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THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ART IN
NORTHERN NEW IRELAND

PHILLIP H. LEWIS

FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 58

Published by

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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1969

**THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ART IN
NORTHERN NEW IRELAND**

Woman makes payment to view malanggans while patron watches in Nou, New Ireland, March 10, 1954. P. H. Lewis negative number 3508.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ART IN
NORTHERN NEW IRELAND

PHILLIP H. LEWIS

Curator, Primitive Art and Melanesian Ethnology

FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

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Introduction

A major source of misunderstanding in the study of primitive art is failure to see art as part of on-going socio-cultural systems. Specific art objects, usually from imperfectly or poorly documented museum collections, are considered against general backgrounds. It is rare when specific art objects are observed in context of manufacture and use and, consequently and understandably, the nexus between art and society is rarely treated satisfactorily in the literature of primitive art.

This study deals with art in context, and has been based upon field observation of manufacture and use of art in on-going social life, as well as upon the more usually utilized museum collections and ethnographic literature. Thus, specific art objects were seen in specific context, and furthermore, in some cases were also linked to specific museum objects and those mentioned in the literature. These data have made it possible to see aspects of art not usually dealt with in primitive art, namely, the scope and nature of the total system of art and the relationship of the major art form to that system. This art system and the *malanggan* system within it was found to be intimately meshed with the social system in that it is possible to speak of a social context of art, i.e., that portion of the total social system in which the art is made and used.

A major and substantive result of this study is the realization that social context of art is a kind of meaning, different from, but coincident with, subject matter, or iconographic meaning. Contextual meaning seems to be as important as, or perhaps even more important than, subject matter in understanding what New Irelanders think of their art, and furthermore, promises to provide a more useful basis of comparison with the arts of other peoples than does subject matter. Not only is the social context of art the locus of the relationship between art and society, but it is a main junction point of the process by which the art forms are transmitted through time and space. Thus, social context of art is a crucial part of the relationship between art and culture, as well as that between art and society.

It has been possible to observe the functional integration of a number of specific art objects in their social context, to collect most of these objects and place them in the Field Museum of Natural History, to recognize in the Museum's collections older versions of them, and to find mention of them in the ethnographic literature. Also, it was possible to see the art system of a northern New Ireland community in 1953-54 and compare the art of that time with that from other time periods. Since 1954 I have been studying one of the largest New Ireland collections in the world, at the Field Museum, and have also seen New Ireland art and other material culture in the major United States museum collections and in some European museums. In much of the literature on primitive art there is a gap between museum specimens, on the one hand, and the ethnographic literature, on the other. That is to say, there are art objects from New Ireland in the museums of the United States, Europe, and Australia and parallel to this is ethnographic literature about New Ireland. One does not explain the other. Historical relationships between the literature and the museum collections seem quite lacking. It is beyond the scope of this work to treat exhaustively the societies and cultures of New Ireland so that the total social and cultural system can be dealt with. It is similarly beyond the scope of this work to describe and analyze the total art system of all of New Ireland. However, it is important to establish that such goals are possible. It is assumed that the existing museum collections and ethnographic studies are representative of New Ireland. This is a misconception and has led commentators to make erroneous statements about the homogeneity of the art and the art systems of New Ireland.

The deficiencies that this study seeks to correct are partly methodological and partly substantive. The contribution it seeks to make toward methodology for the study of art lies in an attempt to pursue a co-ordinated approach, involving critical evaluation of the ethnographic literature, observation and consideration of museum specimens and field work. By applying this method, it has been possible to make a modest substantive contribution to our knowledge of the nature of the system of art in New Ireland.

The view of New Ireland culture gained from the pre-existing literature and from museum collections was simplistic. To have gone into the field and then back again to the literature and the collections has been most illuminating. The differences of form and of type of object among museum collections became much more clearly a matter

of sub-regional variation and of functional variation within one area than it seemed before. Rather similar types of masks with seemingly idiosyncratic variation came to be seen as sub-regional variations. The same motifs, the same types of masks simply were being made in different parts of New Ireland in differing styles. Thus, another substantive result is that it can be shown that there have been gaps and omissions of content in the literature, in which there has been failure to see significant variability and the reasons for it in New Ireland art and societies. This was in part a failure to see a quality of New Ireland society, that of the fragmentation of the total population of the island among the numerous sub-cultural units, each one of which is more or less independent of the others, and each of which had different approaches to solving its social, ceremonial, and artistic problems.

New Ireland was chosen as an area in which to study primitive art from several Melanesian areas well represented in the enormous Melanesian holdings of the Field Museum of Natural History. It was not expected that on-going production and use of art would still be observable in 1953-54. Rather, it was thought that an area represented by large museum collections could be studied, even if the art were completely dead, in a *post mortem* study of its demise. My wife, Sally, and I were enabled to go to New Ireland and reside there for seven months, from September, 1953 until March, 1954.

New Ireland was a good choice of area. The Field Museum has a very large collection of New Ireland art and material culture, numbering some 2700 pieces, by far and away the largest collection of such material in the United States, the next largest collection being that at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, with about 300 pieces. Large European collections exist, mostly in Germany. Thus, a corpus of museum material of considerable size exists today, perhaps numbering about 10,000 pieces in all, which can be studied and related to previous ethnographic work and to any which can follow.

New Ireland art is very rich in form. It is a sculptural art which features exuberantly curving filigreed wood-carving, which is painted, along with extraordinary constructivism, i.e., the use of a host of added materials ranging from shells of marine animals to sponges, twigs, feathers, and the like. In subject matter, New Ireland art features men, real and supernatural, in juxtaposition with animals, such as birds, snakes, fish, and with plant forms. Its subject matter is psychologically interesting, showing genitalia transformed into fish

and snakes, and with hermaphroditic figures from central New Ireland. It is a fantastic art which has been called "surrealistic." Without exaggeration, New Ireland art can be considered as one of the most intriguing of the major art styles of so-called primitive art.

In short, the size and quality of the museum collections of New Ireland art, and the nature of the art itself comprised a very rich and rewarding corpus of art objects around which library and field research was undertaken. Although it was possible that the art system of less acculturated living societies could have been studied, as, for instance, in highland New Guinea, the opportunity to illuminate museum collections was deemed to be of greater value.

The primary ethnographic literature is that resulting from first-hand observation of New Ireland, and is comprised of the various works of Krämer, Stephan, Walden, Peekel, Friederici, Parkinson, Bühler, Chinnery, Powdermaker, and Groves. The secondary sources are interpretative in that the writers have commented upon the published results of the primary observers, but also, upon museum specimens and collections from New Ireland. These writers include Kaeppler, McCarthy, Linton and Wingert, Leach, Guiart, Tischner, Brodgi, Hesse, and Girard.

Generally speaking, the view of New Ireland culture which can be gained from the primary literature is far from complete. The differences in theoretical bias from the German workers of the early 1900's to Powdermaker and Australian workers of the 1920's and '30's are such that it is rather difficult to relate them to each other. The best of the German work, that of the Naval Expedition, was premature in attempting to formulate overall island-wide views of New Ireland culture with insufficient data, while lesser work, like Peekel's, was marred by *a priori* assumptions of sun-moon symbolism. The later work of Powdermaker was very a-historical, to the extent that the previous efforts of the Germans, although somewhat peculiar, were virtually ignored. The work of Powdermaker and Groves does not rest upon or broaden the view of New Ireland culture of the earlier workers, but instead, provides several isolated views of segments of total New Ireland culture. It is thus little wonder that the secondary commentators, who must work from the primary sources, get so far afield. The museum collections and specimens which are commented upon by these writers also do not indicate island-wide relationships. At best the available documentation gives provenience of specimens, more often than that, no specific provenience is given. The total corpus of art objects and material culture from New Ireland is thus

typically thought of as a homogeneous universe, and determinants of variation are sought in personal idiosyncracies of artists rather than in the more reasonable explanation that there may have been considerable sub-regional cultural and social variation.

One kind of problem which has been especially obscured in these deficiencies of the primary sources and in the attendant secondary interpretations, has been that of the nature of the system of art as it may have been distributed in time and space, both over all of New Ireland and in more circumscribed specific localities. First, it is very difficult to learn, from the literature, the boundaries in space of significantly different art areas in New Ireland, and quite impossible to see the operation of a system of art through time. Second, it is equally difficult to see from the literature variations and fluctuations of the different kinds of art in space and time, and the relationships which may have existed between them.

Thus it must be said that I found it difficult to gain from the literature a clear idea of the overall nature and workings of the art system of New Ireland, the system which produced the art objects in the museums. Before going to the field it was thought that field work would be the means by which meanings, uses, and contexts for the museum objects could be found. After being in the field, it can be said that the field work has been invaluable for gaining insight into the above problems, but the scope and kind of field research required is different from that actually conducted.

When the opportunity arose to go to the Australia I was already familiar with various Melanesian collections of the Field Museum. In addition to New Ireland, the following areas were considered: The Gulf of Papua, the Sepik River area of New Guinea, the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, the Admiralty Islands, and the Solomon Islands.

Grateful thanks and credit for assistance in the field work are hereby given to the Australian National University, which, by insisting that its students go into the field, established the situation enabling the Fulbright organization in Australia to divert monthly subsistence payments into a lump sum which permitted equipping a field expedition. I was also fortunate in having been able to study at Canberra with the late Professor S. F. Nadel, to attend seminars, and to be able to hear his lectures on field method. Four months were spent in such study and in preparation before going to the field, seven months in the field, and one final month at the University upon return.

The decision was made to go to New Ireland where field conditions were good, there being no political or other turmoil in the area. My wife, Sally, accompanied me to the field. In addition to some anthropological training at the University of Chicago, at Canberra she learned to administer Rorschach tests and also assisted with the general ethnographic observations (Lewis, S., 1957). My wife and I arrived in Kavieng, New Ireland on September 3, 1953 and stayed there until September 9, during which time official records were seen in the District Commissioner's office. On the basis of seeing these records, it was decided to go directly to Lesu. On September 10, 1953, we arrived at Lesu, 82 miles from Kavieng, and settled in the government rest house.

Some facility in the use of Melanesian Pidgin English had been gained by studying Murphy (1949) and Hall (1943). Pidgin was spoken by everyone over the age of about four years, and although there were several English-speaking persons in the village, Melanesian Pidgin was used as the language of inquiry.¹ Pidgin was quickly learned and all inquiries were carried out in that language, except for taking down some texts in the native language, Notsi. Although the usual objections to the use of Pidgin are certainly valid, there were advantages in its use. The numerous languages would have been difficult to learn, and Pidgin did enable speaking to any New Irelander, indeed to any Melanesian encountered. Also, Pidgin translates word for word from the Notsi language, being quite close to the Melanesian languages structurally.

In 1953, from all available information, it seemed that there would be little or no on-going art and contextual ceremonial life, and general ethnographic observations of Lesu were undertaken, using Powdermaker's 1933 study of Lesu as a base line. However, after several months of such study, during the course of which one memorial service without malanggan ceremonies occurred, the Libba malanggan ceremonials began. It was soon clear that there was still a living and functioning art system. At that point, November, 1953, attention was shifted from the general ethnographic study at Lesu to the more specific observation of the malanggans at Libba. Observation of on-going ceremonials in the context of which art was being produced took precedence over general ethnography, but, unfortunately, what was also needed was more general ethnography based upon Libba rather than Lesu.

¹ All Melanesian Pidgin words used in this study are indicated by enclosing them in single quotes; thus 'carpenter' (wood carver).

Almost seven months of residential study in the Notsi linguistic area were completed on April 1, 1954. After returning to Australia and then to Chicago, the major methodological problem began to be formulated; how to relate the field data to the literature and to the museum collections. What was seen in the field was only a fragment of the totality of the art system of New Ireland. Informants had expanded this view with their remembrances of malanggan and masking experiences in the past, and in other nearby parts of New Ireland. When further study of the literature and the museum collections was undertaken, it was found that the amount of substantive new information gained in the field was small but a viewpoint had been gained from which it was possible to see the total system of art in New Ireland. It seemed to be more complex, variable, and open-ended than any commentators had previously described.

Thus the field work had opened the possibilities that an on-going system of art could be seen historically, and the workings of the major art expression of northern New Ireland, malanggan, could be seen.

The realities of field work also led to the problem of social context as meaning. Conventional approach to meaning, i.e., inquiry into the iconography of the art can best be made with familiarity with the language, culture, and environment. I asked, "What is the fish being held by the man? Why does he hold him?" etc., but the answers were superficial without being related to other aspects of the culture. However, the connotational meanings gained by the art objects as they were made in the midst of on-going socio-ceremonial life and by their utilization in the ceremonies seemed more accessible to study, because they were linked to the data actually being collected. It is not proposed that iconographic meaning not be studied, since it is very important for understanding the art, but rather, that iconographic study should be carried out only after the social context is understood. Thus, I found myself seeking for, and finding, significance for art in the social context, and came to the conclusion that New Irelanders also were concerned with contextual meanings. They, of course, knew the subject matter, but since it tended to be repeated, was taken for granted. On the other hand, the aspect of the ceremonies which changed from one time to another was the specific social grouping, the actual individuals involved, the details of the payments, the feasting and exchanges. Thus, the sensibilities of New Irelanders, when confronting their art, were sharpened to the social and contextual aspects of the total presentations.

This assignation of the sensibility of New Irelanders is a hypothetical construction, by myself, stemming in part from the bias of the study but also from negative evidence. I observed little verbalized concern of New Irelanders with subject matter, but did see, on the other hand, concern expressed in talk, and in action with the preparation and execution of the ceremonies, feasts, and exchanges. Thus, although social contextual meaning is here being read into the thoughts and feelings of New Irelanders, their observed involvement with that context suggests real concern with it.

This study will thus deal with art and society in a part of northern New Ireland in such a way that the system of art, and especially the art of malanggan, will be illuminated. The materials used are the ethnographic literature, museum collections, and original field observations. The method employed is one which attempts to relate these several kinds of data to each other. I say that New Ireland art is imbued with a kind of connotational meaning from the social context in which it is made and used, and that the workings of a system of art in New Ireland can be discerned, a major part of which is malanggan. The following presentation and discussion of data will attempt to make these contentions plausible. If they can be made to seem reasonable, it seems to me that some substantive and methodological contribution to the study of art will have been made.

Chapter I

Meaning

Art, by virtue of being a part and product of the religious and social life of man, and because it expresses many of his deepest feelings and thoughts is thoroughly intertwined and enmeshed with religion, with ritual, with society, and with many other important aspects of life. These relationships, in their complexity, in their great and small determining effects upon art, are in their totality the meaning of art. Meaning in its broadest implication is extra-phenomenal relationship, that is, it is related to the phenomenon art, from and to other phenomena external to the art object. Meaning may be painted, carved or otherwise worked into any material object consciously and deliberately, by repeated association of one phenomenon with others. Thus, art objects have meanings deliberately built into them, which are conveyed to an intended public, but, at the same time, may become associated with other meanings not necessarily intended or thought of by its makers.

Artists, of course, have intentions about the meanings of their work. They usually attempt to convey ideas, events and thoughts by representing persons and things as images, but as they seek to fulfill these conscious aims they do so by utilizing the styles and art techniques known to them. Style is a carrier of affect and meaning, which become part of an art object with little conscious intent on the part of the artist but nevertheless come through his mind and hands. Thus, iconographic meaning, that is, the subject matter, the specific image, is the direct result of the intentions and actions of the artist. Style also results from his actions, but is an indirect and almost unconscious by-product of the artist's endeavors.

The dictionary definition of meaning says, in part, that meaning is the thing one intends to convey by an act or especially by language, the thing that is conveyed or signified, the sense in which something is understood, the thing that is meant or intended, or the pattern of engrams aroused by a given stimulus. In art, the first three sub-

definitions of meaning deal with what an artist might put into an art object, while the last one is what a viewer may get from it. This difference of frame of reference is important, for much art historical comment deals with art objects seen after the time and occurrence of their making, and thus there is concern with a definition which stresses what a viewer gets from an art object rather than what is put into it.

Erwin Panofsky says the art historian is a special and intense kind of beholder of art, who with discipline and scholarship tries to get out of his viewing of an art object the meanings that were put into it (Panofsky, 1955, p. 17). His levels of interpretation of meaning in art are considered here, in that they may provide an approach to the articulation of meaning with other aspects of culture (Panofsky, 1955, pp. 40-41).

Panofsky suggests three differing levels of interpretation, primary subject matter, secondary or conventional subject matter, and intrinsic meaning. In the production of art most aspects of meaning are simultaneously worked into the art object as it assumes material form. When the object is completed and is shown or displayed to viewers presumably all aspects of meaning are discernible by them. They get the intended message, the denotational subject matter, and presumably they get other kinds of meaning also, the connotational meanings not deliberately worked into the art object by its maker.

Panofsky is invoked here to indicate that it is possible to study denotational subject matter on several levels or layers of scholarship, and to remind us that conventional subject matter is important and well worth the attention of anthropological students of art. However, neither my field observations nor data from the published literature are sufficient to properly deal with iconography or subject matter of New Ireland art.

One of the art objects I saw in the field was the *Malanggatsak malanggan* (see fig. 11). From informants one got little beyond Panofsky's lowest level, that of pre-iconographical description. A naive beholder could infer that the figure represented was human in form and was depicted as wearing a towering headdress, some elements of which were feathers and birds. This indeed was what informants were able to tell, and nothing more. By comparison of this object with several other carvings in the Field Museum's collections, it could be seen that the subject matter, a person with a certain kind of headdress, had been expressed a number of times in several varying ways. The identity of the man wearing the headdress, what the headdress represented, what the various minor decorations mean,

still remains unsolved. The identity of the image was not determined nor did we come to know the events, themes, and concepts of which it is a part. To build up knowledge inductively from Panofsky's first to his second level is worthwhile but beyond the data in this study. The goals of his third level, the understanding of intrinsic meaning, content, and symbolic values would seem to be even further from attainment than secondary subject matter, especially if approached through the prior levels. However, in an anthropological study, iconological interpretation and symbolic values could be approached by means of pathways other than art, but it must be stated that in this work no such study was undertaken. It should be said at this point that the aspect of meaning, called by Panofsky subject matter, shall be referred to hereafter as iconographic meaning, and that this work does not deal with it.

But is it possible to deal with another kind of meaning? Perhaps iconographic meaning as such simply is not much thought of by New Irelanders. Perhaps it is taken for granted. When the carver works, he takes for granted his subject matter, and consciously works and strives to express it. The patron wants the *Malanggatsak malanggan* to be carved, and inherent in the name is the identity, the subject matter, the content of that particular *malanggan*. The carver executes the carving, making a tangible object, a representation of a specifically known human or supernatural being, representing him in costumes, gestures, etc., appropriate to the events, themes, and concepts involved. Also the carving is done in the carver's style, which most likely is the style of the locality in which he lives and works. The viewers or beholders of the finished *malanggan* similarly know the iconographic meaning, and have not come to view the carvings merely to receive that message, but rather, they are paying their last respects to the dead, and to the deceased person's surviving relatives, by coming to see the image, eat at the feast, contribute foodstuffs and money, and in general participate in the ceremony. Thus, it seems that iconographic meaning, although important and desirable for an investigator to know is quite possibly a constant and given factor among the various aspects of meaning in the art of New Ireland.

If iconographic meaning is taken for granted, and if it is less consciously thought of by New Ireland carvers and viewers, is there another aspect of meaning which is more in the forefront of their minds? If New Ireland art varies according to geographical location and changes through time, what changes from the point of view of New Irelanders? An entity which changes is the specific social com-

position of the constellation of interacting carvers, patrons, and participating viewers which forms each time a malanggan ceremonial is staged. No two malanggan ceremonial occasions can be the same in their social composition. No two malanggan occasions can have exactly the same specific carvings. Thus, in contrast to the iconographic meaning which is relatively unchanging, something which does change and is new each time is the social context. It is suggested here that a New Irelander as he attends the feasts, listens to the oratory, and goes forward to look at the images is sensitized to perceive *social contextual meaning* rather than the traditional iconographic meanings. At this place in the ceremonial, aesthetic judgments are not made. In contrast to the opportunity for aesthetic criticism during the period of manufacture which could influence the carver to bring about changes, at viewing time critical viewers had no opportunity to make verbalized criticisms of the malanggans. Their viewing of the malanggan displays was passive in contrast to their more active participation during the making of the images. Viewers came to the displays not to see the art objects as such, not to be instructed about events of their group's history, but to participate in the ceremony by attending. It is startlingly like the motivation of some viewers of art in the United States who go to art museums ostensibly to see the art objects, but who really are there acting out social roles.

It is with these foregoing ideas in mind that the social context be considered to be a kind of meaning, called contextual meaning, or meaning derived from the context of the art. In New Ireland in 1954, contextual meaning seemed a more important aspect of meaning than iconographic meaning.

If we think of art meaning as being comprised mainly of relatively inaccessible iconographical meaning and contextual meaning which is more amenable to study, it becomes possible to compare art meanings of quite different kinds of society without the difficulties of involving iconographic meaning. One could thus compare contextual meaning of New Ireland art with that of the art of the United States, the iconography of which could be as opaque and inaccessible as that of New Ireland. Comparisons of iconographic meaning of the art of two such disparate societies would be rather fatuous, in that they would be found to use different subject matter in their art. On the other hand, the social contexts of art of different societies seems to permit comparison. The circumstances and personnel of production and use, and the relationships of procedures and persons are amenable to ethnographic study.

It has been said here, then, that the social context of art is meaning, contextual meaning. The context in which the art was made and used, to some degree, was evoked in the minds of New Irelanders when they viewed the art. The art objects served to arouse memories in a viewer, they conveyed or signified a total entity of meaning. The viewer saw and knew the malanggans as named entities, he saw and knew the identities of the represented objects, real and mythological, he saw and knew the symbols of the events and concepts. Also, he was aware of his attendance at the feasts, ceremonies, and viewings and was aware of the activities, behavior, and attitudes of the participants in those ceremonies. He, of course, knew the persons involved, he knew the deceased person, he knew the candidate for initiation, he knew the patrons and other participants. They were his friends and relatives. This knowledge and awareness of the details of the context were part of his response to the stimulus presented by the sight of the malanggan images. Such awareness also affected the viewer's responses to masking and helps to explain his attitude of amusement and little concern toward what could have been frightening or annoying.

Here let us consider a contrast between background and context. Background implies a foreground, and, perhaps that a gap or space exists between the two. Context suggests a relationship in which all elements are intertwined and interdependent on each other. The New Ireland viewer did not perceive malanggan images or masks against a "background of culture" but saw images, masks, people, and the ceremonies within a context of use inside of and while part of New Ireland culture and society. Furthermore, as has been suggested, the viewer's involvement and immersion in the social context of the art may have been more important to him than the subject matter.

Objects of art thus may be thought of as having placement and as operating within a context of manufacture and use, i.e., within a social context. Western art objects in an art museum are placed and function in a social context. Indeed, many Western works of art, especially historically important ones, have been placed and used within several different contexts in that they have originated in a society of a different era and culture, and have been used subsequently by members of one or more different societies, as for example, Roman statuary found by Renaissance Italians, and later being displayed in twentieth century Italy. Viewers in first century Rome, sixteenth century Rome, and twentieth century Rome surely see the

"same" statue differently. Differences of perception and interpretation arise from the different contexts of which the viewers are a part. In the history of New Ireland art there is not available for study knowledge of such time differences, but the problem is still there. Significant social contextual differences are to be sought at village, clan and lineage, and personal levels, rather than in the larger settings of nations, cities, and historical eras.

Further study of the variation of art form in New Ireland art will depend upon control of the general ethnography of New Ireland. The total art universe of Lesu-Libba in 1954 can be shown to vary due to social context, such as the ceremonies in which the art objects were used, the specific social groups for whom they were made, and the specific localities in which they were made. Comparisons of 1954 Lesu-Libba art with contemporary art from other parts of New Ireland were not made. A few comparisons of 1954 art objects with selected objects from earlier time periods were made, and are discussed below.

Understanding the art style areas of all of New Ireland by proceeding from social contexts to art forms, and from there on to iconographic study, seems to be dictated by the nature of the materials for study. The present literature does not permit a definitive iconographic study to be done. There has not been a significant study of museum specimens from New Ireland nor a field project which deals with iconography on an ethnographic basis. At this time neither in the literature nor in museum records are there data which would permit treatment of iconography at anything but Panofsky's pre-iconographic level. In my opinion, only field research, utilizing photographs, observations, and preliminary analysis (pre-iconographic) of a significant sample of New Ireland art in world museums, can yield definitive results on iconographic meaning and variation of art forms and styles. Similarly, to significantly increase knowledge about social contexts, more field work on social organization is needed to extend coverage beyond Lesu and Fisoa, to areas near Kavieng, and to central and southern New Ireland. Also needed is modern linguistic study so that the relationships between the different language areas could be re-examined.

It is from the social context of art, from the shared participation in the dealings with death, puberty, and the supernatural, from the enjoyments of the feasting and dancing, from the participation in the speeches that art is in the most general way imbued with importance and value in New Ireland.

Malanggan is the most important ceremonial expression of northern New Ireland. It is the activity which brings together the largest numbers of people. The art objects refer to the ancestors, and to the important supernatural world. The value or importance of the art, to *New Irelanders*, is that it is imbued with the events, ideas, and affect of the social context. The involvement of the art objects within the social context made the art objects a repository of associations and affect which referred to that context. In short, the art objects were highly symbolic of the social context, *as such*, in addition to and at the same time as being symbolic of the iconographic elements of meaning.

Also, and conversely, the art objects imbue the ceremonies, feasts, and context with importance. The fact that the art objects do not persist in time beyond their presentation in the final rites, makes northern New Ireland art a particularly interesting and pertinent example for discussion. For if the art objects did persist, that is, if they were saved, they would be, in a physical sense as well as symbolically, repositories of the references to the social context. Malanggan art is thus embedded in a dynamic context, one which depends for its continuance upon the desires, needs, deeds, and memories of men.

Thus, when New Irelanders confronted their art, what did they see, what did they feel, what did it mean to them? They saw the malanggan objects in their display houses, under ceremonial constraints, in reverential attitudes. The art was considered sacred, and was seen after being eagerly anticipated during the weeks and months of the ceremonies and stages of construction. They saw, in some cases, representations of specific ancestors, in others, images symbolic of supernatural beings. The gaps left in the living segment of society by the dead were filled, in part, by the newly initiated boys, whose initiation rites have come to a successful conclusion, literally before the eyes of the images.

Art took on value from its social context in that it was used in the midst of display and exchanges of wealth at the ceremonies and feasts. The steeping of art with social value is directly parallel to the imbuing of the patrons with social prestige, in that value on the one hand, and prestige on the other, was marked not by formality, but by cumulative affect, in the minds of the public. Just as the patron accumulated prestige by having funnelled through his hands wealth in goods and money during ceremonial appearances, so also did art objects accumulate social value by being a focal point of exchanges of goods and money. Thus, it is possible to say that art con-

noted to its viewers, in this informal and intangible way, wealth and power, by association with wealth and with powerful persons, at the same time as it denoted important persons, objects, events, and themes.

Although the iconographic meaning and the form and style of New Ireland art are very important and quite worthy of study, they will not be dealt with. The social context, in which art was made and used in New Ireland, will comprise the main concern of this study. This context will be described and that description will enable us to approach understanding of what their art means to New Irelanders.

Chapter II

Social Organization in Northern New Ireland

The art being considered in this study is mainly that called malanggan and associated with the ceremonials of the same name. The part of New Ireland in which malanggan ceremonies are carried out, and for which malanggan images are made, is northern New Ireland. For the purpose of this study northern New Ireland may be considered to consist of the northwestern third of the island, and the Tabar Islands. Northern New Ireland is defined in this way because this delimited area most likely represents the area in which malanggan was practiced. In Figure 2 this area is that included in linguistic areas 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

However, although this is the area in which malanggan is practiced and other areas to the southeast are different in this respect, northern New Ireland is by no means culturally homogeneous. Each of the above mentioned numbered areas is a linguistically different area, presumably all variants of Melanesian (Austronesian) languages. The peculiarities, deficiencies, and biases of the ethnographic literature do not permit a clear view of the cultural relationships within New Ireland, but the linguistic variation suggested by Friederici (1912) and variation of social structure as seen in Chinnery's survey (1929) suggest that the studies of Groves and of Powdermaker should not be taken to be representative of New Ireland outside of the linguistic areas in which they were made. My ethnographic observations, made wholly within the Notsi linguistic area (that in which Powdermaker worked), should also not be taken as representative of other areas of northern New Ireland, and certainly should not be applied to the central or southern regions. It should be stated that the ethnographic coverage of northern New Ireland is mostly concerned with the Notsi, Nelik, and Tabar linguistic areas (areas numbered 8, 10, 13 in Figure 2) and does not deal with Tigak, Lemusmus or Nayama (numbered 12, 11, 9 in Figure 2).

Friederici's linguistic map shown in Figure 1 and my map, Figure 2, shows the considerable variation of New Ireland languages.

In the latter map, Figure 2, the differences between the classifications are based upon the difference of point of view and upon different terminology. Friederici made the most inclusive classification and Krämer followed it, dividing Friederici's Schleinitz Mountain area into Kanapit and Kandan areas, and simplifying the Nusa sub-areas into a single area. Stephan worked only in the south and presented a more detailed view of that area, and my classification reflects Notsi speaker's views of the rest of the island. Friederici, Krämer, and Stephan have given village or geographic names to districts and I have recorded Notsi speaker's names of the languages, but have used the terms "Interior People" and "Tabar Islands" when names were not given.

The word Notsi was used in Lesu to refer to the language spoken there and in nearby villages in 1954, and was formally recognized by the government, as for instance, in the name of the local government school. The name was not used in any of the prior ethnographic literature. Krämer, following Friederici, called the area Hamba district, using the name of the Notsi village Hamba or Amba.

Within the Notsi linguistic area there are three cultural groupings. There is that comprised of the Notsi-speaking population, which is found distributed in six villages, Tandes, Libba, Langenia, Lesu, Amba, and Sali (fig. 3). The second consists of two villages—Liadan and Kabil—wherein reside people who formerly lived in the interior. Many of these people also live in the Notsi villages. The third cultural group to be found within the boundaries of the Notsi area is comprised of plantation laborers and the planters and is represented by three European-owned coconut plantations. Each of these has one or more Europeans, usually Australian, as the proprietor or manager, and a number of Melanesian laborers, including a few New Irelanders as day workers, but consisting mostly of New Guinea people working on contract basis.

The Notsi language is usually spoken in the Notsi villages and Melanesian Pidgin and English on the plantations. Presumably the interior language is spoken in the two interior villages but this was not observed.

The location of five of the Notsi villages presumably dates back to pre-European days. Sali seems to be a recent offshoot settlement from Amba. The plantations were owned by Germans prior to 1914.

FIG. 1. Map showing linguistic divisions of New Ireland. (After Friederici, 1912).

After 1914 the same plantations were continued under Australian proprietorship. The two villages of former interior people were moved onto the coast by administrative fiat.

Change in village plan can be seen from comparison of Powdermaker's plan of Lesu of 1929-30, and a village plan of 1954 which I drew (fig. 4). In 1929 Lesu stretched along the coast for about three miles and was divided into fifteen hamlets, separated from one another by fences and sometimes also by unused land (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 31). In 1954, Lesuans still knew the boundaries of the named sections, but the village had split into two halves, called by them Number One and Number Two Lesu, respectively Methodist and Roman Catholic. Also a contraction had occurred, so that something like the previous hamlet plan still existed in 1954, but compressed in space and without regard for the actual boundaries of the named hamlet areas.

