

MAH-MERI



Plate 1.
Mah-Meri Mask Dancer

CULTURE OF HEALING
IN MALAYSIA
ABORIGINES AND INDIGENOUS
PEOPLES CULTURE OF HEALING
SUB-SERIES

VOLUME I

MAH-MERI

ROLAND WERNER

PRESERVATION OF CULTURE
AND RECORDING OF TRADITIONS SERIES

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***To my
Mah-Meri friends
and the
people of Malaysia***

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Note:

- M** - Male
F - Female

FOREWORD

To The Third Edition

Twenty two years after the second edition of the *Mah-Meri* book, which was very well received by national and international readers, the publisher decided to produce the second edition.

Meanwhile another volume was published by University of Malaya Press with the title: *Bomoh-Poyang/ Traditional Medicine and Ceremonial Art of the Aborigines of Malaysia*. It deals with the secret and sacred ceremonial art and the procedures of the Mah-Meri and Jah-Het tribal healers.

Sacred procedures which are performed in secrecy are very difficult to observe by a stranger. It has taken me more than ten years of collaboration with the Mah-Meri, including the fact that I had to become a "member" of this tribe in order to obtain permission to participate in their ceremonies and rituals to observe, record and learn about the four different stages in spiritually combating illnesses (disharmony) by spirit *Tray*, spirit *Basket*, spirit *House* and spirit *Boat*.

Five hundred and four different ceremonial, wooden figures, (*Sepili*) which are considered as spiritual carriers of illnesses by the Jah-Het Aborigines and various types of *Beni'soy* ceremonies are also recorded in the *Bomoh-Poyang* book.

Together with this third edition of the *Mah-Meri* both books reveal to the reader not only the extraordinary creativity of tribal people in woodcarving, but also their "sophisticated" system of dealing with supernatural powers which are inseparable parts of their daily struggle to survive the many physical and spiritual influences of the jungle.

Because of the impact of this culture and its "healing culture" the third edition becomes part of the Culture of Healing in Malaysia—Series/The Culture of Healing of Aborigines and Indigenous Peoples—Sub-Series (Volume 1), which I introduced in 1991.

The others of these series deal with the Malay, Chinese, and Indian Culture of Healing.

With great pleasure I have to thank Dr. Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak, Head Department of Publication and his staff for their excellent professional work and cordial cooperation.

Roland Werner
1997

FOREWORD

To The Second Edition

Since the first Malay-English edition of the book on the Mah-Meri was published by National Museum in Kuala-Lumpur, I have continued my research into their tribal art and culture.

I have been able to obtain more information, using my camera and collecting a considerable number of new masks (*Topeng*) and wooden figures (*Patung*), as well as their related stories (*Cerita Moyang*).

In this respect the second English edition provides the reader with more comprehensive information and representation of Mah-Meri tribal art and culture.

Again I am in debt to my friends the wood-carvers of the Mah-Meri for telling the traditional Moyang stories and supplying me with the wooden masks and figures to enlarge the collection and widen the knowledge of their art.

That the documentation and preservation of this art and culture is worthwhile will be judged by the international audience, the readers of the book and visitors to Malaysia. It is intended to help the understanding, in other regions of the world, of one part of the great variety of the Malaysian cultural heritage.

The publication of this second edition was made possible by a generous grant from the Alfried Krupp Von Bohlen and Halbach Foundation, Federal Republic of Germany, to which I express my sincere thanks, appreciation and gratitude.

My thanks to the Vice-Chancellor Prof. Ungku A. Aziz, University of Malaya, for his continued interest, encouragement, and sponsoring of my work in many ways.

Furthermore I express my appreciation to Mr. W. M. Martin, formerly Chief Editor of Oxford University Press in Kuala Lumpur, for helping me with proof reading and to Encik Daud Baharum for his valuable assistance in translating the Mah-Meri—Malay handwritten manuscripts into English.

Finally I have to thank the Editors Encik Harun Hj. Abdullah and Encik Syed Zulflida and the staff of University of Malaya Press for their excellent co-operation and skilled professional work.

Roland Werner
Kuala Lumpur

October 1974

FOREWORD

To the Museum's Edition

I have read Prof. Werner's study on Art and Culture of the Mah-Meri.

I was absolutely fascinated with the pictures of the masks and carved figures; together with the related stories about the different *Moyang*.

Dr. Werner should not only be congratulated for presenting such an extensive and well illustrated study, we should also express our appreciation of the amount of personal time that the Head of a busy Department in the Faculty of Medicine could give to a study which belongs to a different field of knowledge.

In compiling this material he is making a positive contribution towards the concrete enrichment of our knowledge about the diverse cultures in Malaysia.

I am especially attracted to the masks because these are comparable with those that I have seen in other parts of the world. I hope that the University will have an appropriate place to put on display a collection of these wonderful masks.

If the concept of the liberal society in the *Rukun Negara* is to be really meaningful in terms of moulding a single national identity then many people concerned with the formulation of national cultural policy as well as those who are interested in Malaysian culture should read this study carefully.

I hope that Dr. Werner will continue to make this type of study his main avocation.

Professor Ungku A. Aziz
Vice-Chancellor
University of Malaya

12 February 1973

PREFACE

To the Museum's Edition

A few days after my arrival in Malaysia, in 1967, I visited the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur and was fascinated by the work done by the *Orang Asli*.¹

I bought the book by Williams-Hunt on the Malayan Aborigines² as well as reprints of two publications by the Director of the National Museum, Encik Shahrum bin Yub,³ and after studying them and other related literature,⁴ I decided to devote a considerable part of my research time to further studies of the Aborigines in Malaysia.⁵

In the past five years of field work and literature studies I collected relevant data and material. Part of my work dealt with the nose flute. An article on "Nose Flute Blowers of the Malayan Aborigines (*Orang Asli*)" had been written previously.⁶

Furthermore, two *Orang Asli* tribes, the Mah-Meri⁷ and Jah-Hët,⁸ attracted my special attention because of their spiritual wood-carvings as well as by their customs, way of life and belief in Spirit (*Moyang*).

In the following pages, the results of my studies on the Mah-Meri are presented. As far as their spiritual face-masks (*Topeng*) are concerned, this will be the most up-to-date number of Mah-Meri artefacts collected and demonstrated since Shahrum (1963) published his first short report on this subject.

As small communities like the Mah-Meri tribe are at present in a transitional period and their way of life is changing rapidly, it seems to be of interest and value for the future to record and illustrate significant expressions of their traditional way of life and beliefs.

Therefore, general reference is also made to housing, birth and delivery, marriage ceremony and protocol, death and burial, and finally to the most important annual day of the Spirits (*Hari Moyang* festival).

1 *Orang Asli* is Malay for "Aborigines" and it is the official term now used in Malaysia.

2 Williams-Hunt, P. D. R. *An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1952).

3 (i) Shahrum bin Yub, "Mah-Meri Masks," *Fedn. Mus. J.* (NS) Vol. 8, 1963, 18-23.

(ii) Shahrum bin Yub, "Mah-Meri Sculpture," *Fedn. Mus. J.* (NS) Vol. 9, 1964, 52-66.

4 See references.

5 Previous studies have been undertaken by the author on aborigines and natives in West Africa, other parts of Asia and New Guinea.

6 Werner, R., *Anthropos*, Vol. 68, No. 1-2, 1973, 181-191.

7 Werner, R., *Mah-Meri: Art and Culture* (Malay-English edition) (Kuala Lumpur: Muzium Negara Malaysia, 1973).

8 Werner, R., *Jah-Hët: Art and Culture* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1974).

That such effort could be undertaken, it is a pleasure to mention with thanks and gratitude the following institutions and persons for the permissions, help, and assistance given:

The Kementerian Tanah dan Galian,
The Department of Aborigines Affairs,
Director of the Muzium Negara, Encik Shahrum bin Yub,
The *Penghulu*, Kampung Sungai Bumbun and Kampung Jugra.

I collected the *Moyang* Stories from the nineteen wood-carvers of the Mah-Meri tribe. The translation was done by National Museum.

My hand drawings of festivals, occasions, and procedures of Mah-Meri life made on the spot, have been redrawn and improved by the artist of the Medical Illustration Unit, Faculty of Medicine.

All the photographs were taken by me either on location or in the National Museum of the artefacts which are part of my personal collection or owned by the Museum or other individuals.

I received help from Encik Maznan bin Haji Dahalan and especially from my secretary Miss Tan Ah Moi. Teh Zainah binti Muhamed Zain gave valuable assistance as an interpreter.

A publication on such a subject would not have been undertaken without the full cooperation and confidence of the Mah-Meri people.

Only their willingness to disclose to a stranger important parts of their ceremonies and spiritual beliefs, made the writing of this book possible.

As development and progress continue in Malaysia much of the traditional, aboriginal past will disappear.

For the interested reader therefore and for the visitor to those friendly, simple and creative people, this book shall be a reminder and record of a culture which is very little known and which should have our highest respect.

Roland Werner
Kuala Lumpur

September 1972

part one

part one

GENERAL
INFORMATION

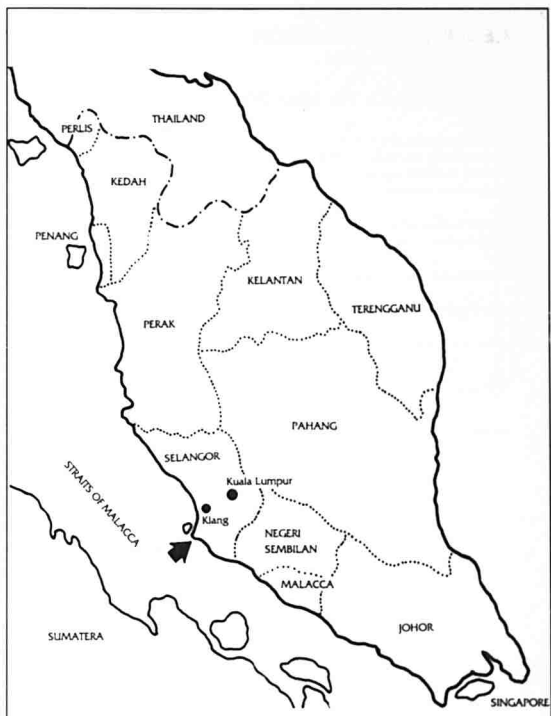
THE SPIRITS
(MOYANG) AND
MAH-MERI LIFE

MAH-MERI
MYTHOLOGY

THE ARTISTIC
EXPRESSION OF
MAH-MERI
MYTHOLOGY IN
WOOD-CARVING



Plate 439
The Spirit Tok
[by Kassim a/l Muntij]



Map 1:
Map of West Malaysia showing the location of the Mah-Merl (Pulau Carey area arrowed).

GENERAL INFORMATION

LOCATION OF THE MAH-MERI ON PULAU CAREY

If one travels from Kuala Lumpur by the Federal Highway westwards to Klang, then turns to the left, taking the coast road to the south which leads to Morib and finally Port Dickson, about midway between Klang and Morib a small road leads from the main road to Pulau Carey, which is separated by the Langat River from the mainland.

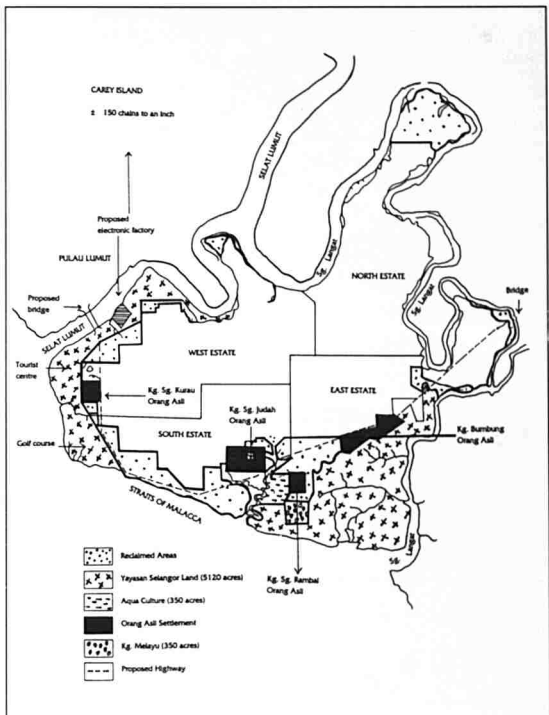
The ferry boat* is always available for light and heavy traffic to the large island estates and after seven miles of further travel on estate roads the Mah-Meri settlement, Kampung Sungai Bumbun, is reached.

In the southwest of Selangor there are fifteen other major settlements and a number of smaller villages.

Only four are located on the coast.

All the others are inland.

*Permission required from the authorities.



Map 2:

Map of Selangor showing the location of the Mah-Meri on Pulau Carey.

ARCHITECTURE

The houses of the Kampung Sungai Bumbun are in principle of three different types (Plates 2, 3, 4, 5):

1. The traditional small house.
2. The modified large house.
3. The new house provided by the government.



Plate 2.
Traditional house.



Plate 3:
Enlarged house in traditional style.



Plate 4:
New government-sponsored house.

The principal sections of the house are also three in number:

1. The sleeping area.
2. The sitting area.
3. The kitchen with the fire place.

There are no doors between the different sections, but because of different floor levels they appear as separate units.

The village meeting place is the *Balai Raya*—Plates 5, 6, and 7. In the close vicinity of the *kampung* there are spirit houses (*Rumah Moyang*), see Fig. XIV, which gain importance during festivals and especially during *Hari Moyang*, the annual festival of Spirits.

As most of the Mah-Meri are skilled carpenters one might see decorations as shown in pages 12 and 13. They belong to houses in Kampung Tanjung Sepat and Kampung Bukit Mangkok, both in Selangor.



Plate 5
Balai Raya, Kampung Sungai Bumbun.



Plate 6
Balai Raya, Kampung Jugra.



Plate 7
Balai Raya, Kampung Bukit Mangkok.

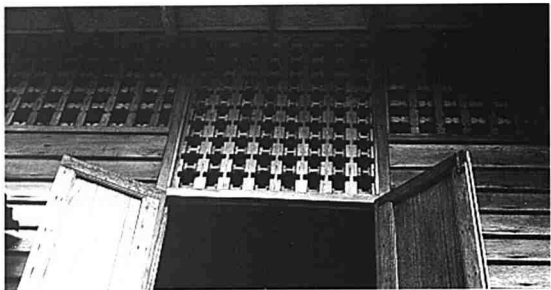


Plate 8
Wooden window decorations (Kampung Tanjung Sepati)



Plate 9:
Wooden window decorations (Kampung Bukit Mangkok).

DEFINITION AND ORIGIN OF THE MAH-MERI

The name "Mah-Meri" means "Forest People" (Mah = People, Meri = Forest). As all the *Orang Asli* lived in the forest the traditional name for it would be "Mah-Meri", but those who speak the same language *Sisi* are *Besisi*. Therefore in older literature the name of *Besisi* or *Sisi* has been associated with the Mah-Meri.

Nowadays the commonly accepted name is Mah-Meri. This could be verified in the discussions with my informants in Kampung Sungai Bumbun. To them and to their fathers and grandfathers only the name "Mah-Meri" was known.

Their culture and social structure is more of a Proto-Malay pattern, whilst their language is of a *Mon-Khmer*—type of *Senoi*. As seen from the map on page 14 they are the southernmost tribe of *Senoi*-speaking *Orang Asli* in the Malay Peninsula, which are separated from the rest of the *Senoi*-speaking tribes.

Between them there are multi-racial groupings of Malays, Chinese, Indians and also other Malay-speaking *Orang Asli* groups.

The total number of Mah-Meri is approximately 1300 persons. On Pulau Carey in Kampung Jugra live about 100, whilst Kampung Sungai Bumbun has a population of about 180.

As far as their origin is concerned I was told in Kampung Sungai Bumbun that their ancestors migrated a long time ago from further south, from Johore, Singapore or even from the neighbouring islands to the present site in Selangor. In Pulau Carey my informants were unanimous in saying that the Mah-Meri came from a jungle and river area near Endau, a border town between northern Johore and Pahang.

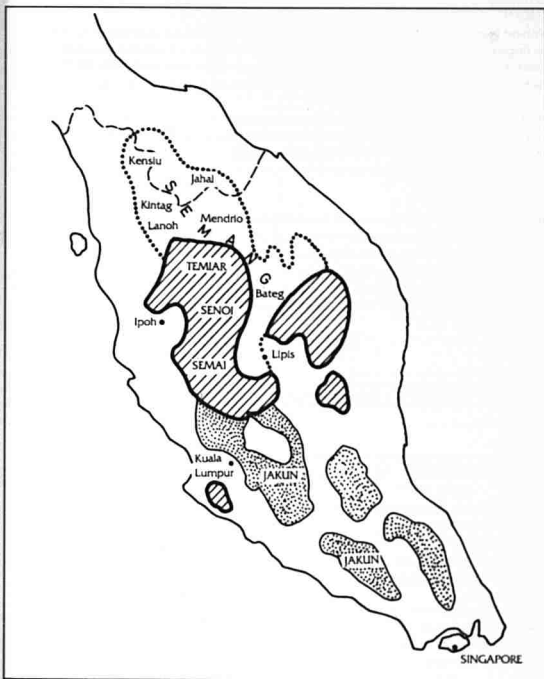
It is difficult to prove this statement because, as the map on page 15 indicates, this area is inhabited by another *Orang Asli* group the Jakun, Proto-Malay tribe whose language is Malay and without any linguistic links with the Mah-Meri.

The question about their origin is raised in the following:

SOVEREIGN AND BLESSED WORDS (KATA-KATA YANG BERKAT LAGI BERDAULAT) [by Udang a/l Balai]

Brothers,

We who live in this region would like very much to know about our country. If it is possible, please, brothers of all races in this country, teach us about our original country. Also we would like anyone here to give us more information about our original country.



Map 3.

Map of West Malaysia: Ethno-Linguistic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia.*

*Map from F. M. Lebar, G. C. Hickey, J. K. Musgrave, *Ethno-Linguistic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*.

We have been informed by our ancestors and our parents that this is our original country. If this is not our original country, we would like you brothers to show us which and where is our country. If there is such a country, please send us back to our original country, because we are now already old and have lived here for so long. Our ancestors and our parents too have lived and died in this country.

So we must know about our real country, that is our original country, from which a ship sailed until it got caught on a sandbank and was not able to sail further. The ship became a sandbank and the sandbank became land and the ship became a mountain. Where is that original country of ours? In what direction is it? If you brothers know about it, please show us that country. It is already two years now since we spoke about our original country.

So where is our original country situated? According to our ancestors, they were once sailing in a ship. Unfortunately the ship got caught somewhere because they went against a taboo. The taboo was that they should not open their eyes before they arrived at their destination. But they were impatient—they opened their eyes too soon. That is why the ship got caught and became a sandbank and the sandbank became a land, so the story goes. Lastly, once again we hope that you brothers will show us our country. Small and big, old and young, please let us know the country.

THE SPIRITS (MOYANG) AND MAH-MERI LIFE

The Mah-Meri are animists. Their spirits, good, evil, or neutral to mankind, are also related to nature like thunder and lightning, or to unusual geographic features.

The name *Moyang* actually refers to ancestors. Their position in kinship is seen in Fig. 1 where they appear in the third ascending generation. Regarding the status of *Moyang* there are different groups and categories (Part II). The name for the wooden spirit images made by the Mah-Meri (Part II) should be *Hantu*, but because of the belief that the *Hantu* would be angry if this word is used, the name *Moyang* is substituted for it.

Skeat in 1926 reported on a wooden *Moyang* image which he saw in the Kuala Langat district, close to the haunts of a local group of *Orang Laut* or *Besisi*. He considered it to be used for a ceremony called *sakkat buang* which is throwing the sickness into the *Moyang*. I had the opportunity in 1968 to see two older spirit images for the first time when I obtained permission from the "priest" to visit the *Moyang Amal*—Spirit hut. This hut was not visible to any stranger because of its location in a jungle and swamp area and being out of bounds for anyone except the Mah-Meri worshipper.

There I found two wooden figures, *Moyang Amal* and his Guardian. The wooden image of *Moyang Amal* made in 1954 by Atim a/l Liput (Plate 10) and the image of the Guardian of *Moyang Amal* made in 1956 by Kenlang a/l Awas (Plate 11) are at the present time the oldest wooden figures in Kampung

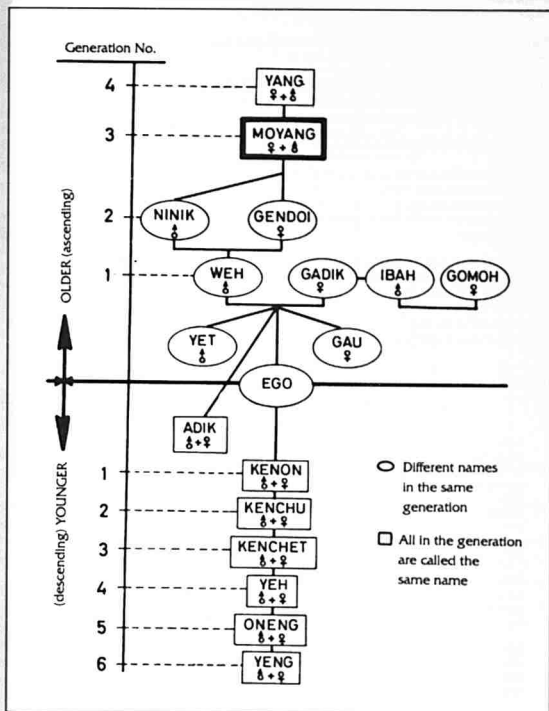


Fig. 1.
Position of moyang in kinship.

Sungai Bumbun. There are a few old masks (*topeng*) from the same period of *Moyang Jabos*, *Moyang Pongkol*, and *Moyang Tok Naning*.

The figures were made on the instructions of the deceased Batin Mata Hari a/l Limpar their supreme Chief (see also traditional social structure, Fig. II).

The reason for it was the need for preservation in worship of the old mythological ideas and Spirit Stories (*Cerita Moyang*) through its carved wooden symbols of figures and masks. Furthermore, these ceremonial dance masks were required for festive occasions.

A very recent (1974) phenomenon of active *Moyang* worship is seen from Fig. III.

In this particular instance the head of a Mah-Merli family in Kampung Sungai Bumbun had a dream during which he received instruction from *Moyang Tinggi* (a spirit who sits on the top of a tree) not to sell the wooden *topeng* of this spirit which he had just completed. The spirit told him to keep the mask to protect him and his family. He should fix it to the wall in the mainroom opposite the wooden door of his house.

Moyang Tinggi also requested him to use special colours, with a black headdress for the *topeng* (Plate 12) and as a wall decoration below the *Moyang Tinggi*—mask two strips of red and yellow cloth joined together in a horizontal position.

In addition, *Moyang Tinggi* ordered him to carve a pair of male and female figures of *Moyang Itik* and have them fixed on each side of the roof of his house (Fig. IV).

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

YANG	—	all ancestors who passed away a very long time ago
MOYANG	—	all relatives regardless of sex and age
NENEK	—	grand-father, great-uncle
GENDOI	—	grand-mother, great-aunt
WEH	—	father
GADIK	—	mother
IBAH	—	uncle
GOMOH	—	aunt
YET	—	older brother
GAU	—	older sister
EGO	—	the individual
ADIK	—	younger brother and sister
KENON	—	children, nieces, nephews
KECHU	—	grand-children great-nephews, nieces
KENCHET	—	all relatives in 3rd descending generation
YEH	—	all relatives in 4th descending generation
ONENG	—	all relatives in 5th descending generation
YENG	—	all relatives in 6th descending generation

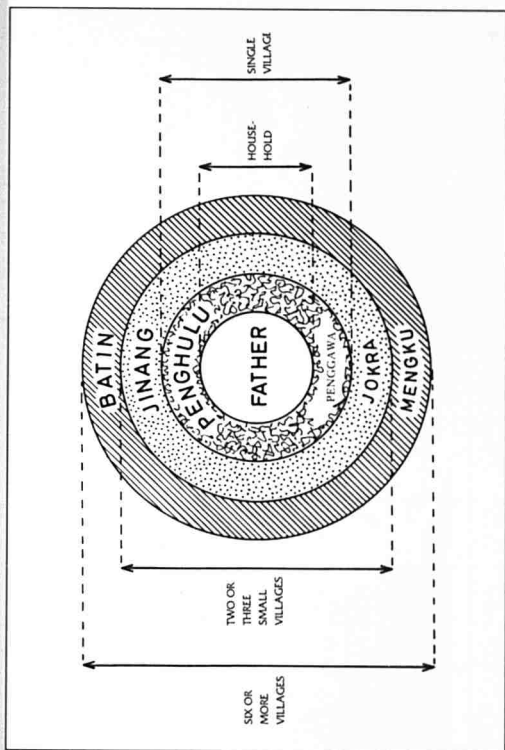


Fig. II: Traditional social organization (according to responsibility).

CATEGORY	LEADING GROUP MOYANG	SUB-GROUP (EXAMPLES) MOYANG
I	SIAMANG GANTI	HULUBALANG GALAH HARIMAU
II	TOK NANING	GAJAH
III	JABOS	GADENG
IV	PONGKOL	GETAH TUHAN KARDUN
V	In this category all the Moyang are of equal status	

Fig. III.
Status of Moyang (according to importance).



Plate 10:
The Spirit (Moyang) Amal.
[by Atim a/l Liput]

This is the oldest still-worshipped wooden spirit-figure, made in 1954 in Kampung Sungai Bumbun.



Plate 11:
Guardian of the Spirit (*Moyang*) Amal.
[by Keniang &/I Awas. 1956]

This wooden image is the second oldest in Kampung Sungai Bumbun.



Plate 12:
The Spirit (*Moyang Tinggi*) with black headdress.
[by Ming a/l Lipat]

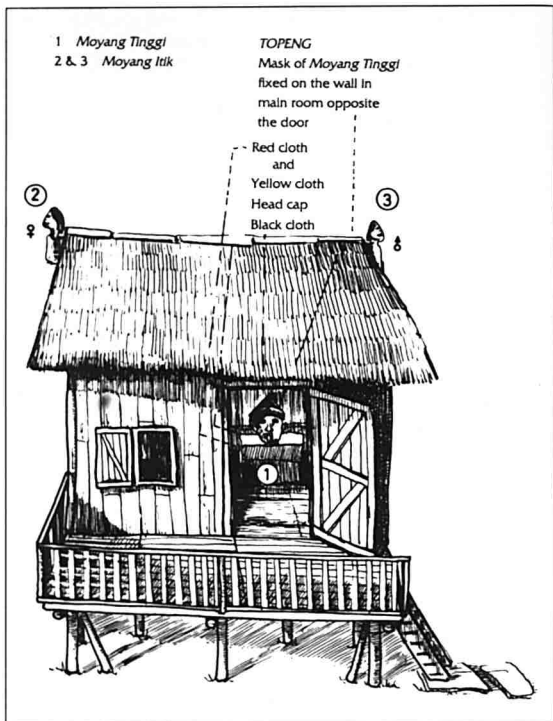


Fig. IV.
 House-protector spirits.

ABOUT THE SICK (ORANG SAKIT CERITA BOMOH)

[by Singam a/l Muntill]

The story about the *bomoh* is a story about spells, the sun and spirits (*Moyang*) which was made known to me during the night.

If someone is sick and wants to be treated by a *bomoh*, he must prepare the following items—*nilbong* leaves and *serdang* leaves which are pleated to a certain length. The pleated leaves must be of seven layers and then they are hung out on the walls according to the time advised by the *bomoh*, that is in the morning facing the rising sun. These leaves are then: (1) pleated again, (2) plank-pleated, (3) pleated like the thread of a wind, (4) pleated in the form of a gunny-bag earring, (5) pleated in the form of a ladder earring, (6) *lempuk* pleated, (7) pleated like a flute.

Families of the sick must be present but other families may attend too.

If twenty people are present during the first night, it is permissible to have more than twenty during the second night, but not less. The *bomoh* (with his inward eyes) knows who are present and who are not during the third and the fourth nights. If anyone cannot be present during those nights, he must be replaced by someone else.

They must have these ready—glowing embers, incense, yellow rice, parched rice, areca nut, betel leaves, cigarettes and *seredang* shoots. The *seredang* shoots must be pounded until they become like powder. These leaves are to be used when calling on the spirit.

The *bomoh* will begin calling on the spirit at ten p.m. Two or three people must sing a song calling on the spirit and they should sing for about half an hour.

By now the *bomoh* has changed into the inward eyes (of the spirit) and he says, "How are you, grandchildren?" They reply, "Very well, granny." They then ask, "What sickness is this grandchild suffering from?" The *bomoh* says, "Oh, this grandchild is sick because of the cape and bay sickness." The *bomoh* continues, "The sickness must be replaced by building a boat."

They must follow what the *bomoh* says. They must make a pair of figures of human beings, and a variety of animals, both from land and sea. They must also make a variety of plants.

On the seventh night (the last night) these things are distributed far and near, and to the cape and bay sickness, by the *bomoh*.

Cape sickness is returned to the cape
Bay sickness is returned to the bay
Sea sickness is returned to the sea
Hill sickness is returned to the hill.

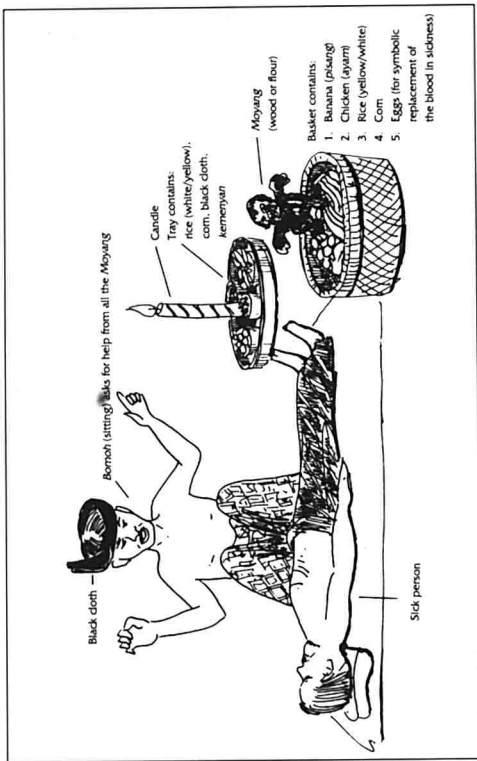


Fig. V.
Mengubar orang sakit.

Mengibas —throwing, all the sickness out of the body into the Moyang.

And other sicknesses, if the sickness is caused by someone's actions.

On this seventh (last) night they hold a feast for the far away and near spirits.

Those present join the feast.

The feast consists of rice, meat, porridge of various kinds, coffee, and tea. It continues right into the morning.

So ends about the *bomoh*.

SAKKAT BUANG*

In the case of sickness if the *bomoh* (medicine-man) cannot help, he puts himself into a trance in order to decide which is to be the proper *Moyang* for this illness.

After receiving enlightenment he will instruct somebody with skill to carve the *Moyang* figure. Should the *bomoh* decide that the carving has to be done on the same day, then it is executed immediately.

The wooden images in former times used to be very small, about one inch or a little bigger, made from the root of a tree—*kayu pulai* or *rengan*.

If no person is available with adequate skill to carve the *Moyang* it is permissible to make the image from flour.

The ritual itself is demonstrated in Fig. V. The sick person lies on the ground in front of the *bomoh* who is sitting beside him or her praying for help from the *Moyang*.

Next to the feet of the sick person stands a *moyang* figure, for instance *Moyang Amal*, (see also Part II) carved from wood or made from flour.

After a *bomoh* has persuaded the *Moyang*, to remove sickness from the body into itself (*sakkat buang*), the sick person is considered to be healed and the image is thereafter abandoned.

Moyang are not only used in sickness, but are also of great importance in many aspects of Mah-Merli life and beliefs.

* For comprehensive information regarding various Healing Ceremonies and other curative procedures see: R. Werner, *BOMOH/TOYANG: Traditional Medicine and Ceremonial Art of the Aborigines of Malaysia*, University of Malaya Press, 1986.

BIRTH

Takes place in the woman's own house where a woman member of the family with knowledge of the procedures takes charge. There are two other persons especially involved: (a), the "pusher" of the abdomen, and (b), the midwife (*bidan*).

The medicine-man (*bomoh*) is not present, but other people who know about birth procedures will be asked for assistance. Also the *Moyang* in charge of the *Kampung* (for instance *Moyang Ama*), may be asked for his spiritual help.

DELIVERY PROCEDURES

1. The *Moyang* is asked for a blessing.
2. The "pusher" is the most important person and not the midwife* (*bidan*) because he arranges the position of the baby in the uterus.
3. In case of difficulties the *Moyang* is called on for spiritual assistance.
4. The main concern in these circumstances is for the mother only and not for the child.
5. The umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife and tied.
6. The *bidan* now gives the name to the child.
7. After the child is born the mother has to tie a red thread (which is a symbol of blood) around one wrist of the *bidan*, because she received the baby.
8. The "pusher" of the abdomen also gets a red thread around one wrist.
9. The placenta is delivered by pressure on the abdomen while the mother lies on one side with a heated stone wrapped in cloth and placed in front of her abdomen.
10. After the placenta has been delivered from the uterus, it is wrapped in cloth and kept above a fireplace in order to shrink. It is kept until the child begins to crawl and then is buried with a simple ceremony. If the child does not crawl after two years, the placenta is buried without any ceremony.

* It is of great interest to learn how aborigine midwives follow the old rules based on an inborn instinct to prevent ascending gynaecological infections, without knowing about scientific ideas of manual noninterference during a normal birth.



Fig. VI:
Delivery procedures.

THE MIDWIFE'S STORY **(CERITA TENTANG BIDAN)** [by Singam a/l Muntill]

A midwife (*bidan*) is a person who takes care of the delivery. The man gives a push to the stomach and cuts the navel cord. The midwife gives a name to the baby.

Whenever a bath is taken or the floor is cleaned (*Mencuci lantai*, cleaning the floor of the house), a hen must be tied with a red string. The midwife takes care of this. Presents for the midwife must be something to be used, for example, not an ordinary piece of iron but a knife as a fee, a mirror to look into, or a needle.

Seven days after birth, the mother is allowed to walk. She takes a bath (where banana leaf and other types of leaves are boiled and added to the water).

Afterwards she powders her body with rice flour and her mother puts a red thread around her wrist. This can be done only by the woman's mother to prevent any sickness entering the mother.

The fee for the "pusher" and the person who takes care of the delivery is paid in cash. The pusher gets RM5.00 and the person who takes care of the delivery also gets RM5.00.

Two coconuts and one *gantang* of rice which is measured in four *cupak* are prepared. The coconuts are pierced with needles bearing red threads.

The one *gantang* of rice is measured into four *cupak*. If there is a balance, the surplus is for the spirit of the person who gave birth. The four *cupak* of rice are for a feast for the midwife.

ABOUT MARRIAGE **(ORANG KAHWIN CERITA BOMOH)** [by Singam a/l Muntill]

In the evening a feast is held for the spirits. They pray so that nothing evil will happen.

At five in the morning, a little incense is burnt, parched rice is scattered and rice powder is smeared on the walls and around the house. Then some pleated coconut leaves are hung out.

After this the *bomoh* will file the teeth of the bride and the groom. Equipment for this ceremony includes RM5.00, a file, a bowl, a lime, a piece of black cloth, and an areca nut. The fee for filing a tooth is RM1.00. Gifts for the person who does the filing are a mat and a pillow.

It is not necessarily the *bomoh* himself who does the filing. Anyone can do it with the *bomoh's* permission.

The wedding ceremony begins at nine in the evening. The bridegroom is the first to go up to the dais for the *bersanding* (ceremony of sitting side by side) accompanied by two boys and three women.

The *bomoh* goes up to the groom to fumigate him with the incense smoke.

Then he will scatter some parched rice while raising his hands as if paying homage. After that he will light two candles which will be passed in front of the groom.

Then he takes two flowers and does the same. Then he will take a few henna leaves and smear them on the face, lips and hands of the groom.

After that he will take some rice powder and say a prayer, after which the rice powder is smeared on the face, lips, and hands of the groom. Once more the hands are raised as if paying homage.

The *silat* (Malay art of self-defence) is performed and there are 1, 5, 6, or 7 persons taking part in the *silat* as permitted by the *bomoh*.

Now comes the turn of the bride to sit on the dais—the same procedure is followed. After this the bridegroom is carried in a procession to the bride who is waiting with a group of womenfolk.

When the groom arrives, he must go round the ant-hill seven times. The bride will be put down and the groom must look for her around the ant-hill and amongst the womenfolk.

After this both the bride and the groom sit side by side. They begin to feed each other seven times with rice and water. The rice and water is not eaten but thrown away. But the bride and groom must eat the betel leaves and the areca nuts. After curtseying seven times, they sit down.

The boy's family bring in the betel leaves together with glutinous rice in a basin together with multi-coloured flowers. These are accepted by the girl's family.

After curtseying seven times, they sit facing the village headman. The *bomoh* refers them to the headman who begins to give advice to the newly-weds.

When the ceremony is over, they will take a bath. Three water barrels are filled with water, *pandan* leaves, and rice powder which have spells said over them.

The rice powder which has a spell on it is first smeared on the whole body of both the groom and the bride, and then they are bathed.

The families of both sides hold a meeting. Presents given by the families of the newly-weds—such as mats, pillows, clothing, and money amounting to RM70.00 are for the *bomoh*.

WEDDING IN KAMPUNG JUGRA

Bersanding

1. On the day of the proposal (bride 18 years; bridegroom 20 years) betel leaf (*pinang menang*) is sent to the parents of the bride together with a number of gifts, the dowry, depending on the wealth of the family.

In the evening there is an exchange of rings by relatives.

The bride sleeps alone under the mosquito net (*kelambu*).

The bridegroom sleep in a different house.

2. The next night *inal* leaf is put on to the finger of the bride and bridegroom by the *bomoh*.

Afterwards the couple are again separated during the night.

3. On the following morning, *hari bersama*, the *bersanding* ceremony is held:

- (a) The bride is accompanied by the *bomoh* and *penghulu* and meets the bridegroom in the *Balai Raya*.
- (b) A procession starts from the bridegroom's house. A large bamboo stick decorated with flowers is carried in front of the procession which is accompanied by traditional music.
- (c) Prior to the arrival of the bridegroom's procession, the bride is seated on the *pelamin* (Fig. VII).
- (d) The father and mother of the bride receive the bridegroom on the steps of the house, wash his feet, and lead him to the place where the bride is sitting.
- (e) After that both families *mandi (air tapak)*, a bathing ritual which is performed by the *bomoh*.
- (f) After the bathing ceremony, bride and bridegroom are left on their own as husband and wife.
- (g) The husband now goes to his wife's house and sleeps there for three days. If the couple do not have their own house, they will stay with the girl's parents, to show that they have a son-in-law.

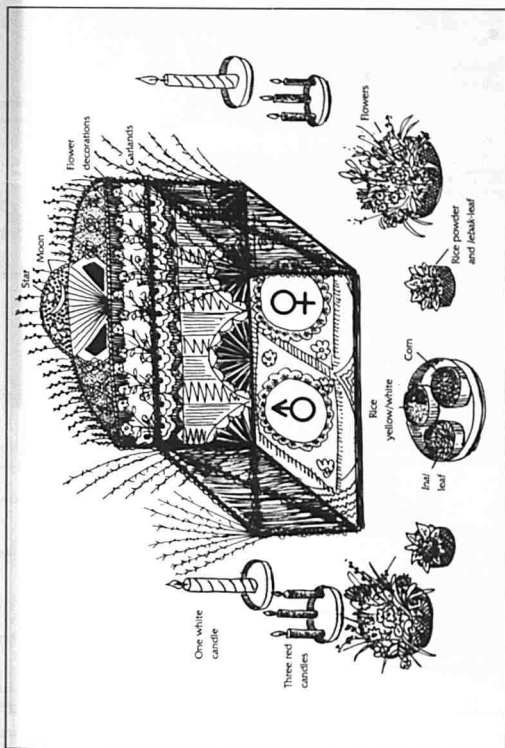


Fig. VII:
Pedemin (marriage place) in house or meeting house of village (Balai Raya).

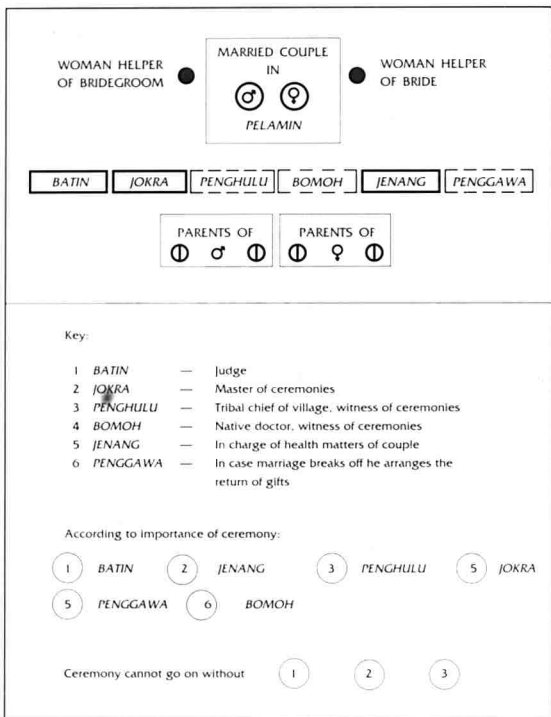


Fig. VIII
The protocol of Mah-Meri marriage ceremony.



Plate 13
Married couple in Kampung Jugra

WEDDING AT *BALAI RAYA* IN KAMPUNG SUNGAI BUMBUN

Bridegroom, 33 years old, from Temiar tribe who hold similar beliefs as the Mah-Meri. Bride of Mah-Meri tribe, 22 years old.

Istiadat Berinal

All members of the Mah-Meri tribe assemble at the *Balai Raya* and food is served to the guests. (Plate 14)

In the evening the bridegroom arrives ahead of the procession at the *Balai Raya* to music played by a band. (Plate 15)

The bride is not present. The bridegroom is seated in the *Balai Raya* accompanied by a boy on each side and three female members of the family who sit behind the bridegroom and the two boys to guide their arms during the ceremony.

On the floor are bowls with lighted candles and flowers, another bowl containing charcoal with *kemenyan* (benzoin) to produce smoke and yet another bowl containing rice-powder mixed with water. (Plate 16)

The *bomoh* sits down in front of the bridegroom and prays. Then the *bomoh* dips a bundle of leaves (*daun penyaram*) into the rice-powder mixture and tips it to the forehead, the cheeks and chin of the bridegroom. The same procedure is followed with the two boys who sit beside the bridegroom. (Plate 17)

Now the *bomoh* sprinkles rice over the head of the bridegroom and the two boys.

Following this the *bomoh* takes flowers in each hand and dances in front of the bridegroom's group. This dance is repeated by taking two bowls with three lighted candles in each hand.

Then the *bomoh* puts his hands for blessing on both shoulders of the bridegroom and the two boys. (Plates 18 and 19)

The same procedures are now repeated by the *Batin* and the *Jokra*. (Plates 20 and 21)

After all three officials have completed their ceremonial tasks, the bridegroom and his companions leave the *Balai Raya*. (Plate 22)

The whole protocol is repeated with the bride, who did not attend the ceremony and has been kept inside a closed room of the *Balai Raya* in order not to see the bridegroom. (Plates 23 to 27)

After completion of both ceremonies the village people eat and dance to the music provided by viola, metal gong, and drum. (Plates 28 and 29)



Plate 14
Makan for arriving guests.



Plate 15
Temiar bridegroom arriving at *Balai Raya* accompanied by *domoh* and procession.



Plate 16

Bridegroom accompanied by two boys and three female members of the family



Plate 17

Blessing with rice powder mixture by domoh.



Plate 18
Blessing with hands by bomoh



Plate 19
Blessing of the bridegroom's companions by bomoh



Plate 20:
Candle dance.



Plate 21:
Flower dance.



Plate 22
Istiadat Berinal completed with bridegroom.



Plate 23
Bride accompanied by two girls and three women ready for *Istiadat Berinal*.



Plate 24

Bride ready for *Istiadat Berinai*, while the *bornoh* prepares the mixture of rice powder.



Plate 25

Blessing with two bowls containing charcoal with *kemenyan*.



Plate 26:
Blessing with rice-powder mixture by bomoh



Plate 27:
Istiadat Bernai completed with bride.



Plate 28
Music band—viola, metal gong, and drum.



Plate 29
Part of the crowd and music band.

DEATH AND BURIAL

It is believed by the Mah-Men that after a man has died his soul remains near his grave for some weeks and thereafter travels in the direction of the setting sun to join other tribal ancestors.

The main concern of the *Moyang* is to observe the tribal customs.

If someone should break a tribal taboo he will be punished by them. They become therefore moral, cultural, and unifying powers for the whole tribe.

If a person dies the *Moyang* is disposed of.

The body of the deceased is cleaned and covered with rice flour and lime, *pandan* leaf is squeezed over it to give a good odour.

Finally the corpse is wrapped in white cloth and placed in a wooden coffin—Fig. IX—closed by nails. In the old days only banana leaves big enough to cover the body were used.

Usually, the coffin is disposed of the same day. If the relatives request, the corpse will not be placed in the coffin for some days and the body will not be cleaned, washed, and dressed for at least two days, but covered only by cloth to allow inspection by the relatives. In these circumstances the family might sit round the deceased for about two days.

In burial a *Moyang* is not involved because a request to a *Moyang* for help can only be made for the living. The grave is made according to the principles demonstrated in Fig. XI.

ABOUT DEATH (*CERITA ORANG MATI*) [by Singam a/I Muntih]

If someone dies in the middle of the night, in the morning, in the afternoon, or in the evening, he should not be buried but kept overnight.

When it is time for burial, prepare a coffin and put the dead body in it, wrapped in a white cloth.

A piece of wood is tied to the coffin so that it can be carried. Two men should carry the coffin, preferably the dead man's sons. If the man had no sons, sons-in-law may carry the coffin instead.

Prepare the site of the grave and burn the incense—then listen. Is there any noise? If it is very quiet, it is a good omen.

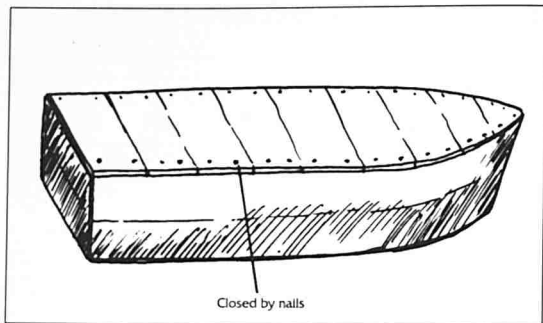


Fig. IX.
Wooden type of coffin.

Dig the grave about 4-5 feet deep and then put the coffin into the grave. Then fill up the grave. Collect *cangkul* and axes on the grave. The people must line the grave on one side. Strike the *cangkul* and axes seven times on the grave and then listen.

What does the corpse say? Why did it die and what was the sickness? The corpse will sit up in the coffin to say a few words.

After listening to what the corpse says, they will leave the grave without looking back until they are quite far away from grave or until they have reached a place about 1, 6, or 7 miles away. Only then could they look back. It is forbidden to look back because you may be followed by the ghost.

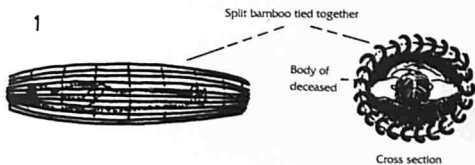
A piece of iron must be buried near the house or near the beginning of the road so as to give strength to the corpse. Scatter a little dust together with a mixture of leaves and water over those who accompanied the corpse to the grave.

They should not disperse but must meet at the dead man's house. They should smear their hands with rice powder and then wash them. Then rest a while and eat a little rice and drink a cup of coffee. When their stomachs are full they go home.

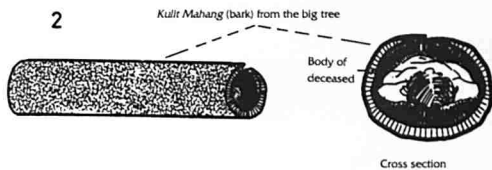
The man or woman left by the dead person becomes the responsibility of the family. For instance, when a husband dies, the wife returns to her family. When the wife dies, the husband returns to his family. It is left to them whether they want to marry again or not.

COFFIN-TYPES

1



2



3

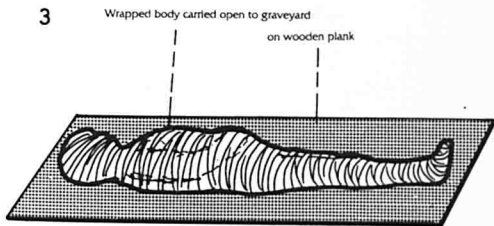


Fig. X.
During burial wooden plank covers the grave cavity like a door.

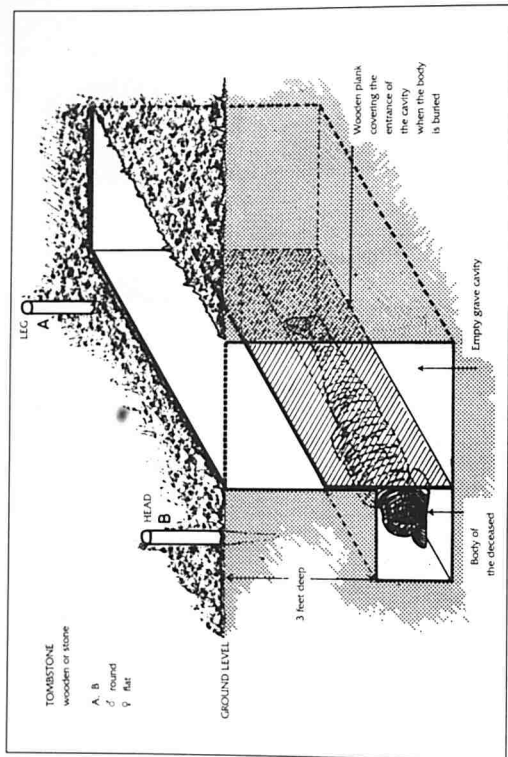


Fig. XI
Principles of graves

Three days later they give a feast to the spirits, with a special prayer.

On the seventh day at ten in the morning the family of the dead man holds a feast for the people.

At five in the afternoon a feast is given to his own spirit who may have done wrong or sinned.



Plate 30

Spirit Hut near the grave for the spirit of the deceased (*Rumah Rehat Orang Mati*) Kampung Bukit Mangkok.



Plate 31

Different types of spirit hut for the deceased near the grave (Kampung Bukit Mangkok)



Plate 32
Graveyards with spirit huts (Kampung Bukit Mangkoki).



Plate 33

Prayer hut (*rumah sembahyang*) for the deceased after his/her burial (Kampung Bukit Mangkoki)

THE ANNUAL DAY OF SPIRITS (*Hari Moyang*)

This is the biggest occasion in the ceremonial life of the Mah-Meri. It is held in the month of February.

The festival which I was privileged to attend was celebrated at three different places:

1. At the *Anak Moyang* Spirit House (*Moyang Gadang*).
2. At the Mother Temple (*Moyang Ama*).
3. At the Seashore Temple (*Moyang Getah*).

In the beginning of the day independent ceremonies are held at each of the three places. In the later part of the morning all groups from the three spirit house places join together at the seashore. The festival as I witnessed it was in the following pattern:

1. At the *Anak Moyang* Spirit House (*Moyang Gadang*)

The spirit which stands on bamboo pillars is decorated with garlands of palm leaves and ornaments made of bamboo.

Candles are placed on both sides of the four bamboo steps leading to the house.

On the floor of the spirit house there is a collection of offerings to the spirits, and in the back, three ceremonial *Moyang* masks (*topeng*) next to the wooden figure (about 1 foot high) of *Anak Moyang* itself covered by yellow cloth. (Plate 36)

In front of the spirit house a small earth hill (*busut jantan*) about 10 inches high and 52 inches in diameter has been made. (Plates 34 and 35)

The belief is that the *Moyang* is able "to remove earth" by creating this elevation (*tempat makan angin untuk Moyang*).

This elevation of the ground is surrounded again by garlands of palm leaves and bamboo ornaments hanging between bamboo pillars which are placed close by.

A number of candles are stuck into the *busut jantan* with the help of bamboo sticks forming an outer and inner circle interrupted by flowers between the candles. (Fig. XII)

The candles are lit only after completion of the ceremony in the spirit house when the people dance around the *busut jantan* to the music of bamboo gong and viola. (Plate 47)



Plate 34
Work on Busut Jantan



Plate 35
Busut Jantan completed (Kampung Sungai Bumbun, Pulau Carey)



Plate 36
Work on Busut Jantan.

For ceremony on the occasion of handing over the first copies of the Malay-English edition of *Mah-Meri Art and Culture*.



Plate 37
Busut Jantan completed (Kampung Sungai Bumbun, Pulau Carey).

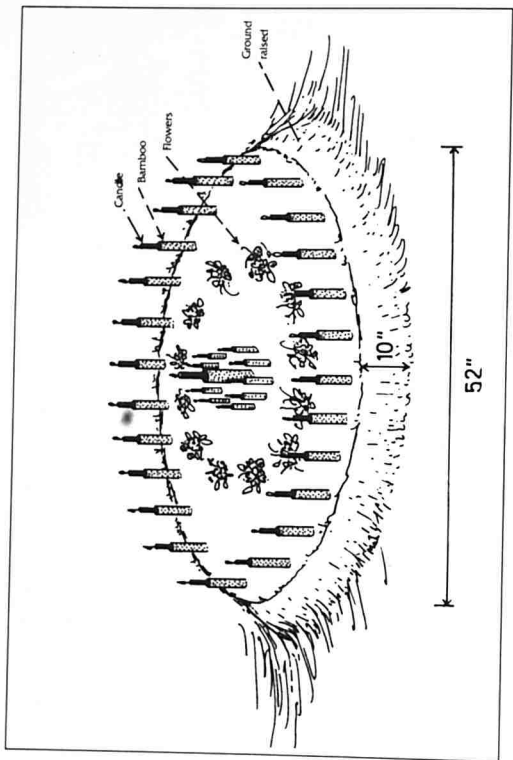


Fig. XII:
Busur Jantian (tempat makan angin untuk Moyang).

Preparation for and the Ceremony in the Spirit House

After the men and women with children have assembled in two separate groups in front of the house, the "priest" prepares:

- (a) A small bowl (*tempat perasap*) containing burning charcoal adding *kemenyan* to produce smoke.
- (b) He mixes rice flour with water in another bowl.
- (c) He then walks around with the smoking bowl to drive away evil spirit in order that they do not interfere with the ceremony.
- (d) Then he sprinkles (*merenjís*) the white rice-flour mixture on to the spirit house floor, then on the walls, the steps, and finally over the offerings.

The "priest" and his other assistants now take, one by one, some rice-flour mixture with their fingers from the bowl, rubbing it on one another's hands (*menawar*), to cover the skin with the white rice mixture, then touch with the same mixture on forehead and cheeks. (Plates 40 and 41).

After this part of the ceremony is completed, the "priest" calls the assembled people one by one into the temple, first the males and then the females to repeat the same procedures on each of them.

After the last member of the tribe has been attended to in this way, the "priest" and his helpers sit in the house and pray. (Plate 42).

During this part, I observed that the *bomoh* went into a trance with convulsions and had to be awakened forcefully later on by the "priest".

Finally the author's own presents were handed over to the "priest".

They were also blessed and the ceremony with the rice-powder mixture performed on him as it was done in the case of the people.

After completion of the ceremony the crowd attending the festival began to eat together in front of the temple (Plate 44), whilst to the music of a viola and the bamboo gong (*buluh*) (Plate 48), males and females danced around the *busut jantan*.

After the meal, all the people proceed with the "priest" to the Mother Temple which is about half-a-mile away.



Plate 38

Priest ready for Anak Moyang house ceremony (Moyang Gading)



Plate 39

Blessing to the forehead by assistant of priest



Plate 40
Blessing to the hands.



Plate 41
Blessing to the forehead by assistant of priest



Plate 42
Meditation, priest and bomoh



Plate 43
Makan after completion of ceremony next to Busut Jantari



Plate 44

Makan in front of Anak Moyang house.



Plate 45

Mah-Meri people after Hari Moyang ceremony near Anak Moyang house.



Plate 46

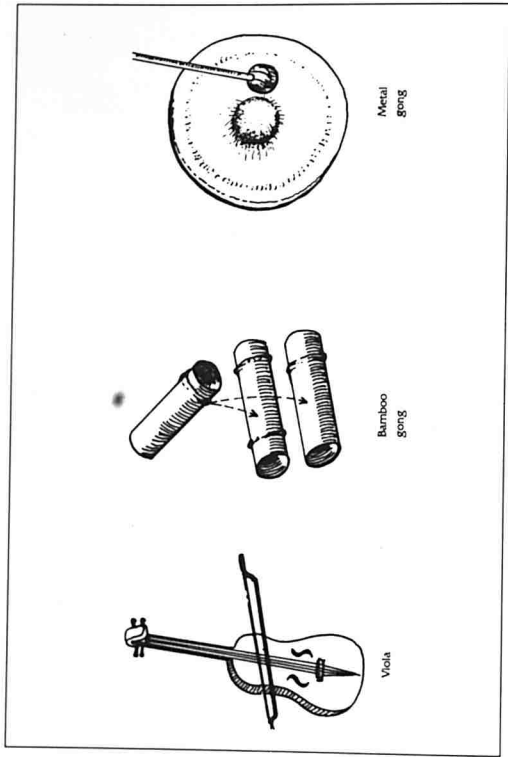
Mah-Meri people after Hari Moyang ceremony near Anak Moyang house



Plate 47:
Dance around *Busut Jantan* (Dancer wearing mask of *Moyang Jabos*).



Plate 48
Music by viola and bamboo gong (*buluh*).



Metal
gong

Bamboo
gong

Viola

Fig. XIII.
Musical instruments.

2. At the Mother Temple (*Moyang Amal*)

At the Mother Temple (Plate 49) similar ceremonies to those described under No. 1 had taken place and both groups joined one another in the continuation of the meal (*makan*).

After completion of the second meal, both groups now walked to the Seashore Temple.



Plate 49
At the Mother Temple (*Moyang Amal*)

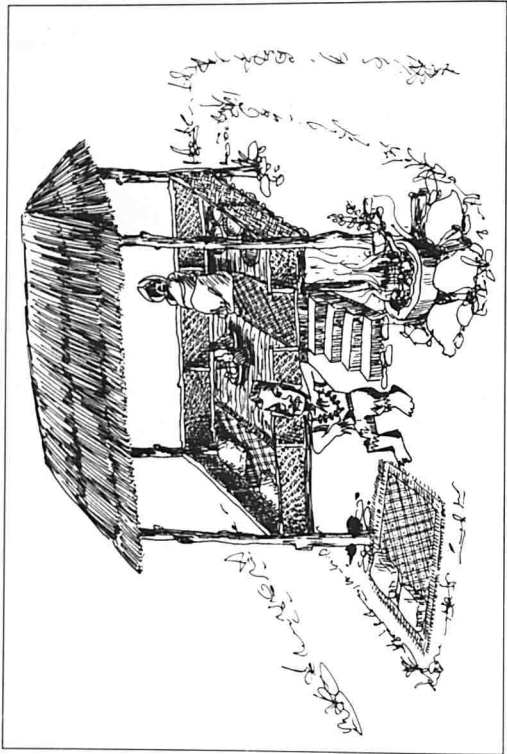


Fig. XIV.
Rumah Melayang

3. At the Seashore Temple (*Moyang Getah*)

Which is about two miles away to join a third group which had performed a similar ceremony like those held at the *Moyang Gadang* and Mother Temple (*Moyang Ama*) (Plates 50 to 53).

All three groups together then walked along the white sandy beach and sang to the music of a band consisting of a metal and bamboo gong as well as a viola, on their way to the Seashore Temple to have a final prayer ceremony.

After this ceremony food is again provided (third meal) and everybody sits down on the beach.

4. In the afternoon more food is served in the individual houses for the family or visiting guests.



Plate 50

Walk to Seashore Temple (*Moyang Getah*).



Plate 51:
At Seashore Temple.

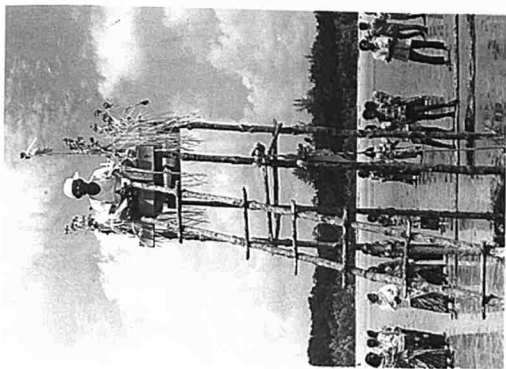
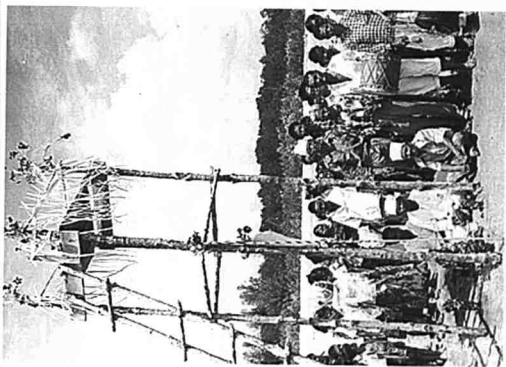


Plate 52:
At Seashore Temple.



Plate 53:
Prayer and blessing at Seashore Temple.

5. Dance in *Balai Raya*

The highlight of the festival comes in the evening when to the music of viola and bamboo gong many of the men and women dance in the *Balai Raya* (Plates 54 and 55) until the next morning. Decorations made from palm leaves and bamboo are arranged around the head, neck, and body.

Topeng (spirit-masks) are worn by some of the male dancers, reminding everyone of the spiritual character of the dance ceremony. (Plates 54 to 60).



Plate 54
Traditional dance in *Balai Raya* (Kampung Sungai Bumbun).



Plate 55:
Traditional dance in *Balai Raya* (Kampung Sungai Bumbun).



Plate 56
Traditional dancers wearing masks—left, *Moyang Tok Naning*; right, *Moyang Pongkol*.



Plate 58:
Crown made from bamboo.



Plate 57:
Topeng (mask) dancers: left, Moyang Tok Naning; right,
Moyang Pongkol



Plate 59.
Part of the crowd.



Plate 60.
Traditional music band.

MAH-MERI MYTHOLOGY

This chapter reveals some important aspects of the historical background of the Mah-Meri and their mythological beliefs.

The hand-written stories by Udang a/l Balai of Kampung Sungai Bumbun, Carey Island, Selangor, are as follows:

1. The Original Story of Malaya In Olden Days (*Cerita Asal Melayu Zaman Dahulu*).
2. *Batin Lojik* Kuala Selangor (*Batin Lojik Kuala Selangor*).
3. The Story of *Moyang Kapis* and *Moyang Bertam*, originating from Batu Hunjo, Klang (*Cerita Moyang Kapis dan Moyang Bertam Berasal Batu Hunjo, Klang*).
4. The *Hantu Bulu* eats Human Beings (*Hantu Bulu Makan Manusia Zaman Dahulu*).

They are presented from their original Mah-Meri Malay text in a literal English translation.

As there have never been before any written records on this subject, its present documentation will be invaluable for further research.

ONE WORD FROM THE NARRATOR

The stories in my book are told by people about the old traditions which have hitherto been unknown to others and I am happy to have written them down.

We hope that these original traditional stories will make our beliefs known to others, for these stories have been kept for so long.

We were among the first occupiers of this country but not many people realise this, and there are many who do not know about these stories.

THE ORIGINAL STORY OF MALAYSIA IN OLDEN DAYS

This is how the story happened in the olden days. The story of a younger brother who went to look for his elder brother without knowing where the elder brother lived. The younger brother went to look for the elder brother because he wanted to invite him to his country.

One day they met and the younger brother told the elder one, "The purpose of me coming here is to bring you to another country because the country where you now live does not seem to be prosperous. So come and live with me on the other side of the vast ocean."

The elder brother was tempted by the invitation and he said, "How am I to follow you because this ocean is very big? Furthermore, we do not have a ship."

The younger brother replied, "Don't you worry about that. I can make a ship from the *seludang mayang pinang* (sheath of the areca-nut-palm flower)."

So he took the *seludang mayang pinang* and patted it seven times. At once the *seludang mayang pinang* turned into a big ship. After the *seludang mayang pinang* had turned into a ship, the younger brother invited his brother to board the ship together with his wife to follow him to his country. Before the ship set sail, the younger brother told his brother and his wife to lie down and close their eyes. They must not open their eyes until they had reached their destination.

The brother said, "You must follow this strictly."

When they were in the middle of the ocean, big waves tossed the ship here and there. The elder brother and his wife became very frightened, because they felt the ship was going to pieces. And so the elder brother quickly opened his eyes and the ship immediately became stuck in the middle of the ocean. When the ship got stuck, the younger brother became very angry at his brother because he had not followed the instructions he had agreed upon.

The younger brother was really angry and he said, "Oh brother, why did you open your eyes! Why didn't you follow my instructions? Otherwise we would have reached my country."

The elder brother replied, "I opened my eyes because I was scared of the big waves which came lashing at our ship."

So they quarrelled.

Then the younger brother said, "Elder brother, if it is going to be like this, I cannot take you to my country. You must stay here and guard the ship for the rest of your life."

The elder brother replied, "What can I do, it is my fate that I have to live on this sandbank for the rest of my life. Fate will decide my life because of my own fault in not following your instructions."

The place where the ship got stuck immediately turned into an island.

When the sandbank had risen, the younger brother said to his elder brother, "I will leave the ship here because I cannot take it any further."

The elder brother replied, "What's going to happen to the ship?"

"That's easy. I'll curse it so that it will turn into a mountain," said the younger brother.

Then the younger brother took a *nerong* mat and patted it seven times and threw it into the water. He sat on the mat which sailed very fast to his country. When he arrived he patted the mat seven times again and the mat turned into *ikan talang* (horse mackerel). The shape of his finger-print is there as a remembrance till now.

When the sandbank where the ship had stuck became dry, moss grew up bit by bit until it was all covered by moss. The sandbank became an island and later on vegetation grew on the land such as *senduduk* (a rhododendron type of bush), *segunting*, *nawong*, and *kemilik*. These were the first trees that grew in the world at that time. So the story goes.

