The Dynamic Role of Ritual in the
*Habu* Mourning Rites of the Daribi of Papua New Guinea

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Certain societies are described as ‘primitive’ because ritual plays a central role in the culture. Every culture is dynamic; changing over time to meet the times and in the process creating new meaning. Roy Wagner has examined this ‘cultural dynamism’ in many studies of the Daribi people of Papua New Guinea. This paper will focus on the mourning rituals of the Daribi and describes elements of the rituals that have been appropriated for other reasons and uses.

ある社会は原始的と描写される。その社会では、儀式が文化や日常生活の中心的役割を果たしているからである。どの文化も動的である。時代に合わせて経時変化し、その過程で新たな意味を生み出す。ロイ・ワグナーはパプアニューギニアのダリビ族に関する多くの研究で、このような「文化的ダイナミズム」を調査した。本論文では、ダリビ族の喪の儀式に焦点を当て、他の理由や用途で使用されている喪の儀式の要素について述べる。

**Introduction**

A common perception of so-called ‘primitive’ societies is that they are static and simple. True, such societies are less a ‘rat race’ than a ‘slow stroll’ compared to ‘advanced’ societies. Perhaps the description stems from the fact that societies, such as those studied in Papua New Guinea, seemed to have remained largely unchanged for centuries, or at least as long they have been the focus of Christian missionaries and largely Western anthropologists. But this, of course, is not true.

As any culture is dynamic, so are these so-called ‘primitive’ societies, since within there is an inherent potential for change that is not always
obvious to outsider observers. Such change can be seen as a process that constructs new meaning by building on top of the old. This ‘dynamic role’ is particularly true of ritual, which plays a central role in ‘primitive’ society and culture.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and discuss the ‘dynamic role of culture’ as described in Roy Wagner’s (Habu 1977) study of the mourning rites and ceremonies of the Daribi people of southern Papua New Guinea, in particular the habu cry. It reflects a dynamic process of extension, innovation and adaptation through improvisation on existing rituals, or parts of rituals, that amount to new rituals, meanings or uses.

**Wagner and the Daribi**

At the time of writing Professor Roy Wagner, a graduate of Harvard University and the University of Chicago, teaches in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Virginia. Wagner is described, flamboyantly in one sense, as “one of anthropology’s greatest mavericks” (‘The Logic’) and “one of the twentieth century’s most intellectually adventurous anthropologists” (Wagner, “An Anthropology”). According to his Wikipedia profile he is “one of the world’s most influential anthropologists”, with a number of his concepts, such as symbolic anthropology, being critical to the development of anthropology in recent years.

Figure 1: The island of New Guinea is shared by Indonesia (west) and the nation of Papua New Guinea (east). Steep mountains run from east to west along its centre (‘New Guinea Highlands’).
decades (‘Roy Wagner’). It mentions his role in the creation of New Melanesia Ethnography, a genre which “emphasizes creativity and innovation in cultures and how they understand the world” (ibid.). In his own homepage for the University of Virginia he lists some of his specializations (related to this paper) as indigenous concept systems and ritual, myth and worldview in Melanesia, Australia and North America (‘Roy Wagner’, University of Virginia). One of his many books, “The Invention of Culture”, is said to be “a classic of ethnography and theory” (‘Roy Wagner’). Its central premise is that rather than culture shaping people, people shape culture by constantly adapting convention to create new meanings. This idea is central to this short paper which is based on Wagner’s book, *Habu: The Innovation of Meaning in Daribi Religion* (1977). Much of Wagner’s fieldwork in Melanesia was conducted among the Daribi society and a number of his major publications detail aspects of the Daribi.

The Daribi are a tribal group in the Chimbu Province in the central highlands of Papua New Guinea (hereafter PNG), an incredibly rugged mountainous region (compare Figures 1 and 2) with fertile and populated valleys. As such, it was one of the last areas to have contact with Europeans: firstly explorers; then missionaries; then surveyors and
government officials, and more recently mining concerns and tourists. It is still economically less-developed although it is the centre of coffee production in PNG. Wagner’s fieldwork among the Daribi at Karimui was conducted in two stints, November 1963 to February 1965 and July 1968 to May 1969, a period of over two years (Wagner Habu xi). The Daribi are now 99% Protestant Christian in a population of around 20,000, but like most the country (also Christian) traditional culture, beliefs and practices are still very, very strong and relevant to daily life, and death and beyond.