In 1929, each hamlet contained from two to eight houses, the larger hamlets had their men's houses and cemetery and every hamlet had its own communal cooking ground and sometimes a cook house. The men's house and cemetery were near the sea (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 31).

Powdermaker says:

Each hamlet also has its name and a community life of its own, apart from its participation in the village life, and its members are frequently close relatives, but not always so. The women cook together and the men assist each other in their fishing and housebuilding. . . . Every native is identified with a certain hamlet as well as village. Thus, he is a man from Penguli, or Ponembatawa, as well as a member of the village of Lesu. His deepest roots are in the hamlet, and when he dies it is to the cemetery of the hamlet in which he was born that he is brought to be buried. As matrilocal residence is the rule, a man is frequently buried in a hamlet other than that in which he was living (1933, pp. 31, 32).

A footnote of Powdermaker's sheds light upon the hamlets and upon the later splits into Numbers One and Two Lesu.

In the past, before white contact, the hamlets of Lesu formed two villages. The present six hamlets at the northern end (Simbelmalum, Ponamsambuat, Ponembwam, Ponembatawa, Ponmenilisau, and Ponatlege) were known as the village of Tagam, and the remaining nine hamlets (Onel, Panat, Logok, Pantas, Penguli, Tarengam, Pencil, Sapone, Penbumbu) were

FIG. 2. Map showing the linguistic classifications of Friederici, Krämer, Stephan, and Lewis.

the Lesu village. Each had their own chief, and there was constant fighting caused by thefts of women and pigs between the two villages. While war has been abolished and the two villages are now united, a certain division is still maintained between them. For instance, the boys of Tagam are still circumcised separately from the boys of Lesu. The members of the two places attend each other's rites, but there is no really close intimacy between them (1933, p. 32).

Powdermaker's description of the household as the smallest grouping according to locality as an individual family consisting of parents and children was much the case in 1954. Although sororal polygyny was reported in 1929, none was in evidence in 1954. There were still a few men's houses being used as residences for unmarried men, but a number of pre-adolescent and adolescent boys lived in the school dormitories. Not stressed by Powdermaker as being present in 1929, but mentioned by 1954 informants as having occurred earlier, was the practice of married men spending considerable time at the men's houses, both as participants in discussions and as frequent residents there as overnight guests and as diners. Women (a man's wife, or an unmarried man's sister or mother) would bring food to the yard of the men's house. However, the men's house is called *anua kulau* (house of the young men) and this suggests that its inhabitants in the older days were young and unmarried men. An informant, an older man, unmarried at the time, complained bitterly about the sad state of affairs in 1954 because it had become difficult to get together a fishing party at a men's house because "all the married men preferred to sleep in their wives' houses" and were thus not available for discussion and planning of fishing parties.

Powdermaker's description of the kinship system of Lesu in 1929 was, in the main, still true of the kinship system of Lesu in 1954. Moiety and clan, the family and the kinship system are described in *Life in Lesu* (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 33-57).

The society is matrilineal in descent, the ideal residence rule is matrilocality. There are two exogamous named moieties, each of which has a series of named clans in it. A few of the clans are further subdivided into sub-clans. The moiety names remained unchanged, Kong Kong and Telenga, and also their functioning. Some of the named clans were present in both 1929 and in 1954, and some of the 1929 clans named were not present in Lesu in 1954. Also, some 1954 clans were not named in 1929 (Table 1). Not mentioned by Powder-

FIG. 3. Map of settlements in the Notsi linguistic area and vicinity.

maker was the sub-clan, called *nunsus*, which was present in 1954 as a subdivision of the clan. Nunsus was described by informants as a named division within a clan. Powdermaker says:

The members of each moiety regard themselves as related to each other in a classificatory manner. Each moiety is divided into a number of clans, an extended family group, all the members of which are related in the female line (1933, pp. 33-34).

The moieties are named for two birds, *Telenga* being the Notsi name for fish hawk (*Pandion leucocephalus*) and *Kong Kong* for the eagle (*Haliaetus leucogaster*). The clans and sub-clans are totemic in that each clan

Is associated with a small piece of land, occasionally with a part of a reef, or a passage of water, and sometimes all three (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 35).

On such ground is supposed to dwell a totemic pig or snake, or, in water, a shark. The clan and nunsus names seem not to be totemic, for the names of the totemic beings are different.

The nunsus subdivision is not in wide use in Lesu. Knowledge of it came quite unexpectedly when an informant was being questioned about his absence from a clan work project which had resulted in his presence at the anthropologist's house. His answer, which came out in an angry outburst against his clan brothers was that he was not obligated to participate in such a project because he didn't belong to the same part of the clan that the others did. Further questioning of other informants elicited the information that some of the other clans were similarly subdivided.

The barely-functioning nunsus divisions raise a question not easily answered from Powdermaker's material, namely, what is the structure of the residential group, which, in earlier times (pre-1929) lived together in hamlets. The village of Lesu as it existed in 1929 is described by Powdermaker as consisting of 15 named hamlets. Her plan of Lesu (part of fig. 4), although specific as to hamlet names and and in types of structure present, does not specify clan affiliations of the hamlet residents. Also, the plan is schematic and without scale so that comparison with the 1954 village plan is difficult. Powdermaker, after describing the village and hamlet continues about the household, as follows:

FIG. 4. A, Plan of Lesu, 1954 (P. H. Lewis). B, Plan of Lesu, 1929-30. (After Powdermaker 1933, facing p. 32).

TABLE 1.—Clans Represented in Lesu in 1929-30 and in 1953-54.

TELENGA MOIETY		KONG KONG MOIETY	
Powdermaker, 1929-30 (1933, pp. 36-39)	Lewis, P. H., 1953-54	Powdermaker, 1929-30 (1933, pp. 36-39)	Lewis, P. H., 1953-54
SINPOP	SINPOP	SINIMAMBUL	SINIMAMBUL
SAKWILA	SINPOP-BURA	SOLEMA	SOLIBA
PASABASABA	SAKWILA	MAOGA	
TSAJIL		SARAMANGASI	SEREMANGASI
MALA	MALA		SEREMANGASI*PENABAIBAI
TUJAH	TUYAS	TUPILA	TUPILA
PALJLA	PUGILA		TUPILA*BUNGLAS
PANANIWUK	PENUNIUK	TSILILIA	TUPILA*PENKARITI
	PENUNIUK*MURAMURAKE	KABA	SELILIA
KATOMBI (Tabar)			KUMBA
LINMAARUAH (Fakmalak)		NOASA	KUMBA*LEMUKLIK
KUNASARAH (foreign)		PERI	
MUNGAMAP (foreign)		MUNIN	MUNIN
MUGATIRIN (foreign)		LELIL	
PANIWAT	PANUAT	KAPARK (Tabar)	
BUNKOH		EIVU (Tabar)	
MUHALUA		BUTUA (Tabar)	
	MEWAN	TSNDIWES	SUDUIS
	LEBITUA	NABUATH	
	PURUWAN (foreign?)	LENDUT (foreign)	
	KEIS	PUNBUNABA	
	MUGIGA	MULAIGA	
		MUHTIN	
			ARNUS (Tabar)
			MALIBA

* = nunsus (sub-clan).

The next smallest grouping according to locality is the household, which corresponds, in general, to the individual family, consisting of parents and children. Should a man have two wives, each wife will usually have her own house, although if there is a great difference in their ages, one being very old and decrepit, they frequently occupy the same house. The unmarried men and the boys, after the age of nine or ten, sleep in the men's house. There is no girls' house corresponding to the men's house, and the girls sleep at home until they are married. The usual occupants of each house are thus, the husband and wife, the female unmarried children, and young male children. But even though the older boys may sleep at the men's house, they participate in the life of the household. Just as each hamlet has its own life, so has each household. There is both a division and sharing of labour in the care of the children, in the gardening, in the cooking, and in all the activities which compose the fabric of daily life. The daily meeting of the family for its evening meal, the affection between them, and even their quarrels, all help to weld them into a close-knit unit (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 31-33).

It is possible that the hamlet residential group was the nunsus, a localized matrilineal lineage, and a segment of a clan. The hamlet residential group was comprised of several women of the same matrilineal clan or nunsus, who stay in residence there after marriage because of the rule of matrilocality, plus their husbands who have married in, plus children. Thus, except for the married-in husbands, all other persons are members of the same nunsus, and therefore, of the same clan and moiety. Another possibility is that a nunsus division is an incipient clan division, and as such is localized at first, but does not necessarily remain so later.

The nature and history of the village is problematical. In 1954 Lesu was divided between what its inhabitants called Number One and Number Two Lesu. Number One Lesu, as far as can be determined, still occupied some of the same ground as did Lesu of 1929. Number Two Lesu was established to the northwest along the coast from the older site. The area formerly occupied by Tagam was, in 1954, occupied by the government school, the teachers' residences, and the government rest house. No mention is made of Tagam in any source other than Powdermaker (1933, p. 32). The main difference between the two parts of Lesu is religious, Number One Lesu being Methodist and Number Two Lesu Roman Catholic, except for two Methodist families. Moiety and clan lines ran across the two village parts. There was some restriction of intermarriage in that spouses were sought from among groups of the same religion thus modifying village endogamy.

The population has decreased in New Ireland. Malanggan was closely related to the death of individuals and to initiation of boys

and therefore increase or decrease in population affected parts of the social context of art. A declining population made for fewer occasions for malanggan to occur and conversely an increasing population would have meant more opportunities for malanggan to take place. As part of general population decrease in Oceania, from 1898, for the Bismarck Archipelago an estimated population of from 180,000 to 200,000 persons (Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, 1898) decreased to a population of 137,000 in 1953-54 (Australia, Department of External Affairs, 1953-54, p. 105). From these sources it is possible to extrapolate population figures applicable to New Ireland as follows:

	1898	1953-54
Total Bismarck Archipelago	180,000 to 200,000	137,490
New Ireland	45,276 to 50,307	34,584

It is therefore probable that there has been a 25 to 30 per cent reduction of population in New Ireland from 1898 to 1954. One serious doubt about this reduction is that the 1898 baseline was only an estimate, and may have been too high, so that the later, more

TABLE 2.—Population of New Ireland, 1922-57, and Numbers of New Irelanders Working Inside and Outside New Ireland.

Date	Total New Irelanders exclusive of indentured laborers			New Irelanders signed on as indentured laborers	
	Males	Females	Persons	Working in New Ireland (near home)	Working outside New Ireland (far from home)
1922-23	22,112	17,260	39,372	4,803	1,123
1923-24	18,397	17,379	35,776	4,485	1,132
1924-25	19,090	18,172	37,262	3,640	1,295
1925-26	n.d.				
1926-27	19,662	18,941	38,603	4,135	1,703
1927-28	19,990	18,814	38,804	3,179	2,538
1928-29	19,687	18,793	38,480	3,497	2,879
1929-30	19,475	18,941	38,416	3,351	2,576
1930-31	19,106	18,271	37,377	3,246	2,303
1931-32	19,106	18,271	37,377	2,928	2,071
1932-33	19,127	18,376	37,503	2,810	1,959
n.d.					
1947-48	19,420	18,102	37,522		
1948-49	19,420	18,102	37,522	30	1,368
1949-50	18,960	15,993	34,953	135	1,192
1950-51	18,242	15,384	33,626	21	1,131
1951-52	18,417	15,513	33,930	91	2,664
1952-53	18,905	15,933	34,838	29	2,709
1953-54	18,678	15,906	34,584		
1954-55	19,304	16,292	35,596		
1955-56	19,566	16,536	36,102		
1956-57	19,781	16,731	36,512		

accurate census may not be so much smaller than the earlier one. However, some corroboration of the reduction may be had from the fact that in a 1950-51 report (Australia, Department of External Affairs, 1950-51, p. 63) the New Ireland population was 72.9 per cent of that of 1929-30. This uses a baseline of 1929-30 rather than 1898. Although the exact decrease is difficult to establish, it certainly can be said that there has been a substantial decrease of population in New Ireland over the period of the first half of the twentieth century.

One may speculate that the high death rate of infants meant that during the early decades of this century more deaths were celebrated than initiations, and that this may have changed formerly combined death-puberty malanggan ceremonies to greater emphasis on death ceremonies. There was also temporary loss of individuals due to their working in European-inspired enterprises, some working in New Ireland near their homes, others working outside New Ireland in other parts of Melanesia, far from home. Table 2 shows this for all of New Ireland and Table 3 shows the situation in Lesu in 1928-29 and in 1953-54. In Table 3 it is shown that several government employees, two school teachers, and a medical aid man were stationed in Lesu

TABLE 3.—Numbers of Persons Residing in Lesu in 1928-29 and in 1953-54, and Numbers of Persons Working.

Powdermaker, 1928-29		Lewis, P. H., 1953-54	
Residing in Lesu:		Residing in Lesu:	
Adult males	62		80
Adult females	63		64
Male children	65		60*
Female children	42		40
Total Lesu	232		244
Persons away from Lesu:		Persons away from Lesu:	
Working on plantations	11		9
In school			12
Other			2**
			23
Total resident in Lesu	221		221***

* Includes 6 schoolboys from Libba and Tandes living in government school dormitory in Lesu.

** Includes 1 man in insane asylum in Port Moresby.

*** Includes 9 persons (3 men, their wives, and 3 children) who were government employees, 2 school teachers, 1 medical aid man, all living in Lesu.

and lived there with their wives and children. The two school teachers were both from the Notsi area, as were their wives and children, but the medical man was from the West Coast. However, in spite of the fact that these nine people lived in Lesu because of the demands of government service, all participated freely in the social and ceremonial life of the community, as also did the schoolboys. Although there must have been some determining influence on practice of ceremonials and production and use of art due to the large population decrease, it is difficult to say what these influences were. It seems likely that the temporary absence of individuals, away at work and away at school, was perhaps more disruptive in the short run, with accumulating effects in the long run.

The organization and prosecution of work in gaining subsistence, in building shelter, in production of cash crops, and in satisfying governmental and other demands for labor have important implications for the manufacture of art objects, and especially for the organization and staging of the ceremonies which use them. It is perhaps ethnocentric to assume a dichotomy between art and subsistence. The relation between work and leisure, and between art and life, in our culture is such that work performed for reasons other than subsistence, shelter, and the like is considered not to be work, but leisure, or play, and that art is part of such leisure activity. In New Ireland, however, art was not "play" or something removed from the general "serious" sphere of work, but was one of the most important activities. Far from being opposed to work, art was supported by and made possible by work, and hard work at that. Not only was there the physical work of the artists in the carving and painting, and by others in the construction of ceremonial buildings and paraphernalia, but there was the labor of producing the foodstuffs and other necessities for the ceremonies of which the art was part. However, the resource-producing enterprises which supported malanggan ceremonies did, to some degree, conflict with the daily subsistence and cash economy. It is therefore useful to consider the organization of work and the subsistence activities of New Irelanders from a point of view of possible effect on the ceremonial economy.

Subsistence in New Ireland in 1954 was mostly based upon slash and burn horticulture of root crops, with some pig raising, fishing, pig hunting, a bit of gathering, and some purchase of European foods. The chief root crop in 1954 was the sweet potato, which has supplanted taro as the staple food. Protein foods in the form of pork and fish were eaten mostly at feasts, rather than at meals of the immediate

household. However, the feasts were many and a feature of most feasts was the distribution of meat and other foods to be taken home and eaten. Therefore, in a meal there was often meat, usually pork, the origin of which was a feast. Fish and chicken occasionally were prepared for a family meal.

The crops grown were sweet potato, taro, sweet manioc, and yam. Various fruits and nuts indigenous to New Ireland were gathered from trees in the bush and growing in or near the gardens. Bananas were grown in many varieties and in large quantities, being by far the most numerous and socially important fruit. Most feasts for traditional purposes were considered to be complete only if they served taro, pig, and bananas. The garden plots were within close range, within one hour's walk of the village. The men cleared and burned over the plots and constructed bamboo fences around them against the inroads of domestic and feral pigs. The women then planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops. Useful trees, nut trees, fruit trees, etc., were left standing in the garden plots. One crop was taken from one plot and the land allowed to go to bush. The fences rotted and by the time the plot was grown over again they had to be rebuilt. There was no storage of foodstuffs so that each day they harvested enough for the day's needs. Each family maintained several plots in various stages of cultivation, some were being cleared, some were just beginning to grow, others were ready to be harvested, and some were almost finished. In 1954 there seemed to be plenty of land in spite of much land having been alienated in long leaseholds to European-run plantations. There seemed to be plenty of available garden plots, usually near the village, with additional unused land lying ready also.

Pig raising was women's work, and consisted in feeding pigs owned by her or her family. The pigs wandered freely in the village and bush and came back to be fed once a day. There were also feral pigs. When a domestic pig was needed for a feast, it was captured as it appeared for feeding, or in the bush, whereas the feral pigs were hunted and killed. The latter pigs were valued below domestic pigs in payments at the feasts. Hunting was confined to the hunting and killing of feral pigs. In Lesu there were two men who were considered to be good at pig hunting. They used dogs to find and corner the animal and then closed in on it with a spear made of a hard wood handle and a straight, pointed piece of steel. Pig hunters were paid for their services, and formal recognition of the dog's role was made by making payments to the hunter for the dogs. If a dog was injured or killed, extra payment was made.

Fishing in 1954 seemed not to loom large in the subsistence activities of New Irelanders, although they lived on the beach with access to the sea through a passage in the reef. A number of different fishing methods were known, and several were used in 1954. Two kinds of net fishing were employed, one involving many men and a large net equipped with floats and sinkers, the other employing wing-shaped, bamboo-framed nets used by one man. Some spearing of fish with multi-pointed spears was seen. European-influenced methods included use of nylon line and steel fish hooks, and some spear and goggle fishing, especially by young men and boys.

Mentioned as fishing methods, but not seen employed in 1954, were fish poisoning, and a method of driving fish along an avenue of stones placed on the reef and into a basket. The kind of fishing most highly valued and the only fishing activity seen carried out in deep water was shark catching, in which coconut shell rattle, rattan noose, bait pole, and club were used from a canoe. Much magical preparation surrounded the whole enterprise. Shark, when caught, was a fitting substitute for pig in a feast. Merely to have attempted to catch a shark was enough, and a man who had so tried could consider a contribution to a feast to have been made by merely standing up and saying that he had tried but failed to catch a shark.

Some variety and garnish was added to the diet by gathering of fruit and nuts, done mostly by children.

European food, mostly canned meat and fish, tea, sugar, candy and cookies, and rice was available for purchase in trade stores. Money earned by cash-cropping and as wages for labor was needed for such purchases. Tea and sugar were thought of as necessary staples, whereas other foods, such as rice and canned meats were fairly important for use in feasts celebrating events of European inspiration, as for instance, New Year's Day or Christmas, or a going-away party for a transferred school teacher. Occasionally also, however, rice and canned meat or fish were used in more traditional feasts, such as house-raising bees, and the like. Other non-indigenous commodities which were purchased in the trade stores, and some of which have passed from a luxury category to that of necessity were tobacco (twisted leaf and ready-rubbed cigarette tobacco), kerosene, flashlight batteries, flashlights, pots and pans, 'lap laps,'¹ shirts, and other utensils and articles of clothing. Bicycles of good quality and quite expensive were occasionally purchased. New Irelanders were conservative

¹ Wrap-around cotton cloth, worn as skirt by men as well as women. Enclosing in single quotes denotes Melanesian Pidgin English.

in their buying and did not do much luxury buying, although they apparently had the money to do so if they were so inclined.

Houses in New Ireland in 1954 were similar in appearance. Bühler (1948) said that differences in house types had been wiped out as a consequence of general cultural decay and because of direction by the German, and the later Australian, governments. He mentioned decoration of houses in the form of carved and often painted house posts from the west coast of southern New Ireland and from Tanga. Also, in New Hanover and in the Tabar Island group, he reported carved and painted relief panels on walls. In north and central New Ireland he reported projecting rafters in the form of shark's heads (Bühler, 1948, pp. 25-30). See shark's head rafters on Malanggatsak malanggan display house illustrated in Figure 14. Tischner (1965) points to much variation in house types in New Ireland.

In 1954 the only decorated permanent structures were the Roman Catholic and Methodist churches (figs. 42-44). Other non-indigenous structures were the government village school (fig. 46) and dormitories, the medical building, the co-operative society's trade store, and the government rest house. These buildings, as well as the villager's residences and several men's houses, storehouses, and copra drying sheds, were all of local construction and with few exceptions used materials readily available from the bush. Shelter as well as subsistence was accomplished within the subsistence economy with little recourse to purchased European goods. In 1954 small amounts of money were spent in subsistence activities, mostly for a few favored European foodstuffs and luxuries and in building, for nails and occasional tools, and rarely, larger expenditures for corrugated metal roofs.

An official of the Commonwealth Bank in Kavieng asked a question at the end of the field period, "What do the villagers do with their money?" The banker from his vantage point in Kavieng, saw a flow of currency into New Ireland and to the villages, and the failure of an unexpectedly large amount of money to return through the trade stores. There thus seems to be much currency in the hands of villagers, there hoarded, or circulating in the village economic systems or in the ceremonial payments system, with relatively small amounts going for European goods.

New Irelanders have two main sources of money—engaging in cash cropping and working for Europeans, private or government, for wages. By far the most important cash crop is copra. Almost every family owns at least a few coconut trees, and most harvest and process

the nuts as copra. Various outlets have been available for sale of native produced copra for many years, such as sale to European planters and to buyers in Kavieng; but in 1954 there was the Native Co-operative Society of New Ireland, a government sponsored and guided institution which acted as a marketing agent, gathering processed copra in the villages by means of its trucks and transporting it to Kavieng where it sells the copra to purchasers. Work time spent upon harvesting and processing copra is small, consisting of a few weeks per year per family. Other cash producing activities in 1954 were cocoa growing, which had just begun, and gathering and selling trochus shell.

Working for Europeans was a source of cash income. In the years of contact up to World War II, plantation labor was the greatest single source of cash income. Individuals signed on as contract laborers or as indentured laborers for one, two, or more years. In 1954, however, there were very few New Irelanders who worked as plantation laborers, at least on a contract basis. A few Lesuans worked as day laborers and others as cooks, servants, and other specialized jobs on plantations. A combination of growing independent cash cropping and disaffection with the often harshly-spoken planters has resulted in New Irelanders not working much for planters (see Table 2, especially column "Working in New Ireland near home from 1948-49 to 1952-53"). The planters depend more and more upon labor imported from recently controlled areas of New Guinea. Some of the skilled or specialized jobs held by New Irelanders on plantations are truck driver, mechanic, cook, servant, and storekeeper. Some of these skills, as for instance, driver and mechanic, are taught by the planter himself, in some cases the skills are acquired at government schools or agencies.

A growing source of cash income is government work. The government has increasingly created jobs, and trained New Irelanders for them, and then has supervised and developed many services. One of the main products of the government schools is the native school teacher. Another government job is that of medical aid man, who can be stationed in villages or in hospitals. The burgeoning Co-operative Society employs increasing numbers of New Irelanders as clerks, drivers, mechanics, etc. Older kinds of government jobs are policeman, driver, servant (for Government officers), and the like. As the educational program expands it can be expected that New Irelanders will take up more semi-skilled, skilled, and white-collar jobs in the government.

The missions employ some people for cash wages, usually drivers, or servants working for European missionaries. The native Methodist ministers received financial support from their congregations.

There was one entrepreneur in the Notsi area, a man at Languenja who owned and operated a war-surplus truck in a trucking business.

In 1954 there was some work performed for the government which was labor in lieu of taxes, and thus was not a source of earned money, but instead used labor. The work was road maintenance and construction, and maintenance and construction of government buildings.

In German days (before 1914) the East Coast Road was built, some 200 miles in length, stretching from Kavieng to beyond Namatanai. In Australian times the work on the road was mostly that of maintenance, with infrequent new construction. Road work was supposed to be done by each native village and each European plantation whose grounds were traversed by the road. The planters tended to ignore their responsibility for repairing the road, even though most of the traffic consisted of their trucks. New Irelanders resented the unfairness of this but glumly proceeded with the work. The road work was done on Mondays and on that day the whole able-bodied population of the village, men, women, and children, turned out to gather coral from the reef and beach and bring it to the road, where it was crushed and packed into the holes of the road. The villagers expressed their discontent by quitting about noon time instead of working the full day through. However, in spite of their resentment, they generally appreciated the convenience of the road. On Monday, also, general cleaning of the grounds around the government rest house was done by the women who pulled out all growing weeds, leaving a clean sandy area.

In contrast, work for the medical service was better thought of. This occurred on Wednesdays, and consisted of building new buildings and repairing existing ones, and in cleaning the grounds around the medical station. The work was done wherever there were medical service buildings, in nearby villages, or more rarely as much as 10 to 20 miles away.

Labor was also given to the missions. On Fridays general maintenance and cleaning of mission buildings was done or new construction undertaken, if necessary, but the main task was gathering and processing of coconuts for copra. This was done on a communal but sectarian basis, and the cash proceeds from such enterprise went to the missions. This activity was directed in Number One Lesu by Biga,

the Methodist minister, and by one of the senior villagers in Number Two Lesu. Occasionally, a large construction project, like a large building, or several hospital huts, was undertaken by one of the missions far from the village, and villagers would come from all over the region to help. For instance, in 1954 a Methodist maternity hospital and welfare center was constructed at Kimadan, some 25 miles away, and many Lesuans went there to work.

Consideration of the work week of New Irelanders summarizes the organization of work and anticipates following discussion of change in the social context of art. In pre-contact times the entire week was available to New Irelanders for their various pursuits, including subsistence activities, ceremonials, and warfare. In 1954 the work week was as follows:

Monday, government day, was given to road work, and to general clean-up of rest house and its grounds.

Tuesday was given to working in gardens, house-building, staging of feasts; in short, a day free of government or mission oriented activities. Also cash crop work was done on this day.

Wednesday was the government medical day, given to work of constructing and maintaining medical facilities.

Thursday was a free day, consisting of the same activities as on Tuesday.

Friday was mission day and was given in work for benefit of the mission organizations.

Saturday was another free day, consisting of the same kind of activity as Tuesday, and Thursday, and was a favorite day for staging feasts.

Sunday was the Christian sabbath and no work was done, although the Catholics said that if they were in need, they could gather or harvest something to eat.

Thus it can be seen that of the seven days formerly available each week for ceremonial activities, in 1954, four of the seven days were utilized for enterprises which did not contribute to ceremonials. To correct for the fact that there was not full measure of work given on some of the government days, it can be said that roughly one-half of formerly available time has been diverted from the aboriginal subsistence-ceremonial economy, leaving, of course, only one-half of the time previously available for continuing production of malanggan ceremonials, the major ceremonial context of art in New Ireland.

Chapter III

Malanggan Ceremonials

The main context in which art has been made and used in northern New Ireland is that of malanggan ceremonies. Malanggan is the generic name for the various ceremonies and for the several kinds of displayed art objects used. Malanggan ceremonies combine commemorative, final rites for the dead and initiation rites for boys. Typically, deceased persons from a given clan are honored at the same time that boys from that clan are initiated, thus malanggan may be viewed as a kind of replacement of dead members of a clan with new members reaching adult status.

The various stages of the overall ceremonies take about three months and reach a climax when the malanggan figures, images and objects are set up in display houses, there to be confronted by a great assemblage of people, including the relatives and other obligated persons, and also almost everyone else living nearby. At the time of the viewing the images are imbued with supernatural force, that of certain ancestors, and that of other supernatural beings. Thus the replacement of the dead with newly initiated youths is carried out in the presence of the honored dead and their supernatural power.

A guardian spirit dwells on the home ground of the clan of the deceased person and that of the boy to be initiated, and there the various rites are carried out including the circumcision and seclusion of the boys, the manufacture of the malanggan objects, and the final rites. Some preparations for the feasting, such as growing crops, raising pigs, rehearsing dances, arranging for help, take place in other places and villages, but for each ceremony or feast, many people converge upon the home ground, especially at the climax ceremonies. In 1954 people came from as far away as 30 miles, while Powdermaker (1933) reported participants coming from 25 to 30 miles away in 1930. Participation at such distances is perhaps due to culture contact, especially pacification, and the presence of the road. Participation distance cannot be determined from earlier literature.

In seven months I was able to observe three funeral feasts, three memorial or malanggan ceremonies (not related to these funerals), and preliminary planning for another malanggan. Two of the funerals could have developed into malanggan ceremonies. Thus there was considerable malanggan activity, on-going and potential.

One of the malanggan ceremonies, that which took place near the village of Libba, and staged by people living at Libba and Tandes, will be described here because, of the several expressions, it was the one best known and understood by me. It was also the largest and most complex. The various malanggan objects as well as most of the masks described in Chapter IV were part of the Libba malanggan ceremonies.

In order to describe the events of the Libba malanggan ceremonies it is necessary to consider two different schedules or programs of their course. One is the formal program for malanggan given to me by informants in 1954, which is the formal and ideal course for the ceremonies to take and which consists of the following:

1. Kombutai—the making of the fence for the enclosure. A large feast occurs.
2. Suskaukau—the candidates for initiation, called *koso*, are brought into the enclosure and circumcised. Feasting and all night dancing.
3. Alit malanggan—the trees are cut and the logs brought into the enclosure. A small feast.
4. Giragira—the first carving. A small feast.
5. Luptsi malanggan—the cleaning of the carvings, i.e., smoothing up the first rough carving. A small feast.
6. Anunun—putting in the eyes of the figures. A somewhat larger feast than for Luptsi malanggan.
7. Tsirau malanggan—putting the hair on the figures (if needed). A small feast.
8. Sili malanggan—wash the malanggan, the carving is dipped in the sea. A small feast.
9. Atala malanggan—painting the malanggan. A small feast.
10. Tsoa pu-anua—building the display houses. A large feast.
11. Atup malanggan—the images are set up in the display houses. See number 13 below.
12. Lugi malanggan—paying to see the images.

13. Susumbura—the feast and dance at which the boys are brought out of the enclosure and returned to society. Stages 11 and 12 occur on the same day.

14. Tsinul—the finish, including the dance performances and pig and food distributions.

I have constructed another kind of program representing the actual course of events, only part of which is covered in the formal program. An outline of this course of events follows:

- I. Prerequisite events:
 - A. Death of a person.
 - B. Presence of a candidate for initiation.
 - C. Accumulation of more than one occurrence of A and B.
- II. Marshalling of resources:
 - A. Planting of crops.
 - B. Reserving of resources.
 1. Earmarking of foodstuffs (pigs, bananas, betel nut, coconuts, etc.).
 2. Earmarking of money (shell and currency).
 3. Getting promises of support from kinsmen and/or obligated persons.
 - C. Rain-control magic to insure successful harvest of crops grown specifically for feasts.
- III. The initiation of boys.
 - A. Preparations.
 1. Erecting the fence.
 2. Feasting.
 - B. The circumcision rites.
 1. Feasting.
 2. Dancing.
 3. Construction of boys' hut.
 4. Circumcision.
 5. Recuperation and instruction.
 6. Presentations of boys to society (at final rites).
- IV. Carving and construction of malanggan objects.
 - A. Planning.

1. Selection of appropriate designs.
2. Commissioning of the malanggans.
- B. Formal stages of carving, construction, and setting up in the display houses.
- V. The final rites.
 - A. Return and presentation of initiates.
 1. Performance of Nit Kulegula masker.
 2. Presentations of the boys.
 3. Speeches.
 4. Feasting.
 - B. Display of the malanggan objects.
 1. Opening of the enclosure.
 2. Public viewing of the malanggans.
 3. Payments at each house.
 - C. Payments, food exchanges, and feasting.
 - D. Dances.
 - E. Pig distributions.
 - F. Conclusion.
 1. Disposition of the malanggans.
 2. Return of guests to their villages.

