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Malagan Ritual Art
on
Tabar
New Ireland
Papua New Guinea

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Abstract

Malagan ritual art traditions of New Ireland have long been of interest to Western anthropologists, but have not before been considered in terms relevant to the New Irelanders themselves. This thesis documents the malagan ritual art traditions of Tabar, a group of three islands off the coast of New Ireland which is acknowledged as the traditional source of malagan, and analyses malagan through the terms of reference which were specified by the Tabar Islanders as part of condition for undertaking fieldwork. Two series of ritual ceremonies are described, a mortuary series and a commemorative series. Over 450 malagan descriptions within twenty two subtraditions have been recorded and are documented in an accompanying appendix. The social and cultural connections of malagan are described and analysed, then the indigenous taxonomic structure malagan is described and analysed. A new understanding of the nature of these subtraditions has resulted from this study.
Preface

This thesis is oriented by a bargain some of the Tabar leaders made with me. Unlike the view held by many current anthropologists that the synthetic use of the specificities of fieldwork is only of interest to Western anthropologists (c.f. Strathern 1988), a number of New Ireland people are very much concerned that Westerners are using Melanesian people for their own intellectual ends, and not contributing anything to a Melanesian understanding of their own culture and society. By 1982 a number of Melanesian people had come to understand that most Western anthropologists came to Papua New Guinea with a particular problem in mind, they would find a host people, and then set about attempting to solve their own particular Western problems by using the local people as a case study. Edward Salle, the Ward Councillor of Tatau Island, and a number of other Tabar leaders did not want me to examine Western problems at their expense. They wanted me to do something for them, to do something that no other Tabar person could do. They wanted me to go around all the villages on Tabar and ask the questions that Tabar people were far too polite to ask, and find out what parts of malagan everyone owned. For although Salle and all the other people on Tabar lived in the midst of malagan, and they all knew what it was and what it could do, no one person knew the extent of malagan on Tabar. This was a job I could do, and this was to be the orientation of my fieldwork.

A second aspect of the bargain occurred in late 1983, after I had returned to Tabar with a book I had made which formed a record of my understanding of malagan resulting from my 1982 fieldwork. When I showed people the book and they saw their names in it together with what I had thought they had told me, a number of people understood much more clearly why I was there with them. Songis, Banamu, Bialong, and Salle independently came to the conclusion that I was to be their historian, that I was to write a record of malagan as it was in 1982-4. As an outsider I could move from one group of people to another without too much difficulty. If they viewed me as their historian people may understand that I was writing down their heritage before it vanished or changed too much and so could tell me what they owned without feeling that it was being stolen from them. Over this last point there were a number of conflicting viewpoints amongst Tabar people. Songis and Salle, both highly influential and well respected leaders, told people that I was making an historical record so information they give me should be accurate. But some people felt that their culture was for Tabar people only, and was not to be shared or spoken about to foreigners, so these people invented stories for me, or just refused to speak. Others reinvented their culture to me for other reasons. Some of these people had joined one or another of the two churches which were trying to crush local culture and who thought that traditional beliefs were the work of the devil. Some of these people now treated their traditional culture as a crop to be harvested, so were making malagan sculpture to sell to the outside world. They, and others concerned only with selling their malagan sculptures to me, would invent any story which they thought would help to sell the art works. Other people had their own reasons for keeping their culture to themselves.

In addition I was explicitly told that as malagan is both a public and a private tradition there are aspects of malagan which no one would talk to me about. The private parts of malagan would most often be found in the interaction between close clans-people, such as between the mother’s brother and the sister’s son. This interaction often occurs in the forest and involves only these two people, or possibly these two with the tunumar malagan artist. I accepted that I could record only the publicly accessible parts of malagan.

So although this thesis includes a portrayal of the context and extent of malagan on Tabar, it is by no means a record of the complete cultural world of the Tabar people. It focusses on an aspect of malagan and in so doing brings into focus a number of interesting facets of cultural life on Tabar. In this work have consciously avoided following any one particular anthropological theory or of developing a new theory. The people of Tabar wished me to record malagan in their terms so that they could understand it once it was written down. With this objective in mind I have tried to be as accurate as possible in my understanding of Tabar views, and to do this I have had to include ethnographic detail to give context to the record.
One of the objectives the Tabar people wanted me to achieve was to return with a big book which contained a record of all malagans on Tabar together with a record of all the malagan owners. The idea was that this book would be placed in a malagan cultural centre and would be the final arbiter in any conflict over malagan ownership. This would not be a good idea. This thesis is like a snapshot of malagan on Tabar as it was between 1982 and 1984. Like all snapshots we only see one one side of everything and the most important things remain hidden. Like all family portraits someone gets left behind, someone who wasn’t there. But most importantly, malagan is dynamic, a living cultural tradition. To try to make this living tradition stay the same so that it looks like what was written about it in a book is like trying to substitute a picture of someone for the real thing. The picture may look like the person for a few years, but after ten or twenty years the real person has grown and changed but the picture has stayed the same - just a picture of the real thing. Even malagans change over time, grow and change. Each time a malagan is made it is still the same as it was the first time because the rights to own it were directly descended from the original rights, but the malagan sculpture changes because the people who make and use it change. Things change yet stay the same, and things stay the same yet change.

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Contents

Abstract ii
Preface iii
Acknowledgments iv
List of Maps, Illustrations, and Tables vi

1: Introduction 1
2: Malagan ritual behaviour - death and burial sequence 17
3: Malagan ritual behaviour - commemorative sequence 59
4: Social and cultural connections of malagan 104
5: Taxonomic structure and typology of malagan on Tabar 129
6: Conclusions 171

Glossary 176
References 179

Appendix A: Malagan Big-Name subtraditions and components 194
Appendix B: Selected transcripts of oral traditions 291
Preface

Illustrations

FIGURES

1 Map: North-western Melanesia
2 Map: Tabar village names mentioned in text
3 Map: Pekinatesin and Tavui hamlets, Tatau village, N Tatau
4 Bo death chair. Pekinatesin hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau
5 Picia addressing returning beriberu group. Pekinatesin hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau
6 Banamu, Picia’s son Leŋe, with Picia holding damas beside coffin during Pamas’s funeral. Aro Tavovil, Tatau village, N Tatau
7 Mourner wearing feather mask, kovagei & hand marks, just before start of vavil funeral procession from Aro Tavovil to Aro Kapinnekpek during Pamas’s funeral. Aro Tavovil, Tatau village, N Tatau
8 Child wearing feather mask being held under coffin during vavil funeral procession from Aro Tavovil to Aro Kapinnekpek during Pamas’s funeral. Aro Tavovil, Tatau village, N Tatau
9 Vavil dance pattern during Pamas’s funeral. Tatau village, N Tatau
10 Vavil dancers following the two telemi vavil during Pamas’s funeral. Tatau village, N Tatau
11 Vavil dancers in holding pattern during Pamas’s funeral. Tatau village, N Tatau
12 Hanging rarau pelepele si mi Kulepmu in display house prior to mamas ceremony during Pamas’s funeral. Aro Kapinnekpek, Tatau village, N Tatau
13 Mamas ceremony; men singing in front of the malagan rarau pelepele si mi Kulepmu during Pamas’s funeral. Aro Kapinnekpek, Tatau village, N Tatau
14 Completed ʁborah malagan display house. Aro Kapinnekpek, Tatau village, N Tatau
15 Snaring a trusting pig. Tatau village, N Tatau
16 11 pigs lying trussed in village square; preparation for ʁborah malagan ceremony. Tatau village, N Tatau
17 Picia dancing on top of two pig carcasses; ʁborah malagan ceremony. Tatau village, N Tatau
18 Carving the pigs; ʁborah malagan ceremony. 9-2-1984. Tatau village, N Tatau
19 Bringing saba logs into the village. Tokar village, Mapua
20 Malagan organizers with ritual expert during cirep malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
21 Vainis display house with shark supports. Tatau village, N Tatau
22 Matañala mask on beach, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
23 Matañala mask removing taboos from the open village, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
24 Vanariu mask prior to removing taboos from the malagan ritual site, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
25 Vanariu mask dancing in village square, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
26 Picia in malagan mask Vanariu si mi Verim pauses while Sola cuts top bamboo of entrance to aro; cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
27 Picia leading masks out from behind malagan display house, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
28 Threatening Ges figure, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
29 Bei-ar masked malagan figure, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
30 Masked malagan figures lined up for payment during cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
31 Women’s dance at night after cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
32 Boy wearing non-malagan mask prior to araru malagan ceremony. Village square, Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
33 Completed display of malagan sculpture in malagan display house prior to araru malagan ceremony. Aro Verim, Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau
Preface

34 Picia visible on taubes platform beside the malagan sculpture malaganivis si mi Malagacak during buma ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau

35 Taubes platform prior to buma ceremony for transfer of malagan ownership to initiates. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau

36 Sola calling changes from the two yuc on the taubes platform to the initiates during buma ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau

37 Vanaria mask in malagan display house at edge of village square at night after cukavanaturi malagan ceremony. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau

38 Sola dancing on pig carcases. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau

39 Mi pecurjan favoured marriage type

40 Sotam prohibited marriage type

41 Keneva marriage promising

42 Transferring malagan within the clan

43 Transferring malagan to the son outside the clan

44 Transferring malagan from mother’s side to ‘mekim dai graun’

45 Transferring malagan from father’s side to ‘mekim dai graun’

46 Marumarua figures in Malagacak

47 Marumura figure Tilimadas si mi Malagacak

48 Malagan figures Seremeti si mi Lunet and Lako si mi Malagacak

49 Malagan figure malagaruru si mi Malagacak

50 Ges figures Tir Rupunogos si mi Verim and ges si mi Sogoŋ

51 Malagan kobokobor si mi Madas

52 Bebe si mi Valik malagan kobokobor

53 Eikuar malagan Eiborpmas si mi Madas

54 Sketches of three etkuar malagans: Preprekesu si mi Tagala; Eiciribor si mi Malagacak; Potoviso si mi Madas

55 Malagan kovkov types: wooden kovkov head in Verim. and kovkov Kovackopis si mi Madas

56 Malagan kovkov head Malagacak Tilimadas Porok malaganivis

57 Two examples made by different sculptors of the same malagan rights for a Tagala of Turu tabatoba

58 Working model of the organic development of malagan

59 Typical ma wooden sound producing instrument in Tabar Lunet malagan

60 Sketch of lunet playing house in Völkerkunde-Museum zu Leipzig; similar to the touma playing house of Lunet malagan on Tabar

61 Three Vavara malagans: tabatamba cur si mi Vavara (NATMUSPNG); Kukuluk si mi Vavara (NGE 1327); tabatamba cur si mi Vavara (NGE 1447)

62 Sketch of Bialoj’s description of his big Vavara display worked several years ago

TABLES

Table 1 Malagan ownership by geographic-dialect region
Table 2 Ownership of malagan Big-Name subtraditions by geographic-dialect region
Table 3 Sources of owners’ malagan rights
Table 4 Patterns of malagan transfer
Table 5 Distribution of Madas malagan owners
Table 6 Ratio of malagan owners to named malagan sculptures within the Big-Name subtraditions
Table 7 Number of owners of each particular named malagan sculpture in Madas
1) Introduction

Over the past century a number of ethnographers have worked in various locations on the mainland of New Ireland as part of an attempt at understanding the cultural tradition which produces the well known masks and sculptures of malagan. But despite quite intensive work by researchers the 'nature' of malagan as a cultural entity has remained elusive to us as Westerners and outsiders, and malagan art objects in museum collections around the world are still largely mysterious. More recently fieldworkers have taken photographs of malagan artefacts back to the people of New Ireland to try and obtain missing context, but again the results have been unsatisfying. We now ask whether our inability to adequately comprehend malagan art is the result of an irrevocable gulf between ourselves and the original malagan creators, or is it because the wrong questions have been asked of the wrong people in the wrong place?

Recorded historically from ten different language groups of northern New Ireland, malagan has its traditional roots with the 2500 people living on Tabar, a small group of three islands located twenty kilometres offshore to the east of mainland New Ireland. Despite numerous attacks on its existence over the past 100 years of contact with the outside world, malagan on Tabar has survived as an integral sculpture-producing ritual tradition.

To try to learn the right questions to ask of the right people I travelled to this island source of malagan. My initial inquiries were directed toward eliciting information which could be used for a structural analysis of malagan symbolism, but the local people dismissed my questions as irrelevant, the product of a Western mind following Western interests. Malagan owners kept insisting to me that the 'meaning' of malagan was not to be found in an explication of the iconography of the various elements, but instead emphasised that the 'meaning' of any particular malagan was "that this particular man, as leader of his lineage, owns this particular malagan".

This modern Tabar concept of the 'meaning of malagan' initially led me to believe that the original intent of the artists who created the master works was now completely lost and that malagan was adrift in a sea of change. The people who lived on Tabar today appeared to be using caricatures of malagan's sculptural corpse to honour their affines and perhaps validate their status as big-men. Although the sociological aspects of malagan are important, I did not want to be side-tracked into an approach which would treat the sculpture as peripheral.

So in order to concentrate on the sculpture rather than the politics of malagan I began an investigation into what it was that people talked about when they said that they 'owned' malagan.

Malagan sculpture is an ephemeral product of the malagan ritual process, for the masks and figures are made to be used once and then discarded. Having fulfilled its ritual function the sculpture is then able to be sold to a foreigner. What is 'owned' in malagan are the rights to organise and produce malagan ritual, and to commission or make specific sculptural items derived from these rights in order to work this malagan sculpture at a malagan ritual. These rights are owned by clan leaders, or by individual men, or less frequently by individual women. Women have their own ritual life called beriberi which is involved with the rites of birth, and is associated with malagan in some of its aspects, but as I am a male researcher the women's ritual was inaccessible to me.

To be considered encultured in the ritual world of Tabar, a person must own the rights to display at least one malagan. These rights are named, are subject to ownership, and nearly always associated with a specific sculptural manifestation. Malagan names also link the rights to produce specific sculpture with other groups of links or associations derived from a number of cultural fields on Tabar. These links or associations can vary considerably and range from accounts of the historical pattern of ownership of a malagan, through to songs, through to ritual sequences of performance behaviour.

Malagans are grouped together in several different ways. One major type of grouping is used in the transference of malagan rights from one generation to the next and links together malagans considered to be related through their previous histories of ownership. These groups usually have an origin location and are linked to a specific lineage.

Another major type of grouping operates on a broader level, linking the malagan ritual owned by one clan group to that owned by others. These broader named groupings carry
with them a realm of associations which attaches a strong character to the malagans within these groupings. Due to their widespread recognition these broader groupings can be considered to be subtraditions of the greater malagan tradition which was found historically throughout northern New Ireland as well as on Tabar. From my examination of the ownership patterns of malagan and the use to which malagan art traditions are put, it is apparent that this organisational structure of malagan is a result of the process of transmitting fragments of malagan through many thousands of malagan owners.

Ownership of malagan is not a simple case of clan leader or individual possessing rights which could be easily divested. On the contrary, when a person comes to own a transference grouping of malagans, this person is understood to go inside a malagan subtradition and become a source of malagan. A person inside a malagan has the rights to organise the ritual belonging to that malagan, and on matrilineal Tabar a person with the rights to organise malagan ritual is obliged to eventually exercise these rights in order to honour the dead in affinal clans. Exercising or working these rights results in the production of sculpture.

From the evidence to hand it would seem that the early creators of malagan developed a totally new form of cultural expression linking a brilliant art style to the reciprocal bonds which united clans, villages, and moieties through marriage and descent. As a consequence of this bonding of art to kinship malagan has survived many centuries since its initial creation and has become a major material art tradition, shaped and carried by the forces of kinship and reciprocity. Now in its late or post-classic phase malagan's artistic force appears to be spent, the superb visual puns are now worn-out jests, and amateurs now outnumbering professional sculptors. Malagan as an art force has become integrated into Tabar's social structure, shaped and now determined by the social and cultural forces which carried it over the centuries. Each malagan object is today displayd by malagan owners in ritual context to express their relationships to affines.

Malagan

"Malagan" is a tok pisin word which has its origins in most northern New Ireland languages and is a label for the main sculpture producing cultural activity of the northern New Irelanders. But malagan in New Ireland is not an homogeneous tradition, despite the coherence of the art works resulting from malagan ritual activity. Even the name varies in its scope from region to region. In the Madak language the word malaganai means "to write", or "to make a mark or an image on a plain surface" (Brouwer 1980:161) and covers a wide range of artefacts, from ritual sculpture and masks through to forms of behaviour associated with the ritual. Malaganai in Madak also includes fish traps and even typewriters, with the implication that for the Madak, any form of cultural activity could potentially be considered "malagan".

On Tabar the term "to make a mark, to write" is vataru, quite distinct from malaga (or the dialectical variants melaga, malaga), which is a derivation of the verb mala "to look like". In the narrowest sense of the term malaga refers to a woden or woven ritual image which is manufactured for display during specific types of ceremony in the malagan ritual site and which is worked as a unit in ritual context.

On Tabar a malaga is generally an image which had its origins in the shape of a human or animal life form, although many other types abound (see Appendix A). A malagan artefact will consist of at least one malaga, and may have ten or more malaga within it, depending upon the complexity of the image. Most typical of the multiple malaga images are the vertical eikuar or horizontal kobokobor malagan styles. Eikuar have several marumaru figures standing on top of one another, separated by koltibor blocks. Each of the other malagans...
marumarua figures is a malaga, and the eikuar itself is also a malaga, often with its own name.

Most malaga are identifiable as a visual image of the life form upon which they are based, but there are a number of images which are abstracted from the basal image. By far the greater majority of these abstracted images occur within Vavara, the Big-Name malagan grouping which specialises in woven disc malagan constructions. An example of several abstracted malaga within the one malagan sculpture can be found in a Vavara malagan disc which was described as containing two malaga within it: one Vavara image superimposed on the other with a pitibeles painted perimeter of triangle shapes distinguishing the boundary between the two. Although this Vavara containing two malaga was manufactured as one object, at some time in the past an original example of this type of Vavara was made from two woven discs placed one on top of the other. Eventually, on one pivotal example, the pitibeles was devised to make an unified image of the original double malaga Vavara (see Fig. 61). Other life-form images include the matalia "eye of fire", a malaga image central to the Valik Big-Name malagan grouping, and other exoterica such as the Madaserigo in the Big-Name grouping Lopbu where erigo refers to a pig trap; or the Madape image of leaves used for taboosing is a malagan in Kulepmu Big-Name grouping. Beyond the sculptural form, the plural term bunalaga on Tabar encompasses most of the artefacts and activity used to construct and display malagan sculpture in honour of the dead. This includes sculpture and masks, as well as a number of social actions, songs, and dances.

Although malagan on Tabar is most obviously a series of ritual and ceremonial activities devoted to the ritualised display of malagan's highly distinctive sculptural artefacts, the tradition has many facets, the most significant of which I will itemise here:

- There are a number of ostensible reasons for initiating, organising, and working a series of malagan ceremonies:
  - to carry out funerary activities for a dead person.
  - to commemorate dead affines.
  - to introduce a new born child to life on Tabar.
  - to welcome a Tabar person returning to Tabar.

- Malagan activity includes the following essential operations:
  - organising and working a series of malagan ceremonies involving the production and display of malagan sculpture.
  - organising and working a series of ceremonies for the preparation of the malagan ritual site and the construction of a malagan display house.
  - initiating the next generation into malagan activity.
  - transferring to the next generation of malagan owners the rights to own, work, and produce malagan.
  - a pig feast on every occasion that malagan sculpture is displayed.
  - a ritualised slaughter of a significant number of pigs together with the consequent public gifting of pig's heads and distribution of uncooked meat.

- Some aspects of malagan ceremonial and ritual activity can also include the following operations:
  - the institution or removal of a number of taboos over the activities of the inhabitants of a hamlet.
  - the wearing of specific masks by individuals for particular ritual activities.
  - the validation of a land transaction.

- The organisational structure of malagan which is located and identified within the Big-Name subtraditions influences the performance of malagan ritual.

- Running through all malagan activity is the maintenance of reciprocal social bonds, particularly those bonds with the affinal clan and with all other clans married to the affinal clan.
FIGURE 1
North-western Melanesia.
FIGURE 2
Tabar village names mentioned in text.
After an initial brief discussion of previous research into malagan traditions on Tabar as well as on the mainland of New Ireland, I will then place malagan within its cultural context on Tabar. In Chapters 2 and 3 I will give a detailed account of the ritual settings involving the production and use of malagan artefacts. Then in Chapter 4 I shall pay particular attention to patterns of malagan ownership and use. Chapter 5 will involve an examination of the organizational structure of malagan on Tabar. I will conclude this thesis in Chapter 6 with a summary of the findings.

1.1. Malagan: Previous research

When comparing information about malagan ceremonies that I witnessed on Tabar with records of those ceremonies recorded by previous researchers in many different regions of northern New Ireland, I was continually struck by the apparent stability of the tradition. Krämer and Walden in 1907-9, Powdermaker in 1929, Lewis in 1953-4, Brouwer in 1979, and Küchler in 1983 all recorded very similar ritual activities to those I recorded on Tabar in 1984. It would seem that all malagan regions have a series of mortuary rites and a further series of commemorative rites as the primary support structure for malagan traditions, and it is only away from this broad level of human interaction in ritual that we begin to find some real differences between the malagan of Tabar in 1984 and the malagan recorded from the mainland over the previous seventy or so years. It is only within the structure through which malagan is conveyed and interpreted that we begin to find major differences between the malagan of the Notsi and the Kara language groups on the mainland and malagan on Tabar. And it is only where malagan ritual components have an individual identity that we can find indications of the origins or sources of the various malagan subtraditions which retain the 'meaning of malagan' significant to New Irelanders.

Regionally non-specific research

The earliest records of malagan and the other art traditions of New Ireland were typically travellers' records of events, people, and their customs, noted together with their geographic locations. Indigenous ideas such as masalai spirits and sorcery were treated as phenomena and recorded as such. These early writers recorded the names of villages, clans, several malagan names, together with the style and content of some of the old customs which have since fallen into disuse. To this extent the early ethnographies are extremely valuable today as historical documents.

Richard H.R. Parkinson was probably the first person to make a major contribution to the study of the material culture of the New Ireland (Meyer & Parkinson 1895; Parkinson 1907). Parkinson married Queen Emma's sister Phoebe in 1879, and worked with Emma in establishing plantations in both the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula (see Robson 1965). Parkinson was a very talented man, known as a surveyor and skilled planter as well as a botanist, historian and anthropologist. Despite the rigorous interview techniques felt necessary at the time, Parkinson formed the rudiments of a western understanding of malagan. His use of geographic references was minimal, but due to Tabar's distinctive geographic setting as an island group, he did manage to distinguish those words he recorded in Tabar from those originating in mainland New Ireland languages. Parkinson indicated that malagan was a tradition widespread in northern New Ireland, Djaul Island and the Tabar Group, that it was concerned with honouring the dead and their memory, and that it had a striking art tradition.

For Tabar, Parkinson distinguished between three types of mask: the "tatanua (Tabar mi teno)"; "kepong (Tabar vaniss)"; and the "matua". On Tabar today almost any mask will be called vanis in the generic sense, but in addition most will have specific names which

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2 These now disused customs include dafal, the confinement of young women for several years as part of their initiation into adult society.

3 Mi teno is in the Simberi dialect of the language of Tabar.
Chapter 1 Introduction

The mi teno or mi tanua mask on Tabar today seems to be rarely used. The one mention I have of mi teno was recorded from an old expert in the Madas malagan subtradition, who mentioned that masks of this name were used only to carry the dead man to the grave, and this only within Madas Big-Name subtradition. Tanua or teno today refers to an aspect of the 'spirit' of a person, one of at least five terms to do so.

When referring to the vertical figures which stand upon a peg in the ground, Parkinson labelled them as totok, from an unnamed New Ireland language, and as kulibu from Tabar for this type. He also collected a variant of this name kulopumu as well as vaval for the horizontal board type of sculpture which he recorded the descriptive or generic name turu. On Tabar today Kulepmu, Vavali, and Turu are names or dialect variants for Big-Name subtraditions of malagan, names which are used for all types of sculpture from these groupings. On the generic level, the vertical figures today are called marumarua, which can gloss as “image; shadow; representation; spirit”. The descriptive or generic name today for the horizontal boards is kobokoboro “foundation”. Turu can mean “backbone”, but is also used as the name for a Big-Name malagan subtradition which includes standing figures as well as horizontal boards. Parkinson gave the term turu marre as the general term for malagan carver. The name for a malagan carver today is tunmar or tunumare, I have no record of turumare as a Tabar dialect variant.

Of the early writers, Peekel (1910, 1926-7, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1932) seems to have attracted the most criticism. His work formed a good record of data, but he stepped beyond the data and began to interpret it through a Christian missionary framework. His sun and moon opposition did not, according to Krämer (1927), seem to be supported by the ethnographic evidence at the time. Today, the interpretation of wewara circular woven ‘mat’ malagans as “sun malagans” as found in the literature (Krämer 1925: 67ff; Brouwer 1980: 170-182) does not gain any support on Tabar. On Tabar in 1982 and 1983-4 the Vavara is a malagan with at least 38 varieties. Visual images of the sun, thundercloud, waterspout, and other phenomena are varietal images of individual units of Vavara, not an image of what the malagan ‘represented’. On Tabar the ‘meaning’ of malagan is concerned with the ownership of the rights to produce, use, and transfer the ownership of that malagan, and has nothing to do with representation. The whole concept of ‘representation’ and ‘meaning’ in relation to Melanesian art traditions needs reworking in the light of current Tabar ideas.

In 1925 Augustin Krämer published his “Die Malagane von Tombara” (Krämer 1925) as his report as leader of the 1907-09 Deutsche Marine Expedition to New Ireland. This significant work treated both general ethnographic information as well as the ritual systems that produced sculpture in central and northern mainland New Ireland. His discussion of malagan included the separate malagan uli cult found in the Madak and Lavatbura-Lamasong regions of central New Ireland. His wife Elizabeth Krämer-Bannow independently published her work (Krämer-Bannow 1916) based upon her experiences in New Ireland. Her work was often cited by Augustin Krämer, and carries equal authority.

Regionally specific research

Due to the limitations of space I shall restrict myself to only brief comments on the major ethnographies or other important works dealing with malagan in the ten linguistic regions of northern New Ireland in which malagan is known to have occurred. Further amplification of the relationships which unite malagan from one region to that of another will be the topic of significant future research.

Tabar

Until Edgar Walden visited Tabar as part of the German Marine Expeditions of 1907-09, no comprehensive fieldwork had been performed there. Unfortunately Walden was killed in the 1914-18 war so he never fully published his work. Hans Nevermann eventually took up the task and Walden’s fieldnotes were published posthumously with annotations and editing but without photographs or sketches (Walden & Nevermann 1940).

Much of the value of Walden’s work lies in his prolific use of geographic place names to orient his descriptions. His treatment of the malagan and funerary traditions of the
Chapter 1 Introduction

mainland Tigak, Kara, Nalik, Notsi, Lavatbura-Lamusong and Madak speaking regions is reasonably comprehensive. However, his record from Tabar is rather cursory, and it is clear that he spent only a few days there. His few comments on a number of Tabar malagan traditions constitute the only early record we have of those names. From the village of Teripats (Teripac, NW Big Tabar) Walden made the following record of malagan names:

"kulapmu, malangga-tsaka, mi-kua-vanua, mandas, (to that a report of a marriage with the malagan), a vavara, mara-nda, totambo, kulumbo, kulamba (also in Fezoa), takap, vavali, malanggini, valik, butombo, vavara potlung-a punati, tsuru varima, tsuru vanis, kambai, varima-ramba, pugata-magato, mi-manu, logombu, songosonga, manda si karau, mandas si tanua, vina rungga, va ga rang is, pitalot, turakai, buolon, sesambua, mi lounuati (rub drum), danganas, mata-vanua-kupapa (house plank), mi-turu or mi siri, and mi turu or mi-sinneng". (Walden & Nevermann 1940: 24).

From this list it is clear that malagan as a tradition was highly active in 1907-09, and it is also clear that a large number of malagan names have been retained to the present day (c.f. Appendix A).

Alfred Bühler worked in New Ireland with the knowledge that there were a number of different languages in the regions where it was previously assumed one tongue was spoken. He gave an outline of funerary and burial practices on Tabar (Bühler 1933: 245-7), a description of a malagan ceremony in Tatau village (ibid: 248-251), and an outline of the totemic relationship to the clans. Unfortunately his use of Tabar words is minimal and as a consequence we get barely more than a description of a sequence of events as an outsider would have seen it. His fieldnotes are kept in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel, and apparently much of his original field data contains Tabar language referring to and labelling events and action.

William Groves worked in 1933-4 as an anthropologist in both Tatau village on Tabar and at Fisoa in the Nalik speaking area of the mainland. He spent seven months on Tabar with his wife and children from the beginning of June to the end of December 1933. His work, consisting of a number of papers published in the journals “Oceania” and “Walkabout” and elsewhere constitutes the first ethnography of Tabar. Unfortunately, of these articles, only his “Tabar Today”, “Fishing Rites at Tabar” and “Settlement of Disputes in Tabar” are of any real value. The rest of his material is written at a shallow level and reads more like a travelogue than an ethnography. One of the more serious criticisms that can be made of his work concerns the weaknesses that stemmed from his attitude that the people were ‘primitive’. Groves’ published work disappointed the people of Tapar when it was shown to them in 1982. Many of today’s leaders knew Groves in 1933 and a number had worked for him as gardener or cook. They feel that he seemed to have dismissed the most significant parts of Tabar malagan traditions as ‘native tomfoolery’. To today’s inhabitants of Tabar his published work is disappointing.

Tabar suffered from the Japanese during the 1939-45 war, but many of the older traditions were maintained. Gill Platten lived there intermittently during the post-war period and in 1954 wrote his “Shark-catching in New Ireland” based upon his Tabar experiences. The patrol reports of I.F.G. Downs (1949) fill in many of the details on population dynamics as well as recording many of the early problems that confronted the administration at the time.

Nick Wilkinson, a lecturer in English Literature, taught in Port Moresby and came out to Tabar in 1978 at the invitation of one of his students. During his 3 months on Tabar he set about recording a comprehensive record of the extent of malagan traditions. He published a paper (Wilkinson 1978) and has written the text for a book on the subject (Wilkinson n.d.). Wilkinson’s paper is the most significant work published to date on the Tabar malagan traditions. He was the first to acknowledge that there are over twenty-one groupings in malagan, which he called “families” (1978: 228), and that there are ‘patterns’ within these groupings. He referred to his record of 36 malagan patterns in Malanggatsak, but unfortunately did not elaborate. One of the major weaknesses with his manuscript was that he did not reference the evidence for specific malagan groupings to any particular individuals, clans, villages, or other sources. Given the intimate relationship between malagan and kin identity, this was a major oversight. As a consequence it became
impossible to build upon his work, and much field time was wasted duplicating Wilkinson’s efforts in the process of identifying malagan-owning clans and individuals. The difficulties encountered when working with the Tabar dialect chain made me insist that every data-item used in analysis must be attributed to village as well as to individual.

In 1981 Deane Fergie worked on Tabar to gain data for her PhD in Anthropology through the University of Adelaide. Although she has not yet published any results she has made available to me copies of her seminar papers. Fergie was interested in women’s role in society vis-à-vis that of men, and in women’s ritual systems. She worked from the perspective of structural marxism and much of her work reflected these attitudes and her feminist interests. She was based initially in Vang (Wang) village, a Seventh Day Adventist stronghold at the southern tip of Big Tabar Island. After several months in this village she shifted camp to Pakinapai village on Mapua Island, a couple of hundred metres from the Catholic Mission, the store and the airstrip. As she has not yet published I am not in a position to evaluate and criticise Fergie’s work.

Although Susanne Küchler performed most of her fieldwork in and around Panamafei village in the centre of the northern part of the Kara region, she also travelled out to Tabar with Dorothy Billings to question some of the Tabar malagan men at Mapua and at Tatau village. As part of my own fieldwork I also visited Panamafei village and neighbouring Lemusmus on the west coast and found that the system of classification used in malagan is based on quite different principles to those used on Tabar. Unfortunately Küchler was either unaware or chose to ignore this major difference.

Küchler was working in a typical 1980’s anthropological vein under Alfred Gell and taking a “... perspective on the dynamic and mutual relation of cultural and social reproduction by questioning the relation between form given to art and the process of its transmission.” (1987: 238). One of her more interesting conclusions is that: “The production of history and the transmission and transformation of art in the mnemonic process are mutually related and it is on the basis of this relationship that Malangan-art attains its political and social significance.” (1987:241). Unfortunately Küchler’s theoretical approach has at times distorted the data. In her dubious treatment of the relation of house-sites to social events on Tabar(1987: 250) it becomes apparent that she has favoured the potential of an interesting structural opposition over a more ambiguous reality. This tendency to favour theory when it conflicts with the evidence is again apparent when she discussed Tabar malagan imagery and suggested that: “Imagery, which is carved into sculptures, is both visually and conceptually placed into the structural components of a house.” (1987: 250). Küchler then went on to suggest that the kobokobor, (which she conveniently refers to as a ‘beam’) is placed on top of an eikuar (which she refers to as a ‘post’) so as to complete the structural opposition she is trying to construct. Unfortunately only some aspects of her data matches the ethnographic reality I recorded on Tabar. Of more than fifty descriptions of kobokobor which were described to me by Tabar people, not one was listed as positioned on top of an eikuar, although more than twenty were described with an eikuar standing on top of the kobokobor (see Chapter 3 and Appendix A). In her attempt at forcing a structural opposition Küchler has turned her house upside down!

Of more interest is Küchler’s major question: “... what difference its mode of transmission creates in the appearance of the art.” (1987: 238-239). Of equal interest is her classification of malagan into first, second, and third order names. These two points will be followed up in the main body of this thesis.

**Lavongai**

Malagan’s record from the large island of Lavongai (New Hanover), the known northern limit of malagan, is largely fragmentary. Rudolf Festetics in the late 19th century made the only known photographic record of malagan activity on Lavongai, his photographs now at the Ethnographical Institute in Budapest, depicted both a malagan display house at Naking village and a mask storage house (Bodrogi 1987: Figures 5, 6). Several malagan artefacts

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4 Although some errors such as referring to the malagan tradition Mendis as a clan (1987: 252) are too obvious to be anything but editing problems.
attributed to New Hanover are now in storage at the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin. Today, as far as I understand, malagan activity has ceased on Lavongai.

Tigak
Lomas (1979) noted that malagan ceremonies were not as frequent nor as widespread in the most northerly part of mainland New Ireland as they were further south. Tigak informants told him that their malagan traditions had originated on Tabar and had filtered north along the coast. He also noted that no ethnographic record had been made of malagan traditions in the Tigak region. Lomas’s commentary was mainly concerned with land tenure and the use of malagan ceremonies as a forum for the transfer of rights to land.

Tiang
As far as I am able to ascertain there has been no record of malagan made specifically from the Tiang linguistic region of Djaul Island. Although malagan artefacts have been attributed to Djaul it is not clear whether they originated from Tigak or Tiang speakers.

Kara
Billings and Peterson worked at Mangai village, in the Eastern Kara linguistic region on the border between the Kara and Tigak peoples. Their published work emphasised how malagan creates and reinforces social, political, and economic interrelationships (Billings and Peterson 1967).

Susan Küchler’s courageous paper (1987) dealing with the malagan traditions of the northern Kara region demonstrated more than any other previous work the structure underlying malagan traditions. Although some of her more contentious conclusions appear to be based upon a too vigorous application of theory to data, the structure she uncovers appears to be very similar to that found on Tabar. Due to the importance of her work I shall deal further with her data and conclusions.

Nalik
Dieter Heintze worked in Fisoa village on the east coast of the Nalik region and dealt with the iconography of malagan art works. The principal problem of this type of approach is that even in the small region of the world that is New Ireland, there are no standard iconographic references which are consistently applicable from one area to the next. In his thorough work, Heintze has presented an etic typology of the various malagan motifs and styles from the region, and in doing so has avoided the temptation to go beyond the iconography and into the ambiguous realms of interpretation.

Notsi
Hortense Powdermaker published a number of works (1931a, 1932, 1933, 1966) derived from her fieldwork in Lesu village in the Notsi language area. Her work is a good record of the Notsi region of 1929, and of the malagan ceremonial activity which occurred there, and is frequently referred to here. Phillip Lewis also worked in the Lesu region in 1953-4 and published a good record of malagan activity (Lewis 1961, 1969, 1973). He followed this period of ethnographic work with a further visit in 1970, from which he published two papers on change (Lewis 1973, 1979). In addition he has published two papers on topics related to a study of the material culture of the region: one on the friction-drum (Lewis 1975) and one on an overmodelled skull (Lewis 1964). A very methodical work on the overmodelled skulls in the Berlin was published recently by Helfrich (1985).

Kuot (Panaras)
In my record there are at least fifteen villages which have been recorded on various maps which fit within the Kuot linguistic region defined by Wurm & Hatori (1981). But so little is known about these non-Austronesian speaking people that apart from Walden recording five malagan types (Lounuot, Mandas, Sesambuang, Turu and Vualik) at Nayama (Nangama ?) village (Walden and Nevermann 1940), we have only scraps of evidence to suggest that the Kuot use malagan. With our current state of knowledge we cannot say for
Chapter 1 Introduction

sure whether the Kuot still use malagan, for we have no idea of the degree of integration between the Kuot and the Austronesian speakers surrounding them (Notsi, Nalik, and Lavatbura-Lamusong).

Lavatbura-Lamusong (Northern Madak)
The Madak (Mandak) people of middle New Ireland can be treated as three separate peoples for linguistic and geographic reasons. Wurm and Hatori identify four dialects in the Lavatbura-Lamusong language of the Northern Madak; further south they identify a further five dialects in the Madak language, one of which is found up on the geographically distinct Lelet Plateau.

Although the uli tradition as well as Marandan and Vavara malagan was recorded in the Northern Madak region by Krämer (1925) it seems that in recent years malagan activity in the region has been dormant. Brenda Clay has written a number of works dealing with the Northern Mandak people living at Pinikindi village, but as the Northern Mandak have undertaken very few malagan ceremonies since the 1950's (Clay 1986: 219) her discussion of malagan activity is in the main restricted to the public tatanua dances (eg Clay (1984, 1986).

Madak coastal
Malagan reached its southern-most limits with the Madak people on the coasts, for the Barok people further south do not own or use the tradition and there is no indication in the historical records that they have done so over the past 100 years. The extent to which the southern coastal Madak people practiced malagan is not clear. Krämer in 1909 recorded the uli cult as well as Vavara and Marandan malagans in the northern Madak and Lavatbura-Lamusong regions, and he recorded Vavara in Lokon one of the southern coastal Madak villages. From both Krämer’s and Lewis’s records it would appear that Vavara originated in the Lelet Plateau, and from there travelled north and across the sea to Tabar, with only a few parts going into the southern Madak.

Elizabeth Brouwer’s outline and discussion of malagan found in Kalabat clan at Panatgin village in the Madak linguistic region (Malom dialect) is representative of the micro-ecological approach to New Ireland art in that the scope of her work was intense and concentrated. Although her conclusions are proving to be controversial, the substance of her text is pure documentary and has considerable value as a record. From examination of her data (eg Brouwer 1980: 220-235, 257) and from other sources (e.g. Bodrogi 1987:18) we understand that malagan in the Madak is probably a relatively recent phenomenon, derived mainly from Tabar within the past fifty or so years. As an import, it is pertinent to ask whether malagan has the same role to play in Madak as it has on Tabar or in the other traditional malagan regions such as the Notsi linguistic area, or whether in some way it is filling the cultural gap left by the demise of the uli traditions. From the evidence of earlier ethnographers (Krämer 1927), we can see that the 'history' illustrated by malagan in the Madak region is false, and is a reconstructed version of events. Moroa’s association with the bringing of malagan to the Madak may well be an example of the rapid alienation of the dead and ancestors from their human history, a human agent becoming subsumed into the ambit of Moroa after only two or three human generations.

Madak - Lelet
From Walden’s and Krämer’s evidence it would appear that the malagans Lunet and Vavara had their origin in the Lelet Plateau, spreading out from there to the other malagan regions of New Ireland. Marada was also recorded from the Plateau by Krämer. But apart from these records there does not appear to be been any ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in the region. From my discussions with people in Kavieng in 1984 it appears that malagan activity on the Lelet Plateau was attacked by Christian missionaries and has since died out.

Other
Works on New Ireland material culture and art traditions published from secondary sources have exhibited a variety of approaches. At one end of the spectrum are the catalogues of
photographs published as art pieces. At the other end are a variety of approaches that have in common an academic and scholarly approach to the data, and which appear to concentrate more on the people than the artefact.

The art type of publication can range from the virtually worthless collection of undocumented photographs, such as found in auction and dealers’ catalogues, to the more rewarding ‘keys to further research’ generally found published by museums. The distinction between these two types can be more clearly outlined by a comparison between the catalogues produced by Kerchache (1971) and by Helfrich (1973). Kerchache produced a little booklet entitled “Iles Tabar Oceanie” that featured ‘old’ masks taken from Tabar. It was, in effect, a dealer’s catalogue. It consisted of some good photographs of eight malagan heads that were collected from caves above the sea on Big Tabar Island, together with a minimalist text. The only data directly related to the artefacts was a description of the height of each piece.

Klaus Helfrich’s catalogue “Malagan-1” (Helfrich 1973) was intended to be the first of three catalogues dealing with the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde’s extensive malagan collection. He is now Director of the Berlin Museum and it now seems that he will not manage to complete the series, for apparently he took to heart Brouwer’s criticism (Brouwer 1979b: 205-6) that “Malagan 1 suffers mainly from a weakness in its typology which is based upon visual classification and inadequate representation of masks”. Helfrich’s work exemplifies the current range of museum catalogues in that he embellished each artefact photograph with a registration number, physical description, place of origin, collector, and included additional data where available.

The works of Tibor Bodrogi (1967, 1971) are amongst the most comprehensive of the secondary sourced works on New Ireland material culture traditions. He based his 1971 work on the ethnographies published by Krämer (1925), Peekel (1926-7), Bühler (1933), Powdermaker (1933), Groves (1936), Walden & Nevermann (1940), Girard (1954), and Lewis (1969). This work has all the virtues and faults of one who is uncritical of the original research, yet pulls together the results of a number of authors to throw new light on malagan as a widespread tradition. The main faults in this work lie with the problems which arise through a failure to distinguish between the various language regions of northern New Ireland. Words illustrating concepts from one region are assumed to have a similar interpretation in another. He also tends to have assumed that malagan has a relatively stable structure based upon its function as a funerary and commemorative rite, and that this gave the system a constant ‘meaning’ to the people. From this point he has assumed that the main problems in the ethnology of malagan could be solved by gathering together enough facts or statements about malagan, and the whole will result from its description.

Bodrogi’s 1967 paper on L.Biro’s unpublished notes on eleven malagan figures from the Kara language region is a relatively concentrated work of the first coherent account of malagan traditions, written in 1900. Biro apparently gained his records through interrogation rather than personal observation (Bodrogi 1967: 62) when he accompanied Governor Von Benningens and Robert Koch on a two week trip from northern New Britain. Perhaps as a consequence of his interview techniques, Biro seemed to have an uncluttered view of what it was he was asking. The ethnographic asides from Lihir, Lavongai, Nalik as well as the Kara area give an added dimension to this work.

Albert (1986) followed a well-established line of inquiry when he sought to find an ultimate ‘meaning’ to malagan sculptures. He began well by noting that the relationship between myths or origin tales and the carvings is at best tenuous and that “…such tales or myths are as obscure as the carvings they are meant to explain.” (p240). However, he started to go astray when he assumed that the “…principles governing the organisation of form in the carvings…[were] codified in the names of carvings and their associated rules of use. Thus such principles can plausibly be called the social reality of the meanings expressed in the carvings.” (p241).

Further on in his text he appears to have misunderstood ethnographic reports, or has confused the name of a major grouping of malagan carving with the name of a physical type. This confusion may have arisen through the common fault in analysis of New Ireland malagan, the failure to distinguish between the various language groups which use malagan. His lack of consistency in the orthography of malagan terms does nothing to alleviate the aura of confusion surrounding the subject. His analysis based upon the opposition of
**Chapter 1 Introduction**

*kulepmu* and *walik* horizontal boards is interesting, but is seriously weakened by its selectivity. On Tabar the *Valik* group of malagans and the *Kulepmu* group are quite independent of each other, yet Albert treats them as complementary oppositions. People on Tabar can own aspects of one or the other tradition, or both, then they can work them separately or together or with other groups of malagan. Each grouping is only one of at least twenty two subtraditions of malagan, most of which have the rights to produce horizontal sculpture of at least two generic varieties - the *kobokobor* wooden 'foundation' sculptures, and the more quickly manufactured *rarau* made of more ephemeral materials.

Phillip Gifford is a recent author who appears to have written his PhD thesis “The Iconology of the Uli Figure of Central New Ireland” without having travelled to New Ireland to question the last of the old men who had actually participated in the *uli* ceremonies. He finished his thesis in 1974, so must have started writing in the late 1960’s. At that time, the *uli* cult had only been extinct for thirty to forty years, many of the old men in their sixties and seventies would have been young men in their prime participating in the *uli*.

Gifford’s work suffers from the major problem that seems to arise in a number of New Ireland ethnographies, the one that stems from thinking that the New Irendlanders believe in fairies. On the whole the New Irendlanders are immensely practical people, they believe that all the mischief in this world is caused by humans. Humans may use all forms of media to interefere with the lives of one another, but the power is in and comes from the people, not the pieces of wood carved to resemble people. The difference between a ‘spirit’ as defined by a New Irendlander, and that written down by a Western ethnographer will, in all likelihood, be at greater divergence than any other part of the interaction. An interest in iconology reared its head in Gifford’s work, and resulted in as many misinterpretations here as it did in Albert’s (1986) and Heintze’s (1969) approaches to the subject.

### 1.2 Brief geography & history of Tabar

Tabar is a group of three islands lying along a north-south axis and situated between $2^\circ35'$ to $3^\circ00'$ S and $151^\circ54'$ to $152^\circ5'$ E, and at its closest point is found to be 25km off the NE coast of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea (see Fig. 1). Geologically the Tabar group is a cluster formed by the three peaks of a single volcanic mountain rising to 526 metres with associated raised coral and limestone karst platforms. Between northern Big Tabar and southern Tatau the gap is only about twenty metres deep and fifty metres wide, and is bounded by mangroves on both sides with coral reef illuminating the seaward edges of the pass. Between northern Tatau and southern Simberi is a substantial five kilometres of open sea, a distance which can be covered in two to three hours by a *saman* two seat outrigger canoe in the early dawn. A slightly safer method of travelling between Tatau and Simberi, or between the Tabar group and the mainland of New Ireland, is by using an outboard motor powered *mon*, which is a long canoe shaped from a hardwood log and travelling without an outrigger float. This design apparently originated in the Solomon Islands, and on Tabar is capable of carrying ten or more people seated in single file in good weather. In rough weather the *mon* is a vehicle for an early death.

Ground cover on all three islands consists of primary rain forest in the more inaccessible gorges and along the steep mountain flanks, with secondary forest marking old garden areas on the more gentle slopes. Swidden gardens fenced with bamboo are generally located one or two kilometres inland from the villages which today are almost invariably located on the coastal platform and usually within a few metres of the sea at high tide. The exceptions are those houses built by enterprising individuals and balanced on a bridge of rock overlooking a superb view of early morning waves breaking on the reef. Gardens are a fertile mixture of friable volcanic soil and limestone. There are a few patches of kunai grasslands, the largest of which is on the edge of a hill on the north west of Tatau island which had been burnt off for a garden some decades ago, but had not regenerated into forest again due to lack of rain.

Along the coast are found several different examples of mangrove swamp, the largest of which covers the entire coastal platform for several kilometres and is located between Tugitugi and Pekinberiu. Treating the mangroves as a natural habitat of food but not as a living area, the people of Tabar thread their way over the top of thousands of arching roots
when journeying through this region. Although crocodiles have at times tried to establish themselves in the mangroves, they are soon hunted out and are reported only sporadically. Much of the rest of the coastal platform is occupied by coconut plantations which were initiated under German supervision in the early part of the twentieth century and, until the arrival of the mining companies in the late 1980s, continued to operate as the main source of cash for Tabar people.

Prehistory
The most recent dates for early human settlement in New Ireland were obtained by Allen, Gosden, Jones & White (1988) from Matenkukum in south-eastern New Ireland, a site which gave a basal radiocarbon date of around 33,000 years B.P. (ANU-5070). As Tabar is visible from sea-level on the mainland of New Ireland we may safely assume that Tabar was settled around the same time as the mainland of New Ireland. No archaeological work to date has been performed on Tabar although I have lodged a record of previous habitation sites with the National Museum of PNG. Several stone pestles and at least one stone figure have been recorded from Tabar, as has the rock art of the island group (Gunn 1986), but none of these artefacts are able to be dated to any degree of accuracy.

Austronesian origins in the Bismarck Archipelago are currently and speculatively linked to the efflorescence of Lapita pottery, with its distinctive dentate stamped hall-mark. Current dates suggest that the manufacture of dentate stamped Lapita pottery occurred between around 3500 and 2000 years BP (Spriggs 1990: 6-27). Lapita pottery sites have been recorded from the mainland of New Ireland, and there are currently speculations that the Bismarck Archipelago is the 'homeland' of the Lapita pottery style (Gosden et al 1989, Spriggs et al 1990). No dated site associated with pottery has yet been recorded from Tabar.

Prior to the 1884 German presence in the region, many Tabar villages and hamlets were positioned inland up on easily defended ridges. For purposes of access these inland bush people developed strong bonds with the villagers living on the beach directly downhill, and the bond was kept strong through exchanges of women, malagans, and mis. According to modern informants the diet of the inland bush people differed from those living on the beach: the bush people ate taro, tree marsupials, eels, and pigs; those living on the beach ate taro, fish, and shell-fish.

In 1982 I visited an inland village site called Kanavi which was owned by [Sicobi] clan and positioned high on the edge of a ridge about a kilometre inland from Madlik village (E Big Tabar). The site itself consists of five levels which had been dug into the the edge of the ridge one above the other. Each measured about 10 x 20 metres on average. The top level had been the men's house and malagan ritual site and had apparently contained three men's houses. This level was raised from the next living house level by an 80cm step which was cut into the rich volcanic soil at almost 90°. Around the edges of the habitation levels were a number of plants and trees used today by the Tabar people: coconuts, plants such as pandanus which have leaves which are used to wrap food, crotons, trees which have seeds used as a food. A number of human skulls were lying on the surface of the upper level, and several skulls were also found in the branches and roots of trees around this area. When church and government came in the 1930's, [Sicobi] moved down to the coast where they were granted use of garden land by [Tupida] clan. [Sicobi] leaders gave [Tupida] a token payment of half a length of mis, 1 banana, 1 taro, and tokens of other foods. [Sicobi] have not bought this land from [Tupida], but in 1982 they were paying an annual cash rental of between 20 and 50 kina for the use of several hectares for cash crops.

5 National Museum of Papua New Guinea registration no.?
6 The term mis is widely used in New Ireland for the strings of finely ground shell discs which are used as traditional trading valuables. The most commonly used Tabar term for mis is re (rea in southern Tabar).
7 Unless dealing specifically with a particular aspect of kinship variation I shall list each person's primary clan affiliation (the one the person professed belonging to) within square brackets after the person's name: eg: Banamu [Buatekone].
In addition to habitation sites, there are a number of prehistoric engraved rock art sites on Tabar such as Sepapador, Vatubantam, and Vut tugtug se Lokor on Simberi Island and the Dalengo River sites on Big Tabar. As these rock art sites have been adequately discussed elsewhere (Gunn 1986) I shall not comment further here.

Trade and other connections between Tabar and other regions
Although there are no written historic records of the contact between Tabar people and the mainland of New Ireland or Lihir, there would have been frequent contacts with mainland New Ireland for attendance at malagan ceremonies and other cultural contacts. The similarities in art traditions, the interconnecting kinship ties, the journeys portrayed in malagan histories and myths, the travels of the totemic sharks, and the well documented linguistic links all attest to a long period of contact between Tabar and to the mainland of New Ireland.

When considering kinship ties between Tabar and the mainland, an interesting pattern emerges which is also reflected in the malagan and totemic histories. Northern Tabar, in particular northern Tatau and Simberi Island, had closer ties with the Notsi and Nalik regions of the mainland, than did southern Tabar which tended more to develop or maintain links with the Northern Madak, Southern Madak, and to a lesser extent with the Barok people of central New Ireland.

A trading chain dealing in pigs and mis apparently once existed between the off-shore islands of New Ireland. Songis Lamot of Tatau village told me that previously the Lihir people used to travel to Tanga and purchase young pigs for a few mis, then bring them to Tabar and sell them in Tatau village at the rate of five mis for a small pig and ten mis for a big one. Tatau people would travel to the Notsi region of mainland New Ireland to sell malagans and pigs for mis. This picture is confirmed by Terrell’s reconstruction of trade connections between the off-shore islands which he has built up from other ethnographic sources (Terrell 1986: 140-141).

Although not mentioned in Haddon & Hornell (1937), oral traditions on Tabar indicate that up until the Japanese invasion of Tabar in 1940 there was a Tabar sailing vessel based upon the larger ocean-going galeu single-outrigger canoe and which was used to ply the regions between Tabar, Lihir and Tabar and the mainland. There were also a number of other types of Tabar canoe such as the cimkoppa, a sea-going outrigger canoe with sheer-strakes used for shark hunting; the cim or cobi shark hunting single outrigger canoe but without sheer-strakes nowadays portrayed in a number of malagan sculptures; and the katir, another type also portrayed in malagan. Today there are only two types of canoe used on Tabar: the mon ocean-going canoe which has no outrigger and is powered by an outboard motor; and the saman, a single outrigger canoe for use inside reef.

Linguistic background
In his comprehensive analysis of the relationships between the Western Melanesian Oceanic (Austronesian) languages, Ross (1988: Fig 8-1) grouped Tabar with Noatsi and Lihir under the Proto-Tabar chain in the Meso-Melanesian cluster. Tungak, Tigak, Tiang, Kara and Nalik he linked under Proto Tungak/Nalik.

Within the Austronesian language which the Tabar people call Madara is a north-south dialect chain which I have treated as four dialects roughly corresponding to the three main islands (Simberi, Tatau, Big Tabar), with the fourth dialect (Mapua) found in the region from E, SE, & S Tatau through to N Big Tabar and including the ‘island’ of Mapua (a flat raised atoll separated from SE Tatau by a shallow saltwater channel winding for about a kilometre through mangroves (see Fig. 2).

Ross has recorded a basic word list and grammar in the Big Tabar dialect and has proposed a phonetic scheme for the Madara language of Tabar (Ross 1982 pers.comm.). In constructing my dictionary of the Tabar language I modified the orthography to match the phonetic scheme proposed by Ross. However on the basis of my field-data from the other three dialect areas I disagree with Ross on the r-l allophone, and as a consequence the orthography I use in this thesis distinguishes between r and l.
Throughout this thesis I have chosen the dialectical variant which most clearly illustrates the etymology of that particular word or of its usage. As my field data is recorded from all four dialect areas, it would be impractical to attempt to use any one particular dialect, for in many cases a word would be recorded from one dialect area and not recorded elsewhere. Serious students of the Tabar language are advised to consult my Tabar dictionary which includes all dialectical variants where recorded.
2) Malagan ritual behaviour - death and burial sequence

Malagan is expressed most forcefully during funerary ceremonies when people are grief-stricken and bewildered. Malagan ritual enables people to express their grief, adapt to their loss, then enables them to return to the business of living.

Malagan ritual is the format for the production and use of the primary artefacts of malagan, and provides the context which gives 'meaning' to these artefacts for the Tabar people. These two chapters will describe the two main malagan ritual sequences on Tabar: the death and burial sequence; and the commemorative sequence. The role which malagan artefacts take within the context of the ritual will be noted, as will the roles of the various actors both in relation to each other as well as in relation to the artefacts of malagan.

2.1 Organisational and working structure of malagan death and burial ceremony

When descriptions of the working structure of malagan ritual sequences were related to me by a number of informants then compared with field data which I recorded at Tatau village, it became apparent that malagan funerary ceremonies on Tabar are worked around a consistent basic organisational structure:

i) Burial with two pig feasts (one held inside the malagan ritual site for malagan owners, the other outside for the other mourners).
ii) Malagan ceremony worked by dead person's clan to remove primary taboos imposed after death.
iii) Malagan ceremony worked by either affinal clan or by both clans to remove secondary taboos.

Malagan activity in addition to those contained within this structure appears to be either optional or operates as a specialised aspect of specific malagan Big-Name subtraditions. To enable a short summary to precede a rather detailed description I shall present a short outline of four descriptions of the working structure of the malagan death and burial sequence. These descriptions were given to me by four men: Banamu, Kovir, and Lalu from Simberi Island, and Bialong from Tatau. Due to its comprehensiveness, Banamu's data will provide the basis for this examination of the organisational and working structure, and the data provided by the other three informants will be used to indicate the range of variation in ritual practice. There is no standard operating procedure for conducting malagan activity on Tabar, but most people appear to follow similar organisational sequences to those outlined here. I recorded two exceptions to the standard format for conducting death and burial ceremonies on Tabar, these are noted at the end of this section.

Banamu

Banamu [Buatekone] of Sevasu hamlet, Maragon village (W Simberi) was born near Kavieng on mainland New Ireland during German times (pre-1914). His mother worked for a German family in Kavieng, but was born on Datava village (NE Big Tabar). In 1932 Banamu returned to Tabar to consolidate his Tabar identity, then returned to Kavieng in 1938 to learn medicine and to become a medical orderly. Over the next fifteen years Banamu worked both in Kavieng Hospital and on Tabar, establishing medical aid-posts on Big Tabar and Simberi Islands. In 1953 he became Aid Post Supervisor for the Tabar Group and came to live in his wife's village of Maragon in 1954, and from then on worked as the official medical representative on Tabar until 1977 when he retired. In addition to his duties as doctor, Banamu also maintained a traditional Tabar lifestyle in both subsistence and cultural matters. Although reserved, he is very articulate and has attained a high degree of respectability in all things malagan as well as in sun and weather magic.
Once Banamu had decided that he would teach me the organisational and working structure of malagan, he and I met a number of times in his hamlet or elsewhere if circumstances were favourable, and we would methodically examine all aspects of malagan procedure. From Banamu came the following perspective on the Madas version\(^1\) of malagan ceremonial structure on Tabar.

i) Tutanua

Tutanua is the term covering the malagan burial sequence overall and includes most of the funerary activity with two attendant ciribor\(^2\) malagan pig feasts: boro-cak and boro-teter. Several days after the funeral and burial come the malagan ceremonies varam, gabor, and the concluding malagan ceremony called tutanua. The ciribor pig feasts boro-varam, boro-gabor and boro-tutanua which occur during the last three malagan ceremonies are used for the transference of the important and powerful kupkup ci malaga ("fountain of water, clean and light") malagans.

If a leading man in Madas malagan dies then the following sequence of events should happen. A type of inedible bush called eibo would be taken from the jungle and planted in the ground outside the house of the man who has died. A gol plant (Alpina sp.) would then be broken and tied around the eibo, and a pig’s head would then be placed on top of the eibo. This sequence is called golgol and places a taboo on the house of this leading malagan man and means that no woman can go and touch the skin of the dead man. Golgol can only be carried out by a malagan man who has received the rights to this tabooing process from another leading malagan man. If the heir apparent belongs to Madas malagan then he would make a tanua\(^3\) mask from barkcloth\(^4\) and would paint a face on the front of this tanua mask and cut holes for the eyes. Then all the leaders in Madas malagan who belong to the clan of the wife of the dead man would go into the malagan ritual site belonging to the dead man and while wearing tanua masks they would bury him there without the knowledge of the women. After the burial there are two feasts: boro-cak is a feast in the ritual site where only malagan men participate, the second is a public feast called boro-teter\(^5\) where all people can participate.

ii) Varam

Varam is a taboo period of one to two weeks after the death, during this time the people are in mourning and work at only essential tasks such as gardening. This period is ended by the malagan ceremony varam during which kupkup ci malaga malagan sculpture belonging to the dead person’s clan is displayed and transferred to the next generation of owners. Kupkup ci malaga are the first malagans an initiate receives and are understood to have more power than others. This transference of the dead man’s malagans to his heirs continues within ciribor ceremonies from varam through gabor to tutanua.

iii) gabor

Some time after varam the major malagan ceremony gabor ("consume or give away pig") is organised by the clan the dead person had married, the affinal clan. As the name of this ceremony implies many pigs are consumed. This ceremony completes or settles the

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1. As virtually all malagan activity is worked through the framework of the Big-Name malagan subtraditions (see Chapter 4) there is some degree of variation in organizational procedure or detail which is specific to particular Big-Names. Banamu was discussing malagan with reference to the Madas subtradition.
2. Although ciribor literally means ‘pig bone’, the term refers to core malagan activity.
3. Tanua is a word referring to the spirit or soul of a person dead from sorcery or sickness.
4. The barkcloth is derived from the cambium of a breadfruit or some other tree.
5. Also recorded as borteter, borotaria, borotatarie, borotatari, mi boroter, or borotetir in the various dialects of Tabar.
marriage relationship and is worked in order to repay the clan of the dead man. Malagans worked by the affinal clan are not kupkup ci malaga.

iv) Tutanua
Tutanua is the final part of burial sequence and in effect is a metaphor for the dead person’s final destruction. This ceremony has no singing nor dancing associated with it. If malagans are worked, they are of the dead person’s clan, the final transfer of the dead person’s inheritance to the next generation.

Kovir
Kovir [Pekinmiteres], of Napekur village (N Simberi) briefly described the short ceremonial sequence during which he displayed a Bat tir si mi Marada malagan which he had earlier received from his mother’s brother Tapue [Pekinmiteres]. This burial sequence of malagan ceremonies was held after the death of Kovir’s mother’s sister’s daughter’s husband Magian (originally from the mainland of PNG).

i) The first ceremony was called varam and was used to initiate the taboo period after the burial. During this ceremony a malagan belonging to the adopted clan of the dead man was used.

ii) At the end of the taboo period a second varam malagan ceremony was organised and this time the malagan Bat tir si mi Marada belonging to the dead man’s wife’s clan was worked. Kovir, as the mother’s sister’s son (MZS) of the wife, was the person who worked the malagan. Kovir displayed the malagan and did not transfer it to a heir. A cement tombstone was also contributed at this ceremony by a third party, probably of mainland PNG origin.

Lalu
Lalu [Keis], of Poponovam village (NW Simberi) is a malagan man aged around fifty years old and who organised a series of malagan ceremonies early in 1983 during which the name of his father and the name of his mother’s mother were commemorated. During this series of ceremonies he handed the ciribor6 of the malagan Vuaset si mi Madas to his son’s son in [Katobi m. Bomokokal k.], and displayed another malagan called Madassiu kobokobor si Madas but did not pass it on. During this malagan sequence Lalu transferred the land he owned in Poponovam village to his children. In return his children worked a malagan free of lak to commemorate Lalu’s mother’s mother, which meant that Lalu’s clan did not have to pay for this malagan. In addition the children also contributed 10 mis and a pig for the feast.

Lalu had received his Madas when he was very young from his clan leader who came from Pekinlabam, a village on a mountain close to Tupinmida village (NW Tatau). The tabataba7 of this malagan is said to have originated at Pekinlabam. When he gave a brief description of malagan ceremonial sequence Lalu telescoped the two main series into one, subsuming most of the commemorative sequence under the name of tutu. As tutu also glosses as the verb “to cook with fire” it is quite possibly is a synonym for tutanua. Banamu listed tutanua as the final part of the burial sequence and used it as a metaphor for the dead person’s final destruction. Lalu’s ceremonial sequence was reported as follows:

i) Pan (“to get up close to”) was the first malagan ceremony and involved men sitting down beside the corpse in the graveyard; a pig feast (boro-pan) was also involved in this ceremony.

ii) Immediately after the burial the malagan ceremony boro-teter was held and one pig was eaten. This was followed by a discussion to plan the next malagan ceremony.

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6 In this context the ciribor of a malagan refers to the rights to own and use this particular malagan.

7 Tabataba is a malagan concept which will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 4; a tabataba is a number of malagan items understood to be linked together and transferred from one generation to the next as individual items of a group.
Chapter 2 Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

(varam). Between boro-teter and varam was a taboo period during which no work was performed.

iii) Varam was a ceremony belonging to the clan of the dead person. Following varam was another planning discussion and pig feast.

iv) gabor was a ceremony involving the children of the dead man (affinal clan), and included the display of malagan sculpture and a pig feast.

v) Tutu was a big malagan ceremony and is also a collective name to include the commemorative malagan ceremonies cirep, tidik, ba, cokavanua, cukavavaturi and araru.

vi) Finally, at least three months later, came the ceremony called ngabua during which baskets of sweet potato, branches of betel nut, and fish were given to all those who had contributed to the big ceremony tutu.

Bialong

Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] of Pekinatinis hamlet (N Tatau) was a leader of one of the hamlets of Tatau village, a conurbation of hamlets stretching for several kilometres over north Tatau Island and containing about 1000 people. When I initially interviewed him regarding the structure of malagan ceremonies I knew of him only as a man skilled in bush medicine and a person recommended to me as a man to speak to regarding malagan matters.

When he was talking with me about malagan procedures during this interview Bialong was reflecting upon the death in August 1983 of Bensen Lumok [Sepiv]. Bensen was the son of Songis Lamot [Saterir], one of the most senior men in malagan on Tabar, but as Songis was still full of sorrow people had advised me to talk to Bialong rather than to Songis regarding this matter.

i) Bensen Lumok [Sepiv] was buried in the malagan ritual site belonging to Edward Salle [Damok]. Salle’s father was in [Keis] clan, as were Salle’s children. Bensen’s father was in [Saterir] clan, as were Bensen’s children.

ii) Boro-varam was the first ceremony to mark the burial and took place in the malagan ritual site. It consisted of a feast of two pigs and was organised and worked by the lineage of the dead man. At this point a taboo came into force for the whole village and prohibited fishing, harvesting coconuts, and other work taboos, until the varam ceremony which was held nearly a week later. During boro-varam the malagan leader and spokesman yucuka spoke to those present and prohibited the killing of children or of pigs belonging to another person, or of stealing betel nut or daka. This prohibition was to ensure that there would be no antagonism during the later ceremonies.

iii) Varam malagan ceremony was organised and worked by two clans in the malagan ritual site: Bensen’s [Sepiv] and the clan of both his father and children [Saterir]. During the ceremony two or three pigs were used, mis changed hands, and one malagan, from each clan was displayed.

iv) Popcormonmon was a non-malagan ceremony which marked the end of the burial period and was held to remind people that they should start preparing gardens and pigs for the forthcoming cirep malagan ceremony. Although popcormonmon is the name of one specific ceremony, the name can also include a number of other smaller ceremonies which lead up to popcormonmon. The number of small feasts leading up to popcormonmon depends upon the number of pigs and amount of food available, it also depends upon how busy the rest of the community is with other tasks. People are reluctant to hold a number of separate feasts for popcormonmon, for they would have to repay at a later date the pigs used, so a number of non-feast activities are spread over a week so the people have the feeling of a long popcormonmon but

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8 The reason why Bensen was buried in this ritual site rather than a [Sepiv] ritual site was not made clear to me.
FIGURE 3
Pekinatinis and Tavui hamlets, Tatau village, N Tatau.

Key

vanua vevev living house
amir men's house
1 Aro Kulepmu, Kapinnepek banis
2 Aro Vavara, Kapinnepek banis
3 Blalong's men's house
4 Pamas's men's house (disused)
5 Aro Kulepmu, Tavovil banis

Coconut trees and secondary growth
without the expense of many pigs. During the final *popcornmonmon* ceremony fish is usually used as the main food, if there are no fish then pigs would be used. During *popcornmonmon* other clans which came to the feast would give money but not *mis* to help with the feast. Bensen’s *popcornmonmon* ceremony was held three months after the actual burial and there were three separate activities spread over a week: cutting sago on the Monday; placing bananas to ripen in a hole dug in the ground on the Friday; and the *popcornmonmon* ceremony was held on the Saturday. Bensen’s *popcornmonmon* series apparently consumed many pigs.

**Non-malagan funerary activity on Tabar**

Not all funerary ceremony on Tabar is malagan. Non-malagan ceremonies such as *popcornmonmon* take place in malagan ritual sites to commemorate specific dead, and may or may not use pigs. Although a number of informants said that *popcornmonmon* is a ceremony to remind people of a forthcoming series of malagan ceremonies, *popcornmonmon* appears to be have had a separate origin. Malagan sculpture is not used, nor are is there linguistic evidence of any connection with malagan. From my field data *popcornmonmon* does not appear to be a ceremony for those people without malagan, for in the two ceremonies I have records for, the dead being commemorated belonged to malagan. One of these ceremonies took place at the end of the burial period and was held to remind people that they should start preparing gardens and pigs for the forthcoming *cirep* malagan ceremony. This *popcornmonmon* took a week to accomplish and used a number of pigs. The other *popcornmonmon* ceremony I have records for commemorated 3 men who had died some years before. All these men had belonged to Vavara malagan and were buried in a Vavara ritual site. This ceremony took a similar format to a normal malagan ceremony except that there was no display of sculpture and no use of malagan phraseology.

John Kabaso [Sicobi] of Taguc hamlet, Tokar village (Mapua) described another type of non-malagan funerary sequence which appears to have evolved over the thirty years that malagan was banned for Catholics on Tabar. This non-malagan sequence from Mapua had a similar structure to that of the malagan organisers on Simberi and northern Tatau. Kabaso is a local leader, Ward Councillor for Mapua and an aspiring politician. He gave me the following information regarding the structure and sequence of non-malagan ceremonial activity based upon funerary ceremonies he had attended in the Mapua region:

- **baboro-tatari** (pigs to bury a dead man). - the burial sequence of pig feasts immediately after death. No malagans were used at this ceremony, nor did pigs or *mis* change hands. Three pigs were used:
  i) **boro-susuruvi**: a pig used to wash the corpse - a ceremony where the personal belongings of the dead person are burnt.
  ii) **boro-waram**: a pig used to clear taboos *varaba* caused by carrying the corpse into the men’s house, under cash crops or under betel nut.
  iii) **boro-cokpe si mi puit**: a pig used to get rid of the rubbish resulting from the fire of the dead person’s belongings, and of the other things used in washing the corpse.

- **natire**: feast on top of the man who died, held during the week after the death.

- **gau-carera-gavu** (feast to finish the name of the dead person). This feast of banana & sago is held five to seven days after the death and is worked by the people in the village of the dead person to pay back those of neighbouring villages who have supplied food to the mourners over the mourning period. No *mis*, no pigs, no malagan.

**Non-standard malagan formats on Tabar**

Kaletau [Lorogo] of Pakinapai village (Mapua) belonged to a clan which originated in the Madak region of mainland New Ireland. Kaletau’s description of the two malagan ceremonies he organised for the death of his wife in 1979 depicted a different organisational structure to the normal Tabar funerary malagan rites:
- the first malagan ceremony called *Votoan mi navuna* was to finish the basis of the dead person - the material reality of that person.
- the second malagan ceremony called *Tulake* involved the burning of the dead person's baskets which had been kept as a memorial. In effect this ceremony destroyed the community's image of the dead woman.

This organisational difference between Madak and Tabar traditions reinforces the evidence that malagan art traditions are a recent adaptation to the local funerary and mourning traditions in the Madak region, if not in other regions of New Ireland. It should be noted again that these two instances of non-standard funerary activity on Tabar were the only exceptions I have record of to the normal malagan ritual sequence for death and burial, an example of which is described below.

### 2.2. Death and burial sequence - field data

Pamas died on the 28th of January 1984, and was buried in Aro Kulepmu, Kapinnekpek graveyard, Pekinatinis hamlet, Tatau village (see map Fig. 3) two days later. Malagan taboos and ritual behaviours were applied almost immediately after death and continued in a variety of forms over the next twelve days.

The following description and analysis will delineate the role malagan played in the ritual activity following the death of this major clan leader. Because malagan activity resulted from the interplay between the various kin groups to which this clan leader was linked, I shall also portray a number of the interactions between both these groups and the individuals concerned. Pamas had been boss of two malagan ritual sites and the two hamlets associated with them, so there was a political vacuum formed after his death, a vacuum which was rapidly filled by the interplay between Picia as ritual expert and Bialong as malagan controller.

Almost as soon as Pamas had died malagan funerary practices were brought into action, practices which belonged to the malagan subtraditions to which Pamas had owned and had belonged to when he was alive. The first visible malagan action was the erection of a death chair in front of his men’s house and a ritualised collection of leaf from his gardens. Both were actions which belonged to Pamas’s *Kulepmu* malagan. That night two pig feasts were held, one in the malagan ritual site for the malagan men, the other in the open village for the rest of the villagers. At around midnight the malagan men emerged from the ritual site singing malagan songs and joined the villagers in the square, and together the two groups sang malagan songs all through the long night until early dawn. On the second day there was a taboo on all work except that related to malagan, and at night parts of *Madas* malagan were played out - a display of firespears over the dead man’s men’s house and a ritualised ‘chasing of the wild dog’ with bull-roarers. On the third day the body was taken on a procession belonging to *Kulepmu* malagan and was buried together with a powerful symbol of *Madas* malagan.

Two days after Pamas’s burial a *varam* malagan ceremony was used to end many of the taboos which had been in force since the death. The nominal sponsor of this ceremony was an adopted daughter of Pamas, her *Kulepmu* malagan which was displayed in the malagan ritual site during the *varam* malagan ceremony had previously been given to her by the dead man. Out in the village square at the conclusion of the ceremony the land and malagans of the dead man were transferred to Bialong, the closest kinsman to the dead man and the controller of the *varam* malagan ceremony.

Eight days after *varam* the climactic *gabor* malagan ceremony was held in the ritual site to end the funerary period and remove most of the residual taboos. During this ceremony five items of malagan sculpture which were owned by the dead man’s clan (two *Vavara*, one *Kulepmu*, one *Vuvil*, one *Verim*) were displayed and worked by his kinsmen. Out in the village square eleven pigs were butchered and distributed, repaying previous debts and creating new obligations.
Main participants
The following four individuals were the main players in this commemorative series of malagan ceremonies: Songis Lamot as leader of [Saterir] clan; Pamas as the focus of all the activity; Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] as the organiser and main malagan worker; and Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.] as ritual expert. Many other people were direct participants in this malagan, and their roles will become apparent through the following description of the ritual and social action.

i) Songis
During the malagan series under discussion Songis Lamot [Saterir] of Lakavil hamlet (N Tatau) was one of my main advisors and the most senior leader in Tatau, perhaps in all of the Tabar Islands. Songis was treated with deference by all concerned and when he called, people came up immediately and respectfully. Songis's reputation as a leader was well grounded, for as well as being one of the last of the great shark hunters, Songis was also known as a malagan artist and as a senior man in malagan, owning rights to a considerable number of malagans in Kulepmu, Lunet, Marada, Valik, Vavara, and Verim. During this series of malagan ceremonies following the death of Pamas, Songis was a significant actor as the leader of [Saterir] clan, the major clan which included the lineages to which Pamas in [Mopetir], Bialong in [Buerbuer], and Picia in [Kuk] belonged.

ii) Pamas
Although dead, Pamas's influence was strong enough to place him as a main participant. Both Picia and Bialong were in related lineages to Pamas's lineage; this position gave both Bialong and Picia the opportunity to work malagan ritual during Pamas's funeral. When he was alive Pamas had owned malagan rights in Kulepmu, Madas, Tana, Vavara, Verim, and Vuvil.

iii) Bialong
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] owned the malagan ritual site Aro Vavara at Kapinnekpek graveyard in Pekinatinis hamlet (N Tatau). As Pamas had no mother or sisters, for they had already died, he had no kandere closer than Bialong who was of the same major clan but in another lineage, so Bialong was to inherit Pamas's land and malagans during this series of malagan ceremonies. Bialong was a middle ranking leader in Tatau village, looking after his hamlet and clans-people. He was numerate and mobile, owning a mon outboard motor canoe as well as a small store selling petrol and cigarettes. Bialong's Aro Vavaramalagan site was adjacent to Aro Kulepmu at Kapinnekpek graveyard, the aro in which Pamas was buried, and he owned malagans in Kulepmu, Lunet, Madas, Vavara, and Vuvil.

iv) Picia
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.] owned another malagan ritual site called Aro Kulepmu at Tavovil graveyard in adjacent Tavui hamlet (N Tatau). Picia had previously lived in the same hamlet as Pamas, but had argued with him over matters of tradition and had moved out to begin a new hamlet to the west of Tatau village. As a practicing expert in malagan ritual, Picia assumed his accustomed role of spokesman and ritual expert (mi juc) in the malagan aspects of Pamas's funeral. Picia owned malagans in Kulepmu and Vavara subtraditions.

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9 Although the three lineages are all subclans of [Saterir], the exact relationship between them was not made clear to me.

10 A kandere is a Tok Pisin kin term referring to someone else within the same totemic group or clan.
Chapter 2  Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

2.3  Death & burial - description of the ritual and social action

Pamas died at 9.30 am on Saturday the 28th of January 1984 when most of the other clan leaders of Tatau village were at a preliminary meeting of an important non-malagan popcormonmon ceremony in Pekinatinis hamlet's Aro Vavara. As we had arrived just half an hour before his death I became quite concerned, half expecting that I would be blamed for his demise, but Salle reassured me: "Don't worry, Pamas was an old man and had not moved from his men's house for quite some time, the people were expecting him to die. Now you will be able to write down both sides of the malagan, for Pamas was a major clan leader."

Popcormonmon activity continued through until early afternoon and all the participating clan leaders stayed until the end. Toward the end the content of the speeches shifted in emphasis to the newly dead Pamas. Finally Bialong got up and spoke about the program for Pamas's funeral, giving a broad outline of which major activities would be occurring over the next two weeks. He concluded by telling two younger men to go and beat the garamut, then gave instructions to others to go and fetch food from the gardens belonging to both Pekinatinis and Tavui hamlets, food which would be used at the ensuing pig feasts.

Bialong had been preparing to work a series of commemorative malagan ceremonies: he had a partially completed malagan display house in his Aro Vavara, his gardens were ready, and his pigs were fat. All these resources which he had accumulated would now be used to cover up Pamas, his clan leader.

When [Saterir] clan's popcormonmon ceremony had finished Songis and I walked into the village to find that Picia had already erected the frame for a bo death chair outside the front of Pamas’s men’s house in the centre of Pekinatinis hamlet. As Pamas’s own malagan ritual site (Aro Kulepmu) did not have a men’s house, Pamas’s body was lying in a wooden coffin inside this open village men’s house. A plain wooden garamut slit drum with two handles was placed on the ground next to the death chair. At this stage it was apparent that a number of taboos on normal behaviour were coming into force. The mechanism for imposing these taboos was not made clear to me, but from the evidence Banamu had given me about the procedure for imposing taboo in Madas malagan, it is likely that the erection of the bo death chair outside Pamas’s men’s house was the symbol for the imposition of taboo in the Kulepmu malagan format.

In the late afternoon twelve young men with lime on their faces, leaf tied to their bodies, and knives in their hands came running out of Aro Kulepmu to the marching beat of Picia pounding the garamut drum. Calling out "wu!" every second step they ran into the region before Pamas’s men’s house, back past the malagan ritual site, through the central hamlet area, then around the village boundary. This was the start of the beribera12 which is the ritualised collection of food from the dead man’s gardens. On this occasion the beribera was being worked as part of Kulepmu malagan, it can also be worked as part of Madas, but there was no-one available to work it as such on this occasion. As the beribera line of young men ran past the men’s house, the women standing there began to weep loudly and Picia joined them in their wailing. Once the line of young men had vanished out of sight Picia abruptly stopped beating the garamut and walked away.

There was now more activity than I had witnessed for any other event on Tabar: people were bringing and chopping wood, fetching food. Three pigs were taken into the village square and strangled by several of the older men. More than three pigs should apparently have been killed for a man of Pamas’s status, but as pigs were in short supply the men had to plan carefully.

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11 Picia’s beating of the garamut for the beribera was part of Kulepmu malagan.

12 Also referred to as bereber, beriber, beribet, or berimberu.

13 Termed vinaperis in this context.
As dusk approached Picia decorated the bo death chair outside the men's house. Previously, in the days before Europeans arrived on Tabar, a dead leader was seated in a bo chair before the body had reached the stage of rigor mortis, and as the corpse hardened they would paint the face with tar (red paint derived from stream sediments), enhance the body with leaf and feather decoration, then take it into the malagan ritual site. This process of decorating the body with feathers and the consequent removal to the malagan ritual site was termed vauers. Once the corpse started to swell up and soften, spears would be lashed to the arms so that the body was held upright, and the head was propped up with a spear under the chin. Today the bo is merely a symbol that the dead man belonged to Kulepmu malagan (see Fig. 4).

Still running, the beriberu group returned and the young men came to the front of the men's house and stood in a line with their arms full of leafy matter which they had chopped out of Pamas's gardens (see Fig. 5). Picia began to address them, beginning with a sob in his voice which started the women crying again. After he had finished speaking, the young men dropped the leafy matter in front of the bo chair then ran off in a line toward Pamas's malagan ritual site.

There was a pause in the proceedings for several hours and I went with Songis back to his hamlet to talk about events. At around 10pm we returned to Pekinatinis to find several hundred mourners in the area around Pamas's men's house. Pamas's daughters, granddaughters, and female kandere were sitting next to the wooden coffin in the men's house, and at least one woman would be with Pamas's body in the men's house until burial two days later.

As the people came together Bialong stood up in the middle of the cleared ground and gave a short speech during which he called out the names of the malagan subtraditions to which Pamas had belonged, grouping them in three pairs (Kulepmu & Vavara; Verim & Tarala; Madas & Vuvil). Cooked food was then taken into the Aro Kulepmu ritual site for the twenty or so malagan men with ciribor in these malagan subtraditions. Once inside the malagan ritual site these senior and exclusive malagan men started to group themselves according to the three pairs Bialong had called out, each of these groups sat around one or another of the three cooked pigs for the boro-vinekitip pig feast. Boro-vinekitip was a pig feast belonging to all those men who shared the same malagans as Pamas and the feast was used to mark the fact that the dead man could no longer work malagan and that the ciribor of his malagans now belonged to his heirs. There was no formal announcement of this transfer of ownership.

Picia opened the boro-vinekitip pig feast in Aro Kulepmu to initiate malagan activity in the malagan ritual site with a short and almost informal speech during which he mentioned "dumping the pig over the head of the people", a reference to the exclusivity of the feast. Men were relaxed, sitting in small groups of two or three around leaf plates, eating pig and talking about ciribor. The night was dark, lit only by coconut leaf torches, for there was no moon. Picia moved from group to group, joking and talking about the forthcoming activity. When he came to talk with Songis and I, Picia joked about mabas, part of Madas malagan with connotations of male genitalia. Songis held up a pig's rib to Picia and said "mi ciribor" with a half smile on his face. Not all food was eaten together with their malagan connotations: Songis accidentally dropped a piece of bone and meat in the sand, picked it up, looked at it with distaste, then hurled the offending object over his shoulder where it was snapped up by a passing dog outside on the seaward side of the malagan ritual site.

By 11.30pm the malagan men had finished eating and the part belonging to malagan had ended, so they cleaned their hands in the sand then started handing around leaf decoration to be used in the mabas singing further on in the night. Other men came into the malagan ritual site and began eating food which the malagan men had left behind.

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14 Although the bo chair is itself a malagan object within Kulepmu, the paint previously used on the dead person's face was not the paint of a malagan. Songis told me that in the times before Europeans arrived people habitually coated their hair with red ochre (tar) so that their hair hung down in red matted ringlets, and the women painted their bodies red with this ochre.

15 boro- = pig; vine- = ?; -kitip = protect.
While the malagan men were inside the malagan ritual site preparing to eat their pigs as part of the boro-vinekitip malagan ceremony for the dead man, another pig feast was taking place under the bukbuk tree in the centre of the Pekatinis village square. This public pig feast was called boro-cokpe si mi puit, and its name referred to “a pig to clean the corpse of the dust of the dead man’s fire”. Attending this feast were men who belonged to malagan subtraditions other than those to which Pamas had belonged, men without malagan, Prayer Group members, women and children.

Just before midnight the men within the malagan ritual site started to sing a Kulepmu malagan song and started to move slowly out of the ritual site and over to the far eastern side of the hamlet, out of the hearing range for those people keeping watch over the body. As they started to return from the western side of the village they were singing a malagan song of Vavara with their faces painted white with lime and wearing leaf decoration on their heads. As these men approached Pamas’s men’s house the women burst into tears and start weeping again. Stopping in front of the men’s house the malagan men sang a song of Madas, and then sat down to sing two more with some of the women joining in the singing. During the final Madas song Pamas’s children got up and gave a vasovenu payment of 10 toea each to some of the singers to repay those who had contributed coffee and biscuits.

After Bialong had stood up and talked quietly to the people, four more malagan songs were sung, this set coming from Kulepmu malagan. At 12.40am Pamas’s wife’s clans-people distributed tobacco leaves to the mourners. Leaf decoration was then taken from the men’s heads and taken to Aro Kulepmu where half of it was burnt. By now a number of branches of betel nut were suspended from a branch next to the garamut. All the members of Pamas’s family who wore leaf decoration and white lime on their faces then handed around tobacco leaves together with strips of newspaper to smoke it in. Picia handed around individual betel nuts.

People relaxed for half an hour, smoking and chewing betel nut, drinking coffee. And at 1.15am they began singing again in earnest, starting with a group of eighteen Vavara songs, then eight Tāyala songs, eleven Verim songs, and finally finishing just before dawn with eight Madas malagan songs. Women inside the men’s house as well as those in the group of singers started weeping during those last Madas songs. No-one knew any songs for Vuvil so none were sung. After the last Madas song the singers dispersed; men walked in a group back to the malagan ritual site, and the women continued to weep in the village square.

By the time I woke up again it was mid-afternoon on Sunday and a dozen or so young men in Songis’s clan were in Songis’s malagan ritual site making teter bull roarers from dry bamboo stems shaved thin, and preparing cocekeli fire spears made from flammable coconut husk tied to the end of bamboo shafts. None of the men had slept.

At 10.10pm we returned to the village square opposite the men’s house of the dead man, and the place was in darkness, no lamps were lit even though the village square was full of people. This was the beginning of the boro-pan pig feast and Picia was officiating. Boro-pan was an occasion for people to ‘get close to the corpse, close to the malagan ritual site’.

In complete silence and absolute darkness groups of fire spears were suddenly thrown up into the air from behind both the men’s house and the woman’s house opposite. Plenty of spears landed on the roof of Pamas’s men’s house, but none actually set fire to it. Then out from the malagan ritual site came a group of [Saterir] and [Keis] men whirling bull-roarers, running underneath this shower of fire and right through the village square into the darkness toward the saba tree at the far end of the hamlet. When the noise of the bull-roarers had been replaced by silence, lamps were lit and people sat around the village square in small groups, chatting quietly.

As part of Madas, the cocekeli fire spears and teter bull-roarers were also part of malagan. The sound of the bull-roarers gave the kupuin mucgur sound of the wild dog from

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16 An evangelical branch of the Methodist Church, opposed to traditional beliefs in general and malagan in particular.

17 boro- = pig; -pan means “to get up”.
the bush chasing the spirit\textsuperscript{18} of the dead man. When the bullroarers stopped, this spirit was killed. Songis made it clear to me that this aspect of malagan was understood by everyone present to be make believe rather than a reality.

After a few minutes rest Songis stood up and spoke about \textit{Madas} malagan, for it was his people who had worked this part of malagan on Pamas’s behalf. After he had finished speaking, Sola [Keis], a \textit{vuna-malaga} in \textit{Madas}, then got up and spoke briefly, accepting Songis’s explanation for working this aspect of \textit{Madas}. Picia then stood beside the \textit{beriberu} pile of leaf materials (which now also held the fire spears) and spoke about the strengths of a man who held many malagans. He talked about the \textit{bo} chair, the \textit{beriberu}, and the wild dog, and concluded by saying that it would all be finished tomorrow. Bialong then got up and politely and indirectly asked Picia to explain why he had worked so many aspects of malagan which did not belong to him. Picia then stood up and in his defence said that he had worked the \textit{bo} because he thought Pamas’s clan leader had given it to him, and had worked the \textit{beriberu} and the \textit{cocekelij} fire spears because they were in the \textit{Kulepmu} and in the \textit{Madas} which Pamas had owned, Picia had worked these things so the people could see what Pamas had owned. Bialong sat down in silence and no-one commented further.

People then took a break while tobacco was distributed and smoked. At around 1am a number of men went into \textit{Aro Kulepmu} to take part in the \textit{boro-pan} pig feast. During this feast the pig’s head was given to Songis because it was Songis’s group of young men who had worked the fire spears and the wild dog. As this feast was taking place in the malagan ritual site, non-malagan songs were being sung out in the village square by the two church groups: songs 1,3,5 were sung by the Catholics, and songs 2,4 were sung by the United Church’s Prayer Group.

By 9am next morning Picia had shifted the garamut drum and placed it in front of the mound of \textit{beriberu} vegetation which lay in front of the \textit{bo} death chair. His sister handed over her pig for the burial ceremony and was weeping loudly as she approached Pamas’s men’s house then sat down next to the corpse.

Banamu [Buatekone] had joined me by this stage, very pleased to find that what he had been tutoring me about a month or so earlier on Simberi Island was now taking place in reality on Tatau. Banamu was acknowledged as a senior \textit{vuna-malaga} of \textit{Madas} malagan and had come to help advise Picia. As Banamu’s wife was the daughter of Pamas’s brother, Banamu was in a \textit{berserturanmnopic}\textsuperscript{19} relationship to Pamas’s lineage and on occasion was able to act for it. He said that the body would initially be carried to Tavovil, a \textit{Kulepmu} ritual site owned by Picia, where a pig would be eaten, then the \textit{vavil} procession (part of \textit{Kulepmu}) would be worked on the way back to Kapinnekpek, another \textit{Kulepmu} ritual site but this one is owned by Bialong. This \textit{vavil} procession would show to everyone that Pamas had been boss of these two hamlets.

At 10.30am Pamas’s coffin was lifted up from his men’s house and taken across to \textit{Tavovil} ritual site where it was placed in the \textit{kosobo}, a fenced off inner section of the malagan ritual site which contained the \textit{vunotoŋ} “cold home”. While men followed the coffin into the \textit{kosobo}, the women stopped in the outer part of the malagan ritual site. Inside the \textit{kosobo} and next to the coffin some of the men start to make body decoration from leaf and flowers which they fastened under their belts in front of their bodies. At this stage many of the people had not slept for over fifty hours.

At 11.15am Banamu moved to stand behind the coffin and Picia began a speech in a loud voice, pacing from beside the coffin in the \textit{kosobo} through the fence to the outer malagan ritual site where the women were standing. He returned to stand beside the coffin and gave a chambered nautilus shell\textsuperscript{20} concealed in yellow plastic wrapping to Banamu.

\textsuperscript{18} Probably the \textit{marumarua} spirit.

\textsuperscript{19} The relationship between the children of two male siblings is called \textit{berserturanmnopic} and is a relationship of mutual assistance, particularly in malagan and other custom affairs. \textit{Berserturanmnopic} also refers to the relationship clan A will have with clan C through their common marriages to clan B. See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Nautilus pompilius}. 
FIGURE 4
Chapter 2  Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

FIGURE 5

FIGURE 6
FIGURE 7
FIGURE 8
Child wearing feather mask being held under coffin during vavil funeral procession from Aro Tavovil to Aro Kapinnekep during Pamas's funeral. 30-1-1984. Tatau village, N. Tatau.  (Photo NGE 1984/15/33).

FIGURE 9
Vavil' dance pattern during Pamas's funeral. Tatau village, N. Tatau.
FIGURE 10
Vavil dancers following the two telemi vavil during Pamas’s funeral. 30-1-1984. Tatau village, N. Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/16/3).

FIGURE 11
Vavil dancers in holding pattern during Pamas’s funeral. 30-1-1984. Tatau village, N. Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/16/8).
Banamu initially placed it down on the coffin, then picked it up again and gave a speech with tears running down his face. When he had finished speaking, Banamu placed the wrapped nautilus back on the coffin and stepped back. As the source image of the malagan Damas the chambered nautilus (argo) is one of the most powerful kaukup ci malaga malagans in Madas. Referring to "water outside" or "water is dry" the Damas is in structural opposition to the malagan Davovo "water container" or "water within".21

Another man then stepped forward beside the coffin and held in one hand a long rod from which hung a bundle of cir leaf, in the other hand he held a kovage feather headress. When he gave his speech he stood in the kosobo and addressed the men and women standing in the outer part of the malagan ritual site. Picia's young son Lege [Pekinmiteres] came forward and dropped a mis in the centre of the kosobo. Lege's kandere, a [Pekinmiteres] clan leader, placed another mis on top of it and was followed by a number of men and women from [Pekinmiteres] who entered the kosobo, dropped 5 or 10 or 20 toea coins on top of the mis, then returned to the outer part of the malagan ritual site. Lege picked up the mis and money and gave it to Picia who put it in his basket, addressed the outer ritual site while holding a bundle of cir leaf in his right hand. By paying Picia mis and money in his ritual site, Lege and his clan were paying for Lege's right to wear leaf tied to his front, representing the ciribor ownership rights (in Kulepnu) of the vavil funerary procession.