After the husband and wife had been living on the island for some time they had children—a boy and girl. When the children grew up they wanted to marry. They asked permission from the father and mother to look for a partner.

After hearing the request of their children, the father agreed and said, "If you want a mate, go round the original hill seven times. One of you must go round by the right side and the other by the left side. Each of you must complete seven rounds and then you'll meet your mate whom you can marry."

At that time there was no one else living in the island. The children followed the father's instructions. They went round the hill seven times and they met each other and so they married according to what the father had said.

When they had met, they returned home and legally became husband and wife. After they had been living for some years they had a child. Later on the old husband and wife died. Those who were left behind became our original ancestors and so they remain to this day.

BATIN LOJIK KUALA SELANGOR

In olden days this country was still a jungle, there was no one to develop the country. Only the people of *Tok Batin* lived there. At that time *Tok Batin* stayed in Kuala Selangor and was called *Batin Lojik*. He had been living there for some time and there was no trouble. Then a group of British came along to his country and stopped at Kuala Selangor. The leader of the group was called *Tuan Adam*. They landed and went straight to *Tok Batin*. They exchanged talk and stories.

In that discussion *Tuan Adam* raised the question of other races and asked, "Are there any other races living here?"

"No, sir, there is no one else, most of them are our people, and if you are interested to know more, you can go and look into every hook and corner of the country," said *Tok Batin*.

Tuan Adam asked another question, "Why can't you open this country?"

"Sir, we do not know how to do it and moreover only a few of us are living here."

"If that's the case, this place will be taken by others," said *Tuan Adam*, as if warning him.

At that time *Tok Batin* never had any ideas or experience; he was very narrow-minded. His people did not like to stick in one place; they liked to move from place to another. This was the first time *Tok Batin* had met English people who said that.

So *Tok Batin* did not say anything, and *Tuan Adam* continued, "*Tok Batin*, we brought some things for you."

"What are they, sir?" asked *Tok Batin*.

"We brought clothes and food such as rice and flour. If you want to have a look we'll show them to you."

And so the British showed *Tok Batin* the goods and the clothes coloured white and red. *Tok Batin* was delighted at seeing the things.

After showing the goods, *Tuan Adam* said again, "*Tok Batin*, what if I have your permission to open up this country?"

"Why not, of course you can, but I am afraid you must not make any profit out of it, because we are independent here, without being taxed and we are not without numbered grants (of land), we can go to the sea and we are free to go to the hills and into the interior. How can you open up a country when we are not taxed and we do not want you to tax us. We will not allow you to open up the country." That's what *Tok Batin* said to *Tuan Adam*.

"Regarding the tax and the numbered grants, you don't have to worry, as long as this country is opened up as our country, and you will be happy later on. Regarding disorder in the country after it has been opened and the estates have been planted, that's our responsibility. We'll be responsible for everything in the country as long as the country is under our control. Your people can live as before because we only want to open up the country and to farm. Regarding the tax and grants, don't worry about that. We will never collect taxes from you. Believe us, *Tok Batin*," said *Tuan Adam*.

When *Tok Batin* heard the explanation from *Tuan Adam*, he gave permission for the British to open country. When they had obtained permission the British returned to their country and came again bringing with them other races such as the Chinese, Indians, and others. These people were to work in the estates which had just been opened up. With the coming of other races to this country, still more people kept coming from other countries to this country. Now they are countless, because the story has been handed down to us from one generation to the other.

On our part, we are indeed sad concerning the content of this story, because no one took the trouble to know about this inherited story. Please do not do that in this country. If you do not like it, let's discuss it. Do not do that in our country.

This story was not made up, but it came down from our ancestors and was handed down to our fathers and mothers and then to us.

I got this story from my great-great-grand-parents and they told me, "If you have got this story, do not lose even a word. This is the story of our origins from the time immemorial. When you have children of your own, or when you have grandchildren, tell them the story so that it will not be forgotten."

That was the request of my great-great-grandfathers and my parents. If not, how do I know the story. It is because they told it that I know.

THE STORY OF MOYANG KAPIS AND MOYANG BERTAM Originally from Batu Hunjo, Klang

Moyang Bertam and *Moyang Kapis* were brothers. *Bertam* was the elder. At that time *Moyang Kapis* had a child, a boy, but *Moyang Bertam* had none. He felt envious and jealous of *Kapis*. He was cruel and he took everything to heart. It can be said that these two brother quarrelled daily.

One day *Moyang Bertam* thought to himself, "How can I kill *Kapis* son? Ha, I've got a way. I will make him have a terrible stomach-ache as though he had been poisoned by *tenung bertam*. When I make the *tenung* from the *bertam* fruit, *Kapis*' son will certainly want to eat it. When he has eaten it, he will get stomach-ache." When he arrived at this decision, he proceeded with the wicked idea. He was happy when the *tenung* was completed, "Ha, this time *Kapis*'s son will die," he said.

While *Moyang Kapis*' boy wandered around in the jungle near his home, he saw the ripe *bertam* fruit and plucked it and ate it. The very moment he ate it he got the stomach-ache and colic and fell to the ground until the seed of the fruit grew greenly in his stomach. Suddenly green mucus came out from his stomach and he became unconscious.

When *Moyang Kapis* saw his son had a stomach-ache because of the *tenung bertam*, he knew that it was the work of his brother and said, "Cis, how could my brother do this to my boy?"

He immediately recited an incantation over his boy. After he had recited the incantation, the seed of the *bertam* fruit came out of the boy's stomach.

When *Moyang Bertam* saw that, he made another one. "Cis, so *Kapis* managed to pull my *tenung* out!" he said angrily. "However, your son will not live because he had already eaten the fruit."

While *Moyang Kapis* recited incantations over his body, the seed which had been pulled out appeared again on the boy's stomach. *Moyang Kapis* had pulled out the seeds many times but the seed cannot be pulled—every time it is pulled out, it will grow again—and so it went on for seven times.

At last the boy died. Then only *Moyang Bertam* was satisfied. As for *Moyang Kapis*, he was very disappointed at his boy's death and wandered about not caring where he went.

But the feeling of envy never left *Moyang Bertam* and in his heart he still wanted to destroy others. It can be said that he behaved cruelly. One day *Moyang Bertam* could not appease his cruel feelings

towards his younger brother and towards other people. Furthermore, *Moyang Bertam* had an idea to destroy human beings, that is by felling the *sepam* tree.

He said, "When the *sepam* tree falls, all people who live in this world will die."

So *Moyang Bertam* went to cut the tree and when it was about to fall, all the people who lived around the tree panicked. They quickly took *kayu cabang batang merah* (a red branch tree) and supported the falling tree. The tree did not fall down but remained slanting.

Kapis' boy who died here earlier was almost able to come out from the base of the *sepam* tree. But he could not come out because he was nipped at its edge. The *sepam* tree is known to be the route for dead people to come out.

When *Moyang Bertam* saw that the tree would not fall, he became angry. "Cis, luckily it was you, otherwise all the people in this world will die," he said.

Moyang Kapis, who was wandering about, went towards the rising sun. After walking for a long time in the jungle, he came across two people, a man and a woman. They were still young, and were brother and sister. But *Moyang Kapis* did not know about their relationship.

He thought they were husband and wife. Furthermore the pair did not tell *Moyang Kapis* about themselves. So *Moyang Kapis* did not know and he still thought they were husband and wife. So he stopped walking, because the place seemed suitable to him. He passed the night there—in the hut of the pair.

Every day at sunrise *Moyang Kapis* went to hunt *cikah* (monkey), *lotong* (leaf monkey), and squirrel. After *Moyang Kapis* had been living there for some time the brother and sister did something obscene. *Moyang Melor* who lived in the moon was looking down and saw them.

At that time *Moyang Melor* wouldn't allow them to do anything obscene. He would eat their flesh as food. So *Moyang Melor* dropped down to earth like an earthquake.

When *Moyang Melor* came down the brother and sister were very frightened.

When *Moyang Melor* saw them, he chased them while crying out, "That's my food."

Luckily the young people ran in circles and so *Moyang Melor* was not able to catch them. He chased them until he was exhausted.

"All right, when you die later on, I'll eat you up, even the bones," he said.

When finally he could not catch the couple, *Moyang Melor* wanted to go back to the moon. But when he reached the door of the moon he fell down again to earth. It produced booming sounds and this happened many times.

"What's causing the booming sound?" asked *Moyang Kapis* and he went towards the sound.

When he drew near he was surprised to see *Moyang Melor* trying to go to the moon with a loud noise. "Cucop! Cucop!"

At that time *Moyang Kapis* was very near to *Moyang Melor* and *Moyang Melor* had caught his scent.

"Ha, 'tis also the smell of food," he said.

When *Moyang Melor* saw *Moyang Kapis* he quickly ran towards him crying, "This is food."

"No, this is not food," said *Moyang Kapis*. "This is your grandchild whom you left in this world a long time ago."

"Not food?" he said. "And you are my grandchild? Can you help me to go back to the seventh land?"

Moyang Kapis said, "I can help you, but first I must call the *poyang* (medicine man).

Moyang Melor said, "All right. Oh, by the way, what's your name?"

"My name is *Kapis*," said *Moyang Kapis*.

"And my name is *Moyang Melor*," he told *Kapis*.

So *Moyang Kapis* called his *poyang*. When the *poyang* arrived, he said, "If you want to send *Moyang Melor* to the seventh land, you must go into a trance (*bersawai*) for seven days and seven nights, make a rope ladder (*dendam bertangga*) and play the flute (*along*) for seven days."

So *Moyang Kapis* went into a trance for seven nights. On the seventh night the rope ladder which he had made during the seven days reached the door of the moon. *Moyang Kapis* then told *Moyang Melor* to climb the ladder together with him.

Before they reached the moon, when they were right in the middle of the ladder, the two dogs of *Moyang Kapis* howled because they wanted to follow too. They could not climb the ladder because the ladder was made of *dengan* rope only. So the two dogs were left below, one a male and the other a female.

The dogs howled, "Ong! Ong! Ong!"

When *Moyang Kapis* heard the howls of the dogs, he said, "Oh dogs, why do you howl when I left you down below? Aren't you happy down there? There's food."

But the dogs kept on howling.

"Even without me, you still can eat, so what's the trouble? When you meet a hairy animal, you'll eat it, when you meet an animal without hair, you'll eat it too."

At once both dogs turned into tigers. What *Moyang Kapis* had uttered was a curse.

When the dogs had really turned into tigers, *Moyang Kapis* said, "Be tigers for the rest of your lives."

So the barking of the dog changed into the roar of a tiger, and sounded *krong, krong*.

Moyang Melor's wife welcomed her husband. Before her husband arrived, she had prepared sharp bamboo spikes (*sudak*) under the mat, because from afar she could see that her husband was bringing someone along with him.

The purpose of these sharp bamboo spikes was that when the human being sat on it he would be killed and then he could be turned into food by putting him into the cauldron. When they arrived, *Moyang Melor's* wife invited *Moyang Kapis* to sit down.

But *Moyang Kapis* was reluctant to sit on the mat, because he knew that underneath the mat were sharp bamboo spikes. So he sat on the threshold.

Moyang Melor asked, "Why don't you sit on the mat? Come and sit here."

So *Moyang Melor* looked under the mat and saw the sharp bamboo spikes under it.

He scolded his wife, "Why did you put spikes there?"

The wife replied, "Well, that day you went to look for food, didn't you? Now that you've brought food, that's why I did it."

"This is not food, this is my grandchild," said *Moyang Melor*.

"If it were not for him, I wouldn't be back here. This grandchild was the one who brought me back here."

"If that the case, it is not food; it is our grandchild," said *Moyang Melor's* wife.

So *Moyang Melor's* wife invited *Moyang Kapis* to enter and he went in. *Moyang Kapis* never returned to earth again because he was happy there.

THE *HANTU BULU* EATS HUMAN BEINGS

In the olden days there lived seven brothers in a house together. Each day one of these seven brothers would go and pluck *layak* fruit in the jungle. If the fruit did not fall, he would climb the tree and cut the branches of the tree with a lot of fruit with his *parang* (chopper).

When the fruit fell, he collected it and took it home to eat, together with the other brothers.

One day, on the tree came a devil called *Hantu Bulu* (the hairy ghost). This *Hantu Bulu* wanted to spy on the seven brothers who came daily to collect the fallen *layak* fruit. So the ghost waited on the tree with his spear for the brother to come.

Before the brother arrived, the *Hantu Bulu* pretended to cut the branch of the *layak* tree so that the brothers would come.

The first to come was the eldest, and he saw that there was someone on the tree, cutting it. The *Hantu Bulu* told him to pick up the fallen fruit and so he began collecting it without looking up. So the *Hantu Bulu* threw his spear at the brother and killed him there and then. When the man was dead, the *Hantu Bulu* came down from the tree and ate him.

After he had eaten him, he arranged the bones neatly under the tree. The *Hantu Bulu* climbed again into the tree and pretended to cut the tree so that the other six would come. When the six brothers saw that their eldest brother didn't come back, another one went to look for him. When he arrived, the *Hantu Bulu* quickly killed him and ate him and arranged his bones under the tree.

This went on daily until six of the brothers were killed. So the *Hantu Bulu* climbed the tree again and waited for the youngest brother.

The youngest brother knew that something must have happened to his brothers since they did not come back.

"They must be dead," he said.

So the youngest made preparations to follow his brothers bringing along a blowpipe. When he neared the tree, he saw a hairy figure looking down from the tree. The youngest brother recognised it.

"So this is the thing that killed my brothers," he said.

The *Hantu Bulu* did not know that the youngest brother had come because he had seen him from afar and he did not approach the tree. Instead he concealed himself behind some small trees. When he was quite near, he blew his blowpipe and a piece of the dart (*damak*) struck the *Hantu Bulu* and killed him and he fell down. When the *Hantu Bulu* had died, the youngest brother burned him to ashes.

He cursed him, "If you be a devil, be a devil and don't be a human being."

The burnt hairs became plant diseases, as well as small-pox, cholera and other sicknesses, all of which originated from the ashes of the hairs of the *Hantu Bulu*.

When he had finished burning the *Hantu Bulu*, he went to the trunk of the tree. He saw his brothers' bones there and he arranged them neatly until the bones of the six brothers were nicely laid out.

When he had finished arranging them, a green lizard (*mengkarung*) came along and said, "What are you doing here, grandchild?"

The brother replied, "Oh grandma, please help me to make my brothers alive again. They were eaten by the *Hantu Bulu*. Would you give me a piece of cloth smelling of urine? Do you have it?"

"Yes, I have it," said the green lizard.

"If you have, please give it to me now."

So the green lizard gave the extreme end of its tail to the youngest brother and he poked it into the nostrils of his brothers.

Immediately the brother sneezed "Ejes" and they quickly got up.

"Oh it was a very sound sleep," they said.

But the youngest brother replied, "All of you brothers were dead having been eaten by the *Hantu Bulu*."

When they saw the ghost, they believed him that they had been dead.

"Fortunately we have you, and if it had not been for you the six of us would be dead forever," they said.

So they lived as before and that is the story of the seven brothers.

THE ARTISTIC EXPRESSION OF MAH-MERI MYTHOLOGY IN WOOD CARVING

With reference to the report made by Skeat in 1926 (see page 16) Mah-Meri wood-carving is not of very recent origin. Other documentary evidence of this was obtained by the author when permission was granted by the "priest" in charge of the *Moyang Amai* spirit-hut to visit it in 1968. As described before the two images of *Moyang Amai* and his Guardian were made in 1954 and 1956 respectively.

Since 1959 Mah-Meri wood-carving has been encouraged by the Department of Aborigines Affairs, and in some exhibitions in the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur a considerable number of wooden *Moyang* were displayed, the result of the work of carvers from Kampung Sungai Bumbun. Included in the *Moyang* collections were not only wooden figures, but also ceremonial dance masks (*topeng*). The wood for the new *Moyang* figures is taken from the *nerih* tree which grows near the sea.

In the 1st Edition of this book (1973), I mentioned that there were 49 men in Kampung Sungai Bumbun practised this art of wood carving. They are:

NAMES OF WOOD-CARVERS

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Adil a/l Manan | 17. Kapur a/l Lima |
| 2. Ahmed a/l Kassim | 18. Karom a/l Yu |
| 3. Ajil a/l Mat | 19. Kassim a/l Muntill |
| 4. Akon a/l Lima | 20. Kenyang a/l Awas |
| 5. Apal a/l Tamor | 21. Layun a/l Bumbun |
| 6. Arif a/l Embing | 22. Ligam a/l Top |
| 7. Atim a/l Liput | 23. Lipat a/l Budin |
| 8. Ayub a/l Tani | 24. Ming a/l Lipat |
| 9. Bilon a/l Kassim | 25. Moyan a/l Awas |
| 10. Pion a/l Bunbong | 26. Musa a/l Akon |
| 11. Bumbun a/l Muntill | 27. Petat a/l Kenyang |
| 12. Dayong a/l Apal | 28. Rahman a/l Kassim |
| 13. Embing a/l Lipat | 29. Ramli a/l Ujang |
| 14. Hassan a/l Jantan | 30. Sabah a/l Ming |
| 15. Kamis a/l Osman | 31. Sabak a/l Embing |
| 16. Kamis a/l Seman | 32. Sadat a/l Assam |

* Traditionally, Mah-Meri people do not use the Malay word of *bin*, it is now substituted in this Edition with the word *anak lelaki* (a/l), that is, "son of".

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 33. Sap a/l Mat | 42. Sop a/l Kassim |
| 34. Seling a/l Kapor | 43. Sudin a/l Bujang |
| 35. Semi a/l Awas | 44. Tabah a/l Mat |
| 36. Sharifuddin a/l Bujan | 45. Ujan a/l Dewan |
| 37. Sharifuddin a/l Jantan | 46. Ujan a/l Tani |
| 38. Sipoh a/l Sald | 47. Uneh a/l Ayub |
| 39. Singam a/l Muntill | 48. Wah Badar a/l Assam |
| 40. Siran a/l Awas | 49. Yusof a/l Karim |
| 41. Sop a/l Karim | |

But actually there were only 48 wood-carvers, no. 16 was included due to error. When the 2nd Edition was prepared in 1994/1995, wood-carvers no. 2, 4, 7, 11, 13, 19, 32, 39, and 48 had passed away.

Wood-carver no. 24 had left Kampung Sungai Bumbun for Kampung Sungai Udah to take up residence. Together with another wood-carver, Nanka, both now practise woodcarving and therefore the function of the moyang and the *Cerita Moyang* are known furtheron to the village people there.

In keeping up with its tradition in addition to the 39 wood-carvers, 19 new carvers continue this art in Kampung Sungai Bumbun now. They are:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Satan a/l Seman | 11. Jali a/l Ata |
| 2. Ishak a/l Ajlim | 12. Gazali a/l Uju |
| 3. Yunus a/l Pion | 13. Embus a/l Kengkeng |
| 4. Samari a/l Abdul Rahman | 14. Mat a/l Akin |
| 5. Norhiman a/l Belon | 15. Lizan a/l Siran |
| 6. Daiman a/l Kasir | 16. Mizan a/l Hassan |
| 7. Kemi a/l Kamis | 17. Nasir a/l Ligam |
| 8. Tomi a/l Kamis | 18. Amir a/l Tadok |
| 9. Rahim a/l Adam | 19. Rosalan a/l Ligam |
| 10. Leja a/l Uju | |

It is also of interest to note that due to the great national and international publicity which Mah Meri art has received after the 1st Edition of this book was published and the many demonstration of wood carving, exhibitions, and extensive sale of masks and figures had taken place, inspired gifted men of Carey Islands various *kampung* had taken up wood carving.

Since the eighties of this century in Kampung Sungai Kurau the following men started wood-carving (see no. 1-3 below).

1. Hasan a/l Osoi
2. Karnal a/l Ajil
3. Akis a/l Ampan

Spiritual wood carving to my present knowledge is **not** practised in any of the other Mah Meri *kampung* at the **mainland** in the Kuala Langat district of Selangor.

The very fascinating spiritual world of the Mah-Meri representing for the most part traditional folk stories and characters picturing spirits that are of importance in their daily life and of **influence to health, illness, and also take part in "holistic healing"** is revealed in the following section containing a collection of the Spirit Stories (*Cerita Moyang*) together with the respective wood-carvings either in the form of face-masks (*topeng*) or figures.

In the past, the ceremonial masks were generally made from *pulai* wood. In recent years also "topeng" have been carved from *nerih* wood. The reason for this, it is due to the fact that the white-coloured, light-weighted *kayu pulai* is unfortunately not more available at Carey Island because of the substitution of the forest by extension of oil-palm plantations.

For the same reason, also the wood from the *nerih* tree is in shortage and has to be obtained from certain parts of the mainland which have been left over from cultivation. The situation is becoming increasingly difficult and critical for the survival of wood carving. Unless urgent steps are taken to regrow these trees which are essential for Mah Meri wood carving, the future of this art and also the economic situation of this people who depend on carving with its spiritual background and its influence in their daily life becomes uncertain.

It would lead to the extinction of one of the most exciting cultures and artistic expressions of aboriginal people in the world and a loss of part of the heritage of the multicultural and multiracial society in Malaysia.

Although the face-masks are usually not very different in size, as they have to cover face and forehead only, (see Frontispiece *Topeng* (mask) dancer) there is a wide variation in the sizes of the wooden figures from as little as 5' up to 3' or 4'.

There are individual variations also of wood-carving with regard to the same *Moyang* depending on the creative ideas of the respective carver, but general principles and features of each *Moyang* are always expressed similarly.

As far as the *Cerita Moyang* are concerned, up till now, except for Shahrum's short report in 1963/1964, no written record is available because these stories have been verbally passed from one generation to the other.

At the age of fifteen or sixteen usually, youngsters of both sexes are informed about the spiritual world of *Moyang*. This is always done in the evening when the family lies down and either the father or the mother will then tell the stories.

The total number of *Moyang* collected is about 400. More *Moyang* are known, but some have been forgotten, or lost with the deceased. Some *Moyang* masks and figures are no longer reproduced because the wood-carver specially dealing with that kind of *Moyang* has died.

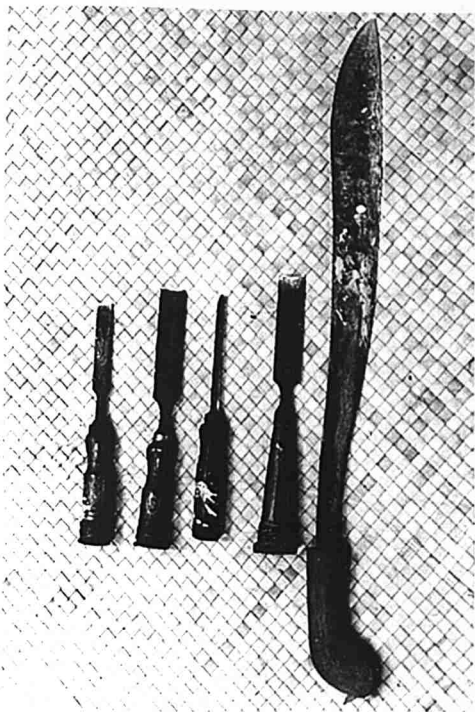


Plate 61:
Tools used by Mah-Meri wood-carvers.

part two

part two

MASKS (*TOPENG*),
SPIRIT FIGURES
(*MOYANG*),
AND SPIRIT STORIES
(*CERITA MOYANG*)



Plate 11:
The Spirit (Moyang) Amal
[by Keniang a/l Awas]

MASK (TOPENG), SPIRIT FIGURES (MOYANG AND SPIRIT STORIES (CERITA MOYANG)

A number of stories, which are almost identical, have been retained because they were told by different narrators.

In some cases the versions are numbered 1 onwards, under the same spirit name. As far as possible the stories have been translated literally, to preserve the style of the original.

Also the carvings, although with the same name, may vary in artistic expression. The basic principle of the *moyang* remains the same, but the interpretation changes with different carvers.

The Spirit Akar

Originally it was a human being who became the *ara* tree with a very long root. The root could change itself into beasts such as striped tigers and other animals. The root was cut by the aborigines during the night. The root was originally joined to Indonesia. When daylight came, it was found that the island had moved away. When the root was cut off, human beings and animals could not cross over. So the Malays and Indonesians were separated.

The Spirit Amal

The Spirit Amal is responsible for guarding the surroundings of the village (*kampung*) and also for preventing sickness at sea, on land, in jungles, in deep valleys, in mountains, bays, and headlands, and any other sicknesses that may occur. This Spirit has power over all sicknesses.

Humans too must pray to this Spirit so that nothing evil befalls them. They pray to this Spirit for protection and help.

The Spirit Ampal

The Spirit *Ampal* originated from saliva. Once there were two men, who went searching for supernatural power. Then one day one of them found it and returned to meet his friend at the seaside where they tested each other's skill. Both of them spat on the seawater, if the spittle turned into an animal on the surface of the water, he was the one more skilled and dangerous.

The saliva turned into a kind of a swaying animal, like a sea snake, having a poisonous body which when touched by a human meant instant death.

The Spirit *Anai*

The Spirit *Anai* originated from the male ant-hill. The wife of the *Anai* wanted to strengthen her position. They were all united under one King and so held a meeting to kill human beings.

But unfortunately the humans are big and we are small, so we cannot kill the human beings.

The King agreed that human meat tasted good. The ants too held a meeting and all agreed to kill the humans. The *Anai* wondered at the strength and power of the ants. Perhaps because they had weapons, the ants did not want to follow the plans of the *Anai* though they paid lip service. In their hearts the ants wanted to save the humans.

The humans wanted to listen to the meeting of the *Anai* but could not because the path was too narrow. The king *Anai* vowed to take revenge on the humans. After the meeting the ants left and on the way meet the humans.

"How are you, humans?"

"Some are fine and others not so, it is difficult to explain."

"Do not be afraid and do not be deceived by the *Anai*. They are going to eat you."

The humans replied, "We are not afraid." "Don't," said the ant, "Ah! Don't!"

The ant said that this house would become the Spirit of *Anai*.

"Which house?"

"The tall house."

A little while later the ant-hill would begin to shake and the face of the *bakat jantung* would frighten away the humans. So to live, human beings must kill in this world.

The humans collected different types of leaves and repeated the words seven times till the spirit became a human or if it became an *Anai* it is no more.

The Spirit Angkot

Once there was a boy whose mother asked him to collect some firewood. After some time his mother called him back but on the way home he was accosted by a ghost. The boy then said to his mother, "My life will not come back to me." Then he died.

His mother collected sparrow and thorny brinjals and cut *Moyang Bantur* into pieces while calling out, "if you are a human being, be a human being, if you are an *angkot*, be an *angkot*." So the boy became the Spirit *Angkot* until today.

The Spirit Awan

Once there were two brothers whose work was to collect honey.

One day the brothers went to look for honey. After finding a honey-comb, one of them climbed up the tree. He took a leaf to chase away the bees.

He hit the bees and the bees went to cling on to a branch. The man held a bowl under the bees to catch the honey.

When he looked into the bowl, it was not honey that he saw but blood. So the man caught hold of the ghost's hair.

The ghost cried, "Please, please let me go!"

The man below said, "I will not let you go until you let go of my friend."

So the ghost said, "All right, I will replace your friend. If he be a cloud, let him be a cloud, if he be a human being, let him be a human being."

The Spirit Ba'al

In ancient times, a child played daily on a swing. Days, months, and years passed by. The rope of the swing originated from the rope of the *Ba'al*.

The little girl cried and recited verses. The rope of the *Ba'al* helped the little girl's mother.

Later the rope of the swing changed into a snake and carried away the little girl into the wide open seas.

The Spirit *Badi Gajah*

There was an old woman who became deaf because caterpillars had entered her ears. People did not like her because she was deaf.

The woman became stupid because the caterpillars had eaten up her brain. One night she had a dream and in that dream she was told to go and look for an elephant's trunk.

She was afraid to do so, as the elephant was big and she was only a woman. She thought that if she did look for the elephant's trunk, the elephant would come to her at night and destroy her.

"The spiritual influence of the elephant is in my head," she thought.

Nevertheless, she found the elephant and cut off its trunk and ran away with it even though the elephant was struggling and screaming.

When she was far away, she was at ease and wanted to sleep, but she found that she had no pillow, so she had to use the elephant's trunk.

When she was fast asleep, the smell of the elephant's blood from the trunk made the caterpillars come out of her ears. Only then did she again hear all the sounds.

But her skull was still empty. When she died, her skull became that of an elephant, probably because of the spiritual influences of the elephant that she had thought about earlier.

When the elephant died it moved to a new place, but did not mix with the other dead elephants.

The caterpillar originated from the spiritual influences of the elephant and the *Badi Gajah* was the result of the death of the elephant.

The Spirit *Bajus (Gabos)*

The Spirit *Bajus* originated when a human with a blowpipe went to hunt in the jungle. Each time he went hunting he returned without any animal.

Sometimes he shot down an animal but it managed to get away. The human being once saw the way the *Bajus* made the "ja."

Thus he saw the conduct of the *Bajus*: saw the ant becoming moss; the tobacco wood which was rotten becoming a nice husk knife. Having understood the methods, he wasted no time and ran away in between tree roots but could not hide.

The *Bajus* managed to catch the human being but did not fight him for he human being begged to be spared. Then the human being asked to go home. But the *Bajus* followed. When the *Bajus* saw the wife of the human being he too wanted to marry.

After the marriage the *Bajus* wanted to go back, to which the parents consented. Before he left, the *Bajus* reminded the parents that if they saw a giant foot-print in the jungle which was bigger than a human being's, it is *Bajus*.

Never follow the back but follow the toe part. If they follow the former they will meet the *Bajus*, but if they follow the toe they will not meet the *Bajus*.

If we shake the *patas* leaves they will sound like falling rain. The *Bajus* is afraid of rain because his nose is upright. He is not a danger to human being and still exists in the jungle. If met in the jungle, shake the leaves.

The Spirit *Bayong*

Once there was an old man who wanted to fetch water from a well, but the well was far in the forest. The old man saw a big animal and he said to himself, "If I don't run, surely I will die."

Then he said to the animal, "Hey, animal, don't eat me up. If you want to eat me let's have a fight first. If you win, then you can eat me."

So they had a fight and then the Spirit *Bayong* came along. The animal ran away. The old man returned to his house and the spirit *Bayong* remained so to this day. Thus ends the story of the Spirit *Bayong*.

The Spirit *Belangkas (Koncor)*

1. In ancient times, there was a man who liked to eat the shell of a female king-crab. He and his wife were inseparable holding hands wherever they went. Even when they ate, they must eat together, for if they were separated they must eat human beings.

A human being thought of a way to kill the king-crab in the water. When he got the opportunity the human being gathered the *ramuan* leaves of the Spirit *Bantut* and cut it into fine pieces, then cursed, "Become a king-crab (*belangkas*), if not become a human being."

So until today the king-crab is inseparable from its wife, who when separated will lose the way.

2. In ancient times, there was a human being, who always ate people. When together with friends or his wife, he could not eat people, nor did he wish to. But if he was separated he wanted to eat people.

The human being swore to cut the Spirit *Bantut* to pieces. Count seven and scatter the pieces. If they change to a human being, let it be a human being. If it changes to a king-crab, let it be a king-crab. Until now his eyes never moved and have always been so carried.

The Spirit *Bellung*

☛ See p. 124

The Spirit *Berau Gunteng*

☛ See p. 125

The Spirit *Beret*

Once there was a man and his wife, who was pregnant.

One day his wife said, "I want to eat mouse-deer's meat." But the husband misheard it for "a pregnant male mouse-deer." And so he went to look for a pregnant male mouse-deer.

He prepared a padi field in the jungle and caught a male mouse-deer and took it to his hut. The mouse-deer did not give birth the next morning. So he stayed for years in the jungle without returning to his wife.

In the meantime his wife had given birth to a son. When the child had grown, an old man came along and said, "Sonny, I would like to have back the chisel which your father borrowed some time ago."

"Mother," said the son, "the old man wants back his chisel which father borrowed."

"In that case, go and look for it in the jungle."

So the son went to look for it and he found a tumble-down hut. Trees which had been cut down had grown up again. He walked further and found a new hut. He went into the hut.

The son prepared hoops for snaring the feet and hands. Soon after his father appeared.

When he saw him he said, "Is that father or not? It's better for me to hide in the hole of a tree."

The father arrived and said, "Oh, the smell of food is good."

The son uttered incantations and the smell vanished.

Then he threw the hoops which caught hold of the knees and hands of the father. When he came out the father wanted to run away but could not.

"This is my father," said the son.

"I don't have a son," replied the father.

The son told him everything and the father admitted that the youth was his son.

"In that case, let us go home." So they went home.

On arrival, the husband said, "Wife, where is our former house? "There is a clump of bamboo trees. Cut the bamboo trees."

He cut down the bamboo trees and found a chisel. He returned the chisel to its owner.

The father told his son and the wife that when they hear the sound of the *yek-yek* bird at night, they must not lie down flat on their backs. Instead they must lie down side-ways.

The father returned to the jungle and has not returned to this day.

The Spirit *Blawak* [I]

Once there were seven brothers who used to catch lizards daily, but one day the youngest brother did not go out. Only six brothers went into the jungle to look for lizards.

But the six brothers did not come back even after night had fallen. When the youngest brother realized that his brothers were not coming back, he thought to himself, "Why are my brothers not coming back? Is it possible that they have lost their way?"

The next morning the youngest brother went to look for his brothers in the jungle. He followed the foot-prints of the six brothers. Suddenly he found only bones scattered there. "The big and fierce lizard must have eaten my brothers. Never mind," said the youngest brother. "I will kill it." Using his skill he managed to kill the lizard then and there.

When the spirit lizard was killed he felt rather satisfied. He took the *keladi* leaves and *bantut* leaves to make a spell so that the spirit lizard would not eat human beings again.

The youngest brother cut the spirit *bantut* leaves into pieces while saying, "If you be a human being, be a human being, if you be a lizard be a lizard, but do not eat human beings again."

That was the spell of the youngest brother upon the lizard.

The Spirit *Blawak* [II]

Long ago a human being went into the jungle to look for a forest animal for food. He wanted to have a feast for the flowering padi.

One day the human being went to look for food such as a monkey, birds, and others. For seven days and seven nights he could not find any; he didn't even meet with one animal.

"Ah, there's a small monitor lizard. When near it is bigger. That's the food for the feast of the flowering padi. Fry tuberous roots and monitor lizard's meat," said the man.

So the human being made a trap and climbed a tree to trap the monitor lizard.

The human being asked the lizard, "Is it the base or the end?" The base, said the monitor lizard.

The human being thought, "Which is the base, which is the end?"

Seven times the human being asked and seven times the monitor lizard replied, "The base."

It turned the end of the trap towards the human being and the base was with the lizard. So the human being was trapped by the monitor lizard.

The human being thought he could trap the monitor lizard, but it was he who was trapped. The human being fell to the ground and he was torn by the lizard. So the human being died.

The monitor lizard took the place of the human being. "Let's go home, we have got a lot of food," said the monitor lizard. He arrived home.

The villagers knew that the human being had died. This was not a human being because he looked different. While handing over the meat the *Moyang Blawak* said, "The monitor lizard."

So the human beings cooked it, but meat of different kind. Then the food was laid out. "How to kill this monitor lizard?" The human beings got an idea. "We must hold the feast of the flowering padi."

"*Moyang, Moyang*, can we hold a feast?"

"Yes, I like it," said the *Moyang Blawak*. "Have a big feast with strong drinks, *tapai sap* and *larah sap* and dancing."

"Can you dance, *Moyang*?" "Yes. If *Moyang* gets drunk, grandchildren can sober him up."

So the feast was held in a big way. The food was laid out and the drinks were taken. Then *tapai sap* was mixed with *larak sap* plus a poison, that is the *ipoh*.

Moyang Blawak drank the water with the poison in it. He danced the *Joger* and the youngsters danced too.

The youngsters said, "*Moyang*, grandchildren are afraid of your blowpipe. Be careful of us. Grandchildren won't come near *Moyang*. If the blowpipe touches us, we will die. Be careful of us."

Moyang Blawak had no strength any more. "Grandchildren, *Moyang* cannot stand it any more." He vomited at once, he trembled and trembled and turned into a monitor lizard.

"Bah, trickery, bluff, deceit for the *Moyang*. If I had known this, I would have finished off the human beings on this island."

So the monitor lizard died.

Gather the fire, a mixture of *bantut* leaves, cut it into pieces seven times and cry out seven times, "If it is a monitor lizard, let it be a monitor lizard, and don't ever be a human being again."

The Spirit *Bidan Jantung Pisang*

☛ See p. 130-132

The Spirit *Bloi*

1. Once there was a mother who slept in a tree and her child slept underneath it.

When the mother ate the betel leaves which had been urinated on by a tiger, she gave birth to a baby tiger.

The mother did not like it so it was given the name of Spirit *Bloi*.

2. Once a human being went into the jungle. She wanted to eat the betel leaves in the jungle. The betel-leaf plant was climbing up a tree which had been urinated on by a tiger.

The woman did not know this. She took the leaves and ate them. About two or three months later she became pregnant and gave birth to a baby tiger.

The baby tiger continued to grow up.

The villagers did not like the baby tiger because it became a nuisance to the villagers.

So the villagers chased it away. The mother and her child went to the jungle. The mother slept on the *ara* tree and the child slept underneath it.

The Spirit Bojos

One day a man was hunting with a blowpipe in the jungle, but he did not catch any animal.

He wanted to return home although he caught nothing. It was already evening when he came to the beginning of the road from where he started, when he saw a monkey and shot it. The monkey fell to the ground but he searched for it in vain. It looked as though the *Bojos* had taken it. One moment it is there, the next moment it disappears.

Then he said, "Food (*lauk*)."

"No" replied the human. "This is grandson."

"Ah! grandson, who has become *Bojos*. Give me the meat."

To which the *Bojos* replied he would return the next day. Then he followed the human till he changed.

When he reached the jungle he said, "When we meet I shall eat."

After a while he continued, "When you meet me and if it does not rain shake the *palas* leaves so that I will run away, because my nose is upright."

Further he asked not to be followed by the footprints but by the toe marks. This was the advice of the Spirit *Bojos* for his knife is in his hand.

The Spirit Buaya

Originally, crocodiles were three step-children forced by the step-father to go fishing. Unfortunately the three step-children couldn't find any fish. So the step-father told the children, no fish, no food.

The three step-children tried their best to find a fish, but failed. When they went home without any fish, it made the step-father hate them more and no food was provided for them. Hungrily the three step-children picked the left-over food which was thrown away by the father. One day one of the three brothers went fishing alone for seven days.

After seven days, the elder brother informed the father, and said, "Father, brother has been away for seven days fishing without returning, maybe he has been caught by the devil (*jembalang*).

The brother who had been gone for seven days, walking, said to himself, "If by seven days still there

* Lauk means eatables cooked to be eaten with rice.

are no fish I won't return home, I will jump into the water and be a crocodile."

"When I become a crocodile, I will destroy human beings who have done wrong or suffered disappointment."

At that moment he jumped into the water and became a crocodile and began searching for animals or human beings who had sinned.

His way of catching each animal or human being must be by using 'magic leaf' to see each object. If the magic leaf shows a human being disguised as an animal, so the human being will be caught by the crocodile and it will be his food.

The Spirit *Buruk Belakang*

1. The spirit with a diseased back originated from a padi planter who had seven daughters.

The eldest sister wanted to eat fruit but the sisters said, "Don't ask, lest the spirit with a diseased back finds his desire unfulfilled."

One day the youngest sister came home as she was asked by the elder sister. Take the *cupak* and measure out the padi and burn the incense. The smoke of the incense became a coconut tree.

Then they shook the tree. They caught hold of a cock to make it crow in order to chase away the spirit with a diseased back.

When the spirit heard the cock crowing, it ran away. It is still running to the clouds in order to fulfill man's desire.

2. Originally there were seven brothers. One day the eldest one wanted to eat rambutans but he was scolded by the youngest brother.

He said, "Don't eat such fruit or else the spirit (*tenung*) will come and you'll be a spirit with a diseased back."

Now it is no more because it has become a spirit with a diseased back.

The Spirit *Buruk Belakang*

☛ See p. 141-143, and also p. 247 THE SPIRIT KOP

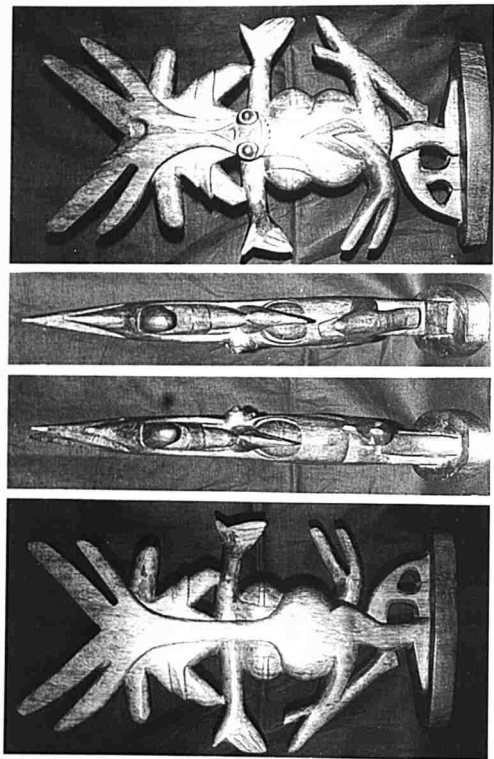


Plate 62:
The Spirit Akar
[by Layun a/l Bumbun]



Plate 63:
The Spirit Amal
[by Aïm a/1 Liput, 1954]

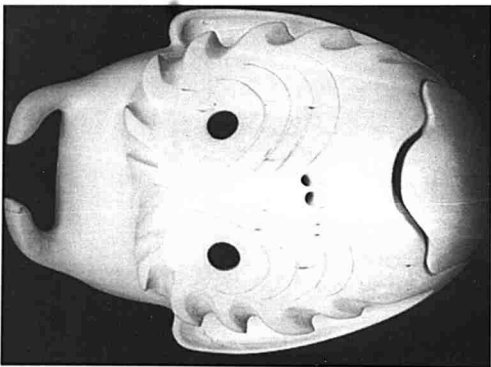


Plate 64:
The Spirit Ampal
[by Blun s/1 Bumbun]

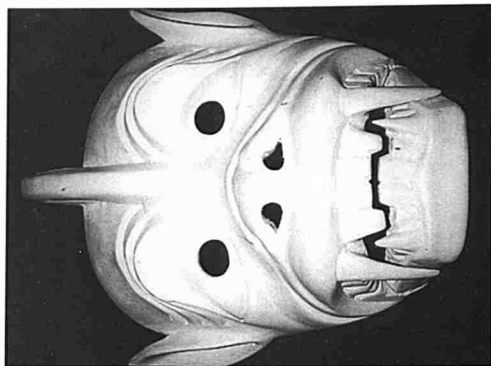


Plate 65:
The Spirit Ampal
[by Ligam s/1 Top]

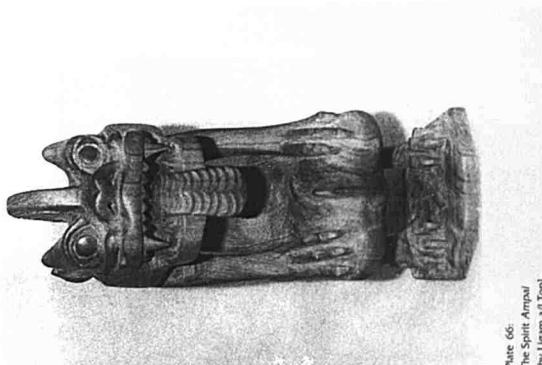
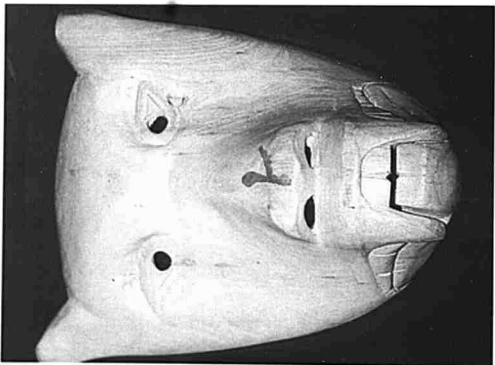
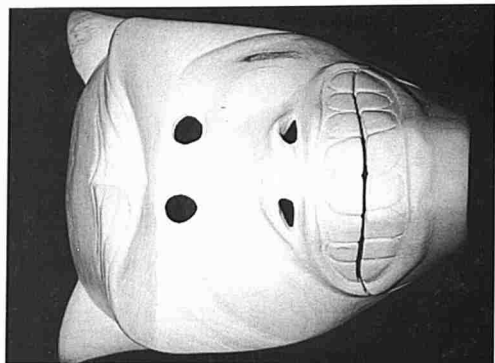


Plate 66:
The Spirit Ampul
(by Ligam a/1 Topi)



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Plate 67:
The Spirit Anal (I)
[by Ajil a./I Mat]



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Plate 68:
The Spirit Anal (I)
[by Ajil a./I Mat]

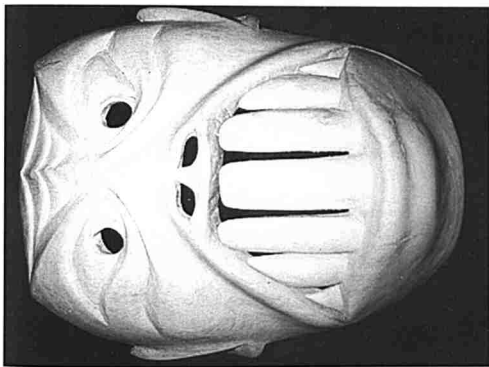


Plate 69:
The Spirit Anal (I)
[by Siran a/I Awas]

♂

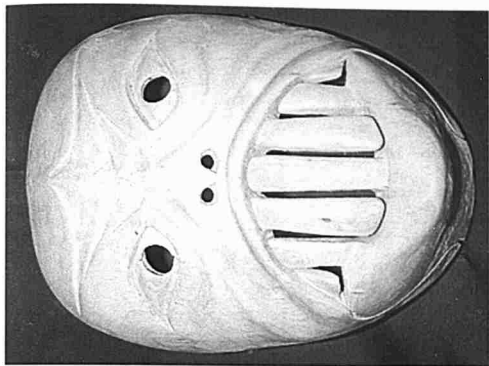


Plate 70:
The Spirit Anal (I)
[by Siran a/I Awas]

♀



Plate 71:
The Spirit Anai
[by Hassan a/l Jantan]

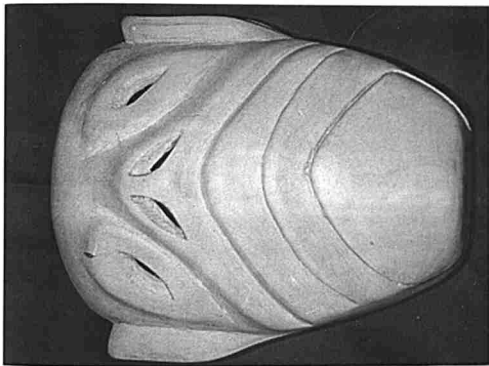


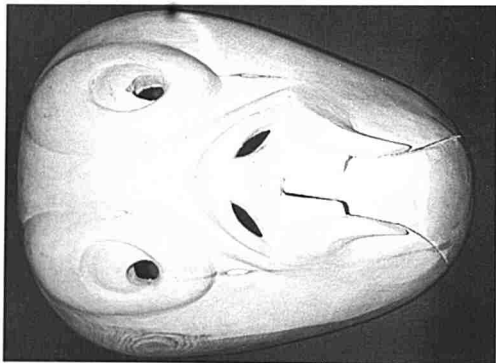
Plate 72:
The Spirit Angkor 0
[by Ramli a/ Ujang]

♂



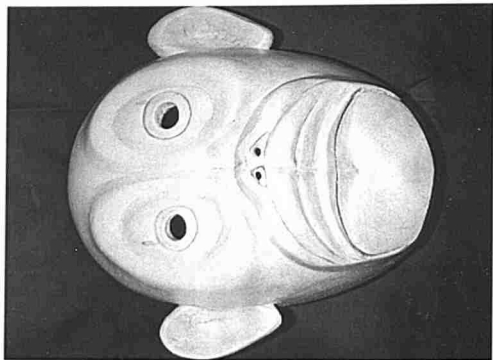
Plate 73:
The Spirit Angkor 0
[by Ramli a/ Ujang]

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Plate 74:
The Spirit Awang (Awam) ()
[by Sudin a/1 Bujang]



♀

Plate 75:
The Spirit Awang (Awam) ()
[by Sudin a/1 Bujang]

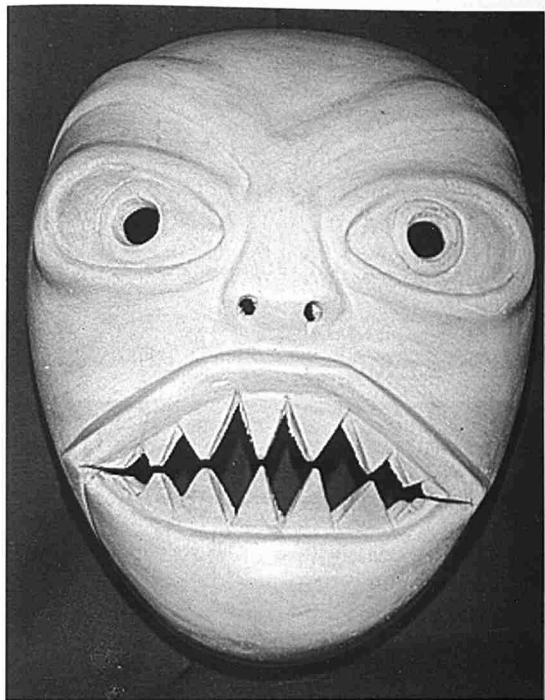
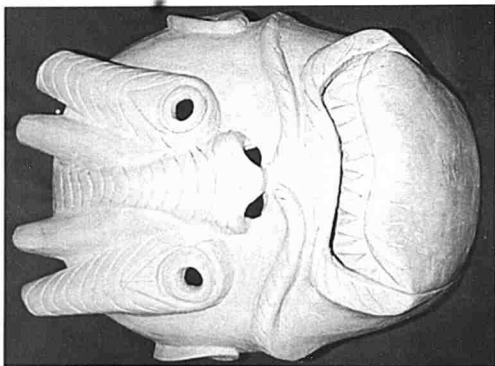
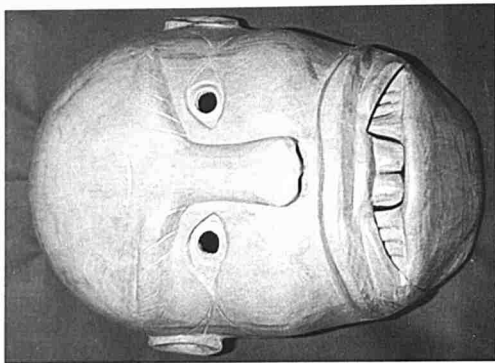


Plate 76:
The Spirit Awang (I)
[by Keniang a/I Awas]



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Plate 77:
The Spirit Ba'al (I)
[by Adli a/I Manan]



♀

Plate 78:
The Spirit Ba'al (I)
[by Adli a/I Manan]

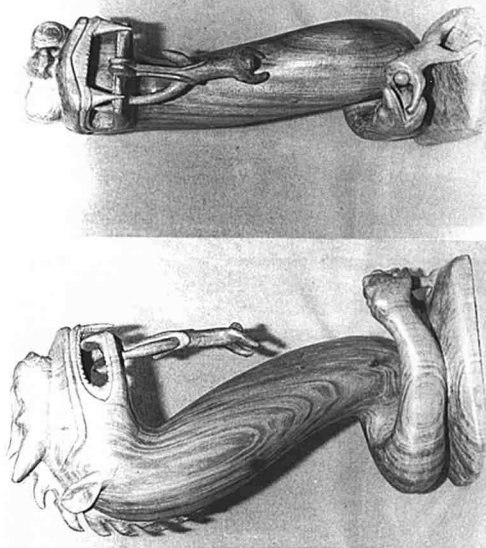
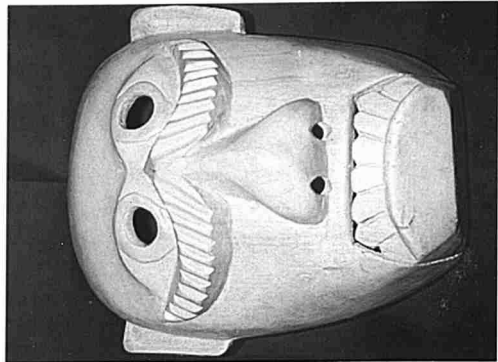
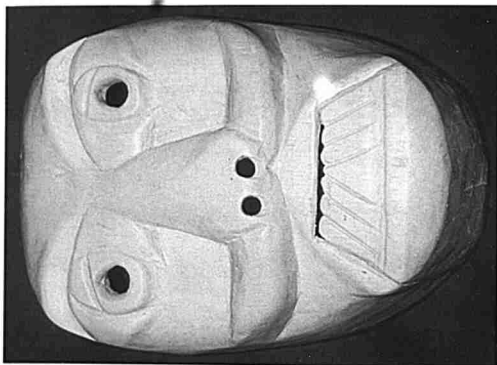


Plate 79:
The Spirit Ba'al
(by Adil al-Manna)



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Plate B1:
The Spirit Ba'at ()
[by Sabah a'l Ming]



♂

Plate B0:
The Spirit Ba'at ()
[by Sabah a'l Ming]



Plate 82:
The Spirit *Badli Gajah*
[by Bumbun a/l Muntill]

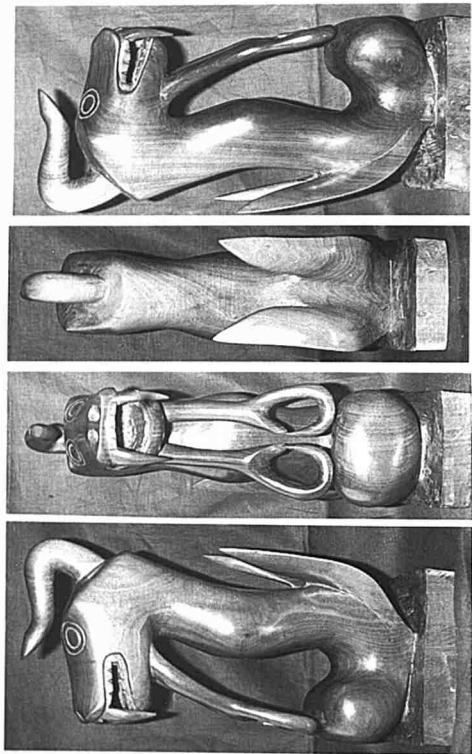


Plate 83:
The Spirit *Budji Gajah*
[by Kemlang a/l Awas]

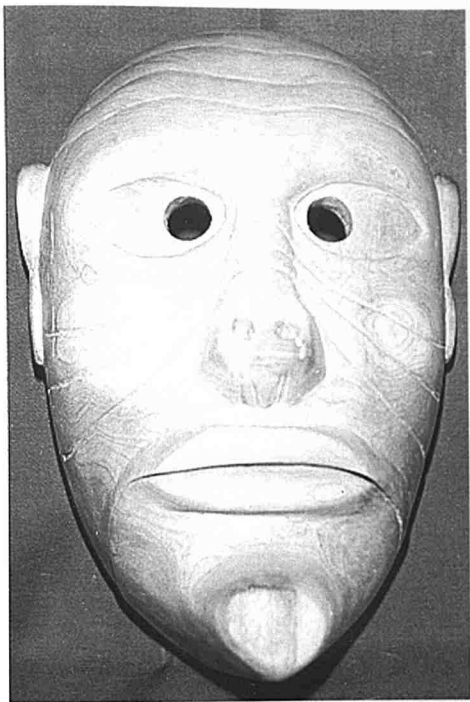


Plate 84:
The Spirit *Ba'us* (Gibos)
[by Arif a'l Ming]



Plate 85.
The Spirit Bayong
[by Tabah a/l Mat]



Plate 86:
The Spirit Belangkas
[by Sudin a/l Bujang]

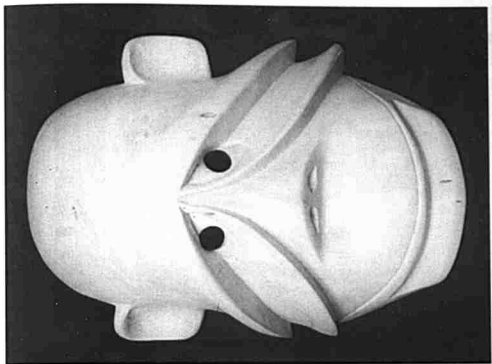


Plate 87:
The Spirit Belangkas (Koncor)
[by Blum a/l Bumbun]

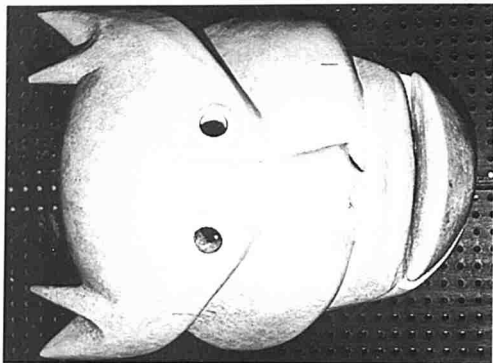


Plate 89:
The Spirit *Belangkas*
[by Semi a/I Awas]

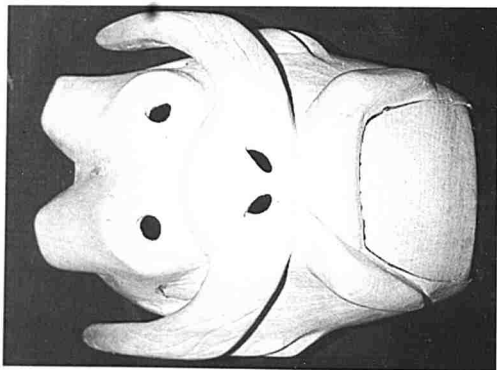


Plate 88:
The Spirit *Belangkas*
[by Bilon a/I Kassim]

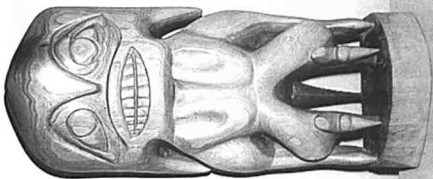
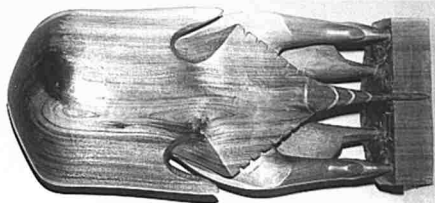


Plate 90:
The Spirit Belangus
[by Semil a/I Awias]

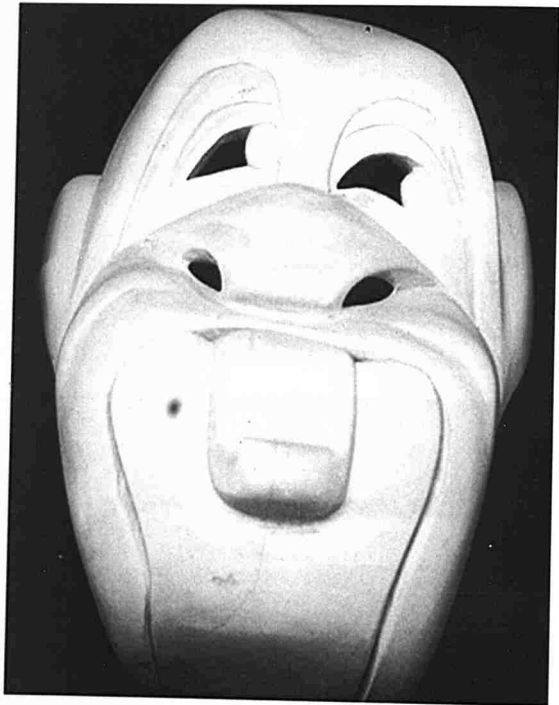


Plate 91:
The Spirit *Bellung*
[by Bilon a./I Kassim]

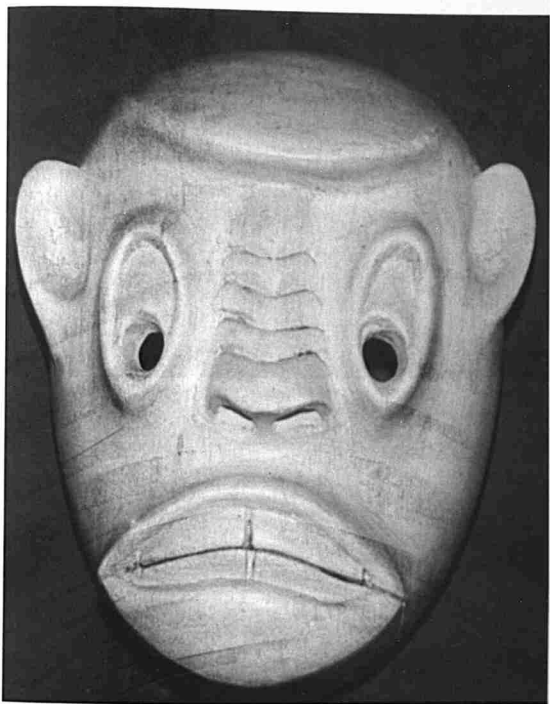


Plate 92:
The Spirit *Berau Gunteng*
[by Ayub a/l Tani]

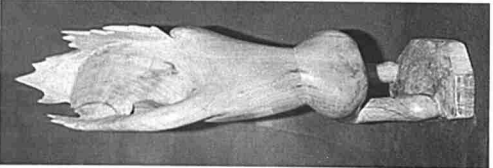
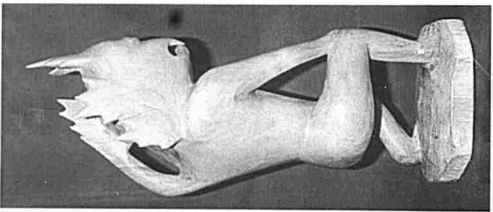
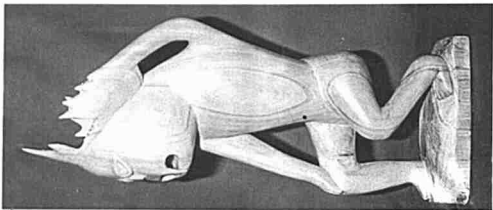
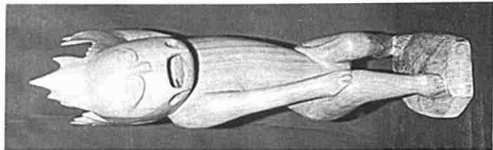


Plate 93:
The Spirit Bearer
[by Karmis a/1 Osman]

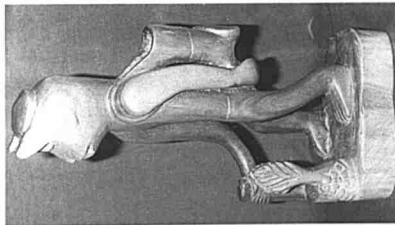
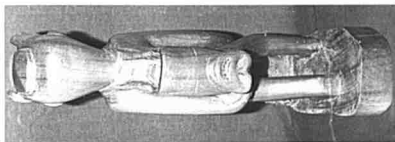
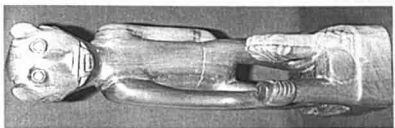


Plate 94:
The Spirit Beruang dan Kubi
[by Wah Badar a/l Assam]

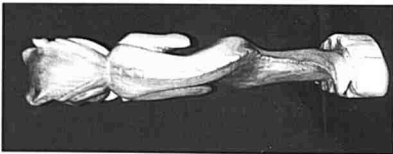
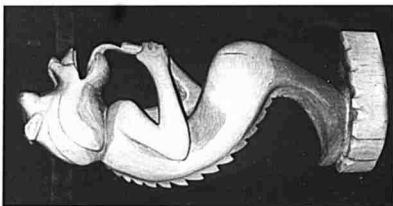
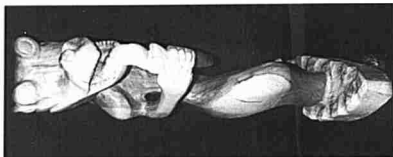
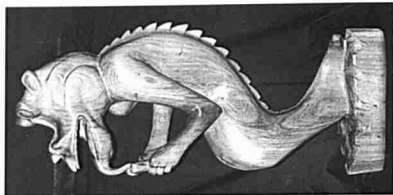


Plate 95
The Spirit *Blawak*
[by Sap a./i Mat]

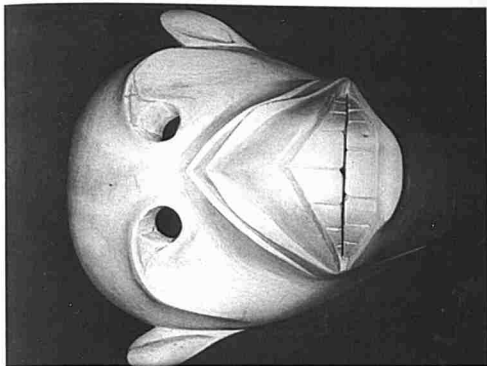


Plate 97:
The Spirit *Blawak*
[by Ermbing a/I Lipat]

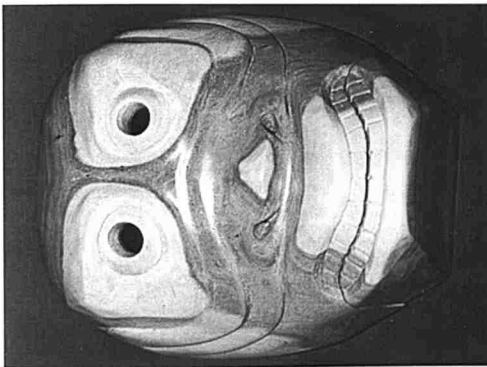
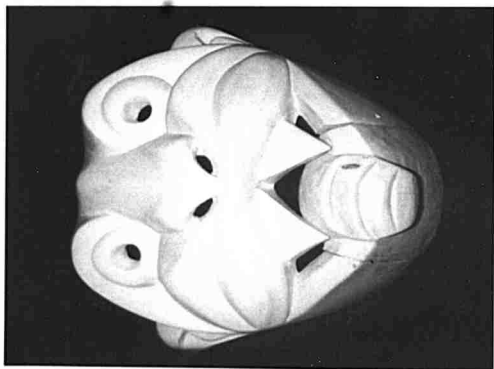
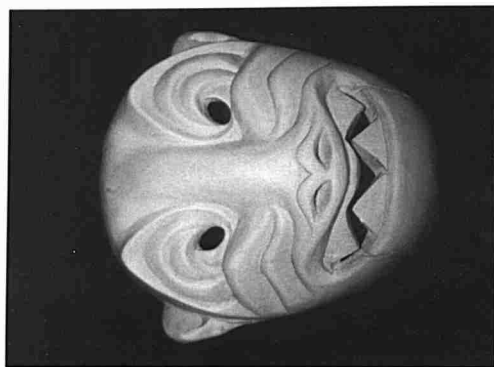