I actually observed only certain portions of the total course of the ceremonies. These were:

1. The *tsur* rite—rain-control magic to insure successful harvest of crops for the feasts.
2. The circumcision and seclusion of the boys.
3. Part of the process of manufacture of the malanggan objects, including their installation in the display houses.
4. The final rites which concluded the ceremonies.
5. Disposition of the malanggans, mostly by means of my collection.

Notsi-speaking New Irelanders use the term *minas* to refer to a time of plenty and *itul* to refer to a hungry time, or a time of want. They believe that the fertility and yield of crops can be controlled by magical means, in the form of the *tsur* rite, which is sponsored by the patron or patrons of malanggan to begin a period of plenty. Feasting, formal and informal, is expected and necessary in all the stages

FIG. 5. Map of Nou, 1954 (P. H. Lewis).

of malanggan, and production of foodstuffs is therefore very important, especially since there is very little storage of food. Thus, instead of storing quantities of food for use over the several month period, many gardens are prepared so that the needed foods can be harvested for each occasion. It is to insure a steady and constant growth of crops that tsur is undertaken. Crop control is sought by means of rain control. Since the rainfall is extremely heavy (about 200 inches per year in some parts of the island) it is rain control, rather than rain making, which is attempted. Although sweet potato is the main daily food staple, and is also consumed in large quantities at the feasts, it seems not to be much affected by variations in weather in the same way that taro is. Taro is the ceremonially important vegetable, and without taro the feasts, and especially distributions, would not be correct. Taro seems to require just the right amount of rainfall, occurring at certain times in its cultivation. Thus, the tsur rite is undertaken primarily to control rainfall for the benefit of the taro crop. Rain control, secondarily, was sought to assure good weather for the comfort of participants at the feasts and ceremonies.

The tsur rite was undertaken at the site of the forthcoming malanggan ceremonies, at Nou (see fig. 5), located about a mile north of

FIG. 6. Inlet at Nou, October 17, 1953. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 211.

Libba, along the road, and then down a steep path to the level of the beach. Nou was a beautiful place, secluded from the village and the road, with its own little sand beach and inlet, and many large trees which provided shade (see fig. 6). The rite occurred on October 17, 1953, or almost five months before the final ceremonies on March 10, 1954. On October 17 there were three cookhouses being built in Nou, for use in the preparation of food for the coming feasts.

The ceremony consisted of the ritual construction and planting of a small grove or rock garden. A number of rocks were arranged in a ring forming an oval of about five by three feet around a "Y"-shaped tree trunk called *tongol*. In earlier days the *tongol* formed an entry-way in a fence surrounding the yard of the men's house (Krämer-Bannow, E., 1916, p. 5). Informants said that captured warriors were sometimes placed on the *tongol* and portions of them eaten. The *tsur* grove was located just at the end of the path descending from the road, so that everyone coming down the path would see it. In the ground, inside the ring of stones and around the *tongol* were buried certain stones and a stone adze blade, and certain plants were

FIG. 7. Libba men performing *tsur* rite, Nou, October 17, 1953.
Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 202.

planted there. In the months following the construction and planting, the plants continued to grow and thus formed a small garden.

Seven men performed the ceremony. All were related to one or another of the boys to be initiated, but their participation seemed to be more a matter of their age and knowledge of the rite. One of the men was the 'luluai' (government-appointed head man) of Libba, another, Samari, was one of the two carvers. Their faces were blackened and each wore a girdle of grasses around the waist, and various aromatic plants in his hair (see fig. 7). Ten different plants were used, with the following Notsi names: *kuskus*, *pindi*, *bungla* (ginger), *gutkut* (Zingiberaceae gorongoro), *bang*, *koba*, *rurua*, *yang*, *kumus*, *babungit*. Four stones, called *dodo*, ranging in size from one inch to several inches in diameter, and the stone adze blade were placed on a big green koba leaf, together with kumus and pindi leaves. A small coconut was cut open, and its juice spilled into a half coconut shell. The kumus and pindi leaves were dipped in the juice and were used to wash the stones. The men cried out, imitated the sound of thunder, and sang. Dry red pigment called *tel* was placed on a piece of coconut shell and moistened with coconut juice. Then four of the men each took up one stone and taking the moistened paint on their thumb, each painted two three-quarter-inch bands around each stone. Samari the carver did the same with the stone adze blade. It is possible that Samari's presence in the rite and this treatment of the adze blade were related to the carving of malanggans. Then, red bands were painted around the tongol. Singing accompanied these acts. Then, the seven men called out to the ancestors, and the leader began to sing again. The coconut water was removed. Four holes were dug around the base of the tongol, one for each stone. There was some discussion as to where to place the smallest one. More holes were dug for the plants. The seven men, singing and squatting around the holes, took the stones and plants, and jiggled them over the holes. The leader made a hissing noise to stop the singing. Everyone called out loudly, then, while speaking to the objects, the bungla, pindi, and stones were placed in the holes. Then, without further song or speech, the rest of the plants were planted. Five of the men withdrew, leaving Lamua and Kalungis squatting and facing each other over the fork of the tongol. They spoke to the planted and buried objects so they would work powerfully in the ground. They imitated the sound of thunder again and called upon the ancestors to come down to earth on a big cloud with lightning. Lamua called upon specific ancestors by name and was prompted by the others with names he forgot. The

siasia (aromatic leaves worn in the hair) were placed on the tongol. To this point the ceremony lasted about one hour. Later more stones were placed in a circle around the planted objects. At about 5:30 P.M. a feast was given and speeches were made, many of which stressed the need for hard work in the gardens.

The tsur garden had been set up, was considered to be exerting its influence, and a previously existing garden which was standing nearby was considered to be finished. The good times of minas were thus formally sought for the oncoming ceremonies. One informant (one of the patrons) said that at the end of the ceremonials those who had sponsored the tsur and its attendant good times would sponsor another rite which would bring on the time of want, *itul*. It was explained that if the patrons had paid for the good time with money, pigs, and other resources, it would not be right for others to benefit from such expenditures. However, the next people to make malanggan, in their efforts to bring on minas, would return some of the expended wealth to these persons. I did not see or hear of any such rite at the close of the malanggan ceremonials.

On November 26, 1953, the fence, called *binati* ('banis' in Pidgin English) was built to form the enclosure inside which the initiation and malanggan carving would occur. This was the formal stage called kombutai. A feast marked the occasion and served as partial payment for the work. The fence consisted of a four-foot-high lower section made of horizontal rows of bamboo lashed between upright saplings, in the manner of construction of the ordinary garden fences, and an upper section made of coconut leaves lashed vertically atop the horizontal bamboo lower fence, resulting in a fence about ten feet high. It was built in an "L" shape so that the area to be enclosed was open to the sea on one side and to the bush on the other (see fig. 5). It did not quite touch the sea and thus permitted passage around that end of the fence. A doorway, called *mutun mut*, faced southward toward Libba. Access to the sea and the bush made it possible for the boys, although secluded, to bathe in the sea and to forage in the bush for snacks. Kombutai resulted in the construction of the fence which created the enclosure and was marked and paid for with a feast.

Suskaukau, the circumcision of the boys, took place on January 6 and, in contrast with the rather workaday events of Kombutai, was very dramatic. On January 3 gifts of food had been ceremonially given to each of the four candidates for circumcision. Sugar cane and bunches of taro were hung on poles which were stood up in the sand.

These gifts were all given by women whose faces were painted and who wore aromatic leaves in their hair. On the 6th the gateway to the enclosure was closed by means of a coconut leaf gate. After being circumcised the boys were to remain in the enclosure and, until they were returned to society in March, they were not to see, or be seen by, the women. The flimsy gate, and the gap between the end of the fence and the sea show that voluntary compliance of the women was an important part of maintaining the seclusion of the boys. The boys' house, inside the enclosure, contained four beds, one for each boy. One was wider than the others; it was for the smallest and youngest boy, Pogo, whose father was going to sleep with him at first. Running the length of each bed was a pole raised a few inches from the surface of the bed, which was to permit the circumcised boy to throw his leg over the pole to minimize contact of the penis with the thighs, and also to serve as a support for a blanket, keeping it away from the healing penis.

By sundown of Tuesday, January 5, the gate to the enclosure was shut, the boys' house was readied, and a coconut leaf fence had been built partly around the house. Many people had arrived, and were sitting around outside the enclosure, chatting, smoking, cooking, and eating. The fathers of the candidates circulated around in the crowd collecting sticks of tobacco and money to pay the dancers who were to perform afterward. At 8:15 P.M. Libba women and then Tandes women performed the Girimisi dance, which lasted about two hours. Afterward the men from Amba and from Lesu began the Pondewasi dance. Both Girimisi and Pondewasi were performed around a great bonfire. Pondewasi continued through the rest of the evening and night. Men and women from other villages joined in during the long hours of dancing.

Just as dawn began to lighten the sky, at about 5:00 Wednesday morning, the dancing ceased and all the men formed a line and began a solemn procession around the dancing ground. They sang a dirge-like song. The candidates were at the head of the procession and were led by their fathers and other men. The women began to cry. They held out their arms to the men and boys, who began to enter the enclosure, the gate of which was temporarily opened. The boys were in the front of the procession and were halted near the house. All the rest of the men came inside, and the entrance to the enclosure was closed again. Muat, the circumciser, had been brought from Luburua to perform the operations. He was to get £A 8 for his services, or £A 2 per boy (about \$4.50 in 1954). The method of

circumcision, according to Muat, was to pull the foreskin forward, clip it between two straight pieces of split bamboo, and using the edges of the clips as a guide, cut along them with a razor blade so that not only was a portion of the foreskin severed but also the end of the penis was cut. Muat stated that to merely cut the foreskin without nicking the glans penis was improper, and would make the boys sick. Muat awaited the boys near the boys' house. Each candidate was attended by two men who removed their 'lap laps.' No hazing or rough treatment occurred, and the men seemed considerate and helpful. The naked boys and their attendants waited in a row against the inside wall of the enclosure and against the wall of the house.

Muat and some assistants then proceeded from boy to boy performing the operations rapidly. Each boy had a piece of wood in his mouth on which to bite to help him not cry out. The rest of the men stood ready near the bamboo walls of the fence holding sticks. As each boy was cut these men shouted and beat upon the walls with their sticks which drowned out possible cries of the boys and also signalled to the women outside that a boy had been circumcised. The foreskin of each boy was given to his father, who later buried it with part of a taro plant.

After the operation, each boy was led to a log, in front of which a small smoldering fire was burning, and was seated in such a way that his penis was about a foot above the fire. Men crowded around and reassured the boys. After a few moments the boys were led into their house where there were similar fires beneath the poles of the beds. The boys were put to bed. By this time everyone seemed cheerful.

All of this, from the beginning of the procession to the retirement of the boys had taken about an hour, ending just about at full sunrise. At this time the women outside the enclosure attacked the fence. Their shouts could be heard inside the enclosure and a few women even appeared at the open sea end of the fence brandishing sticks and throwing pieces of fruit, sticks, and stones. The men kept back from the gate and from the open end of the fence. I was advised against going outside for a while. It was said that sometimes men were seized, if outside the enclosure at such a time, stripped of their clothing and personal articles, and beaten. Finally, after about half an hour, the women retired from their attack and the men began to leave the enclosure. The four circumcised boys remained in the hut, together with their fathers and a few other

relatives and friends. From this day, until the carvings were completed in March, the boys were not to be seen by women and were not to look at women. After their cuts were healed, they were to be allowed to bathe in the sea and to range the nearby bush. Their meals were supplied by their mothers, sisters, and other female relatives, who took up residence in the houses outside the enclosure, a few yards away, and would remain there until the end of the ceremonies. One of the first tasks set the boys was to make pan pipes, called *kika*, with which they would signal for food. Upon hearing the signal, women were to bring food to the gate and leave it there to be taken inside by some man to the boys.

Later in the morning, seven display "trees" were set up outside the enclosure, one or more for each boy. The "trees" were saplings trimmed of larger branches and leaves so that a few projecting limbs remained. They were imbedded in the ground and bunches of taro, sugar cane, and strings of shell money were hung on the branches. Cleaned and singed carcasses of several pigs were placed below them. Many small groups of people, seated on mats, engaged in exchanging shell money and currency. Money was collected for Muat, the circumciser, and for payment for pigs. After these payments, toward the end of the morning of the 6th a Pi masker appeared. He strutted into the dance-ground area carrying his dummy spears, basket, and shell rattle. He danced and shook the rattle and, turning, ran off into the bush. Shortly he reappeared with the basket full of unripe grapefruits, which were then thrown at the men and boys, while the women stood around and watched with amusement. The Pi figure retreated and reappeared several more times, and made his final appearance at the feast at noon time, when he was given a basket of food. After the noon feast, food was distributed to many persons. At this time the honorific portion called "head of the pig" was given to a Lesu man for his role in organizing and presenting the Pondewasi dance. After the feast, the display trees were stripped of their food and money by women belonging to the same clan as the boy for whom the tree was erected. The feasters then departed for their respective homes, carrying the food given them.

It was on January 8 that I learned that there were going to be carved malanggans. On that day the boys were seen in the enclosure, cheerfully engaged in making pan pipes. They were still not wearing 'lap laps,' and the penis of each boy was suspended in a triangular

sling made of three pieces of cane, strung together on string, one end of which was tied to a string around the waist.

On January 25 I found that the logs had been brought in from the bush, probably on the preceding Friday, January 21. A hut had been constructed in the enclosure for use as a workshop, and in it were several short logs. Two men, Samari, a known 'carpenter,' or carver, and Eruel, the father of Lingi, one of the initiates, were alone in the enclosure, seated before the carver's hut, and were carving malanggan figures. The boys were not present and it was said that they were fishing. Later they returned with fish, accompanied by other boys from Libba. At this time some other men appeared. The fish were given to the women outside the enclosure for cooking. The boys went out to the bush for areca nut and betel pepper and for drinking coconuts. All the visitors, men and boys, were given a meal, during which the two carvers were also fed. This kind of feast was informal and presumably occurred daily, at least to feed the boys and the carvers. On days when fish were not caught, tinned meat or fish purchased from a trade store was served, also rice, tea, and sugar, all paid for by the fathers. Thus there was a considerable and constant financial drain upon the fathers for these informal meals as well as for the formal feasts. Meanwhile, at this time in Lesu, and presumably in other villages, dance rehearsals were proceeding. In Lesu the Sogumbua dance was being rehearsed so that it could be performed well in March. By this time, the boys were quite accustomed to living in the enclosure and seemed to be enjoying it. The carvers did not sleep in the enclosure, but left every evening to return to their homes.

By February 1 two stages had been observed, *kombutai* and *suskaukau*, that is, the building of the fence and the circumcision. I did not observe the stages of cutting the logs, *alit* malanggan, first cutting, *giragira*, and smoothing the rough carving, *luptsi malanggan*. They presumably had been carried out, but I do not know whether ceremonies or feasts accompanied these steps. A number of carvings had been started which were ready for the stage of putting in the eyes, *anunun*. At this time (February 1) Eruel was working on the Malanggatsak malanggan head, the Pu'ling malanggan, one Tagapa malanggan head, the Nit Kulegula mask, and several bird-head mouth ornaments. Samari was working on the Gas malanggan head, three Tagapa malanggan heads, a face for one of the Wowora malanggans, and several bird-head mouth ornaments. Except for the mouth ornaments, only two objects were to be made in their

entirety by one carver. These were the Pu'ling malanggan and the Nit Kulegula mask. All the remaining objects were to be the heads of the figures, the bodies for which would be made by others.

On February 2, the feast for putting in the eyes, anunun, occurred and the proceedings were observed. The Pu'ling malanggan, the Malanggatsak head, and one Tagapa head, all the malanggans being made by Eruel, had been set up in a small, crudely constructed version of the display house. The carvings had been carved and smoothed, but were as yet unpainted. The eyes had been pencilled in instead of being represented by the operculae of sea snails. (At a later date Eruel bought 14 operculae for three shillings from some men at Amba.) Eruel, speaking as patron rather than carver, announced the transfer of the design of Pu'ling from him to Nodai, the father of Kalamogo, one of the initiates (see fig. 15). Nodai had commissioned Eruel to carve the Pu'ling malanggan, in honor of his (Nodai's) son Kalamogo and Malis, his dead wife and mother of Kalamogo. Eruel said that the malanggan had belonged to Lekiu, his mother, who had given it to him just before the war. He said that he had carved it but once before. Kalamogo had asked for it, and he, Eruel, was transferring it to him. Members of Kalamogo's clan came forward and paid to Eruel 50 shillings in currency, one string of shell money worth about ten shillings, and two sticks of trade tobacco worth about two shillings. Eruel spoke again, this time about the Malanggatsak malanggan which was being made for his son, Lingi. Malanggatsak had belonged to Eruel when he was a boy, and his mother had given it to him also. Members of Lingi's clan came forward and made payments to Eruel for Malanggatsak. Both men and women came into the enclosure, the circumcised boys hiding from the women. Ten shillings, one string of shell money, and two sticks of tobacco were paid. Nodai then spoke and made payments for the pigs being eaten at the feast. The carvers were each presented with the head of a pig, and, in addition, Samari got ten shillings and one string of shell money. Lamua commented on the satisfactory progress of the carvings, and that the main coming event was to be the big final festival. Nodai then spoke again to complain about a relative, who was supposed to be helping with money, but whose assistance had not yet materialized. Nodai then exhorted the assembled feasters to quickly finish the ceremonies. Eruel gave the final speech in which he accounted for the various payments. It was said that in former days, if a carver felt that his payments were too small, he would not mention his displeasure at

the time of payment, but would go home and later allow rumors of his displeasure to reach the patron. The feast ended, and baskets of food were carried back to the several villages involved.

On February 5 Samari was seen carving the Gas head, not in the enclosure in Nou but in Libba, in a hamlet named Pinasagil, on the grounds of the 'Luluai' Lagiri. It was being carved for Pogo. Unfortunately, it is not clear in what relationship Pogo stands to Lagiri (see fig. 17). Possibly Lagiri is *tata* (mother's brother) to Pogo. Another possibility is that Lagiri was the owner of the Gas malanggan. At a place called Kabil, between Libba and Nou, some men were making Wowora malanggans. A rite was observed there on February 15, in which a feast was given for the men working on the Woworas, and magical spells recited to protect the workers from injury. Payments of one shilling, one string of shell money, and one stick of tobacco, each, were given to the owner of Wowora rights, Pakua, by Papun, Kalamogo, and Lingi.

By February 17 three display houses had been built at Nou; one which was to house Malanggatsak, Pu'ling, and Labui, and the Nit mask, one for the Tagapa figures, and one for the two Wowora disks. A feast had been given for the building of the houses, at which three pigs were consumed. This feast could be considered as *tsoa pu-anua*, the construction of display houses. At this time the end was in sight and a timetable for the concluding events was given in a speech by Nodai:

Saturday, February 20, make malanggan bodies.

Monday, February 22, wash malanggans.

Tuesday, February 23, paint malanggans.

Wednesday, February 24, paint malanggans.

Thursday, February 25, paint malanggans, cut bananas.

Friday, February 26, cut bananas.¹

Saturday, February 27, cut bananas.

Monday, March 1, cut bananas, gather bark.

Tuesday, March 2, cut bananas, gather bark.

Friday, March 5, bury bananas.

Saturday, March 6, bury bananas.

¹ Cutting bananas, gathering bark, and burying bananas refers to a procedure for ripening large quantities of bananas quickly for a big feast. Ordinarily, bananas ripen banana-by-banana, or at best, hand-by-hand, but this method ripens whole bunches at one time. Bananas are harvested by bunches, are separated into hands, are then wrapped in bark and buried in sand pits. About four days later they are dug up and are then sweet and soft, and, thus rendered edible. When a date for cutting bananas, and more particularly, for burying bananas is set, it means that the date for the feasting is set. In fact, four days after burying the last bananas was March 10, when there was feasting.

Nodai's speech served both to hurry the work along and to organize and co-ordinate the preparations for the last stages. As subsequent days went by, more persons were drawn into the activities. For instance, on February 23 a group of Tandes men were constructing bodies for the five Tagapa heads. The date for the final ceremonies was coming into focus as March 10, but the timetable presented by Nodai was not strictly observed, especially the washing of malanggans. However, on February 24, some painting was proceeding. By March 5, most of the heads had been finished and work on the Tagapa bodies was proceeding. Feather head-dresses were being placed on the heads of three of the five Tagapa figures. On March 8, the Tagapa bodies were still being painted with white paint. The Labui malanggan was brought to Nou from Luburua, having been carved in that village. The bodies for Malang-gatsak and for Gas were being made and the Wowora disks were being painted at Kabil.

On March 10 all malanggan objects were set up in their display houses. In display house number 1 (see fig. 5) was placed Malang-gatsak, Pu'ling on the back wall, and Labui set into the sand floor. Display house number 2 contained the two Wowora disks, display house number 3 the five Tagapa figures, and in display house number 4 (constructed later than the first three houses) was the solitary Gas figure.

The five Tagapa figures were set up in their display house side by side on a trestle, about three feet from the ground. Bunches of areca nut and strings of shell money were hung above the figures. Behind a screen of coconut leaves set up in front of the house sat the Tandes men who had made the bodies. They were being led in a chant by an old man named Tumasong, who was said to have made the oldest of the five heads. At the conclusion of the chant the screen was thrown down and dragged away and the images sat in the display house, ready to be seen by the viewers. The chant, it was explained, brought supernatural presence into the figures and after that was accomplished they were considered to be dangerous from that moment and throughout the time they were to stand in the display houses and until such time as they were destroyed.

On March 10 the displays were finished in the houses so that each of the four houses could show its supernaturally charged inhabitants, the malanggan images. On the same day, also, the boys were returned to society. In the morning they were quite ready,

they had been bleaching their hair and it was shining, golden yellow. They wore new 'lap laps.'

The men finished setting up the figures. Finally, the carver's hut, the boys' house, and the hut in which the Tagapa bodies had been made were torn down and the debris thrown into the sea. Only the four display houses were left standing. A man was dressed in Pi costume, armed with his dummy spears and basket of grapefruit, and was sent off outside, cavorting around the end of the enclosure fence to the encouraging cries from the men inside. Shouts of laughter were immediately heard from outside the enclosure as Pi began pelting the crowd outside with the grapefruit. After a short time, the Pi masker returned to the enclosure, panting and laughing. His mask and costume were removed from him and another man dressed up to go out.

Meanwhile, Eruel was being dressed to wear the Nit Kulegula mask. His costume was rather like the Pi costume, a red tee shirt, a coconut leaf girdle, and bristling midribs of palm leaf. Tumasong, the old man who had led the Tagapa chant, took the mask to the water's edge, recited a spell over it, and brought it back to place the mask upon Eruel's head. A large oval ring of white feathers circled the carved and painted wooden mask and the face, modeled of dark brown beeswax, gleamed as light was reflected from the shiny surfaces. Eruel's appearance was that of a tall figure, looking upward at an angle of about 30 degrees from the horizontal. He was handed a ceremonial paddle and a shell rattle and, followed by the four initiated boys, walked around the end of the enclosure, to be met immediately outside the fence by a group of women, the sisters, mothers, and grandmothers of the boys. Eruel, as the Nit masker, then led the boys and women along the outside wall of the enclosure to the dancing area.

Waiting for the group was Nodai, holding a bunch of betel nuts and string of shell money, which were given to Eruel. Nodai made a speech, starting with a series of sobs, which is one form of stylized oratorical opening. He explained in his speech that his son, Kalamogo, had just emerged from the enclosure and that he had been circumcised and initiated. Daniel Muk then also spoke in behalf of Kalamogo (see fig. 8). People affiliated with Lingi then came forward and made payments of shell money and currency to Eruel. Members of Eruel's clan came forward and made payments to Daniel Muk. The boys were then allowed to walk to the cookhouses, accompanied by their female relatives. Without any further fanfare

FIG. 8. Erue, wearing the Nit Kulegula mask, standing with the initiated boys and their female relatives, as Daniel Muk makes a speech. Nou, March 10, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100599 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

or fuss the boys joined the waiting crowd and from then on acted as did the other spectators. The two other boys, Pogo and August, were not spoken about at this time, they merely joined their families without the speech-making accorded Kalamogo and Lingi.

Erue, still costumed in the Nit mask and carrying the paddle and rattle, then performed a solemn solo dance, which consisted of stiff posturings and shaking presentations of the paddle and rattle. The crowd watched silently with great concentration. There was no musical accompaniment. The thud of Erue's feet striking the earth was clearly and easily heard. Finally, he finished the dance and walked back into the enclosure where the mask was removed and placed upon a rack on the second story of the Malanggatsak display house (see fig. 14). In the coming months, after the removal of the malanggans, it was to be the sole occupant of the display house. As soon as the mask was installed in the display house, the gate to the enclosure was removed.

The entire crowd, men, women, and children, filed in through the gateway. The malanggans were at the peak of their effectiveness,

the paint was fresh, the green backgrounds of the display houses was not yet wilted, insects had not yet burrowed into the wood. In former times, informants said, this viewing time was a tense and dramatic episode. The people would come forward to the display houses exclaiming in wonder and sometimes with tears in their eyes. In 1954, however, there were no tears, but serious attention was being paid to the malanggans. The people crowded before the several display houses. At the house containing Malanggatsak, Pu'ling, the Labui malanggan, and the Nit mask, Eruel spoke, standing in front of the display house and pointing back at the various objects inside when they were mentioned in the speech. He explained that the Nit was in honor of his two deceased affinal relatives, that the right to make and use the mask was being transferred to his son Lingi, for his use, and not for the use of Lingi's whole clan. He gave the rattle to Lingi. Lingi then came forward and put down some shell money on the floor of the display house, and was followed, one at a time, by his sister, his mother, and other members of his clan. Eruel then picked up the payments. Daniel Muk and Nodai then spoke about the Pu'ling malanggan. Others came forward to make payments. The 'luluai' of Luburua spoke, saying that a former malanggan ceremonial given by Daniel Muk had now been reciprocated. Other Luburua men spoke about the Labui malanggan. Payments were made for that malanggan. After the first payments by close relatives, friends, and specifically obligated persons, the rest of the audience came forward one at a time, viewed the malanggans and made payments. All the payments, whether the first payments or the later ones, were about the same amount, consisting of a stick of tobacco, a shilling, or a small string of shell money. By mid-afternoon of March 10, viewing and payments had taken place at all four houses and food was brought into the enclosure for a feast. A Pi figure, costumed in the bush, appeared among the feasters and was bribed to desist from his terrorism with a basket of food. At the feast there was distribution of pork. Before and after the feast there was exchange of foodstuffs, occurring between the women of Lesu and those of Libba. Similar exchanges took place between Libba women and women from other villages. Each Lesu woman had brought her carrying basket full of raw taro. At Nou, the Lesu women put near each basket a leaf on which was placed washed and peeled, uncooked taro. The Lesu women wrapped up the bundle and these bundles were placed in the *iga* ('mumu,' cooking pile). After that the baskets of raw taro were dumped out

on the ground and all the women of both groups began peeling and preparing them for the next day's feasting. When the iga was opened, each Lesu woman who had brought a basket of raw taro received a basket full of cooked taro and some bananas. They subsequently carried this food back to Lesu where it was eaten in meals served in their own households.

The next day, March 11, was largely devoted to dance presentations. In the morning there was a distribution of pigs to some of the dance groups. The solemnity of the previous day was supplanted by a more light-hearted atmosphere. Dances were performed by women from Tandes and men from Libba. Some highland New Guinea plantation laborers presented some of their dances. During the day about ten different dance presentations were given. One presentation can be described because it was mentioned as an indigenous New Ireland dance, in contrast to many of the other dances. This dance was called Sogumbua and was performed by men dancing to the accompaniment of a female choir plus a slit drum being played by two men. Each man wore a *pilot* (feathered headdress) like those placed on the Tagapa malanggan figures. Around each dancer's neck were painted "V" shaped designs, some in white powdered lime, others in yellow pigment, both similar to the "V" shaped braided decorations on the neck of Malanggatsak. A kilt of shredded coconut leaf fronds was worn around the waist, but over a 'lap lap.' Faces were marked with white lime, and most of the men carried in their mouths carved and painted wooden bird's head dance ornaments. The dance began dramatically. A rectangular enclosure made of green coconut leaves and measuring about 15 by 45 feet, was suddenly opened up to reveal the dancers, each kneeling on one knee, with arms folded behind their backs and each man looking upward with the bird's head ornament pointing upward also. The drummers began to play and the women to sing. One of the dancers signalled changes in the dance steps with a steel whistle which he kept in his mouth like the others held their ornaments. His first blast was a signal for the dancers to arise and go out onto the dancing ground. The importance of the feather headdress was such that men would not dance if they had no headdress. One man gave his headdress to his step-son so the child could dance in the performance, thinking that he would be able to borrow another one. However, the man had rehearsed to dance in a front line, a rather visible position, and other men objected to his being there when he was unable to get another headdress. They suggested he dance in

a rear rank, and he became angry and resigned from the performance. During the dances there were expressions of joking relationships between cross-cousins (*kuku*). An individual would run out from the audience and single out a dancer who was *kuku* to him, and do one of the following things; pop an areca nut into the mouth of the dancer, slap the dancer's back with white powdered lime, or snatch away some bit of the dancer's costume. The dancer went on with the performance, but afterwards he had to seek out his *kuku* and give that person a shilling, a string of shell money or a stick of tobacco. The crowd considered these actions funny and laughed at them.

Late in the afternoon it rained and the dancing had to cease. There was grumbling about the rain magicians who had been hired to hold back the rain at such times. It was not that they were thought to be unable to hold back the rain, but rather that they were angry about something and were willfully allowing it to rain. Another possibility mentioned was that someone was angry with the Libba people and had hired other rain magicians to make rain.

The next day, March 12, was the last day of the malanggan ceremonials. Whatever had caused the rain on the previous day apparently was still at work, for it rained heavily. Twenty-three pigs were killed and dressed. They lay in a long row, each pig on its belly, all the heads facing the same way, towards the crowd. While the crowd awaited the cutting-up and distribution of the pigs, a comedy dance skit was presented by two Libba boys in costumes made of copra sacks. One was supposed to be a hunter, the other a wallaby. The hunter had a long stiff tail which he periodically raised as though it were a rifle and aimed it at the crowd.

Towards the end of the morning pig payments were made. The four patrons, plus other people, all stood over the lined-up pigs and made payments of shell money and currency for the various pigs. In order to purchase a pig from someone for a feast or a distribution, in addition to exchange of pigs for money, an obligation was incurred, in that the purchaser promised to furnish a pig at some future occasion (for payment of money also). After the flurry of payments was finished, Tumasong came forward to the pigs and made incantations over each pig to make each one go as far as possible in the distributions and to insure the satisfaction of the recipients with their portions.

A comedy performance satirizing the cutting up and distribution of the pigs followed, which provided additional comedy relief for somewhat dull happenings of the day. Butchering of pigs was usually done with sharp knives and occasional use of a bush knife (machete) or even an axe to cut through cartilage or bones. The cutting usually went smoothly and rapidly, great slices right through the carcass, bones and all. The bigger and more important pieces were usually cut first and the carver handed each piece up to another man who called out the name of the recipient and carried the piece over to him. Kunang approached one of the pigs with a tiny little knife and began, with great difficulty, to saw away at the pig. After great effort in sawing and hacking, a tiny and insignificant morsel was detached, which he immediately held aloft and called out in the customary way, "*o mogadil, o mogadil*" (It's cold, It's cold,) just as if he were calling the name of a recipient of the portion. That piece was rushed over to a person in the crowd and was given to him. Then Kunang seized an axe and fell upon the carcass with a frenzy of wild hacking and chopping, and each time a mangled chunk was detached, he stopped, held it aloft and called out various other nonsense names, such as the word for dog, the names of certain trees, and the names of villages. Each piece was carried into the crowd and given to a laughing individual.