Picia then asked another very young boy to go and drop one mis in the centre of the outer ritual site, and this boy was followed by a number of other people dropping coins on top of the mis. This second payment was from Picia's clans-people to help the [Pekinmiteres] clan leader purchase the rights to the ciribor of vavil. Picia picked up the mis and money and placed it in another corner of his basket. After this action both Lege and his leader in [Pekinmiteres] clan would share in the ciribor of vavil with Picia.

As these exchanges were taking place the earth oven was being opened in the village square. Women left the malagan ritual site and Picia went out to check on the food. When ready, the food was brought into the ritual site and distributed on to the leaf plates of the men sitting down in the outer part of the ritual site. This pig feast was called boro-gatarave, and was to mark that the body was about to be taken to another malagan ritual site. The action of this feast generated a reciprocal feast called gabor si mi kurikuritaro ("eating pig on the ochred skin") which would have occurred several months later, probably after tutanua.

As others were feasting in the outer part of the ritual site, about ten men in the kosobo were busy preparing for the vavil procession and did not eat at this feast. Two were tying cir leaves to the end of long strings attached to two metre wooden staffs to make eivura rods. Others are using their fingers to paint green kuckuclep prophylactic paint on each another's foreheads, or to make kuckuclep hand prints on their own chests.

Picia's son seven/year old son Lege was fitted with a kakam white feather mask, and then Picia asked me to take a photograph of Lege, Banamu and himself standing beside the coffin, with Lege wearing the kakam mask and holding two arms full of cir leaves, and Picia holding the hidden Damas symbol with a branch of betel nuts at his feet (see Fig. 6). Picia then made sure I wrote down "...that he was holding the nautilus shell called Damas and that it holds full power, that Damas belongs to Madas, that only those men in vuno-Madas can see or hold it - Picia and Banamu". Banamu did not seem to object at having his power abused in this way by listening to Picia claiming something he did not have. Perhaps in his reticent way he felt that Picia could pretend what he wanted, but the truth would show itself in the end. I don't know what he thought, he just seemed to accept Picia's domination of the moment.

All the men in the kosobo except Picia then put feather masks on their faces and feather kovage headdresses on their heads (see Fig. 7). Picia picked up a branch of betelnut and placed himself in front of the men, the pall-bearers lifted up the coffin and the procession moved off as a vavil silent dance of masked men. At the beginning of the procession in

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21 For further discussion of Damas see Appendix A.

22 Taetis fructicosa
Tavovil malagan ritual site and again at the end when in Kapinnekep malagan ritual site all the dancers made the movements of beating a garamut, but these were movements of absolute silence. In front of the procession was Picia acting as om mognun mi tavovil (the leader or owner of the rights of the tavovil), followed by his son Lenge. Behind Lenge were the the tavovil masked dancers, then the pall-bearers. The front two pall-bearers between them held a small masked boy by the arms (see Fig. 8), and towards the back of the coffin another small masked boy walked underneath, held between two men. Wailing women followed behind as the procession headed out onto the main path inland between the two hamlets.

As they reached the Pekinatinis village square after travelling about 100 metres along the main path, they formed into an organised group, and to the beat of the garamut they advanced steadily towards the space in front of the bo and beriberu outside Pamas’s men’s house. Facing the main body of dancers about ten metres in front of them were two masked dancers (telemi tavovil) wearing kovage headaddresses and holding eivura rods. Moving slowly backwards in front of the main tavovil group (the tavovil leion), the two telemi tavovil lifted the eivura rods steadily from back to front, sweeping the ground in front of them at the end of each stroke, ‘calling’ the tavovil leion with the eivura23 (see Figs. 9, 10).

As they drew abreast of the men’s house, the dancers maintained a holding pattern (see Fig. 11) to the beat of the garamut, which stopped when Wowa [Obun], a vuna-malaga of Tarpla, stepped forward and called out the names of the Tarpla malagans which belonged to Pamas. As each malagan name was called out he threw down a piece of betel nut. He was followed by Banamu who marked Madas, then Picia who marked Vavara and Kulepmu. There was no-one present able to mark Vuvil, which was both relatively obscure and unpopular due to its connotations of sorcery. Tarpla was called first because it was the first malagan Pamas received when he was young.

After the marking of Pamas’s malagans the garamut was beaten again and the tavovil procession moved off to the malagan ritual site, where they held a final tavovil dance. When the dance finished Banamu and Picia stood up in front of everyone, and as Banamu held out the Damas they spoke about how Banamu shared the Damas with Pamas and that the Damas will be buried with him. Banamu, Picia, the church preacher, then Kanerau gave speeches in front of the grave. Then after Banamu had placed the Damas on top of the coffin24 it was lowered into the grave.

After sand was heaped on top of the coffin and flowers placed on top of the grave the tavovil group of men took off their masks and headaddresses then came together in a group. Picia gave a series of short blasts on the tavuri conch shell horn and these men ran out of the ritual site and into the village to collect all the beriberu leaf material and bring it back into the ritual site to throw in a heap at the foot of the grave. Picia then took a branch of betel nuts and as he threw down individual nuts he called out that as he did this he was indicating that they were now throwing away the rubbish of the beriberu. With a final blast on two tavuri horns the men threw the rubbish into the back corner of the malagan ritual site, behind a ficus tree. The kakam feather masks were collected together and hung on the end of the shelter which had been erected above the grave, two kovage headaddresses were hung on the balili bushes which mark the boundary between the malagan ritual site and the village. It was 1.40 in the early afternoon of the third day and Pamas was buried.

One and a half hours later Picia presided over a boro-teter25 pig feast sponsored by Bialong and held in the malagan ritual site. Bialong said that he had “big work over Pamas” so he was letting Picia act as ‘mouth-man’ at the feast. The men attending the feast were in two concentric circles: the inner group of men acting as Bialong’s work-group, when he wanted something done they did it. Toward the end of the feast Bialong stood up and gave a long speech about the virtues of tradition and custom to the stability of Tabar society. The conclusion of this feast marked the end of the burial period.

23 Interestingly the term eivura also refers to a rod used to hold bait fish in shark fishing.

24 According to other Madas men Banamu should have broken the Damas when he put it on the coffin.

25 Boro-teter was a pig feast which introduced a number of taboos which applied to all those men who attended. -teter means “to place”. An alternative name for this feast was boro-pon, where -pon means “cover him up”.
Summary of events - death and burial
In the afternoon after Pamas's death and as part of Kulepmu malagan Picia had erected a death chair and organised a collection of vegetation from the dead man's gardens. That first evening two pig feasts were held: one was an exclusive feast held in the malagan ritual site for all the men who belonged to the malagan subtraditions to which the dead man had also belonged; the other was held in the village square for the rest of the village population. Just before midnight the malagan men in the ritual site started to sing malagan songs as they moved slowly out of the malagan ritual site and began to thread their way through the village, finally settling in front of the men's house which held the dead man's body. Together the malagan men and the rest of the villagers sang malagan songs through the long night until dawn.

Next day there was a taboo on all work except that directly related to the funerary activity. At night there was a display of firespears over the dead man's men's house and a ritualised 'chasing of the wild dog' with bull-roarers, both parts within Madas malagan referring to the exorcism of the dead man's spirit. Just after midnight there another pig feast was held in the malagan ritual site for all males, and out in the village square the women, children, and those men who had put their Christian beliefs above malagan ritual sang secular songs.

On the morning of the third day the body was uplifted from the men's house and taken to the malagan ritual site of Tavui hamlet where its presence was marked with a pig feast. From there it was taken by masked pall bearers on a silent funerary procession (belonging to Kulepmu malagan) around the two hamlets. They paused in front of the dead man's men's house to call out the Big-Names of Pamas's malagans they then moved on to the malagan ritual site of Pekinatinis hamlet where Pamas was buried, together with a powerful symbol of Madas malagan. A final pig feast in the malagan ritual site marked the end of the burial period.

Role of malagan subtraditions during burial period
- Setting up death chair, a symbol of traditional death practices. Belongs to Kulepmu, or to all malagan traditions - unclear, there was debate on this point.
- Collection of leaf from dead man's garden and placed in front of the death chair. On to this mound of vegetation was eventually thrown objects and rubbish which had been used in malagan activity. Belongs to Kulepmu.
- Boro-vinekitip pig feast in Aro Kulepmu for all malagan men who shared in the same malagans as Pamas, transfer of ciribor to his heirs. Belongs to all malagan traditions.
- As malagan men came out from the Aro, and moved in a procession all around the village then joined the other mourners, they sang malagan songs from the 6 Big-Names subtraditions to which Pamas belonged. All the mourners then sing malagan songs until dawn. Belongs to all malagan traditions.
- Firespears and bull-roarers to indicate chasing the spirit of the dead man. Belongs to Madas.
- Boro-pan pig feast for all malagan men in the malagan ritual site. Belongs to all malagan traditions.
- Vavil procession. Belongs to Kulepmu.
- Boro-gaavarave pig feast for malagan men in Aro Kulepmu.
- Marking names of Pamas's Big-Name malagans Belongs to all malagan traditions.
- Damas image. Belongs to Madas.
- Boro-teter pig feast for all men in the malagan ritual site. Belongs to all malagan traditions.

It is worth noting that in the burial period malagan rights were worked as ritual behaviour but malagan sculpture was not displayed. Malagan activity was worked in the context of either Kulepmu or Madas subtraditions (both of which belonged to Pamas) or as part of the general malagan tradition worked on Tabar.
Disputes over ownership rights
There were a number of ongoing conflicts in Tatau village over the handling of Pamas's funeral. Immediately obvious was the set of differences between the traditional malagan men and those people who had joined the United Church's Prayer Group. This difference had reached quite bizarre proportions well prior to Pamas's death, proportions which were typified by the fence the Prayer Group had built around their church, ostensibly to keep out pigs. This fence was the only non-ritual site fence in the village and was built in such a way that it completely blocked the main path leading from one end of Tatau to the other. To continue walking people had to climb over the fence, walk through the church's grounds, climb over the fence again, then continue their walk. If they were transporting pigs they had to walk around the perimeter of the fence and pass through the main section of the hamlet. It is possible that this fence represented the Prayer Group's opposition to malagan ways, for within the village only malagan-oriented regions were fenced in such a manner, separating the living from the dead, the sacred from the profane.

However, this difference was not the main point of contention in Tatau at this time, for men were positioned in small groups discussing Picia's use of malagan traditions he did not own. As Pamas was boss of both of their malagan ritual sites Picia and Bialong were both key figures during the funeral, but because of his greater experience of things malagan Picia was assuming charge. There were aspects of Picia's use of malagan which people did not agree with, aspects concerning unauthorised use of malagan, modifying of malagan traditions to suit modern needs, and breaking taboos such as the prohibition against allowing women into the inner section of the malagan ritual site.

Much of the criticism dealt with the use of malagan aspects by people who did not have the rights to these parts. For example Picia asked Songis and his group to work the firespears and wild dog which belonged to Pamas's Madas malagan, but neither Picia nor Songis belonged to Madas. Against his better judgement Songis had agreed to work these malagan parts because Picia had asked him, for it would have been considered treacherous for one malagan man to refuse another malagan man, particularly in the light of the opposition from the church group. Another example of the unauthorised use of malagan concerned the talk around the grave-site when Picia and Banamu spoke in public about the power of Damas. As a man in Madas malagan Banamu had the right to talk about Damas but Picia did not.

A malagan, or parts of a malagan, can only be used by a person who owns the rights, and these rights are handed over in public through the ciribor mechanism. According to several critics Picia should have had the sorcerers working against him by this stage in the proceedings, but today, they said, no-one could be bothered to take any action.

Picia countered this charge of using malagan to which he had no rights by saying that he was working aspects of Madas malagan on behalf of Pamas, because Pamas was his clan leader. Pamas had intended to hand these parts of malagan over to Picia and to other people, but he died before he was able to accomplish this. Pamas was a traditional man and did not want malagan to die. If those aspects of malagan such as firespears and wild dog were not worked in public at Pamas's funeral then they would have died with Pamas. It was an argument that no malagan man could counter in public, so it passed without comment.

Another point of disagreement was over Picia's use of the bo death chair. Picia used it as a symbol of the real bo which exhibited a real body, but a number of people felt that it should be either the real bo or none at all. Salle said that the bo tradition was not a malagan tradition handed on from clan leader to initiate, but was a tradition belonging to everyone, and that Picia was appropriating it by his use of the tradition.

At this stage Picia was preparing against mounting public pressure to work the vavil procession, a part of the malagan Kulepmu to which again Picia apparently did not own the rights. However, there was apparently no man alive who had the right to use vavil and who could take Picia to court over the abuse of copyright. According to Salle, Picia had asked Bialong whether it was alright to work vavil. Bialong said he didn't know, that Picia should ask Kanerau [Pekila], another clan leader from Beku village (SE Simberi). Kanerau in his turn said that he didn't know enough to answer, that Picia should ask Bialong. Confronted with these two evasions Picia ignored the fact that they were both actually saying "no" and went ahead with the preparations.
Salle's argument, although inspired to a large extent by his new-found church beliefs, seemed to reflect the thinking of a number of leaders. But when the time came to act, the malagan men supported their Picia and took part in the vavil, even if in private they criticised Picia's motives and actions, and it was only the church men who actively withdrew from some of the malagan events.

Salle had more to add. Several months earlier Pamas and Picia had a major argument and Picia had moved out to his new village along the coast. Salle told me that: "Picia was concentrating on the ancestors' ways but was not consulting on others about his ideas on what was correct tradition. Picia had broken away from the main group of leaders on Tabar and was going it alone in his interpretation of the ancestral ways. Picia had only a few malagans but wanted to be a leader in malagan, a mi guc. So what he was doing was to work and sell malagans, which he did not own, to mainland New Ireland. Once he had worked a malagan he did not own on the mainland, he would then bring it back to Tabar as though he did in fact own it. Now on Tabar he was working parts of Madas which he did not own. In the process of going off alone Picia was stealing malagans, robbing his own clan of its heritage by giving things to his son which should go to his kandere, he was grooming his own son to be a guc, something he should have been doing to his sister's son. It was on these points that the rift between Pamas and Picia had developed."

I asked Picia about the question of ownership rights and he told me that he had received the rights to work both bo and beribera from Pamas. He used the analogy of a tree falling on top of another tree: "Pamas-tree fell on top of Picia-tree and Picia got the rights". As for working the vavil, Picia said that he had the rights to work the vavil from two sources: that Pamas together with Picia's clan leader (probably Picia's mother's brother in this context) gave it to Picia, so now all the power of vavil belongs to Picia. Picia said that the other clan leaders had talked with him and said that he must work the malagan parts which correctly belong to him, so he is going to work the vavil. Later on Bialong told me that he had approved everything in the name of Pamas which had occurred during this funeral. He approved all the work which Pamas owned, and rejected everything which Pamas did not have.

In theory malagan rites can only be worked by those who own rights to the same Big-Name malagan subtraditions which were owned by the dead person. No-one will question the procedure used by a person who shares in these rights. A person who shares in the malagan of the dead man can control those malagans, and with these rights is eligible to control a number of the remaining resources of the dead man, including his land. In practice a malagan man can work a malagan ceremony for a dead person if he wishes to demonstrate close links to the dead person, even if he does not share in the same malagan rights. His practice will be questioned in public, but if he works the malagans rather than controls them, then it appears that he will get away with it.

This type of interaction whereby a strong man will get away with 'breaking the rules' is typical of the dynamics working within the tradition of malagan to ensuring its survival in the face of change. From many comments about malagan on Tabar it became apparent that the 'traditional rules of malagan' was the nucleus around which malagan evolved. Strong characters would introduce new elements into malagan by breaking the rules, but once the exception had been accepted by the audience, then this exception would become part of the tradition.

A person acting as mi guc (mouth man) is a person who can be in the position of working a malagan ceremony, controlling the direction and thrust of events, and be seen to be a man of action, passion, and a man of devotion to the dead person. But he does not control the destiny of the malagans of the dead man, for the ownership of these malagans remains with those who shared the malagan with him. So ultimately the mouth man is just that, a man of gesture and a centre of action, but not a man sharing the real power. The real
power in Tabar society lies with the owners of the malagan, for the sharing of ownership of a person’s malagans is a sharing of that person’s cultural identity.

2.4 *Varam* malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

Work for the *varam* malagan ceremony began soon after dawn on the day after Pamas had been buried. By mid-morning three sides of the malagan ritual site had been screened with tall coconut fronds, the seaward side being left open. By this time the frame of the *perebui* type of malagan display house (belonging to *Kulepnu*) was already assembled and once the malagan ritual site was screened from the village two men (one each from [Pekiniteres] and [Kuk k. Saterir m.] clans) began building the malagan display house in *Aro Kulepnu*.

Just after midday there was a small feast called *mi reji* was held in the outer ritual site in front of the malagan house to repay workers for building the malagan display house. The *rerere* types of feast are also used to finish the construction of malagan sculpture and can be used to end certain taboos. As food the workers ate pig meat which was left over from the *boro-teter* burial feast of the previous day, together with sweet potato rice and tinned fish. Before everyone began to eat Bialong took a little piece of food and spat it away towards the sea in an action termed *tetepige* which was said to chase off the dead man’s spirit. Bialong did not eat at this meal, but sat and watched the others. When everyone had finished eating Bialong stood up and handed a leaf of tobacco to Helen Momon’s brother Ki, who jointly owned the malagan with her. Bialong then called out Ki’s name and said that the tobacco was *laka* for the malagan display house. Bialong then others of his clan handed around tobacco or 10 toea coins to all the malagan workers, including myself. At the end of the *laka* payment I had six leaves and 10t.

After the *rerere* feast Bialong and two others then begin to fence off the part of the ritual site which contained the grave (a part called the *kosobo*) from the outer part of the ritual site containing the malagan display house. Placed close to the grave were the two *kovage* headdress, feather from the *bo* death chair, and the *kakam* feather masks. Baliu leaf had been cut from most of the fence posts.

Once the fence had been constructed it was then covered with a thick coconut frond screen allowing a small entrance-way through which one entered by pushing aside the fronds. I paid a 20 toea *laka* to enter the *kosobo* and watch Bialong and another man who had *ciribor* in *Kulepnu* begin constructing the malagan, a *rarau pelepele si mi Kulepnu*. Pamas had given the rights for this malagan to Bialong’s clan quite some time ago, and Bialong had already given them to Pamas’s children in [Sepiv] clan. The rights to the malagan itself were owned by Helen Momon, Pamas’ semi-adopted daughter.

First a bamboo frame was constructed with one end hooked into the fence and the other end rested on the forks of two small posts. A four metre length of rattan, which had been earlier smuggled into the ritual site inside a hollow bamboo, was bent into an oval shape and forced inside the frame. The ends of the rattan were cut to a long taper and were joined by tying a splice, then the rattan was tied to the bamboo frame. Rattan subframe pieces were carefully measured then fitted, and a central hole which Bialong called *matali* (‘eye of fire’) was made of rattan. This central hole is very important to the malagan, and

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27 Screening off the malagan ritual site was the ba part of the procedure for malagan house construction.

28 Erecting the malagan house frame is the bunawanua section of malagan house construction.

29 Also called vevekitip for short (*veve-* = to cook in an earth oven; -kitip = to protect).

30 *Matali* is a name more usually associated with the central element in *Valik* malagan sculptures although I recorded a *matali* hole in a *Kulepnu* from one other informant; this central hole in a *Kulepnu* was also referred to as *matanias* (‘sun’ or ‘eye of sun’) by two other informants.
by the time this stage was reached eight people were working on the construction. Later and in private Songis told me that this hole in the centre of a Kulepmu was called matabembem, not matafin, that Bialong had made a mistake. Matabembem means a hole which breaks this malagan in two, and a pig should have been killed for this hole. Previously this flat type of malagan, known as a ciri-malaga because it is a malagan made of materials other than wood, was covered in a barkcloth made from the cambium of the breadfruit tree, but Pamas had changed the design so that they could use copra sack instead.

After the copra sack was sewn onto the frame the men stopped working for the day and a small regereger meal was brought in and placed beside the malagan frame in the inner kosobo. Bialong picked up a small piece of the sweet potato and spat it out over the fence into the sea, then gave a short speech toward the sea to clear away any evil forces, to make them happy. Then we sat and ate birabor hot fat from the pig’s belly and sweet potato within two metres of the new grave. Bialong ate a little of this food. When we had finished this greasy meal the men wiped their hands on the three types of leaf decoration which were used in yesterday’s burial.

After we had finished our regereger meal we emerged from the secluded kosobo in the late afternoon and found about twenty five men in the outer ritual site waiting to have the ngaurbol feast - “close to the grave”. For ngaurbol the food consisted of the head of the pig from the previous day’s boro-teter feast in the malagan ritual site after the burial, together with tapiok, sweet potato, and sago.

Bialong opened this feast with a short speech, then removed the pig’s jawbone (pumu se bor) and placed it beside the head. Bialong had previously bought the ciribor rights to this action from his clan leader. Only the controller of a feast with ciribor for the action is allowed to remove the rope tying a pig’s jawbone, or remove the jawbone from a pig’s head. Ciribor rights also apply to undoing the rope which binds a cooked parcel of fish, although once the parcel is unbound it can be opened by anyone.

After Daniel Madassanqala [Damok] had stood up and said a Christian prayer everyone except Bialong ate the food. As the men were eating Bialong got up and gave a lecture about the customs of Tabar relating to reciprocity and malagan ceremonial activity. The nub of his argument was that if a man does not contribute pigs or malagans to his wife’s clan’s ceremonies, then that person is a “rubbish man”. In the old days, this man’s wife would be taken away from him and someone more worthy would marry her. Bialong said that he had noted who helped with the feasts by contributing rice, sugar, tea, and other imported foods, showing him that they bore no grudge against him. He has noted who they are and will later on help them in return.

Early next morning we found Bialong sitting down outside the Catholic Church shop with a look of resignation on his face. His pig had escaped overnight and he had sent a number of men up into the bush with dogs to try and find it. “If they find it shortly the varam ceremony will be today, if not then it will be tomorrow.” Everything hinged on whether or not they found the pig, for wet lime can stick to a copra bag only for a few hours. Nevertheless Bialong decided to keep going with the construction of the Kulepmu malagan, hoping that his pig would arrive. Later on we found out that Pavut’s pig had also escaped that night.

So by 8.30am the malagan display house was completed, so its front was screened with coconut leaf fronds. Salle, Banamu, and Pavut were all in the kosobo watching Bialong plastering lime and water on to the surface of the stretched copra sack. The ingredients to make the ol red paint were smuggled into the malagan ritual site. Ol is made from the roots of a three to four metre tall tree; the roots are yellow in colour, but when the scraped skin of the roots is squeezed and the resultant juice is mixed with lime in half coconut shells it turns a bright red. Both men who were involved with the extraction of red paint from the ol had received their Kulepmu from Pamas. As paint was being extracted Salle took a knife and drew the outline of two fish on the wet lime, adjusting then readjusting the picture until it was symmetrical. Salle was chosen by Bialong to help make the malagan, and as he had already paid laka to work on this type of malagan he was free to come and help. As a recent convert to the Prayer Group branch of Christianity, it was very unusual for Salle to take part in any malagan activity, so outlining the design on the Kulepmu indicated some special degree of obligation toward the dead man or toward
Bialong. According to Bialong, Salle [Damok] was a brother of Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] despite being in another matabu. Using a tree analogy Bialong said that: “Pamas was big enough to cover up both Salle and Bialong”. After marking the edge of the outline with red ol and handing over the yellow paint, Salle then handed over his paint brushes made from madape stem to two other workers to fill in the pattern, and left the kosobo and went back to the village.

At the same time as the Kulepmu malagan was receiving its final coat of paint, some pieces of ap plant were hung onto the surematgigi yellow and black striped maso poles on the malagan display house.

At mid-day a garamut drum was brought in and placed beside the malagan display house. Bialong and Lomekun [Keis] come out from the kosobo holding the Kulepmu malagan. Standing in front of the display house Bialong called out to the assembled men that he had received the rights to this malagan from his kandere, then he and Lomekun turned around and fastened the malagan to the wall of the display house (see Fig. 12). When this was completed the men in the malagan ritual site gathered around and sat down facing the front of the display house (see Fig. 13) and Lomekun began the first of five Kulepmu songs. Although different men took the lead in each of the songs, Bialong did not sing. During the last song Picia brought five large branches of betel nut into the ritual site and placed them in front of the malagan house. When the last song finished Picia took two betel nuts and threw them one by one on to the ground in front of him and called out: “Caramegil, Balene, Ladavak”. These names are those of previous leaders in Kulepmu, and are also names used in some versions of the taataias for Kulepmu. In this instance Caramegil was also a reference to Pamas. When Picia had finished speaking Lomekun called out the taataias chant for the Kulepmu malagan. Lomekun, a senior man with ciribor in Kulepmu, was probably acting on Helen Momon’s behalf.

Songis, Tulu, myself and others then gave Bialong some money to help out for this small non-pig mamas feast. A layer of coconut leaf was laid in the centre of the malagan ritual site and a number of parcels of cooked sweet potato are brought in and laid on top of the leaves. When Songis sat down at a malagan feast he was always honoured by having the greasy leaf which had wrapped the food placed in front of him. This leaf would then be covered with a fresh breadfruit leaf to act as a plate for the sweet potato which was then distributed. As people were eating I noticed a mound of tobacco leaves had been placed between Bialong and Picia. These tobacco leaves, together with 10 toea coins, were then distributed as payments by the hosting clans to many people for many reasons. This mamas feast was to mark the end of the construction of the malagan sculpture. The major varam feast was to be held later on in the afternoon.

Banamu had earlier told me that during varam there would be a payment of mis for the pig, and that this payment would mark the end of varam. Bialong’s clan would give money to the men who had pigs for varam, and anyone could give money to Bialong to help him. Pavut (the local magistrate) then told me that [Saterir] and [Sepiv] clans and all of the lineages associated with them were paying for the pig and as well as for the malagan. Bialong was now in the process of taking over all the malagans and all the land of Pamas, so he could now stand up on the step of Pamas’s achievements.

The payment for pigs took place in the village square and involved people counting out how much money they had to indicate that they were going to support Bialong to pay for the pigs used in varam. Bialong laid down two mis to start the accumulation of mis and Picia put down 2 kina to start the accumulation of money. Each of the pig owners then stood up and said that because Pamas had helped them they could not accept payment for the pig.

31 A store bought tempera paint, the traditional yellow kebet comes from a tree which grows only near big rivers and there are no big rivers near Tatau village.

32 Alpina sp.

33 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1401.

34 Probably tumeric.
Payment was offered by Bialong but refused by the pig owners who said that they would give the pig for free, thus discharging their obligations.

Early in the mid-afternoon a number of people in [Saterir] and [Sepiv] clans, as well as those people who wanted to help Bialong, sat in a circle around Bialong who was sitting in front of a coconut leaf mat in the village square. All around him were the sounds of money clinking as people counted out how much they had. Picia initiated these va-varam proceedings by standing up and speaking of Pamas. Paulo, a mainland New Ireland man who had become affiliated to [Sepiv] clan through his marriage to Picia’s sister, spoke briefly of Pamas. Pavut spoke of Pamas and of money, then Picia stood up and spoke briefly.

After a five minute break Bialong laid down two mis on the mat, then Picia put down 2 kina. Bialong spoke of varam, but after mentioning his kin relationship to Pamas he broke down and cried, and everyone looked down or looked away. There were tears on the face of Sola’s wife Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.]. Picia then spoke at some length, and everyone chorused “akelei” (thank you) when he finished. Paulo then stood up and said that he would refuse payment for the pig from Bialong because Pamas had looked after him. Melu [Sepiv] then got up and said that he wouldn’t accept payment for the pig. Pavut then spoke on behalf of his children in [Kuk k. Saterir m.] clan: “When Pamas was old Helen Momon had looked after him. When he was close to death Pamas had said that Momon should get a female pig to cover up the ceremony. Momon had purchased this pig for 2 kina. Two male pigs and three baby pigs are to go out of Pavut’s child’s clan during this funeral, unfortunately the three baby pigs escaped last night.” Picia then indicated that as his children were also helped by Pamas then his pig did not need payment.

After everyone felt satisfied with the outcome the men returned to the malagan ritual site and settled themselves down to await the beginning of the varam malagan ceremony. This malagan aspect of varam began late in the afternoon with a tagajas chant for Kulepnu called out by LibialJ [Kuk k. Saterir m.]35. A cooked pig and a large mound of sweet potato was in the centre of the malagan ritual site and about 100 men and boys were sitting around the perimeter. The pig was opened by Bialong in the two stages appropriate for Kulepnu: the rope fastening its mouth was taken off, then the jawbone was removed. Vavara malagan apparently has a variation in the procedure for opening a pig after removing the rope, a procedure which involves the boss vuna-malaga cutting the middle of the pig with a knife - an action termed coktebik, and then finally removing the jawbone. In some malagans coktebik is a boundary or liminal phase; in Vavara it involves activity in the kosobo to become a senior lakaki man in malagan. Picia, Bialong, and four others then stood holding lengths of mis between them while Picia called out the names of those people who were to receive mis. Bialong then gave a mis to Melu [Sepiv], and Picia gave a mis each to Paulo, Singot [Sepiv], and LibialJ [Kuk k. Saterir m.]. The pig meat was then distributed and the varam feast finished at 5.15pm36.

**Summary of events - varam malagan ceremony**

Varam was a malagan ceremony used to end many of the taboos which had been in force since the death and was held in the malagan ritual site two days after the burial of the dead man. The ceremony was nominally sponsored by Pavut’s daughter, Helen Momon [Kuk k. Saterir m.], a kandere of Picia’s. Helen Momon’s and Pavut’s connection to Pamas was a long standing obligation which arose when Pamas looked after Pavut when he was young,

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35 According to Songis the tagajas should have been called out by Bialong as the owner of the malagan ritual site.

36 The final payment of mis by Picia, Bialong and others in [Saterir] clan to people in [Sepiv] clan was as not as clear to me as I would have liked. Although the payments in general were across the marriage lines, and in effect appeared to be payments by those in the moiety of the dead man to those in the opposing moiety, I am still in doubt. Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.] gave 1 mis each to Paulo [Sepiv], Singot [Sepiv], and LibialJ [Kuk k. Saterir m.]. Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] gave 1 mis to Melu [Sepiv]. It appears that [Sepiv] clans-people were paid the mis for the pig; and LibialJ was paid a mis in his role as a senior man in Kulepnu at the transfer of Pamas’s Kulepnu malagans to Bialong.
Chapter 2 Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

FIGURE 12

FIGURE 13
and later Pamas looked after Pavut's daughter Helen Momon so that people came to think of Momon as Pamas's semi-adopted daughter. To repay this obligation to Pamas two pigs belonging to Helen Momon were to be used during the \textit{varam} ceremony, and the \textit{Kulepmu} malagan sculpture displayed during \textit{varam} was one which Pamas had previously given to Helen Momon and her sister Dorothy Wonani.

To begin the work of \textit{varam}, the malagan ritual site was fenced off from the village with coconut fronds, a malagan house was constructed inside the ritual site near the grave, a \textit{Kulepmu} malagan was made and hung on the wall of the malagan house, then songs belonging to the malagan were sung in front of it.

The first feast of \textit{varam} was held during the late afternoon of the day after the burial. This small feast was referred to as "close to the grave" and they ate the head of the pig which had been used at the last feast of the previous day, together with tapiok, sweet potato, and sago. A second small feast was held after the malagan sculpture had been constructed and hung in the display house.

Out in the village square a payment was made for the pigs, an action which finished the \textit{varam} period. At the same time the land and malagans of the dead man were transferred to Bialong, the controller of the malagan ceremony.

\textbf{Role of malagan subtraditions in \textit{varam}}

Unlike the burial period which involved a mixture of both \textit{Kulepmu} and \textit{Madas} Big-Name malagan activity from a number of participants in Pamas's clan, \textit{varam} utilised only \textit{Kulepmu} malagan belonging to Helen Momon's rights which came to her from Pamas:

- Construction of malagan display house. \textit{Kulepmu}.
- Construction and display of malagan sculpture. \textit{Kulepmu}.
- Calling of \textit{tarjaljas} ownership chants for \textit{Kulepmu}.
- Procedure for removing pig's jawbone. \textit{Kulepmu}.

\textit{Varam} is the starting point for the manufacture and creation of malagan sculptures for the dead person, and for this first taboo-breaking ceremony a \textit{kupkup ci malaga} sculpture is used, a type of malagan said to be like a "fountain of water, clean and light" and used to ritually cleanse the mourners. This is the first context for malagan sculpture, and should emphasise to us that malagan is no light matter, malagan sculpture is not made for meaningless purposes. Malagan's primary use is in this phase of a person's ritual life is to enable the people to adjust to death.

\textbf{Malagan and the transfer of land ownership}

Early in the morning of the day after Pamas's burial it became apparent that there was a problem involving Pamas's land, and it was a problem which needed resolution at Pamas's \textit{varam} malagan ceremony. Pavut [Damok], the Tatau Magistrate, consulted with the Tatau Councillor, Edward Salle [Damok] to resolve this problem.

In recent years Pamas had been working his sweet potato gardens and coconuts on coastal land which belonged to Pavut, because Pamas's own land was up in the hills and Pamas was too old to go climbing every day. As Pamas had been the last survivor of his clan, his land (the land he had worked) should have gone to Helen Momon and her clan because of the father-daughter relationship which had existed between Pamas and Helen Momon. But Pavut was not in a position to give the land which Pamas had been working to Helen Momon (one of Pavut's children), for his clan said that the land should remain with Pavut's clan. If Pamas had actually owned the land he had been working before he died, this land could have been given to Helen Momon and her siblings. As Bialong was the closest surviving kinsman (but in another lineage), he was the rightful person to inherit Pamas's land and malagans, and \textit{varam} was the correct malagan ceremony to transfer both the land and the malagans from Pamas to Bialong.

In order to transfer malagan ownership from a dead person to someone living in a related clan, consent must be gained by a public show of support at a \textit{varam} malagan
ceremony. This support would take the form of assistance in buying the pigs and should normally come from both the dead person's children's clan as well as from other clans which consider themselves to be involved for one reason or another.

In order to transfer malagans from the dead to the living the *kupkup ci malaga* malagans should be worked before all other malagans, for *kupkup ci malaga* are considered to be the head[^37] of the other malagans in a grouping, the ones which come first and carry with them the rights to own the grouping which the dead man owned. Once the head of the malagan is transferred at a *varam* ceremony this means that the rest of the malagans in this grouping will follow later. This initial transferral is to ensure that any ambiguities about the malagan are finished at the first malagan ceremony after the death of a malagan owner. *Kupkup ci malaga* are worked at *varam* malagan ceremonies because the direct connection with the actual death gives the malagan more power, for this reason the malagans which are worked at *varam* are seen only by the males of the families directly involved.

The *Kulepmu* malagan sculpture displayed at the *varam* ceremony was a *kupkup ci malaga* which had originated from rights which had been held by Pamas but he had given by them to Helen Momon. By nominally sponsoring this malagan and contributing the pig which must be eaten with it, Helen Momon was discharging her obligation to Pamas. As Pamas's closest kinsman, and as the recipient of Pamas's land and malagans, Bialong was the controller of the *varam* ceremony. During this ritual Bialong received the rights to Pamas's malagans which were represented by Helen Momon's *Kulepmu kupkup ci malaga*. In receiving the rights to Pamas's malagans Bialong also received the land which Pamas had owned.

**Ownership of malagan rights**

Helen Momon was acting in two roles during this series of malagan ceremonies. As Pamas's adopted daughter she was nominal sponsor of the malagan ceremony, but as a person within the same major clan as Pamas ([Saterir]) who had received *Kulepmu* malagan from Pamas, she was also acting as one of Pamas's clans-people with her *Kulepmu* under Bialong's control. As a woman she did not enter the malagan ritual site or take part in the organisation or in the working of the ceremony. Instead Momon's brother Kia received or paid on her behalf.

Bialong, as heir apparent to Pamas's land and malagans and as organiser of Pamas's malagan ceremony, used Helen Momon's malagan sculpture and malagan house during the *varam* ceremony and paid her *laka* (through the medium of her brother) for the privilege. As heir apparent Bialong abstained from eating during all the public feasts, but not from those feasts in the *kosobo* which were associated with making malagan sculpture next to the corpse.

Pamas had previously given the rights for the *Kulepmu* to Bialong's clan ([Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], and Bialong had since given it to Pamas's children in [Sepiv] clan. So Helen Momon (in [Kuk k. Saterir m.] clan) was acknowledged as the only person in Pamas's clan who still owned the rights to this malagan from Pamas.

However it was also understood that both clans[^38] would together work this malagan owned by Helen Momon who, because of her adopted status, could be considered as both 'clan' and 'child'. [Saterir] clan would take precedence, but [Sepiv] would support. This relationship was expressed in the agreement about the pig to be used for the *varam* ceremony. If Bialong's pig was unable to be captured, a pig owned by [Sepiv] would be used instead.

[^37]: An analogy refers to a baby born head first.

[^38]: Pamas's [Saterir] clan and his children's [Sepiv] clan.
Chapter 2 Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

**Pigs**

Pigs are essential to the working of malagan ceremonies. Every malagan ceremony uses the consumption of pigs as a key aspect of the ritual, and in theory at least every malagan sculpture should be displayed with an accompanying pig lying in the feast in front of it. This is particularly true if the rights to malagan sculpture are going to change hands.

There was a lot of discussion about pigs and how the payment of various pigs would be waived for various reasons. However, when the feast finally eventuated only one pig ended up as meat. The non-appearing pigs were used as devices to cancel debts previously owed to the dead man, or to bring to public notice semi-forgotten obligations owed, but now cancelled.

Escaping pigs seems to be a face-saving as well as pig-saving ploy. Three separate individuals spoke of pigs which would have been contributed to the *varam* ceremony, but which unfortunately escaped overnight and which were hiding in the bush. It would appear that once it is apparent that at least one appropriate pig has firmly been committed (in this case it was Helen Momon’s pig) then the other pigs which had been committed are found to have ‘escaped’.

2.5. *gabor* malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

Late in the afternoon of the 3rd of February a non-malagan feast (no name given) was held in Bialong’s malagan ritual site which was not directly related to Pamas’s death. This feast was centered around the head of a pig which was given to Kanerau during the funeral for a Mapua woman who had died on Buka Island (North Solomons Province). Kanerau had sent it over to Tatau from Simberi Island so that he could contribute as a clan leader to Pamas’s funerary activities. During this feast Bialong gave a church prayer in Tabar language, Picia called out the names of the leaders there (Songis, Paulus and two others) and had sweet potato and tapiok carried over to them, Sola helped distribute food, and Picia opened the pig’s jaw and separated it from the head.

Early next day people began to prepare for the *gavo vo* ‘drink coconut’ ceremony to pledge pigs for the forthcoming *gabor* ceremony. Work began with the opening of a hot *vaivi* earth oven, placing two pigs inside on the hot stones, then sealing it off again with green leaves, stones and earth. In the village square people were preparing *biabor* packages for cooking. *Biabor* is a type of black pudding made from pigs’ blood together with the liver and other pig’s guts, pig’s legs, *caman* leaves (found growing either in the forest or inside the malagan ritual site), and other green vegetable leaves. All these ingredients are mixed together when the pig’s blood is fresh, then wrapped in *vaum* leaf to form a flat package, and cooked in the earth oven. *Biabor* is very similar in contents to the *pili* which is used only in malagan and which differs in appearance by having a pointed top. This *biabor* was eaten during a *mamas* feast in the malagan ritual site two days later.

At 2pm there was a payment of twist tobacco and a little money given to the pallbearers for carrying Pamas’s body. This payment was called *susiriv* (to wash them, to make them clean).

*Gavo vo vo vawapek* ‘a small coconut drink’ was the first section of the *gavo vo* ceremony. It began at 2.30pm when men brought several dozen freshly peeled coconuts and placed them in a mound in the centre of the malagan ritual site. About ten branches of betel nut were hung up on the fence, packets of sweet potato and tapiok were brought in, then Sola and another man began to beat the garamut. Rain began, and everyone ran for shelter.

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39 Also called *udugut*.

40 Also recorded as *nambor, yambor*.

41 *Pandanus pacificus*. 

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Chapter 2  Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

After the rain abated Picia opened the gavovo with a talk about the occasion, then he was followed by Madassanaqa giving a Christian prayer in Tabar language. All men present were given four coconuts with their food, then they started eating. Bialong paid more pieces of twist tobacco to those who carried the coffin, and then Picia and Larektiu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] distributed betel nut. Coconuts were opened, not by chopping the top off in the normal fashion, but by breaking them at the equator then holding them above the head and squeezing them so that the delicious liquid poured down into the throat.

After everyone had finished eating food scraps were cleared away from the central leaves, then a coconut was removed, then replaced. Then it went away again, then back, then away, then back, then away, then back, then away, then back. Each time the coconut was moved another pig was pledged. Finally I had to ask Songis who had pledged pigs with whom, for the subtleties of pledging were not at all obvious to me.

Songis spoke of two types of pledging:
- To place a coconut down and have someone else pick it up indicates that the head of the pig will be returned to its original clan leader. Mis would then be exchanged by the two pledging partners during the gabor feast.
- If a man places a coconut down and picks it up again then this indicates that he is purchasing the pig himself. This man will buy a pig from his clan or from his children. During the feast the head of this pig will be given to someone else, probably to the controller of the feast, in this instance it would be to Bialong. Bialong would not immediately reciprocate this pig’s head because he would understand that it was a form of tribute.

After thinking about it for a minute, Songis said that the following manipulations of the coconut occurred:

i) Leqe [Pekinmiteles] (Picia’s son) was the first to put a coconut down, Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.] picked it up.
ii) Divir [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] put a coconut down, Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] (Divir’s kandere) picked it up.
iii) Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] put one down then picked it up again.
iv) Wandalu (father of Divir, and a man born on mainland New Ireland and who had married Bialong’s sister) put a coconut down and picked it up again.
v) Kiŋ [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (Pavut’s son) put one down, then picked it up again.
vi) Paulo [Sepiv] put one down and picked it up.

In total there were six pigs pledged for Thursday’s gabor feast.

As these men were busy pledging pigs the remains of the bo chair, the last visible sign of Pamas’s death, was removed. At 5 o’clock the main gavovo ceremony began. Men sat around the perimeter of the ritual site with leaf plates in front of them. In the centre was one pig and a mound of parcels of sweet potato and sago. Bialong and Picia then each held the end of two mis joined together and Picia called out the names of the senior leaders present: Songis, Salin, Salle. He then said that the two mis and a handful of money were payment for the pigs. Distribution of the food and pig began after grace was given by the United church preacher. As there was only one pig in the malagan ritual site and two pigs had been cooked I assume that the other pig was eaten by the women and others in the village.

Preparation for the construction of the five malagan sculptures started as early as the afternoon of the 3rd of February, six days before the gabor ceremony, and construction work began in earnest on the 6th. The construction of the sculptures and the malagan display house is available for inspection at the Northern Territory Museum, Darwin, Australia.
Immediately below this *Vavara* was a *Kulepmu*, beneath it was a *Vuvil*, and at the bottom was an oval eyed *Vavara*. The brilliant lustrous green of the wall of the malagan house gave a strong backing for the predominant reds and yellows of the malagans hanging on it. Next to the malagan house was a malagan mask displayed on a bush materials body. When completed the display looked very striking (see Fig. 14).

Briefly, these malagans were:

i) An oval eyed *Curkoso si mi Vavara* with a *soksokbor* paint design was displayed by Bialong because he was Pamas’s closest kinsman. Pamas had received the rights to *Vavara* from both his father and his mother’s brother, and before he died he had given rights for *Vavara* to Bialong. Bialong decided to use two *Vavara* in this display because of their significance to Pamas; the best one he was to work himself, and the other would be worked by Manuel Pejas. The oval eyed *Curukoso si mi Vavara* malagan which was to lead the display was considered the best of its *tabataba*, a *tabataba* which belonged to [Keis] clan. Because of its importance this malagan could not be sold to another *matabu*, and would stay within the same *kivavudi* lineage. Bialong worked this malagan for free and did not accept any payment; he retained the rights and did not transfer it to anyone else.

ii) A round eyed *Papkaber si mi Vavara* with a *purapurakuvu* paint design was displayed by Manuel Pejas and his daughter Lobo because Lobo had married Picia’s sister’s son Kovaa. The rights to this malagan had come to Manuel from his father Kioli. Manuel gave it to his daughter Lobo who gave it to Bialong because of her marriage into his *matabu*. The *taqalak* payment for this *Vavara* went to Manuel for working the malagan, Manuel then gave the payment to Lobo as owner. As the organiser and controller of the *gabor* malagan ceremony Bialong gained rights to this malagan, so the malagan was now understood to have ‘broken’ into four ‘pieces’ (to Kioli, Manuel, Lobo, and Bialong), and each of these four people now had the rights to work this malagan. This round eyed *Papkaber si mi Vavara* had previously ‘broken’ and rights to this malagan were owned by several clans.

iii) A horizontal *rarau si mi Kulepmu* featuring two fish was displayed by Helen Momon because Pamas had looked after her when she was young. Momon worked this malagan for free and did not accept any payment; she and her clan did not transfer the rights to this malagan and retained ownership of it.

iv) A horizontal *rarau si mi Vuvil* featuring four small heads displayed by Kovlaa because he was in the same *matabu* as Pamas. This *Vuvil* was a bush malagan, its *tabataba* was owned by [Barabar] clan because it had originally belonged to Palanpuit [Barabar], who passed some of it to his children in [Keis] clan. Kovlaa had received the rights to this malagan from his mother’s father Lamet [Barabar]. Kovlaa worked this malagan for free and did not accept any payment; he did not transfer the rights to this malagan and retained ownership of it.

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43 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1400.

44 Meaning that [Keis] clan named the origin of this malagan. The transfer links between between [Keis] clan and Bialong were not made clear to me.

45 National Museum of Papua New Guinea registration no. ?

46 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1401.

47 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1402.
Vuvil had been owned by Pamas, but although he had talked of working his Vuvil and handing it on to Bialong, he died before he could do this. Although there were at least 6 people in Tatau village who were Vuvil owners, no-one at Pamas’s funeral felt able or willing to sing any Vuvil songs and no-one called out the names of the Vuvil malagans belonging to Pamas. Vuvil’s reputation as a malagan used in sorcery may have been the reason for this omission, for the growing strength of the Prayer Group church certainly made its presence felt during Pamas’s funeral. Prior to painting this malagan the workers pressed protective paint to the sides of the eye, at the base of the throat, at the base of the sternum and on the upper vertebra at the top of the back.

v) A malagan mask called Nicmager was displayed on a bush materials body by Iakob [Saterir] who was acting on his son Luŋaŋa’s behalf. Both Iakob and Luŋaŋa [Kucikuc] jointly owned this malagan. The malagan was displayed because Luŋaŋa had married Sion [Saterir], a kins-woman of Pamas. The taryalak payment for this malagan went to Luŋaŋa who gave part to Wowa [Obun] for working the malagan. As the organiser and controller of the gabor malagan ceremony Bialong gained rights to this malagan.

Early in the morning of the 9th, at around about the same time as the malagans were being painted, pigs were being trapped all around Tatau village. Large, well-formed, and normally intelligent pigs would be fooled into taking a piece of fresh coconut meat proffered to them on the end of a long stick (see Fig. 15). Manoeuvring into position to get at the food the pig would step into the noose which was pushed under an unattended front foot. Within a few seconds the panic-stricken pig would be on its back with its legs bound.

Initially five pigs were brought into the village square in the centre of Pekinatinis hamlet, four were left lying there panting, trussed up with two stout logs between their legs and across the chest. The other pig was already dead and was singed on top of a fire while the site was being cleaned and the surface sprinkled with clean white sand. By 10.30am there were eleven pigs lying trussed in the sun (see Fig. 16), ten were still panting and one had already died of heart failure caused by sunstroke and the weight on its heart. By 10.50am two more pigs had died and the rest had been dragged into the shade.

Thinking that he had better begin the action before any more pigs died Bialong came running out of the malagan ritual site with cir leaves in each hand, tied to the front of his belt, and with a large bunch of leaves tied behind him, his face and upper chest covered with lime. He ran around the outside of the pigs, calling out the virtues of Pamas. After a full circuit he stood in front of all the pigs, then called out in a loud voice that there were not enough pigs to pay respect for Pamas. He ran around the pigs again and repeated this call, then stopped and called out the name of the owners of each pig. After this public acknowledgement of their contribution the owners went back to their pigs and strangled them. Each pig was laid on its side and strong poles were punched into the ground on either side of its neck. When seated firmly enough in the ground the two poles were pulled together so that the pig’s breathing stopped, and the snout was then tied; if the ground was soft then death could take five minutes or more. To test for death the eye was pushed shut, if it stayed closed then the pig was considered dead. It would then be lifted up on support poles, have dry coconut leaves piled around it and would then be singed in a fast hot fire.

Once the malagan sculptures were satisfactorily hung in the display house and about 150 men and boys had filled the ritual site in front of the malagan display, the gabor malagan ceremony began with tagtajias chants being called out for the three malagan Big-Name subtraditions - Vavara, Kulempu, and vanis (as part of Verim). As they called out, each of

48 Made from kuckuelp leaf, lime and sea water.

49 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1320.

50 Luŋaŋa [Kucikuc] was working on the mainland of PNG at the time and was unable to attend.
FIGURE 14
Completed gabor malagan display house vuno vavara with (from top): round eye Vavara (NATMUSPNG); rarau pelepele si mi Kulepmu (NGE 1401); rarau pelepele si mi Vuvil (NGE 1402); Curkoso soksookbor si mi Vavara (NGE 1400); with vanis nicmaget si mi Verim (NGE 1320) to the side. 8-2-1984. Aro Kapinmekpek, Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo 1984/19/10).
FIGURE 15
Snaring a trusting pig. Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo 1984/18/18).

FIGURE 16
FIGURE 17
Picca dancing on top of two pig carcasses; gabor malagan ceremony. 9-2-1984. Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/19/14).

FIGURE 18
Carving the pigs; gabor malagan ceremony. 9-2-1984. Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/19/17).
the owners (or their male representatives in the case of women owners) stood up in front of the malagan display house: Manuel Pejas [Betio] called out the tarjastras for Vavara; Iakob [Saterir] called for vanis; and Walik [Kuk k. Saterir m.] called for Kulepmu. No-one called for Vuvil.

Once the chants were completed, Picia beat the garamut for the round eye Vavara; Sapleu [Sepiv] and Kamel [Saterir] together beat the garamut for both the Kulepmu and the oval eye Vavara; and Soanjurt [Damok] blew the tavuri shell horn from the kosobo for vanis. Finally there was an announcement by Bialong about the payment for pigs, and everyone then took a break and went into the village to organise their people into preparing to pay for the pigs.

Half an hour later the gabor malagan feast started. It began with a tarjastras chant called out by Bialong for Vavara, another by Libiai for Kulepmu, and another by Wowa for vanis. After the tarjastras had been called out to everyone’s satisfaction there was a series of talks about the malagans on display. Bialong spoke first and was followed by Picia, then Bialong again, then Manuel Pejas and finally Wowa.

Bialong then gave a mis to Kanerau [Pekila] from Beku (SE Simberi) who placed it on the ground below the malagans. Bialong gave another mis to Masol [Keis] from Sodir (W Simberi) who also placed it on the ground below the malagans. A further payment of mis and money was given by Bialong to Divir in place to put silver money beside the malagans (this payment was a variety of laka called tarjalalak). Helen Momon, even though she was one of the malagan owners, did not look up at her malagan as she laid her money down

Some odd payments were then made. Bialong paid 10 kina to Pavut for the use of his dogs for catching pigs; another 3 kina and a large lump of meat went to another man for the use of dogs. Wandalu (father of Divir) passed the fat from the pig’s belly under his legs to Picia and his kin group who then stood up and two or three at a time chewed hungrily at the lump of fat.

After all payments had been completed to everyone’s satisfaction, Sola began the feast by removing the rope from the mouths of the two cooked pigs. After the food had been sorted out and the pigs had been butchered Picia gave a speech during which he called out the names and villages of many of the attending men in the audience. He then talked about the feast and the pigs, and held up two mis as pay for the pigs. When he had finished speaking the food (two pigs, sago, sweet potato, and tapiok) was distributed amongst the 150 participants.

At 4pm the men left the malagan ritual site and went outside into the village square where they began stacking the pig carcasses in two lines on fresh coconut leaves, the carcasses were now singed, gutted and legless. This was the beginning of the actual gabor pig ceremony, for gabor refers to “consuming pigs”, and here pigs are consumed by gifting. With lime on his face and chest Picia began this ceremony by running twice around the two lines of pigs and then standing up on the backs of two of the pig carcasses he performed a singing holding two tanget leaves in his hands (see Fig. 17). This set of actions was termed vavarg. All the contributing men then formed a circle around the lines of pigs, each man joined to the next by one or two lengths of mis. These mis were then collected and given to Bialong. Picia slapped the sides of each pig, then the butchering of the pigs was begun by clan leaders or by those directly involved with the malagan. Butchering (see Fig. 18) and distribution took about an hour in total and its conclusion concluded the gabor ceremony.

Summary of events - gabor malagan ceremony

gabor was the second malagan ceremony to display malagan sculpture after the death of Pamas. During varam the malagan used was a Kulepmu taboo-clearing kupkup ci malaga from Pamas’s clan. During gabor the five malagans which were used came from both

51 The total payments were 2 mis & K 8.40t for the vanis; and 2 mis & K 13.42t for the other malagans.
Pamas’s clan and from the affinal clans which had married Pamas’s clan. Both ceremonies were controlled by Bialong as Pamas’s closest kinsman.

One week after Pamas’s death Bialong held a ‘drink coconut’ ceremony and pig feast in the ritual site to enable men to pledge pigs for gabor, the final malagan ceremony to be held the following week. By pledging pigs at this ceremony the men gave Bialong the essential support he needed to commit all his resources for the gabor.

Over the next five days at least twenty men in three hamlets of Tatau village were working towards the forthcoming gabor ceremony: constructing malagan sculpture, building the malagan display house, helping women harvest crops from gardens, trapping pigs. On the day of gabor, twelve days after the death of Pamas, the five malagan sculptures were painted and displayed in the malagan house in the ritual site, thirteen pigs were strangled in the village square, ownership chants were called for each of the malagans, and after payments for the pigs had been sorted out in the village square the gabor malagan feast began. Mis and money were laid in front of the malagan display house and in front of the masked malagan figure. Women came into the malagan ritual site to pay a money tribute to the malagans then went back out again to the village. After the two pigs had been paid for with mis the men sat down to feast in front of the malagan display.

Late in the afternoon after the pig feast the men emerged from the malagan ritual site and went into the village square where eleven pig carcasses were arranged elegantly in two lines on green coconut leaf. Picia, as ritual spokesman, danced around these pigs then climbing up on to two of them, dancing on their backs. All contributing men then formed a circle around the pigs, each man connected to the next with mis. These mis were collected and given to Bialong as the controller of the malagan ceremony. Picia then slapped the sides of each pig, the pigs were butchered, and pigs’ heads changed hands.

The malagan sculpture used in gabor was sold to me the next morning. If I had not been there then the Vavara malagans would have been burnt, the ear planks of the vanis would have been salvaged by a malagan artist for further re-use, and the Kulepmu, Vuvi, and vanis would have been thrown away into the space between the two aro.

**Role of malagan**

Malagan’s overall role during gabor appeared almost peripheral when compared to the role that the pigs played. But the pigs were consumed and became only distant memories whereas the rights to the malagans persevered.

Five malagan sculptures were displayed in a Vavara display house: two Vavara, a Kulepmu, a Vuvi, and a malagan mask. The most significant malagan was an oval clan Vavara worked by Bialong which was not transferred to anyone else. The other four malagans were displayed for a variety of reasons associated with the respect the various malagan owners felt for Pamas. All the malagans displayed belonged to Big-Name subtraditions which Pamas had also belonged to, although he had owned the specific rights to only two of the five malagans which were displayed. Interestingly, the only malagan Big-Name which was not worked during Pamas’s funeral rites was Taqala, the first malagan which Pamas had received when he was young. Whether or not this fact is significant, I have no idea.

Three of the malagans on display were worked free, in the sense that the owners (Bialong, Helen Momon, and Kovlaj) did not accept any payment for them because of their obligations to Pamas. Manuel’s malagan took the taqala payment for the Vavara and the Kulepmu, but not the head of a pig. The taqala payment went from Manuel to his daughter Lobo [Pekinmite]e who had married Kovlaj of [Kuk k. Saterir m.] clan.

Because the other malagan owners refused to accept either payment or pig heads, the heads of the pigs which were eaten in the malagan ceremony went to the workers of the vanis: one went to Wowa [Obun] for working the vanis and the other to Lūŋa [Kucikuci] who owned it. Wowa also accepted a payment from Lūŋa for working Lūŋa’s brother’s malagan.

During this malagan ceremony no songs were sung nor were malagan rights said to have been transferred to anyone else, for the entire display was put there to honour Pamas.
However, at the end of the malagan ceremony when the time came for me to purchase malagan sculpture for the museum’s collection, I was told that Bialong had control of the two Vavara and the Vanis, and that I would have to negotiate separately with both Walik’s group and Pavut’s group for the Kulepmu and the Vuvil. This was because Walik [Kuk k. Saterir m.] was Picia’s brother and the father of Kovlaa [Sepiv], the owner of the Vuvil; Pavut [Damok] was the father of Helen Momon [Kuk k. Saterir m.], the owner of the Kulepmu. Bialong gained control of the round eyed Vavara because Manuel accepted the taryulak payment for it; he gained control of the vanis because Wowa and Lungan had accepted taryulak and two pig heads for it.

During the previous day Bialong had told me that he would own the round-eyed Vavara after the malagan ceremony, so it is apparent that acceptance or refusal of taryulak and pigs’ heads is worked out in advance and that the malagan ceremony is only the public confirmation of what has already taken place in private.

So it would appear that ownership of malagan sculpture can be assumed by the malagan controller if the owners accept payment such as taryulak or pigs heads. It should be noted that the malagan controller’s clan would not eventually benefit from his accruing malagan rights from the affinal clans. Instead the pattern appears to be that a malagan controller would eventually transfer accrued malagan rights to his children - out of his own clan and into his affinal clan.

Pig transactions

The final gabor pig butchering and distribution was a complex activity involving the gifting of pig meat or pig heads to repay obligations and debts which had accumulated during the operation of this sequence of malagan ceremonies. As each piece of meat was carved off the name of the person to whom it was going would then be called out at the top of the butcher’s voice, if the cut had been paid for with money then this fact was also included in the call. It was impossible for me to keep up with the distribution of all the cuts of meat, many of which were happening at the same time. So next day I first asked Edward Salle, then Bialong, and then Songis to fill me in the details of their versions as to what actually happened during gabor.

After some discussion with some of his colleagues Bialong determined that thirteen pigs were used at the gabor malagan ceremony:

- 3 pigs came from Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] who controlled the ceremony;
- 1 pig came from Songis [Saterir] to assist Bialong;
- 1 pig came from Banamu [Buatekone] who was in the same matabu as Pamas;
- 1 pig came from Pavut [Damok] because Pamas looked after his daughter Helen Momon [Kuk k. Saterir m.];
- 1 pig came from Walik [Kuk k. Saterir m.] who was married to a woman from Pamas’s matabu;
- 1 pig came from Kanerau [Pekila] who stayed with Pamas when he was young;
- 1 pig came from Paulo [Sepiv] who was married to a woman from Pamas’s matabu;
- 1 pig came from Lobo [Pekinmiteres] and her father Manuel [Betio] because Lobo was married to a man from Pamas’s matabu;
- 1 pig came from Wandalu who was married to a woman from Pamas’s matabu;
- 1 pig came from Melanga who is in Bialong’s group;
- 1 pig came from Iyakob [Saterir] who was married to a woman from Pamas’s matabu.

Bialong’s perspective on the pig transactions included sobor, which is the transference of two pigs along two moric lines of obligation. These were:

1a) Kovlaa [Sepiv] gave a pig to Bialong;
1b) Bialong gave its head to Lobo [Pekinmiteres];
1c) Lobo returned this head to Bialong;
1d) Bialong gave it to Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.];
1e) Picia gave it to Songis [Saterir].
Chapter 2 Malagan Death and Burial Sequence

2a) Wandalu gave a pig to Bialong;
2b) Bialong gave its head back to Wandalu;
2c) Wandalu returned the head to Bialong;
2d) Bialong gave it to Picia;
2e) Picia gave it to Kovlaŋ [Sepiv].

Salle’s understanding of the pig transactions differed considerably from Bialong’s understanding. This is not to say that either of these men was wrong in their understanding or recollection of events, rather the difference illustrates the complexity of relationships involved and the subtlety of obligations which are triggered and released through the passing of a pig’s head from one person to another. Salle recalled the following transactions involving pigs heads.

**Pig 1:**
1a) Walik’s [Kuk k. Saterir m.] pig was given to Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.];
1b) Bialong then gave the both the pig and its head to Songis [Saterir] for outstanding work in the malagan ritual site and for the preparation the malagan ceremony. This biggest pig’s head went to Songis because of the help that Songis’s people gave to Bialong. In response Songis then gave Bialong the pig with the biggest tusks for his work in organising and working a successful malagan ceremony. Bialong was then obligated to return this honour at a later date.

**Pig 2:**
2a) Songis’s group had bought a pig and gave it to Bialong;
2b) But the head of this pig was given by Songis to Banamu [Buatekone]. Banamu received this head because in a previous group of malagan ceremonies organised by Edward Salle, Banamu had given a head to Songis. Banamu’s wife was in the same clan as Songis’s wife Dokas [Sepiv] so there was a *moŋic* relationship existing between Banamu and Songis;
2c) Banamu gave this head to Bialong;
2d) Bialong gave this head together with 1 mis to Lobu for helping make the oval eyed Vavara. This final gift was *tuborboŋ* “to pat Lobu’s chest”.

**Pig 3:**
3a) Another pig’s head was given to Bialong by the woman Lobo [Pekinmiteres] and her father Manuel Peñas [Betio];
3b) Bialong then gave this head back to Manuel and Lobo;
3c) Manuel then gave this head to Kovlaŋ [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Lobo’s husband. Manuel gave this head to his daughter’s husband through a *moŋic* relationship (both Manuel and Kovlaŋ had married women from the same clan), the return of the head was compensation for Lobo’s pig growing up on her husband Kovlaŋ’s land. Lobo had married into [Saterir] *matabu*, a *matabu* which included Pamas’s [Mopetir] kivavudi, Bialong’s [Buerbuer] kivavudi, and Picia’s [Kuk] kivavudi. The round eyed Vavara which Manuel and Lobo had worked at this malagan had come to Manuel [Betio] from his father Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.]. Manuel gave it to his daughter Lobo [Pekinmiteres] who had now given it to Bialon [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] because of her marriage into his *matabu*.

**Pig 4:**
4a) Bialong gave one of his pig’s heads to Laŋi, the child of Bialong’s brother; in return Laŋi gave mis and money to Bialong.

**Pig 5:**
5a) One pig’s head belonging to Banamu [Buatekone] was given to Bialong;
5b) Bialong then gave this pig’s head to Maikel the medical orderly from the aid-post at Maragon village, who gave 4 kina to Bialong in return. Banamu lives at Maragon and established the aid-post system on Tabar. In this transaction he gave a pig’s head through Bialong to his protege.

Pig 6:
6a) One pig’s head belonging to Danlo went to Lusem [Lavakulep] of Pekinberiu who had helped the malagan ceremony with mis and money. Danlo had married into Pamas’s matabu.

Pig 7:
7a) One pig’s head belonging to Wandalu was given to Bialong;
7b) Bialong then gave this head to Buas Lovadun [Damok] who had given mis to Bialong to help with the malagan ceremony.

Pig 8:
8a) Kanerau [Pekila] gave a pig’s head to Bialong;
8b) Bialong gave this head to Lobu for the help with the oval eyed Vavara malagan.

Pig 9:
9) One pig’s head belonging to both Bialong and Divir was given to Kanerau [Pekila]. This head was to repay Kanerau for the pig’s head he sent over to Bialong on the 3rd and which was feasted over; this earlier pig’s head had originated at the funeral held on SE Simberi for a Tabar woman who had died on Buka Island.

Pig 10:
10) One pig’s head belonging to Wandalu (who married Bialong’s sister) went to Wowa [Obun] for working the vanis. This transaction was carried out inside the malagan ritual site.

Pig 11:
11a) One pig’s head belonging to Gusa (born in mainland New Guinea) went to Bonga [Kucikuci] and Iyakob [Saterir]. Bonga was the brother of Luŋa [Kucikuci] who owned the vanis. Luŋa had married a sister of Wandalu’s wife. Gusa and his group had purchased the pig originally, Bonga and Iyakob bought the pig from Gusa so that it could go with the malagan.
11b) Iyakob then gave the head to Boŋa.

Pig 12:
12a) One pig’s head belonging to Pavut [Damok] and his group [Kuk k. Saterir m.] was given to Bialong;
12b) Bialong gave it to Lova of Bueri village (SE Simberi). Lova is a kandere of Bialong who had earlier given mis and 2 kina to Bialong.

Pig 13:
No data

An interesting comparison can be drawn between the ownership of malagan rights and the ownership of pigs. From my discussions with Songis, Salle, and Bialong over the pig transactions it appears that a number of transactions were occurring at the same time, whereby ‘ownership’ of any particular pig can be attributed to different people depending upon:

a) The observer’s perspective in relation to the people involved. If A receives a pig from B and gives it to C, it may return again to A a few minutes later as a gift from D. Even though it is the same pig’s head, it is considered as two separate pigs.
b) The observer's perspective in relation to the pig. If the pig has been received as a gift it can be passed on to a third person who may receive it as a gift from either the first person, or the second person, or both.

It appears that if a person originally purchased a pig from an outsider, or owned the pig's mother and assumed control of her piglets, then that person has independent control of a pig or piglets. If someone else nurtures the piglet, then ownership is shared between the owner and the nurturer. When the pig is used in a malagan ceremony the controller of the ceremony also assumes ownership of a pig. The controller's gifting of the pig or its parts does not conflict with the other owners' gifting intentions. For example if a pig's head is gifted through a chain of hands during a *mojopic* type of transaction, the malagan controller as well as the original owner can claim responsibility for the gift to any of the receivers, so that in effect two people can gift the one pig's head at the same time.

With malagan, ownership generally depends upon being handed the rights in public, but a malagan controller - the person responsible for operating a malagan ceremony - appears to acquire a share in the permanent ownership of malagans which are used by his affines in the ceremony. This is one of the reasons for malagan ownership rights 'breaking' (*kapot*) and being distributed amongst a number of clans.

2.6. Malagan death and burial sequence - summary

The funerary malagan rites carried out after Pamas's death occurred in three distinct ceremonial sequences: death and burial; *varam*; and *gabor*. Distinguishing malagan from non-malagan activity was not an easy task, for ritual activity was not always malagan activity, although malagan activity appeared to always involve with ritual activity in one way or another. Pamas's act of dying was not malagan, nor was the construction of the wooden coffin to contain his corpse. But the erection of a death chair outside his men's house was part of malagan, as was a large proportion of the cultural activity linked to his death. To summarize the malagan's death and burial sequence:

- There was a separation of malagan activity from non-malagan activity and malagan owners from non-malagan owners through the use of separate feasts.
- All malagan activity used in death and burial sequence originated with the dead person's malagan collection.
- The manipulation and imposition of taboos regarding normal behaviours such as work and social interaction were part of malagan. The mechanism for the imposition of taboos in Pamas's case and through *Kulepmu* malagan was not made clear to me, but in *Madas* malagan the taboos on normal behaviour would have been imposed by the placing of a pig's head on an *eibo* pole which would have a broken *gol* plant tied around it. I believe that the erection of the death chair was the *Kulepmu* equivalent.
- Malagan activity took place both within the malagan ritual site as well as out in the main village.
- Malagan rites such as the death chair, fire spears, wild dog, and *vavil* procession were used to honour the dead person and were derived from the stock of malagans which he had owned and belonged to.
- Malagan sculpture was displayed in the malagan ritual site of the dead man on two occasions: during the *varam* ceremony, and during the *gabor* ceremony.
- Malagan rights were not transferred within the clan to the next generation, but the malagan controller purchased the rights to the affinal clans' malagans.
- Malagan was used to validate transfer of land ownership from the dead man's now extinct sub-clan to another related sub-clan.
- *Varam* was a malagan ceremony which was used to end a number of taboos which had been imposed by the occasion of the death of Pamas. The ceremony was nominally sponsored by this affinal clan; but organised by Bialong representing the dead man's clan. The malagan sculpture used during *varam* was a *kupkup ci malaga* from the dead man's clan; this type of malagan was often referred to as a fresh cleansing type
of malagan, the head of those malagans which follow it in the process of burying and commemorating the dead person.

- *gabor* was a malagan ceremony sponsored by both the dead man's and the affinal clans to display malagan sculpture; again this malagan ceremony was organised and controlled by Bialong in a related clan; associated with this malagan ceremony was a major pig kill with a consequent gifting of the cuts of meat which re-established and confirmed bonds between the two clans. The *gabor* malagan ceremony provided the format for the final reintegration of the mourners into normal village life and involved a major sacrifice by some of the mourners - the loss of pigs, and the sharing of malagan rights with Pamas's heir. This malagan ceremony was a public demonstration of the bonds the mourners had had with the dead man, with each malagan displayed represented a particular connection between mourner and Pamas, a connection that was now severed. All malagans displayed by affines as their connection to Pamas were now shared between Pamas's heir and Pamas's affines as a consequence of this ceremony. Those malagans which Pamas had owned and were displayed by his own clan representatives were also shared by Pamas's heir.

So owning the rights to a malagan is not merely a case of possessing a sculpture or even of possessing the rights to produce a sculpture. In Tabar terms it means that the owner has sacrificed to honour someone he loved and has shared a loss with affines in doing so. More aspects of the Tabar meaning of the ownership of malagan become apparent in the commemorative series of malagan ceremonies to honour a dead affine several years later.
3) Malagan ritual behaviour - commemorative sequence

The commemorative series of malagan ceremonies concentrates on the social connections the dead person had with the living. Rather than dealing with the business of death, the commemorative series of malagan ceremonies is concerned with the construction of a malaganised image of the dead person. As the sequence of ceremonies runs its course a malaganised image of the dead person is built up amongst those who survived him (or her), and those relationships which were centered around the dead person become realigned so that they can function anew.

Malaganisation of a dead person’s image in effect removes that person and his influence from living society, enabling people to grow into the social space the dead person occupied. In Tok Pisin they talk of ‘finishing the name of a person’. An analogy used on Tabar speaks of the dead person as a fallen forest tree: although the much loved tree has fallen across the garden, it has cleared a space in the forest canopy for other trees to grow into. Malaganising the dead person is understood to be similar to the process of getting people to perceive the fallen tree not as an obstacle on the ground but as a hole in the forest canopy.

3.1. Organisational and working structure of malagan commemorative ceremony

When comparing my field data recorded at Pekinberiu village with information supplied by a number of informants elsewhere on Tabar, it became apparent that there is a consistent structure within which malagan commemorative ceremonies are organised and worked on Tabar. Most people can talk about the full range of malagan activity on Tabar, but what they say and understand depends upon the type and degree of their involvement with malagan. Malagan sculptors in particular have a more complex picture than other less involved malagan owners.

The following information is a continuation of Banamu’s version of the organisational and working structure of malagan which formed the basis of my understanding, and which also appears to be the structure which conflicted least with the information others gave me. Data provided by four other informants will be used to provide a supplement to Banamu’s information and to give an indication of the range of variation in ceremonial practice.

Banamu’s data

The commemorative series of malagan ceremonies is generally referred to as Aruaru, the name of its last ceremony, although sarere nava was a term Banamu also used to refer to the entire malagan ceremonial sequence. Beginning with cirep, the ceremonial sequence proceeds through totok, bem, rup, vavantepa, gangira, toibia, buntuvanua, cokavanua, sisit, cukavavaturi, and cumulates finally with aruaru. Running parallel to the Aruaru series is a woman’s ceremonial feasting sequence called karu.

Cirep

Cirep is the first formal malagan ceremony of the commemorative malagan sequence and contains the ciribor ceremony boro-cirep. During this ceremony saba logs are brought in from the bush by men from any clan in the village and at the malagan owner’s call they bring the logs into the malagan ritual site and lay them in the malagan carver’s shelter, at which point the logs become the property of the malagan owner. At this time the tunumar is supposed to be paid one mis per malagan sculpture to be carved, and there may be three or five tunumar working on the malagans at the same time. After the payment, one pig (boro-totok si mi bunalanga) should be eaten.
Beginning with cirep, the ownership of malagan is transferred from one person to another by a process called ciribor (bone of pig), this process continues through a series of boro-ceremonies until the completion of the cukavavaturi ceremony.

On the day before the cirep ceremony a platform called curu-aro is built in the entrance to the malagan ritual site, and bush taro is hung up on the platform. During cirep the malagan owner calls up a daughter and a girl from his own clan and then places two shells on the curu-aro: one shell (gavargare) is used to skin taro, the other shell (aro) is used to remove the scraps. The malagan owner would then formally pick up these two shells then give them to these two girls to signify that they have been nominated to cook food for the tunumar malagan artist, and that women from other clans now cannot cook food for the tunumar. If an old woman already owns these shells she will then give them to the two girls, otherwise the malagan owner will do this. These two girls now have malagan power, and as a consequence they will later work the malagan container called tep (see below).

**Toto**
*Toto* is a malagan ceremony to signify the time to start carving the malagan sculptures, and contains the ciribor ceremony boro-toto.

**Bem**
*Bem* is a ceremony containing the ciribor ceremony *mi boro-bem si mi bu malarga*. *Bem* marks the point at which all the parts of the malagan sculpture are opened up, all the fingers and other parts are made clear.

**Rup**
*Rup* is a small malagan ceremony to indicate that all the malagans now look completed, a small ciribor pig feast called *mi boro-rup* takes place.

**Vavantegar**
*Vavantegar* is the next malagan ceremony which refers to the placing of the kabiamata eyes in the malagan sculpture, the ciribor pig ceremony is called boro-vavantegari.

**Ngagira**
*Ngagira* is a more complex ceremony containing a big ciribor pig feast (*boro-ngagira*) and is used to mark the standing up of the malagans. During ngagira a platform or bed (*nucak*) is made in the malagan ritual site for malagan men to sit with *legaleg* shell rattles in their hands and *kovage* feather headdresses on their heads and to sing and dance the relevant malagan songs. After this singing the malagan owner gets pieces of the decoration such as leaves of plants together with a kovage and gives it to a younger brother or kandere. He gives this decoration so that when the clan leader dies the younger man can work this bed and the singsing belonging to it.

**Tobiai**
*Tobiai* is a small ceremony to mark that the materials to be used in the construction of the malagan display house have been gathered. During this ceremony a small ciribor pig feast called *boro-tobiai* is worked.

**Buntuvanua**
*Buntuvanua* is a ceremony to mark the erection of the frame of the malagan display house. Within this ceremony is the ciribor pig ceremony called *boro-buntuvanua*.

**Cokavanua**
*Cokavanua* is a complex ceremony to mark the completion of the roofing and leafing of the malagan house. Contained within this ceremony is the ciribor pig feast called *boro-cokavanua*. During this ceremony men go off to the bush and get sago leaf, then return to the public village square and begin to fasten the sago leaf to battens. Women of the affinal clans then come and fight the men, and in concluding the fight they each give the men some tobacco or 10 toea. Brushing themselves down, the men then go inside the malagan ritual
site and attach the sago leaf battens to the frame of the malagan display house. When this work is finished the malagan owner takes some leaf and gives it to men of any clan who have the same type of malagan as the malagan display house, or to a man who is one of the men whose malagans are to be displayed. These men then climb up into the rafters at the top of the malagan display house and fasten this leafy matter to part of the roof. Leaf used in this way is called *lojob*. Leaf attached to the waist is also called *lojob*, if in the hair it is called *vaukuca kararakarakei*. The rights to use all these items are individually handed over in public.

Each time an initiate uses anything belonging to malagan he must state in public that he got it from his clan leader, or his father, or from whoever he received these rights, and must also state that he got the rights to work on a *Madas* display house, or a *Malagacak* display house, or whichever subtradition it belongs to.

When the men are in the rafters of the malagan display house the malagan owner throws down pieces of betel nut (an action termed *tuup vacorujirdir*) and calls out the *tagansas* for the Big-Name of the malagan display house, one name in the *tagansas* for each piece of betel nut. When this action is finished, the men come down from the rafters, and then sit down inside the malagan ritual site to receive food for the feast which was prepared by the women. As they eat, the clan leader holds together a length of mis shell discs (*rea*), a pig's rib bone (*ciribir*), a branch (peduncle) of betel nut (*remeremebu*), and the head of a pig (*kovabor*). He then calls out a short speech that contains the phrase "... this *ciribir* belongs to *cokavanua* and I got it from my clan leader..." After this speech each new initiate and his clan leader exchange a mis. The mis is given first by the clan leader to mark the giving, and the mis given to him in return from the initiate is to mark the buying. This action ends the *cokavanua*.

**Sisi**

*Sisi* is a small ceremony with a *ciribir* pig feast (*boro-sisi*) to mark the time when the malagans are washed in saltwater then painted with lime.

**Cukavavaturi**

*Cukavavaturi* is a major ceremony to mark the placing of the completed malagans in the malagan display house. *Cukavavaturi* finishes all the work inside malagan. First of all the wall of the malagan display house must be covered with leaf. When this is completed malagan owner or the initiate then ties the malagan sculptures to the front of the display house with a string *koikoit*, the rights to which are handed over in public as part of *ciribir*. After the fastening of the malagan sculptures is completed, the malagan men and the initiates feast together at the pig feast *boro-cukavavaturi*, then the rights to the *ciribir* for the malagans are handed over to the initiates. At this point each malagan owner talks about the malagan, its rights, where they originated from, and where the malagan has been before. It is important that owners should not lie about the ancestry of a malagan.

**Aruaru**

*Aruaru* is the public and final ceremony of a commemorative series and is the time when women can enter the malagan ritual site to look at the malagans and pay tribute. There is no more talk about malagan, songs are not malagan songs. Instead there is a big feast and dance with general festivity.

**Karu**

*Karu* is the women's aspect of malagan and appears to have been a series of ritualised feasts related to the women's *beriberi* sequence of ceremonies. I was not able to ask any women about *karu* and according to Banamu the women no longer carry out this practice. Apparently *karu* began with *tep* at *cokavanua* and then continued for several weeks past the end of *aruaru*. The last *karu* feast is the last malagan feast of the entire commemorative sequence.

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1 Each malagan Big-Name subtradition has a different type. In *Madas* the wall (*tulany*) is covered with a barkcloth made from a tree (not breadfruit), then covered with a type of black swamp mud called *pira madas* which appears matt black when dry.
Chapter 3 Malagan Commemorative Sequence

_Tep_ as a noun refers to "container", and can include all sorts of container ranging from a basket to a hollowed stone containing water. During a _karu_ ceremony women take a _tep_, put it on a platform, and place scraped taro, sweet potato and other foods inside it. The women then sit down around the _tep_ and sing malagan songs. When their singing is finished, they carve up a pig then eat the food.

_Karu_ is finished with a ceremony called _katakadar_ during which the women decorate themselves, leave the village in which the malagan is being held, travel towards another village then meet and "play" with men from another clan.

_ŋabua_

The very final ceremony of the series is a feast for repaying those who had contributed pig to any of the previous malagan feasts of the series. This reciprocal feast is called _ŋabua_ which means "eat betel-nut". As food for this final feast the women get bush food and wild pig. During the feast the malagan owner gets together parcels of food and peduncle branches of betel nut and gives them to the men who had given a pig at previous malagan ceremonies. No mis are exchanged and no malagan sculptures are displayed.

Other informants' data

Although the following outlines of ceremonial sequences are quite extensive, it should be noted that in general the majority of informants described a much shorter ceremonial sequence - typically only 4 or 5 ceremonies such as _cirep_, _ba_, _cokavanua_, and _cukavavaturi_. The following four informant's reports were chosen to reflect the potential of the system, and also to indicate some of the many variations in the organisation of a commemorative malagan sequence.

Pius

As Committee man for Maragon village (W Simberi) Pius Matlam Kumau Lunganga [Perivut] was a middle ranking man in political life. However, Pius was also a _tunumar_ malagan artist, carving malagan sculptures for other malagan owners on both Simberi and Tatau Islands. He was _vuna-malaga_ in Madas, and _Tara_ from his mother's side, holding _Malagacak_ from his father's side.

As a _tunumar_, Pius was concerned about the payment sequence for the malagan carvers, for nowadays the _tunumar_ are getting only token payment. For Pius the correct sequence for the carving of a malagan should be as follows:

- An initial payment (_cikciker_) by the malagan owner to the _tunumar_ of one mis per malagan.
- _Totok_- to mark and bleed the surface of the log, the _tunumar_ should be paid one mis or a little money, with the payment to occur during a pig feast.
- _Giragira_- following up the marks and starting to cut into the wood, the _tunumar_ should be paid one mis or a little money, with the payment to occur during a pig feast.
- _Bem_- totally opening up the wood; the _tunumar_ should be paid one mis or a little money, with the payment to occur during a pig feast.
- _Rup_- cleaning the final stages; the _tunumar_ should be paid one mis or a little money, with the payment to occur during a pig feast.
- _Poka_- cutting free all the _veivem_ support struts or projections and marking the eyes; the _tunumar_ should be paid one mis or a little money, with the payment to occur during a pig feast.
- _Vavantery:zr_- putting the eye in the malagan, the _tunumar_ should be paid one mis or a little money, with the payment to occur during a pig feast.
- _ŋagira_- to mark the completion of the malagan's face. At this malagan ceremony all the small _marumarua_ (figure malagans) are worked. If a malagan is finished and displayed during this ceremony the final payment for it is not paid now but during _aruaru_ if the _tunumar_ is also cutting other malagans for the final ceremony.
- _Araru_- the final payment to the _tunumar_ is termed _tuibepbog_ and depends upon how many _marumarua_ there are in the sculpture. If the malagan is a _kobokobor_ with three
images then the payment would be 4 mis (one mis per marumarua and one for the totality); the tunumar would also contribute towards buying the pig.

As it is only through the tunumar’s hand that the malagan sculptural image is realised the tunumar is an integral part of the transfer of ownership of a malagan. Each of these payments marks the ciribor ‘bone of malagan’ sections, with the final payment marking the completion of the handing over of the ciribor to the new owner. For the smaller mis payments each mis was actually only a third rather than a full arm-length long, the tunumar would later join the fragments back together.

When Pius received a marumarua figure of Malagacak from his father the ciribor started in cirep and went through totok, giragira, bem, vavanterpr, and nangira where the ciribor stopped and Pius became owner of the malagan. Three different funerals were commemorated during this series, and some of the commemorations finished sooner than the others. For example the Malagacak sculpture was displayed during nangira to ‘cover up’ Pius’s baby brother who died just after birth. Two additional funerals which were also being ‘covered up’ were those for two clan leaders in Pius’s clan [Perivut], for the commemoration of these two men the malagan ceremonies ran the full series through to cukavavaturi and aruaru. For the final malagan ceremonies a preprekesu si mi Tanala malagan belonging to Pius’s eldest brother was worked.

Lutir

Tames Nathaniel Lutir [Poponovam] of Sesemekor hamlet, just north of Simberi village (W Simberi) organised a series of commemorative malagan ceremonies in December 1982 to finish the names of his mother, father, and sister’s husband. During the final display he used six Malagacak figures which he carved himself from his father’s instructions. The tabataba of this malagan came from within Lutir’s own clan [Poponovam] and originated at a [Poponovam]’s malagan ritual site at Tomolobat (S Tatau). The other malagan he worked was a kobokobor si mi Kulepmu of a tabataba which originated at Lampuir, another hamlet of Simberi village, just south of Sesemekor. Lutir recalled the ceremonial sequence in the following order:

- Vakokoit was an initial meeting of all men involved in this malagan series, one pig was consumed.
- Tukok was a small feast involving one pig to begin work on the malagan house. The term is also used to refer to a small feast held for a traveller prior to beginning a journey.
- Vem was a one pig ceremony prior to going to the bush and beginning the work of preparing for a garden. I recorded this term elsewhere as a small feast for talking which precedes true malagan feasts.
- Ouer rorpr was a ceremony involving one pig to begin the work of fencing the malagan ritual site and making other preparations for a major ceremony.
- Cirep was a three pig ceremony to carry the logs for the malagan sculptures into the malagan ritual site.
- naggira - one pig was used in this ceremony to begin the carving of the malagan sculptures.
- Totok was a one pig ceremony for marking the malagan on the wood
- Rup was a one pig ceremony to mark the finish of the carving of the malagan sculptures, where the image is cut clean.
- Vavanterpr was a one pig ceremony to mark the placing of the eyes in the malagan sculptures.
- Kov was a one pig ceremony to mark the painting of the sculptures with lime.
- Vavatar was a small one pig ceremony to mark the painting of the malagans with red and yellow paints. It is also one of the terms meaning “to paint, to count”.
- Ba was a ceremony which resulted in the leafing of outside walls of the ritual site so that it was screened from the rest of the village.
- Cokavanua was a three pig ceremony to erect the malagan display house.
- Cukavavaturi was a nine pig ceremony to fasten the malagans in the display house.
- Aruaru was the public showing of the malagans
- Ticiribor was the carving and distribution of twenty eight pigs.

Vali Sangate

Vali Sangate [Daraba], a malagan carver since WWII and living at Obun (or Tuv) villages (Mapua Island) listed the following as a commemorative sequence:

- **Cirep** - carry log in from bush, start cutting malagan, part of ciribor, pig killed.
- **Totok** - carver marks the malagan on the wood with an adze, part of ciribor, pig killed.
- **Giragira** - singsing now on a platform, many people come to look at this singsing, part of ciribor, many pigs killed.
- **Voratia mi ko ai i** - cutting the head of the malagan, part of ciribor, pig killed.
- **Vavanteyar** - putting the eye of the malagan, pig killed (possibly also called tutuba - a part of ciribor).
- **Ba** - coconut leaf around the malagan ritual site, no pigs.
- **Bokalevanua** - building the frame of the malagan display house, part of ciribor, pig killed.
- **Cokavanua** - building the malagan display house, part of ciribor, pig killed.
- **Cukavavaturi** - big feast, time of public showing of malagans, part of ciribor, many pigs killed.
- **Aruaru** - time of public showing, part of ciribor, has ticiribor pig butchering and distribution

Maris Memengah

Maris Memengah [Tirotiro], of Vāŋ (Wang) village (S Big Tabar), is Ward Councillor for Big Tabar. Maris Memengah and Lepan Landavak have a small industry operating in Vāŋ, manufacturing malagan sculpture for sale for those who would buy it. Both are Seventh Day Adventists who regard their cultural heritage as something to be harvested, for these men malagan is a cash crop. The following series was given by Maris as the sequence for buying a malagan from another man:

- **Sigira** - initial deposit.
- **Cirep** - cutting the wood, starting work.
- **Giragira** - marking the malagan.
- **Laka** - near the end of cutting the malagan.
- **Poka** - cleaning and smoothing the malagan.
- **Vavanteyar** - putting the eye on the malagan.
- **Ko** - putting the paint and lime on the malagan.
- **Cukavavaturi** - standing up the malagan.

3.2. Commemorative sequence - field data

All malagan feasts operate on a number of different levels: some of which are to do with the business of the survival of malagan, some are structural, some are organisational, some are thematic, some are symbolic, some are political, some are tactical.

Malagan ceremonies each have a standard organisational structure, and all of them have in common the gathering of men in the malagan ritual site and the sharing of a feast of some sort. Malagan events proper can be distinguished from supporting malagan events by the presence of ciribor pig feast as the central activity. A ciribor pig feast carries the nucleus of malagan - the bond of ownership - and usually involves a change of ownership from one generation to the next. Malagan sculpture is generally, but not always, displayed at a ciribor malagan feast.

At the structural level there are a number of overarching references and links which connect the malagan feasts together, uniting a ceremonial sequence through the theme of the creation of a malaganised image of the dead person through the construction of malagan sculpture and the manipulation of taboos relating to the malagan ritual site. Leaving aside for the moment the images conveyed by the sculpture and other more detailed aspects of
malagan, the entire sequence of malagan ceremonies in the commemorative series is based upon the theme of constructing and displaying a malagan sculpture. From an initial state of low sacredness the malagan ritual site is activated into a state of malagan sacredness during the first commemorative ceremony cirep. This jump from low to medium sacredness is achieved by bringing saba logs into the malagan ritual site, ostensibly so that the artists could begin work. As the series of malagan ceremonies proceed, the ritual site achieves and maintains a higher degree of sacredness (a malagan aro state) by being screened off from the rest of the village. At the same time each malagan ceremony marks the various stages of the construction of the malagan sculpture, marking the wood, freeing up the design, installing the eyes, and other sculptural work, with the final ceremony admitting the public to view the finished sculpture.

Another series of structural links connect a commemorative series of malagan ceremonies to the death and burial ceremonies which preceded it, so that there is a real ritual connection between the malagan rites for the dead person and the malagan commemorative ceremonies held some years later. A third series of structural links are associated with the rights of ownership to each malagan, for each malagan has a history of ownership which reaches back many generations, often displaying a history of intermarriage between two clans. Connecting to this bond of continuity is an essential part of malagan. Malagan sculpture is displayed at the initial cirep ceremony to make manifest all these links to the past and to provide the ritual bridge for the rest of the series.

Organisational, tactical, and political aspects of malagan will become apparent through the following description of events. These aspects include the problems of gathering together enough people to contribute pigs, money, food, labour, and time towards a series of malagan ceremonies. A major problem which must be addressed by a malagan organiser is that of maintaining a good working relationship between the two clans involved in the running of a malagan series, for malagan focusses upon the bonds of marriage and descent linking the two clans together.

This series of malagan ceremonies under discussion was nominally sponsored by Helen Uto [Keis] to commemorate three dead people: Buak [Katobi], who was a man in her husband’s father’s clan; and two of Uto’s husband’s sisters: Bana [Lavakulep] and Mulsi [Lavakulep]. Initially only Buak and Bana were to be commemorated, Mulsi was included just before the final set of malagan ceremonies.

Beginning with cirep and ending with aruaru, there were 7 major sequences of ritual action within this commemorative malagan series carried out at Aro Verim, Lusem’s malagan ritual site in Pekinberiu village, between 17/12/1983 and 8/3/1984.

Main participants
The following four individuals were the main players in this commemorative series of malagan ceremonies: Helen Uto [Keis] as nominal sponsor; Lusem [Lavakulep] and Sola [Keis] as organisers and main malagan workers; and Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.] as ritual expert. Many other people were direct participants in this malagan, and their roles will become apparent through the following description of the ritual and social action.

i) Helen Uto
Although Helen Uto [Keis] of Pekinberiu village (NE Tatau) was nominal sponsor for this series of malagan ceremonies she kept a very low public profile. I met her only the once when she was with a group of other women and keeping well out of the way of events. When we were introduced she shook my hand then retreated giggling as the other women started making lewd jokes. During the final malagan display her Malaganivis si mi Malagacak was considered the most significant wooden sculpture and was used as the

2 Küchler (1987: 246-7) recorded this interesting image of the mortuary cycle from the Kara people of the mainland of New Ireland: "The fire is a metaphor of the life-force and is extinguished immediately after the death of a person. Each stage in the mortuary cycle, which culminates in the performance of the Malangan-ceremony, is named after a stage in the process of building up a fire from ashes (mat) to glowing heat (malang). These stages trace the growth of the life-force until it is absorbed into a sculpture and channelled into the reproductive Malangan-system."
centre-piece on the taubes malagan transfer platform; in addition two examples of a Vavara malagan belonging to Uto were placed by her brother Sola at the highest position on the malagan display house.

Uto owned malagan rights and was therefore in a position to be able to commemorate her husband’s kin. In order to carry out this series of malagan ceremonies she delegated the organisation and control of the malagan ceremonies to her husband Lusem Tula [Lavakulep] and her brother Sola Lokorova [Keis] who was also Lusem’s sister’s husband. Uto relied completely on her husband and her brother to work the malagan ceremonies in the ritual site on her behalf; if the ceremonies had failed it would have been her husband who wore the failure; if they were a success, her husband had the glory. According to my records Uto owned rights to the following malagans:

**Malagacak, Malaganivis**

_Vavara, Tabatabacur_

ii) Lusem Tula

Lusem Tula [Lavakulep] of Pekinberiu village (NE Tatau) organised this series of malagan ceremonies on his wife’s behalf and worked with his wife’s brother Sola [Keis] as partner. When people in other villages referred to this malagan series, they talked about “Lusem’s malagan”, not “Uto’s malagan”. People made it clear to me that it was Lusem’s reputation on the line, not Uto’s. Lusem had previously organised two commemorative malagan series:

i) a Verim series to finish the name of his mother, during which he used two Vanariu masks.

ii) a Lunet series to finish the name of his father, during which he used two malagans: a porpor si mi Lunet and a kobokobor si mi Malagacak.

