Indonesians to mean a "living man's soul," and by present-day Galela to designate both Baarda's *gurumi*, and the *nyawa* in the narrow sense. One informant said that *jiwa*, like Baarda's *gurumi*, lives chiefly in the liver. *Jiwa* is the vital element which enables man and animals to breathe and move. Without it they cannot live. It is a concept covering "spirit," "life," "soul," and "vitality." Like the English word "soul," *jiwa* can mean "man." *Jiwa* is a gift to man and animals from the God *Tuhan* (a Malay term used by both Muslims and Christians). Man has two kinds of *jiwa*; *jiwa daloloho*, "right *jiwa*" and *jiwa ma dorou* "evil *jiwa*." The former goes to *Tuhan* after the man's death, whereas the latter either goes to hell, or stays awhile in the village and appears as the dead man's ghost (*gurumi ma dorou*).

Sininga, as currently used, denotes the same concept as Baarda explained, that is it provides man and animals with visual, aural and other perceptions, the capacity for interest and memory, and the ability to think and speak. Without *sininga*, man and animals could not recognize food as food, nor would they have an appetite. Deprivation of *sininga* thus means death. This element is peculiar to living man and animals and is not found in plants and minerals. It is said that *sininga* vanishes when the *jiwa* leaves the body after death.

Man's *sininga* is also of two kinds. In Islamic sermons a good mind is referred to as *sininga balowo*, and an evil mind as *sininga ma dorou*. Note here Baarda's remark that the Galela inherently lack the concept of sin and guilt [1927b: 331]. If so, the modern view that *jiwa* and *sininga* may be good or evil could be attributed to the Islamic and Christian influences after the turn of this century.

According to one informant, a drunken man does not have the ability to think or judge because the *sininga* has left his body although the *jiwa* remains. Thus he is in a dangerous condition, as the empty space vacated by the *sininga* is likely to be occupied by an evil spirit (*iblisi*). *Iblisi* also goes into the empty spaces vacated by the *jiwa* and *sininga* of a sleeping man, and causes him to dream. Thus the Galela recognize that both *jiwa* and *sininga* have the ability to enter and leave living human beings.

3. Man's Spirit after Death

At death, the *rohe* which forms a man's body, and the *sininga*, which enables him to think, perceive, speak and act, die away. But the man's spirit (*jiwa* or *nyawa*) continues to live outside the dead body. Modern Christians believe that the spirits of those who performed good deeds while alive will be called by *Tuhan* and go to heaven, whereas the spirits of those who did evil deeds will go to hell. Muslims hold much the same view: The spirits of the righteous go to heaven whereas those of evil people go to hell or are taken away by satan to become a man-eater (*toka*) under satan's domination.

Whereas both Christians and Muslims have the notions of the Day of Judgement and Resurrection as formal doctrines, the Galela believe that the dead man's spirit

does not wait in the tomb until the Day of Judgement, but rather that it goes to heaven or hell after staying at home for three days (for Christians) or for seven days (for Muslims) after the death. While at home, the dead man's spirit often appears before the family and friends as his ghost (*gurumi ma dorou*). Assuming the figure of the dead man when he was alive, the *gurumi ma dorou* appears in the night, as if in a dream, and just presses the sleeping family as if lying heavily on them. Then it disappears. The *gurumi ma dorou* cannot speak and is always silent. A Muslim youth claims that in 1974, when his grandfather died in the house where he had lived and was buried on the following day, he saw his *gurumi ma dorou* on the subsequent two nights. According to this young man, he felt a sense of oppression when he was asleep, and in vain tried to get up. Before him was the grandfather's ghost, which covered his mouth with its hands and pressed his legs with its body. The grandfather's ghost disappeared while the young man was struggling to get up, and after it went away he felt relaxed.

Today, a bereaved family is prohibited from bathing in water for three days after a death. Those three days are considered as a ritual period for a burial. According to Baarda, a dead man's spirit is not aware of the death until, three days later, it meets the spirits of its ancestors and is informed of its death [1906: 202, 1927b: 306]. On the eighth day after the death a shaman is called to restore the dead man's spirit which may have been captured by a *toka*. The length of home-stay of the dead man's spirit, i.e. three days for Christians and seven days for Muslims, depends on the length of the traditional funeral services. The dead man's spirit cannot set out for the other world until the services have been completed, but stays in the house in which the person died, sometimes appearing before his family as the *gurumi ma dorou*. After this period, the dead man's spirit leaves the house for either heaven or hell, depending on *Tuhan's* will. Although this is the most widespread view some people believe that the *gurumi ma dorou* wanders in the village and woods rather than going to another world. According to this latter view, each spirit is divided into a good part and an evil part, the latter becoming the *gurumi ma dorou*. The good part goes to *Tuhan* and the evil part keeps wandering in the village as the *gurumi ma dorou*. It is said that some shamans were able to control the *gurumi ma dorou* by black magic and, out of malice, to recall a dead person before the living.

If a man's death is unknown to his family, as when death occurs while fishing at sea, hunting in the woods, or traveling, and thus does not have a funeral service, the dead man's spirit continues to be *gurumi ma dorou*. In such a case the *gurumi ma dorou* tries to inform his family and close friends of the death by causing them a mild illness or appearing before them as a ghost. A *gurumi ma dorou* for which no funeral service is held, Baarda calls *soso* (derived from the *Mal. song-song*). The curse of a *soso* falls on the family, so that they cannot successfully hunt or express oil from coconuts [1927a: 267]. As most unidentified dead men today are those drowned at sea, they are often called *hantu di laut* in Malay (Indonesian). These three expressions (*gurumi ma dorou*, *soso*, and *hantu di laut*) refer to much the same thing. If the corpse is recovered and buried, the spirit ceases to be the *gurumi ma dorou*.

Even if the corpse cannot be recovered the dead man's spirit will be purified and cease to be *gurumi ma dorou* if a prayer from the Bible is offered for three days in the case of Christians, or one from the Koran for ten days, in the case of Muslims.

Whether the family realizes or not that a death has occurred, the *gurumi ma dorou* in general is not considered to be a dreadful entity. Thus the *gurumi ma dorou* will never seriously harm the living. If one sees the *gurumi ma dorou* one need not consult a shaman, but only purify one's body in water.

The dead man's spirit, for which a funeral service has been completed and which ceases to live in the secular world, is called *goma*. According to the present concept of the Galela, after the funeral service the *goma* goes to heaven or hell, as dictated by *Tuhan*. The Galela invariably state that only *Tuhan* knows where heaven and hell are located. Since the concept of "another world," inherent in Galela culture has not been handed down to the present generation, I must use Baarda's description in accounting for this notion and the *goma*'s travel to it.

A dead man's spirit is often captured by a *toka*. Hence on the eighth day after death a shaman is invited to retrieve the spirit thus captured [BAARDA 1906: 202]. The shaman falls into a trance eight times, and at the eighth time he succeeds in retrieving the spirit. The spirit subsequently sets out for the spirit community to lead a peaceful existence. It may be that the shaman keeps the restored spirit at hand until it becomes the guardian spirit of the family [BAARDA 1927b: 257].

The community of spirits is said to be located beyond the horizon, at the edge of the sky. Baarda represents it as "*goma town*" (*goma-stadt*). On reaching *goma town*, however, the spirit is not immediately admitted by the residents because it still smells of the dead man's flesh. The spirit is thus obliged to seek temporary residence on a small offshore island or in a big shell on the seashore, where it must stay until the repugnant smell wears off. When the smell has disappeared, the dwellers of *goma town* cause a disease in the bereaved family to inform them that the spirit has been admitted into the town [BAARDA 1927b: 310]. Consulted by the family, the shaman replies that the disease is caused by the *goma*'s indignation at the late return of the spirit. The family then performs a ritual to make an offering to the spirit. With this offering the spirit is allowed to enter *goma town*, thereby becoming the guardian spirit of the family.

One or two years after the death, a feast, *boosu ma odo*, is held in memory of the deceased. The period of mourning ends with the completion of this feast, whereupon the widow or widower leaves the dead man's family and is permitted to find a new spouse. This feast also enables the spirit to live peacefully in *goma town* and acquire the power to protect the family from evil [BAARDA 1927b: 308-309].

To sum up, the spirit does not become an ancestor spirit protecting the bereaved family and qualified as a *goma* until after a certain period of purification elapses and an offering has been made.

Baarda mentions briefly the test that a spirit must undergo to enter *goma town* [BAARDA 1906: 204]. According to one version of this story, at the entrance of *goma town* there is an extremely narrow and razor-edged bridge for a spirit to cross. An

evil man will be injured by the sharp bridge and falls down to hell (*naraka*), whereas a righteous man can safely enter the town as the bridge expands to the right and left as he crosses it. Another version of the story states that a prophet (*nabi*) and an angel (*maraeke*) stand at the gate of heaven, (i.e. *goma*-town) to check whether the incoming spirit belongs to a good or an evil person. A person who did not observe religious regulations when alive is thrown out of heaven and back to earth, and the spirit is disposed of by *jini*. As Baarda points out, these two versions, neither of which wins universal acceptance, are heavily influenced by Islam.²⁾

The qualification for the *goma* applies only to those who die a natural death. On the other hand, the spirits of those who die unnaturally with eyes open, as a result of war, murder, an accidental fall from a tree, or a sudden attack, are not called *goma* but *delike* [BAARDA 1906: 201, 208; 1927a: 276]. Since a *delike* belongs to a person whose spiritual power is not consumed by a disease or the like it remains more powerful than a *goma*; it is so strong and violent and hungry for blood that people usually do not count on it as a guardian. It is only when especially powerful assistance is needed that people have recourse to a *delike*—as in going to war or fighting back against a violent *toka*, for which the help of the *goma* is insufficient.

Although Baarda does not explain how *delike* find and settle in the *goma* town, it is assumed that they live in a corner of the town. More specifically, *delike* live on a single-joint bamboo tree located in the east of the town, as contrasted with the *goma*, which live in the west. The *delike* are always rocking their bamboo tree so that they can spring out in case of emergency. They drink not palm wine but blood, from a bamboo cup.

Both *goma* and *delike* can freely go back and forth between the villages of the living. In the villages, the *goma* stays on a miniature sleeping bench (*salabe*)—on which the dead person's clothes are put—suspended from the ceiling of the bereaved family's house. On the *salabe* is always a food offering intended to retain the power of the *goma* as the family's guardian. In particular, a ritual is performed to offer steamed foods once every year, after the rice harvest. The *delike* is enshrined, together with *wonge*, the founder of *soa* (see below), in *seli*, the hut consecrated to *wonge*. Each village has only one *seli*. It thus follows that the *goma* is worshipped by the family, whereas the *delike* is worshipped by the village community. The war dead may be worshipped by the family in a specially erected *seli*. Whereas the *goma* is always worshipped, the *delike* receives offerings only on special occasions, like the departure of family members to war.

A shaman is usually responsible for recalling the *goma* and *delike* from *goma* town to his village. He is provided by the *goma* and *delike* with the power of prophesy and treating diseases. However, the *goma* and *delike* can visit the village even without the shaman's bidding. Even today, men in a trance are likely to be possessed by a *delike*. I myself witnessed a scene in which a man, dancing a war dance, *cakalele*,

2) The word *naraka* comes from Sanskrit through Malay. *Nabi*, *maraeke*, and *jini* originate from Arabic, and were introduced into Malay along with Islam.

suddenly became violent and furious, and was calmed down by the people present. The people explained that the heroic war dance excited the man's spirit, causing it to be captured by a *delike*.

II. NORO

1. The Relocation of Limau Village and the Moro

As mentioned above (see Ishige, this volume p. 9), Limau was flooded during the rainy season of 1966 and many people died from the resulting diseases. So the villagers decided to relocate to the present site. The disease which led to this move was brought about by the evil spell of the *Moro*.

In the same year, one day after a long rainy period, a villager killed two deer in the forest. The deer had reddish hair and white legs. In the evening of the same day a strange old couple came to the village and inquired after their children, claiming that they had come to the village. No villager had seen them, and they told the old couple so. Then after telling the villagers that if any evil befell the children they would take their revenge, the old couple vanished. Those who ate the deer meat sickened and died. Later the villagers realized that the deer and the old couple were incarnations of *Moro*.

There is another version of this story. According to a story told by an informant, one day a villager killed a deer in the forest. The deer had white and red hair. He severed the deer's head on the spot and wrapped its body with sugar palm leaves. He then returned to the village to seek assistance in carrying the deer home. Accompanied by a villager he went back to the spot where he had put the deer, but the deer was gone. A few days later another villager killed a deer, which also had white and red hair. It also had red string around its neck, placed where the head of the missing deer had been severed. This frightened the villagers, who realized that the deer was the reincarnation of a *Moro*. Soon after disease became prevalent and in only two months some thirty people died. In three families all the members died from the disease.

The motif is the same in these two versions of the incident; as a result of killing deer, disease became prevalent. Yet in only ten years two different versions of the same incident have developed.

2. Baarda's Description

An invisible "being" is called *Momoroka* in Galelan. Among the ethnic groups living in North Halmahera *Moro* or *Orang Moro* (i.e. *Moro* people) is generally used to refer to an invisible being. The Galela also call them *Moro*. Baarda's description of *Moro* is very brief.

Momoroka is an invisible being, but it can appear of its own will. They may have descended from people of the *Moro* Kingdom, which was located in the area now inhabited by the Galela and the *Tobero* people in North Halmahera. People of this kingdom converted to Christianity when the Portuguese ruled over the

Mollucas. In 1534 many Christians were killed and the Portuguese were removed from the Mollucas. At that time the Moro kingdom disappeared. However, it is generally believed that the Moro kingdom still persists as an invisible kingdom in the bush. The Galela go hunting and fishing along the shore of Morotai Island, but it is dangerous to go far inland since one might be abducted or even killed by *Momoroka* [BAARDA 1927: 269–270]. Baarda says nothing more than this about the Moro.