The real distribution proceeded thereafter. Lasogo, one of the patrons, stood upon the back of the largest pig and made a speech, saying that it was the sight of this pig, wandering through Libba months ago, which provided the sign that malanggan should be undertaken, that the hugeness of the pig suggested that Lasogo and his kinsmen could face the financial and economic burdens of being malanggan patrons. As soon as Lasogo finished his speech 22 men walked up to the line of pigs and each stooped over a pig and began to carve (fig. 9). Distributions of the portions of pig were made to specific individuals in the crowd, each person's name being called out, and the portion brought to him and placed on leaves in front of him. The portions varied from the large and honorific "head of the pig," weighing from 30 to 50 pounds, to insignificant portions of the bony back, weighing perhaps four to five pounds. The larger portions went to those who had given much help in the form of money or foodstuffs, or presentation of dances, and the smaller portions went to those who gave only token assistance. When the distributions ended, the portions were wrapped in leaves and placed in coconut leaf baskets quickly made for the purpose and everyone

FIG. 9. Pigs being butchered for distribution. They have been killed and singed, but the meat is not cooked. Nou, March 12, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100601 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

began to leave for home. As an example of what happened to some of the distributed meat, some that was given to a Lesu man, Ureng, was used as the main dish in a small feast staged in Lesu. That feast was given to pay for work done by some young men who cut fence posts for Ureng. Also, at this feast a quarrel between two women was settled by one giving the other a string of shell money. Two other men settled another quarrel at the feast. In this same way, the food distributed at the Libba malanggan furnished numerous occasions for small feasts in many different parts of the Notsi area.

On March 15, I returned to Libba to collect the malanggan objects. I had to ask Lasogo and Musting for permission to take Malanggatsak and the Tagapa figures, Nodai for the Pu'ling malanggan, Pakua for the Woworas, and Lagiri for the Gas. It should be noted that Pakua and Lagiri were the owners of rights to the Wowora and Gas malanggans prior to the ceremonials, and, in spite of having apparently transferred rights to others, were still to be asked for them. One of the five Tagapa figures had to remain in Libba, just

as one had been kept before in Tandes. Eruel would not part with the Nit Kulegula mask, saying that it had to remain on its rack in the display house there to remind everyone, and especially the women, of the recent ceremonials.

My wife and I were given ginger to eat and had spells recited for our benefit to ward off possible evil effects of handling the malanggan objects. Some figures were thought to be dangerous. Tagapa, it was said, had already brought a whirlwind which had broken a big branch of a tree in Nou, near the Tagapa display house. We were warned not to travel on the same vehicle as the malanggans; informants were relieved to hear that we would travel by air and the malanggans by sea. However, having eaten the ginger, having had the spells said, and having made token payments at the March 10 viewing, it was thought unlikely that harm would come to me or to my wife.

With respect to Wowora, first concern was with keeping details of the construction secret. The makers of Wowora especially did not want other New Irelanders to see the construction of the back of the center section of the disks. They were satisfied in that the two disks were sewn into blankets and later packed, blankets and all, into crates. The 'kep kep' breast ornament which had been displayed on the front of the biggest Wowora had been carefully removed and it was made clear that like the feather headdresses on the Tagapa heads, it was too rare and valuable to be allowed to go. Wowora malanggans were thought to be dangerous, too, if handled carelessly, and were thought to be capable of causing deep, painful, and even fatal sores. No special precautions were needed in the collection of Malanggatsak, Pu'ling, and Labui. Ultimate disposition of the malanggans was obscured by their collection. The treatment of the Nit mask and the reserving of one of the five Tagapa heads suggests that there may have been many idiosyncratic ways to dispose of malanggans, depending upon specific details of each one.

Let us now consider the course of malanggan ceremonies as seen by Krämer, Peekel, and Powdermaker. All are comparable in that northern New Ireland malanggans are being described, indeed, with the exception of Peekel, the other two are based upon observations made in the Notsi linguistic area.

Krämer described the formal stages of production of malanggan as seen in 1907 as follows:

1. *tilmunei* "We cut wood." Men from the neighboring villages come together with their axes and adzes to fell a tree. They cut off the needed

lengths and carry them on litters to the beach, singing and cutting down everything that is in the way. Many people await the logs, they (the people) are decorated with powdered lime and with ornamental leaves. There is drumming while the logs are carried to the workyard and laid down there. If payment with shell money does not soon follow, the carriers try to destroy their load. Then follows a discussion of how many dead each has to honor, how important they were, and the ability of the patron to pay. In any case, so many dead, so many pigs.

2. *gerengera*, "The beating." For the next five days the logs remain untouched. The patrons, rather than the carvers, peel the bark from the logs. Afterwards they are set out in the sun for a short time, to prevent splitting. The pieces of wood are laid on a long bench which is built so that the carvers can approach from both sides. On the sixth day the carvers sharpen their tools. On the seventh day the carvers begin, without onlookers. A feast of pigs and taro occurs on that day.

3. *aruat*, The first "breakthrough" (piercing of the wood). This occurs after three days of working with onlookers, who bring money. Again a feast with pig.

4. *aseke*, the "laying up" of the pieces on the rafters of the men's house, there to dry in the smoke and heat from fires below for about two months. This is marked by a feast requiring, instead of domestic pigs, at most a pair of wild bush pigs, but usually only fish and taro.

5. *luptse*, the "fetching down" after two months. The last fine finishing with the adze, smoothing and trimming are begun at this time. The occasion is marked by great pig eating and much celebration.

6. *bobogo*, the "cutting" with knives, until completion of the figures. Then, upon completion, deliberations about next stage, which is:

7. *gurenogur*, the "erection of the fence." All surrounding villages are asked for help. All bring bamboo poles and rattan on an allotted day and each village undertakes the construction of a part of fence. If begun in the morning, the fence must be done by afternoon.

8. *anenen (matan)*, "the setting in of the eyes." This occurs on the next day. Into prepared eye-holes of the malanggans are placed white mussel shell and turbo snail valves. The carving is then finished. The artists are given two pigs on two taro leaves.¹

The painting and setting up follow:

9. *ule malanggan*, "painting of the malanggans." This word (*ule*) has already been mentioned in section on Uli figures. This first coat consists of white lime, which was mixed in a coconut shell with sea water. One pig was eaten.

10. *atetel*, painting with red earth *tell*, from Tabar, which (like the white lime) is mixed with sea water. The red earth, *marara*, from Konombin near Panagundu was cooked before use in a hot fire.

¹ Taro leaves are too small to hold a pig. It is possible Krämer meant *and* two packages of taro wrapped in leaves.

11. *bulte*, the "resining-in" of the black soot. This is obtained by burning *Calophyllum* nuts and mixing the resultant charcoal with breadfruit tree sap. One pig was eaten.

12. *ionge*, yellow coloring made from the *iong* bark of the root of the *borbara* tree, which grows in the mountains and is provided by the interior people. The root is first washed, then the bark shredded into a shell, the scrapings pressed out and the juice put with lime, to produce a beautiful cadmium yellow. (Similarly with *Morinda* root.) In Lemeris, for the suns¹ the bitter root-bark of the *ava* shrub is chewed, then the cud is pressed out and the juice mixed with lime, whereupon the yellow appears; the wine red color is produced there also by adding lime to the yellow *Hibiscus* root bark and black by swamp water. Finally, the brushes used for this painting must be mentioned. They are made from green stalk of the *Zingiberaceae* *gorongoro*, a kind of *Alpinia*, called *kotkot* in Hamba. They simply bite off the end of the stalk and the brush is finished.

At the conclusion there comes, in Hamba, also:

13. *dseraun*, the "squeezing in" of *iasinang* fruit, a burr-like fruit from a kind of small pandanus. They are pressed into a layer of wax or parinarium-nut putty so that they form an approximation of hair. Pubic hair is also represented this way occasionally. Short lengths of wooden sticks are also treated this way. For beards they like to use the black, thin-stalked swamp plant *rakerak*.

Then follow the:

14. *dsogo bo anua*, the "nearness of the house," i.e., the beginning of the construction of the malanggan display houses. Many people come to the site of the ceremonies from the surrounding environs. A feast, with ten pigs and two tremendous packages of taro, many yams, etc., marks this occasion.

15. *alittuen*, ramming in of the *tuen*, or sticks driven into the ground which form the back wall. Cross poles are leaned on them, the ends of which rest on two forked posts. This done mainly by the people of the place.

16. *galele tulangit*, filling in the walls with bunches of *sigorr* fern plants.

17. *atup malanggan*, "binding-celebration of the malanggans." The malanggans are tied or bound onto the walls of the display house. At this time a great pig with backwards curving tusks was eaten.

18. *Sesemboro*, "clapping-up." Lime-paste was "clapped onto" the cheeks and breasts with the hands before dancing. Yellow rings were painted around the eyes and the hair was colored red. First day: Dance rehearsals; the women peeling taro and cooking it the following night. Second day: Great *bungman* dance before the malanggan house, in pairs, with hornbill heads in their mouths, first at the patron's place, then at other places, all accompanied by drumming on bamboos and drums. North of Hamba women can also dance. The conclusion is marked by an orator, with his bone spear (*dsiltongan*) in his right hand, calling out the pigs, often as many as fifty in number, and paying their donor.

¹ Wowora, or disk—malanggans.

The malanggan houses remain standing for many years as signs of the festival. The images are thrown into the bush, if a white man does not drag them off (Krämer, 1925, pp. 79-80).¹

Peekel did not give a step by step account of the course of malanggan, but his general remarks are worth repeating here, especially since some are critical comments on Krämer. Peekel says:

The Malagan² ceremonial.

The description of a malagan celebration in its separate parts and all of its variations would fill a whole book of considerable size, particularly if one would take into due consideration also the spirit which animates all. Everything must be interpreted, for a malagan is not a merely external celebration, but a thoughtful act, whose ceremony, at least partly, contains a deep symbolic meaning. A description like that of Krämer is therefore only correct in small part. It is a skeleton without flesh and without spirit. We must therefore, aim at detailed description and then confine ourselves in a few large strokes to sketch out the most important aspects of such a celebration.

A. The Preparations.

The duration of the preparations varies with the size of the ceremony. The shortest time is taken by a Maradang ceremony, because the carved heads lie ready and the bodies are set up relatively quickly. The making of Fudumasi lasts somewhat longer. The preparation time of a ceremony with carved images can last, from the day when the tree was felled, until the unveiling, 6, 9, 12, and even 15 months. Obviously the New Mecklenburg artist does not count 8 or 10 hour workdays. He does not hurry and correctly, because the always moist wood would contract and crack with quicker work.

B. The Ceremony Itself.

An ancestor ceremony is always bound up with numerous dances and lavish feasting. Without them it is no good! If one would rank these two aspects, one must say that for many natives, the feasting is the main thing. Because of adverse circumstances the natives sometimes, apart from all the dances have to be satisfied with a purely ceremonial marching-up (*lang-manu*). The feasting is never lacking. According to the consumption of the bill of fare, especially the number of the slaughtered pigs, can one best judge the size of the ceremonial. They occur with 3, 5, 10, 20 and up to 60 slaughtered pigs. There is a great quantity of vegetables. For all feasts only the most first rate, and best, of taro, large and beautiful of form and good to taste, are served. It is *ivas ina malagan*.

Some two weeks before the unveiling of the images, bamboo stands are erected all around the household concerned on the beach. They are about 1.20 meters wide and 1.40 to 1.60 meters high, so that they cannot be reached by pigs. From these days on, one can observe then, how the women carry their loads from their nearby gardens or from other fields.

¹ Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

² Peekel's spelling.

When all is finished, then the first great ceremony occurs, a *kas lifu*, that is, the opening of the houses or the unveiling. The enclosures are torn down or the malagan is newly set up in another well located place. The ceremony occurs only with a dance and a feast, since the cleaning-up work leaves little free time. At forenoon and evening, often until late into the night, the pigs are strangled and put into the ovens together with the vegetables. If the ceremony is exceptionally large, then most of the strangled animals are singed over the fire and set up on a two meter high scaffold in rows for display. On the following day is the main ceremony: *A malagan i vilai*, that is, the performance. *Vil* means to make . . . *Malagan fi!* The ceremonial is a day of rejoicing, whose twofold program proclaimed: Dance and Eat! Soon in the early morning hours the drums announce the big day. The ceremony itself occurs usually in the noon hours, from 11 to 2 o'clock, but larger malagans occur earlier, while smaller and quite small ones occur in the fore-noon hours from 3 to 5. Before the start of the ceremony one sees festively ornamented dancers holding dress rehearsals in nearby places others standing in rows, waiting the signal to begin. Everywhere one sees painted faces, masks, spears, dance staffs, and rattles. A great multitude of festively clothed onlookers, men, women, and children overflows the yard. Then the drums rolled nearer; tung tung tung, and the dancers stepped onto the dancing area. Soon a group dips here, there another, soon two or three at the same time. It is a drumming and rattling, a singing and piping, which one cannot represent here. In short so goes a ceremony after the heart of the natives. I have never observed excesses at any malagagan. Onlookers as well as performers control themselves calmly, themselves earnest, and police regulation is not needed. It is also not considered. Thus it was at noon and forenoon.

It is time for the second part of the program to begin, which brings the whole ceremony to a close.

The Secret Doings of Malagan

Of really secret aspects of the making and unveiling of Malagan there can be no discussion. The secrecy is no greater than the setting up and unveiling of our memorials. To be sure the sculptors work hidden away, in houses screened by coconut leaf screens, to which access is forbidden, but this is not secrecy. It is done so that they work undisturbed and the great general surprise on the day of unveiling is not spoiled. The secret proceedings attendant on the making of Maradan and Fudumasi seem to be somewhat greater. But also there is justification. Their making is a patent of the producer. No one, especially the women, should know of what materials and in what ways the image is made. If they come to be known widely, they are the fame of their maker. The same is true for the masks, which represent spirits and the musical instruments, such as the *Launut*, or death-fiddle, and the *mansungu-na-bore*, an ornamented bamboo pipe, on which the Namatanai imitate the grunting of pigs. How can they think this is difficult to understand for they see each one day by day lying in their yards, they are permitted to touch and examine them. No one believes in a spirit more than those who have seen these objects lying around.

After the completion of the malagan ceremonial, the ancestor figures remain standing in the display houses until they are ruined by natural

causes. That does not take long, because the wood is very soft and becomes eaten by worms. They do not throw the images into the bush, as Krämer says. So much unnecessary work a New Mecklenburger does not do. He leaves all to its fate and the bush comes quickly and surrounds the display houses standing at the cremation places or on the edge of the household yards. The little houses fall, the malangans with them, and everything remains lying there, save that natives sometimes give it a slight glance. Thus is the custom (Peekel, 1927, pp. 29-32).¹

Powdermaker gives a summary chronological sequence of malanggan events as follows:

1. Planting of gardens and making of taro magic ten months before the big feasts.
2. Making of malanggans and masks begun several months before the rites take place.
3. May 8. Building of enclosure in which boys will be circumcised and secluded.
4. June 3. Dancing all night by the women, followed the next morning by the circumcision of the boys, who after that remain within the enclosure.
5. June 7. Small house built within the enclosure to hold the malanggans which will be placed there later.
6. June 25. Boys come out from the enclosure. Dancing by men and placing of unpainted malanggans in the enclosure.
7. June 26-July 30. Men of whole village and women of Tagam having daily dance rehearsals.
8. July 30-August 6. Week of intensive preparations for final rites.
9. August 6-7. Completed malanggans placed in the enclosure and displayed to the men. Feast and elaborate dancing end with sexual promiscuity. (Note: If it were not that the boys had to come out of the enclosure early to go to the mission school, the rites held on June 25 and those on August 6 and 7 would have been held at one time on the last date.)
10. August 9-August 17. Women of Tagam sleep in one house and men in their own homes. Continence observed.
11. August 27. Tagam women walk singing to the next village, collecting food in hamlet on the way. After this they go back to normal sleeping arrangements.
12. November 18. Feast by the men in enclosure on the occasion of the removal of red paint from the hair of the eight boys.
13. January 25. Final rites and feast for the malanggans, after which they are destroyed (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 135-136).

The above sequence is that of malanggan rites seen from the point of view of initiation rites. A very good description of malanggan events in the context of mortuary rites is given by Powdermaker (1933, pp. 210-222), which I have paraphrased as follows:

¹ Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

Two men, Poinbi and Kanot of Logagon, a village about 25 miles from Lesu, decide to make a malanggan for deceased Watlau, who is Kanot's father and Poinbi's maternal uncle. In mid-August (after Watlau has been dead for some time) Poinbi comes to Lesu to buy the rights to make the Puibi malanggan of the Sasabwan class from Palou, the owner. Meanwhile Kanot goes to Tabar to get the assistance of his clan relatives. A few days after Poinbi's visit to Lesu, having arranged for the malanggan to be made, he returns to Logagon. The malanggan is begun at Lesu, by the men who live in Penguli, Palou's hamlet, bringing the log. Kanua, a Lesu carver, begins to carve.

By mid-October (two months later) Kanua has completed the the carving but not the painting, having been interrupted once to carve a small malanggan for a rush order. The carved but not yet painted malanggan is then taken to Logagon where it will be painted and set up in a display house, where dances will be rehearsed, costumes and masks made, a cook house prepared and much food readied for the preliminary rites which are held on November 4. They had been postponed awaiting the arrival of the Tabar people.

The preliminary rites consist of dancing, feasting, payments and speech making, and a general viewing of the unpainted malanggans. Immediately afterwards preparations for future, further rites proceed, as do dance rehearsals, and gathering of foodstuffs. The Tabar contingent finally arrive, feasting and speech making occur, then the malanggans are painted and set up in display houses. Final payments are made, more speeches and feasting take place, and the Pandawasik dance is performed all night long. These are the final rites, and the next day there is distribution of uncooked food, and everyone goes home, the Lesuans to their village, 25 miles away (presumably also the Tabar people go back to the Tabar islands) and the Logagon people to bed, to sleep all day.

After the return to Penguli (in Lesu) a feast marks the cleaning of the hut in which the malanggans were made.

Powdermaker concludes this description as follows:

Almost three months have elapsed since Poinbi first came to Penguli and made arrangements for the making of the malanggan. There has been much ritual dancing and feasts. Poinbi and his group have expended a great deal of wealth. He and his community are poor now, but he has honoured his dead relatives and acquired much prestige. Those who have helped him have also acquired prestige. The acquisition of the right to make the malanggan, which they bought from Palou, is also a financial asset, for

LEWIS 1953 - 54

October 17, 1953 TSUR Ceremony (to ensure taro crop for feasting)

November 26, 1953 1 KOMBUTAI Building the fence

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ANS

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ARTING

January 6, 1954 2 SUSKAUKAU Circumcision Pi masker
January 8, 1954 It had been decided to make malanggans
3 ALIT MALANGGAN Cutting the log, logs brought into
the enclosure
4 GIRAGIRA First carving
5 LUPTSI Cleaning of carvings, first smoothing up
January 25, 1954 Carving was proceeding, dance rehearsals
February 2, 1954 6 ANUNUN Selling in the eyes
7 TSIRAU Putting on hair
8 SILI Washing, carving dipped in sea
9 ATALA Painting
10 TSOA PUANUA Start building display houses
February 17, 1954 Three of the four display houses were built

TWO MONTHS
AFTER STARTING

THREE MONTHS
AFTER STARTING

March 8 to 10, 1954 11 ATUP MALANGGAN Set up carvings
March 10, 1954 12 LUGI MALANGGAN Pay to see the images (the unveiling)
13 SUSUMBURA Boys released, Pi, Nit Kulegula maskers
March 11, 1954 14 TSINUL Conclusion, dance performances, food distributors
March 12, 1954 Pig distributions people return to stage small feasts at home
March 15, 1954 Anthropologist collected all malanggan objects except
one Tagapa
The Nit Kulegula mask was left, at Eruei's request,
to weather away with its display house

FOUR MONTHS
AFTER STARTING

KRAMER 1907	PECKEL 1911-27 (in Northern New Ireland)	POWDERMAKER 1929-30 From LIFE IN LESU pp 135-6	LEWIS 1953-54 From LIFE IN LESU pp 210-222
		1 Planting tara, tara magic 10 MONTHS BEFORE BIG FEASTS	Wellau died Painbi, Kendi of Logagan want to make a malanggan for him
START OF PRODUCTION OF MALANGGANS	1 <u>TILMUNE</u> Cutting the log 2 <u>SEKENDERA</u> Peeling, drying Covers tissue 3 <u>ABUET</u> First breakthrough 4 <u>ASEKE</u> Laying up, drying	2 Making of masks and malanggans begun several months before the big feasts	Mid-August, 1929 Painbi arranges to buy right to carve Puibo malanggan
ONE MONTH AFTER STARTING	From day tree was felled to unveiling - 6, 9, 12, 15 months	3 May 8, 1929 Building of fence	Mid-August, 1929 Tree trunk is cut
		4 June 3, 1929 Circumcision of boys 5 June 7, 1929 Display houses built	
TWO MONTHS AFTER STARTING	5 <u>LUPTSE</u> Fetching down, fine finishing, smoothing 6 <u>BOBOSO</u> Cutting with knives	6 June 25, 1929 Boys come out, dancing, unpainted carvings in enclosure 7 June 26-30, 1929 Dance rehearsals	Mid-October, 1929 Malanggan has been carved but not painted Malanggan removed to Logagan Women go to Logagan
THREE MONTHS AFTER STARTING	7 <u>GURENDOSUR</u> Erection of fence 8 <u>ANENEN MATAN</u> Setting in eyes 9 <u>ULE MALANGGAN</u> Painting white 10 <u>ATETEL</u> Painting red 11 <u>BULTE</u> Painting black 12 <u>IONGE</u> Painting yellow 13 <u>OSERAUN</u> Applying burrs 14 <u>BOGE BO ANUA</u> Begin construction of display houses 15 <u>ALTITUEN</u> Build back wall of houses 16 <u>SALELE TULANGIT</u> Cover back wall with leaves 17 <u>ATUP MALANGGAN</u> Malanggans tied to back wall of display house 18 <u>SESEUNDORO</u> Decoration of dancers dancing	8 July 30 - August 6, 1929 Intensive preparations for final rites 9 August 6-7, 1929 Malanggans placed in enclosure and displayed to the men, feasting, dancing, sexual licence 10 August 9-17, 1929 Conference observed, men and women sleep separately 11 August 27, 1929 Toga women collect food from nearby hamlets and villages, resume normal sleeping arrangements	November 4, 1929 Rites held for unpainted malanggan Preparations for future rites Feasting Malanggan has been painted and placed in enclosure Concluding rites, Pandawesik dance People return to homes Feast in Lesu to mark cleanup of carver's hut
FOUR MONTHS AFTER STARTING	Malanggan houses remain for years, images thrown away into bush	ALMOST 3 MONTHS LATER 12 November 18, 1929 Feast in enclosure for removal of red paint from boys hair MORE THAN 2 MONTHS LATER 13 January 25, 1930 Final rites and feast for malanggans, after which they are destroyed	October 17, 1953 <u>TSUR</u> Ceremony (to ensure tara crop for feasting) November 26, 1953 1 <u>KOMBUTA</u> Building the fence January 6, 1954 2 <u>SUSKAUKAU</u> Circumcision P masker January 8, 1954 It had been decided to make malanggans 3 <u>ALIT MALANGGAN</u> Cutting the log, logs brought into the enclosure 4 <u>GIRAGIRA</u> First carving 5 <u>LUPTSE</u> Cleaning of carvings, first smoothing up Carving was proceeding, dance rehearsals January 25, 1954 6 <u>ANUNUN</u> Setting in the eyes February 2, 1954 7 <u>TSURAU</u> Putting on hair 8 <u>SILI</u> Washing, carving dipped in sea 9 <u>ATALA</u> Painting 10 <u>TSOA PUANUA</u> Start building display houses Three of the four display houses were built March 8 to 10, 1954 11 <u>ATUP MALANGGAN</u> Set up carvings March 10, 1954 12 <u>LUKI MALANGGAN</u> Pay to see the images (the unveiling) 13 <u>SUSUMBURA</u> Boys released, P, Nul Kulegula masks March 11, 1954 14 <u>TSINUL</u> Conclusion, dance performances, food distributors March 12, 1954 Pig distributions people return to stage small feasts at home March 15, 1954 Anthropologist collected all malanggan objects except one Topapo The Nul Kulegula mask was left, at Erue's request, to weather away with its display house

FIG. 10. The course of malanggan ceremonies as seen by Kramer, Peckel, Powdermaker, and Lewis. Sources: Kramer 1925, pp. 79-80; Peckel 1928, pp. 30-31; Powdermaker 1933, pp. 135-136, 210-222; Lewis, field notes.

eventually they will resell the right to make this malanggan to someone else and get all the wealth back which they have now laid out. Palou and his associates have lost the right to make the malanggan, but are rich. Eventually they too will use this wealth to buy the right to make a new malanggan (1933, p. 222).

From this description it can be seen that this expression of malanggan took three months from its beginning to the end. There is also a clear description of the transmission of rights to the Puiba malanggan, which Palou once had made at the time his maternal nephew was circumcised and was now having it made in honor of Watlau. After the completion of the rites Palou cannot have Puiba made any more but henceforth Poinbi of Logagon will be the patron. Thus Puiba had been made at (or near) Lesu at least two times, and in the future would be made at Logagon.

Certain changes in meaning are also suggested. The Puiba malanggan being made in 1929-30 for Watlau had figures which were those of Poinbi's maternal uncle, his father, his brother-in-law, and two others, plus various sacred animals. However, upon the previous occasion, at the circumcision of Palou's nephew, the figures represented Palou's dead wife and some of his own clan relatives.¹

¹ See footnote, p. 212 (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 212).

FIG. 11. Head of the Malanggatsak malanggan. Nou, March 9, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100610 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog No. 252450.

Chapter IV

A Description of Art In the Notsi Area In 1953-54

During my seven month long residence in New Ireland in 1953-54, I saw a number of major and minor art objects made and used. Twelve objects known to me as malanggan objects were seen in use or while being made and then used. Several masks were seen used, one was observed while being made. A number of other art objects, both of native and of European inspiration were seen in use during the period of field work. Although it may be that there were some art objects which were not seen, it is quite probable that I saw most of the art in use in the Notsi area in 1953-54.

Art objects seen in New Ireland during that period were as follows:

Malanggan objects

- Malanggatsak malanggan
- Gas malanggan
- Labui malanggan
- 5 Tagapa malanggan objects
- 2 Wowora malanggan objects
- Pu'ling malanggan
- Walik-Mantelingling malanggan

Masks

- Nit Kulegula mask
- Pi masks
 - Lingi's mask
 - Labele's mask
 - 2 or more Libba masks

Other Aboriginal Art Objects

- Dance paraphernalia
- Bird's-head mouthpieces
- Feather headdresses
- Face and body painting

Personal ornamentation, not in dance costuming

Arm rings

Breast ornaments ('kep kep'), seen only on a Wowora malangan, but just like those formerly worn.

Tattooing

Hair bleaching and dyeing

Floats for fish nets

Art Objects of European Inspiration

Tombstones

Mission church buildings

School children's drawings

MALANGGAN OBJECTS

Malanggatsak

Malanggatsak was the name given to a depiction of a humanoid figure of roughly life size. The head was carved and painted by Eruel at Nou, in the carver's hut during January, February, and March, 1954. The body and limbs were made by a group of Libba men other than Eruel at the display hut on March 9 and the figure was assembled by them under Eruel's supervision.

The figure was displayed seated on a log, its feet planted on the ground, its arms raised, the palms of the hands facing forward. The head was carved wood, and painted in black, yellow, and red, representing a stylized humanoid head wearing an intricate and towering headdress (fig. 11). Attached to the face was a mustache made of black aerial tree fern root. The neck ended in a peg which was set into a socket carved in the upper end of the torso. The torso was made of a segment of tree trunk, about one foot in diameter and two feet long (fig. 12). The arms were made of saplings, of about two inch diameter and about one foot long each, bound together in an "L" shape with rattan strips. The legs were fashioned from green, juicy banana stalks, each about three feet long and of approximately three inch diameter. They were cut slightly behind the knees, and bent to a 120 degree angle to depict the legs bent at the knee. The torso, arms, and legs were then covered with pieces of green cotton cloth tailored to form a smooth and continuous covering (fig. 13). Hands and feet were carved from coconut husk. A collar made of braided yellow-white fibers was nailed down around the neck. The hands and feet were pegged into holes in the ends of the limbs, the arms fitted into holes in the trunk, and the legs were

FIG. 12. Detail of construction of torso and arms of the Malangatsak mangan. Nou, March 9, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3101.

FIG. 13. Body of Malangatsak malanggan set up on a log, with hands and feet attached, green cotton cloth cover, fiber neckband and aromatic bouquet. Nou, March 9, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3112.

FIG. 14. Front view of display house showing above, Nit Kulegula mask, below, the Malanggatsak malanggan, FMNH Catalog No. 252450, and right, the Labui malanggan, FMNH Catalog No. 252456. On the rear wall of the lower chamber, behind and above Malanggatsak is the Pu'ling malanggan, FMNH Catalog No. 252457. Nou, March 10, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100605 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

FIG. 15. Kinship relationships of Malanggatsak malanggan.

nailed and lashed to the lower trunk. In addition to bindings, nails were freely used to make the various joints fast. On the day of the display a bundle of aromatic herbs and leaves was placed over the genital area (fig. 14).

The inside of the lower chamber of the display house was lined with fresh, dark green leaves on the back and sides. The seat was a large log. The floor of the hut was the natural sand of the beach. A segment of sapling formed a sill across the open part of the hut.

Malanggatsak was used as a malanggan display object as part of the Libba malanggan ceremonies.

The artist-patron relationship and the kinship relationships of Malanggatsak were as follows: Eruel was both the carver and the patron. As patron, he commissioned the figure to honor the memory of Gamatu. As Figure 15 shows, Gamatu appears twice as the name of two boys, one dead, one alive, numbered 2 and 4 on the youngest generation. These individuals were being honored by Malanggatsak. Living Gamatu, No. 4, is named after dead Gamatu, which is customary. However, it is almost certain that Gamatu No. 2 was named after someone else who was named Gamatu, perhaps a person in the

parental or grandparental generation (not in genealogy). Eruel's relationship with Gamatu is through his wife, Raus, who is a member of Sakwila, the same clan as that of Gamatu, Lasogo, Musting, and old Sebaling. Eruel's son Lingi is also in Sakwila and was one of the initiates. Eruel, therefore, was honoring a recently deceased member of his wife's clan (Gamatu), and by commissioning Malanggatsak for this purpose, also honored his son Lingi in his circumcision and initiation. At the same time, the rights to carve and use Malanggatsak passed to Sakwila clan. When the head of Malanggatsak was collected, the permission of Sakwila clan patrons, Lasogo and Musting, was sought. Presumably, Lingi will have a close relationship with Malanggatsak, and although it is not clear that he will have sole rights of patronage in the future, it seems likely that Lingi will indeed be the person who will commission Malanggatsak at later times.

Confusingly, Eruel acted as carver as well as patron for this malanggan. There was something not quite correct about this procedure, although no verbalized criticism was heard. Perhaps if there were more carvers available to do the work, Eruel would not have attempted to do his own malanggan, and it is probable that this situation has resulted from the scarcity of carvers, was recognized as such by everyone, and thus, criticism was waived.

