APPENDIXtA

THE MICRO-MEGALITHIC OF BALI, 1970

In Chapter III.t26.b of the main text, we drew attention to fairly close parallels between stone-usage at Santubong's "tantric" shrine excavated in 1966 and the "sanctuary terraces" of Indonesia, and pointed out how one of these structures became the State temple of Bali.t We suggested an especially close even if superficial, relationship between Santubong and the fifteenth century terrace forms of Indonesia, with their element of "megalithic tantricism.t"

Since that text was completed, both of us have been able to visit Bali, in January and February, 1970, and one of us to spend a week on an intensive study of the State temple, Besakih, and ten others of the "terrace" and associated forms, with the help of Dr. Ida Bagus Ratu at the University of Den Pasar. This note briefly states some further points which deserve mentiont It is intended to elaborate on these along with material from other islands for fuller publication presentlyt Here, initially what is encouraging is that we find the micro-megalithic concept as postulated in our main text not only stands up but gains strength when carried for testing into other countries and conditionst

Points of emphasis here:

(i) Besakih is, as it were, a major elaboration of Bongkisam, with massive use of natural stones and pebbles to establish a series of seven terraces up the sacred mountain, Agung volcanot

(ii) Tens of thousands of stones and pebbles have been placed round earth case or fill, or used as pavements, steps and sloping facest

(iii) A wide range of larger rocks, either natural or shaped, are involved as menhirs, and these play a crucial role beside the numerous formal Hindu figurest

(iv) This tremendous temple assemblage dates back to before the eleventh century, and is certainly a direct carry-on from earlier, animist, megalithism, based on a less "sophisticated" concept but still firmly rooted in the use of a lot of small stone and a few larger rocks in stepped patterns towards a summit (truncated pyramid) consummationt

(v) Throughout the whole, the utmost importance is attached to the establishment and identification of *seats* whereupon the gods and spirits are invited to rest during temple riteso More of the larger rocks form part or all of these seats, often the back rest especially.

(vi) The earlier phases survive with less Hindu overlay on the remarkable temple north beyond Kintamani at Panulisan, built all up a steep hillside and developed formally in the eleventh centuryo But the *idea* is everywhere in Bali, even in ostensibly "non-terraced" temples like the large Gelgel one, where the projection is flat but the approach almost the same in essenceo

(vii) The simplest form seen was the fishermen's temple at Sanur, close to the new Intercontinental Hotel Beach. This is a simple, terraced, truncated pyramid entirely of natural rock (local coral), with two associated smaller pyramids, and a bare sprinkling of Hindu regalia as minor accessorieso

(viii) Apart from the temples, Bali is alive with other megalithic works, especially micro-megalithic usages of many sorts, notably connected with the domestic enclosures and family temples, walls, steps, irrigation systems (closely linked, especially in the Tempaksiring and Pedjeng sector), and a multitude of separate, secularly used stone seats (most conspicuously around Gelgel)o

(ix) Some of the latter bear the curious cup-shape marks (cf. III.26.b); there are also neglected stone urns in several important temples, pointing to another megalithic funerary practiceo

(x) The several known stone sarcophagi of Bali have hitherto received most attention. A newly found one was examined and photographed *in situ*, at Nongan (the main source area)o

(xi) This sarcophagus typically contained bronzeo In the small museum at Pedjeng there is also some gold leaf-foil reportedly found inside a sarcophaguso

Bali shows a devotion to natural stone shapes, mostly quite small, used to erect elaborate holy structures without any corresponding elaboration in architecture as such, without complex building techniques or--particularly important here--the formation of fully enclosed roofed spaceso The rock and earth has been re-assembled to reflect, reshape, restate and revere the

forms of nature and the conceived universe, with Mt. Meru from India reformed onto Balits Mt. Agung. Many smaller such structures flourish inside the main micro-megalithic quadrants (never other than rectangles)t, sometimes roofed with wood or grass (cf. Bongkisam?) but not shut-in--despite the savage monsoon and mountain weather.

APPENDIX B

MORE INFORMATION ON PHILIPPINE GOLD

(Especially Gold Leaf Foil)

Scholars of Asian ceramics are familiar with the outstanding collection of export pottery by Dr. Arturo de Santoso His important collection of pre-Spanish gold objects is, however--unlike the Locsin collection--unpublished and relatively unstudied. Although not the product of scientific archaeological excavation, and thus without record linking object to site, context and association, the collection has a wide variety of objects and offers a range of form from the very simple to the complexo

During a brief visit to Manila in December, 1969, one of the authors (S.J.O'C.) was able to identify a number of pieces of gold-leaf foil that bore almost exact analogy with the leaf-shaped gold-foil pieces that are so typical in the ground at Jaong in the Santubong complexo Several of the De Santos pieces bore the repoussé design elements, the center cut breach and the overall leaf shape that we find on Jaong gold foil. While the range of Philippine gold jewelry in the De Santos collection includes many pieces of a complexity and finesse that is beyond anything attempted at Jaong, or in the Sarawak delta at any time, there is clear evidence that Southwestern Borneo and the Philippines shared a system of conventions for the early treatment of gold foil in leaf-shapeo

There is also in the National Museum in Manila a leaf-shaped piece of gold foil that fits very closely with the Jaong gold pieceso

These pieces add to the information in Chapter 16.a of our main text accordingly and widen the argument for treating gold foil as an important cultural clue for the ancient past.

APPENDIX C

UBIAN BURIALS ON BANGGI ISLAND

by Barbara Harrisson

On January 23, 1970, I visited the Ubian village of Padang, founded six years ago. The people were previously settled at Pulau Tiga, a small island sandwiched between Northern Banggi and Balanbangan, off the northwest tip of Sabah.

A few graves are present, just along the village street and above high water mark--the houses are lined up on high stilts in permanent water (i.e., high *and* low tide). These new graves are rectangular frames of cement or timber, enclosing sand, with a *nisan* (grave marker) planted to one short side and a ceramic pot (ewer, mug, bottle) in center. The people say that some of the old graves at Pulau Tiga are still built up with stones. But we cannot stop there with our launch owing to high winds and tide.

However, we manage to make a visit to another old Ubian cemetery, opposite the new village (police station) at Karakit, on Pulau Patanumau at the southern tip of Banggi Island. This island has coconuts, but no present-day village. A small cemetery is just above the tideline, largely overgrown with scrub. This shows several graves (about ten) all built up with rectangular or quadrangular frames of limestone rock (found opposite, on Banggi). One is built to a height of two and a half feet, the other less, about one foot. Inside the stone frame is a wooden frame, some of planks, others of beautifully turned and slotted pieces. The inner space has a *nisan*--or knob--and in every case there is a bottle or ceramic object, or a coconut bowl. The best preserved (and highest) structure has four wooden uprights, placed in each inner corner of the stone-square. These are connected at a height of three feet or so, with a slight frame carrying faded and torn cloth formerly spread over the grave.

What struck me about these burial places was their closeness to the sea--just where one would step first on landing. This is so unlike other people's burial places, which are usually some distance away from villages or houses, on hillocks, etc. Not so with the Ubians--as recorded previously on Usukan [III.17.b of main text].

APPENDIX D

FIVE DYNASTIES' STONEWARES FROM JAONG

In 1968, fresh from a study of old Chinese kilntsites, Professors Tsugio Mirami and Fujio Koyama visited Sarawak to examine our excavated stonewares (see above, Chapter III.21.b). They identified many pieces from Jaong (p. 129 above), as products of Si Chun, a kiln near Canton, hitherto little known but reported in a Chinese booklet by the Canton Cultural Preservation Committee, 1958. Their analysis, elaborated by Eine Moore, has now appeared in *S.M.J.*, 16, 1968: 85-99, with Plates X-XII. Examples have earlier been illustrated and discussed as "puzzling and unusual wares found in the earliest Sarawak sites" (Moore: 85) by Tom Harrisson in *Transactions Oriental Ceramic Society*, 28, 1953-4 (with Coloured Plates) and *Oriental Art*, 5, 1959: 2, as well as in previous *S.M.J.* issues.

Si Chun produced not only white porcelain of *ch'ing-pai* types but wares imitating *yueh* and even *temmoku*; iron slip decoration is frequentt Of nine defined Si Chun types, seven occur at Jaong and several at the other "earlier" delta site, the small Tanjong Kubor cemetery (*S.M.J.*, 8, 1957: 18-50 and 13, 1965: 1-62; cf. H.O.: 16). The Si Chun wares of Jaong and Kubor were made at the end of the T'ang, primarily during the Five Dynasties (907-959 A.D.), perhaps a little into early Sung (at 960 A.D.). As stated in Chapter 1 here, Jaong "was in main use before and around 1000 A.D.," Bongkisam later (p. 5 above)t We may now italicize *before*. Most vessels with pebble-bed assot ciations from Jaong (illustrated in Plates 15-19 following) are Si Chun.

Mrs. Moore's paper, written in 1968, was included in the *S.M.J.* issue for that year, which however was not distributed until May 1970. Thus, she had not read our first delta Data Paper (1969), while we received her excellent study too late for incorporation in this second main textt