3. Invisible People

When asked the meaning of the term “Moro” the Galela answered by saying “*orang ilang-ilang*,” i.e. “invisible people.” Moro cannot be seen by humans. They may be around but we can neither see nor perceive them.

Moro inhabit Halmahera and Morotai, and it is generally believed that thousands or even tens of thousands of them live there. In these two islands there are Moro villages, towns and fields that are also invisible. In these invisible environments many Moro are born, marry and die each year. The only difference between Moro and humans is that the former are invisible. Apart from that, Moro lead a life just like humans. Invisible as they are, they are not supernatural beings; they are simple humans. The Galela people believe that Moro have *rohe*, *jiwa* and *sininga*, just like humans, except that the Moro’s *rohe* is invisible.

Moro are said to appear in the dreams of humans. In addition, two types of story support the existence of the Moro. In one type some people accidentally witnessed the Moro when they appeared, and in the other type the Moro bespelled a man so that he could see Moro towns and villages. In the latter case the Moro abducted him in order to make him Moro.

An incident where a person accidentally witnessed a Moro occurred in 1947. An old Galela, a Muslim, now living in Limau at that time lived near Soasio. Late one afternoon he took a canoe to go fishing. When passing a rock 10 m offshore, he saw a strange man coming along in a canoe. When they were about to pass each other, the stranger suddenly turned around as if to escape from the Galela. Whenever they were about to pass each other, the strange man turned around. They were about to pass for a third time, at a distance of some 7 m, when suddenly the stranger and his canoe vanished. The old man gave up fishing and returned home. He told his close friend that he saw a Moro that day. Since then he told nobody else about his experience until he told me. There was no knowing why the Moro appeared unless the Moro himself could be questioned.

The fisherman was certain that he saw a Moro, because he noticed that the stranger lacked a philtrum, which any ordinary person has. The Moro lack this groove, and this is the only way to distinguish them.

There are several other stories that tell of a person who saw Moro shopping at the market. Just like ordinary people the Moro paid for food and then suddenly disappeared before people became aware of it. People later realized that the persons lacked a philtrum and were Moro.

They believe that many people have been abducted by Moro. On Halmahera

there is a remote tract of dark, deserted woodland. Several people who have entered those woods have been lost permanently, and it is said that they were abducted by the Moro. A person abducted by the Moro almost never returns to the village. Abducted by them, people are taken to Moro villages or towns, marry Moro women and themselves become Moro, living the rest of their lives that way. Moro bespell people and then the Moro and their towns can be seen by them. However, if an abducted person is antipathetic toward the Moro he would be killed, neither being allowed to stay in the Moro village or to return to his own village. Very few people return after being abducted by Moro.

The following story, although hearsay, comes from a reliable source. A Christian man living in the Tobelo Sub-district had long been given up for lost in the forest when returned to the village, saying that he had been taken to a Moro town where he had married a Moro. Soon after coming back to the village he was to marry a village woman. All the arrangements had been made for the reception and as soon as those attending were seated, all the dishes suddenly disappeared, and then all those participating were covered with mud. The wedding was cancelled. It is said that those events were caused by the man's Moro wife, from whom he had escaped. A minister who attended the reception said, "Since I serve God, I do not believe in the Moro. However, I must admit that such an incident actually happened in front of myself, whether it was the act of the Moro or not."

In Limau there is a Muslim Galela man who was almost abducted by the Moro. He related the following story, about an event that occurred in 1962, when he was forty-two years old. At that time the Limau villagers lived in the former village site. At about 8 p.m. four young people, two boys and two girls appeared before him when he was sleeping at home. The girls' names were Muruha and Nurunia, and the boys' were called Maraya and Nurugaoli. The girls were beautiful and the boys were youthful. They appeared with the Islamic greeting "*Asalam Maleikom!*" One of the girls held a transparent pot filled with water, at the center of which a cup was floating. In the cup there were seven *manuru* flowers and in the pot there were seven *ngabi* flowers (not identified botanically). The girl made the man drink from the cup. The water tasted different from pure water, and after he drank he began to lose his senses. The water was the magical medicine of the Moro. The four then surrounded him, one boy in front and the other behind, and they went outside. Meanwhile, his family members, although also at home, did not notice what was going on. Outside his house there was a wide, paved road with that led from the village to Mt. Wonge. It looked like a typical big city street (although he has never seen big cities). After walking 1 km along the road they reached a large town. At the far end of the seemingly endless main street of the town a gigantic *Merah Putih* (the national flag of Indonesia) was flying. The flag was high up in the air, but almost reached the ground. It had mysterious colors. Both sides of the street were lined with many stone houses. Those houses also looked somewhat different. At the entrance of the village his abductors, speaking Galela, said in a soft voice, "*Sobat hinarako majbu*" ("Come on in, friend"). In the town were many Moro, all of whom looked

like the ordinary people of Halmahera; some were pale and others darker, and all of them spoke Galela. Passing by, they reached another group of Moros. Then, a very old Moro man approached and said, "Where is this man from?" "I am from Limau Village," answered the abducted man. "Why did you bring him here? He is not the right man to come here." The young abductors wanted to take him to the town center, but the old man tried to stop them, and there was trouble between the old man and the young Moros. Meanwhile, the man did not know what was happening, and when he came back to his senses, he found himself alone in the forest of Mt. Wonge.

The villagers who remember the incident relate it differently. At night this man suddenly left home, went to the mountain and got lost. In the evening of the next day there was a cry, "*Yohoho Yohoho*," asking for help (it is a signal to a person in the distant mountains). Some people went to the place where the call was coming from and found the man walking around by himself in the forest. The man told the villagers that he was taken to a Moro town and that it was a big town like Jakarta. (Incidentally, no villager has ever visited Jakarta.) All the villagers believed that he was taken to a Moro town and was about to be forced to marry a Moro but that he escaped. The morning after his return to the village, his wife suddenly became bald on the back of her head. All the villagers believed that happened because his Moro wife pulled out the hair in jealousy.

4. Brief Ethnography of the Moro

Only a few people have actually seen Moro towns or villages, but the Galela and people of Tobelo have a common notion of Moro settlements. They are convinced that everything that exists in this world also exists in the Moro world, and that things are superior in the Moro world. Moro shops sell Moro beer which is tastier than the beer the Galela drink. Some people believe that all of the streets of Moro towns are paved and are full of cars. (At the time of our research only the town of Tobelo had paved streets; although only for some 200-300 m.) They also believe that the Moro have universities (there is no university on Halmahera). The Moro people have an army equipped with invisible aircraft, warships and tanks. They also have a police force and their own government and president. Thus, it is believed that on Halmahera, a part of the Republic of Indonesia, there exists another country inhabited by invisible people.

The Moro have bodies invisible to ordinary humans and lack a philtrum, but except for these physical features they appear about the same as ordinary people in body size and in skin and hair color. Those Limau villagers who were almost abducted by Moros reported that the Moro speak Galelan. As discussed below, at the ceremony known as *pusi lolowa*, the Ternate language was used to charm the Moro. The charmer said that Moro understood Ternatan. As will be seen later, the Moro are the descendants of the inhabitants of the former Sultanate of Jailolo, which lay off the west coast of Halmahera. The educated Galela generally agree that the Moro people speak the language of Jailolo, judging from the origin of the

Moro. Yet Moro have a distinct language which is neither Galela nor Jailolan. It is rumored that an old man in a remote village can speak Moro.

The religion of Moro is believed to be of three kinds: Islam, Christianity and *Kafir*. The *kafir* are those who worship traditional animistic spirits. Those Moro who abduct people and cause disaster to befall them are all *Kafir*. Muslim and Christian Moro never harm people. Moro are not evil, except for the *Kafir*, and as is discussed below Moro sometimes perform good deeds. The Limau villagers say that if one stops to consider it, if the Moro were evil then all ordinary people could be easily killed by them. But because Moro are good then we can live as we do.

5. The Origin of the Moro

As discussed above, Baarda believed that the Moro are the descendants of the inhabitants of the former Moro Kingdom, whereas others suggest that the Moro descended from the inhabitants of the Sultanate of Jailolo.

In the fourteenth century there were four sultanates on and around Halmahera, all established on the basis of the spice trade. The Sultanate of Jailolo was on the west coast of Halmahera, off the coast was the Sultanate of Ternate and that of Tidore, and south of Tidore Island was the Sultanate of Bacan.

In the 16th century, the Portuguese occupied Halmahera in pursuit of spices. A century later the Dutch colonized the Moluccas, including Halmahera, and expelled the Portuguese. Legends of the origin of the Moro usually refer to this period. At the time of their arrival the four sultans were said to be brothers. The Sultan of Jailolo was the oldest. The Sultan of Jailolo hated the Dutch and objected to the Sultan of Ternate, who allied with them. In this he was supported by the Sultans of Tidore and Bacan. Then the Sultan of Jailolo decided to vanish together with his subjects. Some people say that before the disappearance there was a war between Jailolo and Ternate, during which the Dutch army assisted Ternate and sought to capture the Sultan of Jailolo, to take him to Holland. To avoid capture and exile, the Sultan of Jailolo and his subjects went into the forest and vanished with the aid of magical medicine. According to this tradition the Sultan of Jailolo had a hairy tongue. Whether or not there was a war between the brothers, it is agreed that the family of the Sultan of Jailolo and his retainers all took magic medicine, became invisible people, and vanished.

The Moro are sometimes known as *portoguisu*, as the Sultan's family at that time was called *portoguisu*. Although, *portoguisu* means "portuguese," no inhabitant of Limau knew that the word was derived from the Portuguese. Rather, the villagers believe that the *portoguisu* are not whites but are the descendants of people from some other district of Indonesia.

According to information provided by an educated Christian in Duma Village, the Portuguese appear in that legend, and the story accords with Baarda's theory on the origin of the Moro.³⁾ According to these tales, there was an island called El Moro, the inhabitants of which are the *Morokia*. Around A.D. 1400 a fever

3) Duma Village, where this information was obtained, was where Baarda settled to preach.

became widespread on El Moro, and because nobody could live there the entire population left. The *Morokia* who moved to Morotai Island became the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Morotai. Those *Morokia* who moved to North Halmahera established the Mamuya kingdom at the foot of the Mt. Mamuya, to the south of Galela Bay. The Galela are the descendants of this Mamuya kingdom. In the 15th century the four sultanates and the Mamuya kingdom were located on and around Halmahera. In 1577, when Portuguese came to Halmahera, St. Francisco de Xavier visited the Mamuya Kingdom to baptize people.⁴⁾ Many people came to see Xavier, who because of the lack of water for baptizing, climbed trees and sprinkled water over the heads of the crowd. The Portuguese built a church and lived together with the Mamuya people, a Portuguese acting as the village leader. However, because the Sultan of Ternate was murdered by a Portuguese, his son made war against them. The Mamuya kingdom stood by Portugal and participated in the war, but the Sultan of Ternate was victorious, and the leading Portuguese in the church of Mamuya departed, fearing the Sultan's revenge. Some people who remained in the kingdom became the Moro, and there were some Portuguese among them. During the war the Sultan of Jailolo also fought against the Sultan of Ternate, and some people of Jailolo escaped to the land of Galela, where the Kingdom of Mamuya was relocated after the defeat.

6. Communication with the Moro

Except for the *Kafir* Moro, the Moro generally are decent and do not harm ordinary people. Yet if a person harms a Moro, they will take revenge. Moro get offended when people invade their land, for instance.

Several years ago, an old Tobelo woman from Popilo Village of the Tobelo Sub-district, went to the forest of Mede for firewood. She defecated at the foot of a big dead tree. The people of Mede became very angry, for this old woman had desecrated the land of Moros who might live close to the tree. But the old woman laughed at their anger and returned home. That night she experienced pain over her entire body, and on the following morning had large bumps on both breasts. This is believed to have been the curse of the Moro.

Particular areas are believed to be inhabited by Moros. According to the Limau villagers, Lahiya, Lipamatla and Wonge are such places near by the village. Each place is full of trees and is surrounded by mountains. Fields are never cleared in these areas and the people have no desire to enter them. Other places also may be inhabited by Moros. Possibly, all of Northern Halmahera is inhabited by them, and so there is always a danger of offending the Moro when fields are cleared and cultivated or if a new village is made. As discussed below, there is a ritual to request the spirits, mystical beings and Moro that may inhabit a particular site to move away.

4) The Portuguese came to the Halmahera area for the first time in 1513. In 1522 they built a fort on Ternate Island. Xavier visited Ternate, and presumably Mortai, in 1546, but there is no evidence that he visited Galela. Since he died in 1552, the period mentioned here is not accurate.

The ritual is carried out three times. First, people walk many times around the proposed new village or field sites uttering a spell to ask the spirits and the Moro to move away. Spirits do not move away by this alone and the ritual must be performed two or three times to persuade them to move out. Moro are generally good and so move away from an area when asked.

Moro give presents to those whom they like. This happened when an old Galela man living in Limau was working in a field on the mountain side. Around noon he became tired and took a nap. Then, in a dream, an old Moro woman appeared. She told him that his presents were close to a particular tree on a certain mountain. Awakening, he went to the place suggested and located the tree, the roots of which was covered with many layers of rattan. He could not see inside. When he cut the rattan with a bush knife, he found five sets of china dishes.⁵⁾ The dishes were kept intact until the World War II, but during the war he lost the dishes while he took refuge from his village.

The sago palm forest to the south of Limau is also the Moro people's gift to the villagers. Years ago, there were no sago palms in the land of the Galela, but the Moro planted sago to make gift to the villagers. According to oral tradition, a Galela living in Ngidiho was travelling to an unknown land. On the third evening after he started travelling, a Moro appeared in a dream, saying "Go straight ahead from here, and then you will find the place where trees which provide food grow." As directed, he walked for a day and arrived at the sago forest south of Limau. Those who use this sago forest are the ancestors of *Soa Limau* people.