According to my records Lusem owned rights to the following malagans:

_Lunet, Porpor, rarau (owner from father’s father Levi Tuvok [Lavakulep]);
Kulepmu, rarau;
Madas, Madassiteno, kobokobor (owner?);
Verim, ges, Betar (owner from father Tula [Katobi]);
Verim, Cursilom, Vanariu, vanis (owner from his father’s brother Vale [Katobi]).

iii) Sola Lokorova

Sola Lokorova [Keis] was an experienced malagan man working in a ritual world within which he was very competent, for he had taken part in a considerable number of malagan ceremonies both as leader or as partner. Earlier in 1983 Sola had successfully organised a commemorative malagan series at his own village (Poponovam village, NW Simberi), so when he came to help Lusem run his series late in 1983 Sola was acting confidently. According to my records Sola owned rights to the following malagans:

_Madas, Madassirotu, Madassiteno, Madassit, Curuda, Curudamas, Curudasar, Curudavovo, Dam, Dasar, Dasovo, kobokobor, kupkup ci malaga (owner from kandere);
Lunet, Seremei (owner);
Malagacak, eikuar, Malaganivis, Porok (owner);
Turu (owner from sister’s husband Tamevat [Carameses]);
Vavara, Curukoso, Nutkes (owner from Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.]);
Verim, ges, Mata/ala, vanis (owner from MF. Paket [Saterir k. Carameses m.]).

Verim, Bei (owner from mother’s mother’s brother Seten [Keis]);
Vuvil, kupkup ci malaga, rarau Pelepele (owner from mother’s sister’s son ?).

iv) Picia

Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], of Tavui hamlet (N Tatau) was the ritual expert (mi yuc “the mouth”) of this malagan series. As yuc, Picia’s role was to speak and act for malagan tradition or ancestral ways where ritual took precedence over the actions of the malagan organisers, owners, or workers. Picia was a very experienced yuc, almost a professional. He travelled from one malagan ceremony to another, acting either as yuc or in another participating role, steadily building up his knowledge and repertoire of malagan. In addition he was a malagan artist skilled in making Vavara malagans. Picia and Sola had previously
worked together at a number of malagan series, and were related through at least one important kin connection: Picia's mother's sister's daughter was wife of Sola [Keis], so in effect Picia was clan leader of Sola's wife. According to my records Picia owned rights to the following malagans:

Kulepmu, eikuar, kupkup ci malaga, Malagaruru, Pelepele (owner from kandere);
Valik, Mat i (owner from father Lenge [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.]);
Vavara, Aus, Cucuivurevurok, Inara Lavi, Kamikam, Lemangda, marumarua, Papkaber, Picia, Poceneru, Remeremeves, Sopuek, Tabatabacur, Tudar, Veviniliu, Vunokapot, Vuvudar (owner from father Leae [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.]).

3.3. Cirep malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

Cirep was the first malagan ceremony in this series and took place at Aro Verim in Pekinberiu village during the afternoon of the 17th of December 1983. Three malagan sculptures had been constructed beforehand and were placed in a newly constructed malagan display house early in the morning. Attached to the wall of the display house was a flat oval rarau si mi Lunet malagan featuring two red fish, beneath it was a Turu malagan figure standing in a clam shell, and next to the display house was a malagan Ges mask on a bush materials body. After these images had been erected a number of men went out from the village into the jungle to cut and trim three logs which they then decorated with leaves. Although these logs represented saba logs to fulfill the sculptural theme, all malagan sculptural work for this series of malagan ceremonies was carried out in the artists' own villages. During all phases of this work the men sang malagan songs.

These logs were then carried with great ceremony from the jungle to cut and trim three logs which they then decorated with leaves. Although these logs represented saba logs to fulfill the sculptural theme, all malagan sculptural work for this series of malagan ceremonies was carried out in the artists' own villages. During all phases of this work the men sang malagan songs.

While the songs were finished and while the men were still in the village square a branch of betel nuts was brought out to Lusem from inside the malagan ritual site. Lusem and then Sola called out the ritualised tagarjas chant of the various malagans for which they were responsible, throwing down pieces of betel nut onto the ground of the village square as they did so. Then the garamut drum was beaten with a rhythm specific to each of the Big-Names of the various malagans which were to be used throughout the malagan series. The use of betel nut pieces taken out from the malagan ritual site indicated that the malagans had already been taken into the fenced site. When the tagarjas chants were completed the carriers and malagan owners went into the Aro Verim ritual site and the logs were placed in the malagan carver's shelter. The men then sat down facing the malagan display house and sang another sequence of malagan songs.

As the man who had asked for the feast, Lusem then got up and spoke in front of the sixty or so men and boys about what kind of decisions he had made regarding the running of the malagan ceremonial sequence. When he finished speaking he threw down pieces of betel nut as he called out the tagarjas chants of the malagans, completing the action of moving malagan from the jungle through the village and into the malagan ritual site.

When Lusem, Sola, and Picia had finished speaking, young men put out leaf plates and fetched the food for the first nautoj 'cold food' feast, which comprised cold sweet potato and a mound of green drinking coconuts. 'Cold food' feasts are minor gifting feasts
FIGURE 19
Bringing saba logs into the village. Tokar village, Mapua. (Photo NGE 1984/20/9).

FIGURE 20
Malagan organizers Lusem (left) and Sola with ritual expert Picia (right) during cirep malagan ceremony. Malagan sculpture: Ges si mi Verim (left); rarau si mi Lunet on wall of malagan house; Turu figure on clam shell underneath it. 17-12-1983. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/4/16).
during which laka payments of tobacco leaves and 10 toea coins were given to all the men who helped with malagan activity, this help included such tasks as carrying the logs into the malagan ritual site, and building the malagan display house.

When the nuatuq feast was finished all the men went back out into the village square while the malagan organisers, owners, workers, and all others with obligations met to contribute mis and money as payment for the pigs which they were about to eat. Once the payment had been sorted out to everyone's satisfaction Lusem stood up and displayed six mis and a pile of coins which were then distributed to the pig owners. The men then returned to Aro Verim where they sat down to begin the naurarap 'hot food' pig feast. 'Hot food' feasts are those dealing directly with the business of malagan. In this instance the business dealt with repairing a rift between the two clans organising and working the malagan series.

After everyone had settled, Lusem stood up and spoke at some length about his Verim malagans and other topics. He was followed in this by Sola who gave a brief speech about his involvement in this malagan series. Daniel Madassargala [Damok], a malagan man in Lunet and Valik from Tatau village and also a lay preacher in the United Church then rose and spoke with some passion about a rift between the two clans: [Lavakulep] and [Keis]. After he finished speaking Lusem and Sola exchanged a lengths of mis, representing a renewed bond between the two clans of [Lavakulep] and [Keis]. Picia, in his role as 'mouth man' then stood up and moved forward, coming between Lusem and Sola. He spoke strongly of ancestral traditions and how they can work in with more modern ways of doing things. He then held out a piece of tanget leaf so that Lusem and Sola each held an end, then Picia chopped through the leaf with his knife and leading general applause he stepped through the gap.

After the death of a person there is a period of taboo behaviours which prohibits the affinal clans from talking to each other, so both clans leave the village to live elsewhere for a time. Their houses are broken up and their pigs are in theory dispersed to the jungle. This taboo period is termed bucor and lasts until the two parties come together to organise the commemorative malagan series which begins with cirep. Prior to cirep the leaders of the two clans would each build a small garden house, establish a garden, then make a new house in the village. When everything is ready they would together initiate the first ceremony to mark the beginning of cirep. This is the time when bucor is finished, and is called atemver. Atemver is commemorated during the cirep ceremony by the cutting of a strip of tanget leaf, each end of which is held by the leaders of the two clans. Varam ba is the term used to refer to the removal of taboo behaviour between the two parties.

After atemver Picia cut into the central pig, an action which allowed and initiated butchering of the cooked pigs. When the butchering was finished, Sola stood up and as he placed his foot on the pili (ritualised parcel of pig parts) spoke to the audience about the food, its distribution, and who had given how much in payment. The food was then distributed and eaten by all men except Sola, Picia, and Lusem.

When the meal was mostly consumed Lusem and his kandere Steven Lakaseq stood up and exchanged mis, signifying the change of ownership of the Lunet malagan which was in the malagan display house. Both men stood beside a pig’s head and Lusem handed one mis, a branch of betel nut and a bamboo knife to Lakaseq, representing the transference of the ciribor of the Lunet to Lakaseq. This ciribor, although primarily referring to the malagan, also included the ticiribor rights to carve pigs, the remeremebu rights to use a branch of betel nut in a ritual fashion, and the rights to use the pili, a ritualised package containing a pig’s head and wrapped pig’s guts. The knife (katoviso) carried with it the responsibility for Lakaseq to carve the pigs at the funeral for Lusem’s death. In return Lakaseq then gave a mis to Lusem, signifying his purchase of the Lunet. At the same time as this exchange was occurring, Sola was transferring the rights for the Turu malagan to his sister’s son Josef Muren [Keis].

At the conclusion of the feast, baskets of sweet potato together with pieces of pig were given to the owners of the malagan ritual site to take home, these site owners were those

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3 Lakaseng [Lavakulep] was Lusem's father's first wife's daughter's son.
men who earlier had been given mis outside in the open village. This gift of food was described as “following the mis”.

**Summary of events - *cirep* malagan ceremony**

Primarily *cirep* was used to reintroduce malagan ritual into the life of the Pekinberiu villagers and to change the sacredness of the malagan ritual site from a dormant state into an activated malagan *aro* status. This transition from profane to sacred was symbolised by carrying logs from the profane jungle which is a repository of wandering spirit life, into the neutral village where villagers (both male and female) gave their blessing and approval, then into the sacred ritual site where malagan completed its transition from a previous location to the new *aro*.

As a malagan ceremony displaying sculpture *cirep* included a number of components:

- Malagan sculpture was erected.
- *Saba* logs were carried from the jungle through the village and into the malagan ritual site.
- Malagan men consolidated their agreement with village men.
- Malagan ownership rights were proclaimed.
- Malagan sculptures were officially brought into the malagan ritual site.
- The men had a ‘cold food’ feast during which the malagan workers were paid for their help.
- Everyone then returned to the outer village to sort out payment for the pigs.
- Then they returned to the malagan ritual site to have a ‘hot feast’ of pig during which all disagreements were finished between the two organising clans.
- Ownership rights for two of the malagans changed hands.
- Parcels of food and pieces of pig were given to the owners of the malagan ritual site.

As the first of the commemorative malagan ceremonies *cirep* had a major role to play. Bringing the unmarked but decorated malagan logs into the malagan ritual site was the first link of the theme which connected all the ceremonies of the commemorative malagan series - the theme of carving malagan, of gradually turning unmarked logs (the uncultured image of dead people) into malagan sculptures (the cultured image of the Tabar dead).

More than just logs were brought into the malagan ritual site, for outsiders were centrally involved in the malagan ceremonies and the malagan owners had first to make their peace with the owners of the ritual site before they could bring in their ritual. As *cirep* was the first co-operative effort in the series by all the malagan partners, they had to settle all previous and current disagreements at this first malagan ceremony and establish a common base from which to work for the rest of the malagan sequence. Of primary concern was the maintenance of bonds linking the two clans organising the malagan series, for a major cause for failure of a malagan series of ceremonies is a breakdown of relations between the two essentially opposed affinal clans. Breakdown in this instance was forestalled by the ceremonial removal of the taboos imposed by the deaths which still existed between the clans, and by a formal healing of any rift which may have developed between them. This action took place during the strategic ‘hot feast’, the central section of the malagan ceremony when participants were standing between the malagan sculpture and the cooked pigs, in front of 50 or more witnesses.

**Role of malagan in *cirep***

Three malagans were on display during *cirep*. Inside the malagan display house were two malagan items: a flat oval *rarau si mi Lunet* featuring two red fish owned by Lusem; and a *Turu* figure standing in a clam shell which was owned by Sola. Next to the malagan house was a *Ges* mask positioned on top of a body made of bush materials (see Fig. 20).

*Ges si mi Verim*:

Lusem had earlier received the rights to this malagan from his father’s brother Vale [Katobi] and did not hand it on to anyone else during this ceremony. Its presence at this ceremony was primarily connected to Lusem’s intention to work another *Verim* at the final malagan
ceremony - a *Vanarui si mi Verim*. *Vanarui* is a large mask and it is often said on Tabar that *Ges* and *Betar* masks are the spies and soldiers of the large masks. In this instance the presence of the *Ges* in *cirep* was understood by the participants to be a ‘spy’ acting for the mask which was to appear three months later at the *cukavavaturi* ceremony held in the same malagan ritual site.

This malagan was termed *vanis mi Ges kapot*, meaning that it was a *Ges* figure in the *Verim* malagan subtradition which was at one stage owned by only one person, but the ownership rights had since become broken (*kapot*) and this type was now owned by many people.

*Rarau si mi Lunet:*
This malagan\(^4\) consisted of a flat image of two opposed red fish (simply called *iamerik* = red fish), their tails enclosing a central hole (*matagilgil* = “hole of the *gilgil* parrot”), painted on a lime base over a copra sack which was fastened to a rattan frame. The surround was embellished with white chicken feathers.

Lusem had earlier received the rights to this *Lunet* from his father’s father in [Lavakulep], and during this *cirep* malagan ceremony Lusem gave part of the rights for this *Lunet* to his kandere (father’s first wife’s daughter’s son) Steven Lakasej [Lavakulep]. As a close relative Lakasej received this malagan with a balanced exchange of mis, in effect receiving it for free. Lusem used this *Lunet* again during the *cukavavaturi* malagan ceremony three months later when it was fully handed over to Lakasej.

*Turu:*
This wooden *Turu* figure\(^5\) had the protruding eyes which characterise the *Turu* group of malagans and was positioned standing up in a *kem* clam shell. Mora [Pekila] of Napekur had carved the figure and Pius [Perivut] of Maragon had carved the shell. This use of two *tunumar* to carve what is essentially the one sculpture was unusual, but may have occurred because Mora and Pius are close friends and often work together.

Kariec [Vutigamgam] of Mangavur village (E Tatau) had independently described a type of *Turu* called *vevinvor* which resembled this image. *Vevinwor* refers literally to “young girl, young woman”, and Kariec’s description was of a person who walked on the reef looking for fish and was seized by a large *kima* clam.

Sola had earlier received the rights to this malagan from Tamevat [Caramegis], who was married to Sola’s sister Taus [Keis]. One of Sola’s sisters had died and when Sola organised a malagan ceremony for her, Tamevat gave this *Turu* to Sola. During the *cirep* malagan ceremony under discussion Sola then handed the malagan on to Taus’s son, Josef Muren [Keis]. Three months later at the *cukavavaturi* malagan ceremony, Muren was to receive another malagan (a *kobokobor si mi Madas*) from Sola.

3.4. *Tititidik* ceremony - description of the ritual and social action
Lusem held the *tititidik*\(^6\) ceremony on the 30th of December, thirteen days after *cirep*. As I was elsewhere and could not attend, Lusem filled me in on the details a few days later. From his account the ceremony comprised three sections:

- Food was prepared and placed in a *vaivi* earth oven.

\(^4\) N.T. Museum registration number NGE 1446.
\(^5\) N.T. Museum registration number NGE 1430.
\(^6\) Also recorded as *titindik*. 
- Men from many clans and a number of different villages helped to erect the bamboo frame around the outer fence that included both Aro Verim on the seaward side and Aro Lunet on the inland side adjacent to the village square.

- At the conclusion the men grouped in the Aro Verim and ate a small feast of fish, then Lusem gave them leaves of local tobacco and betel nut. There was no exchange of mis, no malagan display, and no pigs.

**Tititidik ceremony - discussion**

Tititidik was primarily a ceremony for raising the level of sacredness of the malagan ritual site, for it involved the erection of a tall fence frame around the edge of the site’s normal bamboo and stone fence. This action brought obvious visual notification to both the rest of the village as well as to any passing boats that there was ritual action taking place in the malagan ritual site. Some men talked about this secluding of the site as if it were part of malagan, and others said that this seclusion was not malagan in itself, but an attachment to malagan. As Picia the ‘mouth man’ did not attend either of these ceremonies we can safely treat both *tititidik* and the associated *ba* ceremony as malagan support activity and not core malagan work.

*Tititidik*’s significance is that it was one of the ceremonies associated with malagan which acted to separate the malagan world from non-ritual life. The following *ba* ceremony completed this separation of the malagan ritual site from the village.

### 3.5. *Ba* ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

On the 5th of January 1984, Lusem held the *ba* ceremony at his Aro Verim. Although I was not able to attend this ceremony, Lusem later discussed with me the sequence of events:

- Food was prepared and placed in a *vaivi* earth oven.
- Men brought coconut leaf into the village and stopped in the village square singing malagan songs; after they had finished singing they were given tobacco and other small gifts by the women of the village.
- The men then went into the malagan ritual site and tied the coconut leaves to the frame of the fence which separated the seaward and village sides of both Aro Lunet and Aro Verim from the village.
- When this was finished they carried food into the Aro Verim, together with green coconuts and branches of betel nut, then they feasted.
- After this small feast (fish only, no pigs) Lusem gave leaves of local tobacco and betel nut to each man and child who helped in the work, no mis were exchanged, no pigs were used, no malagans were displayed.
- Lusem and Sola then produced green coconuts for the *gautoη* cold food feast, during which the “drinking of coconut” was the commitment of pigs for the final *aruaru* malagan ceremony.

Committing pigs in this manner involved the following procedure. Leaves which were used to wrap the food were left lying in the centre of the malagan ritual site instead of being cleared away. Each man who owned a pig which was to be purchased by another man during the *aruaru* malagan ceremony then got up and placed a coconut on the leaf. The man who was to purchase the pig from him then went over, and by picking up the coconut pledged his commitment, then placed the coconut back down on the leaf. This coconut would then be picked up again by the pig owner, sealing the commitment.

These exchanges of commitment were between two men but not restricted to clan, family or other ties. Twelve pigs were committed in this fashion, and a thirteenth pig was committed by a man putting the coconut down, then picking it up again himself, indicating that he was involved not for exchange but to settle an obligation which he owed Lusem. Three of the pigs committed belonged to Lusem and his wife. Lusem was confident that
more people would bring pigs to aruaru, for example his wife’s kandere did not come to the ba ceremony, but Lusem thought it likely that he would give pigs during aruaru.

_Ba ceremony - discussion._
Although _ba_ was ostensibly a ceremony to enable the attachment of a coconut leaf screen to the fence around the malagan ritual site, there was another highly significant component - the committing of pigs for the final malagan ceremony of the series.

Once the screen around the ritual site was completed and the site was visually separated from the village, men began to commit pigs for the final malagan ceremony of the series. Committing pigs generally involved sharing the burden with another man. One man would lose a pig which he and his wife and children had spent several years and much emotion nurturing; his pledging partner would lose several lengths of mis and probably money as well. Each bond of commitment is primarily between three men - the organiser of the malagan series, the pig owner, and the mis man - but extends much further to encompass all those others affected. The pig man is linked with the mis man in a reciprocal bond, whereby roles will be reversed at a future series of malagan ceremonies, and the man who supplied the mis this time will become the one who supplies the pig the next, and an equivalent number and size of lengths of mis will be returned to him. Lusem, and to a lesser extent Sola, have become indebted to both the pig men and the mis men through this commitment. Over the next decade or two these malagan organisers will be ‘drinking coconut’ at the games played by these other men as it becomes their turn to organise malagan ceremonies.

### 3.6. _Buntuvanua_ malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

On the 12th of January two malagan display house frames were erected in _Aro Verim_: a seven metre tall frame for the _vunoram Madassiteno_ and a two metre tall frame for the smaller _vuno vanis_ was erected beside it. And on the 16th the walls of the two houses were covered with laths of sago leaf. After the walls were covered Lusem held a small pig feast in front of the two houses.

Each of the two malagan houses belonged to different branches of malagan. The tall display house was part of the _Madassiteno_ branch of the _Madas_ subtradition of malagans, and its frame was made of tall straight bamboo, securely lashed with vines and had _beso_ uprooted trees and _surematgigi_ striped poles lashed alternately to the outer edge of the frame, a characteristic of Tabar malagan houses. The roof curved in toward the ridge pole which was made from yet another uprooted tree, with the roots projecting forward. Lusem told me that he had decided to use this type of display house because the others hadn’t seen it before. A more compelling reason may have been political, for the rights to the _Madas_ house were held by Bevirorun [Keis], Sola’s elder relative from Poponovam village (NW Simberi). At this stage it was becoming quite apparent that although Lusem was nominally the main malagan organiser, it was Sola who called all the shots.

_Buntuvanua_ malagan ceremony - discussion

Although a malagan ceremony primarily concerned with the construction of a support structure and lacking in any display of malagan sculpture, _buntuvanua_ was a true malagan ceremony with a _ciribor_ pig feast indicating the transfer of malagan rights - in this case the rights to build specific malagan display houses. The ownership rights to build these two specific malagan display houses belonged to the _Madas_ and _Verim_ malagan subtraditions.

When completed the mask display house (_vuno vanis_) was resting on a temporary platform of forked poles, during the final malagan ceremony it was moved out into the village square. Its two base rails were logs shaped to resemble sharks, in this case not well defined, but in others used elsewhere and made by Edward Salle the sharks are clearly marked (see Fig. 21). As with all obviously symbolic aspects of the malagan houses, there is no easily accessible explication for the shark motifs, the uprooted and partially inverted
trees, and the yellow and black striped poles. When asked, the people would say that it was traditional and that there is no further explication. Further speculation on my part could link these wooden shark images to the shark totems of Tabar; and the uprooted trees to the interesting opposition which Wagner (1987) found with the inverted kaba tree of the Barok, whereby all social and cultural categories of the Barok are collapsed and inverted in a complex opposition of feasting and burial. But, as trees on Tabar are the subject of much subtle imagery and uprooted or inverted trees are used in a number of ritual contexts, I will not develop this speculation further until I have explored the topic more fully.

Malagan display houses utilise specific sculptural items which are demonstrably and unmistakably malagan in their ambivalence. Inverted uprooted trees, yellow and black spirally painted poles, and shark base rails are classic examples of the extroverted nature of most non-secret malagan imagery, indicating to all who could see that malagan is a theatre of images.

3.7. Cokavanua malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

On the 27th of January Lusem and Sola held a cokavanua ceremony in Aro Verim. Work began shortly after dawn. Pigs were put into earth ovens and their intestines were emptied and washed in the sea. Men climbed up on to the malagan display house frame and prepared it for the roofing, tying bamboo supports and lashing the beso uprooted trees and surematgigi striped poles to the frame.

Another group of men went into the jungle and over to a nearby sago swamp where they cut several hundred sago leaves to bring back to just inside the edge of the coconut plantation near the village. Back inside the adjacent Aro Lunet, men were already preparing sago leaves, taking off the ribs. At the edge of the plantation, Picia and a number of other men were in high spirits, playing about as they decorated themselves and each other with limed faces and gorgor leaf decoration in their hair. They began to sing malagan songs belonging to Madas and to Verim, the Big-Name malagan subtraditions of the two display houses.

At 11.15am the men came together inside the plantation and when every man had shouldered a bundle of sago leaves they walked from the plantation area to the central village square with Picia leading. Once they reached the middle of the village square they paused and Sola called out a tagaqagas chant then gave a short speech. When he had finished the men began singing again, and as they were singing Bevirorun, Sola’s elder relative, called a quiet tagaqagas. As this malagan ceremony was concerned with the malagan display houses, only the owners of those houses were responsible, the malagan organisers and other owners took no part at this stage. Bevirorun was taking responsibility for the large Madas house, and Sola the smaller but more significant vanis house. Lusem was nowhere to be seen at this stage.

Although the men should have been given gifts of tobacco and coins by the women, there were no gifts, so they moved off through the entrance of the thickly screened fence and into Aro Lunet (the malagan ritual site next to Aro Verim where all the malagan activity was taking place). Once inside Aro Lunet the men dumped the leaves, sat down, and after opening a betel nut or two began quietly de-ribbing sago leaves. Picia jumped over the small fence into Aro Verim and brought out 2 tavuri conch shells from the malagan shelter, gave one to Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.] and held onto the other one himself. The men began a singing a sequence of malagan songs from both Madas and Verim and which related to the work of deribbing sago leaves. When Verim songs were sung Picia and Balat stood in Aro Verim but close to the other men over the fence in Aro Lunet and blew the tavuri conch shells producing the characteristic sound pattern which weaves in and out of phase when two are played together.

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7 Gorgor leaf (Alpina sp.) is more generally used for tabooing locations.
FIGURE 21
Edward Salle with vanis display house clearly indicating shark supports. Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo NGE 1982/10/8).
After this sequence of songs, the men sat on the ground in Aro Lunet and continued working in silence, de-ribbing sago leaves. After half and hour or so or this work, the leaders amongst them started to get up and one by one they walked over the fence into Aro Verim, carrying a bundle of prepared leaves with them. As each man finished work he followed, so eventually everyone was seated again in Aro Verim. Sola then initiated the next phase by singing the beriberitimatasa song in Malagacak malagan used for closing the door of the ritual site. This song was followed by another from Madas malagan, to fasten sago leaf to the battens. At this point Bevirorun pressed yellow kuckuclep prophylactic paint beside each of the malagan workers' eyes. When he had finished this work it was in the middle of the next song, one from Verim malagan. Bevirorun then took the remains of the paint and the leaf used to apply it and wedged them behind a pig's jawbone which was resting on one of the beso uprooted trees on the big malagan display house. He then took up a bush knife and cut a gap in the fence on the seaward side of the ritual site, out of sight of the village. Several young men then started to use this new entranceway which was hidden from public view, for the 'official' entrance was now closed and in effect the ritual site was sealed off in its malagan state.

By 1pm most of the leaf has been fastened to wooden laths and the men continued to work silently. Sola returned to the malagan ritual site with an armful of croton leaves, which were termed tubenicena in this context. By now the men had taken the gorgor leaves off their hair although their faces were still white and yellow from the lime and kuckuclep paint. Lusem returned to the ritual site with his hair dyed black, a startling contrast to his more usual grey, but no one passed comment. Lakasen arrived and sat in the men's house inside the ritual site. Sola got up and after a brief talk to the men in Tabar language, handed out the tubenicena croton leaves to ten of the senior malagan men (vuna malaga) who then tucked their leaves under their belts and climb into the framework of the malagan display house.

Picia later discussed with me the background to this action. The men who were to build the malagan display house were given croton leaves by the new initiates who wanted to work malagan. For example, if an initiate wanted to work a Malagacak malagan, then he went and found a man who was vuna Malagacak (a repository for Malagacak, a leader in Malagacak) then the initiate gave the croton leaves to the vuna Malagacak who was standing up in the malagan house. If a man wanted to work a Vavara malagan, he had to find a man who was vuna Vavara and give croton leaves to him.

Once this transaction had taken place, the vuna-malaga went up into the frame of the malagan house and begin to roof it with sago leaves while the initiates stayed on the ground. The only difference I could see between Picia's version of things and what happened at Pekinberiu was that it was Sola rather than the initiates who handed the croton leaves to the vuna-malaga.

As the roofing went up the vuna-malaga men in the house as well as the initiates and others on the ground sang malagan songs with soaring crescendos, often changing the lead. Picia was in charge of the seven men working in the big Madas display house, and Bevirorun was in charge of the three men working on the smaller Verim mask house to the side. Sola stayed on the ground with the initiates, and sang two songs solo as the last roof laths went up. He then threw his croton leaves into the pile of rubbish, and the penultimate song was sung by those men in the big malagan house. Each house was considered completed when a vine rope was attached to part of its frame, and a bundle of croton leaves tied to the end. After the last song had been sung Sola stood up, held on to the end of the rope of the big malagan house and called out the tagurjas ownership chants of four malagans to be displayed, throwing down pieces of betelnut as he did so.

As the senior malagan men climbed out of the malagan house, each reached down, picked up the rope and called the name of the man from whom he got the rights to build the malagan house. He then brought the rope together with the croton leaves to the initiate who was responsible for giving him the croton leaves initially. Each initiate then gave a length of mis (or money in some cases) together with some tobacco to his vuna-malaga who then placed the croton leaves on the pile of rubbish that was in front of the malagan house. Sola finished the transactions for the Madas malagan house by throwing the rope with its attached croton leaves into the air.
Chapter 3 Malagan Commemorative Sequence

After these transactions were completed for both houses Sola began a malagan song which the others followed. He and Lakasen then stood each side of the pile of leaves and rubbish which was still in front of the malagan house and Lakasen (as initiate to the rights to remove the pile of rubbish) gave a small speech whilst holding a leaf from the pile. As he spoke Sola held a leaf on the other side. After he had finished speaking a group of young boys came up and each paid 20 toea to Lakasen, then as Sola called out and horns blew the boys carried out all the rubbish and spare leaf and threw it outside the malagan ritual site on the seaward side. Sola then talked formally to the seated men and when he had finished speaking the gates connecting the ritual site to the village were opened.

After a break the men returned at around 2.30pm to begin the ‘cold food’ feast. Lakasen and another man hand around tobacco leaves to everyone, then they distribute betel nut and daka. As the betel nut branches were emptied of nuts they were hung on the yellow and black striped poles of the malagan house. At 3.15pm people start to leave the malagan ritual site and congregate outside Lusem’s house in the village. Bevirorun planted a branched stick (dider) in the ground and ties a mis to one of the branches, Sola [Keis] then dipped the end of a length of fibre in lime and used it to tie a 2 kina note to another branch. Sile, a young girl in [Lavakulep] clan (her father was in [Keis] clan) then tied another mis to a branch. Eventually the dider tree had 4 mis and 6 kina tied to it, and it was given by Bevirorun to Lusem as thanks for [Lavakulep] clan allowing [Keis] clan to stay in Pekinberiu. Bevirorun later told me that the dider was to “shut [Lavakulep]’s mouth”.

At the same time as the dider was being decorated with mis and money, Lusem and Lakasen then started to hang mis and money from a betel nut peduncle which was suspended from a line. Sola tied another betel nut peduncle to the line and then people from both [Keis] and [Katobi] clans started to hang mis and money from it. Both sides were very careful to ensure that the amount of money and mis hanging on the [Lavakulep] peduncle matched that hanging on the [Keis] and [Katobi] peduncle. This action was termed vatvat tururo, and cumulated with the two sides exchanging decorated peduncles as a confirmation of the marriage bonds which existed between [Lavakulep] and [Keis] as well as between [Lavakulep] and [Katobi] clans.

Women then began two sets of vacurucakcak women’s dances in the village square outside the secluded ritual site. These dances ended the taboo on singing in the village which had been in force since Buak had died. The first set of dances were performed by women of the dead man’s clan [Katobi] for the dead woman Bana [Lavakulep]. These were followed by a bilolo type of dance sung by women in the affinal clan [Lavakulep] for the dead man Buak [Katobi].

After these two songs there were a number of songs and small dances by both groups and individuals. In one dance a group of women danced with spears which were bought from them for 10 toea coins by other people. Lusem took advantage of the situation to pick up handfuls of sand and dump them on the heads of both Ngariu [Saterir] and Sola [Keis], paying them each 10 toea for the privilege.

At 5.15pm the men went back into the malagan ritual site to begin the ‘hot food’ feast. Sola initiated the feast by sticking a knife into a cooked pig, people then gave money to Lusem, and Picia began to carve up the pigs. Bevirorun cut the betel nuts off the peduncle - a right called bentabuk which he had received from his ancestors. As everyone was eating Sola took the head of the pig and placed it together with the pili (parcel of pig’s guts) and a branch of betel nut, then gave a speech to the crowd, talking about the reason for the feast. Lusem and Lakasen then stood up and exchanged a mis, passing on to Lakasen the ownership to an aspect of ciribor. Then, one after another, men stood up and gave a short humorous speech, holding out the mis which they had received from their commitment partners indicating that a pig would be coming to the final malagan feast.

Sola distributed the major cuts after Lusem had announced the date of the next malagan meeting, then everyone dispersed in a good mood.

Summary of events - cokavanua malagan ceremony

Although cokavanua was a malagan ceremony with the transfer of malagan ownership rights and the consequent ciribor pig feast, cokavanua was concerned with the setting of malagan,
rather than with malagan itself, so malagan sculpture was not displayed. The cokavanua ceremony included the following sequences:

- Sago leaves were carried from the jungle, through the village, and into the malagan ritual site.
- Malagan ownership rights were proclaimed.
- Men sang malagan songs which separated the ritual site from the village and closed the gate connecting the village to the ritual site.
- Prophylactic paint was given to the workers.
- A hidden entrance to the malagan ritual site was made on the seaward side.
- Sago leaf laths were attached to the display houses.
- Rights to build malagan display houses were handed over to the initiates.
- Access to the village was reopened, ending the tabooed malagan period.
- Workers received a 'cold feast' payment of tobacco leaves and betel nut in the malagan ritual site.
- An exchange of mis and money took place between [Keis] and [Katobi] clans and the host clan [Lavakulep].
- Women from both clans danced for each other.
- Men had a 'hot food' pig feast.
- Mis were displayed as evidence that the pig pledges were being honoured.

Cokavanua malagan ceremony - discussion
As the final of four ceremonies concerned with the erection of malagan support structures, cokavanua was the most important. Although this ceremony was centered around the event of roofing the malagan house, a number of other significant events also occurred both within the sacred area and out in the open village. Within the malagan ritual site, initiates paid the malagan owners for the rights to build a malagan house, and men displayed the payment they had received for the pigs they had pledged for the final malagan ceremony. Outside in the open village an exchange took place between the two groups of affinal clans involved in the malagan, and women from each of the clans of the commemorated dead performed dances to remove taboos from the village.

Cokavanua can be contrasted with the earlier cirep malagan ceremony.
- Cirep was a ceremony concerned with the beginning of malagan activity in the village and involved the first display of malagan sculpture for the commemorative series. Cokavanua was the last ceremony of the group of ceremonies concerned with non-sculptural malagan support structures.
- In both ceremonies raw materials were brought from the jungle into the village, and after a call of malagan ownership chants the raw materials were brought from the village into the malagan ritual site. During cirep villagers gave gifts to the carriers. During cokavanua there were no such gifts.
- During cirep the malagan ritual site was opened to malagan activity and raised to a medium level of sacredness. During cokavanua the ritual site was finally closed completely from the village and raised to a high sacred level.
- In both these cirep and cokavanua there was a public confirmation of the bonds which united the clans undertaking the commemorative malagan series. In cirep this confirmation took the form of a formal removal of taboos which kept the two sets of clans separated, as action which took place in the malagan ritual site. In cokavanua there was a formalised exchange of mis and money between the two sides, an exchange which took place in the open village, and was used to confirm the bonds of marriage and of land-use which united the two sets of clans.
3.8. *Cukavavaturi* malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

*Cukavavaturi* preparation gathered momentum on the 4th of March when Songis's people began making masks in his malagan ritual site. A number of other masks and other malagan objects had already been made by various *tunumar* and by the 4th were being given fresh coats of paint in a number of men's houses around Tatau village.

During the evening of the 6th a number of men and women began 'rounding the garamut' in a public flirting dance in the middle of the village square\(^8\). Near midnight and while this dance was gathering momentum, about 20 men were in the ritual site tying bundles of various leaves together for the *vanis* costumes to be used in the malagan ceremony. By 1.30am the costumes were completed and the men held a pig feast called *kavabetei buvanis* inside the ritual site to 'bring out the *vanis*'. When this was finished the *Vanariu* mask was brought out and Picia and other men practised the dance steps for this mask. At 5.30am the rain came down, forcing Songis to cancel the dramatic dawn ceremony he had planned, whereby the masks would come in from the far edge of the reef and appear to be emerging from the sea.

By mid-morning on the 7th it became apparent that one of the main malagan sculptures was not going to arrive from Tatau village in time for the *cukavavaturi* ceremony, so Picia, Sola and Lusem decided to open the malagan ritual site as planned, but to hold the *cukavavaturi* ceremony the next day.

So at 1.15pm, in the heat of an overcast and muggy day Picia and Sola went out from the beach entrance in the ritual site wall and walked down to the beach. Sola held the *Matalala* mask over the sea and called out a short chant, then placed the mask on Picia's head (see Fig. 22). With Sola preceding, Picia walked in a semi-crouched position around the edge of the ritual site's fence then into the village and headed towards Lusem's hamlet, slowly rattling *lerje* shell rattles together with a handful of *cir* leaves in his left hand (see Fig. 23). After Sola had led Picia around the village they headed back to the garamut which was placed in the centre of the village square. Beside the garamut Sola gave a formal speech explaining to the people why he was using the *Matalala* mask to clear Lusem's place. He said that he worked this malagan to remove taboos from Pekinberiu village because of the marriages his sister Naris [Keis] and Uto [Katobi] had made to [Lavakulep] clan. Sola's relationship to [Katobi] through [Lavakulep] was a relationship of obligation termed *berserturanmogic*, for women of both [Keis] and [Katobi] clans married [Lavakulep] brothers. As a clan leader of [Keis] he led the malagan for [Keis] and worked [Katobi]'s malagans on their behalf. After he had finished speaking, people from [Lavakulep] lined up and gave money and mis to Picia for working the *Matalala*.

Picia then returned to the malagan ritual site through the seaward entrance, took off the *Matalala* mask, changed his body decoration so that he was now garlanded thickly with red flowers, then tied a towel around his head and donned the heavier *Vanariu* mask to test it for fit. Once he had adjusted it correctly he took it off and gave it to Sola, then picked up a limed heirloom paddle and walked through the entrance and down to the beach with Sola carrying the mask behind him. Sola then held the mask out over the sea, and called out a short chant, then fitted it on Picia's head. As Picia stood erect he held the paddle in his right hand and Sola gave him a *lerje* shell rattle together with *cir* leaves to hold in his left (see Fig. 24).

Sola then led *Vanariu* around the edge of the malagan ritual site to near the garamut where Lusem stood up beside him and gave a short speech outlining why this *Vanariu* mask

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\(^8\) It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that as the final preparations for the *cukavavaturi* malagan ceremony were taking place in the malagan ritual site, outside in the village square the rest of the population was taking part in a public dance during which people could form brief liaisons for the night with partner who had caught their eye in normal life. The *butkut* was considered to be a dance and a time where people could try out someone new as a sexual partner and not be chastized by anyone else. These dances are designed to facilitate sexual intercourse and the consequent reproduction of humans and the *tadar* life force. While the preliminaries for sexual exchanges were taking place in the village square, in the malagan ritual site preliminary activity was taking place for the change of ownership of malagan.
was working here in the village. When he had finished, Lusem picked up the garamut stick and began to beat the garamut. Vanariu began to dance slowly around the village square, crouching slightly with the paddle in his right hand and the shaking the leqen in his left (see Fig. 25). After Picia had been dancing in the heavy Vanariu mask for over twenty minutes in very hot and humid conditions, Sola walked over to the entrance to the malagan ritual site and chopped off the top bamboo fence rail with his bush knife. Vanariu looked on, panting heavily (see Fig. 26). As the last cuts broke the rail Vanariu danced frantically beside the garamut, and then performed a fast sideways dance, heading slowly toward the ritual site entrance. When he reached it, he slowly walked through the gap and stopped in front of the mask display house which had by now been moved to just inside the entrance beside the men’s house. As he took the mask off and placed it inside the mask house, young men blew the conch horns of vanis.

Sola then began a Madas song for the Madassiteno display house. This was followed by a Vuvil song; then Picia started a song for Verim. Libiaŋ began the fourth song - from Vavara; this was followed by Picia beginning one for Kulepmu; the sixth song was for Lunet and was started by Libiaŋ.

At 2.45pm Lusem brought out a rarau of Kulepmu malagan sculpture and fastened it to the middle seaward side of the malagan display house. His young kandere Lakaseŋ fastened a rarau of Lunet to the inland side, next to the Kulepmu. Sola then brought out two Vavara, a rarau of Vuvil, and a kobokobor of Madas and these were attached to their positions on the malagan house. As he brought out the Madas malagan Sola wiggled his genitals as the sign of Madas, an action which was greeted with general laughter. Lusem brought out the kobokobor cur Bana of Verim and hung it up. He was followed by Kolna [Sicobi] of Napekur village (NSimberi), who planted an eibogamas of Malagacak in the ground close to centre of the malagan house. Ngariu [Saterir] then planted a Malagacak head to the seaward side, and finally Sola positioned the Matalala mask on a pole in the ground on the inland side. Each malagan was brought out with an "iiok!" and the rights and ancestry of each malagan were called out before it was hung up or placed beside the malagan house.

Sola then got up, held out a piece of betelnut branch, tore it off and gave a short speech about the malagans on display. Lusem came forward and called out two tarajaran chants, on each for Lunet and Kulepmu; Sola then called out tarajaran for Madas and Vuvil, the Madas chant drew laughter from the men, for he altered it slightly to include a reference to "black penis". Libiaŋ called out his tarajaran for Vavara; and Kolna called one out for Malagacak. At this stage a cement tombstone apparently belonging to Ngariu and commemorating Elisabeth Mulsi was placed to seaward of the Malagacak head. Sola finished this sequence with a brief talk, then everyone got up and dispersed.

At 4.10pm Picia walked out from behind the malagan house leading Songis's team of masked vanis men (see Fig. 27). These masked men were acting as two Ges and a Pi with their characteristic black masks and slanted eyes; and three other masks called Bei, Bei-an, and Bei-kuru which were visually related with their huge round ears and jutting beards. Ges were equipped with spears (see Fig. 28) and Pi had rocks, all of which they hurled at the dead woman's house and all her relatives. Bei, Bei-an (see Fig. 29), and Bei-kuru had a different role, with bush knives in hand they circumnavigated the village square, then chopped into pieces a rope (oror) which had been strung up across the centre of the village square, removing a niga taboo. They then got to work on the coconut leaf fence screening the malagan ritual site from the village, pulling and chopping they soon had this barrier down. When they had finished work the mask display house was exposed at the edge of the village square, outside the ritual site and facing the village, with the Vanariu malagan mask inside and on display for all to see. When their work completed, the six masked men lined up in the centre of the village and were paid with money and tobacco by people in [Lavakulep] clan (see Fig. 30).

After dusk the women began a series of traditional women's songs and dances which began with many ribald cries from the young men standing around watching. These dances continued late into the night (see Fig. 31). Because of the non-arrival of the tall eikuar malagan, cukavavaturi was spread over two days, and it became quite difficult for the outsider to distinguish between cukavavaturi activity and that belonging to aruaru which was scheduled for the second day.
FIGURE 22
Chapter 3 Malagan Commemorative Sequence

FIGURE 23
Picia in Matalala mask following Sola and removing taboos from the open village, cukavavaturi malagan ceremony, 7/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/31/8).
Sola handing \textit{t\text{e}n\text{e}q} shell rattle and \textit{cir} leaves to Picia in \textit{Vanariu} mask prior to removing taboos from the graveyard, \textit{cukavavaturi} malagan ceremony. 7/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/31/11).
FIGURE 25
Chapter 3 Malagan Commemorative Sequence

FIGURE 26

FIGURE 27
FIGURE 28
Ger figure threatening photographer, cakavaturi malagan ceremony. 7/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau.
(Photo NGE 1984/32/12).
FIGURE 29
FIGURE 30
Masked malagan figures lined up for payment (l-r): Pi (NGE 1444); Ges (NATMUSPNG); Ges (NGE 1442); Bei-karu (NGE 1405); Bei-aq (NGE 1403); Bei (NATMUSPNG). Vanariu mask (NGE 1329) in display house. Cukavaturi malagan ceremony. 7/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/33/1).

FIGURE 31
Women’s dance at night after cukavaturi malagan ceremony. 7/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/33/13).
FIGURE 32
Boy wearing non-malagan mask pausing for breath during dance of Tolai origin, prior to aruaru malagan ceremony. Village square, Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. 8-3-1984 (Photo NGE 1984/33/26)
FIGURE 33
Completed display of malagan sculpture in vunonem Madassiteno malagan display house prior to aruaru malagan ceremony, 8-3-1984. From top: two tabataha cur si mi Vavara (NATMUSPNG, NGE 1447); rarau pelepele si mi Vuvil (NGE 1443) in second row; rarau si mi Kalepmu (NGE 1445) (left) and rarau si mi Lunet (NGE 1446) (right) in third row; Curbana kapot kobokobor si mi Verim (with bones of deceased in bag) in fourth row; eikuar si mi Malagacak eimuogur (NATMUSPNG) vertically in centre; kobokobor si mi Madas (NGE 1330) in fifth row; on ground are the malagan head kovkov si mi Malagacak (NGE 1332) (left); malagan mask vanis Bei si mi Verim (NATMUSPNG) (centre); malagan mask vanis Matalala si mi Verim (NGE 1406) (right). The taubes transference platform is hidden behind the coconut leaf screen to right. Aro Verim, Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/33/33).
FIGURE 34
Picia visible on taubes platform beside the malagan sculpture malaganivis si mi Malagacak during buna ceremony. 8/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau.  (Photo NGE 1984/34/3).
Chapter 3 Malagan Commemorative Sequence

FIGURE 35
Taubes platform (behind screen) prior to buma ceremony for transfer of malagan ownership to initiates. 8/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/33/36).

FIGURE 36
Sola (centre) calling changes from the two ouc on the taubes platform (left) to the initiates (right) during buma ceremony. 8/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/34/8).
FIGURE 37
Vanariu mask (NGE 1329) in malagan display house at edge of village square at night after cukavavaturi malagan ceremony. 7/3/1984. Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau. (Photo NGE 1984/33/11).
Early next morning the eikuar finally arrived from Tatau village and it was lashed to the centre of the malagan display house (see Fig. 33). At around 11.30am the coconut leaf screen around the malagan ritual site was pulled down so that the malagan display house and its contents were visible to all. Just after 2.00pm a sequence of eight non-malagan public dances to entertain the people began in Lusem’s half of the village and led into the village square; these dances were all imported and had originated from elsewhere in PNG, mainly from New Britain (see Fig. 32).

When the public dances were finished everyone then moved into the malagan ritual site, men went into Aro Verim where the malagan house was located, and a number of women went into the adjacent Aro Lunet. Up on the taubes platform Picia and another quc were wearing kovage feather headdresses and were crouched one each side of the large malagan head malaganivis si mi Malagacak (see Fig. 34-35). The taubes was still screened off from the rest of the malagan ritual site.

With lime on his face and chest and a bunch of tanget leaves hanging down from under his belt, Sola strolled up started asking people: “Where are those two young men from Pekinberiu?” “What is this fence for?” These jokes were all part of the taubes, the source of power for Malagacak. Sialis [Sicobi] of Monun village, a Malagacak man, walked over to the garamut, picked up the stick and gave the drum a sharp tap. Sola was now between the taubes platform and the eight initiates who had formed themselves into two rows of four. With another tap the screen was pulled down and to the sound of the garamut the two kneeling quc danced, bending their bodies from the waist up, their arms outstretched, twisting from one side to the other in this buma ceremony. Sola was in the middle calling out the changes to the initiates who danced in response to the two quc up on the taubes (see Fig. 36)

When buma was finished each of the participants came forward in front of the malagan house where they held out their leaf bundles, garamut stick, or other malagan tool, and called out the name of the person who had given him the rights. As the pigs were laid out and food parcels were opened in the middle of Aro Verim, women and children started to come over the fence and placed mis into the mouth of the malaganivis malagan head on the taubes.

**Summary of events - cukavavaturi malagan ceremony**

Due to its cumulative nature cukavavaturi was the most significant malagan ceremony of the series. This was the ceremony to which all malagan activity was ultimately directed: the display of the malaganised images of the dead and the transference of malagan rights to the next generation.

Cukavavaturi took place in a number of different phases:

- Manufacture and preparation of malagan sculpture and dance costumes;
- Using the Mataala malagan mask to remove taboos from the village;
- Using the Vanariu malagan mask to remove taboos from the malagan ritual site and to lower its sacredness;
- Singing malagan songs in front of the malagan display houses.
- Placing malagan sculpture on display in the main display house;
- Using number of men wearing malagan masks to hurl stones at the houses belonging to the dead woman’s clan, then to chop down a rope which had been strung up across the middle of the village square, then to pull down the fence separating the mask display house from the open village.
- Next day the ownership of the malagans was transferred to the next generation in a public ceremony watched by all the villagers, men and women.
Role of malagan during Cukavavaturi

Cukavavaturi was a complex malagan ceremony, and although it can be considered from many angles, I will examine here only the role malagan played in the social action of the participants.

From the evidence at hand it appears that the majority if not all of the malagan items used during cukavavaturi were essential to the structure and intent of the malagan ceremony and ritual sequence. During the cukavavaturi malagan ceremony the following malagan sculptural items were used:

- two major taboo manipulating masks (Matalala and Vanariu).
- six malagan masks acted as minor taboo removing cleaners and destroyers and were used to pull down fences, wreck houses, etc (two Ges, Pi, Bei-ang, Bei, Bei-kuru).
- one major malagan head was used during the transfer of malagan ownership from one generation to the next (Malaganivis si mi Malagacak).
- ten memorial malagans were displayed either in the malagan display house (Cur Bana kapot kobokbor si mi Verim, Kobokobor si mi Madas, 2 x Tabataba cur si mi Vavara, Rarau si mi Kulepmu, Rarau si mi Lunet, Rarau pelepele si mi Vuvil, Eikuar si mi Malagacak eimungur, Eiboyamas si mi Malagacak, Kovkov si mi Malagacak).

Masks

Masks were used and treated in two quite distinctly different ways as tools, not symbols, for the purposes of manipulating major taboos and as cleaners and destroyers removing evidence of the dead person’s existence. The major taboo manipulating masks were used sequentially by the guc ‘mouth man’, and the cleaners and destroyers were used by young men under control of the guc.

Picia began the work of Matalala when the malagan area was still in a state of high sacredness and screened off from the village. He used Matalala to introduce into the open village a malaganised level of taboo related to the malaganised taboo existing in the ritual site. He returned to the ritual site through the hidden entrance and placed the mask to rest on a short pole in front of the malagan display house. Picia then reappeared to begin the work of Vanariu and remove some of the malaganised taboos of the ritual site and reopen the connection between the village and the ritual site, restoring the equilibrium between the living and the dead. After use this mask was placed in its own display house which was positioned within the fenced off region but outside the malagan ritual site which contained the main malagan display house.

After malagan sculpture was hung in the display house the second group of masks, the sepa cleaners and destroyers were activated and emerged from the most sacred part of the malagan ritual site - the kosobo region behind the malagan display house - to be led through the reopened entrance and into the village. There they attacked the possessions of the clan of the dead people, and cut into pieces a vine rope which had been strung up across the centre of the village square connecting the malagan ritual site to one of the houses. This action removed the tinga taboo and by lowering the level of taboo back to a normal level it freed the villagers of any memorial or other effects of the dead. These masked men then pulled down the coconut leaf screen surrounding the ritual site, opening it to the village, and enabling women to enter the malagan ritual site to witness the formal transfer of ownership of the malagan from one generation to the other.

Vanis Matalala si mi Verim

Matalala was a mask of Verim which belonged to Sola Lokorova [Keis], and was danced in by Picia to connect the village to the malaganised taboo level of the ritual site. This mask was made by Sola and his people at Poponovam village. Sola had previously received the rights to this Matalala from his MF Paket [Carameges]. Matalala was said to be a picture of the planet Venus, the first star of the morning; its use possibly indicating a new phase for the village.

9 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1406.
Chapter 3 Malagan Commemorative Sequence

**Vanis Vanariu si mi Verim**

Owned by Lusem [Lavakulep] and made by Pius in Maragon village. This major mask\(^{10}\) was worn by Picia during the ritual action to remove taboos from the malagan ritual site so that the entrance way to the village could be reopened, and so that the malagans could be hung in the display house. After use this mask was placed on its own in the mask display house. Lusem had previously used two Vanariu masks to finish the name of his mother. He had received the rights to Verim from his father Tula [Katobi], and during this series of malagan ceremonies Lusem passed the rights to this mask on to his kandere Steven Lakasej [Lavakulep].

As a major mask this Vanariu is a direct descendant from the huge and elaborately carved masks which were collected from New Ireland in the late 19th century and which are now found in museum collections all over the world. The 1984 version conveyed some of the ponderous heaviness which must also have been apparent in the earlier version, but also demonstrated the extent of change which has occurred in some of the malagan carving traditions. This mask was not even made as a complete unit, for the ear planks had been carved some years earlier by the father of Pius's friend, and had been lying around a malagan storage house in Poponovam village ever since. The wooden face was covered with a wax-like resin called buitbuiltapuet which was derived from the puet tree.

**Vanis Ges si mi Verim**

Two vanis ges si mi Verim\(^{11}\) were worked during cukavavaturi: one was worn by Solis [Kuk k. Saterir m.], and the other by Petili [Saterir]. The Ges mask which Solis wore at Lusem’s malagan ceremony was owned by both Solis and Sola [Keis]. Solis lived in the same village (Lavakulep hamlet, Poponovam village) as Sola and was married to one of his sisters. As a husband of Sola’s sister Solis was therefore in a berserturanmonyoic relationship with Lusem, a man who had married another of Sola's sisters.

Petili was being taught the art of malagan carving by his kandere Songis, and had made and used a Ges mask which was owned by the master. Songis’s reasons for working five masks at Lusem’s cukavavaturi ceremony were not made clear, but as Songis was probably the most senior leader in malagan on Tabar at the time, and because I had expressed an interest in his masks and had commissioned examples to be made for the museum, Songis may have decided to use them to demonstrate how they were used. However, there were probably many other connections between Songis and Lusem of which I was totally unaware, and these connections may well have played a part in his decision to contribute. During the cirep ceremony held in December Lusem told me that three Ges and two Betar masks would be used during the final malagan ceremony and that he had received from his father the rights to both these types of masks.

**Vanis Pi si mi Verim**

Pi\(^{12}\) was one of the five masks owned by Songis which were used at Lusem’s cukavavaturi ceremony; Pi was made and worn by Maser [Damok] who had married a clan sister of Songis’s and was being trained by Songis to be a malagan carver. Although Pi and Ges masks looked very similar their actions were different, for Pi hurled rocks whereas Ges fired spears. These two characters are also recorded on mainland New Ireland (Lewis 1969; Brouwer 1980) where the same distinction was maintained. On Tabar Ges characters are found in a number of myths and are featured as a type of bush spirit, Pi is more obscure.

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\(^{10}\) N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1329.

\(^{11}\) National Museum of PNG (Reg. No. ?); N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1442.

\(^{12}\) N.T. Museum registration no NGE 1444.
Vanis Bei-ag si mi Verim
Bei-ag was one of the five masks owned by Songis which were used at Lusem’s cukavavaturi ceremony; Bei-ag was made and worn by Edwin Salle [Damok] whose father was a kin-brother of Songis. The name Bei-ag readily breaks into two morphemes: bei-usually refers to shark and -ag is a reference to the plant (probably turmeric) which gives a yellow dye when its roots are pressed. Bei-ag had a bright yellow face and ears, with yellow hair made from ciau dyed with ag.

Vanis Bei si mi Verim
Looking very similar to the masks belonging to Songis, the Matalala, Bei, and Ges masks belonging to Sola were made during the week that Songis was away at a malagan ceremony at Konos in mainland New Ireland, and after Songis’s people had begun to make his masks. Songis was politely contemptuous upon his return when he discovered that Sola’s masks so closely resembled his. Sola received his rights to the mask Bei from his mother’s mother’s brother Seten [Keis]; this malagan originated at Satau hamlet, Poponovam village (NW Simberi). The name Bei is a reference to the shark which come up and kills all the fish for the feast. As a mask it was used to break the rope oror which was strung up across the village square.

Vanis Bei-kuru si mi Verim
Bei-kuru was one of the five masks owned by Songis which were used at Lusem’s cukavavaturi ceremony; Bei-kuru was made and worn by Langete [Saterir]. Bei-kuru had a black face with a red stripe starting under each eye near the nose and sweeping around up to the ear, the ears themselves were bright red. Although the morpheme bei-refers to shark and -kuru means “above, up high, on top”, the image itself is derived from a small red fish.

Non-mask (static) malagan sculptural items:
The non-mask malagan sculptural items comprised two distinct classes: the Malaganivis head which was placed on the taubes platform and used during the transfer of malagan ownership; and the ten other malagan sculptures which were attached to the main malagan display house, or positioned directly in front of it. These other malagans were placed as memorials by affines or people with other obligations to the clan of the dead people. The most significant of these memorial malagans was the kobokobor which bore Bana’s name and some of her bones tied as a relic. A second kobokobor was placed horizontally at the bottom to act as the ‘foundation’ to the visual aspects of the display, with an eikuar standing up above the kobokobor and providing the vertical dimension.

Malaganivis si mi Malagacak
During the cukavavaturi ceremony the rights to malagan were transferred from one generation to the next. At this point it became apparent that the action of transferring the ownership of malagan was part of the total tradition of malagan, and was not carried within the context of any of the Big-Names, for malagan rights from 8 Big-Name subtraditions were involved at this point of the ritual. This climactic malagan transfer ceremony was held in a Verim ritual site, and the taubes platform was next to a Madas display house which contained malagan sculptures belonging to Verim, Madas, Malagacak, Vavara, Kulepmu, Lunet, and Vuvil but the malagan in the centre of the transference platform belonged to Malagacak.

13 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1403.
14 National Museum of PNG (Reg. No.?).
15 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1405.
Helen Uto [Keis] owned the wooden malaganivisl6 head which was used in the centre of the taubes malagan transfer platform during the final transfer of ownership of malagans from one generation to the next, and it was worked by her brother Sola. This malagan was carved and painted by Daniel Madassaljala [Damok] in Tatau village and was said to be a vuno (source-origin) mask of Malagacak, the premier malagan of Malagacak and contained full power.

**Cur Bana kapot kobokobor si mi Verim**

This malagan17 was made by Songis Lamot [Saterir], owned by the dead woman Bana [Lavakulep], worked by Lusem [Lavakulep], and was the most significant malagan in the malagan display house. This malagan was a classical kobokobor in the sense that it was a wooden horizontal malagan with the head of a pig’s head at each end with each image separated by a koltibor. Within the body of this malagan were four female Bana images strikingly distinguished by a blue spiral painted on white on each eye. When displayed on the malagan house a bag containing Bana’s bones was tied to this kobokobor. The rights had come to Bana from her father Tula [Katobi], and were not passed on to a third party during this malagan ceremony.

**Kobokobor si mi Madas**

This malagan18 had a history of usage. When I first saw it in 1982 when it was shown to me by a number of [Keis] women who posed for a photograph with this malagan of theirs in Aro Madas at Rubis hamlet, Poponovam village. Pius [Perivut] of Maragon at this stage had only partially carved the main body of the malagan, and Edward Salle in Tatau village was making the heads. In December of 1982 Sola worked this kobokobor at a malagan ceremony he organised in Poponovam village but did not pass it on. This kobokobor is very typical of Madas kobokobor on Tabar. It was a three dimensional horizontal malagan with the head of a pig at each end, three women’s heads with long protruding tongues emerging from *da* water bottles, koltibor blocks separating each of the images, and three lines of saw edged veivem - one top, one bottom, and one in the middle. During the Pekinberiu malagan ceremony the main body of the malagan had been freshly repainted, but the detachable heads had been kept in Tatau village by Edward Salle who had since joined the Prayer Group church’s ongoing protest against malagan. When the heads finally arrived in Pekinberiu they still had the previous year’s paint. During this series of malagan ceremonies Sola [Keis] passed the ownership rights of this malagan to two of his kandere: Muren [Keis] and Solalilif [Keis].

**Eikuar si mi Malagacak eimuogur**

Lusem’s brother Sebet Tula [Lavakulep] worked a vertical eikuar si mi Malagacak eimuogur19 which was made by Salle’s brother Daniel Madassaljala [Damok]. This malagan was not completed in time for the official hanging so was not fixed to the malagan house until the morning of the 8th. This malagan was not transferred to anyone else during this malagan ceremony. When it was finally hung in the malagan house, this eikuar contained four Malagacak figures standing on top of each other, each holding a flying fish (eimuogur) in front of its body. The eikuar had a pig’s head at the bottom, koltibor between each image, and crowned with four or. The four Malagacak figures in this eikuar did not bear any relationship to the three people being commemorated.

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16 National Museum of PNG (Reg. No. ?).  
17 Not purchased for the museum collections.  
18 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1330.  
19 National Museum of PNG (Reg. No. ?).
**Tabataba cur si mi Vavara**

Two *Tabataba cur si mi Vavara* malagans were owned by Lusem's wife Uto [Katobi], the nominal sponsor of this series of malagan ceremonies. They were hung up on the malagan house by Sola and the *taqtagjas* chant was called out by Libiaq [Kuk k. Saterir m.], a leader in Vavara malagan. Both these Vavara were made by Picia, although Leleu was commissioned to make it. Leleu asked Picia to make it on his behalf. Sola eventually paid Leleu for the work of making these two malagans, and Leleu then paid Picia. These two malagans were not passed on to anyone else during this malagan ceremony. Both examples of this malagan were virtually identical. They both illustrated a *soksokbor* type of design. *Soksokbor* is the name of the paint design and is a reference to the two red points set in yellow at each end of the central oval. These two points were in turn references to killing a pig. The yellow section which was broken by these two points represented the liver of a pig. Outside this central section was a white band, which was here called *tar*, painted over the *komenguma* reversed pattern which represent the markings of a hermit crab walking about on white sand. The black band consisted of black paint on top of lime which is on top of braided black *boruboruvida* rootlets (which in this malagan context were termed *urada*).

**Rarau si mi Kulepmu**

Lusem [Lavakulep] owned, made, and displayed this malagan21, but during this malagan series he did not hand it on to anyone else. The image was of two fish with a hole between their tails. It was painted with school paints on to a copra sack backing which was fastened to a frame made from rattan.

**Rarau si mi Lunet**

Lusem [Lavakulep] made and displayed the rights to this Lunet22 twice during this malagan series, initially during *cirep* and the second time during *cukavavaturi*. During this malagan series Lusem handed the rights to this malagan over to his kandere Lakasea [Lavakulep] (Lusem's father's first wife's daughter's son). Lusem had originally received this malagan from his father's father Levi Tuvok [Lavakulep]. The malagan used in *cukavavaturi* utilised the same malagan frame as that used in *cirep*. The image varied from the *cirep* example only in minor details such as the placing of the fish fins.

**Rarau pelepele si mi Vuvil**

Sola owned, made, and worked this Vuvil23, the rights to which he received from his clan leader in [Keis] (probably his mother's sister's son) at Merimerir hamlet, Poponovam village (NW Simberi). During *cukavavaturi* he displayed this malagan but did not hand it on to anyone else. This Vuvil was a picture of a small stinging worm or caterpillar that lives on a leaf. This insect is called *cucuivurovurok* in daily talk, and called *girisoa* when used in *Vuvil* as part of the malagan. The malagan was made of a rattan and copra sack base, with white *ciau* braided rope, and black *boruboruvida* braided rope sewn onto the sacking, painted with white lime, black charcoal, and red and blue paints obtained from the school.

**Eibooamas si mi Malagacak**

Kolna [Sicobi] placed this *eibooamas si mi Malagacak*24 figure in front of the malagan display house, but did not pass it on to anyone else. The reasons for his displaying this

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21 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1445.

22 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1446.

23 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1443.

24 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1331.
malagan were not made clear to me, and there do not appear to be any kin obligations. Kolna usually resided in N Simberi, he married a woman in [Pekinmiteres], and his father was in [Maranatum]. I can only assume that he owed Lusem a favour. This malagan had a typical Malagacak head on a boganas body - a torso which finished at the ribs and had a dangling liver attached, there are no hips or legs with this type of malagan.

Kovkov si mi Malagacak
Ngariu [Saterir] displayed a kovkov head of Malagacak25 at this malagan ceremony to commemorate his wife Mulsi [Lavakulep], the sister of Bana. Ngariu may well have planned to commemorate his wife more fully at another time, for her inclusion in the list of commemorated people was after most of the malagan ceremonies had taken place and appeared to be an after-thought. He did not hand the rights to this malagan on to anyone else during cukavavaturi. This kovkov was a typical wooden Malagacak head with a tall headdress.

Malagan display house vunoram Madassiteno
This strikingly attractive vunoram Madassiteno malagan house which was used in Uto’s commemorative malagan series was physically one of the biggest human constructions on Tabar. It was positioned in the centre of the far end of Aro Verim in Pekinberiu village, just in front of the burial area (see Map 3.1). From the ground to the uprooted tree which formed the ridge pole it measured seven metres in height, at the base it was four metres wide, and two metres deep. The walls consisted essentially of a glossy green vertical display background with an oval top and sides of brown sago leaf, with horizontal yellow and black spirally striped poles interspaced with horizontal uprooted trees forming part of the structure. The main rights to this Madassiteno display house were held by Bevirorun [Keis], Sola’s elder relative from Poponovam village (NW Simberi).

Malagan mask display house vuno vanis
The smaller mask display house was initially constructed and positioned inland of the Madassiteno display house in a way which was similar to the relationship between the two display houses in the nabor malagan ceremony I recorded in Tatau village. However just prior to the cukavavaturi malagan ceremony this display house was shifted so that it finally stood on four poles next to a men’s house was initially fenced off with the rest of the malagan ritual site, but after the fence was demolished at the end of cukavavaturi this men’s house, together with the mask display house, stood facing the village square, and apart from the malagan ritual site (see Fig. 37).

Taubes malagan transference platform
During the night of 7-8 March the mask display house was moved to beside the outer men’s house and in its place the taubes malagan transference platform was constructed. In the centre of the taubes was the malagan head Malaganivis si mi Malagacak belonging to Helen Uto [Keis], the nominal sponsor of the malagan (see Fig. 34).

Cement Gravestones
Cement gravestones do not mark the actual position of graves but act only as memorials. They are often placed in the village square in the centre of a village, or are moved around and positioned in front of the malagan display house alongside malagan sculpture. A corpse is usually buried in the kosobo behind the malagan house, or less often are carried up a cliff and placed in a cave. Gravestones are erected by those people who do not own rights to work malagan, these people are usually those who are usually born outside Tabar but have obligations to Tabar society through marriage or other commitments such as usufruct. During this malagan ceremony Daniel Kukulo [Vunavase], born on neighbouring Lihir island, worked a cement tombstone during Lusem’s cukavavaturi ceremony because Kukulo’s son Lip [Saterir] married a daughter of Mulsi [Lavakulep], one of the dead women

25 N.T. Museum registration no. NGE 1332.
being commemorated. During ceremony [Lavakulep] clan purchased this tombstone from Lip for one mis and a little money. By mid-afternoon on the 8th and just before the malagan transference ceremony three more tombstones had been erected and placed in front of the malagan house - one each for John Tuwok, Kovte Penot, and Danila Tula.

3.9. Aruaru malagan ceremony - description of the ritual and social action

At around mid-morning on the 8th there were seven pigs lying trussed in the village square, and there were several hundred kilograms of sweet potato and tapiok lying in racks which had been newly built against the village side of the fence around the malagan ritual site. Women from Pekinberiu village were giving kaukau and tapiok from baskets which they had brought with them to the women from other villages who had come to Pekinberiu for the malagan ceremony. Nearer the ritual site entrance men began to strangle pigs, and shortly the village square was busy with burning pig corpses as the hair was singed off. Once singed, the pigs were gutted, their blood kept to make the biabor blood soup. These pigs were not to be eaten at the Aruaru ceremony, but instead were destined to be carved up and distributed at the conclusion.

After the public dances for entertainment, and the malagan work of cukavavaturi in the ritual site, everyone came outside the ritual site into the village square and watched while first Picia with a bunch of cir leaves in each hand, white limed face and hand marks on his chest, ran around the pigs then stood on the two end pigs and made a speech as he danced. After he had finished Sola then did the same (see Fig. 38). When the speeches were finished all the men who had contributed to the feasts then formed a ring around the pigs, each man linked to the next through the bond of a length of mis.

Summary of events - Aruaru malagan ceremony

Closely associated with cukavavaturi, Aruaru was the final and most significant pig ceremony of the commemorative series. It took place immediately after the completion of the ceremonial activity for the sculptural side of malagan.

During Aruaru the following activity took place:
- Pigs were strangled, singed, and gutted, then placed in on the ground of the village square on fresh green banana leaves in two lines.
- Malagan sculpture remained on public display after the cukavavaturi ceremony.
- The 'mouth man', then one of the malagan organisers, gave a speech when standing on top of the pigs.
- Every man who contributed to the feasts formed a circle around the pigs, each man linked to the next through the bond of a length of mis.

Aruaru malagan ceremony - discussion

Aruaru as a name is used to refer to the entire commemorative sequence as well as the final malagan ceremony, and most usually it is referred to in Tok Pisin as "luk-luk nau". If a man has malagan then this is the time when everyone can see and know that he owns it. This is the time when the malagan organiser can dance on top of the pigs and air his complaints about help he has not received during the working of these ceremonies.

Due to the late arrival of the eikuar, the distinction between cukavavaturi and Aruaru was not as clear-cut to me as it would have been had the two ceremonies taken place on separate days. Following Picia's account of the distinction between the activities of cukavavaturi and Aruaru he concluded:

"OK in the morning (of orur) they have some pigs heads, some of the pigs heads they wait until morning then they give them to men in the men's houses around about. They then come and meet and come up to the pig to hear the mouth man at this feast. They come and look at all the pigs in
the middle of the village. In our language on Tabar we call him IJUC, on New Ireland they call him maimai. OK this IJUC must decorate himself with traditional decoration. They call it kapkap, and cirorun, [ian?], he decorates himself with croton leaves. He must call out then he runs round, round all the pigs. He finds a big pig or one with curving tusks, then he gets up on top of this pig and he talks out on top of it. Whatever things he has been worrying about, then he remembers it. His mother or his father or his clan leader, who he wants to finish now, now he knows he will be finished and he is happy. He talks clear about this happiness of his. He can talk about this on top of the pig, because he is happy that he can finish and now he can rest about this memory. All year, all months, all weeks and all days he has worked and slept and thought about this. Now he is happy that it is finished. He talks clear about this at this time now.

OK, all men who had earlier said that they had malagan, the men who think that they are married to this clan, then they must work malagan, they must show in public their obligations to this marriage. This means that now he is married, he works his malagan, and he uses his pig, all this is the work to show the obligations of his marriage. Marriage is not nothing, marriage is something very heavy in our custom. Marriage is like a hard life.

If a man doesn’t work this step, if he doesn’t work a malagan, or if he doesn’t use a pig for the clan of his wife, or whatever man belongs to her [?], or if he doesn’t work enough, then this is the time when two people are angry and they must talk to one another’s face. “You married us, and you don’t use a pig, you don’t work a malagan, you are a rubbish man.” It is enough that we say this. OK all men who think these thoughts and all this type of argument, they must not go beyond this. This is the time, the time when they can show the obligations of marriage.

OK, when they have singed off all the pigs’ hair, and got rid of the offal, then they place the carcasses on top of the bed. They then wait while songs are sung. When the songs are finished, then they cut coconut leaves and put them in the middle of the village and carry the pigs and load them on top of the leaves. They then carry all the baskets of sweet potato and place them. When this is complete the men who were responsible for the pigs’ deaths must now get the payments for the pigs, then they stand up and form a ring around the pigs’ bodies.

OK, the mouth man then gets on his decoration, then he comes and talks again when standing on top of the pig. When he has finished talking, then they buy the pigs. When the purchase of the pigs is completed then they butcher the pigs. When the butchering of the pigs is finished, then they give the pig pieces to the men. A basket of sweet potato together with a piece of pig is given to a man. They also repay the men who helped them with pigs and they finish the mis and money exchanges of everyone. Thats all, thank you.” (Translated from tape transcript NGE 1984/2b:0-85)

3.10. Conclusions: Malagan ritual behaviour - commemorative sequence

The sequence of commemorative malagan ceremonies begins with bringing malagan logs in from the profane bush to the sacred malagan ritual site which contains the graveyard, then continues through a number of ceremonies which utilize the image of the tunumar making a malagan sculpture, capturing at each step more and more of the dead’s relationship to the living, a capturing process which is demonstrated by the heightening of taboo restrictions around the sacred site.

The manipulation of taboo is intimately associated with the manipulation of malagan sculpture. Malagan sculptures are treated as sacred and have a number of tabooed behaviours associated with them. These ritual artefacts are manufactured within sacred grounds - the malagan ritual site and clan graveyard - and after use in malagan ritual they are disposed of by either removing them completely from the village by sale to a foreigner, or are cast to rot in a malagan graveyard which is totally taboo for anyone to enter. When transported from one sacred site to another these malagans are wrapped up and shielded from the outside world - both to protect the artefacts from contamination by the profane world as well as to protect the village world from contamination by the ritual world associated with the malagans. Women must not enter the sacred region when malagan
sculptures are being made, and smoke from a burning malagan must not be allowed to blow down onto the village.

Although malagan artefacts vary in the strength of the associations linked to them, common features include the entrapment of a person's marumarua spirit image into the malagan during its manufacture. This is particularly noticeable during the manufacture of the potent Vavara malagan which had its origins with a woman watching a spider weave its web. During manufacture of a Vavara, special precautions are used to ensure that the virua spirits of the malagan workers are not entangled in the Vavara during its assembly. Women, by virtue of their status as carriers of the tadar life force, would be particularly vulnerable at this stage. If the clan's life force was trapped in a Vavara together with the marumarua of the dead, then the clan's life force would be short circuited. Burning the Vavara after its public display releases the connection the people had with the dead person's marumarua image. In this way the living people are released from the influence of the dead so that they can reweave the web of social contracts and reform Tabar society. This is why the artefacts of malagan are disposed of after use, for they portray the dead person's relationship to the rest of the community and must be disposed of after the ritual death so that the living can regroup again.

The final commemorative ceremony contains all the villager's malagan sculptures which portray their relationships to the dead, and their relationships to the living through the networks which the dead had sustained. This final malagan ceremony displays all this evidence of the social connections which bound the people all together as a social unit, but focussed through the medium of the dead. The ownership of these malagans is then transferred to the next generation so that they can reweave the connections to form a new social network which can be re-expressed in the future through the medium of malagan.

The final resolution of this ritual process is found in the distribution of pig meat which originated (as meat) at this final malagan ceremony. Prior to the final ceremony the pigs were owned, not by individuals, but by pairs of people. Each pig was owned by one of the partners and nurtured by the affine. At the final malagan ceremony these porcine symbols of the affinal bonds are killed and their meat distributed over the wider social network covered by the connections portrayed by the malagans.

![Figure 38](image-url)  
4) Social and cultural connections of malagan

OK, all men who had earlier said that they had malagan, the men who think that they are married to this clan, then they must work malagan, they must show in public their obligations to this marriage. This means that now he is married, he works his malagan, and he uses his pig, all this is the work to show the obligations of his marriage. Marriage is not nothing, marriage is something very heavy in our custom. Marriage is like a hard life. (Picia speaking during aruaru)

Tabar people say that the ‘meaning’ of malagan is “that this man as leader of this clan owns this malagan”, and at first hearing this statement gives the impression that malagan is something merely to be owned and brandished as a symbol of power, something for leaders to strive for. And in the broad view this impression is quite correct, for malagan on Tabar is something to work for, to achieve, and to be proud of, for ownership of malagan enables a person or a clan to participate in the central arena of cultural life of Tabar, and the more malagans that are owned, the richer and more intense is the clan or individual’s sense of being.

But this is not the full meaning of malagan for the people on Tabar. It is not the fact of owning malagan, but what is owned and by whom that is important. Malagan sculptures represent the expression of important social and totemic connections between people on Tabar, so that the more malagan rights a person or clan owns, then the more ways there are of expressing these affinal connections to other people and other clans.

During his discussion with me on the ownership of malagan designs, Michael Kaletau gave an illustration of the relationship between a malagan and the clan which owned it:

“No one can work an empty design. Someone who stole a malagan design would be stealing the image belonging to someone else’s totem, he would be working something without meaning, without power or anything else. Malagans have spiritual rites which belong to them, these rites have feeling and relevance because they came from within the clan. The line of descent that belongs to this malagan knows the type of talk, the way to work this malagan; they all know its feeling, they are part of it, something that has meaning. A malagan is like a song which was composed by someone. The man that truly composed the song, he has a name which he gave to it. It is the same with malagan. A song that is composed in one region has meaning and significance relevant to that region and to the composer. If another person somewhere else sings the song he would be singing something without meaning.”

4.1. Malagan people - the social roles of malagan

Malagan has a number of social roles to enable people to participate in malagan, to carry out the ritual procedure, and to maintain the tradition between the periods of ritual manifestation. Some of these roles are permanent changes in status and are achieved only by a person gaining malagan rights, whereas other roles are temporary and are linked only to the production and execution of ritual.

Owner

Every person living on Tabar and born of a Tabar mother would have access to the rights to work at least one malagan sculpture to fulfil social obligations. As such, ownership of malagan is the basis of a Tabar identity.

Fulfilling of social obligations through the use of malagan does not appear to be an option on Tabar, for malagan people distinguish quite clearly between those who belong to malagan and those who do not belong (the kabapj) and who as a consequence cannot honour

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1 See Appendix B transcript 1.1 for Kaletau’s talk.
their affines. A synonym for *kabaga* is “rubbish-man”. To belong to malagan is to own malagan, and to own malagan is to use it to honour affines.

On a general level a malagan owner is someone who has received the rights to own, work, and to pass on to the next generation the rights to a specific malagan sculpture or other part of malagan. Both men and women can own malagan, although the majority of owners (80-90%) are men. There are two classes of malagan owner: those who are *vuna* (‘source’ or ‘origin’) of malagan; and those who are not. A person who is a source of malagan would have received the rights to malagan from within the clan, and would act as a repository for all the clan’s malagans, transferring rights to those clan members who have need of them. This person can be a man or a woman, and is generally the first born child of the next generation. A person who is a malagan owner but is not a source of malagan would be someone who has obtained the rights to a malagan sculpture from either his or her clan source of malagan, or who has purchased the rights to a malagan from the father or from someone else. All aspects of the ownership of malagan are tied to the concept of *ciribor* ‘bone of pig’, the most significant symbol in malagan. Every aspect of malagan which deals with malagan ownership must have an associated *ciribor* pig feast which indicates to all that any change of malagan ownership which occurs at this feast is legitimate and is publically recognized. All aspects of malagan which can be owned by individuals or by clans are linked to *ciribor*.

There are varying degrees of malagan ownership on Tabar. At the simplest level is the person who owns the rights to a malagan, having received it from the clan leader or from the father, but who lacks the ability or interest in working the malagan in a ceremony so instead finds someone to work the malagan on his or her behalf. This person would usually be a woman with no wish to take part in a man’s world; but may also be a man who has spent a long time away from Tabar and has no knowledge of the ritual to which he may have been introduced when he was a small boy. Another minor owner may be a person who is not confident enough to stand up in public, or perhaps too young, or too old.

At the other end of the scale is the *maceor*, which is a serious term for a man who owns many malagans. This type of man aggressively hunts malagans to add to his repertoire:

“To obtain a malagan from another man first you *vagarir malaga* hunt the malagan, then you *kepukic malaga* turn this malagan so that it comes to you.”

Although hunting a malagan is not an activity I witnessed on Tabar, I understand the concept to refer to a *maceor* who understands his clan’s supply of malagans to be depleted and sets about the task of rebuilding the stock. This would involve the *maceor* identifying the current owners of malagan rights which were previously owned by his clan. To regain these rights the *maceor* would place the current owner in his debt, and the most accepted means of placing a man in debt is to honour his clan-dead through a malagan ceremony. The current owner would be obliged to contribute a malagan sculpture to the ceremony held in honour of his own people, and the malagan organiser, the *maceor*, would receive a share in the rights to all malagan sculpture displayed at the ceremony.

Other more passive terms used to describe a person who owns the rights to many malagans are *orginoginot* “a bunch of feathers of all kinds of colours” or *nutuorginoginot* “he was young when he started with this malagan”. *Orginoginot* is also used as a term to describe a person who has raised social status due to cultural material inherited from father, from clan, or from grandfather.

There are several grades of ownership and participation specific to each Big-Name malagan subtradition. For example *pablik* is a term for a man who owns and works *Vavara* malagan; *lak kaki* is an elite part of this group and are men who have paid *lak* to work on a particular malagan, usually in the construction or working of it in ritual. This type of man is regarded as a senior man inside malagan.
Artist

A malagan ceremony must have a sculptural component to be properly considered malagan, and to do this someone must go out into the forest and select a tree or a bush, then return with it to the malagan ritual site to make a malagan art work. As the person who realises a malagan sculpture, and as the person who can most influence material change in a malagan tradition, the sculptor \textit{(tunumar)} is an important person in malagan.

For the purposes of our study, the perceived work of the \textit{tunumar} is at least as important as his sculptural product, for the theme structure for the commemorative malagan series on Tabar is based upon a \textit{tunumar}'s work in constructing a malagan sculpture. Beginning with the \textit{cirep}, during which logs are brought into the malagan ritual site, the commemorative series proceeds through a number of different ceremonies which emphasise the different stages of carving a malagan sculpture: stages such as marking the wood with the design, freeing up the image, applying the lime, and other work concerned with the manufacture of the sculpture, culminating with the display of the completed art work and the final pig feast.

Although there is a tradition of apprenticeship and specialisation in the carving of malagan sculpture, there does not appear to be any formal introduction to the art. A young man learns from an older sculptor who may or may not be related by kin or by marriage. Songis in Tatau village has at least three apprentices, young men from Tatau village who have displayed some skill at wood carving and who assist him in the rough-out work of major pieces, and perform all the work on malagan sculpture made to sell to outsiders. Another sculptor, Lepan of Van village, is unlike the other malagan sculptors on Tabar, in that he employs a Sepik man as a carving assistant. This use of an outsider to carve malagan is confined only to his village, where the inhabitants are Seventh Day Adventist who treat malagan only as a commodity to be turned into cash. All other \textit{tunumar} on Tabar and their assistants are either born of Tabar mothers or have come from a malagan carving tradition in mainland northern New Ireland.

Since the advent of government and the church on Tabar as avenues to personal and social power, the influence of malagan as the main road to prestige on Tabar has been considerably reduced. Consequently a malagan organiser spends less time and less resources on malagan when compared to earlier days. One of the ways where a malagan organiser cuts costs is in the manufacture of the sculpture. Previously a \textit{tunumar} would be housed in the men's house of the malagan organiser, and he would take his time over the planning and execution of a piece. Each stage of the carving would be celebrated with a small pig feast and a gift of a section of mis. When the malagan sculpture was completed and displayed at a malagan ceremony, the \textit{tunumar} would be given special mention and praise, with an extra bonus mis as a final payment. Today a significant proportion of malagan sculpture is made by the malagan's owner with a consequent saving of costs, or if the owner employs a \textit{tunumar}, he would often pay the \textit{tunumar} only a partial length of mis, or forget to pay him at all. As a constant guiding force over the quality and style of malagan sculpture, the \textit{tunumar} malagan artists are not the force they once were, and the declining quality of their work reflects this weakness.

One in five malagan owners is a malagan sculptor to some extent. Of the forty two names of malagan sculptors I recorded, around half could be considered professional \textit{tunumar} in that they carve malagan sculpture for people outside their own clan. These men would be familiar with a range of malagan sculpture and with the malagan rights held by most if not all of the people living in a five to ten kilometre radius of the sculptor's home village. Most malagan owners who commission a malagan sculpture do so from a \textit{tunumar} who is either related through the clan or by marriage, or who lives in a nearby village. Some \textit{tunumar} get a reputation for specialising in a particular type of sculpture, and will be sought out as a consequence. Picia, for example, is well known for making \textit{Vavara} woven malagans. These professional sculptors would hope to receive lengths of mis and some honour for their work.

The other twenty or so malagan sculptors are also called \textit{tunumar} because they made malagan sculpture, but as they work only for themselves and for no payment, they are amateur. Many of these men were trained by their fathers or perhaps by someone from within the clan, and as a consequence their skill is on a par with some of the more
Ritual expert
To become a specialist in malagan ritual behaviour is to become a malagan expert and to work as a malagan spokesperson - *mi guc* (the mouth). As the rights to the ritual are owned by all Tabar people, the ritual expert is a person skilled at expressing himself in public, and is generally a person who has been trained in the role. Clan leadership (*guc*) on Tabar is achieved through primogeniture and the operation of the women's *beriberi* ceremonial sequence. Although an aspect of clan leadership, leadership in malagan is a separate achievement and can come from either the mother's or the father's side, either by descent within the matrikin, by laterality through the matrikin, or by patrifiliation. By becoming a *guc* in malagan through receiving the clan's malagans a person is also understood to have become a source (*vuna*) of the Big-Name of those malagans. By becoming a *guc* in malagan through receiving the malagans from the father, a child is understood to have received his father's prestige and would be under an obligation to maintain or increase that prestige.

In malagan a *guc* represents traditional or ancestral norms and is a ritual expert. He acts as 'mouth' for ancestral ways by enacting out the roles which are taken by malagan: roles such as the masked removal of taboos, the reunification of clans separated by argument, roles which in many ways would be taken by a legal judge in Western societies.

From an examination of the ownership patterns it appears that a *guc* must also be the source or repository of his clan's malagans who is then able to act for other clans, but only within the subtradition for which he is a *vuna* source.

Nominal sponsor
The role of a nominal sponsor is to act as the focus for initial action, and is the person on whose behalf a malagan ceremony or series of malagans ceremonies is organised and worked. Because the key reason for setting in motion a chain of events leading toward a malagan ceremony is to honour specific dead people in the affinal clan, the nominal sponsor is most usually a malagan owner married to someone whose clan-dead had not been adequately commemorated. If the nominal sponsor is a man, he would most likely be the person who organises the series of events culminating in the malagan ceremony. From the two series of malagans ceremonies which I recorded it appears that if the nominal sponsor is a woman, then she would take no part in the actual organisation of people, resources and events, and all organisation would be done on her behalf by her husband, or her brother, or both. The organisational role does not appear to be restricted by the organisers kin relationship to the nominal sponsor.

Organiser
The organiser is the man or men who coordinate and control the organisation and working of a malagan ceremony. This work includes marshalling human resources to begin gardens; calling on obligations to get people to commit pigs for consumption; gaining consent of fellow villagers to allow the village to be used as the centre of activity; commissioning artists to begin carving malagans; finding ritual house builders to plan the type of malagan display house; finding other people to work malagan sculpture at these ceremonies; locating ritual

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2 See below for brief description of the *beriberi* ceremonies.

3 See Appendix B transcript 1.2 for Picia's description of this process of inheriting leadership from the father.

4 Custom law on Tabar is reached by consensus modified by precedent, and that it is only in the enactment of the law that malagan plays a role and the mouth wears a mask.
experts to advise and at times work malagan masks or sculpture. The organiser is often referred to as the 'father' of the malagan, with all that the term implies on matrilineal Tabar.

**Malagan worker**

A malagan owner is usually also the malagan worker, the person who displays and works a malagan sculpture at a malagan ceremony. Working a malagan has two separate aspects - ritual work and social work.

Broadly speaking, ritual work is generally undertaken by fulfilling the roles required by malagan for the display and transference of malagan sculpture. More specifically ritual work varies according to the prescriptions of each malagan Big-Name subtradition, the tabataba subgrouping, and to the type of malagan it is and the role it should play within a larger grouping.

A number of aspects of ritual work require the wearing of a malagan mask, and these tend to deal with either taboo removal or the transformation of parts of society. The person who wears a mask to remove taboos from an area is not the person who owns that mask, but is a person who works the mask as a malagan. In the case of major taboo-removing masks, the owner places the malagan mask on the worker's head and leads the masked man around the village. In the example I recorded the major mask worker was the auc acting out a malagan role. Lesser mask workers were young and strong relatives of the malagan mask owners, for working a mask is not for old men. It involves wearing a heavy costume in the heat of the day to run around and wield a machete or spear or to throw rocks.

The social work of malagan involves a malagan owner displaying a malagan in order to discharge an obligation to his or her spouse's clan, an obligation which built up after the death of a person in that clan. The owner can choose whether to pass the malagan on to another person and lose the rights, or to just show it and retain the rights for further use at a later date.

For a number of reasons the person who works a malagan sculpture may not be the malagan owner, but another person who owns the rights to work this type of malagan, a person who is in the same Big-Name subtradition of malagan. A woman will generally ask a man to work her malagan on her behalf, or a malagan owner may be away overseas and request a malagan to be worked so as to discharge a social obligation which had accumulated. In this case the owner gains the discharged obligation, and the worker gains the glory from being seen to work a malagan and calling out its ownership chant in front of a large crowd of men.

**Initiate**

Initiates are those people who are receiving rights during a malagan ceremony or series of ceremonies. Generally young men or boys, the initiates receive rights to malagan sculpture, or to the right to build a malagan display house, or to any one of a number of the many aspects of ciribor which comprise the corpus of malagan. Some non-sculptural aspects of malagan are received with an accompanying exchange of mis between the initiate and the clan's source of malagan, if that aspect occurs during a malagan ceremony. The transfer of malagan rights to sculpture are considered more significant and are usually transferred at the taubes ceremony during aruaru, the final malagan ceremony of a commemorative series.

**Gender in malagan roles**

According to my field notes at least 12% of Tabar women own the rights to malagan (of the 211 names of malagan owners I recorded in my notes, 25 of these were women). The real proportion is probably greater than that, but how much greater I can only guess. Around 20% of Tabar malagan owners indicated that they had received malagan from their mothers, although the actual figure is difficult to ascertain because Tabar men were usually reluctant to mention their mothers' names due to a tertiary level taboo relating to the names of women in specific kin relationships to the speaker.
When a woman is the eldest child in the lineage then she will be given the responsibility for the lineage's malagan. When she comes to transfer the responsibility to her eldest child, then both she and her brother or some other senior clan male will together transfer the malagan to the next generation. It seems that although women may own malagan, they do not personally participate in the ceremony to transfer malagan ownership.

Due to the resources which must be harnessed in order to organise and work a malagan ceremony, it is highly unlikely that any Tabar woman would directly organise a malagan ceremony. Malagan is primarily a road to high status for men, and the organisation of a series of malagan ceremonies is a test of the worth of that status. Women achieve an equivalent status through command of the women's beriberi ritual system.

According to one of my male informants, an unmarried woman could only work a malagan ceremony for someone in her clan who had died, and this would be unusual, for unless she was the only surviving member of her clan there would be another man in the clan who would work the ceremony instead. A married woman, however, has an obligation to work a malagan for someone who dies in her husband's clan.

Although Tabar women can own the rights to malagan sculpture and can nominally sponsor malagan ceremonies, they rarely take part in the organisation of resources towards a malagan ceremony, or in the ritual work of malagan. Instead women tend to delegate a male relative or her husband to work the malagan on her behalf. For example, when a Kulepmu malagan owned by Helen Momon was being made in the malagan ritual site, Momon apparently had the right to come right into the kosobo of the ritual site to supervise the manufacture of her malagan. She did not take up this right, but instead delegated the right to her father. When the malagan was finally displayed she came into the malagan ritual site along with about ten other women and placed dropped a mis on the ground in front of the malagan, but behaved exactly like the other women and did not even look at it.

If a woman is asked to sell a malagan sculpture which she owns to a foreign collector and the malagan came from her mother's side then she would ask her mother's brother. If it came from her father's side then she would ask her father or her father's brother. A man would never make a decision to sell a malagan belonging to his wife or to his wife's clan. If he did he could be taken to court for theft.

Women generally receive the rights to a malagan if they have become an old man's favourite for one reason or another. Usually these women have looked after an elderly relative in his declining years, and this old man would want the young woman to sacrifice a pig at his funeral as a symbol of the bond between them. To ensure that this wish would be carried out, the old man would earlier hand over a malagan, or a series of malagans, to the young woman. So that these malagans are not lost forever, her clan and other people concerned would make sure that she organised one of the funerary malagan ceremonies so that she could hand these malagans on again to a young male in the next generation. In order to successfully pass on this malagan the young woman would have to sacrifice a pig - the pig that represented the bond between her and the old man.

Women are represented in malagan images as often as men, and a number of malagan names such as Kulepmerei are also used as women's names. Vavara, one of the most widespread malagan Big-Name subtraditions, has a woman's perception of a spider spinning its web (house) as its mythical origin.

4.2. Kinship and malagan

A number of the connections between the kinship, marriage, and malagan on Tabar are readily apparent and easily documented. Malagan owners on Tabar are quite prepared to discuss at some length to what extent a person is considered to be a 'rubbish man' if he cannot repay the obligations of marriage by honouring the spouse's dead kins-people through an appropriate series of malagan ceremonies. There is no dispute about this aspect of the connection between malagan and affinal obligations.