Plate 96:
The Spirit *Blawak*
[by Sap a/I Mar]



♂

Plate 98:
The Spirit *Bidan Jantung Pisang* (I)
[by Sharifuddin a./I Jantan]



♀

Plate 99:
The Spirit *Bidan Jantung Pisang* (I)
[by Sharifuddin a./I Jantan]

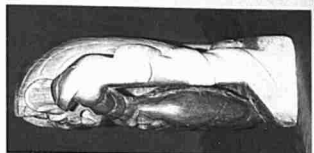
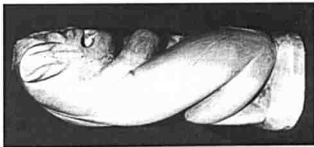


Plate 100:
The Spirit Bidan Jantung P'uang
[by Sharifuddin a./J. Jantian]

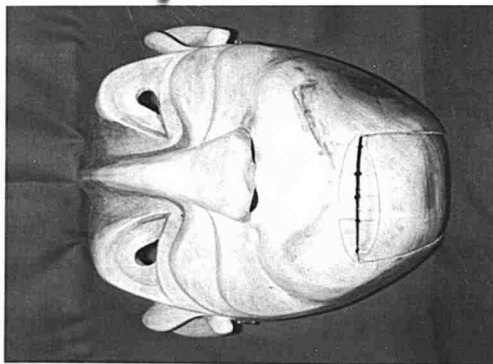
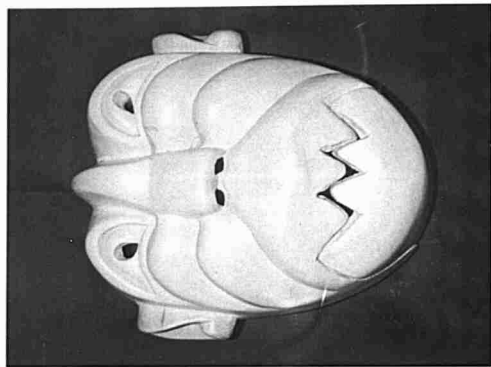


Plate 101:
The Spirit Bidan Jantung Pisang
[by Sudin a/1 Bujang]



♀

Plate 102:
The Spirit Bidan Jantung Pisang ()
[by Hassan a/1 Jantan]

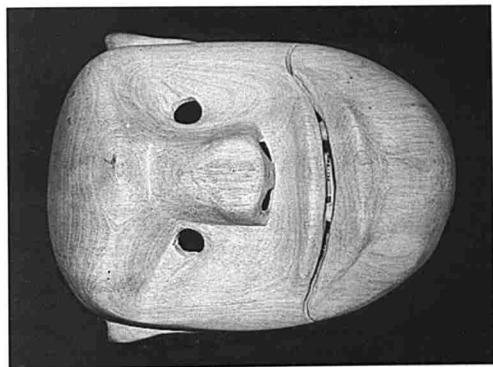


Plate 103:
The Spirit Biol ()
[By Ajil a/1 Mas]

♂

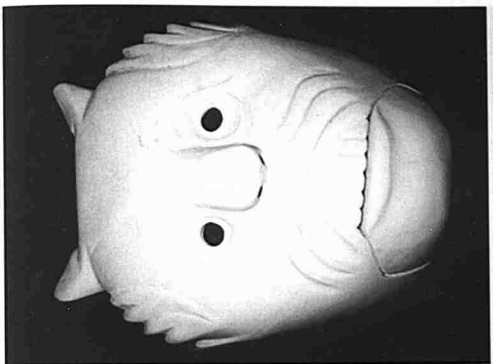


Plate 104:
The Spirit Biol
[By Wah Badar a/1 Assam]

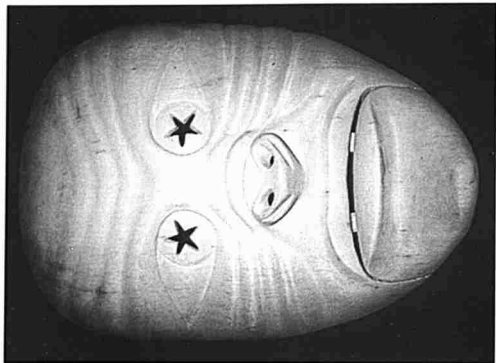
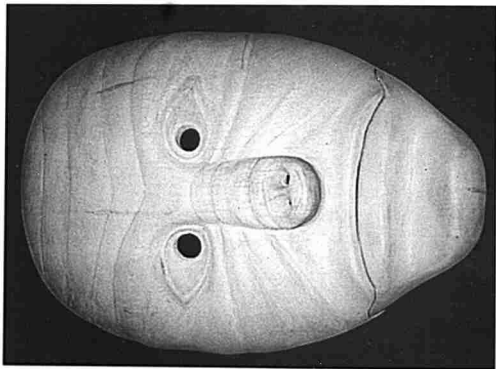


Plate 106:
The Spirit Bojlos
[by Kapat a/I Lima]



♂

Plate 105:
The Spirit Bojlos
[by Ayub a/I Tani]

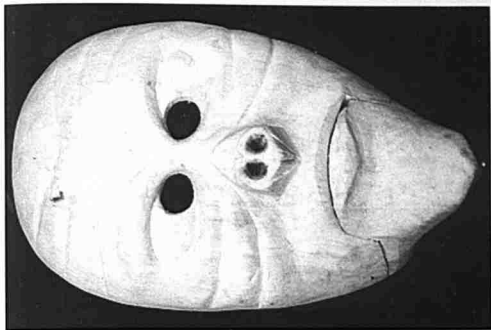


Plate 108:
The Spirit Bojos
[by Ahmed al/Kassim]

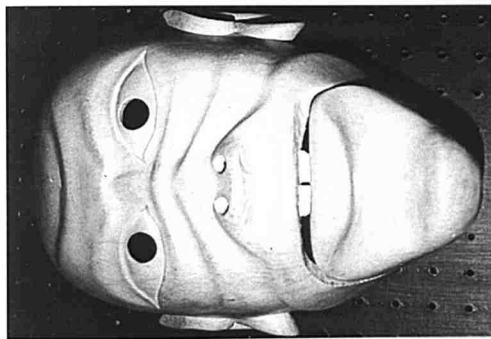


Plate 107:
The Spirit Bojos
[by Ahmed al/Kassim]

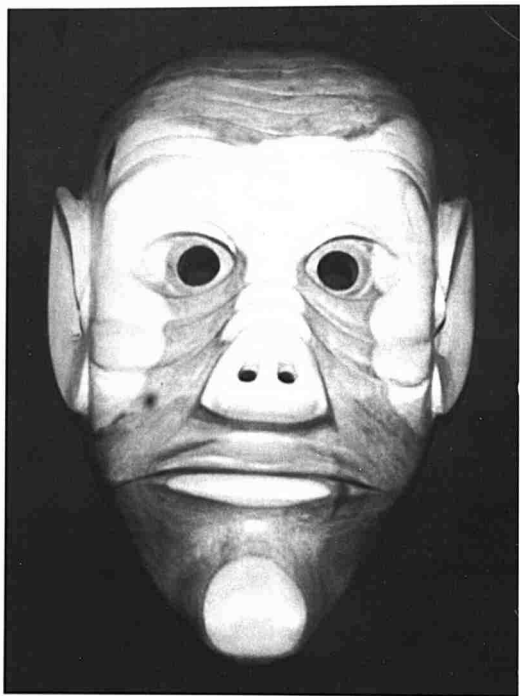


Plate 109.
The Spirit Bojos
[by Siboh a./ Said]

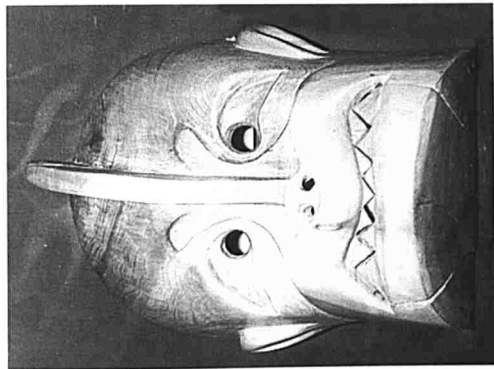


Plate 110:
The Spirit Buaya ()
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

♂

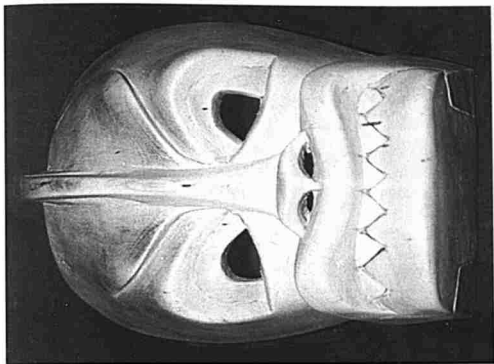


Plate 111:
The Spirit Buaya ()
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

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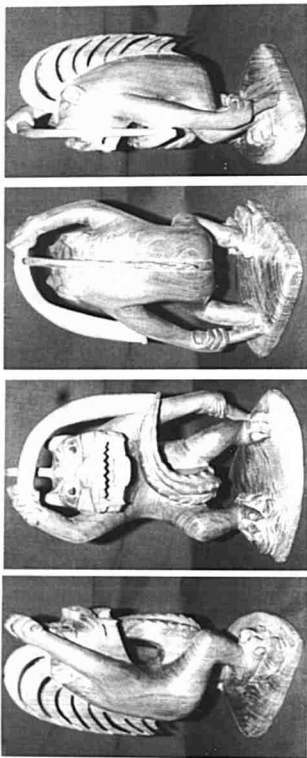


Plate 112:
The Spirit Buaya
[by Ligam a/1 Topi]

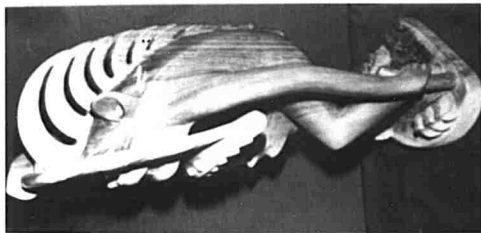
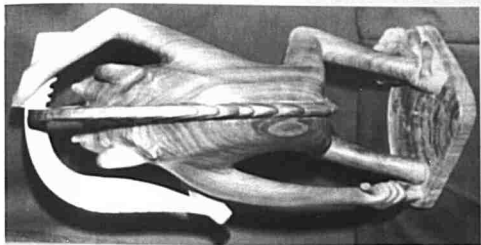


Plate 113:
The Spirit Buaya
(by Ligam a/T Top)

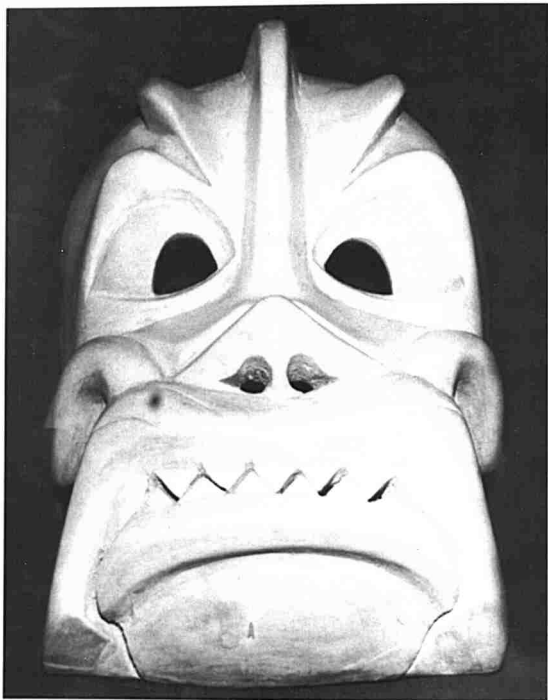


Plate 114
The Spirit Buaya
[by Ligam a./1 Top]



♂

Plate 115:
The Spirit *Buruk Belakang* (1)
[by Ayub a/l Tani]

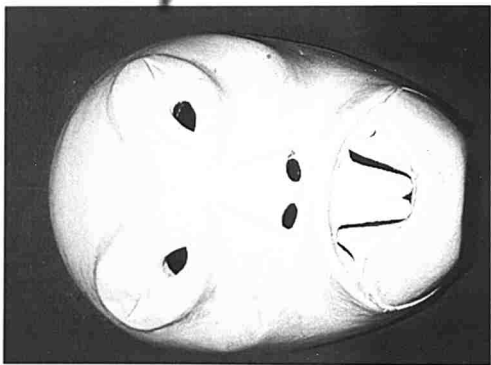


Plate 116:
The Spirit Bini Buruk Belakang (Kopi I)
[by Uneh a/l Ayub]

♂

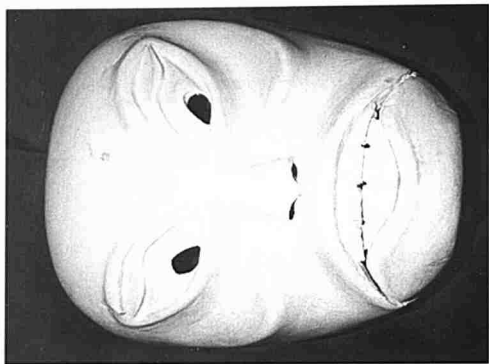


Plate 117:
The Spirit Bini Buruk Belakang (Kopi I)
[by Uneh a/l Ayub]

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Plate 119:
The Spirit *Bini Buruk Belakang* (Kopi)
[by Ayub a/I Tani]

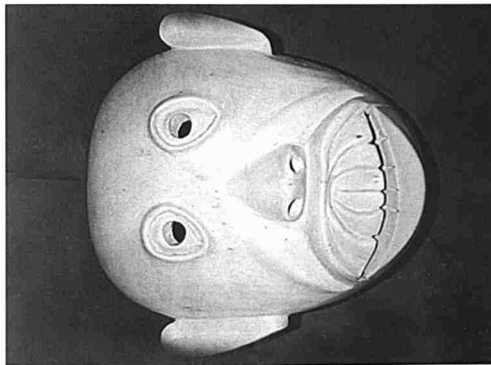


Plate 118:
The Spirit *Bini Buruk Belakang* (Kopi)
[by Uneh a/I Ayub]



Plate 120:
The Spirit Buyam
[by Sutin a/l Bujang]



Plate 121:
The Spirit *Buyam Pop*
[by Keniang a/l Awas]

The Spirit *Cicak Kubin*

Once two brothers went in search of food in the jungle.

The younger brother felt hungry and said, "Elder brother, I am hungry."

"Don't say that, younger brother."

They walked and walked until they found rice in the jungle.

The younger brother said, "This is rice, elder brother. Come, let us eat, elder brother." The younger brother straight away ate the rice. He said, "Oh, I am full." Then he thought, "We are going to die."

A lizard replied, "What's the matter?"

"I am under a rice spell (*tenung*). Oh, I am afraid." "Come, follow me," said the lizard.

Then a tiger came. They walked for miles but the tiger still followed them. The lizard was already tired and so an eagle took over.

"Take this human being."

"What's the matter."

"He has got rice *tenung*."

The Spirit *Culau*

☛ See p. 157

The Spirit *Culau Kata*

☛ See p. 158

The Spirit *Dapur*

1. One day long ago a villager had gone to a friend's house. But unfortunately before he reached the house it was already night time. During his journey he saw an old house and stayed the night alone. Suddenly in the middle of the night the rain came, there was strong thunder and lightning. The man

felt very cold that night for he had no time to light the fire in the kitchen of the house. Then he noticed an ugly figure in the kitchen which frightened him. The figure was making a noise because of the cold. Without wasting any time the man ran away and jumped into the waters of a river.

2. In ancient times there was an empty house which had not been used for a long time by any human. During a stormy night, a man walking alone took refuge in this empty house.

Soon after he heard the noise of a ghost shivering due to the cold. He lighted a fire. Then the man rushed up and grabbed hold of the ghost's long hair. Had he not fought with the ghost he would have been a victim. The ghost groaned with pain and begged to be released, but the man did not release it until the ghost agreed to certain conditions.

The man said, "If you give me spiritual powers, I shall release you."

When there is an empty house and you want to take refuge there during rainy days, light the fire in the kitchen before you go to sleep.

The Spirit *Durian*

1. Once an old man went into the jungle and found a sweet-smelling fruit. He took the fruit and ate it together with all its seeds.

"I am going home." He was not feeling well and he wanted to sleep on the ground because his body was hot after eating the fruit.

His body became a durian called Spirit *Durian*.

2. The Spirit *Durian* originated from a man who ate a durian together with its seeds.

Once an old man went into the jungle to search for food. He found a durian which was sweet smelling.

He took the durian and ate it all, together with its seeds.

After he had finished eating the durian, he tried to find its tree but could not see any. So he went home.

But the man did not want to sleep in the house, because he felt hot. So he slept on the ground for a number of years. He tried to get up but could not because he was stuck to the ground.

He had grown roots from his stomach.

The man told his wife, "If it is already big, do not let shrubs grow underneath it, but clear it always. Later on it will be easier for our grandchildren to eat this durian."

The Spirit *Ehe* (*Hea; Nea*)

1. It originated from a deserted hut. One day a human being had gone to the jungle to shoot a monkey with his blowpipe.

The human being lost his way and did not return. On his journey he found a small hut in the jungle. As it was already night he slept.

Suddenly in the middle of the night the human being heard a sound, "Ehe. Ehe. Ehe".

Daylight came and he went away. For seven nights he slept in seven huts. He had not caught any monkeys. On the seventh night he heard a noise.

The man noticed there was another man with long hair, long finger-nails, and big eyes. When it was daylight the man gathered palm leaf (*daun mayang*) for making incense.

That night the man burnt this incense saying afterwards, "If you become a human, be a human, if an animal, be an animal."

2. One day a man went to hunt monkeys with a blowpipe and got lost in the forest. He could not return home. So he walked on until he found a small hut in the forest.

Night came and he passed the night in the hut. In the middle of the night he heard the sound, "Ehe".

In the morning he went away. For seven days and seven nights he could not find a monkey.

On the last (seventh) day he again heard the sound. The man went to look where the sound came from and he saw as if there was a human being with long hair, long finger-nails, and big eyes.

The human being took *bantut* leaves to make incense.

When night came he burned the incense.

Then the human being said, "If you be a human being, be a human being. If you be an animal, be an animal."

The Spirit *Enggang*

Both husband and wife were of the same mind, just like a nail stuck into a board. Whatever they saw, they stole and they had stolen a lot of things. One day they wanted to steal something. One dark night the husband went into a house whose door was not locked. In the house there was a trunk. He carried the trunk with his wife. They carried it for a long time until daylight came. When they opened the trunk they saw a dead body in it.

The thief ran away crying. "I am afraid of the corpse."

Then he cursed the dead body so that it became a horn-bill (*enggang*). After it became a horn-bill, it went down to the sea and caught prawns.

The prawn said. "Before you eat me, I would like to recite a verse." So the prawn recited his verse:

Duck's eggs and eggs for stuffing,
Hornbill's beaks are many in number,
Your stomach will know no starving,
But my soul will be lost for ever.

The horn-bill laughed and the prawn fell into the sea again.

"I don't want to go to the sea any more, even the prawns are able to speak."

The Spirit *Engkok*

1. Once there was a man whose name was *Spirit Engkok*. He fell down to the earth at Bukit Bangkong. He wanted to return but could not until he was helped by another, the *Spirit Melor*.

For seven days and seven nights *Spirit Melor* helped him and on the seventh day, he wanted to go up into the clouds again but *Spirit Melor* commanded the human race, "Do not take your brother as your husband. If you do, you will not reach heaven; you'll be half-way to heaven only. If you do not take your brother as husband you will not be haunted by the ghost. If you want a husband look for someone else, but do not take a younger or elder brother, as it is not proper."

The curse remained to this day and humans do not marry their brothers.

2. Once there was a human being whose name was *Spirit Engkok*. He fell into the earth at the *Bangkong Hill*. He could not get out of the hole and so *Spirit Melor* came along to help.

He helped him for seven days and seven nights.

On the seventh day, *Spirit Engkok* wanted to go up into the clouds again. So *Spirit Melor* commanded the human race that they should not take a younger or an elder brother as a husband. If they do so, they will not reach heaven.

If they do not take a brother as a husband they will not be haunted by the ghost. If they want to marry they must look for someone else, as marrying a brother is not a proper thing.

Until today human beings remember this curse.

The Spirit *Enjong*

Once two brothers went looking for their lost mother in the jungle. They looked for her for a number of days in the jungle but could not find her. Night came and they went home.

They went to sleep and their mother appeared in a dream.

The mother said, "My children, do not look for me because my desire to eat bamboo shoot was not fulfilled."

When the brothers knew that their mother's desire to eat the bamboo shoot was not fulfilled, they decided that the elder brother should become a bamboo and the younger brother should become sugarcane (*enjong*).

The elder brother wanted to become a bamboo because he knew that his mother's desire to eat bamboo shoot was not fulfilled. That was why his younger brother became the *enjong*.

The Spirit *Esain* [I]

In olden days, if smallholders wanted to plant padi, they had to ask the Spirit *Esain* for it to grow well.

After the harvest a small feast must be arranged for the Spirit *Esain* and the Spirit *Junka*.

We should ask the Spirits to protect us from sickness and also not to destroy our crops.

The Spirit *Esain* [II]

Long ago there lived two old men. Both went into the forest to search for monkeys and fish. Every hour there was a sound, "leya!"

One of the two old men heard this before they met any of the animals.

Both of them travelled deep into the forest and they had been walking from morning until sunset.

"Let us return home," said one of them, "It is already nightfall."

The other old man did not believe in the sound the other had heard. Both of them slept in the forest.

The old man who heard the sound believed he heard, *leya!* but his friend did not believe him. Only one of them believed he heard it.

The Spirit *Gadang*

The Spirit *Gadang* is the guardian of the village and its surroundings. He protects against diseases on the sea, on land, in the jungles, in swampy valleys, on mountains, in the gulfs, and on the capes.

The Spirit has power over all these diseases. Human beings pray to this Spirit *Gadang* so that misfortune does not befall them. They pray to the Spirit to protect them.

The Spirit *Gadok*

☛ See p. 174–175

The Spirit *Gajah* [I]

The origin of the Spirit *Gajah* is from the human being. Because human beings eat bamboo shoot that is why they become elephants. One day the husband cooked bamboo shoot. The wife did not want to eat the bamboo shoot. So the husband ate it. Later he became a *gajah*.

Later the wife was expecting a child. She felt the pain in her stomach. Her husband uttered incantations to ease the birth of the child. A baby boy was delivered who looked like a human being.

Later he grew up and wished to be married.

The father had to go throughout the country to find a girl but failed. On the seventh day he met a poor man. This poor man had a daughter who did not look like a human being, who looked like an animal, but was not an animal.

He accepted her for his son and they were married. During the wedding ceremony, all the plates of food were ready with the help of God.

The first six human beings did not recognise what they were because the elephant child was handsome and both were good looking.

The parents told the children next time not to eat the bamboo shoot. If they did they would become elephants and never be human beings again.

Those elephants in this world are the stubborn people. Those who do not eat bamboo shoot will be human beings but because of the elephant we can't abuse them.

The curse of the elephant is the biggest one in the world. This is Spirit Elephant (*Gajah*).

The Spirit *Gajah* [II]

Once upon a time there were two brothers who, with their blowpipes, went into the jungle to hunt for game.

They walked for some time until suddenly they were confronted with an elephant.

When they saw this elephant they panicked and climbed a tree.

Nearby was a pool.

The elephant went to the pool and sucked in water through its trunk and sprayed it at the base of the tree to which the brothers clung, and at the same time stamped its great feet.

The stamping of the elephant's feet and the loosening of the soil by the water caused the tree to fall to the ground.

The two brothers died instantly on the spot.

The Spirit *Galak*

The Spirit originated from a *Galak*.

Old men of those days were encouraged to build boats which had more *galak*.

A boy painted a picture of a *galak* and hung it on the front door of the house, to prevent the hens climbing into the house.

Children use to play in the kitchen, so the boy asked the picture to chase away the hens.

The boy then saw the picture changing and become a human being. It then jumped down and started attacking the hens in the village.

The boy thought perhaps later the Spirit might harm them, so he uttered incantations but still the Spirit did not disappear.

The hen took the leaves of the Spirit *Bantut* together with the thorny sour egg-plant (*terung asam*) and other things, cut them into pieces and repeated seven times, "If you become a man, be a man: if a *galak*, be a *galak*."

Until today it has not changed into anything else but a *galak*.

The Spirit Gayak

1. The Spirit Gayak originated from a human being who long ago went in search of the fruit of a *gayak* tree in the jungle.

One day his son also went for a walk in the jungle and was singing along.

Then he met the Spirit Gayak.

The spirit asked him to follow.

After going for some distance he heard a voice, that of his brother.

"Ha! ha! Who is coming?"

"Me, brother," he replied. "Where are you?"

Then the elder brother returned home and told his mother that his younger brother had been trapped by the Spirit Gayak.

The parents then gathered thorny brinjals and a sparrow brinjal and struck seven times. "If changed to a human being, be a human being, but if turned into a Spirit Gayak, so be it."

But it did not turn into a human being again, instead it became the shadow of the Spirit Gayak.

2 In ancient time a human being had a son, who used to cry from morning till evening if he went into the jungle.

When he was in the jungle, he cried, but when he got home, he stopped.

This went on for days and months and years.

His mother asked him, "Why do you cry all the time?"

The son replied, "If I go, it is possible that I might not return. If you hear the sound of the Gayak in the jungle, then I have returned."

One evening she heard the sound.

"If you are really my son, stop that sound," the mother swore. "If you are human, be a human. If you are a *gayak*, be a *gayak*."

You can still hear the sound of crickets (*cengkerik*) in the jungle whether in the evening or at mid-day.

The Spirit *Gedak*

This story of the Spirit *Gedak* originated from a loan of something which was never returned. While he was on loan he looked around the house. What was he looking for?

Smoke from the fire! For he was hungry. He then asked to eat with the human being.

He ate and went to sleep. At night he ate the human being too. Thus, as long as he lives he destroys human beings. So the human beings decided to kill the *Gedak*.

The *Gedak* borrowed this thing which, though it was very heavy, he wanted to carry away immediately. The human being asked him to take more of it so that the weight would stop the *Gedak* from walking.

Though the human being thought it easy to kill the *Gedak*, it did not die when hit on the head, so he thought of another way to kill the *Gedak*.

He then gathered leaves to be cut into pieces and uttered seven times, "If you become a human being, be so; but if you become a *gedak*, be a *gedak*."

Thus, he is no more and forever he will not exist.

The Spirit *Gedeng*

When the father and mother returned from fishing, they asked their child to cook. The child said, "There's no food."

Mother always goes out to find food but could not get anything. "The mother replied, "You are always asking for food. I know it is hard to get."

The mother became angry with the child. The mother prepared to go fishing and the child went out. The child thought, "It is better that I go home even though mother is angry."

When the child returned, the father and mother were not at home. There were foot-prints leading to the river bank.

From afar the child could see that the mother was bailing out the water. The child cried, "Mother, the tide is rising!" The child went nearer and the water kept on rising. Still the child could see the parents. Once the child saw the mother leaning on the earth trying to stop the water.

The father became frightened and climbed a tree because he could not run away. The child said "If that is so, mother and father can not come back. If mother wants to be a human being, let her be so; if she wants to be an animal, let her be an animal," the child cried while cutting the sour and thorny brinjals into pieces.

The child cut *bantur* leaves into pieces to become Spirit *Gedeng*.

The Spirit *Getah*

The Spirit *Getah* controls the land, the sea, the rivers, and the bays and has the same powers as other Spirits.

Human pray to the Spirit *Getah* to protect them from harm on their travels by sea or wherever they may go.

The Spirit *Girit*

The spirit *Girit* originated from two brothers. The elder brother was a *girit* and the younger brother was an ant.

The elder brother was always scolding the younger brother while looking for food.

The younger brother always returned the scoldings.

So the elder brother said, "It is better that I go away and not be with you. Let me go and look for food alone."

Nowadays there are no more ants and *girts*, and they have become the Spirit *Girit*.

The Spirit *Hapok*

The Spirit *Hapok* originated from a human being. One day he went fishing for a *hapok* fish which his wife wanted to eat.

He caught one but on reaching home it turned into a rotten piece of wood. This went on for six days.

The wife became angry because her yearning to eat the *hapok* fish was never satisfied.

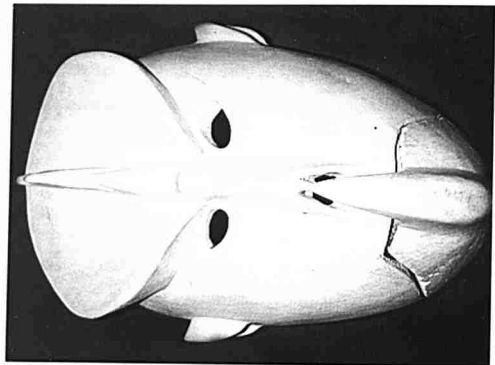
The next day the husband went to the same place to fish and caught one. But he was disappointed because it too turned into rotten wood.

The husband was so sad that he jumped into the river and became a *hapok* fish.

"*Pok! Pok!*" He ordered "Do not leave the river or I will eat you."

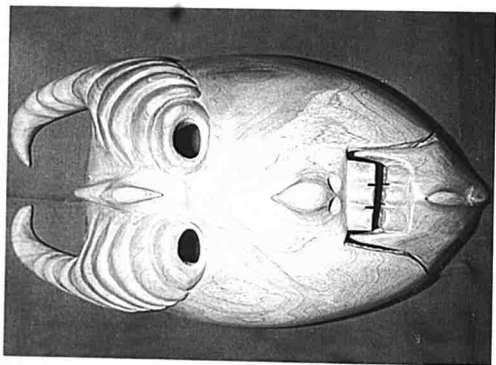
So the wife searched for the leaf of the Spirit *Bantur* and cut it up into fine pieces to be scattered whilst uttering seven times, "If you become a fish, be a fish but if you become a human, be a human."

So the *hapok* fish remains to this day.



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Plate 123:
The Spirit Cicak Kubin
[by Kamis a/I Osman]



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Plate 122:
The Spirit Cicak Kubin
[by Kamis a/I Osman]

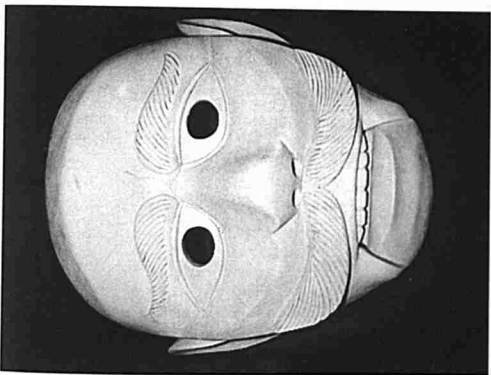


Plate 124:
The Spirit Culau (I)
[by Singam a./I Muntali]

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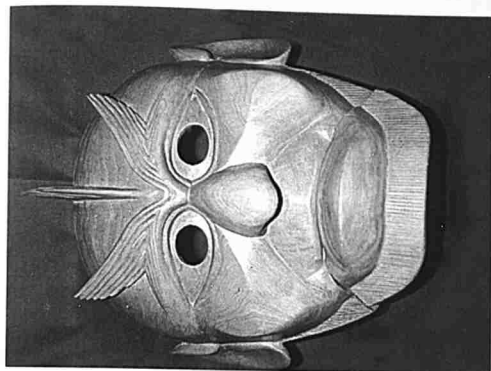


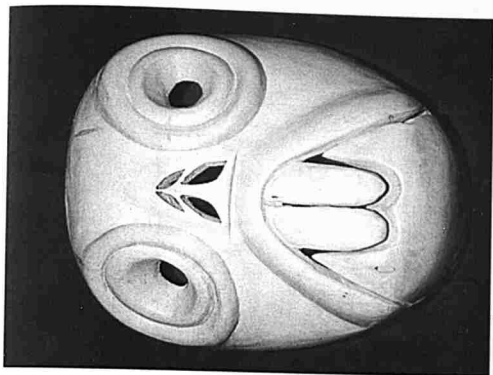
Plate 125:
The Spirit Culau (I)
[by Singam a./I Muntali]

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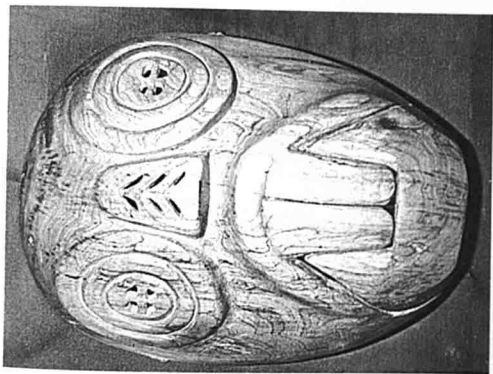
Plate 126:
The Spirit *Culau Kata*
[by Singam a/l Muntill]





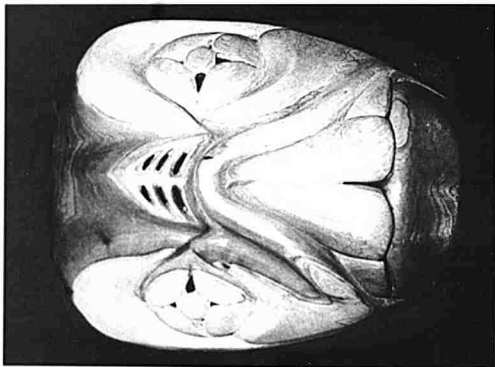
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Plate 128:
The Spirit Dapur
[by Hassan a/1 Jantan]



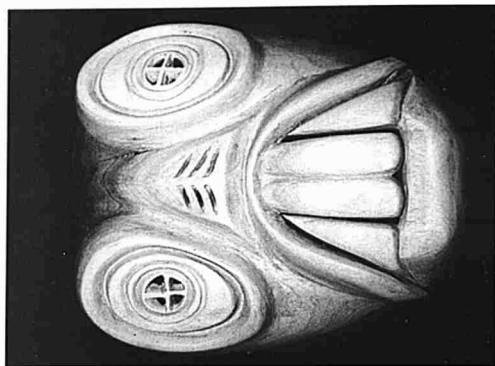
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Plate 127:
The Spirit Dapur
[by Hassan a/1 Jantan]



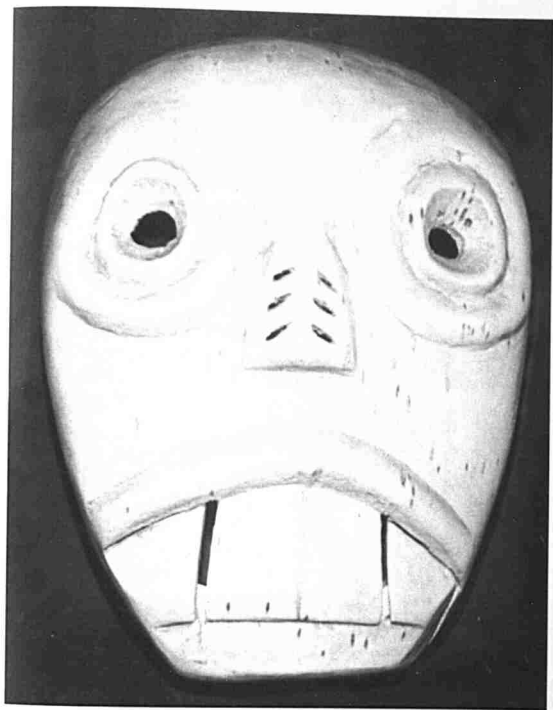
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Plate 129:
The Spirit Dapur
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]



♀

Plate 130:
The Spirit Dapur
[by Kenliang a/l Awais]



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Plate 131
The Spirit *Dapur*
[by Ramli a/l Ujang]



Plate 132:
The Spirit *Dapur*
[by Ming a/l Lipat]

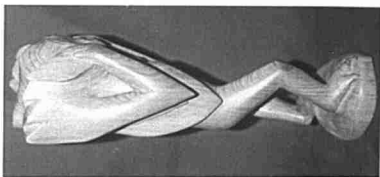
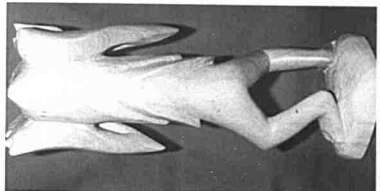
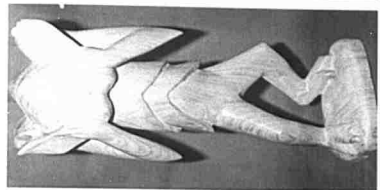
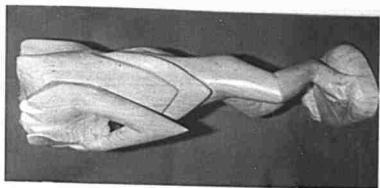


Plate 133:
The Spirit Dapur
[by Ming 4/1 Lipat]

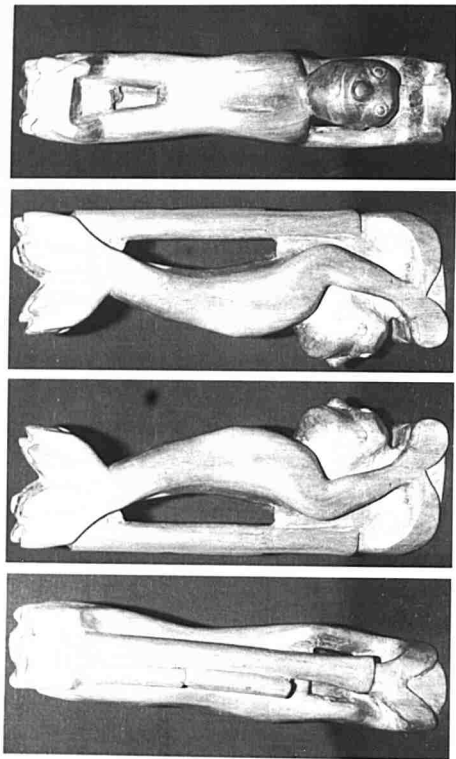


Plate 134.
The Spirit Duzian
[by Wah Bactar a/1 Assam]

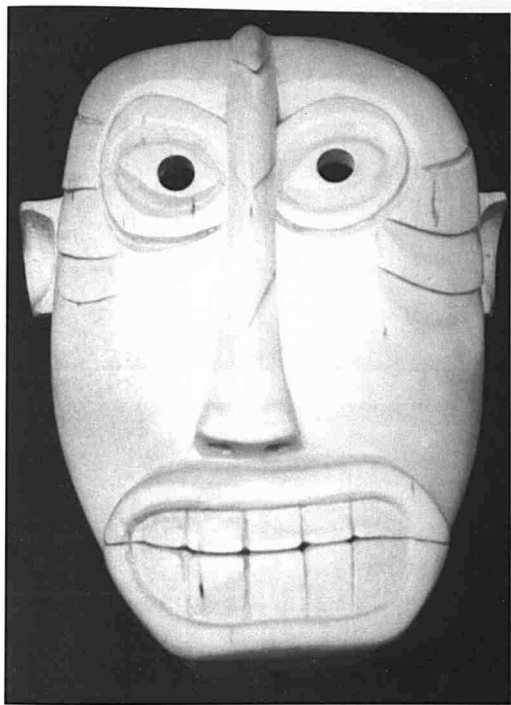
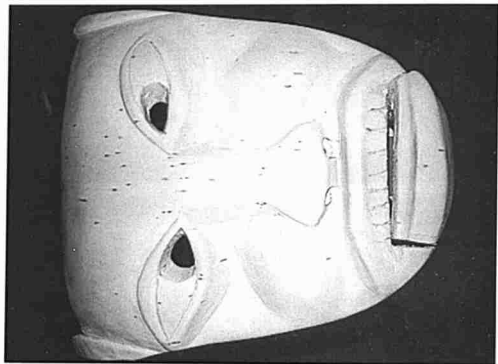
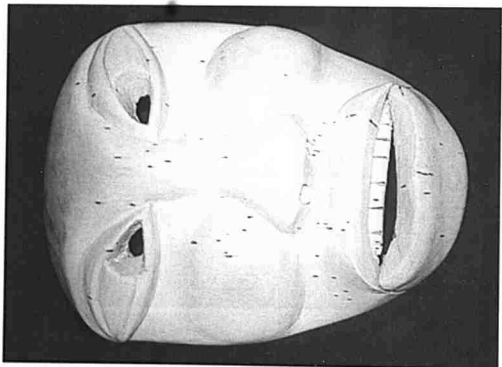


Plate 135
The Spirit *Ebe*
[by Tabah a/I Mat]



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Plate 137:
The Spittt Engkok
[by Lipat a/I Budin]



♂

Plate 136:
The Spittt Engkok
[by Lipat a/I Budin]

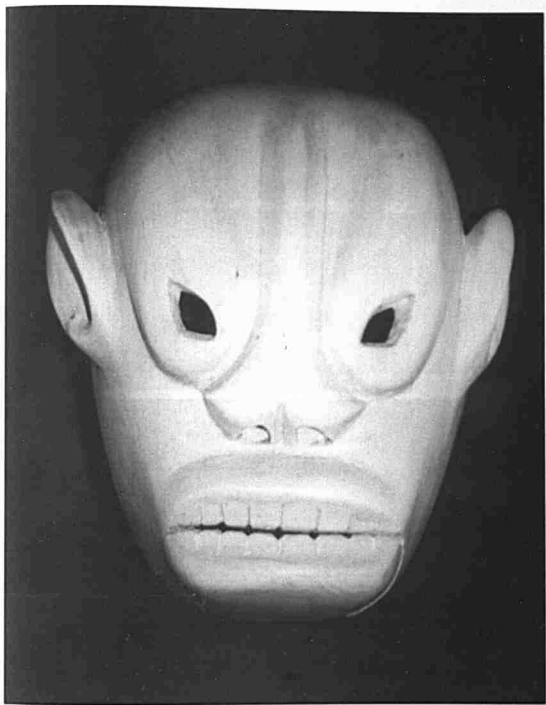


Plate 138
The Spirit *Enjong*
[by Sudin a/l Bujang]

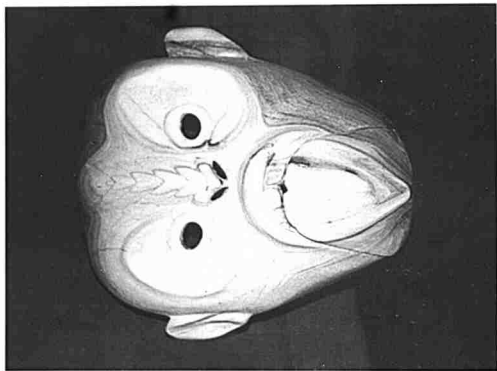


Plate 139:
The Spirit *Esain*
[by Embing a/l Lipat]

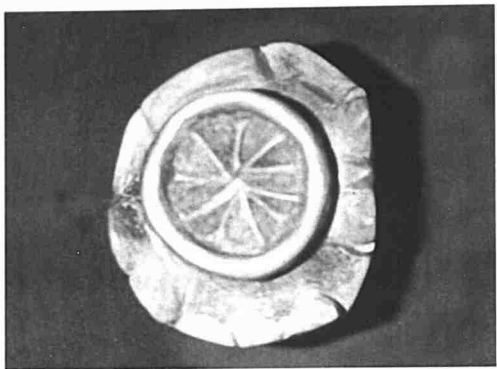


Plate 140:
The Spirit *Esain*
[by Sadat a/l Assam]

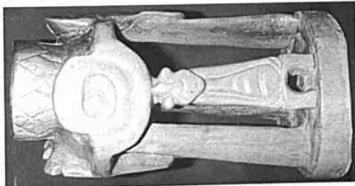
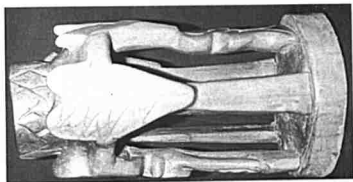
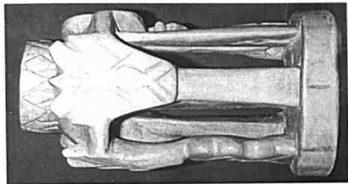
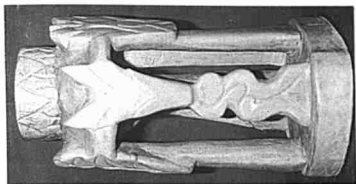


Plate 141:
The Spirit Esain
[by Saklat a/ Assam]

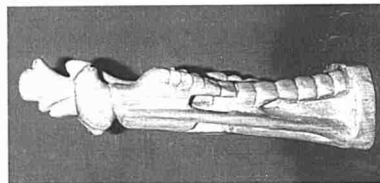
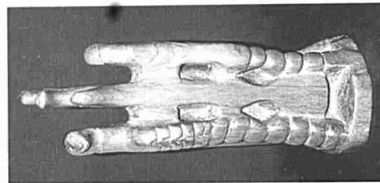
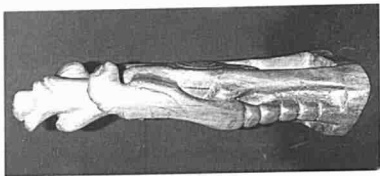
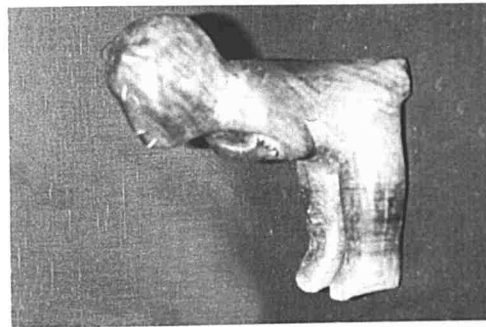
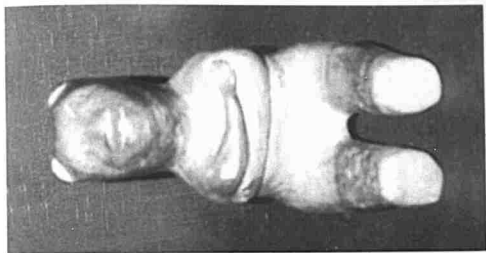


Plate 142
The Spirit Esain
[by Wah Bodat a/l Assam]



♀

Plate 143:
The Spirit Esuin (Anak)
[by Wuh Badar a/I Assam]

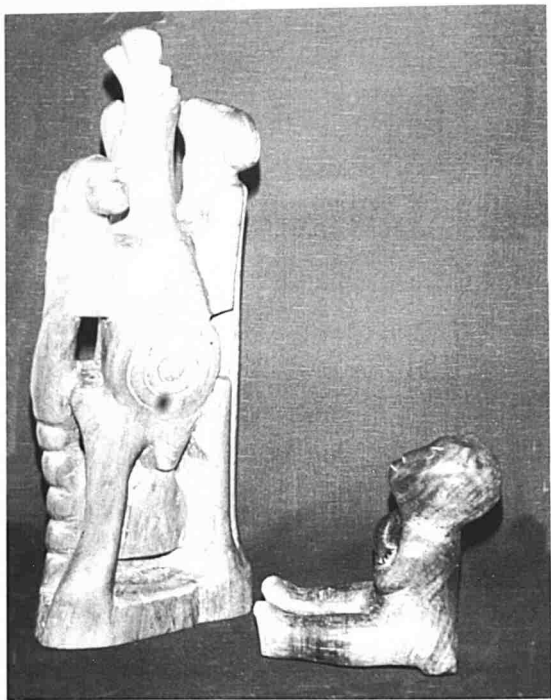


Plate 144
The Spirit Ésain
[by Wah Badar a/l Assam]

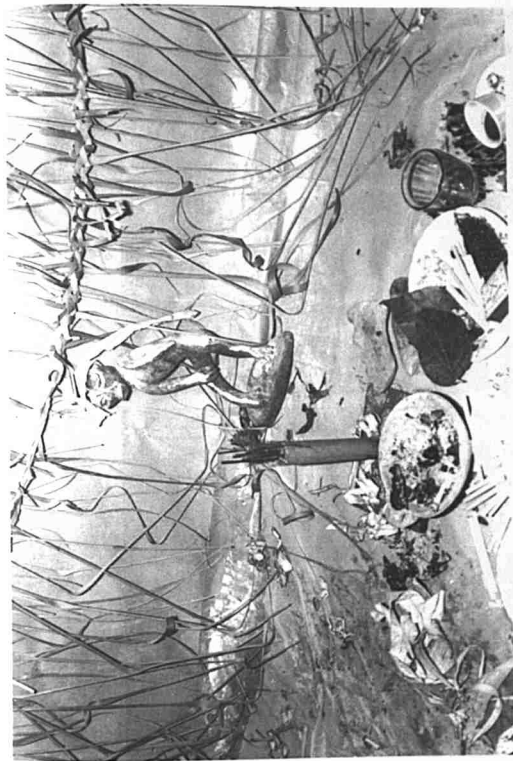


Plate 145:
The Spirit Gadang

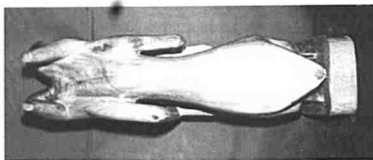
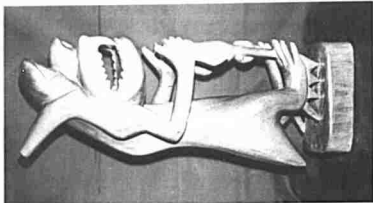
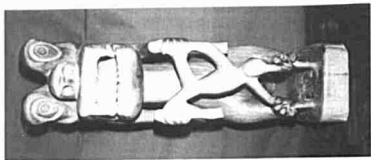
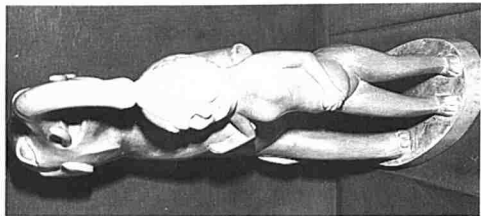


Plate 146:
The Spirit Cardok
[by Keniang a/l Awas]



Plate 147:
The Spirit Gacdok
[by Keniang a./ Awas]



♀

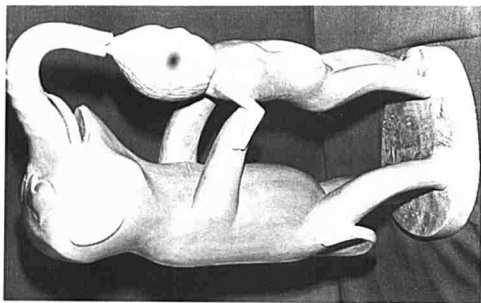
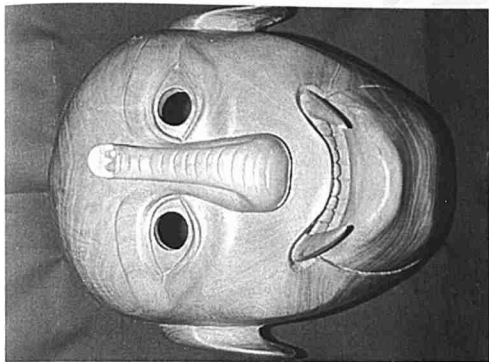


Plate 148
The Spirit Gajoh
[by Singam a/j Muntal]



♀

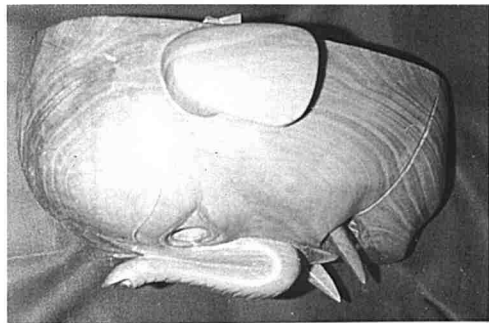


Plate 149:
The Spirit Gajah
[by Singam a/ī Muntill]

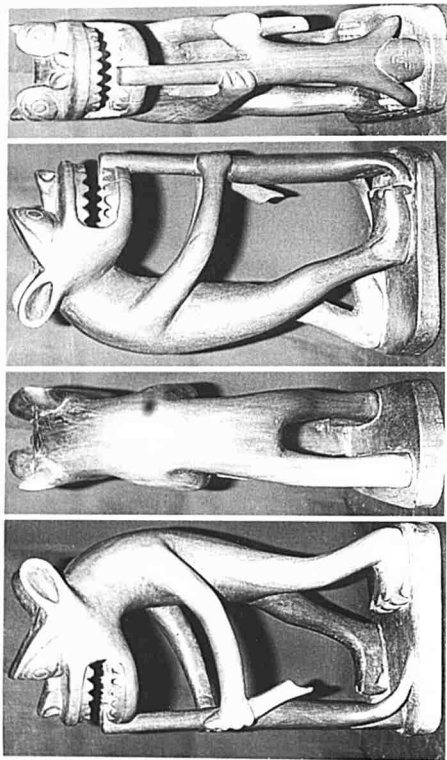


Plate 150
The Spirit Gaiak
[by Ayub a./f Taoni]



Plate 151:
The Spirit Galak
[by Ayub a/I Tani]

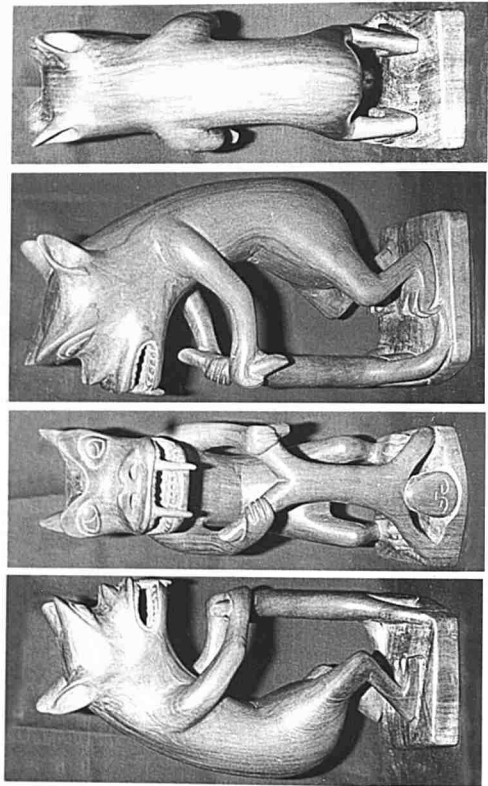


Plate 152.
The Spirit Galak
[by Ayub al-Tami]

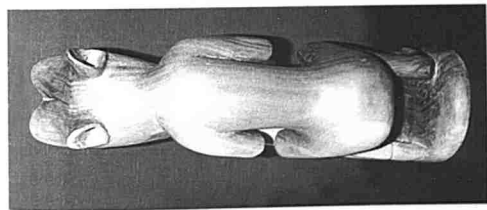
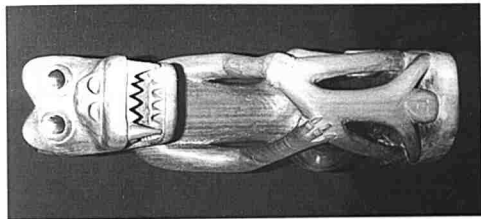
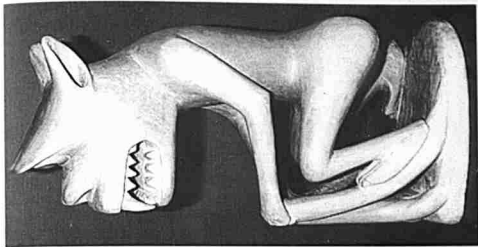


Plate 153:
The Spirit Galak
[by Siran a/I Awaa]

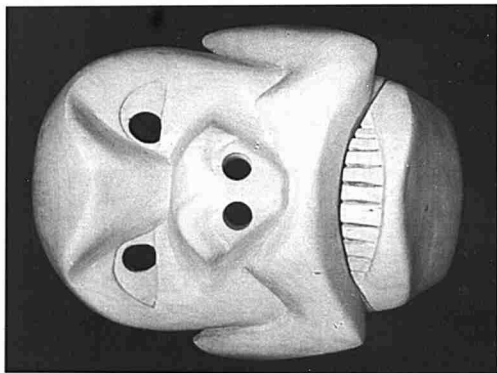


Plate 154:
The Spritt Galak
[by Siran a/I Awass]

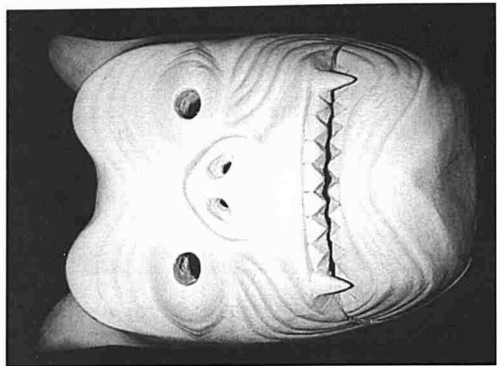


Plate 155:
The Spritt Galak
[by Apul a/I Tamo]

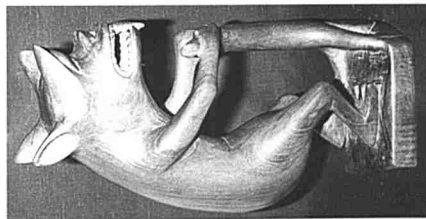
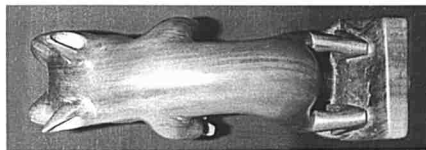
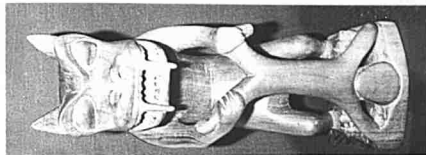


Plate 156.
The Spirit Galak
[by Ujan a/I Dewani]

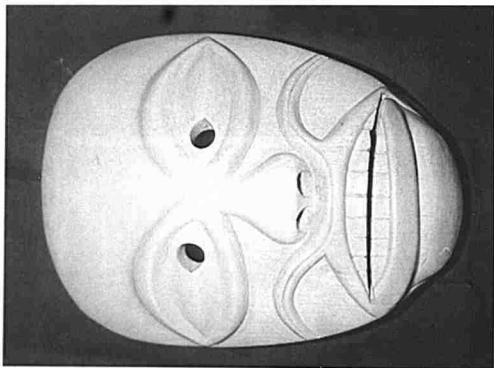


Plate 157:

The Spirit Galak

[by Tabah a/I Mar]

♂

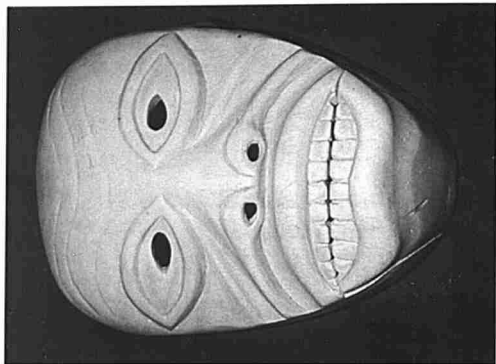


Plate 158:

The Spirit Galak

[by Tabah a/I Mar]

♀

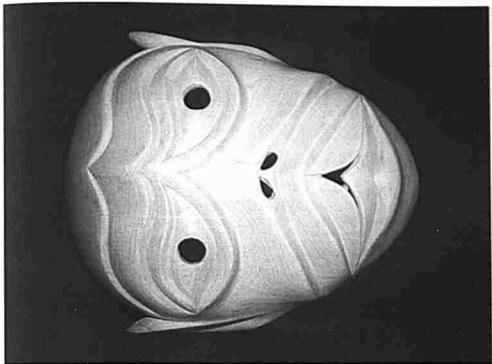


Plate 160:
The Spirit Cayak
[by Siran a/I Awos]

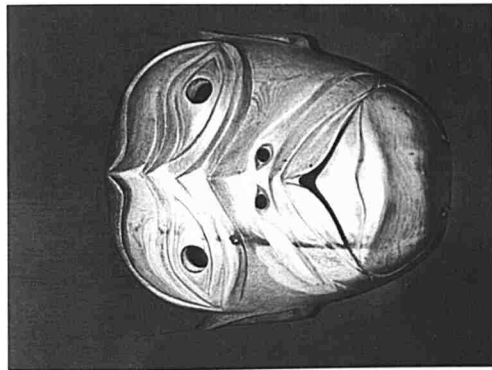


Plate 159:
The Spirit Cayak
[by Siran a/I Awos]

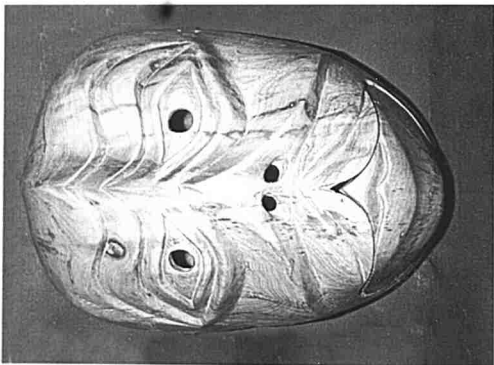


Plate 161:
The Spirit Gayyak
[by Siran a/l Awas]

♂

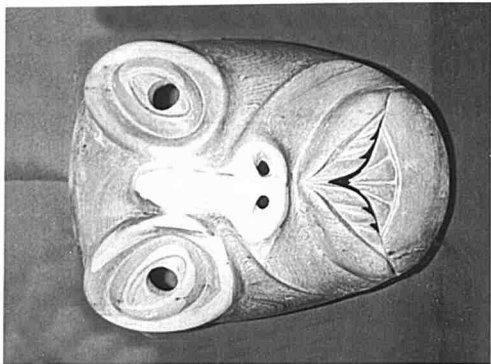


Plate 162:
The Spirit Gayyak
[by Siran a/l Awas]

♀

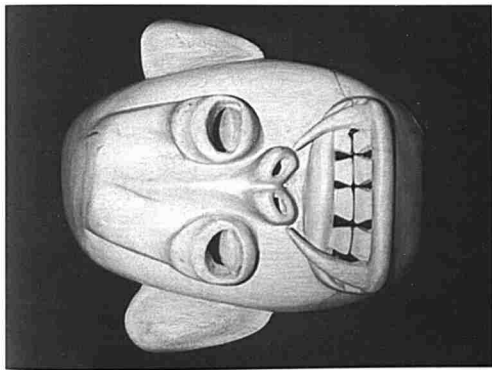


Plate 163:
The Spirit *Geđak*
[by Tabbah a/ī Mat]

♂

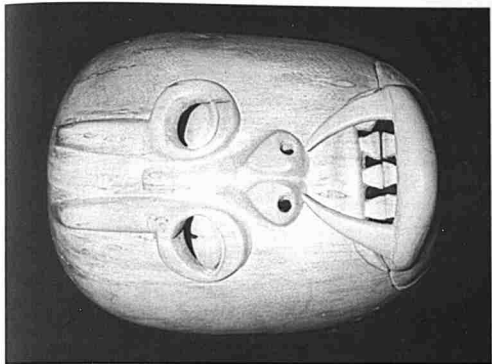


Plate 164:
The Spirit *Geđak*
[by Ayub a/ī Tani]

♀

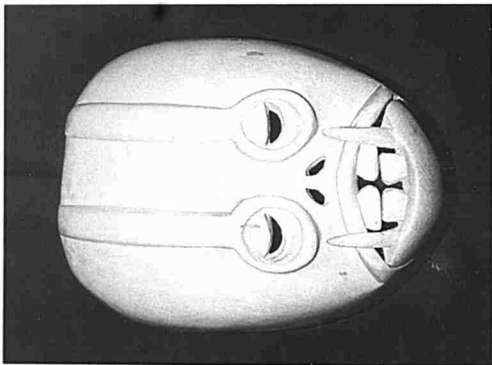


Plate 165:
The Split Geddak
[by Hassan a/l Jantan]

♂

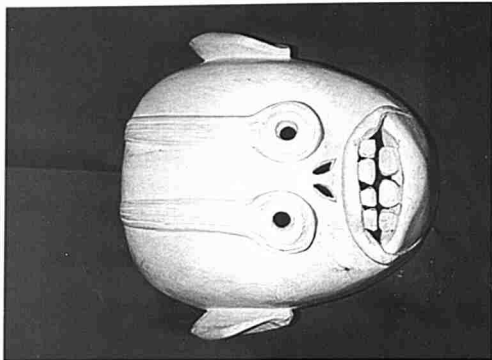


Plate 166:
The Split Geddak
[by Hassan a/l Jantan]

♀

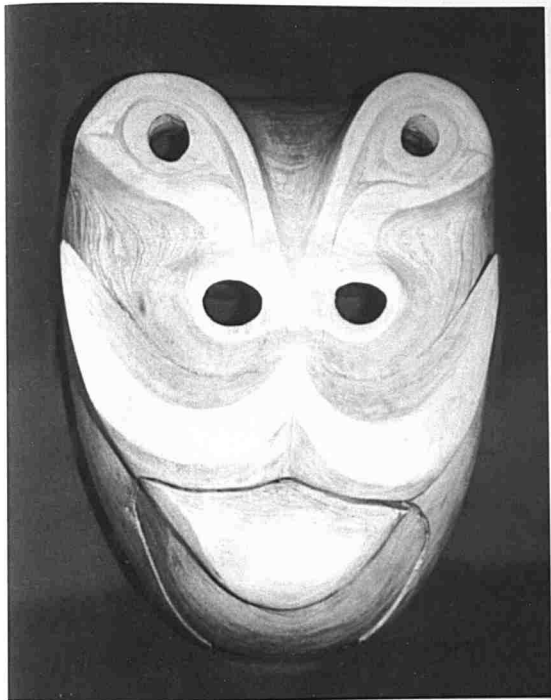


Plate 167:
The Spirit Geclak
[by Ahmed al-Kassim]



Plate 168
The Spirit *Cetlak*
[by Semu a/I Awass]



Plate 169:
The Spirit Geleeng
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

♂

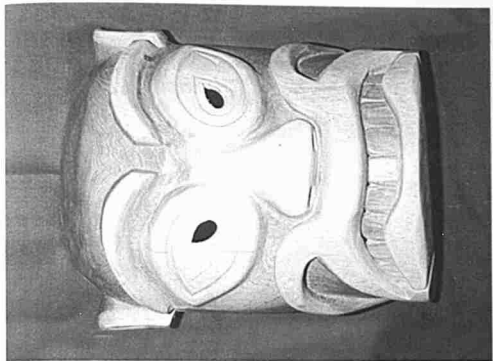


Plate 170:
The Spirit Geleeng
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

♀

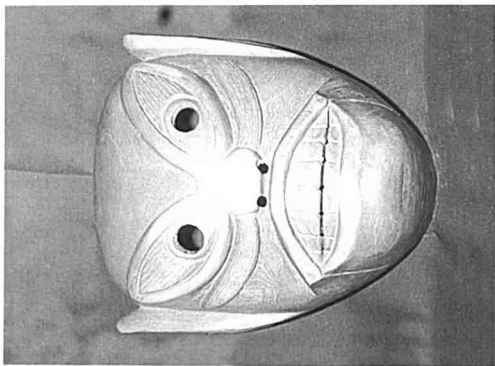


Plate 171:
The Spirit Getah
[by Keniang a/l Awas]

♂

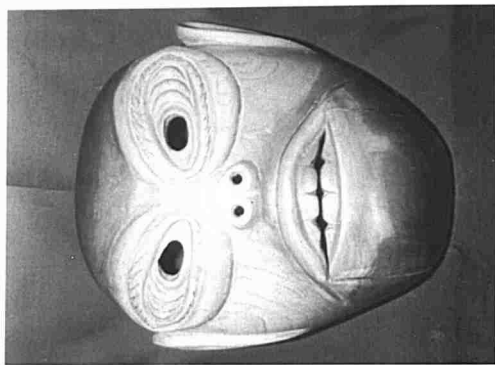
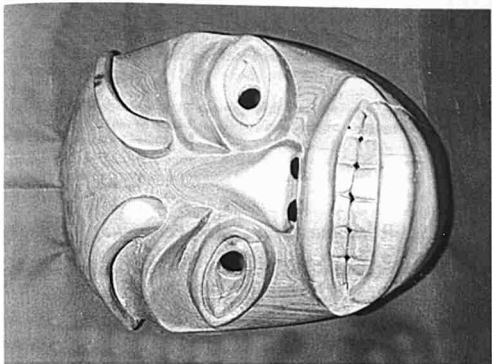


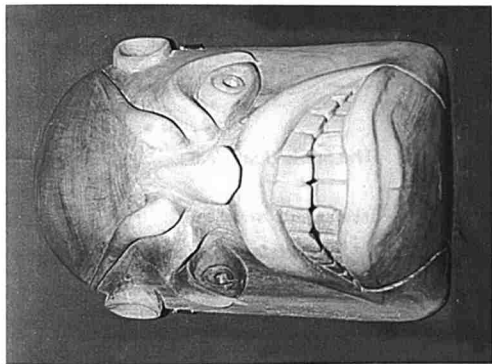
Plate 172:
The Spirit Getah
[by Keniang a/l Awas]

♀



♀

Plate 174:
The Spirit Gombang
[by Tabah a/I Mat]



♂

Plate 173:
The Spirit Gombang
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

The Spirit *Happit**

The Spirit *Happit* originated from a human being and a black dog. When the black dog died he was placed in a *kuali* and stirred.