There is an old Galela woman who is said to be the friend of a Moro. When she was in trouble the Moro would help her and give her presents. The Moro even taught her about magic medicine. As discussed below, the knowledge of medicine and treating patients provides a good income.

There is no particular way of communicating with a Moro or in which to become their friend. It is up to the Moro whether a man can become acquainted with them. Although a man must desire to be friends with a Moro it does not follow that the Moro will fulfill this wish. It seems that the Moro befriend a particular person or give gifts rather whimsically.

Only a few people have become acquainted with the Moro. Once such a relationship develops, a person will be taught how to call the Moro. However, the Galela do not teach the secret to others. Also, some Moro communicate with villagers by appearing in dreams.

Unlike spirits, the Moro do not possess men, so those who become acquainted with them do not acquire any special powers. Only when one asks a Moro friend for help or for a gift do the Moro help. The Galela use a particular charm to avoid disaster caused by evil spirits or supernatural entities, but it is not necessary to take precautions against the Moro.

5) Long ago china dishes were very valuable, and even now they are used as bride wealth. One set (1 *losen*) consists of twelve dishes.

Whether the Moro are descended from the inhabitants of Jailolo or from the Mamuya kingdom, their world was formerly a prosperous utopia. But this was destroyed and their ancestors died as a result of the Dutch colonization. This tale reveals the same motif as in the Millenium Movements and Cargo Cults. However, the belief in Moro falls sort of being a movement at crucial points. As mentioned above, people ordinarily cannot communicate with the Moro and those few who have become the friend of the Moro and can communicate with them have only personal relationships. Ordinary people have no means of communication with the Moro, and there is no priest as intermediary between the Moro people and the villagers. As a group the Galela or other people in North Halmahera can never communicate with the Moro. Thus, no movement could develop.

III. SPIRITS AND MYSTICAL ENTITIES

1. Jini

Jini, a word derived from *jinn* or *jinni*, was introduced in its Islamic context, and adopted by the Galela. The term was subsequently detached from Islamic doctrine, and is used now by Christians also. A *jini* is an invisible spirit with magical or spiritual power, but does neither good nor harmful things to people. It simply soars around in the clouds. In most cases a *jini* exists independently of people except when a person sometimes becomes possessed by one. A *jini* can control a person through dreams. Most importantly, some *jini* can be a guardian spirit for a particular person. During a trance a shaman can travel to another world or communicate with *goma* and other spirits or supernatural entities through the mystical power given by his spiritual guardian (*jini*).

According to Baarda [1927b: 314–322], a *jini* is a man's spirit which did not become a *goma* and which is worshiped as a spiritual guardian. After death, most persons' spirits become *goma*, but those of the Dutch, Javanese, English and Malaysians do not become *goma*, since they are aliens. *Gomahati* make these spirits *jini*, as spiritual guardians. A *gomahati* has a cherished object, such as a round rock or a fish bag, within which dwells a *jini*. A *jini*, trying to find a *gomahati* to serve him, orders a man to find an object for the *jini* to dwell within (perhaps in a dream). If a man who found such an object becomes sick, then it means that the *jini* has dwelled within that object. Such an object is put on the *jini ma taba*, a tiny house of the *jini*. Those who worship it gain the ability of possession and become *gomahati*. A *gomahati* holds an annual ceremony in which he offers yellow rice (*tamo gurati*), eggs and fish or meat to the *jini* that he serves.

2. Wonge⁶⁾

Galelans territory was divided into various localities (*soa*). The spirit of the

6) According to Baarda [1927b: 271], *wonge* is derived from the Javanese word *wong* (man). The character of *wonge* is similar to that of *tuhan tanah*, a spirit of the earth in various parts of Indonesia, in that in both cases the founders of villages are worshiped. *Tuhan tanah* is discussed under "tona ma ruhutu."

founder of a *soa* is called a *wonge* or *doadi*. In Galela there were ten *soa* (*soa mogiowo*), and each had a small shrine (*seri*) where the *wonge* was worshiped. A *wonge* could appear as a crocodile or as a fish hawk. Each *soa* has a particular animal as the symbol of its *wonge*. It is taboo for a member of a *soa* to kill or eat animals considered as the reincarnations of *wongè*, but he can kill animals that are the reincarnations of *wonge* of different *soa*. A *seri* is a hut with a roof supported by four elaborately carved posts, in the attic of which statues of the animals are placed together with those of half-naked women [Baarda 1927a: 272]. *Delike* is said also to dwell in this part of the *seri*. A *goma* is worshipped by families, whereas a *wonge* is worshipped by an entire *soa* group and has the power to influence the group's destiny. According to Baarda, the *wonge* guards against evil spirits entering the village and keeps the village safe from storm, plague, and war. However, under the Dutch government tribal wars ceased, and, as a result, the belief in *wonge* declined.

A *seri* was built in each *soa* to worship *wonge*, and a single priest who lived in Pune, said to be the oldest village in Galela, covered all the *seri*. He told villagers whether or not they should fight in a particular war, and if war broke out he caught the spirits of *wonge* and *delike*, by putting himself into a trance, and sent them to accompany the soldiers to the battlefield.

Nowdays *wonge* are remembered by the names of the animals considered as their reincarnations. For instance, *Soa Limau*, one of the *soa* regarded *jini kodoba* (fish hawk) as its founder, whereas *Soa Ngidiho* regarded *jini gosoma* (crocodile) as its founder. The spirit of a *soa* remains as a *jini*, and the *jini* is symbolized by these animals. However, the *jini* does not dwell within any live fish hawk or any live crocodile, rather those considered as the reincarnation of the founder of the *soa* are invisible, as is the crocodile.

A few old people know the names of those who became spiritual animals and founded a *soa*, and how *soa* started. However, their stories are highly fragmentary episodes and differ widely from each other in important respects. Not enough data are available to introduce the episodes consistently.

Today nobody worships the symbolic animals of ancestors who became *jini*, and although it is said that there is no longer any *seri*, one tiny shrine (*seri*) in Limau Village houses the statues of the fish hawk (*kodoba*). This secret shrine is in the back garden of a particular house, as the Galela consider it shameful to build *seri* or worship *wonge*, which they think only *Kafir* would do. The shrine is about 3.5 m high and is a very simple structure consisting of a saddle back roof made of sago palm leaves placed on four posts. It lacks walls (Photo. 1). The *seri* is now used as a storeroom for timber but in the attic are two *kodoba* statues carved from *salabea naino* (unidentified: lit. "bird's feet"), the only timber from which they can be carved. The large statue is in the form of a bird with folded wings, and is 100 cm long and has a red cloth around its neck. The smaller one is about 90 cm long and has a white cloth around its neck. Close to their heads is a small dish on which food must have been placed in former times (Photo. 2).

The man who made this *seri* and carved the statues is about sixty years of age.

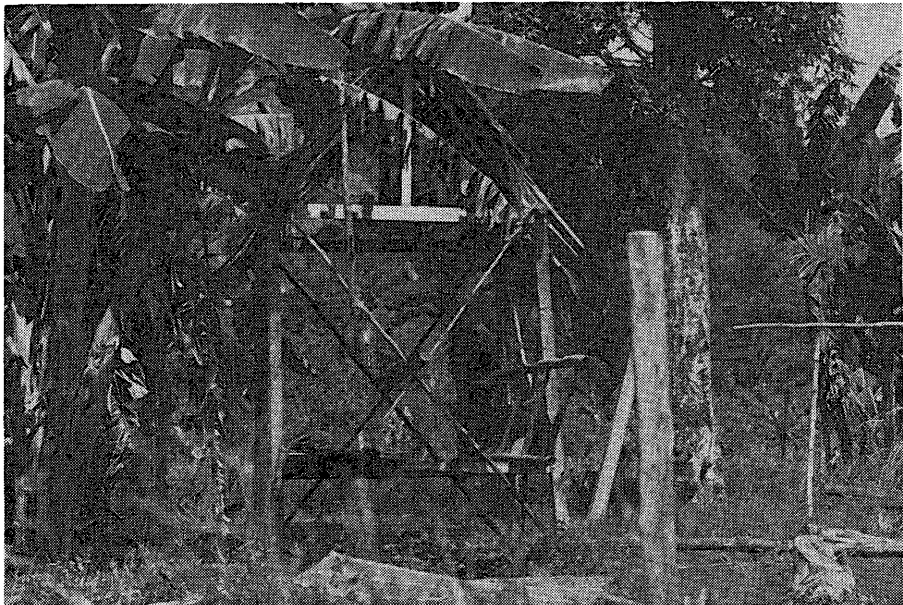


Photo. 1. Present-day shrine (*seri*).



Photo. 2. Two *kodoba* statues in the attic of a *seri*.

One must be a descendent of the chief of *Soa Limau* to carve such a statue. He says that the *jini kodoba* is the *wonge* of *Soa Limau*. The larger statue symbolizes the male founder of *Soa Limau*, and the smaller one his wife. In former times when trees were felled to make statue a ritual war dance and feast took place, the details of which have been lost. The *kodoba* statues were kept formerly on a shelf in a large house occupied by a joint family (*bangsaha*). (Baarda reported that *wonge* had been kept in *seri*, but our informant says that the shelf on which *wonge* were kept in the *bangsaha* is also called *seri*.) After the Galela ceased to live in *bangsaha* they also stopped worshipping *wonge*. Our informant, a Muslim, claims that he does not worship *wonge*; neither do other members of *Soa Limau*. Because the statue of *kodoba*, handed down for years, became old, he carved new ones when the village moved to its present location. He also built a new *seri* to house the statues. When the old *seri* fell into disrepair the old statues were abandoned and new ones carved. The first *kodoba* was made when the carver was in a self-induced trance but he was not in such a condition when he carved the second statue, since he made it by own efforts and simply in memory of the ancestors. Unlike the *Kafir*, he did not carve it for use in worship.

The following story may help to clarify the origin of *kodoba*. In olden times four brothers were living together in the same *bangsaha* in Limau. (Their names differ according to individual informants.) When one brother was in the forest making a canoe another touched the breasts of his brother's wife (in another view there was intercourse between them). As a result, a fight occurred between the brothers. The one who discovered his brother's adultery left Limau with a third brother and moved to Ngidiho. Each of those two brothers made a *soa* which worshiped a *gosoma* (crocodile) and a *garuda* (mythical bird that has its origins in India) as the founder of the *soa*. The *soa* of the two brothers who remained in Limau was divided into two *soa* which worshiped *baikore* (wagtail). People of *Soa Limau* are those who regard *kodoba* as symbols of their ancestors.

A *kodoba* derives from the people who are the founders of *Soa Limau*, and they became spiritual entities (*jini*). The founders who are reincarnated as fish hawks are called *jini kodoba* or *wonge kodoba*. Nobody now recalls why the founders' spirits are reincarnated as birds. Although the fish hawks that fly around Limau are not the descendants of *jini kodoba*, but mere birds, the villagers do not catch or kill them.

We were informed that a *jini kodoba* is an invisible entity and it is impossible to tell how many there are or where they live. If a *jini kodoba* becomes ill a Limau villager becomes sick, and if a *jini kodoba* dies then one of the villagers dies also. The fish called *siu*, caught along the shore at Limau, is said to be what *jini kodoba* presented to the descendants. People have no means of preventing the disease or death of a *jini kodoba*. Each Tuesday a *jini kodoba* flies here from an unknown place, and dwells within the statue of the bird kept in the *seri*. Thus only on a Tuesday can people communicate with *jini kodoba* through the medium of a *gomahati*.

Usually two people, one a *gomahati* possessed by a *jini kodoba* when entranced, sit under the statue of *kodoba*. The *jini kodoba* begins to talk through mouth of the

gomahati who usually is not conscious of what he is talking about, hence the other person acts as a listener. A *jini kodoba* has stronger magical powers than ordinary an *jini* or other spirits that possess people, so if a man is possessed by a *jini kodoba* he feels as if his body were twisted. Villagers communicate with *jini kodoba* when they want to find out why so many people become sick or die, why a disease becomes prevalent, how to cope with disease or whether they should relocate their *soa*; all important matters concerning the destiny of the whole community. An old member of *Soa Limau* remembers the latest case when people questioned a *jini kodoba*. It was 1933 when Mt. Mamuya, an active volcano lying between the territory of the Galela and that of the Tobero, erupted (Fig. 1, p. 8). The in-migrants of *Soa Limau*, who lived close to Mt. Mamuya, took shelter in Limau, and wanted to decide, by asking the *jini kodoba*, whether they should stay in Limau or return to their settlement. Four *gomahati* assembled in the *bangsaha* and became possessed by *kodoba*. They were told that the volcano would no longer erupt and that it would be safe to return to their village. In fact, as told by the *kodoba*, no further eruption occurred. In former times, before going to war, the Galela prayed to *kodoba* for assistance. The Galela also have a charm made of tree roots, within which *kodoba* dwell. Unfortunately, no information could be obtained about this charm because the Galela cannot tell other people about charms and spells.

3. Hantu

Baarda says nothing about *hantu* (Mal. ghost), a shortened version of *hantu laut* or *hantu di laut* (lit. a "ghost in the ocean"). No Galela word exactly corresponds to *hantu*, but its equivalent is *teo ma setan* (lit. "devil of the ocean"). There are two kinds of *hantu*, one derived from a spirit of a dead man, and the other from an octopus-like ocean monster.