Kinship on Tabar is a continuously changing dynamic rather than an orderly series of relationships positioned within a stable structure. Moieties are seemingly no longer used on Tabar, although there is evidence from Groves (1934:236ff) that moieties were more
significant on Tabar in 1933-34. I recorded more than 138 named matrilineal kin groups referred to either as mataibu (clans) or kivavudi (subclans or lineages) amongst the estimated 2500 people of Tabar in 1982-4. These kin groups have apparently proliferated markedly since the Germans put a stop to traditional warfare and forced the people in the inland villages to come and settle on the coast. On Tabar when a woman gives birth to a child outside the land owned by her clan then both she and the child take on a new lineage name. So every inland woman giving birth to a child on the coast began a new lineage, as did every woman giving birth to a child in a village away from her clan land - something which has occurred with far greater frequency since pacification gave women the freedom to move around Tabar without risk. It is no coincidence that kivavudi also means "rootstock of banana", for a new lineage takes root on Tabar as readily as a banana.

The distinction between mataibu and kivavudi is relative, not absolute, and depends upon the point of reference of the speaker. Most generally a mataibu is a clan which has at least one named lineage which can be termed a daughter clan or kivavudi. A kivavudi (kevuin in the Tatau and Simberi dialects) is a daughter lineage of a mataibu which can own malagan, land, malagan ritual site and graveyard, and is associated with its own shark and other totems. Depending upon context a person may choose to identify either with the lineage or with the parent clan. If the lineage is only a few generations old, then the links with the parent clan and other sister lineages will still be strong. When a person speaks of his or her clan leader ('big-man'), it is the leader of a lineage who is being referred to, but not necessarily the same lineage as the speaker, for the strong leader of a sister lineage may speak for all the daughter lineages of a clan.

**Marriage**

The primary marriage prohibition on Tabar is that if two people have the same totem, then they cannot marry. By extension this prohibition extends to someone in the same descent group, for people in the same lineage have the same totems, and people of related lineages from the same mother clan would have a number of totems in common.

Secondarily, if two descent groups shared the same hamlet either currently or in the past, then they refer to one another as 'brother' or 'sister'. As such they conceive of themselves as related by proximity, because in the past all the locations belonging to the totems of these descent groups were too close to each other, like "bamboos on a bed". Consequently there is a prohibition on marriage between the people of these two descent groups, even if they now live in separate villages. Tadar totemic life forces become related to each other, not by having children, but by the movement of people from village to village. This is because the movement of people is considered to be movement of the totem. According to Michael Kaletau, a school headmaster born in Mapua, the totem can leave the clan, or go to another location if some kind of dispute arises, or people don't look after the place where the totem stays. If the people destroy the place where it sleeps, or make it move from the place where it stays, then the totem may leave and go to a new location. At the new place the totem will initiate a new lineage when the woman gives birth. This is why totems, and sharks in particular because of their ability to travel between islands, have relationships with other clans elsewhere on Tabar or on mainland New Ireland. Descendants of these two lineages, from the original location place and from the new place, would be related through the totems, hence they could not intermarry. However, a man's children at the new location could marry children from his totem at the old location because their totems would be different. Nowadays, if there are no known relationships between their respective totems, then the people can in theory marry almost any way they choose, with few exceptions.

A clear trend in marriage and residence patterns has emerged from my examination of those Tabar kin diagrams which cover five generations. Up until around the time of the Second World War a man tended to marry a woman from an affinal clan - his father's mataibu, generally a woman who lived in a nearby village which had a number of other significant relationships with the man's village. These relationships would include a history of previous intermarriages and the consequent alternation of ownership of specific malagan rights which occur when a father passes the rights for a particular malagan to his son, and this son to his son. If the one village was coastal, then the partner village would tend to be
directly inland, the relationship between the two villages having a firm basis in defence and mutual access to resources.

Mi pecurrjan “the half eaten pandanus fruit grows again” is the marriage between a male ego and his FZD (see Fig. 39) and is the favoured type of marriage relationship on Tabar, for it ensures that land and malagans stay within the same two clans. If someone marries outside this relationship they are accused of throwing away the fruit into the sea. This form of relationship is reinforced through lavellavellavi, a kinship rule of precedence in marriage between clans.

![Figure 39](image)

**Mi pecurrjan** favoured marriage type

Counter-balancing *mi pecurrjan* is a marriage prohibition termed *sotam* referring to the male ego & FBD (see Fig. 40). *Sotam* is also a kin term referring to the children of two male siblings (FBS, FBD). This taboo against the marriage of the children of two male siblings is also called *torupac*. The relationship between the children of two male siblings is called *berserturanmopotic* and is a relationship of mutual assistance, particularly in malagan and other custom affairs. *Berserturanmopotic* also refers to the relationship clan A will have with clan C through their common marriages to clan B.

![Figure 40](image)

**Sotam** prohibited marriage type.

*Sotam* marriage prohibitions are resolved in the next generation through *kenevau* marriage promising or betrothing (see Fig. 41).

![Figure 41](image)

**Kenevau** marriage promising.

In this example Girl E has been promised to Boy F under *kenevau* because Man D and Woman C were *sotam* partners. When the clan leader of Man D’s wife dies, Girl E and Man D must together work the malagan ceremony. Then Man D will start to give the *ciribor* of his malagans to Girl E’s children and Girl E’s brother will get the authority to control them. When Man D dies then Girl E’s brother will control all Man D’s malagans which are by this stage owned by Girl E’s children.

If one or the other of these *kenevau* partners abrogates and decides to marry someone else, then his or her clan must *varam* (work a malagan ceremony to remove a taboo) to the jilted party. This means that the broken contract can only be healed by the transference of a malagan. If one of the *kenevau* partners dies before marriage, then this partner’s sibling
should marry in his or her stead. If this cannot be carried out, then this clan should *varam* to the aggrieved clan.

**Birth & birth celebrations (*beriberi*)**

Due to the sexual separation of life on Tabar (as in most of Melanesia) I was not able to interview women informants for more than a few minutes, and then only in the presence of their husbands or brothers. Deane Fergie has written about *beriberi* on Tabar (Fergie 1985) but unfortunately has restricted readership of her thesis to women only and would not allow me to read a copy. Consequently the following section deals only briefly with the group of women's celebrations called *beriberi* which takes place a month after the birth of the first-born child to a marriage. At least part of the *beriberi* ceremonial activity involves women-only dances around the fire inside the women's cooking house, but another section of *beriberi* activity is linked to malagan.

Tarabes, a senior [Saterir] woman living in Pekinberiu village (NE Tatau) told me the following information regarding *beriberi*: If the Tarabes’s husband’s sister became pregnant, then Tarabes’s male child would organise a *bule* feast and ceremony in the *rogar* malagan ritual site. The food at the centre of this feast would be placed in the centre of the *rogar*, and men from the pregnant woman’s clan would sit in a circle around the food, in a wider circle around the woman’s clan’s men would sit the men of the father’s clan. When the feast was finished the women of the father’s clan would dance the *beriberi* around the men. When they finished this dance the women would throw the men (of the woman’s clan?) into the sea.

After the birth of the child a post-partum *ganiu* ceremony (literally “consume coconuts”) would be held. During this ceremony the women of the father’s clan would get branches of betel nut from the mother’s clan and then break the houses of the mother’s clan. The father’s clans-people would then give mis to the new born child and give the child a name in a ceremony termed *cikotaciki*.

Later the two clans would meet and begin a garden for the next ceremony which has two names:
- *ga pigas* “to eat sago” is a ceremony and feast which can also include malagan display and transferral. It is part of the birth sequence for making a first born child (*varam madar* = sacred or tabooed child) become a leader (*guć*).
- *gau kuil coco kmadar* is a fish-based feast with a ceremony for the mother’s clan to reciprocate the mis which was given to the child during *ganiu*. Not all mis are reciprocated, only those which were given without naming the child. Some people work a malagan at this ceremony, others do not. Cooking is completed in the late afternoon of the day before the ceremony, then the women *beriberi* through the night until dawn. Men of the woman’s clan can join in the festivities if they want. At daybreak food is carried to the *rogar* and the men return the mis.

I was able to obtain only a brief account of one *tevabati* malagan ceremony which is part of the *beriberi* sequence. On the 1st of January 1984 the leader of the clan of a first born child who was born outside Tabar organised a malagan ceremony at Monun village (E Simberi) and worked two malagan objects: a *Tarala si mi Turu* figure which stood up in front of a *cur* (malagan bed). This malagan ceremony was worked to “bring him into the place”. A week later a *ganiu beriberi* ceremony was held for this child. From my general understanding of the processes of malagan transferral, the clan leader would have organised this malagan ceremony so that the first born child could share in the ownership of the clan’s malagan rights.

Powdermaker (1933:102-139) recorded an initiation ceremony at Lesu (mainland New Ireland) during which a number of boys were circumcised, secluded, then admitted to adult male society with an accompanying display of malagan sculpture. Although initiation

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5 The term *bule* is related to *bulengei* a primary kinship taboo term refering to the wife’s mother or sister.
through circumcision is apparently no longer carried out on Tabar since church influence put a stop to the practice, certain selected children are still trained for leadership. Generally a clan leader selected the ablest child (male or female) from amongst the younger generation aged between about six and twelve or thirteen. These selected children were traditionally secluded in the malagan ritual site for a period of some months, and instructed in the ways of leadership. When their instruction was completed they would be ceremonially re-introduced into the community and would be recognised as young leaders, different to normal children. Today seclusion seems to be no longer practiced, and some children are being trained by their fathers to fulfill the role of *mi g uc* - 'mouth-man' or spokesperson. A ritual leader in malagan is a *g uc* man, the female counterpart in *beriberi* women's fertility ritual is a *g uc* 'mouth-woman'.

**Outsiders living on Tabar**

Many of the current leaders in malagan on Tabar today are descended from non-Tabar ancestors two or three generations ago, so it is apparent that the descendants of outsiders rapidly become fully integrated insiders in Tabar culture. First generation outsiders living on Tabar varying in the extent to which they are able to share in the current Tabar identity.

There are three types of outside men who originated from elsewhere and are now living on Tabar and married to a Tabar woman: men with malagan and shark totem from northern New Ireland, men with shark totem but no malagan from middle New Ireland, and those who came from other regions. A malagan man from northern New Ireland who is living on Tabar and married to a Tabar woman integrates most readily into Tabar society for he can organise a series of malagan ceremonies for the dead in his wife's clan. His shark totem would most likely be a shark which is also recognised on Tabar, so his clan from New Ireland would have allies on Tabar, and more importantly would enable people to confirm that his marriage to his wife is not improper. With a shark to connect him to the land and the people, the malagan man's integration would eventually include the right to speak for his wife's clan in land matters, should there be no one in his wife's clan able to do so. From analysis of the kinship patterns on Tabar it would appear that malagan men from mainland New Ireland begin the name of a new lineage when they arrive on Tabar. Should such a man's sister follow him to Tabar she would also take on the name of this new lineage. If she marries a Tabar man and produces children, then the children will form the second generation of this new lineage and it will flourish. If the mainland New Ireland man is not followed by his sister nor by anyone else of his mainland clan, then his new Tabar clan name will die with him, for his children would become part of his Tabar wife's clan and totem.

Those men from middle New Ireland and from the Lihir Group who have a shark totem which is also known on Tabar, but who do not have malagan, integrate to the extent that they can own land and participate in social interaction, but cannot reciprocate with malagan in the Tabar manner. Instead these men repay their social obligations through gifts of pigs and the erection of cement tombstones to honour the dead in their spouses' clans. As outsiders these men tend to assume entrepreneurial roles on Tabar, and become internationalist in some of their interactions. Daniel Kukulo of [Vunavase] clan and living in Pekinberiu is of Lihir parentage. On Tabar Kukulo acts as a major influence in economic matters, owning a copra trading vessel called the "M.V. Ginetu", several plantations, a

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6 See Appendix B transcript 1.2 for Picia's description of the process of making a person a *g uc*.

7 The name *Vunavase* means "the source/origin of the paddle" (which came from Lihir Island).

8 The only other ship owned by Tabar people is the "M.V. Matima", an Australian built boat which was purchased in 1983 at great expense by a Seventh Day Adventist cooperative based in Yang village. Unfortunately the engine of the "Matima" has broken down several times, the most notorious breakdown was in 1986 when the Matima drifted 300 km into the Pacific and was eventually spotted by an Australian rescue aircraft. Most of the passengers and crew were near death by the time they were rescued and towed to Kavieng. Kukulo's "Ginetu" has also had her share of mishaps, having at one time also been rescued by a Russian ship and towed to Kavieng after drifting for 3 days. Another mishap occurred when returning to Tabar from Kavieng in the middle of the night the crew misjudged the strength of the current and the "Ginetu" ran at full speed on to a reef on the west coast of Big Tabar.
string of village shops, and lately has become the major beer supplier to the newly rich on Lihir where a major gold mine is in the process of bringing the outside world to the region.

The third type of male outsiders are those men from non-malagan regions outside the north and middle regions of New Ireland, and includes men from Tanga, New Britain, Manus, or the Sepik region of mainland New Guinea. If married to a Tabar woman such a man would integrate to the best of his ability, but with no malagan and no totemic connections with Tabar he would be an outsider in most cultural matters. The most successful of these men take entrepreneurial roles such as speedboat driver for the Catholic Mission, teachers, or lay preachers. If not married to Tabar women this third group of outsiders tend to work on Tabar as labourers for Tabar plantation owners, or to act as personal assistant for a Tabar leader.

Women born outside Tabar of non-Tabar parents but now living on Tabar and married to a Tabar man would not become affiliated to a Tabar clan, nor would they own malagan. However their children born on Tabar to a Tabar father would become adopted into a Tabar clan, generally the clan of the father's father, and would inherit malagans either from their father or from the leader in their adopted clan, or from both. As far as I was able to ascertain the only non-Tabar single woman on Tabar was the mission store-keeper, who scandalised the local Tabar population with her affair by another highly visible non-Tabar man.

4.3. Totems and malagan
At first sight the connection between malagan and the totemic life forces (called masalai in Tok Pisin, and tandaro or tadar in Tabar language) is quite obscure, but when fully understood, this connection brings together a number of diverse aspects of both kinship and malagan and makes malagan more comprehensible as a whole.

To understand this aspect of the relationship between Tabar people and malagan we have to understand the series of connections which run from the tadar totemic life force, through the marumarua external image of the totem, through to the malagan sculpture, which is the clan-based representation of the external image belonging to the clan's totemic life force. These connections between totem, clan, and malagan can be summarized quite concisely:

- There are a number of powerful tadar totemic life forces on Tabar which enable other entities to exist.
- These other entities comprise: humans belonging to specific lineages; secondary or derived totems such as sharks, pigs and other phenomena; malagans.
- Each human is a manifestation of the clan's tadar totemic life force.
- A marumarua is a non-material image or idea of the clan's tadar totemic life force.

Despite Levi-Strauss's attempts to make the concept of totem an anthropological taboo, the phenomenon, which Fraser (1911-15), Freud (1912-13), then Durkheim (1915) brought to widespread attention, still exists in the 1990s. In Australia totemism now rides under a politically successful banner called 'The Dreaming', in PNG it is less successfully grouped with a number of other concepts under the catch-all label 'masalai'. My use of the word 'totem' to label tadar is not an attempt to provoke further argument over the concept. I use the term 'totem' because I do not intend to add to the confusion created by anthropologists and others who use indigenous or other terms to individually label this widespread phenomenon. In my understanding, tadar is the same phenomenon as The Dreaming. My record of tadar is fragmentary, but the associations between the life force, humans, animals, and geography are too similar to those of The Dreaming for the link to be ignored. Considering its geographic distribution through the Americas, Australia, and Melanesia, this cultural phenomenon is obviously very old and pre-dates the Austronesian settlement of the region.
- A wooden malagan marumarua sculpture is a strictly controlled material representation of a marumarua image of the clan’s tadar totemic life force and is used to represent the bonds of marriage and kinship which link the various totems.

In the course of recording information about malagan from various men on Tabar I would ask of these malagan owners their names for my records and the reply would often take this form: “Nem bilong mi William Kara, bisnis bilong mi [Nono], masalai bilong mi Kulekulebeie.” “Nem” was clear enough - Kara was the name he had been given by his mother’s people when he was born; William was the name he had received when he was baptised into the Catholic Church at Mapua “Bisnis” is a kin grouping concerned with the business of existing as a family or kin group which owns property, malagan, and other assets, and which performs various duties as a corporate entity. On Tabar “bisnis” has two aspects: matabu (major clan) and ldvavudi (sub-clan or lineage). But the use of the concept of “masalai” to label oneself was not immediately apparent to me, particularly as Mihalic described “masalai” as a word derived from New Hanover and referring to:

“Water spout, or large snake. (1) The spirits thought to inhabit streams, rocks, trees, whirlpools, whirlwinds, eddies, and such like. These are good or indifferent, feared but not worshipped. (2) A bogey, a bugbear, an ogre.” (Mihalic 1971:131)

Although most people were referring to a specific named shark when they talked of masalai (referred to as tadar or tandar in the northern dialects and tandaro in the southern dialects of Tabar) a number of other entities - animals, plants, and rocks - could also come under this classification. Eventually it became apparent to me that these tadar were elements in a totemic exogamous kinship classification.

To explain the concept of tadar to me people often used the image that a tadar is like the rootstock or bole of a tree - that vital part of a tree from which everything grows, the trunk and branches upwards, the roots downwards. As the productive bole, the tadar is the mother of all entities which spring from it. These entities can include totemic sharks, other subsidiary totems, the clan, the people living in it, the malagans belonging to it. The tadar enables these entities to exist in the same way that the life force of a tree enables the branches and leaves to live. Each person on Tabar is understood to be part of one of the tadar totemic life forces, for a tadar life force manifests itself as a human embryo which becomes a person. When a person dies, the life force is retained by the tadar in the same way that life is retained by a tree when a leaf drops off.

Of the 129 totem (tadar) names I recorded on Tabar, sharks were predominant (39), with named stones or boulders, often marking passages through the reef, next most prevalent (21), then snakes (12), trees (6), pigs (6), men (6). Other totems were a variety of objects such as rock-snake combinations, crabs, islands, anq cunts. Each lineage has its own group of derived totems in addition to a primary totem which may be shared by a number of related lineages. These derived or secondary totems often mark the perimeter of land owned by the lineage.

Although the totems are conceived to be above people, communication between a person and his totem takes place in secular language and the interaction is apparently the same as if two men were talking together. Totems are consulted if something goes wrong with the lineage, or if a family is sick, or after the occurrence of some other misfortune.

The extent to which a totem is understood to shape a person’s life can be seen in the example portrayed by William Kara of [Nono] clan on Mapua Island. Kara understood himself to be a product of his totem called Kulekulebeie. Kulekulebeie is primarily a snake which is located up on Lavamadasi mountain (inland Big Tabar), but which also manifests as a shark on its reef at Kobuai (coastal N Big Tabar), and as an eel in its pond at Kokoa (somewhere else on Big Tabar Island). This totem is understood to form the character or personality of the people in its clan. [Nono] clans-people, according to William Kara, are modest not boastful and tend to look at the ground and avoid the eye of women and of other men. This characteristic of [Nono] clans-people was understood to originate with their totem.

Although it was generally stated to me that a person is a manifestation of the same totem which formed this person’s mother, some people maintained that they inherited their
totem from the fathers. Upon rechecking this data I found that these few people did in fact have the same totem as their mother, but were espousing to me a revised patrilineal interpretation which would favour them in any land dispute. These people were invariably in a position of political power and had come to understand that many of PNG’s land legislators come from patrilineal societies.

**Spirits, totems, and malagans**

Küchler, in her analysis of malagan traditions in the Kara linguistic region of the mainland, noted that:

"Malangan-art is sculptural, its production being described as tetak or "the dissecting and joining of skins’. The sculptures are conceptualized as "skins" which replace the decomposed body of a deceased person and thus provide a container for the life-force (noma)." (Küchler 1987: 239-240)

If this is an accurate portrayal of the Kara understanding and not merely an image used to convey a more difficult concept, then we have two markedly different interpretations as to the nature of the relationship between a malagan sculptural image and the dead person.

On Tabar there are at least seven other terms in addition to tadar which fall within the range that we would call ‘life force’ or ‘spirit’ in English. These include: marumarua, tanua, ges, virua, tarpla, tirotp, and pacapaca:

**Marumarua**

On Tabar marumarua is the name for the basic human-like figure element in malagan sculpture and is the most common form of malagan sculpture found today. It is also the name for a concept which includes what people in Western English-speaking cultures would call ‘spirit’ or ‘soul’ as well as referring to ‘image’ or ‘picture’. But this is not to say that a malagan marumarua figure is a ‘spirit figure’ in the loose or glib sense of the term, for the connection occurs at a deeper level.

Fr. Lamers at Mapua described the term marumarua to mean "shadow from a light, silhouette, a drawing" (1928-38). William Groves at Tatau village referred to mi moromorou as “the shadow, disappears when life leaves the body." (1935: 358). Several of my Tabar informants indicated that marumarua is a synonym for pacapaca - a picture or image of a person. Others referred to marumarua as the spirit concept underlying both tanua and virua (see below).

Considered from the perspective of the tadar totemic life force, the marumarua is considered to be a non-material image of the totem, an idea of the human manifestation of the life-force. The connection between the marumarua idea of the life force and the malagan marumarua image is clear and straightforward: a wooden marumarua malagan figure is a material representation of this marumarua image or idea of the totemic life force. As such, a malagan sculpture should be viewed more as a picture of an idea of the totemic life force of a particular clan rather than as a sculpture of a dead person.

More concisely, as a marumarua is an image or idea of the totemic force understood to give life to people and to other beings; then a wooden marumarua malagan is a material representation of the marumarua image.

Malagan sculptures are understood by the people of Tabar to be merely wooden pictures and are not conceived to be ‘active’ in any way. All of the sculptors and most of the malagan owners of Tabar were emphatic that malagan sculptures are merely pieces of carved wood and that the power associated or attributed to them comes from men. In this view, a malagan sculpture is not a ‘spirit image’ in the sense of being a wooden image which somehow contains a ‘spirit’. Nor is a malagan an ‘ancestor figure’ in the sense of representing and maintaining a link with some primal ancestor, human or otherwise. The tribal art cliché which most closely represents the essential identity of malagan sculpture on Tabar would be ‘totem pole’, given of course that one understands what is exactly meant by ‘totem’ and by the relationship between the sculpture and the totem.
Tanua
Tanua (1928-38) found the tanoa to be the “soul of a dead person”. Groves (1934:445) recorded the tinou as “...dead people, or their ghosts. Reside in mirongar...”. I found that the noun tanua (or teno on Simberi Island) is used to refer to the spiritual aspects of the dead and also used in a number of malagan contexts to refer to the spirit or soul of a person dead from sorcery or sickness. There is a distinct contrast drawn between virua and tanua. Tanua are conceived to be the spirit or souls of normal death, whereas an abnormal death which gives rise to a virua and its connotations of fertility.

Malagan uses the term tanua in a number of different contexts on Tabar. Most immediately connected to death are the two different types of tanua mask worn by mourners after a death on Tabar. One type is a kupkup ci malaga death mask in the Madassiteno subgrouping of the Madas subtradition, worn by mourners to bury the dead. After burial these simple black barkcloth masks are burnt. The other type of tanua mask is the white feather kakam mask used in the Kulepmu subtradition and worn by chief mourners and pall-bearers during the vavil funeral procession.

Another two types of tanua mask which are not directly connected with the death of a person are the Tanua varima and the tatanua masks. Tanua varima is a barkcloth malagan mask worn by a man in the Mapua and Big Tabar dialect regions during the nights to raise awareness of a forthcoming major commemorative malagan ceremony. Late at night this masked man creeps into the men’s house and gently tickles men with a knife or pig’s bone. This malagan work is performed in the Tatau and Simberi regions by a man wearing a Tonokukkuc mask. The tatanua is a public dance mask more generally used in the northern parts of mainland New Ireland (see Clay 1984, 1986) and not often seen on Tabar.

One of three major subgroupings of the Madas subtradition is called Madassitanua - a name which means “Madas of the tanua spirit” and is a subgrouping understood to be more powerful than either Madassiro “Madas of the sea” or Madassiut “Madas of the bush”. Madassitanua has a number of unique performances, one of which has men using wooden hornbill shapes in their mouths to ‘eat’ tinibor ritualised pig’s belly.

Ges
Ges (gas) is a term widespread throughout New Ireland known as a “kind of bush spirit” (Heintze 1987:43-44). The term was also recorded as “… the double of each living member of the clan which dies when its human counterpart dies” (Powderrmaker 1933:39).

On Tabar ges are understood to live in the jungle, up in big trees. These wild bush ges are sometimes described as “real men who don’t show their face”. The malagan version of the ges is found in Kulepmu, Malagacak, Sorpoa, Totobo, and Verim subtraditions with a distinctive face with sloping eyes. It is said that the current version of the ges originated in Verim and is based upon Tamde, a particularly fearsome warrior who went on a solo journey around the three islands of Tabar in the days when any sort of travel meant certain death. Wearing a malagan ges mask from a Verim malagan ceremony he was working, Tamde killed one person from each village, cutting out their livers and stuffing them into his mouth. All malagan ges are now based upon the image of Tamde’s wearing a ges mask, but with a bright red liver projecting from his mouth. In Verim malagan a ges is considered a ‘spy’ or ‘lookout’ for the more important masks which are to follow during later malagan ceremonies. Emphasising the control of the ‘wild’ ges image, the characteristic ges masks are most often placed upon a bush materials body beside the malagan display house. When ges masks are worn by human actors but strictly under the control of the malagan organiser, the ges image is allowed to wreak a mild form of havoc upon the possessions of the dead person. This action utilises the image of bringing the wild spirits of the bush to remove the marks of the dead person from cultured Tabar society.

\[\text{10 See Appendix B transcript 3.10.}\]
Virua

A *virua* is the spirit of a person who died a violent death such as murder or decapitation, but also appears to be a type of rain spirit. This concept appears to be widespread throughout New Ireland, the Tok Pisin term *birua* is closely related to Tabar's *virua*. *Virua* spirits are understood to be malevolent and particularly prone to possess young children. Fortunately there is a commonly held body of knowledge comprising a number of techniques for ridding a child of such a *virua*. Groves (1934:449) recorded that in Tatau local *virua* can descend in the rainbow to capture fish, fish being the main food of *virua*. In 1984 I recorded very similar associations in Tatau village, where *virua* were said to walk about during rain or in a whirlwind, hence their association with the rainbow. I also recorded at least two specific associations between malagans and *virua*. Edward Salle [Damok], one of my main advisers at Tatau, described the *Vavara* malagan as a *kacomata viru* = eye of *virua* spirit of rain. This description he referred to as a 'piksa', an image. Another link with a malagan grouping occurs in the Big-Name subtradition *Degenasi*, where *virua* spirits are harnessed for their powers, and again where *virua* are associated with fish and with rainbows.

Taqala

Less threatening is the mythic trickster dwarf called *taqala* on Tabar and *lulura* in the Notsi region of mainland New Ireland (Walden 1940:16; Heintze 1987:44). On Tabar the *Taqala* name is used as a malagan Big-Name subtradition, and also occurs as a malagan part of five other subtraditions (see Appendix A). This malagan entity is based upon the *taqala* being which is understood to live in a cave on the beach or in the bush. This *taqala*, according to those who have seen it, looks like a child but is a fully grown strong man who teaches culture to local people.

Tiroqa

From both the record left us by Lamers and from modern informants at Mapua, the *tiroqa* was considered to be a protective spirit. Lamers (1928-38) noted that the *tiroqa* was the soul of a deceased relative or friend, and that parts of this relative's corpse were treated as the home of the spirit and was prayed to. In 1983 a man from Mapua told me that if he took a hair or tooth from a dead person and put it above his bed, then he could talk with this protective *tiroqa* about the future.

Pacapaca

Less clearly identified is the *pacapaca* which was variously glossed as: spirit such as *pacapaca dus* = holy spirit, (Lamers 1928-38); picture of a person or of anything such as the *mi patsapatsapan* figure image carved onto *kititir* fish net float (Groves 1934:440); mirror image such as *pacapaca ra taba* = an echo (Lamers 1928-38). It was also recorded as a malagan called *Kapacapaca* in the *Takapa* subtradition (see Appendix A).

Clan, totems, malagans, and ownership of land

The people's relationship to the land is complex and multilayered, and it is not the purpose of this thesis to explore this aspect of Tabar life. Very briefly: land on Tabar is owned by individuals as representatives of lineages; these lineages are aspects of the *tadar* totems; lineage land boundaries are delineated by secondary totems; land transactions take place at malagan ceremonies.

Lomas (1979) recorded that land transfers in the Tigak speaking region of mainland New Ireland also traditionally occurred at malagan ceremonies:

"The malanggan ceremonies thus remained significant in village life not merely because they provided arenas in which aspirants to power could demonstrate their skills and display their

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11 See Appendix B transcript 4.1.
resources, but also because they served as a public agency to validate the transfer of rights in land.” (Lomas 1979: 65)

A typical example of a land transaction on Tabar was given above in Chapter 2 when the land owned by Pamas’s now extinct lineage was transferred to Bialong’s related lineage during the varam malagan ceremony held after Pamas’s death. Another common involvement of malagan with land ownership occurs when one clan is using land owned by another clan. For example [Sicobi] clan land is located up in the mountains inland from Matlik village (E Big Tabar). After pacification some [Sicobi] people settled in Matlik on the coast, others ended up on Mapua island, married to the land-owning [Butua] clan. In order to alleviate the debt brought about by [Sicobi] using the gardens and plantations of [Butua], [Sicobi] periodically transfer some of their malagans to their sons or daughters in [Butua], usually at an occasion such as when someone in [Sicobi] has died and [Butua] need to work a malagan to honour this affline.

Initially I followed Lomas’s lead and was under the impression that malagan acted merely as the official imprimatur for land transactions on Tabar. People would talk to me in Tok Pisin about malagan being used as the ‘stem’ for land transactions. Thinking for the moment as a Western bureaucrat I was under the impression that they were talking about ‘stamp’ as ‘official stamp’, the symbol that all people would recognize as the mark of law. Not understanding the underlying connection between the totems, malagan, and land, I did not realize that ‘stem’ was a reference to the reproductive bole, the totemic life force.

Some of the lineage’s secondary or derived totems are land-based forms which mark clan land either through matatadar locations around the perimeter of the clan land, or by occupying the centre of the land (matasigor) and acting as a locus of power12. These locations are generally recognized to be animal or other manifestations of the totems, and are usually marked by boulders or stones which are protected from handling by strong taboos. Although the totem is generally left to look after itself, totemic locations are treated as inviolate and people take care not to damage them, for if damage occurs it is understood that the totem may move away to another location.

From my records it appears it is only the shark aspects of totems which are mobile, for none of the other totem types have more than one location listed, nor do they have more than one clan listed as owners. Of the thirty nine shark names I recorded, at least seven were associated with more than one matabu. A number of these sharks have geographic locations on mainland New Ireland or on Lihir as well as at various localities around Tabar. From this data it would appear that secondary totems spring from movement of the primary totem, and are used as a means of identifying clan ownership of land.

To illustrate by way of example: the people of [Betet] clan at Maragat village (NW Tatau) have the shark Mabot as their primary totem, with a number of secondary totemic animals and other phenomena marking the perimeter of clan land. These secondary totems are: Samat ia Merik (a totem found in the water, under the mountain to the north of Maragat); Lavot poek (a small white bamboo which stays on top of mountain near road where tree has fallen down, near Tupinmida, inland of Maragat); Ikaver (a small stream running underneath the mountain ridge near Tupinmida); Erimag Porpor Merik (a crab with red chest fibres in a creek close to saltwater to N of Maragat); Beriu (a breadfruit tree in water to the east of Maragat); Vurije (a pig on top of mountain SE of Maragat); Napau (group of distinctive square stones at the base of the mountains to the east of Maragat); and Samat por (a small stream which emerges from underneath the totemic location Napau, a blue starfish lives in this water which is located at the base of the mountains to the east of Maragat).

A person’s movement from village to village or from region to region appears to be understood as a movement of the totem. So when a person settles in a new village and confirms this settlement by negotiating for land use rights, then the totem is understood to have taken up a new location in addition to the original location. As a consequence, in some

12 Powdermaker (1933:35) recorded a similar concept to the Tabar tadar in Lesu on the mainland where it was referred to as tsenalis, and included clan land as well as the totemic pig, snake or shark. Interestingly she recorded only one myth which in any way indicated descent from the tsenalis animal. In this region each piece of clan land was inhabited by a gas, “a double of each living member of the clan” (ibid:39-40).
places the reef may be owned by the shark of a particular clan, but the land behind that reef will belong to the totem of another people.

A typical example of the relationship between clans, totems, and land can be demonstrated by Maragon, a middle sized village situated at the north end of a fertile shelf about one kilometre wide which runs along SW Simberi Island. Maragon is located on a firm spit of clean white coral sand situated between a sago fringed freshwater lagoon and the saltwater shoreline of the inner reef. The two hamlets of the main village of Maragon are called Karamalebuet and Unanmisaba, and are distinguished by their two separate clan malagan ritual sites and graveyards. Sevasu is another small but separate hamlet without a malagan ritual site and located at the aid post fifty metres south of the main village, on the other side of the stream draining the lagoon.

Maragon village is located on [Rumrum] clan land which extends from Cigip stream to the north of Maragon, through to Dakapuic stream at the southern edge of the main village. Just south of Dakapuic is [Cameges] clan land; to the north of Cigip is [Porivam] clan land. A large foreign-owned plantation is situated across both [Rumrum] and [Porivam] clan lands, and in 1977 the Masi Land Group was formed to attempt to reclaim this alienated land.

The small group of hamlets comprising the village of Maragon are linked through kin relationships rather than by any unique geographic features. Forms of evidence such as settlement and marriage patterns indicate that [Rumrum] clan established the hamlet of Unanmisaba and their neighbours at Sevasu further south were [Cameges] clan. As both [Rumrum] and [Cameges] people married [Keis] clans-people, so [Rumrum] and [Cameges] had a berserturanmopotic relationship of mutual assistance through their common marriage to [Keis] and were, in effect, in the same moiety. Eventually the [Keis] side of both sets of relationships drew the other two clans together so that finally [Cameges] clan came and settled on the southern side of the spit and developed Karamalebuet. As the two clans were in a berserturanmopotic relationship and living in the same village there was a sotam marriage prohibition existing between them, and my records confirm that there have been no marriages between these two clans.

There are a number of totemic sites located around Maragon. Just south of the lagoon outlet off Maragon is the rusting hulk of a ship on the shore, apparently it dropped its anchor on the house of Revro (totemic shark of [Cameges] clan), just prior to crashing onto the reef. A little further offshore are two totemic islands belonging to [Cameges]: Marevio Gulogulovout is a white sand islet and its neighbour 100 metres to the south is Marevio Topei, a wooded islet. Between these two islands and directly off shore from the wrecked ship is gvaluk, a totemic clam shell which also belongs to [Cameges]. Informants told me that gvaluk carried the ship and put it on the reef where it lies today. Coming ashore from the ship and located in the bush near the Aid Post is another [Cameges] totem - the bush snake Kovapacer.

To the north of Maragon, near Marakuen hamlet which is located between Maragon and Poponovam villages is Valaval, a stone and wallaby totem belonging to [Porivam] clan. Interestingly, although I did not record any [Rumrum] totems for the Maragon region, I did record a myth which relates [Tavia] lineage's totemic shark Lukoreveru opposing Sokoburut, the totemic shark of [Rumrum] lineage and eventually stopping Sokoburut killing off clans (through producing only boys). [Tavia] is a lineage of [Cameges], shares the [Cameges] totemic shark Lukoreveru, and owns the land south of [Cameges] land at Maragon. More work is needed to record and analyse the relationships between the various totems on Tabar and to link this information with Tabar concepts of land ownership. Associated with this problem is another concerning the nature of the relationship between the totems and the ritual sites. From the data I have to hand it appears that totemic sites are concerned with the geographic location of clan land whereas malagan ritual sites are

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13 The hamlet name Karamalebuet means "tongue of white sand".

14 The hamlet name Unanmisaba means "bole of the saba tree".

15 Also referred to as Lukoreveru by some lineages.
concerned with the social connections of the survivors or the clan dead. Although the ultimate source of both of these sites lies with the totems it appears that these two types of site are completely independent.

It should be noted that the relationship between totem and land ownership is not treated as clear-cut on Tabar. Councillor Edward Salle of Tatau Island told me that only occasionally would totems be used to define clan land, but without *tadar* totemic affiliation it would be very difficult to prove ownership of land.

### 4.4. Ownership and transfer of malagan

The fact of ownership of malagan rights is at the nucleus of malagan. Without ownership of malagan, or access to ownership, a person does not belong to the ritual world of Tabar. When one does not belong to this world, then there is no tangible means of honouring one's dead affines except by erecting a gravestone symbol in lieu of malagan. And on Tabar a person who does not honour dead affines is a 'rubbish man'.

True ownership of malagan utilizes *ciribor* 'bone of pig' as the key symbol, and 'bone of pig' means 'bone of malagan'. Every malagan feast which is associated with the ownership of malagan, or with the change of ownership, must consume a pig. All aspects of malagan to which there are ownership rights are linked to the *ciribor* of a particular ceremony or to the *ciribor* of a particular malagan or group of malagans.

*Ciribor* is treated as the most important symbol in malagan, for when a person receives *ciribor* for a malagan he has public confirmation that he is a malagan owner. And a person who owns the rights to malagan possesses the ability to honour affines in a meaningful manner.

### Malagan ownership patterns

In the course of my work I systematically compiled the names of all known malagan owners. This does not mean to say that I now have a list of all malagan owners, far from it. What this list represents are those malagan owners who I interviewed, or people (living or now dead) from whom others obtained malagan. There were a number of malagan owners whose names were not known or not given to me. These names fell into one of four categories: people I did not meet; malagan owners three or more generations before an informant; mother's sisters or other taboo kin categories; people such as young children with whom the malagan owner shared ownership but did not think of mentioning. These unnamed owners were not included in the data for there was no way of excluding duplication of data. So a 'malagan owner' in the following two tables is a named person who said that he owned malagan, or is a named person from whom someone else had obtained malagan. Although the total number of malagan owners on Tabar is not known to me, I recorded the names and other information about 211 people who owned or had owned aspects of Tabar malagan traditions.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malagan Ownership by Geographic-Dialect Region:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simberi</td>
<td>65 owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatau</td>
<td>77 owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapua</td>
<td>35 owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Tabar</td>
<td>34 owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>211 owners</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although not possessing accurate population figures for the various islands of Tabar, but having visited over 90% of the 96 hamlets in 37 villages on Tabar, I would say that the proportion of owners quite accurately reflects the population distribution in the various
Chapter 4 Social and Cultural Connections

ageographic-dialect regions, with perhaps 5% of the total population of about 2500 recorded as a malagan owner in my notes.\(^{16}\)

Eliciting owners’ names was a laborious task, hindered to a certain extent by a number of misunderstandings on my part. It eventually became apparent that the first-born child of a lineage was the usual primary repository of the lineage’s malagans. A more junior member of the lineage could use the rights to a minor malagan of the lineage’s stock to fulfill an obligation at a malagan ceremony, and in using this minor malagan would retain usage rights to it. A person could also use a minor malagan from the father’s clan, provided that the usage rights were paid for in public.

From my field data it appears that virtually every person born of a Tabar mother would have access to malagan rights belonging to his or her lineage. Every one of my male adult informants either had malagan or had access to the rights through the lineage leader. Although I spoke to very few adult women, my wife Bee Fong has indicated to me that they also all appeared to have had access to the rights. My understanding is that children and adolescents also had access to malagan rights either through the lineage leader or from the father.

Malagan ownership falls into more patterns than mere presence or absence of the tradition, for the process of transferring malagan from one generation to the next over a considerable period of time has produced a distinct fragmentation pattern in the malagan tradition - the Big-Names of malagan. Table 2 illustrates the relative distributions of ownership of these various subtraditions of malagan throughout Tabar but makes no distinction between those malagans which are major malagans belonging to a lineage, and those which are minor and can be transferred out of the clan. For a more detailed breakdown of the relationships between the named malagan sculptures and malagan owners see Appendix A.

From Table 1 we understand that malagan rights at the broadest level are distributed fairly evenly throughout the population of Tabar. Table 2 indicates that the various Big-Name subtraditions are not evenly distributed, but instead have a clumped distribution throughout the various geographic-dialect regions of Tabar. This clumping is due to the effects of the ownership of malagan at the lineage level. Lineage leaders own groups of malagan rights (tabataba) within each subtradition, and these groups of rights are passed within lineages which tend to remain within distinct geographic regions. Further subdivision of the data by geographic region indicates this clumping pattern more clearly, for the bulk of the rights to a Big-Name subtradition are owned by one or two lineages living in one or two villages. Due to the two parallel modes of transferring malagan from generation to generation (within the lineage from mother or mother’s brother, and outside the lineage from father to child) about half of the total number of malagan rights tend to drift away from the original clan and after a number of generations the rights to one or two malagans from a descent grouping can be found to have passed through 3 or 4 different lineages, although the name of original owning clan is remembered and called out in the ownership chant.

Table 2 also indicates that the distribution of malagan ritual sites (aro) does not match the distribution of owners either in overall frequency or by Big-Name distribution. Malagan ritual sites are permanent geographic locations for malagan ritual and are generally associated with clan graveyard and village sites. Although my data regarding ritual sites are incomplete in many respects, it does at least permit us to note that ritual sites do not appear to follow the migrations of the owners, at least on the local level.

In addition it would appear that most, if not all, malagan Big-Name subtraditions have ritual sites on Tabar, even if the Big-Name is generally attributed to a region on the mainland of New Ireland rather than on Tabar. This would indicate that there is some mechanism for transferring the ‘power’ of a geographic site to another location. This mechanism is unknown to me at this stage of the investigation.

\(^{16}\) There are potential anomalies in the data which relate to the Christian beliefs of the people. Seventh Day Adventists living at the southern-most region of Big Tabar have forsaken malagan as a ritual tradition, as have the Prayer Group of northern Tatau. Although informants from both these groups told me which malagans they have now, it is very likely that they will not pass these malagan rights on to the next generation.
TABLE 2

Number of owners of malagan Big-Name subtraditions grouped by broad geographic-dialect region. Numbers of malagan ritual sites (aro) in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simberi</th>
<th>Tatau</th>
<th>Mapua</th>
<th>Big Tabar</th>
<th>Total owners</th>
<th>Total sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currunavunga</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dengenasi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karavas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulepmu</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>15 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longobu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunet</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madas</td>
<td>18 (2)</td>
<td>15 (3)</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (1)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagacak</td>
<td>24 (1)</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>10 (1)</td>
<td>11 (1)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marada</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (1)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maris</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisubua</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songsong</td>
<td>8 (1)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takapo</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>5 (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangala</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomut</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totobo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valik</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vavara</td>
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<td>16 (2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verim</td>
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<td>18 (3)</td>
<td>8 (2)</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuvil</td>
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<td>7 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>107 (8)</td>
<td>121 (22)</td>
<td>48 (12)</td>
<td>55 (9)</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ownership of malagan

After some investigation it became apparent that there are four forms of ownership of malagan on Tabar: owning the mem; owning the ciribor from within the clan; owning the ciribor from outside the clan; owning only the middle of the malagan.

Owning the mem

A clan or lineage leader is a repository for the rights to the clan malagans. As clan leader he is responsible for the clan’s identity, and a major symbol of that clan’s identity is linked to the malagans which commemorate the genesis of the clan. This primary and unalienable link between clan and malagan is termed the mem, and is owned by the clan. When the clan dies, the mem dies with it. The secondary link between malagan and the people who own it is termed ciribor ‘bone of the malagan’, a link which is owned by individuals. When a person owns ciribor to a malagan he also owns the backbone to the rights for the other malagans which belong to the same string, and can purchase the owning rights of these other malagans so that he can build up his collection of malagans.

As clan leader a person can say that he owns the mem of a malagan - the permanent link between the origin of a malagan and its originating clan. If a person says that he owns the mem to a malagan then this means that his clan was the original owning clan, where ‘original’ means that his clan was either responsible for the creation of the malagan and the ‘string’ (tabataba) of malagans it belongs to, or were responsible for a major modification in the malagan which lead to the creation of a new ‘string’ of malagans. If the clan owns the mem to a malagan then any of the members of the clan can use that malagan once they have had the ciribor handed over to them. Once the ciribor is handed on to another individual then the rights to work the malagan are also handed on and the original ciribor owner can usually
no longer work the rights. But if an individual is also head of a clan and repository for the mem then he retains the ciribor rights as clan leader.

Owning the mem of malagan and owning the ciribor of malagan is to become a vuna source of malagan and to not only own malagan but to belong to malagan. In some senses the person and the malagan become a single identity, each owns the other in the way that a person belongs to the land. As far as I understand this concept of both owning and belonging to malagan also extended to those who owned the ciribor but not the mem of a malagan.

Owning the ciribor from within the clan
A person would own the ciribor of a malagan (but not the mem) if he received the ciribor rights from his clan leader so that he could work the malagan to fulfil affinal obligations.

People on Tabar distinguish quite clearly between malagans which are owned by the clan, and those which belong to another clan and have been purchased from the father or from someone else. According to oral traditions, transferring the ciribor within the clan in pre-pacification times meant that someone from within the clan would have to be killed by a sorcerer. If handing from father to son, ciribor would also involve the two clans having a race to see which clan would be first to get someone killed within their own clan. The main reason given for killing someone within the clan is that during the malagan ceremony all the people would know that the malagan was true, that someone had died within the clan and that the clan was not working the ciribor over the death of a man from another clan. The clan leader, together with one or two men within the clan, would organise the killing, which could vary according to the Big-Name of the malagan. In Madas malagan, for example, a brother and sister would have to be killed in the midst of committing incest as part of the ciribor. Today a pig from the clan must be killed and eaten when a malagan ceremony is part of ciribor.

Owning the ciribor from outside the clan
A person can say that he owns malagan if he purchased the rights to a single malagan from his father, or his father's clan, or from someone else, and is able to work these rights from the ciribor. It should be noted that even if the rights to a malagan are transferred out to another clan, the mem to the malagan is always retained by the original owning clan.

Although some of the data is ambiguous, it appears that when some types of malagan are transferred out of the clan then the original owner loses the ciribor rights to that malagan. Other types of malagan can 'break' or clone, so that the rights to the malagan can be owned by many clans17. An example of malagan rights 'breaking' was recorded in Tatau village when Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.] transferred the ciribor rights for the vavil funerary procession to his son Leae [Pekinmiteres]. When the transaction was completed both Leae and his clan leader shared with Picia in the ciribor to the vavil.

Owning only the middle of the malagan
A person owns only the 'middle' of a malagan, the part with no bones (without ciribor), which means he can use it by displaying it at a ceremony but does not know the rites and other parts which come with the malagan. To obtain the middle of a malagan would mean that he would have purchased the use-rights to the malagan by giving a lak payment to the owner, who would have retained the ciribor.

Transfer of malagan ownership
Continuity of malagan traditions is achieved by passing from one generation of malagan owners to the next generation of initiates the rights to own, produce, and use specific malagans. Malagan is handed on from one generation of owners to the next by a transference of the rights at a malagan ceremony. Tabar people recognize two modes for the transference of malagan rights:

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17 For further discussion on 'cloning' malagans see Ch. 5.
- the primary mode is transfer of malagan rights within the clan; from mother to first born child or mother's brother to sister's child. This mode is often spoken of as the correct way to receive a malagan, and is the accepted way of becoming a vuna source of malagan.

- the secondary mode is transfer of malagan rights outside the clan; generally from one clan to an affinal clan, usually from father to son. Although widespread this means is considered only acceptable for transferring the rights to single minor malagans.

Malagan owners make much of the distinction between receiving the rights to a malagan from the clan leader vis a vis those received from the father outside the clan. Their reasoning for the emphasis on this distinction is that the clan leader can allocate usage rights to anyone within the clan and that no-one can dispute the ownership of malagans which came to the owner from within the clan, for this is an internal matter for the clan concerned. Malagans from the father's side have come from the affinal clan and are said to be the focus of much dispute. For this reason, owners assert, malagans fall into two categories: those which stay within the clan, and those malagans which always shift between the clans.

A second and equally important reason given is that malagans received from the clan leader can often signify that the recipient is the chosen leader for the next generation of the clan and will become repository of the clan's malagans. A malagan received from the father is a sign of the father's love and friendship but does not carry any accompanying symbol of power.

From data collated for thirty five transfer of ownership patterns for fourteen separate malagans it becomes apparent that by far the majority of transfers of malagan rights were from father to son. From this admittedly short record it was also apparent that if a malagan stayed within the clan for one transfer of ownership it was highly likely that it would leave the clan in the next transfer:

| TABLE 3 |
| Sources of owners' malagan rights |
| Malagan owner received rights from: |
| Within the clan (13 cases) |
| MB | 6 |
| MMB | 1 |
| B | 4 |
| M | 1 |
| MZS | 1 |
| Outside the clan (22 cases) |
| F | 16 |
| FB | 1 |
| MF | 3 |
| ZSW | 1 |
| ZH | 1 |

| TABLE 4 |
| Patterns of malagan transfer |
| Malagan rights which: |
| i) stay in same clan for 2 generations of owner: | 3 |
| ii) stay in same clan for 3 generations of owner: | - |
| iii) always alternate between clans for 3 generations of owner: | 3 |
| iv) alternate between staying in one clan then changing clan: | 7 |
This begs the question, why do people understand one route of transfer to be 'correct' and the other 'incorrect' when they use both routes equally. The short answer must lie with the ideal Tabar marriage where a male ego marries his FZD. If this ideal was maintained over a number of generations then malagans which were transferred out of the clan to the son would return to the clan in the next generation, resolving a tension which the clan would feel for their 'lost malagan'. This pattern fits very well with the previous ideal settlement and marriage patterns on Tabar whereby an inland and a coastal village were allied in defence matters, access to sea and to bush materials, and united in ties of marriage and of exchange of malagan rights.

Today's reality of course is a different matter, for the ideal political marriage is now rarely achieved on Tabar. Marriage patterns tend to indicate that, in the period two or three generations before the present, Tabar men did tend to marry a woman from the father's clan, but since pacification this pattern has broken down. So today the tension over a 'lost' malagan is rarely resolved in the next generation and it would appear that a clan's stock of malagan rights would gradually become depleted and would be replaced by malagan rights derived from their affines.

Malagans received from the clan leader come in two classes: as single malagans to be used for a particular ceremony; and more significantly, if the recipient is to be the next generation's repository of the clan's malagans, then he or she receives the clan's malagans as units in a string. When malagan is transferred within the clan the usual route is from MB to ZS, with MB to ZD also accepted. However if there are no daughters and the clan's malagans look like leaving the clan, an alternative route which can be taken is found if one of the sons has married a woman from his mother's clan and has produced children. In this case malagan can be passed directly from FF to SS without leaving the clan.

![Figure 42](transferring_malagan_within_the_clan.png)

Those malagans received from the father are supposed to be malagans which are always passed from father to son, always shifting between the clans, uniting them with this common bond. The father's malagans are received as signs of love and are given to the child because of sadness over the death of someone in the child's clan. Although transferring malagan outside the clan, usually from father to son, is not the approved method of malagan transmission, it is of the most social significance. By far the majority of malagans (over half) are received from the father, with about one sixth of all malagans received within the clan from the mother's brother. The basic pattern for transferring a malagan to outside the clan has three scenarios:

i) A person in the wife's clan dies, the husband gives a malagan to his son (in his wife's clan), the wife's clan pays the husband for the rights to the ciriabor of that malagan. After this completed transaction the father no longer owns this malagan, it now belongs to the son and his clan.
ii) When a man marries a woman, she comes to live at his place. When she dies she would be buried in her husband’s clan’s land. After the marriage has produced a child the woman’s family (either her father, or mother’s brother, or brother, or sister) would then work a malagan when someone in the husband’s clan died. This malagan would then be given to the husband who would then complete the transaction at the same ceremony by giving it to the woman’s child (either male or female). If the woman’s mother’s brother worked the malagan, then the malagan would have come from his mother:

![Diagram](image)

**FIGURE 44**
Transferring malagan from mother’s side to ‘mekim dai graun’

If the woman’s father worked the malagan, then it would have come to him from his father:

![Diagram](image)

**FIGURE 45**
Transferring malagan from father’s side to ‘mekim dai graun’.

iii) When the son is born, the father gives the child a malagan such as a *cur Bors* in the Big-Name subtradition called Malagacak. When the child grows up he has the rights to show this *cur Bors* design at a malagan ceremony or to work it if someone in his own clan dies. But as he does not have the *ciribor* so he cannot pass it on to his sister’s son or to his own son, he only owns the ‘middle’. To transfer this malagan further he has to buy the *ciribor* from his father. Once he owns the *ciribor* then he can transfer it to someone else. In

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18 A ceremony referred to as ‘mekim dai graun’ in Tok Pisin.
addition, if he owns the *ciribor* to one malagan of a series (*tabataba*) then if he wants to add to this series he need only purchase the 'middle' of other malagans of the series such as a *Madassora* of *Malagacak*, for he already has the 'bone'.

When a malagan owner sells the *ciribor* to a malagan, he does so in public at a malagan ceremony organised by his clan. For once he has sold the *ciribor* then he can no longer work the malagan.

### 4.5. Summary - social and cultural connections of malagan

The following conclusions can be drawn from an examination of the social and cultural connections of malagan. By way of brief summary:

- **Primary totems** (*tadar*) are considered to be the matrilineal source of human life, secondary totems, kin groupings, and malagans; geographic locations associated with the totems are generally used to mark clan land.

- **Kin groupings** (*matabu* clans and *kivavudi* lineages) are matrilineal corporate entities which own land, malagan ritual sites, graveyards, malagan rights, and operate to perform and fulfill a number of social functions and obligations.

- Malagan rights have their ultimate source with the totems, are owned by the kin groupings, and are used to honour the dead by illustrating the affinal links between kin groupings.

- Malagan sculptures and other aspects of malagan ritual are owned by either lineages or individuals, and these rights to malagan are referred to as *ciribor* ‘bone of pig’.

- To own the *ciribor* of a malagan is to become a *vuna* source of malagan, whereby one is understood to both own malagan and to belong to malagan.

- Malagan ownership is distributed evenly throughout the general population of Tabar, and all Tabar people appear to have access to malagan though the lineage leaders and other malagan owners - who make up around 5% of the population.

- Big-Name malagan subtraditions demonstrate a clumping distribution pattern - this is due to the effects of the ownership and transference of malagan rights through geographically restricted lineages.

- The pattern of malagan ritual sites (*aro*) has a different distribution to that of owners. This pattern reflects the relative permanency of malagan ritual sites when compared to the more mobile human population. Unlike totemic sites, the malagan ritual sites do not appear to accompany the human owners to new locations, although there is obviously some as yet undocumented mechanism for developing new malagan sites.
5) Taxonomic structure and typology of malagan on Tabar

In approaching her major question dealing with the effect of the mode of transmission on the appearance of the art of malagan Susanne Küchler concentrated on the problem of the mnemonic processes of retention and recall. She argued that the processes surrounding the transmission of imagery integrate linguistically and diverse areas into a region and that a visual mnemonic system was involved in the development of a regional social system (1987: 239). Much of Küchler’s argument hinged on her statement that: “...the artist in northern New Ireland is hired and does not know anything about the imagery he is asked to carve.” (1987: 241). Unfortunately this assumption is obviously wrong. All artists work within a tradition, and in northern New Ireland the only indigenous sculptural tradition is that associated with malagan.

On Tabar I collected data about forty malagan artists, all of whom were malagan owners, all of whom made malagan sculpture for people they knew, making at least one sculpture per year, with some artists making twenty or more, and when they worked they would often prompt the owner as to the potential of the design. To ask us to believe that an artist works in a vacuum devoid of imagery is absurd.

In Küchler’s use of the term template which is derived from Howard Morphy’s use of the term (Morphy n.d.; 1992), she has adapted the indigenous system of classification which people in both the Kara region and on Tabar talk about as ‘Big-Name’ in Tok Pisin. When referring to a template Küchler argued that there is a basic design element at the centre of each Big-Name which can be modified by adding various elements to produce the variety found in malagan sculpture. Unfortunately she offers no evidence for this argument in her 1987 paper, perhaps the evidence is hidden in her thesis.

In the early 1930’s Norbert Weiner\(^1\) proposed that a version of the ‘Russian Scandal’ game whereby a picture was briefly shown to a subject then taken away and the subject was asked to reproduce it. His picture was then shown to another subject who saw it equally briefly, then reproduced it; and so on. By this means he demonstrated that perceptual processes could lead to a steady reproduction or to conventionalization of a design. This process which Weiner demonstrated is quite similar to that involved in the reproduction of malagan sculptural designs. A person sees a malagan image when he receives the rights to it, then does not use this design again until he comes to transfer it to his heir thirty years later. This process may well be the reality of the template which Küchler was seeking.

As part of my fieldwork on Tabar in 1982 I asked a number of malagan men on Tabar if they could identify malagan sculpture in the collection of the Australian Museum from a series of black and white photographs I showed them. The result was quite revealing. All the men I interviewed could identify which were malagan artefacts and which were not, and all could identify a Vavara and a Valik Big-Name malagan by their distinctive appearance: Vavara with its woven disc and the Valik by the central mataliŋ. To get beyond this level and achieve consistent results was quite difficult. Most men could call a malagan by its generic name: a marumarua was a figure malagan, a kobokobor was horizontal, an eikuar was vertical. But to find for if a malagan belonged to the subtradition X or Y entailed finding a X or Y malagan owner, and even then it was almost a matter of chance, for a large number of malagans identified as X by one owner would be identified as Y by another.

Despite the avowals of malagan men both on Tabar and on the mainland that malagan remains consistent from one generation to the next, the exercise of identifying old malagans from photographs forced me to conclude that for identification of malagans of which today’s men had no personal knowledge, I had as good a chance as a local malagan man at correctly identifying a malagan. There does not appear to be any standard form of iconography (apart from the mataliŋ of Valik) which has been consistently associated with a Big-Name malagan that would enable malagan men to identify sculpture beyond its obvious generic appearance. Küchler’s art templates do not exist on Tabar, and probably do not exist on the mainland of northern New Ireland. What does exist and what survives from one generation to the next is the knowledge that a person owns the rights to part of a Big-Name.

\(^1\) Referred to in Bartlett (1958)
So rather than attempt to examine the material manifestation of the art forms, I instead will examine the proposition that the indigenous or emic structure of the malagan art producing traditions (the Big-Names) is itself an artefact of the mode of transmission. In this way we do not attempt to distort the ethnographic data by relabelling it for our own purposes. Instead we examine the evidence in the format it is presented to us in the field and place more weight on what it is the local people are telling us and less weight on the speculations of our own anthropological theorists. From this field-weighted evidence we can then clarify for our own eyes some of the taxonomic patterns inherent in malagan today, and from an examination of this taxonomy come to some understanding of the earlier developmental history of malagan.

In this chapter I will demonstrate how the system of classification used on Tabar to organise the ownership and ritual use of all malagan elements (malaga) is based primarily on the historical pattern of malagan’s development, a development which is intrinsically linked to the organic development of lineages and the associated development of totems on Tabar. Through the example of Madas, one of the major Big-Name subtraditions on Tabar, I will describe the taxonomic structure used by Tabar people to classify malagan elements. For the sake of clarity it should be noted at the outset that:

- Malaga (named malagan elements) comprise the rights to produce, display, use, and transfer the rights of ownership to specific malagan sculptures.

- Groups of malaga elements are passed in specific transfer groupings from one generation of malagan owners to the next; these transfer groupings are roughly similar in content and function but differ in detail and history.

- Big-Name malagan subtraditions comprise the totality of transfer groupings of malagan, malaga elements which have become separated from their transfer groupings, and a corpus of practice associated with the production, display and transference of sculpture.

- The totality of the malagan art-producing ritual tradition on Tabar and in mainland New Ireland comprises the rights to named malaga elements and the associated ritual located within all the Big-Name subtraditions, as well as a number of external aspects essential to the maintenance and continuity of the tradition as a whole.

5.1. Big-Name malagan subtraditions

Within the major tradition of malagan on Tabar there are many hundreds or perhaps thousands of malaga elements which are ordered in such a way that malagan as a whole is grouped into at least twenty two subtraditions called Big-Names (bumalaga leggo or asleiorj). These malagan Big-Name subtraditions are distinguished by their names, their characters, by the history of the use and ownership of the various sub-branches of each grouping, and by all the unique aspects of each malagan which are associated with the production, display and transference of sculpture.

In alphabetical order the Big-Name subtraditions which I recorded on Tabar are called: Arum, Curvunavuqa, Deqenasi, Karavas, Kulepmu, Lopobu, Lunet, Madas, Malagacak, Marada, Maris, Sisubua, Sogosog, Takapa, Tagala, Tomut, Totobo, Turu, Valik, Vavara, Verim, and Vuvi. From the fragmented records compiled by Walden in 1909 (Walden & Nevermann 1940) it is almost certain that more Big-Name subtraditions existed in the past but have since died out. It is also possible that there are more Big-Name subtraditions on Tabar than the survey identified, for although I interviewed as many malagan owners as possible there were a number of owners I was not able to meet.

Big-Name subtraditions of malagan also include geographic locations, ownership chants, songs, ritual behaviour, and display houses. Subgroupings were recorded from seven Big-Name subtraditions (Lopobu, Madas, Malagacak, Tagala, Turu, Valik, Vavara, and Verim), but at this stage of research it is not clear whether all the subgroupings are of the
same type. Madas has four major subgroupings (Madas, Madassiteno, Madassiro, and Madassiut) which have their own named geographic sites, but which share the same ownership chants, and occur as a group in a number of different transference groupings. Other widespread subgroupings such as Madassopya and Tilmadas in Malagacak were recorded as transfer groupings, although they were not associated with any named geographic sites as far as I am aware. All Big-Name malagan traditions recorded on Tabar had more than one named sculptural component.

To enable an understanding of the structure and components of the Big-Name malagan subtraditions I will here give a detailed description of Madas, one of the major subtraditions found on Tabar, together with explanations and discussion of the topics involved. These explanations and discussion also apply to the other 21 subtraditions which are also described in Appendix A.

**Madas subtradition**

Also transcribed as Mandas, Medis, Mendes, Mendis in the various dialects of Tabar.

This subtradition appears to be predominantly the property of [Keis] lineages living on Simberi Island. Of the 46 owners I recorded (18 on Simberi, 15 on Tatau, 7 on Mapua, 6 on Big Tabar), 15 belonged to [Keis] lineages with the other 31 owners spread thinly throughout 22 other clans or lineages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5</th>
<th>Distribution of Madas malagan owners</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keis major owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simberi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatau</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapua</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Big Tabar</td>
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A minor owner is defined as someone who owned the rights to only one Madas malagan. None of the six Madas artists on record were in [Keis] clan; although three of these artists themselves owned rights to Madas.

**Malagan ritual sites**

Seven Madas malagan ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:

i) Aro Madas, Rubis hamlet, Poponovam, NW Simberi.

ii) Sotobuer, a Madassiro ritual site on the beach near Poponovam, NW Simberi. Said by one informant to be the home for Madassiro. There is apparently a stone of incest at this place.

iii) Pekinut, a Madas ritual site in Pekinut-Kudukudon hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.

iv) Pekinlabam, a village site on mountain close to Tupinmida, W Tatau. Listed by one informant as the home for Madassiut.

v) Sunagaramut, malagan ritual site at Revar village site above Tupinmida, W Tatau Island. One informant listed Sunagaramut as the home for Madassiteno and Madassiut. This location apparently contains Solpa incest masalai rock of Madassiteno.

vi) Aro Madassiro, Tokar, Mapua.

vii) Aro Madas, Latavus, E Big Tabar.

It is important to note that the ownership rights of each malagan can be traced to its geographic source at an aro malagan ritual site somewhere on Tabar, for it is at these geographic locations where kinship and malagan ultimately meet. In addition to being the ultimate source of each malagan, an aro is the location for the working of malagan ritual and the graveyard for a malagan owner.

In the course of my fieldwork I recorded a total of fifty one aro malagan ritual sites on Tabar, and there are undoubtedly many more such ritual sites scattered around old village
sites. Because of their significance I will describe in some detail the physical and cultural aspects of these *aro* ritual sites.

A Tabar village\(^2\) today is typically a string of between two and ten hamlets located serially along the coast and positioned near a gap in the reef through which ocean-going canoes can pass. A hamlet generally consists of a double line of houses centered on one or more clan graveyard and malagan ritual site (*rorpr*) which are most often is located at the edge of the beach. Within each *rorpr* is usually at least one men’s house\(^3\) belonging to the clan which owns the land. Other men’s houses will be found outside the *rorpr* amongst the family houses *vanua*. The location of the men’s house within the *rorpr* varies for they are replaced every three to five years and rebuilt at another location within the *rorpr* but always positioned facing into the village, with the back or side of the men’s house to the sea. More permanently positioned within the *rorpr* are the big trees used for shade, usually the *pidik* which often grows out horizontally from the shore reaching towards to sea, and the *saba* (*Alstonia scholaris*). A number of other trees and shrubs grow around the perimeter, often forming part of the fence. Amongst these shrubs is the *balu*, the leaves of which are burnt by women and the smoke used to heal the womb of a woman after childbirth. Other shrubs of power are planted within the *kosobo*, these include plants such as the *milmil* which is used to call pigs, and varieties of *croton* which are used in a number of malagan activities.

Dead tree trunks are used for a number of ritual purposes on Tabar, and several types of trunk are usually found located inside the *rorpr* or at the boundary between the *rorpr* and the outside village. *Kabei* is a tree trunk often made of the hardwood *Cordia subcordata* and generally located in *mi aro*, it is associated with malagan and the power of taboo. Apparently enemy corpses would be hung from these trees in the early part of this century. Lamers (1928-38) recorded the *kabai* as a food platform made from the roots of an inverted tree used during festivities on Tabar, today this practice appears to be out of fashion for in 1984 Tabar people said that the inverted root table belonged to the mainland Madak, not Tabar. It seems that *kabei* is a generic term, for there is some evidence that individual clans have their own trees with powers associated with the malagans owned by the clan. For example the *kabeibo* tree owned by [Carameges] clan on Simberi Island is part of *Sogsog* malagan and is used in the manipulation of taboo.

Providing a stile between the open village and the restricted *rorpr* is a *matlaklak* forked tree trunk which is found most often in Mapua and Big Tabar. Known also from mainland New Ireland\(^5\) and on Mahur Island\(^6\). Out in the main village a number of villages had bare branching dead tree trunks placed vertically in front of the men’s house or in the middle of the village square. From two locations, one in Big Tabar and one Simberi, a *mea* tree in this position was said to contain the power of malagan, equal to the power of a totemic shark.

\(^2\) In normal discourse Tabar people prefer to speak of a locality by its name, although they occasionally use the terms *enamon* = village or *romarar* = clan-based hamlet (*ro* = sea and *marara* is a camp, cleaned area, or an area cleared of bush - in Simberi dialect). In total I recorded the names of 37 villages, 96 hamlets. There are at least 43 habitation sites which are no longer in use and in the main are located inland on promontories and ridges. The total population of Tabar in 1984 was around 2500, with the highest population densities at Tatau village and on Mapua Island. Villages contain between two and four hamlets on the average, although Tatau village consists of at least 10. With around 25 people living in each hamlet, villages range in size from 50 to 500 people.

\(^3\) Called *amir* in the northern dialects, *amari* or *amadi* in the southern dialects of Tabar.

\(^4\) The term for “house, building” was also recorded as *wana*, *wanu*, *wanua*, or *wanwa* in various locations around Tabar. This term appears to be used interchangeably with *wano* which could be glossed as “home, the building in which one is based”.

\(^5\) From the Usen Barok of central New Ireland Wagner (1987:58-59) recorded a very similar structure termed *olagabo* or ‘gate of the pig’.

\(^6\) Mahur Island is the northernmost island of the neighbouring Lihir Group. On Mahur I recorded the forked entranceway as *mdelaklak*, where *mde* = the front (in front of the eyes) and *laklak* = light (not heavy).
**Rogar** are permanent fixtures in Tabar geography; village locations may move up and down the coast, but the *rogar* remains. There is some regional variation in the *rogar* enclosure on Tabar. In Mapua and on Big Tabar Island the *rogar* is generally enclosed on at least three sides by a stone or coral rock wall (*valo*), the fourth side which faces the village is a more usually an impermanent fence (and termed *ori* in Big Tabar, the same term is used for a garden fence)\(^7\), generally made of bamboo. In northern Tatau and on Simberi there is less use of rock to secure the separation between village and *rogar*, instead a stout bamboo fence is maintained, ostensibly to keep out the pigs.

*Mi aro* is the malagan aspect of *rogar*, and introduces another dimension of interpretation. An *aro* is a malagan area and as such is bound with various taboo levels. At least one *aro* exists within each *rogar*, however two or more *aro* often exist beside each other within the one *rogar* but separated by bamboo or stone fences. Each *aro* is specific to one Big-Name subtradition and these *aro* are maintained as separate enclosures even though all the clan owners of one particular malagan grouping may have died out. For example *Pekinatinis* *rogar* in the hamlet of the same name at Tatau village contains an active *Aro Vavara*, an active *Aro Kulepmu*, and the site of an *Aro Vunotua* for which there are no longer any living owners.

Other habitation sites still have intact stone fences around the old *rogar* men’s house–graveyard-malagan ritual sites. Vikori is an old village site last used in the 1930’s and located about two kilometres inland of Raukupo village (N Big Tabar) with an interesting variation in the *rogar* layout: there are three *aro* malagan ritual sites located close together, two are the more usual stone walled *aro* - an *Aro Devenasi* with an *Aro Kulepmu* adjacent to it - but ten metres away is the remains of another *Aro Devenasi* which had been made within the roots of a huge old fig tree that must have towered over fifty metres in height, but was broken in a storm. Three rooms were located within the roots of this tree: a men’s house, a ritual room for working malagan, and the *kosobo* burial area which was still littered with skulls and other bones. Within the stone walled *Aro Kulepmu* were two stone images of the totemic shark *Lurac*, but without any engraving or other human sourced markings as far as I could ascertain\(^8\). Next to the stone sharks was an old wooden *kabai* post which was apparently previously used for hanging enemy corpses.

*aro* are linked to one another through the Big-Name subtraditions. For example *Kapinnekpek* malagan ritual site in Pekinatinis hamlet, Tatau village belongs to *Kulepmu* malagan so is also called *Aro Kulepmu*. I recorded three *Aro Kulepmu* in total on Tabar, one other was beside *Aro Devenasi* at Raukupo village (N Big Tabar), and the other was at Vikori village site inland on the mountain near Raukupo. There are undoubtedly more.

Each *aro* is primarily divided into two sections: the outer non-sacred area and the sacred *kosobo* inner section. The sacred *kosobo* is the part of the *aro* where malagan is made and which contains the graveyard *mi titer*. The sacredness of the *kosobo* is reinforced with a type of sorcery or magical power called *abor*, and is a highly tabooed place to enter. *Kosobo* can vary in their intellectual contents from time to time, for although an *aro* belongs to a specific malagan such as *Aro Kulepmu* or *Aro Malagacak*, a number of different types of malagan can be worked inside such an *aro*. *Vavara* was worked inside *Aro Kulepmu* at Pekinatinis hamlet in Tatau village, even though there was an *Aro Vavara* only ten metres away. When brought into *Aro Kulepmu*, *Vavara* took with it its own accoutrements such as *vunotua* “cold home”, a malagan concept and set of prohibitions which applies to the burial area or shelter over the grave inside the *kosobo*, to a malagan storage house, and to any malagan working area. As a set of taboo behaviours *vunotua* is capable of changing the entire atmosphere of the *kosobo*.

Although malagan is made within the *kosobo*, the actual sculptures are displayed in the malagan display house out in the main body of the *aro*, but within a few metres of the bamboo fence separating the sacred *kosobo* from the outer *aro*. After a malagan ceremony,

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\(^7\) Fr. Lamers recorded *bogubo* as a name for the fence around the men’s house, presumably in the Mapua region (1928-38).

\(^8\) N.T.Museum photograph NGE 1983/19/23.
Chapter 5 Taxonomic Structure and Typology of Malagan

all physical aspects of malagan, the malagan sculptures as well as the scraps left over from the manufacture of malagan, are returned back through the kosobo and are then thrown over the fence into the most highly tabooed region of all - mi korocak. Korocak is the physical space between two aro where the two kosobo butt together and is also known as revererev (the place where old malagans are thrown) or tutu (the place to burn malagan). Within this space are huge old trees and a number of other plants including taro. This location is not the only place where malagan sculpture is disposed, for quite a number of malagan sculptures are laid on ledges of sea-cliffs, malagan graveyards which are termed bakakirpro.

A malagan man is buried in the aro of his malagan, and this graveyard should also be the graveyard of his clan. If he was responsible for two or more aro, then his body may be carried from one aro to the other in a silent masked vavil processsion, but he will be buried at the graveyard of his clan. Some locations on Tabar had separate graveyards for men and women. At Bodar village (N Simberi) for example, the women’s graveyard (kosovevine) was located in Bodar village and the men’s graveyard (kosoka or mi rogar tamar) was located further inland up in the mountain. If a man died he was apparently carried up to the men’s graveyard by one of his clansmen with the body tied to his back with a cotton cloth. Hair was then cut from the dead man’s head and buried under a stone in the women’s graveyard back at Bodar. All ritual activity for both men and women at Bodar was held in the women’s graveyard. Further up the mountain was another graveyard in a limestone cave which used to be reached by climbing down the aerial roots of an old ficus tree which has since died. This burial cave was not used for malagan feasting and was known as a totemic site. Monomono or mipoppon are non-malagan terms used to refer to graveyard or cemetery, and it is not clear if they also include non-malagan burial locations.

According to modern informants on the north coast of Simberi Island, people who die close to their clan rogar are buried there, but those who die further away such as in their wife’s village are buried in their wife’s clan’s rogar. The dead man’s clansmen would come to take the body back, but his children would resist and stay strong.

In the data presented in Table 2 the distribution of malagan ritual sites (aro) did not match the distribution of owners either in overall frequency or by Big-Name distribution. This data allowed us to note that ritual sites do not immediately follow the migrations of the owners. But as most, if not all, malagan Big-Name subtraditions have ritual sites on Tabar, it became apparent that there is some as yet undocumented mechanism for developing a malagan ritual site at a new location.

Character of a subtradition

Just as no malagan sculpture is nameless, no malagan sculpture is devoid of character, and I use the term character advisedly here to label those indefinable peripheral aspects of malagan which go toward making a subtradition recognisably distinct. Küchler describes this malagan character as “...mythical themes associated with these templates are articulating issues of social continuity and reproduction. These themes are: ‘the relation between fire and culture’, ‘the relation between brothers and sisters’, ‘ecology and social differentiation’, ‘warfare and social migration’, ‘rain and the productivity of land’, ‘the relation between people and place’, ‘mortality and the continuity of the clan’, ‘the manifestation of power’, and ‘the process of growth’ (Küchler 1987: 246).

I would not go as far as Küchler in this respect, for the data I collected on Tabar relating to the mythic themes associated with the Big-Name subtraditions do not give the impression of coherency which Küchler conveys for the 9 ‘templates’ she recorded with the Kara. Many aspects of Tabar malagan draw on mythical themes and characters as well as cultural and historical archetypes, some of which are easily identified, others less so.

There is a vast body of anthropological literature dealing with myth and the role myth can play in cultural continuity, and it is not my intention here to add to it. Suffice it to say

9 Such as that described in Ch.2.

10 For details of the mythic themes and characters see Appendices A and B.
that Küchler’s interpretation of malagan themes as “articulating issues of social continuity and reproduction” is an interpretation which is initially seductive, but when examined in the light of my data from Tabar it can be demonstrated to be artificially accommodating and reduces a mystical ambiguity to a few glib phrases. Virtually any New Ireland myth or ritual action could be said to be “articulating issues of social continuity and reproduction” for people can use any cultural implement to express these broad realms, a myth need not belong to a malagan corpus to used in this manner.

When considering the significance of my data from Tabar I was also initially interested in demonstrating that the character of malagan ritual elements added to the complexity of a malagan owner’s ritual character. Informants had often told me that a number of the various Big-Name subtraditions had strongly developed characters: Malagacak was the warrior; Degenasi contains the forces of a sorcery derived from cannibalism; Marada was the rainmaking malagan; Madas contained the terrors of incest. It then became apparent that the individual elements of each of these subtraditions could contribute towards the complexity of a person’s ritual life. A true Malagacak owner, a man considered to be a source of Malagacak on Tabar today, would not merely own the social image (marumarua) of a warrior, he may also own its spiritual foundation (kobokobor) together with its controlling source (malaganivis) and half a dozen other aspects of the Malagacak identity. These malagan elements could combine to form a person’s ritual identity, a composite built up from the many malagan elements a person has been able to achieve over his lifetime. A man who had achieved ownership in many malagan elements would be not merely a man demonstrating control of resources, but also a person rich in the ritualised identity of Tabar. In this view the totality of the Tabar cultural identity could be understood to be the sum total of all the malagan elements in all the subtraditions at any one point of time. This composite built up over a lifetime would come together in the malagan ritual which follows death, giving each person a unique ritual identity. This identity would be reconstructed through a display of malagan sculpture demonstrating the relationships the dead person held with other people, the relationships which have to be disconnected and resorted during the period of ritual malagan activity. This argument of mine seemed convincing for quite some time, but it has the same weakness which is inherent in Küchler’s argument: both arguments proceed from a firm base in data, bring together a number of disparate points of view, and then develop a viewpoint which has everything to do with current Western anthropological thinking, and very little to do with a New Ireland tradition of thought.

To resume my feet-on-the-ground stance I will describe that elusive ‘character’ in the manner that my records have indicated, and will deviate very little from this form of baseline description, leaving further developments in the analysis of the malagan myth to those who follow.

Madas has a strong theme of sexual intercourse, centering around the incest taboo. Current Madas malagan activity includes a number of subtle references to incest or to sex taboos in general. For example when the Madas is transferred from one generation to the next, the ritual leader must dance with pig’s bones (ciribor) tied to his genitalia, and according to one informant these bones should be tied to the genitalia by the wife’s sister. A number of the songs of Madas refer to incest, and previous initiation practices are reputed to have involved incestuous activity which was carried out between a brother and sister under a mat and in front of the malagan men in the ar, this act would be terminated by spearing the two to the ground. Many aspects of Madas, such as the wild dog mi kupuinmucgur which was used with cockekeliy fire spears and mi teter bullroarers to “kill” the dead man’s spirit during the night prior to the burial, were described as “no good” and were often associated with the night. Of all malagan funerary practices, Madas activities produced the most emotion amongst people, who would break into weeping during the singing of Madas songs.

Judging from its distribution, Madas as a name appears to have been used in some very old traditions, for it is found not only throughout New Ireland, but from non-Austronesian groups in East New Britain. George Corbin recorded from the Central Baining (a Papuan language group) of the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain the names mendas or mandas referring to specific masks used in daytime dancing and “...dedicated to female fertility, mourning of the dead, and the celebration of major community events” (Corbin 1979:177).
Use of the name *Madas* in malagan traditions on mainland New Ireland may not be consistent with its usage on Tabar. In 1983, at Panamafei in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, I recorded *Mendis* as the 'small name' for a malagan also termed *Lasisi* (the name of the figure), *Lekeu* (the 'baptised name'), and *Mandasim* (its Big-Name subtradition). Historically, Krämer (1925:73) recorded *mandas* from Hamba village (Notsi region) and Walden (1940:24) recorded the same name from Nangama (Kuot-Panaras region?).

In a myth\(^\text{11}\) recorded from Masol [Tavia k. Carameges m.] of Maragon village (W Simberi), the working of *Madas* malagan was a form of reciprocity carried out by the nomadic sea-clan [Keis] when staying on the beaches and using the land of the land-owning bush-clan [Carameges]. Periodically [Keis], to compensate for land-use, would organise a malagan ceremony for the dead in [Carameges]. After a series of marriages [Carameges] were the affines of [Keis], so the malagan ceremonies were organised for the land-owning affinal dead. The fact that *Madas* also deals with incest may not be entirely coincidental. A ritual which punishes incest also promotes cooperation between affinal clans.

**Ta*t*arjas** ownership chants

*Ta*t*arjas\(^\text{12}\) ownership chants are called out in public by malagan owners or their representatives whenever true malagan activity takes place. *Ta*t*arjas ownership chants are one of the determining marks of malagan activity, if ritual activity does not include a calling of the *ta*t*arjas then it is not malagan. A person will only ever call out a *ta*t*arjas for a Big-Name malagan which that person belongs to, for even in private a person will not call out the *ta*t*arjas for a malagan to which he does not own the rights\(^\text{13}\).

*Ta*t*arjas are called out during any activity which involves use of malagan rights (*ciribor*) such as the right to build a certain style of malagan house, the right to roof the malagan house, the right to construct and exhibit certain sculpture, the rights to organise certain aspects of funerary behaviour. When ceremonially bringing malagan material through the village and into a malagan ritual site, the *ta*t*arjas will be called out by owners in the village square when the procession has stopped at the ritual site entrance. Chants will be called out most often when malagan sculpture is being placed in a malagan display house. As each *ta*t*arjas call is made a piece of betel nut will be thrown onto the ground.

A *ta*t*arjas chant consists of between three and five phrases, repeated three or more times, in front of all the viewers of malagan activity. Sometimes a *ta*t*arjas phrase is the name of a previous malagan originator, sometimes it is a reference to an aspect of the character of the malagan. Often the meaning of a *ta*t*arjas phrase has been lost in time or distance from the original language. Sometimes the *ta*t*arjas as a whole will be different in some aspects, shorter for example, when it is called out at a malagan ceremony which is taboo to women. It was not clear whether the order or the absolute number of the phrases varied according to the occasion, or whether there is some flexibility allowed. Sola's humorous use of the phrase meaning 'black penis' (*#6* below) indicates that malagan owners can improvise on a theme rather than stick to a rigid formula.

---

\(^{11}\) See Appendix B transcript 2.3.

\(^{12}\) Also recorded as *ta*t*arjas, *ta*t*arjasa, *taratarjas, *tarajas, *tarajis* in the various dialect regions around Tabar.

\(^{13}\) I recorded at least one set of *ta*t*arjas ownership chants for each of the following Big-Names: *Depenasi*, *Kulepmu*, *Lopobu*, *Lunet*, *Madas*, *Malagacak*, *Sisubua*, *Sopop*, *Tomut*, *Totoho*, *Turu*, *Valik*, *Vavara*, *Verim*, *Vuwil*. I can only offer three reasons for not recording examples the *ta*t*arjas of the other Big-Names: i) In the early stages of fieldwork I did not know of the existence of the *ta*t*arjas, and later it was either inappropriate to ask the informant, or I forgot that I had not recorded it. ii) The owner did not know the *ta*t*arjas as he was too young when he received the malagan and all other owners had since died. iii) The people who told me that they owned the malagan said that *Arum* did not have a *ta*t*arjas, later I was to find out that these people's ownership of *Arum* was being disputed by other malagan owners.
Tagarjas used for the various Big-Name subtraditions are quite different from each other. Each malagan subtradition uses a total of ten or so tagarjas phrases, and each of the transference groupings (tabataba) of malagan uses between two and five of these ten phrases. Each tagarjas is specific to a transfer grouping, which is in turn part of a malagan subtradition.

As an example, the following set of tagarjas ownership chants was recorded from eight different Madas owners from three different transfer groupings. Within this set of chants nine different phrases were called out in various combinations. In order to clarify the relationships between each tagarjas I have assigned a specific number to each tagarjas phrase.¹⁴

Transfer grouping of Madas held by [Keis] on Simberi Island:
i) Tagarjas called out for Madassiteno by Lusom [Keis] at Leveneru (W Simberi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e vaset</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e wudu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi kes kes e bor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e pit mendes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Tagarjas called out for Madassiut by Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.] at Poponovam (NW Simberi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vwaset</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e undu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e pimendes, keskesbor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) Tagarjas called out for Madassiteno by Bevi Rorun [Betet k. Keis m.] of Poponoam village (NW Simberi):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vwaset</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au undu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keskes bor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi pimendes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴ I noted the following associations for the words called out in these seven tagarjas for Madas:
- keskesbor (mi kes kes e bor, mi keskes i ve bor, keskesmbor, keskes bor, kes kes mbor) : means “one pig for each section of the sequence of transfferal of ownership of malagan”.
- manibo madas ibo (manimbo mandassimbo) : means "women cannot feast, men only".
- manibo madassiubi (madassiuibi) (manimbo madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, mandassiumbi, mandassiumbi, mandassiumbi) : when called out as part of tagarjas of Madas Madassiro malagan the name means all Madas malagans with chicken feathers all around the outline. Also recorded as a malagan type of Malagacak were it is referred to as a marumarua figure sculpture, but also as a stick for beating the garumut.
- madas pakapaka un (mandes pakapaka un; manimbo madassapakapakun, mendespukapukawan) : a reference to the sago thatching leaves of the Madas malagan display house. Recorded as a reference to the tabataba ancestral lineage of Madassit in Madas. Vabehuar (wambehuar) was also recorded as a tabataba ancestral lineage of Madassiro and Madassiteno in Madas.
- pimadasi (mi pimendes, pit madas, pimendas, pimendis, e pit mendes, e pimendes) : a reference to the penis; associated with references to incest.
- a pit mere : ?
- undu (udu, e wudu, e undu, e undu, au udu, a wudu) : literally means “sago” a reference to the Da malagan which was previously worked on top of the sago tree.
- vwaset (vaset, a vaset, vwaset, vwaset, e vaset) : also a figure malagan recorded in the Madassiteno and Madassitut subgroupings.
iv) *Taa*tafjas called out for *Madas* by Sola [Keis] of Poponovam village (NW Simberi) during *cokavanua* malagan ceremony at Pekinberiu village (NE Tatau):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{a vaset,} \\
&\text{a wudu,} \\
&\text{kes kes mbor,} \\
&\text{pit mandas,} \\
&\text{a pit mere.}
\end{align*}
\]

v) *Taa*tafjas called out for *Madas* by Sola [Keis] at *cukuavatir* malagan ceremony at Pekinberiu village (NE Tatau):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{a vaset,} \\
&\text{a wudu,} \\
&\text{a pit mandas,} \\
&\text{ma kes kes mbor,} \\
&\text{ma pit manget. (laughter from the others)}
\end{align*}
\]

Transfer grouping of *Madas* held by [Buatekone] on both Simberi and Big Tabar Islands:

vi) *Taa*tafjas called out for *Madas* by Laqare [Buatekone] of Napekur village (N Simberi):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{pitimandas,} \\
&\text{mandes pakapaka un,} \\
&\text{e undu,} \\
&\text{keskes i ve bor.}
\end{align*}
\]

Transfer grouping of *Madas* held by [Keis] on Big Tabar Island:

vii) *Taa*tafjas called out for *Madassiro* by Tomas Lojalai [Keis] of Kokal hamlet, Datava (NE Big Tabar)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{pitimandas,} \\
&\text{mandas pakapaka un,} \\
&\text{mandas imbo,} \\
&\text{mandas pakapaka un.}
\end{align*}
\]

Transfer grouping of *Madas* held by [Keis] on Mapua Island:

viii) *Taa*tafjas called out for *Madas* by Kumau [Navobeie k. Keis m.] of Tokar village (Mapua):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{manimbo mandassimbo,} \\
&\text{manimbo madassiumbi,} \\
&\text{manimbo masasapakapakun.}
\end{align*}
\]

An examination of the *ta*tafjas words given by owners in each of the transfer groupings leads to some interesting speculation. The *ta*tafjas chants called out by the five owners in the transfer grouping of *Madas* held by [Keis] on Simberi Island varied only in minor aspects such as the transposition of the last two words of the chant, or in Sola's case of the addition of a reference to 'black penis' (#6). By comparison with the Simberi [Keis] version, that owned by [Buatekone] on both Simberi and Big Tabar Islands contained one substitution and transposition of the other three words; a more distant version was that held by [Keis] on Big Tabar Island in which only one line was the same as that held by [Keis] on Simberi. The version owned by [Keis] at Mapua had no complete lines in common with the Simberi version, but two lines in common with the Big Tabar version owned by [Keis].

I suggest that this series of variances reflects the relative divergence of the various transfer groupings of malagan on Tabar, and that were enough *ta*tafjas chants recorded...
from the malagan areas on mainland New Ireland as well as on Tabar, we would be able to uncover vital clues to uncovering much of the history and ancestry of malagan.

Malagan sculptural components

The nucleus of all malagan activity is found in the rights to produce specific malagan sculpture and to use these rights by displaying this sculpture during a malagan ceremony to honour a dead affine, and to transfer these rights to the next generation of owners. These rights are named, subject to ownership, and include a number of other cultural references. The manifestation of these rights in wooden or woven sculpture is undertaken by a tunumar, who is usually, but not always, a professional artist. Each malagan sculptural manifestation will have at least one name (the Big-Name) and usually one or more other Small-Names which further delineate its typological classification.

For example the most significant malagan sculpture used in the final commemorative malagan ceremony held at Pekinberiu village on the 7-8 March 1984 was referred to as cur Bana kapot kobokobor si mi Verim. This most complete version of its name can be separated into a number of components.

Si mi Verim indicated that this malagan belonged to the Big-Name subtradition called Verim; kobokobor is a generic typological term and is used to classify a malagan by its physical appearance (horizontal), as well as by its realm of imagery (the foundation and most significant image of a malagan display); kapot means that the ownership rights to the malagan have been split into two or more transfer groupings and now more than one clan owns the rights; Bana was the name of the woman being commemorated and in whose name the malagan was made; cur in this instance means ‘bed’ or ‘platform’ and here indicates that more than one marumarua image is used in the malagan, the images are ‘sitting on a bed’.

On Tabar a malaga is generally an image which had its origins in the shape of a human or animal life form, although many other types abound (see Appendix A). A malagan artefact will consist of at least one malaga, and may have ten or more malaga within it, depending upon the complexity of the image. Most typical of the multiple malaga images are the vertical eikuar or horizontal kobokobor malagan styles. Eikuar have several marumarua figures standing on top of one another, separated by koltibor blocks. Each of the marumarua figures is a malaga, and the eikuar itself is also a malaga, often with its own name.

Most malaga elements are identifiable as a visual image of the life form upon which they are based, but there are a number of malaga which are abstracted from the basal image. By far the greater majority of these abstracted images occur within Vavara, the Big-Name malagan grouping which specialises in woven disc malagan constructions. An example of several abstracted malaga within the one malagan sculpture can be found in a Vavara malagan disc which was described as containing two malaga within it: one Vavara image superimposed on the other with a pitibeles painted perimeter of triangle shapes distinguishing the boundary between the two (see Fig.61). Although this Vavara containing two malaga was manufactured as one object, at some time in the past an original example of this type of Vavara was made from two woven discs placed one on top of the other.

Eventually, on one pivotal example, the pitibeles was devised to make an unified image of the original double malaga Vavara.

Other life-form images include the matalig "eye of fire", a malaga image central to the Valik Big-Name malagan grouping, and other exoterica such as the Madaserigo in Lonyo, where erigo refers to a pig trap; or the Madape image of tabooing leaves used in Kulepmu. These exceptions form less than 5% of all malagan types I recorded and appear to be images of aspects important to malagan ceremonial activity. Beyond the sculptural form, the plural term bunalaga on Tabar encompasses most of the artefacts and activity used to construct and display malagan sculpture in honour of the dead, and includes sculpture and masks, as well as a number of social actions, songs, and dances.

A malagan is always considered primarily within the context of its Big-Name, from which it inseparable, and it is my understanding that there is no sculpture in the malagan ritual world of Tabar which is known only as a ‘malagan’. Every malagan belongs to a Big-Name, just as every person belongs to a totem.
Within each Big-Name subtradition there are a number of distinct sub-classes of named malagan sculpture. Some names refer to major subgroupings, other names refer to generic types, which may be either sculptural or functional types of malagan. Around 60% of malagan sculptural names are specific and refer to one particular sculptural item.

The total number of malagan sculptural rights in any one subtradition is not known, for although the rights to some of the Big-Names are held by only one or two people, other Big-Names may be owned by tens or even hundreds of people (if mainland New Ireland owners are included). From my record on Tabar the number of malagans and owners in the Big-Name subtraditions varied from 1 malagan each in Karavas (1 owner) and Maris (1 owner) through to 40 malagans in Vavara (41 owners), 47 malagans in Malagacak (52 owners), and 76 malagans in Verim (47 owners). An initial examination of this range of variation indicated that there is a close relationship between the number of owners of rights to a malagan subtradition and the number of malagans in each subtradition (see Table 6).

Closer examination of the ownership data indicated that there are two main factors operating in this apparent lineal relationship between the number of malagan owners and the number of named rights to malagan sculpture. These two factors operate together to produce a balance between owners sharing rights with other owners, and owners accumulating rights:

- An owner may own the rights to ten or twelve malagans belonging to a single Big-Name subtradition.
- Many owners may share in the ownership of certain sculptural rights, particularly those belonging to subgroups and generic types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ratio of malagan owners to named malagan sculptures within the Big-Name subtraditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Named malagans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of named malagan sculptural rights a person will own depends upon whether the owner is a *vuna* source of malagan (repository of the clan's stock of malagan rights), or a minor owner. For example in the *Madas* Big-Name subtradition an owner who is a *vuna* source may own the rights to ten or twelve malagan sculptures comprising three

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15 See Appendix A for the ownership data relating to named malagans.
subgroupings, three or four generic names, and four or five specific names. A minor Madas owner would be more likely to own the rights to only one or two generic or specific sculptures within one subgrouping.