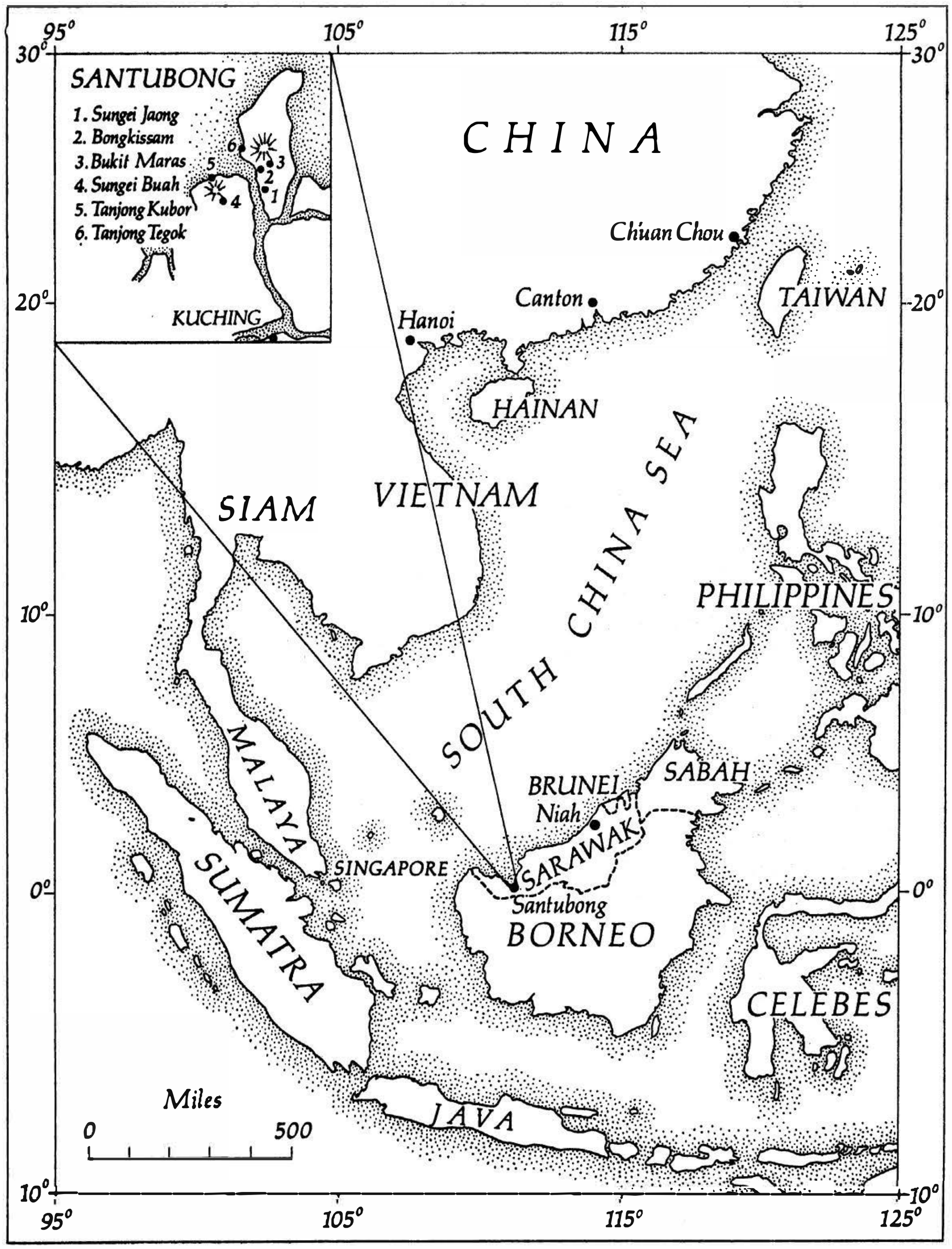
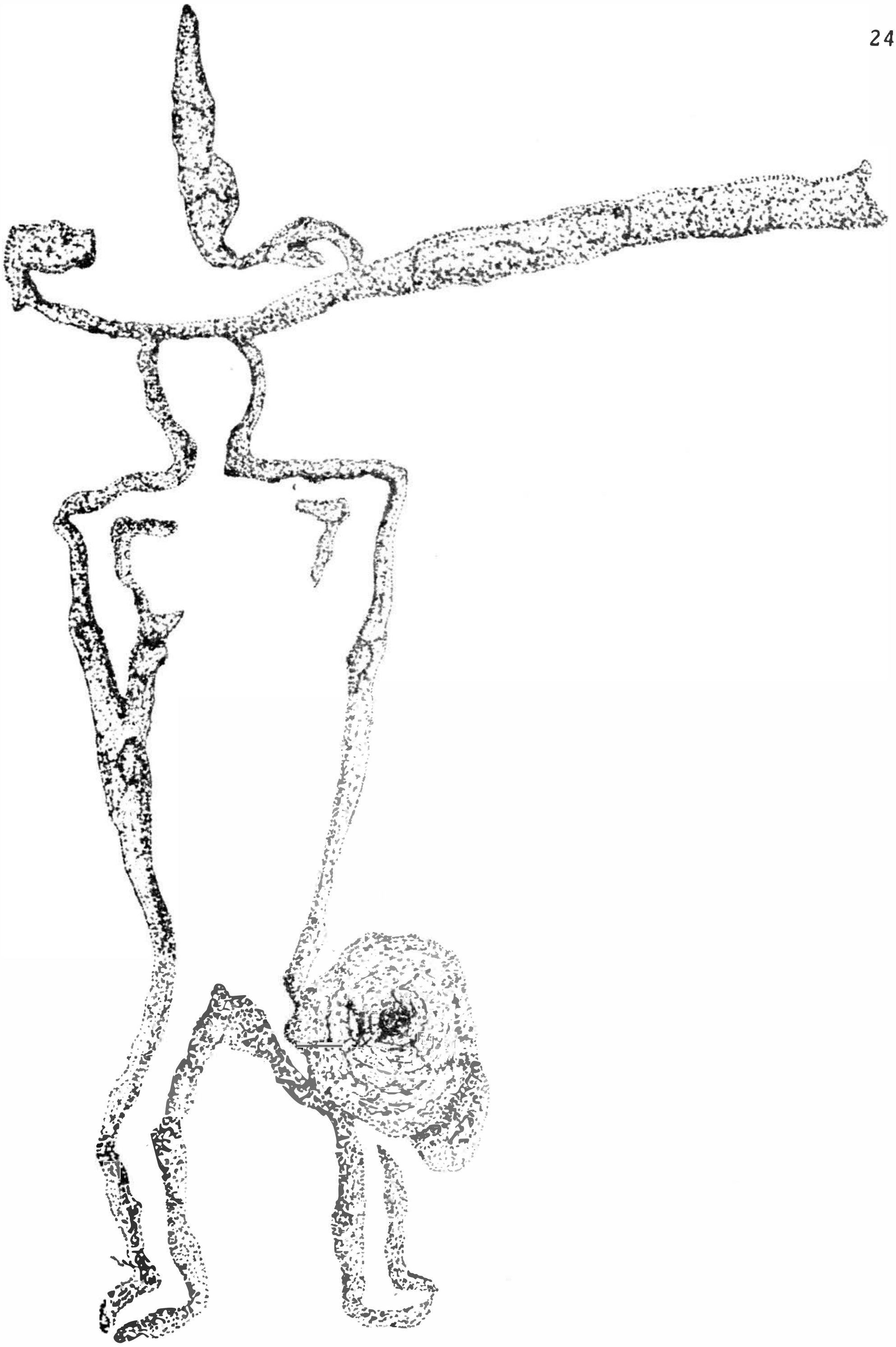


Plate 1. Principal excavation sites in the Santubong area, Sarawak River delta (after Cheng Te-K'un's *Archaeology in Sarawak*, Cambridge, 1969)t

Plate 2. Drawing of a petroglyph executed in soft sandstone at Sungei Jaongţ Santubong, one of many on natural boulders *in situ* there, associated with placed beds of river pebbles, gold leaf and other gold artifacts, ceramics, glass and a great bulk of slag from prehistoric iron-working (mainly, from there, to 1000 A.D.). This figure, drawn by Che Abdul Aziz (see Credits on Contents sheet) is shown photographically on Plate 41 following.

This and the following four plates (3-6) are published here to enable comparison with the photographic record in connection with the difficulties described in the caption to Plate 33 followingţ



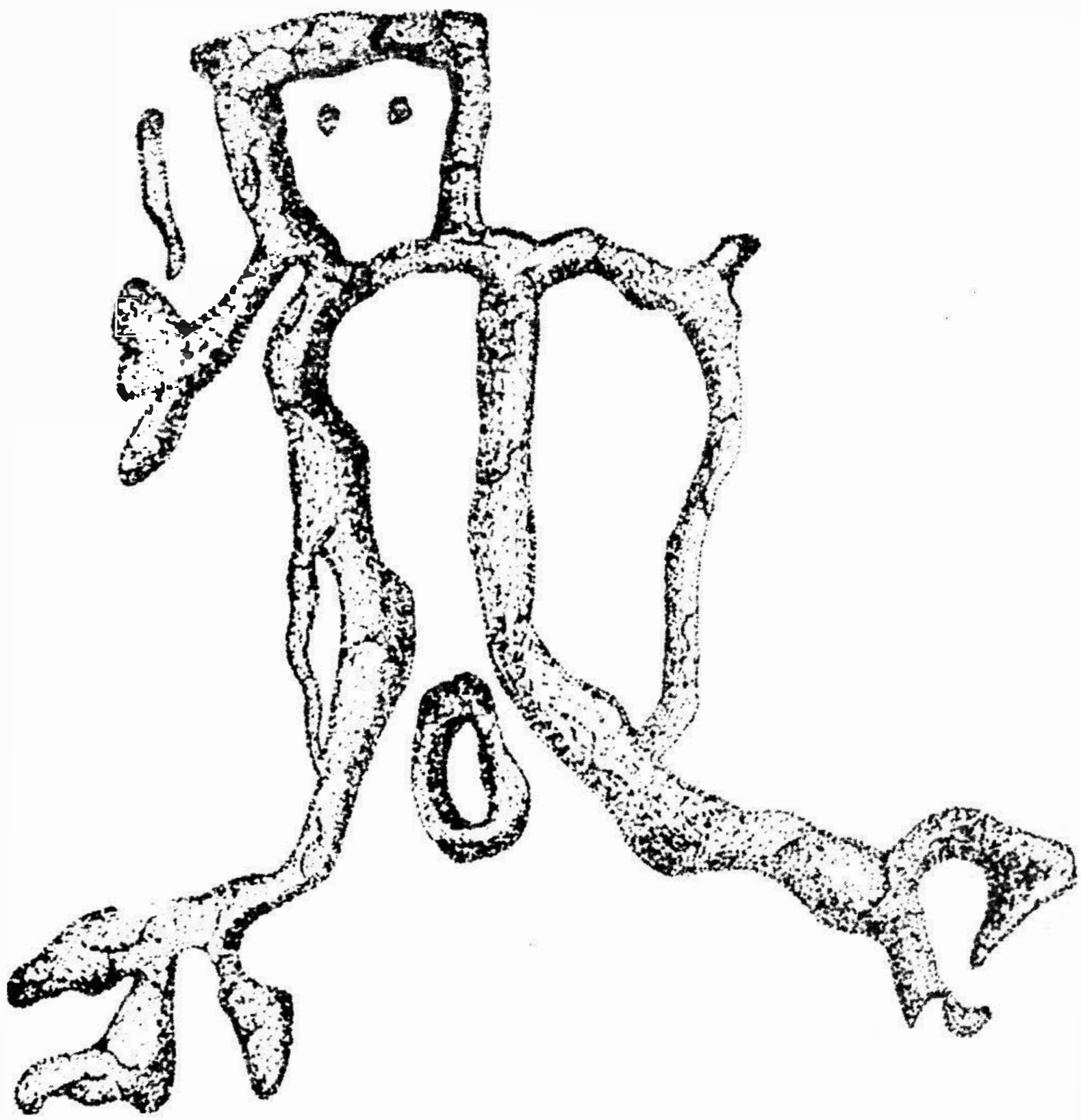


Plate 3. A small petroglyph at Jaong, usual in the spread-out position, unusual in that female sex organs are indicated by a circle *without* a dot in the center (unlike the next Plates)t. The rather cursory treatment of the head is also usual in this context, but there is no elaborate headdress as in Plate 2 and other figures.

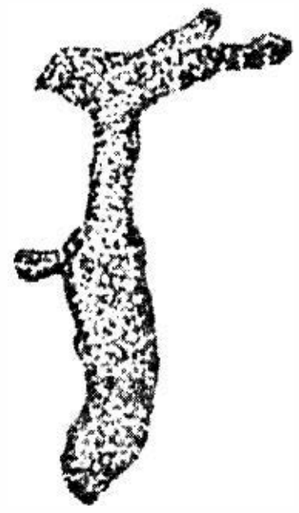


Plate 4.

This assemblage of the Jaong petroglyphs is on the same natural boulder as the headdress figure in Plate 2, and all are shown photographically at Plate 41 following. Apart from the human figure with characteristic "female pudenda" (see Plate 39 following)t, it is difficult to interpret the exact inten of these outlines--or even their precise extent.

Plate 5. This is the same Jaong boulder face as is shown photographically in the following Plate 40. It is particularly useful to compare these two versions, as indicating the degree of agreement between Che Abdul Azizts eye and Che Junaidi's camera. The agreement is particularly close in this case.