Aspects of ‘culture’

Since ‘culture’ is key and context to the idea of dynamism we must first understand something of its nature.

Definition of ‘culture’

Among many, many definitions of ‘culture’, Spencer-Oatey defines culture as, “a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member’s behavior and each member’s interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behavior” (4).

Ting-Toomey cites D’Andrade (1984: 116) who defines ‘culture’ as:

Learned systems of meaning, communicated by means of natural language and other symbol systems... and capable of creating cultural entities and particular senses of reality. Through these systems of meaning, groups of people adapt to their environment and structure interpersonal activities... Cultural meaning systems can be treated as a very large diverse pool of knowledge, or partially shared cluster of norms, or as intersubjectively shared, symbolically created realities.

Through these definitions we can determine that culture’s point of reference is social groups and that members are acculturated within the group in an on-going and a systematic manner. Culture has ‘layers’ from
an invisible ‘inner core’ of assumptions and values through norms and convention to actual and visual behaviours. It is the invisible aspects that both guide and interpret behavior and determine relationships with the physical environment. In that these are internalized by individual members of cultural groups, there will be similarities and variations among them. They will allow, though, for relatively clear differences between cultural groups.

Functions and Characteristics of culture

At the ‘application’ level, Chen and Starosta describe ‘culture’ as having two main functions. Firstly, it is a framework that incorporates clear linguistic, physical, and psychological pillars in that:

- Language allows us to communicate with people who have similar value and belief systems. Physical aspects supply an environment of activities and permit what we do within the culture. Finally, the psychological aspect is related to our mental activities, including what we believe and what we have learned (Chen & Starosta 27).

Secondly, such a framework provides “structure, stability, and security” for it’s members (Chen & Starosta 27).

Of culture, there are several key qualities that can be identified. I will briefly describe those qualities that are most relevant to this paper.

Cultural is dualistic in that is has visible and invisible aspects. The visible can be considered as ‘big C’ culture and the invisible as ‘small c’ culture (Bennett, Bennett & Allen). The former are aspects that can be sensed or experienced through the five senses (sight, smell, hearing, touch and taste) and relate to the behavior. They are ‘big’ in our awareness of ‘culture’. Small ‘c’ refers to the internal attitudes, values, beliefs and so on that both are manifested in behavior, but are largely unconscious. These are ‘small’ in our awareness of ‘culture’ (see discussion of ‘Models of culture’ below).

Culture is systematic and interconnected. All cultures will have systems, such as kinship, gender relationships, religion, and, as is discussed in this paper, systems for dealing with the dead. Changes in
one system are bound to have an influence on other systems.

Culture is pervasive (Braun; Chen & Starosta) in that it is everywhere and pervades both all visible (behavioural) and invisible (cognitive and emotional) manifestations of life. It is “the sum total of human society and its meanings” (Chen & Starosta 27), but these are largely out-of-awareness to the practitioners.

Culture is not ‘nature’ as much as it is ‘nurture’. Neurologically humans are born predisposed to be acculturated, but they must learn the ‘rules’ and ‘ropes’ over their lifetime (Braun; Chen & Starosta) by close association with groups.

Culture has been described as an “adaptation mechanism” (Chen & Starosta 27). Any animal has behaviours and even rudimentary behavioural ‘culture’, and an even higher level in the case of primates, that allows them to live in certain habitats and to adapt to changes. Over millennia humans have developed ‘culture’ as the means by which they can quickly adapt, survive and prosper in practically any environment on Earth, despite their relative lack of protective physical assets (big brains and opposable thumbs aside).

Furthermore, and most central to this paper, culture is not only enduring but dynamic and cumulative. Changes will invariably and necessarily occur, at different rates and for different reasons. It is not static, and any culture that tries to remain so may be subsumed by another or may stagnate and collapse. Culture may change slowly because it is figuratively and literally a ‘lifeline’ on which members “share an awareness of a common past... a common present... and an awareness of a common future” (Braun12). Chen and Starosta suggest four main reasons for large-scale cultural change, these being technological invention, disasters (natural or human-made), cultural contact, and environmental factors. It is also cumulative. Tomasello (1999) suggests it is like a ‘ratchet’ wheel, whereby culture development moves forward in increments, not backward. He says,

Indeed, the most distinctive characteristic of human cultural
evolution as a process is the way that modifications to an artifact or a social practice made by one individual or group of individuals often spread within the group and then stay in place until some future individual or individuals make further modifications - and these then stay in place until still further modifications are made (Tomasello 10).