An examination of the number of owners of each named type of malagan revealed some interesting patterns. For example, in Madas subtradition a total of twenty eight names referring to malagan sculptures were recorded from forty six owners:

**TABLE 7**  
Number of owners of each particular named malagan sculpture in Madas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Owners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 major subgrouping names</td>
<td>Madassiteno (12 owners), Madassiro (12 owners), Madassiut (6 owners).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 generic names - a number of generic malagans were recorded under their specific names, only those referred to by their generic names are listed here</td>
<td>eikuar (4 owners), kobokobor (20 owners), kovkov (? owners), kupkup ci malaga (? owners), marumaru (9 owners).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 specific names</td>
<td>Belel (1 owner), Cikopic (1 owner), Curuda (4 owners), Curudamas (4 owners), Curudasar (1 owner), Curudavovo (1 owner), Curuvuaset (1 owner), Da (20 owners), Damas (6 owners), Dasar (1 owner), Eiborgamas (2 owners), Kovacikopic (1 owners), Madasi (1 owner), Potoviso (3 owners), Tanua (4 owners), Tonomatmerik (? owners), Vuaset (4 owners), Vuvida (2 owners).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 display platform type</td>
<td>kokoi (1 owner).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although this data is a sample from an unknown total number of Madas owners, some definite patterns emerge:

- Rights to specific malagans are usually owned by one lineage.
- Generic malagans and subgroupings are widely owned.
- Malagans which are considered to contain the main power of malagan, such as the kobokobor and Da, are the most widely owned type of malagan.

Specific malagan names refer to the rights to one particular malagan sculpture, and to its realisation in wood. Specific malagan names which are not Big-Names are termed Small-Names in Tok Pisin16, but as far as I am aware there is no equivalent term in the Tabar language for ‘Small-Name malagan’ as people will tend to refer to a Big-Name, or to a specific malagan name, or to a generic malagan name.

**Generic malagan types**

Classification of malagan sculptural artefacts by visual appearance leads to a typology which considers a malagan sculptural item as a wooden and painted noun. This is the classification system we tend to use in the Western museum world when no other information is available, and we like to think that the artefact ‘speaks for itself’, preferably as a work of art if nothing else.

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16 I found that this distinction between Big-Names and Small-Names is also used in the Kara area of mainland New Ireland, so is quite probably found all over northern New Ireland.
Chapter 5 Taxonomic Structure and Typology of Malagan

FIGURE 46
Marumaru figures in Malagacak: (left) Lagen with malagan figure Tiilumadas si mi Malagacak (NGE 893), Napekur village, N Simberi. (Photo NGE 1982/12/33). (right) William Kara with his Malagacak figure (NATMUSPNO), Gitarut village, Mapua. (Photo NGE 1983/2/36).
FIGURE 47
Daniel Lupindi with malagan marumarua figure Tilimadas si mi Malagacak (NGE 912) which he made and owns. Sinikima village, E Big Tabar. (Photo NGE 1982/17/6)
FIGURE 48
Tabar malagan figures: (left) Seremei si mi Lunet (NGE 891) made and owned by Edward Salle of Tatau village, N Tatau (Photo NGE 1982/11/30). (right) Legiraui with malagan figure-in-mouth-of-fish image Lako si mi Malagacak (NGE 897), Beku hamlet, Buaeri village, SE Simberi. Malagan made by Lagare. (Photo NGE 1982/14/1)
FIGURE 49
Malagan figure *malagaruru si mi Malagacak*, a *kapkup ci malaga* figure made of an inverted tree fern by Edward Salle of Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo NGE 1982/11/32).
FIGURE 50
Ges figures. (left) Tir Rupumogos si mi Verim (NGE 916) made by Edward Salle of Tatau village, N Tatau. (right) Pius Kumau Luqaqa with malagan figure ges si mi Sorson which he made, Maragon village, W Simberi. (Photo NGE 1982/12/16).
FIGURE 51
Malagan kobokobor si mi Madas (NGE 1330) with owners in [Keis] clan in Aro Madas malagan ritual site, Rubis hamlet, Poponovam village, NW Simberi. Malagan made by Pius Kumau Luraga. (Photo NGE 1984/7/4).
FIGURE 52
*Bebe si mi Valik* malagan *kobokobor* made and owned by Edward Salle of Tatau village, N Tatau.
(Sketch by Martin Fisher after photos NGE 1982/10/10-13)
FIGURE 53
Masol’s son with malagan eikuar called Eiboranas si mi Madas (NGE 1315), malagan made by Pius Kumau Luqanya. Sodir hamlet, Maragon village, W Simberi. (Photo NGE 1984/6/34).
FIGURE 54
Sketches of three *eikuar* malagans made and used by Edward Salle in 1982. (left) *Preprekesu si mi Tapala* (sketch from Photo NGE 1982/10/19). (centre) side view of *Eciribor si mi Malagacak* (sketch compiled from Photos NGE 1982/10/15,19); (right) *Potoviso si mi Madas* (sketch from Photo 1982/10/17 - top of malagan hidden behind pillar in photo). (Sketches by Robin Knox).
FIGURE 55
Malagan kovkov types: (left) wooden kovkov head in Verim. A circular conical hat made of pandanus leaf was attached to the top of this malagan during display (Photo NGE 1982/1/2); (right) kovkov Kovacikopic si mi Madas (eventually became part of NGE 1330). Made by Edward Salle of Tatau village, N Tatau. (Photo NGE 1982/11/34.)
FIGURE 56
Kiap Nick Nani with malagan kovkov head Malagacak Tiimadas Porok malaganivis (NGE 1323), which had been made by Edward Salle. Mapua Mission, Tabar. (Photo NGE 1983/2/20).
Kapet [Katobi] displaying two examples of the same malagan rights for a Tagaia of Turu tabataba. The malagan (NGE 895) in his left hand was made by Orim Mulo, that in his right hand (NATMUSPNG) made by Laqare. Monun village, E Simberi. Photo NGE 1982/13/24.
In the Western world we also tend to assume that if one example of non-Western sculpture resembles another, then one has much the same function and meaning as the other. Fortunately this approach we use is not totally at variance with that used by the people on Tabar. This typological system of classification which we use in Western museums corresponds to the most rudimentary level of the Tabar system for classifying malagan sculpture, and gives rise to the generic malagan categories which are found within the majority of malagan subtraditions on Tabar.

Malagan owners use generic descriptive malagan names when describing or referring to specific types of malagan sculpture. For example when I asked Salle about a specific malagan figure sculpture which he had stored in his men’s house he initially described it by its generic descriptive term marumarua because it was an individual figure, then he said that it belonged to Madas - its Big-Name subtradition. When I asked him what the figure represented he said that it was a Cikopic - its personal or specific Small-Name which links directly to the ownership rights of that malagan sculpture.

I distinguish between generic and specific malagan names within the Small-Name category to make it easier for we outsiders to understand some of the more recognisable patterns within the repertoire of malagan on Tabar. As far as I am aware Tabar people do not have a specific category to link together these malagan names which are found in number of Big-Name subtraditions, although they acknowledge that some malagan names are descriptive and widely distributed and others are specific and restricted in ownership.

In total I recorded seven functional or generic sculptural types of malagan on Tabar: marumarua, kobokobor, eikuar, kovkov, rarau, vanis, and kupkup ci malaga. It should be noted that these functional or specific types are not all of the same class, but have been grouped together here only because they are cross-cutting malagan categories. Kupkup ci malaga are a separate functional category of malagan which can subsume any of the other generic or specific types. The other generic types are more or less mutually exclusive.

Marumarua

Recorded from virtually every malagan owner on Tabar, this basic figure element refers to the external image of a person (the picture of a person; spirit; image; a shadow; a silhouette; or a sketch). A marumarua is the basic human-like figure element in malagan sculpture on Tabar and the most common form of malagan sculpture found today (see Figs. 45-48).

Most typically the sculptural marumarua is a three dimensional wooden human-like figure made from saba (Alstonia scholaris) wood, and varies from between 50cm to 150 cm in height. When freshly painted the marumarua is presented for public viewing in its own display house, or forms part of the assemblage of a larger malagan grouping at the final commemorative display. Generally referred to by its Big-Name, this figure was recorded in Deryenasi, Karavas, Kulepmu, Lunet, Madas, Malagacak, Maris, Sisubua, Takapa, Tarpla, Valik, and Verim Big-Name subtraditions. It was also recorded in Vavara from two informants, but this inclusion was disputed by most other leading malagan owners.

Veivem vertical struts are found on marumarua individual figures. Generally two of these struts connect the base to the elbows and another one, two, or three connect the base to the jaw. Veivem represent the spears previously used to support a corpse when on display publicly in the bo ritual chair. On a number of marumarua figures the front veiveni connecting to the jaw often incorporates one or two flying fish (mugur) images. The significance of this association is not clear. Flying fish images were also recorded as part of other types of malagan sculpture.

Although gender is distinguished on some malagan figures such as Tilimadas si mi Malagacak where males have a kovage feather headdress on the head and females a pointed woman’s hat karuka, the gender of the malagan bears no relationship to the gender of the dead person.
**Kobokobor**

Interpreted as the “root of the tree of malagan”, the kobokobor is understood as the strongest malagan. When it is transferred to the next generation, people realise that this is no light matter, for the bulk of the tabataba has now been handed over, and that the weight of responsibility now lies on the initiate’s shoulders. Kobokobor is also understood to be a bed, a platform, the central form around which malagan is publicly displayed and understood. Consequently the kobokobor is often portrayed by malagan owners as the central and foundation malagan for a large display. Predominantly recorded or described as a long horizontal sculptural form, the kobokobor often acts as the horizontal base for a vertical eikuar or marumarua. As around 10% of kobokobor were described as vertical it must be assumed that the term kobokobor is not a sculptural term but a reference to the significance of a particular malagan item. I recorded the term kobokobor from Dejenasi, Kulepmu, Madas, Malagacak, Totobo, Valik, and Verim Big-Name subtraditions. Kobokobor was also recorded in Vavara from one informant, but this inclusion was disputed by most other leading malagan owners. Kobokobor was recorded as a kupkap ci malaga in only two subtraditions: Madas and Takapa.

Horizontal kobokobor (foundation) malagan forms generally have a number of either seated or standing marumarua human figure images, each interspaced by a kobokobor block (see Figs. 50-51). Koltibor is a malagan design feature representing the middle of a pig and is said to have full power in malagan, along with the head of pig. Generally the koltibor has a kabotoligic design painted on the surface and is used to separate major sculptural design elements. Kabotoligic is generally said to be a painted representation of a barnacle, but may also be a combined image of the clitoris (boto) and a type of small betel-nut (lijiic). The ends of the kobokobor are usually finished with carved wooden pig heads, fish heads or fish bodies, or horizontally projecting in-turned spikes termed ora. An ora is a conical fish trap made from several pieces of a thorny vine tied together. The ora on the kobokobor traps a marumarua spirit image and can finish with the impression of a fish just eaten. Occasionally one end of the kobokobor would portray a fish, the other a pig head. Fish image finials are understood to reflect a ‘salt-water’ ancestry whereby the original malagan was conceived, or at least owned, by people living on the coast. Their inland counterparts, often their exchange partners, were considered bush people and their malagans displayed pig head finials.

Veivem struts project horizontally through the image in kobokobor malagan types. Most often the marumarua figures grasp the veivem with their hands and the veivem finials are sometimes cleverly turned to become ora. Classic malagan sculpture collected in the 19th century is often easily identified by the portrayal of the hands which grasp veivem: the hands appear to be transposed, so that the palms face outwards with the thumbs to the top gripping the veivem.

**Eikuar**

The spectacular vertical ‘totem pole’ type malagan termed eikuar is powerful in visual appearance, but is less significant than the kobokobor for malagan owners.

As many as five or six marumarua images stand separated by koltibor in a column on top of each other in the eikuar (see Figs. 52-53). At the top of the eikuar is an image of a bird or human head, and the base is usually a pig’s head, although a significant number of eikuar were recorded standing on top of a horizontal kobokobor. Both sides of the eikuar usually have veivem vertical struts which are often incorporated in the overall visual design. The top image in the eikuar is the key to sculptural variation and in the past clever play was made with this image, producing some of the most remarkable sculpture to come out of the malagan traditions. This play consisted of visual puns which today could be called comic-surreal. Despite an artistic origin in a blood-thirsty past, malagan sculpture found some very humorous and talented artists whose work now lies in a number of museums scattered over

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18 Also recorded as kabakabor, kakkabor, kabakabor, kabokabor, kambakamboro, kambakamboro, kambkambor, kambokambor, kambukambor, kambukamboro, kamkambor, kobobor, kobokobor, kobokoboro, and koborkobor in the various dialects around Tabar.
the globe. Today the top image on the *eikuar* represents the individual character of the transfer grouping and is frequently a representation of a bird such as the sea eagle.

*Eikuar*\(^{19}\) on Tabar were recorded from *Degenasi, Kulepmu, Madas, Malagacak, Sisubua, Takapa, Totobo, Turu, Valik, Verim, and Vuvil* Big-Name subtraditions. *Eikuar* was also recorded in *Vavara* from one informant, but again this inclusion was disputed by most other leading malagan owners. In *Degenasi, Kulepmu, Madas, Malagacak, Totobo, Valik,* and *Verim* the *kobokobor* is understood to act as the horizontal base for vertical *eikuar*. In both *Madas* and *Takapa eikuar* were recorded as *kupkup ci malaga*. From the data collected it appears that *eikuar* can have subtypes with specific names.

In the West Coast Kara language speaking region of northern mainland New Ireland I recorded “*malagagan labumo*” as the name for a very tall malagan, which from its description would be called an *eikuar* on Tabar.

**Kovkov**

Solid *kovkov* wooden head-only malagans on Tabar are quite distinct from *vanis* masks which are worn on the head (see Figs. 22-35, 54-55). *Kovkov* seem to be disembodied versions of *marumaru* images and can be displayed either attached to bodies made of bush materials, or tied on their own to a wooden beam. *Kovkov*\(^{20}\) malagan heads were recorded from *Arum, Degenasi, Kulepmu, Madas,* and *Malagacak* Big-Name subtraditions.

**Rarau**

*Rarau* is a generic malagan name meaning “leaf”. A Big-Name malagan subtradition is understood to be analogous to a tree and the *rarau* is a leaf which falls from it. This type of malagan is one of a group of ‘cloning’ malagans. Other terms referring to malagans in this group are: *cur-malaga*, where *cur* refers to a bed, from which many malagans get up; *malaga-kapot* where *kapot* means “broken, to have been shared out”; *mata-rarau*, where *mata* refers to a well, from which an inexhaustible number of malagan ‘leaves’ can be extracted. A cloning malagan is one which is sold out of the clan to someone who has need of a malagan to show at another man’s ceremony, or who needs to embellish his own stock for a particularly important showing. The cloned malagan is sold without the authority to hand it on to the next generation, but the purchaser is able to produce and use the malagan throughout his life. On Tabar, *rarau*\(^{21}\) were recorded in *Kulepmu, Lunet, Malagacak, Valik* and *Vuvil* Big-Name subtraditions.

**Vanis**

*Vanis*\(^{22}\) is the generic term on Tabar for a malagan mask which is generally worn on the head but can also be placed on a body made of assembled bush materials (in contrast to carved wood). By examining the usage of malagan masks on Tabar, we find that they fall into a number of discrete groupings: burial masks, major taboo manipulating masks, cleaners and destroyers, and fundraising masks. Most masks on Tabar were recorded in the *Verim* subtradition, and a few were recorded as big walking masks in some of the other Big-Name subtraditions.

As I have discussed the usage of malagan masks elsewhere\(^{23}\) I shall here confine myself to a brief description.

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19 Also recorded as *aikwar, aikwara, eikwar, ekwar, ekwa, ekwar,* and *ikwara*.

20 Also recorded as *kaokao, koko, koukou, kokovoka, kowakowa,* and *kowkow*.

21 Also recorded as *raroa, raru, rerau, rorou, roru, ruru,* and *ru.ru*.

22 Also recorded on Tabar as *wanis*.

23 For detailed discussion of the role of masks on Tabar see Gunn (1988) and above in Ch. 3.
- Burial masks were recorded as *Tanua* barkcloth masks worn by pall-bearers in *Madas* malagan.

- Major taboo manipulating masks are usually the large and heavy ‘walking’ masks, usually made of wood with large ear planks and elaborate superstructure. From my field records they appear to be used by the *puc* ‘mouth man’ to manipulate and remove taboos from a village and malagan ritual site during the final commemorative malagan ceremony.

- Cleaning and destroying masks are minor taboo manipulating masks which are worn by men acting under the control of the *puc*, and used to remove symbolic barriers either in the village or around the malagan ritual site and to destroy the property of the dead. The distinctive *ges* is a subgrouping of this type of mask. *Ges* is a term widespread in New Ireland and on Tabar refers to a spirit which lives in the jungle, or to a ‘wild man’, a legendary psychopathic personality. In malagan imagery the *ges* masked figures are understood as guards or spies moving in front of the major walking masks, wielding spears and rocks to clear the area of people and of the influence of the dead (see Fig. 28). They may also be represented as a seated mask (see Fig. 20) or as a wooden figure. All versions are said to have originated in *Verim* and exhibit the characteristic slanting eyes of the wild *ges*. *Ges* were recorded in *Kulepnu, Malagacak, Sooso, Totobo*, and *Verim* Big-Name subtradition.

- Fundraising masks are minor masks used by young men under the control of a malagan organiser to solicit funds for forth-coming malagan activity.

### Kupkup ci malaga

*Kupkup ci malaga*24 are a generic grouping of ‘quick-to-work’ taboo clearing malagans recorded from *Kulepnu, Lunet, Mada, Malagacak, Marada, Sisubua, Sooso, Takapa, Totobo, Valik*, and *Vuvil* Big-Name subtraditions. *Kupkup ci malaga* are most often used at malagan ceremonies for taboo removal, for the arrival of a new born baby, at ceremonies to welcome someone home after a long period of absence, and at small malagan ceremonies of a commemorative nature to honour a dead affine.

In many ways the *kupkup ci malaga* malagans are the most powerful of malagans, for they begin and end a person’s ritual life. This type of malagan is the first which is given to the next generation of malagan owners, and the name *kupkup ci malaga* refers to a “fountain of water, fresh and light”, the analogy being a fresh sprouting coconut bursting with life and growth in the early dawn of its life. The first malagan given is often referred to as the “head of the Big-Name malagan”.

Much of the *kupkup ci malaga*’s true nature is camouflaged, for to be a true *kupkup ci malaga*, the image must be made of bush materials, not of wood like a ‘proper’ wooden malagan. Some *kupkup ci malaga* are painted to look like a ‘proper’ malagan, but others, particularly those which are more powerful, are natural objects with great symbolic meaning unrecognised by the uninitiated.

The *kupkup ci malaga*’s ‘quick to work’ nature derives from its use when a malagan sculpture is needed in a hurry, such as when a taboo has been broken and needs clearing away. When it is used it is transferred to the next generation25. As such a *kupkup ci malaga* is generally made from materials found at hand, such as vines, flowers, shells, inverted tree ferns, even a coconut sack or piece of cloth pulled taut across a bamboo or ratan frame and painted.

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24 Also recorded as *kupup ci malanga*, *kupukup ci malangga*.

25 See the data for the *varam* ceremony when Pamas’s malagans were transferred to Bialong after Pamas’s death - in Ch.2.
Sculptural components recorded in Madas

The following section comprises a description of all the malagan sculptural components within the Madas subtradition which I recorded on Tabar. Again I must emphasise that this is not a full description of all Madas components on Tabar, but merely a list of those malagans which I recorded from informants. A total of fifty-six separate descriptions were recorded for twenty-eight malagan names in Madas. It should be noted that I do not know how many tabataba transfer groupings of Madas are represented here. If two people hold the rights to the same malagan from the same tabataba, then both examples of the malagan would be treated as identical even if they are made by two different sculptors and look quite different (see Fig. 56). But if two malagan of the same name are from two tabataba, then the two malagans must be different and are treated as such, even if they look identical to the external observer. Counterfeiting a malagan is considered a serious crime on Tabar, for one of the real strengths behind malagan’s survival is this strict adherence to the rights to own and produce sculpture. If a man makes a counterfeit malagan, the rights to which belong to another man, then the counterfeiter can be publicly accused of theft, and as a result of that accusation he can expect the sorcerers to start working against him.

The classification of the Small-Name malagans within Madas is dominated by four subdivisions within the subtradition: Madas proper; Madassiteno (Madas of the life force); Madasiro (Madas of the sea); and Madassiut (Madas of the bush). The nature of these subdivisions is not yet clear to me, for there are a number of specific aro ritual geographic sites for each of these four subdivisions; and each of these four groupings has its own form of ritual behaviour. Interestingly there does not appear to be any variation in the takaqas for the four subgroupings of Madas: Madas, Madassiteno, Madassiro, and Madassiut if they are all part of the same transfer grouping. This fact suggests that the four subgroupings of Madas are not transfer groupings but some other way of organising malagan ritual and components.

According to one informant26 the subgrouping Madassiut broke from Madassiro, with the implication that Madassiro preceded Madassiut. This informant, who received Madassiteno from his mother’s brother and Madas from his mother’s father, treated the two subgroupings as quite different and said that Madassiteno belonged only to [Keis] (his mother’s brother’s clan), whereas Madas belonged to all men.

Madassiteno (Mandasetno, Mandassitano, Mandassiteno, Mandassitanua, Manseto, Mansitano, Mansiteno): Subgrouping of Madas associated with dead man’s spirit (tanua) and with bush in origin or orientation. Madassiteno has at least one origin location on Tabar: at Sunagaramut at Revar village site above Tupinnuida village (W Tatau). Madassiteno is stronger and has more power (pipiti) than Madassiro. Madassiteno has some unique performances. For example men use wooden hombill shapes in their mouths to ‘eat’ tinibor ritualised pig’s belly; in Madassiteno the dance tirimadas is performed where men & women fasten ciribor (pigs bones) to their genitals and dance naked. Madassiteno apparently has a type of evil power termed pipiti; a person with the source of this power is called vanavanar. (12 owners in total recorded)

Five examples of a Madassiteno figure were recorded:

a) Seated figure with arms raised, has a barkcloth head. (2 owners recorded)
b) Seated figure with arms raised, has a wooden head and a sago trunk body. (1 owner recorded)
c) A kupkup ci malaga standing figure wearing a woman’s cap karuka. (2 owners recorded)
d) A figure described as standing up on the ground on its own and positioned in a house made for it. (1 owner recorded)
e) A Vuaset figure on a frame. (1 owner recorded)

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26 Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.] of Poponovam village (NW Simberi)
**Madassiro (Mandasiro, Mandassiro, Mandesiro, Mansiro)**: Subgrouping of Madas associated with saltwater (the sea) in origin or orientation; has less power than Madassiteno and is less dramatic in its displays. Has an origin place at Sotobuer, a beach near Poponovam village (NW Simberi), and another at Aro Madassiro, Tokar (Mapua). (12 owners in total recorded)

a) Apparently there are plenty of kupkup ci malaga in Madassiro. One type is portrayed as the flower of the wild lim bum - made from a conical bamboo frome with a da sitting on top. (1 owner recorded)
b) A Madas figure standing on top of a canoe. (1 owner recorded)
c) A Madassiro figure called Belel. (1 owner recorded)

**Madassiut (Mandassiut, Mandassiot, Mandassiut, Mansiot)**: Subgrouping of Madas associated with bush in origin or orientation. Has origin locations at at Sunagaramut at Revar village site above Tupinmida village (W Tatau), and at Pekinlabam, a village site on mountain close to Tupinmida. (6 owners in total recorded)

Within these subgroupings, or as part of the parent group Madas, the following malagans were recorded on Tabar:

**Belel**: Saltwater Madassiro malagan, originated at Sotobuer malagan ritual site (royr) on the beach near Poponovam (NW Simberi). The malagan was described as made of saba wood, under the malagan are some seagulls, these kalai baby birds sit on the upside down ritualised tree auvutan (called vut in Madas) which is located on the beach; this figure is portrayed as sheltering or hiding under a gesev wild banana tree. (1 owner recorded)

**Cikopic (Cikopits)**: Marumarua type figure, the head-only version is kovacikopic. (3 owners recorded)

**Curuda (Curda, Curunda, Mecurda, Mecuruda, mi Curnda)**: Images of Curuda in the Madassiro subgrouping were described as:

a) Cloneable da images found in kobokobor and on eikuar. (1 owner recorded)
b) Curuda could also be a combination of kobokobor and eikuar with the figures holding davovo ‘fresh morning water’ containers. On top of the eikuar is a marumarua, at the bottom a wooden head of pig, with heads of fish as the ends of the kobokobor. (1 owner recorded)
c) Curuda were said to be kupkup ci malaga. (1 owner recorded)
d) a Curuda kobokobor was described as about 3 metres long with a central da connected on each side by a single veivem to another da, then kolibor, and finishing with a pigs head at each end. (2 owners recorded)
e) The name Curuda was also recorded as a kobokobor of Big-Name subtradition Marada.

**Curudamas (Mecurdamas, Curdamas)**: Recorded from the Madassiro subgrouping as cloneable damas (nautilus) images found in kobokobor. Used only to initiate young children, the Curudamas is not used at death ceremonies. Curudamas were said to be kupkup ci malaga. (4 owners recorded)

**Curudasar (Curdasar)**: Represents a sea-urchin. Used only to initiate young children, not used at death feasts. (1 owner recorded)

**Curudavovo (Curdawowo)**: A kobokobor of Madassiut featuring Davovo images and used to initiate young children; can also be used at normal commemorative malagan ceremonies. (1 owner recorded)
Chapter 5  Taxonomic Structure and Typology of Malagan

Curuvuaset (Curuvwaset): Grouping of small Vuaset figures placed in front of the malagan display house. (1 owner recorded)

Da: Public name for representation of a coconut water bottle. In Madas malagan the Da occurs in three forms: Davovo (representing water within), Damas (water without), and Dasar (edible water?). As a kupkup ci malaga the Da is most often given to a person at birth, and as a kupkup ci malaga the Da should stay within the clan. When making this sculpture the carver should not break a real coconut. Used on its own as a kupkup ci malaga the Da is a coconut or piece of sago painted black with a red circumference band and embellished with white chicken feathers fastened around the circumference and around the neck. If the Da is made as a wooden malagan then it is not a kupkup ci malaga, but a malagan true, and often a malagan head or complete figure forms the stopper (nac) to the bottle. An example (NGE 892) of this type was made by Pius Luŋa for Banamu [Buatekone] to use at a malagan in 1981 to give to the first born of the next generation - his sister's daughter. Da was also recorded in Marada, Soŋsoŋ and Tarala Big-Name subtraditions. (13 owners recorded)

Damas: Malagan name and image for the aago chambered nautilus (Nautilus tompilius). A powerful malagan symbol in Madas, the name refers to 'water outside' or 'water is dry'; used individually as a kupkup ci malaga for clearing taboos; also used as a subunit within kobokobor. As a powerful kupkup ci malaga the Damas should stay within the clan. Damas has a stronger power than Davovo. Note that the aago is the source of the power, not the Damas. Damas can be displayed supported on a conical bamboo platform called Da. To inherit the Damas the rights are given to break it against the garamut, the owner of Damas cannot drink water from a Davovo. (6 owners recorded)

Dasar: Malagan name and image for the sea-urchin sar. A kupkup ci malaga used for clearing taboos and recorded as part of both Madassiro and Madassiteno subgroupings. Dasar has a stronger power than Davovo. The malaganised version of Dasar is made from the soft wood sebalot and sago needles and is placed on the coffin and buried with the dead person. The sar sea urchin can be eaten at any time except at a malagan feast. (1 owner recorded)

Davovo (Dawowe, Dawowo): The Da malaganised coconut water bottle (see above) is referred to as Davovo 'fresh morning water' a symbol of growth and potential, and a centre of much ambiguous imagery. Banamu said that the Davovo occurred only in the subgrouping Madassiteno and not Madassiro; Sola said that it was to be found in three subgroupings of Madas: Madassiteno, Madassiro, and Madassiut. Davovo can be displayed on a masuovi inverted tree platform or on a padar three branched support and is often given to the initiate as the first malagan of a series. When carried, the Davovo is supported on leaves for the hand should not touch it. Davovo can also be used as a sculptural subunit within kobokobor or eikuar. (7 owners recorded)

Eibonamas (Eboŋamas): In Madas the Boyamas was recorded as an eikuar version, the Eibonamas. One example (NGE 1315) was made by Pius Luŋa in 1983. The malagan consisted of a column of three marumarua figures separated by koltibor, with the head of a pig at both top and bottom. The Boyamas was also recorded as a marumarua in Malagacak and Valik. In all images recorded the figures were described as having had the bellies eaten out. (2 owners recorded)

eikuar: Generic malagan type found within a number of Big-Name subtraditions. A number of eikuar in Madas had individual names (see above and below), un-named examples were described as follows:
a) One example of an eikuar in Madassiro was recorded as having a column of marumarua figures holding Da water bottles, separated by kolitibor, at the top was the head of a pig looking up, and at the bottom another head of pig looking down. (1 owner recorded)
b) Another type of eikuar was recorded as having a column of marumarua figures separated by kolitibor, on the top was a ci bird, at the bottom as the head of a pig. (1 owner recorded)
c) A combination eikuar and kobokobor was described (see Curuda (b) above).

**kobokobor**: Generic malagan type found within a number of Big-Name subtraditions. A number of horizontal kobokobor in Madas were mentioned. Three non-symmetrical kobokobor were recorded. One artist (Pius Luqara) said that if a kobokobor had both fish and pig ends then it would belong to Madassiut. However, the data suggests that this non-symmetrical type could belong to any of the three subgroupings of Madas.

a) One non-symmetrical kobokobor belonged to Madassiteno subgrouping and had a pig head on one end and head of fish at the other, in the middle were two da separated from each other and from the ends by kolitibor, on top of both da were either a head or a vuaset marumarua. (1 owner recorded)
b) Another non-symmetrical kobokobor also belonged to Madassiteno subgrouping and was described as with a pig's head on one end and head of fish (rangor = tuna?) at the other, next was a kolitibor at each end, and a central da. (1 owner recorded)
c) A non-symmetrical kobokobor in Madassiro was recorded as one of two versions, the other was symmetrical (see below). The non-symmetrical kobokobor was described as having a head of pig at one end, head of fish at the other, then kolitibor, then tatin fish, the centre was a kolitibor with an eikuar standing on top of it, the base of the eikuar was a pig head, the top finished with a kolitibor then ora. This example is half saltwater and half bush in ancestry. (2 owners recorded)
d) A bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor about 1metre long consisted of 6 veivem projecting horizontally each side from the perimeter of a central kolitibor.
e) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with a central sun, then kolitibor, da, seated figure of man, da, kolitibor, and finished with a head of pig at each end. (1 owner recorded)
f) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with a central kolitibor, then a da water bottle with a Vuaset marumarua as the stopper, kolitibor, and finished with ci birds at each end. (1 owner recorded)
g) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor in Madassiteno with a central da on top of which stood a vuaset marumarua figure, then either side of the da was a kolitibor, the kobokobor was finished at each end with fish positioned tail outwards, their mouths touching the more central kolitibor. Three veivem are used for each end, the bottom veivem omitted. Apparently a kobokobor of Marada looks very similar to this one except the finials are not the fish, but are pigs heads which are separated from the fish by kolitibor. (1 owner recorded)
h) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor in Madassiro with central kolitibor, a marumarua figure with outstretched forefingers stands on top of the kolitibor, on either side of the kolitibor is a fish positioned with tail outwards and the mouth touching the central kolitibor, 4 veivem curving in at the ends enclose the fish.
Chapter 5  Taxonomic Structure and Typology of Malagan

The *marumarua* represents a man standing on top of a rock wishing to spear the two fish. (1 owner recorded)

i) Bilaterally symmetrical *kobokobor* with three *da* water bottles each separated by a *koltibor*, the stopper of each *da* is a head wearing a woman's pointed cap and showing a long protruding tongue, each end finished with a *koltibor* then head of pig. An example (NGE 1330) of this type was made in 1982 by Pius Luq’ligu and used by Sola in two different malagan sequences. (3 owners recorded)

j) Two versions of a *kobokobor* of *Madassiro* were recorded from Banamu. One was a bilaterally symmetrical *kobokobor* with head of pig at each end, then *koltibor*, then a seagull, then *koltibor*, then a central pig head which was the base of an *eikuar* which was topped by a *kovamarumarua* (head of a man). The other version was asymmetrical (see above). (2 owners recorded)

k) Banamu also described a *kobokobor* in *Madassiteno*: bilaterally symmetrical, head of pig at each end, then *koltibor*, then seated man holding a *davovo*, one hand holding the bottle, the other holding the cork. The central image was a *koltibor* which supported an *eikuar* which had a pigs head at the bottom and was topped with the *kovamarumarua* head of a man. (2 owners recorded)

l) Banamu also described a *kobokobor* in *Madassiur*: bilaterally symmetrical, head of pig at each end, then *koltibor*, then seated man holding a horizontal *veivem* and angrily looking to one side. The central image was a *koltibor* which supported an *eikuar* which had a pigs head at the bottom and was topped with an image of a standing man holding *veivem*. (2 owners recorded)

Laqara [Buatekone] described two *kobokobor* in *Madassiro*, each of which had three versions. The first *kobokobor* featured *damas*, the second featured *da*, otherwise they were identical. The three versions of each were:

m) *Curdamas* or *Curda* is a *Damas* or a *Da* on its own. (1 owner recorded)

n) Bilaterally symmetrical *kobokobor* with pigs head at each end, then *koltibor*, then man seated holding *damas* (the eye of the *damas* faces out) or *da*, then a central *koltibor*. (1 owner recorded)

o) Bilaterally symmetrical *kobokobor* with pigs head at each end, then *koltibor*, then either *damas* (the eye of the *damas* faces out) or *da*, then a central *koltibor*. (1 owner recorded)

p) A *kobokobor* in *Madassiro* was described as two fish heads connected together. (1 owner recorded)

q) A combination *eikuar* and *kobokobor* was described (see *Curuda*):

r) Other examples were not described. (8 owners recorded)

*kokoi*: A display platform, possibly part of *Madassiteno*, is the *kokoi* which consists of a raised dome supported on a central bamboo post, the dome is covered in the flowers of the black palm27, on top of the flowers are a number of fish made of cane; underneath the dome are cane *lako* fish looking out into the *rongar*. On top of the dome, fastened to a bamboo post is a *vuaset marumarua* figure. (1 owner recorded)

*Kovacikopic* (*Kowacikopits*): Proper name of a wooden head *kovkov* type of *cikopic* malagan sculpture. (3 owners recorded)

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27 Kenitori *archontophoenix*. 
kovkov (koko, kaokao): Generic malagan type found within a number of Big-Name subtraditions. In Madas the kovkov head-only malagan can have names such as Kovacikopic. (see above)

kupkup ci malaga: Generic malagan type found within a number of Big-Name subtraditions. Many varieties of kupkup ci malaga were recorded in Madas (see above and below).

Madasi (Mandasi): Seated figure with wooden body and legs, hands raised, has face of man with tall ears, no hair. (1 owner recorded)

marumarua (mormmoru, mormoru, moromoru, mromro): Generic malagan type found within a number of Big-Name subtraditions. There seem to be several types of named marumarua in Madas: Cikopic was recorded from one informant, Vuaset from four informants, Madassiteno from four; Bezel is probably a marumarua in Madassiro.

a) Banamu said that there were marumarua in all three subgroupings of Madas, and that they had the same shape but differed in the paint. (2 owners recorded)

b) Marumarua figures were recorded as part of Madassiro. (1 owner recorded)

c) Or as part of the kobokobor or eikuar of Madassiro. (1 owner recorded)

d) From other informants only the generic name marumarua was recorded. (5 owners recorded)

Potoviso (Putvis): An eikuar with pigs head at the bottom, and a column of marumarua figures playing bamboo pipes and separated by koltibor, the top image is a marumarua; the name Potoviso means "bundle of bamboo, bamboo pipes"; with implications that it is flexible, swinging around in the wind. (3 owners recorded)

Tanua (Tanoa, Teno, Tinou): A kupkup ci malaga death mask in Madassiteno subgrouping, worn by mourners to bury the dead. Examples were described as made of barkcloth with a face painted in black on the front and holes for the eyes, this mask is apparently usually burnt after the burial. Tanua death masks were recorded only from the Madas Big-Name subtradition and they carry the name of one of the main human spirit types. The tanua spirit is conceived as leaving the body at death and appears to be portrayed by the white feather kakam masks (in Kulepmu Big-Name subtradition) worn by chief mourners and pall-bearers during the vavil funeral procession. (4 owners recorded)

Tonomatmerik: Mask part of Madas; used to fasten the door of the ceremonial area.

Vuaset (Vaset, Vusir, Vwaset, Waset): Wooden marumarua type of figure malagan recorded in Madassiteno and Madassitut; the name was also recorded as part of tarajaras of Madas. (4 owners recorded)

Vudida (Undida): Recorded in Madassiro, the malagan consists of the action of two men wearing barkcloth masks rubbing rotten bananas on top of head of a newborn child. (2 owners recorded)

Songs
From the evidence of the languages used in the malagan songs I recorded on Tabar in 1983-4, it became apparent that some of the malagan systems had song traditions which originated on Tabar within the past 100 years or so. These songs were completely intelligible to the people of Tabar today, and were sung in modern Madara. Some of the other songs would have perhaps 10% of language unknown to the people of today, others would be almost totally unintelligible. When asked about the unknown words of the songs they were
singing, the people would generally say that the language must be old Tabar language. Some of the almost totally unintelligible songs were later identified by other informants as containing mainland New Ireland languages. Florien Messner at the Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien is working on related topics in the Nalik and Notsi regions of mainland New Ireland (Messner 1979/80, 1983).

A major problem in the ethnology of the material culture of malagan lies in sorting out the relationship between the names used, the languages and other social groupings using them, and the artefact and song traditions of malagan.

Malagan songs belong to the Big-Name subtraditions and are sung in ritual context when malagans belonging to these subtraditions are used. Each subtradition has up to 40 or more songs in its repertoire and these are divided into secular songs which can be sung during malagan activity in the village, and sacred songs which can only be sung by men in the malagan ritual site.

Malagan songs are typically sung by men seated or standing or even hanging in the rafters of the malagan house. These songs do not seem to have physical action associated with them. Non-malagan songs, on the other hand, are more usually action songs or song-dances.

I recorded around 150 songs from Tabar, but have so far found the time to transcribe only a few of these. Most of the songs I recorded are malagan songs, about half of which were recorded at malagan ceremonies, the other half were recorded from malagan owners. From my admittedly cursory examination of the malagan songs a number of patterns emerged:

- Malagan songs are part of the Big-Name subtraditions of malagans and do not appear to be owned separately or individually. I should qualify this by saying that only a malagan owner appears to have the rights to sing malagan songs out of context. For example a person would sing to me malagan songs for a Big-Name if he owned a malagan from that subtradition. But during malagan activity all participants would sing at some various times during the ceremony.

- There is a distinction drawn between secular songs which can be sung in public and sacred songs which are only sung by men in the malagan ritual site. During funeral mourning ceremonies in the village square, secular malagan songs would be sung by all men women and children present. Some malagan subtraditions such as Vavara contain at least eighteen secular songs. In the malagan ritual site where women were excluded, all men and boys present would sing sacred malagan songs. In 1982 a group of men led by Edward Salle in Tatau village recorded for me a series of nine sacred and five secular songs belonging to the Malagacak subtradition, indicating a possible ratio of sacred to secular songs in the total repertoire.

- Most sacred malagan songs are process songs in the sense that they accompany and mark activity. For example the first song for Malagacak takes the singers from malagan ritual site to malagan ritual site marking each location at which that particular malagan transfer grouping had appeared. The second song in effect closes the gate of the ritual site, breaking the connection between the sacred malagan realm and the secular village from where the participants had arrived. Other songs are used at the conclusion of specific sequences of events such as roofing the malagan house.

Ritual behaviour
A distinction can be made between those forms of behaviour which are part of malagan as a cultural tradition, and those which are specific to the Big-Name subtraditions. In the broadest possible sense all behaviour associated or dealing with malagan in the malagan ritual site can be considered 'ritual', if only for the reason that taboos separate it from normal village life28.

28 For a more comprehensive discussion of ritual behaviour see Chapters 2 and 3 above.
Within the malagan ritual site the actions of the *agu* 'mouth man' in his various malagan roles, or the actions of both owners and initiates during the transfer of malagan ownership, can be considered ritualised, in the narrowest sense of the term, in that these men are acting for and on behalf of the malagan tradition, not for malagan owners or organisers. This ritualised action takes place under action specific to the Big-Name subtraditions. Ritualised action which takes place out in the main village also belongs to specific subtraditions, this action includes the silent *vavil* funerary procession of *Kulepmu*, and the fire-spears and wild dog of *Madas*.

### Ritual display houses

There appear to be three main classes of malagan display house on Tabar: the large display house designed to hold between two and twenty or more sculptural items; a mask display house; and a smaller quickly erected display house for one or two sculptural pieces.

Large display houses differ in their design depending upon which subtradition they belong to, whereas smaller display houses conform to the basic *perebuil* ritual house pattern. *Perebuil* are small and easily erected malagan display houses used primarily in smaller malagan ceremonies such as *varam*. Apparently all small malagan display houses are built to the same design, and as the name *perebuil* was used for small display houses in *Kulepmu*, *Lunet*, as well as *Vavara*, I suspect that they all have this name. An interesting aspect of all Tabar malagan display houses, large and small, are the *maso* ritual poles which are attached horizontally to the side walls and roof. *Maso* as a name includes both uprooted tree trunks and the *surematigigi* yellow and black spirally striped poles, and attaching *maso* poles to the frame is the start of *ciribor* in the malagan display house. On the malagan house used in Pamas's *varam* ceremony (see Chapter 2) three uprooted tree trunks formed the main roof rafters, and on each side two *surematigigi* yellow and black spirally striped poles were interspaced by another uprooted trunk. *Surematigigi* were made by rubbing the end of a pole with a piece of the root of *aq* (probably turmeric), wrapping it spirally with a piece of vine bark, smoking it over a fire, then removing the spiral bark to give the characteristic matt black and bright yellow spiral pattern. Apart from the statement that *maso* poles and trunks mark a building as a malagan house, no-one was able to interpret or elaborate upon the symbolism of *maso*. Pig jaws were usually fastened to the *maso* during *varam* activity to mark how many *ciribor* pig feasts had passed in the *varam* sequence.

Leaves which were used as the backing for the wall of the malagan display house vary according to the malagan the house belongs to. In *Kulepmu* the leaf used is a type of grass called *gorgog* in *Vavara* it is *baibai*, the leaves of a type of palm tree. These components are not strictly fixed however, for in the construction of the *Kulepmu perebuil* house for Pamas’s *varam* ceremony the sun had burnt all the *gorgog* grass so they used *baibai* instead.

### 5.2. Malagan transfer groupings

Transmission of rights within the clan is the accepted mode for transferring a clan’s core malagans, those which are central to the identity of the lineage. These central clan malagans are transferred in 'strings' called *tabataba* and the bond which these malagans hold to the clan is termed *mem*. *Tabataba* ‘strings’ form the basic structural groupings of malagan for the transference of malagan ownership from one generation to the next. Within the basic structure of the Big-Name malagan subtraditions all malagans which are owned by the clan are grouped and transferred in these groupings.

The clan’s attachment to malagan (the *mem*) is linked to the original identity of a clan which is formed when a woman gives birth outside clan land. The *mem* of a malagan is the permanent connection of a malagan to a clan, and the word is said to mean: “belongs to us” or “food chewed by an elder and given to the children to eat”. Although I have discussed this concept elsewhere I shall again for clarity’s sake briefly describe a *tabataba* grouping.

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29 See Gunn 1982:68-71; 1984:85-91 for earlier discussion of *mem* and *tabataba*. 
of Malagacak held by Edward Salle [Damok] of Tatau village. The mem of this tabataba grouping consisted of three groups of malagans:

i) the kupkup ci malaga taboo breakers which comprised the malagans Kat and Pakapakagesev.

ii) a middle grouping of malagans consisting of kovkov, kobokobor, Eikivkivling, Eimurgur, Eiciribor, Remeremebu, and Ora.

iii) the third grouping is the malaganivis dance masks, which comprised Pordun, Tigier, and Porok.

Salle received a Tilimadas grouping of Malagacak from Pipiu [Damok], the leader of a related lineage to that of Salle. Pipiu’s lineage was dying, for there were no girls to carry on the next generation, and Salle was the closest relative. Just after Salle was born Pipiu gave him a Kat type of Malagacak which admitted him to a process that took many years. Salle was taught the songs, the way to welcome people and to share food, the way to dance on the platform. Some of the parts of malagan were given separately, in private, for as the selected person to receive the lineage’s malagans Salle was taught the way in which to control malagan, he was given the private parts that the others do not know and do not see. As Salle grew older he was given more and more malagans from this tabataba, and was finally handed over the last of the complete set during a public malagan ceremony. These last malagans were the most important - the malaganivis dance masks. Salle paid Pipiu’s lineage a number of mis lengths of polished shell discs as payment for these malagans.

Although information concerning the origin of the many different mem of malagan is not yet clarified, it seems as though the origin of a mem of malagan is related to the origin of a new lineage. If a woman gives birth outside her clan land then she and her child take on a new lineage name and identity. Part of the identity of a lineage is associated with the malagan owned by that lineage, and the character of that malagan may take on an aspect of the lineage’s identity.

To clarify and illustrate by way of example, Masol of Sodir village (W Simberi) belongs to the lineage [Tavia]. This lineage began when a [Caramuges] clan woman gave birth to her child outside clan land and beside a place where two streams merged and the water was turbulent. ‘Tavia’ means ‘fight of water’. The source malagan of [Tavia] lineage is a kobokobor (foundation malagan) of the saltwater branch of the Madas malagan group. Masol said that this kobokobor was specific to [Tavia] lineage and that it is associated with the origin of the lineage beside the turbulent water.

The mem usually attaches to the clan a group of malagans rather than just one malagan. Such a group is termed tabataba31 and is described by some informants as a ‘fence’ around a small group of malagans, others talk about a tabataba ‘string’ of malagans. A working definition would say that a tabataba is a subgrouping of a Big-Name subtradition, a group or series of malagans which is passed from one generation to the next. But it is not quite as simple as that, for although a malagan Big-Name subtradition could be understood to be the sum total of all the tabataba which belong to it, it should also be understood that a number of clans can share in the ownership of a tabataba, and that a number of the malagans in a tabataba can be owned by a number of different people and clans. Often the name of a tabataba refers to the location of its origin (for example: mi tumtum mi Pigimat is a grouping of malagans which originated at Pigimat malagan ritual site, Ketive village, S Simberi).

From the admittedly scanty evidence presented above it can be argued that most malagan rights get their origin when a new lineage is formed at a new location. To mark this genesis and to provide the new lineage with a ritual identity, a new malagan is created from

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30 He described this malagan as follows (after my translation):
"Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with central kolitibor, a marumarua figure with outstretched forefingers stands on top of the kolitibor, on either side of the kolitibor is a fish positioned with tail outwards and the mouth touching the central kolitibor, A veivem curving in at the ends enclose the fish. The marumarua represents a man standing on top of a rock wishing to spear the two fish".

31 Called tumtum or tomton in the northern dialects; and tambatamba, tambiam, tambtamb, or tambutambu in Mapua and Big Tabar.
within a Big-Name owned by the mother clan, and forms the nucleus of a new tabataba transference grouping of malagan owned by the new lineage.

Additional malagan rights become part of this new tabataba transference grouping by a number of methods:

- the new lineage inherits malagan rights from a dying lineage and incorporates it into the the new transference grouping.
- the new lineage inherits the ciribor rights to malagan from the mother clan.
- the new lineage purchases the ciribor rights to malagan from an affinal clan.
- creative individuals invent new malagan sculptural rights.

It is important to note that the rights to all malagan designs are enforced by traditional law. If any man counterfeits a malagan owned by another man, then he commits a major offence and is liable to attack through the local courts as well as by public accusation and sorcery. Every malagan is owned by someone and each person received the rights to that malagan in public, at a malagan ceremony. Much care is taken not to infringe the designs owned by another man or group, and malagan owners try to ensure that the sculptors make an exact manifestation of the malagan rights - as far as they can remember.

A person may receive the sculptural rights to a particular malagan when he is only seven or eight years old and may only use these rights forty years later, when he has amassed wealth and influence enough to honour his affines through a malagan ceremony. To manifest the sculptural rights the owner must try to remember what the malagan looked like, and in this process of recollection he usually has the sculptor with him to advise and to construct the image. It is an aspect of this process of manifesting the sculptural rights where malagan undergoes stylistic change, for even though the finished product is meant to be identical to the previous manifestation of 40 years ago, both the sculptor and the owner will be influenced by the hundreds of malagan sculptures they will have seen displayed at malagan ceremonies in the interim.

The entire structure of malagan has been shaped by this process of transferring malagan from one generation to the next, by the need to keep malagan coherent yet to enable it to fulfill its functions and own internal demands. The over-arching organisational structure of malagan on Tabar is that of the Big-Name subtraditions, each of which comprises malagans united in clan- or individual-owned strings of malagan, which are artefacts of the process of transferring malagan from one generation from the next.

So malagan can be considered as a tradition which is made up of a number of subtraditions, which are owned in patterned strings, which comprise the rights to produce and transfer individually named malagans.

5.3. Organic development of malagan

From the data presented above it can be demonstrated that malagan, kinship, and totems are linked through a system of organic development whereby:

- Clans develop new lineages when a woman gives birth outside clan land.
- Totems appear to speciate when their human representative move to new locations, for the shark totem takes up an additional location and secondary totems develop from it to mark out clan land.
- In a similar manner malagan ritual develops along organic lines. Big-Name groupings of malagan are understood to be independent subtraditions of malagan, yet a number of these Big-Names are more closely related to each other than are others - some share the same songs for example. The one malagan which is quite different to the others (Vavara) is the only Big-Name with a record of its genesis.
Given that transference groupings are linked to the development of lineages and the consequent movement and development of the associated totems, and that Big-Name subtraditions are comprised of transference groupings, it becomes apparent that Big-Name subtraditions are transference groupings which have gradually diverged from each other to the extent that today they are recognised as independent but related subtraditions (see Fig. 57).

![Diagram of the organic development of Malagan]

**FIGURE 57**
Working model of the organic development of malagan. (Sketch by Les O'Neill)
In this model, malagan's development is intrinsically linked to the organic development of lineages and the associated development of the totems. Equally, the system of classification used on Tabar to organise the various malagan rights is based primarily on this organic system of malagan's development.

5.4. Taxonomic structure of malagan on Tabar - conclusions

Malagan as a whole is a highly organised tradition. All malagan sculpture is referred to and located within the context of one or another of the Big-Name subtraditions. At the basis of this organisation are the rights to own, produce, use, and transfer malagan ritual and individual malagan items of sculpture. And it is through the medium of the Big-Name subtraditions that malagan can unite the ritual participants from different clans and from different regions on Tabar and northern New Ireland.

When the rights to malagan are transferred from one generation to the next, the tabataba transfer groupings become important, for it is at this level that the rights to produce individual items of malagan sculpture are located. And it is this transference of malagan rights that results in the production of malagan sculpture. The action of transferring the ownership of malagan rights is part of the general ritual tradition of malagan, and logically must be so because malagan is a tradition which deals with the transfer of ownership of rights to produce ritual.

At this level malagan rights are the rights to display and consolidate delicate affinal links, for the ritual rights themselves allow and enable a person to pay attention to that most fragile of links between kin group - marriage. Malagan is primarily concerned with the maintenance and development of links between affinal clans by honouring the dead in the lineage of the marriage partner. Each malagan sculpture which is displayed represents an affinal link, a bond between a man and his wife's and children's people. These are the important political links, for they are the connections of alliance and security, and it for this reason that malagan is the key to political stability on Tabar.

Kin connections between individuals are permanent and indissoluble. Kin groups operate as stable corporate entities dealing with many of the essential aspects of the business of living. But it is in the ever present and potentially threatening political inter-relationships between the various clans that is found the main problem in life on Tabar which takes the form of the classic matrilineal puzzle: wives and husbands must be found from these affinal groups; and the son's leader is the wife's brother, the man who will eventually pass on the source of power for the lineage. As a mother's brother a man is in a secure position, a position of power and authority, possessing the rights to the lineage's malagans - their means of developing and strengthening the bonds with their fathers, their wives and husbands, and to their children. As a father a man is in an impotent position in relation to his own father, to his wife, and to his children. He has only the immediate power of his presence: his ability to feed and nurture, to protect and to love, to build and develop the presence of the family within the village, and to be a companion and friend. It is his role to build the house, break and develop the garden, catch fish and other game, protect the family from intruders. Yet his political power rests naturally within his lineage where he can be a figure of authority to his sister's children.

In order to extend this power outside the lineage, across that delicate marriage bond to the people his children belong to, a man must use malagan and pigs as a political bridge. The more of his own clan's resources he sacrifices in the name of his affinal dead, the greater the bridge he builds between himself and his affines.

Transferring the rights to a malagan within the lineage from mother's brother to sister's son conserves the clan's stock of malagans and is acknowledged as the correct and approved method of transferring a malagan - for in doing so the lineage leader transfers some of his potential political power to his heir. But in doing so a man neglects his own children. He may be commemorating the dead in his children's clan, but his living children are still empty and without the potential to honour their own father when he dies.
To strengthen that delicate bond between affinal clans and in doing so develop alliances with the other clans which are also married to the affinal clan, a man is obliged to go against the wishes of his own clan and to deplete the lineage's stock of malagan by transferring the rights to one or more malagans out of his clan and over to his children. So a malagan owner must strike a balance between the malagan he transfers out of the clan to his children for the sake of political stability, and those which he retains and passes on to his sister's children to maintain the lineage's potential for future political bridges by transferring a malagan out of the clan.

A clan's stock of malagan should in theory remain reasonably constant because every malagan lost from the lineage to gain political advantage would be replaced by another transferred into the clan from an affine. But this return cannot be certain, so there is a constant tension felt for those malagans which have been lost to the clan and not replaced. For malagan rights are political power - the power to sacrifice to the affines.
6) Conclusions

The study of ritual artefacts has had a long association with the mainstream interests of anthropology. For the purposes of this brief analysis I will treat this field of study as having developed along three lines of inquiry: an archaeological approach which treats artefacts as quantifiable evidence of human activity; the semiotic approach which treats them as tools used for communication; and the ethnographic approach which examines the social use of artefacts through the user’s perspective.

Comparative techniques used by archaeologists have been used with varying success in dealing with material artefacts, and the most successful instances of these techniques have come about in comparing archaeological material such as adze blades or fish-hook types, or in examining canoe types or arrow designs in the modern context. Comparative techniques work best with artefacts which have a use as a tool for modifying the natural environment and which have an easily defined reason for their existence. At this level artefacts can be compared and graded, one region to the next, and patterns of trade and cultural influence can be ascertained.

When an artefact type becomes physically modified with symbolic or other cultural meanings analysis must then move from the etic world of the artefactual equivalents to phonemes, and into a world which deals with morphemes. For comparative techniques become increasingly useless when an artefact is modified by cultural motifs so that it becomes idiosyncratic, beautiful, highly valued, and strongly identified with the culture which produced it.

Semiotics is a discipline which has influenced much of recent anthropological theory ranging from the study of symbols through to reflexive anthropology and its borrowings from literary criticism. Because of its concerns with the processes of communication, semiotics and related disciplines initially appears to be the appropriate field or format for the analysis of cultural behaviour dealing with ritual art objects, which because they are made by humans to say something to other humans which cannot be said in any other way would appear to be ideal subject matter. But the process of signification can only be made possible by the existence of a code which couples present entities with absent units. And as Eco has pointed out “...every act of communication to or between human beings ... presupposes a signification system as its necessary condition.” (1976: 8).

Complex ritual art works such as malagan on Tabar at first sight appear to possess the necessary coding in the painted or carved designs to be considered a signification system until, that is, we ask the people who use these ritual objects. They say that there may have been a code once upon a time, but it is no longer in use. This reply is also received from many other locations in Melanesia and elsewhere in response to queries about the nature of indigenous ritual art objects. A number of recent studies into the semiotic nature of malagan art traditions on the mainland of New Ireland have produced or constructed rather absurd analyses which make no sense to the people who used the tradition. This exercise has also been undertaken by other researchers in other parts of the world and have resulted in a similar rejection by the local people.

In this thesis I have not tried to elucidate a view of malagan ritual art works as they appeared to the Tabar people. To do so would have been to impose a fictitious Western view upon a Tabar identity. Instead what I have tried to do is to portray as accurately and as clearly as possible the complex and multifaceted cultural phenomenon which they reported to me as malagan on Tabar, for my theoretical viewpoint has been strongly shaped by the bargain I made with my Tabar sponsors: to represent them as they portrayed themselves to me, not as Westerners portray Melanesians to other Westerners.

I have examined the social and cultural context of malagan ritual artefacts in order to gain some understanding of the implications of the ‘meaning of malagan’ as indicated by the people of Tabar. Malagan owners insisted that the ‘meaning’ of malagan was not to be found in an explication of the iconography of the various elements of malagan, but instead emphasised that the ‘meaning’ of any particular malagan was “that this particular person, as leader of this lineage, owns this particular malagan”. Following the brief I was given by the Tabar Islanders to develop an understanding of malagan which would be applicable to them on Tabar, I have followed up this Tabar understanding of the ‘meaning of malagan’. So
rather than developing a structural or other paradigm to account for perceived relations between categories and arriving at an entirely artificial resolution which would be of interest only to Western anthropologists, I instead recorded the context of the production of malagan ritual and sculpture, and documented the extent and distribution of the ownership of malagan on Tabar, revealing in the process some interesting patterns relating to the processes of the construction of ritual identity. Resulting from this work it became apparent that the tradition of malagan has an indigenous taxonomy which appears to be a result of organic growth strongly related to the associated development and fragmentation of clan lineages on Tabar. I have proposed that this link with the fragmentation of clan lineages has resulted in the Big-Name subtraditions of malagan.

Ritual context

Malagan sculptures are constructed and used in two main groups of ritual ceremonies: those used in funerary ceremonies after the death of a malagan owner; and those used to commemorate a dead affine. The funerary series of malagan ceremonies which I recorded had three major ritual sequences: the immediate mourning period which concluded with the burial of the corpse; a consequent malagan ceremony with the display of a taboo-removing malagan sculpture; and a final major funerary malagan ceremony with a display of malagan sculpture and associated pig kill and distribution of pig meat.

The period between death and burial was marked by the use of malagan rights to operate a number of ritualised activities which were worked, in theory at least, by men who belonged to the same malagan subtraditions as did the dead man, and who were using the malagan rights which were owned by him. By using these rights the living malagan men assumed control of the dead man's ritual property. Malagan sculpture was not worked in this primary phase of malagan activity, the material symbols which were used were considered to be either adjuncts to malagan - the death chair, the fire spears, and the white feather masks - or else they were powerful natural symbols upon which malagan images are based. The first malagan sculpture to be used after the death was a taboo-removing type of malagan called a kupkup ci malaga which was displayed by the clan of the dead person under malagan rights which had been held by him. This malagan type was referred to as a cleansing malagan, a "fountain of water, clean and light" and was used to "wash the mourners clean of the dead man's ashes". This kupkup ci malaga type of malagan was also referred to as the 'head' of all those malagans which were to follow it in the two sequences of malagan ceremonies held after the death of a malagan owner.

The final major malagan ceremony of this death and burial sequence involved a display of malagan sculpture owned by people from both the dead man's clan as well as by his affines and was worked to remove most of the remaining taboos left after his death. During this ceremony the controller of the malagan ceremony gained a share of the malagan rights owned and displayed by some of the dead man's affines. Although all true malagan ceremonies involve the consumption of at least one pig, the final malagan ceremonies of both the death and burial sequence and the commemorative sequence involved a relatively major pig kill and consequent distribution of pig meat to repay obligations and debts which had built up during the operation of the series of malagan ceremonies. These pigs formed the basis of exchanges between pig owner and a pledge partner who would pay for the pig with mis (traditional shell valuables). These partnerships would in effect sacrifice together during this final malagan ceremony so that all debts could be nullified and so that they could feed the mourners with the meat of the bonds of love they felt for the dead person.

The commemorative sequence of malagan ceremonies is usually held several years after a person's death, and two or three people can be commemorated at the same time. This sequence of ceremonies which I recorded on Tabar was nominally sponsored by a female affine of one of the people being commemorated, but the processes of organising and running the malagan ceremonies was jointly undertaken by her husband and her brother. In contrast to the organisational structure of the death and burial sequence which was concerned with the initial imposition of tabooed behaviour and a two stage lifting of these taboos, the commemorative sequence was organised around the theme of the malagan sculptor carving a
malaganised image, with a gradual raising of taboo levels in the malagan ritual site as this process takes place.

The commemorative sequence began with cirep, the malagan ceremony which initiated this sculptor's theme and featured the ceremonial action of bringing decorated logs from the jungle to the village, a formal seeking of permission of the villagers to operate malagan at their ritual site, and the entry of an active malagan phase into this site. Central to this ceremony was the formal reunification of the two clans which had ritually separated after the death, and the formal removal of any tensions between them. During this ceremony a number of malagan sculptures were displayed, one from each of the clans represented, and the ownership rights to these sculptures were transferred to the next generation of owners.

Over the next month several minor ceremonies associated with malagan were used to raise the sacredness of the malagan ritual site by the erection of a tall coconut leaf fence around the perimeter. During the second of these ceremonies a number of men pledged pigs with a partner who indicated that he would reciprocate with lengths of mis shell discs. The third of these minor ceremonies involved the erection of the ritual display house within the ritual site.

Three months after the initial commemorative ceremony a malagan ritual specialist wore first one malagan mask to remove taboos from the village, then another malagan mask to reopen the connection between the malagan ritual site and the village. He then led a group of masked men out from behind the malagan display house in the ritual site, and out into the village where they performed a number of ritual cleaning activities to remove the influence of the dead from the lives of the living, cumulating with a removal of the screen between the ritual site and the village.

With the screen down the villagers were able to enter the ritual site and witness the transferral to the next generation of the ownership rights to the malagan sculptures which were on display. This transfer of malagan ownership was concluded with a display of mis linking all the contributors to the malagan ceremony and demonstrating their payment for the pigs which are lying in a group in the centre. The pigs were then butchered and the meat and pigs' heads distributed to repay debts and obligations incurred during the operation of the commemorative malagan sequence.

This gradual creation of a malaganized image is a theme which was utilized in the organisational structure of the commemorative series, but which was also a reality on another level as well. The image which was malaganised was that of the relationships which the dead had with the living, and this image was represented in all its complexity by the display of malagan sculpture at the final ceremony. Each malagan sculpture represented a bond between people or between clans, bond which were either attached or pivoted around the dead person. These bonds were displayed for all to see, then were destroyed when the malagans are removed and sold as art objects to an outsider because the reason for their existence was past. Their disposal could be seen to indicate that the debris of the dead has been finally cleared away.

Ownership as Tabar meaning

From my record of the context of two sequences of malagan ceremonial and ritual activity I was able to gain an understanding of what the people meant when they said that the meaning of malagan was found in its ownership. Ownership of malagan on Tabar is not merely the possession of a ritual object, for it involves becoming a source of the ritual world of Tabar. Owning malagan also entails belonging to malagan, belonging to the ritual world of Tabar with all its obligations and commitments.

Malagan balances marriage in Tabar's matrilineal society. Traditional malagan ceremonial ritual is used to bury or to honour both the male and female dead in affinal clans, the clan of the wife or husband. Maintenance of bonds between intermarrying clans had real relevance in earlier times when bush villages relied on coastal villages for access to saltwater and fish; sometimes the coastal people also had need for shelter in the easily defended villages up in the karst hill tops. This honouring of the affinal dead bestowed prestige upon the feast-giver and was traditionally the main road to high status on Tabar. For as Picia said to me at the end of aruaru:
OK, all men who had earlier said that they had malagan, the men who think that they are married to this clan, then they must work malagan, they must show in public their obligations to this marriage. This means that now he is married, he works his malagan, and he uses his pig, all this is the work to show the obligations of his marriage. Marriage is not nothing, marriage is something very heavy in our custom. Marriage is like a hard life.

If a man doesn’t work this step, if he doesn’t work a malagan, or if he doesn’t use a pig for the clan of his wife, or whatever man belongs to her ?, or if he doesn’t work enough, then this is the time when two people are angry and they must talk to one another’s face. “You married us, and you don’t use a pig, you don’t work a malagan, you are a rubbish man.” It is enough that we say this. OK all men who think these thoughts and all this type of argument, they must not go beyond this. This is the time, the time when they can show the obligations of marriage.

This social context of malagan ritual outlines the fact that the sculptural elements of malagan do not operate as words do, carrying implicit meanings, but instead carry with them a history of ownership and patterns of ownership and descent. They carry with them very powerful connotations of obligation, indebtedness, sacrifice, love, and affiliation. They carry with them the commitments of the bonds of marriage.

This is not to say, however, that malagan sculptural artefacts are empty and devoid of iconographic meaning for the observers. A malagan image, the primary focus of malagan activity, is often mistakenly understood by outsiders to be either an image of the dead person or an image of the spirit of the dead. This mistake is easy to understand given malagan sculpture’s intimate association with the dead, but harder to understand when it becomes apparent that although around 60% of all malagan sculptures feature a human-like figure, the other 40% feature a wide variety of objects ranging from images of coconut water bottles through to filleted fish. On Tabar a malagan image is understood to originate with the totemic life force which is responsible for the creation of clans-people, totemic sharks and other animals, and malagan images, and the basal marumarua malagan image is a picture of a non-material image or idea of the clan’s totemic life force. As such, a malagan image is specifically linked to a clan, for a malagan sculpture is a material manifestation of an idea of the clan’s totemic life force. There is evidence to link the genesis of a malagan with the genesis of a new lineage and the consequent development of an aspect of the totem, a link which also helps explain malagan’s association with land ownership, although the nature of the relationship between malagan ritual sites and totemic sites is still unclear to me. At present these two types of site appear to be unrelated and completely independent.

What is quite clear, by contrast, is the transfer patterns of malagan - the routes by which the ownership of malagan is transferred from one generation to the next. Malagan rights are primarily owned by lineages and secondarily by individuals. Malagans which are owned by the lineage are transferred from the clan leader to the heir apparent - generally the first-born child (male or female) of the next generation of the lineage. But around 60% of all malagan rights are transferred out of the clan and across to affines, usually from father to son, although other variants also occur. There is a tension felt for these malagans which leave the clan, for the clan’s ability to honour affines is reduced as a consequence, and this tension helps motivate political alliances so that the ‘lost’ malagan rights are eventually brought back into the clan.

The rights to own malagan are symbolised by the ciribor bone of pig concept, without which no malagan activity is legitimate. When a person owns the ciribor to malagan this person is understood to belong to malagan as well as to own it. A malagan owner may own the ciribor rights to a malagan sculpture, but in becoming an owner he also becomes a vuna source of malagan, a source for the malagan subtradition to which his sculpture belongs to. So it can be understood that on Tabar, ‘owning’ the rights to part of a ritual tradition does not merely entail owning the rights to produce a piece of sculpture. When a person becomes a malagan owner he becomes a shareholder in the ritual world to which his clan or the clan of his affines belong to. The more malagans a person comes to own, the more complex his ritual world becomes.

Malagan rights which are held by the clan are transferred to the next generation in sequences of rights called tabataba. Each tabataba is understood to have originated at some earlier time and at a particular malagan ritual site - which may be located at a village which is
occupied today by another clan. A tabataba sequence may consist of the ownership rights to ten or twelve malagan sculptures - and may include basal marumaru figures, kupkup ci malaga malagans used for taboo removal, foundation kobokobor malagans, tall eikuar malagans, malagan masks, or other types of sculpture. All malagans within a tabataba would belong to the same Big-Name malagan subtradition, having originated from the malagan rights held by the lineage's parent clan and totem.

Previous researchers have suggested that these Big-Name groupings are categories which carry 'templates' for the art content of malagan. Their argument was that certain malagan types have a stylistic similarity to others which is based on mythic charters. But when this observation was linked to the suggestion that "The production of history and the transmission and transformation of art in the mnemonic process are mutually related and it is on the basis of this relationship that Malangan-art attains its political and social significance." (Kuchler 1987:241), then this 'template' approach proved to be no more than a red herring and reflected only a minor aspect of a much more complex phenomenon. From my examination of all the components of the Big-Name subtraditions it became apparent that although these subtraditions operate independently of each other within the greater malagan tradition, they are in fact related to each other in much the same way that the various tabataba are related to each other as descent variants of a Big-Name malagan subtradition. The degree to which the various tabataba have diverged from each other can be ascertained by comparing the ownership chants specific to each tabataba. These chants must be called out in public each time malagan activity takes place, and although they can vary slightly depending upon context, they are specifically linked to malagan ownership of a particular tabataba. More closely related tabataba would share a higher proportion of chant phrases, more distantly related tabataba would tend a lower proportion.

A relative degree of relatedness can similarly be ascertained for the Big-Name groupings, although some difficulties arise due to the number of language groups in northern New Ireland which use malagan. Related tabataba are usually distributed through the one language group, but the relatedness of Big-Name groupings occurs across all these language groups, so different techniques will need to be used to quantify these relationships. At my current stage of research into the malagan traditions of New Ireland it appears that the songs used in the various Big-Name subtraditions could be used in conjunction with the ownership chants to ascertain the degree of relatedness of the Big-Name groupings. The future for research into the malagan traditions of New Ireland now lies with an examination of the tradition as a whole, identifying the patterns which become apparent when comparing malagan from Tabar with that of the Kara, Notsi, Nalik, Madak, and the other mainland regions which still use malagan.

In conclusion I will emphasize that it is important that we take care not to impose our own perceptions of 'meaning' when we document a ritual art tradition from Melanesia, or indeed from elsewhere. On Tabar the 'meaning' of malagan is concerned with the ownership of the rights to produce, use, and transfer the ownership of that malagan, and has nothing to do with representation. In fact the whole concept of 'representation' and 'meaning' in relation to Melanesian art traditions needs reworking in the light of current Tabar ideas, for as Marilyn Strathern has pointed out "In expanding the metaphorical possibilities of the specific language of Western analysis, it can only be its own metaphors that I utilize." (1988: 343)

This thesis has proven that it is possible to use indigenous terms of reference to construct a relevant portrayal of a ritual art tradition which makes sense to both the people who produce and use the art tradition, as well as to Western anthropologists.
Glossary of Madara and Tok Pisin terms

amir (amadi, amari): men's house.
aruaru (oror, ororu, orul, oruorul, orur, oruru, urur): 1: public and final ceremony in the malagan commemorative cycle; 2: collective name for the commemorative malagan cycle of feasting and ceremonial display of malagan sculpture.

Arum: malagan Big-Name subtradition associated with garden fertility.
ar0: generic term for malagan ritual site, an aspect of royar.
bei (be, bai, baia, beia, boi, boya, buo, buoi, bwe): 1: shark; 2: totemic shark.
bo: decorated chair for dead person.
cirep: (cirap, cirapi, cirip, sirap): first ceremony of the commemorative malagan series, to cut the saba tree into logs to be used to make the malagan sculpture.
ciribor (siribor): literally "bone of pig"; powerful symbol referring to the ownership rights of malagan.
cukavavaturi: (cikowavaturi, cokowavatir, cuguauitir, cuguvaturi, cukawavatir, cukauvatir, cukuavaturi, cukauvir, cukawattir, cukuvavatir, sigawowatori, sigawowaturi, sikowavaturi): malagan ceremony "standing up malagans", the last ceremony in the commemorative cycle before the public aruaru.
cur (cur, sur): 1: bed, bench; used to describe a malagan "dance" or display platform; 2: type of malagan clone.

Curvunawu1ga (Curwunawu1ga, Curvunawug1ga, Suruniwunawu1ga, Surwunawu1ga, Vai1rewon): malagan Big-Name subtradition previously used to end war.

Dege1s1 (Degans1, Degenas, Dege1s1, Dege1s1, De1gas1, De1s1, De1genasi): malagan Big-Name subtradition; deals with accidental death.
eikuar: (aikwar, aikwara, eikwar, ekwar, ekwa, ikwar, ikwara): generic name for vertical "totem-pole" style malagan sculpture.
ges: (gas, geis, gis, ngeis, nges, ngis): 1: bush spirit; wild man; 2: masked malagan figure generally portrayed by a man wearing a characteristic mask, but may be represented by a seated mask or by a wooden figure.
kabiamata: 1: iris of the eye; 2: catch shell with the smaller green surface of the type called laupuri from the Turbo petholatus, used as eye on malagan sculptures.
kandere: Tok Pisin kin term referring to someone else in the same totemic group or clan.
kapot: malagan Big-Name subtradition, virtually extinct.

keverac (kevra1, keveral1, kevra): headdress style and component of Malagacak malagan figures.
kivavudi: (kivavund1, kivawud, kivawund, kevun1, kevwin1): "hand" or bunch of bananas; subclan, lineage, generic kinship unit, line of inheritance, matrilineal descent grouping; entity within a matabu which can own malagan, land, graveyards, shark, and masalai.
kobokobor: generic term for a wooden horizontal malagan sculptural type. The kobokobor can act as the horizontal base for vertical eikuar or marunawu1.

koltibor (koltibor): malagan design feature representing the abdomen of a pig; generally has the kabotolgic barnacle design painted on the surface.
kovabor: head of pig; often represented at the ends of kobokobor or at the bottom of eikuar malagan sculpture.
kovkov (kaokao, koko, koukou, kovakova, kowakowa, kowkow): generic term for a head-only malagan type; the kovkov can either be a head on its own or a head part of a larger malagan sculpture such as a kobokobor; cur kovkov is a type of malagan that can be cloned.

Kulepmu (Kolepmu, Kulipmu): malagan Big-Name subtradition.

kupkup ci malaga (kupkup ci malaga, kupukupu ci malaga): generic grouping of ‘quick-to-work’ taboo clearing malagans; often the first malagan received by the next generation, kupkup ci means “fountain of water, clean and light”.

Loñou (Lombu, Loñombu, Lonombu): malagan Big-Name subtradition associated with a person’s body swelling up and dying.

Lunet (Launiet, Loanuat, Lounet): malagan Big-Name subtradition strongly associated with the wooden friction drum of the same name.

Madas (Mandas, Medis, Mendes, Mendis): malagan Big-Name subtradition with a strong incest and sex theme.

Malagacak (Malangacak, Malangatsak, Malangatsaka, Malangacak, Malangatsak): malagan Big-Name subtradition, represents the warrior.

Marada (Maranda, Marandan, Marnda): malagan Big-Name subtradition associated with rain making.

Maris: malagan Big-Name subtradition, nearly extinct on Tabar.

mata (mat) 1: eye 2: to appear, to look 3: hole, tunnel, cave, ditch, well, window.

matabu (matambu): generic term for an ancestral clan.

matalifj (matalea): central design feature in Ualik malagan sculpture; an image of an "eye of fire", or a fireplace.

matanias (batanias, bataniasl, bataniasok, mataniaso, mitanias, mitenias, mitenias): sun, eye of sun, (yellow moon?).

mem: malagans belonging to the clan.

or: feather representations on malagan sculpture.

ora: conical fish-trap, made from a thorned vine.

oror (orora, orore, roror): ritual rope forming a fence across the village square, cut by masked men during cukavavaturi malagan ceremony.

pacapaca (pazapaza, pasapatsa, pacapac, pocapoca, potsapotsa): spirit, soul, or a picture or image of a person or other thing.

pidik (padika, pandiki, pindik): hardwood tree termed "kanau" in tok pisin.

rarau (raorao, rarou, raru, rerau, rorou, roru, ruru) 1: leaf 2: malagan generic type, means leaf.

rea (re): length of shell discs which are traditional valuables; termed ‘mis’ in Tok Pisin.

rojar: generic term for malagan ritual site and graveyard area, an aspect of rojar is also referred to as mi aro.

saba (sabau, samba, sambau, semba): tree Alstonia scholaris or A. villosa, used to make most malagan sculpture.

Sisubua (Sesambua, Sesumbua, Sisambua, Sisumbua): malagan Big-Name subtradition, originated on the mainland of New Ireland.

Sopso: malagan Big-Name subtradition, originated from a Tayala.

tadar (tandar, tandaro, tender): generic term for totemic life forces which are the basis for exogamous kin groups; manifested as sharks, pigs, rocks, and a number of other phenomena.

Takapa (Takap, Takep): malagan Big-Name subtradition, features sculptural figures with body made of pandanus fibre rope.

Tayala: mythic trickster dwarf which teaches culture 2: malagan Big-Name subtradition.

tatayanjas (tatayqis, tatayqis, tatayqis, tataryanjas, tararutanjas, tararjanjas, tatayqis) : ritualised grouping of names which are called out to demonstrate ownership rights or ancestry of a malagan.

tanua (tanoa, teno, tinou): spirit-soul of person dead of sorcery or sickness.
taubes (*bes, taumbes, tauges*) : malagan ceremony on a platform, part of the transference of malagans to the next generation.

tavuri (*tarwur, tauhir, towir, tuhir*) : conch shell horn sounded at critical stages during some malagan ceremonies.

tiroga : spirit of a person killed by sorcerer.

*Tomut* : malagan Big-Name subtradition, has figure made from sago wood.

*Totobo* : malagan Big-Name subtradition of bush origin, emphasises an abhorrence of fish.

*tabataha* (*tambatamb, tambatamba, tambam, tambtam, tambutambu, tomtom, tuntum*) : descent grouping of malagan.

*Turu* : malagan Big-Name subtradition, the sculptural figure often has protruding eyes.

*Ualik* (*Walik*) : malagan Big-Name subtradition characterised by the distinctive *matalih* (eye of fire) image.

*vanis* (*wanis*) : generic term for a mask in *Verim* malagan.

*vanua veve* : family house, house for cooking food.

*varam* (*waram, woram, varam*) : malagan ceremony, part of the burial sequence, ends the taboo period; ceremony generally operated by the children of the dead man, the opposite kin group.

*Vavara* (*Wawara, Wowara*) : malagan Big-Name subtradition characterised by the unique woven circular or oval sculpture.

*veivem* (*veiven, vevev, weivem*) : support struts or projections, generally serrated, found on malagan sculpture.

*Verim* (*Varim, Varima, Warima, Werim*) : malagan Big-Name subtradition characterised by the *vanis* masks.

*virua* : corpse or spirit of unnatural death; a corpseless head.

*vunamalaga* : a leader in malagan, a man who holds *ciribor* for a type of malagan.

*Vuvil* (*Vevil, Vovali, Vuvel, Wawali, Wowali*) malagan Big-Name subtradition noted for connotations of sorcery.
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Appendix A: Malagan Big-Name subtraditions and components

The following series of descriptions of the twenty two malagan Big-Name subtraditions has been compiled from my records and does not represent any one person’s view of malagan. Some of these subtraditions have strong characters and are instantly identifiable by either the sculpture or the ritual, others are either less well known or less clearly distinguished from other subtraditions and may be confused even by the owners.

Each malagan item I recorded is listed below, grouped under the heading of its Big-Name malagan subtradition and itemised together with component types and other relevant data. For the sake of completeness all dialectical variants have been recorded, with the predominant or most appropriate variant acting as the header¹. Included under the header of each Big-Name subtradition is the following information:

i) “Malagan Ritual Sites” is an important category for the understanding of a Big-Name malagan subtradition. On Tabar, the original location of a malagan generally refers to the rogar, the fenced malagan ritual site (termed banis in Tok Pisin) which contains the graveyard, a men’s house if located in an inhabited village, and the malagan working area from which a malagan transfer grouping originated, bonded to a clan. A malagan’s ‘origin’ location is often the place where the last major change was made to a malagan by a particular individual.

ii) “Character” refers to the common characteristics of a Big-Name subtradition. As examples: Malagacak is the warrior malagan; Madas deals with incest; Lunet uses a unique sound producing instrument; Vavara has very distinctive woven sculpture.

iii) “Previous Records” contains entries of all information which previous researchers have recorded about a Big-Name subtradition from Tabar or from the mainland of New Ireland. Where individual malagan names have been referred to in the literature, these references are noted under the “Malagan Names” heading.

iv) “Taganias” is one of the most important clues to malagan ancestry. The taganias chant consists of between three and five phrases called out three or more times by the malagan owner in front of all the viewers of malagan activity. These chants are specific to each of the transfer groupings of malagan. Related transfer groupings may vary by only one or two lines in the chant, the more divergent transfer groupings are from each other the greater the degree of dissimilarity between the chants.

v) “Known Owners” is a numerical summary of the number of known owners and artists for each Big-Name subtradition.

vi) “Malagan Names” comprises a list of the known malagan components of each Big-Name subtradition, together with physical descriptions and lists of known owners. It should be noted that this record is by no means complete, but serves merely to indicate patterns and relative frequencies of ownership.

¹ I considered the most appropriate variant to be that which most readily indicates source morphemes, or most clearly demonstrates links with other lexical items.
Appendix A Malagan components

Malagan Big-Name: *Arum*
Also recorded as *Arumi*.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
No malagan ritual sites were recorded for *Arum*.

Character:
Associated with food crop fertility. Information about *Arum* was confused, due in the main to a group of men on east coast Big Tabar who were allegedly counterfeiting the *Arum* type\(^2\). According to one of the validated owners the *Arum* malagans did not have a *tagarjas* ownership chant, but were used in the malagan ritual site to take away hunger when food was scarce.

Previous Records:
None known.

*Tagarjas*:
None recorded.

Known Owners:
6 owners, 2 artists.

Malagan Names:
1 generic name: *kovkov*.
9 specific names: *Arumi, Gorgorsorida, Kovabat, Kovakaito, Kovarubi, Kovasiqo, Simiarum, Simimanu, Siminimanu*.

*Arumi*: A wooden head type of *Arum* with *kovasiqo* (type of bird) as a head crest.

Owners:
Ladori [Kobuai], Morai, E Big Tabar

*Gorgorsorida (Gorogorosurida, Gorogorosurida)*: Wooden head; with *Kovakaito* this type is apparently a leading malagan in *Arum* and does not have a display house; the name refers to the bird *kovasiqo*.

Owners:
Ladori [Kobuai], Morai, E Big Tabar

*Kovabat*: Wooden head made of either soft or hard-wood *saba*.

Owners:
Ladori [Kobuai], Morai, E Big Tabar

*Kovakaito*: Wooden head described as having a bundle of firewood on top of its head.

With *Gorgorsorida* this type is apparently a leading malagan in *Arum* and does not have a display house.

Owners:
Ladori [Kobuai], Morai, E Big Tabar

*Kovarubi*: One example, a heavy wooden head, was also called *Simimanu* (see *Simimanu* below).

\(^2\) In 1983-4 several men from Matlik village (E Big Tabar) were being brought to court and charged by the true owners of *Arum* for illegal use of the *Arum* type.
Appendix A  Malagan components

**Kovasino** (*Kowasino*): A primary head-only malagan type within *Arum*, *Kovasino* is the malaganised name of the bird *Siminimanu*; there is also some type of equation between *Gorgorsorida* and *Kovasino*. (see *Siminimanu* below)

**kovkov** (*kowakowa*): Described by a suspect source as a secondary head-only malagan type within *Arum*.

**Informant:**
Saraj [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner? from kandere).

**Simiarum**: Described by a suspect source as a kovkov head-only type of *Siminimanu*. (see *Siminimanu* below)

**Siminimanu**: A heavy wooden head called *Siminimanu Kovarubi* and apparently a subtype of *Siminimanu*, was purchased (NGE 883) from Matlik, E Big Tabar in 1982.

**Informant**:
Saraj [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner? from kandere).

**Siminimanu**: Three examples were purchased in 1982 from a suspect source in Matlik, E Big Tabar. All three malagans had been made for sale from the hardwood *pidik*. All three were massively sculpted, painted black with charcoal, and extremely heavy.

**Owners**:
Ladori [Kobuai], Morai, E Big Tabar

a) NGE 909 was a *Kovabat* wooden head with a transverse crest running from ear to ear across the top of the head.

**Informant**: Saraj [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner? from kandere).

b) NGE 910 was a *Kovasio* wooden head with a *siqo* bird on top.

**Owners**:
Ladori [Kobuai], Morai, E Big Tabar

c) NGE 911 was a *Simiarum* vertical sculpture with an *Arum* head on top, a *gesiroiro* 'spy' head at the bottom and an abstract image of "deep black ocean" between the heads. *Siminimanu* is the Tabar name for a type of bird, *Kovasino* is the name for the malaganised version of this bird.

**Informant**:
Saraj [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner? from kandere).

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**Malagan Big-Name: Curvunavuga**

Also recorded as *Curwunawuiga*, *Curwunawunga*, *Suruniwunawunga*, *Surunuwunawunga*, *Suruwinainguwa* and *Surwunawuiga* in the Mapua and Big Tabar regions.

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**
Two ritual sites on Tabar were recorded for *Curvunavuga*:

i) The last known example\(^3\) of *Curvunavuga* was recorded on Tirodan clan land at Obun village site, 2 km east of Mangawur, southern Tatau Island.

ii) Remains of *Curvunavuga* support posts sighted in 1982 in the middle of a huge fig tree near Datava (E Big Tabar).

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\(^3\) Sighted in 1982 and purchased for the National Museum of Papua New Guinea - Registration No: 82.50.7.1. See also Gunn 1990.
Appendix A Malagan components

Character:
It seems the Curvunavuna malagan type was a peace-making malagan used to finish warring between rival clans during the initial phases of the German presence in the region. In the two examples known by informants, imagery featured women giving birth, or a pair of women with their genitalia held by a masalai crab.

Previous Records:
None known.

Taŋŋaŋias:
None recorded.

Known Owners:
4 owners.

Malagan Names:
0 generic names.
2 specific names: Curvunavuna, Vatirevoŋ.

Curvunavuna (Surwunawuna): Large hardwood horizontal image featuring two women, each with a child on the breast, facing the ends of the malagan, their genitalia joined by a totemic crab.

Owners:
Kariec [Vutigamgam], Mangavur, E Tatau (owner from F. Lagase [Tirodan])
Lagase [Tirodan], Mangavur, E Tatau (owner from M. Melul [Tirodan])
Maso [Tirodan] (woman), Mangavur, E Tatau (owner from M.)
Melul [Tirodan] (woman), Mangavur, E Tatau) (owner from Z. Maso [Tirodan]).

Vatirevoŋ (Watirewoŋ): Tatau version.

Informant:
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

Malagan Big-Name: Deŋenasi
Also recorded as Deganasi, Degenas, Dengenasi, Derynas, Derasi, and Derenasi.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Five ritual sites were recorded for Deŋenasi:
i) Deŋenasi apparently originated at Katavil with [Butua] clan. It was worked again at Vikori when it was given to the sons in [Cereva] clan. [Cereva] then worked it at Kanavi, again at Vikori, then at Malamo and finally at Raukupo.
ii) Aro Deŋenasi, on the beach beside a Kulepmu malagan ritual site near Raukupo, NE Big Tabar.
iii & iv) Aro Deŋenasi, two malagan ritual sites at Vikori old village site on the mountain inland of Raukupo, N Big Tabar.
v) Aro Deŋenasi, at Katavil village site on the mountain inland of Raukupo, N Big Tabar.

Character:
Deŋenasi is a malagan Big-Name subtradition which deals with accidental death. Apparently when this malagan is worked, fish eat the corpse (virua) of the deceased then men catch these fish, take them to the aro and eat them. Deŋenasi apparently does not belong to bush
Appendix A  Malagan components

or to saltwater or to tanua spirits; it belongs to virua, the spirits of abnormal or accidental death, and as such covers all people, Europeans included. There are apparently no kupup ci malaga in Denenasi, nor are there any taboos on the feast, anyone can come.

Previous Records:
Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded the name dànnganas at Teripats, NW Big Tabar.

Ta'ta'qias:
Recorded from Denenasi owner Ludwig Gegeti [Cereva] in Raukupo, NE Big Tabar:

- mi ko sep, kondakonda ia,
- mi aviso.

Ta'ta'qias - comments:
- mi ko sep : a reference to barracuda
- kodakoda ie (kondakonda ia, kondakonda ie) : the name of a specific boulder with meaning “man who eats raw fish”. Located in Aro Denenasi at Katavil village site, NE Big Tabar.
- mi aviso (aviso eviso, mi ave so) : a reference to a bamboo knife, means “cutting, breaking in half (eg. a vine)”; also recorded as part of the ta'ta'qias of Totobo big-name where it means “evil talk, a curse”; and as part of the ta'ta'qias of Takapa big-name where it means “bad talk, to make someone have an accident”.

Known Owners:
2 owners, 1 artist.

Malagan Names:
4 names generic names : eikuar, kobokobor, kovkov, marumarua.
0 specific names.

eikuar (eikwar) : An eikuar was described as standing on top of the kobokobor; the marumarua figures holding one veivem, the top image a human-like figure (see kobokobor below).
Owners:
Gegeti [Cereva], Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

kobokobor : The kobokobor was described as acting as the horizontal base for a vertical eikuar or marumarua; the marumarua were seated figures holding veivem separated by kolitobor; the finials were pig heads.
Owners:
Gegeti [Cereva], Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

kovkov (kovakova) : The kovkov solid wooden head was described as having a hang rope around its neck and being separated from its wooden body.
Owners:
Gegeti [Cereva], Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

marumarua : The marumarua figures of Denenasi were described as not having legs, with the trunk consisting of a ribcage either side of an exposed and dangling liver (buco). At times the marumarua of Denenasi are positioned standing on top of the kobokobor instead of an eikuar.
Owners:
Gegeti [Cereva], Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Malagan Big-Name: *Karavas*

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**
One ritual site was recorded for *Karavas*:
i) Tolaka, a hamlet near Morai, E Big Tabar.

**Character:**
None recorded.

**Previous Records:**
None known.

**Taotaoias:**
None recorded.

**Known Owners:**
1 owner.

**Malagan Names:**
1 generic name: *marumarua.*
0 specific names.

*marumarua:* The *marumarua* figure of *Karavas* was described as a man holding two *veivem,* with one *ora* projecting vertically from the top of a flat head.

**Owners:**
Ben Panges [Sebenas], Morai, E Big Tabar

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Malagan Big-Name: *Kulepmu*

Also recorded as *Kolepmu, Kulipmu.*

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**
Four *Kulepmu* ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Lampuir, a hamlet on W Simberi - the origin place of one *mem* of *Kulepmu.*
ii) Aro Kulepmu, Pekinatenis hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.
iii) Aro Kulepmu, on the beach beside Aro Degenasi at Raukupo, NE Big Tabar.
iv) Aro Kulepmu, Vikori village site on the mountain inland from Raukupo, NE Big Tabar.

**Character:**
Many references to taboo clearing were noted for *Kulepmu,* particularly in connection with plant *Alpina* sp., a tall type of ginger termed *gorgor* in Tok Pisin and *madape* in Tabar language. The *bo* (*bavu*) death chair recorded in Tatau village (Chapter 2 above) was part of *Kulepmu,* as was the strikingly silent funerary procession *vavil* with its feather-masked mourners and actors.

**Previous Records from Tabar:**
On Tabar Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded the names *kulepmu* at Tatau village, N Tatau and *kulapmu* at Teripats, NW Big Tabar. Some 70 years later Wilkinson (1978:229, 231, 238) recorded *Kulipmou* and *rorplipli Kulipmou.*
Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
A number of records of the name Kulepmu and its variants have been recorded from the Tigak, Kara, Nalik and Notsi language regions in the northern part of mainland New Ireland.

Furthest north, Walden recorded kulabmu as a malagan name in 1907-09 at Balus village in the Tigak region (central dialect) (Walden et al. 1940:26). At Mangai village on the boundary between the Tigak and Kara peoples Billings and Peterson (1967) recorded the use of two malagan sculptures: a vavara and a kolepmur.

Further south in the Nalik region Walden found agulapmu at Lakurdemau, agulatmu at Logagun, and in Fezoa he recorded kulepmu (ibid:26). In the Nalik region Heintze (1987:43) described four figures of similar appearance standing on top of what on Tabar would be a kobokobor. These figures were called songsong, walik, kuletmo, and malanggatsak.

Both Walden and Krämer recorded kolepmo from Hamba in the Notsi region, with Walden also noting kulebmu (1940:26). Krämer found the kolepmo to be a freize malagan in which the image featured two hornbill birds flying towards the central hole in which a wooden figure or head was sometimes found (1925:76). From Lesu village Powdermaker (1933:316) recorded kolebmur as a major malagan group with the following malagans within it: Araraun, Lekiu, Kuvawuwu, Balanei, Kuleipanga, Ambeli, Ammaris, Amarindan, Avutimisi, Agasmuggawuh. Some of these names were found on Tabar in 1982-4 (see below). Lewis (1969:110-112) described a malagan called both Pu'ling and Kolepmu from Lesu. Parkinson (1907:647) also recorded kulipumu, but unfortunately did not identify localities.