No myths are known to this writer to be associated with Malanggatsak, nor is the meaning of the name known.

Malanggatsak can be related to objects of similar form in the collections of the Field Museum, and to objects illustrated in ethnographic publications. The distinctive head and headdress of Malanggatsak is easily recognized in a number of carvings in the New Ireland collections at the Field Museum. Many of these are full figures carved in wood, but with the recognizably similar head. A few of the pieces are carved heads only with peg bases, or necks, which would have permitted their use as carved wooden heads on otherwise fabricated bodies. No fabricated bodies of the kind described above are in the Museum's collections. I collected only the head in 1954.

Four objects resembling Malanggatsak are illustrated on a plate in Peekel (1927, opp. p. 16), and another object in Krämer (1925, Plate 55, left). The name *malangga-tsaka* is mentioned among a list of malanggan names from Tabar by Nevermann (1940, p. 24). Photographs and mention of malanggan figures with fabricated bodies, but with a different kind of head are also found in the ethnographic

literature. A photograph in Krämer (1925, Plate 34, right) shows life-sized Marendang figures with fabricated bodies very similar to those of Malanggatsak, except that instead of cloth, these bodies are covered with coils of fibrous material. Peekel reported that the Marendang heads were carefully saved from ceremony to ceremony and that sometimes European shoes were used as feet (1927, p. 20). Krämer referred (1925, p. 74) to a drawing made by a New Irelander (1925, Figure 19F), which shows the god Moroa in seated position and arms upraised—the same position in which Malanggatsak was set up.

Gas

Gas was the name given to a figure consisting of a carved and painted wooden head, with a neck peg, which was set into a socket in a fabricated body. The head was carved and painted by Samari from late January through early March, 1954, and the body and limbs were made by other men on March 10. The head was carved in a hamlet called Punesagil, part of Libba. The painting was done in the enclosure at Nou.

The appearance of the finished figure was that of a humanoid figure of about three-quarter life size, seated on a log, feet on the ground, and arms upraised (fig. 16). The face was fiercely grimacing with upstanding tusks rising from the corners of the mouth. The hair was represented by many sharp thorns bristling outward from the head. Standing on the head, amid the thorns, looking forward, was a bird. A bird's head dance ornament carved from a separate piece of wood was placed in the mouth. The trunk of the body was a log, about two feet long and about ten inches in diameter, arms and legs were constructed of pieces of sapling lashed together, and hands and feet were carved from coconut husk. The figure, except for the head, hands, and feet, was plastered with greyish yellow clay. An arm band, made of white paper, was placed upon one arm, and a bundle of aromatic leaves was placed on the genital region. The display house had one chamber, the interior walls of which were not surfaced with leaves, but merely showed the framework of saplings and the inside of the covering of the exterior.

During Samari's carving of the head, I observed the following incident. When Samari had finished carving the bird on the man's head it was apparent to one of the men in the enclosure that an element of the design had been omitted; namely, a snake which should have been shown as being held in the bird's mouth. The

FIG. 16. Gas malanggan set up in display house. Nou, March 10, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100603 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog No. of head 252459.

critic knew that a snake should have been included, and Samari's answer implied that he too had known about it. His answer was that he had simply forgotten the snake but that Lasogo (the patron) didn't know the difference because he had never seen Gas carved.

Gas was used as a malanggan object in the March 10 celebration. See Figure 5 for the location of the hut in which Gas was displayed.

The patronage of Gas is shown in the kinship diagram in Figure 17. Musting and Lasogo were the patrons. Both Musting and Lasogo were called *mum* (father) by Pogo and both called him *nungutsi* (my son). Lasogo also was a clan leader or *orung* of clan Sakwila. Lagiri was *orung kun i bung* Maliba, or the leader of clan Maliba. Gas was carved in the yard of Lagiri, in Punasagil hamlet, Libba. Thus Gas was carved on clan Maliba ground, perhaps on that clan's sacred ground, but more likely on the ground upon which Pogo was born. One statement about Gas was that it belonged to one Kunkun, a deceased person, and former member of clan Maliba. Gas thus belonged to members of clan Maliba and members of clan Sakwila made payments for the use and/or the rights to the malanggan. Lasogo (Musting's elder brother) acted in Pogo's interests as his father in being the person who made the payments. Being older, and having *orung* status, he was a better representative than Musting, the boy's real father. Lagiri acted for clan Maliba as *orung*, and possibly, also as a blood relation of Pogo.

The relationship of the carver, Samari, to the patron or patrons is simply that he, Samari, was commissioned to work, but actual payments were not observed. It is possible that both Lagiri and Lasogo made payments to Samari for his services as a carver, such payments being in addition to, and independent of, payments between Lagiri and Lasogo.

In a myth told in 1954 it was said that a 'masalai' (spirit) came to a 'big man' while the latter was asleep and told him how to make the Gas malanggan. He was instructed to make the body of wood and cover it with yellow earth.

The name Gas was used by New Irelanders in 1954 as a generic term for various types of supernatural creatures, as well as being used as a name for a creature of specific form. Informants told of four different kinds of Gas one of which was named Gas also. These were as follows: (1) Pulis lima, literally long arm. This creature was supposed to have eyes in the back of its head, and feet which were turned backwards. It was believed that its arms could stretch

FIG. 17. Kinship relationships of the Gas malanggan.

so that birds and lizards could be caught by hand. (2) Gas was considered a creature with black skin, but long hair which hung down to the shoulders. My wife was often called Gas, jokingly, by children because of her long hair, which at that time was about 10 inches long, and especially at times when she was combing her hair and it hung down over her face. (3) Kapus was thought of as a little man about three and one-half feet tall, very strong, with white skin. (4) Tungla were described as about the size of a child of about one and one-half years old, and as very, very strong. Tungla were thought to call adult men boys, and were thought to be able to lift a large man easily by his arm. The first three types were considered to be bush creatures, whereas the Tungla were beings of the beach and sea. However, there was contradiction by informants about the above classification of Gas types. Tungla were mentioned as being found in the bush, not only on the beach, and in rocky places. The attributes of having backward feet, and of being very strong were applied to Tungla as well as to other kinds of Gas. Several informants told of being misled by Gas, one a schoolboy, the other a 'Luluai's' wife. Gas were supposed not to be able to appear during the day. They had long hair, long fingernails, a bad smell. One man reported a long-haired Gas ten feet tall, who made the informant crash his bicycle. Another informant claimed that shining a flashlight on a Gas caused the batteries to fail. One slightly "Cargo cult" idea about Gas was that although they have black skins like the New Irelanders, they are like Europeans in that they have plenty of money. And, finally, another story of a Gas was one in which a Gas had a baby at the same time as a woman of Kono (West coast village) and traded children with her. The Gas child was raised by the human parents. It was never able to walk, and had an enlarged head and thin little body. It came to know everything that happens, being able to direct people to fish, and to lost pigs. The term Gas, then, refers to a type of supernatural being about which the above scattered information is given.

The Gas head, particularly when special attention is paid to the motif of the bird with a snake in its mouth, is recognizable as being present in the Museum's collections. Also the head occurs as a peg-necked object, which suggests that it could have been set onto a fabricated or solid wooden body. I did not collect the body seen in 1954.

In Nevermann (1940, p. 27), the term *a gas* is mentioned as the name of a malanggan. One description refers to four seated figures,

colored red (1940, p. 31); and the other to a human figure with two long pointed horns (1940, p. 28). Powdermaker (1933, p. 307) described the Gas as a spirit double of each individual, and as dwelling on that individual's clan land. It was supposed to die when its human counterpart died and it could take different forms and was rarely seen by its human aspect (1933, p. 39). Powdermaker (1933, p. 39) also reported on myths recounting meetings between humans and Gas, and also tales stressing the great strength of Gas. One such folk tale, Muk and the Gas, is given in Powdermaker (1933, pp. 39-40). I collected a similar tale in 1954 about Muk and the Tungla. In this tale, as in the one reported by Powdermaker, the Gas-Tungla are doubles of Muk the hero, are tremendously strong, are wealthy, and finally, and unfortunately, are also vengeful.

Labui

The Labui malanggan was the only one used in the March 10 ceremonials not made in the vicinity of Libba. It was carved in Luburua, a village about 15 miles northwest of Libba, in the days or weeks prior to March 8, when it was brought to Nou. After arriving at Nou, the figure was finished and painted inside the enclosure.

Labui, except for the hair, is a figure carved completely out of one piece of wood. The base is in the form of a peg. The figure is depicted as humanoid, in standing position, legs slightly bent at the knees, upper arms at the figure's side, lower arms and hands coming forward to hold a fish-shaped form in front of the torso. Rising from the head are four tall feather-like projections. The hair is depicted by burred seeds stuck into a mastic which was smeared over the head. The actual individual who carved and painted the figure was not known to me and it was assumed that he was a Luburua man.

The figure was used in the March 10 ceremony as a malanggan figure. It was set up in the same display house as Malanggatsak. The peg was thrust into the sand, thus enabling the figure to stand upright next to the large seated figure of Malanggatsak (fig. 14).

Unfortunately, the kinship relationships surrounding the Labui malanggan are not well known to this writer (See fig. 18). It arrived on March 8 and was set up two days later. Labui was made and brought to Nou primarily because of Kalamogo's initiation, and because of Kalamogo's relationship to Daniel Muk. (This relationship is not known to this writer). Daniel Muk once lived in Libba and married Elisabet from Luburua. Following the rule of matrilo-

FIG. 18. Kinship relationships of the Labui malanggan.

FIG. 19. Greeting the Luburua contingent upon their arrival at Nou, March 8, 1954. Center, smiling, Sumsar. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3009.

cality Daniel went to live in Luburua with his wife and her people. Daniel either belonged to Kalamogo's clan or to Kalamogo's father's clan, and had to do something, and had to do it from Luburua. He called upon his wife's people for assistance, and they responded by hiring two trucks and coming in large numbers and by bringing a malanggan.

At the final ceremonies on March 10, Sumsar, the leader of the Luburua contingent and the father-in-law of Daniel Muk, stood

before the display house (which then contained Labui, Malanggatsak, and Pu'ling) and exhorted his fellow villagers and relatives to make a good showing in payments of shillings and tobacco as they filed up to the display house. Sumsar said that he had never walked in Nou before, that Labui had made an entrance there for his people, that Daniel Muk had worked on Luburua lands, and that the bringing of Labui was the return for Daniel's work.

The way in which the Luburua contingent arrived at Nou suggests that it was the occasion of the arrival of the Labui malanggan at Nou. The group of about 50 people arrived in two trucks, and stopped on the road above Nou. While some of the older men came down the path, about 15 younger adult men, with faces chalked and with aromatic leaves in their hair, came bounding down the hill, through the trees and bush, crying out as they came. Some carried axes and stopped to chop down a few banana trees and an areca palm. All the men, young and old, then consolidated into a group in the open area of Nou, where they were greeted by the Libba people. Sumsar and one old man from Libba shook hands (fig. 19). Although not observed by the writer, probably while this was going on, the partially carved malanggan was quietly taken into the enclosure. Gifts of money and tobacco were given to the Luburua people by Libba and Tandes people.

Several objects resembling Labui were found in the Field Museum (see figs. 50-52). No mention of the name was made in the ethnographic literature, nor were photographs seen of objects resembling Labui.

Tagapa

The Tagapa malanggan was used in the March 10 ceremonies at Nou. Five different renditions of the Tagapa malanggan were displayed side by side in one display house. The heads were carved and painted wood, with snail-valve eyes; the bodies were fabricated of basketry. All five bodies were made at one time, in early March, inside the enclosure. Four of the heads were carved and painted inside the enclosure from January to March, 1954. Three of these were done by Samari, and one by Eruel. The fifth head had been

FIG. 20. Five Tagapa malanggan images set up in their display house. Top center and right are hanging bunches of areca nuts. Nou, March 10, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100594 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog Numbers, left to right: 252451, 252452, 252454 (4th figure not collected), 252453.

FIG. 21. Tagapa malanggan head and body, showing construction of body before painting. This figure was not collected. Nou, March 5, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 2806.

FIG. 22. Closeup view of Tagapa malangan head without headdress. Nou, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100609 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog No. 252453.

saved from a previous occasion, and was reported to have been carved by one Tumasong, at a place and time unknown to me, perhaps as early as 1942.

The figures which were finally set up consisted of fiercely grimacing heads wearing real feathered headdresses, these heads set upon fabricated bodies (fig. 20). The bodies were constructed in two parts, torso set upon a lower form, both made in the same way, by binding strips of fiber around a bamboo and rattan framework (fig. 21). The resulting forms were a bell-shaped lower form upon which was set the torso. Attached to the upper part were arms made of bamboo lashed together and bound with fiber coils. No legs or feet were represented. The bodies were painted with white and yellow stripes, which, together with the stripes worked in by using the black aerial root, made a color scheme of black, white, and yellow. The hands were carved coconut husk.

The heads, before acquiring their headdresses, were carved and completely painted, except for the part of the head to be hidden under the headdress (fig. 22). The feather headdresses, called *pilot*, are identical with those used in certain dances, in fact, were borrowed or purchased from men who had them for use in dances. The heads were carved by the carvers mentioned above, but all five bodies were made by a crew of men, mostly from Tandes, working under the direction of Tumasong, the old man who was said to have carved the old Tagapa head. The five figures were set up next to each other, on a table or bench in the display house.

In the patronage and kinship relationships of Tagapa, two of the initiated boys seemed to be involved, one the aforementioned Pogo, for whom Gas was made, the other a boy named August (fig. 23). I did not know of the participation of August and his family partly because I was more friendly with the other boys and their fathers, but also possibly because August's participation may have been a hasty, last minute affair. Nodai, Kalamogo's father, was an orung and certainly acted the part. He was voluble, forceful, well liked, and an excellent orator always in the forefront of discussions and planning sessions. Lasogo and Musting, uncle and father of Pogo, together, pooling resources of foodstuffs and money, were able to make themselves felt socially. Also, Pogo's *yaya*, his grandfather, Lagiri, from whom the rights to Gas were acquired, was respected as an orung and as the 'luluai' of Libba. Eruel, Lingi's father, was important and noticeable both in his pe-

SAKWILA Clan
Telenga Moiety

FIG. 23. Kinship relationships of the Tagapa malanggan.

culiar dual role as artist and patron, and in his very important role as the patron, carver, and wearer of the ceremonial mask, Nit Kulegula. Thus my observations were centered on the more forceful men, and hardly ever on Maya, August's father. However, Maya did purchase three pilot headdresses for use on the Tagapa figures. This suggests that three of the figures were for August, and one was for Pogo. I saw Lasogo make an inferior headdress out of white chicken feathers for one of the figures. The patronage of the fifth and older piece was not determined. At one occasion when various

payments were occurring, Lasogo and Musting made payments to Langava, who said in a speech that Lasogo had asked him (Langava) to give Tagapa to Lasogo and Musting. Another involvement of the two brothers with Tagapa is suggested by the information that Tagapa is the soul of Mumbut, who was *yaya* of a clan brother of Musting, and thus a classificatory grandfather of Musting also.

A story about Tagapa was told by Samari, the carver. It follows:

Long ago, three men came and turned the big stone at Nou. An ancestor of Lasogo and Musting, one Lungtira, was angry. He ordered *malanggans* carved (two heads). Reports of this went to Tabar. Lungtira, who had married in Tabar, had seen these *malanggans*, and was having them made in Nou. They were angry because they had thought that they had title to the *malanggan*. They caused Lungtira to break out in sores and he died. Reports went back to Tabar that he had died. The Tabar people said to the Libba people, take back your *malanggan*, Lungtira is dead! Lungtira had thought that he didn't have to go to Tabar to legitimize his use of the *malanggan*, but he did. The Tabar people used magic against him.

It was said that Tagapa figures were dangerous because they were *ilua* ('birua,' or spirits of people who were slain, usually warriors, in contrast to those persons who just die). After the Tagapa figures were completely set up, Tumasong led a chant made by a number of Tandes and Libba men, the purpose of which was to bring these spirits into the figures. When the chant was finished, from then on until the figures were destroyed, they were dangerous. It was thought that they could cause accidents and sores, and could bring whirlwinds. As mentioned above, my wife and I were warned again about their dangerous qualities and urged not to stand near the winches when the crates were being hoisted on board. Ginger-root was given to be chewed as specific protection against such troubles. I collected four of the figures, including the older piece, complete with their basketry bodies. The fifth figure was left behind, so that presumably its head would be used again.

Samari recalled that he had seen Tagapa made in numbers of 20 at one time, that many carvers had worked on them. They had been set up in a long display house 50 feet long.

No objects with recognizably similar motifs are in the Museum's collections. No objects of specifically similar appearance were illustrated in the literature. However, two references to Marendang *malanggans* report features similar to Tagapa. Nevermann (1940, pp. 32, 33) reports that bamboo and rattan funnel-shaped bodies were made for the Marendang *malanggan*, and these were thrown

FIG. 24. Two Wowora malanggan objects in their display house. Nou, March 10, 1954. FMNH Neg. Nc. 100606 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog Numbers: Above, 252455, diameter $34\frac{1}{2}$ inches; below, 252458, diameter $42\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

away after the ceremony, but the carved head was stored in the men's house. Also, Peekel (1927, p. 20) reports that the heads of Maradang were carefully saved.

Wowora

Two malanggan objects called Wowora were made in the period of about a month before March 10, at an uninhabited place called Kabil, located between Libba and Nou. Kabil is not to be confused with a village of the same name which is located just southeast of Amba. Actual construction of the two Wowora objects began a day

NOSE AND EYES RESTORED
AFTER BEING BROKEN AND LOST IN SHIPPING

CARVED AND PAINTED WOODEN CENTERPIECE
OF WOWORA MALANGGAN

FIG. 25. Detail of wooden centerpiece of Wowora malanggan (FMNH Catalog No. 252455).

or so before February 17, 1954, and both were finished for use in the March 10 ceremonies.

As Figure 24 shows, the two objects were circular disks. The carving which formed the center piece of the smaller one was carved by Samari. It was an elliptically shaped piece of wood, 12 inches long by 9 inches wide and about 2 inches thick. The part to be seen from the front was carved to represent a face, with the mouth in relief, and a hole going right through to the back, and with eyes and

nose rising from the mouth (fig. 25). By means of lashings going through the holes bored around the edges of the piece of wood, the carving was attached to the disk itself, which was formed of splints of rattan called *tunin*, or 'bones,' bound to a coiled mat made of a spiral of braided fiber. When shown on March 10, a ring of white feathers covered the holes in the wood and lashings, and also a carved wooden mouth ornament was placed in the mouth.

The large disk (42½ inches in diameter) was made differently. Instead of a carved and painted wooden relief sculpture in the center, a cylindrical form, about 11 inches in diameter and about 6 inches deep, was worked into the center so that it projected forward from the plane of the disk. On March 10, when displayed, a 'kep kep' was placed on the flat surface of this projecting cylinder. I was permitted to observe the construction of the disk, but was asked by its makers that its details not be revealed, especially the center portion. In order to comply with the request, such information is therefore not given here.

Both disks were painted with red, yellow, and white paint, except for the bands made of the naturally black aerial root, and the carved face which was painted in blue, white, and red. The paint used on the braided coils was heavily loaded with white lime, which resulted in a thick plastered effect.

The wooden face was carved by Samari, who also painted it. The construction of the coiled disks was carried out by a group of men, quite probably all related to each other (see fig. 26). Preparations had gone on before the construction of the disks, the fibers had been collected, and had also been soaked in sea water. Then they had been braided into the flattened ropes. Great secrecy surrounded all these operations. Observation was permitted but the disks were collected after the ceremonies and they had to be sewn up into blankets so that the Lesu people (known by the Libba people to frequent my house in Lesu) would not be able to inspect the details of construction. Of all the malanggans seen in 1954, Wowora seemed most hedged around with secrecy. This is interesting in the light of the difficulties reported by Krämer (Krämer-Bannow, E., 1916, p. 279) when he tried to collect some of these malanggans in 1907-09. (see p. 109, below).

The disks were used as malanggan objects, they were set up in display huts, people came to view them, and, in general, were treated in the same way as were the sculptured malanggan objects. The two Wowora objects were set up in the same display hut.

It is not clear for which boy or boys the two Wowora objects were made. One informant's statement, in January, was that Daniel Muk would "make" one Wowora, i.e., would commission one to be made, and Lasogo would "make" the other one. Kalamogo was mentioned in connection with Wowora, namely, that one of the Wowora objects was named Pulado and was to be for him. The group of men who made Wowora, Muat, Kongkong, Pakua, Lamua, Lamusuk were all close to Nodai and Kalamogo, but exactly how they were related cannot be said definitely (fig. 26). Pakua was mentioned as the owner of Wowora and payments were made to him by Papun, Kalamogo, and Lingi. It is also unclear as to what deceased person, if any, was being honored by the Wowora objects.

A story relating the origin of the Wowora malanggan was given by Pakua:

Kuli was an unmarried woman who had no genitals. However, she had two children, and she tried to have them initiated in the enclosure. They were chased away because they had no father. Kuli went to fetch some water and there, saw a spider. An idea came to her. She tells her children, tomorrow you and I will go get the white fiber called *raramgo* and put it in the water. The children do this.

The men said, these children have no father and no malanggans. Where will they get one? The woman talks, says that tomorrow they will sit in the enclosure. She braids the vine, fastens it to the wood, then beats it flat.

She then makes the Wowora, and asks them all to erect a coconut leaf enclosure.

Once there were only wooden malanggans. Wowora malanggans originated with this woman. Wowora are not from long ago.

The slit gong cries out, and all the men chide her. The woman has houses made. All the men come. The day for erecting the malanggans comes. They all come to look. The sight of the Wowora closes their mouths. From then on, everyone has used Wowora, paying the original owners.

The story suggests that although Wowora is equivalent to other malanggan types, it is different enough to call for rationalization by a myth. The informant who told the story was Pakua, cited as the owner of the rights to use of the object. Lesu and Libba informants said that Wowora were spirits of deceased persons, that they were dangerous, in that they caused sores, that a person must not garden just after being involved with Wowora. When eaten, ginger is thought to ward off evil effects of Wowora.

FIG. 26. Kinship relationships of the Wowora malanggan.

No objects resembling Wowora were in the collections of the Field Museum prior to 1954. The two objects collected in 1954 were added to the Field Museum's collections.

Powdermaker mentions Wowora a number of times and describes its use in a ceremony she witnessed, but gives no clear description of its form. Powdermaker mentions Warawara as a name given to a class of malanggans, and is equivalent to other class-names, such as Kolebmur and Walik. She continues, "... and all those in each one of these groups are considered of the same type, and have similar rites." She also lists, under the type Warawara, 13 different names of individual malanggans which need not be mentioned here since I heard none of these names, except to note that one of them is written as Avara, which again might be Wowora (Powdermaker, 1933, pp. 315-316). Powdermaker, as part of a description of a funeral, said that Warawara was made on the day of death, and that it was set up near the coffin in the cemetery near the open grave. She says:

Here at one end and by the coffin was the Warawara malanggan, made yesterday. In the centre was the large breast ornament, kepkap, and around it was an intricate weaving of different coloured leaves (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 311).

Also, she says:

Another kind [of malanggan], such as the Warawara, is finely decorative (in contrast to others representing animals and people) with the kepkap in the center (1933, p. 317).

Powdermaker reports a myth of origin for Wowora. Writing in the context of extra-marital relations and illegitimacy, she says,

While no disgrace is attached to a fatherless child, still it is considered unfortunate not to have a father, one of the reasons for which is reflected in the myth of Warawara malanggan.

This myth tells the tale of how some malanggans were being displayed, and the men were eating at a feast for them in the enclosure. They refused to let a fatherless boy (an illegitimate one in our sense) join them because he had no tsera and no pig. His mother had no husband from whom he could get them. The boy's mother is sorry for him, and says she will teach him how to make a new malanggan, so she makes the Warawara malanggan. When it is finished she holds a great feast.

In this tale it is the economic motive which appears to be uppermost. The boy is not invited to the feast because he has not contributed anything. However, in actual practice, . . . the clan relatives of the fatherless child and the mother would come to his aid with the necessary tsera. In the myth, it is only the mother who comes to his aid. In discussing hypothetical cases with informants, they all told me that the clan relatives would always help these fatherless children (1933, pp. 246-247).

W. C. Groves gives good descriptions of both the Wowora and its rites in Tabar. He says,

... Except in connection with one type of malagan which differs from all others and appears to be a comparatively recent innovation I never saw any act connected with malagan which might be called one of direct invocation or supplication, or in any way associated directly with supernatural forces ...

... I have mentioned above a type of malagan which differs in certain features from all others. This is the one called wawara, which is said to have originated in New Ireland, and been adopted into Tabar Islands, whence according to local legend, all other malagan types come. Wawara is woven of split cane like a spider-web. Its origin is accounted for by an interesting legend universally known and believed. Because it differs in form from all other types and because of its peculiar and separate origin, wawara is hedged around with special precautionary ties. For example, the actual weaving and setting up of the figures is done in strictest secrecy. Anyone but recognized wawara specialists who looks upon or touches wawara during its preparation is certain to suffer personal harm. Any of the wawara fellowship who makes a slip or an error in the form of the rites or in the spells used during the lengthy and involved procedure will also meet with personal disaster. No man working on wawara dares go shark-snaring while he is engaged in the procedure, for the sharks would "smell" him, and cause disaster to befall the expedition.

The preparation is done in a special, small, highly protected, secret enclosure, within the ordinary malagan enclosure. Under a low, palm-leaf ceiling, screened off effectively from all possible outside human contacts, sit the three or four specialists, day after day, weaving the cane material into the finished pattern. Their bodies are covered with yellow paint, with white outlines of human hands superimposed. When they emerge from the enclosure to return for a time to the village, they continue to bear these hand-impressions, as well as the body covering of paint. This is partly in order that everyone may know of the important and secret nature of their wawara activities. Food is prepared for them only by their own wives, or by married women of their local group who are concerned with them in the conduct of the wawara cycle. These women are also under a strict obligation not to misconduct themselves in any way during the time of preparation. If they should do so, they must openly discontinue their part in preparing the food, for otherwise harm will surely come to the group of wawara specialists themselves.

Over every bit of the material used, and over every phase of the activities of preparation, special spells of a protective nature are recited. It will be realized that the man who is capable of conducting a full wawara cycle in all its details must have served a long apprenticeship, and must have subjected himself to much personal risk, and shown much patient application. In consequence he is a man of considerable standing in the community. Worthy men alone are admitted to full membership in the wawara order, and great care is exercised in the selection of young men for admission.

Though other malagan figures are simply allowed to fall down and decay within the "shrine" after the ceremonies are concluded—sometimes they are sold to any enterprising white man who may make an offer—wawara must be completely destroyed. When finished with they are ceremonially burnt. The old men specialists, with one or two lads, apprentices, all painted on front and back with yellow hands, enter the enclosure where the wawara are set up in their shrine and lift them down from their platforms. Bearing the figures in front of them, they file through the back of the enclosure, to emerge at a spot overgrown with trees and littered with decaying vegetation and coconut husks. Scattered all round, lie the jawbones of pigs which have been consumed at various times at mortuary feasts held inside the adjacent enclosure. No man ever goes inside this desolate place for any purpose other than the wawara destruction procedure now being carried out. As the men file in they intone a dirge-like chant, each verse of which is introduced by the leader of the file. One chant finished, another is commenced by another man, and so on, until the men are all standing together in the middle of the dark masili. There, chant after chant goes up, with certain accompanying movements of the body. Then, at a signal one of the newly-introduced lads approaches with a firestick. Each man applies it to his wawara, and as it blazes up he throws it away, jumping back quickly so as to avoid contact with the smoke. The party now disperses, leaving the paint on their bodies until it eventually disappears. All this is done before the villagers are abroad, because it is believed that harm will come to anyone who inadvertently looks upon the rising smoke (Groves, 1936, pp. 238-240).

There is also a photograph showing two Wowora objects (Groves, 1936, Plate II, B, between pp. 244 and 245).

Krämer considered the sun malanggans, as he called this kind of malanggan, one of the major types of malanggan object. Krämer showed some distribution of the sun-malanggans and indicated something of their variability. From Panagundu to Lambuso, they were called Oara; southward from Lambuso they were called Luoara or Loara. Krämer thought that the suns came from the bush, or inland people, such as the people of Lelet plateau, or from the peoples who formerly lived in other parts of interior New Ireland. It seemed to Krämer, in 1907, that the appearance of the suns in the coastal villages of Panagundu and Lamason was recent, as did Groves about the appearance of the Wowora in the Tabar Islands. Krämer classified this kind of malanggan into three main sub-types: 1) Kambalin, 2) Makapiko, and 3) Bongbongon (Krämer, 1925, pp. 67-70).

Krämer illustrated the three types as follows (1925, pp. 67-69):

- 1) Kambalin, illus. 15, p. 67, Plate 20, upper.
- 2) Kapiko, Plate 19; Plate 16, lower; Plate 17 (photograph of model of sun-malanggan) at Linden Museum, Stuttgart.
- 3) Bongbongon, illus. 16, p. 69.

According to Krämer's (1925, pp. 28, 69) descriptions, Kambalin was the most elaborate type, being about 3 meters in diameter, and resembling a giant sombrero; that is, a large flat disk (the hat brim) with a large cylinder projecting out of it. From both the cylinder and the disk were a number of arches, representing waterspouts. The object was hung vertically, the inside of the cylinder serving as a place to support the great disk. The Kapiko type was simpler, without so many appendages, consisting of the disk, and a kind of central basket, out of which issued a number of "tongues." The Bongbongon type was oval, or paddle shaped, instead of being round, and had appendages similar to Kambalin type.

Krämer described some details of ceremonies involving suns from Lemeris and Lambuso. At Lambuso, on May 7, 1909, he saw three suns used in a ceremony at which three skulls were set up on poles in front of the display house. Three pigs were laid out nearby. Three chiefs called the spirits of the deceased so that they would bring food, pigs, and beautiful malanggans. A dance, which from its description resembled the Sogumbua dance seen in 1954, was performed—with men holding hornbill heads in their mouths. On the fourth and final day, the malanggans were burned, together with the skulls. The people were warned not to let the smoke of the fires touch them because it was thought to be dangerous (Kramer, 1925, pp. 69, 70). To the north, in Lemeris, he mentioned that he had seen a ceremony in which men with their faces painted red, had looked out of a hole in the center of a sun, and also, that skulls had been placed in the center of other suns (1925, p. 70).

An origin myth about Oara was collected in the bush village of Bue.

A woman went into the bush looking for her pigs and had to remain overnight in a cave. There she heard the raindrops beating on the pandanus leaves, *vatata, vatata*, like a stick pounding on a slit gong. Then her spirit went away in a dream and saw a house in which goblins were at work plaiting a sun. She saw how it was made, and when they finished she returned back to her home, and then showed her knowledge to the men of her village. When they had learned exactly how to make a sun, they hanged the woman, to punish her for dealing with sacred matters. Today the oara is sacred and women must not see it. Even a glimpse of it meant death for a woman (Krämer, 1925, pp. 67-68).¹

Krämer was never able to collect a sun malanggan from New Ireland. In his book, and in his wife's book (Krämer-Bannow E., 1916, p. 279), Krämer tells the same story, namely, that careless exposure

¹Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

of some previously collected sun-malanggans to the gaze of strange (New Britain) native women had angered New Irelanders, and that thereafter, they refused to allow any more suns to be collected. Krämer thought Wowora or Oara a sun cult, being especially favored by Moroa, a god to whom Krämer ascribes the title of sun god.