Models of culture

Culture is a deep and wide concept therefore often depicted in models-cum-analogies to make it more quickly and easily digestible.

The most popular model is the cultural iceberg. At its most basic it shows the division of visible and invisible aspects of culture. The small 'tip' of the iceberg represents the surface/visible, or the 'big C', aspects, which, though 'big' in the senses and our awareness, are supported by the bulk of the iceberg which is invisible and less and less in awareness. The effectiveness of the iceberg model is that it expresses that the bulk of 'culture' is largely invisible and of depth. Ting-Toomey and Chung (Figure 3) and Ting-Toomey (Figure 4) perhaps best present the iceberg model as follows:
Two other models express the levels of culture. The ‘Layers’ Model (Figure 5) by Hofstede and Hofstede (21-23) defines and accentuates the outer (explicit) and inner (implicit) levels. The ‘Onion Model’ by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner adds to and describes layers more concretely and adds that actual cultural practices are rooted in the core of values and run through all levels.

Returning to the ‘primitive’ vs ‘advanced’ comparison, it may be more a perception based on a comparison of the outer layers of these two models (the tip of the iceberg model) than on the inner and most important cores. An opportune example is the very strong belief in spirits and ghosts among the Daribi, one that is shared throughout Papua New-Guinea, and the elaborate rituals and visual and vocal displays to deal with ghosts.

McGough, while reporting from a traveler’s perspective, correctly points out that there is “a role deep-rooted spiritual beliefs play in the culture” and that:

tribal theology’s [have] deep-rooted fear of spirits. The exact reasons vary from tribe to tribe and region to region, but here in the upcountry of Papua New Guinea, tribes believe them to be the
ghosts of their ancestors. Here in the jungle, spirits are not called upon. They are feared and revered and, most importantly, avoided. Wagner writes:

Except for instances of suspected or demonstrated sorcery, Darabi regard all illness or insanity as resulting from a “holding” or possession... by the spirit of some specific deceased person... Ghosts “live” through the persons they possess, and their victims, in the same sense “die” through them. (Symbols 11)

The circumstance of the death is also important, such as someone killed in battle, or in the forest and in a manner where a body could not be recovered since “the disposition of a ghost resulting from a “bad” death is particularly dangerous”, and as such, the death is “apt to spread as a contagion of illness and death among the pigs [wealth] and children [future] of the community” (op. cit.).

**Daribi Mourning Rituals**

All cultures have rituals. These can be as basic and commonplace as when taking leave (e.g. hugs or cheek kisses, handshake, bows, hand waves), life ‘landmarks’ such as rituals for new-borns (e.g. Christenings), coming-of-age (shichi-go-san in Japan), marriage, and death (funerals), or be very elaborate and wide-scale such as coronations, religious events, or commemorative ceremonies.

Turner offers a comprehensive definition of ritual, with categories:

A ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors’ goals and interests. Rituals may be seasonal, hallowing a culturally defined moment of change in the climatic cycle or the inauguration of an activity such as planting, harvesting, or moving from winter to summer pasture; or they may be contingent, held in response to an individual or collective crisis. Contingent rituals may be further subdivided into life-crisis ceremonies, which are
performed at birth, puberty, marriage, death, and so on, to demarcate the passage from one phase to another in the individual’s life-cycle, and *rituals of affliction, which are performed to placate or exorcise preternatural beings or forces believed to have afflicted villagers with illness, bad luck, gynecological troubles, severe physical injuries, and the like.* Other classes of rituals include divinatory rituals; ceremonies performed by political authorities to ensure the health and fertility of human beings, animals, and crops in their territories; initiation into priesthods devoted to certain deities, into religious associations, or into secret societies; and those accompanying the daily offering of food and libations to deities or ancestral spirits or both (italics added) (1100).