Powdermaker witnessed a Kolebmur being used as part of an initiation:
"Now four men came in, faces smeared with white lime, hair decorated with leaves, and carrying leaves and a shell rattle in their hands. Silently they dance up to the malanggan. One hurls a stick (kanda), as if it were a spear, at the round enclosure in the centre of the Kolebmur malanggan, which represents a door and is called by that name, mut. When the stick hits it a plank behind falls down, leaving an opening. The stick is laid in the centre of the enclosure before the malanggan. The four men now sit down in front of the malanggan and sing." (Powdermaker 1933:121)

Taŋaŋias: 
Taŋaŋias chants for Kulepmu were recorded from the following five Kulepmu owners:

Recorded from Maŋap [Rumrum] at Maragon, W Simberi:
- saramagil
- a balenei
- lekeu
- kulepmere

Recorded from Peter Leleo [Cegel] of Maragat, W Tatau (born in the Notsi region of mainland New Ireland, but married to a Tabar woman):
- a lekeu
- a kolepmorae
- e baleneae

Recorded from Lomekun [Keis] at Tatau village, N Tatau:
- saramegil
- e balenei
- e landawak

Recorded from Libiaŋ [Kuk k. Saterir m.] at Tatau village, N Tatau:
- e balenei
- e landawak
Appendix A  Malagan components

Recorded from Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua:
   a legeu
   a kulepmerei
   a balenei
   a saramegil
   a rofJvumanen

Tagaqias - comments:
- Balene (Balena, Balenei): other associations to this word name were not recorded.
- Caramagil (Saramagil): a Kulepmu founder’s name
- Kulepmerei (Kulepmarei, Kulepmorai): the name of a woman, one of the founders of Kulepmu malagan. A type of rarau is also named after her.
- Ladavak (Landavak): name of a man
- Lekeu (Lekiu, Legeu): for Tabar no other information recorded; listed as Lekiu by Powdermaker (1933:316) as a malagan within the Kolebmur group at Lesu (Notsi language region). During 1983 at Panamafei in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, I recorded Lekeu as the “baptised name” of a malagan also termed Mandasim (Big-Name grouping), Lasisi (the name of the figure), and Mendis (the Small-Name covering it all).
- Ronyumanen (Ronyumanen): ?

Known Owners:
26 owners, 8 artists.

Malagans :
8 generic names: eikuar, ges, kobokobor, kovkov, kupkup ci malaga, marumarua, rarau.
12 specific malagan names: Balene, Cilaturi, Curumaduram, Kaiuut, Kairo, Kovages, Kulepmerei, Madape, Malagaruru, Pelepele, Punpunmasis, Unuda, Vukimadap.

Balene (Balena, Balenei): Described by Pius Luqanja as a wooden figure surrounded by real betel nut halves. The name Balene was frequently recorded as part of the tagaquis of Kulepmu. Listed as Balenei by Powdermaker (1933:316) as a malagan in the Kolebmur group at Lesu.
Owner:
Tumus [Perivut k. Damok m.], Sabuari, W Tatau
Informant:
Pius Luqanja [Perivut], Maragon, W Simberi

Cilaturi: Vali described the Cilaturi malagan as a type of eikuar with the following sequence of images: (from top to bottom) maningulai (white bellied sea eagle (Haliaeetus leucogaster?), marumarua, coktabit (a boundary, or liminal phase in some malagans), marumarua, coktabit, kovabor (head of pig).
Owner:
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from F’s clan [Keis])

Curumaduram (Curumaduram): An eikuar described as consisting of 5 marumarua figures each holding 2 vertical veivem, on top of the eikuar is a manduram (white bellied sea eagle Haliaeetus leucogaster).
Owner:
Magap [Rumrum], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB)

Eikuar: Apart from Cilaturi, Curumaduram and Unuda, two other malagans in Kulepmu were recorded as eikuar:
a) One eikuar owned by [Saterir] clan in Tatau village was described as having the following imagery (from top to bottom): taragau bird (fish eagle, Haliaeetus indus at the top, koltibor; punpunmasis (referring to a man with chicken feather hair,
this name is also an independent malagan in *Kulepmu*, and was recorded associated with a mask of *Verim*; the name also refers to a type of yellow bird); *koltibor, ges; koltibor, ovo* fish type; *koltibor, with kovabor* head of pig at the bottom.

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau

b) Another *eikuar* was described as having the following imagery (from top to bottom): bird at the top (*taragau*?); *koltibor, ges* holding cuscus by head or tail; *koltibor, ges* holding cuscus by head or tail; *koltibor, with kovabor* head of pig at the bottom.

**Owners:**
Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau (from kandere)
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau (from kandere)

*ges*: *Ges* were recorded in *Kulepmu* both as wooden figures and as a wooden head on a body made of banana trunk with body in hocker position. An example of a *ges* figure (NGE 1439) was made for sale in 1983 by Lepan Ladavak.

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from his Tabar father in [Tavia k. Carameges m.]).

*Kaioit* (*Kaiyot*): Possibly a generic classification of *Kulepmu* referring to a saltwater origin (cf. *Kairo*).

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

*Kairo*: Possibly a generic classification of *Kulepmu* referring to a bush origin (cf. *Kaioit*). One example of a *rarau pelepele si mi Kulepmu kairo* was purchased (see below under *pelepele*).

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

*kobokobor*: Five examples of *kobokobor* were recorded for *Kulepmu*, four of which were bilaterally symmetrical.

a) The non-symmetrical example was described as: (from left to right) *коваче* (head of fish), *koltibor*, a seated man holding *veivem, matanias* (image of sun or possibly of yellow moon), *koltibor*, and finishing with another *коваче*.

**Owners:**
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from F’s clan [Keis])

The symmetrical examples were as follows:

b) One *kobokobor* was described with a *kovarararor* (head of the fish *ragor*) at each end, a *koltibor*, then a series of seated figures holding *veivem* each separated by *koltibor*, and finishing again with a *kovarararor*.

**Owners:**
Kojar, Samson [Carameges], Simberi, SW Simberi
Lutir [Poponovam], Sesemekor, W Simberi (owner from F. Kojar [Carameges])

c) Another *kobokobor* was described as acting as the base for an *eikuar* which stood on top of a *koltibor* in the centre of the *kobokobor*, on either side of the central *koltibor* was an *ovo* fish, facing outwards, next was a *koltibor*, and a *kovabor* head of pig finished each end of the *kobokobor*.

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Appendix A Malagan components

203
d) Another kobokobor made by Kaminiel Mamau [Tavia k. Carameges m. ?] was described as having the following image: it had a central head kovkov surmounting a pair of opposed birds siyo which faced each other. These birds also acted as the lungs of the man. To either side of the siyo were pairs of vakatoru fish, their tails touching; above the vakatoru was a pair of pilipilibuso (a type of seagull); the ends of the kobokobor were finished by taragau holding vakatoru fish in its talons. (NATMUSPNG)

Owners:
Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from MFF in [Mara]).

Kovages (Kovanges, Koangis, kovkov ges) : Two Kovages small wooden ges heads (NGE 898 & NGE 899) were made in 1982 by Songis.

Owners:
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

kovkov (koukou, kowakowa) : Although kovkov generally refers to a wooden malagan head, a full marumarua type figure called kovkov (NGE 907) made for sale in 1981 by Maris Memengah.

Owners:
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from MFF in [Mara])

Kulepmerei (Kulepmarei, Kulepmorai) : A type of rarau pelepele described with the image of two fish facing a matalin (eye of fire) central hole. This malagan carries the name of one of the women founders of Kulepmu.

Owners:
Maŋap [Rumrum], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB)

kupkup ci malaga : Recorded in Kulepmu as Malagaruru and as Pelepele (see below).

Madape (Madap, Mandap, Mandape) : A figure recorded and described in a variety of styles. All seem to be associated with the leaves of madape (malagan name for gorgor, an Alpina sp.) enclosing or forming part of a human or a ges figure. One example (NGE 1432), made in 1983 by Maser featured a branch of Madape on top of the head of a human type figure, on top of the Madape was perched a velkoŋ bird. This malagan was of a saltwater origin and came in two forms, the other form featured the madape leaves alone. See also Vukimadap (below).

Owners:
Maŋap [Rumrum], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB)
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Maser [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from WB Songis [Saterir])

Malagaruru (Malangaruru) : This name was recorded as a quick-to-work kupkup ci malaga in both Kulepmu and Malagacak. In Kulepmu it was described as being made of breadfruit barkcloth or copra sack and featuring an image of two fish, one each side of a central hole.

Owners:
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau

marumarua : Malagan figure recorded in [Mara] clan.

Owners:
Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from MFF in [Mara])
Appendix A  Malagan components

**Pelepele** (*Pelapele, Pelepek, Pelapeli, Pile*): Recorded in both *Kulepmu* and *Vuvil* Big-Name subtraditions. In *Kulepmu* this type was generally referred to as *Rarau Pelepele*.

a) Barkcloth, cotton cloth or copra sack *kupkup ci malaga* featuring two fish opposed around a central hole; has personal name *Kulepmerei*.

**Owners:**
Mañap [Rumrum], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB)

b) *Rarau pelepele* can be made either both wood or from the quick-to-work barkcloth or copra sack for a *kupkup ci malaga*.

**Owners:**
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau

c) A wooden example (NGE 1426) of a wooden *rarau pelepele si mi Kulepmu* was made by Vali of Mapua in 1982. This malagan featured opposing *muangebeia* (king fish), one either side of a built up central wooden *matanias* (eye of sun).

**Owners:**
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from F's clan [Keis])

d) An example (NGE 1401) of a *Rarau Pelepele Kairo* was made by Bialong, Edward Salle and others and used in a varam malagan ceremony at Tatau village in 1984. It featured two fish opposed around a central *matalia* (eye of fire) hole and was made from copra sack stretched over a bamboo and rattan frame, painted all over with a lime base. The fish image was over-painted in red from the sap from the fine rootlets of the *ol* tree and with yellow colour.

**Owners:**
Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.] Tatau village, N Tatau
Helen Momon [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from adopted F. Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.]).
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.])

e) Other *Pelepele* were described as having central holes termed *matabembem* (a *bem* is a malagan feast to open up the sculpture, part of *ciribor*).

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau

**Punpunmasis** (*Punpunmeses*): Recorded as a malagan part of *Kulepmu*, and also as the name of a figure element in an *eikuar* of *Kulepmu*. The name refers to a yellow bird although when featured as a section of an *eikuar* of *Kulepmu* the image was of a man with chicken feather hair; *Punpunmasis* was also recorded as the name of a type of mask of *Verim*.

**Owners:**
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau

**rarau**: *Rarau* were recorded in *Kulepmu* in four forms:

a) Barkcloth, cotton cloth or copra sack *kupkup ci malaga* featuring two fish opposed around a central hole. One example of a cotton cloth *rarau si mi Kulepmu* (NGE 1445) was used in the malagan ceremonies *cukuvavaturi* and the consequent *araru* at Pekinberiu, E Tatau Island in 1984. This example was coloured red and had two green fish (*mimir*) opposed around a central hole. Most examples described or otherwise recorded were known as *rarau pelepele* (see *pelepele* above).

**Owners:**
Lusem [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau
Lakaseq [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from MMFS Lusem [Lavakulep]).
Appendix A Malagan components

Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

b) A wooden version of the same image.
Owners: Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau

c) A wooden mask with a taragau bird on a koltibor on the head of the mask, with ovo fish around the head.
Owners: Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau

d) An image of a man.
Owners: Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from F’s clan [Keis])

e) An oval malagan like the rarau pelepele with two opposing fish around a central hole, but this one has the hole big enough for a man to put his head through during the malagan ceremony.
Owners: Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from F’s clan [Keis])

Unuda (Ununda): Eikuar type of Kulepmu, the name means “to drink water”. One example (NGE 1333) was commissioned from Lepan of Vаŋ, S Big Tabar in 1984. This example (the rights to which were owned by Lepan’s kinsman Sol [Maratoru]) was 264cm tall and had a marumarua head at the top followed by a group of four bakivavau (pandanus fruit which resemble lungs). Underneath this was a group of bakareto images (parts cut from the belly of a man during the cannibal times); then a davovo (coconut water bottle); then a group of marumarua heads; a group of kanai (seagulls); a davovo; several ges; several beiyaa (a type of shark image used on a number of malagan types); and at the bottom the malagan finished with a davovo coconut water bottle
Owners: Sol [Maratoru] Pakinapai, Mapua

Vavil (vwawil, wauwil, wawil): Silent dance of masked men as funeral procession to beat of garamut, taking corpse to graveyard; belongs to Kulepmu.
Owners: Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.] Tatau village, N Tatau

Vukimadap (Wukimadap, Wukimandap): An example sighted (NGE 900) of this wooden Vukimadap image was of a Taryla figure wrapped in the leaves of madape (an Alpina sp.). It was made by Leleo in 1980 and used to heal broken taboos. This malagan belonged to the taboo-removing types borovaram and malaganivaram. See also Madape (above).
Owners: Peter Leleo, [Cegel] (ex Lesu (Notsi language) in mainland New Ireland), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from MB).

Malagan Big-Name: Lоъобу
Also recorded as Lombu, Loymbu, Lonombu.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
No Lоъобу ritual sites were recorded on Tabar.
Appendix A Malagan components

Character:
Sorcery is strongly associated with *Lorpbu* and is noted for causing a person’s body to swell up and die. *Manavore* is a plant used to enter the power of *Lorpbu*.

The ideal display format for *Lorpbu* is to have five malagans stacked up, so that from a distance they resemble a stack or series of waves at sea. This image is called *buriburi navo*, where *buriburi* = lips, and *navo* = waves. There are apparently no *kupkup ci malaga* malagans in *Lorpbu*.

Previous Records:
Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded the name *logombu* at Teripats, NW Big Tabar.

*Taŋaŋias*:
The *taŋaŋias* chant was recorded from one *Lorpbu* owner:

Recorded from Kepas [Carameges] of Malakon, E Big Tabar:
- *Meluman*
- *solomalis*
- *mandalavdo*
- *konokonobor*

*Taŋaŋias - comments*:
- *Meluman* : said to be the full name of *Lorpbu*
- *Solamalis* (*Solomalis*) : a reference to the physical ends of the *Lorpbu* malagans, or to the long malagans of *Lorpbu*
- *Madalavo* (*Mandalavdo*) : refers to the *garamut* “centre of the body” of the *Lorpbu* malagan, or conversely refers to the two mouths (side images?) of these malagans
- *Konokonobor* (*Konkonbor*) : recorded from the *taŋaŋias* of both *Lorpbu* and *Lunet* malagans; in *Lorpbu* the word refers to “man who brings down a pig”, or “to finish plenty of pigs”, or “the malagan is cut so that parts of pig stay inside”. The name also is used for a masalai rock belonging to [Sicobi] clan, which is reputed to swallow a pig.

Known Owners:
10 owners, 2 artists

Malagan Names:
0 generic names.
11 specific names : *Kikaramageda, Kivaraia, Lavuama, Madaserigo, Madasi, Madasibere, Madasimatabita, Melemeles, Pidipimasesa, Rayoperuvi, mi Vuna*.

*Kikaramageda* (*Kikaramaŋenda*) : Type of *Madasi* of *Lorpbu*; it was described in the image of a green *kikara* parrot (*Eclectus roratus*) sitting down and eating the leaf of *vaum* (*Pandanus pacificus*; a leaf normally used to wrap fish for cooking or to wrap lime).

Owners:
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere Vasibit [Tiroguma])

*Kivaraia* (*Kivaraia*) : A ‘mother’ figure of *Lorpbu*. The image is strongly associated with ginger sorcery and the small figures made from sago have a swollen belly representing a person who has been poisoned; the images are thrown out before the feast. The name *Kivaraia* was also recorded as a clump of *raia* (*Zingiber sp.*) used in sorcery; *korovar* magical power is associated with this malagan.

Owners:
Appendix A Malagan components

Ailiuda Vasibit [Sebenas], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from F. Kepas [Carameges])
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kamak [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Lavuama (Lauwama, Lowama) : An example (NGE 1435) made by Kepas and his son Lebun in 1980 was a horizontal type of Loqolu malagan named after the image of an unspecified “black bird sitting on top of a floating log”. Another version was described as having the image of a white bellied sea eagle (Haliaeetus leucogaster) sitting on top.
Owners:
Kamak [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Madaserigo (Mandaserigo) : Horizontal malagan with the ends bent forward; this malagan is named after its shape which should resemble an erigo sprung branch pig trap.
Owners:
Kamak [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Madasi (Mandasi, Mandas) : Madasi appears to be a first order subgrouping within Loqolu. Within Madasi are Madasimatabita, Pidipidimasesa, Melemeles, and Kitaramageda. Madasi type malagans appear to be horizontal beams and are described as having an image of a pandanus fruit engraved into them and an Eclectus roratus parrot seated on top. Madasi also has ‘black parts’ belonging to it. At Panamafei, in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, I recorded Mandasim as a Big-Name malagan which was said to have originated on Tabar, possibly around Tumendar, on Big Tabar. The one example of Mandasim sighted in the Kara region was a malagan fish sculpture.
Owners:
Kamak [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Madasibere (Mandasibere) : A horizontal beam, the name refers to a fire torch made from a coconut mat.
Owners:
Kamak [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Madasimatabita (Madasimatabita, Mandasimatambita, Mandasmatambita) : Type of Madasi of Loqolu; matabita refers to a dirty or unclean face. The example (NGE 1436) made in 1980 by Kepas was a bilaterally symmetrical horizontal beam with a central section called garamut (possibly a reference to the slit drum) which has at its centre a madalavo small circular image. On the centre of each side was an oval shape containing burubururu leaf-flame shapes, in the centre of this section is a small point called sitaia (a star type); the ends of the Madasimatabita are termed solomalis and contained an image of kiva-ura tail-feathers (kiva is the base of a plant, the part between roots and trunk).
Owners:
Kamak [Carameges], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Appendix A Malagan components

Kepas [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Melemeles (Melemelesi): Type of Madasi of Lorobu. One example (NGE 1321) made by Kepas in 1980 was a horizontal beam in red and yellow with an image of an oval pandanus fruit engraved on top; the name refers to a small bird with the same colours. Melemeles may also be called Pidipidimasesa.

Owners:
Kamak [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Pidipidimasesa (Pindepindemasese, Pundipundimasesa): Type of Madasi of Lorobu; the one example sighted was a horizontal beam in red and yellow. Possibly an alternative name for Melemeles of Lorobu.

Owners:
Kamak [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Rayoperuvi: This malagan is apparently a small figure made of hardwood with head and body, swollen belly, and no breasts. It is displayed at a malagan ceremony fastened to the ends of other malagans or placed in front of the display house. It is given the power to kill a man by vuguvugu (swollen belly). The name Rayoperuvi refers to a big blue fly and means a dead man, corpse.

Owners:
Kamak [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

mi Vuna (mi Wuna): Referring to “the basis, root, origin, founder, boss” this malagan is described as very tall and referred to as the true origin of Lorobu.

Owners:
Kamak [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from WB. Vasibit [Tiroguma])
Kepas [Caramgees], Malakon, E Big Tabar (owner from MB Kamak)
Vasibit [Tiroguma], Sinikima ?, SE Big Tabar

Malagan Big-Name: Lunet

Also recorded as Launet, Loanuat, Lounet.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Two Lunet ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Aro Lunet, Lunet ritual site in Pekinberiu village, E Tatau.
ii) Kolticir, Lunet ritual site in Lava hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.

Character:
This malagan is always associated with the Lunet wooden sound producing ritual instrument, a friction drum called ma (bird) on Tabar because of its bird-like cry. These instruments were generally made from the hardwood pidik, and had between three and five vibrating sections (termed reo = tooth). Those examples I sighted on Tabar were very
Appendix A  Malagan components

similar to those recorded by Krämer and to others extant in many museums throughout the
world (see Fig. 59).

From information given by informants, the most characteristic aspect of a Lunet
malagan ceremony is the playing of the ma instrument in its special suspended playing house
(touma), swinging by a rope from a tree inside the malagan ritual site (see Fig. 60. There
are apparently no ges in Lunet nor are there any long malagans such as kobokobor or eikuar.

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded the name mi lounuati for a rub drum at
Teripats, NW Big Tabar, and launiet for a similar object in Tatau village.

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
On the mainland of New Ireland the Lunet type of malagan (or more usually the unique
friction drum which is part of Lunet) has been recorded from the central part of the island in
the Notsi, Kuot-Panaras, and Madak regions.

From Walden’s and Krämer’s evidence it would appear that the malagan Lunet has an
origin in the Lelet plateau of mainland New Ireland. Krämer recorded that the characteristic
friction drum (livika) originated in Lelet Plateau and was made in the mountain villages of
Levinko, Bungmalum, Atlemau, and an area not far from Penatkin on the east coast
(1925:56). Walden (1940:24) recorded that the lounuot was made at Nangama (Kuot-
Panaras region?). Further north in the Notsi region Powedermaker (1933:288ff) mentioned a
loanuat instrument associated with a malagan of the same name. More recently Brouwer
(1980:171) noted previous use of the Livika or Lunewat in the Madak area.

Tätañas:
Tätañas chants were recorded from two Lunet owners:

Recorded from Daniel Madassauala [Damok] at Tatau village, N Tatau:
        Nolut
        Konkonbor
        Maliv

Recorded from Lusem Tula [Lavakulep] for a rarau si mi Lunet, at cirep malagan ceremony
Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau:
        e meluk
        konkonobor
        mi salel
        mi tobias

Tätañas - comments:
- Konkonobor (konkonbor) : a reference to the personal name for a particular Lunet
garamut sound producing instrument; apparently means “man who brings down a
pig”, or “to finish plenty of pigs”, or “the malagan is cut so that parts of pig stay
inside”.
- Maliv : the name of a big Marnou malagan of Lunet
- meluk : ?
- Nolut : the name of a Lunet ma wooden sound producing instrument
- salel : ?
- tobias : tobi ai means “to break wood”; tobiai is also recorded as a malagan ceremony to
cut the bush materials to be used in the malagan house, part of ciritbor; also recorded
in tätañas of Lunet.

Known Owners:
15 owners, 3 artists.
FIGURE 59
Typical *ma* wooden sound producing instrument in Tabar *Lunet* malagan (Photo NGE 1982/12/5).

FIGURE 60
Sketch taken from Krämer 1925: p57 of *lunet* playing house in Völkerkunde-Museum zu Leipzig; similar to the *touma* playing house of *Lunet* malagan on Tabar.
Malagan Names:
3 generic names: kupkup ci malaga, marumarua, rarau.
10 specific names: Auis, Auismat, Cirkapsen, Laravi, Maliv, Marnou, Pepiu, Porpor, Seremei, Simara.
5 names of Lunet sound producing instrument: Biraq, Kolekoleq, Konkonbor, Maravis, Nolut.
1 display house name: Touma.

Auis (Auwis): Recorded also in Totobo and Vavara Big-Name subtraditions, the Auis in Lunet was recorded as a number of variants. All examples described or purchased were wooden boards which featured one or two auis birds encircled by one or two snakes.

a) A rarau featuring an auis and a snake.

Owners:
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere).
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau

b) Has two auis with 2 snakes. (NGE 1328)

Owners:
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere).
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau

Auismat (Auwismat): Although the name Auismat means “dead auis”, the image described by Madassagala is of an auis bird holding a simara snake’s head in its mouth and the tail in its claws and looking very much alive. Porpor is another type of Auismat (see below).

Owners:
Madassagala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])

Biraq: Personal name of a Lunet garamut.

Owners:
Leqgiro [?], Karubo, S Tatau.

mi Cirkapsen (mi Cirkapsen): Representation of a fish skeleton, hung up at the door of the malagan display house.

Owners:
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere).

Kolekoleq: Personal name of a Lunet garamut; possibly brought to Tabar from mainland New Ireland.

Owners:
Levi Tuvok? Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau?

Konkonbor: Personal name of a Lunet garamut; possibly brought to Tabar from mainland New Ireland. Previously owned by [Maratoru] clan

Owners:
Tula [Betio k. ? Katobi m.], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau?

kupkup ci malaga: Marnou was the only kupkup ci malaga recorded in Lunet (see Marnou below).

Laravi: Described as a small marumarua figure.

Owners:
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere).

Maliv: Name of a big Marnou of Lunet (see Marnou below).
Appendix A  Malagan components

**Maravis**: Personal name of a Lunet garamut.

**Owners**:  
Vabu (?) (Janet Gaman ?) (woman), Simberi village, SW Simberi

**Marnou**: Features the huge cod fish *lako* and comes in two varieties.  

a) A big version with the personal name *Maliv* was described as a *rarau* type of *kupkup ci malaga* with the fish made of bamboo with a skin made from the flowers of the *kaliput* tree (the black palm *Kentiopsis archontophoenix*), the fish has a *Seremei marumarua* figure standing on its back; the interior of the fish is filled with food which is released during the malagan ceremony by the malagan owner opening it with a knife.  

**Owners**:  
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)  
Madassarqala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])

b) A smaller version was described as the *lako* cod fish but without the *marumarua* on its back.  

**Owners**:  
Madassarqala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

**marumarua**: Two *marumarua* in Lunet were described: *Laravi* and *Seremei* (see above and below).

**Nolut**: Personal name of a Lunet garamut.  

**Informant**:  
Madassarqala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

**Pepiu**: Malagan fish; belongs to [Sepiv] clan.  

**Owners**:  
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere).

**Porpor**: The name refers to a tree flower; the malagan appears to be a horizontal board type of *Auismat* but with a different image:  

a) One recorded type was bilaterally symmetrical and had a central sun with each side featuring a *tumsiv* coral tube and a *mi luk* bird facing toward the centre from the ends. The *tumsiv* image has also been recorded on other malagans as a representation of a shell growing on stone, other versions feature a *tumsiv* having eaten a man.  

**Owners**:  
Levi Tuvok [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau?  
Lusem [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from FF. Levi Tuvok [Lavakulep])

b) Another type of *Porpor* featured had an *auismat* bird surrounded by one or two *simara* snakes.  

**Owners**:  
Madassarqala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])  
Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

**rarau**: The *rarau* in Lunet was recorded in three distinct styles:  

a) One type was described as a flat wooden or barkcloth horizontal board featuring two fish and a central hole *matagilgil* ("hole of the small blue parrot *gilgil*"). One example (NGE 1446) which was used in a *cirep* malagan ceremony at Pekinberiu E Tatau, was made of copra sack sewn to a frame, painted and decorated with feathers.  

**Owners**:  
Levi Tuvok [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau?
Appendix A  Malagan components

Lusem [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from FF. Levi Tuvok [Lavakulep])
Lakaseŋ [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from MMFS Lusem [Lavakulep])

b) Another example of rarau was described featuring aus birds and snakes (see aus above).

c) A huge cod fish Marnou image made from bush materials including the seeds of the black palm (Kentiopsis archontopheonix); was referred to as a rarau (see Marnou above).

d) Undescribed.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau

Seremei (Seremae, Seremai) : The marumaru figure of Lunet. Can be used as a stand-alone figure (for example NGE 891 made by Salle in 1981 - see Fig.48) or used to stand on the back of the Lako fish of Marnou.

Owners:
Lalu, Pelip [Keis], Tatau village, N Tatau
Madassarala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])
Nathaniel Navi [Keis] Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Daniel Madassarala [Damok])
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi

Simara (Semera, Simera) : Recorded as a part of both Lunet and Vuvil Big-Name subtraditions. In Lunet it was variously described as:
a) A black snake with white spots, wooden head and tail made from a thick vine pitisu covered with leaf vo (probably from a Pandanus sp.).

Owners:
Dokas [Sepiv] (woman), Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere).

b) Also described as a figure malagan.

Owners:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau

Touma : House shaped like a fish or pig (or can have other forms) and suspended from tree branch in malagan ritual site; used for hiding the player of the Lunet garamut during initiation into Lunet.

Owners:
Madassarala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

Malagan Big-Name: Madas
Also recorded as Mandas, Medis, Mendes, Mendis.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Seven Madas ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Aro Madas, Rubis hamlet, Poponovam, NW Simberi.
ii) Sotobuer, a Madassiro malagan ritual site on the beach near Poponovam, NW Simberi.
   Said by one informant to be the home for Madassiro. There is apparently a stone of incest at this place.
Appendix A Malagan components

iii) Pekinut, a Malagas malagan ritual site in Pekinut-Kudukudon hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.
iv) Pekinlabam, a village site on mountain close to Tupinmida, W Tatau. Listed by one informant as the home for Matassiu.
v) Sunagaramut, malagan ritual site at Revar village site above Tupinmida, W Tatau Island. One informant listed Sunagaramut as the home for both Matassiteno and Matassiu.
This location apparently contains Solpa incest masalai rock of Matassiteno.
vi) Aro Madassiro, Tokar, Mapua.
vii) Aro Madas, Latavus, E Big Tabar.

Character:
Judging from its distribution, Malas as a name appears to have been used in some very old traditions, for it is found not only throughout New Ireland, but from non-Austronesian groups in East New Britain. George Corbin recorded from the Central Baining (a Papuan language group) of the Gazelle Peninsula of East New Britain the names mendas or mandas referring to specific masks used in daytime dancing and "...dedicated to female fertility, mourning of the dead, and the celebration of major community events" (Corbin 1979:177). In 1983, at Panamafei in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, I recorded Mendis as the 'small name' for a malagan also termed Lasisi (the name of the figure), Lekeu (the 'baptised name'), and Mandasim (its Big-Name subtradition).

Madas has a strong theme of sexual intercourse, centering around the incest taboo. Current Madas malagan activity includes a number of subtle references to incest, or to sex in general. For example when the Big-Name malagan Madas is transferred from one generation to the next, the ritual leader must dance with pig's bones (ciribor) tied to his genitalia, and according to one informant these bones should be tied to the genitalia by the wife's sister. A number of the songs of Madas refer to incest, and previous initiation practices are reputed to have involved incestuous activity between a brother and sister which was then terminated by their death through spearing.

Many aspects of Madas, such as the wild dog mi kupuinmucgur which was used with cocekeli fire spears and mi teter bullroarers to 'kill' the dead man's spirit during the night prior to the burial, were considered 'no good' and were often associated with the night. Of all malagan funerary practices, Madas activities produced the most emotion amongst people, who would break into weeping during the singing of Madas songs.

There is some evidence to enable a partial reconstruction of the history of Madas in data I obtained from two sources. In a myth recorded from Masol [Tavia k. Carameges m.] of Maragon village (W Simberi) the working of Madas malagan was a form of reciprocity carried out by the nomadic sea-clan [Keis] (epitomised by Raban) when staying on the beaches and using the land of the land-owning bush-clan [Carameges] (epitomised by Cikite). Periodically [Keis], to compensate for land-use, would organise a malagan ceremony for the dead in [Carameges]. After a series of marriages [Carameges] were the affines of [Keis], so the malagan ceremonies were organised for the land-owning affinal dead. The fact that Madas also deals with incest may not be entirely coincidental. A ritual which punishes incest also promotes cooperation between affinal clans.

In Madas there are 3 subdivisions: Matassiteno (Madas of the life force), Madassiro (Madas of the sea), and Matassiu (Madas of the bush). According to Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.] of Poponovam village (NW Simberi) the subdivision Madassiu broke from Madassiro, with the implication that Madassiro preceded Matassiu.

Previous Records from Tabar:

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4 See Appendix B transcript 2.3.
Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:  
Krämer (1925:73) recorded *mandas* from Hamba (Notsi region) and Walden (1940:24) recorded the same name from Nangama (Kuot-Panaras region?).

Taŋtaŋjias:
Taŋtaŋjias chants were recorded for *Madas* on 7 occasions from 6 informants:

Recorded from Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi for *Madassiteno*:
- *e vaset*  
- *e wudu*  
- *mi kes kes e bor*  
- *e pit mendes*

Recorded from Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.] at Poponovam, NW Simberi for *Madassiu*:  
- *vwaset*  
- *e undu*  
- *e pitmendes*  
- *keskesbor*

Recorded from Laŋare [Buatekone] of Napekur, N Simberi for *Madas*:
- *pitimandas*  
- *mandes pakapaka un*  
- *e undu*  
- *mi keskes i ve bor*

Recorded from Sola Lokorova [Keis] at Poponovam, NW Simberi for *Madas*:
- *a vaset*  
- *a wudu*  
- *kes kes mbor*  
- *pit madas*  
- *a pit mere*

Recorded from Sola Lokorova [Keis] at Poponovam, NW Simberi for *Madas*:
- *vaset*  
- *undu*  
- *pitmendis*  
- *keskesbor*

Recorded from Bevi Rorun [Keis] at Poponovam village, NW Simberi for *Madas*:
- *vwaset*  
- *au udu*  
- *keskes bor*  
- *mi pitmedes*

Recorded from Kumau [Navobeie k. Keis m.] at Tokar, Mapua for *Madassiro* of *Madas*:
- *manimbo mandassimo*  
- *manimbo madassiumbi* (madassiumbi)  
- *manimbo madasapakapakun*

Taŋtaŋjias - comments:
- *keskesbor (mi kes kes e bor, mi keskes i ve bor, keskesbor, keskes bor, kes kes mbor)*: means “one pig for each section of the sequence of transferral of ownership of malagan”.
- *manibo madas ibo (manimbo mandassimoso)*: means “women cannot feast, men only”.
- *manibo madassiu* (madasiubiubi) (manimbo madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi, madassiumbi): when called out as part of *taŋtaŋjias* of *Madas Madassiro* malagan
the name means all Malagan - with chicken feathers all around the outline. Also recorded as a malagan type of Malagacak were it is referred to as a marumaria figure sculpture, but also as a stick for beating the garamut.

- madas pakapaka un (mandes pakapaka un; manimbo madasapakapakun, mendespukapukawun) : a reference to the sago thatching leaves of the Madas malagan display house. Recorded as a reference to the tabataba ancestral lineage of Madassiut in Madas. Vabehuar (wambehuar) was also recorded as a tabataba ancestral lineage of Madassiro and Madassiteno in Madas.

- pitmadas (mi pitmedes, pit madas, pitimandas, e pit mendes, e pitmendes) : a reference to the penis; associated with references to incest.
- a pit mere :?
- udu (undu, e wudu, e undu, au udu, a wudu) : literally means “sago” a reference to the Da malagan which was previously worked on top of the sago tree.
- vuaset (vaset, a vaset, vwaset, vwaset, e vaset) : also a figure malagan recorded in the Madassiteno and Madassitut subgroupings.

**Known Owners:**
46 owners, 6 artists.

**Malagan Names:**
3 major subgrouping names : Madassiteno, Madassiro, Madassiut. 5 generic names : eikuar, kobokobor, kovkov, kumpkup ci malaga, marumarua. 19 specific names : BeZel, Cikopic, Curuda, Curudamas, Curudasar, Curudavovo, Curuvuaset, Da, Damas, Dasar, Davovo, Eiboaamas, Kovacikopic, Madasi, Potoviso, Tanua, Tonomatmerik, Vuaset, Vudida.

Madas appears to have four subdivisions within the subtradition: Madas proper; Madassiteno (Madas of the life force); Madassiro (Madas of the sea); and Madassiut (Madas of the bush). The nature of these subdivisions is not yet clear to me, for there are a number of specific aro ritual geographic sites for each of these four subdivisions; and each of these four groupings has its own form of ritual behaviour. Yet all four share the same ownership chants, and occur as a group in a number of different transference groupings. According to one informant the subgrouping Madassiut broke from Madassiro, with the implication that Madassiro preceded Madassiut. This informant, who received Madassiteno from his mother’s brother and Madas from his mother’s father, treated the two subgroupings as quite different and said that Madassiteno belonged only to [Keis] (his mother’s brother’s clan), whereas Madas belonged to all men.

**Madassiteno** (Mandasetno, Mandassitano, Mandassiteno, Mandassitanua, Mansetno, Mansitano, Mansiteno): Subgrouping of Madas associated with dead man’s spirit (tanua) and with bush in origin or orientation. Madassiteno has at least one origin location on Tabar: at Sunagaramut at Revar village site above Tupinmida village (W Tatau). Madassiteno is stronger and has more power (pitpit) than Madassiro. Madassiteno has some unique performances; for example men use wooden hornbill shapes in their mouths to ‘eat’ finibor ritualised pig’s belly; in Madassiteno the dance tirimadas is performed where men and women fasten ciribor (pig’s bones) to their genitals and dance naked. Madassiteno apparently has a type of evil power termed pitpit; a person with the source of this power is called vanavanar.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)  
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)  
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?  
Kumau [Navobeie k. Keis m.], Gitarut, Mapua (owner from M.)  
Lakaj [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Taqala [Toruk])

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5 Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.] of Poponovam village (NW Simberi)
Appendix A Malagan components

Lagare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MB. Rorun)
Makalo [Sorovar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M.'s clan)
Pius Lujara [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M.)
Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Ta'ala [Toruk], Monun, E Simberi

Five examples of a Madassiteno figure were recorded:
a) Seated figure with arms raised, has a barkcloth head.

**Owners:**
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MB. Rorun)
Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi

b) Seated figure with arms raised, has a wooden head and a sago trunk body.

**Owners:**
Kumau [Navobeie k. Keis m.], Gitarut, Mapua (owner from M.)

Madasiro (Mandasiro, Mandassiro, Mandesiro, Mansiro): Subgrouping of Madas associated with saltwater (the sea) in origin or orientation; has less power than Madassiteno and is less dramatic in its displays. Has an origin place at Sotobuer, a beach near Poponovam village (NW Simberi), and another at Aro Madassiro, Tokar (Mapua).

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Kumau [Navobeie k. Keis m.], Gitarut, Mapua (owner from M.)
Lagare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)
Lagin [Kucikuci], Mapua?
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Loyalai [Keis], Kokap, Datava, NE Big Tabar (owner from: Kumau [?], Topu [?], Poes [?])
Lundau [Keis], Mapua?
Pius Lujara [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M.)
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau ? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

a) Apparently there are plenty of kupkup ci malaga in Madassiro. One type is portrayed as the flower of the wild limbum - made from a conical bamboo frome with a da sitting on top.
Appendix A  Malagan components

**Owners:**
Larare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

Bevi Rorun distinguished between two parts of Madassiro:
b) A Madas figure standing on top of a canoe.

**Owners:**
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)

c) A Madassiro figure called Belel. (see below)

**Owners:**
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)

**Madassiot (Mandassiot, Mandassiot, Mandassiot, Mansiot):** Subgrouping of Madas associated with bush in origin or orientation. Has origin locations at at Sunagaramut at Revar village site above Tupinmida village (W Tatau), and at Pekinlabam, a village site on mountain close to Tupinmida.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.] Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Larare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)
Pius Laaare [Buatekone], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

Within these subgroupings, or as part of the parent group Madas, the following malagans were recorded on Tabar:

**Belel:** Saltwater Madassiro malagan, originated at Sotobuer malagan ritual site (rorpr) on the beach near Poponovam, NW Simberi Island. The malagan was described as made of saba wood, under the malagan are some seagulls. These kalai baby birds sit on the upside down ritualised tree auvutun (called vut in Madas) which is located on the beach; this figure is portrayed as sheltering or hiding under a gesev wild banana tree.

**Owners:**
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)

**Cikopic (Cikopits):** Marumarua type figure, the head-only version is kovacikopic.

**Informant:**
Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB Paulus Lomlom [Damok] & F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])

**Curuda (Curda, Curunda, Mecurda, Mecuruda, mi Curnda):** Images of Curuda in the Madassiro subgrouping were described as:
a) Cloneable da images found in kobokobor and on eikuar.

**Owners:**
Larare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

b) Curuda could also be a combination of kobokobor and eikuar with the figures holding davovo ‘fresh morning water’ containers. On top of the eikuar is a marumarua, at the bottom a wooden head of pig, with heads of fish as the ends of the kobokobor.

**Owners:**
Logalai [Keis], Kokap, NE Big Tabar (owner from: Kumau [?], Topu [?], and Poes [?])

c) Curuda were said by Sola to be kupkup ci malaga.

**Owners:**
Appendix A Malagan components

Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

d) a *Curuda kobokobor* was described as about 3 metres long with a central *da* connected on each side by a single *veivem* to another *da*, then *koltibor*, and finishing with a pig's head at each end.

**Owners:**
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

e) The name *Curuda* was also recorded as a *kobokobor* of the Big-Name subtradition *Marada*.

**Informant:**
Songis [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau

*Curudamas* (*Mecurdamas, Curdamas*): Recorded from the *Madassiro* subgrouping as cloneable *damas* (nautilus) images found in *kobokobor*. Used only to initiate young children, the *Curudamas* is not used at death ceremonies. *Curudamas* were said by Sola to be *kupkup ci malaga* (see also *Damas* below).

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Lapare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.).
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

*Curudasar* (*Curdasar*): Represents a sea-urchin. Used only to initiate young children, not used at death feasts (see also *Dasar* below).

**Owners:**
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

*Curudavovo* (*Curdawowo*): A *kobokobor* of *Madassiut* featuring *Davovo* images and used to initiate young children; can also be used at normal commemorative malagan ceremonies (see also *Davavo* below).

**Owners:**
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

*Curuvuaset* (*Curuvwaset*): Grouping of small *Vuaset* figures placed in front of the malagan display house (see also *Vuaset* below).

**Owners:**
Makalo [Sorovar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M.'s clan)

*Da*: Public name for a malagan representation of a coconut water bottle. In *Madas* malagan the *Da* occurs in three forms: *Davovo* (representing water within), *Damas* (water without), and *Dasar* (edible water?). As a *kupkup ci malaga* the *Da* is most often given to a person at birth, and as a *kupkup ci malaga* the *Da* should stay within the clan. When making this sculpture the carver should not break a real coconut. Used on its own as a *kupkup ci malaga* the *Da* is a coconut or piece of sago painted black with a red circumference band and embellished with white chicken feathers fastened around the circumference and around the neck. If the *Da* is made as a wooden malagan then it is not a *kupkup ci malaga*, but a malagan true, and often a malagan head or complete figure forms the stopper (*nac*) to the bottle. An example (NGE 892) of this type was made by Pius Lu1Ja1Ja for Banamu [Buatekone] to use at a malagan in 1981 to give to the first born of the next generation - his sister's daughter. *Da* was also recorded in *Marada, Sonson* and *Taala* Big-Name subtraditions (see also *Davovo* below).

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak) (gave to his ZD, now he cannot work this malagan)
Appendix A Malagan components

Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Lakaŋ [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Taŋala [Toruk])
Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Lagare [Buatekone], Naepkon, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Nale [Carameges], Bueri, SE Simberi (owner from F. in [Vatorar])
Pius Luŋaŋa [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M.)
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Tamun [Kük k. Saterir m.], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from F. Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.])
Taŋala [Toruk], Monun, E Simberi
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau ? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

**Damas** : Malagan name and image for the *ango* chambered nautilus (*Nautilus tompillius*). A powerful malagan image in the *Madas*, the name refers to ‘water outside’ or ‘water is dry’; used individually as a *kupkup ci malaga* for clearing taboos; also used as a subunit within *kobokobor*. As a powerful *kupkup ci malaga* the *Damas* should stay within the clan. *Damas* has a stronger power than *Davovo*. Note that the *ango* is the source of the power, not the *Damas*. *Damas* can be displayed supported on a conical bamboo platform called *Da*. To inherit the rights to *Damas* involves breaking a nautilus against a garamut drum. The owner of *Damas* cannot drink water from a *Davovo*.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Lagare [Buatekone], Naepkon, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau ? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

**Dasar** : Malagan name and image for the sea-urchin *sar*. A *kupkup ci malaga* used for clearing taboos and recorded as part of both *Madassiro* and *Madassiteno* subgroupings. *Dasar* has a stronger power than *Davovo*. The malaganised version of *Dasar* is made from the soft wood *sebalot* and sago needles and is placed on the coffin and buried with the dead person. The *sar* sea urchin can be eaten at any time except at a malagan feast.

**Owners:**
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

**Davovo** (*Dawowe, Dawowo*) : The *Da* malaganised coconut water bottle (see above) is referred to as *Davovo* ‘fresh morning water’ a symbol of growth and potential, and a centre of much ambiguous imagery. Banamu said that the *Davovo* occurred only in the subgrouping *Madassiteno* and not *Madassiro*; Sola said that it was to be found in all three subgroupings of *Madas*: *Madassiteno, Madassiro*, and *Madassiuat*. *Davovo* can be displayed on a *masuvoi* inverted tree platform or on a *padar* three branched support and is often given to the initiate as the first malagan of a series. When carried, the *Davovo* is supported on leaves, for the hand should not touch it. *Davovo* can also be used as a sculptural subunit within *kobokobor* or *eikuar*.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MB. Rorun)
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Loŋalai [Keis], Kokap, Datava, NE Big Tabar (owner from: Kumau [?], Topu [?], Poes [?])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

Eibogamas (Eboğamas) : In Madas the Boğamas was recorded as an eikuar version, the Eboğamas. One example (NGE 1315) was made by Pius Lüga in 1983. The malagan consisted of a column of three marumarua figures separated by koltibor, with the head of a pig at both top and bottom (see Fig.53). The Boğamas was also recorded as a marumarua in Malagacak and Valik. In all recorded images the figures were described as having had the bellies eaten out.

Owners:
Panin [Keis], Sodir, Maragon, W Simberi (owner from big man Pos [Keis])
Pos [Keis], Sodir, Maragon, W Simberi

Eikuar : A number of eikuar had individual names (see above and below), un-named examples were described as follows:

a) One example of an eikuar in Madassiro was recorded as having a column of marumarua figures holding Da water bottles, separated by koltibor, at the top was the head of a pig looking up, and at the bottom another head of pig looking down.

Owners:
Laŋare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

b) Another type of eikuar was recorded as having a column of marumarua figures separated by koltibor, on the top was a ci bird, at the bottom as the head of a pig.

Owners:
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)

c) A combination eikuar and kobokobor was described (see Curuda (b) above).

d) Lomlom described both the eikuar and kobokobor of Madas as kupkup ci malaga.

Owners:
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

Kobokobor : A number of horizontal kobokobor in Madas were mentioned. Three non-symmetrical kobokobor were recorded. One artist (Pius Lüga) said that if a kobokobor had both fish and pig ends then it would belong to Madassit. However, the data suggests that this non-symmetrical type could belong to any of the three subgroupings of Madas.

a) One non-symmetrical kobokobor belonged to Madassiteno subgrouping and had a pig head on one end and head of fish at the other, in the middle were two da separated from each other and from the ends by koltibor, on top of both da were either a head or a vuaset marumarua.

Owners:
Makalo [Sorovar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M.'s clan)

b) Another non-symmetrical kobokobor also belonged to Madassiteno subgrouping and was described as with a pig's head on one end and head of fish (raro = tuna?) at the other, next was a koltibor at each end, and a central da.

Owners:
Lalu [Betet k. Keis m.], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)

c) A non-symmetrical kobokobor in Madassiro was recorded as one of two versions, the other was symmetrical (see #j below). The non-symmetrical kobokobor was described as having a head of pig at one end, head of fish at the other, then koltibor, then tatin fish, the centre was a koltibor with an eikuar standing on top of it, the base of the eikuar was a pig head, the top finished with a koltibor then ora. This example is half saltwater and half bush in ancestry.
Appendix A Malagan components

Owners:
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?

d) A bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor about 1metre long consisted of 6 veivem projecting horizontally each side from the perimeter of a central koltibor.

Informant:
Mora [Pekila k. Sepiv m.], Napukur, N Simberi
e) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with a central sun, then koltibor, da, seated figure of man, da, koltibor, and finished with a head of pig at each end.

Owners:
Kumau [Navobeie k. Keis m.], Gitarut, Mapua (owner from M.)
f) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with a central koltibor, then a da water bottle with a Vuaset marumarua as the stopper, koltibor, and finished with ci birds at each end.

Owners:
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)
g) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor in Madassiteno with a central da on top of which stood a vuaset marumarua figure, then either side of the da was a koltibor, the kobokobor was finished at each end with fish positioned tail outwards, their mouths touching the more central koltibor. Three veivem are used for each end, the bottom veivem omitted. Apparently a kobokobor of Marada looks very similar except the finials are not the fish, but pigs’ heads which are separated from the fish by koltibor.

Owners:
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MB. Rorun)
h) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor in Madassiro with central koltibor, a marumarua figure with outstretched forefingers stands on top of the koltibor, on either side of the koltibor is a fish positioned with tail outwards and the mouth touching the central koltibor, 4 veivem curving in at the ends enclose the fish. The marumarua represents a man standing on top of a rock wishing to spear the two fish.

Owners:
Masol [Tavia k. Carameges m.] Sodir, W Simberi (owner from M.)
i) Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with three da water bottles each separated by a koltibor, the stopper of each da is a head wearing a woman’s pointed cap and showing a long protruding tongue, each end finished with a koltibor then head of pig. An example (NGE 1330) of this type was made in 1982 by Pius Luŋa and used by Sola in two different malagan sequences (see Figs.32, 43).

Owners:
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Muren, Josef [Keis], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau ? (owner from kandere Sola [Keis])
Solalili [Keis], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau ? (owner from kandere Sola [Keis])
j) Two versions of a kobokobor of Madassiro were recorded from Banamu. One was a bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor with head of pig at each end, then koltibor, then a seagull, then koltibor, then a central pig head which was the base of an eikuar which was topped by a kovamarumarua (head of a man). The other version was asymmetrical (see #c above).

Owners:
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
k) Banamu also described a *kobokobor* in *Madassiteno*: bilaterally symmetrical, head of pig at each end, then *koltibor*, then seated man holding a *davovo*, one hand holding the bottle, the other holding the cork. The central image was a *koltibor* which supported an *eikuar* which had a pig’s head at the bottom and was topped with the *kovamarumaria* head of a man.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?

l) Banamu also described a *kobokobor* in *Madassiu*: bilaterally symmetrical, head of pig at each end, then *koltibor*, then seated man holding a horizontal *veivem* and angrily looking to one side. The central image was a *koltibor* which supported an *eikuar* which had a pig’s head at the bottom and was topped with an image of a standing man holding *veivem*.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?

La!J3re described two *kobokobor* in *Madassiro*, each of which had three versions. The first *kobokobor* featured *damas*, the second featured *da*, otherwise they were identical. The three versions of each were:

m) *Curdamas* or *Curda* = a *Damas* or a *Da* on its own.

**Owners:**
La!J3re [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

n) Bilaterally symmetrical *kobokobor* with pig’s head at each end, then *koltibor*, then man seated holding *damas* (the eye of the *damas* faces out) or *da*, then a central *koltibor*.

**Owners:**
La!J3re [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

o) Bilaterally symmetrical *kobokobor* with pig’s head at each end, then *koltibor*, then either *damas* (the eye of the *damas* faces out) or *da*, then a central *koltibor*.

**Owners:**
La!J3re [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

p) A *kobokobor* in *Madassiro* was described as two fish heads connected together.

**Owners:**
La!J3re [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

q) A combination *eikuar* and *kobokobor* was described (see *Curuda*):

r) Other examples were not described:

**Owners:**
Lakaa [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Taŋala [Toruk])
Pius Luŋa [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M.)
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Pawut [Damok], Pekinut, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner purchased from Lomlom [Damok])
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from MB?)
Loŋalai [Keis], Kokap, Datava, NE Big Tabar (owner from: Kumau [?], Topu [?], Poes [?])
Taŋala [Toruk], Monun, E Simberi
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

**kokoi**: A display platform, possibly part of *Madassiteno*, is the *kokoi* which consists of a raised dome supported on a central bamboo post. The dome is covered in the
Appendix A Malagan components

flowers of the black palm\(^6\), on top of the flowers are a number of fish made of cane; underneath the dome are cane lako fish looking out into the ronar. On top of the dome, fastened to a bamboo post is a vuaset marumarua figure.

**Owners:**
Makalo [Sorovar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M.’s clan)

**Kovacikopic (Kowacikopits):** Proper name of a wooden head kovkov type of cikopic malagan sculpture.

**Owners:**
Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB Paulus Lomlom [Damok] & F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])

**kovkov (koko, kaokao):** In Madas the kovkov head-only malagan can have names such as Kovacikopic. (see above)

**kupkup ci malaga:** Many varieties of kupkup ci malaga in Madas (see above and below).

**Madasi (Mandasi):** Seated figure with wooden body and legs, hands raised, has face of man with tall ears, no hair.

**Owners:**
Batu [Manebo], Tiripac, NW Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

**marumarua (mormmoru, mormoru, moromoru, mromro):** There seem to be several types of named marumarua in Madas: Cikopic was recorded from one informant, Vuaset from four informants, Madassiteno from four; Belet is probably a marumarua in Madassiro.

a) Banamu said that there were marumarua in all three subgroupings of Madas, and that they had the same shape but differed in the paint.

**Owners:**
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB. Gurisilak). Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?

b) Marumarua figures were recorded as part of Madassiro:

**Owners:**
Laqare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & MB.)

c) Or as part of the kobokobor or eikuar of Madassiro:

** Owners:**
Masol [Tavia k. Carameges m.] Sodir, W Simberi (owner from M.)

d) From other informants only the generic name marumarua was recorded.

**Owners:**
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MF. Paket [Saterir])
gariu, Lukas Bogamak [Saterir], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from F?)
Paui [Lavakulep] (woman), Pexinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ? from F. gariu [Saterir])
Pius Luangga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M.)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB Paulus Lomlom [Damok] & F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])

**Potoviso (Putvis):** An eikuar with pig’s head at the bottom, and a column of marumarua figures playing bamboo pipes and separated by koliibor, the top image is a marumarua; the name Potoviso means “bundle of bamboo, bamboo pipes”, with implications that it is flexible, swinging around in the wind (see Fig.54).

**Owners:**

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\(^6\) *Kentiopsis archontophoenix.*
Appendix A  Malagan components 225

Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB Paulus Lomlom [Damok] & F. Pelip Lalu [Keis])
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau ? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

Tanua (Tanoa, Teno, Tinou) : A kupkup ci malaga death mask in Madassiteno subgrouping, worn by mourners to bury the dead. Examples were described as made of barkcloth with a face painted in black on the front and holes for the eyes, this mask is apparently usually burnt after the burial. Tanua death masks were recorded only from the Madas Big-Name subtradition and they carry the name of one of the main human spirit types. The tanua spirit is conceived as leaving the body at death and appears to be portrayed by the white feather kakam masks (in Kulepmu Big-Name subtradition) worn by chief mourners and pall-bearers during the vavil funeral procession.

Owners:
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from MB Gurisilak)
Gurisilak [Buatekone], Big Tabar?
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau ? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

Tonomatmerik : Type of mask, worn to fasten the door of the ceremonial area.
Informant:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.])

Vuaset (Vaset, Vuaisit, Vwaset, Waset) : Wooden marumaru type of figure malagan recorded in Madassiteno and Madassiut; the name was also recorded as part of taryaqias of Madas. An example (NGE 1427) was made by Mora in 1983. See also Curuvuaset (above).

Owners:
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere & M. & MF.)
Lalu [Betet] Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MB. Rorun)
Makalo [Sorovar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M. ’s clan)

Vudida (Undida) : Recorded in Madassiro, the malagan consists of the action of two men wearing barkcloth masks rubbing rotten bananas on top of the head of a newborn child.

Owners:
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Valaka [Sepiv])
Valaka [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau ? (owner from F. [Keis]?)

Malagan Big-Name: Malagacak
Also recorded as Malangacak, Malangatsak, Malangatsaka, Malangacak, Malangatsak.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Four Malagacak ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Bareveves, NE Simberi - an origin point of Malagacak on Tabar. One branch of it (now with [Damok] clan) went from Baraveves to Sos where it was displayed on a canoe indicating that the people came to Sos by canoe.
ii) At Sos village, N Tatau.
iii) Lanar malagan ritual site, Tokar village, Mapua.
iv) Sovada, village site on hill near Matik, E Big Tabar.
Appendix A  Malagan components

Character:
Malagacak represents a social archetype - the warrior - and the language used in the ritual indicates a Tabar origin. People in the Kara region of northern New Ireland also told me that Malagacak originated on Tabar.

Malagacak's head often has a characteristic kopan black helmet with the trokul red line which is often raised and frequently depicts a snake; topped with a headdress comprising keverac, koltibor and or. Both koltibor and keverac act as stops or marks or barriers coming out of the head, they separate components of the headdress or break it up, in-turning or wooden feathers finish the headdress.

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded malangga-tsaka at Teripats, NW Big Tabar. Wilkinson (1978:228) recorded Malanggatsak with 36 different patterns on Tabar, he was told that all Malanggatsak are ges (ibid: 237). He also recorded nggornggorsurinda of Malanggatsak (ibid: 232).

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
Malanggatsak was recorded from both the Notsi region (Lewis 1969:77-84 and the Nalik region where Heintze (1987:43) described four figures of similar appearance standing on top of what on Tabar would be a kobokobor. These figures were called songsong, walik, kuletmo, and malanggatsak. On Tabar these four names refer to four separate malagan subtraditions and, as far as I understand, would never occur together on the one sculpture.

Taŋaŋias:
Taŋaŋias chants for Malagacak were recorded from 5 owners:

Recorded from Sisi [Sepiv] at Levenereu, W Simberi:
tilimedes
a madaskoriu
a madasaber

Recorded from Laŋare [Buatekone] of Napekur, N Simberi:
tilimandas
mandasikoriu
mandassorya
i keskes e ve bor

Recorded from Daniel Lupidi [Tiroguma] of Sinikima, SE Big Tabar:
tilimandas
mandassorya
mandasiumbiiumbi
e porok

Recorded from Sola Lokorova [Keis] of Poponovam, NW Simberi for Malaganivis:
tilimendes
mendeslioviu
mandassorya
e porok

Recorded from Saŋal [Sicobi] at Matlik, E Big Tabar for Pasanabo of Malagacak:
e soln no
e mandassorya
e pasanabo
**Tagtagias - comments:**
- *e solin no*: possibly specific to *Pasanabo* of *Malagacak*; but recorded from a suspect source.
- *i keskes e ve bor*: also recorded in *Madas* big-name grouping as *Keskesbor (mi Keskessebor, Keskesmbor)* where it meant “one pig for each section of the sequence of transferral of ownership of malagan”.
- *Madasaber*:
- *Madasubibi (Madassiumbi, Madasiumbiumibi, Mandasiumbiumbi, Mandassumbiumbi, Mandassumbiums)*: one informant said that the name referred to all *Madas* malagans in *Malagacak*, those with chicken feathers around the outline.
- *Madaskoru (Madaskoriu, Mandasikoriu, Mendeslioviu, Mendiskorou)*: a tabatoba subgrouping of ownership of *Malagacak*.
- *Madassorya (Madassorya, Mandassoryga)*: a reference to a rooster.
- *Pasanabo (Pasanambo, Pasanambor, Pasangambo)*: said to be the “bed of [these] malagans”. Possibly specific to *Pasanabo* of *Malagacak*; but recorded from a suspect source. Possibly a reference to the man *Sialis* *Pasanambo* who was living at *Matlik* village, E Big Tabar in 1982.
- *Porok*: *eporok* refers to a fowl on the head of the malagan display house.
- *Tilimadas (Kilimadas, Tilimandas, Tilimedes, Tilimedis, Tilimendes, Tilimendis, Tilimidis, Tirimidas)*: one of the major tabatoba subgroupings of *Malagacak*.

**Known Owners:**
52 owners, 8 artists

**Malagan Names:**
2 major subgrouping names: *Madassorya, Tilimadas*.
7 generic names: *eikuar, ges, kobokobor, kovkov, kupkup ci malaga, marumarua, rarau*.
35 specific names: *Bojangoamas, Bors, Curbors, Curmagaru, Curporok, Cursudumuc, Curubonamas, Eibonamas, Eiciringos, Eikivikivliog, Einungur, Gorgorsorida, Kalakala, Kat, Katir, Kinakas, Lonobu, Madas, Madasiputuvasos, Madasiubiubi, Madassorya, Malagananvis, Malagaruru, Ora, Paicur, Pakapakagesev, Pasanabo, Pordun, Porok, Remeremebu, Rismadas, Tigrer, Tilimadas, Tjo, Tor*.

**Bojangoamas (Bakumase, Bogomas, Bogumas, Boynmas)**: An upper torso type of figure with head and chest but just a liver showing for the belly; pelvis and legs missing, 3 veivem supporting the image; also recorded in *Malagacak* as *Curubonamas* and as *Eibonamas*. The names was also recorded in the *Valik* Big-Name subtradition.

**Owners:**
Aberis, Sialis [Sicobi], Monun, E Simberi
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M.’s clan)
Saral [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from MB. Sialis Aberis).

**Bors (Bos)**: Figure displaying only ribs and head, also recorded as *Curbors* (see below); recorded in both *Madassorya* and *Tilimadas* subgroupings.

**Owners:**
Pius Luqra [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from F. Luqra [Pekila k. Sepiv m.])
Mora [Pekila k. Sepiv m.], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M.)
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M.’s clan)

**Curbors (Curnbors, Mecurnbors, Micurbos)**: Bors figure malagans positioned in a row on a bed which is raised at one end; recorded as part of *Madassorya*.

**Owners:**
Mora [Pekila k. Sepiv m.], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M.)
Sisi [Sepiv], Levenere, W Simberi (owner from kandere)
Appendix A Malagan components

Curbiragira: Malagan dance platform recorded in Malagacak; rarau figures are tied to the posts of the platform, the figures are portrayed with hands in front holding fish or something else. The singsing vavalakati is performed on this platform. The number of rarau figures tied to the posts bear no relation to the number of deaths.

Owners:
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

Curmagaru (mi Surmangaru): Named type of Tilimadas malagan.

Informant:
Leŋu, Hosia [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar

Curporok (Curiporok): Recorded from Lusem as a kobokobor featuring 2 men horizontally opposed each side of a central koltibor; porok roosters standing on the upper shoulder of each of the men, the beaks meet in the middle (see also Porok below).

Informant:
Lusem [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam])
Olea [Poponovam], Laŋar, Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere)

Cursonbomuc (Cursonbomuts): Possibly a wooden figure in Malagacak.

Owners:
Tolovaa [Carameges], Ketivera, SE Simberi

Curumbogumas (mi Surumbogumas): Type of Boŋamas malagan; possibly Boŋamas figure malagans seated on a bed (see Boŋamas above)

Owners:
Aberis, Sialis [Sicobi], Monun, E Simberi
Saŋal [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from MB. Sialis Aberis).

Eboŋamas (Eboŋamas): Type of Boŋamas malagan recorded as part of Madas, Malagacak and Valik. In Madas it was recorded as a vertical eikuar style of malagan, in both Valik and Malagacak it was a marumarua figure, in all images the figures have the bellies cut or eaten out. An example (NGE 1331) used in the malagan ceremonies cukuvavaturi and aruaru at Pekinberiu village in 1984.

Owners:
Kolna [Sicobi], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M. & F [Maranatum])

Eciribor (Eciribor, Edskribor, Etciribor): An eikuar recorded in the subgrouping Tilimadas; the marumarua figures hold pig’s backbones in their hands; standing at the top of the eikuar is a maduram bird (white bellied sea eagle, Haliaeetus leucogaster), at the bottom is a head of pig (see Fig.54).

Owners:
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Sałe, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

Eikivkivliŋ (Ekivkivliŋ): Kivkivliŋ means “blowing fire”; the Eikivkivliŋ is an eikuar recorded in the subgrouping Tilimadas; the marumarua figures hold a burning stick in their mouths, standing at the top of the eikuar is a maduram bird (white bellied sea eagle Haliaeetus leucogaster), at the bottom is a head of pig.

Owners:
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Sałe, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

Eikuar: A number of different eikuar were recorded for Malagacak; a number were described positioned on top of kobokobor:
a) *Eiciribor, Eikivkivili*, *Eimur*, *Remeremebu* were names recorded from Salle for specific varieties of *eikuar*

**Owners:**
Pipi [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

b) Another example of *eikuar* was recorded in *Madassona* with a *banbaq* hornbill (Aceros plicatus) bird image on top, with a central section of *marumarua* images separated by *koltibor*, and a *kovabor* pig’s head at the bottom.

**Owners:**
Sisi [Sepiv], Leveneru, W Simberi (owner from kandere)

Vali grouped the *eikuar* with the *kobokobor*. He described the *eikuar* as: a bird image on top, with a central section of *marumarua* images separated by *koltibor*, and a *kovabor* pig’s head at the bottom.

**Owners:**
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

d) Other *eikuar* remain undescribed:

**Owners:**
Kiapbo Tuwalu, Sinikima, SE Big Tabar

*Eimur* (*Emogur*): An *eikuar* in *Tilimadas* subgrouping with figures holding *mungur* flying fish in front of their bodies.

**Owners:**
Pipi [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])
Sebet Tula [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau

ges: Two types of wooden ges figures were recorded in *Malagacak*:

a) A vertical board with two heads, one above the other (NATMUSPNG).

**Owners:**
Luan Guvali [Sicobi], Saqat, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

b) A figure with a typical ges head with slanting eyes, owned by [Keis] clan (sighted figure was made by Edward Salle and presented to the Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan in 1982).

**Informant:**
Edward Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

*Gorgorsorida* (*Gorgoriserinda, Gorogorosurida, Gorongorosurida, Gorongorosurindan*): Malagan type recorded within *Malagacak*; name also recorded in *Arum* and *Marada* from other informants.

**Owners:**
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. ’s clan)

*Kalakala* (*Kalekale*): The name refers to a forked support for trees; in *Malagacak* the *Kalakala* was recorded as a vertical malagan with a fork on top; two *Kalakala* together acted as posts to hold a *kobokobor* horizontal malagan.

**Informant:**
Leq, Hosia [Sicobi], Saqat, Matlik, E Big Tabar

*Kat* (*Kaar, Kate*): Recorded as part of *Tilimadas* subgroup, a wooden *kupkup ci malaga* figure with a *Kat* face was holding a stick for beating the garamut slit drum. More usually the name *kat* refers to the wooden shark catching implement (propellor) together with its noose rope.

**Owners:**
Appendix A  Malagan components

Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

Katir : Recorded as part of Malagacak from two informants in [Damok] clan at Tatau village, the Katir is a figure with a Kat face, holding paddles, and standing on a katir canoe made from sago spathe. The name Katir was also recorded in Tarala and Verim. According to one informant, if a malagan from a particular village is displayed placed in a canoe, then this indicates that the malagan first came to that village by canoe.

Owners:
Aloyis Uskop [Damok], Pekinbambam, Sos, Tatau village, N Tatau

Kinakas : Recorded from Kabaso as both a kobokobor and as a tabataba subgrouping, the Kinakas image is of a man being swallowed by a large fish 'big mouth'; an image of death at sea. Kinakas was also recorded from other informants as a malagan mask in Verim and as a clan name. The horizontal kobokobor had a central sun, on either side of the sun was a koltibor, then a kinakas image, then finished with a pig's head at each end. The tabataba for this malagan left Sovada (village site on hill near Matlik, E Big Tabar) and came to Laŋar malagan ritual site at Tokar village on Mapua. The tabataba is called Kinakas and is named after the men who were eaten when swimming across the sea channel between Big Tabar and Mapua.

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam])
Olea [Poponovam], Laŋar, Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere)

Kobokobor (kambokambor) : There appear to be quite a number of kobokobor varieties in Malagacak. Some are grouped together under the same tabataba and have no separate name; some examples recorded had a specific name such as Curporok, Kinakas, Pasanabo, or Loopou; other single examples were referred to merely as kobokobor.
a) Several informants said that in Malagacak the kobokobor can act as the horizontal base for vertical eikuar or marumaru.

Owners:
Ligiu [Kobok k. Sicobi m.], Katatar, S Simberi (owner from B. Makou)
Makou [Kobok k. Sicobi m.], Katatar, S Simberi
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

b) An example of a non-symmetrical kobokobor was described with the following sequence of images: head of man, koltibor, rooster, man, sun, koltibor, rooster, man, koltibor, head of pig.

Owners:
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

c) Another kobokobor was described as a sculpture containing images of frogs, marsupials, and flies. From the data given it is possible to conclude that this sculpture was vertical rather than horizontal.

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam])
Olea [Poponovam], Laŋar, Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere)

d) Four styles of kobokobor in Tilimadas tabataba were recorded from Salle. One had the normal Malagacak head with keverac, koltibor, etc.

Owners:
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

e) Another type had the head crowned with a pointed karuka woman's hat.
Appendix A Malagan components

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

f) Others had a dog in the image and was called Porok.

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

g) The fourth type had a da water bottle as part of the image.

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

**kovkov:** The kovkov head only malagan was also recorded in Malagacak from three informants. Examples recorded include: NGE 881, made by Mora in 1981; NGE 1332, purchased in Pekinberiu village in 1984.

**Owners:**
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from MB. Makeu [Sicobi])
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Mora [Pekila k. Sepiv m.], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M.)
Lukas Bogamak [Saterir], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from F ?)
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

**kupkup ci malaga (kupukupu ci malanga):** In Malagacak the malagans Kat, Madas, Madassoya, Malagaruru, Paicur, and Pakapakagesev were recorded as kupkup ci malaga, doubtless there are many more.

**Lako (Lakou):** Malagan image which takes its name from the ‘big mouth’ fish (probably a very large cod). This image was recorded in two forms:

a) Wooden figure standing in the mouth of a fish. An example (NGE 897) of this type was made by Laqare in 1976 (see Fig.48).

**Owners:**
Legirau [Pekinmiteres], SE Simberi

b) Figure described as holding a spear and standing on the head of a fish made from bamboo and unripe kaliput seeds7.

**Owners:**
Sisi [Sepiv], Leveneru, W Simberi (owner from kandere)

**Lokorevar:** Recorded as one of the major tabataba subgroupings of Malagacak.

**Informant:**
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

**Lonobu (Lonombu):** Type of kobokobor in Tilimadas of Malagacak, features two birds. Belongs to [Sineriri] clan at Napekur.

**Informant:**
Laqare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi

**Madas (Mandas, Medis, Mendes, Mendis):** Type of marumarua or a synonym for marumarua figures in Malagacak malagan. Two examples of Madas recorded in Malagacak were Madasiputujovasos and a kupkup ci malaga. A song of Malagacak is

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7 Black palm *Kentiopsis archontiophoenix.*
Appendix A Malagan components

also called Madas. The name Madas is most often used as a major Big-Name malagan.
Informant:
Lupidi [Udurabe], Banesa, SE Big Tabar

Madasiputuvasos (Mandasiputuwasos): A Madas marumarua figure in Malagacak; the figure has outstretched arms which can be separated from body. The morpheme putu means heavy.
Owners:
Lupidi, Daniel [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from F. [Sinireri])

Madasibiubi (Madasiumbiimi, Mandasiumbiimi, Mandassumbiumbi):

a) When recorded in the tagtarjas of Malagacak from one informant the name meant all Madas malagans in Malagacak, those with chicken feathers around the outline.
Owners:
Lupidi, Daniel [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from F. [Sinireri])

b) Kabaso described Madasibiubi as a marumarua figure sculpture, and said that the name also referred to a garamut beating stick.
Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam])

Madaskoru (Madaskoriu, Mandasikoriu, Mendeslioviu, Mendiskoru): Recorded as one of the tabataba subgroupings of Malagacak. This name was also listed in 3 of the 5 tagtarjas chants recorded for Malagacak.
Informant:
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

Madassorp (Mandassorp, Mandassoaga): Recorded as one of the tabataba subgroupings of Malagacak. Said by some informants to be the ‘source’ of Malagacak; often recorded as a kupkup ci malaga figure; and often referred to as a bush malagan in the sense that is often made from bush materials such as an inverted tree fern. In the tagtarjas of Malagacak the name Madassorp meant ‘chicken’. One example of a Madassorp has a rooster on its head. A large number of Madassorp malagans had other names such as Malagaruru, or Porok.
Owners:
Darova [Sicobi], Napekur, N Simberi
Leju, Hosia [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from Sialis Aberis [Sicobi])
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam])
Kara, Eric [Butua], Gitarut, Mapua. (owner from kandere who had received it from Makeu [Sicobi])
Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. Darowa [Sicobi])
Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from M.’s clan).
Ligiu [Kobok k. Sicobi m.], Katatar, S Simberi (owner from B. Makou)
Makou [Kobok k. Sicobi m.], Katatar, S Simberi
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Mora [Pekila k. Sepiv m.], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M.)
Olea [Poponovam], Lajar, Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere)
Sisi [Sepiv], Leveneru, W Simberi (owner from kandere)
Tinen, Esikel [Poponovam], Tukelip hamlet, Simberi village, SE Simberi (owner from kandere?)
Examples of *Madassora* figures include:

a) *Kupkup ci malaga* figures which seem often to be made from bush materials such as an inverted tree fern with a face painted on its roots.  

**Owners:**  
Ligiu [Kobok k. Sicobi m.], Katatar, S Simberi (owner from B. Makou)  
Makou [Kobok k. Sicobi m.], Katatar, S Simberi

b) Wooden *marumarua* figures such as: NGE 894, made by Kovir in 1981.  

**Owners:**  
Kovir [Pekinmiteseres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. Darowa [Sicobi])

*Malaganivis* (*Malaganivis, Malanyivis*): Powerful grouping of heads or masks recorded in *Malagacak* malagan; these are the most important malagans in *Malagacak*.  

a) Walking masks which vary in identity and by specific name by the image at the top of the mask: dog, rooster, or fish (see *Pordun*, *Porok*, *Tijier*)

b) Wooden named fixed heads (see *Porok* below)

c) Wooden unnamed fixed heads.  

**Owners:**  
Uto, Helen [Keis], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (woman)

*Malagaruru* (*Malagaruru*): In *Madassoryz* of *Malagacak* the *Malagaruru* is a *kupkup ci malaga* figure made of an inverted tree fern (see Fig. 49); belonged to a man in [Keis] clan. The name also recorded in *Kulepmu*.  

**Informant:**  
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

*marumarua*: The *marumarua* figure in *Malagacak* has found in a number of styles and was recorded both as individual figures (*Madasiubiubi*, *Madassora*, *Madas*, *Madasiputuvasos*) and as parts of *kobokobor* or *eikuar* (*Eiboaamas*, *Eiciribor*, *Eikivkivlia*). Examples purchased which were recorded merely as "*marumarua of Malagacak*" include: NGE 884, made by Vali in 1980; NGE 885, made by Nalo in 1981; NGE 908, made by Maris Memengah in 1981.  

**Owners:**  
Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from step F. in [Tavia k. Carameges m.])

*Ora*: In *Malagacak* the *Ora* was recorded from Salle as a malagan; he described the image as a malagan figure standing up inside an conical *ora* fish trap made from a thorned vine.  

**Owners:**  
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)  
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

*Paicur*: Recorded as a *kupkup ci malaga*, a small *kobokobor*, a bed or platform, the *eikuar* stands up on it. Unclear whether this is part of *Malagacak*, or belonging to another subtradition.  

**Owners:**  
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

*Pakapakagesev* (*Pakapakangesev, Pokapokagesev*): A *kupkup ci malaga* in *Tilimadas* subgrouping recorded from Salle; represents a small figure, man or some other thing.  

**Owners:**  
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)  
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])
**Pasanabo (Pasanambo, Pasanambor, Pasarjomb):** Pasanabo was referred to both as a kobokobor and as figure malagans.

a) The kobokobor was not symmetrical: the sequence of images was recorded as: keverac, kovakova head, fish, shark, lizard, head, seagull, keverac, however the reliability of this informant was brought into question.

**Owners:**
Aberis, Sialis [Sicobi], Monun, E Simberi
Saŋal [Sicobi], Saŋut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from MB. Sialis Aberis).

b) From a related villager two variants of an example were marumarua types of figure, one holding a fish. It had its own taŋanja chant in which the name Pasanabo was said to be the “bed of [these] malagans”.

**Owners:**
Aberis, Sialis [Sicobi], Monun, E Simberi
Leŋu, Hosia [Sicobi], Saŋut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from Sialis Aberis [Sicobi])

**Pordun:** One of the powerful Malaganivis group of dance-walking masks in Tilimadas of Malagacak; on the top it has little kingfisher-like birds called ciciciu sitting on a ginger flower. Some of the birds are red, some bright yellow, some black, they eat small insects, drink nectar.

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

**Porok:** Most often referred to as a large and powerful mask, the Porok of Malagacak can be a number of types of malagan.

a) One of the powerful Malaganivis group of dance-walking masks in Tilimadas featuring an animal or plant such as a fish, rooster, cat, dog, hornbill bird, or bananas on top of the mask, in contrast to a marumarua human-like figure.

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

b) A Malaganivis wooden head in Tilimadas of Malagacak with a rooster on top of the mask.

**Owners:**
Lomlom [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

b) A Malaganivis wooden head in Madasso of Malagacak with a rooster on top of the mask. An example (NGE 1323) of Porok in Madassoa tabataba was made by Edward Salle of Tatau village in 1983 and used by Sola at a malagan ceremony at Kapkap, in the Tigak language region of northern mainland New Ireland (see Fig.56)

**Owners:**
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi
Tinen, Esikel [Poponovam], Tukelip hamlet, Simberi village, SE Simberi (owner from kandere?)

d) A wall plaque image of a large rooster.

**Owners:**
Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from M.’s clan).

e) A kobokobor called Curporok was also recorded in Malagacak (see Curporok above).
f) A *kobokobor* featuring a dog was referred to as *Porok*.

**Owners:**
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])


g) Other undescribed types of *Porok*.

**Owners:**
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam])
Olea [Poponovam], Laŋar, Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere)

**rarau** (*raorao*): Recorded in *Malagacak* from Vali, the *rarau* was described as a male figure with hands in front holding something, could be a fish or something else.

**Owner:**
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

**Reimeremebu**: An *eikuar* similar to *Eikivkivliŋ* but with *marumarua* figures holding branches of betelnut in front of them (*remeremebu* also refers to a peduncle of betel nut, “branch of buai”; an important symbol in malagan).

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

**Rismadas** (*Rismedis*): A malagan fish (the best eating fish *raŋor*, probably a tuna) recorded in *Madassopa tabataba*.

**Owners:**
Sisi [Sepiv], Leveneru, W Simberi (owner from kandere)

**Tigier** (*Tingier*): One of the powerful *Malaganivis* group of dance-walking masks; can have a fish on top.

**Owners:**
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])

**Tilimadas** (*Kilimadas, Tilimandas, Tilimedas, Tilimedes, Tilimendis, Tilimidis, Tirimidadas*): Recorded as one of the *tabataba* subgroupings of *Malagacak*. Also recorded as a malagan figure of *Malagacak* and as part of the *tantaqias* of *Malagacak*. Although gender is distinguished in some of these figures by male figures wearing a *kovage* feather headdress on the head and females wearing the pointed woman’s hat *karuka*, the gender of the malagan bears no relationship to the gender of the person being commemorated. Examples of *Tilimadas* sighted included: NGE 893 (see Fig.46), made in 1981 by Lāŋare; NGE 912 made in 1980 by Daniel Lupidi (see Fig.47); NGE 913, made in 1980 by Vali.

**Owners:**
Banos [Maboti] (woman), Tupida, W Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from F. Olea [Poponovam] & from MB. Makeu [Sicobi])
Kara, Eric [Butua], Gitarut, Mapua. (owner from kandere who had received it from Makeu [Sicobi])
Lāŋare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. [Sinireri])
Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from M.’s clan).
Lomas [Maranatum] (woman), N Simberi (owner from MFZH Lāŋare [Buatekone])
Lupidi, Daniel [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from F. [Sinireri])
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Mora [Pekila k. Sepiv m.], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M.)
Olea [Poponovam], Laŋar, Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere)
Pipiu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Appendix A  Malagan components

Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Pipiu [Damok])
Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua (owner from kandere)

_Tio:_ In _Madassonga_ of _Malagacak_ it is portrayed as a dolphin, without a man on top; the name was also recorded in _Takapa_ and _Totobo._

** Owners:**
Sisi [Sepiv], Leveneru, W Simberi (owner from kandere)

_Tor (Tow):_ Name recorded as a malagan part of _Malagacak._

** Owners:**
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M.’s clan)

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**Malagan Big-Name:** _Marada_
Also recorded as _Maranda, Marandan,_ Marnda

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**
One _Marada_ ritual site was recorded on Tabar:
i) _Aro Marada,_ an _aro_ and rainmaking area, Latavus village, E Big Tabar.

** Character:**
_Marada_ is a rain-making malagan with rain-making groves and families with a tradition of rainmaking (_medipenipenu)._ _Marada_ is today most well known on Tabar for the hardwood head _kovabar;_ the figure malagans do not have wooden or feathers; there are no _kupkup ci malaga,_ nor any _ges;_ _Marada_ ceremonial activity uses the conch shell horn _tavuri._

**Previous Records from Tabar:**
Walden (Walden et al 1940:24, 32) in 1907-9 recorded _maran-da_ at Teripats, NW Big Tabar, and a _marendang_ cult at Tatau, Lakavi, Toro, and Buka (up from Teripats) on Tabar. On the mainland of New Ireland he recorded (Walden et al 1940:15, 32) that the malagans _marendang_ and _vagilie_ had their origin at a masalai spring or stream on mountain _Soramba_ on Tabar, from where they travelled to the mainland of New Ireland (see below). Wilkinson (1978:235) recorded _koambat Maranda_ at Tatau village on Tabar.

**Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:**
_Marada_ is obviously a widespread malagan group, judging from its distribution on mainland New Ireland from Tigak to Madak. Consistently identified as hardwood rainmaking malagans, and often associated with skulls, this malagan group was recorded as _marendan_ at Balus (Tigak region, central dialect) by Walden (1940:24); as _marandan_ in Hamba (Notsi region) and in Lamasong (Lavatbura-Lamusong region, Lamusong d.) by Krämer (1925:75); from Lambuso (Madak, Malom d.), Lemeris (Madak, Malom d.), and on the Lelet Plateau region (Madak, Lelet d.). Walden recorded (1940:15, 32) a _marendang_ travelling from its origin at a masalai spring or stream on _Soramba_ mountain on Tabar to Kafkaf (Kuot-Panaras region) and a _vagilie_ originating at the same stream and travelling to Lakurdemau (Nalik region).

In the West coast Kara language speaking region of northern New Ireland I recorded _Marandaq_ as the term for a malagan which used to be in the region, but which is now extinct.

**Tañaqias:**
None recorded.

**Known Owners:**
16 owners, 7 artists
Appendix A Malagan components

Malagan Names:
2 generic names: kobokobor, kovkov.
13 specific names: Bat, Bat tir, Curuda, Gorgorsorida, Katevegeli, Kovabat, Matariris,  
Moniaro, Onvenco, Telippat, Vegeli, Virukaruba, Vulivulisai.

Bat: One of the figure malagans in Marada; usually portrayed as Bat tir (a standing figure)  
or as Bat sitting on a canoe afraid to go to sea. Bat means rain.
Owners: Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from MB. Tapwe)  
Tapwe [Pekinmiteres], E Simberi

Bat tir (Bataturi, Batir, Bat tuir): Standing Bat figure of Marada malagan; the name implies  
rainmaker. The image is usually a wooden figure but can also be a wooden head, or  
can be a body made of bush materials for the kovabat head of Marada. Bat tir is  
reputed to be used in the (rainmaking?) ceremony mi nasu. Also used for making  
kabati taro grow. One example (NGE 1429) was made in 1983 by Kovir and used  
in a varam malagan ceremony. Another was associated with Aro Marada, Latavus  
village, E Big Tabar.
Owners: Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from MB. Tapwe)  
Tapwe [Pekinmiteres], E Simberi

cur: A malagan display platform in Marada. Made from sugarcane, the platform has Vegeli  
figures standing on top.
Owners: Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from ZH Lagin [Saterir])  
Lagin [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi

Curuda (meccurnda, mecurda): The Da image in Marada was recorded as a number of  
versions of Curuda:
 a) A dry coconut marked like a malagan.
Owners: Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

b) A marumarua type of figure projecting from a da, with the head of a pig to each  
side.
Owners: Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

c) Another version with 3 da-with-marumarua figures each separated by koltibor and  
finished with pig heads (this is probably a kobokobor).
Owners: Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

d) Undescribed.
Owners: Lovapuk [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)  
Malik [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. Mulum)  
Mulum [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from F. Lovapuk  
[Saterir])

e) The name Da was recorded from Marada, Madas, Sonson, and Tayala Big-Name  
subtraditions and Curuda was also recorded in Madas.

Gorgorsorida (Gorgorserinda, Gorogorosurida, Gorongorosurida, Gororoosurindan):  
Sub-type of Kovabat in Marada; described as having has a siho (a type of kingfisher
Appendix A Malagan components

with yellow crest) on its head. The meaning of the *sino* is “after the bird, it rains on the mountains”. *Gorgorsorida* as a name was also recorded in *Arum* and *Malagacak* Big-Name subtraditions.

**Owners:**
Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaa, S Big Tabar (owner from M.)

**Katevegeli (Katwengili):** Undescribed name recorded in *Marada*; the name appears to comprise two morphemes: *kat- and -vegeli*. A *Kat* was elsewhere recorded in *Malagacak* as either a propellor-shaped piece of wood used for catching sharks or as a malagan *kupkup ci malaga* figure. *Vegeli* is a *Marada* figure made of wood or has a head of wood and body of bush materials.

**Owners:**
Lovapuk [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Malik [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. Mulum)
Mulum [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from F. Lovapuk [Saterir])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

**kobokobor:** Songis described the *kobokobor* as being the same as the *eikuar*. Several examples of *kobokobor* were recorded in *Marada*.

a) One example was named as *Curuda* (see above)

b) Lusom described a *kobokobor* as bilaterally symmetrical with *kovabor* pig heads at each end, then *koltibor*, then fish facing inwards, then *koltibor*, then a central *vegeli* figure emerging from a *da*.

**Owners:**
Lagin [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from ZH Lagin [Saterir])

**c) Undescribed.**

**Owners:**
Lovapuk [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Malik [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. Mulum)
Mulum [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from F. Lovapuk [Saterir])

**Kovabat (Koabat, Koambat, Kowabat):** Wooden head used in rain making. Often spoken as if it is the most dominant malagan in *Marada*. Usually recorded with a crest running front to back (for example NGE 1431, made for sale in 1983 by Songis); the heads are described as made from the hardwood *pidik* and, unlike most other malagans, were reused many times. Most often used with the wooden head placed on a body of bush materials called *bat tir*. Two examples of *Kovabat* were recorded with third level names: one (NGE 904) was called *Vulivulisai* and made for sale in 1982 by Lepan; the other was called *Gorgorsorida* by Maris Memengah. The name *kovabat* was recorded in *Arum* as well as *Marada* Big-Name subtraditions.

**Owners:**
Depi [Pekinmiteres] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi
Kame [Sepiv], Marapona, Vaa, S Big Tabar (owner?)
Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from B. & M. Depi)
Ladavak [Tavia k. Carmeges m.], S Big Tabar. (owner from F. ? Limamat [Kovanimetas k. Kobuai m.])
Laqare [Buatekone], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M.)
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaa, S Big Tabar (owner from F. Ladavak [Tavia k. Carmeges m.])
Limamat [Kovanimetas k. Kobuai m.], S Big Tabar. (owner ?)
Lovapuk [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Malik [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. Mulum)
Appendix A  Malagan components

Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], V añ, S Big Tabar (owner from M.)
Mulum [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from F. Lovapuk [Saterir])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavl, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

kovkov (koko) : Name recorded in Marada.
Owners:
Lovapuk [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Malik [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. Mulum)
Mulum [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from F. Lovapuk [Saterir])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavl, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

Matariris : Malagan mask of Marada; described as a type of walking mask.
Informant:
Buak [Maratoru], V añ, S Big Tabar

Moniaro (Bumoniaro) : In Marada the Moniaro is a figure standing up in a canoe, afraid to go into the sea. The name means something kept inside the aro malagan ritual site, and can also refer to a male or female initiate cloistered in the aro (a seclusion period termed davan). The name Moniaro was also recorded in Turu Big-Name subtradition.
Owners:
Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from MB. Tapwe)
Tapwe [Pekinmiteres], E Simberi

Onwenco (Onwenco) : Described as a figure malagan with one leg up after something in the sea had stabbed it in the leg while it was fishing.
Owners:
Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from MB. Tapwe)
Tapwe [Pekinmiteres], E Simberi

Telippat : Figure malagan in Marada; usually recorded holding one or two mungur flying fish in front of it. One example (NGE 890) was made by Songis in 1982 and used at a malagan ceremony after the death of his MZ. Telippat the name also refers to a mermaid or to a mythical small man who lives in salt water (not a dugong).
Owners:
Lovapuk [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Malik [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M. Mulum)
Mulum [Barabar] (woman), Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from F. Lovapuk [Saterir])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavl, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

Vegeli (Wangelia, Wengili, Wengeli) : Figure in Marada made of wood or with head of wood and body of bush materials; recorded as used either on its own or as part of a kobokobor, standing on top of a da water bottle.
 Owners:
Langin [Saterir], Poponovam, NW Simberi
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], V añ, S Big Tabar (owner from F. Ladavak [Tavia k. Caramuges m.])
Lusom [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from ZH Lagin [Saterir])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavl, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

Virukaruba (Wirukarumba) : Recorded as a figure in Marada. Examples made for sale in 1981 by Maris Memengah were distinguished by: stipo bird on head and axe in hand (NGE 905); or lizard kapo attached to tongue (NGE 906).
Owners:
Appendix A  Malagan components

Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from M.)

Vulivulisai (Vulivulisai, Wuliwisai, Wuliwulisai) : Name recorded as a sub-type of kovabai wooden head.
Owners:
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from F. Ladavak [Tavia k. Carameges m.])
Maris Memengah [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from M.)

Malagan Big-Name: Maris

Malagan Ritual Sites:
One Maris ritual site was recorded on Tabar:
i) Pansakir hamlet, SE Simberi, an origin location of Maris.

Character:
Reputed to be a bad malagan which causes sores.

Previous Records:
None known in the literature. However my one informant on Tabar indicated that Maris malagans are also owned at Medina on mainland New Ireland.

Taŋaŋias:
None recorded.

Known Owners:
1 owner.

Malagan Names:
1 generic name : marumarua.
0 specific names
marumarua : The only example recorded was a figure holding veivem.
Owners:
Kanerau [Pekila k. Sepiv m.] Beku, SE Simberi (owner from F. in [Mataragau])

Malagan Big-Name: Sisubua
Also recorded as Sesambua, Sesumbua, Sisambua, Sisumbua.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
No Sisubua ritual sites were recorded on Tabar.

Character:
Sisubua is known as a saltwater malagan which came to Tabar from Lesu village in the Notsi language region of mainland New Ireland. On Tabar it is best known for the malagan Lasisi.
Appendix A  Malagan components

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded sesambua at Teripats, NW Big Tabar, and noted (p15) that sesambuang at Balus (Tigak central) and Nayama (Kuot-Panaras) on the mainland had its origin on Tabar. Wilkinson (1978:229) recorded Sosambwa.

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
Lasisi and Sisubua malagans have been previously recorded as coming to mainland New Ireland from Tabar and was found in the Tigak, Notsi, and Kuot-Panaras regions.

Walden described Sesambuang as a malagan which was a horizontal plank with human figures (1940:15) and which had its origin on Tabar, from Tabar it came to Balus (Tigak, central d.) and Nayama (Kuot-Panaras region) on the mainland. Krämer (1925:75, Abb.19d) recorded a sketch from Téringa, the malagan maker in Hamba (Notsi region), of a malagan called sasamboöng which resembled a large fish with a man standing vertically from its mouth; Krämer also obtained a vertical wooden malagan featuring a fish’s mouth with a man standing in it holding his ears (1925: Taf. 43).

In Lesu, Sasabwan was a major malagan grouping containing at least 15 subtypes of malagan (Powdermaker 1933:316):
1) Aruppekleia: fish
2) Eiaiderauf: fish
3) Anuf: fish
4) Solennau: figure of man
5) Lysisi: figure of man
6) Mundále: figure of man
7) Leirau: figure of woman
8) Däwgandau: figure of woman
9) Kortämuth: figure of woman
10) Aluder: figure of man
11) Andowugul: figure of man
12) Winabo: figure of woman
13) Kummermeia
14) Ararasi
15) Logarawai

Taŋaŋias:
Taŋaŋias for Sisubua was recorded from one owner:

Recorded from Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] of Karubo, S Tatau (originally from the Notsi region of mainland New Ireland):
Lasisi
tutamba
mi so kolumba
mi so lala

Taŋaŋias - comments:
- Lasisi: the figure malagan in Sisubua,
- Tubaba (Tubamba): (Notsi language ?)
- Sokoluba (mi so kolumba): (Notsi language ?)
- Solala (mi so lala): (Notsi language ?)

Known Owners:
4 owners.