Hantu usually refers to a spirit that was not purified by a ritual such as a funeral, and in particular it refers to the spirit of a person who died in the ocean. Now, *gurumi ma dorou*, introduced earlier, or *soso* (which Baarda discusses) might appear as *hantu* in the ocean. A *hantu* only appears offshore at night. Its body is invisible and its form changes rather than remaining constant. Such a metamorphosis may appear in the form of a man with a gigantic face or it could appear as a fish, a fireball, or even a boat. The following illustrates an example of a *hantu* appearing in the form of a man. Three men left the shore in a canoe and when they were a distance offshore they realized that the canoe contained a fourth man a *hantu* of a person unknown to them. Once a *hantu* appeared as a fireball far offshore, and when the villagers approached it broke into pieces. The fireball looked like a village torch when seen close to the shore, but it turned out to be a fireball of *hantu*, and thus caused people to be misdirected. A *hantu* once appeared as a boat to a man who was crying for help after his canoe was wrecked. The boat came close but passed without rescuing him. These examples show that a *hantu* appears as an illusion that leads people astray. However, a *hantu* neither possess people nor causes them to die. Some villagers fall sick after seeing a *hantu*, but they do not die from such a sickness. Villagers do not

consider *hantu* as evil. Because a *hantu* is the spirit of a dead man who did not receive purification, the various mysterious happenings caused by *hantu* may be similar to the way in which a *soso* tries to inform people of his death by making them sick or leading them astray, and thereby demanding the ritual which will turn a *soso* into a *goma*.

The other kind of *hantu* is an octopus-like monster called a *sagamau*. The Galela often eat octopus (*boota*). *Sagamau*, which looks like of a gigantic *boota*, lives in a cave deep in the ocean. Its eyes look like lamps and its legs are as long as a man's arms. A *sagamau* eats people by catching the boat. In the moonlight a *sagamau* goes up river. When it reaches land, it rolls on the ground like a ball and climbs a tree with its legs around its neck. It paralyzes people or deer on the ground by squirting a white liquid over them, and then pulls them up the tree, where it eats them. A *sagamau* has no spiritual power, although belonging to the same category as *hantu*, it is considered a natural being, although a monster.

4. *Tona ma ruhutu*

Baarda says that *ruhutu* (or *duhutu*) is a spirit that dwells within things but not people. But the term appears only in the phrase *tona ma ruhutu*, (lit. "spirit of the earth"). *Tona ma ruhutu* is also called *ibilisi*, which corresponds to the Malay word *iblis*, and is derived from the name of an angel who was expelled, cursed by God, in Islamic legend.

Usually an *ibilisi* is invisible but it can appear through the power of magical medicine. One old man remembers his grandfather saying that when he went to the place where *ibilisi* dwelled, by taking medicine made from the roots of trees, leaves and water, he could see *ibilisi* within an animal which looked like a dog.

Baarda translated *ibilisi* as satyr, bush-demon, ground-demon, and stated that it looked like a small child and the crisp-haired people of Papua [1927a: 262-263]. He also stated that among the *ibilisi* those called *kanyma* dwell in the ground, with thousands of subjects, and those called *hate-dubo* dwell within a big, tall tree, with many subjects.

On the other hand, the people of Galela divided *ibilisi* or *tona ma ruhutu* into two kinds; *tona ma raba-ka* and *gota ma ide-ka*. The former means "within the ground," and refers to spirits which dwell within the ground of the forest or a thicket and which no villager would dare enter. *Gota ma ide-ka* is also said to dwell in the top of the *waringi* (*Ficus benjamina* L.) tree.

Ibilisi are no longer generally divided into these two kinds as mentioned by Baarda but rather are considered as the same kind of *ibilisi*, the only difference being that one dwells the ground and the other in a tree.

It is said that many people can distinguish trees or the ground where *ibilisi* or *ruhutu* dwell, for they smell like ginger. Areas that could be used as fields but which are left undeveloped are places where *tona ma ruhutu* are believed to dwell.

Should a man damage a place where an *ibilisi* dwells, without first making the proper ritual, the *ibilisi* will take revenge. If a man fells a tree within which an *ibilisi* dwells, and as a result of which the spirit suffers great pain, for instance, then the man

also suffers great pain. If the spirit dies, the man also dies. If a man makes a fire close to a tree occupied by an *ibilisi* and thereby causes a pain in the eye of the spirit, the man will have an eye disease also.

In one example, a Limau baby had trachoma. Its father was told by a village elder that it was because he had made a bonfire under the *waringi* tree close his field in the forest. A *gota ma ide-ka* lived in that tree and the smoke caused a pain in the eyes of *ruhutu*, so in revenge the *ruhutu* caused pain in the baby's eyes. The old man knew the cause of the eye trouble, but did not know the cure, so the father decided to ask another villager who knew how to cure disease caused by *ruhutu*. The treatment consisted of extracting the juices of the leaves of 2-3 kinds of plants, and while reciting a spell to give half the juice, placed in a bamboo vessel, to the baby and the other half to the root of the tree where the *ruhutu* dwelled. The father looked in vain for the required leaves, and meanwhile he tried to put a spell on the baby, but the child's condition continued to worsen. (Members of the research team cured the baby with antibiotics.)

Whenever a villager clears a new field site he runs the risk of being cursed by *ibilisi* or other spirits. As a precaution, whenever a new field is being developed, the villagers first warn the spirits with the spell:

Tona ma duhutu, Kanyma ni loda ai doro ta tupu, ni loda de ma soa-si, upa sidogo niuku mana tobolo ni loda. (Tona ma duhutu, the Kanyma, go away from this place, for I will burn my fields. Leave here, then, before the fire reaches you. Leave here at once.)

This spell is addressed to *tona ma ruhutu* when a small bonfire that symbolizes the burning of fields is made. After such a warning an *ibilisi* or *ruhutu* departs and the villagers can develop fields without problems. Baarda also recorded some examples of magic used to make *ibilisi* leave a certain tract of land [1927a: 262-265]. He stated that it is believed that after an *ibilisi* leaves the tree where he has dwelled, the tree dies because of the power his spirit leaves behind within the tree. However, many Galela now seem to think that although some spirits would leave a place permanently, an *ibilisi* or *tona ma ruhutu* never does so, but departs only while the trees burned, later returning to become guardian deities. For that reason a large tree often remains unfelled in the middle of a newly cleared field so that the *tona ma ruhutu* may dwell within it and become the guardian of the field. The general Indonesian belief that *tuhan tanah* (guardian of the land) dwells within a big tree and becomes a guardian of the land has been accepted by Galela during this century, and *tona ma ruhutu* is regarded as a spirit like *tuhan tanah*.

5. Sago wa gere

A *sago wa gere*, a kind of *ibilisi*, is a gigantic being that dwells in the forest. It walks in steps measuring hundreds of meters, and it has teeth ten meters long. There are male and female *sago wa gere*. A person is certain to die after seeing *sago wa*

gere, and if a *sago wa gere* looks at person that person experiences pain throughout his body and becomes sick. Baarda does not mention *sago wa gere*.

6. Baja-bito

Baarda simply stated that *baja-bito* is a name of the chief of the *ibilisi* [1927b: 262]. It appears in one's dream. According to my informants, in a man's dream it appears as a beautiful girl, and in a woman's as a handsome boy. The man ejaculates in his dream and the woman has sexual intercourse in hers. If a *baja-bito* appears every night, a person weakens and soon dies. Unlike other kinds of *ibilisi* which dwell in the ground or in trees, *baja-bito* have no particular abode and are always wandering.

7. Toka

Like a *jini*, a *toka* is an evil, man-eating spirit that lives in the air. It tries to capture the spirits of dead men that are about to become *goma* and attempts to make them *toka* by preventing them from going to the town of the dead. A *toka* makes people sick by possessing dishes, pots, clothes and ornaments made of gold and silver, and uses people as a medium, turning them into ogres or vampires that kill people. People are frightened most by those possessed by *toka* and who have become ogres. People so possessed are also called *toka*. People possessed by *toka* lead a normal life, but when asleep at night, they transform themselves and go out to eat people. There are two kinds of ogre, *koko* and *keka*. According to Baarda, a *koko* leaves its body on the bed and transforms itself into a figure which has big eyes and ears that change into wings for flying. On the other hand, the Limau villager's image of *koko* is of an ogre that flies through the air crying "*ko! ko!*," its hands changed into wings and its legs left on the bed. Two legs found on a bed are switched so that when a *koko* returns home after eating a man it reattaches the legs without noticing that they have been switched. If a person is encountered with his legs switched, he is recognized immediately as *koko*.

A *keka* is also known as *fiu-fiu*. This is a *toka* that leaves home still asleep to eat a man at night. A *keka* looks just like an ordinary man, but has tangled hair, a mouth that reaches to the ears, and legs that do not touch the ground when it walks. It can fly high in the air and whistles "*firu! firu!*" or "*fiu! fiu!*" It is believed that *keka* and *koko* enter a house by passing through the roof and that they eat a man's liver from inside of the body. No scar remains on the victim's stomach but when the person awakens, he experiences a strong pain around the liver and sickens. *Keka* and *koko* are fond of children's livers and the liver of pregnant woman in particular. And if a child or a pregnant woman is attacked by *koko* or *keka* it is fatal. Even a man will die if his liver is eaten on several consecutive nights.⁷⁾

A *toka* leaves the body of the victim as soon as has eaten enough liver to satisfy

7) The liver is an important internal organ wherein the *nyawa* or *jiwa* dwells. It should be noted that of all fatal diseases malaria is the most prevalent in Galela, and that sometimes causes the liver to swell.

its appetite. It returns to its bed and never dwells within the body of the victim.

Toka may possess men and women, young and old. Victims do not know that they have become ogres, since it happens while they sleep. However, after they have eaten many people they become aware that they are ogres and eventually function of their own free will. Some willingly become ogres by learning the black magic to call *toka*. But because it is black magic used to curse others most people do not know about it. It is generally believed to be handed down from father to son. Some family members must realize that they are ogres with a *toka* dwelling inside themselves. A *toka* will die if expelled from those people within whom it dwells, by the spell of a shaman who cures those who sicken from *toka*.

Baarda describes ways to discover an ogre. For instance, a man accused of being an ogre and his accuser put sticks into the ocean, and the one whose stick floated first would lose. Another way is for the accuser and the accused to beat a coconut with sticks, and the one whose stick breaks first would lose. The use of these methods of revealing an ogre were prohibited by the Dutch government.

Even now it is believed that in all villages lives a person who is an ogre. However, there is no knowing who it is, and even if one could discover an ogre by the use of magic he may not reveal the information to others. Some Limau villagers were killed by *toka*. Usually, however, they will not say whether the ogre was from Limau or another village. In this way they try to keep the peace by avoiding accusation but they are frightened by the thought that they might be attacked by a villager who is an ogre. Hence, in these terms there is an atmosphere of mutual distrust among the villagers.

8. Putiana

A *putiana*, called a *pontianak* throughout Indonesia, is a manifestation of a spirit of a woman who died in childbirth.⁸⁾ Baarda described it as a wild bird with fire-like eyes and long claws [1927a: 266]. According to the modern Galela a *putiana* is a beautiful, slender woman with long nails and long hair, who wears a pretty dress and who has great pits on her back under the hair. She lives on either a *waringi* or a *wale* tree and descends to eat a man three times each month; on the evenings with a new moon and on the preceding and the following evenings.

Since it is a man-eater, a *putiana* is classified by the Galela as a variety of *toka*. People must flee immediately they see a *putiana*, lest if caught males have their genitals and their eyes eaten, and females have their eyes eaten. Covering oneself with a fishing net when going outside in the evening offers a degree of protection since the long nails of a *putiana* become caught in the mesh, giving the intended victim a chance to escape.

When a pregnant woman dies, the fruit of eggplant, tomatoes, chili peppers, together with ginger are burned at the graveyard to prevent her spirit from becoming a *putiana*. These items are supposedly detested by a *putiana*. Eggplant makes it feel

8) In Peninsular Malaysia, the equivalent of a *pontianak* is a *languir* [SKEAT 1900: 327].

itchy, tomatoes give-off a rotten smell, and chili peppers and ginger emit an irritating smell. But those women who resemble a *putiana* with big eyes, long nails, and pit-like marks on the back, are destined to become a *putiana* when they die. People sow the seeds of parched beans in the graveyard when such a woman dies. A *putiana*, hoping to eat the beans when they ripen, must wait forever in the graveyard, since parched beans never ripen. It is also said that if salt is sprinkled around a grave, a *putiana*, thinking she is at sea, will not wander about in search of a victim.

Baarda also observed that a fishing net was suspended around a house in which a pregnant woman died; an egg was put under both armpits, a pin thrust through her nails; and lime sprinkled on her eyes or over her face, to prevent her seeing, so that the body would not become a *putiana* [Baarda 1927a: 266–267].

Some women become possessed by a *putiana* before they die. They eat their husbands on the evening before and after a new moon, causing him to fall ill. However, those possessed with a *putiana* are sometimes harmless if they do not have an evil nature. Limau villagers say that a woman, more than 70 years old, who died in 1973, was possessed by a *putiana*, and that she was seen walking on the evening of a new moon, with her hair dishevelled and her feet floating in the air about 5 cm above the ground. She did not harm the villagers since the *putiana* which possessed her was not evil. It is generally believed that a *toka* possesses an old woman.

9. Meki

A *meki*, a variation of a *toka*, is a giant living in the forest. It is like a *sago wa gere*, and although some informants claim that these are the same they are tentatively differentiated here, since many informants identify *sago wa gere* as an *ibilisi* and *meki* as a *toka*.

A *meki* always lives in a forest and often makes its appearance when rain falls while the sun shines. It looks just like a man, except that it is a gaint. One informant believes that a *meki* is bigger than a *sago wa gere*. It has a conical head, big teeth as sharp as an ax, and hair as thick as a pencil. It usually looks up as it walks and only looks downward when trying to catch a victim. A man looked at by a *meki* is bound to follow it, having lost the power to resist. Finally, he is killed and eaten. Although many *meki* are categorized as a man-eating *toka*, not all *meki* are man-eaters. Some shamans make a harmless *meki* into a guardians by giving them an offering and letting them possess patient to effect a cure. A *meki* is believed to have a wife, and many informants claim that its wife is a *putiana*.

Baarda records that the mythical being camouflages itself as a hunter followed by a dog. It carries a spear and a pannier full of human flesh disguised as deer or wild pig meat [1927a: 261].