The intestines of the dog flew out and became a *kuluang kelawa*. The human being swore that if he becomes a *kuluang*, a *kuluang* he will be and if he becomes a *kelawa*, so he will be.

In ancient times there was no *kuluang*, and it was only after the death of the dog that this *kuluang kelawa* originated. It is because of this that the *kuluang* and *kelawa* have a strong smell during spring.

The Spirit *Harimau Memasang Perangkap*

When one sees a bone, one should not step over it. If one steps over it, one will fall into its power. This power can never be escaped even if the bone becomes rotten. It will be continued even until it becomes soil.

One must not pass by the place where the spirit had feasted. If one does so, whether one is a human being or an animal, one will fall into its power.

So that is why men are afraid of the place where the tiger had its feast, its place of entertainment. It found it entertaining because there it could play around, blown by the breeze, and birds were whistling.

When human beings heard the birds whistling, they knew that birds were there. According to the story of old times, they thought there was a bird when there was a whistling sound, because the story was already being told.

The Spirit *Hea (Nea)*

☛ See p. 208

The Spirit *Helang Siput*

☛ See p. 209–211

* *Happit* in the aboriginal language is *kelawar* in Malay.

The Spirit *Hilak*

Once two sisters went to look for sweet potatoes. Their father and mother told them not to pick up the big ones.

One day the two sisters went again to look for the sweet potatoes.

The elder sister said, "Sister, let us take only the big potatoes."

Both sisters went home.

The children made *nanyo kemaui*.^{*} It is better that you go to the forest and try to cut this sweet-potato into pieces.

When it was cut it was found that it was not a sweet potato because there was blood in it.

The two sisters went into the woods. They took shelter under a *kepas* tree and also ate its fruit. Then they heard a roar, like the roar of a tiger.

For seven days and seven nights they ate *kepas* fruit.

When one was cut there was a roar "Oh! Oh!"

Seven people came out of the fruit and the roar ceased.

The father and mother followed them into the jungle.

The children said, "Father, mother, come here."

Father and mother went to the house of their children.

They asked their parents to make a basket to go up to the sky.

The Spirit *Hilak Kejal*

The Spirit *Kejal* originated from a human being while he was searching for food in the forest. Daily he went in search of *hilak* till at the seventh clump he found the flesh of *hilak kejal*. He dug for the flesh which was underground to get to the root of the *hilak*.

* There is no translation for this phrase.

Though he had dug deep in the ground, it was not deep enough to get the flesh. He followed and felt the flesh but he did not get it. He accidentally entered the Spirit *Kayak*'s home.

On reaching the *Kayak*, the *Kayak* said, "Have some food. Do you want it on a big or a small plate?"

"I want it on a big plate. What is the meat?"

"Elephant's meat."

The *Kayak* then served the food.

When he had finished eating, the *Kejal* ate the flesh of Spirit *Kejal*. The bones of the *Kejal* were kept between the roots was so full and felt his stomach bursting. His stomach then burst and he died. The *Kayak* a big tree.

The elder brother of the Spirit *Hilak Kejal* searched for his younger brother. He traced the younger brother's remains to a hole, the burial place of his younger brother.

"We are *Akar Hilak* and must follow my brother's Spirit who fell to the *Kayak*."

His elder brother followed till he reached the *Kayak*'s home. "O! O! O! *lauk!*" "No I am the grandmother." "O! ... Spirit, I thought food (*lauk*)?"

"Come, let's go to my house, grandma. I am King of the *kayak*." "Do you want to eat from a big or small plate?" "Small one, grandchild. What is the meat?" "Chicken!" So he ate his dinner and slept. The *Kayak* had said that on the morrow he was going to hunt for the spirit of the tree. "Do not go to the tree for there are bees there." At dawn the *Kayak* went away.

Then the elder brother looked in between the big trees and saw his younger brother's remains. He arranged the bones of his brother and then came a *penoh* and he called out "Mak Cik, please help me with an old rag."

Then he pushed it into the nostril three times and his brother woke up. Then he asked, "How long ago were you eaten by the *Kayak*?"

The Spirit *Hulubalang Galah*

In ancient times human beings advised grandchildren and great-grandchildren, that if the moon had just appeared they should not go anywhere.

But if they had to go out they must wait until the moon was high, because it was when the moon was low that animals lurked in the jungles and diseases and bad spells would befall them. The adviser was the Spirit *Hulubalang Galah*.

The Spirit *Impal* (*Ketam Impal*)

See p. 217–219

The Spirit *Ipoh* (*Cesbisak*)

Long ago there was a human being who wanted to look for a *cesbisak* in the jungle and the hills.

One day the human being asked his friend, "Friend, aren't you going to look for the *cesbisak*?"

The friend said, "Not yet, you go first."

So the human being went alone and arrived at the forest. While walking he came across a *ces* tree. The human being said to the *ces* tree, "Oi. . . ! *Ces*, are you *bisak* or not?" He met six other *ces* trees. He asked the same questions.

For the seventh tree, the *ces* tree replied, "*Bisak*."

"Are you really *cesbisak*?"

"*Bisak*."

"Say it truly—are you *bisak* or not?" "Really *bisak*."

The *cesbisak* said, "Hurry man, cut it down quickly, take the sap quickly, cook it quickly and smear it quickly on the tips of the darts, and blowpipe it quickly."

The human being quickly cut the tree, took the sap [the poison *Ipoh*] and cooked it, smeared it on the tips of the darts and went away. While walking he saw a monkey. The man asked the monkey, "Monkey, do you have any fat?" The monkey did not answer him.

He walked some more and met the second monkey. "Hey, monkey, do you have fat?"

The second monkey replied, "I don't have any fat."

The next four monkeys said they had no fat. He walked some more and met a big monkey—the seventh monkey.

"Monkey, do you have any fat?"

The monkey replied, "I have fat."

"Do you really have fat?"

"Yes, really." The monkey said, "Quick, man, shoot with your blowpipe—don't delay, shoot quickly."

So the man shot it with the blowpipe.

The monkey said, "I am falling. I am dying. Quick, gather firewood and light a fire." The monkey was skinned.

Go home quickly—the human being went home carrying the meat of the monkey. He arrived home. The husband told the wife to run away quickly. Show the hands only.

"Quick, man—Cook it quickly."

"Wait a while." He cleaned the monkey-meat slowly. His wife had not gone far yet. "Cook it quickly." So the human being cooked the monkey's meat. The water began to boil and to shake. "Eat it quickly, man." "It's not cooked yet."

The human being thought of escaping. He had an idea. "Quick, man, it's already cooked. Eat it quickly." Not yet—I want to chew betel leaves first." The human being chewed the betel leaves and the arecanut, and a piece of the chalk fell under the house. "Oh, a piece of chalk fell down. I want to chew the betel leaves and the chalk fell down," said the human being.

He went down to pick up the chalk first. He took a piece of firewood and tied it. Then he went down. Under the house there was a pig waiting.

The pig said, "Friend, you can tie the firewood to my tail, then friend can run away. Quick, run!"

So the human being tied the firewood to the pig's tail and ran away. He ran away up and down the hills and met an animal called *mengkarung* (a kind of lizard).

The *mengkarung* said, "Friend, what's the matter with you?"

The human being said, "Oh, *mengkarung* I have got the *tenung cesbisak*."

"Em . . . It's difficult to cure the *tenung cesbisak*," said the *mengkarung*. "Run quickly."

And so the human ran away like the wind. It was the same with the other animals—they asked questions.

Then the monkey in the cooking pot turned into a monkey again. The monkey said, "Bah, deceit and bluff. If I had know I'd have chewed the bones and I'd have chewed the flesh."

The pig under the under the house ran away too. Deceit. The monkey came down to pursue the human being.

Then he met the *mengkarung*. "Mengkarung, did you see a human being pass this way?" asked the monkey.

The *mengkarung* said, "I don't know, I didn't see anyone. There's no one here."

"There must be — even the smell is there — how can he not be here?" The monkey and the *mengkarung* talked for hours. And so did the other animals.

That was only to delay him so that the human being could run away. Then he arrived at a village and he asked them, "Is my wife here?"

The villagers asked, "Uncle's wife is here." If she is here, it's alright."

The villagers asked, "What's the matter with you?"

"I've got the *tenong cesbisak*."

The villagers had a meeting. There was a tall house. The villagers made spears and stuck them upright on the ground in front of the steps and under the steps. The steps were cut in the middle. The steps were long but only a little bit was cut. The villagers pretended to pound rice. The day turned slowly into evening.

Then the monkey arrived. "Oh, how are you?"

"We are fine," said the human beings. "What are you doing—oh, pounding the rice. Is there a friend who ran away?"

The human beings said, "The friend who ran away is here."

"He was my friend and he ran away. I've been looking for him," said the monkey. The villagers said, "Yes, go up to the house. Careful it's probably broken."

The steps did not look broken. So the monkey went up to the house. Half-way up, the steps broke. The monkey fell on the upright spears. The human beings stabbed it and hot water came pouring down. So the monkey died. So they burnt a mixture of *bantut* leaves. They took the flower sheath of the *nibong* (a kind of palm) to fan the ashes.

Then only the human being cried out seven times. "If it be a monkey, let it be a monkey and don't talk like a monkey and don't be a human being. If it is a *cesbisak*, let it be a *cesbisak* and don't talk."

The Spirit *Itik*

The Spirit exists, but no story or figure was available.

The Spirit *Jabang*

He was a ghost in the jungle. In the middle of the night and in the morning he waits for human beings who travel at night or in the afternoon.

Now he is no longer a threat because Spirits of ancient times have cursed him. The Spirit *Jabang* may still exist in this world. He wanted to become a human being but did not become one because there was a spell on him.

Cut the thorny brinjal and the lemon grass shoots into pieces every seven nights to let the lemon grass shoot run to the jungle, mountain, or rivers. Let them become air. That was the curse. From ancient times till now the said Spirit *Jabang* is no more.

The Spirit *Jabos*

☛ See p. 223

The Spirit *Janggung*

Every day for three or four days he went to catch birds but he could not get any, whereas others caught them. When he changed the tree he still could not get any.

Somehow the man became angry and he stuck birds' feathers onto his body.

He chased away the birds and he flew together with the birds until he arrived at a far country. There the birds alighted.

That was the place of the *janggung* birds. When he arrived he told all about his affairs. The king of the birds gave him an amulet and a wife too.

His wife was the daughter of the king of the birds. After living there for some years, the husband and wife returned to their original village. It took them seven days and seven nights before they arrived.

At that time it was the fruit season. So he came down together with his wife.

He told what really happened, i.e. that he had gone to that country by sticking birds' feathers onto his body. He said, "I became angry and that's why I went as far as the country of the *janggung* birds."

The king of the *janggung* said that if I collect sea-shells I can become a human being again but if I eat fruit I would not be a human being again."

The Spirit *Jangkang*

In ancient times human beings daily went searching for a bathing bird.

One human being walked into the jungle, and found a pool where there were birds bathing. But the pool was far from his house. Sometimes the human being lost his way home.

Then the human being went to trap the birds by using bird lime. He never returned home. This happened to many other human beings.

One day, a human being went with his friend. On reaching the pool they started to set traps one after another. The birds bathed and sat on the traps. One human being caught the trapped birds.

As soon as he took the birds, the human being found himself stuck to the pool. They called out for help. His friend ran away.

Actually it was not the pool but the Spirit *Jangkang* who had caught the human being. His friend reached his house and he was lucky because his house was made of palm leaves.

The Spirit *Jangkang* jumped onto the roof and when the house collapsed the human being ran away. But the Spirit *Jangkang* could not run away, because the roof of the house was made from palm leaves.

So the human being took this opportunity to curse the Spirit *Jangkang*, repeating seven times. "If it becomes a *Jangkang* be a *Jangkang* as small as an ant."

The Spirit *Jantung*

It originated from the banana tree.

One day a human being slept under a banana tree. For seven days and seven nights, he slept. On the last day he emerged from the banana tree, his hair was long and loose, his eyes were big, his nails were long and his body hairy.

Later the Spirit *Jantung* asked to eat the human being.

The human being replied, "Oh! This is your grandchild." The Spirit *Jantung* asked seven times.

On the seventh time the Spirit gave him something.

The Spirit then cursed the *Moyang Bantut* and slashed the banana tree seven times, saying, "Let the mother die, leaving the child."

The Spirit *Jantung Pisang*

Once there was a couple who were planting banana trees to supplement their livelihood. The human heart could become a banana. The husband and wife waited for the bananas to come from the human heart which they had planted to obtain food for the family.

When the husband saw the human heart had produced fruit, he waited under the tree for seven days and seven nights while the heart produced fruit.

When the heart appeared, the Spirit Banana from the sky came down to become midwife to the *jantung pisang* until it doubled up and produced sound "crack-crack". Three times it doubled up during the night and at five in the morning she went up to the sky again.

The spell made by the humans remains to this day so that the banana can be eaten, and if the parent is cut down, the seedlings remain.

The Spirit *Jawak (Blawak)*

Once a baby rat fell ill. The dove took care of it. The sickness was a fever. The *bomoh* Sang Harimau (Dr. Tiger) was called. It became a cat and licked the baby rat until it became well as before.

When the baby rat was well again, it held a feast as cure-payment (to lift the spell) for the *bomoh* Sang Harimau, because the tiger was its doctor and to appease his desire to eat rats.

Long ago rats were also like human beings and followed some of their customs. So a feast was held. The Tiger said, "If you hold a feast you must have songs otherwise it will not be complete." The elephant, one of the guests, also advised, "We must also dance in the padi fields."

"Dancing and stamping is good for us," said the tiger, "because we have curved bodies." "Put out the resin-torch because a cat is about to spring!" said the bat, another guest, "*Horeh, horeh—Like the forked-tongue of the monitor-lizard; so is the human mind!*"

The *bomoh* became a tiger (most likely a cat) and caught the baby rat. The mother managed to escape. If that mother rat had been caught and eaten, there would be no rats today.

It was after catching the baby rat that the tiger (or cat) knew how to catch its victim. Before that it did not know how to go about it.

* Implying that the real aim of the *bomoh* is not the feast ceremony but to catch the baby rat and other rats.

The Spirit *Jembalang*

One origin of the Spirit *Jembalang* in ancient times was that he became the *Jembalang Tanah*. He was the guardian of this earth. He supported this earth, thus without him we would not exist today. So this earth existed.

The Spirit *Jembalang* is no longer with us. Even so we are still two together. The Spirit *Jembalang* definitely is our Spirit of ancient times.

The Spirit *Jongkoi*

The Spirit *Jongkoi* originated from a human being in a village. Everything disappeared leaving only two houses. Thus they were left with two houses, one for the Spirit *Jongkoi* and the other for the human being. The Spirit *Jongkoi* invited him to shift to another village (*kampung*) to meet friends.

Unfortunately the human being did not know the secret of the Spirit *Jongkoi*, and the *Jongkoi* did not know that in the other village the human beings knew it. The Spirit *Jongkoi* did not destroy one house as an example to other villagers. At that time, it was raining. He wanted to eat but there was no food.

"Why is *Jongkoi* quarrelling?" "No! It is about the food." "Oh" replied the human being, "I have food." "What food?" The human being replied, "Meat." The *Jongkoi* mistook the monkey's meat on a shelf for a human being. Thus the human being knew the secret that the people in the village had been destroyed by the *Jongkoi*, and that they had not lost their way.

The human beings then held a meeting to kill the *Jongkoi*. The human beings gathered leaves with difficulty because the *Jongkoi* guarded these leaves which would protect the human beings from the *Jongkoi*. They even stole some.

Having obtained these, they repeated seven times, "If you change, be a man; if not, be a *Jongkoi*." Thus it is no more.

The Spirit *Junka*

The Spirit *Junka* looked after small farmers and also animals like rats, sparrows, worms, eagles, and others.

If we did not pray to the Spirit *Junka*, the rice plants would be destroyed. If we did not ask in time, it would still happen, though not so badly.

Then we must pray to the Spirit *Junka* to let the crops grow and not destroy them and to protect them from sickness. Then hold a feast (*kenduri*); the Spirit must be appeased with food before the others may eat.

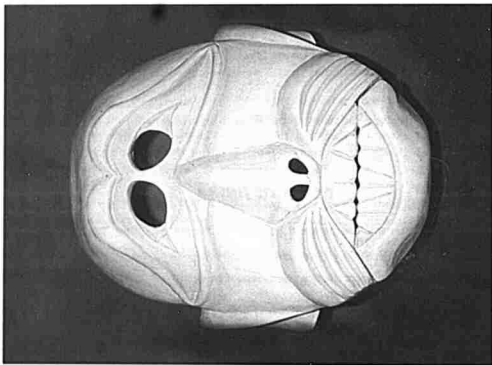


Plate 175:
The Spirit *Haypok*
[by Sabah a/ Ming]

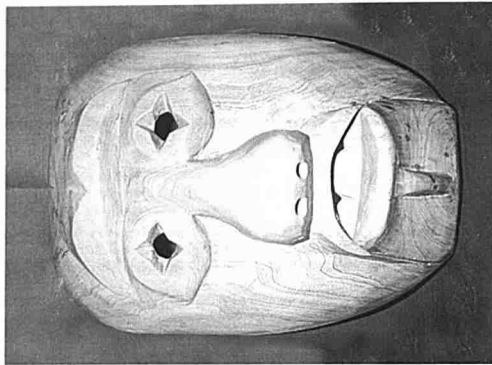


Plate 176:
The Spirit *Haypok*
[by Sabah a/ Ming]

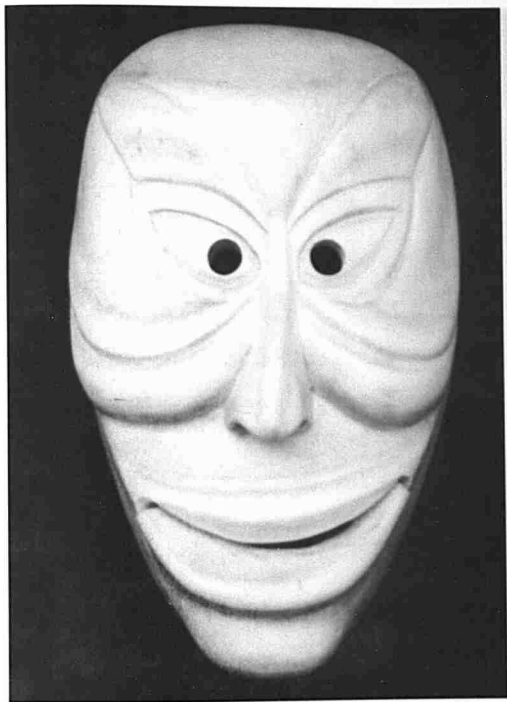


Plate 177:
The Spirit *Hapok*
[by Tabah a/l Mat]

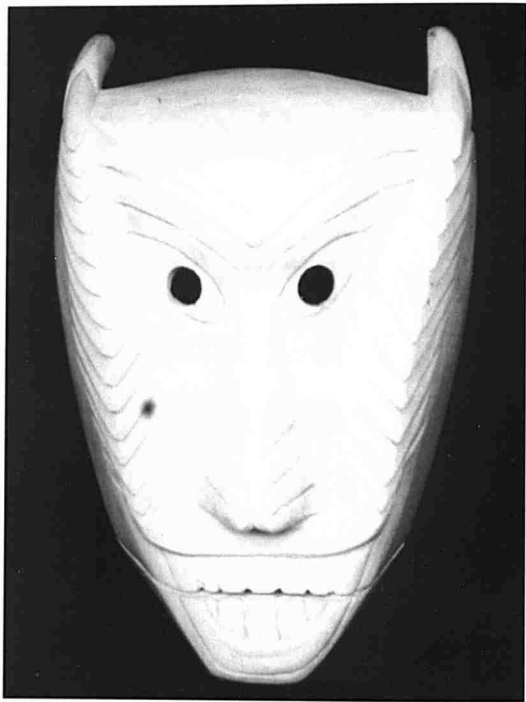
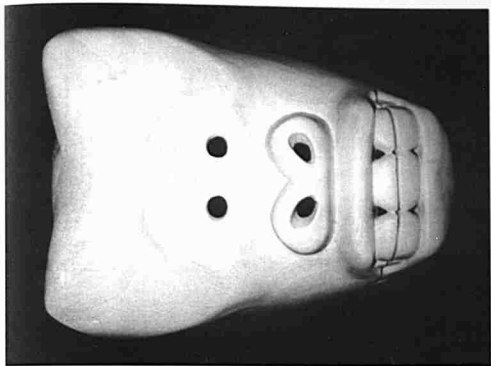
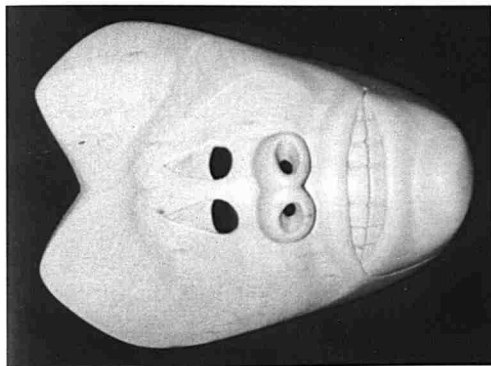


Plate 178:
The Spirit *Habbit* (*Habbit*)
[by Tabah a/l Mat]



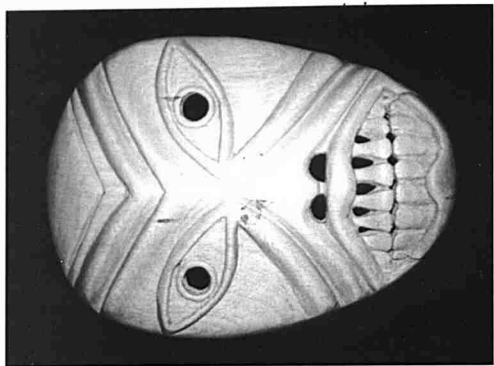
♀

Plate 180:
The Spirit Hoppit (Happet)
[by Yusof a/l Karim]



♂

Plate 179:
The Spirit Hoppit (Happet)
[by Yusof a/l Karim]



♀

Plate 182:
The Spirit Hea (Nea)
[by Musa a/l Akon]



♂

Plate 181:
The Spirit Hea (Nea)
[by Petat a/l Keniang]

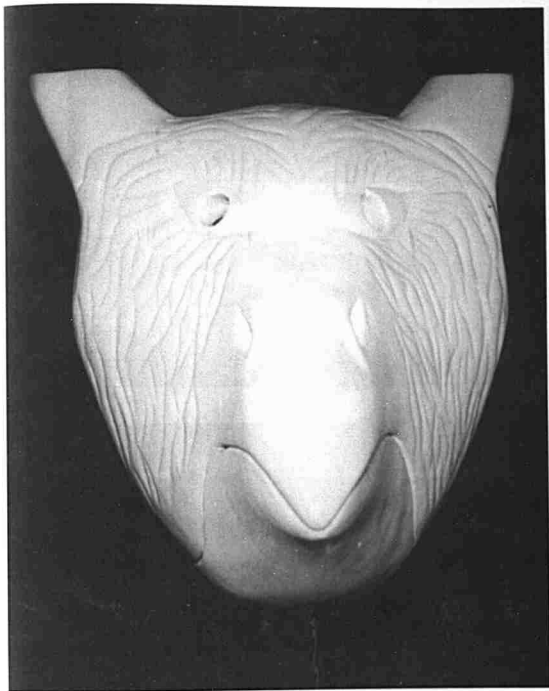


Plate 183:
The Spirit *Helang Siput*
[by Ajil a/l Mat]

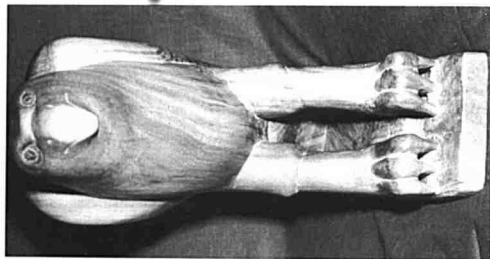
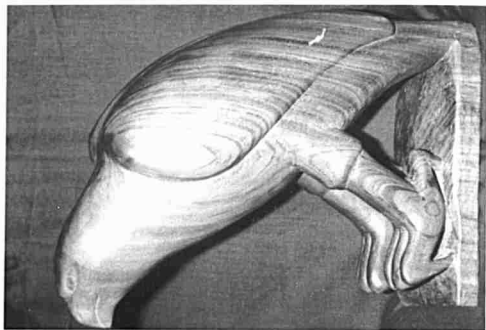


Plate 184:
The Spirit Helang Sipur
[by Ajil a/1 Max]

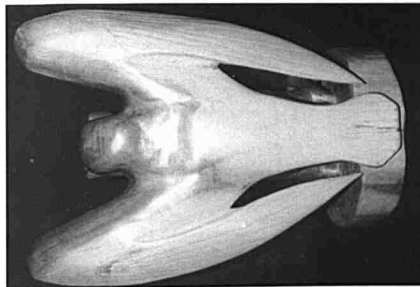
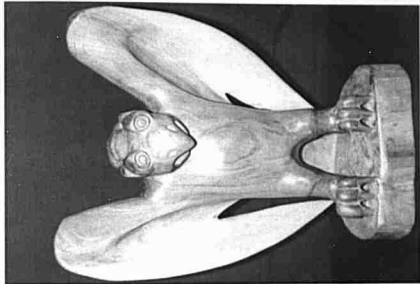
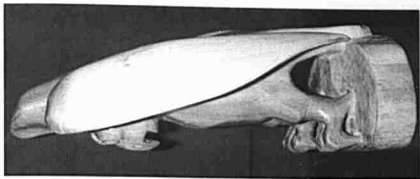


Plate 185:
The Spirit *Heiang Siput*
[by Rahman a/í Kassim]

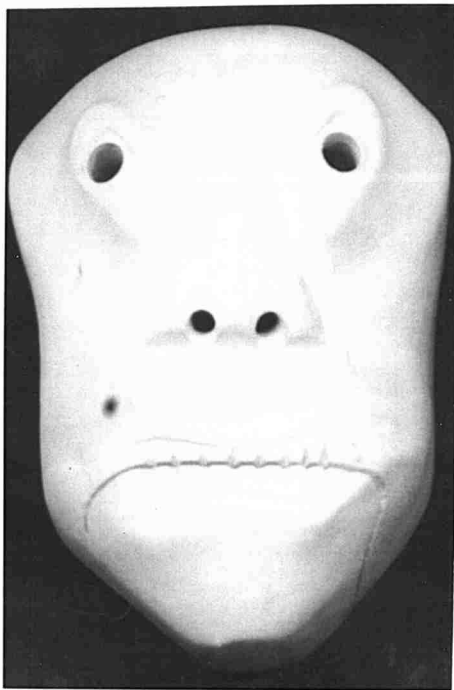


Plate 186.
The Spirit *Hilak Kejal*
[by Siran a/l Awas]

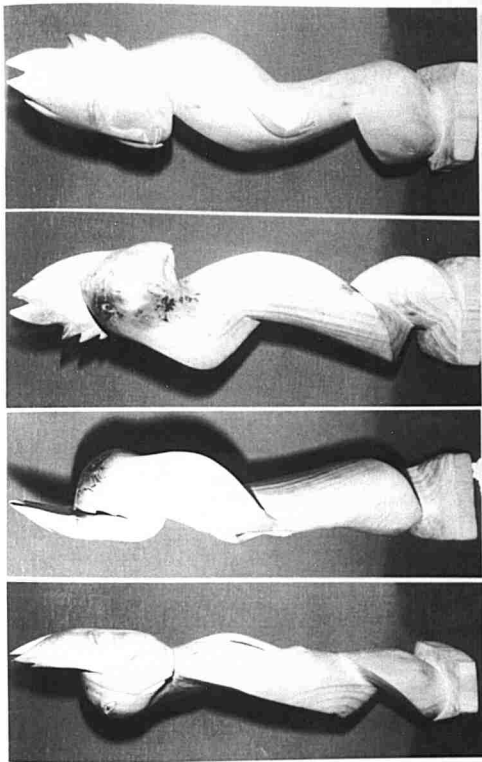


Plate 187:
The Spirit *Hilak Kejal*
[by Kamis a/l Osman]

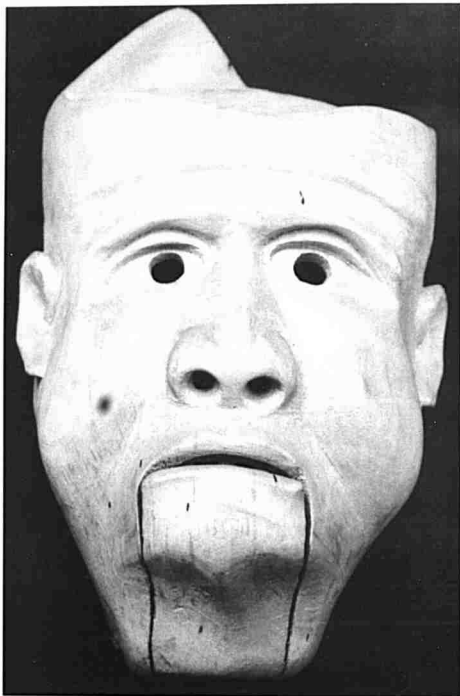


Plate 188.
The Spirit *Hulubalang Galah*
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

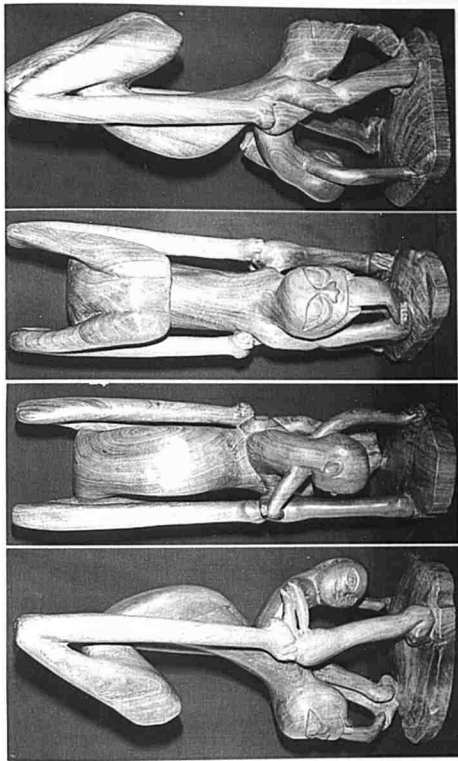


Plate 189:
The Spirit Hulubalang Galah
[by Karom a/1 Yu]

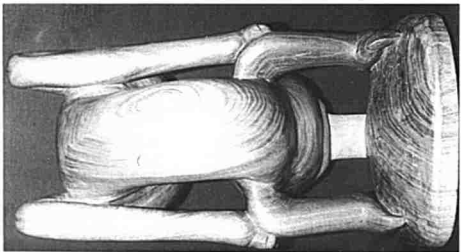
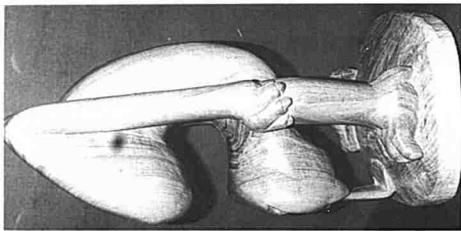
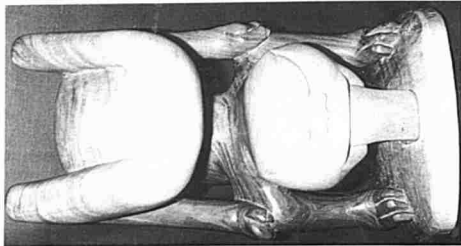


Plate 190.
The Spirit *Huluksiang Galah*
[by Karom a./i Yu]

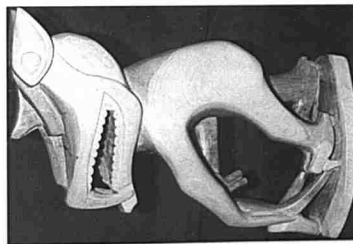
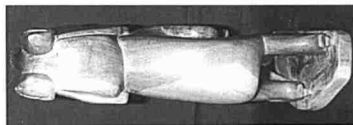
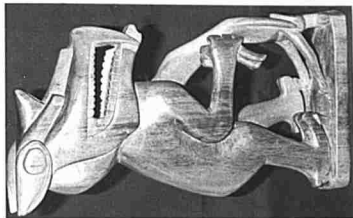
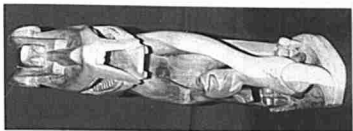


Plate 191:
The Spirit *Impai* (Keram *Impai*)
[by Tabah a./i Mat]

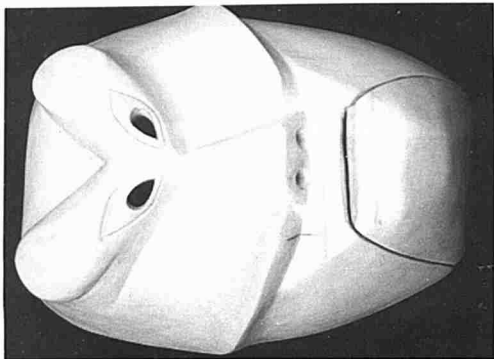


Plate 193:
The Spirit *Impai* (Ketaam *Impai*)
[by Tabah a/1 Mar]

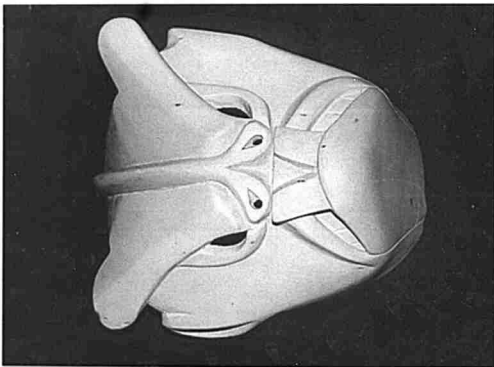


Plate 192:
The Spirit *Impai* (Ketaam *Impai*)
[by Tabah a/1 Mar]

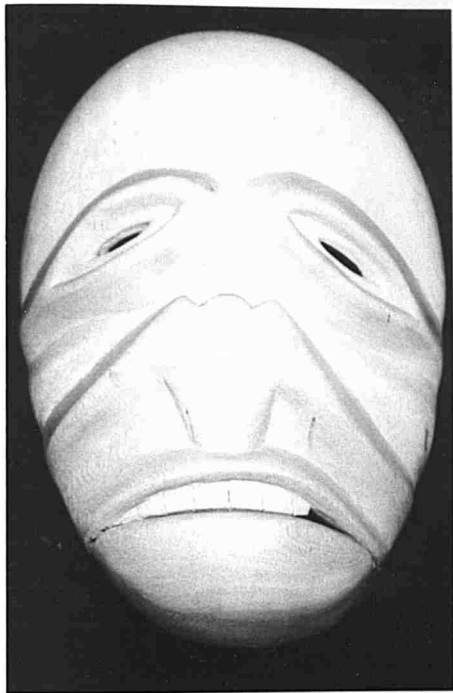
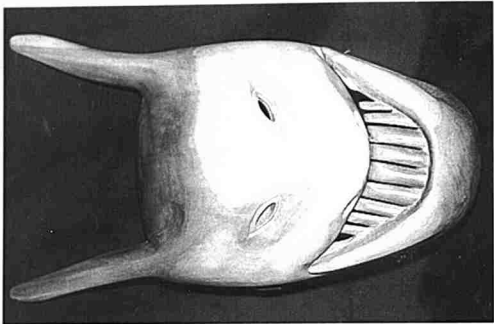
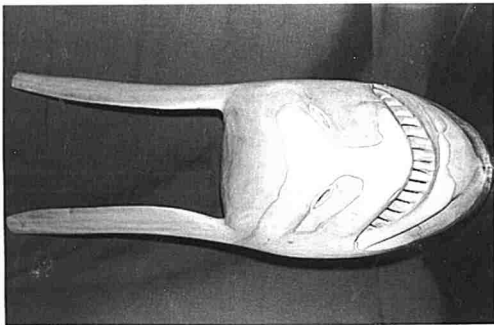


Plate 194
The Spirit *Impai* (*Ketam Impai*)
[by Rami a/l Ujang]



♀

Plate 196:
The Spirit Juhang
[by Blun a./I Bumbun]



♂

Plate 195:
The Spirit Juhang
[by Blun a./I Bumbun]

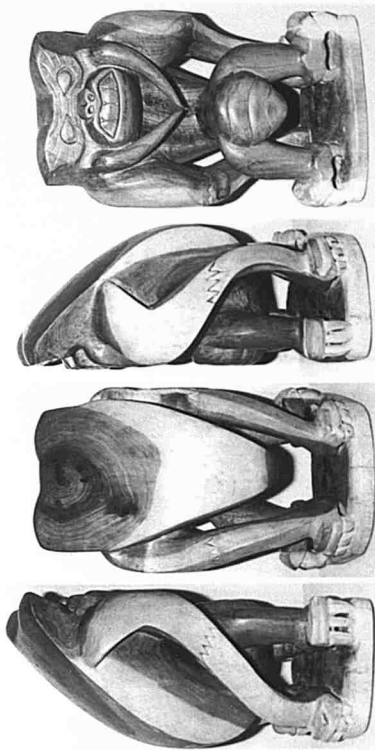


Plate 197:
The Split /abung
[by Bum a/ Bumun]

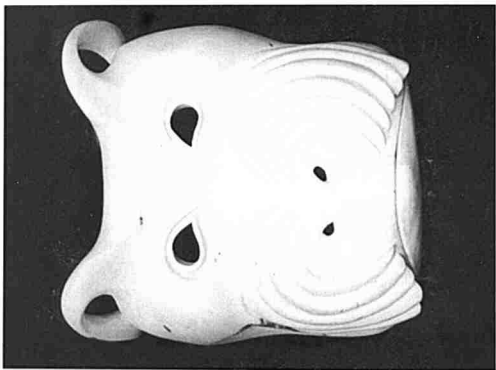


Plate 198.
The Spirit (abang)
[by Blun a/l Bumbun]

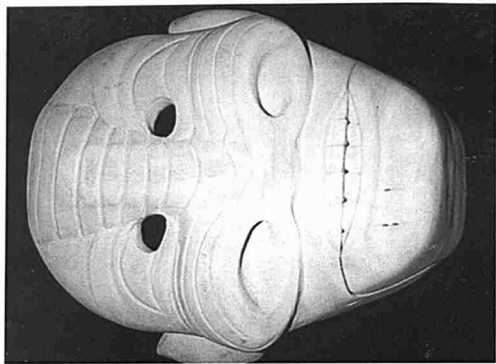


Plate 199.
The Spirit (abang)
[by Yusof a/l Karim]

♂



Plate 200
The Spirit *Jabos*
[by Kapar a/I Lima]

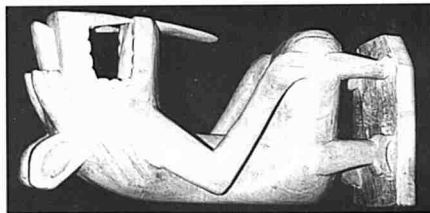
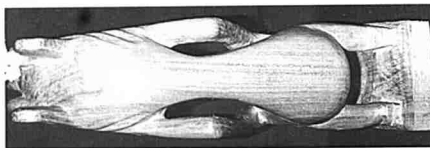
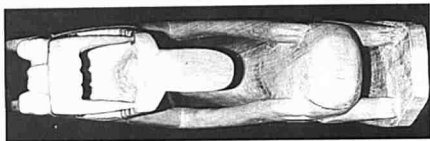
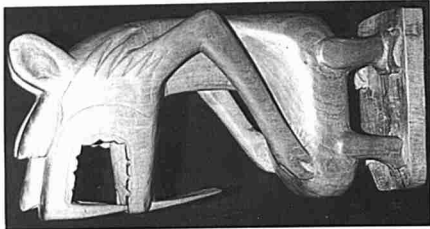


Plate 201:
The Spirit Jangkang
(by Ramli a/t Ujang)



Plate 202:
The Spirit *Jangkang*
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]

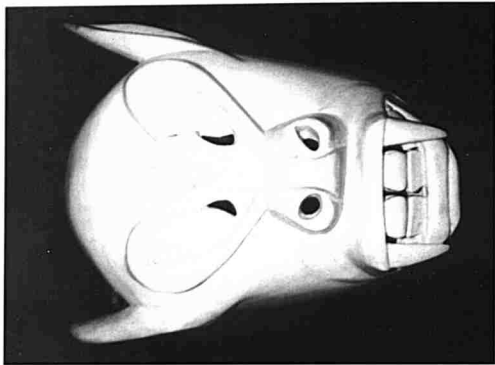


Plate 204:
The Spirit *Jantung*
[by Tabah a/1 Mat]

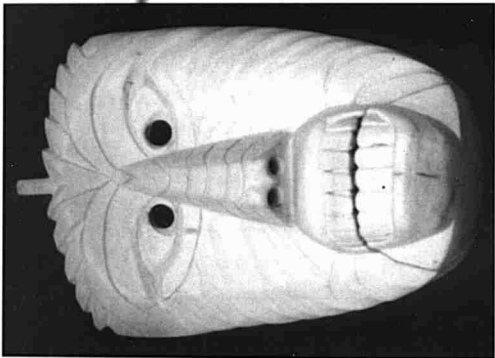


Plate 203:
The Spirit *Jantung*
[by Tabah a/1 Mat]



Plate 205:
The Spirit *Jantung* (*Tenung Jantung*)
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

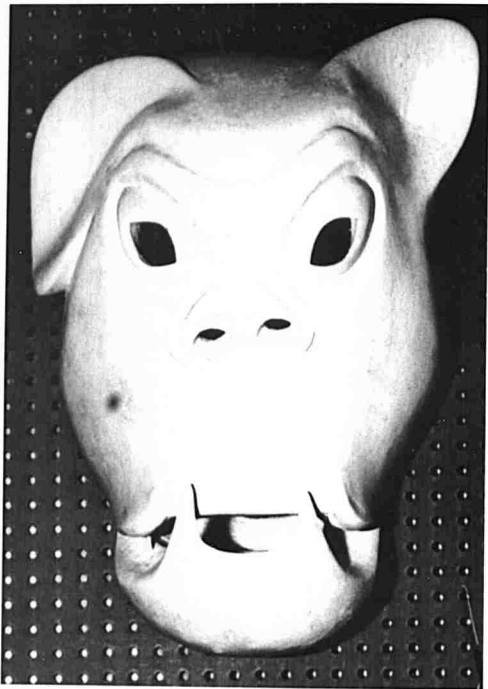


Plate 206:
The Spirit *Jembalang*
[by Blun a/l Bumbun]



Plate 207:
The Spirit Jongkol
[by Siran a/1 Awas]

♂

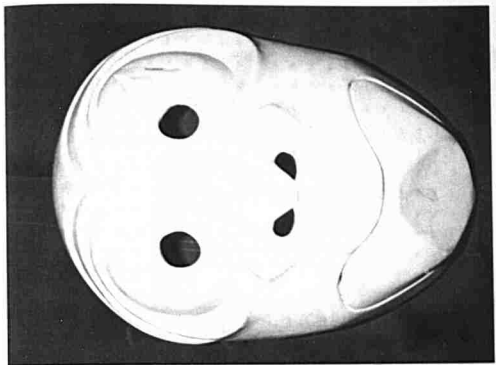


Plate 208:
The Spirit Jongkol
[by Siran a/1 Awas]

♀



Plate 209:
The Spirit Jongkol
[by Keniang a/l Awas]

The Spirit *Kacang*

Once there were plants such as Spirit *Kacang* and others.

One day the Spirit *Kacang* said, "Friends, don't be worried. We have our parents. They are looking after us. Let us grow well and be happy, friends."

So the plants grew well and fat and tall. All plants can live like this to the present day.

The Spirit *Kacang Jurai*

Once its friends were the padi and all sorts of tubers and yams and vegetables. When Spirit *Kacang* was not there, the plants grew well. Then it wanted to visit Spirit *Kacang Jurai*'s parents. It climbed a tree and saw the parents. So *Moyang Kacang Jurai* grew well.

The Spirit *Kaduk*

Once there was a village with a small plot for the planting of rice. At the beginning of the planting, one must burn incense and hold the breath. Then seven holes will be made in the ground and a little bit of padi will be put into each hole.

When the time came to harvest the padi, the human being began to cut it. Suddenly he heard a cry for help. The human being walked to the place where he had disappeared.

The human being saw something that looked like a human being but was not a human being. It was in fact an insect which was called Spirit *Kaduk*.

The human being said to the insect he saw, "Where's your home?"

The insect pointed to the padi plants. So now the human being understood that this padi had a spirit, the padi spirit.

When one is about to eat rice, first of all one must *kiral* (shake) it above the head, burn incense and recite incantations so that one will not become ill by contact with the ghosts and will not get stomach-ache.

If one does not *kiral* it above the head, one will get all sorts of sickness (a bloated stomach, twisted mouth).

Then the human beings called seven times, "If you be a human being, be a human being, if you be an animal, be an animal; if it is the spirit of the rice, let it be so."

What remained was an insect.

The Spirit *Kala* (*Senjakala*)

1. In ancient times a human being went into the jungle from daybreak till nightfall to look for food, but in vain.

While walking he met Spirit *Kala* and the human being fainted.

On the next morning after reviving he went home and related what had happened.

Then came a man who said that one must not take a walk at sunset for one might be cursed by Spirit *Kala*.

The next day one must vacate the house and look for a new place to stay and then cut up *bantut* leaves otherwise one will get sick.

2. Once a human being went into the forest to look for food. He had not found any when night came.

On the way he met the ghost of the scorpion (*kala*). The man fainted.

Next day he returned home and related what had happened the night before. The next morning he went to live elsewhere.

Before he left the old place, he cut *bantut* leaves into pieces. If he had not done so, he would have fallen sick.

The Spirit *Kala* (*Bunga Kala*)

☛ See p. 254

The Spirit *Kalung*

The Spirit *Kalung* originated from an animal. In ancient times human beings did not know anything. This human being lived in the jungle. Then he became sick and could not recover, at night he dreamed of an old man. "Oh? grandson take a necklace (*kalung*) from my house."

Next morning, still thinking about it, he asked "Where is the *kalung*?" "If grandson does not know, there is an animal which will carry the *kalung* to grandson's house."

So the next morning the human being was waiting for the animal to bring it. O! O! O! a squirrel. A piece of *kalung*. Then the human being started to take the medicine, only then he knew what a *kalung* was, and that a *kalung* can be used for curing sickness. Until the present time there is still the *Camai Kalung*.

The Spirit Kalwalt

A very long time ago there were two brothers who set out on a hunting expedition into the deep jungle. After days and nights of wandering they were still unable to catch any game. On the seventh night they decided to return home.

Disappointed and worn out, they trekked home in deep silence. After some time, they decided to liven their spirits. The older brother started shouting the word, "Bok."

This was followed by the younger one with, "Kwit." They kept on repeating these meaningless words, until the elder one, still shouting "Bok" started walking at a faster pace than his younger brother.

Soon the elder man left his young brother behind, and finally lost him altogether. He came to a cemetery, and when he reached a grave he dropped down dead.

In the meantime the younger brother stopped at a hut and on entering it, he saw a woman. He asked her whether she had seen a stranger, his elder brother, passing by. She replied that she had not seen anyone for days.

The two fell in love with one another, and quickly married. Later they both went out looking for the lost brother. They arrived at the cemetery, and there near a grave they saw the lost brother lying upon the ground dead.

The younger brother was overjoyed when he learned that his wife knew the art of bringing the dead to life. Thus with her magic incantation she restored the dead brother to life.

When the elder brother saw the woman he too wanted to marry her. The younger brother protested against this. Thereupon the woman intervened and said that the elder one could marry her elder sister.

He agreed to this, and off they went to find the girl in her house.

Later the elder brother married his sister-in-law. The two couples lived happily ever after.

The Spirit Kangkang

Once there was a couple, husband and wife. The wife was worried the husband had not returned home from fishing in the thick jungle for seven days and seven nights.

Later the wife went in search of him in the jungle. On arriving at the edge of the jungle she found a tree trunk which had fallen, and said, "Maybe my husband is here." Then she went home to get some thorny brinjals and sparrow brinjals because her husband had been hit by the fallen tree trunk.

The next day she went back to the jungle to bring home her husband. The two types of brinjals were sliced with the *bantut* leaves. If it becomes a man let it be a man, if it becomes the Spirit *Kangkang* let it be. And next time if one sees a fallen tree trunk do not say anything because the Spirit *Kangkang* is riding on it.

The Spirit Kap

Once there was a child asleep. In the middle of the night there came a sound "kap kap".

The man said, "What's that *kap, kap* noise?"

Then the husband asked his wife to go and see their child.

The wife went and said, "Oh, our child has fainted. What are we going to do?"

The husband called out to the maker of the *kap, kap* noise and said, "If it be the spirit, let it be so. These are all your grandchildren. Please don't harm us."

The unconscious child came round. Then the Spirit *Kap* commanded that whenever there was a sound in the middle of the night, they should call out as before. This is done until today.

The Spirit Kapes (*Kapeh; Kapis*)

1. One day the Spirit *Kapes* went to the jungle to shoot monkeys with a blowpipe. He walked for seven days and seven nights and still he did not find any.

One the next day, he went again. Suddenly, the Spirit *Kapes* heard a booming sound and found himself on the moon. On reaching a house, the *Melor's* wife welcomed the Spirit *Kapes*.

The wife of the Spirit *Melor* exchanged greetings with the Spirit *Kapes*. The Spirit *Kapes* returned to earth and related the story about the Spirit *Melor* on the moon.

2. One day the Spirit *Kapes* went to the jungle to shoot monkeys with a blowpipe till he was tired. After seven days and seven nights he had not found any monkeys.

Very early the following morning he heard a booming sound. The Spirit *Kapes* thought to himself, "What is that booming sound?"

He went nearer to the place from which the sound was coming.

The Spirit *Melor* noticed the Spirit *Kapes* first and so asked, "Food (*lauk*)?" whilst still approaching the Spirit *Kapes*.

The Spirit replied, "Not food, grandchildren," at the same time shaking his head.

"Oooo...! grandchildren," said the Spirit *Melor*, shaking his head again.

"Who are you?" asked the Spirit *Kapes*.

"I am Spirit *Melor* dropped from the moon world," answered the Spirit *Melor*. Then the Spirit *Melor* in turn asked the Spirit *Kapes* who replied, "I am the Spirit *Kapes*!" During their conversation the Spirit *Melor* asked the Spirit *Kapes* whether he could take him to the moon, to which the Spirit *Kapes* agreed. So they went up to the moon. They reached the wife of the Spirit *Melor*.

The Spirit *Melor* welcomed the arrival of the Spirit *Kapes* who returned the greetings. Then the Spirit *Kapes* returned to earth.

3. One day the Spirit *Kapes* went to the jungle to shoot monkeys with a blowpipe. He was tired of walking, for seven days and seven nights had passed and still he did not find any.

On the next day he went again. The Spirit *Kapes* heard a booming sound. He went up to the moon. On reaching the house the *Melor* welcomed the arrival of the Spirit *Kapes*.

The wife of the Spirit *Melor* exchanged greetings with the Spirit *Kapes*. The Spirit *Kapes* returned to earth and related the story about the Spirit *Melor* on the moon.

4. One day the Spirit *Kapes* went to the jungle to shoot monkey with a blowpipe. Suddenly he heard several booming sounds and went towards the noise to investigate and to find out what animal had made it. Oh! It's only the Spirit *Melor* who had fallen from the moon to the earth.

The *Kapes* helped the Spirit *Melor* to return to the moon.

The Spirit *Karang* [I]

The Spirit *Karang* went to the sea to fish and fell into the water when he was pushed by the Spirit *Sulung*. The son of the Spirit *Karang* went after him and searched in vain.

Then he threw yellow rice.

The son dreamed that his father told him that the Spirit *Karang* had become the king of the fish in the sea. The Spirit *Sulung* went fishing and caught a fish, the scales of which he burned till it turned to ash.

The son of the Spirit *Karang* dreamed that the fish had been caught by the Spirit *Sulung* and he went in search of the scales and managed to find some of them which he planted. Then there grew a big brinjal tree. Thus till this day fish can be cooked with vegetables.

The Spirit *Karang* [II]

The son of the Spirit *Karang* wanted to send food to his mother. On reaching the sea, the son called, "Mother!"

But his mother did not emerge, so the son cried.

Her son dreamed that his mother told him that she had been eaten by the Spirit *Sulung*.

His mother asked him to look for the seed of a brinjal to be planted so that it would grow into a willow tree.

"If it was true it is your tree, and true it is your mother, you can ask the tree to lower itself. If it was asked to lower itself, the tree would become taller."

The son of the Spirit *Karang* called, "If you are my mother, lower the tree." Thus the tree lowered itself and the son of the Spirit *Karang* climbed the tree and it seemed taller. He reached the moon, the seventh land.

If a leaf falls from the willow tree, a man has died.

The Spirit *Kardun**

A very long time ago the crabs were determined to destroy all humans. They tried to do this by boring tunnels from various points along the sea-coast which would emerge far inland, allowing the sea to flood the land and drown all men.

This news caused much confusion among the inhabitants of the earth. "How can we," they all asked, "Each of us a thousandth the size of a crab, prevent them from destroying us all?"

To the relief of all a medicine-man was found, one who could communicate with the Spirit *Kardun*. The medicine-man was successful in inducing the Spirit *Kardun* to stop the crabs in their plan.

He then took the leaves from the *kelemoyang* plant, cut them into pieces and uttered the following words seven times.

"If you are a crab, be a crab, and do not destroy human lives." With these words all the crabs shrank to their present size.

* *Kardun* is a general term for a crab. In ancient times crabs were of colossal size: the very largest one was the size of a mountain and the smallest the size of a hill.

The Spirit *Katak*

See p. 263

The Spirit *Katak Betung* [I]

Once there were two brothers living in a village. Their father asked them to go and look for food.

So the brothers went into the jungle. There was not an animal around. They walked for miles and miles when suddenly they heard the sound of the bull-frogs like the sound of pounding rice.

The younger brother said, "Pound a good amount of rice, I want some."

The elder brother said, "Don't say that, younger brother."

"Nothing will harm us; it is just for fun."

Soon after the elder brother said, "The sky is dark, the wind is blowing, the rain is falling."

The younger brother said, "Elder brother, I am going to die."

The earth caved in to become a pond. The younger brother died. Only the elder brother was left and there was no food.

The elder brother went home to tell his father and mother. His parents were angry and hit him.

The brother thought, "I should not have come back. It would be better if we had both died. Younger brother is no more, how am I going to find him?"

The elder brother went towards the pond where his younger brother had drowned. The brother thought, "Where's our brother? Father and mother drove me to look for him. Let me wait at the foot of this tree."

After waiting for two or three hours, the brother heard the sound of breaking twigs. "What is making the twigs break? Is it a tiger or what?" The brother saw a human being carrying a pig walking towards him.

The elder brother wanted to hear his voice. The human being said, "Oh, I feel tired. Let me rest a while." His voice was clear.

Then he threw his loops. The human being said, "Oh, it's a loop. The five-loop is for the knees. The nine-loop matched with the knife's sheath. This nine-loop is like our brother's loop. It is for the elbow."

Then he was startled by the elder brother. The human being could not run away. The brother told him what had happened before.

The human being also told his story. The younger brother asked the elder brother to follow him there. Then the younger brother took a stick and stuck it upright in the middle of the pond. Both brothers went down into the water until they reached the younger brother's place. The younger brother's wife was pounding rice with her elder sister. The elder brother came down near the elder sister.

The elder sister said, "Oh, this is my husband."

She held him and kissed him and forgot about pounding the rice.

The brother married her and lived for many years.

Both brothers took their wives back to their parents' house from which they had been driven away.

The parents could not recognize their sons. The parents said, "Once we had two sons. One day we asked them to look for food. Both sons went but only the elder brother returned home. The younger had died. So we drove away the elder brother to look for his younger brother. Neither has returned since then."

"In that case, father and mother, this is your son, who was chased away by mother to look for his younger brother. This is my younger brother whom I have found."

"Oh, is this my son?"

"Yes, mother."

Then she took some rice mixed with saffron and scattered it. Then they told her that both had married the daughters of the bull-frog, *Tenung Katak Betung*.

The Spirit *Katak Betung* [II]

The brother told his younger brother not to make any remarks about the sound of the bull-frog (*katak betung*), otherwise they would meet with a thunderstorm. But his younger brother was obstinate and did not heed his brother's advice. So something dreadful happened.

When the elder brother returned home both the parents were angry with him. So the next day he went to the place where the incident had happened. When he arrived there, he climbed a tree. He made hoops (i.e. a snare) while up in the tree and threw them down. When the younger brother saw them, he took them and put them round his knees and hands. He knew that the hoops were made by his elder brother.

The elder brother came down to the younger brother and said, "This is my true brother."

The younger brother asked the elder brother to go home. But when they were swimming in the middle of the lake, they opened their eyes and, lo, they thought they had arrived home, whereas the pillar in the middle of the lake was really part of the verandah of a house. When they arrived there two sisters were pounding rice. So they married the sisters. Then they invited both their parents and told them that while swimming in the lake they should open their eyes when they reached the middle. So the parents arrived.

The Spirit *Katak Betung Culau*

Once there were two brothers whose father asked them to look for food.

So the brothers went into the jungle to hunt but there was no animal there.

They walked for miles until they heard a bull-frog making a loud noise.

The younger brother said, "Make a lot of rice, I want it." The elder brother said, "Please don't say that."

"It's all right, nothing will happen to us, just idle talk."

Later the elder brother said, "It is dark now, the wind is blowing and it is raining."

The younger brother said, "Eh, brother, maybe I am going to die. The land has slid to make a pound."

He called seven times, "If you be a human being, be a human being, if you be a frog, be a frog." So he became a bull-frog.

The Spirit *Katak dan Kala*

A very long time ago there were no normal human beings living in the world. Instead it was inhabited by creatures, big and small, who not only could speak like men but could also transform themselves into human beings.

At this time two male scorpions from the same family transformed themselves into young men. These two brothers decided to go hunting. Taking their blowpipes, they went out into the jungle. It happened to be a bad day for them, because even though they travelled far and wide they failed to kill any animal. So they decided to go home. Then, as they were about to return, they saw human figures moving among the bushes. They approached these figures, and to their joy they discovered two beautiful girls.

The elder one said to his brother, "Brother, what shall we do now?"

The younger replied, "This is our lucky day, for even though we have been unable to kill any game, we are lucky to meet such lovely girls."

The brothers went up to them, introduced themselves and invited the girls to their house to spend the night. The girls readily accepted. Each of the brothers took a girl to sleep in his cubicle, using banana leaves as sleeping mats. Some time in the middle of the night the elder brother was heard screaming as though in pain. When the younger one heard this he rushed to his brother's cubicle.

There he saw him writhing in agony. "What is the matter with you, brother, why are you in such agony?"

The other replied as he was dying. "My penis has been bitten off. That girl has teeth inside her vagina."

The younger brother asked the girl why she should do such a thing. The girl denied that she had injured his brother.

Thereupon the young man decided to avenge the death of his brother. He caught hold of the girl and strangled her. To his surprise, she was transformed into a frog. He realized that she was really a frog who could take on human form.

The youth then gathered dry twigs and set fire to them. He took his dead brother and the frog and put them close to the fire. He took the leaves of the *kelemoyang* plant and cut them into seven pieces, thus restoring his brother to life.

To the frog he said, "If you are a human being, then be a human being and not a frog." But the frog remained unchanged.

After this, frogs lost the power to transform themselves into human beings, and *vice versa*. It is said that one can still detect that frogs used to speak like human beings by the sound of their croak.

"Wak, wak," which means "Father, father."

The Spirit *Katak Kala*

1. The Spirit *Katak Kala* was a frog which wanted to destroy the Spirit *Kala*. But the Spirit *Kala* wanted to make friends with human beings. At one time the frog became a female human being and the Spirit *Kala* became a male human being.

One day he met a man inviting a woman to play. The woman assented. So he played till he was satisfied, then he, the Spirit *Katak* swallowed the Spirit *Kala*, for the woman was not a real human being but a frog in the form of a female human being. The Spirit *Kala* was cheated by the Spirit *Katak*.

2. In the days gone by this Spirit originated from a woman. At that time the Spirit *Kala* resembled a woman and the Spirit *Katak* a man. The man was searching for a woman.

Then one day he met a very beautiful woman and quickly rushed at her thinking she was really a woman.

But unfortunately, she was not a woman, in fact she was the Spirit *Hulubalang Kala*. Thus, he could not get away from the Spirit's grip and was killed immediately.

Thus, the curse to cut up *bantur* leaves. If it turns into a human being, let it be a human being. But if it becomes a *Katak* let it be a *Katak*. And thus it is until today.

After this, frogs lost the power to transform themselves into human beings, and vice versa.

It is said that one can still detect that frogs used to speak like human beings by the sound of their croak, "Wak, wak," which means, "Father, father."

The Spirit *Katak Turut*

Long ago there was a family with seven daughters. The youngest among them was very lazy. She only ate and slept every day. So her parents and her sisters became angry. Apart from eating and sleeping she found it hard even to wash herself.

One day she jumped into the well, saying, "My father and mother and my sisters don't love me any more."

When she became a frog, she married a frog. Her marriage ceremony was properly performed.

The Spirit *Kating (Parang Kating)*

See The Spirit *Parang Kating*.

The Spirit *Kelewit*

This Spirit originated from a black dog turned into a bat. Having become maggots he was kept in a pan in which he was stirred.

One day there was storm and lightning and he turned black and grew wings. One by one the people stirred him. Cursed by the Spirit *Kelewit* and flying fox (*keluang*). To guard and not to eat people. Live only in caves.

Do not destroy human beings, you who sleep by day and by night hunt for food. In ancient times this black dog ate man and was cursed by the Spirit *Kelewit* never to become a black dog nor a ghost of *keluang*. If it be a bat the human being swore.

Take the *bantur* leaves, cut up finely and mixing the *bantur* leaves, scatter over the human being repeating seven times, "Become a *keluang* and a *kelawar* only."

The Spirit *Kelimbar*

In ancient times a man went hunting with a blowpipe but without success. When he did shoot a monkey, the monkey did not die. He shot at the monkey until he finished his *ipoh* poison. Still the monkey did not die. He went home and came back with another supply of *ipoh* poison to shoot the monkey. The monkey was still there and he shot it again.

This went on for years. When he went to a different part of the jungle he found the same monkey there. He shot the monkey until he had only one dart left. The human being admitted defeat. The monkey could speak to the man. Just then, a rainstorm began.

The monkey slipped and got itself caught between two branches. Without caring for the heavy rain, the human being climbed the tree and got hold of the monkey.

"Why did you shoot me with the blowpipe?" asked the monkey. "please let me go."

The human being refused to let the monkey go as he did not have enough food. The human being asked other animals for help but the animals said that they were willing to help all animals but not the human beings.