Malagan Names:
4 generic names : eikuar, kobokobor, kupkup ci malaga, marumarua.
5 specific names : Betlasisi, Buma, Curbanbaŋ, Lasisi, Vilvil.
Betlasi : Malagan figure, attributed to Sisubua.  
Owners:  
Peter Leleo [Cegel], Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from F. in [Selamabun], Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)

Buma : Bilaterally symmetrical kobokobor of Sisubua with an image of fish (or birds?) feeding on a school of tuna; at each end is the head of the tuna fish rafor, then koltibor, then the bird lopingon facing inwards, then a pair of sea-gulls opposing each other, then the bird lopingon facing the ends, then a central koltibor. The term buma is also used on Tabar to refer to a malagan dance and song associated with removing taboo restrictions.  
Owners:  
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.], Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)

Curbaabaa (mi Curbaabaa) : Type of kobokobor of Sisubua. Curbaabaa has a central image of two barba hornbills (Aceros plicatus) facing towards the viewer, a koltibor near each end and 4 veivem running through the entire kobokobor. This malagan has a Lesu (Notsi) origin.  
Owners:  
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.], Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)

eikuar : Recorded undescribed in Sisubua.  
Owners:  
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.], Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)

kobokobor : Curbaabaa was recorded as a kobokobor in Sisubua.

kupkup ci malaga : Lasisi was recorded as a kupkup ci malaga in Sisubua.

Lasisi : The name Lasisi is derived from mainland New Ireland, possibly from the Notsi region. At Panamafei village, in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, I recorded both Lasisi and Lamasisi as the name of a malagan figure, it was also termed Lekeu (the ‘baptised name’), Mandasim (its Big-Name), and Mendis (the Small-Name covering it all). From the Notsi region Powdermaker (1933:316) recorded Lysisi as a malagan figure of a man and part of the Sasabwan group of malagans at Lesu; Walden (1940:24) recorded lazizi at Nangama (Kuot-Panaras region?); and Krämer (1925:73) recorded a description of Lasisi as a hero (ilua, in the south virua) with boar’s tusks in the mouth. He illustrated Lasisi with two malagan figures (Taf.55l and 57l). On Tabar I recorded the name Lasisi as part of the tanjaas of Sisubua. In all probability what is called Lasisi on the mainland was renamed as Sisubua on Tabar.  
a) Leleo referred to Lasisi as the Big-Name.  
Owners:  
Leleo, Peter [Cegel], Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from F. in [Selamabun], Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)

b) Recorded as a kupkup ci malaga figure malagan in Sisubua, Lasisi is often displayed as a line of three figures standing up in a cobi canoe made of sago spathe, a picture of those lost at sea.  
Owners:  
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.], Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)  
Batu [Manebo] (owner from F. ex Notsi region, mainland New Ireland), Tiripac, NW Big Tabar
marumarua: Recorded in Sisubua as Vilvil (see below).

Vilvil (Virvir): A marumarua figure of Sisubua pictured inside a folded sago leaf, such as those sago leaves folded around a betel tree trunk and used to declare private ownership of the tree in an attempt to stop the theft of the betelnuts.

Owners:
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Notsi region, mainland New Ireland)

Malagan Big-Name: Soŋsoŋ

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Three Soŋsoŋ ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Pigimat, an aro in Ketivera hamlet, Bueri village, SE Simberi. The malagan Cur Taŋala si mi Soŋsoŋ came out of this malagan ritual site, although originally from Lavamadasi.
ii) Pekinkuliv, an aro site of Soŋsoŋ in Tatau village, N Tatau Island.
iii) Lavamadasi (Loamandasi, Loamedes, Lavamandas), location on mountain inland Big Tabar Island on land owned by [Carameges] clan; Kulekulebeie snake totem of [Nono k. Potuvara m.] clan at this location; malagan Cur Taŋala si mi Soŋsoŋ originally from Lavamadasi.

Character:
Soŋsoŋ has a number of unusual aspects. According to one owner, Soŋsoŋ came to [Carameges] clan from the man Taŋala, an ancestral culture hero from the bush. In the myth of Raban and Cikite8, Cikite, an ancestor of [Carameges] clan, married a Soŋsoŋ malagan. The dominant image today in Soŋsoŋ appears to be that of the cim shark hunting canoe and shark hunters lost at sea.
People in the Kara language region of northern New Ireland told me that their Soŋsoŋ malagan came from Tabar.

Previous Records from Tabar:

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
Téringa, the malagan maker in Hamba (Notsi region), described freize malagans called songsong to Krämer (1925:75). Both Krämer (1925: Taf 64t) and Meyer (1895:Bd X Taf. XIV,a) gave an illustration of a songsong malagan from Feso which on Tabar would be described as a central koltibor, with black spherical da suspended out each side between or rods.
In the Nalik region Heintze (1987:43) described four figures of similar appearance standing on top of what on Tabar would be a kobokobor. These figures were called songsong, walik, kuletmo, and malanggatsak.

Taŋanias:
Taŋanias were recorded from two Soŋsoŋ owners:

8 For transcripts of myth of Raban and Cikite see Appendix B.2.
Appendix A Malagan components

Recorded from John Tolovai [Carameges], Ketivera, SE Simberi:

- mi si neri
- mi saput
- au sonut
- en delemi
- a kambaimbo

Recorded from Eliakim Tobem Wale [Carameges] at Simberi village, SW Simberi:

- wusinai
- usaput
- lensa
- edaleni
- ausaryun

Tagaugi - comments:
- ausaryun (au sonut) : ?
- edaleni (en delemi) : Delemi is a masalai shark belonging to [Laronggo] clan at Mapua
- kabeibo (a kambaimbo) : (kabo, kambaimbo, kabei, kambeimbo) : strong taboo which is placed on some malagan activities; occurs during tevabati and probably other malagan activity; abbreviated as kabo; probably derived from kabei & bo; name apparently specific to the kabei owned by [Carameges] clan which is associated with Sonsoŋ malagan.

- lemsa : ?
- mi si neri : ?
- usaput (mi saput) : usa means “to drip, to fall”.
- vusinai (wusinai) : vus means “full”.

Known Owners:
10 owners, 2 artists.

Malagan Names:
3 generic names: ges, kobokobor, kupkup ci malaga.
6 specific names: Cim, Curi Tayala, Da, Kacom matele, Kovaie, Tayala.

Cim (Cimbi, Combi, Mecem, Sonbi, Sombi, Tsim, Tsombi): Wooden Sonsoŋ ges figures seated in a shark catching canoe9 made of sago spathe, represents a canoe which was lost on the water, all aboard died. The canoe hull representation has wooden prow finials with the sides covered with tulali tree bark, barkcloth, or coconut leaf. The malagan Cim is also known on mainland New Ireland.

Owners:
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], SW Simberi (owner from F. Tobem Wale [Carameges]
Tobem Wale, Eliakim [Carameges], Simberi village, SW Simberi (owner from kandere)

cur: Display or transference platform of Sonsoŋ.

Owners:
Masol [Tavia k. Carameges m.] Sodir, W Simberi (owner from F. [Vatorar]).

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9 Three other sea-going canoe types described to me on Tabar were:
- cimkoppa sea-going outrigger canoe with sheer-strakes used for shark hunting.
- cobi “canoe hull”: sea-going outrigger canoe with sheer-strakes (the dialect variation from north to south changes through: cim, cimbi, combi, sombi, galeu. I recorded the term kaleu for a sea-going outrigger canoe in the Kara language region of northern New Ireland.
- kairi sea-going canoe previously used for catching sharks; had ma prow ends, washstrakes and outrigger saman; now obsolete and replaced by mon powered with an outboard engine.
Appendix A  Malagan components

Cur Tarala : Recorded as a kobokobor with kovaie (head of fish) finials, veivem extending to a central large koltibor. On top of the koltibor stands a ges Tarala figure. The tabatafa for Cur Tarala bears the name of Pigimat location; but Cur Tarala originated at Lavamadasi, a location owned by [Caramge+] on a mountain inland on Big Tabar Island.
Owners:
Tolovaq [Caramge+s], Ketivera, SE Simberi (owner from M. Vulo [Caramge+s])
Vulo [Caramge+s] (woman), SE Simberi

Da : In Soŋson the water-bottle Da is a kupkup ci malaga of Taŋala, but without a nac stopper. In some versions two or three Da water bottles can be seated on a canoe.
Owners:
Eliakim Tobem Wale [Caramge+s], SW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Tolovaq [Caramge+s], Ketivera, SE Simberi (owner from M. Vulo [Caramge+s])
Vulo [Caramge+s] (woman), SE Simberi

ges : In Soŋson apparently some of the Taŋala figures are ges with a bush origin, whereas other Taŋala are from saltwater. One Ges recorded (NGE 896, made by Mora of Napekur, N Simberi in 1981 and owned by Tolovaq) has outstretched arms with extended curved fore-fingers, a black and white sea snake (curirev) was held in front with the head biting the chin of the figure.
Owners:
Eliakim Tobem Wale [Caramge+s], SW Simberi (owner from kandere)
Koŋa [Keis], Karamelebuet, Maragon, W Simberi (owner from F. Luŋa [Caramge+s])
Luŋa [Caramge+s], W Simberi ?
Nale [Caramge+s], Bueri, SE Simberi (owner from M. Vulo [Caramge+s])
Tolovaq [Caramge+s], Ketivera, SE Simberi (owner from M. Vulo [Caramge+s])
Vulo [Caramge+s] (woman), SE Simberi

Kacom mateie (Kasamsaiye, Kasamgaiye, Kacometaiye) : Two versions of the Kacom mateie were recorded in Soŋson:
a) One example was a wooden malaganised headdress seated inside a bush materials canoe.
Owners:
Masol [Tavia k. Caramge+s m.] Sodir, W Simberi (owner from F. [Vatorar])

b) The other another example resembled a kobokobor in that it was bilaterally symmetrical, had a central large koltibor, with three veivem extending to a thinner koltibor near the ends and finishing with three or. Inside each veivem and or is another rod representing the bone of the fish. On top of the central koltibor is a yellow fish-head surrounded by four enclosing or.
Owners:
Eliakim Tobem Wale [Caramge+s], SW Simberi (owner from kandere)

kelev (kolev) : Tabooing tree, part of Soŋson, belongs to [Caramge+s] clan. Owners:
Tolovaq [Caramge+s], Ketivera, SE Simberi (owner from M. Vulo [Caramge+s] ?)
Vulo [Caramge+s] (woman), SE Simberi (owner?)

kobokobor : Cur Taŋala was recorded as a kobokobor in Soŋson (see above).

10 See Appendix B transcript 4.10.
Appendix A Malagan components

Kovaie (Kowaiye): Head of fish, recorded in Sonso as a separate and major malagan.

Owners:
Eliakim Tobem Wale [Carameges], SW Simberi (owner from kandere)

kupkup ci malaga: Both the two kupkup ci malaga recorded for Sonso (mi Da and mi Tarya) were Tarya.

Tarya: Recorded from Simberi Island as a cultural entity outside malagan, the Tarya is a mythic trickster dwarf which teaches culture, lives in a cave on the beach or in the bush, is very strong and although looks like a child is a fully grown man. Tarya was recorded as both a malagan Big-Name subtradition, and as a malagan element within Sonso and Turu subtraditions. In Sonso some Tarya figures are apparently ges with a bush origin, whereas other Tarya are from saltwater. It would seem that the da water-bottle can also be a Tarya, or at least belong to a subgrouping of Tarya.

Owners:
Tolovai [Carameges], Ketivera, SE Simberi (owner from M. Vulo [Carameges])

Malagan Big-Name: Takapa
Also recorded as Takap, Takep.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Two Takapa ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Bulbul, inland of Tupinmida (probably on Sunagaramit Mountain), W Tatau.
ii) Burisua mountain, south Tatau Island, opposite Mapua - an origin place of Takapa malagan.

Character:
Figures with wooden head and body made of pandanus fibre rope, often placed in seated position with raised arms.

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden (1940:24) recorded takap at Teripats, NW Big Tabar in 1907-09.

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
Takapa was recorded from the Notsi region by both Krämer and Lewis. Téringa, the malagan maker in Hamba, described to Krämer a dagaba (1925: Abb.19) which very closely resembles the Takapa woven figures I collected from Tatau (see below) with their triangular body plaited from the pounded fibres of the pandanus root. Téringa indicated that this type had not been made for a long time.

Phillip Lewis recorded five woven Tagapa figures from Nou village in the Notsi region in 1954 (Lewis 1969:92-99) and from a Nou myth he quotes it would seem likely that Takapa has a mainland New Ireland origin. These Takapa figures had wooden or coconut husk heads on conical fibre and basketry bodies.

Taotaqias:
Taotaqias was recorded from one Takapa owner:

Recorded from Tove Lapiri [Sorovar] of Tugitugi, E Tatau:
Bekbek Kaparu
Takapa se
e o ne egi
**Appendix A  Malagan components**

*mi aviso*

**Tangiajas - comments:**
- *Bekbek Kaparu*: a reference to a small flying fox
- *Takapa se*: Takapa malagan
- *e o ne egi*: a reference to the white bellied sea eagle (Haliaeetus leucogaster)
- *mi aviso (aviso eviso, mi ave so)*: a reference to a bamboo knife; bad talk, to make someone have an accident; also part of the *tangiajas* of Totobo big-name grouping, where it means “evil talk, a curse”; part of the *tangiajas* of Dejenasi, where it means “cutting, breaking in half (eg. rope)”.

**Known Owners:**
9 owners, 1 artist

**Malagan Names:**
4 generic names: *eikuar, kobokobor, kupkup ci malaga, marumarua.*
6 specific names: *Ei Kulubo, Kapacapaca, Kulubo, Pulpulmasesa, Tio, Vovanu.*

*Ei Kulubo*: An *eikuar* version of Takapa can be made by fastening up to 5 Kulubo figures head to foot onto the wall of the malagan display house.

**Owners:**
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

*eikuar*: Apparently there are many *eikuar* in Takapa:

b) Another *eikuar* type is the more usual column of figures separated by *koltibor* with head of pig at the bottom and white bellied sea eagle (Haliaeetus leucogaster) at the top. Pani said he was given this *eikuar* as a *kupkup ci malaga*.

**Owners:**
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

*Kapacapaca (Kapocapoca, Kapotsapotsa)*: Subtype of *Kulubo* figure (see below) with body woven from a rope made of pandanus fibre and with a wooden head. One example (NGE 889), made in 1982 by Tove Lapiri had the body painted with a yellow top with white bottom, and apparently represented the white bellied sea eagle (Haliaeetus leucogaster).

**Owners:**
Ome [Butua], Lavis, Tugi Tugi, E Tatau. (owner from MF. Pani Tove Lapiri [Sorovar])
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

*kobokobor*: Only one *kobokobor* was recorded in Takapa: a bilaterally symmetrical malagan with *rorpr* tuna heads at each end; then *koltibor*, then figures holding *veivem* each separated by *koltibor*, then a *koltibor* then a central sun which has a four pointed star shape in the centre with one *kabiamata* eye (Turbo petholatus catch shell).

**Owners:**
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, Tugi Tugi, E Tatau

*Kulubo (Kulaba, Kulumbo)*: Type of Takapa malagan; some people said that “Kulubo is the Big-Name subtradition, and Takapa the Small-Name”; others said it is the other way around. *Kulubo* appear to be figures with wooden head and body made of pandanus fibre rope in seated position with raised arms. They have sub-types with specific names such as *Kapacapaca* and *Pulpulmasesa*. An *eikuar* version is the *Ei Kulubo* (see above). *Kulumbo* was the name of a malagan recorded by Walden (1940:24) at Teripats, NW Big Tabar, in 1907-09.
Owners:
Kara, William [Nono k. Potuvara m.], Gitarut, Mapua (owner from F. Lavosi [Daraba])
Lavosi [Daraba], Mapua?
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M.)
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from F. in [Tavia k. Carammeges m.])
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

kupkup ci malaga: In Takapa the eikuar and the Vovanu were recorded as kupkup ci malaga.

marumarua: In Takapa the marumarua figure can be either woven or made from wood.

Owners:
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

Pulpulmasesa: Type of Kulubo figure (see above) with body woven of rope, wooden head. One example (NGE 888), made in 1982 by Tove Lapiri had the body painted with a red top with yellow bottom, and apparently represented the bird of the same name.

Owners:
Ome [Butua], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau. (owner from MF. Pani Tove Lapiri [Sorovar])
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

Tio: Name recorded as part of Takapa; probably represents a dolphin. The name Tio was also recorded in Malagacak and Totobo Big-Name subtraditions.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M.)

Vovanu (Vanu): Recorded as a kupkup ci malaga associated with the initiation ceremony vovakitip. The sculpture is probably a figure, some examples were apparently made of wood, others made of pandanus fibre rope. At Panamafei in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, the name Vavakatip was recorded as a type of Vavara malagan featuring the head of a man in the centre.

Owners:
Pani Tove Lapiri, Daniel [Sorovar], Lavis, TugiTugi, E Tatau

Malagan Big-Name: Taŋala

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Two Taŋala ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Aro Taŋala, Baravi hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.
ii) Aro Vil, Sepiv hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.

Character:
Recorded mainly from Simberi, the Taŋala in one version is a mythic trickster dwarf which teaches culture, lives in a cave on the beach or in the bush, is very strong, looks like a child but is a full grown man. In another version he is a saltwater fisherman with a katir canoe.
Previous Records from Tabar:
Wilkinson (1978:234) noted that “Tarpla are found in almost all [malanggan] families and are made for all important Malanggan ceremonies, because they take revenge upon any mischief-maker who interferes with the ceremony.”

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
There is one reference in the literature to a Tarpla malagan. Krämer (1925:75) referred to tangla as “Bildsäulen” (image columns), most likely a tall malagan column similar to the Tabar eikua type.

Other references are linked to the taqala dwarf-like culture figure which in Tovabe (near Fisoa in the Nalik region) are termed lulura (Heintze 1987:44). Walden had earlier noted (1940:16) that in Fezoa (Nalik) people reported that dwarves termed Lulura invented the malagan a yulube.

Taŋtaŋias:
None recorded. The taŋtaŋias of Taŋala is apparently referred to as adira (andira).

Known Owners:
10 owners, 2 artists.

Malagan Names:
1 major subgrouping: Turu
1 generic name: marumarua.
8 specific names: Da, Kasolik, Katir, Kovaget, Porok, Preprekesu, Taŋala, Turut.

Da: Representation of coconut water bottle. In Taŋala the Da does not have the nac stopper image. Da images were also recorded in Marada, Madas, and Soŋsoŋ Big-Name subtraditions.
Informant:
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi

Kasolik: Malagan marumarua figure which, according to Vova, stands of top of the Preprekesu in Taŋala; named after a church pastor. Kasolik is the malagan name for men in the state of lakaki, who have paid to work on Vavara malagan. Kasolik was also recorded as a name in a taŋtaŋias of Vavara, and listed as a Vavara malagan.
Owners:
Kasolik [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Wowa)
Lovan [Obun], Lava, Tatau village, N Tatau
Wowa [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

Katir: Wooden image of a shark catching canoe used as a base for malagan figures; most of the recorded Taŋala images stand on a katir canoe (for example NGE 901 made in 1982 by Pius Luŋaŋa), with the others standing on a stone. In the katir canoe is a kat shark catching implement and an ora fish trap. Taŋala uses ora. When one specific type of Taŋala is used the ora fish trap image is put on its head. Katir was also recorded in Malagacak and Verim; the related group Soŋsoŋ uses a sago spathe cim canoe.
Owners:
Pius Luŋaŋa [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

Kovaget (Kovanget, Koanget): One of three types of Taŋala figure recorded from one informant. The Kovaget has an ora (conical fish trap) on top of its head and wears a
vavara-type disc around its neck. The name Kovaget is probably a reference to a feather head-dress.

Owners:
Pius Luraga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

marumanua: Recorded in Taqala by one informant as the Preprekesu; by another as the Kasolik (see).

Porok: Recorded in Taqala as a puffer-fish, a rooster, or a cat. It appears that each variety can also be referred to by a separate name (see Turut below). Also recorded as a major subcategory of Malagacak malagan and in the tarjarjás of Malagacak.

Owners:
Pius Luraga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

Preprekesu (Preprekasu, Preprekso): A 2 dimensional Taqala figure with a complex columnar headdress standing on a katir canoe, the headdress has images of moon ura, star kamikam, rooster porok and or finials; during the malagan ceremony this malagan is smashed to pieces (see Fig.54).

Owners:
Kasolik [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Wowa)
Lovan [Obun], Lava, Tatau village, N Tatau
Pius Luraga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

Taqala: A number of different malagan types were called just Taqala:

a) A figure with ora (conical fish trap) on top of its head (the malagan is then called Kovaget, probably a reference to a feather head-dress), and a Vavara-type woven disc around its neck.

Owners:
Pius Luraga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

b) A figure standing up on a katir canoe.

Owners:
Pius Luraga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

c) A figure standing up on a stone, holds a spear in one hand and a fishing line in the other.

Owners:
Pius Luraga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

d) A shark with a man on top; this malagan belongs to [Obun] clan.

Informant:
Songis Lamot [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau.
Appendix A  Malagan components

e) A figure of *Turu tabataba* with a moon between the *or* on its head. This malagan is a bush malagan.

**Owners:**
Gasarum [Vutigamgam], Napekur, N Simberi.
Kapet [Katobi], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Gasarum [Vutigamgam])

f) A saltwater *Tayala* figure.

**Owners:**
Gasarum [Vutigamgam], Napekur, N Simberi.
Kapet [Katobi], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Gasarum [Vutigamgam])

**Turu**: Tabataba subgrouping of *Tayala*; owned by [Vutigamgam] clan. It is not yet clear to me whether there is a distinct difference between the *Turu tabataba* grouping of *Tayala* subtradition and the *Tayala* malagan figure in *Turu* subtradition.

**Owners:**
Gasarum [Vutigamgam], Napekur, N Simberi.
Kapet [Katobi], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Gasarum [Vutigamgam])

**Turut**: Referred to as a type of *Tayala*, probably a *Porok*. Also referred to in the myth of the two sharks *Sokoberut* and *Lukorevero* where *Turut* is described as a type of puffer-fish with needles (probably *Diodon hystrix*, the 'porcupine fish' which swells up when attacked).

**Owners:**
Pius Lugaga [Perivut k. Damok m.], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from M. Sokova)
Sokova [Perivut k. Damok m.] (woman), Napekur, N Simberi (owner from F. in [Botir])

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**Malagan Big-Name: Tomut**

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**
Although no *Tomut* ritual sites were recorded on Tabar, *Tomut* has appeared within living memory at Lava, N Tatau and at Lavabuso, NW Tatau.

**Character:**
Known as a malagan of play.

**Previous Records:**
None known.

**Tantarias:**
*Tantarias* was recorded from one *Tomut* owner:

Recorded from Sola-u [Keis] at Maragon, W Simberi:

- limba *tomut*
- *e tombiai*
- *se saramuk*
- te delekoin

**Tantarias - comments:**
- *limba tomut*: ?
- *e tombiai: tobi ai* means “to break wood”; *tobiai* is also recorded as a malagan ceremony to cut the bush materials to be used in the malagan house, part of *ciribor*; also recorded in *tantarias* of *Lunet*. 
Appendix A Malagan components

- se saramuk: ?
- te delekoin: ?

Known Owners:
5 owners.

Malagan Names:
0 generic names.
3 specific names: Curubaru, Notuges, Tomut.

Curubaru (Surubaru, Surumbaru): Name means a "bed of pigeons", where pigeons sit down on it. This name was also recorded as a malagan type of Vuvil where it is a kobokobor.
Informant:
Lusem [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau

Notuges: Made from the top of a flowering sago tree, so that all the flowers come out like the roots of a fig.
Owners:
Sola-U [Keis], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from F.? [Carameges])

Tomut: The Tomut figure is made from sago trunk with the head made from a different wood. When worked in a malagan ceremony it is hollowed out and placed in a seated position with hands raised, displaying its penis and testicles. During the ceremony a boy goes behind at tips water into the figures so that it urinates. This is apparently a malagan of play.
Owners:
Mavis [Sara], Tatau village, N Tatau
Sola-U [Keis], Maragon, W Simberi (owner from F.? [Carameges])
Salin, Aisoli [Carameges], Tupinmida, NW Tatau (owner from F. Mavis [Sara])

Malagan Big-Name: Totobo
Also recorded as Totombo.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
One Totobo ritual site was recorded on Tabar:
i) Ciboem Mountain, above Maragon, Simberi - an origin location of Totobo.

Character:
Bush malagan, does not know how to catch fish. Not used for burying clans-people. It is taboo to eat fish in the aro of this malagan, for fish bones stick in the throat when fish is eaten. Apparently similar to Turu.

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded the names butombo and totambo at Teripats, NW Big Tabar in 1907-9. Wilkinson (1978:237) recorded that Totombo on Tabar was comprised entirely of ges.

Tanjañias:
Tanjañias chants for Totobo were recorded on three occasions and from two owners:

Recorded from Lakaq [Porivam k. Beravin m.] at Monun NE Simberi:
sokolmbes
Appendix A Malagan components

mi si neri
mi a viso

Recorded from Lakaŋ [Porivam k. Beravin m.] at Monun NE Simberi for Werima of Totobo:
mi si neri
mi ko sep

Recorded from Kanerau [Pekila k. Sepiv m.] at Beku, SE Simberi for kobokobor of Totobo:
savolavet
mi aviso
a tetereput

Tagtagias - comments:
- mi aviso (aviso eviso, mi ave so): a reference to a bamboo knife; “evil talk, a curse”; also recorded as part of tajtagias of Takapa big-name grouping, where it means “bad talk, to make someone have an accident”; recorded as part of tagtagias of Denenasi, where it means “cutting, breaking in half (eg. rope)”.
- Savolavet (Sokolbet): ?
- Tetereput: ?

Known Owners:
5 owners, 4 artists.

Malagan Names:
4 generic names: eikuar, ges, kobokobor, kupkup ci malaga.
5 specific names: Auis, Ciri i, Pai, Tio, Vari.

Auis (Auwis, Ouis): Recorded as a kupkup ci malaga in Totobo, an auis bird with a house (surround?) around it. Images of the Auis bird were also recorded in Lunet and Vavara; and the name was also recorded in the tagtagias of Vivil.

Owners:
Kanerau [Pekila k. Sepiv m.] Beku, SE Simberi (owner from kandere)
Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Ciri i (Ciri ei): Name means “bone of fish”, features fish skeleton between pigs’ heads where it means that people cannot eat fish in the aro, fish bones stick in the neck. An example of this malagan (NGE 882) was made in 1980 by Pius Luŋaŋ of Maragon, W Simberi and used as a kupkup ci malaga.

Owners:
Lakaŋ [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun NE Simberi (owner from kandere)
Luan Guvali [Sicobi], Saŋut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from ZH? Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.])

eikuar (eikwar): One type of eikuar was described as follows: at the top is a fish eagle Haliaetus indus (Brahminy or white-headed kite) standing on top of a type of cuscus (mi andal), a ges is holding onto the tail of the cuscus which hangs down over the koltibor separating the cuscus from the ges; after another koltibor an auis bird is sitting down with its head looking out to the side, some other auis are sitting as though ready to get up. This eikuar description is very similar to the description of a kobokobor for Totobo given by Kanerau.

Owners:
Lakaŋ [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun NE Simberi (owner from kandere):
Appendix A Malagan components

ges: Recorded as an element of both an eikuar and a kobokobor of Totobo.

kobokobor: Two kobokobor descriptions were recorded:
  a) One was a standard description for a kobokobor - three standing Totobo figures separated by kolitibor, with or finials.
     Owners: Lakanj [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun NE Simberi (owner from kandere)
  b) The other kobokobor was described in narrative format and it became obvious this man was describing a malagan very similar in style to the Totobo eikuar recorded by Lakanj: the veivem framework of the kobokobor is a napap fig tree with aerial roots, inside are an auis bird and a cuscus; a ges reaches in and pulls the tail of the cuscus. The cuscus gets up in surprise and wants to climb out of the fig tree, but finds its way blocked by the wing of the auis, so it sits down and looks out. The ges reaches in and pulls the tail of the cuscus, which stands up and looks along its side.
     Owners: Kanerau [Pekila k. Sepiv m.] Beku, SE Simberi (owner from kandere)

kupkup ci malaga: Pai, Tio and Vari were recorded as kupkup ci malaga in Totobo.

Pai: In Totobo the stingray Pai was used as a kupkup ci malaga, and had a number of subtypes including vari (see below). The image was previously carved in saba wood, but now is made of paper and painted black with small white circles. Pai in non-malagan usage also refers to a nut or stone in the centre of a tree fruit.
     Owners: Lakanj [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun NE Simberi (owner from kandere)
     Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
     Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Tio (Butio): A kupkup ci malaga dolphin part of Totobo. The image has previously been made of saba, but can also be made with a pounded bush vine which turns black, wrapped around a pandanus trunk to form the body. The mouth is bamboo; fin, tail and wings made from a big sago spathe, then the whole image is covered with black earth piramadas. The name Tio was also recorded in Malagacak and Takapa.
     Owners: Lakanj [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun NE Simberi (owner from kandere)

Vari (Werima): Apparently a subtype of Pai stingray.
     Owners: Lakanj [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun NE Simberi (owner from kandere)

Malagan Big-Name: Turu

Malagan Ritual Sites:
One Turu ritual site was recorded on Tabar:
i) Lañum, a malagan ritual site at or near Koneraba beach, Sinikima, SE Big Tabar - an origin point of the malagan Turu Madakaba.

Character:
All Turu malagans apparently have protruding eyes on stalks. Turu also means “lime”; cirinuru means “backbone”.

Appendix A  Malagan components

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded mi turu or mi-sinneng and mi-turu or mi siri at Teripats, NW Big Tabar in 1907-9.

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
There are two previous references to Turu malagans in the mainland. Téringa in Hamba (Notasi region) described to Krämer (1925:75) a túru figure with upstretched hands, a malagan which was illustrated in Meyer (1895: Bd. X Taf. XI,5). Walden (1940:24) also recorded a turu malagan made at Nangama (Kuo-Panaras region?).

Taŋtaŋias:
Taŋtaŋias chants were recorded from two Turu owners:

Recorded from Daniel Kariec [Vutigamgam] at Mangavur, SE Tatau:
- madassambar
- ndawilwil
- ndamelmel
- dadegmapuai
- e lunambet

Recorded from Lusem Tula [Lavakulep] for a rarau si mi Lunet, at cirep malagan ceremony Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau:
- laraqir
- mi takamba
- laraqet

Taŋtaŋias - comments:
- davilwil (ndawilwil) : 
- damelmel (ndamelmel) : 
- dadegmapuai :
- laraqet :
- laraqir :
- lunabet (e lunambet) :
- madassambar : possibly a reference to the white oval stones (Matasibar, Matassabar, Matsibar) previously used in slings during warfare.
- takaba (mi takamba) :

Known Owners:
12 owners, 5 artists.

Malagan Names:
1 generic name : eikuar.
6 specific names : Bu Moniaro, Madakaba, Ruburubureia, Taŋala, Turu, Vevinvor.

Bu Moniaro (Moniaro) : Recorded within the subgrouping Madakaba in Turu; one example sighted was a figure with protruding eyes, blowing bamboo pipes potoviso and with a blue pandanus fruit tivavau on top of its head, this sculpture was made by Vali Sangate of Mapua. The name Moniaro means “it stays inside the malagan ritual site (aro)”, a name which was also recorded from Maradá.

Owners:
Kariec [Vutigamgam], Mangavur, SE Tatau (owner from kandere Lavas)
Lavas [Vutigamgam], E Tatau

eikuar : Ruburubureia was recorded as an eikuar in Turu.
Madakaba (Mandakaba, Mandakamba, Mandakemba): Madakaba was the only subgrouping I recorded in Turu. Taqala, Moniaro, and Vinevor were recorded as part of Madakaba. All the figures in Madakaba apparently have potoviso bamboo pipes and eyes on stalks.

Owners:
Kariec [Vutigamgam], Mangavur, SE Tatau (owner from F. Lagase [Tirodan])
Lagase [Tirodan], Mangavur, E Tatau. (owner from kandere)

Ruburubureia (Rumburumbureia): Described as a big flat eikuar.

Owners:
Kariec [Vutigamgam], Mangavur, SE Tatau (owner from kandere Lavas or F. Lagase [Tirodan] ?)

Taqala: Recorded as Taqala of Turu tabataba within the subgrouping Madakaba in Turu, this malagan can be of either bush or saltwater origin. Depending on which aro they come from, the figures have either pointed or flat heads. It is unclear whether these represent female and male versions. One example (NGE 895) was made in 1981 for the owner Kapet [Katobi] who used the malagan to finish the name of his father's sister in [Vutigamgam clan]. The Taqala image was also recorded in Sonson Big-Name subtradition and also is the subject of its own Big-Name. It is not yet clear to me whether there is a distinct difference between the Turu tabataba grouping of Taqala subtradition and the Taqala malagan figure in Turu subtradition.

Owners:
Gasarum [Vutigamgam], Napekur, N Simberi
Kapet [Katobi], Monun, E Simberi (owner from MB & F. Gasarum [Vutigamgam])
Kariec [Vutigamgam], Mangavur, SE Tatau (owner from kandere Lavas)
Lavas [Vutigamgam], E Tatau

Turu: The Turu figure often has protruding eyes and can occur standing in a clamshell. An example is NGE 1430, made in 1983 by Mora and used in a cirep malagan ceremony at Pekinberiu village, E Tatau.

Owners:
Bevi Rorun [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi: (owner from ZH Tamevat [Carameges])
Tamevat [Carameges], Simberi, SW Simberi

Vevinvor (Veveinwor, Vevinwor, Vinewor, Wewinworo): Recorded within the subgrouping Madakaba in Turu and described as a representation of a person who walked on the reef looking for fish and was grabbed by a large clam. The name means “young girl, young woman”.

Owners:
Kariec [Vutigamgam], Mangavur, SE Tatau (owner from kandere Lavas)
Lavas [Vutigamgam], E Tatau

Malagan Big-Name: Valik
Also recorded as Walik.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Three Valik ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Lakavil, hamlet and Valik aro malagan ritual site at Tatau village, N Tatau.
ii) Kusur, village site on a mountain above Sabuari, W Tatau - an origin location for Valik.

From Kusur the mem went to the coast, then to Simberi, then to Tatau village.
Appendix A Malagan components

iii) Vitoremat, possibly village site on mountain near Sabuari, W Tatau Island - an origin place of Valik malagan.

Character:
Valik is easily identified by the central matalia (eye of fire) design element which can be used on its own as a malagan, but more often is used as part of a larger sculpture. The matalia of Valik is always a built-up circular symmetrical image - as opposed to the matalia hole in Kulepmu. One variant of the matalia is the dome-shaped raised putiliq (fire-place).

Valik is another of those malagans which causes sores. The display house should have bamboo rather than sago leaf cover; and should be able to flex in the wind. Valik is also distinguished by the use of the tavuri conch shell during ceremonies.

According to Tabar informants Valik has some Tabar language, but people in the Kara language region of northern New Ireland told me that Walik (Valik) originated with them.

Previous Records from Tabar:
Krämer (1925) on the mainland recorded the Valik name as a malagan type on Tabar. Walden (Walden et al 1940:24) noted valik at Teripats, NW Big Tabar in 1907-9, and recorded that this malagan had its origin on Tabar from were it came to at Logagon (Nalik) and Lesu (Notsi) on the mainland. Powderrmaker, when working in Lesu (Notsi language region), recorded an origin myth for Walik where a man named Lunguma, who lived on Tabar, invented the Walik malagan in a dream (1933:317-318). Wilkinson 1978:228-9, 231, 239 also recorded the malagan names Valik and molangeniwinepouris Valik on Tabar.

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
There are are some interesting parallels between Valik's role in the the Notsi region of the mainland, and that of Madas on Tabar. Walden (1940:21) noted that the most important cults around Hamba (Notsi) were Valik (ovalik, ualik), he also recorded Vualik at Nagama (Kuot-Panaras region). Powderrmaker recorded a number of details of Walik dance and other behaviours (1933:123-133). Of most interest to our discussion was her description of the Pundän object, which from her description is the same type of ritual object as the Davovo which I recorded in the Madas group on Tabar (see above). Powderrmaker’s information is brief but tantalising:

"The night before the [concluding initiation rites]... the owners of the Walik malanggan secretly make two round objects called Pundän, which translated literally means half water. The round coconut shell is covered completely with black paint interspersed with white polka dots. On the top is placed a round flat carved piece of wood just like the centre of the Walik malanggan. This circular carving is called balji, as it is also in the malanggan, and means the hearth fire." [The observers watching the manufacture of this malagan must eat some pig’s fat.] “The two Pundän are [displayed] out of sight in the separate little enclosure behind the malanggan house, in front of which the food is piled.” (1933:132-133)

"No-one else sees these Pundän, after the rites they are destroyed, even before the malanggans." (Powderrmaker 1933:133)

Interestingly she also notes that within Walik a bird’s beak is held in the owner’s mouth, another similarity to Madas on Tabar where men use wooden hornbill shapes in their mouths to ‘eat’ tinibor ritualised pig’s belly.

"After they have eaten for a little while, Sola advances, bird’s beak in his mouth and rattle in his hand, and dances up and down the centre of the enclosure. All the men cry in chorus, “Walik Ah!” The only explanation is that it is one of the customs peculiar to the Walik malanggan.” (1933:123)

Krämer’s informant Teringa, the malagan maker in Hamba (Notsi), described ualik as a type of frieze malagan (Krämer 1925:75). In the Nalik region Heintze (1987:43) described four figures of similar appearance standing on top of what on Tabar would be a kobokobor. These figures were called songsong, walik, kuletmo, and malanggatsak.
Lewis (1969:112-114) in Sali hamlet, southeast of Amba in the Notsi area recorded a type of Walik with the specific name of _Malatelingling_, “morning star”. This malagan was woven into a circular shape and looked very like a _Vavara_, unfortunately Lewis could obtain no other information regarding this malagan.

_Taŋaŋias:_
_Taŋaŋias_ of Walik recorded from two owners:

Recorded from Solis [Kuk k. Saterir m.] at Lavakulep hamlet, Poponovam, NW Simberi:
- _e mekun_
- _kes a wuwu_
- _tarangama_
- _a un beren_
- _a pan bilua_

Recorded from Daniel Madassangala [Damok] at Tatau village, N Tatau:
- _e mekun_
- _kesovuvu_
- _mimberenq_
- _tarangama_
- _panbilua_

_Taŋaŋias - comments:_
- _Beren_ (mimberenq, mimbreng, a un beren): ?
- _kesovuvu_ (kesawuwu, kosovuvu): a taboo bird
- _Mekun_: the name of a founder
- _panbilua_: called out in public ceremonies, but not in those which are taboo to women
- _tarangama_ (tarangama): called out in public ceremonies, but not in those which are taboo to women

_Known Owners:_
22 owners, 2 artists

_Malagan Names:_
5 generic names: _eikuar, kobokobor, kuvpup ci malaga, marumarua, rarau._
18 specific names: _Bebe, Bencor, Boamas, Ciroro, Curauis, Curbencor, Curmataaq, Curmekun, Eibonyamas, Matary, Matania, Mataruru, Matbebe, Matbebeor, Mat i, Mat ura, Mekun, Tumket._

_Bebe_: Features butterfly; the long form is called _Matbebeor_. One example carved by Edward Salle had a central _koli bor_, then in the centre of each half was a _matalih_ with two butterflies drinking out of it; at the ends were fish head shapes (see Fig.52).

_Owners:_
Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil Madassarala)
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Madassarala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
Madassarala, Denis (M ex Lavongai), Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from FB. Daniel Madassarala [Damok])
Navi, Nathaniel [Keis] Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. Daniel Madassarala [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Weberiv [Damok])
Sedil Madassarala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.
Appendix A Malagan components

Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Weberiv [Damok] (woman), Tatau village, N Tatau

**Bencor** : Type of *Mekun* malagan (see below). Name (probably ritual) means “a face turned aside, to look away or avoid looking at someone after a dispute, a shame feature”. An example (NGE 914) was made in 1982 by Edward Salle. Also referred to as *Curbencor*.

**Owners:**
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Weberiv [Damok])
Weberiv [Damok] (woman), Tatau village, N Tatau

**Boṇamas (Bogomas, Bogumas, Boṇmas)** : Described as a *marumarua* figure with protruding ribs, no stomach and snake eating liver and lung; also occurs as *Eiboyamas*. The name was also recorded in *Malagacak*.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Solis [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Lavakulep, Poponovam, NW Simberi
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)

**Ciroro (Cirurou)** : Described as a horizontal *kupkup ci malaga* with head of fish at each end, the *ci* bird is raised and eating the central *tumsiv*, the bird’s wing forms the fin of the fish.

**Owners:**
Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil Madassaarala)
Lidir Weberiv [Keis], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman). (owner from F. Daniel Madassaarala [Damok])
Madassaarala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
Sedil Madassaarala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

**Curauwis (mi Curauwis)** : Described as a horizontal malagan with a central *matalin* image, then on each side an *auis* bird inside looking out, and *rayor* fish at the ends.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Curbencor** : Type of *Mekun* Bencor (see *Bencor* above)

**Curmataara (mi Curmataara)** : *Curmataara* is a variation on the *Mataara*; in addition to the *matalin* surmounted by a *vutburo* ‘collar’ which surrounds a *kovamene* face, there is a *rayor* fish either side of the *matalin*.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Curmekun** : Wooden figure type of *Mekun*. An example (NGE 915) was made in 1982 by Daniel Madassaarala.

**Owners:**
Appendix A  Malagan components

Madassarylla, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Weberiv [Damok])
Weberiv [Damok] (woman), Tatau village, N Tatau

Eiboryzmas (Eboramias): A version of the Boryzmas figure with the bellies cut or eaten out (see Boryzmas above). The name Eiboryzmas was also recorded in Madas and Malagacak.

eikuar (eikwar): one eikuar was described in Valik: it had a white bellied sea eagle (Haliaeetus leucogaster) on top, a series of Boryzmas figures separated by koltibor, and at the bottom a kovabor pig’s head. Displayed positioned on the kobokobor.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

kobokobor: One example recorded was bilaterally symmetrical, had three matalia in a row, each separated by a koltibor, and had a pig head at each end. If figures are used in the kobokobor, then they stand up in an eikuar which stands on top of the kobokobor.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

kupkup ci malaga: Only the Ciroro was recorded as a kupkup ci malaga in Valik.

marumarua: The Mekun grouping of figures in Valik are called marumarua; this grouping includes the Boryzmas figures which have no stomach and a snake eating the liver and lung (see Mekun and Boryzmas).

Mataraq: One example recorded has at its centre a matalia surmounted by a vutburo ‘collar’ which surrounds a kovamene face. Also occurs as Curmataraq.

Owners:
Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)

Matanias (Mitnias): Recorded as a horizontal malagan with a matalia in the centre and a half moon on each side; the name refers to “yellow moon”, although in normal day to day usage, matanias means “sun”.

Owners:
Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)

Mataruru (Matroru, Matruru): One example recorded in Valik is a plain matalia with raised tumisiv (representation of a shell growing on stone).

Owners:
Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)

Matbebe (Mainbembe): Type of Bebe butterfly malagan. Name means “eye of butterfly”.

Owners:
Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)
**Matbeben** : Long form of Bebe butterfly malagan. Name means “eye of butterfly with fragile wings”.

Owners:
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
- Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
- Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Mat i (Mat-i)** : A mataliŋ with four small fish on the upper surface facing the central tumsiv. An example (NGE 1433) of this type was made in 1983 by Salle.

Owners:
- Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau
- Solis [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Lavakulep, Poponovam, NW Simberi
- Valik [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])
- Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)

**Mat ura (Mat-or)** : A horizontal malagan featuring crayfish facing a central mataliŋ, has fish or fish head finials.

Owners:
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
- Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
- Melina, Alapon [Damok], N Tatau. (owner from WF. Songis [Saterir])
- Solis [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Lavakulep, Poponovam, NW Simberi
- Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
- Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)

**Mekun** : Possibly a major subgrouping of marumarua figures in Valik. Also called Eiboyamas because it has no belly and the ribs stand out. Mekun has subtypes which include Bencor, Curnekun and Eiboyamas. Recorded as part of the tajánjas within Valik where it is the name of a founder.

a) A marumarua figure looking straight ahead, holding 2 vejem; has a mataliŋ on its chest, the tumsiv of the mataliŋ goes up to the chin and down to the koltibor the figure stands on, a mungur flying fish is attached to the tumsiv.

Owners:
- Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil MadassaoaJa)
- MadassaoaJa, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
- Sedil MadassaoaJa [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

b) Similar to (a) except the face is turned aside in anger (mi vine peris).

Owners:
- Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil MadassaoaJa)
- MadassaoaJa, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
- Sedil MadassaoaJa [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

c) Undescribed versions of the Mekun.

Owners:
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
- Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
- Salle, Edward [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Weberiv [Damok])
Appendix A Malagan components

Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Weberiv [Damok] (woman), Tatau village, N Tatau

rarau: Several types of rarau were recorded:

a) A horizontal wooden board with central mataliŋ and fish ends. An example (NGE 1317) of this type was made in 1983 by Peteli in Tatau village.
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

b) A circular mataliŋ-like shape with a vutburoŋ centre and a number of small fish facing it.
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Pokolup [Damok])
Pokolup [Damok], N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

c) A mataliŋ with tumsiv.
Owners:
Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil Madassarala)
Madassarala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
Sedil Madassarala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

d) A mataliŋ with 2 ciroro birds drinking inside the tumsiv (ba ciroro gor un si mi mataliŋ).
Owners:
Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil Madassarala)
Madassarala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
Sedil Madassarala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

e) Mataliŋ with tumsiv and a marumarua figure fixed by its back at right angles to the tumsiv. The figure has hair, but no or. (Mi tumsiv aŋane mi ka = the tumsiv has eaten this man).
Owners:
Kiamu [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (woman) (owner from kandere Sedil Madassarala)
Madassarala, Daniel [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from M. Kiamu)
Sedil Madassarala [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau.

Tumket: A symmetrical horizontal malagan with central face and a number of rayor fish interspaced with mataliŋ; the finials were rayor.
Owners:
Vauvulu [Kuk k. Saterir m.] (woman), Poponovam, NW Simberi. (owner from kandere)
Malagan Big-Name: *Vavara*

Also recorded as *Wawara, Wowara*

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**

Three *Vavara* ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:

i) Molulu, location inland from Monun, N Simberi; an origin place of *Vavara*.

ii) Aro Vavara, Pekinatenis hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.

iii) Igornagen, location associated with *Vavara* malagan; possibly near Sabuari village, W Tatau.

**Character:**

It is generally agreed that a woman invented the *Vavara* for her son who had no father to inherit malagan from. Briefly, the story indicates that after her son had been rejected by the malagan men, she watched a spider spinning its web one morning, and invented the *Vavara* from this observation.

Makalo [Soravar] of Tatau village (N Tatau) gave her name as Losumu; and both Bialong and Picia said that *Vavara* originated with [Keis] clan. There is apparently some Tabar language in *Vavara*; analysis of the songs may yet prove fruitful in this regard. In the Kara region of northern New Ireland people told me that their *Vavara* called *Matanias* came from Tabar.

Peekel followed Krämer and most other researchers have followed these two in referring to the *Vavara* as “sun-malagans”. All over Tabar I was told that this was a common mistake which Europeans make, and that the *Vavara* on Tabar is more often made in the image of a flower (the type with the projecting centre) than a sun. But flower and sun are images only. *Vavara* is based upon a spider’s web (spider’s house), the original image of the creation.

Further, Salle [Damok], one of our major informants on Tabar, described the *Vavara* as *kacomata viru* = picture = eye of *virua* spirit of rain. *Virua* spirits apparently walk about during the rain or whirlwind, hence are associated with the rainbow and other weather phenomena.

*Vavara* was unique amongst the malagans I recorded in that the construction of the malagan involved the use of prophylactics against interference from the spirit of the dead man. Unlike other malagans, the power of the *Vavara* is treated as real and potent, as something independent of the men who made or owned it. Some malagans deal with the concept of *virua* - the roaming spirits of the dead, and others deal with sorcery, but none have the same degree of taboo and secrecy surrounding them as the *Vavara*.

*Vavara* malagans are constructed close to the corpse, to capture its *virua*. In the initial stages of its construction, preparation of the malagan’s ‘bones’ was a highly tabooed activity. When this section was finished a special meal was provided for the workers to separate them from the less tabooed later stages. Immediately after the meal the workers’ *marumarua* spirits were recalled to their bodies so that they would not get entangled in the *Vavara* with the dead man’s *virua* as the malagan was constructed.

*Vavara* malagans are considered powerful and dangerous. In particular the ‘eye’ or ‘neck’ of *Vavara* is attributed with power, and when not on public display the eye was covered up with a coconut leaf mat. After use in a malagan ceremony *Vavara* malagans are burnt in a fire that night, unless purchased by a foreigner and immediately removed from the village. In the old days sorcerers would use the power of the sun in the *Vavara* to kill, so people developed the practice of throwing this source of danger into the fire. Apparently the smoke from a burning *Vavara* has the power to harm, but burning in the night or early dawn is safe for the absence of winds lets the smoke go straight up.

An interesting aspect of the *Vavara* is that they are judged by their beauty, whereas other malagans are judged by their correctness.

A number of *Vavara* songs are *girigir* saltwater fishing songs. The significance of this fact is not yet clear. In *Vavara* there are no *kupkup ci malaga*, no *ges, eikuar* or *kobokobor*. A wooden *marumarua* figure was recorded from Picia, but it appeared to be accepted by other malagan men only because Picia was acting as a leading malagan man at the time.
Appendix A Malagan components

Other leading malagan men said that there are no wooden human-type figures in Vavara, although there are apparently carved wooden roosters. Whether these were merely accessories to woven Vavara or malagans in their own right was not made clear.

Previous Records from Tabar:

Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:
Vavara is a well documented malagan on the mainland of New Ireland (see Krämer 1925:67-69 for example). Records for Vavara range from Mangai village on the boundary between the Tigak and Kara peoples (Billings and Peterson 1967) down to the Lelet plateau in the Madak region (Krämer 1925). Tabar men who have participated in Vavara malagan ceremonies in the Madak region of New Ireland say that the work in making the malagan is the same as on Tabar, but the names for the various work stages are different. Interestingly, they say that the big and small names for the malagans themselves are the same in the two regions, but the songs are different. Interestingly, Peekel (1927:22) found that a vavara in the north of the mainland were rare and were mostly images of Tabar people.

In completing his record of two Wowora malagans used at Nou village (Notsi region) Lewis (1969:99-110) gives a good review of the literature concerning this malagan grouping, a review I will not repeat here. By way of brief summary it would appear that Vavara had its origin on the Lelet Plateau and from there quite recently spread to the Madak coast, offshore to Tabar, and north as far as the Nalik region.

In 1909 Krämer ended up with the impression that the Vavara is a sun-malagan and recorded the following distribution:

"The sun is called agangking along the east coast, and that is how the natives here call the malagan. Usually it is called from Panagundu [Lavatbura-Lamusong region, Lavatbura d.] down to Lambuso [Madak region, Malom d.] oara, south of here it is lu- or loara. This cult is being practiced down to Lokon [Madak, Katingan d.] on the south, but Lokon [Madak, Katingan d.] itself, same as Panagundu [Lavatbura-Lamusong, Lavatbura d.] and Lamasong [Lavatbura-Lamusong, Lamusong d.] have not taken to this cult as yet; however it is very strongly represented in the hilly or mountain villages such as Kanagot [Madak region, Lelet d.] in Lelet where it seems to have its origin, because there in the rain rich jungles the sun is being praised especially. In any case, the bush natives are the makers of these malagans." (translated from Krämer 1925:67).

Walden (1940:21) recorded the most northerly occurrence of Vavara with the name a uare at Logagun (Nalik region). Powdermaker at Lesu (Notsi region) listed thirteen names within the Warawara grouping (1933:316):

1) Karawas
2) Azela
3) Auwafan
4) Abauurang
5) Avara
6) Aflinkabik
7) Ahmitnas
8) Wawarapesinganau
9) Sesoli
10) Luhkundo
11) Sauwood
12) Sulangit
13) Gawit

Brouwer (1980:173-175) listed the following types of luara in the Madak region:
1) Kankingmagat
2) Kambiling - has 4 ‘tongues’
Appendix A  Malagan components

3) **Lisim Gasoi** - means “canoe lost at sea”
4) **Luara**
5) **Lonusevating** 2 small discs placed side by side and joined with woven vines
6) **Lirinint**
7) **Lanmanamarat**
8) **Varali**
9) **Lakobus**
10) **Lebulu**
11) **Los**
12) **Matalismada**

**Tanqias:**
**Tanqias of Vavara** was recorded from two owners and from a third man whose information was disputed by the others:

Recorded from Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.] of Monun, NE Simberi for **Vavara Poceneru**:
- a karavas
- lagagi
- a gi moget
- a maganda

Recorded from Peter Leleo [Cegel] at Maragat, NW Tatau (but born in the Notsi region of mainland New Ireland):
- kasolik
- a karavas
- e baramarua
- e kakimaget
- e kesobor

Recorded from Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru] at Var, S Big Tabar for **Lavelikes of Vavara**:
- Lavelikes
- mi wanua kurikur
- mi karavas

**Tanqias - comments:**
- **Baramarua (e baramarua)**: refers to the **pelbut**, a womb-like place to make malagan.
- **kakimaget (e kakimaget, a gi moget)**: means that a man called this can go inside the **kosobo**; in normal language the name means “black leg”.
- **Karavas (a karavas, mi karavas)**: a reference to the “feathers on the top of a **kovage** headdress”. **Karavas** was also recorded as a virtually extinct malagan big-name grouping (see above).
- **Kasolik**: said to be the malagan name for men in the state **lakaki**, who have paid to work on **Vavara** malagan.
- **e kesobor (kosobo, kosombo, kosumbo)**: **kosobo** is the inner section of the malagan ritual site, the part where malagan is made, and contains the **vunotong** (cold place) and graveyard **mi titer**
- **lagagi**: could have two meanings: **lagaki** (**lagan**) is a malagan variety of **Vavara**, a type of **Poceneru**. A person who works **Vavara** is called **pablik**, **lak kaki** is an elite part of **pablik**.
- **Lavelikes** (**Lavalikes, Lawelikes**): contentious malagan type of **Vavara**, probably a false **kobokobor**.
- **a maganda (marayda)**: **Taetsia fructicosa** plant, gives blue-green colour.
- **Vanua kurikur (mi wanua kurikur, wanwakorokoru)**: malagan display house of **Vavara**.

**Known Owners:**
41 owners, 3 artists
Appendix A  Malagan components

Malagan Names:

2 generic names: kobokobor (generally reputed to be a fake), marumarua.


Auis (Auwis, Ouis): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau. In Vavara the Auis malagan is similar to Kukuluk (see below) but with a wooden auis bird head in the centre. According to Picia this type of Vavara originated on mainland New Ireland. The name Auis was also recorded in Lunet, Totobo and Vuvil.

Owners:
Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.], Tatau village, N Tatau.
Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Luput [Betio], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

Bolbolviuviu (Bolbolweiveiw, Bolbolwewil): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan. Bolbolviuviu generally refers to a large tree, the leaves of which are used to treat headache, and also used for covering the earth oven.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])

Cucuivurevurok (Cucuiwurewurok, Cucuiwurowurok): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau. In secular use the name Cucuivurevurok refers to a type of insect which is called girison when portrayed as part of the malagan Vuvil.

Owners:
Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

Curukoso (Curkeso, Curkoso): Recorded as part of Vavara; Curukoso, Papkaber and Poceneru appear to be major subgroupings within Vavara. Curukoso malagan is worked on top of a bamboo bed and takes its name from this bed. Curukoso has an oval eye, as can be seen in the example with soksokbor paint design which was made by Picia of Tatau village in 1984 and used by Bialong at a gabor funerary malagan ceremony. Both Curukoso and Papkaber can have paint designs poraporakwu and soksokbor. In Madas malagan the curukoso is a type of bed or platform above sharpened stakes.

Owners:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.] Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. & MB.)
Appendix A Malagan components

Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.])

**Gelevara (Gelewara):** Recorded as the name of a Vavara.

**Owners:**
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M.'s clan)

**Inara Lavi (Inara Lawi, mi Enara Lavi):** Recorded as as horizontal flat Vavara with a wooden lavi (red edible pandanus fruit) projecting vertically with four kalar:Jllr birds feeding from it. Name means “half of the lavi” which belongs to the kalar:u.

**Owners:**
Beive [Betet] (woman), Maragat, NW Tatau.
Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

**Kamikam (Kamekam, Kamekame, Kamkam):** Very small Vavara without a distinctive paint of its own, it adopts the paint of other Vavara; the name means “star”. Some may also be called by the specific name Vuvuda.

**Owners:**
Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.], Tatau village, N Tatau.
Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Luput [Betio], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.])
Makalo, Paul [Soravar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M’s clan)
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

**Kapiko (Kapikap):** Songis identified a Vavara from mainland New Ireland featured in Krämer (1925: Abb. 17) as Kapiko; although it is unclear whether Songis read the name Kapiko on the photo caption. Uto identified the same image as Kapikap. Lepan spoke of a wooden kobokobor called Lavelikes as a ‘papa kapikap’ on the wall of the Vavara display house, with other Vavara attached to it.

**Informants:**
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar
Songis [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau
Uto [Butua], Mapua

**Karavas:** Information about two Karavas malagans in Vavara was recorded. One example, a marumaru figure malagan (NGE 1334), was made for sale in 1984 by Lepan who is a Seventh Day Adventist and now makes malagans as a cash enterprise. Lepan said that there was a line of wooden Karavas figures on top of the ridge pole vuga of the Vavara display house vanua kurikur, with another line of Karavas figures down on the ground. In the opinion of other respected malagan men on Tabar, the wooden Karavas malagans are fakes because Vavara does not have any wooden malagans. However, the name Karavas was recorded as part of the tarjar tas of Vavara from two senior malagan men, where it was a reference to the “feathers on the top of a kovage headdress”. On Tabar Karavas was also recorded as a virtually extinct Big-Name subtradition (see above). At Panamafei village, in the West Coast Kara language speaking area of northern New Ireland, I recorded Karavas as a type of Vavara which featured a full figure baby image in the centre.

**Owners:**
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])
Appendix A Malagan components

Lepan [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from MF. Sabo [Carameges])
Sabo [Carameges], S Big Tabar

Kasolik: Recorded from Peter Leleo who listed Kasolik as a malagan part of Vavara and as part of the tayaŋjas of Vavara, where it was said to be the malagan name for men in the state lakaki, who have paid to work on Vavara malagan. In the Taŋala Big-Name subtradition this name was recorded as a marumarua figure named after a church pastor.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])

kobokobor: The only example recorded (Lavalikes) was contentious, and because it is a wooden Vavara it was regarded as a fake by most of the other malagan men on Tabar.

Kukuluk (Kukulek, Kukuulu): Type of Vavara with a wooden dog’s head emerging from the central eye. One example (NGE 1327) was made by Picia of Tatau village in 1984 for the owner, Peter Leleo of Maragat village. Recorded as part of the Papkaber subgrouping, this type was apparently previously used in circumcision.

Owners:
Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.], Tatau village, N Tatau.
Luput [Betio], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.])
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])

Kutmuru: Recorded as a malagan variety of Vavara.

Owners:
Sola Tobem [Kopacin k. Sepiv m.], Simberi, SW Simberi (owner from M.’s clan)

Lagaki (Lagati): Described as part of the Poceneru subgrouping of Vavara.

Owners:
Makalo, Paul [Soravar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M’s clan)
Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Lavalikes (Lavelikes, Lawelikes): Contentious and probably a fake. Lepan spoke of a wooden saltwater kobokobor called Lavalikes as a ‘papa kapikap’ on the wall of the Vavara display house, with other Vavara attached to it.

Owners:
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from MF. Sabo [Carameges])
Sabo [Carameges], S Big Tabar

Lemarya (Lemarya): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau. The name Lemarya was also recorded as a shark masalai.

Owners:
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Leže [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])
Leže [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
FIGURE 61
Picia (standing), Leleo and Aisoli (right) with three Vavara malagans: tabataha cur si mi Vavara (NATMUSPNG); Kukuluk si mi Vavara (NGE 1327); tabataha cur si mi Vavara (NGE 1447). The Kukuluk (with the dog’s head centre-piece) demonstrates clearly the pitibeles circle of red triangles demarcating one malaga from the next. Pekinberiu village, NE Tana. (Photo NGE 1984/31/2)

FIGURE 62
Bialong’s description of his big Vavara display worked several years ago. (Sketch by Les O’Neill)
Malaganivaram (Malaganiwarum, Malanganiwaramba, Malaniwaram): Possibly a type or subgrouping of Vavara. Malaganivaram is the generic name for malagans associated with the penalty for the breaking of taboo.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])?

Manaviso (Manaweis): Recorded as a type of Vavara; Manaviso means ‘walk about’.

Owners:
Lova [Tupida], Katatar, S Simberi (owner from M’s clan)

marumarua: Both wooden marumarua figures (see Picia and Karagas) recorded in Vavara were contentious, most malagan owners on Tabar of the opinion that Vavara has no separate wooden malagans apart from those which are attached to a woven Vavara.

Nivitoa: Recorded as a type of Vavara.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])?

Nutkes (Nudkes): Described as a large Vavara positioned between two smaller Vavara which are like 2 wheels on an axle.

Owners:
Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.] Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. & MB.)
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from Pamas [Mopetir k. Saterir m.]).

Papkaber: Recorded as part of Vavara; Curukoso, Papkaber and Poceneru appear to be major subgroupings within Vavara. Papkaber has a round eye, some types can have protruding centre, both Papkaber and Curukoso can have paint designs poraporakuvu and soksokbor; Papkaber has Kukuluk as a subtype.

Owners:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.], Tatau village, N Tatau.
Pengas, Manuel [Betio], Lavabuso, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Kioli [Bokatina k. Sigakor m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Leñe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])
Leñe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Lobo [Pekinmiteres] (woman), Tatau village, N Tatau.

Picia (Picia): Marumarua figure malagan of Vavara; the only wooden malagan recorded and validated in Vavara; named because they were given to the man Picia. The type has 2 varieties: figure holding a pig spear, figure holding a rope to hold a pig; examples recorded were used during varam taboo clearing ceremonies.

Owners:
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Leñe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])
Leñe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])

Poceneru (Pautingaru, Pocelero, Pocneru, Pocenerau, Pocenerou, Pocengeru, Pocenero, Posengeru): Recorded as part of Vavara; Curukoso, Papkaber and
Appendix A Malagan components

Poceneru appear to be major subgroupings within Vavara. Poceneru such as that owned by Lavoto has a number of subtypes within it: Vuvudar, Lagaki, Vunokebet, Vunokacomat, Vunokupukupuman. Examples recorded were used in varam taboo clearing ceremonies. This type appears to be referred to as a sun malagan; one example commissioned from Hosia Lenggu had chicken feathers tied to ends of radiating rods (NGE 1437).

Owners:
- Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
- Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
- Lekere [Maranatum], Lava, Simberi
- Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])
- Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
- Lengu, Hosia [Sicobi], Saqut, Matlik, E Big Tabar (owner from Lekere [Maranatum])
- Makalo, Paul [Soravar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M's clan)
- Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
- Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])
- Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Pokelodo (Pokelondo, Pukelonde, Pukelonda): Described as a type of Vavara representing a sea cloud (probably either a black cumulo-nimbus, or a water tornado) and having the beak of a hornbill (Aceros plicatus) in the centre, the inner flower pattern is of the flower of Hibiscus tiliaceae.

Owners:
- Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])

Pukubus: Described as a type of Vavara which can be very large (up to 3m diam), with an arched section called karame (tongue) extending from the raised eye until half way to the edge. It should have a small green bird pasita on the surface around the eye, and can have other small Vavara seated on the surface.

Owners:
- Lukoi [Pakinabunarjir], Banesa, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Purapurakuvu (Poraporakuvu): Type of Vavara named after its paint design which can substitute the sokskbor design on Curukoso and Papkaber Vavara malagans.

Owners:
- Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)

Remeremeves (Lemereumewes, Lemereumes, Remeremerewes, Remeremewes): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau. Also recorded as a type of Vavara with a real boy's painted face in the centre; the action of the boy putting his head into the Remeremeves is the source of that malagan. The woven sculpture has arches extending vertically up and down from the top and bottom edges of the round Vavara.

Owners:
- Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
- Leqe [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Appendix A  Malagan components

Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

Sopuek (Sopwek): Type of Vavara described as having two raised humps on the surface rope area, one either side of the round eye.
Owners:
Lobu [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.])
Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

Tabatabacur (Tambatambacur): A type of very small Vavara (about 10cm diameter) which can be attached to ends of coktebik transference platform during hand-over of sopuek vavara. Two Tabatabacur were made by Picia and used by Helen Uto during cukuvavaturi and aruaru malagan ceremonies in 1984 at Pekinberiu, E Tatau.
Owners:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])
Uto, Helen [Keis ? Katobi ?] (woman), Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner)

Tekema: Type of Vavara, representing a sea tornado.
Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.?])

Tudar (Todar, Toundal, Tundar): Vertical lineal Vavara reaching from the top of the malagan display house down to the ground, painted to represent a rainbow; referred to by Lakañ as a cloud malagan.
Owners:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

Informants:
Lakañ [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Vevinliliu (Veivenliliu, Weiveliliu, Weivenliliu): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau. Also recorded as a type of Vavara which represents a nagging woman.
Owners:

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11One is registered with the Northern Territory Museum as NGE 1447, the other is with the National Museum of Papua New Guinea.
Appendix A  Malagan components

Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
Lege [Siktor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau  (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Siktor k. Sepiv m.])

Vou Eil (Wowail): Mentioned as a malagan part of Vavara.
   Owners:
   Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from M’s clan)

Vunokacomat (mi Wunokatsomat): Type of Vavara Poceneru, literally “eye-house”, possibly means “minds eye” or “imagination”.
   Owners:
   Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
   Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Vunokapot (Unakapot, Wunokapot): A name given for a type of Vavara malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau; the name literally means “broken house”.
   Owners:
   Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from kandere or F. Balat [Kuk k. Saterir m.])
   Lege [Siktor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau  (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from F. in [Keis])
Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Siktor k. Sepiv m.])

Vunokebet (Wunokebet, Wunokembet): Type of Vavara Poceneru; the name literally means “yellow house”. One example described was coloured yellow with red outer and inner rings.
   Owners:
   Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
   Makalo, Paul [Soravar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M’s clan)
   Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Vunokupukupumat (mi Wunokupukupumat): Type of Vavara pocenero; the name refers to “eye-brow ridge”.
   Owners:
   Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from F. Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.])
   Totola [Porivam k. Beravin m.], Monun, E Simberi

Vunoram (Wennora, Wonoram, Wunoram): Type of Vavara; described as a flower malagan with a protruding centre section. The name also refers to a kind of malagan display house.
   Owners:
   Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
   Kovir [Pekinmiteres], Napekur, N Simberi (owner from M)
   Lova [Tupida], Katatar, S Simberi (owner from M’s clan)
**Vuvudar (Wuwuda, Wuwudar, Wuwunda, Wuwundar)**: A name given for a type of *Vavara* malagan which Picia reported to have occurred at Igornagen, a location probably near Sabuari village, W Tatau. Also recorded as a type of *Vavara Poceneru*; one example recorded with yellow coloured outer section, red middle section, and black inner section.

**Owners:**
- Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from kandere)
- Lavoto [Kekenmida k. Pekinmiteres m.], Monun, E Simberi (owner from M’s clan)
- Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.], Sabuari, W Tatau (owner from F. Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.])
- Makalo, Paul [Soravar], Bodar, N Simberi (owner from M’s clan)
- Picia [Baborsobue k. Saterir m.], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. in [Keis])
- Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Tavui, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lege [Sitkor k. Sepiv m.])

**Malagan Big-Name: Verim**
Also recorded as Varim, Varima, Warima, Verim.

**Malagan Ritual Sites:**
Six *Verim* ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
- i) Aro Verim, Lava hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.
- ii) Aro Verim, Pekinberiu village, E Tatau.
- iii) Tuverat village site, near Pekinberiu, E Tatau.
- iv) Aro Verim, Uduraba village site, inland from Banesa village, SE Big Tabar.
- v) Aro Verim, beside a large fig tree at Sararabe village site near Raukupo village, NE Big Tabar.
- vi) Aro Verim, near Vunapicu village site at Raukupo, NE Big Tabar.

**Character:**
*Verim* is predominantly known for its masks, for the *ges* images, and for the blowing of the *tavuri* conch shell. Malagan masks have a primary role in taboo removal and other activities on Tabar, but as these roles have been dealt with elsewhere (Gunn 1988) they will not be discussed here.

Normal wooden malagan sculpture such as *marumarua* figures, *eikuar* and *kobokobor* apparently also exist in *Verim*, but were recorded infrequently. *Verim* apparently does not use *kupkup ci malaga* malagans, but uses malagan masks called *sepa* for the same purpose. According to Batu [Manebo] of Tiripac village (NW Big Tabar) there are no *taubes* transference platforms in *Verim*.

**Previous Records from Tabar:**
Walden in 1907-9 (Walden et al 1940:24) recorded *tsuru vanis*, *tsuru varima*, and *varima-ramba* at Teripats village, NW Big Tabar, and *gas* at Morai village, E Big Tabar Island. Wilkinson (1978:229, 234) recorded *Verim*, and identified the *ges* image in at least 4 different styles on Tabar.

**Previous Records from mainland New Ireland:**
Due to the distinctive nature of masks a relatively large body of information exists which deals with New Ireland masking traditions. This information is discussed in some depth elsewhere (Ch. 3 above and Gunn 1988).

**Taťanjas:**
*Taťanjas* for *Verim* were recorded from three accepted owners and a fourth disputed owner:
Appendix A  Malagan components

Recorded from Sola Lokorova [Keis] at Poponovam, NW Simberi:

- nicmeoget
- wanriu
- ataramalo

Recorded from Lusem Tula [Lavakulep] for a vanis ges of Verim, at cirep malagan ceremony Pekinberiu village, NE Tatau:

- Vanariu
- Tumelekoi
- mi Variu
e Pabuamai
e Balakamus

Recorded from Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] of Karubo, S Tatau (but originally from the Notsi region of mainland New Ireland):

- waniert
- mumanduk
tumelekai

Recorded from Wowa [Obun] of Tatau village, N Tatau for Nicmaget:

- waniert
tumelekoi

Tagajjas - comments:
- Ataramalo: type of vanis mask of Verim; the name means ‘difficult to carve’.
- Balakamus: man’s name; watch!; a reference to a vanis malagan mask going past
- Mumanduk (Mumanduk): man’s name.
- Pabuamai:?
- Tumelekai (Tumelakol, Tumelekoi): man’s name.
- Vanariu (Wanariu, Waneriu, Wanriu): type of mask of Verim, also a man’s name.
- VARIU:?

Known Owners:
47 owners, 12 artists.

Malagan Names:
10 generic names: eikua, ges, kobokobor, koykov, kupkup ci Verim, mamatua, marumarua, picipic, sepa, Siyasin, Soser, vanis.

7 specific names of wooden figures or other non-mask malagans: Curbana, Curulavot, Curuvau, Curverim, Kaur, Silimadas, Tir Cur Rupumongos.


Ataramalo: Type of mask of Verim; the name means ‘difficult to carve’. This name is also part of the tagajjas of vanis.
Appendix A Malagan components

Informant:
Sola [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi

Banam: Type of mask of Verim.
Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M)

Bei: Type of mask of Verim; (NATMUSPNG). Seems to represent a shark which kills all fish for the feast; the mask is used to cut the roror rope strung up across the village plaza, this action represents the removal of social taboos imposed at the death. Bei is a term used for shark, and also to refer to shark masalai, clan ancestral spirits.
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Seten [Keis], Satau, Poponovam, NE Simberi
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MMB Seten [Keis])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Bei an (Bei yaŋ, Boi yaŋ, mi Buoi yaŋ): Two examples of this mask type of dancing mask of Verim were recorded. Both had yellow face & ears, big round yellow ears and carried a spear. One example (NGE 1403) was made and used in a cukuvavaturi ceremony at Pekinberiu village by Edwin Salle [Damok] of Tatau village for Songis Lamot the owner. Songis ranked this barkcloth mask 3rd amongst his 13 dancing masks after Nicmaget and Beikuru. As the name for a fish image, Bei an was also recorded for some wooden malagan sculptures. Bei means 'shark' and all this image connotes on Tabar; an is a type of broad-leafed plant, probably tumeric, the root gives a yellow colour used in some malagan artefacts.
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Beikoram: Songis listed this barkcloth mask amongst his 13 dancing masks; he also referred to it as mi Trenkes 'one fin' (see Trenkes below)
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Beikuru: Type of dancing mask of Verim named after a small red fish. The example recorded (NGE 1405) had a black face, large round red ears, black beard, and a red stripe starting under each eye near the nose and sweeping around up to the ear. It was made and used in a cukuvavaturi ceremony at Pekinberiu village by Lagetei of Tatau village on behalf of the owner, Songis. Beikuru acted as a policeman when accompanying the mask Vanissigol. According to Songis, Beikuru looks like the major mask Nicmaget except for the colouring. Songis ranked this barkcloth mask 2nd amongst his 13 dancing masks after Nicmaget.
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Beriberitamasa: Mask of Verim, closes the door of the malagan ritual site. There is also a malagan song of the same name used to fasten this door.
Owners:
Betar (Buetar, mBetar): Mask type of Verim referred to as a ciracirap (see below) which can be used to destroy possessions and trees of a dead person. Betar is also used a soser fundraising mask which carries an axe; and it can also act as a ‘soldier’ or erer ‘spy’ of vanis. One example (NGE 1326) was made and used in a cukuvavaturi ceremony at Pekinberiu village by Mela ga of Tatau village for the owner, Songis. This example was made of barkcloth, painted black all over with round red barkcloth ears, no beard or eyebrows, and had a flat head. Songis ranked this barkcloth mask 4th in his repertoire of 13 dancing masks. Another type of Betar was described as having a wooden face with large ears. Luvora grouped the masks into three major divisions: Nicmaget is the boss, Betar cuts trees, and Soser are fundraisers.

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Lalu, Alfred [Damok], Kabak hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F.Aisoli
Salin [Carameges]
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M)
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lusem Tula [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from FB. Vale [Katobi])
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Mavis [Sara], Tatau village, N Tatau
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)
Salin, Aisoli [Carameges], Tupinmida, NW Tatau (owner from F. Mavis [Sara]).
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Vale [Katobi], N Tatau ?.

Betemer (mi sepangis sim bu Betemir, wanis mi cur Betemir, Buetemer, Bwetemwer): Songis listed this mask amongst his 13 dancing masks. He described it as a wooden faced mask with black hair, with a marumarua figure on top of the head, and flying fish images in the ear planks.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Bui (Bwi): Described by Wowa as a mask of Verim with large round black ears and a white star in the centre.

Owners:
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

Cikcikberiberti (Sikisikibirimbiriti): Type of soser fundraiser mask in Verim; the actor uses a long stick or spear to break the sides of houses.

Owners:
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Cikcikkelgum (Cikcikkelgum, Cikkikelgum): A junior mask of Verim; the actor spears through the sides of houses at night, so when he is active people sleep in the centre of the room.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Ciracirap (Cirecirep, Ciricirip, Ciracirapi, Sirasirapi): Type of mask of Verim recorded variously as:
Appendix A  Malagan components 278

a) A *soser* (*sesorapa*) type of fundraising mask, described as acting as if he wanted to carry something heavy but it kept falling from his shoulder.

**Owners:**
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Lesu, mainland NI)

b) Mask worn when destroying possessions of dead person.

**Owners:**
Palakai [Vutigamgami], Tupilabot, Pekinbei, NE Tatau (owner ?)

c) A low ranking mask used to bring food in from the garden for a malagan ceremony. Its face is painted all colours and made to look angry, as though it is ready for a fight, wanting to kill a man.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

d) Has subtypes *Gesiroiro*, *Kinekinup*, and *Vatavara* (see).

e) Another type, made of barkcloth with wooden plank ears.

**Owners:**
Batu [Manebo], Tiripac, NW Big Tabar (owner from kandere Bialong)
Bialong [Manebo], Toru, Napekur, N Simberi

f) A number of other examples were undescribed:

**Owners:**
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua

*Curbana*: The example recorded was a wooden *Curbana kapot kobokobor si mi Verim* and was owned by the woman Bana. The artist referred to it as a “bed of all women in Verim”. The image was a normal *kobokobor* with four Bana women each separated by a *koltibor*, the finials were *kovabor* pig heads. An interesting variation was the painting of the shell eyes with white lime, then replacing the pupil with a blue spiral. When displayed in the malagan house for a *cukuvavaturi* ceremony, this *kobokobor* had a bag of human bones tied to it.

**Owners:**
Bana [Lavakulep] (woman), Pekinbei, NE Tatau (owner from F. Tula [Katobi])
Tula [Betio k. ? Katobi m.], Pekinbei, NE Tatau.

*Curbaŋbaŋ* (*mi Curbaŋbaŋ*): Songis listed this mask amongst his 13 dancing masks and described it as a barkcloth dancing mask of *Verim* with an image of the *baŋbaŋ* hornbill bird (*Aceros plicatus*) on its head. Name also recorded as a type of *kobokobor* of Sisubua.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

*Curkekeu* (*mi Curkekeu, mi Curkekeiu, Curkekeito*): Songis listed this mask amongst his 13 dancing masks and described it with a wooden face, flying fish ears and a land-crab (the type which eats coconuts) on top of the head.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Appendix A Malagan components

Cur Silom: Described as a type of mask of Verim; Silom is the name of a girl.
Owners:
Lusem Tula [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from FB. Vale [Katobi])
Vale [Katobi], N Tatau ?.

Curtara (mi Curtara): Songsis listed this mask amongst his 13 dancing masks and described it as a barkcloth dancing mask of Verim; coloured yellow with black hair.
Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songsis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Curulavot (Surulavut): An example (NGE 1441) of this figure malagan was made for sale by Mamau of Vaŋ, S Big Tabar. The name Curulavot is derived from the lavut small bamboo and the bamboo-like erections on top of its head were referred to as sirosiro rather than the more usual or.
Owners:
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Curuvau (Curuwau): Wooden malagan figure in Verim; the image wears an umbrella shaped hat made of tanget leaves and perches on a horizontal branch like a bird.
Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua

Curverim: Described as a tall standing figure in Verim (see Tir Cur Rupumongos below).

eikuar: According to Kubau [Tirotiro] the eikuar, kobokobor and marumaru of Verim can be combined into one sculpture.
Owners:
Kubau [Tirotiro], Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from [Tavia k. Carameges m.] & [Ririvirua k. Tavia m.])

ges: A concept which is said to have originated in Verim, ges may be represented by a seated mask or by a wooden figure, but are generally portrayed by a man wearing a characteristic pointed mask with slanting eyes (eg NGE 1434, NGE 1442). Understood as guards or spies in front of the major walking masks, ges fight with spears and clear the area of people and of particular past histories. In Verim the ges is a spy (erer) of vanis, and the call of the ges and other masks is the call of a dog going after prey. Also used as Soser fund-raising masks. In Verim the Ges was recorded with sub-types such as Toa Ne Delemi, Velvelto.
Owners:
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi
Batu [Manebo], Tiripac, NW Big Tabar (owner from kandere Bialong)
Bialong [Manebo], Toru, Napekur, N Simberi
Kaletau [Daraba], Pakinapai, Mapua. (owner from MF. Kaletau [Loronggo])
Kaletau [Loronggo], Pakinapai, Mapua. (owner from MB in Madak region, mainland New Ireland)
Lalu, Alfred [Damok], Kabak hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F.Aisoli Salin [Carameges])
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M)
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
Lusem Tula [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from F. Tula [Katobi])
Appendix A Malagan components

Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Lesu, mainland NI)
Mavis [Sara], Tatau village, N Tatau
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)
Salin, Aisoli [Carameges], Tupinmida, NW Tatau (owner from F. Mavis [Sara]).
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MF Paket [Saterir k. Carameges m.])
Solis [Kuk k. Saterir m.], Lavakulep, Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from WB. Sola [Keis])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Tula [Betio k.? Katobi m.], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau.
Vale [Katobi], N Tatau ?.
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

**Gesamatabita (Gasamatabita):** Mask type of Verim; described as made from barkcloth and coloured red, white and black. Gesamatabita means “dirty face, never washes” and is probably a type of ges.

**Owners:**
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

**Gesilaqarlag (Gasilaqarlag):** Type of mask of Verim; described as being painted in all colours and is probably a type of ges.

**Owners:**
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)

**Gesinuvinu (Gasinuvinu):** Type of mask of Verim. Gesinuvinu breaks bushes belonging to a dead man.

**Owners:**
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)

**Gesiroyiro (Gasiroiro):** Recorded in Verim as a type of Ciracirap mask. Gesiroyiro was described as made of barkcloth; this actor looks around and runs about fast. Gesiroyiro was also recorded as a design feature on the malagan sculpture Simiarum of Arum.

**Owners:**
Kubau [Tirotiro] Rauku, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

**Gesnevnev (Gisnevnev):** Mask in Verim; described as a ges which carries a spear and lengleng rattle to find people defecating in the bushes.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Gorigos (Goringos):** Type of mask of Verim; used during araru to cut the rope oror at the entrance to the village square; worked with Betar to clean the place during cirep ceremony; example recorded has small ears and a wooden face.

**Owners:**
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua

**Katir:** Canoe malagan recorded in Verim, apparently can be used to support heavy masks. Katir was recorded in Malagacak and Tarala Big-Name subtraditions.

**Informant:**
Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau
Appendix A Malagan components

*Kekenmat (Kenkenmat)* : Described as a large mask in *Verim* apparently similar to *Nicmaget*.

**Owners:**
- Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
- Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

*Kinekinup* : Mask type of *Verim* recorded from two informants:

a) *Kinekinup* is very like *Nicmaget*.

**Owners:**
- Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
- Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

b) *Kinekinup* is a type of *Ciracirap*.

**Informant:**
- Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau

*Kinikis (Kenikis, Kilekis, Kinakas)* : Type of mask of *Verim*; features paddle on top of head, representing a canoe upside down and the occupants swimming; related to the man-in-fish-mouth image of *kinakas*.

**Owners:**
- Lalu, Alfred [Damok], Kabak hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Aisoli
- Salin [Carameges]
- Mavis [Sara], Tatau village, N Tatau
- Salin, Aisoli [Carameges], Tupinmida, NW Tatau (owner from F. Mavis [Sara]).

*Kobokobor* : The *kobokobor* is not a strong element of *Verim*:

a) according to Kumau [Tirotiro] the wooden *eikuar, kobokobor* and *marumarua* malagans are combined into one sculpture.

**Owners:**
- Kubau [Tirotiro] Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

b) Another type of *kobokobor* recorded had the personal name *Curbana* (see above).

*Kolobos (Kolombos)* : Described as a type of *ges* mask of *Verim* which originated with the warrior Tamde (see Appendix B transcript 4.7). One example was recorded from Wowa who said it could be made of a coconut, and would have attached large round barkcloth ears painted red with a white star in the centre, edged with chicken feathers.

**Owners:**
- Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
- Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

*Kovaie (Kowaiye)* : Described as a mask subtype of *Nicmaget* of *Verim* (see below). The example recorded (NGE 1440), which was made for sale in 1984 by Mamau of Vaa, S Big Tabar, has a fish head on its top, the tail having been eaten by an eel.

**Owners:**
- Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vaa, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

*Kovasoi (Kowasoi)* : Mask subtype of *Nicmaget* of *Verim*, described as having a snake on its head.

**Owners:**
- Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vaa, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

*kovkov* : wooden head with hat (see Fig.55).

**Informants:**
Appendix A Malagan components

Vali Sangate [Daraba], Mapua
John Kabaso [Sicobi], Mapua

Kupkup ci Verim: Although according to Banamu [Buatekone] Verim apparently does not use kupkup ci malaga, a ges was recorded from Songis as a kupkup ci Verim.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Kururu: Type of mask of Verim; a reference to a red sea fish.

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua

Lakeskine: Type of soser fundraising mask in Verim; carries a hook.

Informant:
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau.

Lavoryoda: Barkcloth mask of Verim; can be seen on the reef carrying a net to catch fish.

Owners:
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Lokalok: Mask type of Verim. Lokalok is a name also used to refer to a banana leaf, which is attached to the bark of the lanura tree and used as a body mask.

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua

Lorobin: Mask part of Verim; recorded from Wowa who said it looks like a ges.

Owners:
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

Mamatu (momatua): Generic term of mainland New Ireland origin (probably Notsi or Kara) for masks; recorded only from Vaŋ village S Big Tabar, on Tabar vanis is the preferred term.

Informant:
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar

Marumaru: It is not clear whether marumaru is the generic term for wooden figures in Verim:

a) One example of a wooden figure (NGE 886) was referred to only as Varima.

Owners:
Jakob [Barabar], Maragat, NW Tatau
Salle, Ben [Maboti], Kovamarara, W Big Tabar (owner from Jakob [Barabar])

b) According to Kubau [Tirotiro] the wooden eikuar, kobokobor and marumaru can be combined into one sculpture; however it should be noted that Kubau was unsure of his malagan heritage, having received the rights when he was a young boy.

Owners:
Kubau [Tirotiro] Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Matalala: Recorded as a barkcloth mask of Verim with large round ears, one example (NGE 1406) was made by Sola and others and used by Picia in 1984 to remove
village taboos during the malagan ceremony *cukuvavaturi*. *Matalala* also refers to the planet Venus.

**Owners:**
Paket [Saterir k. Carameges m.], Poponovam, NW Simberi
Sola [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MF Paket [Saterir k. Carameges m.])

**Matnonnoc**: According to Songis this mask belongs to all those who own *Verim*. One example of *Matnonnoc* was recorded (NGE 1319) as a *kupkup ci Verim* mask and was made of barkcloth with protruding bamboo tube eyes. The actor wore a red singlet on his body and bright green herbs around his waist, a bunch of tarant leaves stuck up from the back of his belt like a rooster tail. *Matnonnoc* was used as a fundraising mask; some examples sit in house doorways and pull at roof laths with a wooden hook. Another example was described by Wowa who said it was used to fasten all the doors of the cooking house.

**Owners:**
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kendere?)
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from kendere)
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

**Matupel (Metupel)**: Masked soldier ges of *Verim*; used to break the houses and property of a dead person.

**Owners:**
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M)

**Nicmaget (Isamaket, Necmenger, mi Sepangis sim bu necmenger, nicamageto, nicameto, nicmaget, necmenger, Nicamaget, Nicamanget, Nicamanget, Nicemenger, Nicemget, Wisamaketo)**: A major type of mask of *Verim*, generally portrayed with a black wooden face overmodelled with resin builbuiltapuet. *Nicmaget* means ‘black lips’ or ‘black tooth marks’ and the mask is said to be boss of all other masks. Songis listed this barkcloth mask first amongst his 13 dancing masks. Some examples were described with a representation of the hornbill (Aceros plicatus) on top; others had 4 barkcloth ears. One example sighted (NGE 1404) was a barkcloth mask with large round cloth ears, the white star *purapurapin* was shown in the centre. Another (NGE 1320) was a mask made from on a rice-sack base and placed on a bush materials body. In some regions on Tabar there are sub-types such as *Kovaie, Kovanai, Tabarilusbana*, and *Vanariu*. *Nicmaget* was recorded as part of the *taŋais* of *vanis*. Luvora grouped the masks into three major divisions: *Nicmaget* is the boss, *Betar* cuts trees, and *Soser* are fundraisers.

**Owners:**
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau. (owner from Iakob [Saterir] & Luŋaŋa [Kucikuc])
Jakob [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau
Kasolik [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Wowa [Obun])
Ladavak [Tavia k. Carameges m.], S Big Tabar.
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from F. Ladavak [Tavia k. Carameges m.])
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kendere?)
Luŋaŋa [Kucikuc], Tatau village, N Tatau: (owner from F. Iakob [Saterir])
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kendere)
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kendere in Lesu, mainland NI)
Appendix A Malagan components

Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vao, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Petili [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB?)
Salle, Bensen [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB?)
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

Noctmuc: Described as a soser masked fundraiser of Verim. Noctmuc carries a spear and squats in front of a house until given money, the actor holds a lengleng rattle in the left hand and a spear in right.

Informant:
Martin Luvora [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau

Patukasep: A mask of Verim which can run and carries a spear. It was described as having a raised hair ridge which looks like that of a tatanua but is separated and raised above head leaving a gap. This example was portrayed with siroistro aerials on each side.

Owners:
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vao, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Petemes: Recorded as a type of mask of Verim; the name means ‘big belly’.

Owners:
Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M)

Pi: Recorded as a type of mask of Verim, this barkcloth mask looks similar to a ges but acts deaf and throws stones or oranges instead of spears at people and houses. This mask name was also recorded on the mainland from the Notisi region (Lewis 1969) and from the Madak (Brouwer 1980).

Owners:
Batu [Manebo], Tiripac, NW Big Tabar (owner from kandere Bialong)
Bialong [Manebo], Toru, Napalkur, N Simberi
Kubau [Tiroto] Raukuppo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Ladavak [Tavia k. Carameges m.], S Big Tabar
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vao, S Big Tabar (owner from F. Ladavak [Tavia k. Carameges m.])
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Carameges m.], Vao, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Picpic (Picpic): Described as a type of dance mask of Verim, where pic is a type of dance.

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Punpunmasis (Punpunmeses): Type of mask of Verim orange yellow in colour; a reference to a type of yellow bird. Punpunmasis was also recorded as part of Kulepmu and Takapa.
Appendix A Malagan components

Owners:
Kabaso, John [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua (owner from kandere Makeu)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)

Rakatoo: Part of Verim, probably a mask. Recorded from Wowa [Obun] who said it was a ges which carries food; Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] later confirmed it was a ges but said that it did not carry food.

Owners:
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)
Informant:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau

Sepa: General grouping of dance masks, probably elsewhere in New Ireland called tatanua. Used in to remove taboos by cutting the rope roror strung across the central plaza of the village of a dead person.

Informants:
Banamu [Buatiekone], Maragon, W Simberi
Klapbo Tuwalu, Sinikima, SE Big Tabar
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar

Sepanges (mi sepaqgis sim bu Betemir, mi sepaqgis sim bu nescmenger) : Possibly a classification of certain types of mask, both examples were recorded from Songis as barkcloth masks amongst the 13 types of dancing vanis he owns and both were said to hold a spear and act as the ges guard of a dancing vanis.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Sesorapa: Type of Ciracirap mask of Verim; the wearer would like to carry something but it falls off his shoulder.

Owners:
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Lesu, mainland NI)

Silimadas (Silimandas): Type of Verim; small wooden figure.

Owners:
Mamau, Kaminiel Piris [Tavia k. Caramuges m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Siqasìŋ: Recorded as a singing mask of Verim, Siqasìŋ is a word derived from the Tok Pisin term 'singsing'.

Informant:
Banamu [Buatiekone], Maragon, W Simberi

Soser (Seser, Sosore): Grouping of masks used for fundraising in malagan; each type of mask has its own method of obtaining funds, dogs teeth etc. Luvora grouped the masks into three major divisions: Nicmaget is the boss, Betar cuts trees, and Soser are fundraisers. As examples of Soser fundraisers Martin Luvora mentioned: Ciracirap, ges, Noqmuć, Cikcikberiberit, Lakeskine, Surusuruvaunua, Betar, and Tanua.

Owners:
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Lesu, mainland NI)
Appendix A Malagan components

Suligai: Recorded as a mask of Verim. Both Walden (1940:24) at Nangama (Kuot-Panaras?) and Lewis (1969:146) at Lesu recorded sulunga as a malagan mask.

Owners: Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from F. [Selembun])

Surusuruvanua (Surasuruvanua, Susuruwano, Susurwuno): A fundraiser mask of Verim; a type of vanis Soser. Surusuruvanua means ‘to burn a house’, the actor uses a lighted torch to threaten and extort funds.

Owners: Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Songis [Sateririz], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Tabarilusbana: Recorded as a type of Nicmage mask of Verim.

Owners: Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua

Tanua (Tanuavarima): The name Tanua was given in the Mapua and Big Tabar dialect regions for a mask performing the same function as Tonokukkuc (see below); which can be used as a type of vanis Soser fundraising mask. A man wearing a Tanua barkcloth mask goes into the men’s house at night and gently tickles men with a knife or pig’s bone. In Madas Big-Name subtradition the Tanua is a death mask used to bury the dead.

Owners: Palakai [Vutigamgam], Tupilabot, Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner ?)
Kubau [Tirotiro] Raukupo, N Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

Tatanua (Tantanua): Kovasepa is an example of this type of singing mask which is used on the mainland of New Ireland, recorded from southern Big Tabar only as an example made to sell or to be used at a ceremony to celebrate the opening of a new Catholic church.

Owners: Kiapbo Tuwalu, Sinikima, SE Big Tabar
Lupidi [Tiroguma], Sinikima, SE Big Tabar (owner from kandere)
Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Lesu, mainland NI)

Tir Cur Rupumoggos (Turi, Repumegos, Rupumegos, Rupumegos, Rupumogos):

a) An example (see Fig.50) was made upon commission in 1982 by Edward Salle of Tatau village12. This malagan was termed Verim Tir Cur Rupumoggos and was a standing wooden ges figure with a plank nose and a branch of betel nut coming from its tongue on to its chest. Cur Rupumoggos was the tabataba of Verim tir owned by [Carameges] clan at Tatau village. Apparently the naming of an initiate as Vanariu can occur while he is wearing a Ciracirap mask and sitting on the cur Rupumoggos platform.