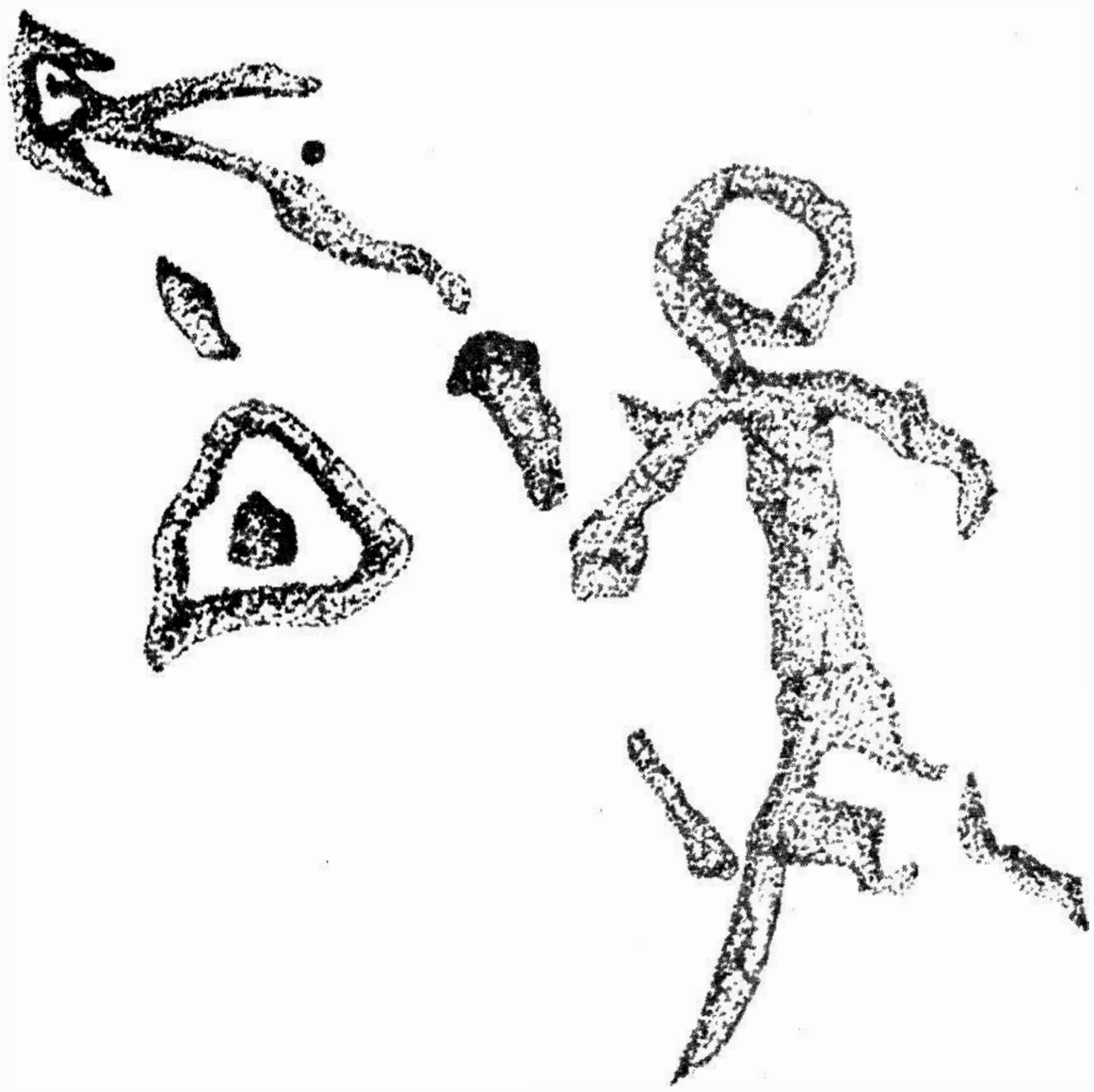
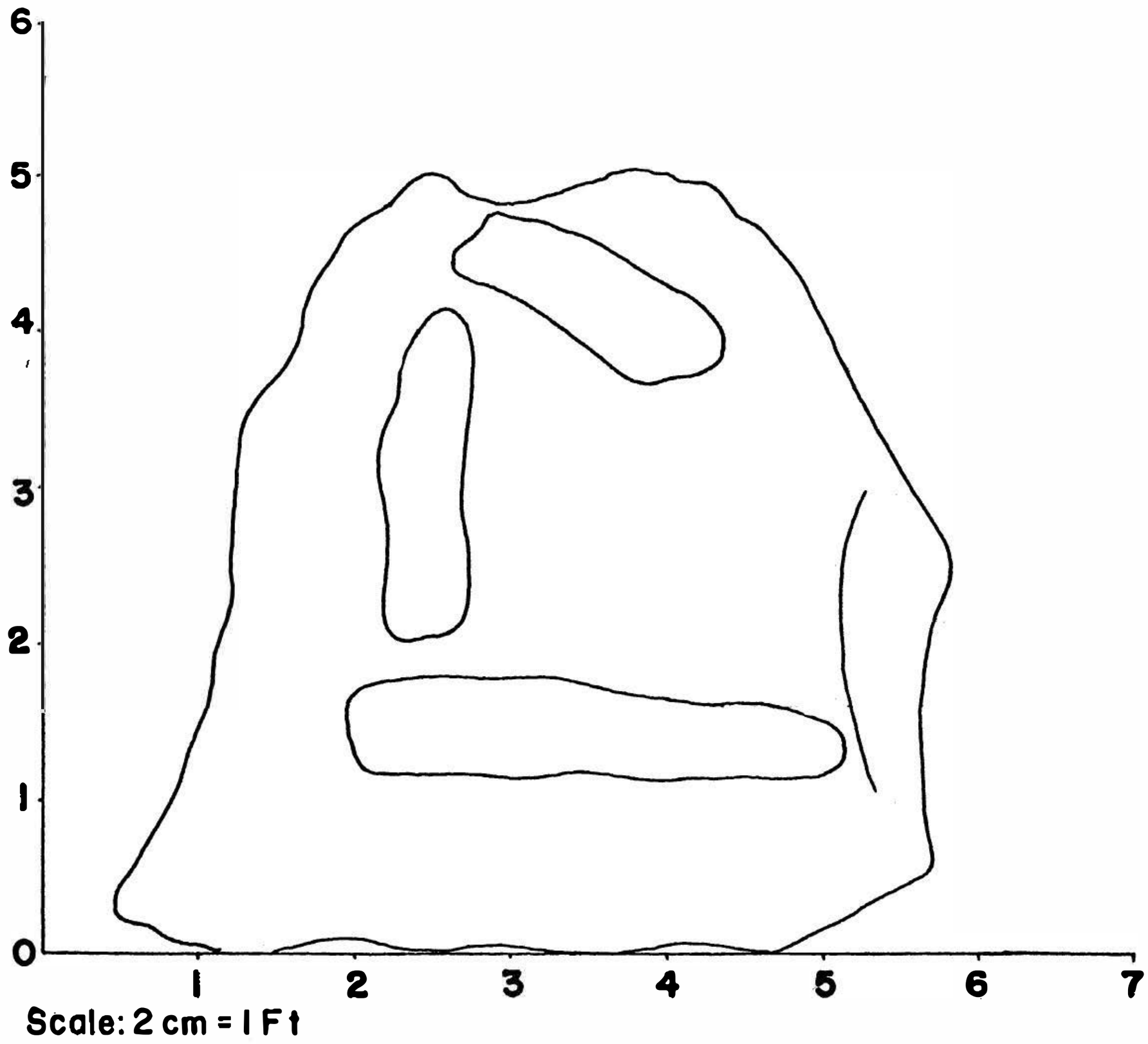


Plate 6. Compare this with photographic Plate 39,twhere the particular importance of the "spotted triangle" as a sex symbol (feminine) is discussed in the captiont



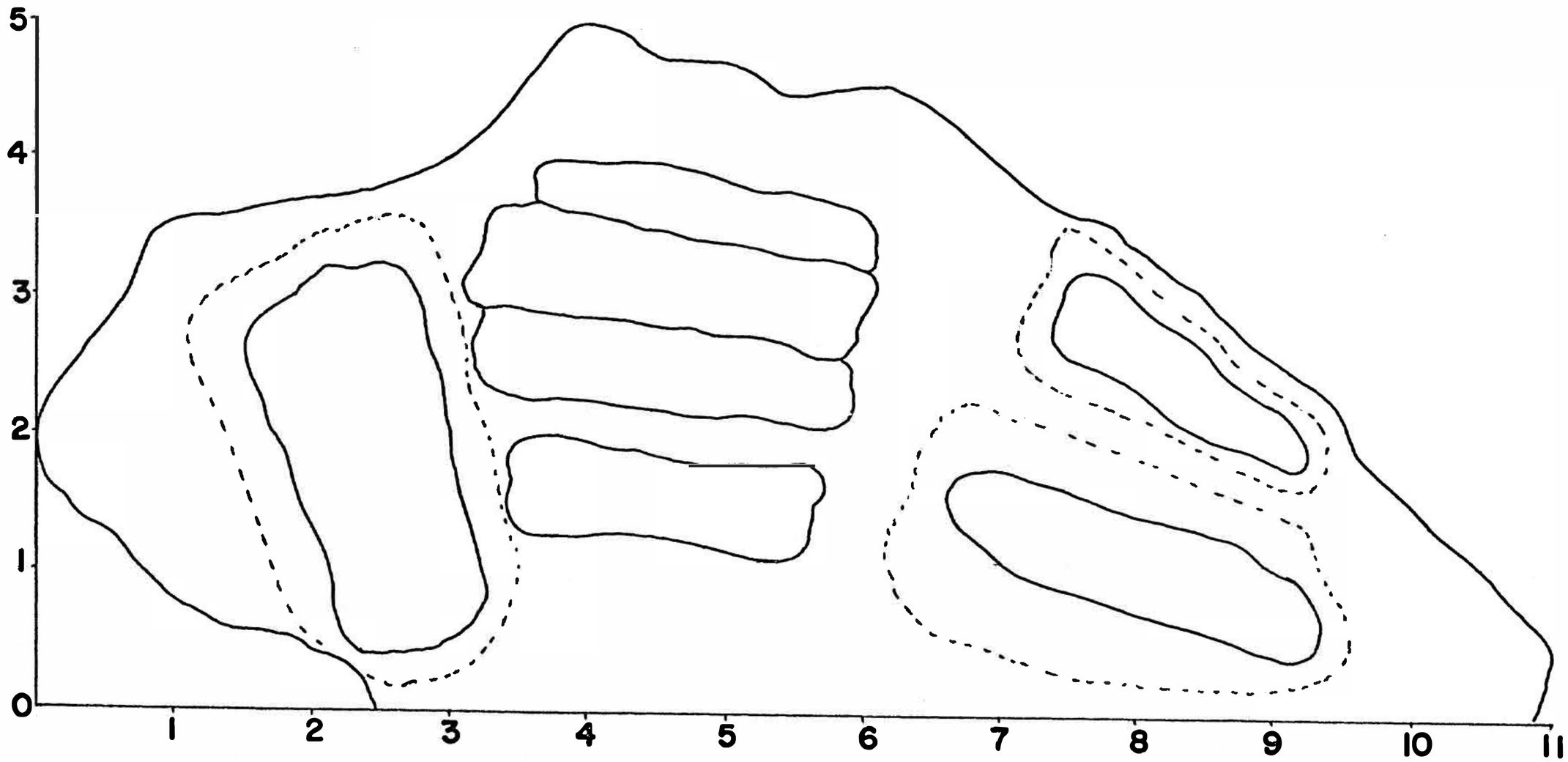
North side
240° From 57/A
122' " "

Plate 7

JAONG ROCK A

Plates 7-10

A natural boulder at Jaong, largely covered with "block cuts" (as described in Chapter 18). Four faces of the rock are shown in these drawings by Mr. Joseph Ingai of the Sarawak Museum. These block effects are achieved by pecking out the edges and bringing the several quadrangles into high relief. These various forms, repeated again and again at Jaong, but *not* on the same rocks as the figures, are believed to symbolize masculine activities.