10. Hoga

This is a small fairy with the character of a trickster. There are two views with respect to its origin. One is that a *hoga* is the reincarnation of a man who died more than a hundred years ago, whereas the other believes that it was a *hoga* from the very

start. People commonly believe that a *hoga* is a dwarf with the appearance of a very old man over a hundred years of age, and that both male and female *hogas* exist.

This mythical being is less than a meter tall and has a conical head. A male *hoga* has a white beard. *Hoga* usually live near a forest stream, or are believed to dwell along the R. Gilitopa. It appears at night after the moon has set and goes to sea or to a field to steal crops. Those who return from fishing without having caught fish claim that a *hoga* already caught all the fish.

Although a *hoga* plays tricks on people, it does not make them sicken or suffer nor does it possess them. If people make offerings to a *hoga* it returns their kindness by making them richer. It enriches people by providing them with goods stolen from others. To add to the crop of man who has made an offering, for example, a *hoga* may bring to him plants or produce stolen from another man's field.

When people make a request to a *hoga*, such as to enrich their field by stealing from others, they burn benzoin (a kind of incense) and place on a shelf a bowl of water and white dish filled with food such as rice, eggs, fish or chicken. They need not ask a shaman to communicate with a *hoga* or chant an incantation, but simply stand in front of the offering shelf and tell the *hoga* what they want it to do for them. Their requests are granted only if they drink the water from the bowl or use it for taking a cold bath.

Since they owe the rice crop, among other things, to a *hoga*, people often make their requests for an increase of yields in a field hut. To ensure a good rice crop they also perform a ritual in honor of a *hoga*. The field owner places a shelf in the center of a field and makes an offering by putting on it a dish and two bundles of rice plants and then burning benzoin. Then he picks ears of rice from each corner of the field working toward the shelf. He then must start reaping so as to proceed from the periphery to the center of the field. After finishing reaping he makes another offering, which consists of a dish on which the above mentioned food is placed together with a bowl of water on either a shelf in the field or on that at home. Later the ritual offering is eaten.

11. Momote

No information about *momote* was obtained since the informants said nothing about the subject. Baarda stated that a *momote* is a spirit which possesses a young man and woman and makes them invisible to, and therefore lost to, the villagers [1927a: 268]. A spell chanted to make a *momote* release possessed people is also described.

IV. CATEGORIZATION OF THE MYSTICAL BEINGS

1. A Change in Galela Folk Belief

The equivalents of the mystical beings of Galela folk belief are encountered among the Tobelo and are assumed to be shared by other ethnic groups belonging to the Non-Austronesian language groups of North Halmahera.

According to information acquired in Lolobata, a village of the Maba, speakers of an Austronesian language and who inhabit Central Halmahera, the people believe in *meki*, *putiana*, and *hoga*, these mystical beings having the same names in Galela. In addition, the mystical beings referred to as *bibetindi* and *guo* by the Maba correspond to *tona ma ruhutu* and *toka*, respectively, of the Galela. On the other hand, although they knew of *Moro*, in which the Galela and the Tobelo believe, the Maba assert that *Moro* do not exist in their area. The name given to the spirit of a dead person or the Maba's thoughts on the other worlds were not discerned, since no oral tradition has been handed down to the present generation, the Lolobata villagers having been converted to Islam during the nineteenth century.

It is assumed that the mystical beings of Galela folk belief have an old, common heritage among the people of Halmahera, rather than being peculiar to the Galela. Belief in some of the mystical beings was widely distributed throughout the pan-Indonesian world in former times and was diffused to Halmahera. These include *putiana* and *meki*, a variation of a man-eating giant, belief in which is widely distributed throughout the forests of Indonesia, and *tona ma ruhutu*, a variation of a land spirit distributed throughout Indonesia. These mystical beings common to the pan-Indonesian world might have originated in the common Malay-Indonesian culture, and may have been introduced to Halmahera through the spice trade. As they became localized they gradually evolved into their various versions.

In addition to this likely influence of the common culture on Galela folk beliefs it should be noted that their beliefs have been reorganized as a result of the introduction of Islam. Reorganization had already started by the end of the nineteenth, as described by Baarda, who stated that the Galela had an idea of a supreme God, *Djou ma duhutu* or *Giki moi*, and that they believed it was because their God gave and took back a person's spirit that person was born and died [1906: 191]. Although Baarda took the position that the idea of the supreme God existed in Galela folk belief prior to the introduction of Islam and Christianity, he did not deny that the notion of the *Djou ma duhutu* as found in his collections of the oral traditions could have been influenced by Islamic or Christian ideas.

All modern Galela believe that *Tuhan*, the supreme God of Islam or Christianity, gives a spirit to a person and that the spirit is destined to return to God when that person dies. Today, the *Djou ma duhutu* or *Giki-moi* is interpreted by the Galela as being a synonym of *Tuhan*; *jini* and *ibilisi* are also of Islamic origin. With the introduction of such Islamic ideas, a reorganization of the mystical beings of the Galela took place in such a way that, for instance, a *wonge*, a mystical being originating from a person's spirit and having such a character as to do good for people, is categorized as a *jini*, and a *tona ma ruhutu* (including *gota ma ide-ka* and *tona ma raba-ka*), *sago wa gere* and *baja-bito*, all of which are spirits of something other than humans and which often harm people, are categorized as *ibilisi*.

Setan (satan) is a notion introduced through Islam and Christianity as a being contrasted with *Tuhan*. Although strict Christians, particularly ministers and graduates of mission schools, are likely to categorize every mystical being as *setan*, regarding

them as diabolical, this viewpoint is restricted to only some people. Usually only those beings which harm people are categorized as a *setan*. According to a Muslim informant, *setan* consists of an *ibilisi* (a synonym of a *tona ma ruhutu*, in his classification), a *sago wa gere*, a *baja-bito*, a *putiana* and a *toka*, since all are man-eaters; whereas *goma*, *delike*, *jini*, *kodoba* (a synonym of *wonge* of *Soa Limau*), *gurumi ma dorou*, *Moro* and *hoga* are not *setan*, since none damage people.

The *imam* of Limau says that from the perspective of Islam, "*jini* is neither good nor evil by nature, whereas *ibilisi*, *meki*, *putiana*, and *toka*, all of them existing as evil beings, are *setan*; they were created by *Tuhan* to play a role of getting men to praise the God, when men and animals were brought into being in this world."

We may consider that the dualistic notion which divides human spirits into good and evil, the latter destined to go to hell, was also introduced through Islam and Christianity.

Galela folk beliefs have been undergoing drastic change since the time of Baarda's study, as the pan-Indonesian common culture has exercised an increasingly stronger influence. Baarda described a *putiana*, for example, as having the appearance of a wild bird, and there was an oral tradition in Malaysia saying that a *putiana* possessed the figure of a night owl [SKEAT 1900: 325-326]. The modern image of a *putiana* popular throughout Indonesia, however, is that of a beautiful woman; and the Galela people are no exception to this. Also, it is in the present century that *tona ma ruhutu*, a formerly harmful mystical being, has assumed the characteristics of a guardian of the field, a phenomenon that might be attributed to the introduction of the notion of the *Tuhan tanah*, popular in many parts of Indonesia. And the fact that it is generally established that *Moro* is not of Portuguese origin but is derived from the Sultanate of Jailolo might be indirectly related to the independence movement during colonial days.

With the gradual propagation of Islam and Christianity during this century various ideas supporting the traditional worldview have vanished, with the result that no informants mentioned another world called "*goma town*." They simply said that the human spirit goes to either heaven or hell according to *Tuhan*'s will. They no longer try to divide the spirits of the dead into *goma*, *delike*, *soso*, *gurumi ma dorou* and the like on the basis of the spirit's location, whether purified or not, etc. And the word "*goma*" is obsolete among the present young generation, who refer to a spirit, whether alive or dead, simply as *jiwa*. Of those spirits of the dead that cannot enter the other world even some time after their death, the only one still popular is *hantu*, which makes its appearance on the sea as a strange ghost. Not until this century did the Indonesian word *hantu* become common among the Galela.

The disintegration of *soa* has caused a loss of faith in *wonge*, the guardian of the members of a *soa*; they have also stopped worshipping *delike* owing to the end of warfare. There used to be a *seri*, a shrine for the members of a *soa*, where *wonge* and *delike* were worshipped, and a *salabe*, a household altar erected for the worship of *goma* in the *bangsaha*. *Wonge*, *goma*, and *delike* used to go and back and forth between the other world and the village, and live in a *seri* and a *salabe*

when in the village. However, now that the traditional view of the other world has disappeared, those traditional facilities that enabled the Galela to communicate with it no longer exist, having been replaced by a mosque and a church that now function as communicators between *Tuhan* and the villagers.

2. A Model of Galela Folk Belief

It is difficult to reconstruct the traditional Galela view of their religion, now that only fragmentary information remains. Nevertheless, a model of the relationship among Galela spirits and the other mystical beings can be presented as a working hypothesis (Fig. 1).

First, the coordinate concepts "spiritual" and "secular" will be discussed. Needless to say, a man leads his life in the secular world whereas the mystical beings having a mystical ability to do things that man cannot do, dwell in the spirit world. A man can inhabit the spirit world only after his spirit separates from his body. A shaman (*gomahate*) is capable of making a temporary visit when in a trance, his spirit enters the spirit world with the help of a *jini*, his guardian from that world, while his body, in a state of apparent death, remains in the secular world. We may reasonably suppose that there is, as a rule, a boundary line of 'death' that divides the spirit world from the secular world, taking into account Baarda's description that a sick man exists in a temporary state of apparent death because a *gurumi* visits his ancestor, dwelling in the spirit world, and that the patient will be restored to life only when the *gurumi* is driven back to the secular world [1906: 193].

Humans, inhabitants of the secular world, live in village houses. On the other hand, of the inhabitants of the spirit world, *goma* and *delike*, are believed to be living in the other world, called *goma* town, and *gurumi ma dorou*, *hantu* and *soso*, all dead men's spirits waiting to go to live in *goma* town with the help of their family who will purify them, dwell on the sea or deep in the forest, where no men are to be found. It is believed that forests are a mysterious world surrounding the villages, and that a great deal of harm is caused by the inhabitants of the forests. The villagers also believe that it is particularly dangerous to enter a forest at night without taking a light, since the mystical inhabitants of the forests become active then.

There is thus a strong possibility that the Galela formerly believed, in common with many other Southeast Asian ethnic groups, that unpurified spirits dwell in the forests; but enough data have not been acquired to justify this conjecture. Nonetheless, it can be argued that all the mythical beings originally inhabited some mystical places where no humans live: *Tona ma ruhutu*, *meki*, and *sago wa gere*, among other kinds of *ibilisi*, dwell in the forests, *putiana* lives on a *waringi* tree, *jini*, and *toka* originate from the spirits living in the air, for example.

The second set of coordinate concepts are "purified" and "unpurified." Spirits of the dead go to dwell in "goma town" after the purification ritual and are worshipped by their descendants. A *jini* (including *wonge*), for example, is a spirit purified through a ritual performed by its worshippers. By contrast, those spirits for which no

ritual has been held will not be purified; thus, some become *toka*, the spirits of pregnant women buried without a proper ritual become *putiana*, and those of unfortunates who died unknown to their family and thereby remain unpurified stay away from "goma town" as *gurumi ma dorou*, *soso*, or *hantu*.

The purified spirits inhabiting the spirit world have an institutionalized place where the Galela can hold a ritual to worship them. That is, each group erects an altar to worship their own spirit by means of a fixed form of ritual; the altar in honor of *wonge* and *delike* is a *seri*, that for *goma* a *salaba*, and that for *jini* a *jini ma toba*. On the other hand, the mystical beings called *ibilisi*, *putiana*, *meki*, *sago wa gere* and *toka* are grouped under the category of *setan* and are usually not regarded as deserving worship. Formerly, a man who praised such unpurified spirits would have been regarded performer of a black magic and would have been killed.

Setan has the unsavoury characteristic of harming people often by causing them to sicken or die. The unpurified spirits of dead men, i.e., *gurumi ma dorou*, *hantu*, and *soso*, may also be a cause of a disease, but not a serious one. These mystical beings are regarded as "unclean" by the villagers; they believe sickness to be caused by pollution from unclean beings. It is assumed therefore, that the mystical beings that cause sickness are the inhabitants of an unpurified world whose members generally can be characterized as spirits not worshipped by the villagers.⁹⁾

A man living in the secular world can lead a normal life, protected by the purified spirits that he praises. However, he will become sick if he comes into contact with unpurified spirits; or he will behave abnormally, such as eating another man, when possessed by a *toka*. Anything connected with a disease and death is apt to make a man unpurified. Such an unfavorable state can be alleviated easily by taking a cold bath. Therefore, a bereaved family can take a cold bath only after the funeral is completed; and the villagers customarily take a cold bath after walking in the forests where an *ibilisi* is supposed to dwell. The Galela people bathe twice daily, once in the morning and again in the evening, and it may be presumed that this custom reflects their desire to keep the spirits purified as well as to cleanse their bodies.

A man will be unpurified if possessed by a spirit, even one that is a purified. Baarda observed that often getting in touch with a *jini* and leading a life connected with disease and death puts a shaman in constant danger of becoming unclean, and that he sometimes performs the ritual *jini pa tioa* ("strengthening the power of a *jini*"); and washes himself in sea or lake water at the end of the ritual for fear that a *jini*, his guardian, should try to escape from him in an unclear condition [1927b: 320].

Although the concepts of purified/unpurified are employed here to classify spirits and men, it would make the explanation more comprehensible to replace these concepts by those of normal/abnormal. Put in the latter terms it may be stated that a man can lead a "normal" life as long as he is out of direct touch with the members of

9) It is said, that *gomahate* temporarily borrowed strong power from *meki* and that there was a custom of making an annual offering to *meki* and *putiana*. But this does not imply that the villagers always praised these spirits to seek their protection.

the spirit world and is receiving indirect protection from a purified spirit; on the other hand, when he contacts a spirit directly, whether purified or unpurified, he becomes "abnormal," i.e., sick or possessed. It is more suitable to substitute the concepts of normal/abnormal for those of purified/unpurified in the following description of the secular world.