It is useful that Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner denote a layer of ‘culture’ as ‘rituals’ and places it so close to the core ‘values’. They describes their ‘rituals’ levels as:

> collective activities, technically superfluous to reaching desired ends, but which within a culture are considered as socially essential. They are therefore carried out for their own sake...

Rituals include *discourse*, the way language is used in text and talk, in daily interaction, and in communicating beliefs (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner 8).

As Wagner introduces it, “The mourning of the dead constitutes the most powerful ideological expression in Daribi culture...”, that “sounds the emotional and meaningful depths of social ideology” in “the form of an oppressive and repetitive confrontation with the facts of death” (*Habu* 145). The Daribi have a very important, involved and incredibly emotionally and physically expressive mourning ritual. It is “complicated and time-consuming, engaging the efforts of a whole community for several months, and it is hedged around with prohibitions and potential hazards” (*Wagner: Symbols* 69).

A part of the Daribi mourning rituals is a vocalization called the ‘habu cry’. It is used during their mourning rituals predominantly to frighten
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ghosts (Wagner *Habu* 149; 152) but it is used at other times also. Wagner describes it as a “brrraa-e-e-e...” sound (ibid. 149), a “burring sound” (op cit.) made by “rapidly flapping the lips” (ibid. 152). It is the various uses of the *habu* cry and other elements of the mourning ritual that I will use to illustrate this dynamism (ibid. 149).

**Mourning Process**

The mourning process starts immediately at a person passing. (Author note: for brevity I will describe only the basic functions of the major elements of the rituals since in its entirety it is very intricate.) After the deceased has spent a certain period of time lying in-state in their main house and the relatives have largely concluded their highly emotional mourning period, the body is placed on an ‘exposure coffin’ called the *ku*, an open-air platform over a pit. The body is carried by several black-soot-covered men, heads bedecked with cassowary feather plumes or decorative plants. As they approach the *ku* carrying the body, they walk with a distinct ‘dance’, using what Wagner describes as a “‘wiping’, tip-toe step” (*Habu* 149). This is called *saga daza sabo*, and the bearers give the *habu* cry to frighten off the ghosts of any people who the deceased (or her husband if a woman) may have killed in their lifetime. The body will be allowed to decompose on the *ku*.

The eventual recovery of the deceased’s bones from the *ku* culminates in two feasts. First is the *yape dagado* (‘removing the leaves’) (ibid. 149-150) where the bones are relocated to the *dilibe*, a small ‘bone house’, and the second is the *dili sabo* (‘taking the bones’) (ibid. 150). Preparations for the *dili sabo* includes the hunting of large numbers of marsupials and the collection of vegetable foods that are shared mainly among the clan members of the deceased. The bones of the consumed animals are then burned beneath the *dilibe* in an act of placating the deceased by ‘sharing’ the food (ibid. 145-150). The deceased’s bones are eventually placed in designated caves or at a location of the deceased’s request (ibid. 150).
**Adaptation of Rituals**

The decorations of the men, the *saga daza sabo* dance, the *habu* cry and collection of game are all elements of the mourning rituals that are repeated and appropriated for other rituals and functions. Examples of these will be presented in an order representing their movement away from the original intention of the mourning ritual.

**Adaptations for Illness**

There are instances of the *habu* ritual being performed to, in fact, *attract* the ghost of a person who has died ritually un-mourned and untethered - in the bush or in a manner where the body could not be recovered - *back* to the family house. As described, such free-ranging ghosts can be the cause of illness among women, children and the pigs of the clan. There are lesser and more proper versions of the *habu* ritual depending on the scale of the illness.

**Illness of a single child** The *doziano habu* is performed if only one child falls ill. It involves a slight adaptation to the *dili sabo* bone-removal feast. In this case, the marsupials that are killed are not an offering to the ghost to dissuade it from attacking children as is the aim of the *dili sabo*. In the *doziano habu*, the blame for the illness of the child is assumed by the marsupials (as in scape-goats), thus ‘clearing’ the offending ghost of the blame. The animals are then taken to the ill child after a mock fight between the hunters (*habubidi*) and those clan members who remained in the village (*be’habu*). The contrived conflict between the hunters (*habubidi*) and the stay-behinds (*be’habu*) is highlighted in the *doziano habu*. The *habubidi* represent the un-mourned and revengeful ghost and the *be’habu* represent the family of the ghost’s victim. The animals are identified as the human source of the illness, and the child’s arms and legs are covered in red and yellow to drive the ghost away (ibid.152).