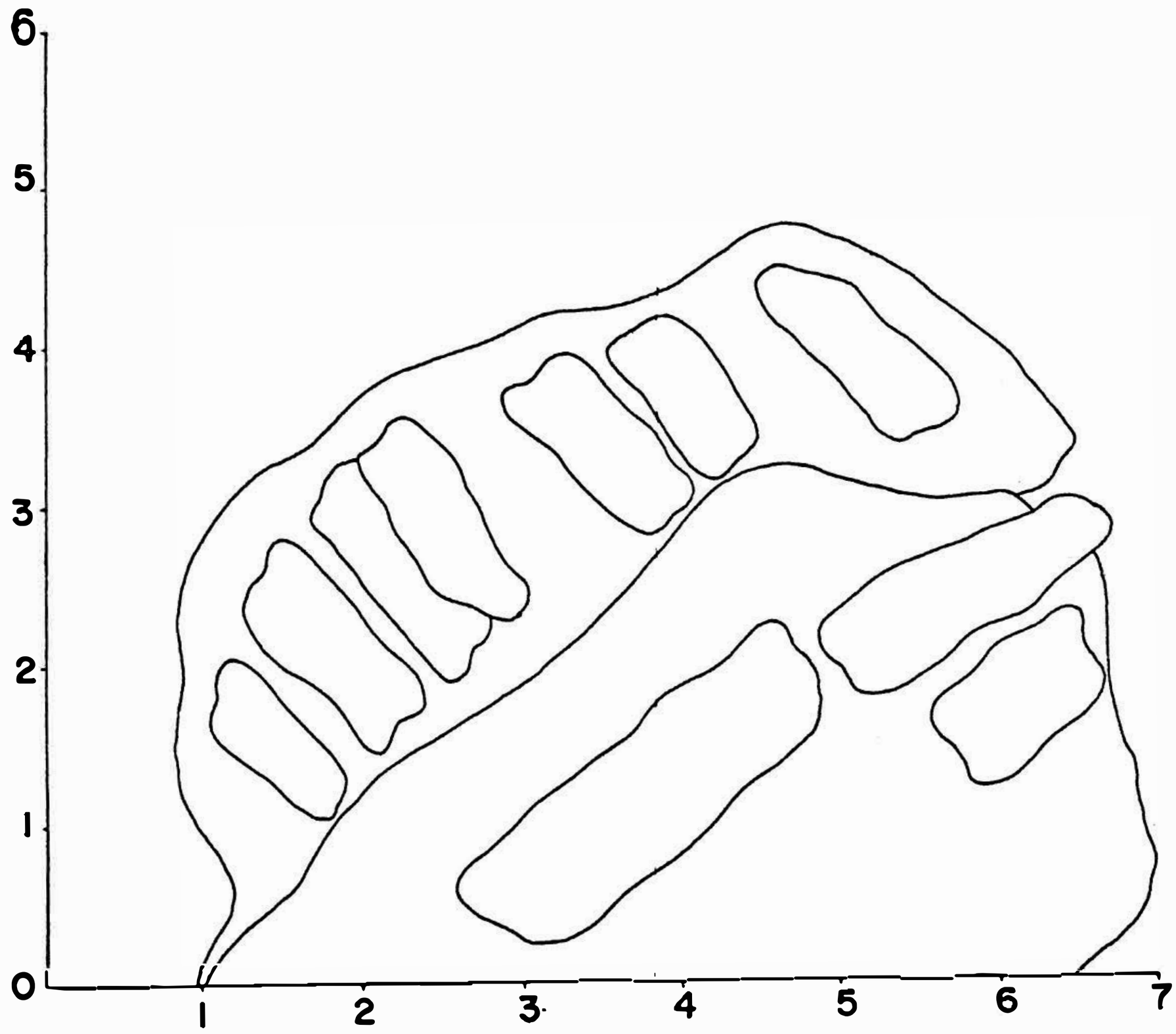


Scale: 2cm = 1 Ft.

Plate 8

East side
240° From 57/A
122' " "

JAONG ROCK A



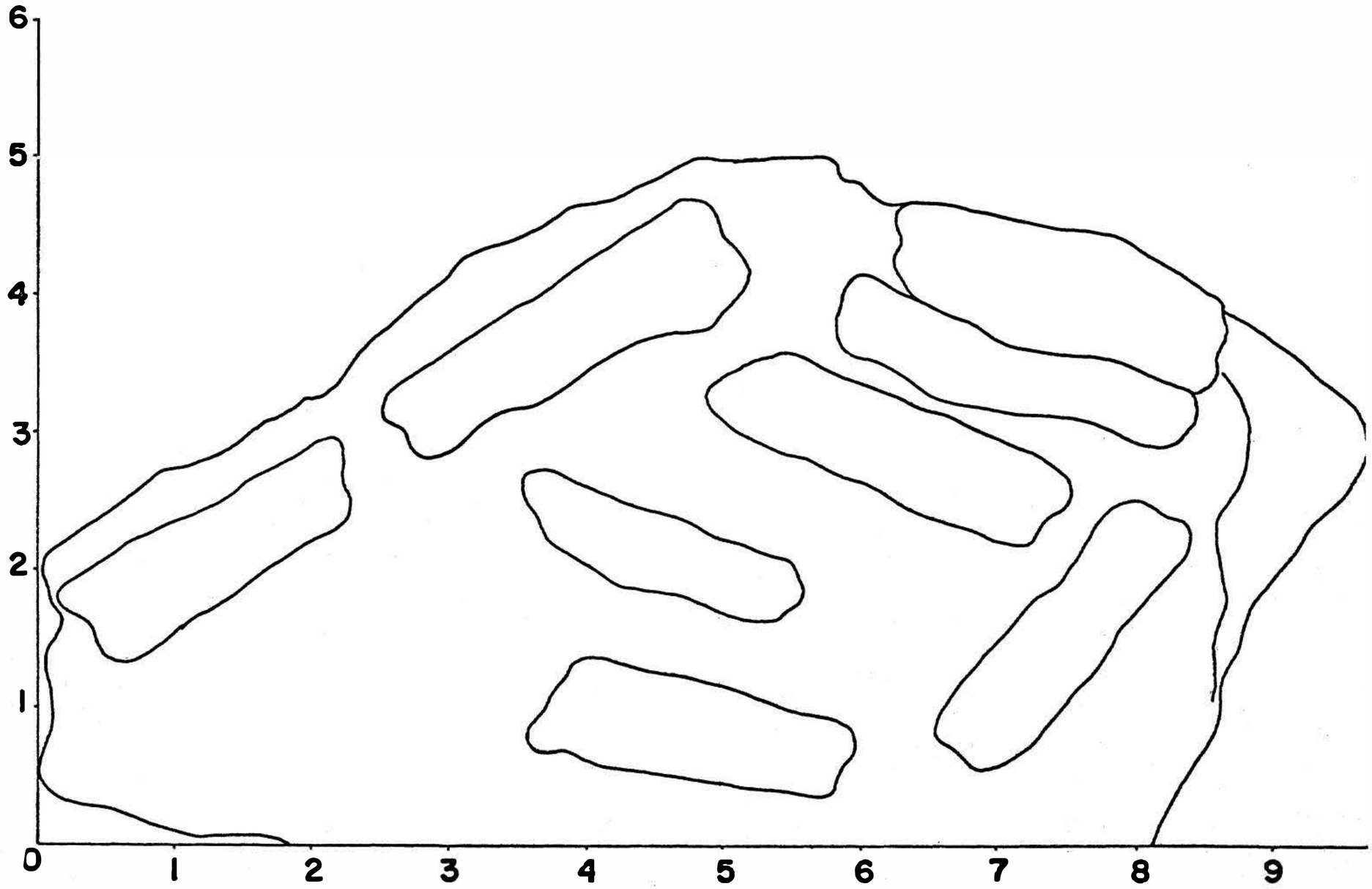
Scale: 2 cm = 1 Ft.

South side

Plate 9

240° From 57/A
122' " "

JAONG ROCK A



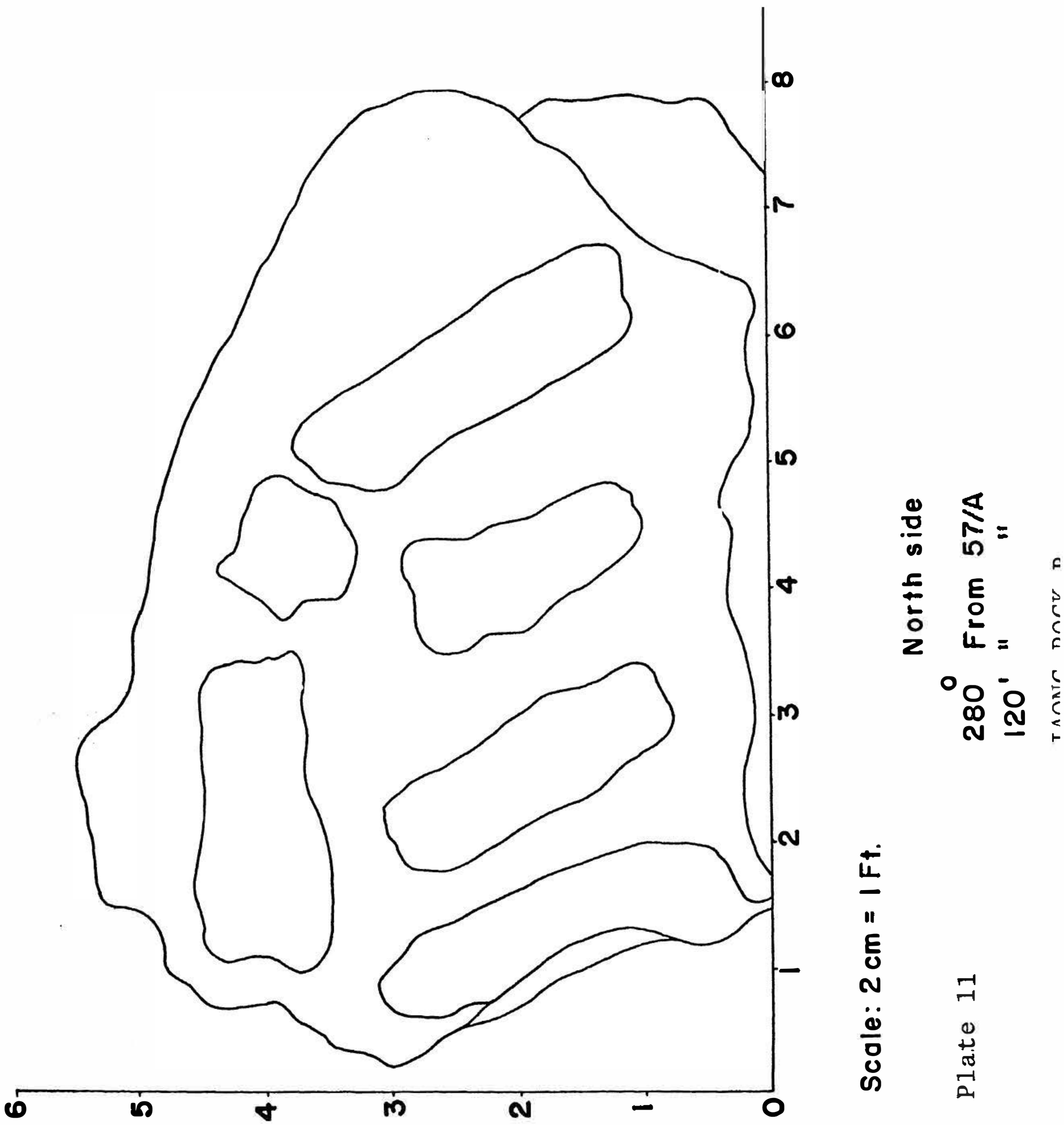
Scale: 2 cm = 1 Ft.