Informant: Salle [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau

b) Described as a standing marumaru figure of wood which can sit on a bed, but also described by Songis as a barkcloth dancing mask which only sits down, one of the 13 dancing masks he owns. Rupumoggos was also referred to as Curverim by Luvora. Examples of Rupumoggos can have a branch of betel nut

12 Northern Territory Museum registration number NGE 916.
coming from its tongue onto its chest. *Tir* usually means “to stand up” and the term applies to humans or to objects which support themselves, such as coconut trees.

Owners:
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
- Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
- Luvora, Martin [Potbit k. Potuvara m.] (ex Notsi region), Karubo, S Tatau (owner from kandere in Lesu, mainland NI)
- Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])
- Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

**Toa Ne Delemi (Toa Ne Delami):** One example sighted (NGE 1425) was a type of ges mask named after the rooster (*toa*) and the masalai shark *Delemi* which belonged to the clan which owned this mask. Apparently *Toa Ne Delemi* can be worn during *cirep* and *aruaru* malagan ceremonies to open the door of the *aro*; other examples can be placed on a bush materials body.

Owners:
- Kaletau [Daraba], Pakinapai, Mapua. (owner from MF. Kaletau [Loronggo])
- Kaletau [Loronggo], Pakinapai, Mapua. (owner from MB in Madak region, mainland New Ireland)

**Tonokukkuc (Tonokukuc, Tonokukkutc, Tonokukuc):** Recorded as a barkcloth mask with long bamboo eyes. Worn by an actor who goes into men’s house at night to tickle and pinch the bodies of men. On Mapua and Big Tabar a mask with this action was called *Tanua* or *Tanua Verim* (see above).

Owners:
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
- Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Trenkes (Trengkes):** An important type of mask of *Verim*, Songis ranked this barkcloth mask fifth amongst his 13 dancing *vanis* despite telling me that all the other masks are under *Trenkes*, or that *Trenkes* is the ‘as’ (source, origin) of all the other masks. Characterised by a transverse ridge on the top of the head to which live *ciciciu* birds are fastened by their feet.

Owners:
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
- Petili [Saterir], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB? Songis)
- Salle, Bensen [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB? Songis)
- Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Turekai (Turugai):** Recorded as a type of mask of *Verim*; *Turekai* also means ‘bed’ in that Leleo can cut as many malagans as he likes to sit on it.

Owners:
- Leleo, Peter [Cegel] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from F. [Selembambun])
- Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
- Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

**Vanariu (Wanariu, Waneriu, Wanriu):** One example sighted (NGE 1329) was a large wooden mask used to remove taboos from the *aro* malagan ritual site region during the *cukuwavaturi* malagan ceremony. *Vanariu* was also recorded as a man’s name and as part of *taptanjas* of *Verim*. Recorded from Makeu [Sicobi] as a type of *Nicmager*; another man referred to it a *Picicip*. On the mainland of New Ireland this mask name was recorded by Walden (1940:24) from Butbut (Tigak region, central
Appendix A Malagan components

as vaneriu and also from Lemakot (Kara region, Eastern d.) where he recorded it as a type of merue dance (ibid:24). Krämer (1925:76) recorded a tall eared vänereũi mask from Hamba (Notsi region) where he noted that this type was based on trickster bush spirits [Krämer uses the term Schrate] such as the Sirap near Hamba as vänereũ. Further north he recorded this mask type as oolol. An early example pictured in Meyer (1900: Bd.VII Taf.XIV Nr.1) was collected from Lemakot (Kara region, Eastern d.) and features two ear discs and a nautilus shell on the head. More recently Lewis (1969: Fig.46) recorded the major ceremonial mask Waniriu amongst others at Lesu (Notsi region).

Owners:
Lakaseng [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau. (owner from MMFS. Lusem [Lavakulep])
Leleo, Peter [Čege] (ex Notsi region, NI), Maragat, NW Tatau (owner from M)
Lusen Tula [Lavakulep], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau (owner from F. Tula)
Makeu [Sicobi], Tokar, Mapua
Tula [Betio k.? Katobi m.], Pekinberiu, NE Tatau.

vanis (wanis): Generic term for a mask in Verim malagan; often used as a synonym for the subtradition Verim. The call of the ges and other masks is the call of a dog going after prey. Sometimes a woman’s leke basket can have ears, nose, and eyes attached to make a vanis. Interestingly the primary stage of making a mask - attaching barkcloth to the coconut head manikin - is termed pa-leke.

Vanis si Gol (mi bu Wansingol, Wanissigol): Songis listed this barkcloth mask amongst his 13 dancing masks. Gol is the term used to describe the transfer of the rights to bring about a taboo condition through use of gorgor plant (Alpina sp.); for tabooing betel or coconut trees. These rights are transferred with this malagan. When used this mask is protected by two watchmen - a Ges with a spear and Beikuru.

Owners:
Lomot [Bunpekila], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau
Salle, Edwin Jnr [Damok], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from Songis [Saterir])
Songis [Saterir], Lakavil, Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Lomot [Bunpekila])

Vatavara (Watawara): Wowa recorded this mask as part of Verim and said it was a ges which carries food from the garden; Bialong said it was a type of Ciracirap.

Owners:
Lovan [Obun] Lava, N Tatau (owner from kandere?)
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MB. Lovan)

Informant:
Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.], Pekinatenis, Tatau village, N Tatau

Velvelto (Velveledor): A ges mask of Verim, described as a type of soser which runs about but does not dance, nor does it carry a spear.

Owners:
Banamu [Buatekone], Maragon, W Simberi

Malagan Big-Name: Vuvil
Also recorded as Vevil, Vovali, Vuvel, Wawali, Wowali.

Malagan Ritual Sites:
Four Vuvil ritual sites were recorded on Tabar:
i) Aro Vuvil, malagan ritual site, Pekinatenis hamlet, Tatau village, N Tatau.
Appendix A Malagan components


ii) Aro Vuvil, malagan ritual site on top of mountain at Putuvara, S Tatau.
iii) Tavuvil, malagan ritual site (roŋar), Tatau village, N Tatau.
iv) Sikap, malagan ritual site (roŋar), Tiripac village, NW Big Tabar.

Character:
Because of its involvement with sorcery, Vuvil is reputed to cause sores and there are strong taboos against the uninitiated. It has a bush origin, uses the tavuri conch shell and has the taubes transference platform. Examples recorded indicate that this malagan had a bush origin.

When worked as a major malagan, Vuvil has a malagan snake coiling at the bottom of the display house.

Previous Records from Tabar:
Walden (Walden et al 1940:24, 31) recorded vavali at Teripats on Big Tabar as a figure malagan which featured a modelled and painted skull rather that a wooden carved head. Wilkinson 1978:229 recorded Veveil as a malagan on Tabar.

Taŋanias:
Taŋanias were recorded from two Vuvil owners:

Recorded from Wowa [Obun] of Tatau village, N Tatau:
a taravwil
a si merambo
mi auwis

Recorded from Sola Lokorova [Keis] of Poponovam, NW Simberi:
unabu
seserabo
simaramanget
rebor

Taŋanias - comments:
- Auis (mi Auwis, Ouis) : name of a type of bird. Also recorded as a malagan type in Lunet, Totobo, and Vavara.
- rebor (rembor) : means “there is a prohibition on non-initiated men working on Vuvil malagan”
- semerabo (a si merambo, simarabo, semerambo) : ?
- simaramanget (simaramanget) : the name of the sore which belongs to Vuvil malagan.
- taravil (taravwil) : a reference to a greeting sequence during the Vuvil ceremony.
- unabu (unambu) : a big snake which lies in the bottom of the Vuvil display house.

Known Owners:
14 owners, 1 artist.

Malagan Names:
4 generic names : eikuar, kobokobor, kupkup ci malaga, rarau pelepele.
2 specific names : Curubaru, Ma.

Curubaru (Surubaru, Surumbaru) : Described as either a type of kobokobor or as a type of eikuar of Vuvil. Curubaru means a “bed of pigeons”, pigeons sit down on it. Curubaru was also recorded in Tomut Big-Name subtradition.
Owner:
Memengah, Maris [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar (Seventh Day Adventist) (owner from M. [Tirotiro k. Kobuai m.])
Appendix A Malagan components

*eikuar*: Two examples were recorded for *Vuvil*.

a) One was described as a column of figures, each holding one *veivem*. A small green bird (*buen*) with a cry like a pigeon is positioned either seated or about to fly at the top of the malagan, at the bottom is a *kovabor* head of pig.

**Owners:**
Silom [Saterir], N Tatau?
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Silom [Saterir])

b) A version of the *kobokobor* called *Curubaru*: this one has fire coming up in the eye of the malagan with pigeons looking down into the fire

**Informant:**
Lepan Ladavak [Maratoru], Vaŋ, S Big Tabar

*kobokobor*: Recorded in *Vuvil* from one informant it had a *kovabor* head of pig at each end, then a *koltibor*, in the centre it had two *veivem* (one top and one bottom) with four *buen* birds sitting on the top *veivem*.

**Owners:**
Silom [Saterir], N Tatau?
Wowa, Edward [Obun], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from F. Silom [Saterir])

*kupkup ci malaga*: Two *kupkup ci malaga* of *Vuvil* were recorded:

a) One was a flat board with a *semera* snake and *auis* bird.

b) Another was a *Rarau Pelepele* (see below).

**Ma**: Name recorded as a type of *Vuvil*; probably a representation of a bird.

**Owners:**
Batu [Manebo], Tiripac, NW Big Tabar (owner from kandere)

**Rarau Pelepele** (*Pelepele, Pelepek, Pelepeli, Pile*): Two examples in *Vuvil* were sighted and recorded:

a) One was a quick-to-work copra sack *kupkup ci malaga* (NGE 1443) with a wooden head mounted in a central hole, around the hole and filling the body of this oval malagan was an abstract picture of a small insect *giris* (normally called *cucuvurevurok*) which lives on a leaf and can bite, causing the arm to swell up. This malagan was made and used for the *cukuvavaturi* and *araru* malagan ceremonies at Pekinberiu in 1984.

**Owners:**
Sola Lokorova [Keis], Poponovam, NW Simberi (owner from MZS ?)

b) Another example (NGE 1402) had four small wooden heads set in a large oval shape. It was made and used for the funerary malagan ceremony *nabor* at Tatau village in 1984. Apparently this type can be exhibited with one, two, or four centre heads.

**Owners:**
Kovlaa [Sepiv], Tatau village, N Tatau (owner from MF. Lamet [Barabar])
Lamet [Barabar], Tatau village, N Tatau?
Palanpuit [Barabar], N Tatau?
Appendix B: Selected tape transcripts of oral traditions recorded from Tabar 1982, 1983-4

Index:

1: Introduction
1.1. Interrelationships between totem, clan, malagan, and marriage.
1.2. Making a child riuc leader

2: Raban & Cikite myths
2.1. Raban & Cikite (1)
2.2. Raban & Cikite (2)
2.3. Raban, drifting clans, and malagan.

3: Sharks, tadar, and other totems
3.1. Wooden totemic shark image Mabute
3.2. Mabot shark.
3.3. Vunomerik shark.
3.5. Valeval bush wallaby totem.
3.6. Eel totem starting [Sicobi] clan (1).
3.7. Eel totem starting [Sicobi] clan (2).
3.8. Susukes, one-breasted woman totem.
3.9. Influence of the totem Kulekulekeie upon an individual’s personality.
3.10. Death of a ges

4: Malagan myths
4.1. Deenasi malagan.
4.2. Totobo malagan (1).
4.3. Totobo malagan (2).
4.4. Origin of Vavara malagan (1).
4.5. Origin of Vavara malagan (2).
4.6. Origin of Verim malagan
4.8. Initiation into Madassitanua malagan of Madas.
4.10. Kelev tabooing tree of Sonson.
1: Introduction

Oral traditions on Tabar would include a very large proportion of all cultural activity in this oral culture, this almost goes without saying. It is equally obvious that I, as an outsider staying for only a short time, was able to record only a tiny proportion of the typical interaction which generates that realm we would call "culture". This is not to say that I did not manage to record anything of cultural importance. On the contrary, people on the whole took great pains to ensure that I recorded on the tape recorder everything that they thought was significant. However, the people saw me within a specific context, and that context was malagan, so the vast majority of my tape recordings deal with one or another aspect of this tradition.

Of the non-malagan tape recordings, 12 deal with totemic sharks. Several of these feature specific miracles attributed to totemic sharks such as Beiperevur, a shark which rescued three drowning men in 1952. A further 10 recordings deal with other totems, mostly in relation to land ownership or to the genesis of a clan. Three recordings deal with the myth of Raban & Cikite. The other records form a diverse body of material, and cover a wide range of concerns ranging from sorcery through to marriage regulations. Some people were primarily interested in using me to documenting their own cultural inheritance and personal achievements in the Tabar world. Five people described to me the process by which one became a "mouth man" or ascribed leader.

Those myths and other oral statements which are translated and presented here are those which have been mentioned in the main body of this thesis, or those which are key recordings for the understanding of some of the interrelationships within Tabar culture. All transcripts presented here have been translated by me from Tok Pisin to English.

1.1. Interrelationships between totem, clan, malagan, and marriage.

(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Michael Kaletau [Daraba] at Butemut malagan ritual site, Pakinapai village, Mapua. 1983. Note: Although Michael Kaletau was born on Tabar from a Tabar mother, his father is from the Madak region of mainland New Ireland. His normal occupation is headmaster of a school in the PNG Highlands, but had returned to Tabar for the school holidays. He was aged about 40 at the time of the recording, and owns malagans in Verim. To what extent his illuminating insights would represent the opinions or thoughts of other Tabar people is not known.)

Mike Gunn: Michael, you spoke before on the parts inside Delami masalai. Before you spoke of marumarua, now I'm not too clear on this because other men have said that marumarua is some kind of spirit, and other men said that it was some kind of image belonging to malagan, a wooden image. Some men said that marumarua is similar to the image on a photograph. Now you have said that marumarua is a part inside masalai. Could you clarify this?

Michael Kaletau: This malagan that we call Toa ne Delemi is the same as a marumarua in Tabar language. In English we would call it a 'spirit or image' and in Tok Pisin we would call it a 'piksa'. These words all go the same way toward the true meaning. Inside this malagan Toa ne Delemi, it is one malagan which is used to place or appoint (putim), to clean the village, or open the door or other similar activity. Now inside this malagan, there is an image inside this malagan, the drawing of a rooster. This marumarua of this malagan is represented by this picture of the rooster. That's why we call this malagan Toa ne Delemi. Toa means rooster, and Delemi is a masalai belonging to my father's clan.

I will now go further into this relationship between masalai, malagan and the people of today. There is a close link or relationship of the travels or lifestyle belonging to the malagan and that of the people in the village. For example, in the images belonging to us, the masalai belonging to my father, are called Varajas. Now Varajas includes the clan of my father. This masalai pictures all this clan. People come into this masalai, not by an outside
initiation, but are initiated by being born into it. This story links all these things together. A
person is born from this masalai, and when he died, he goes back to the masalai.

MG: A little thing first, this Delemi masalai belongs to which clan?

MK: Delemi masalai belongs to my father’s clan [Lorongo].

MG: Is Delemi part of this masalai Varasən?

MK: It belongs inside this masalai called Varasən. Varasən encompassed all names. For
example the malagan name Toa ne Delemi comes under Varasən. All small names are
associated and come under this stump. It is like the base of a big tree. The tree is on top of
this stump and all the branches come out. These branches each have a name, this is where
the malagan names occur. In this way Toa ne Delemi is a branch of Varasən.

MG: So when you work malagan, does Toa ne Delemi comes inside Varasən or not?

MK: No. Varasən dosen’t come inside or stand up outside the name of this malagan.
Varasən makes all these things come up. They all come up underneath Varasən so they all
have other names belonging to them. We can refer to Varasən as the mother of all these
other things. They all have other names, Varasən enables them to exist.

MG: So Toa ne Delemi is an image inside this smaller masalai that lies underneath this
bigger masalai?

MK: This is true. Toa ne Delemi is an image of one part inside this big masalai of theirs, or
one clan. Varasən is the name of the big masalai of theirs.

MG: Now, if later you want to work another malagan ceremony and you want to work a
Ges such as this one here, during a ceremony called for example aruaru, do you work
another part of this masalai, another image?

MK: Yes, no matter what kind of ceremony or what kind of malagan. This malagan Toa ne
Delemi belonged to my father and he handed it over to us, now he can no longer work this
malagan, it now belongs to me and my family. He has more malagan that he will work in
future ceremonies, other malagans with other names.

MG: And these will be other parts from this masalai?

MK: Yes. Part of this big masalai.

MG: Now suppose I look at another malagan that belonged to another man and is now in
the museum of another country, and this malagan contains a picture of this toa, am I right in
thinking that this toa is part of a masalai inside a big masalai belonging to some clan?

MK: Yes, this is true. This is because the name Toa ne Delemi dosen’t come up in another
type of masalai, no matter what part of what place that works malagan. This malagan
belongs to this line of descent and dosen’t belong to any other part. If you look at one you
know that it comes from us.

For example, this malagan here comes from my father’s clan, most of whom still live
on the mainland, they all work the same type of image, the same malagan. No other clan can
steal the colour or design or shape of this malagan, or whatever image is inside this malagan.
No one can work an empty design. Before, men would die for this type of theft.

MG: Suppose someone steals this image from you, would he be stealing the image of the
masalai belonging to you?
MK: This is true. He would steal this image belonging to it. Now if he stole it, he would not know all the talk that goes with it. There are spiritual rites belonging to each malagan. Now if I were to work a stolen image, I would be working something without meaning, without power or anything else. The line of descent that belongs to this malagan knows the type of talk, the way to work this malagan; they all know its feeling, they are part of it, something that has meaning. Now suppose I were to sing a song that was composed in another part, I would be singing nothing. I didn’t compose it, I would be singing nothing. The man that truly composed it, he has a name which he gave to it. It is the same with malagan. You cannot work nothing. When you get a malagan you get it from within the clan, or you must buy it. It is the same with a song, you must ask permission.

MG: Now if you get this song, you call it a secret rite, from inside this malagan, can you change it a little to bring it up to modern times, or must you leave it as you inherited it?

MK: For these spiritual rites or songs belonging to malagan, I think I don’t know enough to change these things too fast, to go the way of modern life. It isn’t right to change things. The reason for this is that all talk and so on belonging to malagan is part of it, it backs it. I’m not too clear about this myself, so I won’t lead you astray. But if a man were to change something, all the other men would talk behind his back and say that he wasn’t working a correct malagan. This type of gossip is very strong here.

MG: So do all the songs and talk inside malagan belong to current Tabar language, or to the language of the past?

MK: No, it is language of the past. For example, we younger men of today don’t understand some of the language in malagan, the language that they used to use. We speak it without understanding it. When a man wants to work a malagan, an old man, such as father here, shows him all the talk he must use. We younger men don’t understand some of this talk. Some of the slang in the old language is different to the new language we use today. Language changes, development comes in this language of ours.

MG: So the language of malagan belongs to earlier times?

MK: To a long time before.

MG: To a long time before, or to maybe about 100 years?

MK: On this I think it is a long time back, maybe at least 100 years. The reason for this is that development or change in language doesn’t come quickly. It must be way back. If father’s line of descent had received this language, we would have received it. So it must be way back.

MG: So what percentage do you think of malagan language is old language of before? A little bit or a big bit?

MK: In my judgement, working on the quarter system, I think about 3/4 would be in old language, and 1/4 in modern language. The reason for this is that some of the language they use in the secret rites is not real language, but just words, words that we don’t use today, they have changed completely. Now this change has come about quickly, I think when my father was born he heard them, he may want to talk more about this. He may be able to talk more clearly on this subject. If father knows, or another old man knows, then we the new generation in this time, may gain understanding. This old language is not hard to understand, because we can hear the speech, and hear the meaning. Where we don’t understand we could ask and have the meaning clarified.

MG: Now this talk, is it a series of nouns? That is, the name belonging to a thing or to a type of idea? Or is it true language, with grammar belonging to it, with verbs, adjectives and so on?
MK: Yes, it seems as though this malagan talk comprises describing nouns, names of things belonging to a time when they knew how to use this kind of slang, slang adjectives. So the composition of the adjectives and nouns in this kind of usage is the same as speech in that they use it to describe or talk about malagan. This talk must have had a grammar, but using slang terms.

MG: Do you thing that previously malagan had a special language which belonged only to malagan, or do you think that it was a language which was used by all men at that time?

MK: I think that in the language used in malagan there are special terms that are used in malagan, malagan has special terms used in it. The language we all use here on Tabar is the language we use from day to day, but inside it are the special terms that belong to malagan. I cannot speak them here, for it not good to speak emptily in this. There is sacred talk in Tabar which belongs only to malagan.

MG: With masalai, do you have a sacred talk that belongs to them, or can you use day to day language?

MK: I think in this area it is day-to-day language. If something goes wrong with the descent group, or a family is sick, or something similar, then we can go and talk with the masalai, all kind of talk. One can talk for no reason with masalai, in day-to-day language. There is a social connection between masalai and man. So there is no difference in this type of interaction. It is the same as two men talking straight together.

MG: True! So there is no formal language such as between man and a deity? It is true contact?

MK: Yes. This contact is a true contact, there is nothing bad in it. It is the same as if I talk to my clans-people here. I can say what I like to the masalai.

MG: Does man look after the masalai, or does it look after itself?

MK: No, man doesn’t look after the masalai, I think the masalai looks after itself. We believe that the masalai is above man, so it must look after itself. We don’t look after masalai.

MG: Do you think that masalai can abandon the clan, if the masalai doesn’t like the clan. That it can leave the clan, or go to another place?

MK: This can happen if some kind of small dispute arises, or people don’t look after the place where the masalai stays. The masalai can move out, can leave this place and go to a new place. Suppose the people destroy the place where it sleeps, or for example say a specific snake is a masalai. If people damage it, or make it move from the place where it stays, then it may leave. At the new place, it will make another line of descent come up.

MG: A new line of descent?

MK: A new line, but related. This is the story we had before. If the masalai moved, some said, it would go to another place to live. That’s why we can find the masalai has relationships with mainland New Ireland. It has relationships in all kinds of places. Because it is believed that the masalai moved about. For example if man went and destroyed its place, then the masalai would go away, be angry, and would come up again at another place.

MG: Now if a masalai stayed at a particular place, with a matabu belonging to it, and it became angry and moved to another place, and another matabu came to live at this place, would these two matabu be related?
MK: Yes. These two would be related.

MG: Now could a man from this first matabu marry a woman from the second matabu?

MK: It can vary. If we are considering two matabu which a masalai had created in two places, then these two matabu could not intermarry. Now if a man belonging to this masalai moved to another place, got married, and had children, then yes. The children of this man can come and marry to the original matabu.

MG: Is this because the children would have another masalai?

MK: Yes. The woman that the man married would have another masalai.

MG: So it is true that if a man has one masalai he cannot marry, and another type that he can?

MK: Yes. There are some masalai that are related. For example, if one masalai belongs to another masalai, or they came on the same road. Then the lines of descent from these masalai cannot intermarry. If there are no relationships between the masalai, then the people can marry any way they choose.

MG: So these masalai which are related, so has one masalai had children masalai, or what?

MK: No. This event doesn't occur too much. It is rare. It's not certain, it may have happened some time in that past that a masalai did this. It has happened at some time, to some. But this doesn't happen to most. Generally masalai don't marry women.

It occurs from the movement of men from clans, for example my father, he married our mother (from Tabar). We cannot marry those in our clan, our close cousins or those who come close in other ways. We must marry someone from a long way away.

This also applied to other types of clan relationships. We are a clan together: me, my brother, and the others. We are a clan together, other clans have got other masalai. The masalai binds us together as one. We do not want to look back and notice that we have had wrong marriages in our past. We cannot marry ourselves.

MG: OK. I'd like to find out a little more about this illustration you used of three masalai, that they are related in some parts. How are they related?

MK: It runs as follows. There are particular types of work belonging to each masalai. If one lineage lived in the same place with another lineage, then in the eyes of all men, these two lineages cannot intermarry. Because they live too close together.

This is why these three cannot intermarry. Because when looking at the heritage of this line of descent, it has been too close for too long. The masalai are like the bamboos on this bed, they lie next to one another. Now because they lie so close together, then cannot intermarry, they are as if they are one family.

MG: Yes this is clear. So these people would be related by proximity, because before all the places belonging to these clans of these masalai were ...

MK: ... were too close. Another little thing that is relevant is that in the early days we had a lot of warfare with spears and guns and so on. Some clans met together with another clan. These two that met before, met together, they called one another brother and sister, somehow. These clans-people still cannot intermarry. So they have a different image in everyone else's eyes as well.

MG: OK. Do you want to hear this?
1.2. Making a child قبال leader

(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Picia [Kuk k. Saterir m.], of Tavui, N Tatau, in December 1983. Picia was aged about 55 years at the time of the recording, and was in the process of making his 9 year old son Lerenjaic in malagan)

Picia: OK I’m Picia, I’d like to tell a story to you. It is about when we begin a child so that it will become a leader قبال. When the mother is pregnant the women make a feast and they make the ceremony "birbir". When the child is born the women get mis and the men mark the names of this child.

When this is finished they make a malagan (ceremony) which they term varam pokaginimis. When this is finished they prepare for a big feast to return the mis and to place the power on this child. Once the child is said to have been given the power and it grows up to become adult then it becomes قبال, then they give the power to this child.

When this feast is held they must return all the mis. There is plenty of food and the mis is exchanged. There are men who give all kinds of talk so that this child is recognised as a قبال leader, because this child was started with malagan.

OK I want to talk again about starting a child with malagan. It happens like this. We don’t make this from nothing. First he must get a step. If his father works this, then he must get the step belonging to his father. Later, if his own clan wants to work this, then this is the space for his own clan. OK, is later on his grandfather wants to work it, then he must work it on top of this grandchild so that he will become قبال. A child cannot become قبال if no malagan has been worked for him.

A child cannot become قبال out of nothing, they must work all kinds of malagan. OK if he becomes قبال, and he has plenty of malagans, then they can call him, because he got a lift up from his father or from his clan, or from his grandfather, they must call him orginoginot. This is because the origin of this is that there are plenty of malagans worked for this child.

MG: What is a pussuri ataman you talked about earlier.

Picia: It means that he received his father’s step, or he got his father’s name. This means that whatever step the father stood up on, then the child too must stand up on that step. This is because he takes his father’s place.

MG: I understand. Taman is father. a pussuri means what?

Picia: He follows his father.

MG: So varam pokaginimis means what?

Picia: When his mother was pregnant, they operated a big covering up feast. They work it during the sun, when night comes they singsing ginimis. They do this all through the night until daylight. This is the meaning of it. It finishes all songs [..?] for the child.

MG: Is this the first kaikai of birbir?

Picia: Birbir comes up at this ceremony we are making the house for now.

MG: So this varam pokaginimis ?

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1 birbir : beriberi - women's dance in festivals for first born child.

2 Orginoginot : a bunch of feathers of all kinds of colours.

3 Does this mean that varam pokaginimis forms the “house” for the birbir kaikai in that it precedes it?
Picia: They don’t sing at it. It belongs to malagan. Women cannot eat any of this pig, it belongs to the men inside only. They must finish it, it cannot come outside. It’s the start of it.

MG: So what is the name of the first ceremony for a boy?

Picia: I’ve already told you: *varam pokaginimis*.

MG: So the 2nd feast is called what?

Picia: *nopinīs*

MG: So what is this ceremony?

Picia: Its meaning is to repay all the mis.

MG: The mis from the first ceremony?

Picia: The ones that they marked him with. Our lineage, we know my child. OK, so my clan must get mis and come to mark his name. OK, at this time me, together with the child’s mother and her clan, repay the mis together with the kaikai. They exchange it all now. When all the exchanging of the mis is finished, we go inside and we eat. The women too, they complete the ceremonies they have been having.

MG: Have you had this *nopinīs* ceremony yet or not?

Picia: Not yet. We are now building the house so that we can work it. We have planted the garden, now we are making the house while we wait for the garden to mature.

MG: So this kaikai is part of *cirep*?

Picia: No, it’s of another kind. There are two separate stories I have been telling you. This one isn’t part of *cirep*; *cirep* is for cooking (defeating) a dead man, it’s another story. It’s another type of work.

This one takes only one day. For example if today we can do all the work, prepare and cook all the food, OK then next day. The other one for a dead man takes many days, or weeks, or even months. This is because it has many parts. This one doesn’t. We prepare everything in one day, and the next day have the ceremony and it is finished.

MG: So do you work malagan at this ceremony? And give it to the child?

Picia: Yes

MG: Do you work malagan at *varam pokaginimis*?

Picia: I have already worked it, last time.

MG: So did malagan come up then?

Picia: I have already worked a malagan. It was a *kupkup ci malaga* which we have already worked, a *malagaruru* worked already. I started it, so now I will finish it.

MG: What is this *malagaruru*?

Picia: *Kulepmu*
2: Raban & Cikite myths

2.1. Raban & Cikite (1)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from John Tolovaŋ [Carameges], of Ketivera, near Bareveves, SE Simberi. 1982. Tolovaŋ was aged about 40 years at the time of the recording, he is leader of Ketivera hamlet, and owns malagans in Sonoŋ and Malagacak.)

I'd like to tell this story about Cikite, a leader of Carameges clan, and of Raban, the leader of Keis clan. When these two lived, Cikite had married a malagan called Sonoŋ. Raban had married a real woman and lived with her on top of the mountain called Keis. Cikite used to sleep with his malagan woman, and Raban used to go together with his real woman. One time Raban sent a message to a friend of Cikite. Cikite went inland and visited Raban's place to see what he had. Raban had pigs, Raban had mis, Raban had a real woman.

When he had finished looking, Cikite went back to his place. Then he sent a message to Raban asking him to come down and look at the things that Cikite had. Cikite had no mis, nor did he have pigs. The mis of Cikite were rope, we call it necek. This rope has leaves, it is a vine that grows in the wild, this was the mis of Cikite.

The pigs of Cikite were rats. When Raban came to look, he said: "These things aren't real. This isn't a real pig, it's something else."

OK, Raban had a daughter, so he said to Cikite: "You come and get my daughter and go marry her." Cikite went and got this girl, and the two of them slept together. When they slept together they didn't make love, they just lay down and slept as Cikite did when he slept with the Sonoŋ malagan.

One day Raban came down and asked his daughter: "Has he made love with you yet?" His daughter replied: "No, he didn't make it". So he said to her: "You go and touch his skin, and I'll find something that will help two people to make love". And he went off. Later, when they were sleeping together the girl got up and sat down on top of Cikite, and they made love properly. Cikite found that he felt life belonging to him now, and he talked about this. He fought about it, he was angry about it. Today you and I find that women cause all the troubles that beset men.

OK. The two carried on like this. One day Raban & Cikite decided to have a contest. They went to the rock called Susipo that is near Sabui. Raban hung up his true mis on top of this rock, and said to Cikite: "I will go down first into the water and lie there for some years inside this lagoon, while you keep count of how many years I stay down. When I come out we change places and you try to stay down longer than me."

Cikite was strong, "No. Me first. I'll go down first and you count how many years I lie down inside the water," Raban said: "Go on, you go first." So Cikite went down into the water in this lagoon and he lay down. Raban stayed on top and counted how many years Cikite stayed down, 50 or 60 years. It's hard to say how many years because in the story we count in Tabar language.

When he came up, Cikite came on top and said: "Go on, you go down now and I will count how many years you stay down in the water." Raban went down and lay down in this lagoon. He was down for 30 or 50 years when Cikite got up, stole the mis and went walkabout. All the time Raban was inside this water Cikite went walkabout and travelled all over the place, we don't know where.

OK, Raban got up now, he came out of this lagoon and looked around him. Cikite was nowhere in sight, nor were the mis. He started to pull up stones with the rope he had around him, and began to break up the passage in the middle of the reef. If we look now we can see the gap in the middle of the reef there. Before, I think this reef was joined all along here, with no passage. He went and threw stones, breaking up all the islands. One leg stood on the place where Maragon is. Raban's leg slipped when the rope broke as he was pulling up stones and throwing them. His leg slipped and he fell down, then he put his knee on the ground. Then he worked and broke up all these islands.

4 Location probably near Bueri village, SE Simberi.
We don’t know where Cikite put these things. We do know that on Lavongai they have mis, and this type of shell grows there, and they know how to make mis. I think Cikite lost his mis in those parts. Mis no longer stay in the waters around Tabar. I think that’s all of this story about Raban and Cikite, thank you.

2.2. Raban & Cikite (2)
(Originally recorded in both Tok Pisin and Madara from Bialong [Buerbuer k. Saterir m.] of Pekinatenis, N Tatau. 1984. Bialong was aged about 40 years at the time of the recording. He is leader of Pekinatenis hamlet and owns malagans in Kulepmu, Lunet, Madas, Vavara, and Vuwil.)

I want to talk about the ancestors’ time, a story about all this place, when it was one place. Now these two leaders, one called Cikite the other called Raban, began this place. These two came up here a very long time ago. When they lived here there was only one language everywhere. At this time the two found that one language was difficult, so they made an elel sling for hurling stones. They hurled around these stones and they broke up the place. Some of the islands around here which have saltwater in the middle were broken by these two. When they broke up the land they also broke up the language, so that now each region has its own language. Now, when we go from Tabar to another place we notice that a number of words from the two languages are the same. This is because in the ancestor’s time there was only one language in the world.

So these two leaders who brought about this place, and the two broke it up in this way, and the languages broke up in the same manner. Now, those of us who live today have another kind of language. Some other places have the same work as on Tabar, some other places have a different kind of work, this is because these two leaders put a law on all this broken place. I talk clear about this because we heard this story from our ancestors. These two leaders, Cikite and Raban.

The way we see it today, Raban is God, and Cikite is Satan. This is how we see it today. Because of all the things they did. Like pigs, Cikite called rats his pigs, these rats which eat all our things. For Raban his pigs were the same as you and I eat. In this time these two showed out all these things. Cikite saw that his things were not true like those of Raban, He looked at Raban’s pigs, which were true pigs, and his mis (tuktuk ?) were true whereas those of Cikite were of another kind.

He looked at all this and he got up. Now the two had made a place near Bueri, we called it Susipo. This place is a lagoon. OK, these two brought out their mis, and Cikite say the mis of Raban, which was true mis, the same as we use now. This mis belonged only to Tabar, it didn’t exist anywhere else.

Then Cikite sent Raban down into the sea and said “go down and then count how long you can stay under”. In our language we say susipo. OK, Raban went under, and he thought Cikite would be counting how long he was staying under the sea, but no. Cikite got up, stole the mis, and ran away.

So now on Tabar we no longer know how to make mis, because although mis originated on Tabar, Cikite took the mis and ran away.

OK, when Raban emerged from the sea he found that Cikite had gone, he looked for his mis and found that it had gone too. So he took this sling and he went about trying to find Cikite, firing these stones about, breaking up all this region which had been joined as one. If he had found Cikite he would have killed him, but he didn’t find his because Cikite had run far away. So Tabar doesn’t know how to make mis now, because although mis originated on Tabar Cikite took it and ran away to another place. So now other places know how to make mis, but we Tabar cannot.

We were told this by our ancestors, they showed us the origin of this part and all part generations from this place. That’s why I can talk clear about this.
2.3. Raban, drifting clans, and malagan.
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Masol [Tavia k. Carameges m.] of Sodir, Maragon, W Simberi. 1983. Masol was aged about 35 years at the time of the recording and had the confidence and strength of a born leader. He was also a practitioner of traditional ritual medicine.)

OK I am Masol, I want to talk, I want to give a story to Michael. I belong to this small clan [Tavia], which is part of the big business called [Carameges]. I want to talk about this malagan, called Eiboryzmas si mi Madas.

This malagan came from this business called [Keis]. OK, it came behind this woman whom I married in the Duke of Yorks. OK, one leader called Pos. When an old woman leader of his died, and when I worked a big ceremony. Men worked singsings and they bot (rounding garamut butibut?) at it. OK this old man he thought about ... putting it together with this woman belonging to the Duke of Yorks who I married, so that she is business true, so that they can call her [Keis]. OK he made this happen by marking this custom with this eikuar malagan which he gave to my children and together with their mother.

OK the beginning of this eikuar: it is the source of [Keis], source of their custom and source of their ancestors. I can talk about this, it dosen't belong to me. It belongs to the clan of [Keis]. They gave it to my children. Now about the start of this malagan. I think one of their clan leaders dreamed about this malagan, he got it from the spirit, from the masalai. OK when he dreamed about this malagan he talked to a carpenter, the carpenters in the old times used to work malagan. OK, they worked it, they marked these men, like the ones that lie behind this malagan, and it has two pig's heads, one at each end.

OK this business was a drifter, [Keis] did not have a place belonging to them. This malagan of theirs, if they went ashore, we call it Raban, if they went ashore at this place. OK, they would go and stay on the beach, they didn't have any real ground belonging to them. They could go and stay a short while then they would move on again to another place where they could stay again. OK, then they would work something again, malagan or something else. They could work a ceremony again at this place. Later they can get up. We call them Raban. In our language we call them kumumu (drifters?), and this sea eel cukom, we call them tamtamkeikuen, arovuruvu - these are all names belonging to this business here, [Keis]. The meaning of all these is they are Raban. The reason is that they haven't got a part which stays.

OK, this origin of this malagan he gave to the children, so now the children don't belong to the Duke of Yorks, they belong to [Keis], they are underneath all the leaders of [Keis] clan.

OK this one which he gave to the children, now they have this malagan. Now they can work it, no other man or leader can ask them "Where did you get this malagan?". Because they have already seen that the children have bought this malagan out with a lot of mis and money from this leader of [Keis], called Pos. They have already bought out this malagan which they call Eiboryzmas. That's all on this story about this malagan, that's all.

3: Sharks, tadar, and other totems

3.1. Wooden totemic shark image Mabute
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Gregori Taremur [Kaparak] of Labirut, NE Big Tabar. 1982. Taremur was aged about 35 at the time of the recording.)

My name is Gregori Taremur. I want to story about this shark belonging to us in our clan here. We are [Kaparak] clan. Our clan leader Wabela cut (this wooden masalai shark) before the war.

He cut this shark masalai (wooden image of Mabute) to help us for fighting. If we as a people were not able to kill a man from another island, from Lihir or from Simberi for example, then we would work this shark. Sorcery was in this shark and we would talk to it, to get it to go and kill sharks at another place.
OK, this shark was the same as a man. We would send and talk to it to go away and fight. When we went to another place and sank at sea, then this shark would come when we talked to it. It would come up and help us by carrying us to shore, one at a time. We would sit on top of the back of this shark, and it would take us to shore.

Our clan leader thought about the methods of this shark, so he made this wooden effigy and gave it strong power to help us do what I have just talked about. That’s all, thank you.

3.2. Mabot shark

(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Peter Leleo [Cegel] of Maragat, NW Tatau. 1984. Although married to a Tabar woman (in [Betet] clan) and living on Tabar, Leleo was born at Lesu village in the Notsi language region of mainland New Ireland. To what extent his beliefs about sharks and knowledge of malagan is Notsi rather than Tabar is difficult to tell. However, as a closely related outsider he may be able to understand and articulate Tabar culture more clearly than someone without his perspective. Leleo is also fully cognisant of western ways having spent a number of years during the second World War as a carpenter in the city of Rabaul. He was aged between 60 and 65 years old when this recording was made. On Tabar he is a respected middle to high ranking malagan man, a good story teller with a strong personality.)

Mabot shark belongs to [Betet] clan. He bosses 4 places. He is the source of all [Betet] at Datava. He is boss at Bueri, and he bosses matabu belonging to Bueri and he bosses matabu belonging to Sos passage, and he bosses Maragat, of the ground of all true [Betet] of all matabu they call [Betet]. Shark of all these is Mabot. The power of Mabot is that he holds the ground belonging to this matabu they call [Betet].

I am Peter, I am talking. To my seeing, I believe in this shark. At the time of women leaders and men leaders, I planted and I worked malagan, I worked eating pigs, I put bola (?), I put full power into the work on top of this funeral of all, and I believe that I saw this shark Mabot came up and he cried beside the leaders who belong to this clan.

Now today I look, and they no more have this kind of thing. Young people today have not followed enough of the ways of the ancestors on this kind of magic of cooking ginger so that eventually the shark belonging to this matabu hears talk.

Today, young people don't follow the old ways, so things don't work out correctly. Young people today have not followed enough of the ways of the ancestors on the old custom law. I have believed, and I saw this shark Mabot come ashore, and he lay on the white sand. His breath was like a pigeon (aircraft?), his head was like a big sleeping pig. He came and cried, beside this man called TeleiJ. Telea was a leader of [Betet] clan, he married a woman called Kosekoru. This shark came and cried on the death of these two together, at the man belonging to him and the woman belonging to him, the old ones belonging.

I story this thing for those that have belief, or those that have thinking about this. Before, in the old days, if a man from Tabar wanted to go to New Ireland, the shark would go behind him, lying underneath the canoe. From New Ireland he would return underneath the canoe, he would wait for the canoe. All the sharks from Tabar are the same. On Big Tabar and on Simberi Island it's the same, sharks hear talk because the used to work full power to them, cook ginger for them, and understood the kind of customs belonging to them. Today the people don't follow this way, they don't know how to talk so that the shark can hear them.

Now the sharks do nothing, they run about in the sea because there is no-one to turn talk... ah to hear talk of all, to cook ginger for all. Young people today go to school and follow European fashions today.

I think that's all of my talk upon my observations of the shark belonging to Mabot. This is true, very true, I saw the shark cry beside the leaders of this clan, and that the shark came ashore. I think that's all.
3.3. *Vunomerik* shark
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Peter Leleo [Cegel] of Maragat, NW Tatau. 1984)

I am from New Ireland. I am married and I came to Maragot, to my wife, in *matabu* [Betet]. I am inside this shark *Vunomerik*. Now *Vunomerik* bosses plenty of parts. He stops in *Vaq*, to look after the clan leader *Vanelau* who is dead already. Some smaller people have come behind *Vanelau* and today they stay in *Vaq*. This shark *Vunomerik* stays at *Vaq*, sometimes he comes, and sleeps at the passage at Logelis near Koruba, to look after the clans that stay there. *OK* is comes and stays at Tupinimida passage. He has a big camp of all shark masalai, that stay in Simberi Island, Tatau Island, inside the point, this round reef where the tide comes up and makes the water boil. All reef masalai belong, all types of shark, they stop inside, they know.

These ones meet together in a big camp of all shark masalai. Now I will speak clearly on the fashion of *Vunomerik*, he goes around to look after clans. The fashion of all sharks is the same. Other sharks must be behind their clans, other sharks must be behind their clans, their *matabu*. All sharks heard talk that it was full power on the work of custom law before, all leaders held it.

Today only we young men live, I think we don't know enough to do this any more. We go to school a little, and when we want to go back we believe something different. We no longer hold this power belonging to shark belonging to *matabu*. I think that's all. Thank you.

3.4. *Beiparivuru* shark rescuing 3 men in 1952
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Peter Leleo [Cegel] of Maragat, NW Tatau. 1984.)

OK I will get behind this story again so that you and I can remember again and believe it, because it's true.

I think we all of us on Tabar, Tatau Island and all over, we have knowledge of this event concerning three men from a little village called Pekinatinis, on Tatau. The three men got in a canoe on Sunday morning and the three went to Simberi Island. On Simberi the three went about their business, talked with clan members and so on. When the time came to leave, the people looked around for the three, and found them inside the church. The three thought about pulling out the canoe, and started to paddle back towards Tatau Island.

The three men were in the middle of the strait between the two islands, when a small water tornado went up, standing up on the sea. The water tornado approached, and its wind came closer, nearer, making the sea smoke under it. It came and met the canoe belonging to the three men, and tipped it over. The three men were in the water, the canoe broke up and sank.

Now this man named Moses, the three in the canoe were called Moses, Komek and Matlam. Old man Moses spoke up, he was afraid. In Tabar language he called out to the shark masalai belonging to him: *"Beiparivuru, Sokoburu*" he called out the names of the sharks. *"You cannot ignore we three here"*. Right on top of this reef, the sea boiled. *"You cannot ignore we three here, soon we three will become shark shit, in the mouth of another shark. Why do you ignore we three? Do you not want to give life to we three? You can help we three"*

Look, this piece of talk the old man gave to his shark. His shark came up right away. He broke the wood of the canoe, he broke the *saman* outrigger, he threw it all away, out. He broke the canoe in the middle into two parts, then again into four parts. Then he got one piece and he gave it to Moses. He got another part of the canoe and he gave it to Komek. He got another piece of the canoe and he gave it to Matlam. Then he spoke: *"You two drift, hold onto this piece of canoe, drift and wait for me! I will take Moses and find a place to put him down"*.

He took Moses, he made him sit down on his back. He then moved off through the sea for a long long way, for many miles. He arrived at *Ulul* plantation, near *navalus*. He dropped Moses at a small passage in the reef, at the root of *lataqis*, called *lar*, on the beach, on a small sand spit (near Lesu on the Notsi region of the mainland).
He woke Moses up, he turned, then moved fast and came back across the open ocean until he found Komek drifting on a piece of canoe. He return, threw away the piece of canoe and put Komek on his back. He then moved fast with Komek, travelled across the open ocean and went inside this small passage in the reef at Ulul. He went ashore, made Komek sit down close to Moses, on a small white sand spit underneath latangis. He dropped him, he turned, he returned.

He moved fast and found Matlam drifting about on the piece of canoe. He found Matlam, in the middle of the ocean, put him on his back, threw away the piece of canoe. Matlam sat down on the back of the shark. He took him and travelled all the way back to this small passage in the reef at Ulul plantation. He went and returned with Matlam. Matlam found the other two. The three had received a good life.

On this power of Moses' shark, its name Sokoburu, Beiparivuru. OK. these three walked about on the white sand, a man from navelus found the three men, and took them to navelus village. There they burned the skin of the three men where the sea had cooked it. Their skin was white from the sea, the sea has this power to cook skin. They burnt and burnt their skin so that it came up good, and they ate good food and regained their strength. Then they took a car and went to Lesu in the Notsi area. A canoe picked up the three from Lesu and took them back to Tatau Island, on Tabar.

When they arrived there was great happiness from women and men, that the three had returned, the three had a charmed life. The shark had given the three full power in their life, had given them their life back. This old man prayed to his shark.

They made a big malagan, a big celebration, and ate pig alongside the three men that had returned. To return to their good life, the three stayed in the village. Now the three lived.

Today the three are dead. Matlam died, Komek died, Moses died this year. I talk about this, something we know, something we saw, about the power of the sharks that used to be able to hear talk, they used to have work in custom law, from the old ancestors. Today, we are only young people, we do not know enough to do this. I think we are now aimless, now we are poor whites today.

This talk of mine, about this shark of Moses Bolu, its name is Beiparivuru, he gave life to 3 men. All people on Big Tabar and Tatau Island and on New Ireland too have got knowledge of this event.

3.5. Valeval bush wallaby totem
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from LakaJ:J [Porivam k. Beravin m.] at Monon village, E Simberi. 1984. LakaJ:J was aged about 65 at the time of this recording. This myth connects all the totems associated with the land which belongs to LakaJ:J's [Beravin] clan.)

OK I am going to talk about the race for land. This race is our masalai, called Valeval. Valeval means wallaby, one that belongs in the bush.

OK. He went racing now, on other ground, belonging to someone else. Valeval went racing. He went a little (and raced against) Tatavataq. Tatavataq stays in this part of his, in the water, the name of this water is Satau. A little further up to Licak. Just a little further on was Maraput - snake. A little further on was Bueco a woman masalai. (He must have lost the races against these four; because if he had won he would have won the land). He went further on until he reached Meremei, a goanna. He came last now, he came last. He went on to Pigibut, he went last now at Pigibut, it is Pigibut. He arrived at the beach, he comes last on the beach. It goes on top at Pigibut, he came last, this goanna that stays there, this Meremei. He stays at his place, called it Vuti-geringerin. He was last on this ground. He went through the bush to Pigibut, he came up, found this pig, it comes last now, they call it Borangq.

This pig means that we belong to the bush, we don't belong to the beach. These masalai are all called by the name of all of them. They don't belong to the beach. We don't have shark, we don't have big-mouth fish, we don't have the kind of masalai that would stay on the beach or in the sea. All the masalai that belong to us, they all belong to the bush.
This means that we belong to the bush. We don't have ground on the beach, our ground is up in the bush.
That's all on this story of mine, I talk to mark this story of the malagan that has a bush origin, and all the masalai of us, that I called, belong to the bush, because we belong to the bush. We don't belong to the beach. That's all of this small talk of mine, it's finished.

3.6. Eel totem starting [Sicobi] clan (1)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin at Kanavi village site by Apelis Berewa Inalap [Sicobi], of Matlik village, E Big Tabar. 1982. Apelis was aged about 40 years at the time of this recording.)

I want to tell this story. I am Apelis Berewa Inalap, I belong to [Sicobi] clan and I stay here at Matlik village. I want to tell this story about an eel which began this one clan, now we stay in a clan belonging to Kanavi. This is the story.
Inside this old location on top of Korikoripura hill, there is one place there which belongs to us in [Sicobi] clan. This location has a small stream which we call Natenmorten and which also belongs to us.
At this time all the people at this place belonged to two clans [Sicobi] and [Caramemges] and lived together at in this part.
Now one afternoon when they were sitting down together they heard this little girl as she was being washed by this eel. They went to look for her, but she could not be found. After they had been looking for a long time they returned to this place to discuss this matter. This one man in [Caramemges] had seen this eel and this child so he said this. His name was Lavaruka and he belonged to [Caramemges] clan.
They then went out to go find and get this child. Then they worked koravar (ginger) magic in the way that ancestors did when they were going to fight. Koravar and lime and other things. They went and they cut the tree. When the eel ran away with this child it went inside this tree, we call this tree buriburit (lips). So the eel stayed inside this tree together with this child.
OK, they chopped and chopped at the tree, when the axe hit the tree blood came out from it. After they had cut it down they looked inside and saw this eel coiled up around this child. Then they held this child by both shoulders and pulled, but the eel was too strong and held fast.
So they then spat koravar and blew lime. This eel then wanted to move away from the child, so it came out and went on up the hill to to this place at Korikoripura, the place belonging to us in [Sicobi].
It became night, and it was time to go to sleep. This eel cried for this little girl, her name was Teraganda. OK, at dawn next morning he ran away to the beach at Banesa. At night he went down again, then he went up because he wanted to get back this child. So he got up and went back up the hill to Kanavi, to our place. Now it followed them, it cried as it went up hill. When they got up next morning they took the girl and went inland to Lucara, the village near Raukupo. Now it followed them. At dawn in the morning they got up, then crossed this piece of sea, then they went alongside two (bad ?), then went up hill to this old place, then they went and stayed with this girl child. Now this eel went, but couldn't cross this sea, so it returned, crying as it came back.
OK, this girl child grew up at this place at Labur. She grew to become an adult, then carried a child. She had two children, a body and a girl. The girl then carried two daughters. So the clan grew and grew, until now when there are many brothers and sisters. That's all.

3.7. Eel totem starting [Sicobi] clan (2)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin by Alois Lujiisa [Uduraba] of Banesa village, SE Big Tabar. 1984. Alois was aged about 40 years at the time of this recording.)

I am Alois, of Uduraba clan. I want to give the story of an eel masalai. The place where they found out this eel masalai is called Natenmorten. In the morning the were carrying the
things to work in the garden, and they travelled to the garden to work, during daytime. During the middle of the day they sent one man to go and pull up water. Then this child masalai began to cry.

They went to look for this child, when this [tul ?] lay around the child, with its tail caressing this child. They went around and they went back and they spoke to the other men in the garden, who ran back to hold on to this child. Now this child had run away and had gone inside this tree, we call it laborit. They returned and kept on working. They planned this talk for the next day, that they would surround this child again. Then they planned it.

They came and washed again this child and they came [arim ?] again and they surrounded her and they went and held on fast to her, then they went inside this tree, we call it laborit. They took all their work tools and they cut behind this tree. They found this child and they carried her away. They carried her to the village, and this tuna (eel) masalai, he went behind them and waited until night when he went along behind the house in which she was kept. Through the night, until daylight, then he carried this child and they broke it, they cut a big river so that a lot of water broke out. Then he went on top of a big place, a place of this clan, of Kanavi. Then they went to sleep in the afternoon, then they got up again at night.

OK, he went around then they traveled until dawn, he carried this child, then they travelled again, they went to a place called Vikori. They then went to sleep there again, then the eel got up again at night and he went around again to the house, he came and went. Daylight again then they carried this child now and he took a bamboo to take some saltwater, and they went to the shore of another place, at Tokare.

OK, then he came up there, then the eel, this tuna, he went and called out that he wanted to go back, because saltwater slowed him down already. Now this child the worked along and watched him coming. The child was grown up now, with breasts. A man married her, and she became pregnant. She had three children. One of these children was a woman called Rokabi, and two men - Wongin and Lubai. Ok, this woman brought up this family of hers now, and now it is a big one.

3.8. Susukes, one-breasted woman totem
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Sola-au [Keis] of Maragon village, W Simberi. 1983. Sola-au was aged about 65 at the time of this recording.)

OK I want to talk about my masalai. My name is Sola-au. The name of this masalai is Suskes. It has only one breast.

If a man loses it, and calls out to it, and it comes to him, the two can talk, nothing should be made of it.

Now one man went inland. He called out, a man from Lavongai, a Tungak. He called out "Ail". He came up to the other man and called out "Ai, you go first". He went another way, he was afraid, he went. "Eh! You marry me first!" No, he didn't hear it. He (or she?) went and he (or she?) spoke: "You OK?" She went and lost her breast on her (or his?) shoulder. He turned and came back, her breast pulled him back. He was pulled back and he came. She asked him: "Are you afraid of me? You think I am a tambaran or something? I am the same as you".

OK She took him then, she went to her house, went inside, opened the door, she hit the stone and the door opened and the two went inside. He slept one night. He didn't have sex with her, he was good. She gave him food, he ate.

When it reached dawn, she opened the door and gave him one taro and two bananas. This man wasn't strong enough to carry these bananas and this taro. They were huge. He arrived again at the European's plantation, this European called before Sale-eu: "Eh, where did you get this taro of yours?"

"Cok-ei! I didn't come to the work line, a woman called out to me. A masalai. I didn't hear her, so she lost her breast and threw it away and pulled me and she went into her house. There she slept, and gave me this thing. She said: "If you have a boss, go and tell
him: "This Susukes gave me this thing. Then show him this taro and the two brothers here". So this is what's happening." That's the end of this talk.

3.9. Influence of the totem Kulekulekeie upon an individual’s personality

(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin with a summary in Madara from William Kara [Nono] of Gitarut, Mapua. 1983. Kara was aged about 50 years at the time of the recording.)

William Kara: My name is [Nono]. All the men and women that belong to me are [Nono]. This [Nono] is about calling out for virua5 to eat. The meaning of nono is “calling out for virua”, in the times when they used to kill people. Ok they used to say: “You people, your clan belongs to nono now”.

OK this [Nono] is still here, there are masalai which accompany [Nono]. This masalai appears as a snake and as a shark, as it appears as an eel. This snake is called Kulekulebeie. It goes fast, it hides its face. It doesn't show itself to man or woman. Its style is that of shame, so it hides its face. Its middle can be seen, but its face remains hidden because it is ashamed.

We in the clan are the same, we act the same as our masalai, we also know shame. We are not happy to show our face to anyone. We just walk around with our face to the ground. People can only look at our skins, because we are too ashamed, looking at the ground as we walk about. That's all.

My name is William Kara. I am going to talk about the ground and masalai bilong to me, to [Nono] clan. My place is on top of the mountain and is called Lavamandas. My masalai stays there, when it appears as a snake it stays there. When it becomes an eel it lies in the water at Kokoa. When it is a shark it stays at its reef near Kobue. OK this is my talk, about my clan that stays on the big mountain at Lavamandas. That's all.

OK. Women, other clans, men, they can come and meet at this water. This water isn't very fast, it's not good for washing, for it dries up. They think about this and they say: “We belong to you Kulekulebeie, we want this water to run more so that we can wash and get a drink.” OK the water began to run more again, so that people could wash and drink again. That's all.

I want to talk about the work belonging to my masalai Kulekulebeie. This masalai doesn't kill men or women. Some people think it stays in the belly of sick people, but this is not true. This is just gossip. I know that this masalai doesn't know how to kill men or women. It's a good masalai. We are just too ashamed in front of people, that's all.

MG: Why do you people feel ashamed?

WK: We are ashamed because our clan is not conceited. We don't walk about happy in front of women or in front of men. This is because we are ashamed with our mothers and sisters and brothers. We call clan along with other clans, we don't lie, we must be a true clan, all [Nono] on shame.

There are still quite a few [Nono] clans-people, but very few girls, only boys. If we understand this, this is the meaning of this shame. This is because we are not conceited. Shame, as others understand it, is to honour (? ruruim) behaviour. We honour children, honour women, we don't talk behind their backs. [? unintel.] We are too ashamed for that for this type of behaviour.

This shame is with us. Other clans, other people, they can see it in us. If they story about it, they mention it. My children, if they look at our behaviour, that of our clan, if they hear this story they look, and as I watch they become ashamed. They are not boastful, and they don't call out in front of other people. This is the way of our people, of our masalai, of shame.

5Virua: spirits of the unnaturally dead, associated with rain, whirlwinds, and rainbows.
This man, father of Maaeles here, this tall man here, he has the skin, he is a true kandere of mine. A true man of shame, he does not walk about in front of women or in front of men. All my kandere they are the same. The head catechist is a kandere of mine. He has religious knowledge, he can talk inside the church. He does not speak lies, this knowledge that comes from the church. If he did not get this knowledge, then he would not be a catechist, then he would not speak and he would be ashamed. He would be so ashamed that he would stay where he is. He has now got knowledge, knowledge from the church. Me, I stay here. I have nothing to say and I don’t lie. If I stay at the children’s house I can talk a little. If I stay elsewhere, I can speak a little, I’m no big mouth, I don’t lead, I don’t walk about in front of the women. I’m too ashamed.

We don’t kill people, or poison people with poison. I think that earlier, people did this, but now we have stopped this. Some magic for seducing women, we don’t have this. We just think nothing, or think about food, or harmless things like that. We don’t smoke in the daytime. We in this clan of our masalai, we don’t smoke in the daytime, we smoke a little tobacco at night. People say this when they see us, they say “This man dosen’t smoke in the daytime.” Same with our sisters and mothers. This is the style of our masalai.

If we go about and talk, when we have finished talking we stop and say nothing. This is the fashion of our masalai, he is ashamed in front of women. If women go and look out on the road, and some women sit down beside men. He looks out on the road. Why do I look out on the road? He is nervous from shame. After a while he gets up and goes for a walk in the bush, and wants to go further on. He arrives further on then looks at them. He watches them walk about around the edge of the village, but he dosen’t go near them because he is ashamed. This shame is not good for it stops him talking to others. He wants to ask other people things, but he stays silent. Then he goes, he gathers a little strength, then he returns talk. If he dosen’t have talk that he is too ashamed about even then he dosen’t talk. He stays silent. Others wonder why “Why dosen’t this man return a conversation?” “He’s just shy, a shy man.”

All men know shame, all men in all clans. It appears when people make a mistake. Someone makes a mistake then they are ashamed. But in our clan, in [Nono], it appears more often. It is shame, and it stays with us all the time.

This one, our clan, we know shame but we don’t steal, we don’t steal betel nut from other men. Previously this used to mean that the leaders in our clan, in the old days, if he heard that some one was stealing betel nut, then he would kill him. Nowadays when we understand the church, and it has banned all this type of behaviour: stealing, killing people. We little people in [Nono], we think about these ten commandments of God. So we altered our ways in [Nono] clan. So we don’t steal or other bad things. We just go straight now, and follow the masalai.

MG: Did this shame come from the church or do you think that this shame existed before?

WK: This shame that we have didn’t come from the church. It existed before. A woman gets pregnant, the child becomes conscious, he starts to walk around the place, he gets married, he is ashamed then. He get it then, this shyness. He cannot get rid of it. It’s something which everyone has. Men and women. If someone dosen’t have shame, then that’s to do with him. Shame is from way back, our ancestors had it.

MG: Can you talk in Madara about this shame, into this tape recorder.

WK: OK Can I talk now?

MG: Yes

WK: OK I’m going to talk about shame. Shame isn’t just something new, shame is something our ancestors also had. When they brought us up, and a man grows up, he gains consciousness, then he understands (through ?) shame. Shame is something belonging to us from our ancestors, from our fathers and mothers. It is also in the thinking of the church, this shame of ours. That’s all.
3.10. Death of a ges
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Palakai [Vutigamgam] of Tupilabut, NE Tatau. 1983)

Once in the village of Marancak, on the hill above Tumendar, in the late afternoon when everyone was in the garden, an old man called Lorun decided that he was hungry, so he went to the bush to an irima tree (rimutaniniri). He climbed up to get the fruits (strong fruit, but edible when cooked). When he was up the tree a ges came to the bottom with five spears over his shoulder. The ges called out to the old man to come down. The old man came down and the ges said to him: "Are you strong enough to fight?" The old man was an old warrior and he said: "I'm strong enough." So the ges threw a spear. The old man dodged it and put the spear to one side. A second spear, and the same result. After the third spear was thrown, the old man said: "Come close, people don't usually throw food at me, they usually give it." The ges got angry and hurled a fourth spear which the old man dodged. The fifth spear was thrown and the old man caught it. The ges became afraid because he had not expected to meet such a warrior, so he turned to get away. The old man threw this last spear and speared the ges in the back. The ges died.

The old man took the ges and spears back to the men’s house, put the ges corpse to one side and took the spears into the men’s house. When the old man was inside some other ges came around looking for their companion, they found his corpse in the malagan ritual site. They were ashamed of this ges that had been killed, so they cut off his head and took it back with them.

Another old man, a friend, came and asked the old warrior if he would go outside and get some betel nut that he had left. He groped around in the dark and felt the body of the ges that he had killed earlier. He felt around and found that the head was missing. He cried out loud then died of fright. They buried the old man and the ges together in the malagan ritual site.

4: Malagan myths

4.1. Degenasi malagan.
(Originally recorded in Madara from Palagas at Raukupo village, N Big Tabar 1984. Translated from Madara to Tok Pisin by Ludwig Gegeti [Cereva], also of Raukupo. Palagas was aged about 50 years at the time of the recording.)

OK I want to talk about this malagan which we call Degenas. Its story runs like this. There were two men where they killed two, the names of the two: Lapupak and Bogarut, two brothers. OK, one old man Lakabana, kandere of these two, went to the bush to get a vine to make a net. OK he pulled one vine and obtained it, then he cut another and began to pull it, but his two kandere came up and held on to the head of the vine. He looked all over the vine to see what was stopping it and he said: "Hey, this isn't stuck on anything! This vine is just not moving." He went back to try and pull it again, the two kandere again went and held onto the vine. They held fast and so he got up and looked along the vine and came back. The two kept on doing this.

OK, later the two came up. When they came up they asked him "Do you recognise us?" And he said "No." And he asked the two "Do you two recognise me?" The two knew
he was their kandere, so they told him their names. “We are two of your kanderes”. Once he heard the two he called them as his two kanderes, and the three cried together.

Later the two talked to him “We two want to take you”. OK, when the two took him, the two said “You close your eyes”. When he closed his eyes, he was quickly taken to their place.

The two made him sit down, this old kandere of the two, at the base of a type of flower which is used to wrap up food. Then he went and sat down inside this flower.

They went and they wanted to set up this thing we call taubes. When they set it up, they wanted to run this taubes, but it didn’t run well. OK the leader talked to the people “You people go first and you stop all the games that are going on around here”. When the others were running about stopping all the games around the place, these two ran straight to the base of this flower. Now these two pretended to go round stopping the games.

OK the two ran back, and they began to set up this taubes again, they started to run it again, but it came up wrong. After they were working at it, the leader asked them “You people tell me where you went.” OK they all got up and talked about where they went. The two got up and told about where they went, they said “We went and we found our old kandere, and we got him”. Now the leader asked these two “Now where did you put him?”. The two said “We put him at the base of this flower here, the one used to wrap up food”.

The leader then got angry with the two “Why did you two put him there? Do you two think he is a small boy? You two go and get him!”

The two then went to fetch him, and brought him back and sat him down close to the others, and the leader spoke “OK you sit down, and look at your taubes. We will give it to you, you can take it and later you can work it.” OK, when they ran this taubes now, he sat down and he watched, watched closely at all the parts they were working. OK, he went, and the leader talked to the two then, the two men here. To the two he said “The two women belonging to you two know how to cook food for the old man here, because he doesn’t eat the same as you and me. OK the two women did what was asked, cooked food for the old man so he could eat.

OK they worked the things that go. OK, later, close to now, they were to work bakalevanua, it was close to bakalevanua. They hadn’t worked it yet, they were close to it. They sent him away again. When they sent him away, they broke a taro leaf, they broke it, counting the days he was to stay there.

OK, when he came, he came back and came to the village. All day he worked at breaking this piece of the taro leaf which had been broken and given to him. He broke and broke the leaf all day. OK he was finished, this taro leaf was finished. OK then he shot a stick which went up and fell down at a place, on top. OK when it fell down he knew that the time for bakalevanua was close by.

OK he spoke to all his clans-people for them to go and get taro from the garden, then carried it, they placed it, they tied up a pig and put it with it. They put it on top of one boulder, we call it kondakonda ia. Then he spoke to them all "Tomorrow they will come and get me".

OK in the morning light they came down and got him. They said to him "Go on, shut your eyes". When he shut his eyes he quickly went up to the place of the virua. OK, when they stopped, they worked it now, these things inside this malagan, they worked all the things through to the end, then they worked a big feast. They got one pig’s head, together with taro, and they brought these things back to the village. OK when the time came, he called out to his kins-people to come, carry this head of the pig together with the food. OK they put it with the feast.

OK, his time now, he got up and he spoke to all his kins-people, his brothers and his kanderes, he worked along and took all the small pigs to give food. OK the pigs grew up and became big. He talked about making a garden. When they worked the garden, then the garden grew well. They took the food now, they started this malagan now, Deagenas. This clan was [Butua]. They started to work it on top of this old place.

OK when they had finished working, the second time belonged to it now. They took it to Vikori, and they worked it at this place at Vikori. When they worked it at this place in Vikori this was to give it to [Cereva]. We in [Cereva] got this malagan at this time, our fathers brought this malagan so it came to us. This malagan stays with us in [Cereva], it no longer stays with [Butua], they lost it when it came to us.
OK, the first time when it came to us in [Cereva] on top at Vikori, later it got up at Vikori and moved and came up again at Kanavi. [Cereva] clans-people stayed at this place. OK they worked it at this place at Kanavi, later it came back again. It came back again and it came up here at Raukupo. After it was worked here in Raukupo it went back again to Malamu. They worked it at Malamu, when it was finished at Malamu, they got it and brought it back here, and worked it for the last time here. When they worked it here it was the last time it was worked. Dejenas. OK it dosen't come up close to us, we new men now who live here. OK I think that's the end of this short story about Dejenas, it's finished.

4.2. Totobo malagan (1)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Lakan [Porivam kivavudi, Beravin matabu] at Monun village, E Simberi. 1984. Lakan was about 60 years old at the time of the recording; he owns Madas, Totobo, and Vavara malagans.)

Totobo is not for burying clans-people. It belongs to us in [Beravin] clan, it is our source. It doesn't belong to the beach, it belongs to us in the bush. It means: it cannot eat fish, because fish bones stick in its throat. People can only have pig with this malagan, because it belongs to the bush.

4.3. Totobo malagan (2)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Kanerau [Pekila] of Beku village, SE Simberi. 1984. Kanerau was about 60 years old at the time of the recording; and was a respected leader in malagan who owned Totobo and Maris malagans.)

I am Kanerau, in [Pekila] clan. I want to talk about this malagan Totobo. This kobokobor, this long wood, lies this way, we call it kobokobor. A bird stays inside, and it's got a man from the bush, we call him ges, he also stays inside this kobokobor, this malagan. Now this old man from the bush, he goes inside this napap fig tree. We call it napap. This ges goes inside it, and he finds a cuscus. He goes and pulls the tail of the cuscus inside this fig tree, now there is a bird too which stays inside this fig, together with the cuscus. He goes and pulls the tail. This cuscus is surprised inside this fig tree napap and wants to come outside, but the wing of this bird, aui, its wing comes and runs up against the veivem, which is braided like the vine of the fig. So he sits down and looks outside. Now this ges, this man from the bush, he pulls the tail of the cuscus who stands up, turns his head, and looks along his side. OK this malagan I am talking about, it looks like this.

OK this Totobo, this kobokobor, it's a malagan of bush, belongs to all men of bush origin. During the time that they cut it, they cannot eat fish, when the artist works they must only eat pig. If the artist ate fish it would stick in his throat, this taboo stays until they are completely finished. That's the story of this Totobo, the kobokobor is the same.

4.4. Origin of Vavara malagan (1)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Lavoto [Pekininieres] of Monun village, E Simberi. 1984. Lavoto was about 60 years old at the time of the recording, and owned Malagacak, Totobo, and Vavara malagans.)

My name is Lavoto. I am starting this story about this malagan Vavara Pocenero. The story is this. One woman, she did not have a man, she became pregnant with this baby boy, even though she did not have a man. Now this child did not have a father belonging to him. OK, when the men worked malagan belonging to them. OK in the middle of the (buk?), that of their malagan, they usually feast on pig, as is the custom of malagan.

OK, this youth, he had no father, he wanted to join with the others in eating pig in the aro of their malagan. Now this youth with no father he followed the others. He followed the others and he went to eat with them. The other young men then went to send him back,
saying "You boy, you go back", and they went and feasted. Then all the young men talked: "You, you cannot go inside this malagan of our fathers, you go back. You cannot feast.

OK, he returned to his mother who asked him: "Why can you not feast with the others?" And he said "They threw me out. I have not yet gone inside the malagan of our fathers". His mother was not happy about this and cried about it.

Sometime later some pigs were being tied up in the (buk ?), in the middle, together with everyone else's malagan. OK, again, the people wanted to have another feast. Now this young man, he understood what was happening. He said that shortly the others would have a feast in the aro, with everyone's malagans. Then all the young men threw him back. "You go back! You are not yet inside this malagan of our fathers. You cannot feast in the aro". So he returned and his mother asked him: "What's the matter, why don't you feast with the others?" Then he said "Because I cannot go inside this malagan of our fathers, the others threw me out".

OK, his mother again cried and the two stayed where they were. When the time came for the public viewing they went along and looked at the malagans belonging to everyone else's fathers. Then he wanted to go in again, but the others threw him out. So he went home. His mother asked him again "Why are you not feasting in the aro?". He said "I am not inside this malagan of our fathers".

OK, one day, in the morning, his mother went out to defecate in the bushes. She looked up and saw a spider, we call it mi kobera. She watched this spider make its web (house). She stood up and looked closely at it making its house. When the spider had finished, she returned, thinking "Malagan now belongs to my child". She returned, thinking "Child, we two will give food to the pigs, for I have now seen your malagan".

OK, the two gave food to the pigs, and the pigs grew bigger. When the pigs were fully grown then the two counted how many pigs were in the (buk ?) and how many were for the malagans in the middle, until there were enough up to the time of the public showing. OK then she told her child "You make a garden now".

Her child then made a garden. Cut down the trees, fenced the area, then he burnt the felled trees. His mother planted the garden. The planting finished, the two waited for the garden to grow. The garden grew, they weeded it, and it grew more. She then went and got some cane. She took the cane and took it to the aro. Then she started the malagan, worked on it and showed it to her child. OK she started work now. In morning time, when the cock crew, she cooked the first (pothering ?), cooked the food for the two of them. When she was finished, she covered up the earth oven, and went to go wash, she fetched her child and the two of them washed in the early dawn. The two went inside the aro and worked. The two started this malagan. Work now, dawn now, the sun got up, the two shut the door of the aro. The two went outside and took away the cooked food, the two feasted. The feast finished, they went again and go food for the next day.

The two worked during the sun, they did not want to slow down. Work malagan and slowing down, slowing down with the spirit of these two is taboo for this one. They didn't work until the sun came up in the sky, no. They started in the morning and that was all. OK, some other mornings, they got up in the morning, and they had another meal. The two would wash, then they would come again to the aro and would work.

OK, the two stopped work, went outside, with the middle of the (buk ?) again, tied up all the pigs. OK all the young men of the village who had previously thrown them out, wanted to come and feast in this malagan ritual site. So the child returned to them, he said "You haven't yet gone inside this malagan of we two, you go back, you cannot feast here". OK this young man returned the rejection that the others had done before, on the malagan of all their fathers.

OK, he stood up, he worked the ceremony, until it was completed. Then he looked at this malagan. OK his mother talked in front of all men, she spoke: "I'm sorry, these people who are looking at my child's malagan, I am sorry that you people threw him out of your aro. You said "He has not yet gone inside our malagan". Now, this malagan of my child and I, we look at it, you people don't have this one. Now I say to you, on this one now, my child is sorry that he has not got a father". That's all.
4.5. Origin of Vavara malagan (2)
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Lakak [Porivam k. Beravin m.] of Monun village, E Simberi. 1984. Lakak was about 50 years old at the time of the recording, and owned Madas, Totobo, and Vavara malagan.)

I'll elaborate a little on this story about Vavara. They asked this child, go and find the others, and they threw him out. He was not allowed to go with the others who were working this malagan because he didn't have a father.

Later his mother asked him what happened, he said "They threw me out!" His mother was worried. One morning she got up in the morning, and she watched this spider, we call it kobera, it makes a house. She watched this spider, she noticed that the spider's house was a malagan. She thought "Oh, I think this malagan is going to belong to my child now". She came back and talked with her child.

After a while he went and cut some cane, and started to make this malagan. All the men they heard the garamut sounding, and they asked "Why is the garamut sounding? Where are they getting the malagan from? What kind of malagan are we now working? Who is ashamed about it?" The reason is that this garamut was sounding with a woman beating it, it wasn't because of another malagan with two men beating the garamut with two sticks. It was only one woman who beat it.

So they asked: "This garamut that is sounding, why is it sounding? Where is it getting this malagan from?" Now you keep going, you work a malagan until it is finished. You get ready the feast, the pigs. OK when you announce the day for the final public showing of the malagan, you must work pigs and all the other things, for this malagan for this child of yours.

OK when the time for the final public showing of the malagan arrived, everyone looked at the malagan and she gave it to her son. OK this malagan they called it Vavara belonging to women, it doesn't belong to men.

This malagan came up at the place at Molulu (inland of Monun, E Simberi). Later, other people got it and it travelled about to all places. Now we all have it, this malagan Vavara. It originated with one woman, a women whose child had no father. She started this malagan, called Vavara, and it belongs to women.

4.6. The origin of Verim malagan
(Originally transcribed as fieldnotes from Sola [Keis] of Poponovam village, NW Simberi. Sola would have preferred I recorded this story from Makeu [Sicobi] at Mapua who was the person he heard it from, but gave me the following information in response to my query about the lijc barnacle image on kolitibor blocks commonly found on malagan sculpture, and in this instance was on a kobokobor of Verim. Sola is active in malagan ceremony and owns malagan in Madas, Malagacak, Vavara, Verim, and Vuvil.)

The origin of Verim is at Lava (hamlet at N Tatau). These men of Lava went to the sea to find shark, but a big storm came up and broke the canoe. The men drifted about the open ocean with the remnants of the canoe and died. When they finally drifted ashore again on Big Tabar men saw that barnacles had fastened to their legs, and that the bodies were swollen. A man Rorton from the bush said that they must make a malagan with big ears and big nose to represent the swollen bodies, and the botolijic6 to represent the barnacles. The botolijic image is now on all malagans.

4.7. The origin of ges in Verim malagan
(Originally transcribed from Songis Lomot [Saterir] of Lakavil, N Tatau who dictated this text to me in Tok Pisin on two occasions: in 1982 and again early in 1984. Songis was aged between about 68 and 70 years old at the time of the second transcription. In 1984 he was the leading man on Tabar in both malagan and shark hunting. He owned malagans in Kulepmu, Marada, Valik, Vavara, Verim, and had some degree of

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6 Botolijic is a triangular shaped malagan representation of the barnacle lijc; boto in normal context means 'clitoris'.
authority in Lunet which was owned by his wife. The following transcription includes elements of both transcriptions. Both original versions have been retained in my field notes.)

In the old days when they used to eat their enemies, we at Tatau couldn't go to Simberi or to Big Tabar. One man called Tamde of [Sepiv] clan here at Tatau organised a malagan ceremony during which he worked a Ges of this group of Verim which I now own. This Ges was called Kolobos, and was a warrior figure with spear and axe. During this ceremony he built up his strength by working kovarvar (fighting power derived from ginger) and singing fighting songs. He then decided to go east, travel around all of Tabar, and come back a week later. "You people wait for me. If I don't come up they will have killed me. You go and wait at the point to the west and wait for me in a week, I will come around on the sea."

So he prepared himself. He got into his Ges costume with the crotons bunches tied to his waist, took a knife and a spear, worked kovarvar, danced it, then started to walk. Talk of his travel went ahead of him. He put this malagan on top of his head. When he reached Sos he met a man and killed him, cut his belly and took out his liver, put it in his mouth and ran off. Talk went ahead and said that he had killed this man. He went off to Pekinberiu where the men waited to kill him. The people of Pekinberiu could see that the liver from the virua (someone murdered) was inside his mouth. He came up, killed a man, threw away the old liver and put the new liver in his mouth. He then travelled on to Tugitugi where he repeated this killing, again throwing away the old liver and replacing it with a fresh one.

He went along to Margavur where he killed a woman, threw away the old liver and put the new liver in his mouth. Then he went along to Mapua and did the same thing. Talk went ahead of him to Big Tabar. He swam across the strait and went up to Raukupo village where he killed someone else, cut him open, and took out his liver and put it in his mouth.

to Datava
to Koko
When he felt that his belly was cold he took some more kovarvar.
to Morai
to Matlik
to Banesa
to Vaq
to Tumadar
to Kovamarara
to Teripac
swam to Karubo
to Marai
to Maragat, close to Tatau now.
At Maragat they had built a fence around the top of the mountain, a very high fence like a fort, made of strong bamboo. All the people of Maragat came and hid behind this fence. One old woman had been left behind at Maragat. When the Ges came up to Maragat with the liver hanging out of his mouth the woman was very frightened. The Ges called out "uuui!". The call of a Ges. She replied: "Popona. (on top of the hill)." The Ges didn't kill this old woman, instead he listened to what she was saying. Then he went up the hill to looked at this fence that hid the men. He went and shook his skin, then returned to the village where he found the old woman and looked at her. She again said that the men waited on top of the hill. He felt heavy so he pulled off a bunch of croton leaves.

He went back up to the fence where all the men were ready to kill him, he tested the fence with his foot then returned to the village. He did this four times. Each time he took off a bunch of croton leaves after talking with the old woman who by now had barricaded herself in a house. On the fifth attempt he broke the fence. He put his foot on the fence and all the men inside fell down with fright. He pushed the fence away and broke it up with his foot.

All the people inside were lying down praying. But he didn't kill them, for he saw the fence only as a barrier to his travels. He turned around and went back down to the beach. Then he went into the sea and started swimming. He swam through the reef passage then went out to sea. At the break in the reef at Tupinmida the people saw him come up where he
said he would. He was a leading warrior. This Ges is the strongest foundation of Verim malagan.

4.8. Initiation into Madassitanua malagan of Madas
(Originally transcribed as fieldnotes from Bevi Rorun [Keis] of Poponovam village, NW Simberi. 1983)

They get a flowering sago tree (udu) from the bush, carry it to the beach and stand it up. This udu is worked at night, not in the sun. It is taboo that any leaf belonging to this sago tree breaks and falls down on the road. Men cannot jump over this sago leaf, it’s taboo, called rao. One man must get up and get this sago, this udu here. This man who gets up and sing here we call valket. When this valket gets up and sings on top of the sago tree, he dosen’t come outside, hold things belonging to women, or eat food, it’s taboo. He belongs inside the malagan ritual site. He is called vunamadas (source or repository) of this malagan Madassitanua. This man gets up on top of this sago tree and he sings on top of the leaves and flowers of the sago. Around the base of the sago tree, but not touching it, are short pieces of sharpened bamboo called sarkapver; the menace of their sharpness is called vutcak. If this man dosen’t sing on top of this sago tree, if he hasn’t taken koravar or lime protection, then he would fall down onto the sharpened bamboo. If he should die on this, then they cannot tell his family or other outside clans. If he falls they just show his foot in the matlaklak entrance, then bury him. This taboo on showing his corpse to outsiders belongs to Madas and is called buicak.

Now if I don’t have this ciribor I cannot work Madas. If I have this ciribor we say moçciribor, meaning that the bone of the pig belongs to me. Then I am vunamadas. When they work this pig is it taboo, no-one can eat. The vunamadas can eat this pig, because he is vunamadas, he is not kabara - someone who dosen’t have the bone of Madas. Pitpit is the name of the power in Madassitanua, vanavanar is a man with the power of the source of this malagan.

When they work this malagan the background of the malagan display house is made of piramadas, which is made from black river mud mixed saliva derived from chewing the skin of the Malayan apple rua (Yambosa gomata). Part of the power in this malagan is in the mud lol. A leader makes magic with koravar8 and spits it on the mud, and the mud falls off the wall. When it falls down they work a singsing with kovaravar.

Three men then sit down in the entrance to the malagan house. They get sharpened stakes and place them in front of them, then get tilibor pig’s bellies and put them on top of the sharpened stakes. They then put wooden hornbill heads in their mouths and the pigs’ bellies come into the mouths of these hornbills. This is called varam ma, and means that the hornbills eat the tilibor.

When they sit down inside the malagan ritual site to eat, a leader goes outside and carries a little basket on his shoulder. He finds the pig that these three men have killed. He goes back inside the malagan ritual site and goes up to the three men sitting there inside the entrance to the malagan house. He gets up and accuses the three men of killing his pig. Another leader gets up and cries out “waul”. The three men get up and run underneath the malagan and sit down on the mat. They go out of the back of the house and run down to the beach and wash in the beach and get canoe paddles ves. The three get up and look at the men who eat in the malagan ritual site “Hey, are you working malagan?” “No, the malagan is worked today, aruaru.”

7 Vutcak also means “the fish which kills men”.

8 Koravar (n.) and kovaravar (adv.) are Tok Pisin words dealing with aspects of magic or sorcery associated with the ginger plants; called kevri in the Simberi dialect of Madara.
Madassiro is a malagan of the sea, called Bezel. They work this Bezel when they cut down the saba tree and stand the Bezel image up. Underneath this image are some kalai baby birds, these baby birds sit on the beach tree auvitun, called vut in Madas.

When this malagan came to the sea it went to the shoreline and it rained. It went to find a place to hid, so he went underneath the wood bush banana (gesey) and sheltered underneath it. Then Madassiro and Madassitanua had argued underneath the ocean, which is why Madassiro came underneath the gesev.

When they stand up these two types of malagan they singout this taryajas:

- au vaset, vaset
- au udu, au udu
- keskes bor
- pitmedes mi pitmedes.

The reason for the two malagans Madassitanua and Madassiro is that they are no-good malagans. If I go to the bush and I want to get something to work these two malagans, then any man who meets me will cut himself, or fall down, or die. If I like this man I must work koravar for him to protect him, and singout him so that his spirit comes back. If I don’t like him then I talk to this man: “You go down to the beach and get this raft I’ve tied up, then you go to the part of the reef called bogap. He will die, or a shark will get him. This looking at someone and sending him off to die is called derynatgigi.

If I like him and he comes back I sing out koravar to him and he comes back. We have a stone that sits in the malagan ritual site. I would sit on the stone and work a koravar sing sing and put on lime. This stone is called vatv kupmuoiore ei marumarua - boulder to recall a man’s spirit. These are malagans belonging to a man’s life spirit.

4.9. Travels of a Ges malagan of Malagacak
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from Hosia Lequ [Sicobi] of Saquit hamlet, Matlik village, E Big Tabar. 1982.)

This malagan sculpture is a Ges of Malagacak which was made to sell by Luan Guwali [Sicobi] in 1978. The rights to this malagan came out on top of the mountain on Simberi, beach name on top. When they finished the war there was only one woman and her child. These two came out, left the place on top of the mountain and the two came down to Leveneru (W Simberi), on the beach on Simberi. The two stayed at Leveneru and the child grew up and became an adult. His mother told him the story about this malagan and eventually she worked Ges. After this malagan had been worked the rights to it split, part stayed at Leveneru and the other part travelled east to Napekur village (N Simberi).

When it went to Napekur village it went to the part at Mataken village (or hamlet). It stayed at Mataken where it became an adult. They took another one to Kobu (village), and another one to Monun (village). At this time we were expanding here in Big Tabar. The malagan got up again at Monun and at Mataken, it followed the family that came here to Saquit. Now it stays at Saquit, we don’t know how long it will stay here, eventually it will stop. If the family leaves here, or if the blood-line spreads around more, then eventually it will grow and spread further.

I think this is the end of the story belonging to malagan Malagacak, and the ges which stays inside the Big-Name Malagacak.

4.10. Kelev tabooing tree of Sojsoj
(Originally recorded in Tok Pisin from John Tolovu [Carameges], of Ketivera, near Bareveves, SE Simberi. 1984. Tolovu was aged about 41 years at the time of the recording, he is leader of Ketivera hamlet, and owns malagans in Sojsoj and Malagacak.)

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9 Bogap is part of the outer reef where a person is sent to commit suicide by shark attack.
John Tolovai: This tree here we call *kelev*. The meaning of this one, it is (an origin, source) malagan, it comes with the malagan belonging to us, with *Sonsoŋ*. With the talk of *Sonsoŋ*, when they call out the *taŋaŋas*, that's then they finish this one. If you call this one, it's completely taboo, women cannot feast, only men. They lift up the feast and they throw it away. That's because this tree has more fat, it fights, it cannot feast.

Malagan calls it *kabo, kabaibo*. It's got an inside name, if you hear a man calling the name *kabaibo*, then it comes from [Carameges] (clan), this tree, *kabaibo*. This tree is called *kabei*, meaning that this tree is *mapa* = ?], it is not swamp. *Kabo*. This one is worked, when they use it in malagan if they call it *kabaibo*, then (the malagan) is totally taboo. Women cannot feast.

OK, in this one, if I have one, and my brother and I are angry with one another, OK I will taboo this place, so I get this thing (*kelev* tree trunk). I come and stand up in the middle of it, the place cannot be swept, no-one can make a fire, the place is stopped, it is as though it is bush again. If he, he hurries up, if a leaf falls down, then the meaning is that more pigs will have to be slaughtered.

This one is truly taboo, I cannot put a broom to the place. If he hurries up with it, I may die, if I work it quick, I may lose this one. I come back now, he throws away betel nut, and other things, then he goes slowly into the piece of ground belonging to we two. He comes slowly inside, that is that meaning of this *kabeibo*.

Mike Gunn: This leaf which goes around. Is it gorgor (Alpina sp.)?

JT: This one? It is gorgor, I taboo me, he cannot come. OK he works this one. This one he stands up, OK he then works a malagan to bring him back again. To fetch him back. OK, I then go and get rid of the gorgor. I get rid of it at this feast, then I come inside.

MG: Who works this malagan? You or your brother?

JT: The brother works it, to make me come back, he calls out for me to come back.

MG: So you planted this tree then you went walkabout?

JT: Yes

MG: Then he wants you to come back? so he works this ...

JT: OK, he can bring me to come back. He has to be careful so that he must work quickly, no good that this leaf on this tree falls down. Inside this *Sonsoŋ*, this thing is important. If you call it you taboo all women so that they cannot come to feast.

MG: They can eat during the day, breakfast for example?

JT: It means that they cannot eat pig inside the malagan ritual site, if they carve the pigs, these pigs are taboo, and women cannot eat them. The reason for this is that this tree has tabooed them.

MG: So there is only one leaf?

JT: There are plenty of leaves, this one is just to mark it, that's all. This story comes from *Sonsoŋ*.

MG: This feast, this malagan feast, has it got a name?

JT: It has a name. It's called he comes *tevabeteo*. He works this one to bring him back, *tevabeteo* this one. OK, the brother works this feast.
OK, also inside this tree: If I don't want to eat a pig, or I cannot work a malagan when my brother dies because there are only the two of us. My sorrow is very big for my brother, so I plant this tree. It taboo so that no one can eat pig. So no-one can work anything. The reason for this is that this tree is memem for the two of us. In Madara we say mongormem, meaning memem of the two of us. Mother got it and gave it to the two of us, and it still belongs to the two of us. It comes with the source of matabu Carameges.

I don't work nothing, no other man gave it to us. This is a feast that belongs only to the two of us, and I can stand it up, I taboo all so that no-one can eat pig. Time goes on, it doesn't matter that the leaf falls down. I understand I work what happens. Time goes on, I forget thinking about my brother, the mourning is over. I don't shave, I don't cut the hair, I just sit down.

Until one day, I work it, I get the garden ready, I notice that the pigs are breeding well. I have looked enough now. I work one small feast, I call out to all men, all my friends come. We have a friendly feast together, then I say: "Tomorrow I will go and cut a little piece of bush, I want to get rid of this taboo".

OK, they get up in the morning, they come, and go cut down a bush, and make a fence, finish it, they plant the food to go inside. Then I go and talk to the man who is to carve the malagan, and he carves this malagan to finish the funeral of the brother and to get rid of this thing.

OK I know how much garden I have finished working, OK the first work is to get rid of this thing. Kill all men all women who come inside this place. The reason for this is that no-one is now allowed to come inside here. The place is taboo. They cannot eat even the smallest pig or whatever, a fish or banana, inside the malagan ritual site. The reason is that I tabooed brother, I cannot eat.

OK I use nothing in the small feast, I have it outside. OK this time the food is OK now, I call out to all, the time has come to get rid of this thing. I make this clear to all the men when they come inside. The men come inside, I work, they cook a pig, OK they wait until the time to open the oven. OK I get a betel nut branch and I throw away betel nuts, I cut the pieces of talk inside all the talk belonging to this malagan, which I tabooed it with, with Sonson. Now I come, now I stand up, now I throw away betel nuts (and call out):

\[ \text{manibuo somer} \]
\[ \text{manibuer o segeut} \]
\[ \text{manibuer delemi} \]
\[ \text{manibuer kabaibo} \]

So. Now I come up. I use Kabaibo to finish it with. I come and get it now, and I throw it away.

Free now, all men now can sing out, they can play, they can talk about anything. The reason: I have finished it it, finished, this thing taboo's it all, no-one can play here, no-one can call out, no one can make noise, or cut anything, coconuts or other things, it's taboo to get coconut meat.

It stays the same. At this time, women can sweep, men can go get coconuts, they can drink coconut now. They can go onto the reef, go find fish, and we can eat them now. It's free now, there are no more taboos now.

MG: So this taboo, it stays for how long, do you think?

JT: It's up to me. If I think it is enough, then that's OK, I'm boss. I don't count the moon. I will look around, if things look ready around the village. If there are enough pigs, or enough mis, then I can work this thing. It's up to me. Now if I don't want to work it quickly, then it stays. If I want to work it quickly, then I look about to see if things are ready in the village. Then I go inside the bush, I look inside the bush, if it's OK then I come and get rid of this thing first. Men then first call out, they play about or something like that.

When I want to work this, and I have already thrown out this thing, then I talk and prepare to cut malagan now. Then then cirep. When cirep is finished, then I tie up the pig for totok, and all the other feasts, ger, then bem, I work, I come to the pig for vandeger,
putting the eye in malagan. OK. I talk about cukauvanu now, putting the leaf for malagan now.

MG: So four feasts for all this?

JT: It's no small something, this is big. The people come and look at what it is true which I have been tabooing my brother about, or why I have been tabooing pig so that no-one can eat pig. So I work this ceremony, the reason for this is that this thing has been tabooing so that we cannot work [malagan ?].

MG: During cirep do you exchange mis with your brother?

JT: During cirep, if clan leader Kanerau he goes past one lineage then he comes. And the lineage of Lavoto and of Kapet comes at this time. I get mis and I give it to Kanerau. Whoever's child looks at Lavoto, or looks at Kapet, OK they give them mis. Later they will work it in their village. If Pius works it, OK I will go [ahead ?] of one lineage, and we cut a tree. We cirep. OK, then the mis returns. This is what it's about. If Lavoto works it, then I go in front of the others. Now if Kanerau works it, then I go in front of the lineage to cut the tree, to go bring the malagan. OK, Kanerau would go return this mis and it comes back. It works like this. When we cirep, it works like this.

OK. So when cukauwanu is finished, OK, then they hear: cukuautir now. They hear malagan now, it runs now. When cukuautir is finished, they have a little feast, then a big feast. It is not a small thing, it's very big.

All men come around to see what it is I am working, and I tabooed my brother with. This is when I truly finish it at this time. I finish this thing that belongs to both of us, I had tabooed it, it's got meaning. I want to finish this thing, so all men now can come and feast, so they understand completely why I had tabooed, why they couldn't eat pig with brother.

OK, for us, when it is feast time for cutting the pig, in the main feast, the rotleion, meaning standing up malagan now. Stand up the malagan now, then tomorrow cut the pig. I finish this funeral of my brother, then the eat pig, and I give all the pieces of pig about to all men now. Cut the pig then I give it about.

That's all of this story about this tree kabeibo. That's all.