Only the ants volunteered their help and said, "Pick us up and scatter us on the monkey's face." When the human being did this, the monkey declared itself beaten because its fur began to drop off.

Then the human being cursed, saying, "If you become a monkey, be a monkey, but if you become a *kelimbar*, be a *kelimbar*." So, it is a Spirit *Kelimbar* till today.

The Spirit *Kelolong*

In ancient times the Spirit *Kelolong* lived in a big jungle. The appearance of the Spirit *Kelolong* was that its top looked like a bird and the chest looked like the body of a human being. He always disturbed human beings at midnight or in the evenings.

At this time too he would appear and disturb those who were sleeping. It was easy for him to disturb the human beings, or to make them unconscious, or to kill them.

The Spirit *Kelong Wyet (Wyet)*

Two brothers went into the jungle to hunt with a blowpipe and lost their way. For seven days and seven nights they went without food or drink for they could not find anything to eat. On the seventh night they heard the sound of two birds.

The younger brother said, "Follow the *kuwyet* bird." The elder brother followed by boat; the younger followed safely while the elder did not. The younger brother married the *kuwyet* bird. The elder brother had collapsed on a grave. He became unconscious for many nights.

The father at home waited for a long time and still they did not return. He thought his sons would not stay long in the jungle and that the younger brother would follow the elder brother's trail. But the younger brother had already got a wife.

The women were two sisters, the younger sister got the younger brother. The elder sister regretted she had not listened to her younger sister and went after her. A few nights later she found the ghost of a dead person on a grave. The younger sister called out and hit him with a young shoot. The elder brother awoke shocked and admitted he had been asleep. Upon hearing his voice the elder sister caught him and pronounced him as her husband.

The Spirit *Kelubi* (*Kubi* ; *Kulubi*)

1. The spirit was a human being turned into a sour *kelubi*. This *kelubi* wanted a woman but the woman did not want him and chased him away. He ran so fast into the jungle that he fell into a hole of sour *kelubi*. He returned feeling pain, his legs were swollen. He thought he had got elephantiasis. "Oh! better that I become a sour *kelubi*."

The woman who chased him away went to the jungle and saw this sour *kelubi* tree with fruit. She felt she must eat it as her mouth began to water. Thus till today there still is this sour *kelubi*.

2. In ancient time the Spirit *Kelubi* originated from a human being. He was poor and hated by people who looked at him because he was deformed. Later on he wanted to become betrothed to a beautiful princess but the princess did not accept him.

When the time had come he went to the princess house. When he arrived there the princess came out, and when she saw him she began to abuse him so that he ran into the jungle. His feet sank into a hole full of sour fruit *kelubi* which had rotted. He could not get the princess, his feet were swollen and then he got sick. He cursed himself—better for me to turn into sour fruit *kelubi*. When people look at sour fruit *kelubi* they all like to eat it, men or women.

The Spirit *Kelum*

The Spirit *Kelum* originated from a twig of a tree that had fallen to the ground. There was no other twig anywhere to be used for firewood. The wood refused to burn even though it was dry. Suddenly a voice was heard, and in the middle of the night he stood up and wanted to eat the sleeping couple. But they were awakened and wanted to run away. No matter where they ran the Spirit *Kelum* would still be able to smell and trace them wherever they might be.

The couple then decided to kill *Kelum* and started gathering leaves that can intoxicate. But *Kelum* knew that they wanted to kill him and said "Human beings want to poison me," and he agreed, and also promised to let them know the secret of how to kill him. But *Kelum* was afraid because he could not become a human being. So he asked the couple to have twin children. However, a time will come for twins to be born.

So the human beings started to gather leaves which they sliced and prayed over seven times. If it becomes a man let it be a man. So now there is no more and what is left are leeches, and small insects that suck blood like mosquitos and bed bugs.

The Spirit Kembar

1. Once there was a couple and the wife was pregnant and later twins were born to her. The children grew up and the parents reminded them that the thin one was to be the elder brother and the fat one to be the younger brother. The parents advised them not to quarrel while they were out in the jungle and they would return.

The children in the house started abusing one another. One refused to be a younger brother and a fight started. In the end the elder brother won the fight. The younger brother insisted that he should be an elder brother so he bound up his body and fasted to become thin, but for years he could not become thin.

That is why today human beings are different from one another, even if they are from the same race.

2. In ancient times there were two brothers, one went into the jungle. After seven days and seven nights he had not returned home.

Then the younger brother thought, "Ooooh! Maybe my brother has been eaten, the bones left piled up in between the trees."

Then an animal passed by. It passed near the human being who caught hold of the animal's tail and pierced the nostrils of the skull, then it awoke.

"The younger brother had died, eaten by our elder brother." The human being cursed. Chopped seven times. "If it turned into a human being, so let it be a human being."

The Spirit Kember Air

Every evening a pregnant woman took her bath. One day while she was bathing a ghost appeared and she screamed out. The spirit followed the woman to the house. The woman knew that it was the Spirit *Kember Air* in the guise of a woman. The ghost was not able to kill the woman. When all were asleep the ghost swallowed a large earthen water-barrel to make him look like a pregnant woman, thus he was able to bathe with the pregnant woman. In the end the woman gave birth. The spirit too wished

to give birth and called a midwife who came with a knife and wooden hammer. Though the woman had given birth the ghost in the guise of a pregnant woman still did not give birth. Then when it was realised that it was a large ear then water-barrel inside the stomach, the man broke the water-barrel cut the intestinal cords of the spirit who was disguised as a pregnant woman. He let out a scream and died.

The Spirit *Ketam*

In the olden days there were no crabs in the world. Nor any other animal from the sea to the land. *Ketam* originated from human beings. Because of more human beings in the world, the *moyang* cursed them to become animals, e.g. sea *Moyang*—land *Moyang*.

Then only there is Spirit *Ketam*. The Spirit *Ketam* always likes to destroy human beings. This is before the Spirit was cursed during the olden days.

Now it has been cursed by the Spirit and the Spirit *Ketam* cannot eat human beings any more.

The Spirit *Ketam Impal*

In ancient times there was a pregnant woman who wanted to eat the *impal* crab, but unfortunately her husband did not catch this crab so he could not bring it home.

The woman then went to search for the *impal* crab. Time passed—seven days and seven nights—and she did not return home.

On the seventh day the husband went in search of his wife.

The wife had turned into a gazing *impal* crab. The husband swore, and thus till today the sound of birds can be heard at high tides.

The Spirit *Kombang*

When the husband went fishing, there came a "bok, bok", sound. "Don't make the bok, bok sound here. Go and make a hole in that house over there," he said.

Night came and he went home with some fish. He gave the fish to his wife who began to prepare it in the kitchen. The husband sat in the middle of the house and saw that his wife ate the fish while preparing it. "Is it ready?" asked the husband. "Yes," said the wife. "Come and eat."

While eating the husband saw that his wife ate both the cooked and the uncooked fish.

After he had finished eating, the husband went to the middle of the house. "Where's the betel-leaf box?" he asked. "It is here," replied his wife.

But the lime container had fallen down. So the husband asked for a burning stick from his wife. Under the house there was a boar. The husband tied the burning stick to the boar's tail.

The wife had finished eating and cried out. "*Lemol, lemol hempok!*" but there was no reply from her husband.

The wife came down. Near the burning stump there was a "*kerut-keruk hempok*" sound.

The wife said, "This is not my husband. It is a boar. If only I had munched his bones quickly just now."

The husband cried out to his wife to cut the sour and thorny brinjals into pieces and to cut *bantut* leaves seven times.

While doing so he cried, "If you be a human being, be a human being, and if you become a spirit *Kombang*, be a spirit *Kombang*."

So she became the Spirit *Kombang*.

The Spirit *Koncong Belangkas*

☛ See p. 287

The Spirit *Kondok*

[Long ago it was the custom to take the after-birth and to wrap it within an old woven mat. The mat and its contents were then kept upon the rack over the fire-pace. When the baby to whom the after-birth belonged was able to walk, the after-birth and its wrapping were buried at a spot which would readily be remembered].

There was once a couple who had a toddling infant boy. Not many days earlier they had buried the after-birth of this boy. One day the couple received a sign, asking them to hold a feast because of the death of their baby.

The couple received this sign in complete surprise for they knew very well that their baby was still alive. Nevertheless they held a feast. Not long after this they received another sign but this time telling them that their dead baby had been brought to life.

Curious to understand the meaning of these signs, the couple went to the spot where they had buried the after-birth. It was a shock to them when they discovered that they could not find it.

Again, for a third time, the couple received a sign, on this occasion indicating that their twin son had become the Spirit *Kondok*. Thus it became clear to the couple that what they had actually buried was the twin brother of their son.

Sometime later a spirit appeared before the couple together with the surviving son. The boy insisted that the spirit was his blood-brother, but his parents refused to acknowledge it.

Later it turned into a pangolin the scales of which represent the woven mat used for wrapping the supposed after-birth.

The Spirit *Kop* (*Bini Buruk Belakang*)

The Spirit *Kop* originated from a human being a long time ago. Once a man went to look for food in the jungle.

When he reached the jungle, he heard the sound "*kop, kop*".

The man was asking for the *kop-kop* stone. This was the Spirit *Kop* stone. When the man heard the *kop* sound, he informed the other human beings that whenever the *kop* sound is heard, incense must be burnt. Until now it is known as the Spirit *Kop*.

The Spirit *Kuas*

In ancient times a human went fishing in a boat with his younger brother. For years they did not catch any fish. When they at last caught one, it was a *nugang* fish and it had got itself hooked on to both their hooks. Then the brothers started quarrelling to decide whose fish it was.

Both of them wanted the top half of the fish. They did not release the fish from the hooks.

The elder brother said, "In that case, let us see whose line is the longer."

When they measured the lines, they found that the younger brother had the longer line. So the elder brother got the tail end and the younger received the head of the fish.

When he got the head of the fish, he turned into a Spirit *Kuas*, but his elder brother remained a human.

This was because meat or fish cannot be divided. It is possible that the eyes, legs and other things are the Spirit *Kuas*.

When you want to divide exactly, the legs, the liver and the bones cannot be divided when caught together by two people.

The Spirit *Kuhau*

The Spirit *Kuhau* originated from man in the ancient days whilst looking for water in the jungle. During that season there was drought so the man went to look for water in the jungle. Even when the day approached evening still he did not find any water.

He kept on searching until dusk when he found a depression on a fallen tree. He went to sleep on the fallen tree. That night he heard the voice of *Kuhau* from the sky.

Then the man had a dream about the Spirit *Kuhau*. The Spirit *Kuhau* said that all water in the depressions contained disease such as cold, head-ache, fever and others.

After the Spirit *Kuhau* had spoken for half an hour it said if grandchildren wanted to drink, they could. If it became a human being, let it be too. Thus today no more human beings turn into the Spirit *Kuhau*.

The Spirit *Kuwhest (Kelapan)* [I]

Once there was a human being who went into the jungle to look for food. He killed a bird with his blowpipe.

There was another bird which he could not kill with his blowpipe. The bird ran away and he followed it until he was far away from his house. He could not go home because he was lost. Then he heard the sound of a bamboo flute.

At first the sound was far away, but it came nearer. The human being was uneasy and he could not run away. There was a tree. So he climbed the tree until he reached its branches. Two or three minutes later the thing appeared.

The human being was scared. It looked like a human being and yet it looked like an animal. If it was an animal it looked like a human being. Spirit *Kuwhest* took shelter by leaning against the trunk of the tree. The Spirit drank and ate betel leaves.

Spirit *Kuwhest* said, "Grandchild!" but the human being did not answer.

Spirit *Kuwhest* called out "Grandchild" many times until the human being replied, "Yes, what is it, grandma?"

"Grandchild, come down."

"I am afraid, grandma. I am afraid I'd be eaten by ghosts and tigers."

"No, grandchild, no. Spirit does not eat grandchild. If grandchild is afraid, there is a *parang*, a javelin, a sword."

These weapons were heaped at one place.

Only then did the human being come down. He told Spirit *Kuwhest* about himself and how he got lost.

"Oh! Very well, grandchild. Do you want to follow me?"

"Yes."

After walking many miles they reached a compound. "Grandma, how am I going home?"

"What's so difficult? It's easy, grandchild."

Then Spirit *Kuwhest* squeezed the human being just like a padi seed. She put him into her tobacco pouch. The Spirit flew to her house.

The granddaughter said, "Grandma, what did you bring back?"

"There's no food. I looked for it every where, but there was nothing."

"Grandma, until now you have never been like this. Whenever you come back, you always bring food. Now you have something sweet-smelling. It's neither a forest bloom nor a village bloom. It is very aromatic."

Then the granddaughter took a *parang* and cut open grandmother's body.

Grandmother said, "Ahah! This granddaughter is lustful. There's nothing, granddaughter."

"Where's the flower? The smell is sweet. Maybe it is in tobacco pouch."

"Who know?" said grandmother.

She took the tobacco pouch and opened it.

The granddaughter said, "It's a man and I've got him." She embraced him and took him to the house. So the woman got her husband and the man got his wife.

One day the wife invited her husband to eat a heap of rambutans each. When they had finished eating, the rambutan skins could become rambutans again when they were thrown away. The woman threw the rambutan skins first and then the husband did likewise. Unfortunately the husband disappeared.

The wife went to complain to her grandmother, "My husband is no more. When I threw away the skins, they become fruit, but he threw away his own body."

The wife went to look for her husband for seven days and found a bird. The bird was very beautiful and docile. She caught the bird and brought it home.

When night came, the wife went to sleep. The bird pinched the wife.

The wife said, "It's very naughty." She caught the bird and it turned into a human being—her husband. "Oh, you are very clever," said the wife.

Now the husband and wife met again. They vowed seven times while calling that if it be a bird, let it be a bird only, and if it be a human being, let it be a human being only. So it became a human being until now.

The Spirit *Kuwhest* (Kelapan) [II]

Once a human being went into the jungle to look for food. He killed a bird with his blowpipe but there was another one which got away. He followed the bird until he was far away from his house. He could not return home as he was lost.

He heard the sound of a bamboo flute. It was far away but was coming nearer. The human being became uneasy because he could not run away. There was a tree and so he climbed the tree up to its branches. Two or three minutes later, a friend of Spirit *Kuwhest*, appeared.

It said, "Brother, brother, come down."

The man said, "I don't want to come down. I am afraid of being eaten by the sea and the tiger."

"No, brother. If brother does not come down, he will die."

Seven more friends appeared and they asked the same thing. The eighth person to appear was the Spirit *Kuwhest*.

Spirit *Kuwhest* took shelter by the trunk of the tree. She drank and ate betel leaves.

The man was scared because he saw the thing looked neither like a human being nor like an animal and if it was an animal it looked like a human being.

Spirit *Kuwhest* said, "Grandchild!" but the man did not answer her.

Spirit *Kuwhest* called out, "Grandchild" many times until the man answered, "Yes, what is it, grandma? Grandchild is afraid to come down. I am afraid that I'll be eaten by ghosts and tigers."

"No, grandchild. Grandma will not eat you. If grandchild is afraid, there is a *parang*, a spear, a sword."

All these weapons were heaped at one place.

So the man came down and went to the weapons. Then he told the spirit how he got lost.

"Ooo! It's all right, grandchild, follow me."

After walking for some miles, they arrived at a compound where food was already served. The human being and the others went to bathe.

"Grandma, how am I to go home?"

"It's easy."

Then Spirit *Kuwhest* squeezed the human being like a padi seed. She put him into her tobacco pouch. The Spirit *Kuwhest* flew to her house.

The granddaughter said, "Grandmother, what did you bring back?"

"I did not bring anything back. Not even food."

"What is this that you brought back? It is not the smell of a forest bloom, nor is it a village bloom. It is sweet-smelling."

Then the granddaughter took a *parang* and cut grandmother into halves.

The grandmother said, "Ahah, this granddaughter is lustful. There's nothing, grandchild."

"Where does the sweet smell come from? It is here that the smell comes from. Maybe it is in the tobacco pouch."

"Who knows," said grandmother.

"Maybe it's in here." She took the tobacco pouch and opened it.

The granddaughter said, "Here it is! I've found a man!"

She embraced the man. "Grandmother lied. She hid him."

She took the man home. Now the woman had a husband and the man had a wife.

One day the wife invited her husband to eat a heap of rambutans each. When they had finished eating, the rambutan skins were to be thrown away.

The wife said, "If these skins are thrown away, they will become fruit again."

Then the husband threw his but instead of throwing away the rambutan skins, he threw himself.

The man disappeared and the wife went to complain to her grandmother.



Plate 210
The Spirit Kacang
[by Saikat a/1 Assam]



Plate 211:
The Spirit Kala
[by Blun a/l Bumbun]

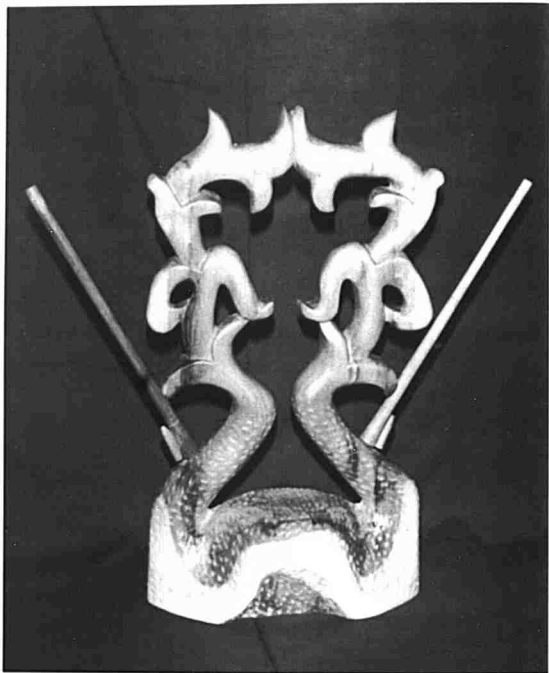


Plate 212.
The Spirit Kala (*Bunga Kala*)
[by Embing a/l Lipat]



Plate 213:
The Spirit *Kalung*
[by Semi a/I Awas]

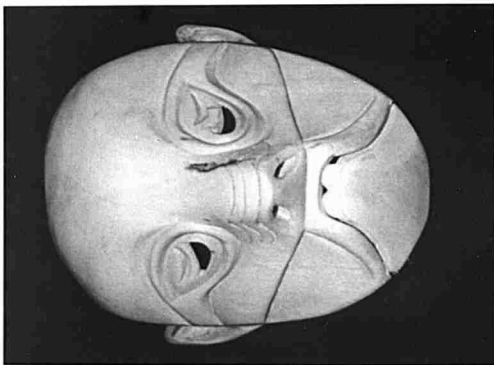


Plate 214:
The Spirit Kap
[by Tabah a/l Mat]

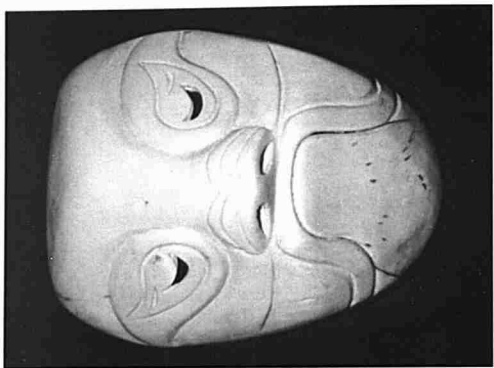


Plate 215:
The Spirit Kap
[by Tabah a/l Mat]

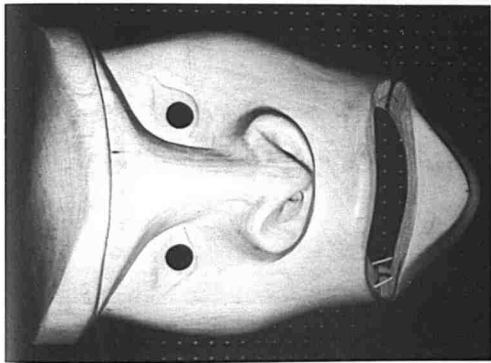


Plate 216:
The Split Kapis (Kapes; Kapoh)
[by Siran a/I Awaa]

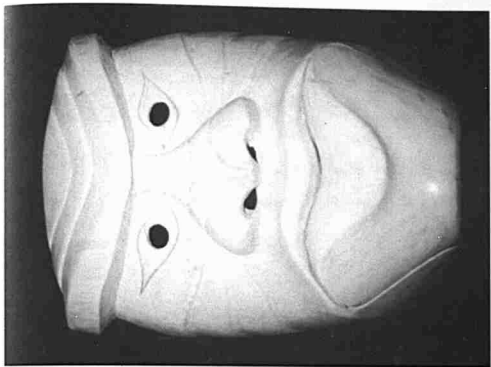


Plate 217:
The Split Kapis (Kapes; Kapoh)
[by Siran a/I Awaa]

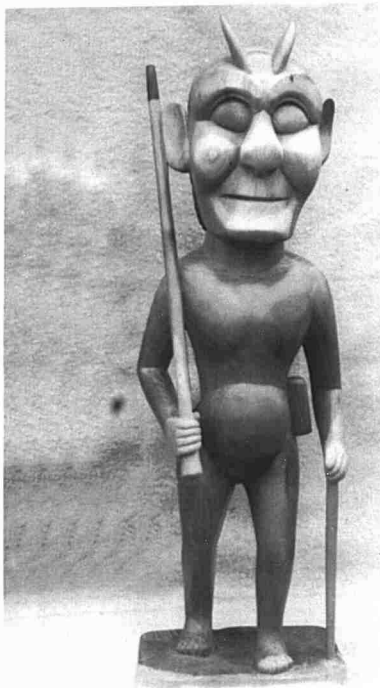


Plate 218:
The Spirit *Kapis* (*Kapes*; *Kapeh*)
[by Singam a/l Muntill]

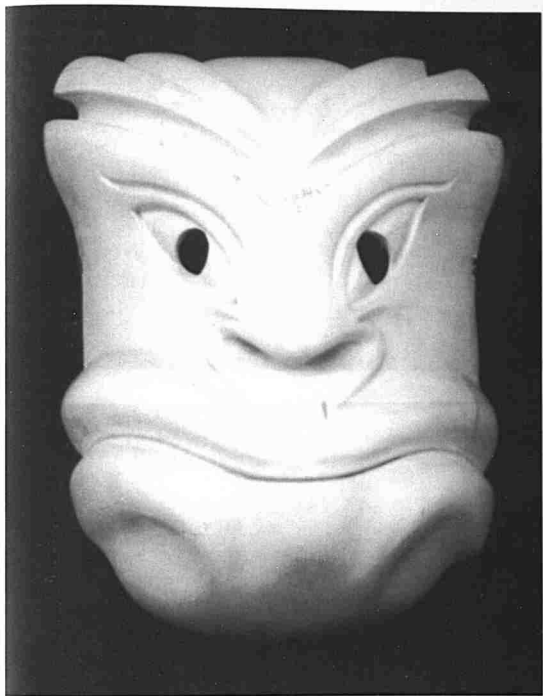


Plate 219
The Spirit Karang
[by Biun a/l Bumbun]

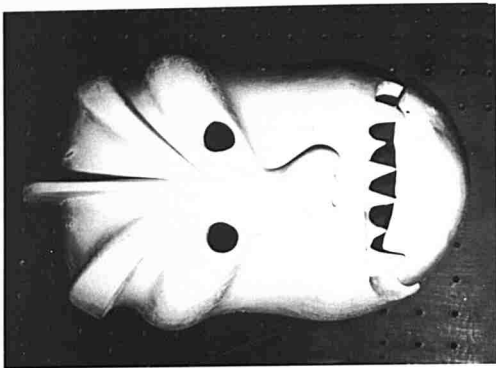


Plate 221:
The Spirit Karang
[by Moyan a/I Awas]

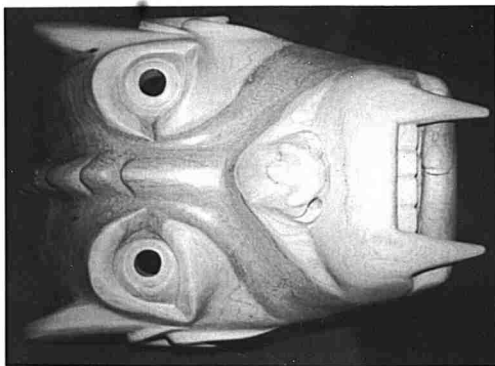


Plate 220:
The Spirit Karang
[by Siboh a/I Sald]

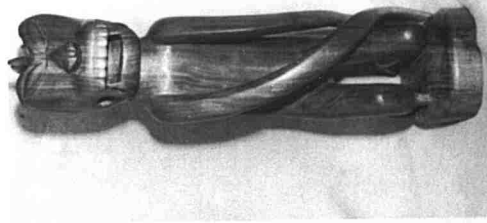


Plate 222:
The Spirit Karang
[by Moyan a/1 Awas]

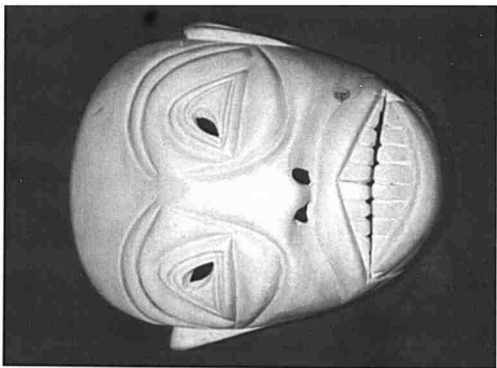


Plate 223:
The Spirit Kardun
[by Pecat a/l Keniang]

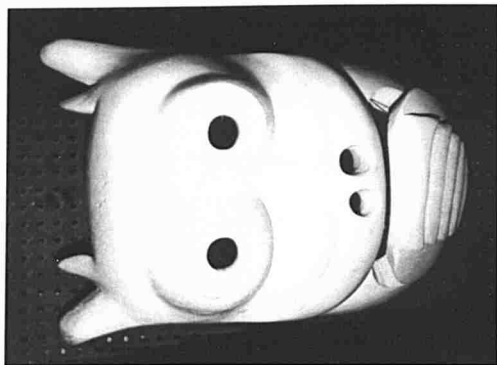
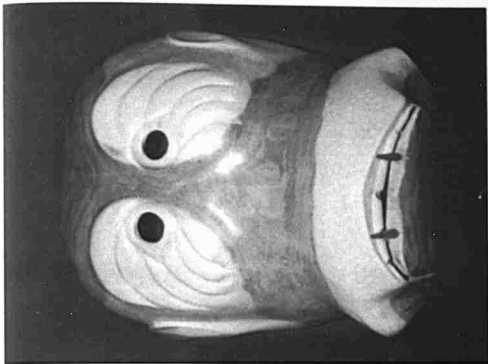
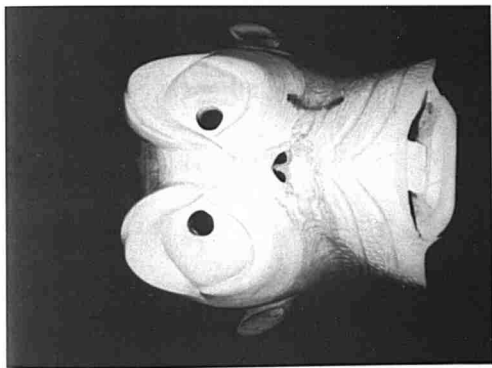


Plate 224:
The Spirit Kardun
[by Blun a/l Bumbun]



♀

Plate 226:
The Spirit Karak
[by Embing a/l Lipat]



♂

Plate 225:
The Spirit Karak
[by Embing a/l Lipat]



Plate 227:
The Spirit Karak Kalla
[by Ligam a/l Top]

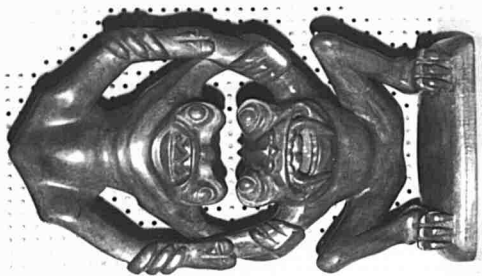


Plate 228:
The Spirit Karak Kalla
[by Ligam a/l Top]

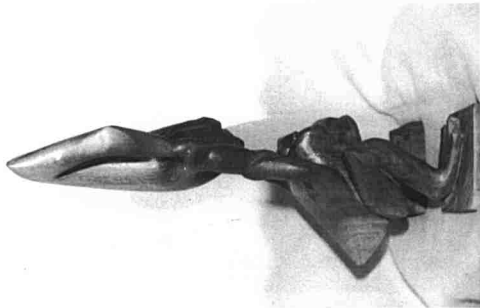
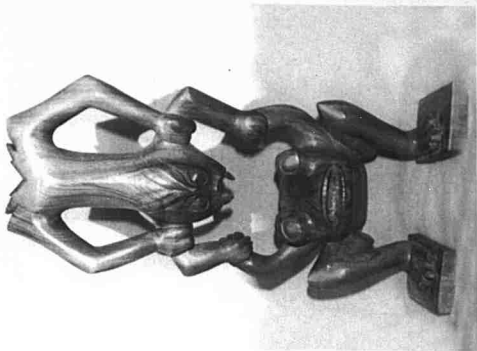


Plate 229:
The Spirit Katak Kala
[by Embing a/l Lipat]

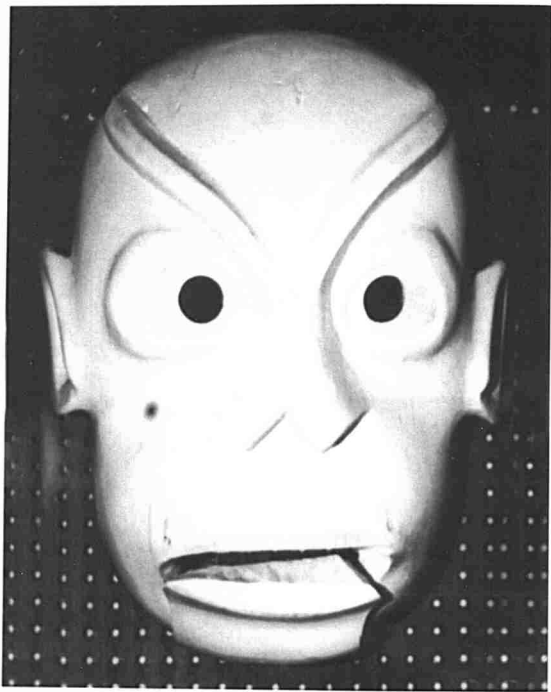


Plate 230:
The Spirit Katak Kala
[by Siran a'l Awas]

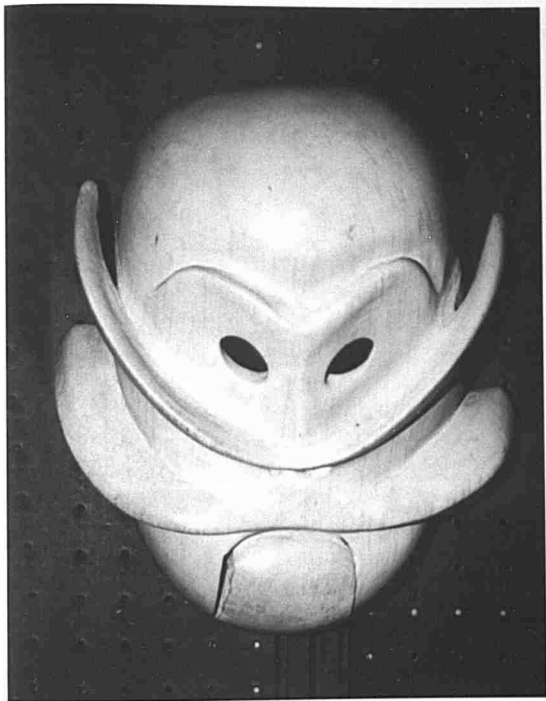


Plate 231
The Spirit Kelimbar
[by Biun a/l Bumbun]



Plate 232.
The Spirit Koro
[by Semi a./i Awas]

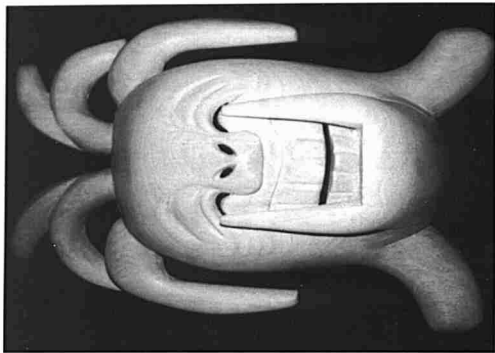


Plate 233.
The Spirit Koro
[by Semi a./i Awas]

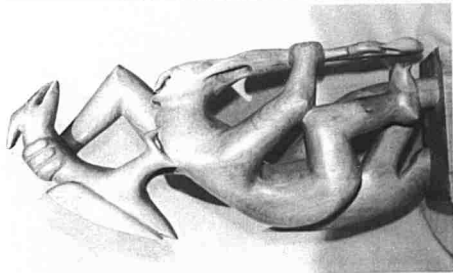
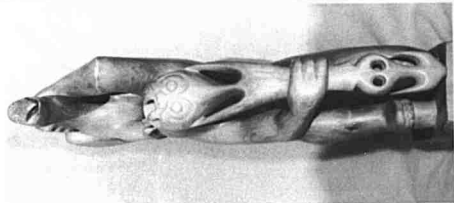


Plate 234:
The Spirit Ketolong
[by Semi a/I Awas]

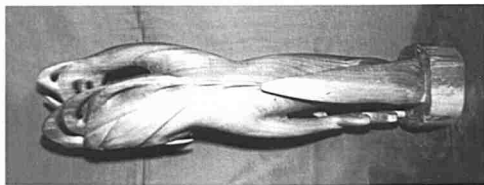
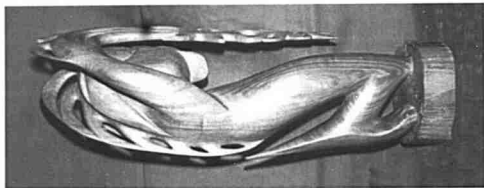
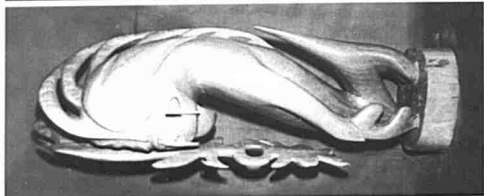


Plate 235.
The Spirit Kelobong
[by Semi a/l Awas]

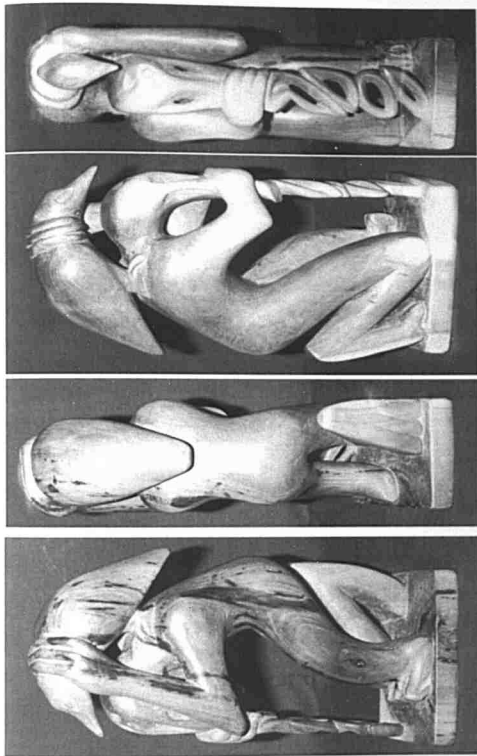


Plate 236:
The Spirit Kelolong
[by Sudin a/j Bujang]

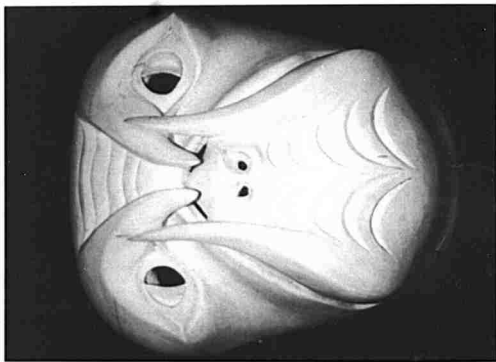


Plate 237:

The Spirit Kelom (Kelum)
[by Ahmed a/1 Kassim]

♂

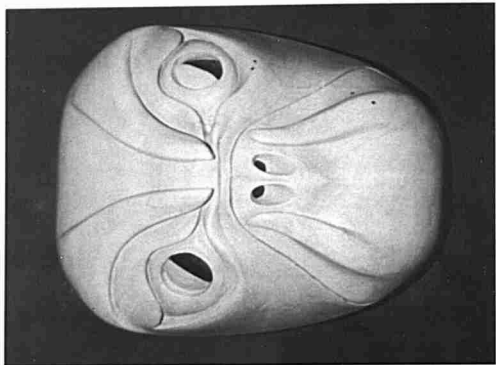


Plate 238:

The Spirit Kelom (Kelum)
[by Ahmed a/1 Kassim]

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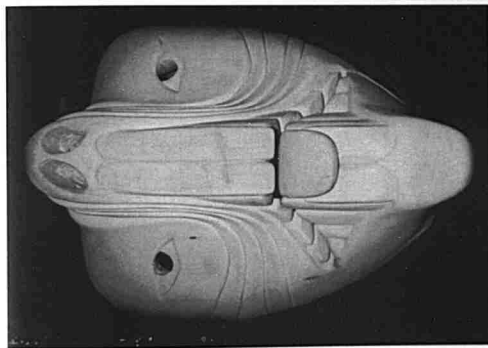
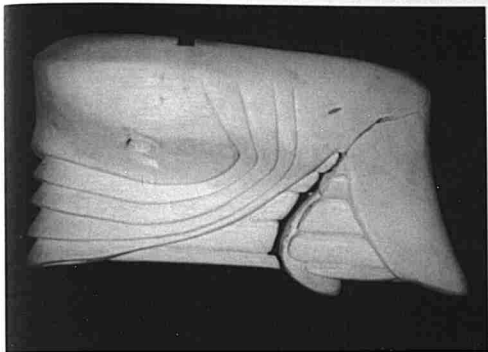


Plate 239:
The Spirit Kelong Wyet (Wyerö)
[by Siran a/ Awax]



Plate 240:
The Spirit Kelong Weyer (Wyer)
[by Blum a/1 Bumbun]

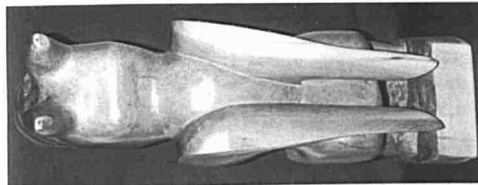
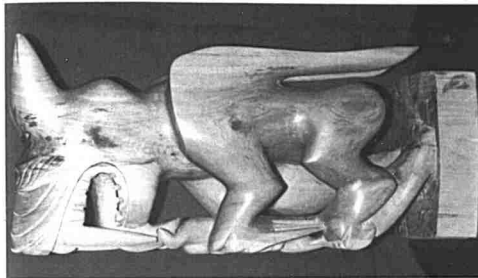
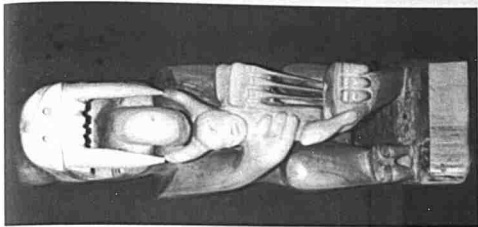


Plate 241:
The Split Kelong Weyer (Weyer)
[by Semi a/f Awass]

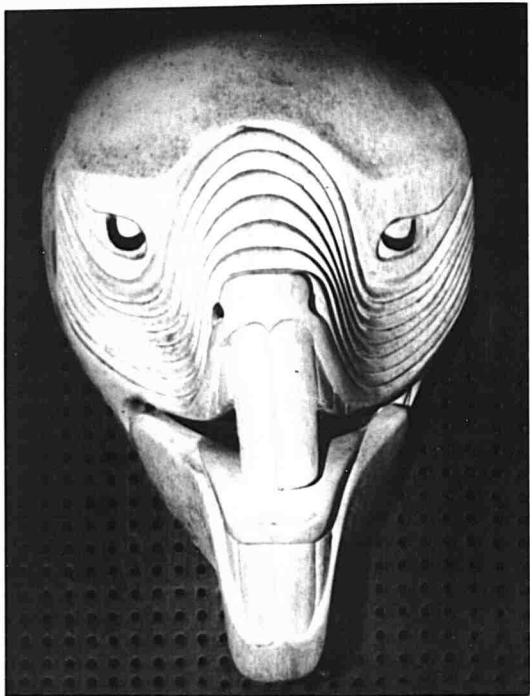


Plate 242:
The Spirit Kelong Wyer (Wyer)
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]

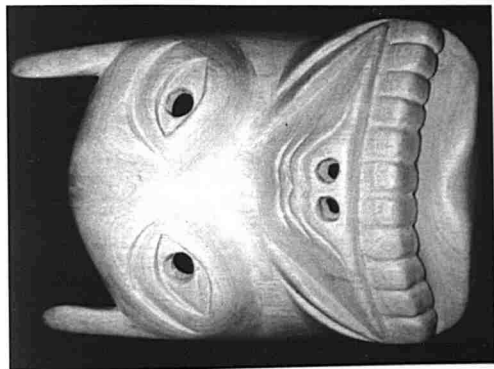


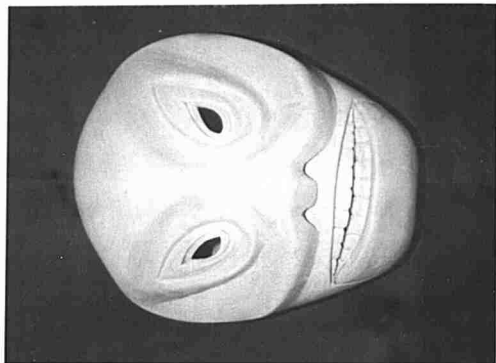
Plate 243:
The Spirit Kelubi (Kubi: Kulubi)
[by Rahman a/1 Kassim]

♂



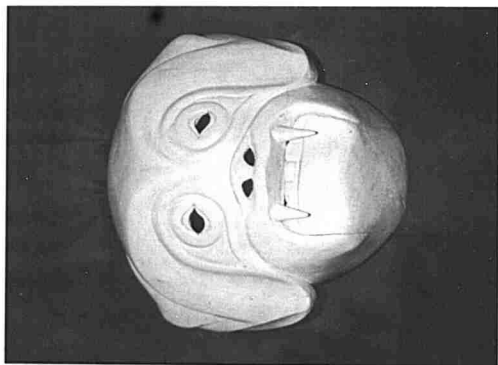
Plate 244:
The Spirit Kelubi (Kubi: Kulubi)
[by Pesat a/1 Kemiangi]

♀



♀

Plate 246:
The Spirit Kelubi (Kubi; Kulubi)
[by Sudin a/l Bujang]



♂

Plate 245:
The Spirit Kelubi (Kubi; Kulubi)
[by Sudin a/l Bujang]

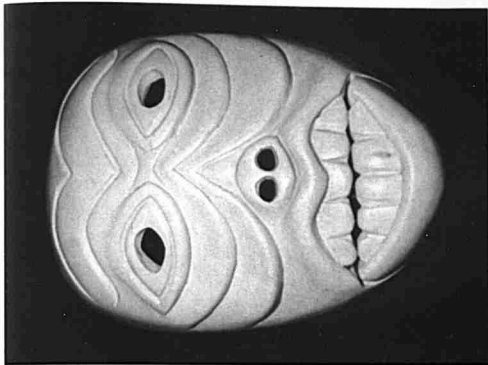


Plate 247:
The Spirit *Kelubi* (*Kubi; Kulubi*)
[by Semi a/I Awas]



Plate 248.
The Spirit *Kelubi* (*Kubi; Kulubi*)
[by Petat a/l Keniang]





♀

Plate 250:
The Spirit Kembar
[by Hassan a/ Jantan]



♂

Plate 249:
The Spirit Kembar
[by Hassan a/ Jantan]

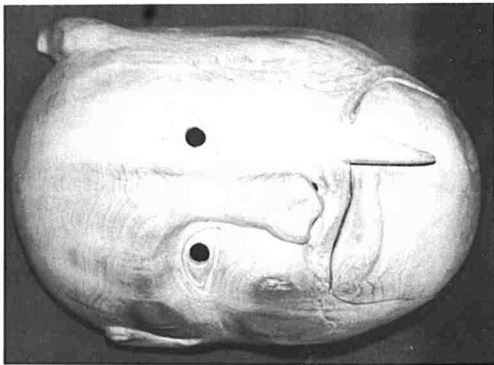


Plate 251:
The Spirit Kembar
[by A. Rahman a./l Kassim]

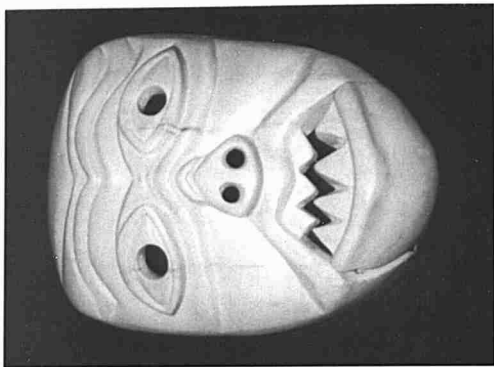


Plate 252:
The Spirit Kembar
[by Siran a./l Awab]



Plate 253.
The Spirit Kembar
[by Keniang a/l Awas].

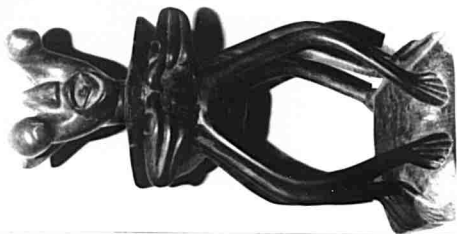


Plate 254.
The Spirit Ketam
[by Sermi a./i Awasi]

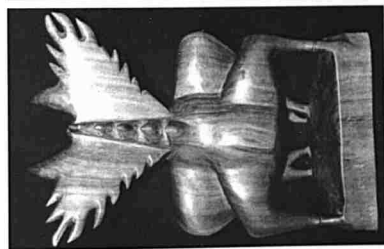
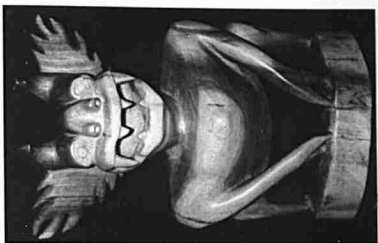


Plate 255:
The Spirit Ketam
[by A. Rahman a/l Kassim]



Plate 256
The Spirit Ketam
[by Ajil a./I Mat]

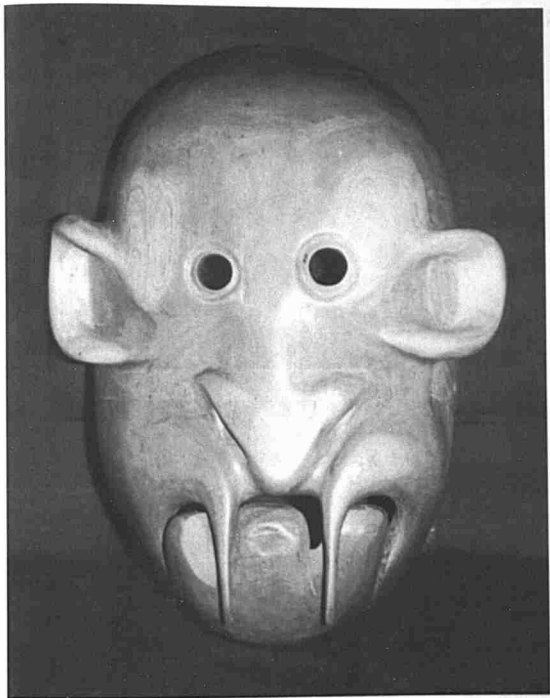


Plate 257
The Spirit *Koncong Belangkas*
[by Biun a/l Bumbun]

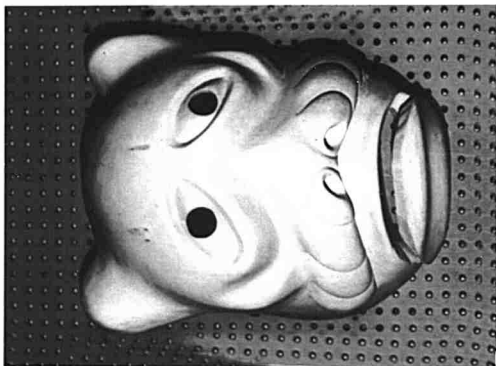


Plate 258:
The Spiitt Konndok
[by Blun a/l Bumbun]

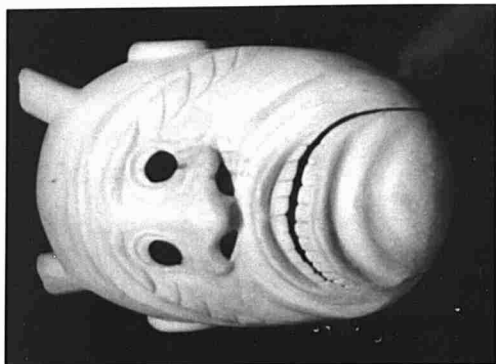


Plate 259:
The Spiitt Konndok
[by Bilon a/l Kassim]



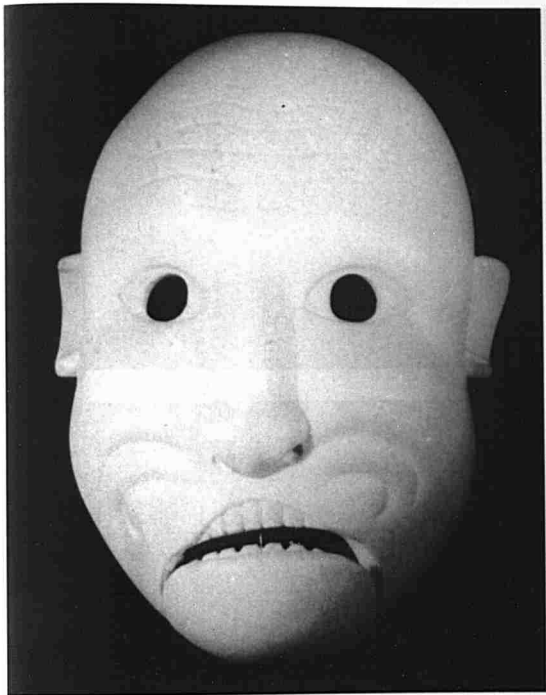


Plate 260:
The Spirit Kuas
[by Biun a./I Bumbun]

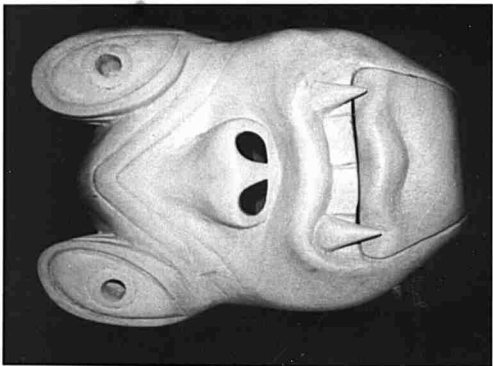


Plate 261:
The Spirit Kuhau
[by Dayong a/i Apal]

♂

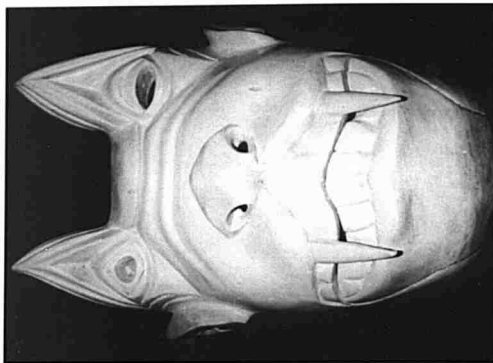


Plate 262:
The Spirit Kuhau
[by Kapar a/i Limal]

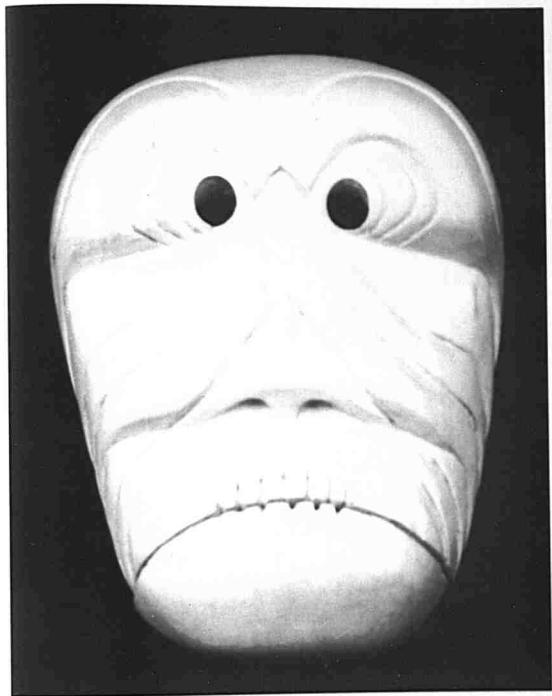


Plate 263
The Spirit *Kuhau*
[by Siran a/I Awas]

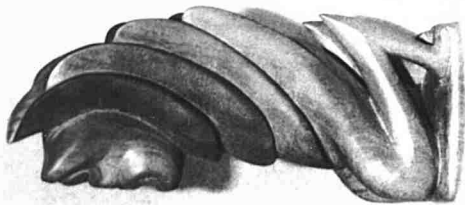


Plate 264
The Spirit Kufhau
[by Siran a/T Awasi]



Plate 265:
The Spirit *Kuhau*
[by Seling a/l Kapar]

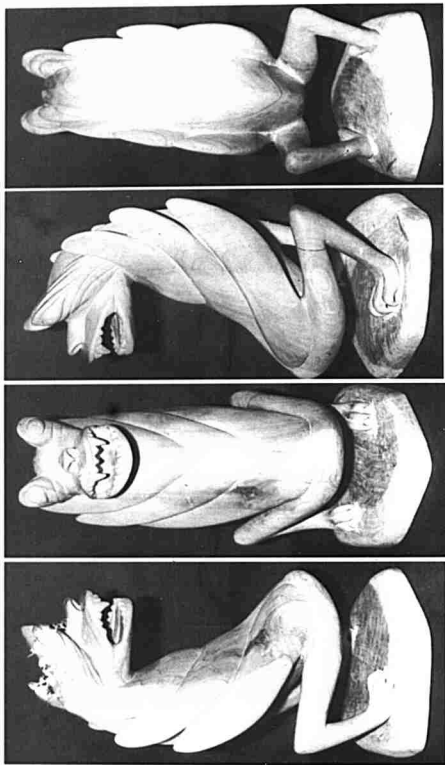


Plate 266
The Spirit Kauhau
[by Selig a/I Kapari]

The Spirit *Lang Kuit*

Lang Kuit is the serpent-eagle, which frequents lowland jungle country and clearings.

Whenever a person hears the call of this bird at night time it is an ominous sign indicating either that the village will soon be abandoned, or that someone will soon die.

The Spirit *Lang Kuit* kills its victims by turning their heads around. It is a slow and painful death.

If ever a person has the misfortune of being attacked by this Spirit he has only a poor chance of remaining alive, unless he can find a medicine man (*bomoh*) who knows the art of appeasing this Spirit.

Such is the danger of this Spirit, and anyone who hears a sound at night similar to the call of *Lang Kuit* must immediately report to the headman of the village.

This will enable the headman to take precautions to prevent the villagers falling victim to the Spirit *Lang Kuit*.

There was once an elderly couple. To the grief of the wife, the husband suddenly died. Not many days after his death there appeared to the widow a dog.

The widow, being very lonely, took in the dog and treated it kindly.

It became her constant and faithful companion.

One day without the knowledge of the widow, the dog strayed into the jungle. The widow waited restlessly for days and nights for the return of her dog, but to no avail.

Anxious for the safety of her companion, she went out into the jungle to search.

After a long and weary search, she found its carcass which was full of maggots. It was evident that it had been dead for many days.

The woman wrapped the carcass in a mat and took it home. She then took a wide-mouth cooking pot (*kuatli*) and warmed it over the fire-place.

When it had become quite hot, she poured some soil into it and then put the pot and uttered incantations. To her great surprise the maggots turned into *Lang Kuit* birds, and flew away.

The Spirit *Lapan*

☛ See p. 305

The Spirit *Lembu*

The Spirit *Lembu* originated from a human being. He was haunted by evil influences and was hated by all. Later he was chased away. No longer able to stay, he packed up his belongings and went away. He walked on and on without food for days. Then he saw a garden of grass where it was shady. The day being very hot, he felt hungry.

He could not bring down the rice on his shoulder. He shouted, "Help! Oh God." The God replied, "You cannot eat rice, for when you eat rice your illness will return."

When he ate the grass his face changed to that of his friend. "I cannot eat grass because my canine teeth are too long."

The God said, "You can change, but unfortunately you cannot become a human being. You will become a cow (*lembu*) with four legs."

He was forced to be a cow, for if not his illness would return.

Because the cow is not afraid of human beings, it has become a slave.

The Spirit *Limbas* [I]

[Limbas is the name given to the metal blade of a curved axe (*beliung*). This spirit possesses two pairs of legs joined at the trunk. It has the habit of constantly looking upwards into the sky with the palm of each hand resting on each side of its chin. When it is looking upwards it pushes its tongue upward between its thick lips, thus revealing a row of lower teeth. It has large protruding eyes and long extended ear].

The Spirit *Limbas* originated from a boat-maker who went into the jungle to make a boat. He worked daily. One day he went to the jungle and on reaching a certain place he searched for *limbas*.

The human being saw the end of the blade there. When he went to retrieve it, it disappeared. Finally, the *limbas* became the Spirit *Limbas*.

It wanted to eat the human being. But the boat-maker begged the Spirit *Limbas* not to harm him. It then replied that it would not harm him if he could send it to sea. "Oh! Yes, Spirit guardian of this place," he replied. Then the ghost disappeared.

It also made another condition that he must not use the machete or wound the limbs with the blade. If it is hurt the Spirit *Limbas* will return.

"But if you get hurt you can use seven types of yellow rice, uttering my name, and the sickness will be cured."

The Spirit *Limbas* [II]

There once lived a man who wanted to make a dug-out canoe, but he had no blade for his *beliung*. So disappointed was he that in his sleep on that night he muttered, "*Limbas, limbas. . .*"

When he had finished these words a spirit came towards him and jumped upon him.

The two struggled and fell from the bed onto the floor, and even there they kept struggling. The sound of this struggle woke the man's grandfather, who was sleeping in the next cubicle. The old man came to investigate the cause of the noise.

When he got into his grandson's cubicle he saw the two struggling furiously. The old man knew of the Spirit *Limbas*, and when he saw his grandson struggling with this Spirit, he was so infuriated that he cursed his grandson with the following words, "If you're a man then be a man, and if you're a *limbas*, be a *limbas*." With these words the two on the floor became joined from the trunk upwards.

Before this time the Spirit *Limbas* was one, but after this event it became two, joined at the trunk.

The Spirit *Lokan*

The Spirit *Lokan* originated from people of long ago. The mother asked her child to boil an egg while she went fishing. She could not get any fish and she felt hungry.

So she went home. When she arrived home, the child told her that there was no more egg. "Why didn't you leave me some?" she asked.

"My desire to eat the eggs was not satisfied," replied the old woman.

Then the old woman jumped into the sea. Her child came and caught hold of her hair, cut it and buried it. The child cried out and cut *bantut* leaves into pieces.

"If you be a clam (*lokan*), be a clam, if you be a human being, be a human being."

So now she had become the Spirit *Lokan*.

"How could I leave you some, mother?" said the child. "The young one asked for it and if I did not give it to him, he cried."

The mother said, "It is better that I go to the sea."

She prayed seven times and Spirit *Lokan* appeared. The Spirit asked, "Why are you praying for me, mother?"

The Spirit *Ludin**

Spirit *Ludin* originated from a human being a long time ago. A man was lost in the jungle and could not find his way back. Night came and he arrived at a *meranti* tree with seven big buttresses. So he slept by the buttress of the *meranti* tree.

While leaning on the buttress, he had an idea of collecting the *rotan* which twined itself about the tree. While collecting the *rotan*, he found *rotan* roots on the tall *kempas* tree. So the man climbed the tree by using the *rotan* roots. He carried a blowpipe as a weapon.

At that time it was already dark. Half way up, there came a great storm. Night came and he groped about until he came to a branch.

The storm was so strong that the tree looked as if it was going to break. He sat on the branch and saw that the *rotan* roots had broken off in the middle of the tree and other branches too had broken.

So the man could not get down and he cursed the sour and thorny brinjals while cutting it seven times that if he be a human being, let him be so, and if he be a Spirit *Ludin*, let him be so. So then he became the Spirit *Ludin*.

The Spirit *Lumba*

Once there was a betrothed couple. The fiancée accused the man of having another woman.

The man said, "No, I don't have another woman. If you see me with another woman, why don't you catch me right away? Oh, it's no use my staying here any more."

So the son told his mother, "I am going out to sea to fish." So he went.

The fiancée asked her mother-in-law, "Where's my fiancé, mother?"

"Your fiancé has gone fishing in the sea," replied the mother.

So the girl went after him. She saw her fiancé half submerged by the water. She cried out, "Fiancé, fiancé!"

The man said, "It's no use now, because my feet have turned into the feet of a porpoise (*lumba*). So you on land should become a gibbon and I in the sea shall become a porpoise."

* See also the Spirit *Pak Ludin*.

The Spirit *Malom**

There was once an old woman who walked to the river to collect old nets. When she had brought one home, she found that she could not walk. She ate tapioca with water but with no gravy.

The net could speak and asked her why she had no gravy. The old woman said when she went away the net would become a male human being with legs and body but without a head.

Then the net went to fish and could not catch any. The old lady started a quarrel and asked, "Where are you, Spirit *Malom*?" Then she saw a figure which looked neither like a tiger nor a man. At that time tigers did not want to catch human beings but they saw that the Spirit *Malom* caught them. This tiger was disappointed with the Spirit *Malom* for catching them.

From then on it knew how to catch a human being. So the old lady collected several leaves and cursed seven times saying, "If you become a human being, then be a human being."

The Spirit *Manol-Niat*

Long ago there was a woman who could not produce a child. She wanted one badly. Even if she could not get a human child, she would be satisfied if she could have a baby animal. Somehow she became pregnant and when the time came she gave birth to a baby iguana.

When the iguana grew up, it wanted to marry a princess of heaven. After the sixth minister had refused it, it went to the seventh minister. When it came to the seventh princess, that is the youngest, she accepted it.

The minister said to the iguana's mother, "How can your child marry my child, because he is an iguana?" However the minister agreed to the marriage, and said "He can marry her if he can provide gold from this courtyard right down to the river." So the dowry was in gold boxes.

When the boxes were opened there was a cloth with a lot of gold inside. No one could believe it. There was a golden house, a golden plate, a golden bowl, golden glasses, in fact everything was made of gold.

After the marriage and after seven days, the iguana went to sea with seeds of crops. When it arrived at an island, it opened up the land there. Everything was there—bananas, padi, jack-fruit—everything.

But the most plentiful was the pumpkin but not the ordinary pumpkin; they were gold pumpkins. Somehow a rat ate a pumpkin and it was caught by the iguana and so the rat minister became its friend.

* This story has been translated as narrated, but it remains obscure.

The Spirit Maong

Far away relatives were told by Spirit Maong that if there is a sound, it is the Spirit Maong.

The Spirit Melor

1. In ancient times he originated from the surface of the moon. Because of a misunderstanding between husband and wife, the *Melor* dropped down out of the door on the surface of the moon. The wife wanted to follow the *Melor* but never reached the earth because a mouse had closed the door by building its nest.

A human Spirit *Kapis* had gone to the jungle to hunt for food (*lauk*) but did not trap any. But he heard the sound of a tiger and on investigation found it to be neither a tiger nor a human.

The Spirit *Melor* said, "Ooo! It is *lauk*." "Oh no. This is your grandson."

"If so, help me get back to the moon."

"Oh I shall, grandfather, send you."

"If you do not send me to the moon I shall destroy the human beings in this world."

So the *Kapis* sent him to the moon. The wife of the *Kapis* named *Engkok* was happy, and prepared a feast for the Spirit *Kapis*. Unfortunately the wife of the *Melor* had a spiritual power which could prevent the *Kapis* from returning home because they wanted to eat the *Kapis*.

The *Melor* thought the *Kapis* would sit in the middle, but the *Kapis* who knew the intention to kill him, instead sat next to the door, thus the *Melor* could not kill the *Kapis*. Then the *Melor* said, "If a father married his own daughter, the mother will also do the same. When this happens, then when we die our Spirit will not be received by God!"

2. The Spirit *Melor* originated from the surface of the moon. The human beings below were in a panic for they were disturbed and they did not know their parents, children, and others. So the Spirit *Melor* dropped down to earth.

They say that had it not been for the arrival of this Spirit, human beings would not exist in this world today.

The Spirit *Melor* said, "The human beings were so restless that it was the Spirit *Kapeh* who helped him return to the moon quickly."

The *Melor* laid down that children, mothers, grandchildren, and grandfathers must not do this again, and the *Melor* punished the *Kapeh*. The *Kapeh* received the *Melor*'s punishment and told the human beings never again to make the *Melor* come down to earth for he would not tolerate it any more.

The Spirit Mengkuang

Once there was the Spirit *Mengkuang*. She had a *mengkuang* field which she wanted to use. The tiger wanted the yam (*keladi*) and *taploca* as food but there were a lot of *mengkuang* trees in the field.

In the middle of the *mengkuang* trees there was a house. In the house there were fire and water. The old woman carried a *parang* and cut off the hands and feet of the tiger.

The Spirit Naga

Whenever there is an earthquake this is caused by the movement of the dragon. This dragon is of such a colossal size that both human beings and animals move about on its back without being aware of the presence of a dragon under their feet.

A very long time ago a man went hunting in the jungle with a spear borrowed from the headman (*batin*) of his village.

After he had been walking in the jungle for some time, without finding any game, it began to rain heavily.

The hunter therefore took shelter in the large roots of a fallen eagle-wood tree (*gaharu*) the trunk of which was overgrown with bushes and lichen.