Figure 1 shows a quadrant the axes of which are those of spiritual/secular and purified (normal) /unpurified(abnormal); each quadrant is referred to as the "purified (normal) spiritual world," the "unpurified (abnormal) spiritual world," the "purified secular (normal) world," and the "unpurified (abnormal) secular world," respectively.¹⁰⁾

The spirits located in the purified spirit world are *goma*, *delike*, *wonge* and *jini*, all of which have become institutionalized objects worshipped by the villagers as their guardians. To the unpurified spirit world belong *gurumi ma dorou* (including *hantu* and *soso*), *ibilisi* (including *tona ma ruhutu*, *sago wa gere* and *baja-bito*), *toka*, *putiana*, and *meki*, those spirits and mystical beings that frighten people by harming them.

The purified secular world is where a man (*nyawa*) leads a normal social life. The Galela believe that they will be unclean if they fall sick or become possessed by a spirit. When enjoying a clean community life under the indirect protection of spirits of the purified spirit world (without directly contacting the spirits) they are able to live a normal life.

As mentioned above, a shaman (*gomahate*) is considered to be unpurified when he has invoked a *jini* and let it possess him in order to fall into trance so that he may

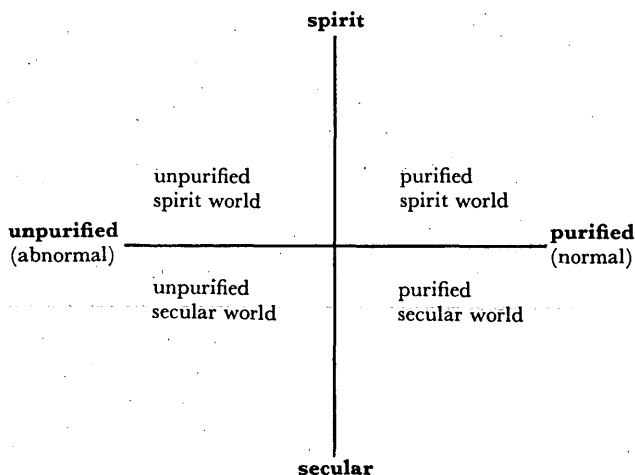


Fig. 1. Conceptual division of spirit and human worlds.

10) We attempted an analysis of Japanese shamanism in term of a model similar to that proposed here [ISHIGE, MATSUBARA, ISHIMORI and MORI 1974]. There is a strong tendency among the peoples of Southeast Asia, as well as among the Japanese, to group purified and unpurified spirits into different world categories and a model of this type would be useful in analyzing shamanism found in an group that holds such a view of the world.

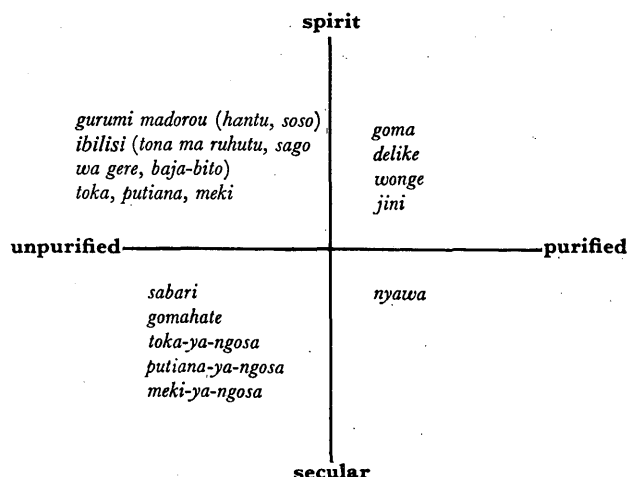


Fig. 2. Location of man and spirits.

cure a sick person. This implies that any inhabitant of the secular world inevitably will become unpurified once he gets in direct touch with any spirit or mystical being, regardless of whether it is purified or unpurified. Members of the unpurified secular world include a sick person (*sabari*), a man possessed with either *toka*, *putiana*, or *meki* (*toka-ya-ngosa*, *putiana-ya-ngosa*, and *meki-ya-ngosa*, respectively) and an entranced *gomahate*. Figure 2 summarizes the foregoing.

Frequently an inhabitant of one world relocates to another. For example, man is expected to belong to the purified secular world but will shift to the unpurified secular world when coming into contact with the inhabitants of the spirit world: At the same time, the spirit that has possessed him also temporarily shifts its position to the secular world. In addition, although a man will usually have a ritual of purification performed by his bereaved family, and become a member of the purified spiritual world after leaving the secular world after death, without such a ritual he would be forced to enter the unpurified spirit world as a spirit classified as either *gurumi ma dorou*, *hantu* or *soso*. These spirits themselves can shift to the purified spirit world if a ritual of purification is held for them. Even spirits belonging to the purified spirit world, i.e., *goma*, *delike*, *wonge* and *jini*, make it a rule to leave the world and pay a brief visit to a village shrine in the secular world to enable the villagers to praise them.

Having recognized the phenomenon of shifting, as illustrated in the Fig. 3, other aspects of the relationship between man and the various spirits can be analyzed.

Before concluding this section, the beings that do not appear in Fig. 2 should be mentioned. The supreme God, *Djou ma duhutu* or *Giki moi*, is not included in this model. Although no accurate information regarding the traditional view of the God is available, the God can be located outside the diagram on the assumption that the supreme God, the creator of the members of the worlds, is of a higher level and that it governs the order of the worlds.

Another being not covered is a *Moro*. A *Moro*, however, is to be regarded as

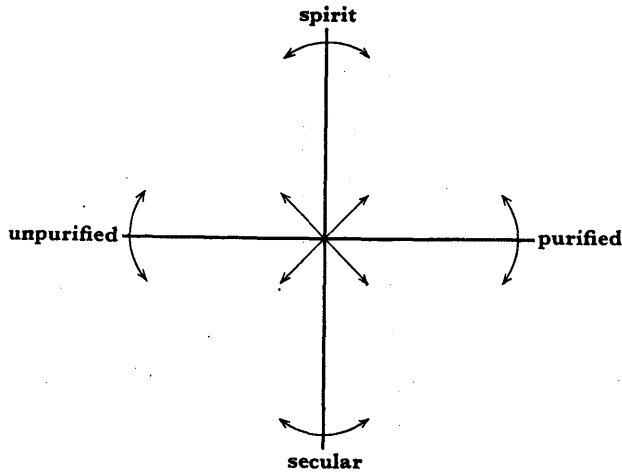


Fig. 3. Movement of men and spirits among the quadrants.

identical with a human, except that it is invisible. A *Moro* may thus be considered as occupying the position of a *nyawa* while alive and becoming a *goma* after death, in the same way that a human behaves.

Hoga has tentatively been omitted from the spirit world since it is believed to resemble a man in character. Nor is *momote*, described by Baarda as being among the members of the world, included because data are inadequate to locate it properly.

V. RELATIONS WITH THE SPIRIT WORLD

1. An Effect from the Spirit World

The Galela believe that most ailments are caused by mystical "beings," which reside in the spirit world. Even today it is generally believed, except by the better educated people, that most ailments apart from wounds are caused by mystical beings, a notion most typically encountered among the Muslims. Moreover, many people still believe that they suffer from adversities in both daily living and plant cultivation if they neglect to perform the proper ritual for mystical "beings" such as *tona ma ruhutu* who reside in the land. Calamities which defy rational explanation are caused by mystical "beings," whereas some such "beings" protect villagers via their supernatural power when people are in danger. Using the model shown above, this section attempts to establish a typology of the effects that mystical "beings" have on villagers, residents of the secular world.

Goma, *delike*, *wonge* and *jini*, all of which are "beings" of the purified spirit world, usually have no direct connection with the secular world. In everyday life they are worshiped and offered tributes, and in return they protect the villagers. However, when a member of the family falls ill or becomes lost, the other family members resort to the oracle of *goma*, the ancestor spirit. In former times the Galela asked *delike* to

protect them against wars, and depended on the oracle of *wonge* in the case of a *soa*'s hardship. A direct relationship between such mystical "beings" and people is, therefore, sought only under these sorts of circumstances. In seeking a direct relationship villagers ask *gomahate*, a kind of medium, to conjure the spirit. The spirit of *gomahate* then flows to the purified spirit world and escorts to the secular world the spirit from which the oracle is given. The spirit itself announces the oracle to the client through the mouth of the possessed *gomahate* (Fig. 6). This is the normal process but sometimes it is believed that a spirit possesses a villager without using the medium, as in the case of an offspring's hardship. Villagers still believe that *delike* sometimes forces a possessed person to act violently when he is in an excited state of mind. Those possessed by *goma* are called *goma-ya-ngosa*, and those by *delike*, *delike-ya-ngosa*. People who are possessed are supposed to be transferred from the normal to the abnormal world. (Fig. 4). These purified spirits never harm people.

Gurumi ma dorou, including *soso* and *hantu*, refers to the dead who are in an unpurified state. These sometimes puzzle people by casting an illusion and by exerting a force on the family members of the dead that makes people (*nyawa*) sick (*sabari*). In this case, however, the ailment is not serious. Such a mischievous deed manifests the spirits' hope of being transferred to the purified spirit world via a proper funeral ritual. Figure 5 shows a situation where *gurumi ma dorou* is transported to the purified world as the result of a purification ritual. People are never possessed by this *gurumi ma dorou*.

Among the *ibilisi*, it is generally believed that *tona ma ruhutu* and *sago wa gere* do not cause the possession. However, people who encounter these spirits in the forest fall ill. This occurs if a *gurumi ma dorou* is encountered, but in this case people often suffer a fatal illness. *Toka*, *meki*, *putiana* and *baja-bito* induce possession, whereas *tona ma ruhutu* and *sago wa gere* catch victims who they happen to encounter in certain locations. Such spirits seek victims more actively. *Baja-bito*, a dream

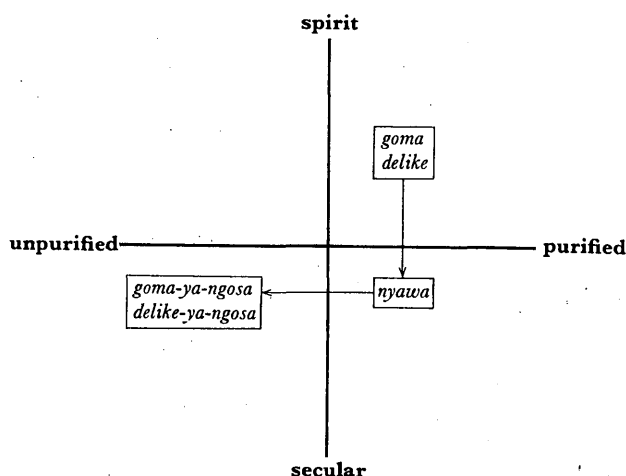


Fig. 4. Process of possession by *goma* or *delike*.

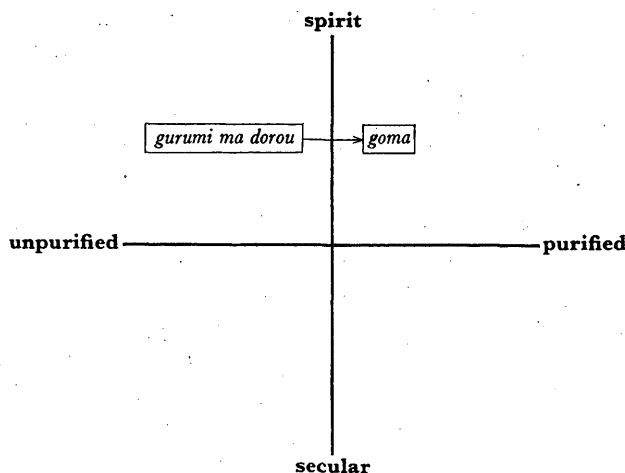


Fig. 5. *Gurumi ma dorou* shifts among quadrants as the result of ritual.

spirit, quietly enters a dream, and causes a person to have wet dreams until he gradually becomes emaciated and dies. *Toka*, *meki* and *putiana* often attack villagers, i.e., “eat” them. For this act the spirits use a possessed person as a medium—such mediums are called *toka-ya-ngosa*, *meki-ya-ngosa*, and *putiana-ya-ngosa*, respectively—as a result of which the person “eaten” falls seriously ill.

2. Precautions against Mystical Beings

Three precautions can be taken to prevent calamities caused by spirits: The offering of tributes, the use of powerful charms that can ward-off the malevolent acts of spirits, and bathing to purify the body and remove the effects of a contact with a spirit.

Baarda reported that daily offerings were made at the household altar, where *goma*, a guardian deity, is enshrined [1906: 206]. To *wonge*, a guardian deity of *soa*, and *delike*, the spirit of the dead which has a strong and sometimes violent power, an extraordinary tribute was paid in the case of war, and also an offering was made regularly once a year. The function of these offerings to the spirits of the purified spirit world is to request their protection against the mysterious “beings” of the unpurified world. An informant mentioned that people of his grandfather’s generation made offerings to *delike*. Included were such items as a cylinder-shaped basket wrapped with sugar palm leaf and containing rice, hen’s intestines, fish and meat. They were put on a table together with a container of either palm wine, tea, or water. If people did not make an annual offering to *delike*, members of their family would fall ill. This relationship with *delike* can be interpreted as follows. *Delike*, a being of the purified world, is likely to move to the unpurified world unless family members perform a ritual in its honor. By causing an ailment, a *delike* warns a family to propitiate him with an offering so that he will not do something harmful.

Mystical "beings" residing in the purified spirit world will remain benevolent if propitiated with offerings.