West side

240° From 57/A
122' " "

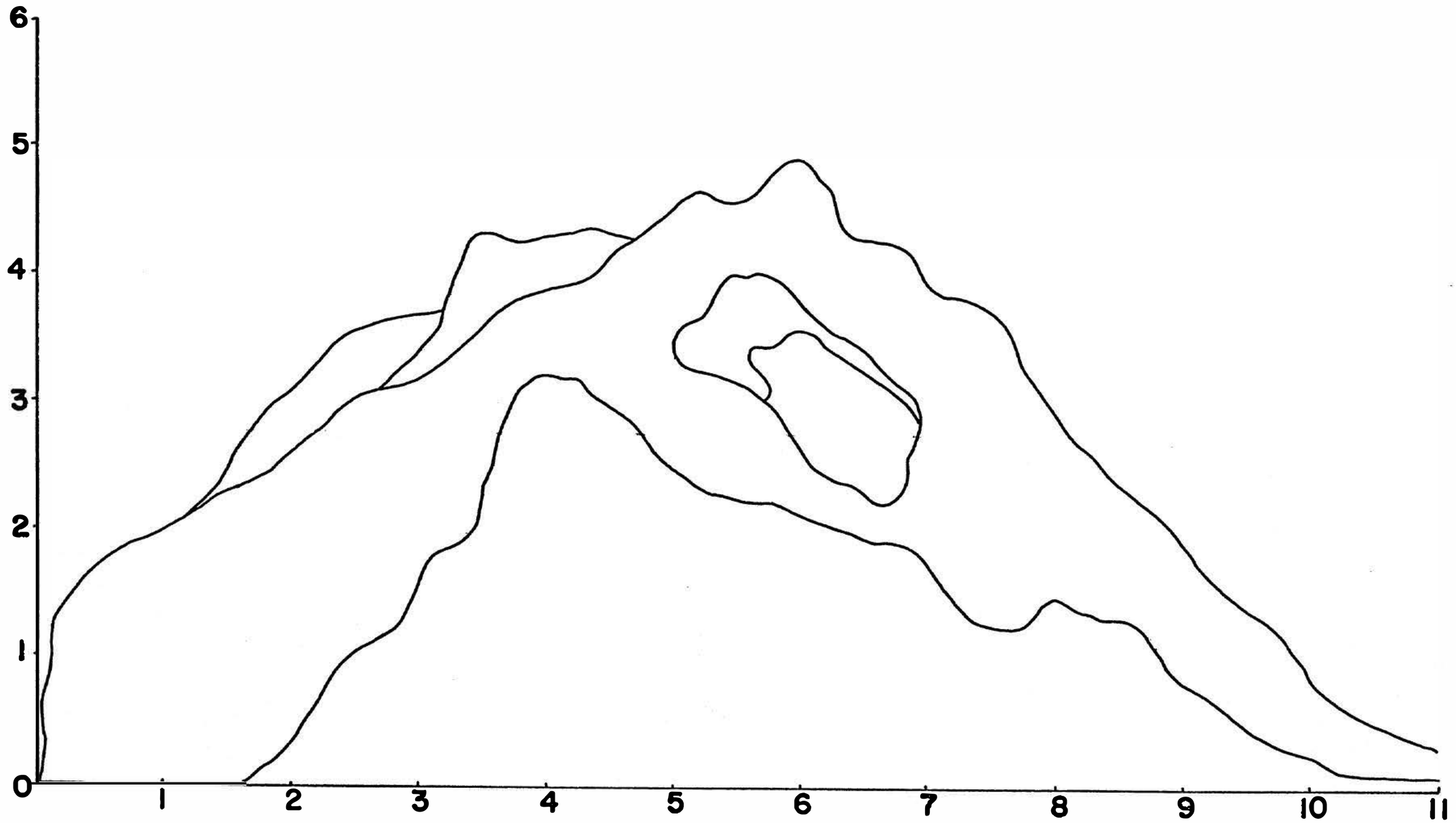
Plate 10

JAONG ROCK A



Plates 11-14

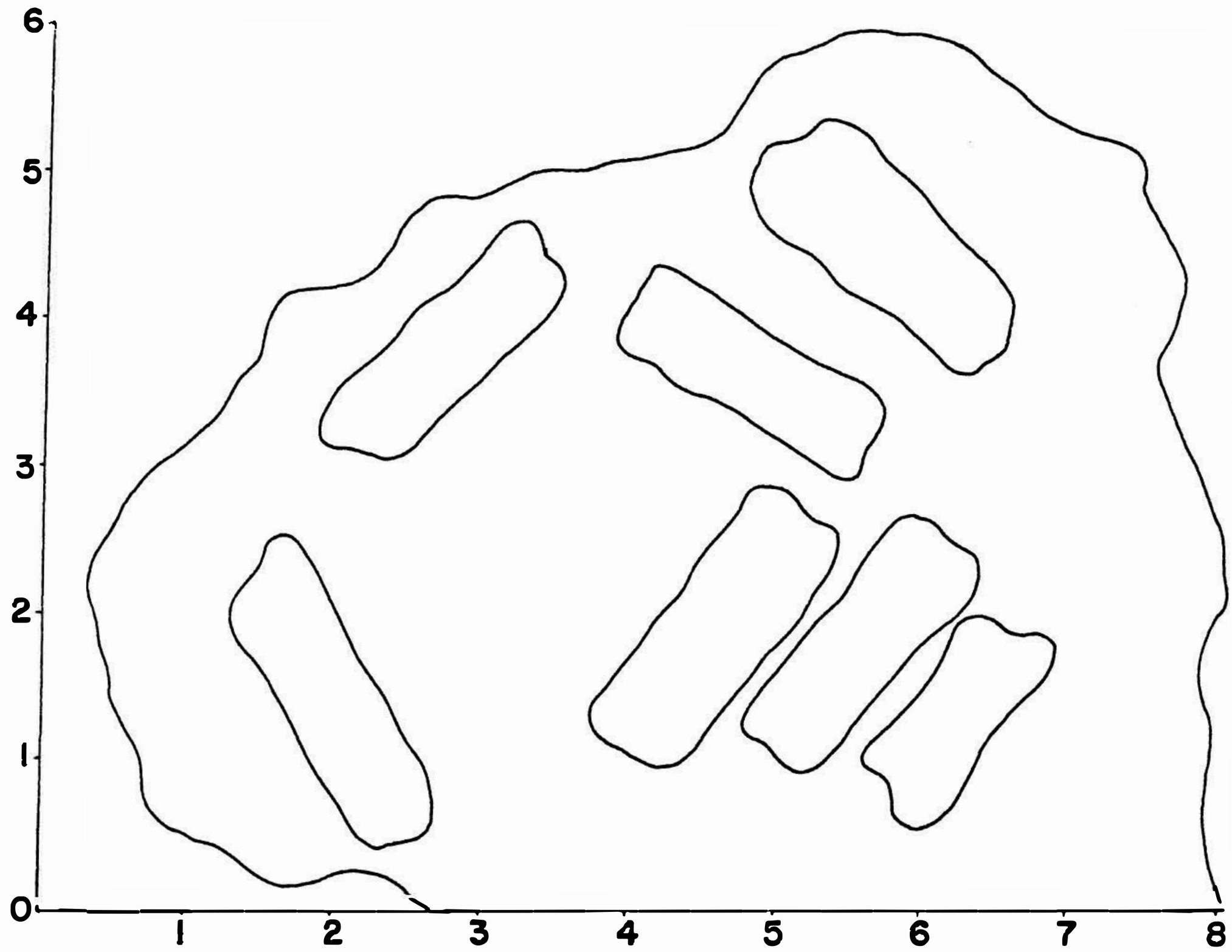
Four faces of a second typical block-cut rock at Sungei Jaong, to compare with Plates 7-10 (see Chapter 18). All these outlines have been heavily eroded on the soft sandstone by the action of tide.



Scale: 2cm = 1 Ft.

East side
280° From 57/A
120' " "

Plate 12



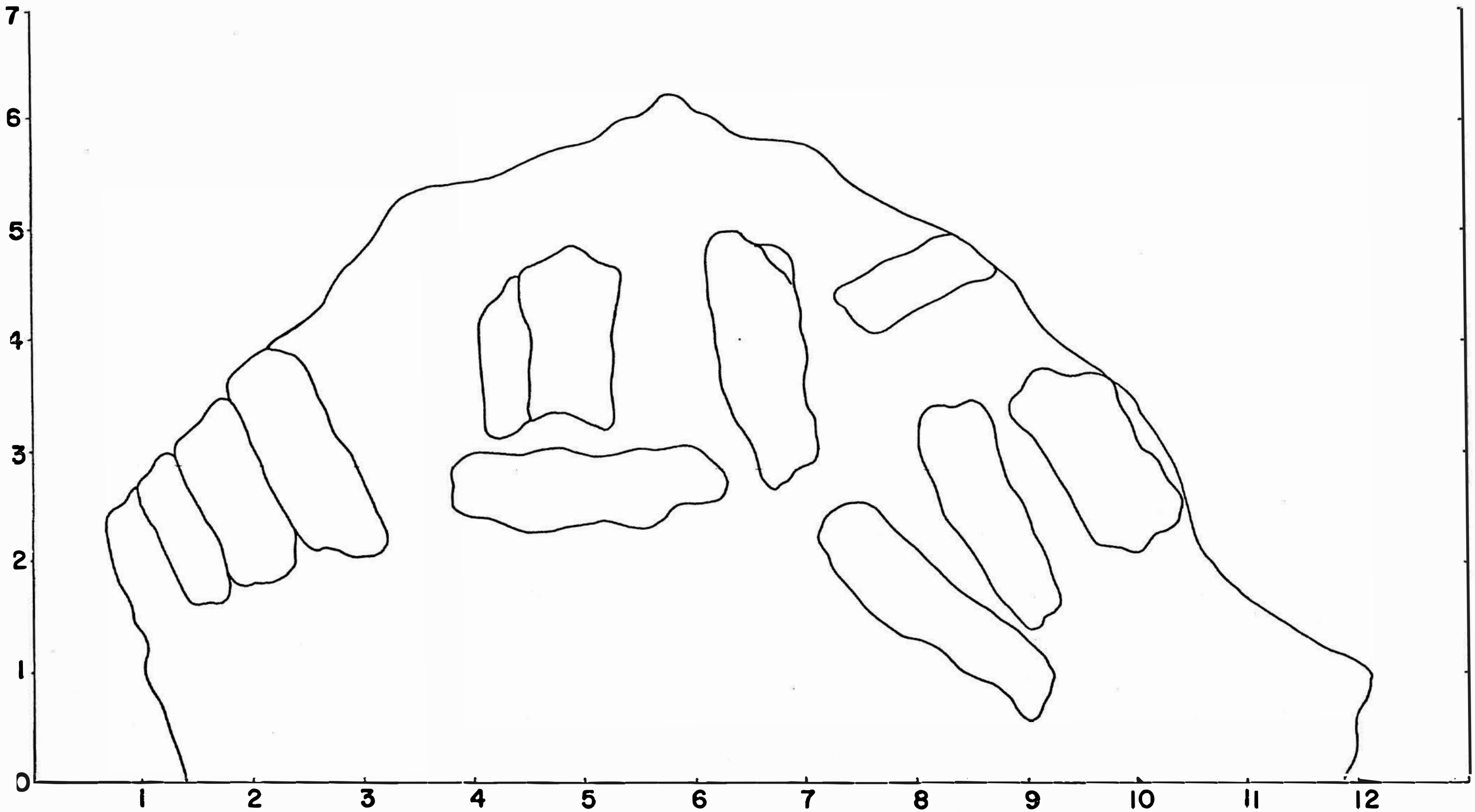
Scale: 2 cm = 1 Ft.

South side

280° From 57/A
120' " "

JAONG ROCK B

Plate 13



Scale: 2 cm = 1 Ft.