He went as deep as he could into this shelter, deep enough to wedge his spear with its blade upright against the fallen trunk.

After a while the hunter, holding the spear with his hand, felt drops of liquid falling onto his body.

At first he thought these were rainwater leaking through the roof of his shelter, but upon examination he found them to be blood.

Panic-stricken he ran out of the shelter, and when he turned back to look he saw that the supposed fallen *gaharu* tree was really a dragon and that he had been inside its mouth.

The spear had wounded the hard upper palate, causing the blood to drip.

In his hurry to get out of the shelter he had left the spear there. What was he to do, for it belonged to the *batin*, but to get it back would merely court death.

He thought that it would be better to incur the wrath of the *batin* rather than to lose his life and therefore ran with all his might back to the village to tell the villagers of his adventure.

The hunter took some villagers to the spot where the dragon had been, but it had disappeared.

The Spirit *Narong*

1. It originated from a poor man. There were seven sisters who were playing riddles. They had tied two pieces of wood crossways.

Then they walked over the sticks.

The eldest sister walked first saying, "Eh! Eh! I got a King as a husband."

The second sister did the same, "Eh! I got a *dieo* as a husband."

The third sister wanted a village headman as a husband, whilst the fourth wanted a fisherman; the fifth a net-caster and the sixth a fish-curer, but the seventh did not want to cross.

Her sister made her cross, and she said, "I got a *narong* snake as a husband and am satisfied."

Immediately the seventh sister turned into a *narong* snake.

2. It originated from a poor man. There were seven sisters who were playing riddles.

They had taken two pieces of wood and tied them crossways.

The eldest sister crossed them and said, "Eh! Eh! I got a King for a husband."

The second did the same "Eh! I got a *dieo* as a husband." The third, "I got a village headman as a husband; the fourth, "I got a fisherman as a husband!," the fifth, "I got a net caster as a husband", and sixth, "I got a fish-curer as a husband."

But the seventh did not want to cross the sticks.

Since her sisters insisted, while crossing she said, "I got a *narong* snake as a husband."

Her sister was angry when the younger had said this "Chist! Are you not ashamed that you want an animal as your husband."

The six sisters beat the younger sister and chased her away. It had started raining and the seventh sister found shelter in a small hut.

She slept, though she was shivering from the cold. Under the hut was a snake.

The snake turned into a human being, so the seventh sister got a husband.

But the other six sisters never got husbands.

The Spirit *Nasi*

1. Long ago the padi seed was as big as an egg and so it was not necessary to pound it. Human beings did not eat the seeds; instead they ate the leaves. They said if the seed is eaten, one will be intoxicated, but it is not so with the leaves. But their child ate the seed.

"Don't eat the seed, you'll be intoxicated," said the father. "I am not intoxicated."

"If you are not intoxicated, let me cook it."

So he cooked it. While it was still hot, he ate it. His stomach became heated and he died.

So it was told that when the crop is ready for harvesting, burn incense first before the rice is cooked and eaten. Now incense has to be burnt before the padi is planted. One should not eat anything otherwise one will get stomach-ache. That is the Spirit *Nasi* (rice).

2. Long ago the padi seed was big. The mother ate the padi leaves only. So the child took the padi seeds and cooked them. The child ate the rice and was not intoxicated but he felt his stomach full. He did not feel satisfied when he ate the leaves. When the mother returned home from the forest, she saw the child eat the rice.

The mother asked, "Was the rice tasty?" The mother cooked the rice. While it was still hot she ate it. So she ran to the banana tree and died.

The Spirit *Nasi Pejang Senlokala*

☛ See p. 324

The Spirit *Nyawe* the Friend of *Esain*

1. Long ago it was like a clock. It produced a sound when worn. It ticked from five in the evening until six.

2. Once there were two old men searching for monkeys and fish in the jungle. Before they found a monkey or a fish it began to tick like a clock. They had walked from early morning to evening and quite far.

"Let us go home," said his friend. "It is already dark." His friend did not believe him and so they slept in the jungle.

3. Once an old man did not believe the ticking of the clock but his friend believed it.

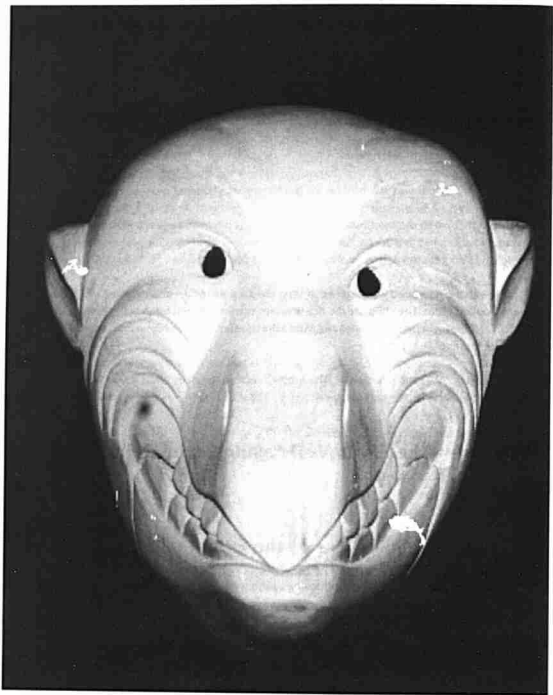


Plate 267
The Spirit Lang Kuit
[by Rahman a/l Kassim]

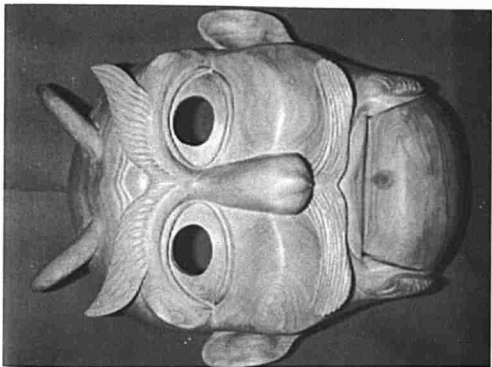


Plate 268:
The Spirit Lapan
[by Singam a/I Muntit]

♂

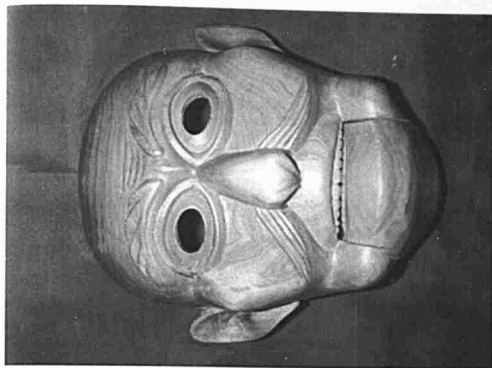


Plate 269:
The Spirit Lapan
[by Singam a/I Muntit]

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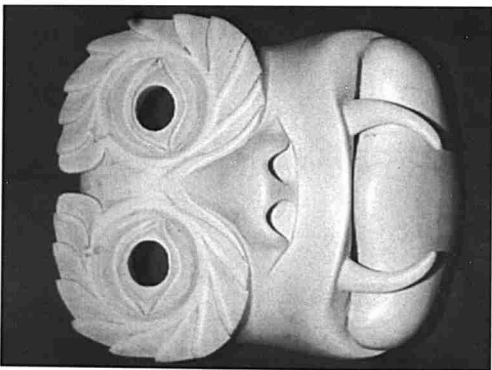


Plate 270:
The Spirit Lembu
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]

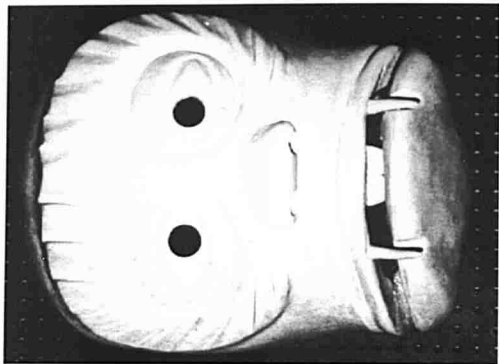


Plate 271:
The Spirit Lembu
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]

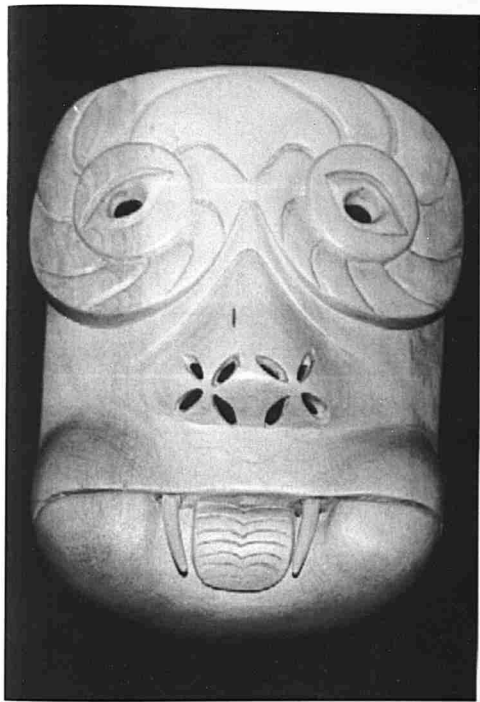


Plate 272:
The Spirit Lembu
[by Kapar a/l Lima]

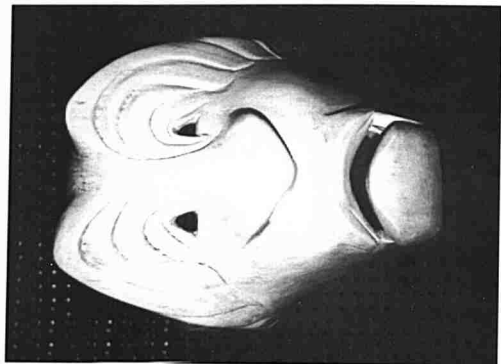


Plate 274:
The Spirit Limbus
[by Bilon a/1 Kassim]



Plate 273:
The Spirit Limbus
[by Bilon a/1 Kassim]

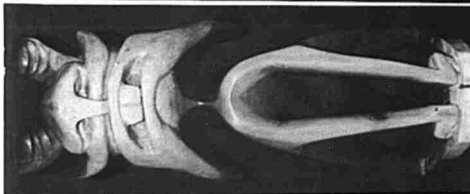
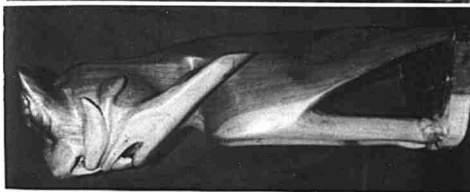
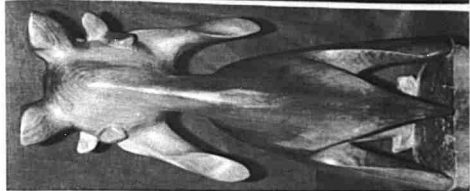
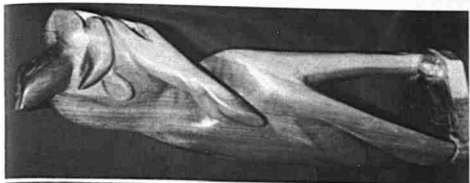


Plate 275:
The Spirit Limbus
[by Bilal al-Kasbi]

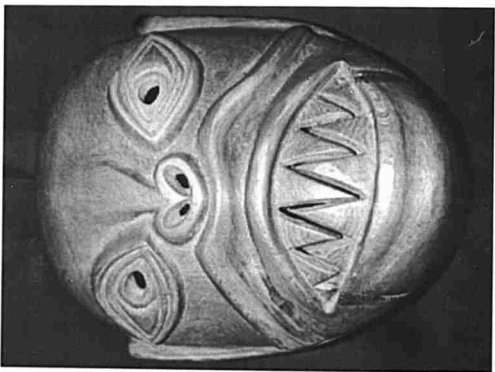


Plate 276:
The Spirit Lokan
[by Kenliang a./l Awwas]

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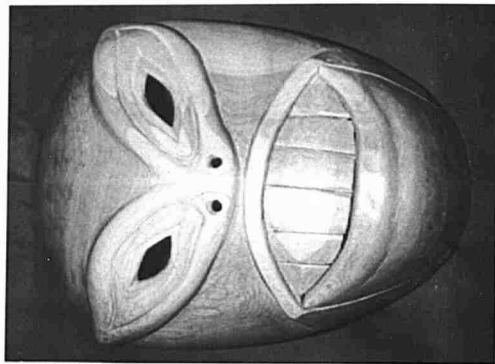


Plate 277:
The Spirit Lokan
[by Kenliang a./l Awwas]

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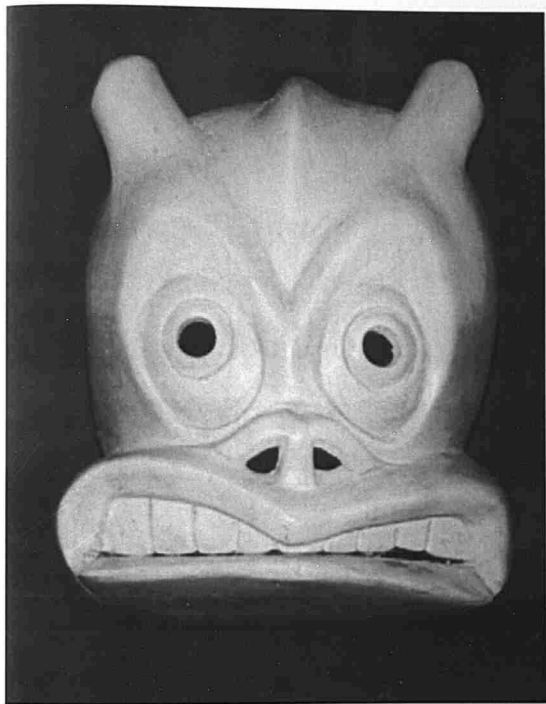


Plate 278.
The Spirit *Lumba*
[by Sudin a/l Bujang]

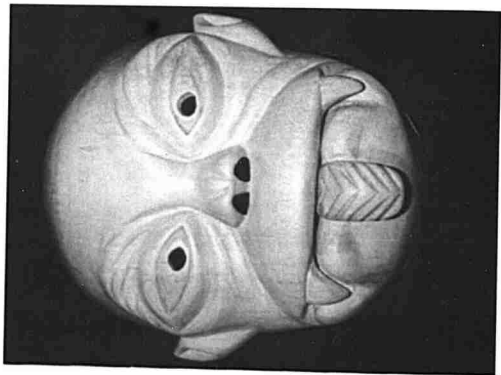


Plate 279:
The Spirit Malom
[by Seiling, a/I Kapar]

♂

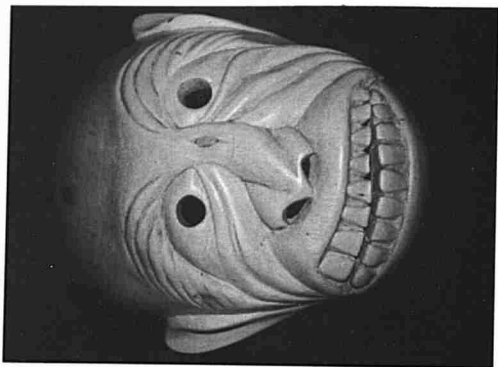


Plate 280:
The Spirit Malom
[by Seiling, a/I Kapar]

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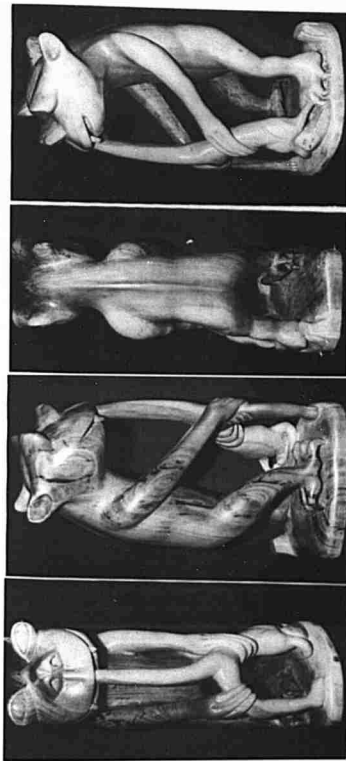
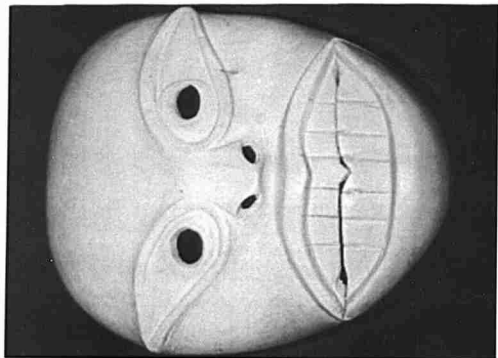
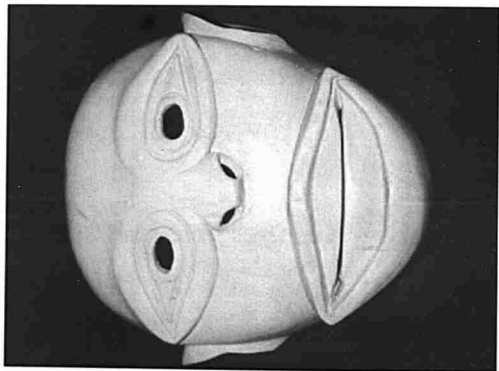


Plate 281:
The Spirit Malom
[by Kapar a/I Lima]



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Plate 283:
The Spirit Maong
[by Keniang a./l Awass]



♂

Plate 282:
The Spirit Maong
[by Keniang a./l Awass]

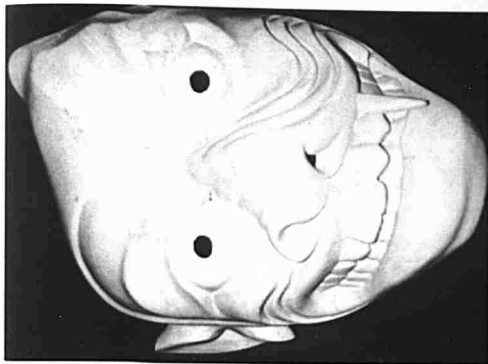


Plate 285:
The Spirit Melor
[by Ahmed a'l Kassim]

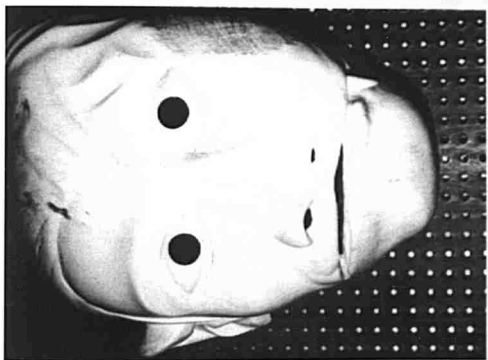


Plate 284:
The Spirit Melor
[by Ahmed a'l Kassim]



Plate 286:
The Spirit Melor
[by Kassim a/I Muntill]



Plate 287:
The Spirit Mengkuang
[by Sadat a/l Assam]

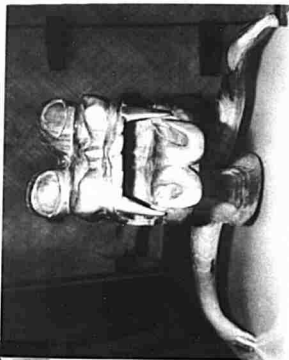


Plate 288
The Spirit Naga
[by Ming a/ Lipat]

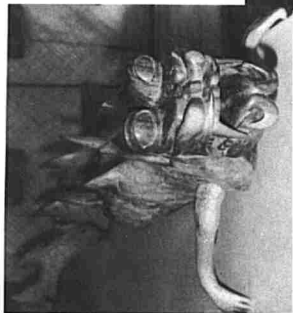


Plate 289:
The Split Naga
[by Ming a/1 Lipat]

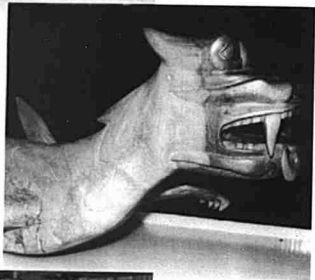
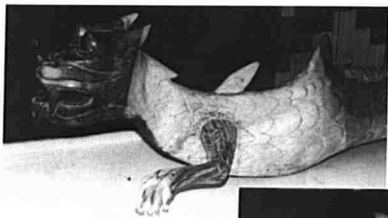


Plate 290.
The Spirit Naga
[by Ming a/I Lipat]

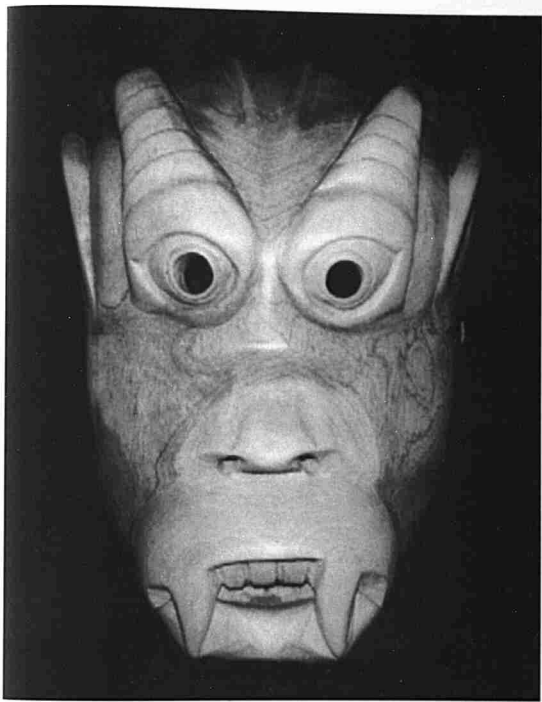


Plate 291:
The Spirit *Narong*
[by Sap a/l Mat]



Plate 292:
The Spirit Nasu
[by Sabah a/l Ming]

Q

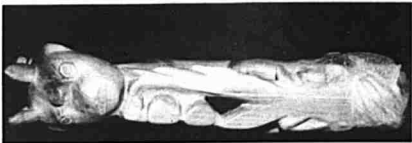
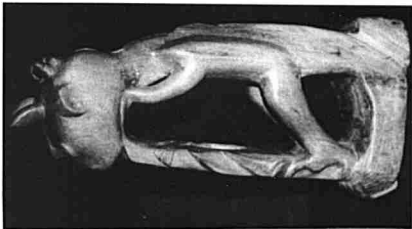
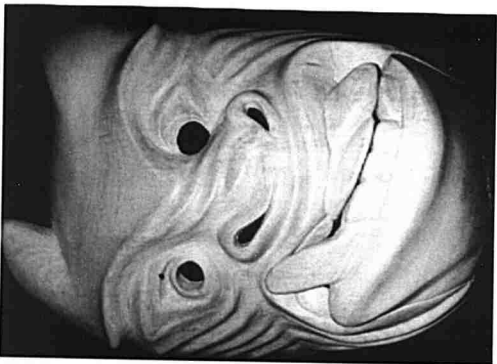
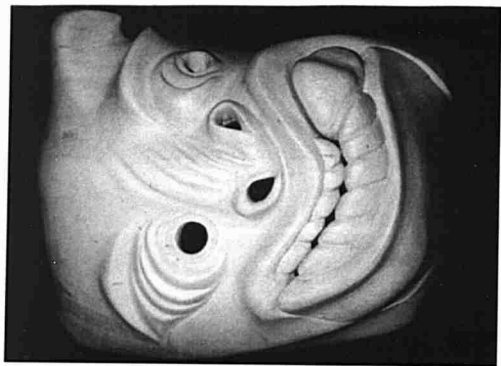


Plate 293:
The Spirit Nisi/
[by Sadat al' Assam]



♂

Plate 294:
The Spirit Nasi Pejang Seniokala
[by Bilion a./l Kassim]



♀

Plate 295:
The Spirit Nasi Pejang Seniokala
[by Bilion a./l Kassim]

The Spirit Pagar Ruyung

☛ See p. 335

The Spirit Pak Ludin

Pak Ludin originated from people of long ago. Once a man got lost in the jungle and however hard he tried to find his way out, he couldn't. While looking for the way out he went deeper into the jungle. When the evening came he looked for a *meranti* tree with big buttress roots.

So he slept between the buttress roots of the *meranti* tree. While leaning against the roots, he thought of looking for the *lokam* root which had climbed onto a tree. While looking for it he found the *lokam* root on a high *kempas* tree. So he climbed the tree following the *rotan* stem. He took along his blowpipe as his weapon. While climbing, dusk came, and while he was in the middle of the tree there came a big storm.

Then came the night. He groped his way onto a branch. The wind was still strong and the tree nearly broke. So he sat there. It seemed that the *lokam* root had already broken mid-way, being carried away by a broken branch. So the man could not get down.

So he cursed the thorny brinjal and cut it into seven pieces while calling out that if it be man, let it be so and if it be *Moyang Pak Ludin*, let it be so too. Thus he became the Spirit *Pak Ludin*.

The Spirit Paku

☛ See p. 337-339

The Spirit Parang Kating

Long ago lived a bachelor. Every day he went into the jungle to lay a trap for the mouse-deer. He laid many traps but not a deer was caught.

One day he went to see his trap and when he looked inside he saw a rope made of coconut husk. As he was walking away he saw a chopper in the trap. There was no deer in the trap but only a rope and a chopper.

He took the rope and the chopper home. He smoked the rope and the chopper over the incense and then kept them in a trunk.

On another day, while the man was eating, a python came crawling up his house. "Now there's a snake! Do you want some food?"

So he gave the python food.

Seven days later a rat came to his house. At that time the man was also eating his food. Seven days afterwards an eagle came and he was eating too at that time.

The python grew bigger daily.

The python, the rat, and the eagle became like adopted children.

The adoptive father had a dream. "Father, I want to get married."

"Oh, children, father does not know how to look for a woman for you."

"There's no need for father to look for her, father wouldn't get her."

When night came, there was rain and also a thunderstorm. The python went away. When daylight came, the python was gone.

Only the eagle and the rat were left. The eagle and the rat were able to speak.

"Elder brother python has gone to look for elder sister. In that case we too want to get married."

The eagle and the rat went away. Only the adoptive father was left. Then the adoptive father died.

The Spirit *Pari*

This is the story of *Spirit Pari*.

Once there was a husband and wife who had no children. So they prayed to the spirits to be blessed with a child.

Soon after the wife became pregnant. They were very happy.

When the time came, the wife gave birth. But she did not give birth to a baby; instead she gave birth to a baby skate. Both the husband and wife were surprised but they brought up the baby skate in a bowl. The bowl had to be changed many times and the skate became fully grown.

When it was fully grown, it wanted to marry a princess. It told its mother and the mother was surprised.

She said, "You look like a skate, whoever wants to marry you?"

But it was adamant and said, "There must be someone . . . go and find her."

So the husband and wife went to ask for a princess's hand. The king had seven daughters.

The eldest did not want him and said, "Whoever wants a skate?"

So said the others right down to the seventh daughter. The youngest accepted the skate as her husband.

She said, "It does not matter if he is a skate."

When they were married, the skate turned into a very handsome man. The other sisters clamoured for him. When the marriage ceremony between the youngest princess and the skate (now a man) was over, the Spirit *Pari* went up to the seventh sky because he could not bear to live in this world as there were too many women running after him.

The Spirit *Pelanduk*

The Spirit *Pelanduk* originated from a human being. Human beings were angry with the *Pelanduk* because they were cheated by it and they put a spell upon it to become an animal and not a human.

To celebrate the entry of the *Pelanduk* into the animal kingdom, all the animals got together and they clapped and danced. They were happy because they thought that *Pelanduk* was sent by God.

One day he started to trick the animals and kill them one by one for food. Then one day he met an elephant and the elephant told him he was his younger brother. The *Pelanduk* replied, "Though my body is small my knowledge is vast." The elephant then said, "Don't be so boastful. We shall have a competition to see who can finish the most water first."

The *Pelanduk* agreed. The *Pelanduk* made the elephant drink the sea water at high tide while he himself drank at low tide. The elephant died due to drinking too much sea water. The leader of the elephants declared defeat.

The tiger became angry because he saw that the animal kingdom was decreasing due to the *Pelanduk*. The tiger decided to eat the *Pelanduk* when he was sick. The tiger did not take any notice and the *Pelanduk* ran away. The *Pelanduk* ran until he fell into a hole and seeing that he could not get out he pleaded to the other animals to help him and they let him out. When the tiger arrived at the hole, they told him that the *Pelanduk* had escaped.

While running the *Pelanduk* saw a hollow tree and asked the tree to help hide him. He hid in the hollow of the tree. The tiger followed the *Pelanduk* into the hollow tree and got himself stuck. Seeing this the *Pelanduk* came out at the other end. He ran around the tree and started kicking the tiger's testicles.

The tiger cried out in pain while the *Pelanduk* ran away and fell into a well. The *Pelanduk* pretended to be taking a bath and called on the other animals to join him; nearly all the animals were in the well

but the *Pelanduk* still could not jump out. The tiger arrived and told him that he would not escape this time.

This time the *Pelanduk* lied to the tiger, saying that if the tiger chewed on him while eating he would not die but if the tiger swallowed him whole the *Pelanduk* would die. So the tiger swallowed the *Pelanduk* whole.

The *Pelanduk* peeped out through the tiger's anus and kept calling out. The tiger heard the *Pelanduk* and was so obsessed with wanting to catch the *Pelanduk* that he did not bother to look for other food. In time the tiger died of hunger and the *Pelanduk* left the tiger's body. In the end the *Pelanduk* was still the most cunning animal.

The Spirit *Pelang*

The Spirit *Pelang* originated from the pith of woods such as the *gaharu* wood.

He protects from the sun and the rain. This *Pelang* must never be pointed at, for this will result in the hand of the foetus being crippled. So now human beings are frightened to point at him. He is there, rain or shine.

The Spirit *Pelatuk*

Once there was the Spirit *Pelatuk* who beat the wooden slit gong. When the sound of the war gong was heard by the *Pelanduk*, he remembered that this was a summons for him to tread upon and kill the young otters.

When he saw that the otters were dead he went straight to see the Spirit *Pelatuk* to find out why he had beaten the war gong. The Spirit *Pelatuk* told him that he had seen the *seluang* fish swimming up and down the river until they all had been eaten by the otters. Therefore the young otters had deserved to be stepped upon.

The Spirit *Pelima Hitam*

Pelima Hitam is a witch doctor who controls all sickness on land, mountains, bays, and capes. If anyone is sick because of someone's actions, he should call a witch doctor (*pelima hitam*) to cure him. The witch doctor will advise the sick person.

The witch doctor will ask him to make a boat or a basket and fill it with all kinds of animals and plants and a human figure. The animals and the figure should be made of *rengkam* plants. These are meant to replace the sickness. If the sickness is not replaced, it will become worse. When it is replaced, the sickness will be known by the humans (and their grandchildren).

The Spirit *Pelimbai*

The Spirit *Pelimbai* originated from an old man. Men of ancient times used *pelimbai* leaves to enable the Spirit to enter their bodies to cure sickness.

The Spirit entered the body of the man and cured him of his sickness. Being cured the man wanted to return to his usual self but could not. He became a spirit.

Then the sick man said, "If *Datuk* cannot return to your usual self, then become a good spirit." He swore that if the *terung berduri* becomes good, it must be wholeheartedly. Thus, today there is no Spirit *Pelimbai*.

The Spirit *Penebal*

In ancient times there was a human being who always went out fishing, but without success. Even when he eventually caught one, the fish only had its bones and head but no flesh. He took the fish bones to fry and to his surprise he found that the fish was able to speak. When he looked into the frying pan he saw not the fish but a figure with long hair, round eyes and long finger nails. The figure cried out to the human being for help.

The human being was afraid and in his fear got hold of the figure and tied it to a pillar in his house by the figure's hair and he ran off to another village. The human being related his experience to the villagers.

He told them, "I went fishing and caught a fish that had a head and bones but no flesh. The pot and the frying pan are also afraid and are running with me."

Suddenly he heard the frying pan call out, "Run, run."

He asked the frying pan and pot how to kill the figure. The frying pan told the human being to get into the pot and then the pot and pan would pretend to quarrel.

While they were quarrelling the Spirit *Penebal* came to settle the dispute that the pot and pan were supposed to be having. While the Spirit *Penebal* was attempting to settle the dispute the human being from inside the pot used sliced *bantut* leaves to curse the Spirit *Penebal* seven times so that his bones became wood and his head became stone.

As wood and stone do not weigh the same, the Spirit *Penebal* died of his body being crushed.

The Spirit *Pintal*

☛ See p. 350

The Spirit *Pipet*

The Spirit *Batin Jenang* in ancient times stayed in no special place. He could be found in all the seas and above and on barren rocks. To the Spirit *Pipet* everything is possible. He brought earth to the rocky land. The padi from this land he gave to the birds who helped him and there was one bird whom he could not pay. The Spirit *Pipet* thus made it easy for human beings today to plant and cultivate padi. Without this *Pipet*, it would not have been possible to plant, and the land would still be rocks.

The Spirit *Pisang*

This is a female spirit who is the guardian of banana plants. The Spirit is responsible for the drooping of the *jantung*, the terminal, sterile part of the flowering shoot of banana plants. If one can see and catch this Spirit, one can ask for anything that one wishes for. In order to be able to see and catch it, a person has to acquire much knowledge while at the same time undergoing various hardships and trials, of a physical and mental nature.

The Spirit *Pok*

☛ See p. 355

The Spirit *Pongkol*

1. One day in ancient times, the parents of a child went to work and immediately afterwards the child called for his parents. Not long after the parents appeared. The faces look similar to the parents who had just left. The child was happy.

He then cut a fish (in fact a yam (*keladi*) leaf which looked like a fish) and cooked a quarter of the fish and ate it. He rested for a while.

After a while there appeared a tail from a hole in the pillar of the house. The child noticed the tail under the house and quickly tied the tail to the pillar of the house.

Then the child pretended to cook the *keladi* but in fact was heating a piece of iron. When the iron was red hot the child pushed it into the backside. He immediately died.

He was not a human being but a tiger. Thus is called the Spirit *Pongkol*.

The real parents returned home. As it was the Spirit *Pongkol*, different types of leaves were gathered, the thorny brinjal was cut as well as *bantut* leaves. If he becomes a man, let him be a man. Thus, he is no more.

2. One day the parents of a child left the house in search of food, leaving the child with his brothers. The child cried for his mother and father to come back.

Hearing the cry of the child the *Pongkol* came and he looked exactly like the father and mother. The child was happy seeing that the parents had returned.

That night the *Pongkol* rushed at the younger brother and killed him. The elder brother who was left with one brother thought it safe to climb to the roof of the house but his younger brother was asleep.

Then the *pongkol* turned into a tiger and ate the sleeping brother. As the parents had still not returned the elder brother told the village folks. The parents returned and the *pongkol* was destroyed.

Then the human beings called for the Spirit *Pongkol*. They gathered different types of leaves and cut the thorny brinjals and *bantur* leaves. If it becomes a man, let it be a man. Thus, today he is no more.

The Spirit *Pucuk Paku*

1. There were two sisters who daily cooked *pucuk paku*. Then one day the *pucuk paku* turned into a man. The sisters ran away and told all the village (*kampung*) folks.

After a meeting the villagers separated and were ready to kill the Spirit *Paku*. But they were not able to do so. The human beings then left the place and went across the sea without leaving behind any water or food. But the Spirit *Paku* followed.

A human being thought of a way to kill the Spirit *Paku*. He remembered the earthen water-barrel from which he had thrown out the water.

He closed the mouth of the water barrel with yam (*keladi*) leaves to make it into a drum. He let this float in the water carrying a Spirit *Paku*. Then the human being started singing and drumming, as well as making verses.

The human being asked the *Paku* to drum at the mouth of the barrel. When the *Paku* drummed, the *keladi* leaves broke and the water barrel together with the Spirit *Paku* sank. Thus he died.

Then the human being said, "If you become a *Pucuk Paku* be a *Pucuk Paku*." Thus, he is no more today, for the sap of the *keladi* is very itchy.

2. There were seven sisters who daily went in search of *pucuk paku*. One day they saw one shaking which did not swell and which was good at talking.

As he was a handsome looking man the girl invited him home. He followed and caused a stir in the village. The human beings decided to run away and cross the sea, but he too wanted to follow across the sea.

So the human beings threw away the water from the earthen water-barrel and closed its mouth with the *keladi* leaves. When it is drummed the leaves will break. He crossed the sea embracing the water-barrel.

When they were in the middle of the sea the human beings started drumming. "Hail! where can I drum," he asked, and the human being replied he must hit the front part.

Then he started to hit the drum with all his might. When the *keladi* leaves broke he called out to the human beings. "Eh . . . ! The water-barrel is leaking," and they told him to hold on to it firmly.

Thus he was drowned together with the water-barrel.

When he was dead, the human beings gathered the leaves of the *bantut* and the thorny brinjals and cut them into tiny pieces and then uttered seven times, "If you become a *Pucuk Paku*, be only a *Pucuk Paku*. Do not become a ghost."

Thus till today the *Pucuk Paku* cannot be a ghost.

3. There were seven sister who daily gathered *pucuk paku* and found a moving shoot who was a good talker. They saw a very handsome man whom the girls invited to their house.

He then followed them and caused a stir in the village.

He followed even when they crossed the sea. So the human beings took a jar used for holding water, closed it with yam leaf and made it into a drum to kill this man.

The human being asked him to beat it, once beaten the yam leaf was torn and thus he died.

They took the leaf of the *bantut*, cut it up, uttering seven times, "If it becomes a *Pucuk Paku* thus be it, but if it becomes a ghost so be it."

The curse of the Spirit *Bantut* "If there is a *Pucuk Paku*, pray it does not turn into a ghost."

Thus the curse of the Spirit *Bantut*.

The Spirit *Pulai Belanjut* (*Kayu Pulai Belanjut Kolam Tasik*)

Above the *pulai* tree there was a bee-hive and below it were *senayan* and *asam paya*.

And the *paka larat* of the *pulai* tree was floating about because at the time that lake was guarded by a dragon.

The forest was not there then, so the dragon came down and while it was coming down its tail struck a mountain. So the place was called *Gunung Tangga* until today.

All the fish in the lake and in the sea had names, *ikan parang* (flatfish), *bawal* (pomfret), *senangin*, *renggiri*, *sembilang* (catfish), *belukang*, *siakap* (perch), *pekuku* (bream), *tapah*, *sepat*, and *pari*. Those are the names of the fish.

The Spirit *Puting Bellung*

According to the story come down from our ancestors the Spirit *Puting Bellung* there was a family of seven children, all females.

The youngest of the seven had become a *Keramat*, *Keramat Angin Puting Bellung*.

The *Keramat Puting* said, "If there are any natural phenomena like thunderstorms and heat, do not swear or get angry, otherwise misfortunes will come upon you."

"If the mother or father want something like water, call the son of the minister of this *Puting Bellung*."

The Spirit *Pop*

The Spirit *Pop* is a tall less frog who could not find its river and so suffered in the jungle. After some time it found a pool in the jungle and so it lived there.

One day some people came to look for fish in the jungle and saw the pool.

The man began to fish and he went on fishing for half a day. He did not get any fish and his bait was finished. Once a fish gave a bite and he pulled it out. He saw that it was not a fish but a tallless frog.

At last the man knew that a tallless frog lived in the pool. The frog produced a sound "*pop, pop, pop.*"

So the man realized that the Spirit *Pop* lived in the lake.

The Spirit *Pot*

Originally it was a *Burung Pot* which became a ghost. He is the one who disturbs pregnant women.

He originated from a bird and was not a man turned into a bird.

Once upon a time there was a man who had left his pregnant wife at home to fish for the *puyu* fish.

He heard the sound of the *Burung Pot*.

"I understand why you are making the sound. You can go and have an affair with my wife," said the man.

The bird then disappeared. As it was already sunset, the man was happy to return home. He called out for his wife, and the wife answered back.

The bird said, "Come up, hubby!"

The husband entered the house, asking, "What is that hanging?"

"It is just a huge banana."

But the husband was confused and frightened because it was not the banana which his wife said it was. So he quickly ran away.

The Spirit *Rangkal*

Long ago there were two brothers and one day while his elder brother was asleep, the naughty brother brought home an axe, a knife (*parang*), and a sharpening stone.

Then he chopped off the house pillar and while doing this he also sang to the rhythm of "ka, ka," and after a while the house collapsed and he ran out laughing, "Ha, ha, ha" in front of his brother.

Unfortunately the brother was in pain because he was hit by the falling house.

He was cursing and swearing at his younger brother.

He said if he become a *Burung Rangkal*, let him be and if he becomes a man let him be a man.

Thus he is no more and what is left is just *Burung Rangkal*.

The Spirit *Rotan Bahal*

In ancient times this *Rotan Bahal* turned into a dragon.

But before the *Rotan Bahal* became a dragon, it had originally twined itself round a tree which was a play-ground for a little girl who used it as a swing, and while swinging she used to sing.

As time went by, the *Rotan Bahal* which had placed itself on the swing, turned into a lucky dragon, and the little girl who was poor also became lucky due to the dragon.

This is how it goes.

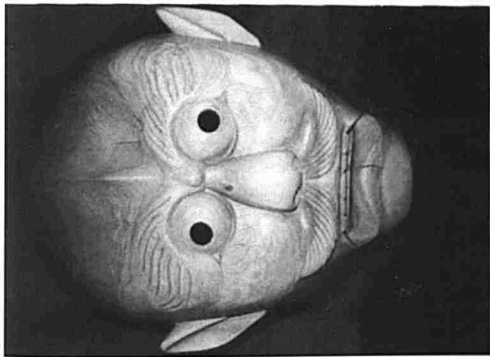


Plate 206:
The Spirit Pagar Ruyung
[by Singam a./I Muntill]

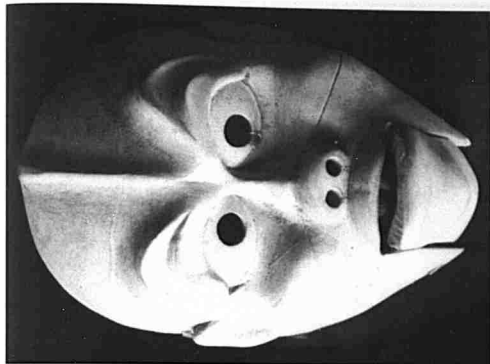


Plate 207:
The Spirit Pagar Ruyung
[by Bumbun a./I Muntill]

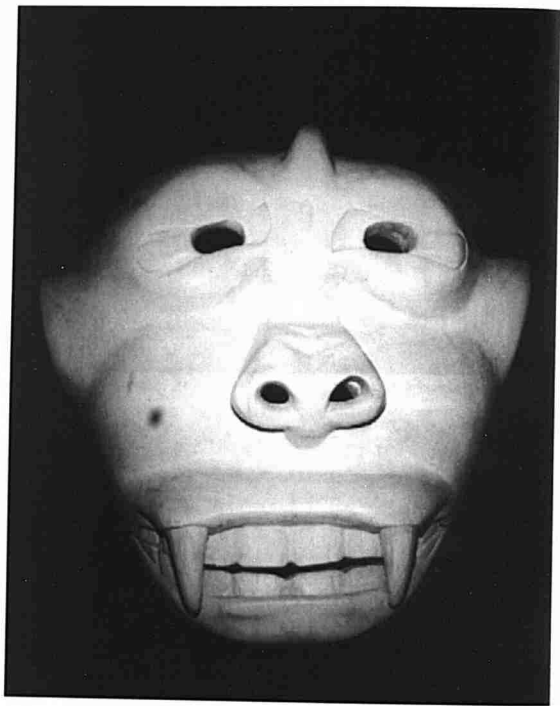


Plate 298:
The Spirit Pak Luclin
[by Yusof a./I Karim]

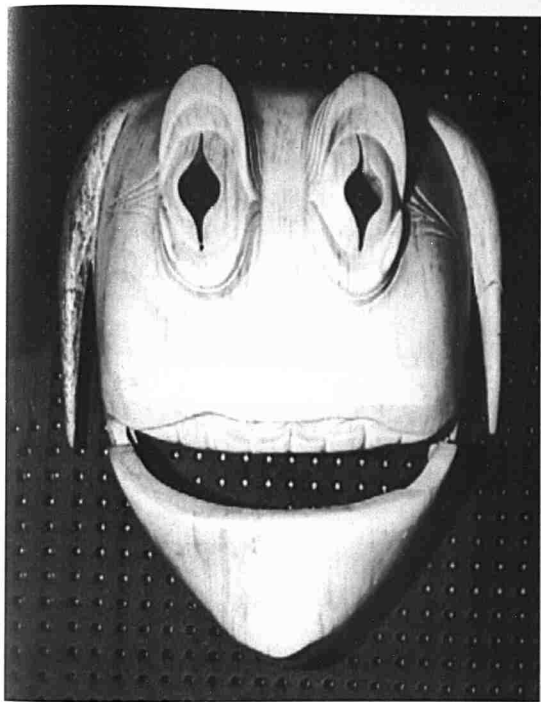


Plate 299:
The Spirit *Paku*
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]

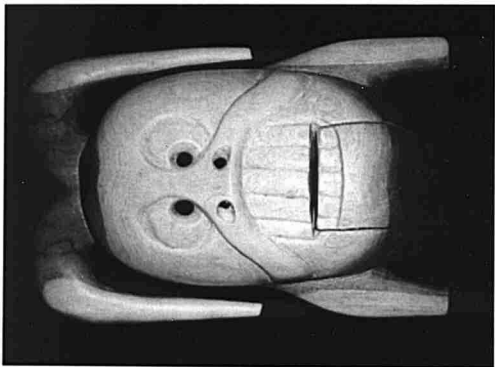


Plate 300:
The Spirit Paku
[by Semi a/I Awais]

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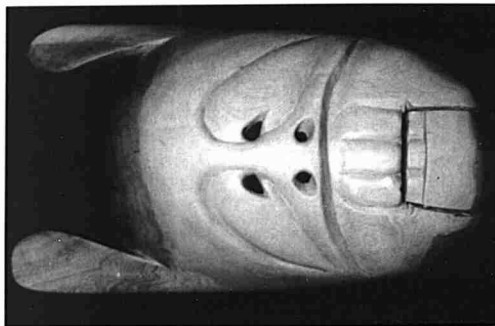
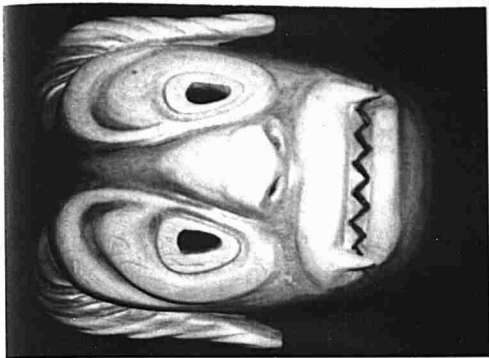


Plate 301:
The Spirit Paku
[by Semi a/I Awais]

♂



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Plate 303:
The Spirit Paku
[by Apai a/i Tamo]



♂

Plate 302:
The Spirit Paku
[by Apai a/i Tamo]



Plate 304:
The Spirit *Pari*
[by Keniang a/ Awas]

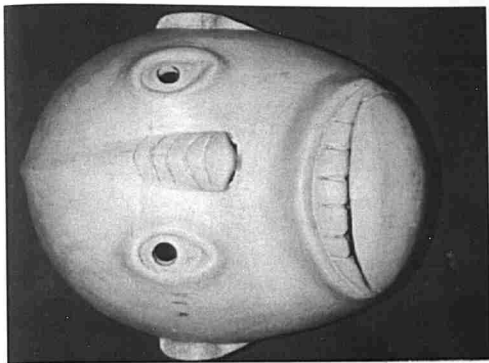


Plate 306:
The Spirit Pelanduk
[by Ayub a./I Tani]

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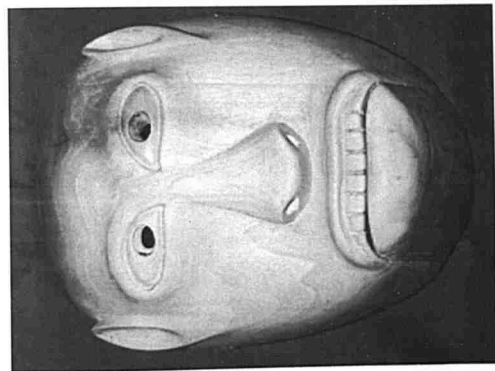
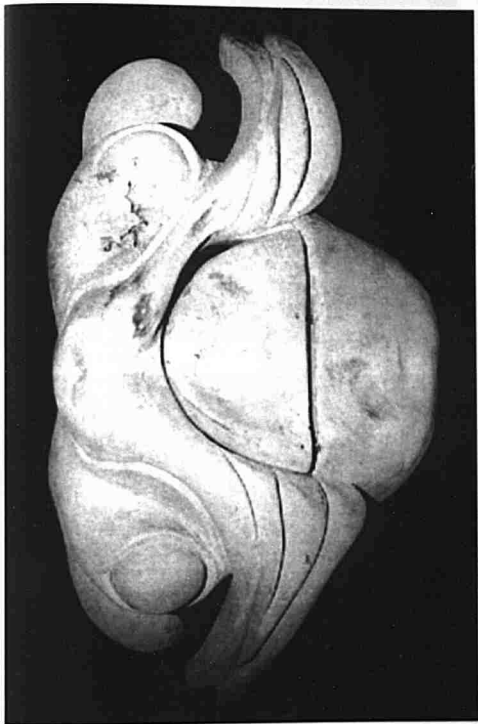


Plate 305:
The Spirit Pelanduk
[by Ayub a./I Tani]

♂



Plate 307:
The Spirit *Pelanduk*
[by Ayub a/I Tani]



Muse 308:
The Spirit Pelangi/
[by Semi a/I Awas]

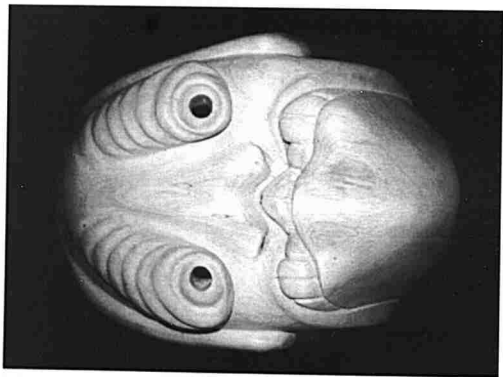


Plate 309.
The Spirit Pelang/
[by Bilon a./l Kassim]

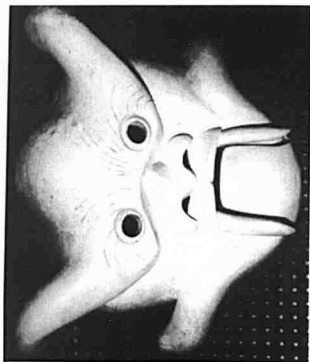


Plate 310.
The Spirit Pelang/
[by Blun a./l Bumbun]



Plate 311:
The Split Pelitruk
[by Moyan a'l' Awas]

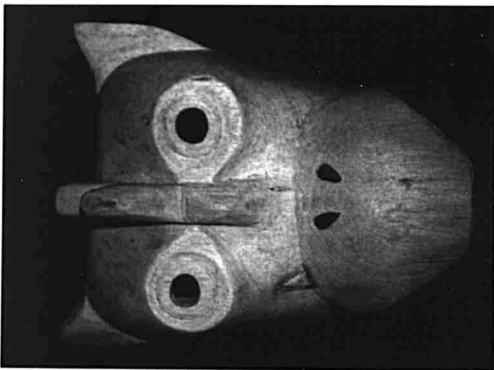


Plate 312:
The Spirit *Pelaturuk*
[by Sabak a/1 Ermbing]

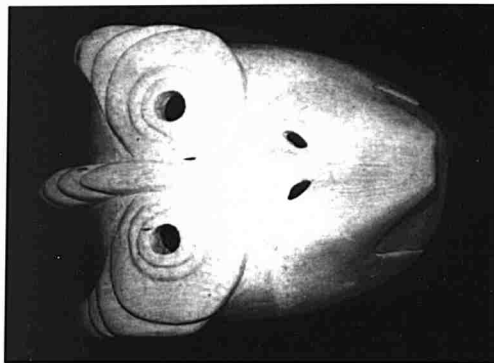


Plate 313:
The Spirit *Pelaturuk*
[by Sabak a/1 Ermbing]

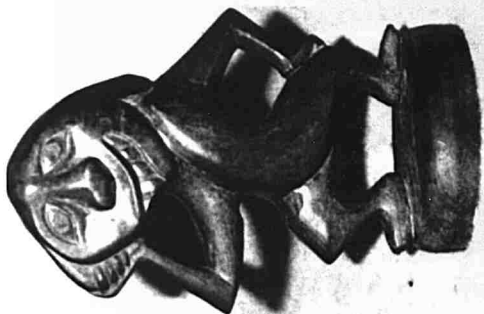
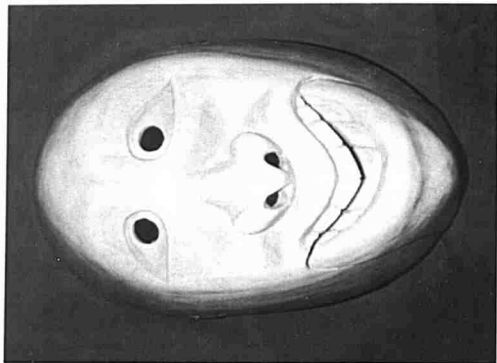
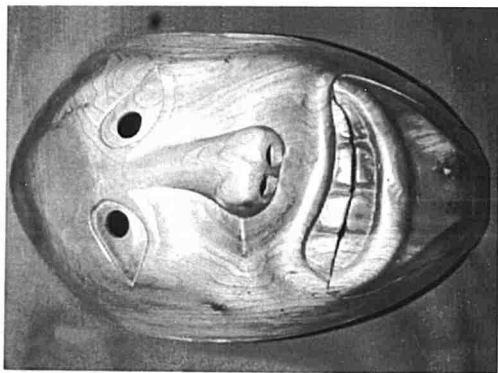


Plate 314:
The Spiliti Pelimbai
(By Sopp a/U Karim)



♀

Plate 316:
The Spirit *Pelimbai*
[by Yusof w/1 Karim]



♂

Plate 315:
The Spirit *Pelimbai*
[by Yusof w/1 Karim]

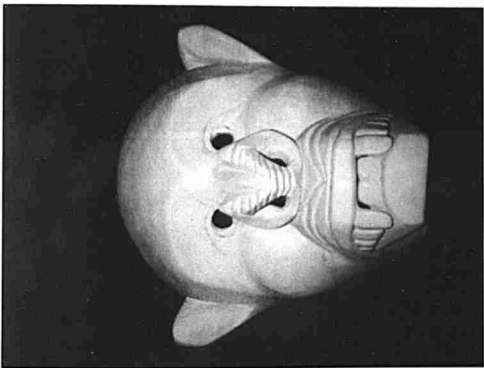


Plate 317:
The Spirit Penebal
[by Sabak a/1 Embing]



Plate 318:
The Spirit Penebal
[by Siran a/1 Awos]

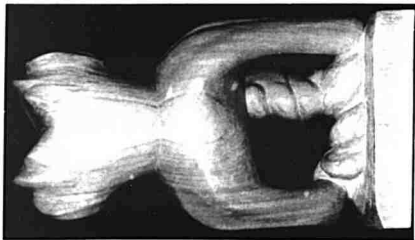


Plate 319:
The Split Pintal
(by Layun a/1 Bumbun)

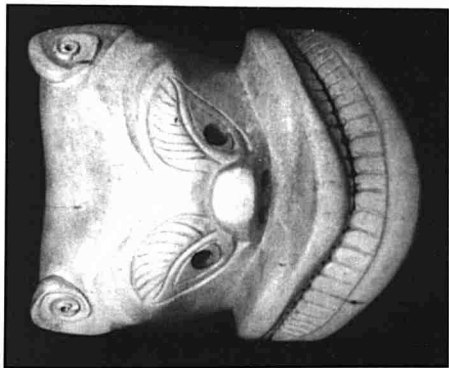


Plate 320:
The Spirit Piper
[By Tabash a/7 Mat]



Plate 321:
The Spirit Piper
[By Singam a/7 Mumtaz]

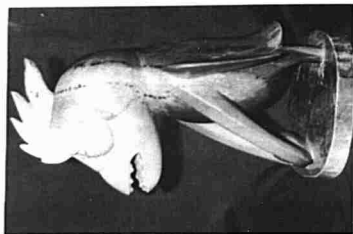
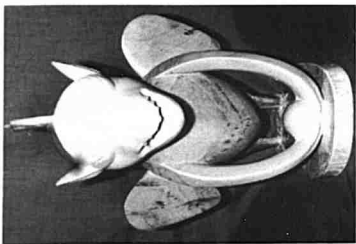
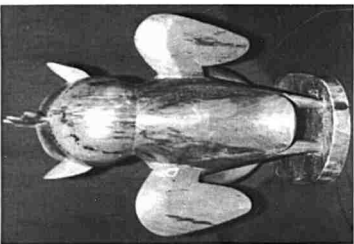


Plate 322:
The Spitt P'per
[by Singam a/l Muntill]



Plate 323.
The Spirit P'sang
[by Tabah a/ī Mat]

♂



Plate 324.
The Spirit P'sang
[by Tabah a/ī Mat]

♀

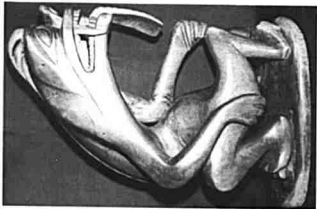




Plate 326:
The Spirit Pok
[by Keniang a/l Awas]

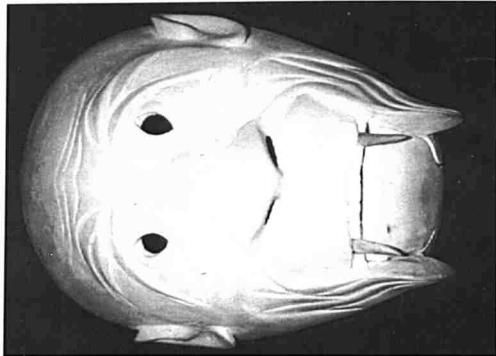


Plate 328:
The Spirit Pongkol
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

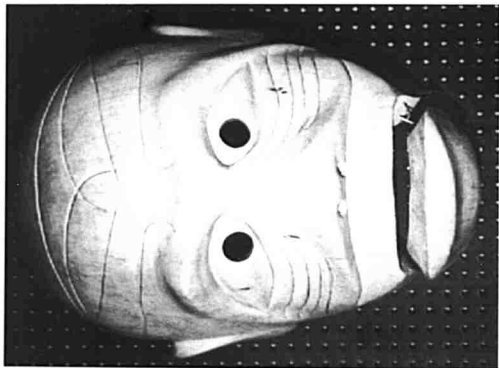


Plate 327:
The Spirit Pongkol
[by Siran a/1 Awas]

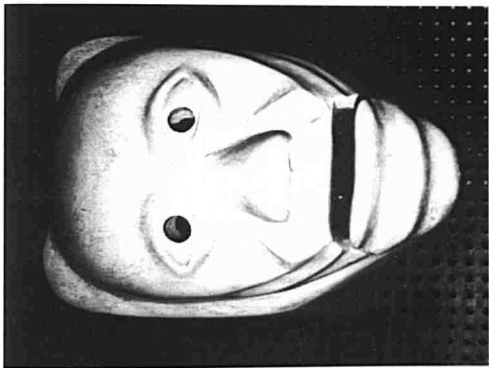


Plate 329:
The Spirit Pongkol
[by Singam a/1 Muntill]

♂

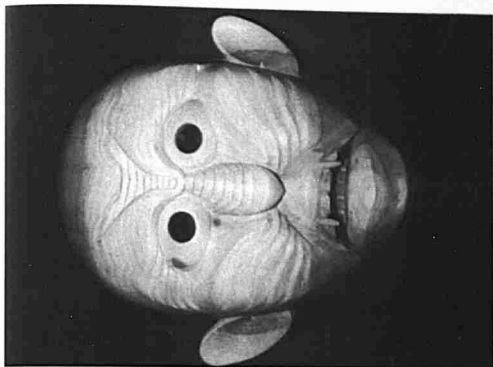


Plate 330:
The Spirit Pongkol
[by Singam a/1 Muntill]

♀

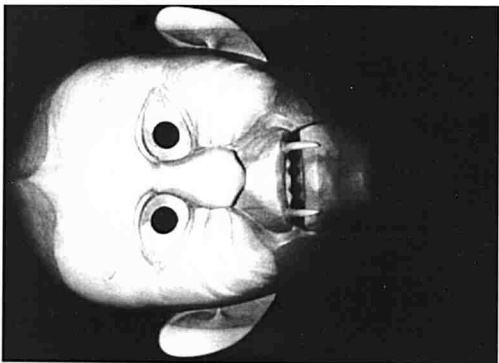


Plate 331:
The Spirit Pongkol
[by Apai a./l Tamo]

♂

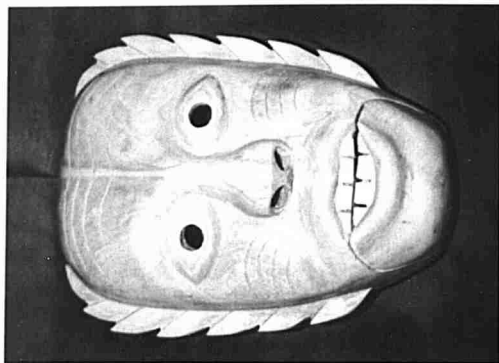


Plate 332:
The Spirit Pongkol
[by Apai a./l Tamo]

♀

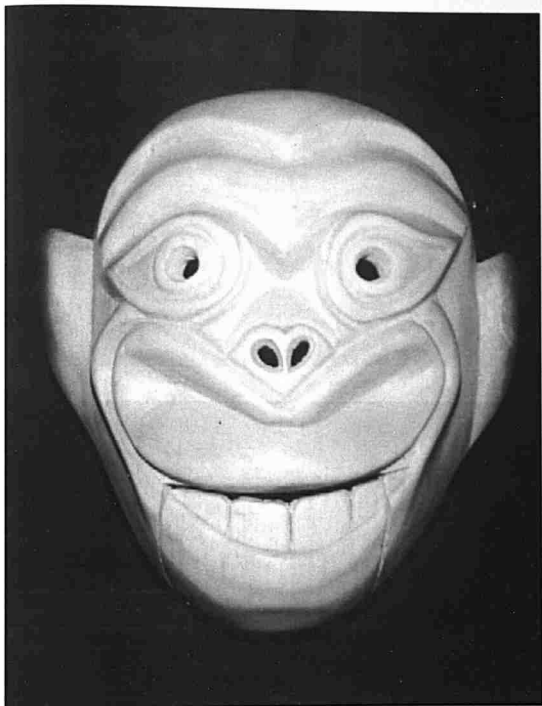


Plate 333:
The Spirit Pop
[by Petat a/l Keniang]

♂

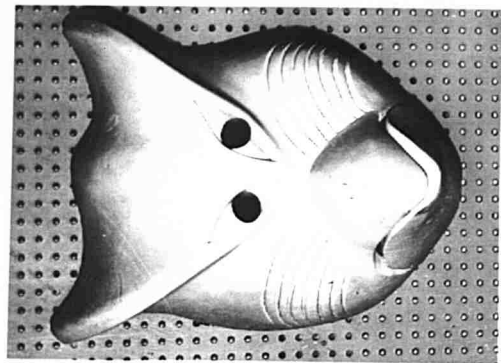


Plate 335:
The Spirit /or
[by Biun a/1 Bumbun]

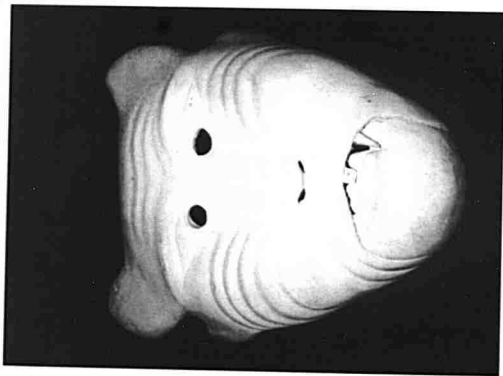


Plate 334:
The Spirit /or
[by Bilon a/1 Kassim]



Plate 336:
The Spirit Por
[by Petat a/I Keniang]



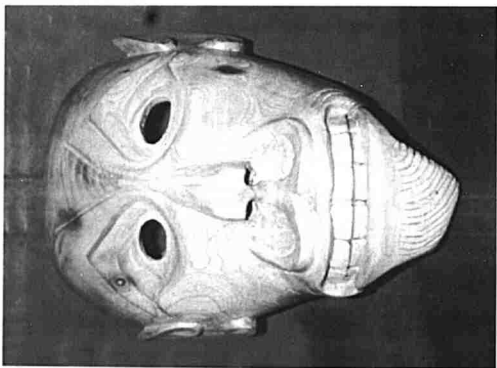


Plate 337:
The Spirit *Puting Bellung*
[by Embing s/l Lipat]

♂

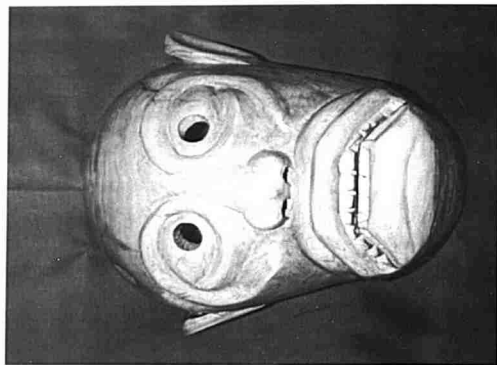


Plate 338:
The Spirit *Puting Bellung*
[by Embing s/l Lipat]

♀



Plate 339.

The Spirit Putting Bells
[by Embing a/1 Lipat]

♂

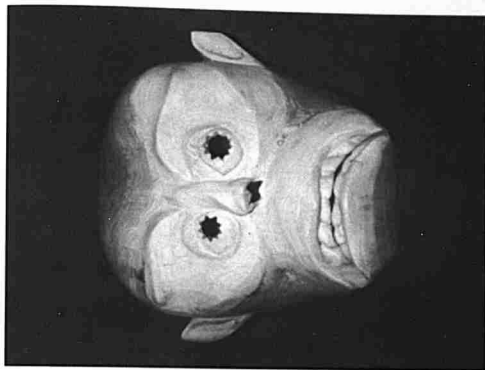


Plate 340.