Krämer's wife, Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow, in her book (1916) makes many references to sun malanggans. The following notes of hers are references to sun malanggans. At Hamba, on February 17, 1909, at general malanggan ceremonials, there was a sun-malanggan, which she said instead of being carved wood, was made of gaily painted plaited work (1916, p. 146). At Lamasong, on April 7 and 8, 1909, they saw another sun. She said,

In a hut with a pointed gabled roof, completely filling it, was a large, colored, shining disk. It was made of sewed plaited work, like a giant hat, with an open hole in the center. The edge showed the sticks of the skeleton radiating outward, and were interwoven with strips of fern leaf. The colors used were sulphur yellow and white with narrow red strips. This was a kind of malanggan which no woman was permitted to see. (An exception was made for Krämer-Bannow.) The thing was made slowly in many ceremonies, pig and banana feasts, but scarcely was it set up—when it was sent to the flames which was its fate. Krämer found it was not possible to collect the disk (Krämer-Bannow, 1916, pp. 207-208).¹

A drawing by her illustrating this object can be seen as illustration 110 on page 207 of her book.

She continued to the effect that, on the next morning, April 9, 1909, the great sun malanggan was burnt, together with mementoes valued by the deceased, such as slings, baskets, belt, a mat, etc. All efforts to obtain the sun were fruitless (1916, p. 211).

At the village of Penatnkin, on April 10, 1909, they saw a man making a plaited malanggan of long oblong shape, which E. Krämer-Bannow sketched (1916, p. 212). At the village of Lenkamen, on the Lelet plateau, Krämer saw a sun set up in the largest men's house he had seen in New Ireland (the house was 4 meters high, 4 meters wide, and 8 meters long). The makers of the sun and suppliers of pigs were paid with shell money (1916, p. 238). At Lambuso, on May 5 to 7, 1909, he saw sun malanggan ceremonials, but Mrs. Krämer reported that these suns were not burned, they were too sacred (1916, p. 247).

A portion of Krämer's notes on sun malanggans is short enough to include here in the text. He says,

¹Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

The sun malanggans belong also to the area of central New Mecklenburg. In 1907, when we were traveling from Rabaul to Hongkong, on a Lloyd steamer, upon the fore-deck there was a giant hat-like object made of plaited-work. No one knew from where it came, nor to where it was going, nor what it meant. Later, I saw it again in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart. We were, therefore, astonished to see such an object in Lemeris, set up in a building, built especially for it, at a ceremony for boys' initiation, in a men's yard. At the risk of her life, my wife undertook the task of capturing the colorful picture with water colors. For a native woman would have been mercilessly strangled if this sun had been shown to her face. The people seemed provoked as we pushed into their village. Their anger was due to the incident about which we later found out. At that time, which was in the year 1907, when we were traveling home (as described above), some suns had been obtained by whites and had been brought to Rabaul. There they lay around before shipment, openly, on the wharf, and were seen by the black women workers. When the tale became known in New Mecklenburg, it enraged the chiefs there to such an extent that they forbade the further sale of the sacred sun malanggans to whites.

In fact I did not succeed in acquiring one of the pieces for Berlin, in spite of offers of higher and higher sums of money. The sun at Lemeris was burned before my eyes at the close of the ceremonies. I was even willing to have a boat come right to the ceremonial place so that the malanggan could be carried directly away, overseas, wrapped in linen. That was refused. I will have to offer a special, later work on the oara, as the bound sun malanggans are called, so I can stop short here.

They were formed of radiating twigs bound together, as a disk, with a tubular shaped central appendage, in contrast to the many-formed northern malanggans carved out of wood which are shown in colorful groups in our museums. These latter are in the form of columns, posts, horizontal planks, masks, dance figures, etc. The ulis also belong in this category. Like these, the suns were also painted, usually, with a white ring, then a black one (comprised usually of fern root plaited-work, and bounded by two low boundaries), and an inner golden yellow disk. On that disk the basket sits with as many as a dozen tongues radiating to the outer edge, so that the general appearance is really like a sun. In the hole of the basket they usually put the skull of the dead person being honored, and later, . . . this was burned with a flitch of bacon in the fire into which they threw the sun. In Lemeris, also, a living person looked out through the hole. He then was taboo in the men's yard for a few months after the ceremony. The suns they like to identify with the great god Moroa, who created and taught everything good. It must have surely been a real sun cult originally. (Krämer-Bannow, E., 1916, pp. 279-280).¹

Nevermann mentioned a malanggan called A vavara, the Auvere malanggan in Fesoa, which had a center hole which was burst through with a stick (1940, p. 24), and a malanggan called Auvara (1940, p. 29). With respect to the last reference, Nevermann stated that it was not certain whether the name Awara as used for the

¹Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

carving and basketry work of the front of a malanggan house in Mapua, Tabar Islands, is related to Auvara.

Peekel's comments on the suns are in a discussion of what he calls A vavara. A translation of what he said follows:

Krämer has reported on them. In the north they were rare. The images were mostly of Tabar people. They are usually as large as 2 meters, are round, bright disks, and are made of sticks and pandanus leaves. . . . Few trees of large size are found, and fitting planks is too exacting (so that making the objects of wood is not usually done). [However,] once the native Tamevat of Livitua, carved out of wood, with enormous expenditure of work, a giant sun. It was formed out of a 6 meter high plank. . . . In the center of the disk was a relief carving of a human face, a boar's head or a sea eagle. No baskets seen here.

A wonderful sun was seen here in Lamekot two years ago. The relief of the center represented a sea eagle, which, as though giving a love call, pressed against the wall behind, head down, spread out tail on high (Peekel, 1927, p. 22).¹

Pu'ling-Kolepmu

The name given for this malanggan object was Pu'ling and also Kolepmu. In the Notsi language, *pu*="piece of," and *uling*="moon." Pu'ling is therefore a contraction of *pu* and *uling*. In Melanesian Pidgin English, it was called 'hap mun' ('hap=piece of, and 'mun'=moon). As Figure 5 shows, this malanggan consists of a crescent moon with a hole in its center, in which a humanoid face can be seen. Surrounding this portion which had been carved out of wood, in relief, was a roughly elliptical area formed of seeds of an olive green color, arranged on a framework of sticks.

No meaning was given for the word Kolepmu.

Pu'ling was made during the two months prior to the March 10 ceremonials and was carved and finished by Eruel at Nou. It was shown in the same malanggan display house as the Malanggatsak and Labui malanggan objects (fig. 14). Pu'ling was referred to and used as a malanggan object.

The patronage relationships for the Pu'ling malanggan rest on the fact that the malanggan was in honor of both Lingi and Kalamogo. Figure 26, the kinship relationships of the Wowora malanggans shows the relationships of these two boys, and Figure 18, kinship of the Labui malanggan, shows what is known of the relationship of Daniel Muk to Kalamogo. Eruel, at the feast for putting in the eyes of Pu'ling made the following speech of transmittal:

¹Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

"This malanggan now belongs to you, Kalamogo, because you asked for it. It belonged to my mother, Lekiu, who gave it to me just after the war. I have carved it only once before. It is a picture of Malis (Unais, the dead wife of Nodai, and the mother of Kalamogo)."

Pu'ling had belonged to Eruel and Nodai, Kalamogo's father, had asked Eruel for the right to have this malanggan carved. Eruel was transferring the rights and also was carving the piece. The malanggan was said to be a picture of Malis, the dead mother of Kalamogo (see figs. 18 and 26).

It was said that the Pu'ling malanggan as a kind of Kulepmu malanggan was a spirit of a person who died and thus was not dangerous, as a warrior spirit or a bush spirit would have been.

No objects resembling Pu'ling were found in museum collections.

Pu'ling was not mentioned specifically in the literature. The sun-moon mythology, treated elsewhere herein, ought to be mentioned at this point. The name, meaning piece of moon, was the only instance in which I heard reference to the sun or moon in malanggan objects, and the reference is very straightforward and not at all obscure as Peekel's derivations seem to be.

Kulepmo is mentioned a number of times in the literature. The name Kulepmu and Pu'ling were linked by various informants, who referred to Pu'ling as Kulepmu. Kulepmu, or Kulepmo, seems to be a generic name for a class of malanggan objects.

Krämer (1925, p. 76) mentions the name Kulepmo as the name of a type of malanggan. Nevermann (1940, p. 26) mentions the following names which approximate the word as follows: Agulapmu from Lakurdeniau, Kulepmo or Kulebmu from Hamba (Amba, that is, the next village from Lesu), Kulapmu from Tabar, Kulabmu from Balus, Kulepmu from Tatau (Tabar Islands), and Fesoa and Agulatmu from Logagon.

Powdermaker, in *Life in Lesu*, saw elements of the ceremonials in which several malanggans were used, Kulebmur being one of them. She described certain rites and describes objects in several places (1933, pp. 116, 117, 210-224). An illustration, which might be a Kulebmur malanggan, is to be seen on page facing page 208. The best evidence that Kulebmur is a generic class name is on page 316, where Powdermaker cites Kulebmur as a class name and subsumed under it the following specific names: Araraun, Lekiu, Kuwawuwu, Balanei, Kuleipagna, Ambeli, Ammaris, Amarindan, Anutimisi, and Agasmuggawuk. I heard Lekiu and Balanei used as

personal names. Thus they are probably individuals who lived and who were being honored in the ceremonies.

Pu'ling is now in the collections of Field Museum.

No myths were known to be connected with this malanggan.

Walik-Mantelingling

A malanggan object called Walik was erected at a little hamlet called Sali, southeast of Amba, on February 20, 1954, in conjunction with the setting up of a memorial slab called a 'smel,' a cement, or, more particularly, a concrete tombstone. They were usually just poured into low forms so as to make horizontal and rectangular slabs over graves. Occasionally, a few words were scratched into the wet cement. Such a slab had been made before the ceremony which occurred on February 20, which celebrated the erection of a small display house containing a circular disk rather like a Wowora malanggan, plaited of vegetable fibers and painted (see fig. 27). However, informants insisted it was not a Wowora but a Walik malanggan, whose specific name was Mantelingling, or morning star. It had been made just prior to the ceremonies. The grave and display house were marked off from the rest of the feast area by a footing of logs which had been topped by a dried coconut leaf fence.

No information was obtained about the artist who made the malanggan, nor about details of its construction. The object was not collected.

The erection of the malanggan was in honor of the memory of a woman named Moria, who had died at a time unknown to me, but presumably within a year before the occasion of the feast. Her husband, Dura, was an immigrant New Guinea man who had settled in Lesu some years before. His status was not high, and the reduced circumstances of the ceremonies probably reflected this fact.

No objects similar to this object were found in the collections of the Field Museum.

The name Walik is mentioned several times in the literature. Nevermann (1940, p. 21) mentions the name Valik saying that it was made for a specific person. According to Powdermaker (1933, p. 117), Walik, like Kolebmur, was a generic name. Unfortunately, from the description she gives of Walik it is clear only that it is a plaque type of malanggan, but seems not at all to be like the Sali malanggan (1933, p. 116).

Powdermaker (1933, pp. 116-131) describes the course of a malanggan ceremonial, at which Walik, Kolebmur, Muhdae, and Lysisi

FIG. 27. Grave with concrete slab, mirror, and display house with Walik-Mantelingling malanggan at Sali, February 20, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100607 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

malanggans were made. Compared to the Sali and the Libba ceremonials, the 1929 ceremonials in Lesu were more elaborate and more formally staged. One great difference between Walik in 1929 and Walik in 1954, aside from differences of form which cannot be compared, is that the 1929 ceremonials were put on by a much richer family than what poor Dura could do in 1954.

In Powdermaker there are two illustrations which may or may not be Walik. One is a relief-type malanggan (1933, facing p. 120), and the other shows a very elaborately set up display scene with an enormous horizontally displayed relief malanggan hanging in the display house (1933, facing p. 208).

Powdermaker relates an origin myth with respect to Walik.

A man named Lunguma, who lived in Tabar, fell asleep while he was working in his garden. While asleep his spirit double appeared in a dream and showed him how to make the Walik malanggan, and also all the dances and other aspects of the rites connected with it. Just before he died, Lunguma passed on this information to a clan relative, and so it has come down to the present time (1933, pp. 317-18).

Masks

Nit Kulegula

Nit Kulegula is a generic name for a certain kind of ceremonial mask. Names of other masks of this category were as follows: Waniriu, Turika, and Sulunga. This specific mask was called Mit-surtuwit in the Tabar language, and Impetail in Notsi language. At least part of the Notsi name is known to me, *tail* is the Notsi word for conch shell.

The mask represents a humanoid head wearing a headdress and having great upstanding ears (fig. 28). On top of this headdress is carved a conch shell (tail). Eruel said that this Nit is differentiated, in part, from other masks of the class by the carved shell. The mask was made of various materials—wood, in three pieces—the face-head part and two removable ears which were set into the head by means of mortise and tenon joints. The cap was made of rattan framework which was then covered with black aerial tree fern root, and lined with red cotton cloth. The face was modeled in brown beeswax over the wood.

Eruel carved the Nit mask for his own use. It was done in the enclosure at Nou, and was used in the March 10 ceremonies.

Eruel said that he had carved one other Nit mask before attempting this one. The Nit mask, although used in malanggan ceremonies, was not a malanggan object. It was made to be worn by Eruel on March 10, when he acted as escort for the initiated boys, leading them out to rejoin their families and the people outside the enclosure. At the time of the performance the mask was ringed by a large oval of white feathers, and Eruel's body was covered with various leaves

FIG. 28. Nit Kulegula mask at Nou, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 98850 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

and aromatic plants. The boys were led outside where they were met by their mothers and sisters. Then the Nit masker (Erue) performed a slow solo dance, carrying a shell rattle and a ceremonial paddle. Finally, the dancing stopped, and this was the signal to break open the gateway to the enclosure to admit the crowd of men, women, and children. The mask was then removed and hung up on a specially prepared mount for it, on the second story of the same malanggan display house in which Malanggatsak, Labui, and Pu'ling were displayed (fig. 14). The paddle was set up also, being stuck in the stand on the ground level.

Erue had acquired the rights to make and use the Nit mask in Tabar. At the end of the ceremonies, Erue passed on the rights to the mask to his son, Lingi. Erue said that the people being honored by the mask being placed in the display house were the two dead parents of his wife, Elen (fig. 29). These people, and also Kulai and a man named Luguna would be remembered Erue said, as people would look up and see the great mask rotting away in its display house on the beach.

The Nit Kulegula mask was the only art object I asked to collect refused to me. Erue said he preferred that it remain in the display house, saying that he was angry that women had merely passed this important spot on their way to perform profane tasks, such as fetching water and firewood, and had not even noticed. Now that the display house with the magnificent mask in it was there, it would give them pause. In short, it would proclaim to everyone that the dead had been properly honored.

One myth was collected in conjunction with the Nit mask.

The bird (depicted on the ear of the Nit mask) named Keni sits on the tail of a shark, and calls out "hit him." Another bird says "no." These two birds belong to a 'ples nating' (a supernatural void) and pull canoes to that place. The bird of the shark says "hit him"—the bird of the beach says "no." When the bird calls "hit him," turtle comes up and breaks the canoe. If the one bird does not say "no," sea creatures come and break the canoe.

In the collections of the Field Museum there are a number of masks of generally similar form, but none specifically similar enough to warrant identification as Nit Kulegula.

Powdermaker (1933, p. 124) refers to dancing masks called Anis used for memorial and initiation ceremonies. There is also illustrated a "Dancing Mask" with modeled face (wax?) and carved

* Deceased people for whom Nit Kulegula mask was made.

FIG. 29. Kinship relationships of the Nit Kulegula mask.

detachable ear pieces (1933, opposite p. 120, upper photograph). Her description of the dancers is as follows:

In come the first group of dancers who are from Lesu. Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from the trade store on a nearby plantation, he painted his body red from the waist up so that his identity might remain concealed. . . .

After a short interval, fourteen men from Langania enter and do a very similar dance. The masks, costumes, and music are identical, but there is a slight variation in the steps and form.

In the next dance (two dances afterwards) sixteen men wearing masks and costumes similar to the ones in the first dance form two lines, one of which sits on the ground and represents a snake who wants to eat the men in the other line, who stand and wave sticks representing spears (1933, p. 126).

Powdermaker reports another masked dance as follows:

Another dramatic dance, also by the men from Fakmalak, follows. The men wear the leaf shirt and painted masks of the Tselanith anis dance performed earlier, and the dance is one of two-line formation, one line representing women and the other men. The "men" pursue the "women," who act coyly and at first refuse to yield. But finally the men succeed, and the two lines sit down opposite each other and each couple embraces. The audience greets the climax with laughter and hilarious shouts (1933, p. 128).

In Groves the following description of a Nit-like mask is given, plus Groves' comment.

Down at Fatmilak village a Murua ceremony was taking place. Six large figures, appropriately decorated, the Murua themselves, emerged from the cremation ground where they had been secretly prepared. They made their way in file, with slow heavy tread, up from the beach to the open space in the village where hundreds and hundreds of local natives and visitors had gathered around. With each heavy step the figures took, a bustle-like bunch of *Cordyline terminalis* leaves bobbed up and down on the rump; shell rattles attached to wrists and ankles provided appropriate music to the solemn, stately, forward movement. After each deliberate step the figures paused, to turn their great ungainly Murua heads slowly from side to side, as if peering uncertainly into the unfamiliar world of mortal man. One old woman, unable to control her emotional outburst, rushed forward and placed her hands on the body of one of the figures, wailing and calling upon it by names of deceased kinsmen. In the assembled throng, children cowered in fear at their squatting mother's feet; and even the modern sophisticated youths of the village appeared impressed to the point of silence.

As the spirit figures (for that is what they were), their peculiar dance performance ended, made their slow way back towards the cremation enclosure, the old women walked beside them, talking appealingly, saying amongst other things, "Wait for me; soon I too will come." Immediately after the figures had divested themselves of their ceremonial trappings, I went amongst the young men who had acted as Murua. There was no doubt left in my mind that the men concerned had been deeply moved in their inner selves by their experiences. The thing had almost as much meaning for the men themselves as for the old women who believed them to be incarnated spirits (Groves 1936, pp. 225-226).

FIG. 30. 'Tatanua' type mask, collected in 1908 from Kapsu, New Ireland by George A. Dorsey. FMNH Neg. No. 100608. FMNH Catalog No. 112093.

From Walden's notes, Nevermann says that at about five to ten months after cremation at Fezoa, masked Merue dances were made, with children carrying dance paddles (1940, pp. 13, 14). Also, one Merue dance occurred at Lemakot and was called Vaneriu there. (See above, the name Waniriu, reported by informant-carver Eruel as the name of a Nit Kulegula mask.)

Peekel in discussing various mask types in New Ireland, argued against Krämer's terminology, especially the Matua and 'Tatanua'

types (1927, pp. 33, 24). According to Peekel, 'Tatanua' was the generic name for the helmet masks whose face was carved of wood, with a snout-like projection of the mouth, and with a yellow-colored hair crest made of fibers running from the back of the head to the upper forehead, somewhat like the crest on a Greek helmet (fig. 30). Peekel further states that the 'Tatanua' masks are historical in meaning, representing deceased persons. Thus, many masks of differing aspect were named with the actual name of the deceased person, and one heard said, "That is Rangit," or "That is supposed to be Sodan" (1927, p. 34). A Lesu informant in 1954 said that 'tatanua' was Pidgin for masks called Nit titili.

Another type of mask, called Kepang by Peekel are less durable, and are newly made for each performance (unlike the 'Tatanua,' which were saved from performance to performance). Kepang masks are carved from the lower trough-shaped part of a palm leaf, thus the face is flat and wide. The upper part of the head is formed of rattan roots, crudely plaited to form the vault of the head. Fern roots are applied to the rattan framework to represent hair. The ears are large and circular and made of rattan framework over which red cloth is stretched. Behind each ear stands a vertical coconut-leaf-midrib, ornamented with white feathers. The eyes are formed by using the opercula of sea snails set onto a crescent-shaped carved piece of wood, fastened to the face with wax and wooden pegs. The nose was partially carved of wood, but most of the nose, face muscles, and lips were modeled of beeswax, the latter substance gathered from the combs of wild bees (Peekel, 1927, pp. 33, 34).

Peekel states that Matua is a generic name for masks with no specific type names (1927, p. 33). He refers to Krämer's illustrations, some of which Krämer called Matua types (Krämer, 1925, plates 84, 86-93, and 97). In the above mentioned illustrations, Krämer names only the masks pictured in plates 91, 92, and 96 as Matua. All of these have carved and painted wooden faces and carved and removable ear pieces. None of the illustrated masks was noted as having modeled wax faces.

The Pi Masks

A class of masks called Pi came to my attention in the field. These masks cannot be related to masks mentioned, described, or illustrated in the literature, and cannot be related to masks found in museum collections. No account in the ethnographic literature says anything about the mock-terroristic, secret-society function of

these masks. In form, the Pi masks seen and collected in 1954 were unlike most of the masks seen in museum collections, in that the 1954 masks were very crudely made, with much use of European materials and extremely flimsy native materials.

The forms seem to be degenerated, and it is probable that the differential use of these masks was not recognized by German and other investigators. Which of the many masks in Museum collections are Pi masks of an earlier time is thus difficult to say, except that they resemble Kepang masks in method of construction.

Pi, as used in the Notsi area referred to a class of masks, that most in evidence there in 1954. Other named types of masks may be considered as related to Pi, mostly because discussion of Pi masks with informants brought up mention of the other types. The Pi type was the only one seen or collected. A total of seven different named mask types was given. These were: 1) Pi, 2) Sulsulanua, 3) Tuhteltutur, 4) Puhpor, 5) Gehgeh-pulel, 6) Sidomay, and 7) Talut. Four specimens of the first type, Pi, were seen in use in 1954, two examples of which were collected and are now in the Field Museum. There were reports that a Sulsulanua and a Puhpor mask were in use on March 10, but I was unable to see or photograph them. It was said that the masks and skirts worn around the waist were made of leaves and black tree-fern-root. One face had flowers on it. The other had feathers. They were held to be generally similar to Pi masks.

Informants differentiated the various types by the kinds of activities the maskers carried out. Wearers of Pi masks appear at feasts, armed with a bundle of long sticks and with a basket of unripe grapefruit. They wear a costume similar to that worn by the Nit Kulegula masker, a red cotton tee shirt, a girdle of leaves, and bustle of bristling croton leaves. The appearance of the Pi figure signals fright and amusement on the part of the assembled feasters. Pi means mad, and deaf, the former attribute being borne out by the Pi masker's behavior as it pelts the feasters with the grapefruits, chasing the younger men and boys as they run away. The deafness refers to the masker's indifference to pleas of mercy. When Pi appears, there are cries of "*O, Pi, o mus*" which greet it and comment upon its strength. When eventually a basket of food is presented to the Pi figure, the presentation is accompanied by the cry, "*O melaso*," meaning, "weaken" and "cease the mad activity." Thus the masked figure is greeted by throngs of feasters yelling to it in greeting—"Hello mad, deaf one, hello strong one," and when the

FIG. 31. Pi masker in costume. Nou, January 5, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 1134.

FIG. 32. Lingi holding Pi mask in initiate's enclosure at Nou, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100597 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog No. 252461, height $26\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

throwing and chasing is supposed to cease—"hey weak one, lie down." When the food is given the Pi masker accepts it and retires to the bush where he changes costume with another man who then comes back after a short interval to repeat the performance and to get another basket of food. The sticks, which are dummy spears, were carried in the hand and were not thrown. Pi must not throw anything at women, must not enter a house with a woman in it, nor approach a woman's basket. If a woman was struck, the Pi wearer would be obligated to give a feast in compensation or give a pig to the woman. In earlier times the Pi masker, instead of throwing grapefruit, threw rocks, and sometimes actually killed people. Informants said that individuals who had disobeyed the clan elders or were undesirable in other ways, were pointed out to the masker, who, during the performance would approach the marked man and kill him, then tear out some vital organs and eat them then and there.

A Pi mask appeared at the circumcision rites on January 6, 1954. At the feast which occurred after the circumcision, a masked figure appeared from the bush adjacent to the feasting ground and

proceeded to pelt the assembled men with grapefruit, received a basket of food and retired (fig. 31). On that occasion the discussion of different kinds of masks related to Pi occurred.

Another Pi mask was seen in the initiate's enclosure at Nou, when it was brought out to provide materials for the Nit Kulegula mask then being carved (fig. 32). It was in the possession of Lingi, and was going to be given to Eruel. In the light of the discussion of the relationship of Nit and Pi masks below, the possession of the Pi mask by Eruel's son may be significant. The material needed was the black fibrous tree fern root which was going to be torn from the Pi mask to be used for the hair and mustache of the Nit mask. There may have been some significance in using the Pi materials for the Nit, but Eruel's attitude towards the destruction of the Pi mask may have been merely practical. He needed some black fibrous material and the old Pi mask was a handy source.

A third Pi mask was seen and collected on February 13, 1954 when a Lesu man, Labele, made one after seeing Lingi's mask when it was brought to Lesu. After deprecating the Libba mask, Labele said that he could make a better one, and he proceeded to try to do

FIG. 33. Pi masker in costume, Lesu, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100598 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis. FMNH Catalog No. of mask, 252460, height 22 inches.

FIG. 34. Pi masker being paid tobacco and money. Nou, March 10, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3304.

so. One day, at Lesu, Labele appeared at my house in full Pi costume, wearing the mask he had just made (fig. 33). The mask was made of part of the stem of a sago palm leaf. Holes were cut into this for the eyes and mouth, and the surface was painted with trade store paints and lime. A carved and painted wooden nose piece was attached to the face. A rattan framework formed a head piece, black tree fern root was fastened to the top as hair, and a piece of black cotton cloth was attached to the hair so that it hung down over the back of the wearer's head. The costume consisted of a red cotton tee shirt, a kilt or skirt of coconut leaf-strips, and huge bristling bustle of croton leaves, with long spines of the mid-rib of coconut leaves sticking out of the croton leaf bundle. In one hand Labele carried a basket of unripe grapefruit, and in the other hand a bundle of dummy spears. A wristlet comprised of a mass of small shells clashed at every movement of his hand. Anklet rings of coconut leaf fiber bristled out from each ankle.

The performance was, of course, staged for me so Labele did not throw the fruit at anyone. There were shouts of "*O pi*" and "*O meleso*" shouted in fun, and Labele danced forward in the characteristic Pi-step, a rather deliberate stepping forward, like a big chicken, so that with each step the rattle clashed and the various leaves and spines jiggled. This presentation and performance induced many informants to come forward and expound upon Pi. Also the fact that there was not an ongoing ceremony allowed more to be said and thought of. The presence of Lingi's Pi mask in my house also served to stimulate discussion.

Another occasion of Pi masking took place on March 10, 1954 in conjunction with the final ceremonies of bringing the boys outside the enclosure (fig. 34). Inside the enclosure, first one man and then another were dressed in Pi masks and costumes and then went out to harass the crowd (figs. 35, 36). These Pi appearances heralded the appearance of the Nit Kulegula masker. Eruel was then dressed up in the Nit Kulegula mask and costume, and he then escorted the four boys outside.

The following information about Pi masks and their relationship to Nit masks contributes to the impression that there is a considerable system of masking, which is somehow connected to the malang-

FIG. 35. Pi maker being costumed. Mask at left. Nou, March 10, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3307.

gan ceremonials. Although Pi seems indirectly involved with malanggan rites, the masks are not malanggan objects. In the ethnographic literature there seems to be no mention of this type of mask, either by name or by reference to mode of use. The question of whether there are such objects in museum collections is obscured by the dissimilarity of those seen in the field in 1954.

Informants said that if a Nit Kulegula mask was made in one village, for instance Libba, then men from many villages can make Pi masks, except that only men whose clan had a Nit Kulegula could do so. The Pi can be made and used before the actual appearance of the Nit masks, as well as during the ceremonies when the Nit mask appeared. Thus Lamua was enabled to and did actually make a Pi mask, first because his clan owned rights to a Nit, and second, because he knew that a Nit mask was going to be made and used.

Another facet of Pi masking which tangentially involves Nit masking is involved with the term Kubungin in referring to a man who presumes to don a Pi mask but does not have the right to do so. Various taboos connected with Pi masking which the ignorant Kubungin breaks are as follows. A Pi masker must avoid women's baskets, and Kubungin is pictured as ignoring this proscription and thus enters a house where such a basket is hung outside, indicating that the woman herself is inside. Also Kubungin would take bananas being stored for a feast, which are being protected from Pi by a woman's basket being placed upon them. Before a Pi masker enters the feast area, he has a spy tell him when the pigs have been removed from the oven, and has this representative warn the feasters to get a basket of food ready—a basket which would include taro as well as pig. A Kubungin would not know the refinement of prior warning, but dash in and seize the head of the pig (a very important portion) ignoring any taro, and make off to the bush with it. A Usina-i (the opposite of Kubungin), i.e., a knowing man, would know that because of the reciprocity which dominates most of the food-giving, if the Pi maker's clan would carve a Nit mask, he would have to return a head of a pig to another Usina-i person whose clan owned a Nit. He would not give the head of the pig to a Kubungin.

Another trap for unknowing Kubungin involves gnawing the bones of a pig. Pi maskers (while out of costume) watch the feasters as they eat. If he sees someone known not to own a Nit mask gnawing pig bones, he doesn't say anything then, but becomes angry and remembers. Later, perhaps at some other occasion when he returns to the feasting, he will single out this man and throw some-

FIG. 36. Pi masker being costumed. Nou, March 10, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3310.

thing at him, and also at a child of a Kubungin. If the child is small, the Pi figure, instead of pelting him, can kidnap the baby and carry him off in his basket. Later the father gives money to the Pi masker and the child is returned. The same treatment is accorded the carver's child because in the enclosure, although the carver is given food, including pig, he often does not eat then, but takes it to his house where it is suspected that his child can and does gnaw the bones.

The time to put on the Pi mask and costume is when the spy has informed the masker that the oven is opened. Dressing a Pi masker requires the assistance of another person. This person preferably should be Usina-i also, one who himself has the right to wear a Pi. However, it is sometimes necessary for an ordinary man to help, but he has to pay shell currency and money to be allowed to help dress a Pi masker. Also, such a man, although he has not acquired rights to Nit masking, is permitted, by virtue of his payment, to sally out as a Pi masker. Upon the one occasion at Nou, on March 10, 1954, when Nit and Pi maskers were being dressed, the dressers-up indeed seemed to be old, respected men.

Another meaning of Kubungin is to indicate ignorance of Nit and Pi matters in a person who, however, has preferential rights to such knowledge. Thus a certain young boy, who was cited as a preferred individual to whom such knowledge and rights could be transferred, and who was in 1954 too young to have experience and knowledge, could be called Kubungin.

I was able to collect data about transmission of rights to Pi masking from several different informants. This information may illuminate transmission of malanggan rights.

The diagram in Figure 37a shows the transmission of Pi rights of Kusi who owned rights to a Pi mask and to a Sulsuanua mask. He got these rights from Lamua, who is his *tata* (maternal uncle—mother's brother) and a member of his own clan, Sinpop-Bura. The transfer of rights occurred when Kusi was circumcised in the enclosure when he was a boy. Lamua acquired his rights from his father Gain at an unspecified time in the past. Note that Gain is a member of Suluwis clan. Apparently Lamua could have given his Pi-Sulsulanua rights to his son, who belonged to his mother's clan—but did not do it. Kusi said that he will give the rights to his own son, Sangari, who is a member of Suluwis clan. Thus, as Figure 37b shows, in three time periods, the rights to a Pi passed from Suluwis

(b.)

