Hunting

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Hunting

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Hunting Activities of the Limau Villagers

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HUNTING ACTIVITIES OF THE LIMAU VILLAGERS

The Galelans traditionally have eaten more fish than meat, and as a consequence hunting is not an important daily activity of either the Galela as a whole or for the Limau villagers in particular. Moreover, it has a sporting element to it, and occupies only a complementary position among their food procurement activities.

Halmahera is located east of the Wallace Line, and the island contains no wild mammals other than deer (manjaga) and pigs (titi). According to Wallace, the deer was deliberately introduced to Halmahera whereas wild pigs reached the Mollucas by swimming from island to island [1913: 300-301]. Large populations of these two animals, which constantly damage swidden crops, inhabit most Halmaheran forests. The forested area around Limau is no exception, and that behind the village contains many deer and wild pigs, which comprise the two main game animals of the Limau villagers.

Animals are not hunted commercially, and there are no professional hunters among the Galela. Men hunt during their spare time between swidden activities, sago production and fishing.

Only 7 villagers were found to hunt often (Table 1). Many hunters are Christians, probably because they are not prohibited from eating the meat of wild pig. In common with all the other ethnic groups of Halmahera, the Galela use spears, snares and catapults for hunting. Unlike their close neighbors in Tobelo, Tobaru and Togutil, the Galela never use the bow (ngoni) and arrow (dote), attributing this lack to an ancestral adat. Although Galela words for bow-and-arrow exist (ngoni ma dote), the Limau villagers do not possess real bows and arrows, and only children play with toy versions (Photo. 2). Those villagers who do use them are in-imigrants from Tobelo and Tobaru. No Limau villager owns a gun.



Photo. 1. Carrying a deer killed in the sea to the village.

Since the Christians consider deer and wild pigs of almost equal value in terms of game, they usually reckon the annual returns from hunting in terms of a common unit that includes both animals. The annual returns are presented in this manner in Table 1. Other villagers hunt occasionally, hence the total hunting returns for the whole village are probably somewhat higher than total shown in Table 1. During October and November, when we stayed in the village, hunting returns totalled 4 deer and 4 wild pigs.

Since Muslims, who abstain from pork, comprise the majority of the village population, Christian hunters never bring a complete pig carcass back to the village, but rather butcher it in the forest and return with just the joints. Deer are brought back whole. Limau Muslims are not bothered by the Islamic taboo on eating meat of animals hunted by people of other religions, and thus eat venison, regardless of who killed it. One adult deer or wild pig is worth Rp. 3,000, and the hunter himself sells the joints to other villagers.

In addition to deer and wild pigs, the Galela also hunt a large forest bird known as kose. This is hunted with a gun. Other forest resources exploited by the Limau

•	
game animals	catch per year
deer and pig	8
deer and pig	. 5
deer and pig	5
deer and pig	15
deer and pig	10
deer and pig	4
deer	. 7
	deer

Table 1. Hunting activities of the Limau villagers



Photo. 2. Boy with toy bow and arrow.

villagers include parrots, taken alive with a running noose, for use as pets, and the collection of the eggs of the two species of megapode found on Halmahera.

II. HUNTING IMPLEMENTS

Until a century ago the Galela are said to have fought with other, nearby ethnic groups, and when ordered by the Sultan of Ternate, would undertake long-distance war expeditions. But today they are not warlike and only "fight" during the war dance, *Cakalele*, performed throughout Maluku. An authentic *Cakalele* requires a male dancer equipped with a shield and a sword or spear, but commonly dancers make do with a bushknife or a wooden spear, since no traditional sword remains in the village (Photo. 3). Present-day Galela have no weapons for fighting, and spears are used only for hunting.

1. Spears

Hunters using a spear are accompanied by at least one dog. Group hunting is never practiced. When a deer or pig is located, the dog chases it toward the hunter who stands ready with the spear. Animals are killed by piercing with the spear, and iron-tipped spears may be used like a javelin over a distance of some 10 m. Dogs sometimes pursue the quarry to the beach, where it attempts to escape by swimming (Photo. 1). The hunter gives chase by canoe.

Spears may be classified into three sub-types; iron-headed, wooden and bamboo.

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Photo. 3. Cakalele with shield. This man wearing tuara, kameya, calana panjang and a stagen around the waist.

1) Iron-Tipped Spears

A complete spear is known as *galati*, the iron tip is called *doto*, and the shaft *uho.*¹⁾ The most common type has a blade on one side. That shown in Fig. 1 is 203 cm long with the exposed portion of the iron-tip having a length of 28 cm. The top end of the shaft, into which the head is inserted, is bound with a thick nylon fishing line to prevent splitting. The iron head and the shaft are connected with a nylon line to prevent loss of the head in the event of separation (Photo. 4).