West side

280° From 57/A
120' " "

Plate 14

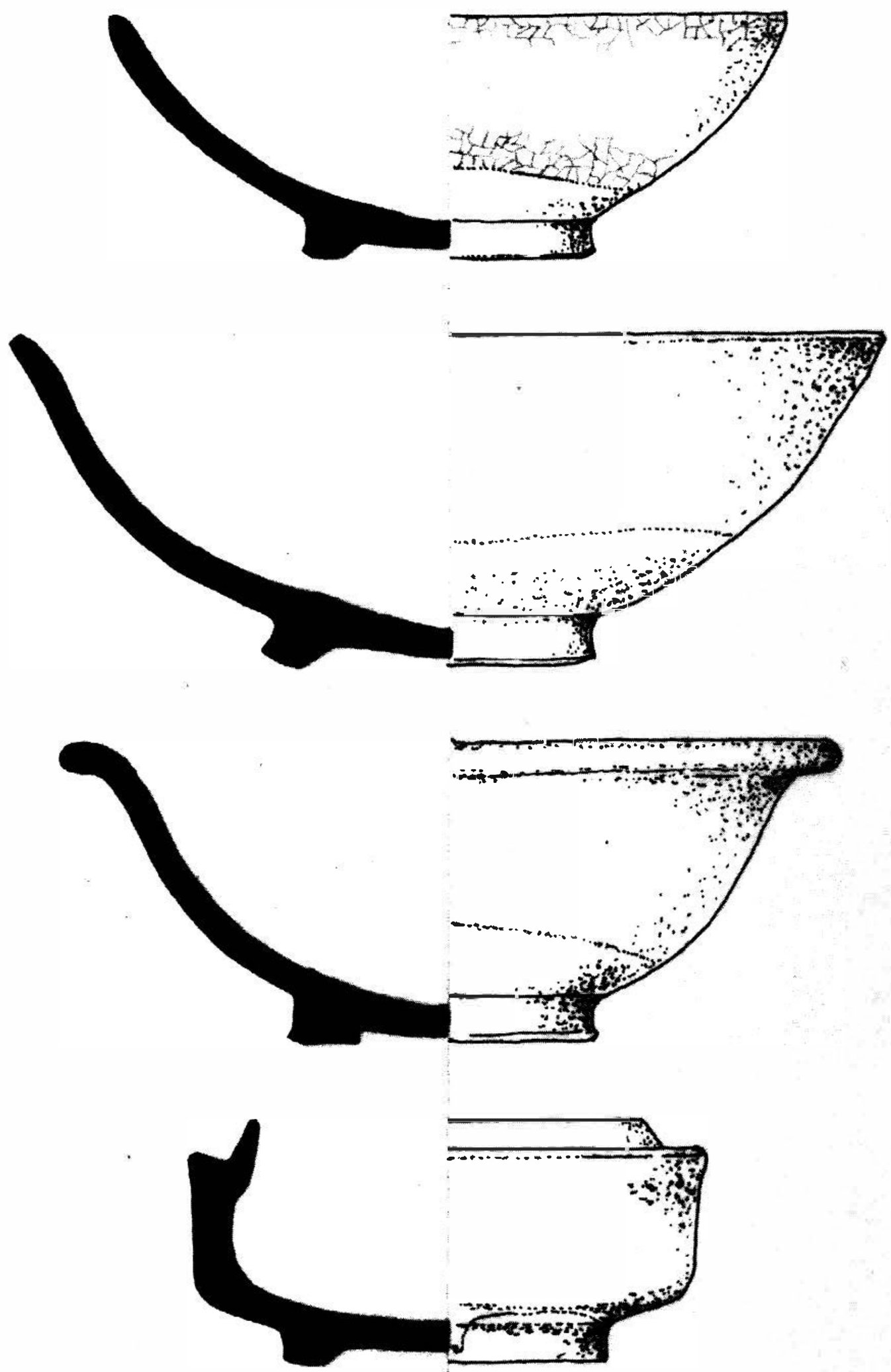


Plate 15. Three bowls and the bottom part of a lidded round box, in Yueh-type stoneware made in China in the T'ang or early Sung dynasties, as described in detail in Chapter 21. All excavated at Sungei Jaong in 1966 in A/series trenches at between 12" and 24". (This and following drawings by Miss Selene Fung.)

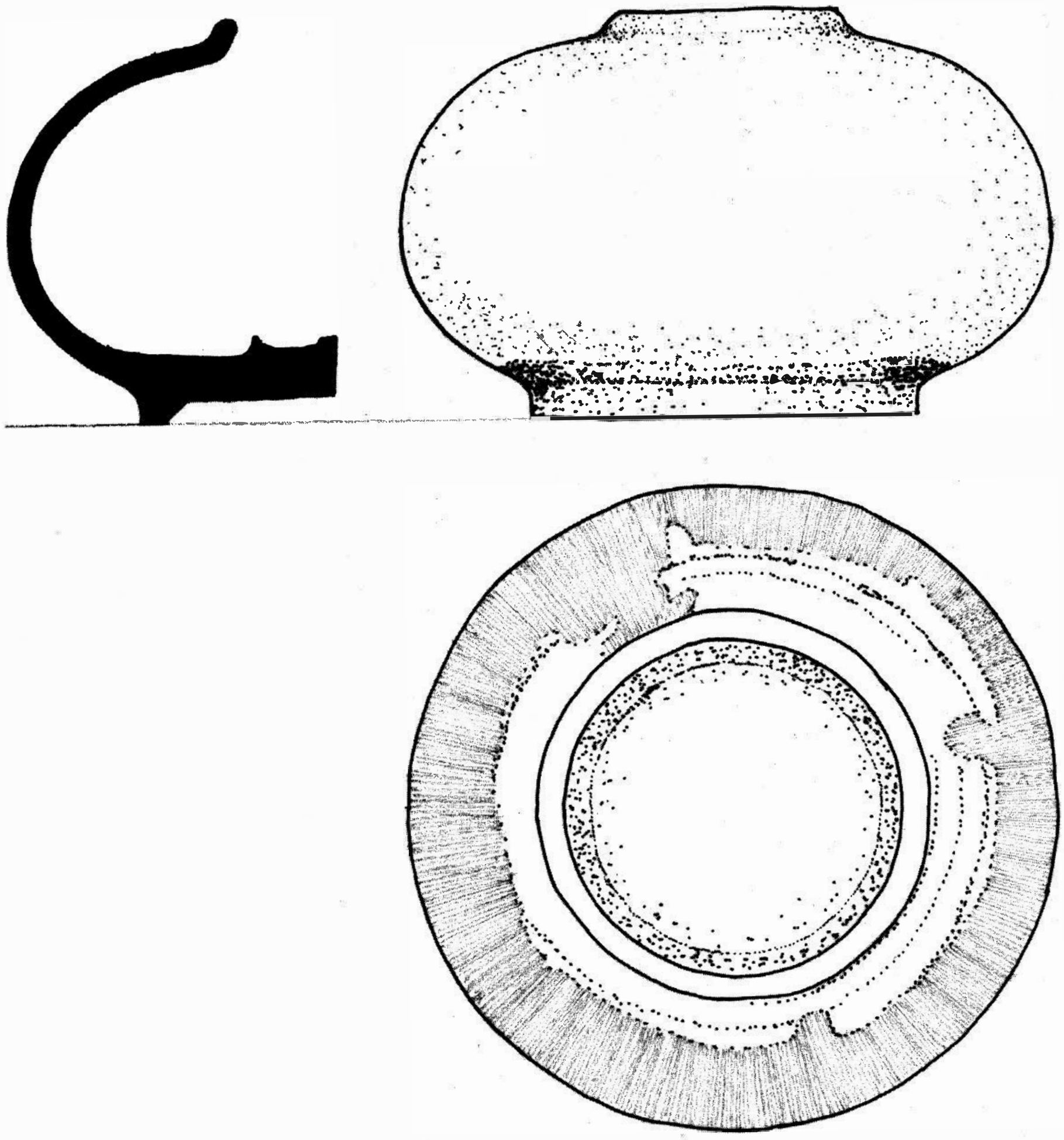


Plate 16. A bluish white fat pot in *Ching-pai* style excavated at Jaong A7, 18", with pebbles. This Chinese-made stoneware pot is a less common type at Jaong.

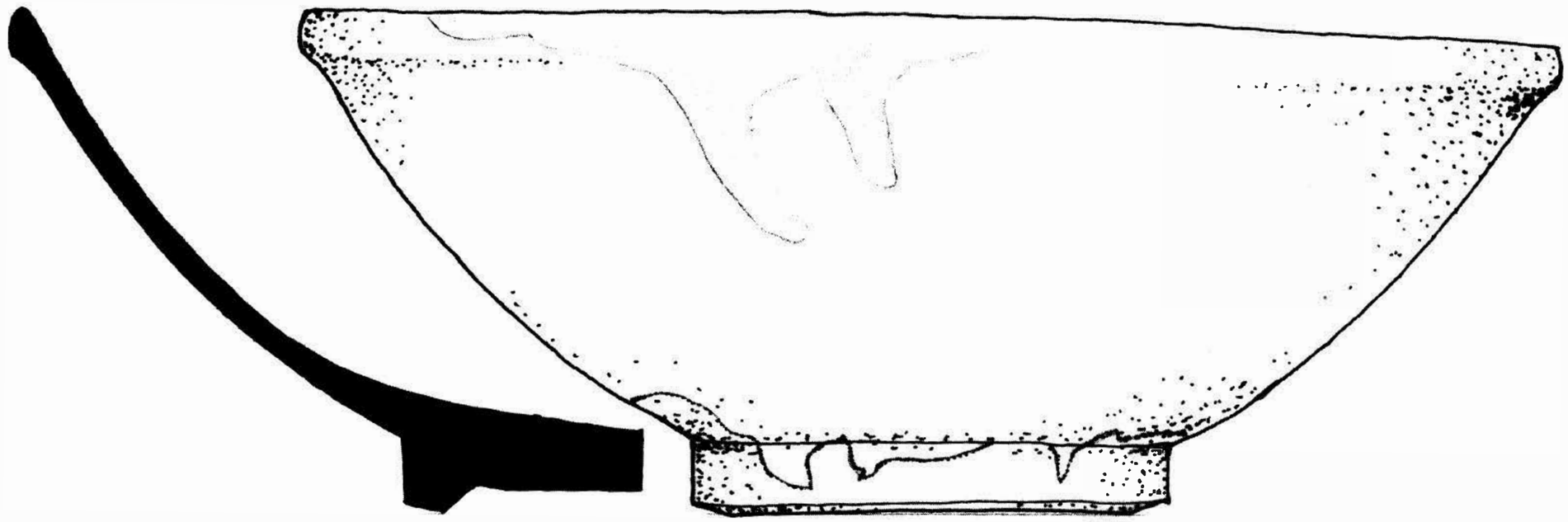
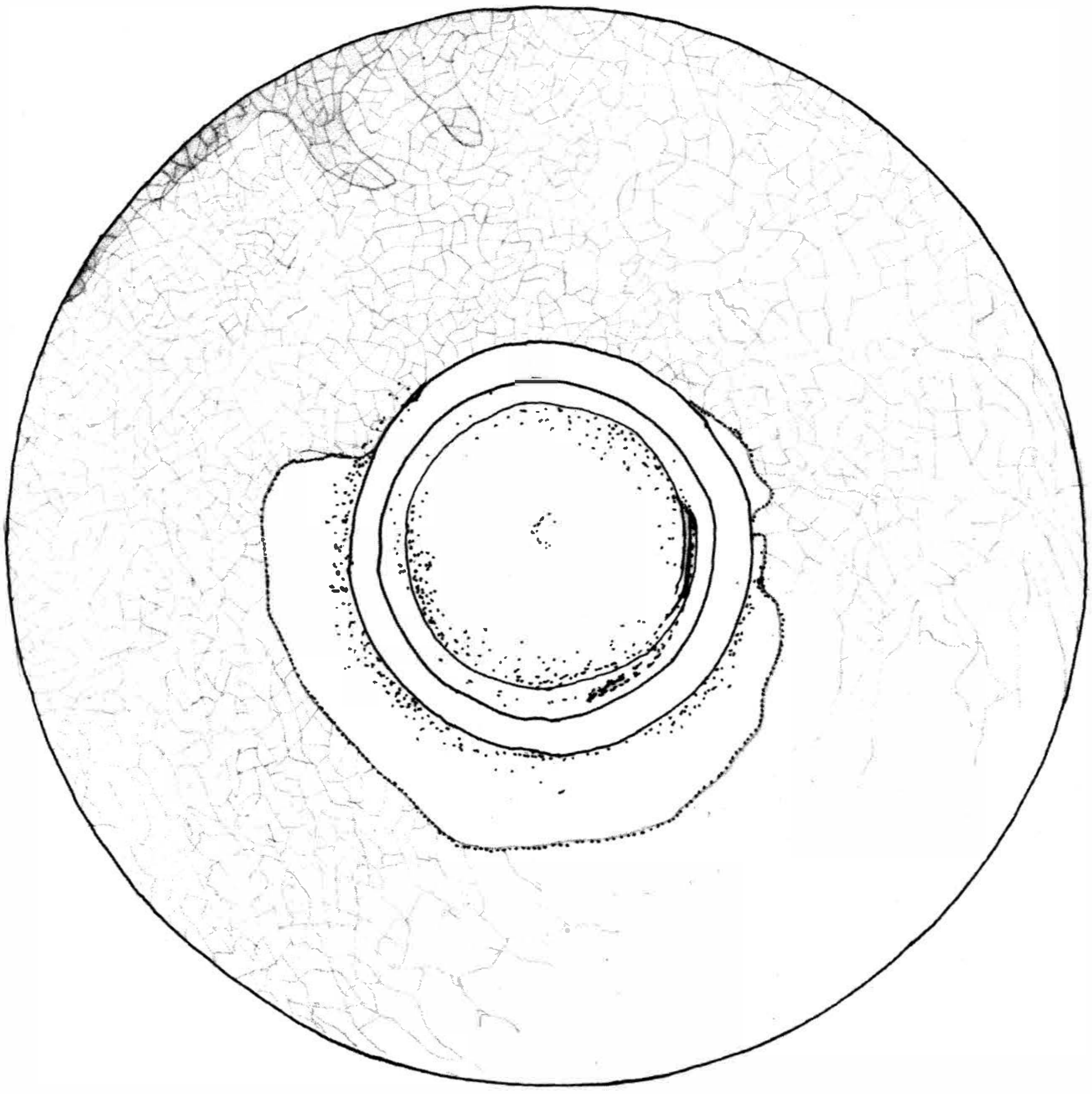