	Estimated dates of transfers	SULUWIS CLAN	SINPOP-BURA CLAN	Relationships
I.	1910	Gain to	Lamua	MoMoHu to MoBr
II.	1930		Lamua to Kusis	MoBr to EGO
III.	1967	Sangari from	Kusis	EGO to So

FIG. 37. *a*, Kinship relationships and transmission of rights to Pi masks.
b, Transmission of Pi mask rights of Kusis.

clan to Sinpop-Bura and will go back to Suluwis. Father to son seems to be one possible mode of transmission, but perhaps only as an alternative to that of maternal uncle to nephew.

Another informant, Ureng, acquired Pi rights in part from one Lumaris, his mother's brother (see fig. 38). Little Ureng (the above mentioned boy to whom knowledge and rights can be transferred)

Lumaris is Tata (Maternal Uncle) to big Ureng.
 Big Ureng is Tsiringa (Reciprocal term for Tata) to Lumaris.
 Big Ureng is Tata to little Ureng.
 Little Ureng is Tsiringa to big Ureng.

FIG. 38. Kinship relationships and transmission of rights to Ureng's Pi mask.

is a member of Penuniuk clan, *tsiringa* to big Ureng. He will very probably acquire his Pi rights from him. Ureng's Pi is named Turogai and was described as "one-half black, one-half white" and with "paint all over, like a certain crab" (known to New Irelanders). It was described as bad because it hits many people.

A Lesu Pi would be outfitted at Lesu and walk, fully decked out, along the road to Libba. The Pi masker might meet a man on the road, and would then lower his mask and 'shoot' (throw some-

FIG. 39. Kinship relationships and transmission rights to Labale's Pi mask. (Nungutata means my maternal uncle).

thing at) the traveler. Two Pi maskers meeting, would 'shoot' each other. With respect to Labele's Pi, Libba informants said that if Labele had clan affiliations at Nou, he could have come in his Pi outfit. However, this was not the case, therefore he did not presume to go to Nou dressed up.

Labele seems to have acquired Pi rights from his tata, Kowang (fig. 39). The Pi is named Mutagupal and Dopal is the name of the associated Nit mask. Labele stated that his clan, Mugiga, paid his father's clan for Pi rights. Labele said that men must know how to make their own Pi, but that in case they forget the designs, then they must ask a 'big man.'

Other Pi names are: Mutopal belonging to Seremangasi clan, Talingatuma of Soliba clan, Tulingaguk of Penuniuk clan. This latter mask is supposed to have one ear and does not listen to pleas for leniency.

The following masks are types related to, but different from, Pi. Only Pi masks were actually seen by me. Two others, Sulsulanua and Puhpor, were mentioned as being afoot during the ceremonies, but I did not see them.

Sulsulanua in Notsi language means "burn the house" (*sul-sul*=run, burn; *anua*=house). According to informants, Sulsulanua maskers appear at a house with a lighted torch and threaten to set fire to the house unless paid off with food. Puhpor maskers carry two sticks, confront people, and then tickle them with the sticks, desisting only when paid off. Tuhteltutur maskers attempt to chop house posts with an axe and can be paid off to desist. Gegeh-pulel maskers attempt to remove the roof of the house. Sidomay and Talut maskers run around, and when their name (Sidomay or Talut) is called, they fall to the ground.

Informants categorized these various masks as follows: Sidomay and Talut fall down and roll on the ground, and are considered to be clowns. Everyone laughs at Sidomay and Talut. Puhpor was also mentioned as a clown. Pi is the only masker who can get food in the enclosure and, if he is expected, a woman's basket may be placed upon the food to keep him away. Sidomay (or Puhpor or Talut) sometimes are used to appear before Pi in order to make everyone laugh and thus forget to take precautionary tabooing steps to protect the food from Pi.

Sulsulanua, Tuhteltutur, and Gegeh-Pulel, on the other hand, are not clowns but seem to be some kind of terrorists. Some Nit

masks, other than Nit Kulegula, have Sulsulanua, Tuhteltutur, and Gegeh-Pulel masks associated with them.

From these scattered and fragmentary data one may speculate that Pi is equivalent to, or part of a class of masks comprised of Sulsulanua, Tuhteltutur, and Gegeh Pulel, the common characteristics of which are (1) the relationship with a Nit mask, and (2) the ceremonial terrorist, secret-society-like nature of the activity. In contrast, Puhpor, Sidomay, and Talut are clowns. The presence of Pi type masking, suggests that in northern New Ireland there is present a hitherto unreported kind of secret society activity.

OTHER ABORIGINAL ART OBJECTS

Although some of the art objects and artifacts included in this section are functionally involved with malanggan ceremonies, others are not. Their listing and description, together with the listing and description of malanggans and masks and of European-inspired art, in the next section, permits a view of the total art system in 1953-54 in the Notsi linguistic area. Generally speaking, it was strikingly apparent that outside the framework of the malanggan ceremonials there was very little which could be called art in this society. A list of moderate length has been compiled below, but it should be kept in mind that the various items listed were few and appeared infrequently. The average view in Notsi villages is one which reveals a lack of personal ornamentation, ornamentation and decoration of houses, or ornamentation of utensils and implements. The use of objects of material culture made in Europe, Australia, or Asia has, of course, displaced the use of objects of aboriginal manufacture, some of which formerly were decorated.

Dance Paraphernalia

The only dances which occurred in 1953-54 were part of the malanggan ceremonies, mostly on March 10 and at the time of the circumcision. However, only on March 10 was there costumed dancing, involving the making and use of various art objects.

Two items of dance paraphernalia seen in use in 1954 are important to mention here because both are to be found depicted in malanggan images: one is a feather headdress worn in certain of the dances, the other is a wooden ornament, carved and painted to depict a bird's head, carried in the mouth during one of the dances (fig. 40). The feather headdresses, called *pilot*, were not being made in 1954, although one old man, Piku, was mentioned as being able to

do so. On the other hand, the mouthpieces, called *ngus*, were being made, both by the malanggan carvers and by many individuals who needed them.

Another aspect of dance costume, also to be seen in Figure 40, was face and body painting.

The feather headdresses were not the same as several headdresses depicted in painted wood carving on malanggan objects. However, three of the actual headdresses were put on three of the Tagapa figures (fig. 20). At least one headdress was of large, black, glossy feathers which looked like cassowary feathers (the cassowary is not found in New Ireland). The pilot headdresses are made by tying feathers into a string-netting cap. The headdresses were highly prized. There did not seem to be enough to satisfy all men wanting to use one in the dance. One of the Tagapa figures had a headdress made of white chicken feathers, a glaringly poor substitute (fig. 20). When the Tagapa figures were collected, the owners were quick to state that, of course, the pilot headdresses were not being given up. The chicken feather version was given up without comment, also one piece with a headdress made of seeds. There was a similar reluctance to give up other objects such as the 'kep kep' breast ornament on the Wowora malanggan and the arm rings made of shell.

Feather headdresses are mentioned in the literature. Powdermaker mentions the presence of feather headdresses in Lesu. In the context of a description of rites for the Walik malanggan, Powdermaker reports the following:

Two men [one, the father of a boy being initiated] stand up behind the malanggan so that they are only visible from the waist up. One has a bird's beak in his mouth and a brightly coloured bird's tail in his hair. The other has a crown of feathers and also a beak in his mouth (1933, p. 120).

Sola stands up, holding in his hands the bird's beak (Notinamaen), the black wooden rattle containing pig's teeth (Tumba), the headdress of feathers (Bilut), all used by the two men who had been swaying back of the malanggan (1933, p. 121).

Sola comes out adorned with a feather headdress, a bright red loin cloth, a pig's liver hanging out of his mouth, the shark fishing rattle in one hand, and a smaller shell rattle in the other (1933, p. 133).

In a description of a malanggan celebration at Logagon, the following was reported by Powdermaker:

FIG. 40. Dancers in Sogumbua dance at Nou, March 11, 1954, shown wearing feathered headdresses and carved and painted birds' head mouthpieces. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 3807.

. . . two men with grass skirts and feather headdresses, representing gas, come from the bush to the open compound, carrying shell rattles, which they keep vibrating (1933, p. 213).

She continues as part of the same description,

Each dancer wears a feather headdress and carries a bird's beak in his mouth. These represent the birds, Kania, who sit on logs and reefs in the sea and look at sharks (1933, p. 213).

Nevermann says,

For the dance (segombul or sogobul) they wear, in Fezoa, a feather cap called a lavilot, which were also used in other dances (1940, p. 34).¹

Krämer, writing about a men's dance, called lelam or lam, in Lamasong, mentions dancers with vilot feathers on the head (1925, p. 52).

The dance mouthpieces were made specifically for the Sogumbua dance presented by Lesu men at Nou on March 10. There seemed to be no aptitudes special to these objects, no special handling, nor specialists to make them. Both carvers made some of the pieces, many others were made by the men who used them. None of the mouthpieces seen in use in 1954 was collected, except one piece which was made not for use in a dance but to be placed in the mouth of the face depicted on one of the Wowora malanggan objects.

Dance mouthpieces are mentioned in the ethnographic literature. These reports, together with the presence of such objects in the collections of the Field Museum and in collections elsewhere, establish the fact of continuity of manufacture and use for at least 50 years.

Powdermaker makes several remarks, cited above, about bird's beaks being used in Lesu and elsewhere in New Ireland in 1929-30. It is not clear from her description whether these were carved wooden bird's beaks or real ones, but it seems more likely that the carved mouthpieces were the objects in use.

She reports in the context of a description of rites for the Walik malanggan,

Sola advances, bird's beak in his mouth and rattle in his hand, and dances up and down the centre of the enclosure (1933, p. 123).

Nevermann, writing about objects called dance mouth ornaments, says,

¹ Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

For the hornbill bird dance, called segombul or sogumbul, carved hornbill bird's heads were taken into the mouth. Occasionally, in the beak is carved, also, a nut or snake. Also real hornbill heads could be used, as those which were prepared by Magelak, (a person) in Tovabe (a village) near Fezoa. These bird's heads were called a vat a mani (bird's head or a var i mbangbange [hornbill bird head]) (Logagun dialect) (1940, p. 34).¹

Nevermann (1940, p. 33) also notes a mouth ornament carved to represent a parrot with a small shark in its beak, seen by Walden in Kafkaf village, where it had been carved by a Fezoa man, Kakot.

Peekel, writing about dance mouthpieces and ornaments says,

The most used mouthpiece is a carved or natural stuffed hornbill head. . . . It served as the emblem of this bird in the sakabul dance. In more recent times, the heads are seldom carved as they were earlier because in present circumstances, natural heads are not too difficult to obtain (1927, p. 39).

In earlier times these mouthpieces were carved, now they prefer the natural heads which are relatively easy to obtain (Peekel, 1928, 544).¹

Peekel goes on to refer to certain of Krämer's illustrations and statements and in discussing sun-moon symbolism, ascribes moon-symbolism to the mouthpieces.

Peekel (1928), in writing about rites called Lang-Manu as the concluding rites of a malanggan celebration, mentions both feather headdresses (as Lavilot or Ligilot) (1928, p. 543), and hornbill heads used as mouthpieces.

Krämer illustrates a number of mouthpieces. One photograph shows two dance mouthpieces, one, a carved and painted representation of a small animal standing on a fern leaf, the other, a real hornbill head (1925, Plate 68, lower photograph). Another shows a malanggan statue depicting a man shown holding a mouthpiece in his mouth (1925, Plate 69). Two other photographs illustrate carved and painted wooden mouthpieces (1925, Plates 72, 73).

Face and body painting did occur in dance costuming. The use of white powdered lime is most usual. Occasionally an individual will turn up with his forehead and/or cheeks powdered with white lime while not in a dance. In the Sogumbua dance white, black, yellow, and red powdered pigments were used to decorate the face and body. In addition to the white lime and red and black pigments made by New Irelanders, the trade stores sold powdered pigments of many colors.

¹ Translated from German by P. H. Lewis.

Personal Ornamentation

In addition to ornamentation specifically connected with dance performances more or less connected with malanggan rites, there was some other personal ornamentation seen in New Ireland in 1953-54. Shell armrings and 'kep kep' breast ornaments were occasionally worn by older men. A few women were tattooed, the designs consisting of a few dots on the face. Hair bleaching and dyeing was done by almost every man, woman, and child, even infants. One way was to bleach the hair with trade store peroxide and yellow laundry soap so that the hair becomes golden yellow or platinum blonde. An alternative color (possibly achieved in the same way) is a red-brown. Still another color is jet black, accomplished by use of trade store hair dye. In earlier days white powdered lime was used, either as a bleach or as a white pigment.

Personal ornamentation seems to have declined. In earlier days men wore no clothing, although obviously various costumes were donned as suggested by references to dance and mask costumes. Their hair and beards were worn long, and whitened with lime, and plastered with lime plaster and sculptured into tri-dimensional forms. They carried arm baskets or lime pouches made of pandanus leaf. They wore arm rings, and perhaps only upon ceremonial occasions, breast ornaments. Women wore a pubic apron of grass. They probably whitened their hair also.

Today both men and women wear the cotton 'lap lap.' Men are clean shaven, using double-edged safety razor blades (often without a razor), straight razors, or carefully sharpened table knives. Hairdress of men and women is almost the same, worn about 1 to 2 inches in length with shaved temples and neck. Some individuals allow their hair to grow longer, to about 3 to 4 inches, and brushed out to form a mop of upstanding hair.

In German colonial days there was a tendency to dress in European clothing, because wages for labor was paid partly in European clothing. In 1954 it was a rare individual who wore trousers, hats or shoes. 'Lap laps' were available in solid colors, black, white, red, green, or blue and were universally worn. Men sometimes wore a white shirt, even a tie, but only for Sunday or church wear. Women, while working, often wear no upper garment. Many of the women when not working in the gardens and around the village, wore short-sleeved blouses around their necks, more like a scarf than a blouse. On Sundays, however, they wear blouses properly, with arms through the sleeves. Sunday clothing, except for shirts

FIG. 41. Front view of Catholic church building, Number Two Lesu, February 28, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100596 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

FIG. 42. Interior, Catholic church, Number Two Lesu, February 28, 1954. Photograph, P. H. Lewis, Neg. No. 2503.

FIG. 43. Methodist church building, Number One Lesu, February, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100600 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

and ties, is of the same kind worn during the week, except that it is newer and pressed.

In summary, personal ornamentation, exclusive of that assumed for ceremonial dance occasions is of very minor importance.

Floats for Fish Nets

One other kind of decorated object was seen, a set of wooden floats for a fish net which were carved and attached to a net. They were seen outside the context of malanggan ceremonies, and are notable as the sole expression of wood carving, other than malanggan and masking which occurred during the seven month period of observation. The floats were not collected nor photographed. The carving was not done by specialists.

OBJECTS OF EUROPEAN INSPIRATION

One would expect in an acculturated society that art would show influence from the dominating society. The lack of European influence in art is very striking, both in lack of direct borrowing of European art ideas, and in absence of European-inspired social context of art, with the following minor exceptions. European tools and implements have, of course, supplanted a number of aboriginal

FIG. 44. Grave in the Catholic cemetery, Number Two Lesu, February, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100602 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

FIG. 45. Government school buildings, Number One Lesu, 1954. FMNH Neg. No. 100595 from Kodachrome by P. H. Lewis.

tools. The ban upon and cessation of native warfare has eliminated the manufacture of decorated spears and clubs and, perhaps, most of the body decoration also.

It is not without significance that the only social context of European origin which has actually resulted in some expression of art has been religious. The most decorated building in Lesu was the Roman Catholic church (fig. 41, 42). The Methodist church had some decorative elements of repetitions of wall matting, and floral arrangements outside the building (fig. 43). Floral decoration is often used inside the church buildings, ranging from a simple bouquet in a bottle to elaborate festooning of the whole interior at Christmas time. One carved and painted crucifix is to be seen in the Roman Catholic cemetery. The carving shows no discernible New Ireland style influence (fig. 44) but differs from the usual slab of concrete. The government school buildings have matting walls which are decorative and also have ornamental plantings of flowers outside the building (fig. 45). The rest house, medical building, and the co-operative trade store building are all simple and completely undecorated. In the government school's art classes, children draw, paint, and sometimes carve and paint objects in the Western style.

A summary view of the totality of art objects seen by this writer in New Ireland in 1953-54 compared with the views of Walden and Krämer in 1907-09, Peekel from 1921 to 1927, and Powdermaker in 1929-30 may be seen in Figure 46. This chart provides a view of the total art expression of northern New Ireland, but as seen in a fragmentary way by five different observers over portions of the first half of this century. Malanggan objects obviously loom large as the major art expression, then masks. The minor masks (including the Pi masks, in the column, Lewis, 1953-54) seem not to have been singled out by the other writers.

Chapter V

Persistence and Change In the System of Malanggan

Data presented in Chapter IV suggest that the total universe of art, largely comprised of malanggan and related objects, was seen somewhat differently in different time periods by different observers. Similarly, in Chapter III we saw four views of the course of malanggan ceremonials as seen in different time periods by different observers. One approach to consideration of change in malanggan is to arrange these views comparatively, and in time sequence, so that each presents a synchronic view of the phenomenon in question, on the one hand, actual art objects, and on the other, the course of the ceremonies. Two charts, Figures 10 and 46, attempt to do this. From the comparisons in Figure 46 it is possible to see presences and absences of specific named malanggans and of types and classes of malanggans; so that one can say, for instance, that the sun-malanggans were seen or reported by Walden, Krämer, Peekel, Powdermaker, and myself across the time period 1907 to 1954. But because the several observers proceeded so differently in some respects and their studies were so peculiarly related in other respects, the value of the comparison is diminished. Krämer based much of his view of the malanggans on Walden's view, and Peekel's observations are a combination of actual field experience and reaction to Krämer's work. Powdermaker's reports are the most independent, in that she seems not to have considered the German literature, but, as a result of that, does not use the categories used by Krämer and Peekel. I do use the categories of Krämer, and in so doing, have perhaps biased my observations. Figure 10 attempts to compare the observations of four of the above mentioned writers as they described the course of malanggan ceremonies. (Walden did not include such descriptions.) Again, each view is not strictly comparable, and again, there is a certain amount of influencing of one view from the others.

From these two kinds of comparison it is possible to make some statements about change and persistence in the art and ceremonial

WALDEN 1907-09	KRÄMER 1907-09	PEEKEL 1911-27	POWDERMAKER 1929-30	LEWIS 1953-54
DOLL TYPE Morendang A yulube, Urulube Malangga-Isaka Takap A gas STATUES Gamplamun Tangila NAMED MALANGGANS OF UNKNOWN TYPE (Over 65 names) FRIEZE TYPE Sesambuang Valik, Ualik Kulabmu, Agulapmu Sangasanga Auvere Palpa SUN MALANGGANS A vavara OTHER MALANGGAN TYPES such as: Tree fern, sand, earth figures, friction drum, cane malanggangs, roasters MASKS Kalap MODELLED SKULLS DANCE PARAPHERNALIA and ORNAMENTS Mouthpieces Porro, shark, hornbill heads Dance paddles Kap Kap ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE Carved corner posts of malanggan enclosure Carved house planks Carved sharks' heads on display house	DOLL TYPE (Puppen) Lasisi Mondas Moraa Dagaba Bangas STATUES and COLUMNS Marandan Maralambang Maimbam Turu Tangila, Takak or Kulibiu Statues with outstretched arms FRIEZE TYPE Ualik Kalepma Selagot Sasamboang Sangsang Individual representations of animals and objects SUN MALANGGANS Kambolin Makapiko Bangbangan MASKS Gipang Nit, Mitena, Anis, Tanua or Tatanua Veneriu, Olal Teragot Matua MODELLED SKULLS DANCE MOUTHPIECES and ORNAMENTS Hornbill heads, carved wood Hornbill heads, stuffed natural head Phalanger, carved wood Kap Kap	DOLL TYPE Morodong Fudumasi STATUES and COLUMNS Single figures without accessories Free standing figures, richly embellished Free standing figures, behind ornamental lattice Columns of figures, 2 to 5 or more persons high FRIEZE TYPE Upright friezes with center peg, stands on base, rests on frame or hangs on wall Kata, with central point and 2 side pieces Ualik or Valik, human or animal heads at ends Mat, hanging friezes, pierced with 1 or more holes Fish, large, from 1 to 2 1/2 meters long SUN MALANGGANS MASKS (generic name - MATUA) Tatanua - saved from one performance to another Kepang, Kipang, Kipang - made each time DANCE MOUTHPIECES and ORNAMENTS Hornbill heads, carved wood Hornbill heads, stuffed natural head Phalanger, carved wood Kap Kap	MAJOR TYPE NOT KNOWN Absisingo 9 named types Amuroskombo 9 named types OTHER MAJOR TYPES NOT NAMED FRIEZE TYPE? Sasobwan 15 named types Kalebmur 10 named types WARAWARA 13 named types MASKS Anis Dudul (Owl mask) Skil mask - Man and crocodile DANCE MOUTHPIECES and ORNAMENTS Bird's beaks Kep Kep	DOLL TYPE Malangatsok Gas Tagapa STATUES Labui FRIEZE TYPE Walik - Malangling Kalepma - Pul'ing WOWARA Pulodo other disk, name not obtained MASKS Major ceremonial Nit Kulagula Impatol (Mitsurtuwil - Tabar) Wanriju Turika Sulunga Minor masks Pi Sulsulanua Tuhtelutur Puhpar Gehgeh - pulal Sidamay Talut Skil mask - Hunter and wallaby DANCE PARAPHERNALIA and ORNAMENTS Ngus (Carved wooden bird's heads) Pilot (Feather headdress) Kep Kep (Breast ornament) Shell armings ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE Carved display house beams (sharks' heads) FISH NET FLOATS Carved wood EUROPEAN - INSPIRED ART Ramon Catholic church building Tomestone with crucifix School childrens' art

FIG. 46. Classification of different kinds of art objects seen and reported by Walden, Krämer, Peekel, Powdermaker, and Lewis. Sources: Walden (Nevermann 1940, pp. 11-38); Krämer 1925, pp. 73-76; Powdermaker 1933, pp. 315-319; Peekel 1929, pp. 16-23; Lewis, field notes.

aspects of malanggan, but there are difficulties. For instance, in Figure 46 it can be seen that only I have reported the minor masks, Pi, Sulsulanua, Puhpor, etc., while none of the other writers had done so. Rather than saying that new forms have arisen, or that similar forms did not exist at earlier time periods, it can be said that other writers, in reporting on many different kinds of masks, did not mention Pi masks, although it is possible that one or more of the reported kinds are equivalent to Pi, Sulsulanua, etc. Thus the presence of this category of masks in 1954 column and its absence in other columns suggests only methodological differences or omissions, rather than qualitative differences, i.e., that a new form has arisen in New Ireland art. Another difficulty lies in the classification of types of art by Krämer, Peekel, and myself. Here Powdermaker's material includes Lesuans' classifications of malanggan names into several hierarchies. Finally, there is little information about quantitative aspects of malanggan in that there is no way to know how many were made or how often each was made. Figure 10 provides more substantive results in that actual duration of time periods necessary to carry out aspects of malanggan ceremonies were given so that we can see that the carving of malanggans and the stages of the ceremonies occurred at somewhat different intervals. One instance of technological change, which can be labeled as degeneration, can be seen by comparing Krämer's column with that of Lewis. In 1907 Krämer reported that after Gerengera, the time of peeling and drying of the log and when the carvers began, the stage called Aseke occurred. This was when the laying-up in the rafters of the house of the rough carved sculpture was done so that the cut through sculpture could season and dry out slowly. From Aseke to Luptse, when the piece was fetched down for further fine carving, almost two months elapsed. In 1954, between Giragira, the first carving and Luptsi, the fine finishing, there was only a few days. In other words, the green wood was not allowed to dry out, but the carvers proceeded directly and immediately from rough carving, including some piercing of the wood, to fine finishing. The longer period as reported from 1907 was done to season the wood and so prevent cracking. In 1954 one piece did crack, the Malanggatsak head. Some idea of variations in total length of time for a ceremonial to be completed can be gleaned from the several writers, in statements from Krämer and Peekel that malanggan could have taken from four months to as much as 15 months, and from Powdermaker, that one malanggan took almost four months and another that took six months to complete. It is perhaps possible to speculate from this

kind of evidence that by 1954, malanggan ceremonials were running shorter, swifter courses, and that some of the more elaborate and formal aspects had dropped out.

One kind of information missing both from the literature and from my field notes is that which illuminates what happens to a given malanggan as it persists through time, and therefore what happens and how the process works cannot be definitively established. However, from some hints gleaned from data on transmission of rights to the Pi masks, it may be possible to speculate about how transmission of malanggan rights worked, and how such transmission affected the production and use of the art objects produced.

We may infer that malanggans, as named entities, persisted through time, because we can see the recurrence of the same names in the literature, and we may infer that certain art forms persist through time because several of the objects collected in 1954 could be matched with older objects dating back to 1910 in the collections of Field Museum. That is, the Malanggatsak, Labui, and Gas malanggans, seen made and used in 1954, were collected, and found to have recognizably similar earlier counterparts in the Museum's collections. The Tagapa, Pu'ling, and Wowora malanggans, and the Nit Kulegula mask were not matched, and the Pi masks could not be exactly matched either. None of the earlier museum specimens of similar form (and those of dissimilar form) were identified by name. That is, those pieces which looked like the Malanggatsak malanggan did not have the name Malanggatsak because no names were recorded. Also, very few of the older pieces had specific village provenience.

Let us review briefly the circumstances of production of malanggan carvings. Each carver carried in his mind an encyclopedia of known malanggan names and designs so that, when asked, or commissioned by a patron, to make the Malanggatsak malanggan, both artist and the patron had in mind an image of a certain known form. Knowledge of this form also presumably existed in the minds of many, if not all other members of society. The actual extent of this kind of knowledge is unknown to me. I assume that the carvers knew most, the patrons less, and other persons least about the actual form named malanggans were to take. Also nothing is known of the territoriality of each carver, and one is forced to guess that a given carver would not have gone too far afield for each job. It

seems reasonable that he would have stayed within range of the villages of his own linguistic area, occasionally going to neighboring linguistic areas. The carver was the carrier of the style, although it is possible that a given malanggan could be rendered in different styles. Imposition of style was the unconscious result of the way in which the carver habitually worked. It is assumed that neither carver nor patron was consciously concerned with the style to be used, but that when the patron asked for a certain malanggan to be made by a carver, both patron and carver knew or understood that it would turn out looking a certain way.

When one considers the possibilities for determining the occurrence of a given malanggan and for determining the place where it is to be made, one must look to the identity of the patron, his placement in the social system and his affiliation with a clan and his place of residence and of birth. These are all important determinants of the decision to make one malanggan rather than another one, and the place where he caused the malanggan ceremony and carving[s] to be made partly determines the choice of the carver. To speak of the patron "owning" the rights to have a malanggan carved, and of his "selling" these rights to someone else, is misleading, for it implies that a given malanggan is a form of property which is more or less permanently possessed by an individual or a group. In actual fact, malanggans seem to be ephemeral entities, in that they exist in the minds of patrons and carvers as ideal possibilities which can be materialized as tangible images upon certain occasions. Ownership seems similarly ephemeral in that a patron can have the right to a malanggan, but seems to have it only for a finite period of time, usually from the time it was transferred to him, until the time he has it made and when he transfers the rights to someone else. It thus seems that ownership is acquired by a would-be patron, at his own circumcision and initiation, and that he causes the image to be materialized at the circumcision of his own son (or similar relative). Or he can "sell" the rights to a malanggan hitherto unmaterialized (by him) to a relative or friend or some person to whom he is obligated who wishes to have a malanggan made. Thus it is possible for a given patron to acquire rights to a malanggan and never personally cause it to be carved, but transfer the rights to it to someone else.

The history of a malanggan would therefore consist of a series of occasions wherein it was commissioned by a series of different patrons and carved by different artists in different places. As the

series continued through time, it would be open-ended, its origins obscure, its ultimate fate unknown. Known segments could be investigated ethnographically, perhaps starting from known groups of similar malanggans in museum collections.

The Malanggatsak malanggan provides an example for discussion in that I know its name (in Nou, 1954), observed its manufacture and use, and know something of the transmission of patronage rights. Also a sizeable number of recognizably similar works were found in the Field Museum collections.

Let us put aside as irrelevant for this discussion the fact that Eruel was the carver as well as patron for Malanggatsak, for it is as patron that he had rights of transmission. We know that Eruel was the patron and that he made Malanggatsak, in the sense of acting as patron, for his son Lingi, who was being circumcised and for certain deceased clan relatives of his wife. Malanggatsak was made at Nou because of the association of Nou with Lingi's clan. The rights to make it were transferred to Lingi from Eruel and, as time passes, and as Lingi grows to adulthood, it may be that he will have a son who will be circumcised and to whom rights to make Malanggatsak can again be transferred. But also, the possibility exists that before that happens, someone else, another man wanting to act as patron, will ask for it and will commission its manufacture for his ceremony. He will have to ask Lingi's permission, and perhaps also the permission of other members of Sakwila clan, and if granted he will pay them for the right to have it carved again, and he will pay the carver for so doing. It thus seems possible that rights to malanggans change hands each time they are commissioned to be made. However, when Malanggatsak would again be made, whether by Lingi, or by someone else, the chances that it would again be made at Nou would be small. Indeed it is almost certain that it would be made elsewhere.

Where each malanggan is made has a bearing on the style in which it is made, because it is probably where it is made that determines the carver who makes it. Thus Malanggatsak was made in Nou in 1954 by carver Eruel because he was there, and would be made in the future by carver X in place A because he would be there. I assume that carvers did observe some kind of territoriality. There is nothing in the literature to suggest that they were itinerant, but it is possible that their territories overlapped. I also assume that in different parts of northern New Ireland, there were differing sub-regional styles. The actual site at which malanggan is made is

important in that circumcision of boys and commemoration of the dead occur on sacred clan ground, i.e., the place where dwells the guardian spirit of the clan. When people are ill they attempt to return to that place in order to get the healing influences of the spirit. One theory of disease offered is that they get evil effects of living in a bad place, which can be considered as a place on which they have no rights to live. If a malanggan always belonged to one clan, or to persons within one clan, it would follow that it should be carved only on the sacred ground of that clan. However, we have seen that malanggan designs may be made in different places, determined by the clan identity of the persons being honored.

Malanggatsak was recognized in some 12 different pieces from the Museum's collections. Three comparisons with the 1954 Malanggatsak are shown in Figures 47, 48, and 49. In Figure 47 the 1954 head is shown on the right, and on the left is a head collected in 1905 from a village in the Kavieng, or Tigak linguistic area called Kapsu, approximately 50 miles northwest of Lesu. Here in these two malanggan heads, one made about 50 years after the other and at a place some 50 miles away, it can be seen that the iconography is similar, but the style of depicting the motifs is different. Presumably the same use was made of the older peg-based head, in that it was set onto some sort of body. There are some minor differences of motif between the two heads. The forms of the newer head are more precisely geometric than those of the older one. The eye on the newer head is curvilinear. In contrast, this same form on the older head is more wavering, there being a degree of imprecision in rendering the arcs. Also, the headdress on the Libba head is nipped in at a point above eye level and flares out above that point, while the Kapsu headdress just tapers in its conformity to the shape of the log. The Libba head was executed very precisely and geometrically, while the older Kapsu piece was done with less precision and more confusion as to the delineation of its forms. In Figure 48 the older piece was collected before 1913, but had no specific provenience within New Ireland. Here we see a rather different head, the headdress and teeth being somewhat similar to the Libba piece. The eyes are different, the marks on the cheeks around the eyes are different also. In Figure 49 the 1954 head can be seen on the left and on the right a figure collected in 1944 in the Tabar Islands. The similarities are quite pronounced, especially in the headdress and in the use of aerial root fiber for a mustache. Thus in these three comparisons can be seen the persistence of the motifs of the

FIG. 47. Left, carved and painted wooden head collected at Kapsu in 1905. FMNH Catalog No. 98402. Right, head of Malangatsak, collected at Libba, 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252450. FMNH Neg. No. 100615.