¹⁾ The Galela did not themselves produce iron, and iron implements were originally brought from Ternate or Tidore. Today the Galela use pieces they already possess to fabricate or repair simple iron tools. Two households in Limau each possesses a Malaytype bellows (dua-dua) and manufacture and repair harpoons and spearheads (Fig. 2).

The bamboo cylinder, 7-10cm in diameter and 70-80cm in height, and contains a piston made of a wooden stick with a round disk at one end. The rim of the disk is covered with fibers from the bark of woka (Livistona rotundifolia [Lamk] Mart.). At the bottom is a slender bamboo pipe that functions as an air vent. The bellows and the furnace are separated by a clay wall that prevents the bellows from burning. The charcoal used for heating metal is made by burning wood covered with fresh banana leaves. The spearhead is made by placing the heated piece of scrap iron on an anvil (besi ma titi) and hammering it with a hammer (martelu). There is only one professional blacksmith (kipu) in the Galela Sub-district.

2) WOODEN AND BAMBOO SPEARS

The Galela usually make wooden spears (nibon) from the thick bark of the woka, which is easily split along its length. The wooden spear in Photo. 5 is 200 cm long.

A bamboo spear (an informant used the word *tiba* for this, but it is probably inadequate since the term generally denotes any instrument made of bamboo) is made by slashing slantwise one end of a piece of bamboo. That shown in Photo. 6 is 230 cm long. Neither wooden nor bamboo spears are used for hunting, but are kept handy in a field hut to kill deer and wild pigs entering the swidden in search of food.



Fig. 1. Iron-tipped spear (galati).

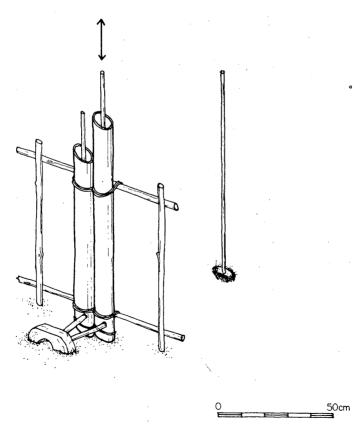


Fig. 2. Malay-type bellows (dua-dua).

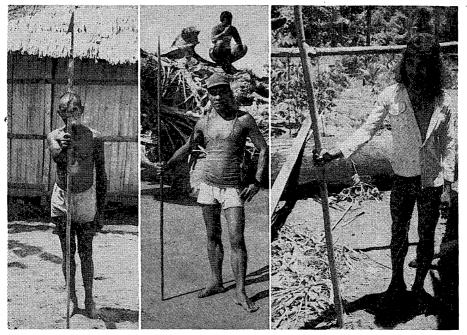


Photo. 4.

Photo. 5.

Photo. 6.

Photo. 4. Iron-tipped spear (galati).

Photo. 5. Wooden spear (nibon).

Photo. 6. Bamboo spear.

2. The Running Noose and Snare

1) RUNNING NOOSE

Tolo-liko is the simplest kind of a running noose and is formed between two ends of a piece of rope. One end is tied to a convenient object and the other left loose. When an animal or a bird steps inside the noose, the loose end of the cord is pulled and the prey captured. This device is used for taking live animals. In order to trap domesticated animals running loose (mainly poultry and goats), a noose is set up on ground with a lure of feed placed inside the loop (Fig. 3). The luri, a kind of parrot (Lorius garrulus) used as a pet, is captured alive with a running noose set in a tree (Fig. 4). The luri is sold at market and exported thereafter to areas outside Halmahera. The tolo-liko was formerly made from the highly pliable bark strip



Fig. 3. Running noose (tolo-liko) to trap domesticated animals.

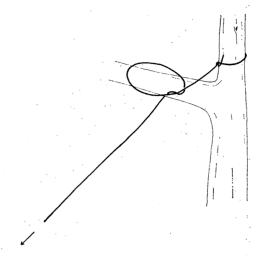


Fig. 4. Running noose (tolo-liko) to trap parrots.

obtained from the *ruki* plant (*Gnetum gnemon* L.), but this has now been replaced by thick nylon fishing line, usually between the sizes No. 10-No. 20 according to the system of classification (See Ogo, this volume pp. 226-227).

There is also another kind of running noose, also known as *tolo-liko*, that employs a weight to automatically traps birds that step inside the loop. Unfortunately I was unable to discover the details of this device.