**Multiple illnesses** Any untethered and unmourned ghost that dies in the bush, in this manifestation of the *habu* ritual, is thought to turn into a *hogo’bia* bird that causes illness in children and pigs. The *hogo’bia* bird, the *habu* cry and the hunting charm *kerave* plant are connected through
myth, therefore the cry of a *hogo’bia* bird within earshot of the village will result in a *habu* ritual (ibid. 153-154).

The *habu* is the ritual that ends the illness by mollifying the potentially dangerous ghost with a ‘mortuary feast’ of marsupials. The *habu* cry serves as the mode of communication between the *habubidi* and the ghost. It is vocalized when the *habubidi* hunters leave the village to attract the ghost’s attention so that it will follow and sounded again when game has been killed. In the latter case, it is hoped that the unmourned ghost will recognize and appreciate that living clan members are actively intent on appeasing it. When sufficient game has been collected, the hunters (*habubidi*) return to the house of the afflicted. They will stay in a temporary dwelling erected in the garden and they will remain there until the end of the *habu* and the subsequent banishment of the ghost.

Once that is accomplished, before they can re-enter the society of the living, the hunters (*habubidi*), who had symbolically assumed the role of the ghost, must remove any traces of that association since the ghost still is ‘on their skin’. To do so they must participate in a *sumo*-like wrestling called *hwebo*. To further deflect blame for the illness away from the angry ghost and onto the offering of animal proxies, the *habubidi* hunters mock-fight with the *be’habu* house-people for their neglect of the deceased. Only men participate in the actual *hwebo* fighting, but women heighten the emotional tension by antagonizing the *habubidi*. Once cleansed of the ghost through the *hwebo*, the *doziano habu* ritual ends with the presentation of the game animals. The mock rivalry between the *habubidi* and the *be’habu* ends. It is replaced by a final act of male-female rivalry which represents what is seen as the natural balance in Daribi society (Wagner *Habu* 152-161).

*Adaptation as a Mocking Ritual*

As an antithesis of the tension, sorrow and almost violent nature of the mourning, the *bidi nia sai* (also known as *bidi wia siu*) dance in fact rejoices a person’s death (or reported death) in ritual. The person is not a
valued clan member but an enemy who the clan is happy to be rid of. The dance amounts to a mocking parody or metaphor of the relocation of the body to the *ku*. Red is used to decorate the participants instead of black soot for it is believed to frighten ghosts. The men dance the *saga daza sabo*, and give the *habu* cry. The aim is, in fact, to insult and frighten away the ghost of the recently deceased enemy (Wagner *Habu* 150-152).

*Adaptations as Expressions of States of Mind*

Wagner (Wagner *Habu*) personally recalls three instances where the mourning ritual was used in a context other than of mourning the death of a loved one, that of the expression of a feeling of personal loss. A Noru man, in search of the man who secretly butchered his favourite pig while the Noru man was joining in a *habu*, once decked himself in mourning clay and the jawbone of the pig. In 1964, acting on the false report of the pending departure of Wagner himself at the end of his research stay, two elderly women were preparing the mourn him. Also in 1964, seven men from Dobu demonstrated their demands for compensation by covering themselves with death-clay and wailing a death lament (Wagner *Habu* 83; 151).

*Adaptations as a Military Tactic*

Warfare and violent conflict were traditionally and sadly still are a common (increasingly) way to settle an inter-tribal dispute, insult, sorcery claim or to gain a better foothold through appropriations of land or even of women. The Asaro ‘Mud Men’, also, like the Daribi, from the PNG Highlands, are famous worldwide (Figure 7). The story of how their extraordinary costume evolved has various versions but all

Figure 7: Asaro Mud Man (McGough)
centre around the story of a small tribe using a ruse to scare off a much larger tribe with who they were in armed conflict over land.