Plate 17. A heavy bowl excavated in 12-18" at Sungei Jaong. Brownish olive glaze, probably made c. 1000 A.D. in southern China (Chapter 21.b). Drawn natural size.



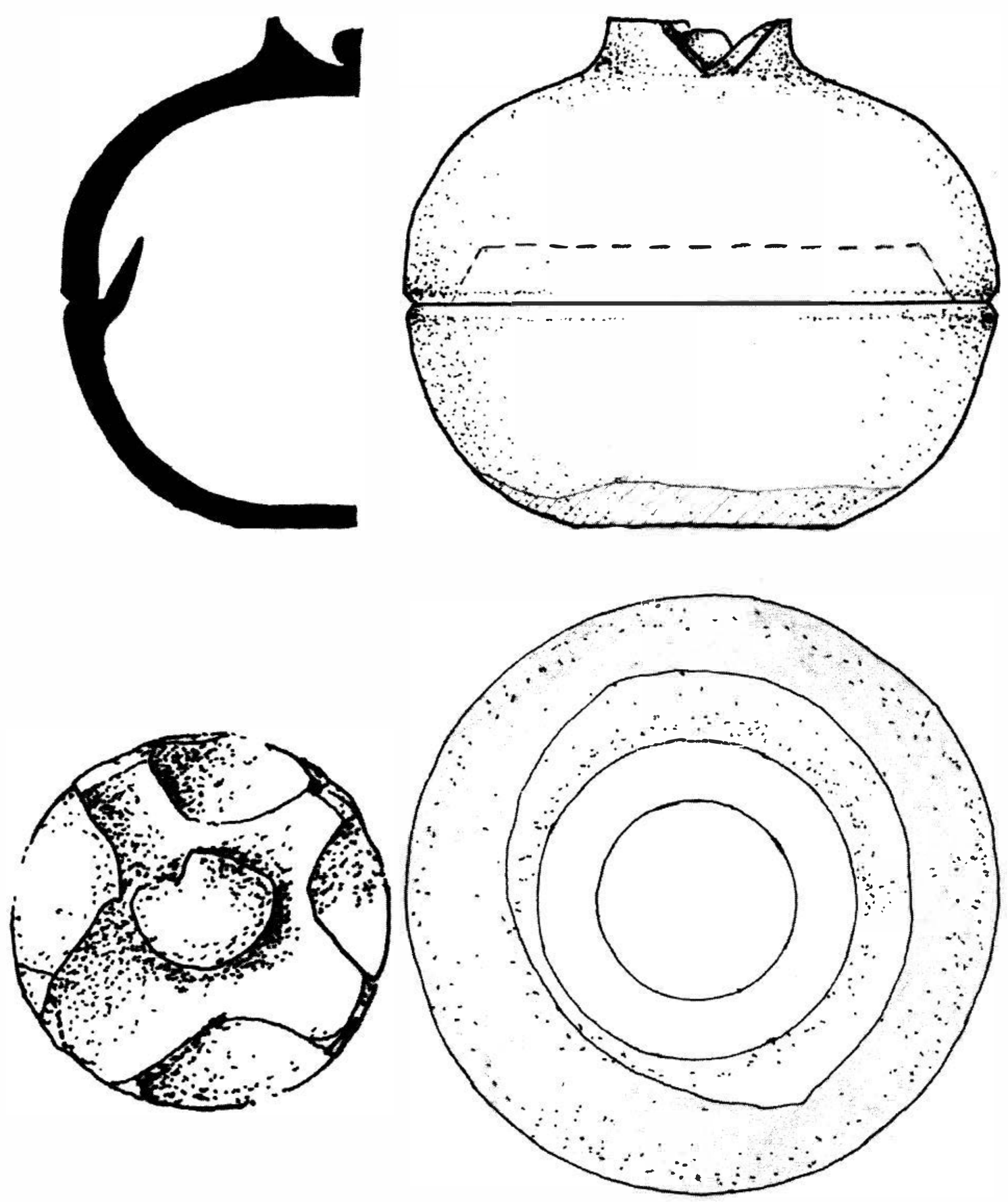


Plate 18. "Pomegranate" lidded box in Chinese stoneware from Jaong trench A6, a rather distinctive form of Yueh-ware, late T'ang (probably c. 900 A.D.). All these whole pots are excavated in association with placed small pebbles (Chapter 19, 21). Actual size.

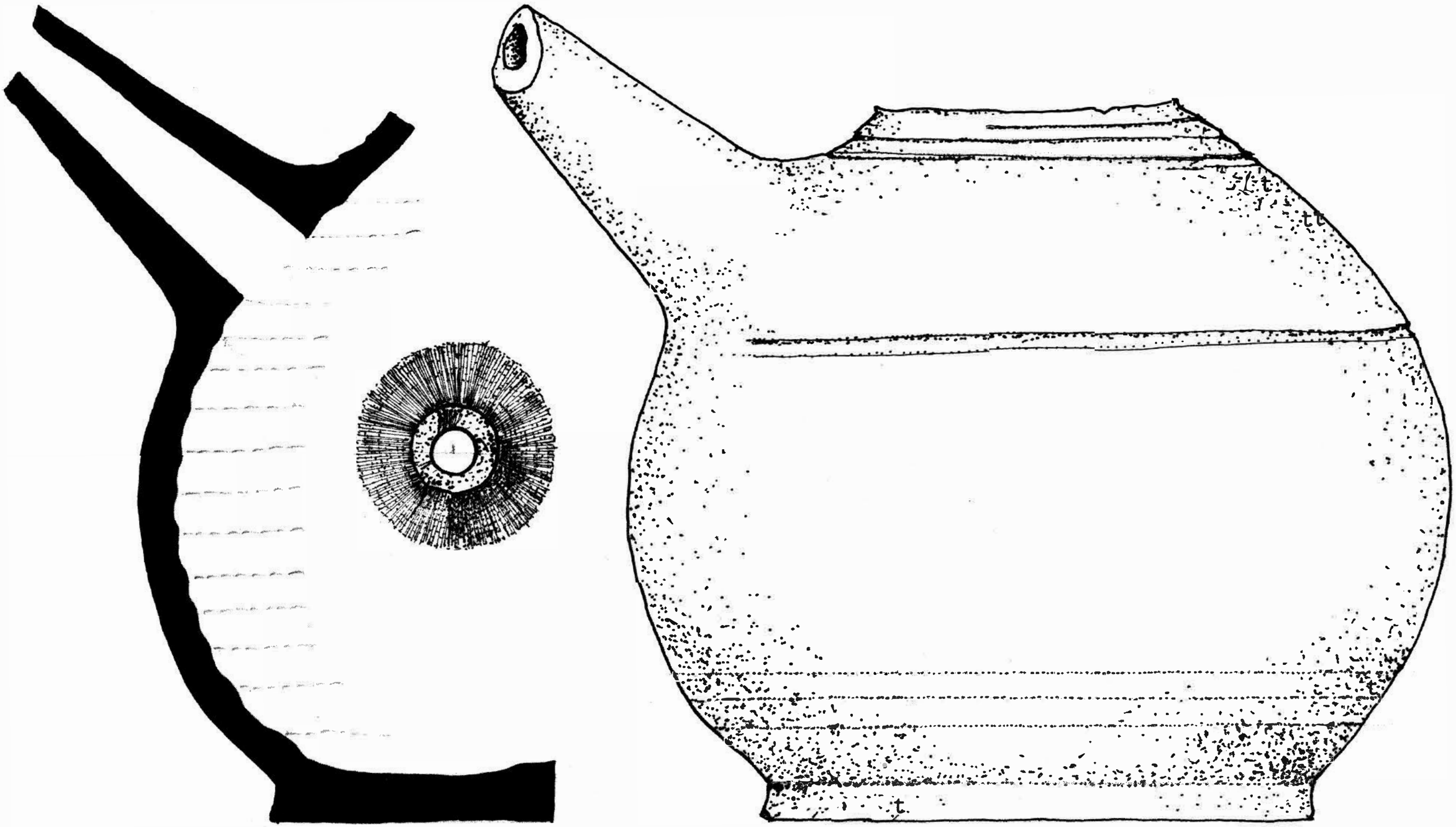


Plate 19. Heavy spouted pot (actual size) with brownish olive glaze, unusual in this place as having a flat foot (see 21.b, Table 24). Made in China and excavated at Jaong A, 12-18", in 1966.

Plate 20. Santubong Mt.ţ a sandstone peak of just under 3,000 feet, rises sheer out of the South China Seaţ the first landfall in a thousand miles of open oceant The village of Santubong stands overshadowed at the westerly mouth of the Sarawak River. Across a narrow creek, bridged with planks (lower foreground), the far side is Bongkisam. One of the major iron-working sites of the Sarawak River delta, this richly rewarding sector lies 200 years behind the last house in center picture. The Tantric Shrine is within a javelin throw of the end of the creek-bridge (see Chapters 1 and 3).