The Spirit Putting Bells
[by Embing a/1 Lipat]

♀

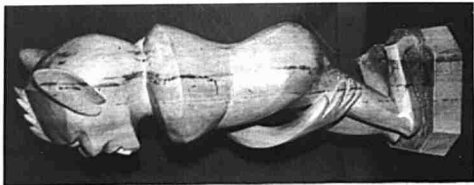


Plate 341:
The Splitting Puring Belling (Situ Bangso)
[by Singam a/I Muntill]



Plate 342.
The Spirit *Puting Bellung* (*Satu Bangsa*)
[by Singam a./I Muntii]

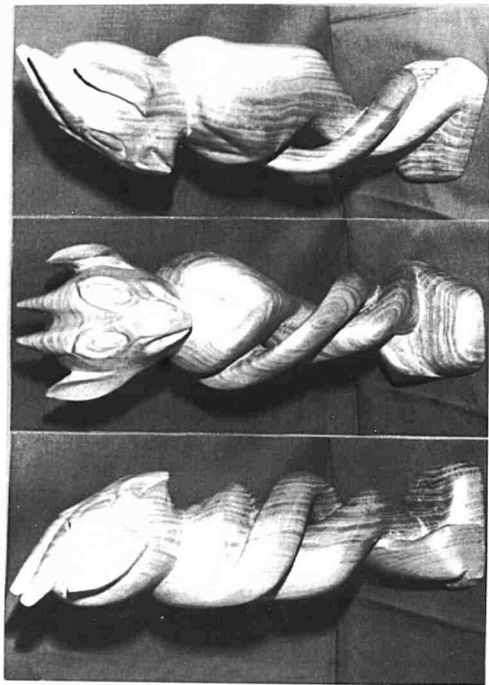


Plate 343.
The Spirit Puring Belling (Sirtu Bungsa)
[by Ming a/1 Lipat]



Plate 344:
The Spirit *Puting Bellung* (*Satu Bangsa*)
[by Ming a/l Lipat]

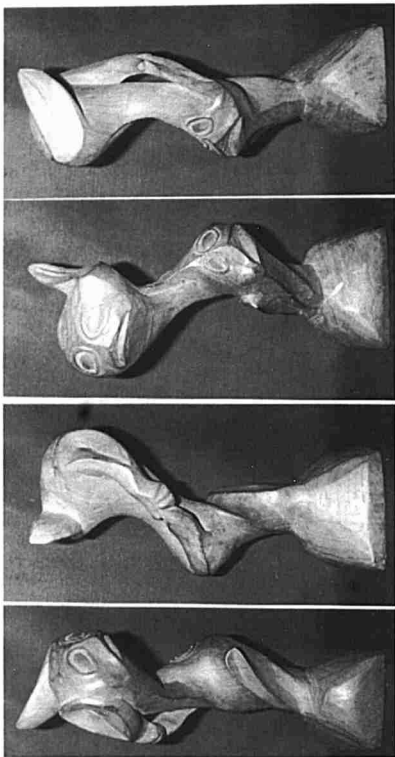


Plate 345:
The Splitt Puring Bellung (Dua Bangsa)
[by Ming a./I Lipat]



Plate 346:
The Spirit Fusing Bellings (Tiger Bingsai)
[by Ming and Lipan]

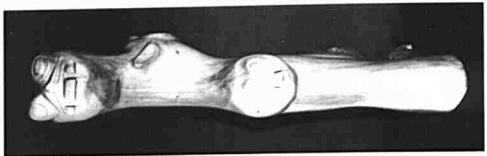
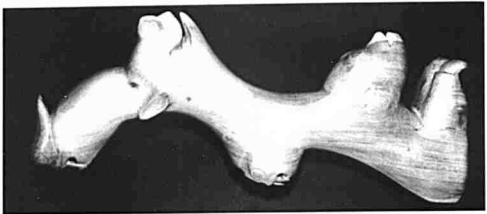
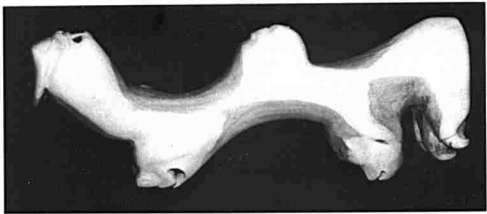


Plate 347:
The Spirit Pating Beilung (Empat Bungsa)
[by Ming a/1 Lipat]

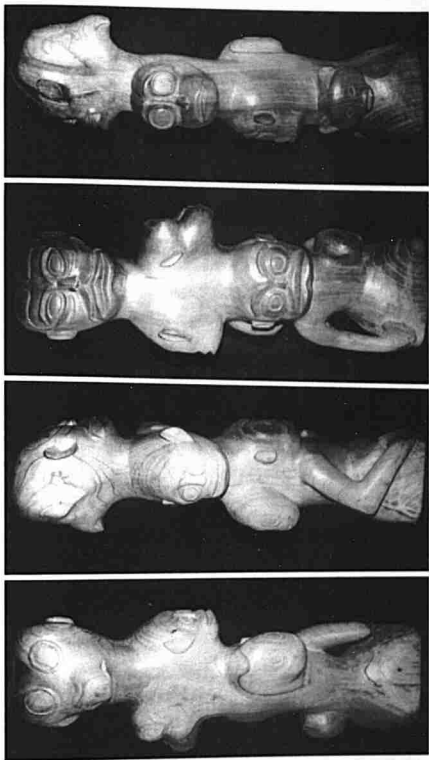
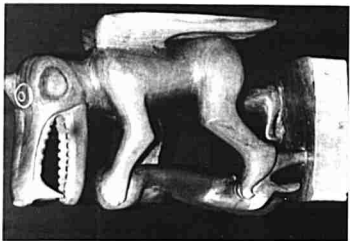
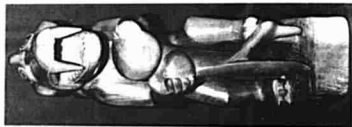


Plate 348.
The Spirit *Beliung* (Tujuh Bungsa)
[by Ming a/1 Lipat]



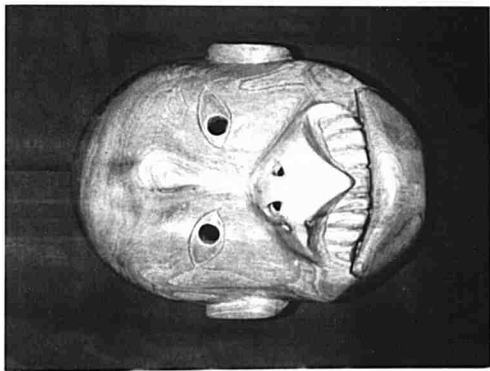


Plate 350:
The Spirit Rangkul
[by Rahman a/l Kassim]

♂

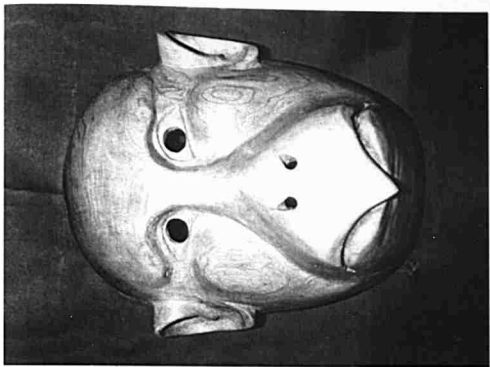


Plate 351:
The Spirit Rangkul
[by Rahman a/l Kassim]

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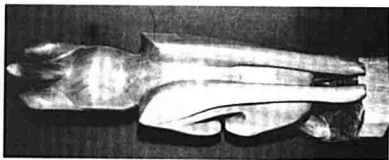
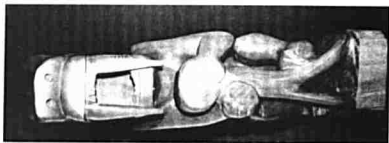
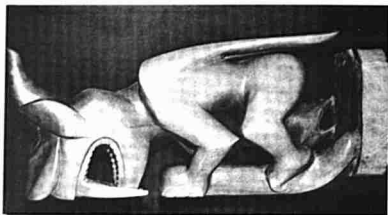
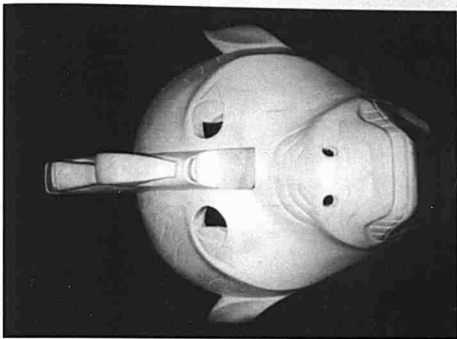


Plate 352:
The Spirit *Rangkal*
[by Kenlang a/l Awas]



♂

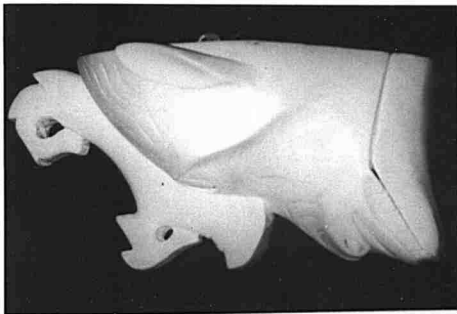
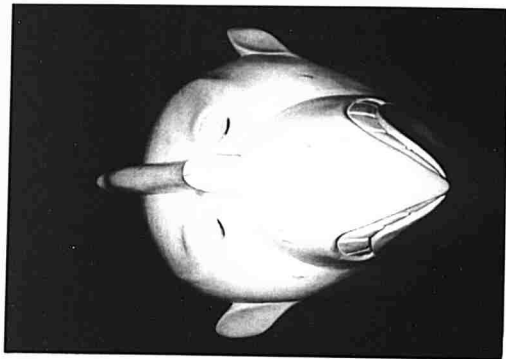


Plate 353:
The Spirit *Kangkal*
[by Ming a/1 Lipat]



♀

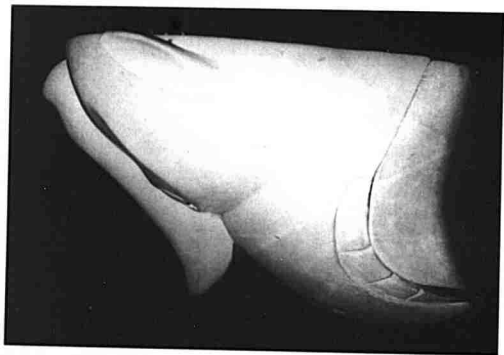


Plate 354:
The Spirit Rangkal/
[by Ming 明 / Lipat]

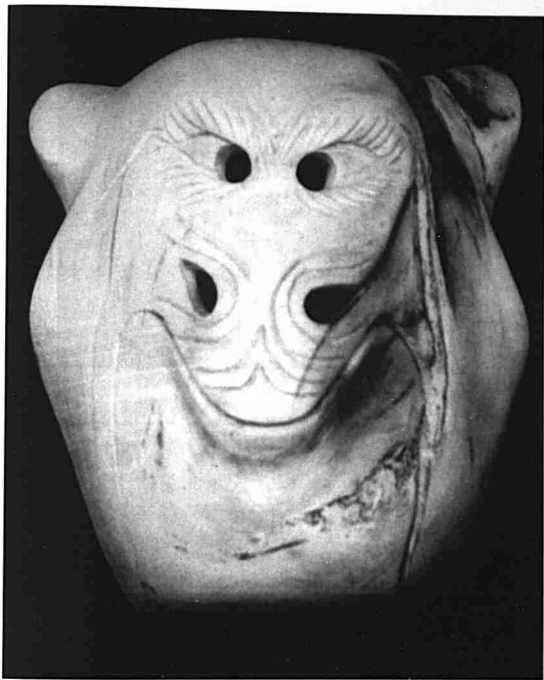
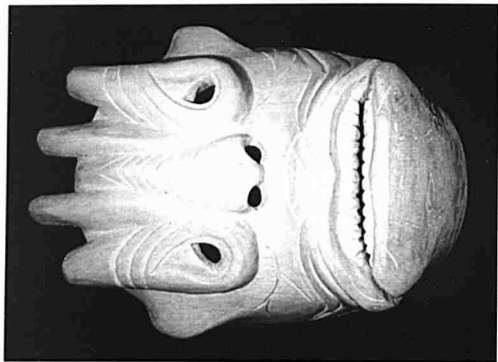
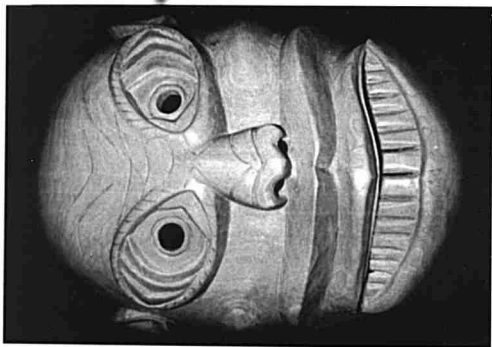


Plate 355:
The Spirit *Rangkal*
[by Bilon a/I Kassim]



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Plate 357:
The Spirit Roitan Bahal
[by Adli a/l Manan]



♂

Plate 356:
The Spirit Roitan Bahal
[by Adli a/l Manan]

The Spirit *Salalap* (*Selelap*)

Long ago there was a young man who could not be trusted. He was unmarried and he was always sleeping, and his parents were burdened with the work of feeding him. One morning, after waking up, he told his mother to make seven *ketupat*.^{*} When they were ready, he set out and came to a place where he began to eat the *ketupat* saying,

"I won't stop eating until these *ketupat* are finished."

Then came the chief of the invisible *Moyang* who said, "Please don't do that. My subjects are running away because you, *Salalap*, said that you wouldn't stop eating until you finished these *ketupat*." So the invisible *Moyang* promised to give whatever the *Salalap* wanted.

Then the invisible *Moyang* gave him a cooking-pot and so *Salalap* went home. When he opened the cooking-pot there was rice in it. So he stole the cooking-pot. When *Salalap* returned he found that his cooking-pot had been stolen.

The next day he asked his mother to get ready some food for him. When it was ready he set out and came to a place where he began to eat his food saying, "I won't stop drinking until I have drunk this pond dry." The invisible *Moyang* heard that and so he came and said, "Please don't do that because my subjects are running away."

"I don't care," said *Salalap*.

"Please don't do that, I beg of you. I will give you a walking-stick."

So he went back home and as soon as he arrived he said to the walking-stick, "Hit the one who stole the cooking-pot." When he let go the walking-stick, it began to walk by itself. The stick hit the man who stole the cooking-pot and the next morning the thief returned the cooking-pot to its owner.

He wanted badly to marry the daughter of the chief minister who had seven children, all of them girls. Among the seven girls only one wanted to marry him, that is the seventh or youngest daughter.

The Spirit *Salong*

Long ago he lived in the jungle. His name was Spirit *Salong*. Whatever people wanted, he would help them to get. He liked to help poor people too. He lived in a big forest.

* *Ketupat*—A small packet made of woven coconut leaves, containing cooked rice.

The Spirit Samang Timbong

Samang Timbong originated from a *Samang Tunggal*. But being killed by a human being, this *samang* asked to be replaced with another *samang*, he must be immediately replaced, if not the human beings would be destroyed by wind and storm, resulting in total darkness in the world.

All the animals will then destroy the human beings. Because of this the human beings were busy gathering the root of the *pulai* tree to make the figure of the *Samang Tunggal*. When completed it was covered with leaves from a tree.

Then the human beings asked the *Samang Tunggal* to replace the *Samang*. Not long after the sculptured figure of the *samang* began to show signs of life and was able to replace the *samang*.

He then walked into the jungle, thus until the present day the *Samang* is no longer a danger to human beings.

The Spirit Sambar

It originated from the Spirit *Jembalang Tanah* and other Spirits. The Spirit *Sambar* is divided into two, that is the guardian of dawn and evening.

If people walk in the evening, they must carry a light to identify themselves to the Spirit *Sambar* so that he will not harm them.

If they do not carry anything, the Spirit *Sambar* will not know them. Therefore they will get sick and be disturbed by the power of the Spirit.

This usually happens to those with small children because the small children are the ones that the Spirit likes to catch.

Everyone who carries small children in the evening therefore must carry a burning mosquito repellent as a sign of identification.

The Spirit Sarang

One day a woman went for a walk in the jungle and saw a bird on a tree. The bird said to her, "Come, climb this tree as I am on it."

The woman was called Spirit *Sarang*. People did not like her. Long ago the Spirit had no friends and so she befriended the bird.

The Spirit *Sauh*

The Spirit *Sauh* is one belief of human beings whose livelihood depends on boats, like catching fish. Boat users must be skilled because every anchor which is made of wood, must have a hoop which is known as the anchor hoop.

This hoop is arranged in three ways, that is, one which has seven hoops, five hoops, and eleven hoops. If the point did not have any pointed anchor hoops then it will be held by the Spirit *Sauh* when the point is dropped into the water.

The Spirit *Sauh* is firmly believed by human beings to be associated with this apparatus until the present day.

The Spirit *Sawal*

In ancient times there was a human being who went to the jungle to hunt with a blowpipe. Then he lost his way. For seven days and seven nights he did not return home.

Then he found the den of a tiger on a high mountain. The human being then climbed a big tree, on which he hung a *terap* rope, like the shape of the bee hive.

The human being prepared a fire. The tiger held a shamanistic seance and he then climbed the tree.

"Ouch! the mother bee is fierce," said the tiger.

The tiger fell down to its death, and was eaten by his friends. Seven days and seven nights later seven tigers had died. Then came a bird, a chief among birds.

The bird said, "Hai, there! Spirit *Sawal*. For seven days and seven nights I have not eaten, you shall die!"

The chief among birds then gave a fruit to kill the tiger. He ate the fruit and spat it out. Only then was the tiger really dead. Then the human being climbed down from the tree.

Thus human beings found the talisman to cure sickness just like the Spirit *Sawal*.

The Spirit *Sawan*

In ancient times the Spirit *Sawan* originated from the shadow of the human being which was attached to the spirit of the human being himself.

It was like a grasshopper flying at night. When we are awoken from a dream it is because the daylight animal flies at night.

The Spirit *Sawan* cannot be cursed, at any time. The Spirit likes small children and sick persons.

The Spirit *Sayoh*

☛ See p. 399

The Spirit *Sellba*

He likes to lodge in a rich man's house and the rich like to see this Spirit *Sellba*. The Spirit *Sellba* was not good at heart, because of this the rich man's house was built high in the clouds.

Each year there is a lot to eat in the rich man's house.

The Spirit *Sellba* likes to eat and thus liked the rich man. It was easy for him not having to worry about getting food, hence he was lazy.

There was another rich man who later thought this is foolish, and in the end the rich man pushed his house down to the earth. The rich man no longer exists due to this Spirit *Sellba*.

The Spirit *Sembuar*

The story of the Spirit *Sembuar* originated from a human being who day in and day out went to sea to catch fish.

Even storms and rain did not stop him, and it was many months since he had returned home.

His son who was left in the house was worried because his father had not returned.

His son went to sea to search for his father but could not find him.

The father had lost his way. He was hungry and a hail-storm started to blow causing big waves and strong currents. The boat capsized and he was drowned, carried away by *Sembuar Air*. At night the son cried.

When the son slept, he dreamed his father had returned and said to him, "Oh! Oh! . . . My son, I cannot return now. My advice is, son, when you go to sea you must bring along yellow rice, betel leaves, areca-nut, tobacco, and when you reach the sea scatter them on the water."

The Spirit *Sembuar Air*

In ancient times there was a family who lived on the upper part of a river. Their father had gone to sea by boat.

When he reached the mouth of the river a whirlpool (*sembuar*), capsized the boat and he was drowned. After seven days and seven night his son went in search of the father.

On the seventh night his son had a dream about his father. He told him that he had been swallowed by the *Sembuar Air* and if his son wanted to go to sea he must bring along washed rice of seven different colours and betel leaves, and he must scatter them into the *Sembuar Air* each time he went out to sea.

The Spirit *Senukol*

Long ago a man went to hunt with a blowpipe in the jungle. He did not return home. He begged for food because he was hungry since he could not get food in the jungle.

Then he found a small animal which he killed and ate. After he had eaten it, he had a stomach ache. Why did he get stomach ache? It was because he had eaten the small animal which was in fact Spirit *Senukol*.

"Just now you ate me and now I am going to eat you," said the Spirit *Senukol*.

The *Senukol* must not be eaten and so the human being called it Spirit *Senukol*.

Then he was able to return home because the Spirit *Senukol* allowed him to go, because the sound during the day brought misfortune, but the sounds during the night did not bring anything. That was Spirit *Senukol*.

The Spirit *Seral*

Once there was a mother who asked her daughter to boil three eggs. Then the mother went to fish. When she caught a fish she returned home.

The daughter told her, "Mother, younger brother ate the boiled eggs."

So the mother's desire to eat the eggs was not fulfilled. She ran to the sea and prayed. Then she requested an animal to appear.

But the daughter followed from behind. When she reached the sea, she saw the mother being swallowed by the animal which rose from the sea. Only the hair could be seen.

The child grabbed the hair and cut it off. She took the hair home and then she called on the spirits to bury the hair and cut *bantut* leaves into pieces.

If your desire is not fulfilled, let it really be unfulfilled, if you become a *serai*, be a real *serai*, if you want to eat, eat properly.

The Spirit *Seranting*

Tenong went to look for forest yam in the jungle. One day he found the skull of a tiger. He kept on tapping the skull every day while walking. Then he took the forest yam home. He asked his wife to cook the yam.

Then he took the sour and thorny brinjals and cut them seven times, while calling out if you be a *seranting* do not become a *tenong* again. So it became the Spirit *Seranting*.

The Spirit *Se-Sak (Yong)*

Once there was a human being who went into the jungle to look for food with a blowpipe. He did not meet with even one animal. After he had been walking for some time, he came across a pond. Then he saw a beautiful place with a clump of bamboos and a tree. Evening came and slowly it was dark.

"I'll climb this tree." So he climbed the tree.

Then he heard the sound of an animal. When he looked down, he saw all sorts of animals were drinking from the pond. The last were the tigers, all sorts of them, big and small. The man could not go home and for seven days and seven nights he could not get anything to eat.

Then came two birds "*Cing-cing, guling-guling*."

Deep in his heart the human being asked the help of the birds, "Please God, grandchild cannot go home because there are a lot of tigers below."

The human being had a dream that night.

"If the birds come with three jungle fruits, grandchild can take the fruit. Eat the fruit with betel leaves (*sirih*) and spit it out. The tigers will be killed."

Daylight came and birds came bringing along the three fruits. Last night I had a dream. He took the fruit and ate it with *sirih*.

Then he spat and two or three minutes later the tigers were dead. Then only the human being returned home.

The Spirit *Setin*

See p. 410

The Spirit *Siamang*

One day a hunter found an animal whose name was *siamang*. It is not known what happened when the animal was shot by a blowpipe and died.

With the death of the *siamang* the sky turned dark all of a sudden. For seven days and seven nights the sun never appeared. He prayed for the sun to emerge as usual. When he was asleep he had a dream asking for a replacement of the *siamang* which he had shot.

The next day he and a friend went searching for a tender root of a tree, that is the root of a *pulai* tree, to carve a mask that looked like the *siamang* so as to fulfill the dream he had had the previous night.

When the mask that looked like the *siamang* was ready and prayers were said seven times still there was no life.

Then he dreamed again and was asked to look at the beam of the house where there was a drop of the blood of the *siamang* which, when smeared on the mask with incantations, would make it come alive.

Thus daylight appeared again. *Siamang Ganti*, *Siamang Tunggal*. If the *siamang* became alive, human beings would never be destroyed.

Had it not been replaced, the human being would have been destroyed. When it was replaced this never happened.

The Spirit *Siamang Ganti*

1. It was originally a *siamang* which was killed by a human being with a blowpipe.

With the death of the *siamang* the fiercest hail-storm raged for seven days and seven nights because the Spirit *Siamang* wanted a replacement which looked like it.

If the human being did not replace the Spirit *Siamang* then he would destroy all the human beings. So the human being quickly took a piece of *pulai* wood and carved a figure. When completed he gave it to the Spirit *Siamang* who accepted the carving as a replacement.

Then only he was able to put life into the figure, and it was called the Spirit *Siamang Ganti*.

2. One day there was an animal whose name was *siamang*. It is not known what really happened. The animal died as it was shot with a blowpipe. When the animal *siamang* died the surrounding world that was bright suddenly turned to darkness.

For seven days and seven nights the sun was not seen in the sky. The hunter made a vow and prayed for the sun to rise as usual. During his sleep he dreamed, and was asked for a replacement for the *siamang* which had died.

The next day he and his friend went searching for the root of a tree which was tender, that is the root of a *pulai* tree, to make a mask which looked like the *siamang* he had killed, so as to fulfill the dream he had had the previous night. Having made the *siamang* mask from the root of the *pulai* tree he then had to pray seven times.

Then he had another dream in which he was asked to look at the edge of the beam of his house where there was a drop of the *siamang*'s blood which must be smeared on the mask, and pray so that the image would come alive, only then would daylight return to earth.

Siamang Ganti, *Siamang Tunggal*; and if it became the *siamang* then human beings would never be destroyed.

Had it not been replaced, human being would have been destroyed, but as it was replaced no such thing will ever happen.

The Spirit *Siamang Ganti Tunggal*

☛ See p. 414

The Spirit *Sloh*

☛ See p. 415

The Spirit *Siput*

☛ See p. 416

The Spirit *Sulung*

☛ See p. 417

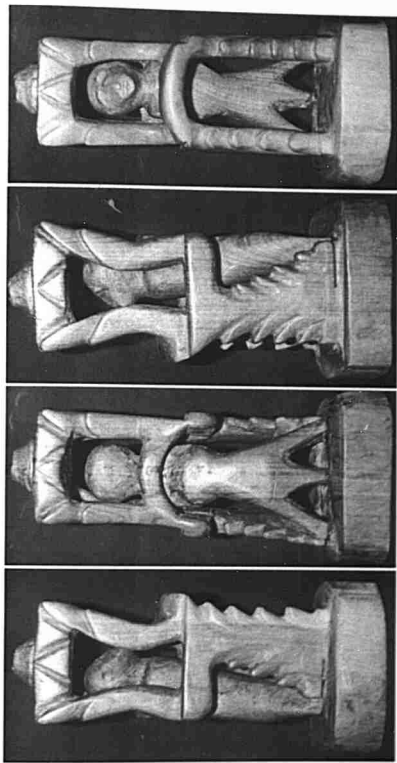


Plate 358
The Spirit Salang
[By Sakti a/ Assam]

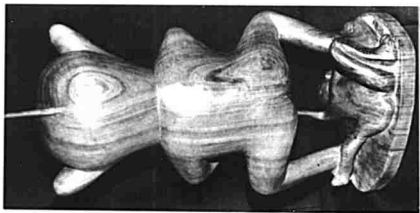
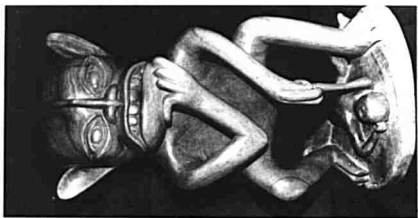


Plate 359.
The Spirit Sarrmbair
[by Karom a/I Yu]

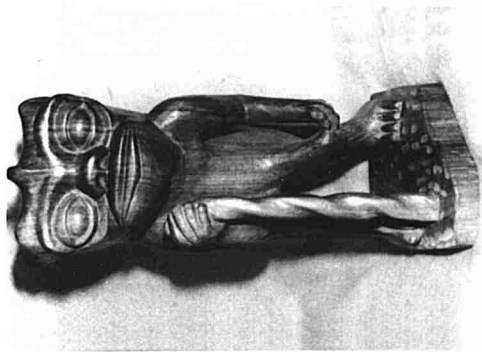
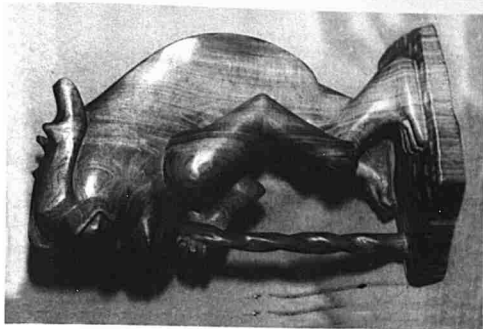


Plate 360:
The Spirit Sambar
[by Karom a/ŋ Yu]

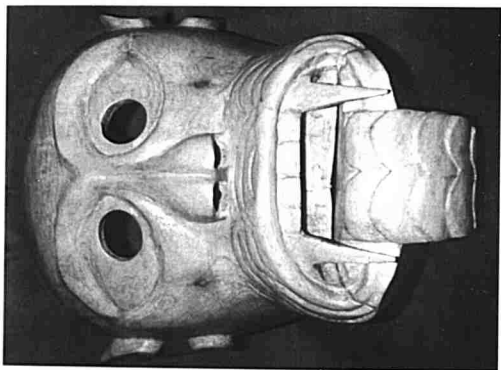


Plate 361:
The Spirit Sambar
[by Ermbing a/l Lipat]

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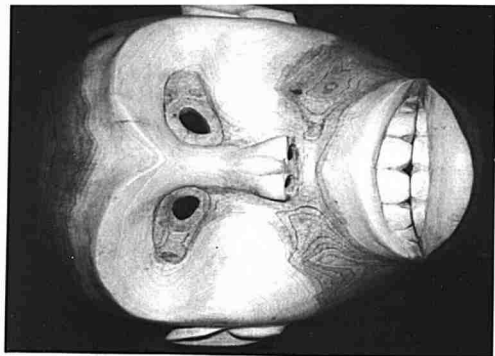


Plate 362:
The Spirit Sambar
[by Ermbing a/l Lipat]

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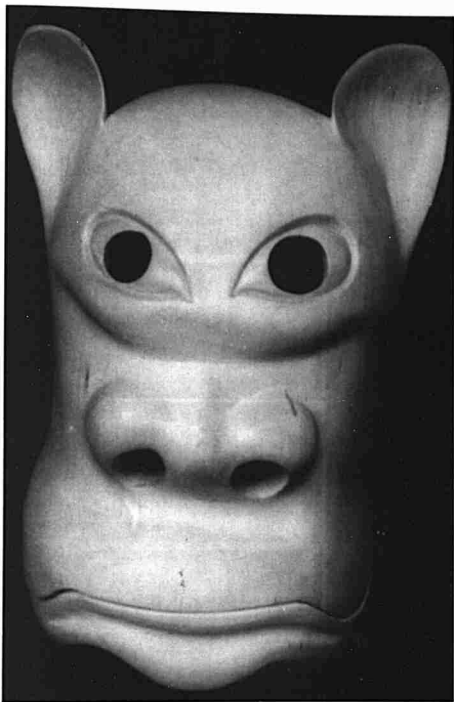


Plate 363:
The Spirit Sambar
[by Biun a/l Bumbun]

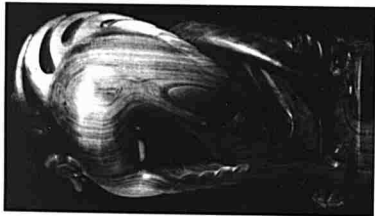
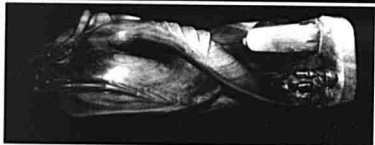
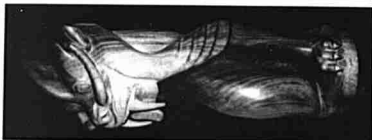


Plate 364
The Spirit *Sauh*
[by Silbooh w/1 Sa'id]

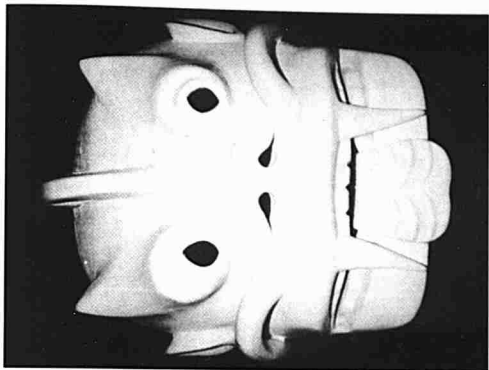


Plate 366:
The Spirit Sauh
[by Ligam a/ŋ Top]

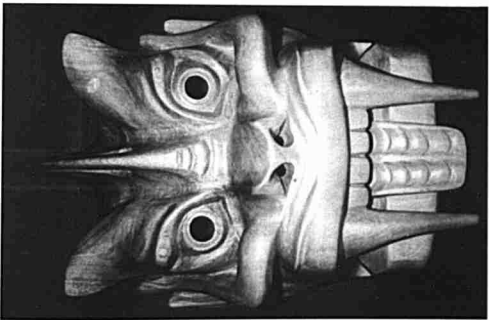


Plate 365:
The Spirit Sauh
[by Siboh a/ŋ Said]

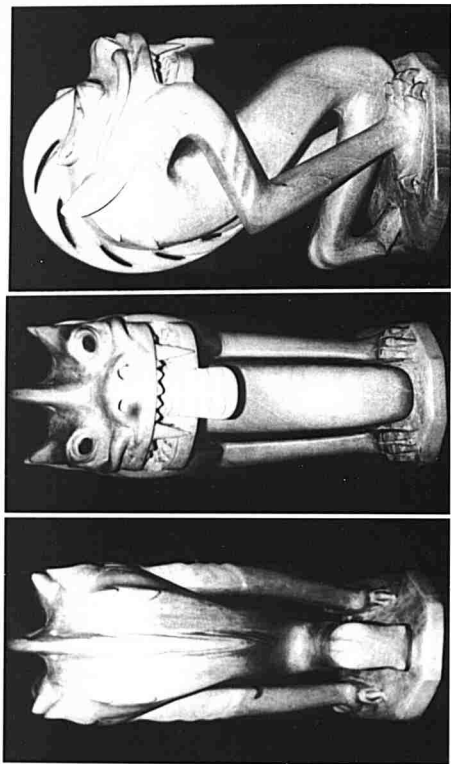


Plate 367:
The Spirit Sauh
[by Ligam w/ Top]

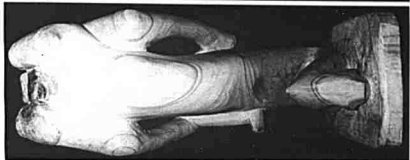


Plate 366:
The Spirit *Saah*
[by Ligam 4/1 Top]

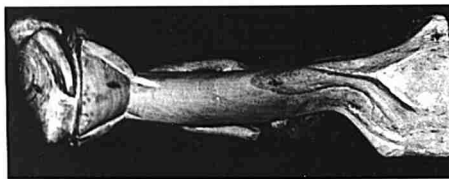


Plate 369:
The Spirit Sarang
[by Wah Badar a/l Assam]



Plate 370:
The Spirit Sawal
[by Moyan a/I Awas]

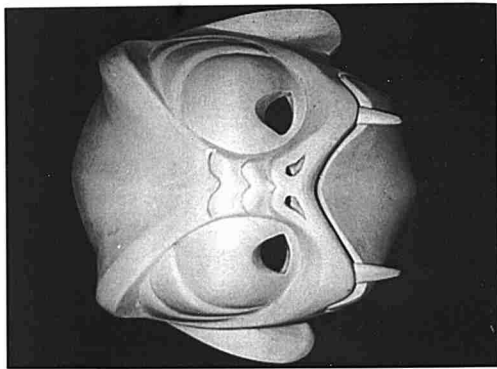


Plate 371:
The Spirit Sawan
[by Ligam a/l Top]

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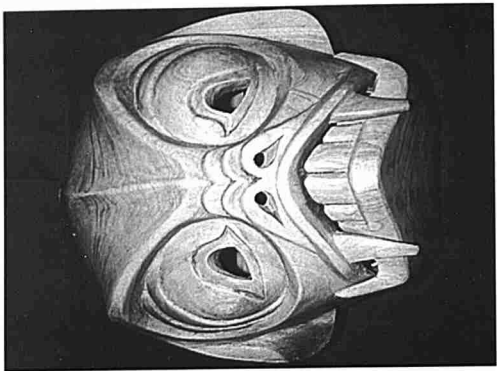


Plate 372:
The Spirit Sawan
[by Ligam a/l Top]

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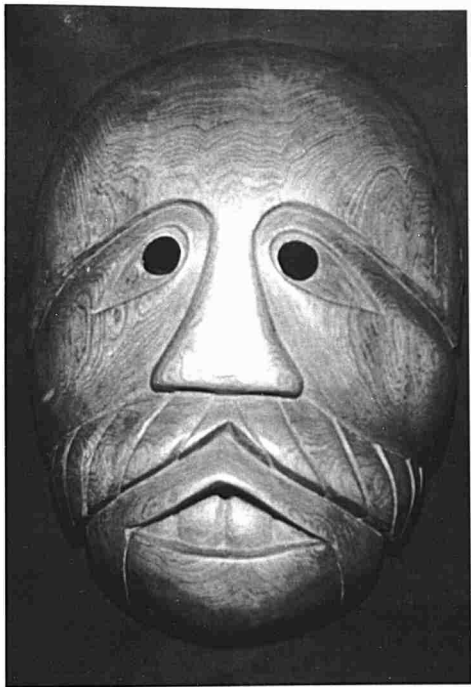


Plate 373:
The Spirit Sayoh
[by Yusof a/l Karim]



Plate 374
The Spirit Serribuur
[by Bilton a./l. Kassim]

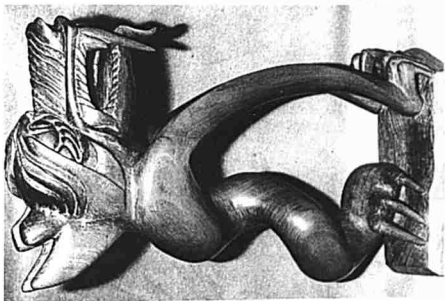
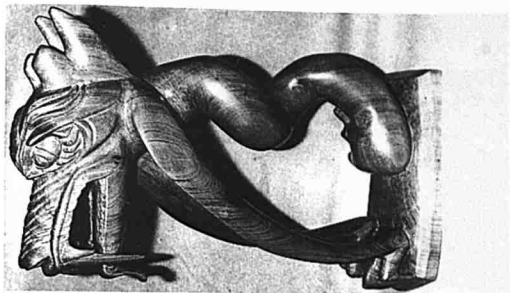


Plate 375:
The Spirit Sembuar
[By Bilon a/l Kassim]



Plate 376.
The Spirit Serebuar
[by Blon a/l Kassim]

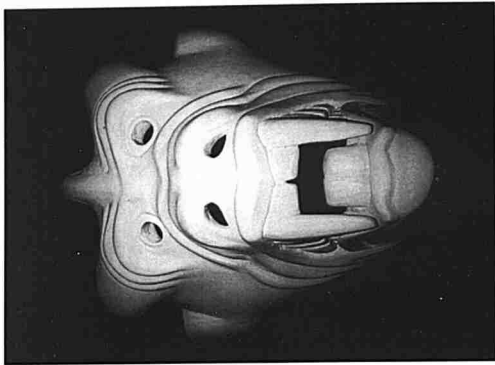


Plate 377.
The Spirit Serebuar
[by Blon a/l Kassim]

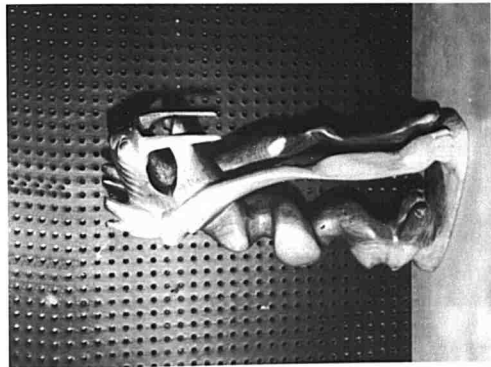


Plate 378:
The Spirit Sembuar
[by Bilon a/l Kassim]

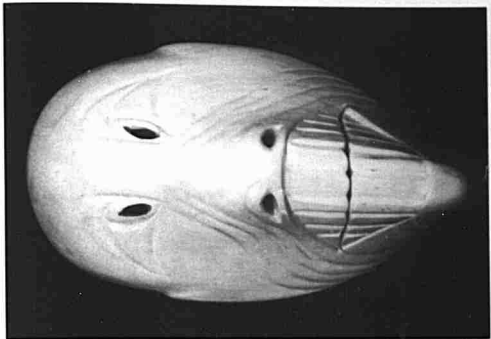


Plate 379:
The Spirit Sembuar Air
[by Bilon a/l Kassim]

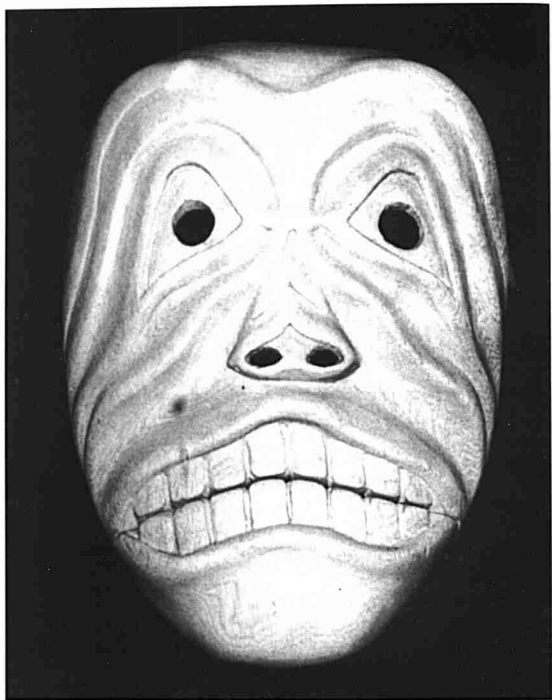


Plate 380
The Spirit Senuko
[by Ayub a/l Tani]

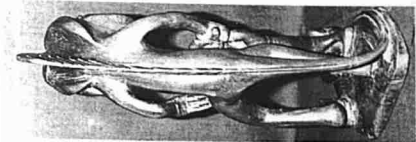


Plate 381:
The Spirit Senukol
[by Sharifuddin al-Jannani]

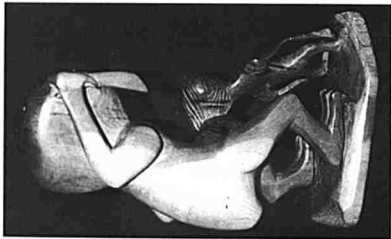
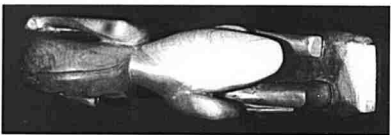
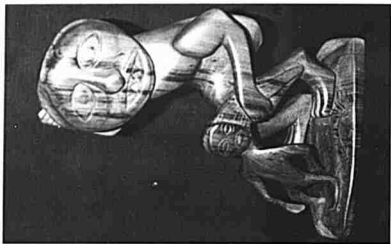


Plate 382
The Spirit Seral
[By Tabah a'l Mat]

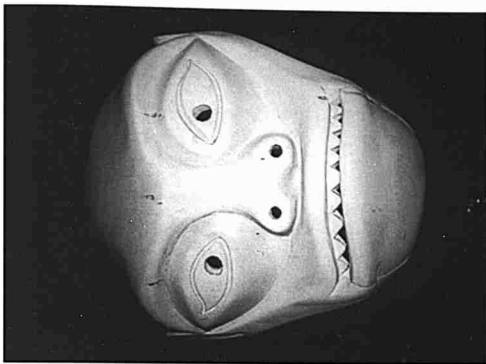


Plate 384:
The Spirit Seral
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

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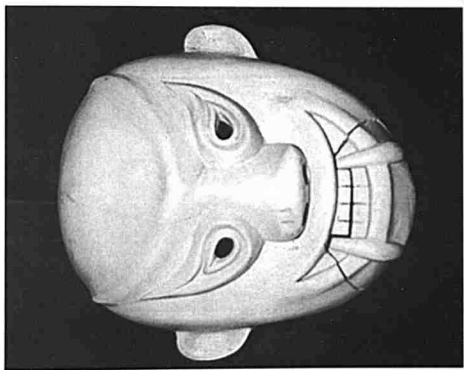


Plate 383:
The Spirit Seral
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

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Plate 385.
The Spirit Seral
[by Tabah a/I Mat]

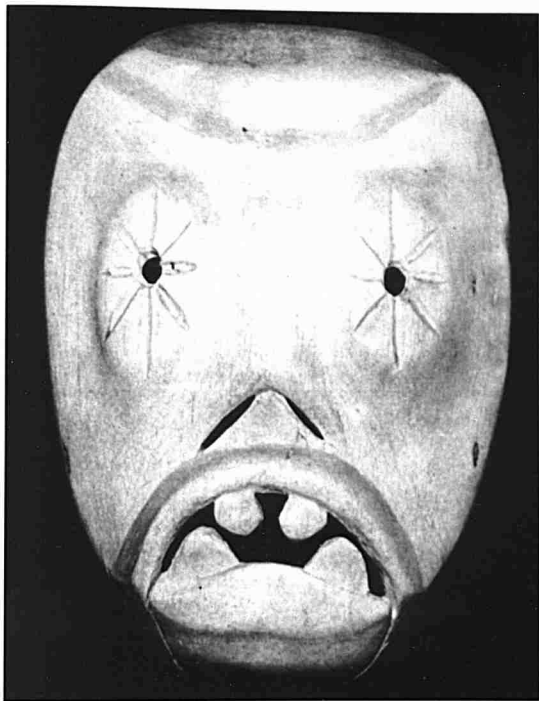


Plate 386:
The Spirit Seranting
[by Ramli a/l Ujang]

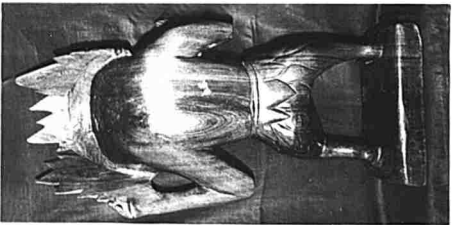
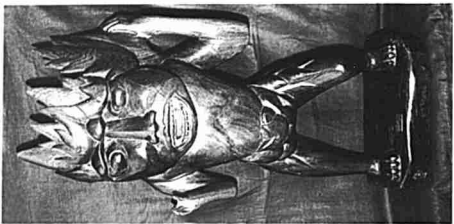


Plate 387
The Spirit Setin
[by Karris a/f Serman]

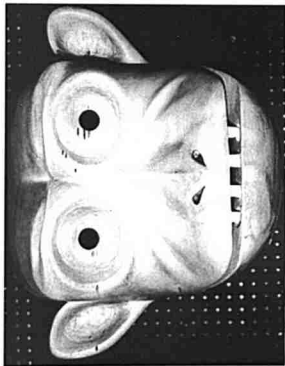


Plate 388:
The Spirit *Sūmang*
[by Ahmed a/ī Kassim]

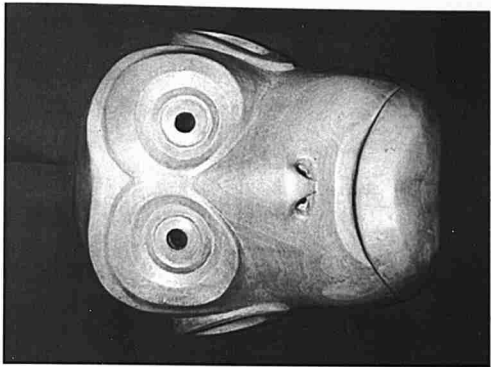


Plate 389:
The Spirit *Sūmang*
[by Siboh a/ī Sa'id]

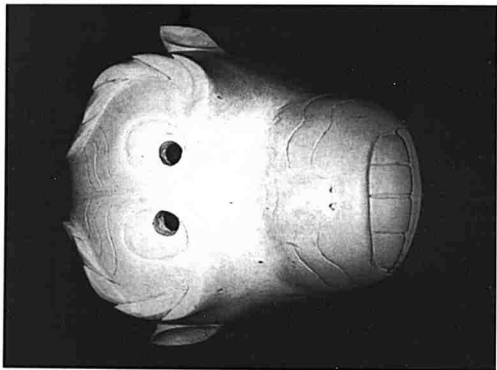


Plate 390:
The Spirit Siamang Gantri
[by Embing a/1 Lipat]

♂

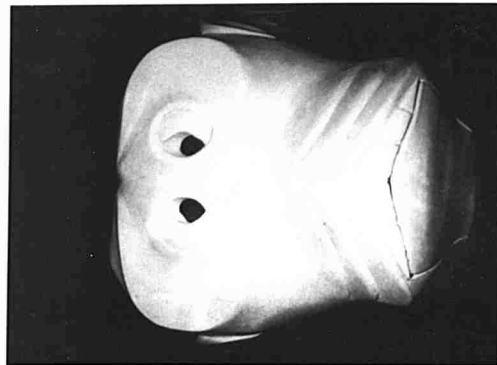


Plate 391:
The Spirit Siamang Gantri
[by Embing a/1 Lipat]

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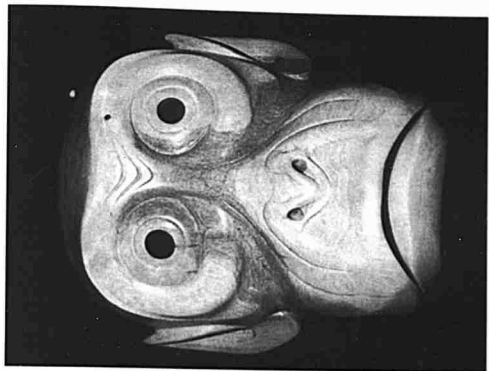


Plate 393:
The Spirit Slamang Gantil
[by Siboh a/I Said]

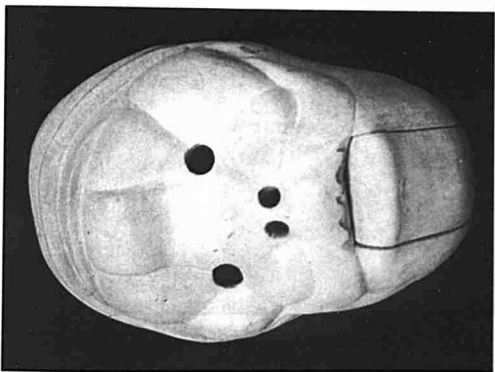


Plate 392:
The Spirit Slamang Gantil
[by Moyan a/I Awas]

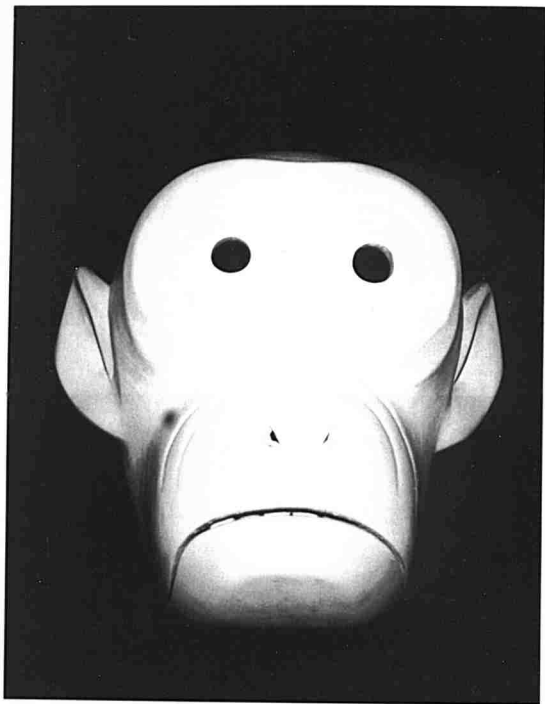


Plate 304.
The Spirit *Siamang Ganti Tunggal*
[by Siboh a/l Said]

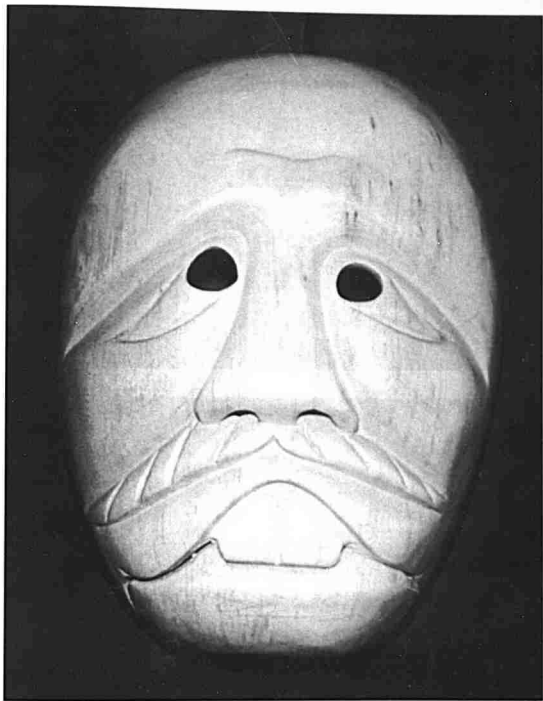


Plate 395:
The Spirit Sioh
[by Yusof a/l Karim]

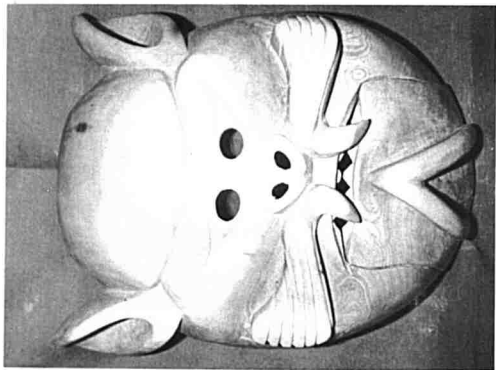


Plate 396:
The Spirit Sipur
[by Yusof a/l Kartim]

♂

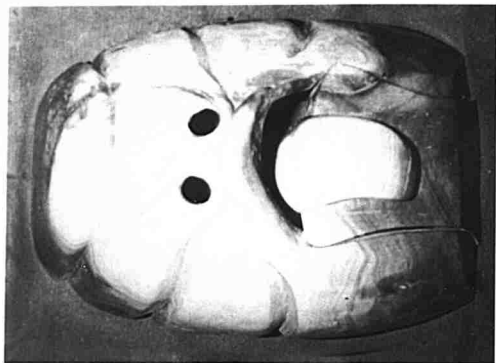


Plate 397:
The Spirit Sipur
[by Yusof a/l Kartim]

♀

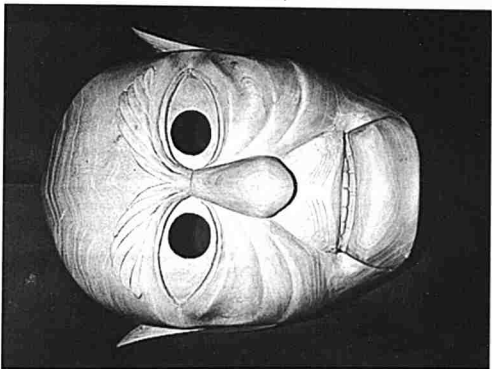


Plate 308:
The Spirit Sulung
[by Singam a/I Muntit]

♂

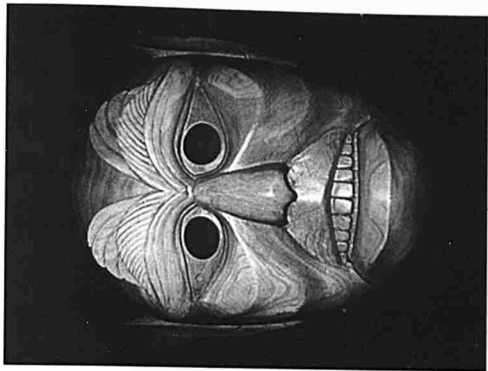


Plate 309:
The Spirit Sulung
[by Singam a/I Muntit]

♀

The Spirit *Tambek*

Long ago there was an island which did not get rain for a year. None of the inhabitants of the island could drink or cook.

So they asked for the help of *Spirit Tambek* in calling for rain, but the rain did not come.

They began to dig a well. They kept on digging until water appeared. When the water appeared they stopped digging.

Spirit Tambek asked her grandchildren to get water from the well. When it was poured into the earthenware jar, it was really water. But when drunk, it did not taste like water.

When they looked into the earthenware jar, there was no more water.

They asked *Spirit Tambek* why there was no more water.

Spirit Tambek said, "Each of you get ready seven earthenware jars in the house."

Everyone got the earthenware jars ready and the grandchildren were also ready.

Spirit Tambek asked them to get water. *Spirit Tambek* slipped from the surrounding wall into the well.

Spirit Tambek cried for help to her grandchildren, but the grandchildren got an idea and they let a rope down into the well.

But however long the rope was, it could not reach *Spirit Tambek*.

Spirit Tambek cried out again, "Let the rope down together with the seven earthenware jars."

Then the grandchildren saw that the body of *Spirit Tambek* looked like an earthenware jar but with a human head. Then *Spirit Tambek* disappeared just like that.

Then the human beings cried seven times, "If it is a well, be a well. If it is a human being, be a human being."

Only then did the well contain water, and the water tasted like water and the earthenware jars became earthenware jars again.

The Spirit *Tamet*

☛ See p. 437

The Spirit *Tampang Keladi*

In ancient times there were seven princesses. The eldest sister was married to a man, leaving six other princesses. The husband and the wife went in search of food in a secluded place.

On reaching this place they built a small hut, and the next day the man went to look for *keladi*. In the evening he returned to the hut, to his wife and the *Tampang*.

The *Tampang* thought, "If I wanted to eat, what would be the dish? Why not cook the wife?"

When the time for dinner arrived the *Tampang* killed the wife and ate her with the cooked *keladi*. In this way six of the princesses were eaten, and there was left the youngest.

The *Tampang* said, "Sister! Oi, sister, your sister is sick."

The *Tampang* was deceiving himself because he had still not got any luck with the younger sister. The youngest sister prepared herself, for her sisters had been killed.

The *Tampang* told her not to go to the "buttress" tree because wasps were there, but the youngest sister did not pay attention to him.

"What is the secret?" she asked.

Then she saw the six skeletons of her dead sisters. As it was evening the sister made a bucket from the *nilbong* palm and hung it from the roof.

She then climbed to the topmost branch with a rope. In a moment she was ready.

The *Tampang* returned with a basket of *keladi*, and without calling he started to burn the *keladi*. "Oi ... Oi ... Come and eat, sister," he called.

The sister was quiet. He then stabbed the hanging bucket, but only water splashed out.

"You are really smart otherwise I would have eaten your flesh."

The sister laughed and answered, "Climb, climb brother, and I shall get down."

The *Tampang* climbed and when he was halfway up, she cut the rope and he fell to his death. The *Tampang* who looked like a human then changed and became a tiger.

The sister said that if it changed it could become a man. But if it became a tiger, cut into pieces with leaves of *bantut*.

And if it becomes a man ask it never to do so again.

The Spirit Tanjung

The Spirit *Tanjung* originated from a man. Long ago, a man went out looking for food. After some time he stopped and laid down to rest. He fell sick because he had urinated on the *Tanjung*.

The mask or sculpture must be offered to the Spirit *Tanjung* on a special altar together with betel nuts and leaves. Only then will he be rid of his sickness.

The Spirit Tembuan

One day *Raja Tembuan* went to call at the small house of *Batin Semut*. *Batin Semut* was surprised to see *Raja Tembuan* and asked the reason for the visit, to which he replied that he had come to ask for help and went on to explain that his house had been attacked by the tiger again.

Batin Semut then told him of a way in which he could be rid of the tiger. *Raja Tembuan* was to gather all his relatives and plan an attack on the tiger.

Once *Raja Tembuan*'s family had attacked the tiger, the tiger died.

The Spirit Tenung Belalang

The child chased after the flying grass-hopper (*belalang terbang*). Every day the grass-hopper grew bigger. When the child caught hold of the grass-hopper's head it became a human being. That is all.

The Spirit Tenung Dekan

Long ago *Tenung Dekan* lived in a big forest. In the forest too there lived a man who liked to wander about looking for food. He lived by eating bamboo shoots and animals in the forest.

One day, while cutting the *bamboo-shoot* he saw a hole at the foot of the *bamboo*. So he examined the hole carefully. While examining the hole he saw an animal in it.

The animal was called *dekan* (bamboo-rat). He was very pleased to see the animal because it can be eaten and it has a lot of fat. At once he prepared a trap to catch the *dekan*. After he had caught it he killed it and took it home.

When he arrived at his hut, he began to flay the animal. He cooked the meat lump by lump until there was no more meat left. After it had been cooked, he began eating it until it was finished. After he had finished eating he took a bamboo in which to put the fat of the *dekan* to make *lemang* (rice cooked in a bamboo). He kept the bamboo with the *dekan* fat in it on the shelf. Then he took a rest. While he

was resting there came a loud whizzing sound from the shelf. The whizzing sound grew louder every minute until at last the bamboo with the fat inside burst.

And there appeared a hideous and frightful form. Its eyes were red-hot and opened wide, its teeth bared and with curving sharp tusks.

The form at once came down from the shelf and said, "Where's my food? I'll eat it raw and I'll suck its blood and I'll tear it to pieces."

When he heard that, the man bolted away as fast as his legs could carry him. The thing followed the man wherever he ran until he became exhausted.

But he thought, "As long as I can move, I must not give up to *Moyang Dekan* otherwise my life won't be safe."

While running he kept on crying for help in case there was somebody who could help him. The tiger heard him crying and he said, "What's the matter with the man? Why is he yelling for help? I'll help him."

He saw that the man was really exhausted. "Ha, what is chasing you?" asked the tiger.

"Please help me friend," said the man, panting.

"I am being chased by *Tenung Dekan*."

When the *Dekan* saw the man, it began to shout again.

"Very well, go and hide, friend," said the tiger. "I'll eat it, I'll scratch its body and I'll chew its flesh."

So the tiger attacked the *Dekan* but after some time the *Dekan* still would not die. So the tiger cried out, "Friend, flee quickly, I cannot stand it any more."

So the man ran as fast as he could. In fact a lot of animals and plants such as the elephant, the bear, the dragon, bees, ground-wasps, the thorny *kelubi* plant were prepared to help the man but the *Dekan* still would not die. The *Dekan* was still pursuing the man. After running for some time the man came to a river which was flowing fast and there he met the cat-fish (*limbat*) and other fish in the river.

He said, "Friend fish, can you help me?"

"Yes," said the fish. "Tell us quickly why are you panting."

"I am panting because I have got *Tenung Lemak Dekan*," said the man. While he was talking to the fish, the *Dekan* was coming closer.

"Quick, run across the bridge," said the fish, "let us eat the *Lemak Dekan* until it dies."

The man ran quickly across the river on a rolling bridge. The man was already on the other side of the river when the *Dekan* followed.

When he was on the bridge the fish came in large numbers to attack it until the bridge collapsed and the *Dekan* fell into the water.

The fish came in large numbers to bite off the fat of the *Dekan*. The *Dekan* was bobbing up and down in the water with a piece here and a piece there until it could not stand it any more.

When the *Dekan* died, the man got an invisible woman. So ends the story and according to the story that is why fish contain fat because they ate the fat (*lemak*) of the *Dekan*.

The Spirit *Tenung Jerat*

In ancient times a human being walked into a jungle. He found traces of blood and saw an animal lying dead in front of him. The man began to follow the animal into the gazing snare (*Tenung Jerat*).

That too was dead, being eaten and having only one half of the thigh left. The human being was busy looking for the leaf of *buntut* with the thorny brinjal to be chopped seven times whilst saying, "If it becomes a man, let it be one; but if a ghost, so be it."

The Spirit *Tenung Jerat Harimau* [I]

1. Once upon a time, a human being went for a walk into the jungle and he saw traces of blood and an animal in front of him.

The human being went up to the animal and found that it was dead and what was left was only its thigh. Its thigh was caught in a trap.

The human being looked for *buntut* leaves with thorny brinjals, sliced these seven times and cursed, saying "if you become a man, be a man, but if, you become a ghost, be a ghost."

2. The *Tenung* originated from the gaze of a bird, the gaze of the squirrel, and the gaze of blood.

This *Tenung* originated from a tiger and many other *Tenung* were found in the thick jungles and forests. In the jungles some are still found today.

That was why most people were afraid to get the *Tenung Jerat Harimau*. This *Tenung Jerat Harimau* cannot be seen by human beings, thus the *Tenung Jerat Harimau* still exists.

The Spirit *Tenung Jerat Harimau* [II]

This *Tenung* originated from the *Tenung Burah*, the *Tenung Tupai*, and the *Tenung Darah*, as well as the tiger and many other *Tenung* that were found in thick jungles and forests and which are found in the jungles even now.

That was the reason most people were afraid to catch the *Tenung Jerat*. This tiger cannot be seen by humans but the *Tenung Jerat Harimau* exists as it always has done according to the custom of the Spirits of ancient times.

The Spirit *Tenung Ketupat*

1. Long ago there was a family of seven sisters. They had opened up seven acres of land. They wanted to plant rice on the land.

While the sisters were resting in the afternoon after planting the land, the eldest sister suddenly said, "Oh, in the afternoon like this, it would be good to eat *Ketupat*." She said this many times for seven days. Suddenly an old man appeared.

The old man was making holes with his elbows for planting rice. Then he said, "I make the hole and you plant the rice." This went on for seven days.

Then the youngest sister thought of something and began to drift away from the others.

Then the old man said, "Where's the youngest sister? She has disappeared."

The old man acted like a human being but in fact he was the tiger's ghost.

The youngest sister said, "There is only one spirit which can help us and that is the coconut tree. Let's climb the coconut tree."

The eldest sister climbed first and was followed by the others until it came to the youngest sister.

Then they shook the coconut tree.

The old man (the ghost) said, "Where's eldest sister? Perhaps eldest sister has escaped. If I have eaten her then how tasty would her blood be. Cis! It is a smart thing for the youngest sister to take along her sisters."

The ghost climbed a *peran* tree and began to shake it.

When work is stopped in the afternoon, do not ask for anything without really wanting it, otherwise we will get the *tenung*.

2. Long ago there was a family of seven sisters. They had opened up seven acres of land to plant rice.

When the seven sisters stopped work in the afternoon after planting rice, the eldest sister suddenly said, "Oh, how wonderful it would be to eat *ketupat* in the afternoon like this." She repeated this for seven days. Suddenly an old man appeared.