Traditionally, an offering of the same content as that made to *delike* was also given to *meki* and *putiana* once a year. The task of performing that ritual was assigned to a male villager, but the qualifications required to perform that rite can no longer be ascertained. Whereas an offering made to *toka* means black magic, a public offering is made sometimes to *meki* and *putiana*, which are not always malicious. From this, together with the situation in which a *gomahate* must use strong spiritual power on occasions when he is possessed by an innocuous *meki*, it can be supposed *meki* and *putiana* move to the purified spirit world, and assume protective powers only if propitiated with offerings.

In Galela the word *lawngi*, charm, was probably derived from its Malay counterpart, *lawan*. But nowadays *lawngi* has been replaced by the *anti*. It is believed that there must exist an *anti* to counteract every evil force, otherwise a man could not survive. But there is no *anti* against the mystical "beings" of the purified spirit world, since they are not evil, but rather objects of worship or *puji*, a Malay term meaning "praise" or "cult." Also no *anti* is applied to *gurumi ma dorou* and *Moro*.

Anti may be a physical object like a root of a special tree or a pebble, or sometimes it may be an incantation (*usu*). In most cases both object and incantation comprise an *anti*.

Anti may be inherited by children or, in some cases, learned from person to whom a proper reward is given. According to Baarda, *gomahate* used to give his disciples a charm (*bobati* or *toka ma bobati*) to wear around the neck [1927: 321]. The original meaning of *bobati* is "boundary" or "closing," and *toka ma bobati* means "to protect from *toka*." Those who hand down the knowledge of *anti* must do so with no third party present, and the knowledge must be kept secret.

The use of *anti* can be illustrated with reference to *meki* and *toka*. To remove the power of *meki* a man wears a small charm (a few centimeters in length) made from *waringi* (*Ficus benjamina* L.) root. It is worn at the waist by tying it to the belt with a piece of red cloth. Taking this charm, a man goes to the forest where he mumbles the incantation "*ngohi nabi Sulaiman!*" (I am the prophet King Solomon!) when passing a spot where *meki* is thought to live. An *anti* to protect against *toka* is used in the following way. A man, applies a potion made from a particular plant, which enables him to see a *meki* flying under the cover of darkness. Moreover if he sprays a certain kind of potion, accompanied by an incantation, on a person possessed by ogre, which in turn is possessed by a *toka*, then the *toka* leaves the ogre's body and the ogre dies.

Among Muslims the Koran is the most popular *anti*. At the time of our survey there was only one copy of the Koran in Limau, and it circulated among those villagers with a good command of the Arabic script. Although there was only one complete Koran in the village, one or two pages of this book can be found in almost every Muslim home, since pages torn from the Koran are affixed to an outside wall of a bedroom to prevent any evil force from entering the room.

Incantations which are supposed to work like an *anti*, vary according to the objects addressed. Because the words of an incantation must be kept secret they are murmured in a low voice. A Muslim suggested the following *anti* for use against *ibilisi*:

<i>Bismillah</i>	Under the name of Allah
<i>Golokama walu</i>	I will pray
<i>Kamu-kamu matubo</i>	Those which reside in fog
<i>Pele kole mari ma yolulu</i>	Those which reside in rocks and have a power to move them
<i>Pele hate ma yoruka</i>	Those which reside in trees and tear them away
<i>Natego kame afa</i>	Ye not reside here
<i>Nakodifo to mangola</i>	Return to the ocean
<i>Lano simaju kana korehoua</i>	Not to return here again
<i>Bismillah</i>	Under the name of Allah.

The ritual *pusi lolowa*, undertaken prior to felling trees to make a swidden, exemplifies the use of an offering as a charm. *Pusi lolowa* means "to inform," and its function is to ask *tona ma ruhutu*, *meki*, *putiana*, *sago wa gere* and *Moro*, the spirits most likely to be residing in the forest to be cleared, to vacate that particular area. *Pusi lolowa* is performed three times every two weeks, preferably on Tuesday. The first step in this ritual is to walk around the forest to be cleared, with the object of both confirming the suitability of the site for making a field and to chant a spell to warn to the mystical "beings" of the impending clearance. The person who is planning to make a field requests somebody who knows how to use an incantation as *anti* to accompany him. A few old people in Limau know an incantation for *pusi lolowa*, but the words differ from person-to-person. During this ritual betel and tobacco are offered as tributes to *tona ma ruhutu* and *Moro*, whereas no offerings are made to *meki*, *putiana* and *sago wa gere*. This ritual ensures that *Moro* vacate the woods, since *Moro* are regarded as the mystical "beings" benevolent to human beings.

The second ritual is performed exactly one week after the first, the delay, it is believed, giving the mystical "beings" enough time to leave the area. It consists of burying an *anti* made from the root of a specific tree and chanting an incantation at the center and four corners of the area designated to be field. This *anti* functions to remove *meki*, *putiana* and *sago wa gere* and at the same time informs *tona ma ruhutu* of the intention to exploit the area. In addition to the piece of tree root, the root of ginger or turmeric is sometimes used as an *anti*. Commonly, a table is put in the center of the future field site, on which food, betel and tobacco offered to *tona ma ruhutu* are placed.

A third ritual is conducted one week after the second. For this a small fire is made and incantation from that given above, the one on p. 423 or another spell which

has the same effect, are chanted. Felling trees on the intended field sites commences one week after the performance of this third ritual. It is believed that by the time field clearance begins all mystical "beings," except *tona ma ruhutu*, will have left the area. *Tona ma ruhutu*, however, does not harm those engaged in the clearance labor.

The place where *ibilisi* lives smells of ginger, and those who pass a place where mystical "beings" dwell may experience a slight pain. Moreover, it is rumored that *Moro*, *meki* and *putiana* abound in certain places. After passing such places or on encountering strange phenomena which suggest contact with mystical "beings" a person should bathe and chant a spell, which generally serves as a protection against most calamities.

3. Potion and Incantation

When a person falls ill the remedy taken consists of a potion (*sou*) together with an incantation (*usu*). The traditional potion is made from forest plants and sometimes from ginger or turmeric, which, it is believed, evil spirits dislike. When the word *usu* is used as a verb, it means "to breathe out." Sometime patients take the potion while the curer chants an incantation, the curer then breaths out over the patient at the end of the incantation. In other cases, the person who administers the potion retains it in his mouth while chanting a spell, at the end of which he sprays the potion over the patient. When the spirit which has caused ailment is identified, the potion is often given to the person in charge of curing the patient. That person brings the remainder of the potion to the residence of the evil spirit and pours it on the spot. It is generally claimed that a pill or an injection of modern medicine should not be taken soon after applying a traditional remedy.

Potions are made and incantations chanted in the same way as for *anti*. It is customary for parents to educate their children in the preparation and use of potions, so that all adults have some knowledge of their use. A family with a sick member seeks the services of a person with a good knowledge of potions. Generally, a person with a thorough knowledge of potions and incantations to cure illness caused by *tona ma ruhutu*, an *ibilisi* residing in the earth, is one who has long cultivated fields in areas where this spirit resides. It is said that in former times a chief of a *soa* was asked the cure disease caused by *tona ma ruhutu* because he was the person who knew best the *soa's* land.

A man with such a thorough knowledge of potions that he is frequently asked to effect cures generally ends up by becoming a semi-professional medicine man (*sosou*). Among these *sosou* is a man who tries to discover the cause of disease and who also prepares potions. Some *sosou* are also *gomahate*, hence at present being a *sosou* is considered heresy. Therefore, people hate to be regarded as a *sosou*.

In Limau, five men persons have a thorough knowledge of potions. But this knowledge is not restricted to men. Each medicine man specializes in certain kinds of diseases. One old Galela medicine man claimed to be skilled at: (1) applying a potion blended from juice made from two species of tree with water, to a patient

suffering from stomach pains caused by poisoning¹¹); (2) curing a certain kind of stomach ache with a potion made from a tree; (3) curing a specific fever with a potion made from leaves of a tree; (4) treating a disease with stomach ache caused by the testicles raised into the belly; (5) alleviating an itching skin disease by chanting a spell while bathing. However, he noted that he wished to give up the practise of traditional curing because of the increasing popularity of western medicine.

Payment for effecting a cure depends on the patient's generosity, and in most cases a medicine man does not request remuneration for his services. But considerable payments may sometimes be made. For example, a person living in Limau once cured the cough of a high-ranking local government official who lived in Soasio. For the two weeks during which the remedy was applied he stayed at the patient's home and was provided with food and two packages of cigarette per day. When the patient recovered the medicine man also received Rp. 4,000, two shirts, a pair of trousers, two pairs of knee trousers, two dishes, a knife and a roll of cloth.

4. Gomahate—the Shaman

When the cause of an ailment is unknown, if a proper remedy cannot be found, or when a patient's spirit is wandering outside of his body, as occurs in serious conditions, a *gomahate* or shaman is asked to perform an appropriate ritual. A *gomahate* is a man who can travel to the spirit world with the aid of a *jini*, which guards him when he is in a state of trance. In other words, a *gomahate* is a medium connecting the secular and the spirit worlds. He is engaged in the curing of patients, so as a *sosou* he generally has a good knowledge of potions and incantations.

According to Baarda, *muri* (derived from the Malay word, *murid*, "pupil") who was a candidate of *gomahate* received his training from *guru* ("teacher" in Malay) [1927b: 314-322]. Candidates for becoming *gomahate* are restricted to these who have experienced an ailment caused by spiritual power. However, those who hope to become a *gomahate* but who are incapable of entering a state of trance can never become a shaman.

Nowdays *jini*-worship is regarded as heretical, so the identity of a *gomahate* must be kept secret. This prevented us from obtaining information on both the process of becoming a *gomahate* and *jini* worship. It is claimed formally that there is no *gomahate* among the Galela, but a *gomahate* must exist in every village, including Limau. Because of the shroud of secrecy most people do not know who is a *gomahate*, and those who do know refrain from divulging the information. But there is a consensus that a Christian would not become a *gomahate*. Since the Church severely prohibits the practice to the extent of excommunicating violators.

Baarda remarked that the term *gomahate* is derived from *gomatir*, which means

11) In olden times, the people of Galela and Tobelo were feared by the other inhabitants of Halmahera because it was rumored that they killed people with poison made from tuna blood or a certain kind of plant, which was offered to people mixed with coffee or tea.

"to shudder" in Malay [1927b: 316]. This describes the movement of a shaman's body during a trance. *Gomahate* is also called *idu-idu*, "sleeper," probably because a shaman often falls asleep in order to enter a trance. Although *gomahate* are no longer encountered, a description of a shaman in a transcendental state can be developed by piecing together information obtained from old people, who claimed that in their younger days they witnessed a *gomahate* curing a patient.

Usually a *gomahate* is called to a patient's house, but when the patient can walk he sometimes visits the shaman's home. The *gomahate* lies on a bamboo bed placed near the patient. Usually a *gomahate* is attended by a helper who, since the *gomahate* often does not remember what he says when in a state of trance, tries to catch the shaman's words and at the same time asks him questions on behalf of the patient or members of the patient's family. While lying with his body covered with a waist cloth and with a turban over his face the *gomahate* mumbles an incantation to conjure up a *jini*, his guardian deity. Usually the words of the incantation are extremely mysterious and can be understood only by the *gomahate*. After the incantation the *gomahate* falls asleep, and while dormant his spirit leaves in search of a *jini* the *gomahate* begins to shiver violently; he slaps the bed with his hands, jumps to his feet or sometimes falls off the bed. The onlookers often try to press the *gomahate* to calm the violent fit. While trembling the *gomahate* relates an oracle that the *jini* is believed to have given him. Sometimes, although a particular *jini* is conjured-up, its place is taken by another, which possesses the *gomahate*. According to the type of *jini*, the oracle received by the *gomahate* is often given in the Ternate language or other languages, instead of in Galela.

A *jini* which possesses a *gomahate* gives him an oracle that identifies the evil spirit causing the patient's ailment, together with the appropriate remedy, or if the spirit has "eaten" the patient's body, the oracle states that the patient is not likely to recover. Sometimes the *jini* responds to a question posed by the helper, or a patient may communicate directly with a *jini*. The oracle given by a *gomahate* is called *saaso*. In a trance a *jini* may visit the evil spirit that is causing the ailment, or may retrieve the patient's spirit which is floating outside his body. In such a case a struggle ensues between the *jini* and the evil spirit, and if *jini* is inferior to the spirit the patient must die.

After the *saaso* is given the *gomahate* emerges from the trance. Emergence may take place in one of two ways. Either the *gomahate* falls asleep, and while he is dormant the *jini* exits naturally from his body, or the *gomahate* presses his head in order to expel the *jini*.

Although information obtained during our field survey showed that a *gomahate* does not remember what occurs during the trance, Baarda reported that a *gomahate*, after recovering from that condition removes the cloth covering his body and then recounts to the on-lookers what the *jini* told him [1927b: 318]. According to our information there are three types of opinion on this topic. First, the state of trance is like being half-asleep, so the *jiwa* and the *sininga* partly remain in his body and

partly float outside. Second, although the *jiwa* remains in the *gomahate*'s body the *sininga* floats outside, so the shaman cannot recall what took place during the trance. Third, despite both the *jiwa* and *sininga* remaining in his body, the *gomahate* does not recall what happened during the trance because of the dominance of the *jini*.

If the evil spirit is very powerful some *gomahate* conjure up a *meki* or a *putiana* rather than *jini*. In this case, the *gomahate* wears a red cloth and uses benzoin. We could not discover the significance of the red cloth, but the benzoin seduces the evil spirit. *Meki* and *putiana* exert a very powerful possessive effect. An informant once witnessed a *gomahate* conjuring up *meki*, which the shaman worshipped in order to cure a patient possessed by the *meki*. Once the shaman was possessed by the *meki* he began to dance, shaking his body. He consumed a few liters of palm wine and about 1 kg of raw ginger, letting blood escape from his nostrils.