2) SNARE

A snare that grips the prey captured with the use of the resilience of a bent tree is called saba tolo, and is used for catching deer and wild pigs. To set the trap, a pit about 30 cm deep is first dug in the ground along an animal trail. This is covered with bamboo splinters with a lasso (loko) set on them. The lasso rope, stranded fibers of a sugar palm (seho or lebeno [Arenga pinnata Merr.]), is about 2 cm in diameter (Photo. 7). One end of a strip of outer bamboo skin is tied to the lasso loop and the other end is tied to a stick erected in the ground near the hole; the bamboo strip helps keep the lasso loop open owing to the resilience created by the stretched strip. Then a stick about 2-3 m in length is driven partly into the ground and bent with a rope made of the same material as the lasso rope. A convenient nearby tree may be used instead of a stick for this purpose. Then a small stick serving as a trigger (bebesu) is tied to the other end of the rope, which is then stretched taut. This trigger supports the inertia of the bent stick. The lasso is then tied to the taut rope (Fig. 5 and 6). Finally the loop is covered with grass, leaves and soil. Various obstacles such as branches stuck in the ground near the hole force the quarry to step inside the loop. Once an animal steps inside the loop, the crossbar that supports the trigger will drop as a result of downward pressure on the bamboo splinters. This causes the trigger to lose its fulcrum, and the bent stick will spring back; the tension thus created will grip tightly the animal's leg inside the loop.



Photo. 7. Lasso with trigger for snare.

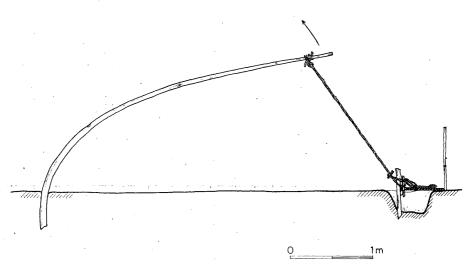


Fig. 5. Snare (saba tolo).

To avoid trapping humans in the lasso, an inverted L-shaped stick stuck in the ground along a path indicates the direction of the snare, and also of catapults (see below). Both devices are used for capturing deer and wild pigs, and are for crop protection rather than food procurement. Hence usually after having set a trap the villagers do not even bother to check it for several days.

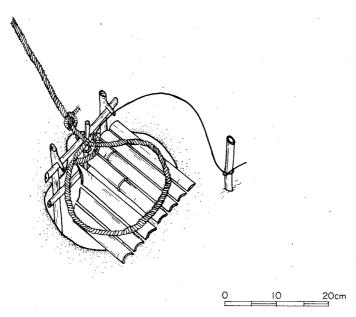


Fig. 6. Detail of snare.

3) THE CATAPULT

The catapult (bako), a device for shooting a bamboo lance to capture deers and wild pigs, is also set along animal trails. A relatively long pole is first inserted between two growing trees, and then bent. That in Fig. 7 uses a live tree, approximately 5 cm thick at its root and 5 m long. The bent pole is then fixed to a crossbar, which rests on two forked sticks driven in the ground, with a trigger stick (kalabena) (b and c in Fig. 7) that has a string attached to each end. As shown in Fig. 7-b, the kalabena and the fork on the right in Fig. 7-b are brought inside the ring formed by a string, and then the kalabena is pushed down counter-clockwise. A string is next

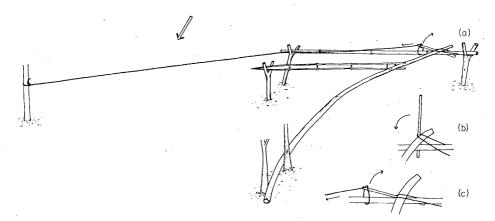


Fig. 7. Catapult (bako).

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tied to a convenient tree growing on the other side of the trail, and is stretched along the crossbar (note the string that extends from the left in Fig. 7-b). A small loop is then formed at the end of the string, which is hooked onto the left end of the *kalabena* (Fig. 7-c). The delicate balance of forces thus created allows the *kalabena* to maintain the inertia of the bent pole. If an animal (designated by an arrow in Fig. 7) should make contact with the string stretched across the track, a leftward force will cause the loop that has been fixed the trigger to come off, which in turn causes the trigger to return to the state showing Fig. 7-b, which then causes the bent pole to spring back, thus releasing the lance.

To make a lance (loto), a piece of bamboo about 5 cm in diameter is cut in half lengthwise; one end is then sharpened and the other notched to receive the bent catapult pole. The lance head is placed in the fork of a branch and height of the lance adjusted according to the kind of quarry sought. The Galela say 50 cm above the ground is ideal for piercing the heart of a deer. If the bent pole of the catapult is highly resilient, the lance can travel up to 10 m. Since the catapult is potentially dangerous to humans, anyone who wished to install one must first tell the village chief of the site where it will be placed and must obtain his permission in advance of constructing the device.