The old man made holes in the ground with both his elbows for planting rice. He then said, "I make the holes and you plant the rice."

This went on for seven days. Suddenly the youngest sister thought of something and began to drift away from the others.

The old man said, "Where has youngest sister disappeared to?"

He asked the sixth sister to look for her. So the sixth sister went away to look. The sixth sister did not come back. So the fifth sister went to look for them, and so on until it came to the turn of the eldest. They grouped together to listen to what the youngest sister had to say.

"Oh sisters, didn't you know that the old man wanted to eat us because we got the *tenung ketupat* this afternoon? The old man only acted like a human being but in fact he is a ghost of a tiger."

The youngest sister continued, "There is only one spirit that can help us, and that is the coconut tree. Let's climb the coconut tree."

The eldest sister climbed first and was followed by the others until the youngest.

Then they shook the coconut tree until it smashed the sky.

The old man (the ghost) said, "Where are the eldest and youngest sisters? Probably they have run away. If I had eaten them, how tasty would their blood be. Cis! It is very clever for the youngest sister to run away with the sisters."

The youngest sister was helped by a spirit. There was a rat in the coconut tree which they climbed.

The rat chewed away the tree until it fell down. The ghost fell down together with the tree. Then the rat jumped onto the coconut tree.

"Oh, it is very clever of the youngest sister!" said the ghost.

The youngest sister asked the spirit to open the door in the sky so that they could run up. The seven sisters then got married in order, that is from the eldest to the youngest.

If we stop work in the afternoon do not ask for anything without really wanting it otherwise we will get the *tenung*.

The Spirit *Tenung Mengidam*

1. Once there were a husband and wife. The wife was pregnant and wanted to eat all kinds of things and she got whatever she wanted.

The wife told her husband that she wanted to search for things on land for seven days. The wife was able to eat things on land. When she had obtained things on land she returned home and told her husband that she wanted things in the sea.

After seven days the husband returned to the hut. It was night. "Ha, wife, what are you thinking?"

"Never mind, husband, let me go and search for food and fruit in the sea for seven days."

The husband followed too because he did not like his wife to go alone. When they arrived at the sea, it was high tide. She waded into the water to look for fruit in the water. She went into the sea until her body disappeared to get the fruit in the water.

When she reappeared, only her shoulders were visible. "Husband, I want to go home but I am unable to do so because I have eaten the fruit in the water."

The husband pleaded with his wife to come out of the water.

The wife said she could not do so. "But if you do not come back, I shall have difficulty in looking for food for you." The wife said to her husband, "I am happy living in the sea, and my husband too should be happy."

"How can I be happy?"

The wife replied, "Like this. You on land become a gibbon."

He lived in the forest and ate fruit and leaves. He saw his wife and he longed for her.

He cried, "Hut, hut," because he longed for his wife. "Oh, I cannot be together with my wife."

The husband is seen like a shadow only. What is the fate of this ghost? Since it had happened like this, what is there to be done? There is now a curse on human beings not to take a pregnant wife to the forest or sea.

2. Once there were a husband and wife. The wife was pregnant but she could eat whatever she liked. The pregnant wife told her husband that she wanted to look for things to eat on land for seven days. After seven days she had got all she wanted.

After she had got everything, she returned to her hut and told her husband that she wanted to look for food in the sea for seven days. When the husband returned it was already night.

"What's the matter, wife? You are so quiet."

"It's all right, husband. I want to go and look for fruit in the sea for seven days."

The husband followed too because he feared for his wife going there all alone. When she reached the sea, it was high tide. She went into the sea to look for the fruit in the water.

She went into the sea until she could not be seen any more looking for the fruit in the water. When she emerged, only her shoulders could be seen. "Husband, I want to go home but I am unable to because I have eaten the fruit in the water."

The husband asked the wife to come ashore but the wife replied, "It is not possible."

"But if you cannot come back home, I will have difficulty for the rest of my life to maintain you. Come back."

The wife told the husband, "I am happy living in the sea, husband too should be happy."

"How could I be happy?"

The wife said, "Like this, you on land become a gibbon living in the jungle. You could eat wild fruit and leaves." He saw his wife in the sea and husband longed for her.

He cried, "*Hut, hut*" because he longed for his wife. "Oh, I cannot be together with my wife." The husband could be seen like a shadow. What is the fate of this ghost? Since it had happened like this, what is there to be done?

So it became a curse for human beings living in the jungle that if the wife is pregnant she should not be taken to the sea or land.

The Spirit *Tenung Nakal*

Long ago the Spirit *Tukul* went with his wife to a country called Laska Dua. On the way Spirit *Tukul* met with the son of Spirit *Nakal*. When they met, Spirit *Tukul* told him this and that and he invited Spirit *Nakal* to come to his house. When they reached the house, Spirit *Tukul* talked about the matter with Spirit *Nakal*. The next morning Spirit *Nakal* went to the country with Spirit *Tukul*. Half way there it was time for lunch, but unfortunately their food supply was finished.

So they went in search of forest fruit. While looking for the fruit, Spirit *Nakal* found a tree called *singgang*. So he called Spirit *Tukul* to come and eat its fruit with him. As soon as he ate the fruit, Spirit *Nakal* turned into a tiger and the same thing to Spirit *Tukul*. So Spirit *Nakal* cast a spell that while travelling, one should not eat the fruit of the *singgang* tree because one will turn into a tiger. Until now the fruit cannot be eaten.

The Spirit *Tenung Pergi Memburu Belalang*

Once there were two human beings, a brother and his sister. The brother built a house of seven storeys. When the sister saw this she cried and cried until she turned into an animal.

The brother who went hunting had killed all the animals. He did not know that he had killed human beings and not animals. Therefore, one storey of his house fell to the ground each night.

One the sixth night a spirit came and helped him because it felt pity for the sister's plight.

The Spirit *Tenung Tembakul*

Once there was a wife who yearned to eat the *tembakul* fish. So she asked her husband to get one. The husband went to look for one for nine months.

Then he asked, "You have given birth? It's fine that you have given birth to the child which you carried."

The wife asked, "Where's the fish which I wanted? I could not get you the fish."

Instantly the wife called to God, "Oh, God, turn this child of mine into a *tembakul* fish!"

So the child became a *tembakul* fish. The husband gathered *keladi bantut* and thorny brinjals and cut them seven times while calling out, "If you be a *tembakul* fish, be a *tembakul* fish . . ."

Now the wife is not pregnant any more.

The Spirit *Tenung Ular Sawa*

This Spirit originated from a python. Long ago, while the mother was pregnant, she wanted to eat different things. The unborn child's influence brought all kinds of animals to the mother.

After nine months, the mother gave birth to a python which grew up. The mother was happy since she need not work.

The child told the mother to build a house for him and to look for a girl to be his wife. The mother went to a house and saw there three young girls in the family. The mother wished to ask for the hand of the eldest one but she refused.

The second one also refused and abused her, saying, "Shame! Who ever wants to marry a person with the body of a snake?"

The mother of the snake was very angry. The mother then asked the third daughter.

The girl replied at once that she was willing to marry her son.

When all was agreed, a house was built. When the house was ready the bridal bed was prepared. The mother held the marriage ceremony for seven days and seven nights.

Afterwards they would be going up to the sky. The mother planned to follow. Unfortunately she was left behind because she was unable to follow them.

When one of the villagers saw how fortunate the pair was to be able to go up into the sky, he wanted to follow. So he went to look for a python in the jungle.

At last he caught one and reared it until it was big but he was not lucky nor was he able to get food easily. Instead it brought calamity to him when one of his sons was swallowed up by the python.

So the human beings laid a curse until today that if a python was adopted and not born from a human mother, do not do it.

The Spirit *Tepes Tergantung*

Some friends of an old man always came to make fun of him. So the old man became angry. He gathered *tepes* shoots and some other shoots to pray. He prayed for seven nights.

On the last night he went to heaven—the seventh country (the country in the moon).

The Spirit *Terok*

The Spirit *Terok* turned into a sour *kelubi* fruit.

He was disliked by women because it was rotten with worms. In the end all the people began to dislike him.

He wanted to get married to a princess who liked him for his scurvy body.

"Oh! I will be better off if I turn into a sour *kelubi* fruit."

The Spirit *Terok* was cursed by God and became a *kelubi*. When the Spirit *Terok* became a *kelubi*, all the people began to like eating sour fruit (*asam*).

The princess related the story about this *asam* which made the mouths of the people water.

The Spirit Teruk

Long ago there was a girl whose body was covered with syphilitic ulcers. Her parents kept her away from other people. Young people humiliated her and no one wanted her for a wife.

Her father went to catch fish every day, with bamboo-traps. He laid them in every river. That was how he lived.

He exchanged the fish for goods with the people of the village. Sometimes there were no fish at all in the bamboo-traps.

One day, while the girl was eating her food, she saw a snake crawling up the house.

The girl said, "There's snake coming to our house — do you want some food, snake?" The snake did not say anything. Only its tongue kept shooting out. The snake went down from the house and into the forest again. The father of the girl looked at his fish-traps daily. The first six traps did not contain anything when he lifted them. When he lifted the seventh he saw a small python in it.

The father of the girl thought, "Oh, there is a snake in the trap. No wonder I had a dream about fish entering my trap — I was asked to lift and look at it quickly — and now it is a snake."

He kept the snake in a basket and then took it home. The child said, "Father, father, are there any fish?"

"Do you think there are fish? There are no fish, only a snake which I brought home," said the father.

"Father, father," said the girl, "I want to see the snake which you brought home. I want to see it."

The father said, "I brought it for you so that you could bring it up."

The snake grew up. The syphilitic ulcers disappeared from the body of the girl. Her body became clean. When night came the snake became a human being — a man. His body was very white like cotton wool. During the day he turned into a snake again.

When the snake turned into a human being seven days later, the father came to see his daughter. When the father came to see his daughter, he heard people joking.

The father spied on his daughter. "Ah, there's a man. Where does he come from?"

The father approached the house and said, "Is daughter in?"

"Yes, father."

The snake man became uneasy and looked for his clothes which had been hidden by the girl.

Two or three minutes later the man said, "It is like this, father, I like your daughter. What's why I came to see her. I want to take your daughter as my wife, do you agree?"

So they had a long talk. Six days before the marriage the father said, "I have no property such as crockery, food or clothing."

"Don't you worry about that, father. I'll get them."

The future son-in-law asked the father to prepare the site for a house—the middle house the kitchen, the verandah and so on. He put pillars, a *nipah*-palm leaf, an axe and a chopper, and so on. On the morning of the seventh day the house was ready, so the marriage ceremony was carried out on a grand scale until the eighth day, seven nights, and seven days. Then they went up to heaven.

The Spirit *Tewak*

This Spirit *Tewak* originated from the *kelundang* tree which turned into a rubber whip. People of long ago acted dangerously until the rubber whip turned into Spirit *Tewak*. The princess did not like Spirit *Tewak*.

The princess said, "Be gone with you!"

When her husband was gone, the princess saw that the face of Spirit *Tewak* was handsome. So the princess accepted him again as her husband but Spirit *Tewak* refused to accept her because she had refused him before.

"That's why I do not want you, whatever happens I do not want you. However beautiful or ugly your face is, you won't get me. You won't get my ugliness either, so take care of yourself. I will take care of myself."

So the husband and wife separated and he walked away. The wife bowed low and began crying while thinking of her husband's face.

The husband walked away without turning either to the left or the right. He walked away until he could not walk any more and then he stopped. It was here that the original *kelundang* tree became a rubber whip. That was the story.

The Spirit *Tibau*

1. Although the Spirit *Tibau* originated from human beings he did not behave like one. In one *kampung*, the human beings were opening up new land to plant rice.

During the night Spirit *Tibau* cut down trees and slept during the day. The Spirit *Tibau* was considered lazy by the village folks.

The villagers could not understand his behaviour for he always slept during the day and worked at night. One day the human beings cursed him by saying that if he were to be a human being, let him be so, and not half human being and half ghost. The Spirit *Tibau* became a *tibau* bird.

2. The Spirit *Tibau* originated from a human being who was very lazy. He slept in the day and worked at night. As the nights went by, the people hated him and cursed him to become a *burung tibau*, brought up by the person who cursed him. One night he flew away in search of diseases as a revenge.

The Spirit *Tibau* is a kind of bird who flies around at dusk. When he makes sounds at midnight, he brings diseases to human beings. In olden days human beings believed very strongly in him.

Whenever they hear the sound of this bird at midnight they move to another place for seven days to avoid the diseases the bird brings.

Then only will they return to their original place for the Spirit *Tibau* will have finished his work during those seven days.

The Spirit *Tikak*

In ancient times a father and mother asked their son to go fishing. Unfortunately, the son returned home with out catching any fish. When he reached home his mother refused to give him food.

"If you cannot get fish, you will not be given food."

The son had to tolerate this cruelty dally. On the last day, the seventh day, he thought, "If I go home, I will not get food. Oh! It is better to jump into the river and become a crocodile."

Only the shirt and fishing rod were left behind. He said, "If there is an unsatisfied person it will be me, and if there is an animal-shadowed person it will be me too." Thus till today satisfaction can never be attained.

The Spirit *Tikus*

One day the chick of the dove-pigeon went to the house of Spirit Mouse to ask for a little padi. But it said it wrongly and so it went home to ask its mother.

The mother asked, "How did you say it just now? You should say like this, 'Madam Siti of the gangling feet, mother wants some padi.'"

The mouse said, "What does she want?" The chick of the dove-pigeon said, "Mother wants a *gantang* of padi."

That is the story of Spirit Mouse.

The Spirit *Tikus Penas*

Long ago a human being used to urinate at the hole of a mouse every day. Whenever he wanted to urinate, he'd go to the hole.

Night came and the human being urinated at the hole of the mouse. The mouse caught the human being and saw that it was a woman.

The woman said, "I've cut it."

The man said, "How, I did not marry you? Did you marry me?"

"That's the hole where you urinate every day and thus you made me like this."

So the man and woman got married. They took saffron rice and cleaned and scattered them while calling out, "If you be a human being, be a human being, if a mouse be a mouse."

The Spirit *Tinggi*

This Spirit exists, but no story of figure was available.

The Spirit *Tojong*

☛ See p. 466

The Spirit *Tok (Pisang Tok)*

The followers of the Spirit *Tok* are helpers of the human being. One day the Spirit *Melor* fell down from the moon and so wanted to destroy the human beings. But the Spirit *Kapeh* who wanted to help the *Melor* return to the moon could not help.

Then one day Spirit *Tok* who was searching for food met the Spirit *Kapeh*. During their conversation the Spirit *Kapeh* asked for the Spirit *Tok*'s help.

"How can I help you?" asked the *Tok*, continuing, "I cannot fly." But the *Kapeh* insisted that he help send back the *Melor*.

It happened one day the *Melor* decided to kill the human beings, so the *Kapeh* once again met the Spirit *Tok* "If I help you because of your pleadings, there will be no more buds."

So the *Kapeh* flew to the moon and told the *Melior* never to return to earth. The human being ate the fruit and was cursed by the Spirit Tok which resulted in the *Pisang Tok* growing towards the sky, and he also swore that all the *pisang hutan* and *pisang kampung* trees would only bear fruit once.

The Spirit Tok Naning

The *Tok Naning* drives away sickness so that it does not spread to other human beings. He keeps away headache, stomach ache, evil spirits, and guards the neighbourhood.

When the *Tok Naning* sings, the human beings must celebrate and also sing the song of *Tok Naning*, going around his ant-hill, without stopping.

The Spirit Tompang

1. There was an old man, a regular boarder, who only left a house when it collapsed. Often he was chased out by people. He did not care for the beatings.

But as time went on, he could not bear the scoldings and kicks. The man then went into the jungle calling for the ghosts of animals and others.

"Oh! Oh! Can I lodge at your house, wood." "Oh! yes. Why not." When he lodged in the wood, the animals who lived there died. Birds, monkeys, and others then hated him for this. Being cursed by the animals he became the *Tompang Kayu*.

2. There was an old man who was a regular boarder. He stayed in a house until it collapsed, then shifted to another.

As time passed by the people began to look down on him because he was too lazy to build a hut for himself. After a long time he shifted into a hollow tree trunk.

He said, "Oh! tree, can I lodge at your house?"

"Oh! ... Yes." When he was in the tree trunk, the birds and the monkeys disliked him.

He never had food due to the curse of the god *Tutu!* . . . Thus he became the *Tompang Kayu*.

The Spirit Tompang Semi

☛ See p. 472

The Spirit *Toyong*

There were once two brothers. The elder one said to his younger brother, "Younger brother, if you meet with a *Spirit Toyong*, don't hit him. If you do, we will die."

Later the younger brother saw a *Spirit Toyong* and he hit it. The *Spirit Toyong* took the younger brother away. The elder brother went to look for him in the forest. There was a big tree and it was from here that the old folks took *Spirit Toyong* because it had become a *Spirit Toyong*.

The Spirit *Tukal*

1. It originated from a fruit in the jungle. Until now is the *tukal*. Once there was an old man who wanted to eat the *tukal* fruit.

The *tukal* fruit said, "Don't eat me. I am a spirit. It is I that should eat human beings. I will eat this human being."

The old man replied, "What has become of you, oh fruit-of-the-jungle spirit?"

"This is my place in a big tree."

So that was the story of *Moyang Tukal*.

2. It originated from a wild fruit. The forests turned into a *tukal*. He is the *Spirit Tukal* who was no longer able to be cut up to be the *Spirit Bantut*.

Thus till the present day it is a *tukal*. A man of ancient times wanted to eat this *tukal* fruit.

The *tukal* said, "Don't eat me, I am really a spirit. I shall eat you."

Then he replied, "Why have you become the fruit-of-the-jungle Spirit?"

"This is my place, a big tree, the *mekasai* wood."

The Spirit *Tupai-Belalang*

In ancient times there was a human being who wanted to be betrothed to a maiden, but the latter rejected him. As the years went by due to his yearning he became mad.

"Oh!" he said, "it would be better that I become a squirrel."

Then the squirrel wanted to be betrothed to a female squirrel. The female squirrel too rejected him, and so the squirrel was still disappointed.

The squirrel became mad, mad because its soft heart could not bear the frustration of being rejected. He went into the jungle and went towards a *punak* tree, into the tree trunk, and died.

He turned into a grasshopper. His bones became a grasshopper, till this day. The human being rejected by the female, died in frustration after becoming a squirrel. The squirrel too died in frustration and became a grasshopper.

The Spirit *Tupal/Ikan Haruan*

Long ago a squirrel befriended a *haruan* fish. Then the wife of the *haruan* fish fell ill and so the *haruan* fish went to ask the help of the squirrel. The *haruan* fish asked the squirrel to obtain the heart of a crocodile. The squirrel had an idea.

He threw young coconuts at a pool but the coconuts did not fall into it. He threw the last young coconut and a crocodile caught it. He pierced an old coconut and he went into the coconut and then he hurled it. The crocodile caught it when it fell.

When the squirrel was inside, he bit the crocodile's heart and scratched it. The crocodile went ashore and died. The squirrel carried the heart and gave it to the *haruan* fish to cure his wife.

At another time the wife of the squirrel fell ill and he went to the *haruan* fish for help. He asked the *haruan* fish to obtain a hen's eggs to cure his wife.

The next day the *haruan* fish went to the place where people obtained their water. He went into a bamboo container near a chicken run. When there was nobody around, he took an egg.

When the person went to fetch more water, he went into the river again. He gave the egg to the squirrel. "Be careful, human beings are clever at making traps!" The squirrel replied, "Although you are in the water and cannot be seen, human beings are much more clever than we are."

The Spirit *Udang (I)*

In ancient times, it originated from frustration.

A son came back from the sea — he had caught a prawn. The mother cooked it. Then the mother and father ate the prawn, not leaving any for their son.

Later the son demanded, "Mak! Mak! Where is the prawn?"

His mother replied, "I have eaten the prawn."

The son kept quiet but was unsatisfied, still yearning to eat a prawn.

He went again to look for a prawn. He started to net and found a prawn's head. Then he got tangled in the net and could not move.

After some time he was washed into the middle of the sea and he died by drowning.

He said, "This is how you experience suffering. Forever unsatisfied." For so long he had been longing to eat, month after month and year after year.

The Spirit *Udang* (II)

Long ago it originated from a woman.

A child came back from the sea bringing along a prawn. The mother cooked the prawn and she and the father ate the prawn together until there was nothing left for the child.

Then the son asked for the prawn, "Mother, where's the prawn?"

The mother said, "There's no more prawn as I've eaten it."

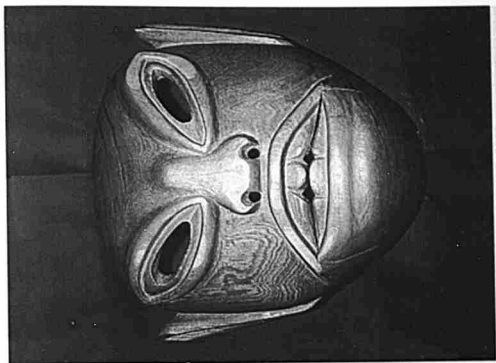
The son did not say anything, but he still wanted to eat a prawn. So he went to catch prawns again.

He used a lift net to catch the prawn and saw the skeleton head of a prawn. He put it into the lift net but he could not move. After some time he drifted into the sea and was drowned.

He said, "This is how I suffered so long for wanting to eat a prawn — while months turned into years."

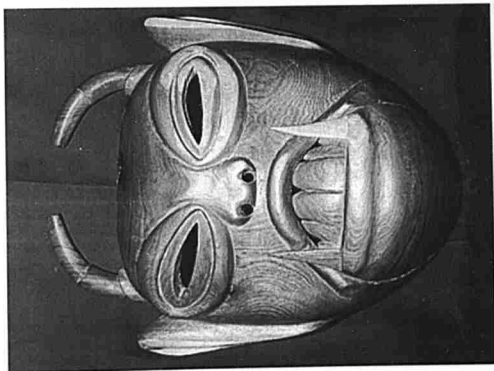
The Spirit *Yub*

☛ See p. 481



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Plate 401:
The Spirit Tarnet
[by Kenlang a/l Awas]



♂

Plate 400:
The Spirit Tarnet
[by Kenlang a/l Awas]

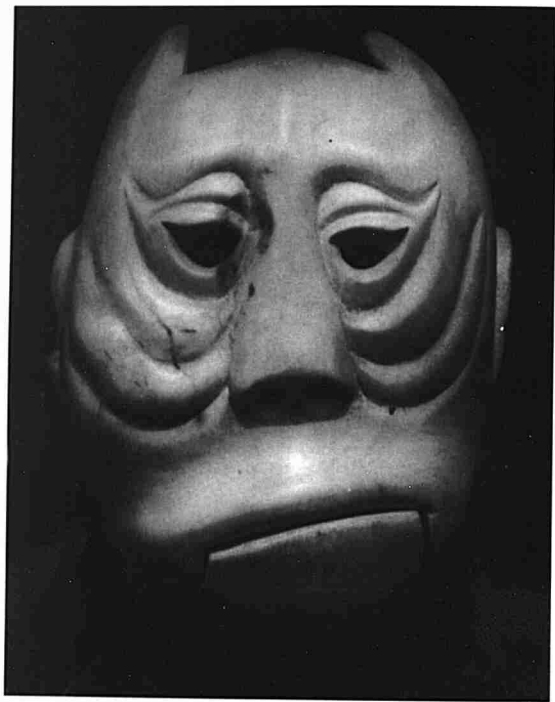


Plate 402:
The Spirit *Tampang Keladi*
[by Semi a/l Awas]

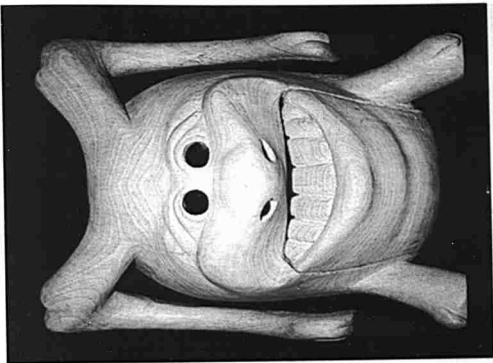


Plate 404:
The Spirit Tanjung
[by Bilion a/I Kassim]

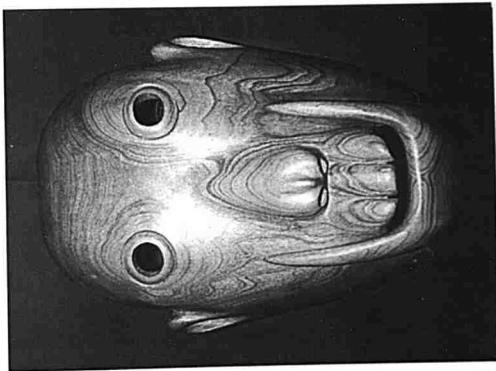


Plate 403:
The Spirit Tanjung
[by Bilion a/I Kassim]

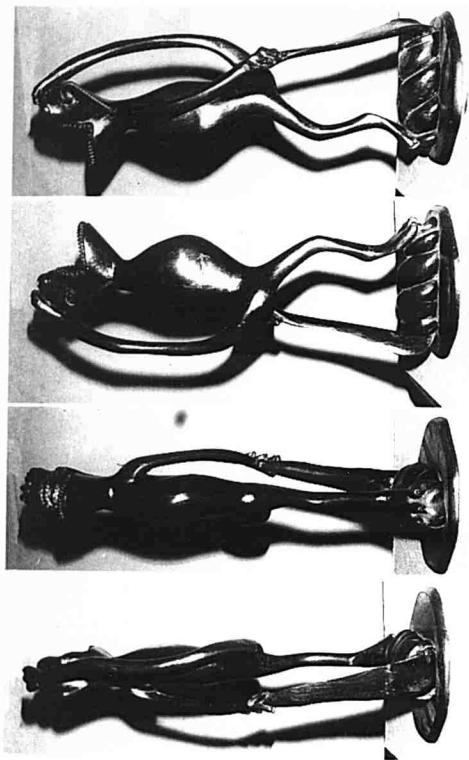


Plate 405:
The Spirit Tanjung
[by Blun a/1 Bumibun]



Plate 406:
The Split Tembuan
[by Blun w/ Bambang]



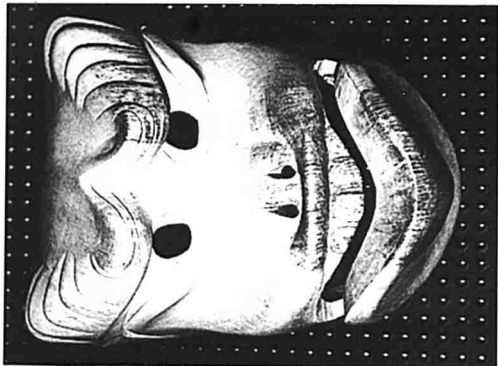


Plate 407:
The Spirit *Tenung Jerat*
[by Ahmed a./I Kassim]

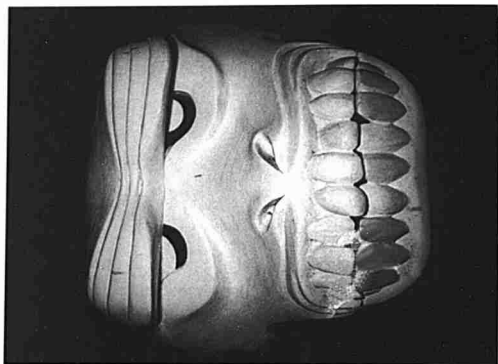


Plate 408:
The Spirit *Tenung Jerat*
[by Ahmed a./I Kassim]



Plate 409
The Spirit *Tenung Jerat*
[by Adil a/l Manan]

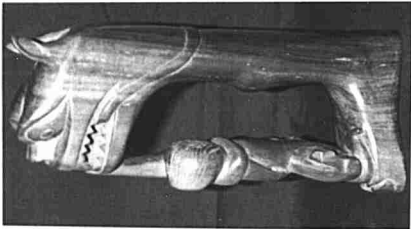
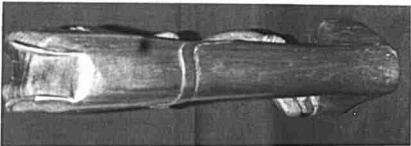
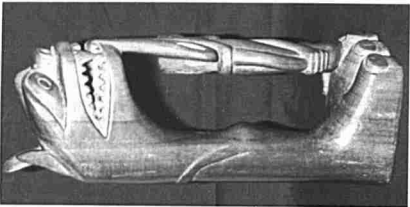
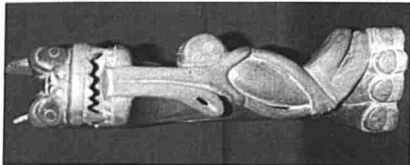


Plate 410
The Spirit *Tengung* / *Jeprat*
[by Ujan a./i Tani]

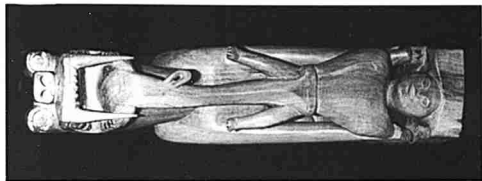
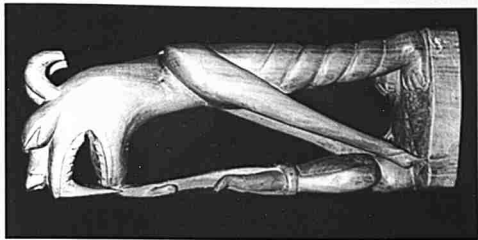


Plate 411:
The Spirit Temung Jerat
[by Kerlang a/f Awats]

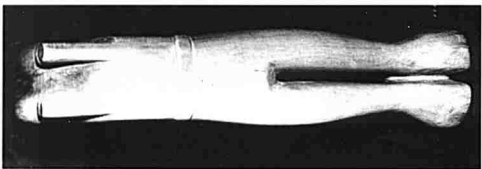
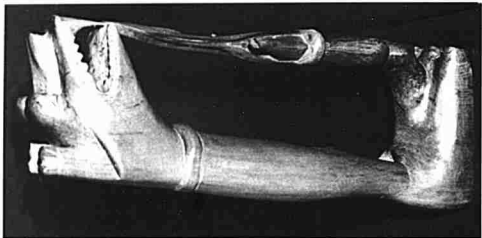
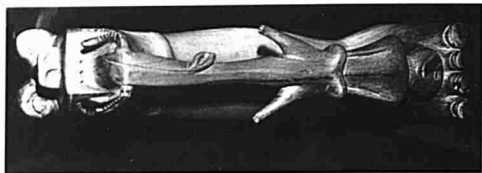


Plate 412
The Spirit *Ternung Jeraf*
[by *Kemang al Awas*]

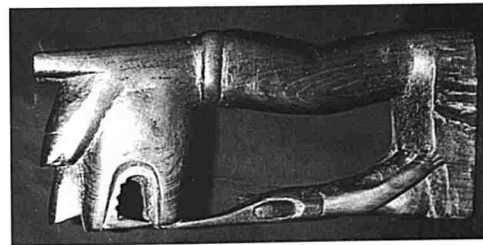
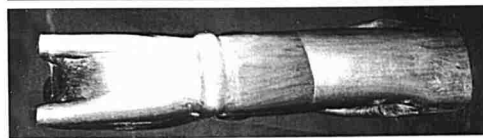
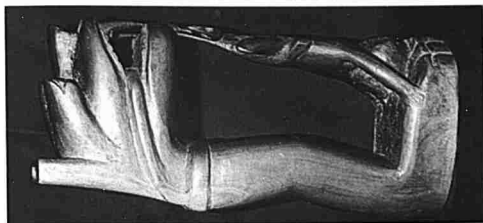


Plate 413:
The Spirit *Tenung Jerat*
[by Sudin a/l *Bujang*]

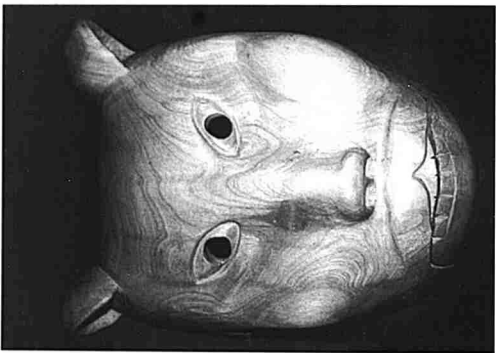
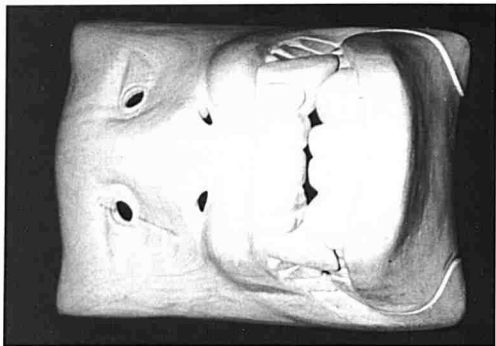


Plate 414:
The Spirit *Tenung Jerat Hairmau*
[by Blun a/1 Bumbun]

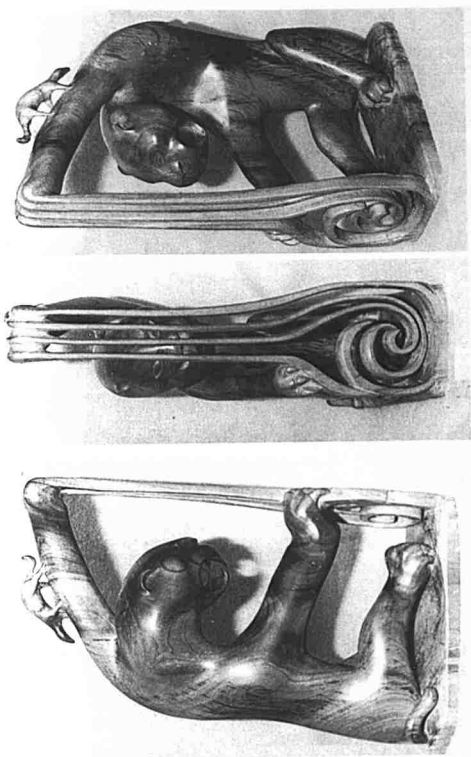


Plate 415:
The Spirit *Ternung Jerat Harimau*
[by Blun a/1 Bumbun]



Plate 416.
The Spirit *Tenung Jerat Harimau*
[by Blun a./i Bumbun]

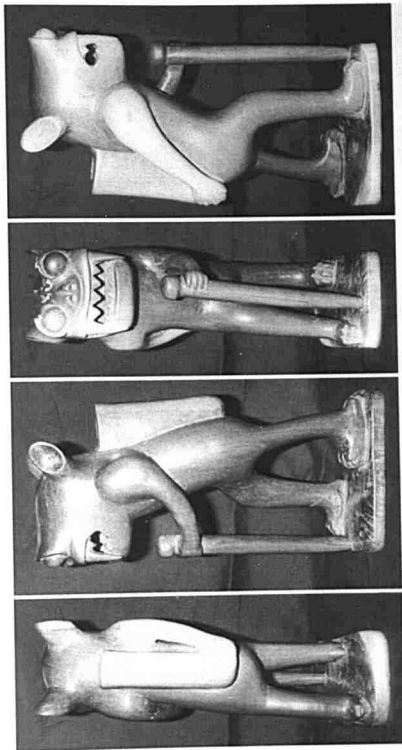


Plate 417:
The Spirit *Tenung Keruput*
[by Ujan a./I Tani]

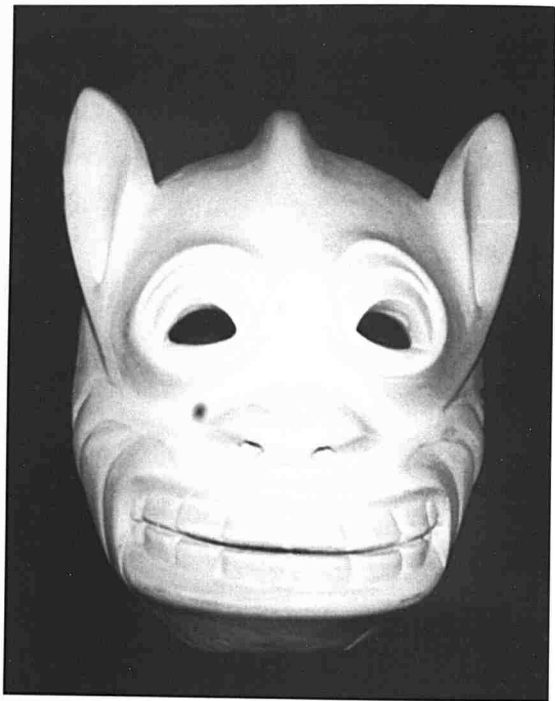


Plate 418.
The Spirit *Tenung Mengidam*
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

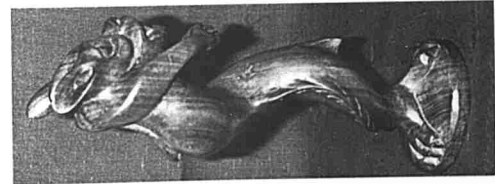
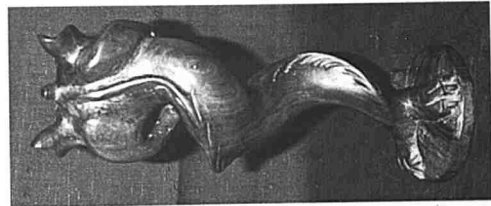
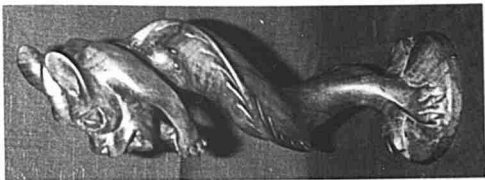
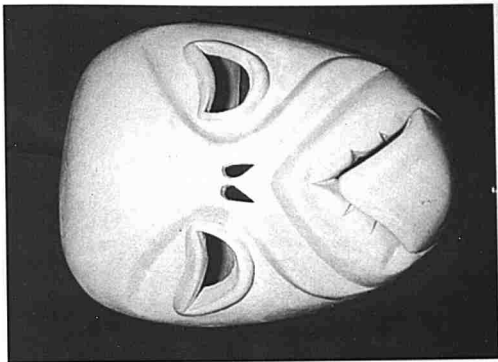


Plate 419:
The Spirit Temung Mengidam
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

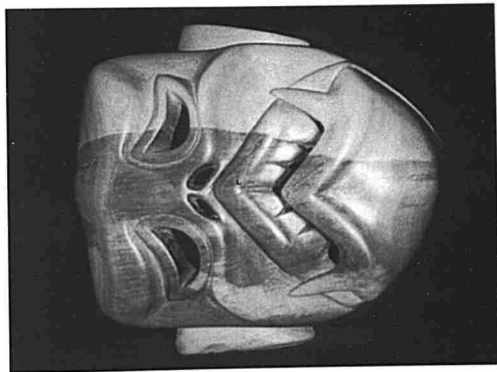


Plate 420.
The Spirit *Temung Nakal*
[by Petat a/1 Kenlang]



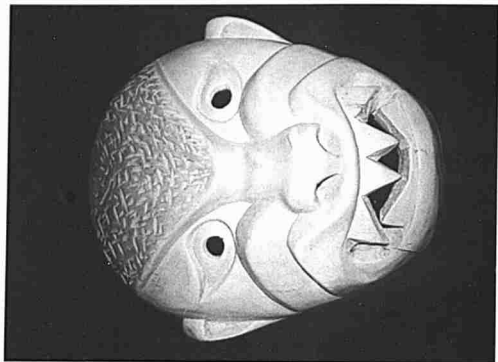
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Plate 422:
The Spirit *Tenung Tembukul*
(by Hassan a/l Jantan)



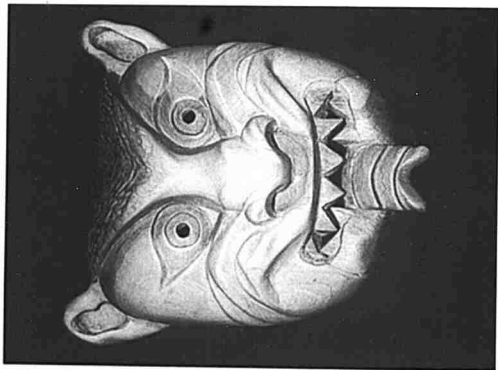
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Plate 421:
The Spirit *Tenung Tembukul*
(by Hassan a/l Jantan)



♀

Plate 424:
The Spirit *Tenung Ular Sawa*
[by Shaifuddin a/l Bujan]



♂

Plate 423:
The Spirit *Tenung Ular Sawa*
[by Shaifuddin a/l Bujan]

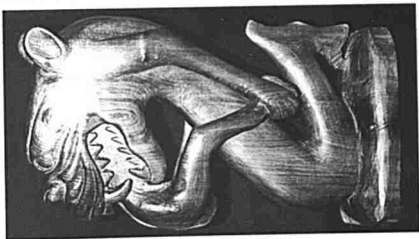
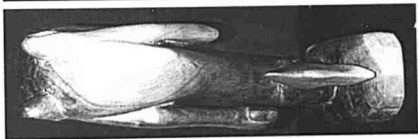
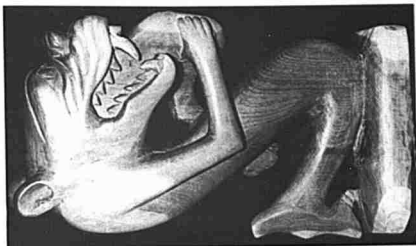


Plate 425:
The Spirit *Tenung Ular-Sawa*
[by Sharifuddin al-Jantani]



Plate 426:
The Spirit *Tepes Tergantung*
[by Sadat a/l Assam]

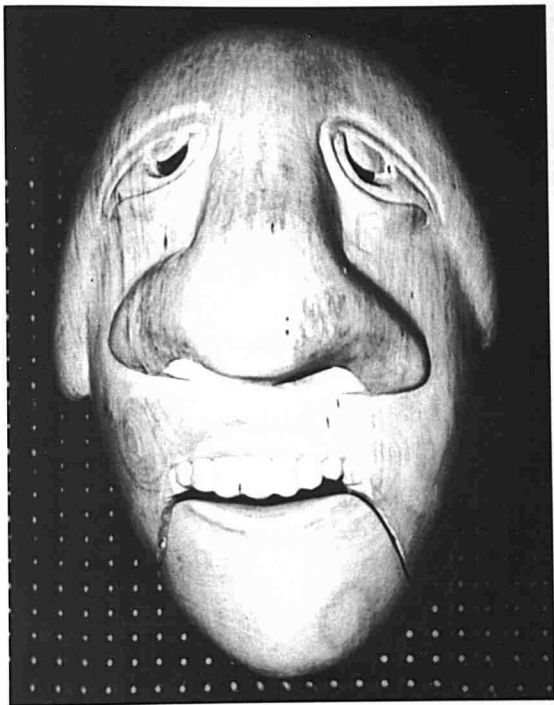


Plate 427
The Spirit Terok
[by Bilon a./I Kassim]

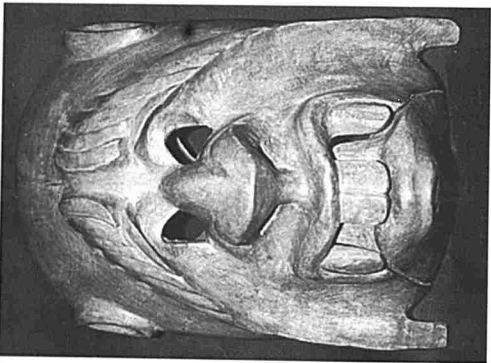


Plate 428:
The Spirit Terok
[by Bilon a/l Kassim]

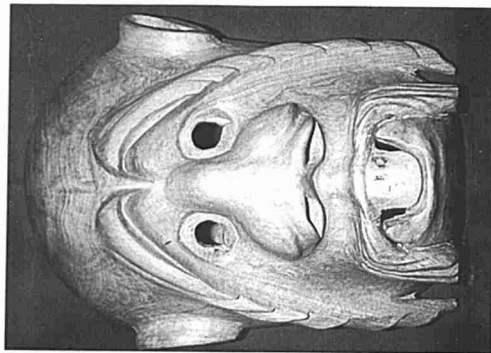


Plate 429:
The Spirit Terok
[by Bilon a/l Kassim]

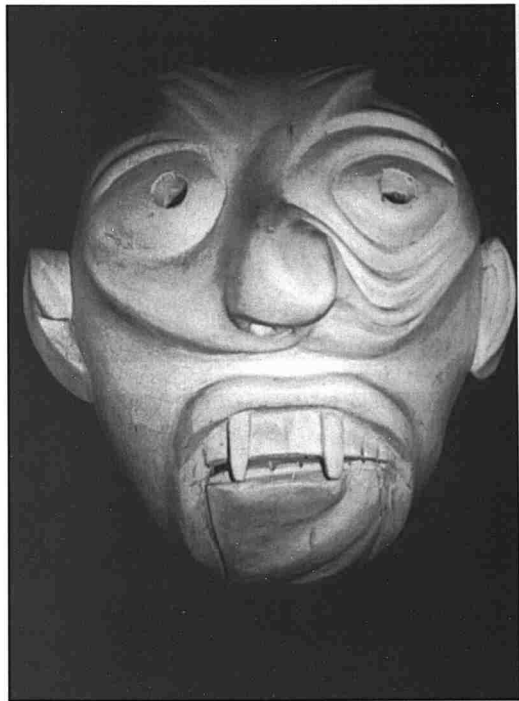


Plate 430
The Spirit Tewak
[by Akon a/l Lima]

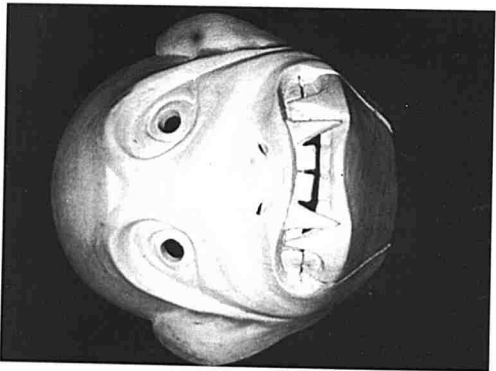


Plate 431
The Spirit Tibau
[by Ligam x/1 Top]

♂

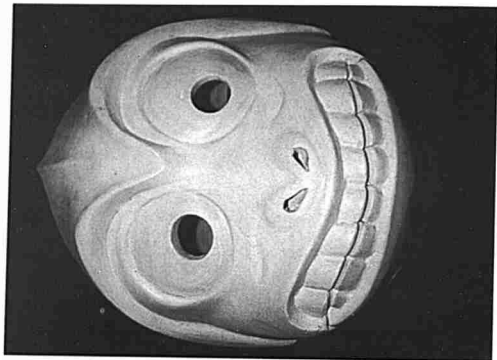


Plate 432
The Spirit Tibau
[by Ligam x/1 Top]

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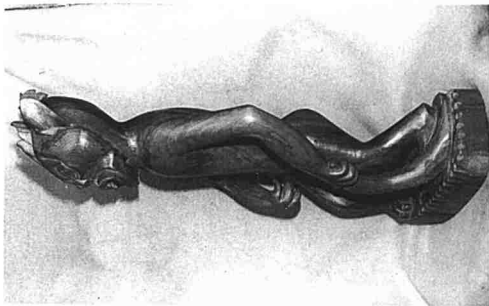


Plate 433.
The Spirit Tibau
[by Siboh a/l Said]



Plate 434:
The Spirit *Tikaá*
[by Bilon a./I Kassim]

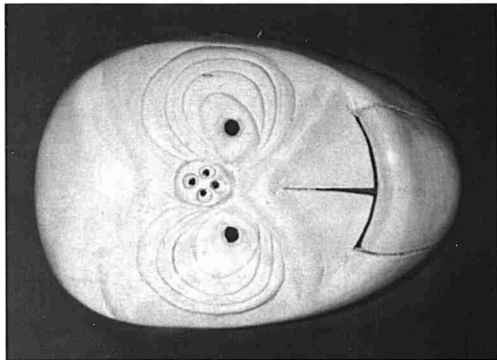


Plate 436:
The Spirit Tikus
(by Ramil a/1 Ujang)

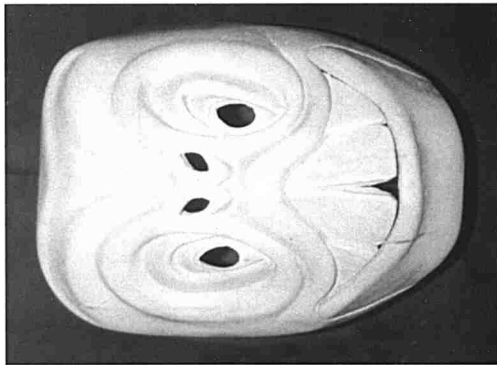


Plate 435:
The Spirit Tikus
(by Uneh a/1 Ayub)

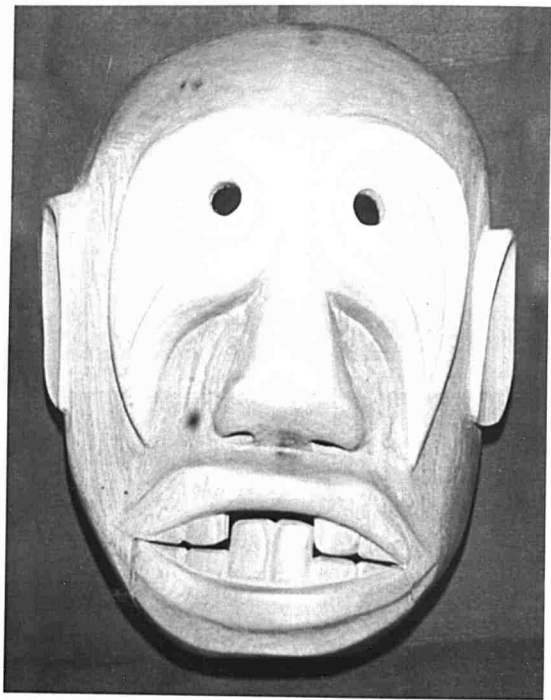


Plate 437
The Spirit Tojong
[by Tabah a/l Mat]

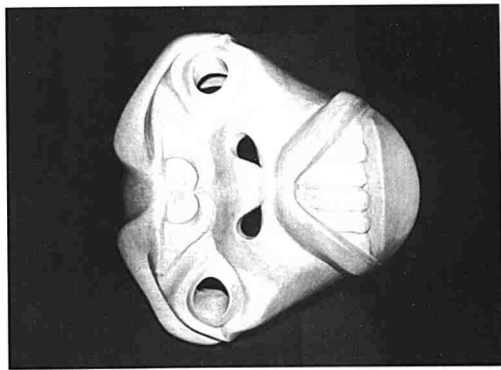


Plate 438:
The Spirit Tok
[by Ahmed a/l Kassim]

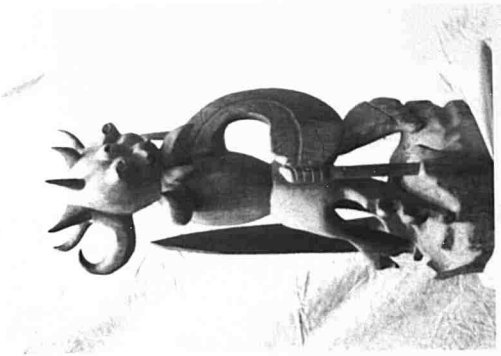


Plate 439:
The Spirit Tok
[by Kassim a/l Muntill]

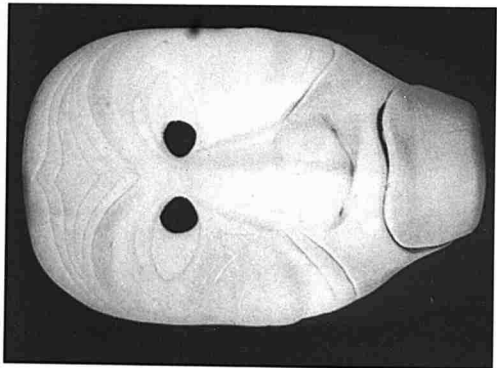


Plate 440:
The Spirit Tok Nuring
[by Ligam a/l Top]



Plate 441:
The Spirit Tok Nuring
[by Apal a/l Tamo]

♂



Plate 442:
The Spirit Tok Naning
[by Singam a./I Muntill]

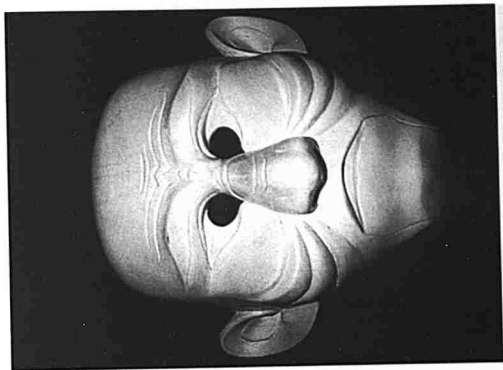


Plate 443:
The Spirit Tok Naning
[by Singam a./I Muntill]

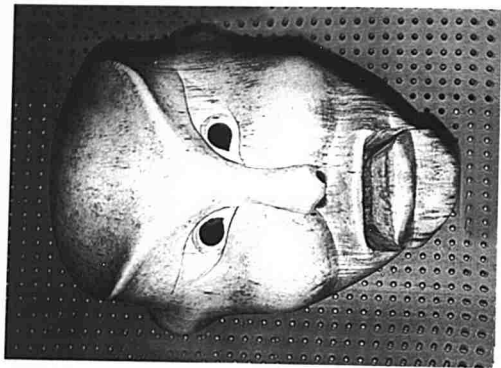


Plate 445:
The Spirit Tok Naining
[by Bilion a/I Kassim]

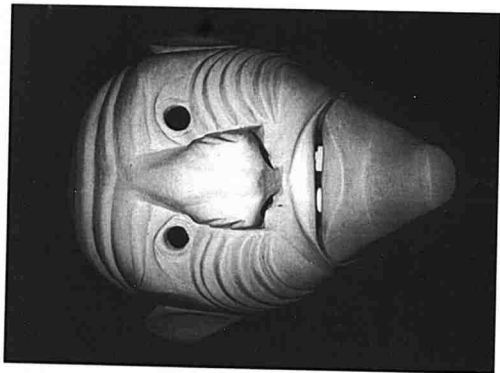


Plate 444:
The Spirit Tok Naining
[by Sabak a/I Embing]

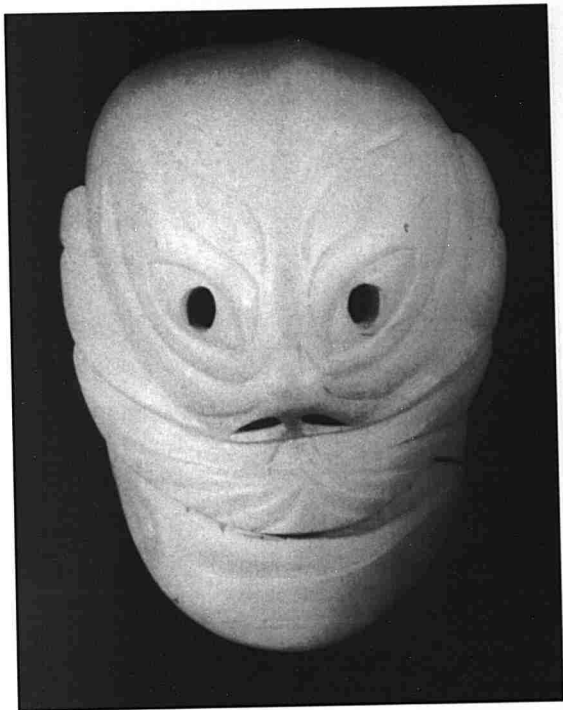


Plate 446
The Spirit *Tompaing*
[by Semi a./I Awas]



Plate 447:
The Spirit *Tompaq Semi*
[by Semi a/l Awas]



Plate 448:
The Spirit Tukul
[by Blun a/I Bumbun]

♂

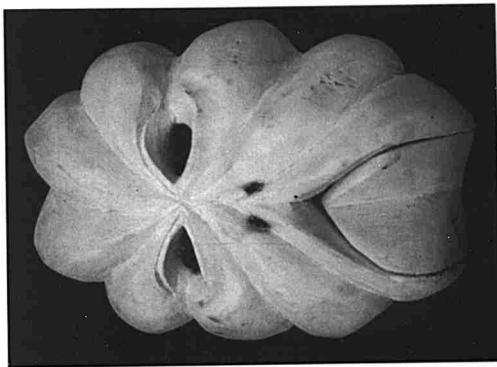


Plate 449:
The Spirit Tukul
[by Blun a/I Bumbun]

♀

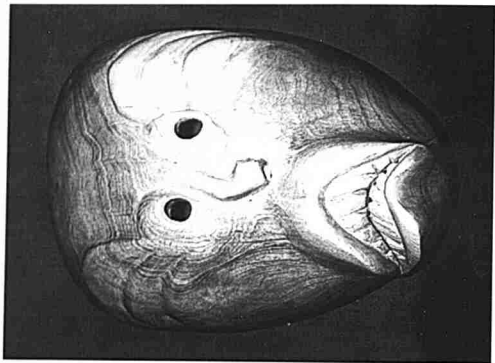


Plate 451:
The Spirit *Tukal*
[by Embing a/l Lipat]

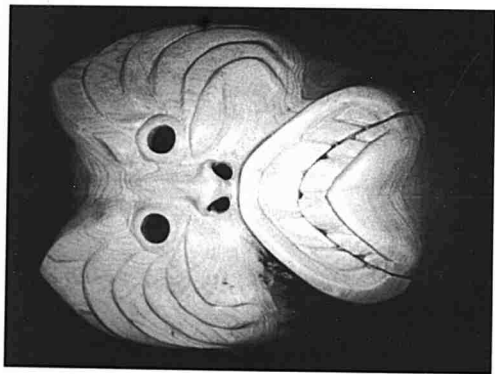


Plate 450:
The Spirit *Tukal*
[by Embing a/l Lipat]

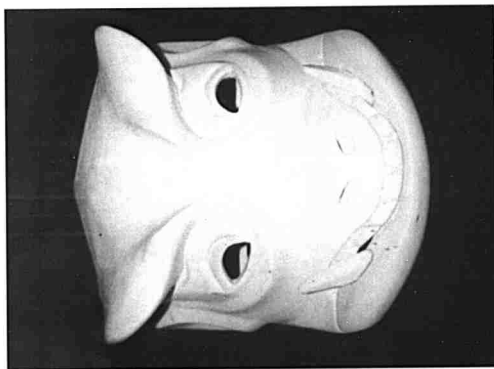


Plate 452:
The Spirit Tupai-Belalang
[by Ligam a/l Top]



Plate 453:
The Spirit Tupai-Belalang
[by Blun a/l Bumbun]



Plate 454:
The Spirit *Tupai-Belalang*
[by Biun a./l Bumbum]

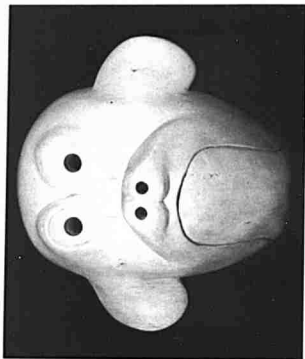


Plate 455:
The Spirit *Tupai-Belalang*
[by Biun a./l Bumbum]

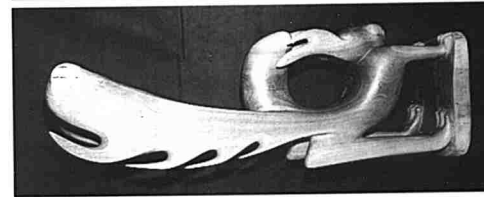
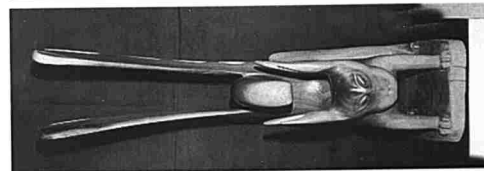
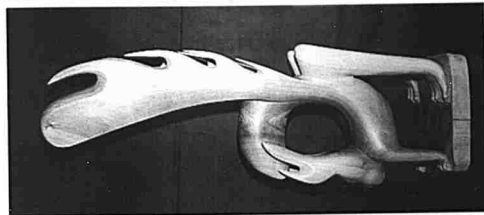
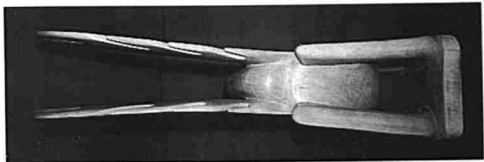


Plate 456:
The Spirit Tupai-Belalang
[by Blun a/1 Bumbun]

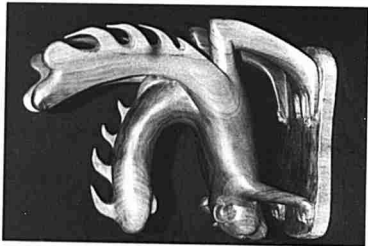
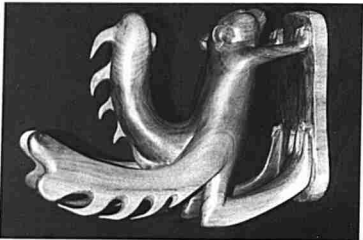


Plate 457:
The Spirit Tupai-Belalang
[by Blun a/I Bumbun]

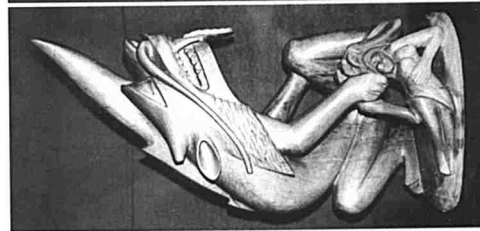


Plate 458:
The Spirit Licking
[by Ligam a/1 Top]

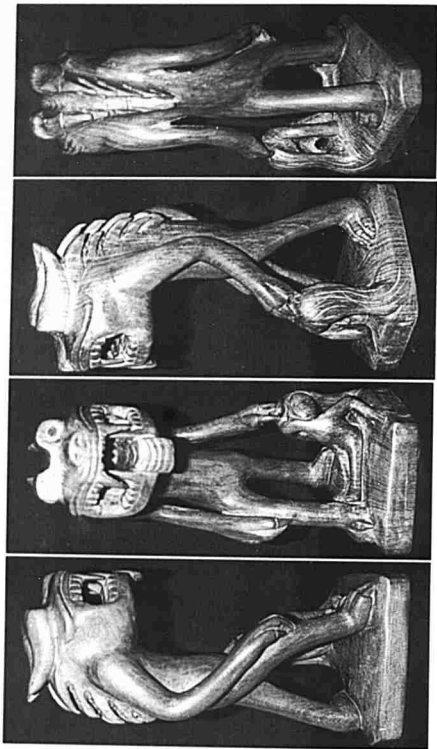


Plate 459.
The Spirit Ular Sawa
[by Sharifuddin al-Jantani]

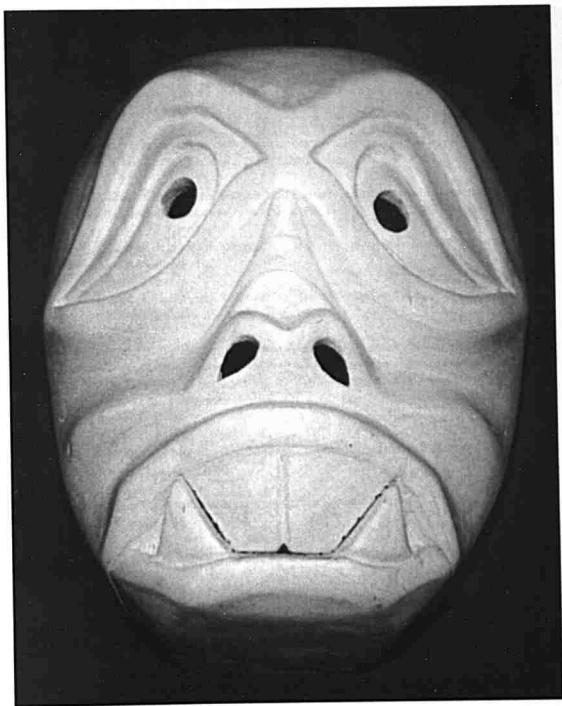
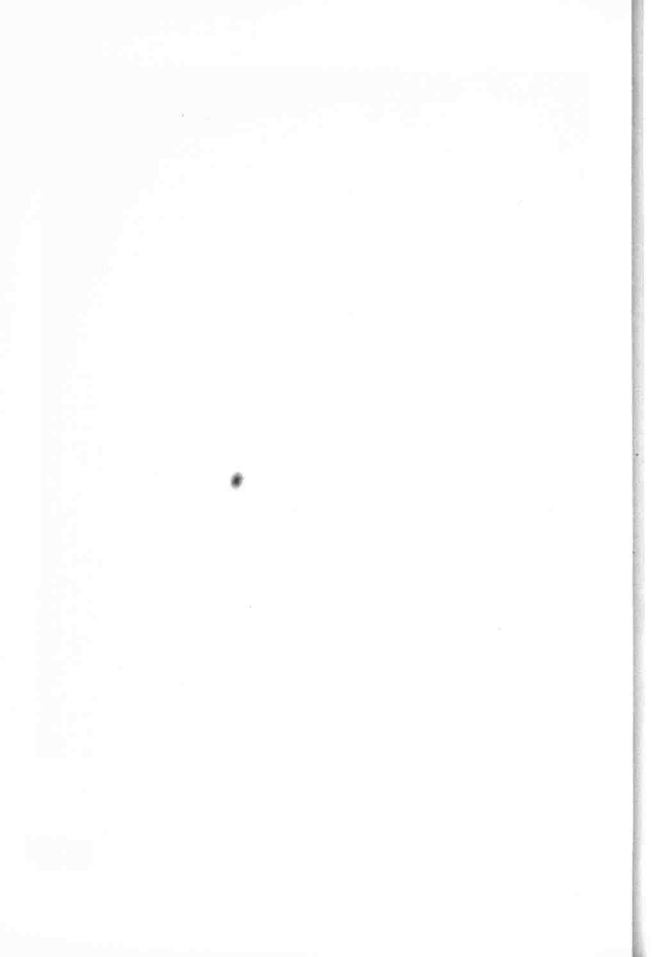


Plate 460
The Spirit Yub
[by Uneh a/I Ayub]



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