In addition to finding remedies for ailments, a *gomahate* is also asked to make predictions in order, for example, to locate a lost person or to foretell the welfare of a person travelling afar. Predictions are also made with the help of a *jini*. A *gomahate* can conjure up not only his *jini* but also, if asked, a *goma* and a *delike* belonging to his client's relatives. *Nago goma paasu* (lit. "to conjure up our *goma*"), which is carried out in a family unit just before the planting, provides an example.

During the daytime family members clean their forefather's tombs, and at night the family offers them rice or a hen, inside the house. The *imam*, if the family is Muslim, or the priest, if they are Christians, is called, and he prays for an abundant rice harvest. This is the modern procedure, but in the past the Galela would ask a *gomahate* to accompany them to their ancestor's tomb, which had been cleaned beforehand, and to conjure up the *goma*. A *gomahate* possessed by a *goma* gives an oracle that tells when the rice should be planted and what variety should be selected.

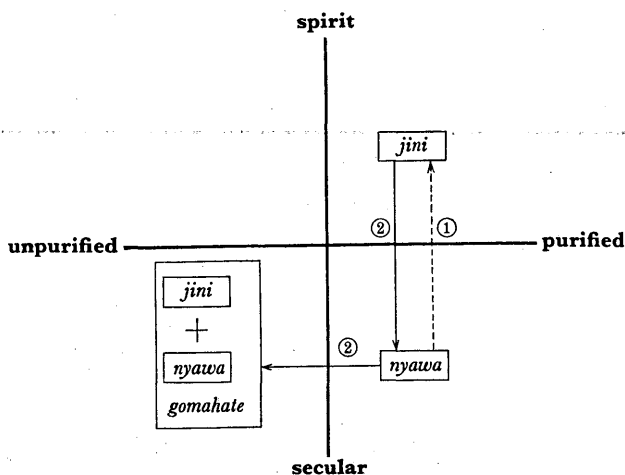


Fig. 6. Process of possession of a *gomahate* by a *jini*.

An analysis of the way in which a *gomahate* communicates with the spirit world, or the phenomena perceived during a state of possession, is given in Fig. 6. It is important to understand the mechanism by which a *gomahate* is possessed by a *jini*. The word *gomahate* is derived from the description of his body movements when possessed by a *jini* or other spirits, i.e., a *gomahate* becomes a "real" *gomahate* only when possessed. At other times he is just a normal man, *nyawa*. During the process of attempting to conjure up a *jini* (Fig. 6-1), the *gomahate* retains the personality of a *nyawa*, despite his state of self-induced hypnotism. At this point he still belongs to the purified (normal) secular world. While dormant, his spirit travels to the purified spirit world, and when he succeeds in catching a *jini* his body begins to shake. Graphically speaking, the moment a *jini* possesses a *nyawa*, the *gomahate* is transferred to the unpurified (abnormal) secular world (Fig. 6-2). This is a trance condition, the state in which a *jini* is added to the *nyawa* in the *gomahate*, and this added *jini* gives an oracle through the mouth of the *nyawa*. Figure 7 also shows the mechanism in which a *gomahate* calls a *meki* in the unpurified (abnormal) spirit world.

It is also important to understand *sabari*, a sick person in the abnormal state, which is the same situation as *gomahate* in the trance (Fig. 8). *Nyawa*, who is in the normal world, is transferred to the unpurified secular world, which is abnormal, by the immediate effect of the being in the unpurified spirit world (Fig. 8-1). In this case, *sabari*, though *nyawa*, is under the influence of the unpurified spiritual world, and is not possessed continuously. For example, those who are ill because of having been "hit" by *tona ma ruhutu* are not possessed by *tona ma ruhutu*. However, as the unpurified spirit attacks the patient repeatedly, he may fall seriously ill. In addition, when a *gomahate* comes into contact with the evil spirit causing the ailment this spirit may sometimes tell a *gomahate* that it has already gradually eaten the body of the sick person and there remains no flesh to be consumed. In this case, the patient must die.

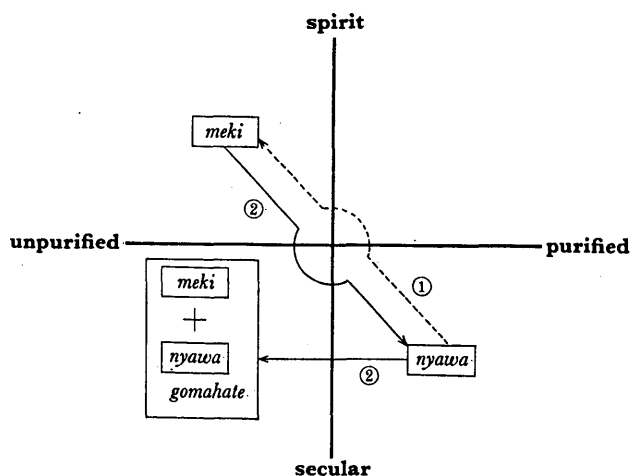


Fig. 7. Process of possession of a *gomahate* by a *meki*.

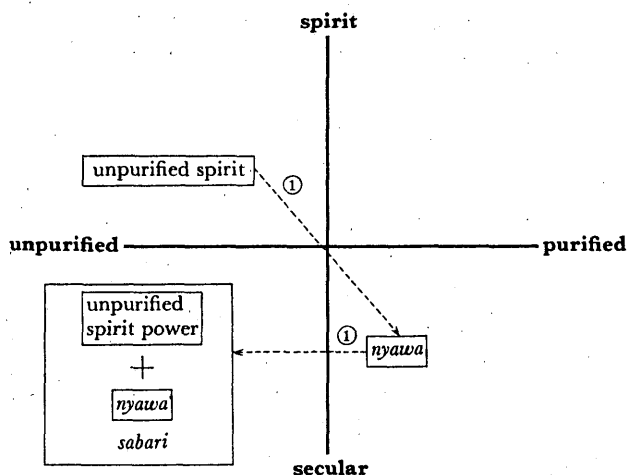


Fig. 8. The process of causing sickness.

Those entities in the unpurified spirit world that often possess human beings are *toka*, *meki* and *putiana*. When a *toka* or a *putiana* possesses a man he behaves exactly like those evil spirits. For instance, those possessed by *toka* are metamorphosed and can fly in the night sky, and people possessed by a *putiana* act like a *putiana* during three nights around the period of the new moon. Figure 9 shows a man possessed by a *toka*. At night a person possessed by *toka* (*toka-ya-ngosa*) is transformed into an ogre, a "being" of the unpurified secular world (Fig. 9-1), but in the morning the *toka* returns to the purified spirit world and the *toka-ya-ngosa* returns to be a normal *nyawa* Fig. 9-2.

It is difficult to analyze the phenomena that occur during *gomahate*'s transcendental state, since no data suitable for analysis can be obtained unless a *gomahate*

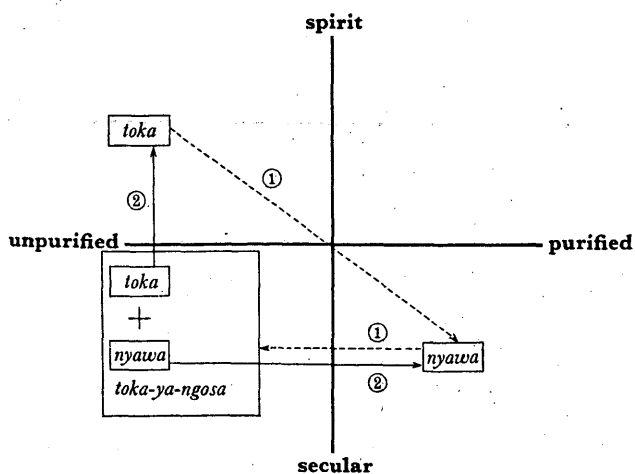


Fig. 9. Process of possession by *toka*.

can be observed in such a state. Therefore, only a simple figure is presented here to depict those phenomena.

As in the case of the above mentioned *nago goma paasu*, where a *jini* exerts a possessive effect on a *gomahate*, a similar situation as explained in Fig. 6 can be observed, if a *jini* is replaced with *goma*. The situation in which *gomahate* in a trance converses with *sabari* is shown in Fig. 10-1. Figure 10-2 represents the situation in which a *gomahate* is travelling to the unpurified spirit world to seek the unpurified spirit that is causing an ailment. Figure 10-3 shows the spirit of the patient, in a state of apparent death, leaving his body in order to visit his ancestor's spirit, and the *gomahate* going to the purified spirit world to retrieve the sick person's spirit.

Other spirits in addition to *toka*, *meki* and *putiana* possess a man without acting through a *gomahate* as a medium. In some cases, *goma* and *delike*, the "beings" in the purified spirit world, possess their descendent. As mentioned above, a *delike* possesses a man when he is in an excited state, i.e., "hot in the heart," and causes him to act violently. Nowadays, because being a *gomahate* is proscribed as heretical,

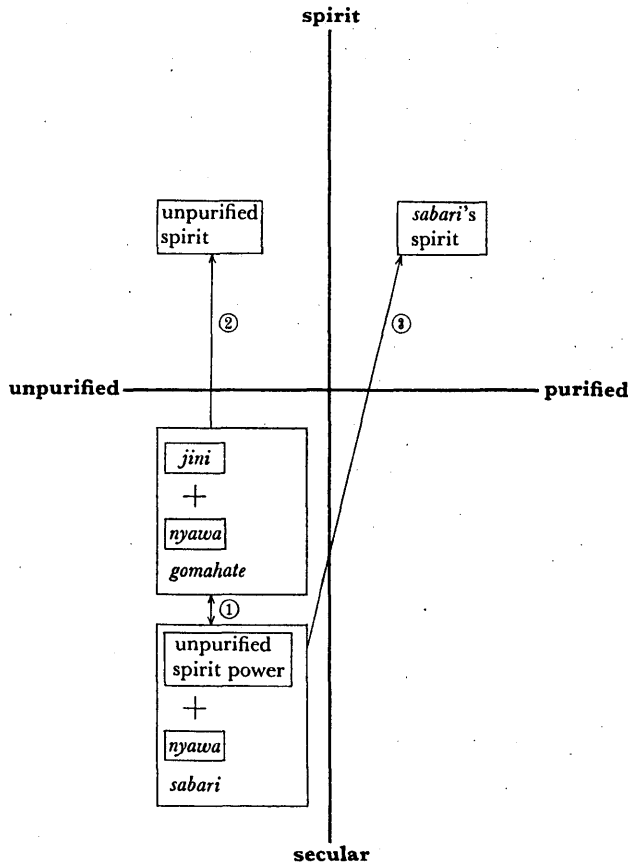


Fig. 10. Process by which a *gomahate* cures a *sabari* during a trance.

family members often conjure up their ancestor's *goma* without resorting to a *goma-hate*, as for example, when a child is seriously ill or otherwise endangered. This is done at night by concentrating on reading either the Bible or the Koran, as appropriate. The ancestor then appears and answers the questions posed by his descendent. The name of the ancestor to be conjured up should be known.

5. The Collapse of Folk Belief

In this chapter an attempt has been made to organise the information on the traditional Galela worldview. But it must be admitted that this effort has been based on rather fragmentary data. Figures with four quadrants derived from this data show the past religious view of the Galela. Now these figures are used to clarify the present-day religious perspective and to predict future trends. Now that all Galela are either Muslim or Christian, they desire as far as possible to abide by Islamic or Christian teachings. They realize that the church regards it as heretical for them to admit the existence of *tona ma ruhutu*, *toka* and *meki*, together with their mystical forces, and it is considered shameful to relate publicly stories about mystical "beings." Nevertheless, people still secretly believe in them, since Islam and Christianity offer no concrete way of either understanding the causes or evading ailments and calamities. With the progress of modern medical knowledge and the provision of medical facilities, people consent to listen to explanations of the causes of ailments based on other principles. Instead of the traditional potions, modern medical techniques can cure diseases, and with the introduction of modern agricultural techniques, crops yield well without the need to make offerings to spirits or mystical "beings." If modern ways are seen to be successful the Galela will gradually forget their traditional spirit world. Nowadays, people no longer remember shamanistic processes or the significance of ritual *goma*, the most important "being" in Galela folk belief, or where the other world is located. Although knowledge of *wonge*, the guardian deity of the village, has also been lost, the existence of the unpurified

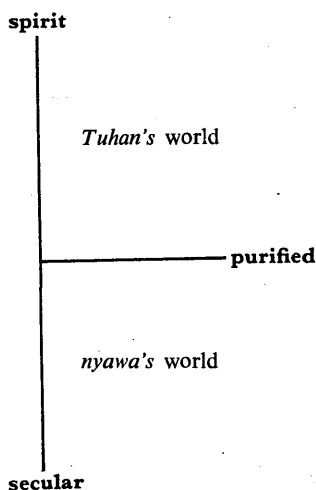


Figure 11. Possible future world view.

spirit world which causes calamities remains the only element of traditional folk belief that concerns the Galela. Although *Tuhan* guards people's lives on behalf of a *goma*, the religion of *Tuhan* has not provided an explanatory principle for calamities or the preventive, curative method. This may explain the survival of belief in the unpurified spiritual world. However, if all calamities can be explained by other religious principles, the notion of the unpurified spirit world will disappear, and as a consequence, all ailments will be recognized as resulting not from the abnormal world but from everyday life. Thus the unpurified spirit world and the unpurified secular world will disappear from the four quadrants, and the result will be as depicted in Fig. 11, that is, the world will consist of the spirit world (*Tuhan's* world) and the secular world (*nyawa's* world). In this way direct communication such that *gomahate* travels to the spirit world, or that spirits possess men could no longer be conceived. Human beings indirectly ask for the divine protection of *Tuhan* by praying earnestly. This represents the dualistic worldview that man can enter the spirit world only when he dies and is called to *Tuhan*. Such a worldview has already emerged as a general notion among Galela intellectuals.

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