III. COLLECTING MEGAPODE EGGS

A few words are in order here about the collection of megapode (Megapodiidae) eggs, although, strictly speaking this is not a hunting activity. Of the birds belonging to this family, those that lay eggs in the forest are called melolo, and those that lay them on the sandy beach puka. To collect melolo eggs, villagers make a 1 m high mound of tree branches and fallen leaves, and simply wait for the melolo to lay eggs there. With puka, they just look for a sand mound made by a puka after having laid eggs, and excavate it. It is said that a puka does not change the location of its egg-laying mound, and the Galela claim ownership of a puka mound, and the eggs that will be laid there in the future, by driving a stick into the ground close by. Puka and melolo eggs are several times heavier than an ordinary domestic chicken egg and are eaten either fried or boiled. But only relatively few eggs are collected.

Appendix: Hunting Activities of the Kusuri People

Historically, the Galela were seafarers who depended on the denizens of the sea for animal protein, and as a consequence forest hunting has held little attraction for them. But another ethnic group, the Kusuri, regards hunting as very important I observed their hunting activities, and the implements used. A brief description of them follows.

The Kusuris are a branch of the Togutil group that inhabits central Halmahera. Togutils are hunter-gatherers who speak a dialect of Tobelo, a Non-Austronesian lan-

guage. "Kusuris" specifically refers to those who have become cultivators and have settled near the R. Kusuri, whereas the other Togutils continue to follow a nomadic life in groups of 3–10 families, occupying the mountainous interior where they subsist by extracting sago and hunting wild animals. There is an estimated 300 Kusuris,

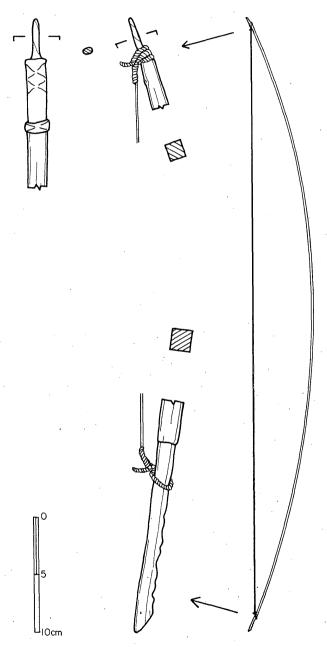


Fig. 8. Kusuri bow.

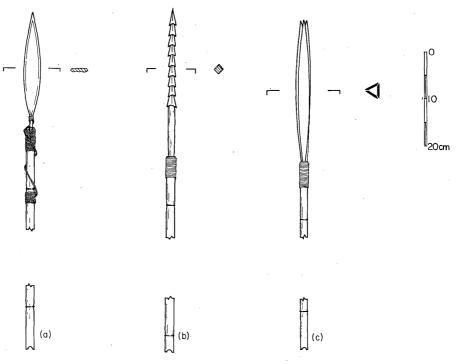


Fig. 9. Kusuri arrows.

most of whom now live along the R. Tuluo in the Tobelo Sub-district, about 20 km upstream. This area is reached via a narrow path that weaves through the jungle (see Fig. 1, this volume, Preface).

The Kusuris cultivate manioc, sweet potato, banana, upland rice and coconut, the first two of which, together with sago, constitute their main vegetable dish. Prior to making a permanent settlement they apparently lived mainly on sago and the meat of wild animals. Even today hunting is popular among Kusuri men, who chiefly use the bow and arrow, spears and snares. The spear (kauma) is similar to that of the Galela, as is the snare (modoi).

Their bow (toimi) is made from sugar palm trunk, and the bowstring from the fibers of Gnetum gnemon L. Arrows (goha) can be classified into three types depending on the arrowhead (Fig. 9); sisipi, pahan and sarara. The sisipi, an arrow with an iron head, is used for hunting deer and wild pig. The iron arrowhead and the spearhead are both made by heating a broken bush knife, or any other piece of scrapiron, with bellows. An arrowhead of this type is always tied to the shaft with a cord so that it does not come off (Fig. 9-a). They claim that arrow poison can be made by heating and dipping the arrowhead into the fluid mixture of pineapple juice, lemon juice, sugar palm sap and the juice of a young coconut. The flesh of animals hunted with poisoned arrows is edible if the meat in the area pierced by the arrow is removed. The pahan has an arrowhead made by carving the hard wood, femu. It is used for

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shooting large birds (Fig. 9-b). The sarara, used mainly for shooting small birds, has a bamboo arrowhead with three prongs (Fig. 9-c). All of these arrows have shafts made from reed-like plants called babur. Every arrow is notched to receive the bowstring, but none is stabilized with feathers.

Group-hunting is not practiced among Kusuris. A hunter goes alone into the forest with a bow and arrows, a spear and a dog. Whenever a deer or a wild pig is killed, it is left in the forest while the hunter returns to the village to get assistance in carrying the carcass home. The hunter is entitled to the head, tail and ribs, while the innards are divided between him and his helper. The remainder must be distributed gratis to his fellow villagers. This customary practise of meat distribution enables the Kusuris to eat meat at least once every 3 days. It also means Kusuri men hunt more frequently than those of other ethnic groups.

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