FIG. 48. Left, carved and painted wooden head, collected in New Ireland in 1913. FMNH Catalog No. 138827. Right, head of Malanggatsak, collected at Libba in 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252450. FMNH Neg. No. 100614.

malanggan called Malanggatsak in 1954, over some 50 years and across a large part of northern New Ireland. Eruel's carving may show some idiosyncratic difference, being especially hard-edged in style, in contrast with the older pieces.

But what of other recognizable counterparts of Malanggatsak? At least some must be contemporary in time, and some, perhaps also in place of origin. They raise the problem of more than one occurrence of a specific malanggan being done in different places at the same time. Tagapa is an example of several figures of the same design being done at one time and at one place. If the same malanggan is used in several places at once, then it follows that rights to specific malanggans are not exclusive, but shared.

Of the various objects collected and seen in 1954, the Malanggatsak, Gas, and Labui malanggans were found to have recognizable counterparts in the Field Museum collections, but the two Wowora malanggans, the five Tagapas, the Pu'ling malanggan, the Nit Kulegula mask, and the Pi masks did not. As can be seen from Krämer's difficulties, Wowora malanggans seemed more than usually difficult to collect and therefore few are found in museum collections. There seemed, in 1954, to be more secrecy and more restrictions surrounding Wowora than pertaining to other malanggans. In form, the two 1954 pieces seemed reasonably similar to those illustrated in the literature, but no comparison of actual objects was possible because there were no Wowora malanggans in the Museum. The carved wooden face in the center of one of the pieces was not matched or mentioned in the literature. Except for this face, the two 1954 Wowora malanggans were similar in form to some pictured or described in the literature.

The Tagapa malanggan figures were not found in the Museum's collections, nor seen illustrated in the literature. The carved and painted heads were done in familiar malanggan style but the bodies are unlike any I have seen. Variation of Tagapa was unusual in that five separate images were displayed, four made in 1954, and the fifth one having been saved from a prior malanggan occasion. The fifth piece was quite different from the other four (in fig. 20 see the third figure from the left). The Tagapa figures were considered to be dangerous in that whirlwinds, accidents, and other unpleasant occurrences could happen in their presence, but I was allowed to collect the pieces after suitable magical protection was provided. The Pu'ling malanggan was not matched by similar pieces in the Museum's collections nor seen in the literature. Pu'ling seems one

FIG. 49. Left, head of Malangatsak, collected at Libba in 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252450. Right, carved and painted wooden figure collected in the Tabar Islands in 1944. FMNH Catalog No. 147314. FMNH Neg. No. 100616.

of the plank malanggans carved in relief, but compared to them is much simpler in form. It was carved by Erue, whose work tended towards simplification of more complex forms. No specific counterparts of the Nit Kulegula and Pi masks were found in the Museum's collections.

Easily recognizable earlier counterparts were found for the Malanggatsak, Labui, and Gas malanggans. Recognition was a matter of matching motifs and nothing more. Museum records gave no names, and half of the objects had no more specific provenience than New Ireland. Implications of variation of Malanggatsak have been discussed above. Earlier counterparts for the Labui malanggan were found in the Museum's collections. In Figure 50 the older piece on the right was collected before 1913 and is without specific provenience. When considering Labui it is possible to speak of degeneration of style. The older figure can be seen to be holding a fish in front of its body, and when we look at the 1954 figure, the black, winged shape under the chin can be interpreted as a crudely carved and painted fish. Similarly in Figure 51 a figure collected before 1905 from Kapsu can be seen to be holding a fish but one stylized somewhat like that of the 1954 Labui. In Figure 52 another pre-1905 figure from Kapsu shows a more complex treatment of the fish, in that two fish are depicted. It is well to note dissimilarities not only between 1954 Labui and the three earlier figures, but to some degree between the three more-or-less contemporary pieces, two of which (98400 in fig. 51 and 98403 in fig. 52) were collected at the same time from the same place.

Two comparable versions of the Gas malanggan head were found. Both earlier pieces had no specific provenience, but were collected in 1905. In size and style the two older pieces, as seen in Figures 53 and 54, can be seen to resemble each other more than does 1954 Gas resemble either of them. However, in 1954 an informant pointed out that a snake was missing which should have been in the beak of the black bird on Gas's head. This motif can be seen in the older piece (right) in Figure 54.

From comparison of and search for earlier counterparts from the Field Museum collections with 1954 malanggan objects, no simple picture emerges. First it is unlikely that the objects for which no earlier counterparts were found were new forms. It seems more reasonable to assume that all had earlier counterparts, but that the Museum had no example of them. Because most of the 1954 pieces were carved in style similar to older work it seems improbable that

FIG. 50. Left, Labui malanggan figure collected at Libba, 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252456. Right, carved and painted wooden figure collected in New Ireland in 1913. FMNH Catalog No. 138817. FMNH Neg. No. 100617.

FIG. 51. Left, Labui malanggan figure collected at Libba, 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252456. Right, carved and painted wooden figure collected at Kapsu, 1905. FMNH Catalog No. 98400. FMNH Neg. No. 100618.

FIG. 52. Left, Labui malanggan figure collected at Libba, 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252456. Right, carved and painted wooden figure collected at Kapsu, 1905. FMNH Catalog No. 98403. FMNH Neg. No. 100613.

FIG. 53. Left, Gas malanggan head collected at Libba, 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252459. Right, carved and painted wooden head collected in New Ireland, 1905. FMNH Catalog No. 98610. FMNH Neg. No. 100611.

the style had changed to the extent that the pieces were unrecognizable. It thus seems likely that in spite of the Museum's large collections from New Ireland, earlier counterparts of Tagapa, Wowora, Pu'ling, and the masks were simply not represented. This suggests that the total universe of malanggan designs is very large, but that some designs were done more frequently than others. This may have resulted from relationship of specific malanggan designs with certain clans, and within that relationship, the possibility that more than one version of the same malanggan design could be used by the

FIG. 54. Left, Gas malanggan head collected at Libba, 1954. FMNH Catalog No. 252459. Right, carved and painted wooden head collected in New Ireland, 1905. FMNH Catalog No. 98609. FMNH Neg. No. 100612.

same clan at the same time. Because of the lack of specific data on such matters, this must be conjecture rather than fact, but it does seem possible that in the case of an often repeated malanggan design, such as Malanggatsak, it was used by members of a large and widely spread clan, with many localized segments in different parts of northern New Ireland. A number of members of such clans would act as patrons in several different localities, and even if the rights to make the design passed from their hands to persons in other clans,

the multiple rendition of the design would result. There was mention, by informants in 1954, that there were preferential relationships between certain clans not just for purposes of malanggan but for interchanges of marriage partners. Thus, there could have also been continuing reciprocal relationships between two large dispersed clans, as well as between large and small clans, so that in the universe of malanggan designs there may have been a dichotomy between popular, often carved designs. Thus a large clan was spread out over a greater area, and various segments of it could then have found themselves in widely different places, and so were in a position to engage carvers from different localities. Also in a large clan more individuals could have availed themselves of the opportunity to use the design. In short, the larger clans maximized their possibilities of use of given designs, whereas smaller clans did not. From the point of view of the artistry involved, more numerous expressions of a given design perhaps stimulated greater use also, in that familiarity with often used designs gave rise to desire to use them.

In the cases of those comparisons of Malanggatsak several possibilities have already been suggested, with social ramifications. In matters of art form and of the artistry necessary to produce it, it may be said that Eruel as a carver was perhaps idiosyncratic in that he was diverging from the traditional styles he was attempting to render. He tended to simplify forms, and in so doing, produced simplified versions of traditional styles. Eruel's work showed a vital and sure approach, although simplified. His work on the Nit mask was the equal of much craftsmanship seen on earlier masks, although no Nit masks were found in the Museum's collections. Eruel's work could be called "progressive" in that it was somewhat different but better than traditional work. Labui was degenerate, having been done by an amateur, someone attempting to fulfill the ceremonial obligation of having a malanggan but really not having the skill to do the carving. Gas and some of the Tagapas were made by Samari, the only carver mentioned as a proper carver, and his work seems to me "conservative," in that it was rather similar to the older material.

Persistence and change in art form and in social context of art, even with few specific data present, are thus seen to point to a system of art that is quite complex. It is possible to see widespread relationships across space and through time. At one place and time, as in Libba in 1954, in reduced and acculturated circumstances it is possible to see that change in art forms can proceed in

different directions, degeneration of forms as in Labui, progressive change as in the work of Eruel, and conservative retention of forms and style as in the work of Samari.

A statement by George Kubler (1962) in his discussion of formal sequences provides a view of a system of art against which malanggan as a system may be considered. He said:

Every important work of art can be regarded both as a historical event and as a hard-won solution to some problem. It is irrelevant now whether the event was original or conventional, accidental or willed, awkward or skillful. The important clue is that any solution points to the existence of some problem to which there have been other solutions, and that other solutions to this same problem will most likely be invented to follow the one now in view. As the solutions accumulate, the problem alters. The chain of solutions nevertheless discloses the problem (Kubler, 1962, p. 33).

This suggests a system of art which is an open-ended, historically-linked series, changing through time as each artist, and each generation of artists, working within determining social contexts strives to "solve the problem," i.e., produce an acceptable art object for use in specific ceremonies. The way in which malanggan objects seem to have been made in their social context suggests that each named malanggan was rendered in material form as part of a series of ceremonials occurring through time. The various specific individuals, patrons, and persons to be commemorated and initiated, their social affiliations and their previously incurred obligations, formed a series of constellations of situations determining the identities of particular objects and the styles in which each was carved. If it were possible to trace the emergences of a particular named design, it would be shown to have appeared at one place, then at another, then at a third, and so on through time and across space in New Ireland. At one time and at one place one carver would do the work, and at a second time and place another carver would work, so that each successive work in the sequence could theoretically be different from all others. Kubler suggested that each important work of art can be regarded as a hard-won solution to some problem, meaning aesthetic problems and aesthetic solutions. But it is intriguing to think of the problems as social, and as each work of art as a symbol of a social event. That is to say, each malanggan object, collected and being held in a museum is a visible and tangible manifestation of a junction point of the social interaction of a patron, his relatives, initiated and deceased persons, and, of course, the carver.

It must be stressed again here that this evocation of the workings of malanggan is hypothetical, the proof of which must lie in further

field research. The problems of territoriality of carvers, the distribution of sub-styles within the northern malanggan area, the distribution and functioning of clans over that area, are all questions which at this time can only be raised, but not answered from the data presently in hand. However, although it is not possible to definitively describe the functioning of malanggans at the level of individual design, it is possible to describe certain aspects of the wider social context of art and ceremonial which have affected the production of art in New Ireland.

From statements of informants it is clear that the number of malanggan ceremonials and the size and scope of each expression has decreased over the past 50 years. They said that there were more pigs, bigger feasts, more boys being initiated, more carvings made in earlier times. More resources, energy, foodstuffs, and money were committed to the ceremonial system. It is perhaps more pertinent to state this another way, namely, that in 1954, in contrast to 1900, interest, energy, and resources were being committed to non-traditional enterprises and institutions, and therefore were being alienated from the traditional ceremonial system. Thus new areas of interest have been developed at the expense of the traditional ceremonial system. In this way it can be said that malanggan has declined since 1900.

This decline was seen in 1954 by the fact that only one carver, Samari, was thought to be a "professional." Eruel came forward to act as carver and he performed satisfactorily. However, the carver of Labui produced bad work. In the decline of malanggan therefore, men of lesser, i.e., unproven, artistic skills were able to come forward to serve as carvers, whereas in earlier times, the commissions to carve would have been filled by skilled men. Also in 1954, several memorial ceremonies were done without carvings and this points the way to further decline of the art. In 1900, it can be imagined that it would have seemed inadequate to stage memorial ceremonies for the dead without carvings, but in 1954 not only was it possible it was actually done.

In the mid-twentieth century New Irelanders were found further away from their village birthplaces than was the case in the late nineteenth century. As a consequence of this, for a given malanggan ceremonial in 1954 participants came from villages located 30 miles away, from linguistic areas other than the one in which the ceremonies were being staged. That is, some individuals, who in 1880 would not have married out of their linguistic areas, by 1954

had done so, and when called upon to discharge their obligations to participate in Libba or in Lesu memorial ceremonies, as a matter of course involved their affinal kinsmen in their new village, and (in the case of Labui) perhaps involved carvers from that area also. Thus the increased mobility of New Irelanders had the effect of broadening the participation in ceremonies to include persons of somewhat different culture, including carvers who carved in different styles. But, also, there was some difficulty. An informant said that it was undesirable to have marriages occur between families too far distant from each other, for in order to meet ceremonial obligations it was necessary to travel long distance by truck or on foot.

Contact with Europeans brought to New Irelanders opportunities to meet and interact with other New Irelanders and other Melaneans. There must have been considerable isolation between groups, due to hostility and warfare between linguistic groups. Travel between peoples of differing language was probably mainly for purposes of war and was accomplished by canoe, or on foot for short distances. No trading circles have been reported for northern New Ireland. Contract labor brought together people of differing linguistic backgrounds on the plantations where they lived and worked together. Administrative fiat brought interior peoples down to the beach, to live among the coastal people. Warfare was outlawed by the Europeans. A road, over 200 miles long, was built along the east coast of the island, at first bringing diverse groups of New Irelanders together for the construction project, later serving as a linking thoroughfare for them.

There is thus the probability that reduction of isolation of local groups in New Ireland (the linguistic groups, for instance) has resulted in bringing together art forms of differing sub-styles so that alternative stylistic forms were seen by carvers, patrons and public where previously only one would have been seen. Bühler states that there had been much mixture of architectural forms, as seen in the house types of about 1930 (Bühler, 1948, pp. 25-35). Tischner (1965) shows great variability in house forms from earlier times.

Another kind of change is involved with alienation from the sacred places on which malanggan ceremonies and malanggan carving took place. The alienation of land to European plantations has resulted in some loss of such places from immediate native control. However, I know of no instances of New Irelanders wanting to use such a place and being denied access to it by planters, but the

possibility exists. Consolidation of villages may have affected the use of sacred places. Lesu seems to have been condensed from a strung out series of hamlets to a relatively compact village, and this may have affected access to sacred locations. In Libba, the Gas malanggan had to be carved in the village, rather than in Nou.

Population decrease has probably brought a situation in which the size of malanggan ceremonies has decreased in that fewer participants could be mustered as a given time. This would mean fewer pigs, less food at the feasts, fewer patrons, and fewer carvers. Fewer art objects were made, and thus afforded fewer opportunities for each carver to practice.

Encroachment of European inspired activities, such as plantation labor, government employment, and involvement with mission activities has subtracted from available time and energy at least half the time and energy available for native pursuits prior to contact. Thus, in addition to fewer people available to carry out malanggan ceremonies, there is less time available to do so also.

The breaking of the isolation of local groups seems to be one of the main agencies for change in that possibilities for style change lie within this process. The other great force is the subtraction of time and energy from otherwise and formerly purely aboriginal pursuits by European inspired activities. This kind of change has resulted in less art being made, and by reducing opportunities to make and use the art, in a decline of quality.

A more general aspect of change in social context of art in New Ireland lies in the fact that the main social context of art in New Ireland was religious and ceremonial. Qualitatively and quantitatively, the major expression of art was in malanggan ceremonies, the malanggan objects themselves being the chief art object. The objects not actually called malanggan, were mostly paraphernalia used in subsidiary dances and rites connected with malanggan.

In 1954 arm rings, tatooing, hair bleaching, and dyeing were the only aboriginal manifestations of art outside the malanggan context, as were also the carved fish-net floats. In earlier days, perhaps 30 to 50 years before 1954 and earlier, some objects not related to malanggan, which were artistically elaborated, were canoes, decorated with two dimensional applied designs and with carved and painted prow and stern ornaments, spears which were carved and painted, houses which were decorated, perhaps only men's houses. There were few canoes in 1954, and they were not decorated in any way.

There were no war spears to be seen, and all houses were quite plain also.

European inspired art also saw its main expression in religious context. The two church buildings, the Methodist church in Number One Lesu and the Catholic church in Number Two Lesu were the two buildings, except for the school, in the village to have been decorated. The various tombstones in the cemeteries, although on the whole quite plain, occasionally were sculptured, as Figure 44 shows. Outside of religious European inspired art, there remains only school children's directed efforts, and beyond that the nebulous area of native consumption of European goods in the trade stores and the aesthetic tastes displayed there.

Thus it can be said that with very few exceptions, art was firmly in a ceremonial-religious context. In earlier times when spears, canoes, and houses could be included, I can state that, in addition to the clearly and narrowly religious context of malanggan ceremonial, these other categories could very easily also be included in slightly broader concept of religious context. The spears in warfare, the decoration of canoes in warfare and fishing, and decoration of men's houses, could all have had magico-religious significance.

Since 1900 the main changes in the social context of art have been the conversion to Christianity of almost the entire New Ireland population, and their being brought under European domination and control. Warfare and cannibalism have been abolished. The building of the east coast road and its use as an artery of communication by means of motor vehicles and bicycles have resulted in decline of use of the sea and canoes. Administrative fiat has changed the form of villages in that small, bush-grown hamlets have been consolidated into larger villages. Also, the several pre-existing house forms have been supplanted by rectangular houses on piles.

Loss of men in warfare has stopped, and medical care has saved still others, but there has probably been corresponding loss of manpower from villages (although not permanently gone through death) in that persons have gone away to work on plantations and, more recently, to take up jobs with the government. Belief in Christianity has altered the ideological aspect of malanggan less than the inroads upon time and energy by European inspired enterprises.

It is almost impossible to assess the degree to which belief in the aboriginal religion has been changed. The main datum to be considered for this point must be the practice of Christian and aboriginal funerary and memorial ceremonies. Speaking generally, in 1954,

elements of both systems were being used side by side and, as it has been suggested above, socio-economic rather than ideological reasons are responsible for not having carving or for the decline of carving quality. I saw little to doubt that New Irelanders "believed" in malanggan, and saw much to think that they valued it highly. They think of malanggan, the ceremonials as well as the art, as something good and desirable. However, to actually stage the ceremonies and feasts, and to actually make the art is another matter. Malanggan and its art are good things, but they are dying out, perhaps against the conscious will of New Irelanders.

Conclusions

The conclusions which may be drawn from this work are methodological and substantive, and somewhat speculative, but having implications for future and further work on this subject.

Methodological considerations, in part, forced the study away from iconographic meaning, or subject matter. Neither the published sources, nor this writer in his field work dealt with this aspect of art. However, I have suggested the possibility that New Irelanders may have regarded social context as more important than subject matter, so that social context was held to be a kind of meaning.

Some of the variation seen in malanggan ceremonial and art was the result of differential approaches by the several writers who have dealt with New Ireland, rather than any intrinsic qualities of the ceremony and art. They may have seen things differently, and in addition saw different sectors of the island. Krämer and Peekel imposed their classifications upon the material, but Powdermaker, in her citation of different malanggan names, gave a New Irelander's view of the malanggan names. Although different time periods were represented by the several writers, their differing problems, and the differing locations in which they worked have made it difficult to gain a historical view of malanggan through time.

Substantive results include the discovery of the nunsus subdivision of the clan as a social grouping not previously reported. The relevance it has for art is that it may have had a bearing upon the composition of the social group involved with patronage of malanggan. Masking as a complex is not well treated in the literature, there being a tendency to lump the masks with malanggan, because many of the masks display carving in malanggan style. Very little is written about the use of masks. Groves (1933) reported on certain ceremonial masks, which served as guardian or guide figures for initiated boys, somewhat like Nit Kulegula. About Pi masks and the other related types, nothing has been written. My observation and description of Pi masking are thus new ethnographic data. Neither the name of Pi nor its functions have been mentioned in

the literature, nor are its forms recognizable in museum collections. However, with respect to the latter, it is possible that greater deterioration of form has occurred, because Pi masks were made by amateur rather than specialist carvers so that greater changes could occur in their carving style. Thus there may be earlier counterparts of Pi masks in museum collections but they are unrecognizable as such.

The description of the totality of art as seen in one linguistic area is not seen in other published works. Krämer and Peekel give somewhat comparable material, but not localized to a specific area. Powdermaker did not give complete description of all the art. I also included art objects of European inspiration as part of the totality of art.

The description of the tsur ceremony as part of the malanggan ceremonial establishes its relationship to malanggan. The published literature mentions rain magic and crop magic, but not as tied to malanggan ceremonial.

Description of the Libba malanggan ceremonial, even in its incomplete form, adds to descriptions by Peekel, Powdermaker, and Krämer so that comparison with them, and increased understanding of the nature of malanggan ceremonial is made possible.

Change in New Ireland art and society has been considered. The art has changed, in quality of what is done, and in quantity of art produced and of ceremonials staged which required art objects. Both quality and quantity have declined. Malanggan ceremonies are smaller, of shorter duration, occur less frequently, and fewer carvings are made. This is the result of contact with Europeans and acculturation, of temporary absence of persons who are off working for Europeans or in European inspired pursuits and is also due to population decrease of perhaps 25 to 30 per cent during the first half of this century. There has been approximately 50 per cent alienation of time formerly available for preparations for ceremonial, and this is now diverted to European activities such as cash cropping, government sponsored and/or demanded road work, work for medical service and mission activities. The decline in quality of carving has resulted from the fact that fewer carvers are available and, coming forward to carve in a way that perhaps would not have been tolerated in earlier days, are unskilled and untrained carvers who do work of inferior quality. Even the trained carvers find fewer ceremonial occasions for which to carve, and since they may not carve at any other time, practice less and less. There are

memorial ceremonies, i.e., malanggan ceremonies, staged without carvings at all. This points the way to the possibility that all carving may cease, although the ceremonial aspect of malanggan continues.

Whether or not there has been style change in the art is difficult to assess. There has been some degeneration in style, and there may have been influence of one style upon another. There are possibilities of the latter due to the increased mobility of New Irelanders, who see more of other parts of New Ireland and of other parts of Melanesia than was possible before. There has probably been ideological change due to the conversion to Christianity of practically the entire population, but it is not readily apparent. There is some production of art for use in Christian religious context, as, for instance, the tombstone with the crucifix, and the decorative panels on the Catholic church. There is little evidence that New Irelanders negatively value malanggan and they seem to carry on with Christianity in addition to many elements of their aboriginal religion.

Let us consider some speculative conclusions of this paper. One is the idea that social context of art be thought of as a special kind of meaning, others deal with several problems of variation in art and context, and finally there is the problem of understanding the system of malanggan ceremonial and art. These ideas are advanced as conjecture, and at best as working hypotheses to be confirmed by further work.

Art seems to have been enmeshed with certain aspects of social life and with culture. These relationships, taken in their entirety, constitute meaning. Iconographic meaning or subject matter proved inaccessible to study, partly because of difficulties of approaching the subject in field work but, perhaps more significantly, because New Irelanders seem not to be much concerned with that kind of meaning, taking it for granted. Instead of caring about subject matter, those persons involved with malanggan and its art are consciously interested in details of the social context, such as who the patron is, who is being honored, the recent transmissions of the rights to stage the ceremony and have the specific image carved, etc. In other words, the social context is a kind of connotational meaning which engages the interest of the patrons, carvers, and viewers, and as such is quite amenable to study. The art, imbued with contextual meaning, may thus be viewed as being highly symbolic of the social context as such, in addition to and at the same time as

it refers to subject matter. In this way, the art conveys to all viewers connotations of social importance, identities of patrons, of honored dead and initiates, expenditures of resources of food-stuffs and money, not by means of the actual forms of the art object, but by virtue of association with these matters in the ceremonials. This steeping of the art with social value by association with socio-ceremonial matters is similar to imbuing the patron with prestige, which he gets by association with socially valued activity and resources. At the same time, also, the art itself, consisting of expensive objects, the product of labor, expenditure of money and foodstuffs lends to the ceremonies much value. As a visual focal point in the ceremonies, and in its role as repository of references to supernatural beings and forces, the art serves also as tangible evidence of the presence of such power to all viewers.

The life of malanggan images is ephemeral in that they exist as material objects only during the period of the ceremonies, and not in intervening periods. In cultures wherein art objects are kept from one occasion to the next, they often serve as agents of transmission or persistence of knowledge of ceremonies but since, in New Ireland, malanggan objects are often destroyed at the close of the ceremonies, this is not the case. Thus the context in which these art objects appear is a dynamic one and the drama and emotion of the occasion is increased when they actually appear.

Several problems of variation emerged as matters for further investigation. One is a problem of periodicity of interaction between social groups, and perhaps stemming from that also, periodicity of occurrence of malanggan objects and masks. Another problem is ethnographic, and is concerned with regional and sub-regional variation of the culture of northern New Ireland with attendant variation of the art of the several areas. A third problem is of classification of malanggans of northern New Ireland and is obviously related to the above variational problems, to the extent that without definitive solution of those problems, it would be impossible to classify malanggans in a historically meaningful way.

The problem of periodicity has two aspects, one the possibility that there was a waxing and waning of clan representation in villages as a result of preferential marriages between certain clans. In a given village, at one time period, certain clans would have a large membership and others small numbers of people, but then at a later period these numbers would be reversed. This is hinted at in Table 1, which shows those clans present and absent in Lesu at the two

time periods, 1929-30 and 1953-54. Informants said that it was preferred to marry someone from a certain clan (that of man's father?) which would set up a recurring exchange of marriages between two certain clans. Occurrences and reoccurrences of certain malanggan designs may have been related to presences and absences, or waxing and waning of clans in given locations, in that the commissioning of a specific malanggan design in a given village may have depended upon whether a certain clan was present there, or whether the clan was big enough to muster needed resources. In Figures 37, 38, and 39 in which transmission rights to Pi masks are shown, it can be seen that Pi rights move back and forth across the moiety line, and thus could have periodically moved between two certain clans so that a given named Pi mask could be thought of as usually being made by two certain clans. Although malanggan did not work in exactly the same way as Pi masks, it is possible that it operated similarly. Thus it is possible that malanggan designs moved through time, but back and forth across moiety lines and perhaps usually or often between certain clans.

The above kind of periodic reciprocation would presumably have operated within one sub-cultural region, but because it is possible that northern New Ireland was culturally variable it may have been that there was not just one malanggan style for northern New Ireland, but a series of related sub-regional styles. Thus there could be considerable variation of malanggan designs in that the "same" design could be repeated in several differing areas of New Ireland. Also, there may have been different kinds of malanggan localized in different parts of northern New Ireland. Until the ethnographic variation of culture is better understood and the art styles and kinds of art object related to those variations, the total universe of malanggan (and other art) from northern New Ireland will not be well understood. The problem of classification of malanggans as it is attempted by Krämer and Peekel thus cannot be realistically undertaken until the above questions of variation are answered. To attempt classification in terms of function and meaning as they did, before, or without controlling ethnographic relationships gives a misleading impression of homogeneity in northern New Ireland.

One aim of this paper is to gain understanding of the system of ceremonial and art in northern New Ireland. This has been, in large measure, an attempt to accomplish such a goal, and although many of the pages above testify to negative aspects of such a process—what has not or could not be studied, what this writer, and

other writers did not do—it is nevertheless an advancement of and contribution to knowledge about New Ireland art to be able to indicate, no matter how imperfectly, something of the nature of the system of art and ceremonial. If some of the lacks, dead-ends, and traps of such a study have been shown, perhaps the way to more positive statements can be indicated.

First, it can be clearly said that art in northern New Ireland is largely the art of malanggan. By far, most of the art in that area is made for and used in the context of malanggan ceremonies, and the ceremony is major in northern New Ireland. Not only is malanggan art most made and used, but also it is most highly valued. No other kind of art is so seriously undertaken nor is so important. Second, malanggan as a ceremonial system and as an art form seems much more complex than it has been pictured in the literature. Krämer's classification of the varieties of malanggan ceremonials and kinds of art associated with it is extensive and Powdermaker's listing of classes and sub-classes of malanggan names gives a glimpse of a complex total constellation, but neither deals with the social and cultural ramifications of malanggan distributed across northern New Ireland. My field work did not do so either, but certain aspects seen, and only partly understood, suggest ways of conceptualizing these ramifications.

There is nowhere in the literature, nor in my field work, treatment of possible territoriality of carvers, which has possible determining effect upon style of carving. Where carvers worked, from how far away from patron's villages they were commissioned, how many styles (if more than one) did each carver command, are questions unanswerable at this time. And, closely related to these problems, lie questions of the social inter-relationships of patrons with those persons who help them, of patrons with those honored in the ceremonials, of rights of patrons to commission specific malanggan objects. Powdermaker gave us a synchronic view of these matters, but a diachronic view of transmission of patronage rights to malangans is not to be seen from her material. The treatment of Pi mask transmission rights above suggests that similar lines of transmission may be worked out for specific malanggan objects.

Two broad problems in turn connected to these matters of patronage relationships are: (1) malanggan as an integrator of cults of differing cultural background into the malanggan ceremonials, as for instance, the tsur (crop fertility rite), the variations in combining initiation rites with memorial rites, the use of Pi and similar other

kinds of minor masks, and the dancing; and (2) malanggan as a replenishment ceremony (where it does integrate initiation and memorial rites) in which, in the same clan, losses by death are restored by initiating new persons (the boys) in the same ceremonial.

An economic aspect of malanggan is the possible effect on the subsistence economy of the marshalling of foodstuffs for the ceremonies, the planting and harvesting of root crop vegetables and fruit, and the raising of pigs. In contrast to the often repeated idea that such planning for and marshalling of foodstuffs stimulates the economy, it seems that in northern New Ireland it does not do so, because specific foodstuffs are allocated for specific ceremonies, that is, foodstuffs were marshalled as needed and no more.

In this study I have gained a strong sense of the specificity of the system and the notion that each named malanggan, presumably of distinctive design, has a unique life history, which, if known, would differentiate it from all other malanggans. The name and the form may be constant, and the malanggan object is made to be used at a series of ceremonial occasions, occurring at different places and times. That is, recognizably similar objects (similar in motif, if not in style) may be thought of, not as variant versions of one type of art object, but as specific instances along a historically linked series of ceremonies. However, there is the possibility that there may have been more than one such series, as, for instance, in the several sub-cultural areas of northern New Ireland. That is, each series would be part of an art area which was mutually exclusive from other art areas, each localized perhaps in a different linguistic area. There were probably just a few such art areas within northern New Ireland, and if all taken together and related historically and ethnographically, could be construed as comprising the art of all of New Ireland, and outward to Melanesian art in general. This hypothetical system was thought of as accounting for the variation of art form in northern New Ireland, for the fact that some of the objects could be related to earlier museum counterparts, and for the ethnographic variation of the area.

From this hypothetical situation implications for study are suggested. It seems well worth while to pursue a research project of attempting to localize and otherwise establish sub-regional art styles, and to do so by reference to specific and actual art objects now in museum collections. Recognizably similar objects could be grouped into hypothetically related lines, using their museum acquisition dates (if collection dates are unavailable) so that there would be

made available for field checking a number of malanggan histories. In the field, it would be possible to correct and refine these lines and to discover relationships between them. In that way an inductively built-up history of the art of northern New Ireland would be possible.

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