The smaller group, at first perhaps by accident but then by design, appeared to their enemies covered in light-coloured mud. The larger tribe (Nokpa) fled, thinking the mud men were pale ghosts people they had killed. McGough describes a reenactment of the event for tourists (emphasis added):

sneaky, stealthy, “walking dead” figures tip-toe out of the jungle... Their movements were long and deliberate, like they were carefully stepping through a room full of tacks or mousetraps. The long, slender men glided forward, floating and rising up and then coming down to a crouching position with bent knees...

National Geographic describes it as “moving like mechanical marionettes: juddering, shuddering, dancing” (Lafferty). These descriptions sounds similar to the corpse-carrying saga daza sabo used in the mourning ritual and described as a “‘wiping’, tip-toe step” by Wagner (149). It would seem very likely that the original Asaro men, once they perceived the effects of their appearance on their enemies, were using an element of the mourning ritual and the associated fear of ghosts as a tactical military advantage. In subsequence retellings of the event the saga daza sabo similarities are even more apparent.

Discussion

The larger Daribi mourning ritual creates the “ultimate realization of bereavement” (Wagner 150) and I have already noted that power as central to expression and meaning in Daribi culture (145). Wagner explains that by drawing on this power for another context “a metaphor, an ‘impersonation’” is created that imbues the new context with “expressive meaning” (150). All of these rituals and demonstrations involve elements of the solemn mourning ritual in common, but they have different aims. These are all examples of the dynamic extension to new meaning.
Firstly, the habu cry and the saga daza sabo step-dance have been appropriated and incorporated into the mocking ‘anti-funeral’ bidi nia sai / bidi wia siu dance. It aims at humiliating and mocking the ghost of an enemy into staying away instead of the original intent which is to frighten away any ghosts that may have been killed by a recently deceased clan member. Thus we have the original aim of the habu cry, on one hand, being used to the benefit of the deceased, and, on the other hand, being used in a new context to disrespect and down-grade the deceased.

Secondly, in a few brief examples provided by Wagner, individuals have adapted and used elements to suit their own ends. The seven Dobu men who demonstrated over the compensation claims were using the mourning ritual to amplify the feelings on the matter in the most forceful, expressive and ‘meaning filled’ (as opposed to meaningful) way that was know to them. This is also the case for the man who protested the killing of his pig and the two women who intending to ‘mourn’ for Wagner. In both cases through the mourning ritual they wished to demonstrate their attachment to and sense of loss of the death of the pig and departure of Wagner, respectively.

Finally, the habu ritual deals not with death but with the illness-causing ghost of an un-mourned person. It must be appeased so those elements of the dili sabo mortuary feast that are most likely to achieve that are used anew. In the dili sabo, the bones of the sacrificed marsupials are burned as an offering to the ghost. In the habu, the marsupials are offered as scapegoats to take the blame of the illness, not the ghost.

Meanings from the Daribi mourning ritual are ‘cherry-picked’, extended and adapted to form new meanings and roles. In this way, ritual plays a dynamic role by providing a way to change or address new issues (Figure 8). It is also not a case of merely shifting ‘like for like’, or elements of a very intense ritual to another very serious context. They can be within the boundaries of the original intent, such as dealing with
the potentially vindictive ghost in the *habu*, and less so in mocking another in the *bidi nia sai* dance. They can also be appropriated and used metaphorically for more individual and personal (or frivolous) reasons to make a point about a sense of unfair or regrettable loss, be it of compensation, of a pig or of an anthropologist.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bidi Nia Sai or Bidi Wia Siu</th>
<th>Habu</th>
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<td>Anti-Funeral</td>
<td>Ritual</td>
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![Diagram]

**Figure 8:** Appropriation of elements of the ‘mourning ritual’ for other purposes.

**Conclusion**

This paper has described ways in which the Daribi have used elements of the intense and serious mourning rituals as an example of what Wagner’s cultural dynamism, whereby new meanings or uses are created. Almost universally, mourning and funerals are the most intense and passionate expressions of grief and loss in a culture. They may range from the very solemn and subdued to the very expressive and almost joyous. They all involve the treatment and display of the deceased in some fashion, a variety of steps, rites and rituals, and appropriate
expressions of grief from the living. As the height of, generally, the expression of grief, despair and loss they are sometimes appropriated for other reasons to give that reason or issue a kind of legitimacy, intensity or at least to send a message via a strong visual impression.

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