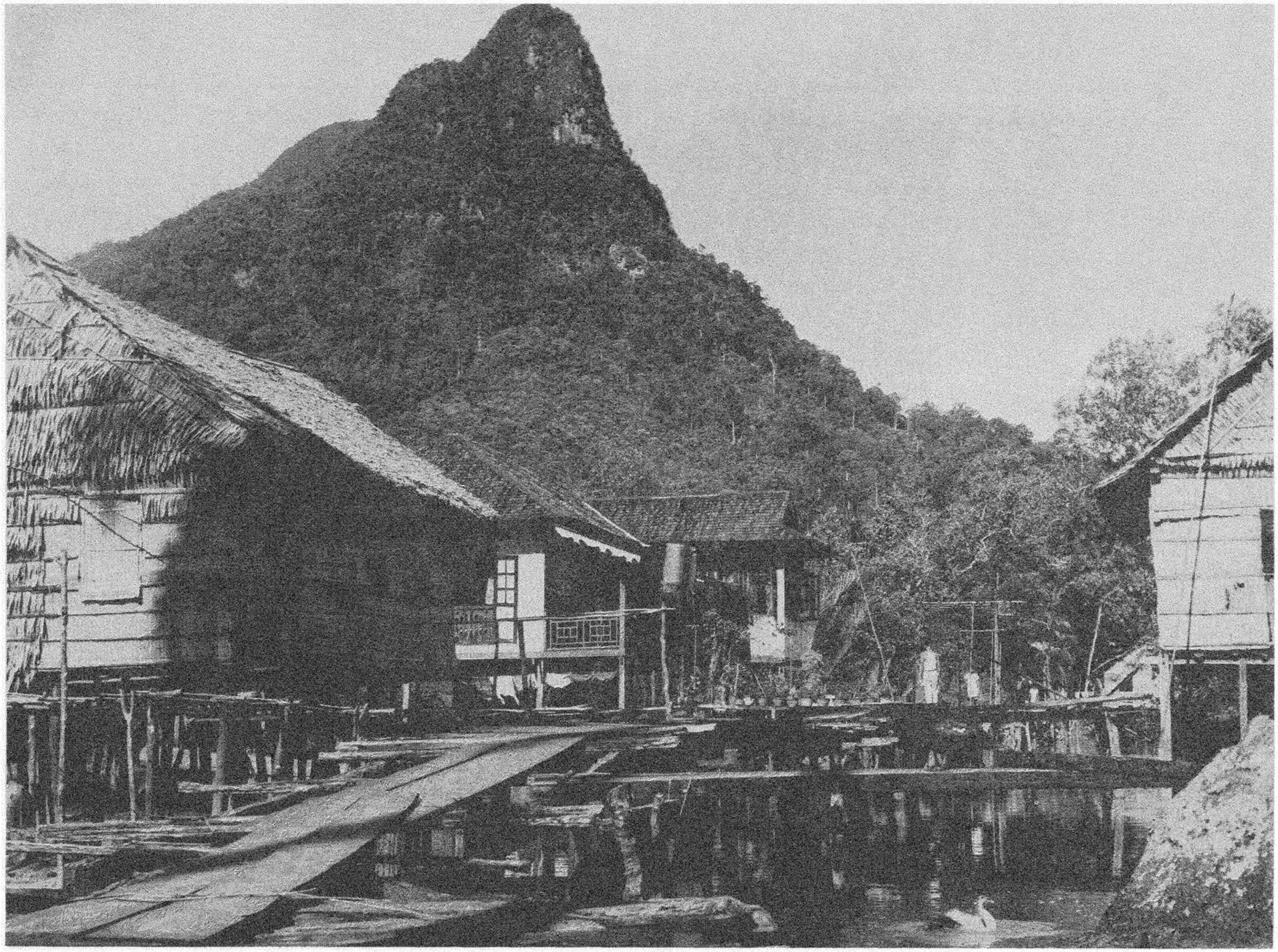


Plate 21. Santubong Mt. seen from the other, southerly side of the sand flats near Buntal in Bako Bay. The Sungei Jaong site, earlier than Bongkisam, lies behind the fringe, where the mountain sweeps down to the level land of the Sarawak River out of sight. The foot of the slope behind the man in center is extensively holed with gold-mining shafts (see Chapters 2, 5, 6).

Plate 22. The labyrinth of the Sarawak River delta, as seen from Mtt Matang behind Kuching, capital of Sarawak. The highest point is Santubong Peak, and the lower formation a little upriver is Buah hill. The lowland in the centerground is dense mangrove and nipah palm swamp.

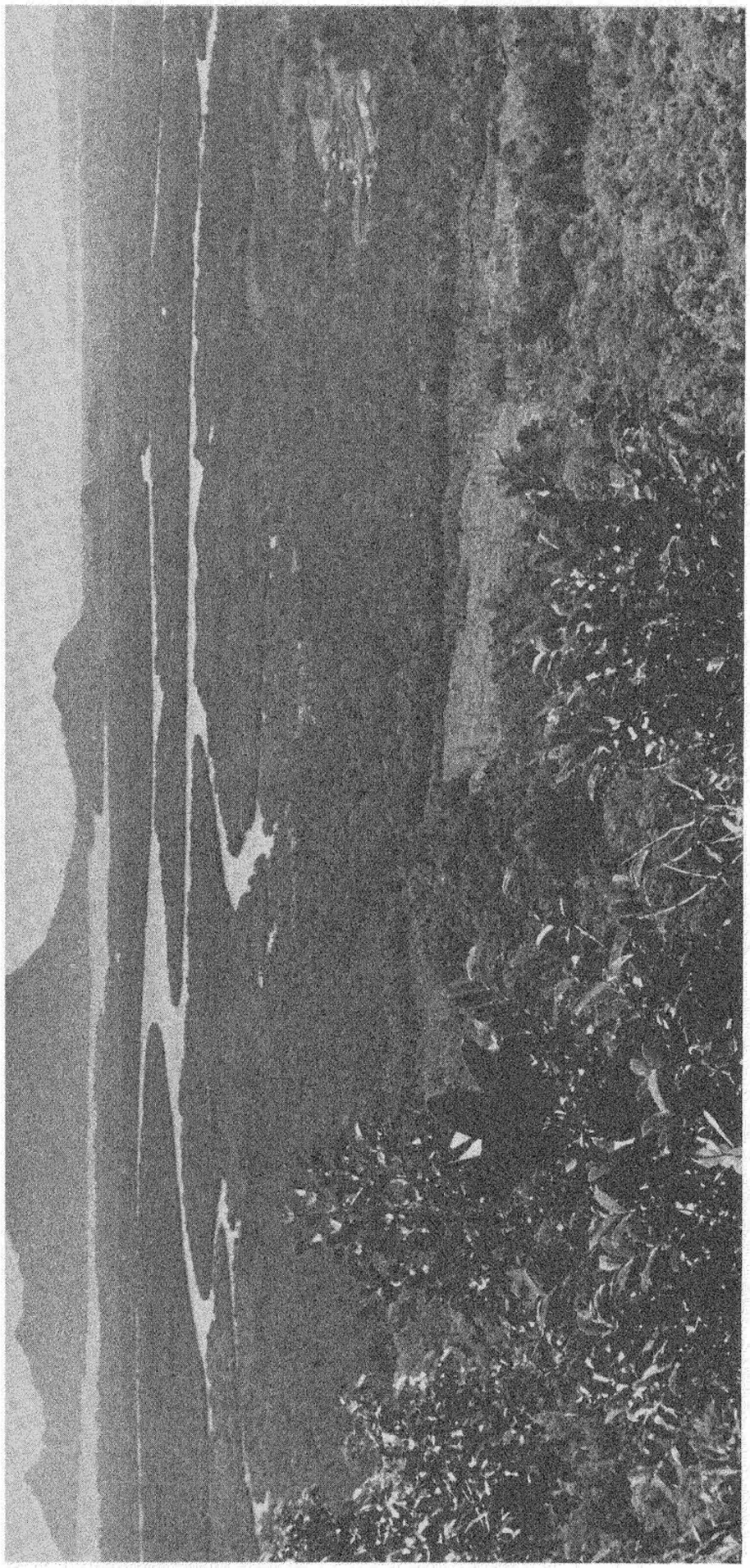
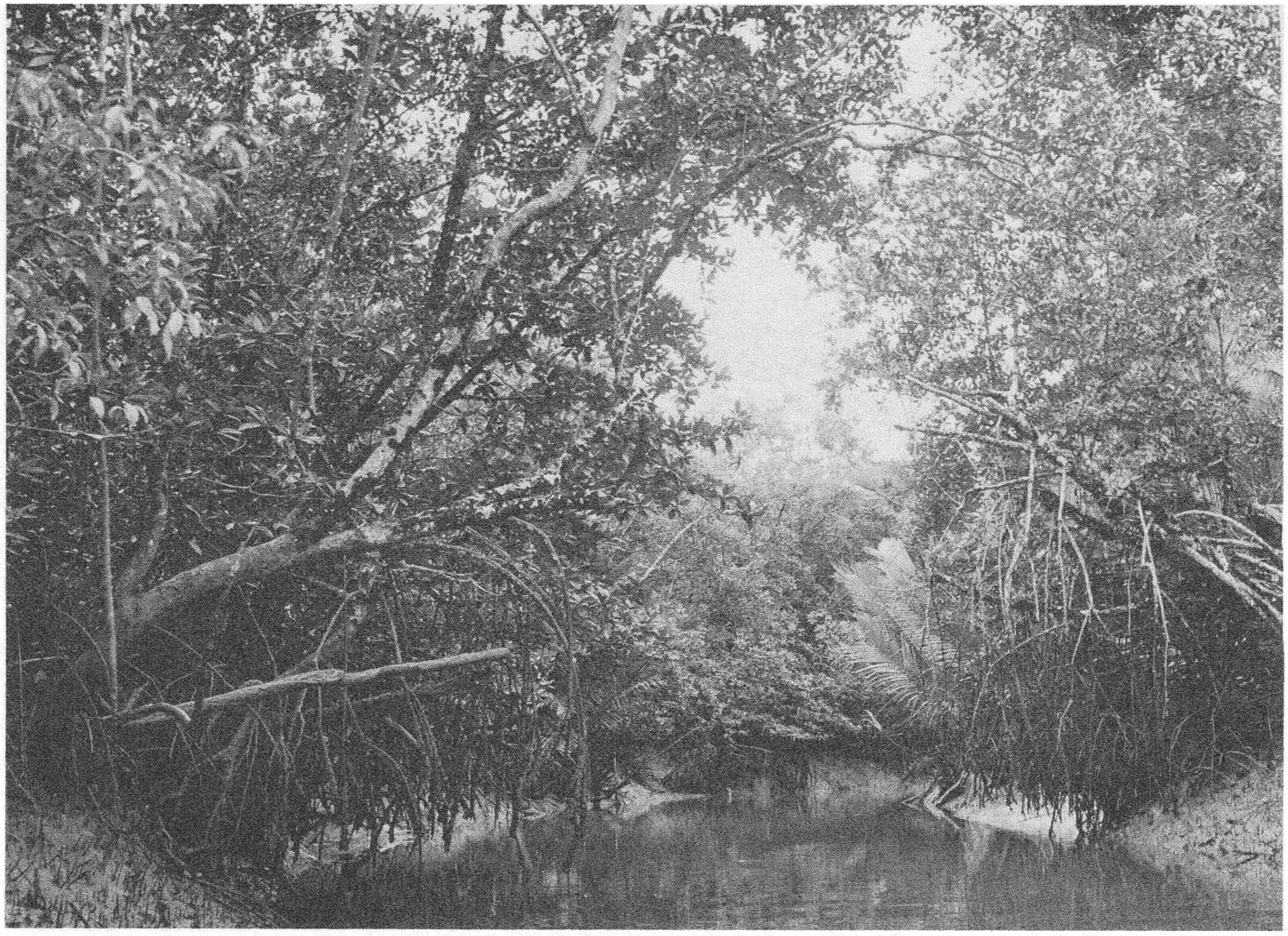


Plate 23. Threading through dense mangrove (foreground) and nipah palm (behind) swamp, the Jaong creek is today just broad enough for a small boat on high water and impassable at low tide. Here the tide is falling but not yet right out. A mile up this unpromising water-and-mudway lies the old iron-working and rock-carving center at Jaong, dating to the end of the tenth century (see Chapter 22).



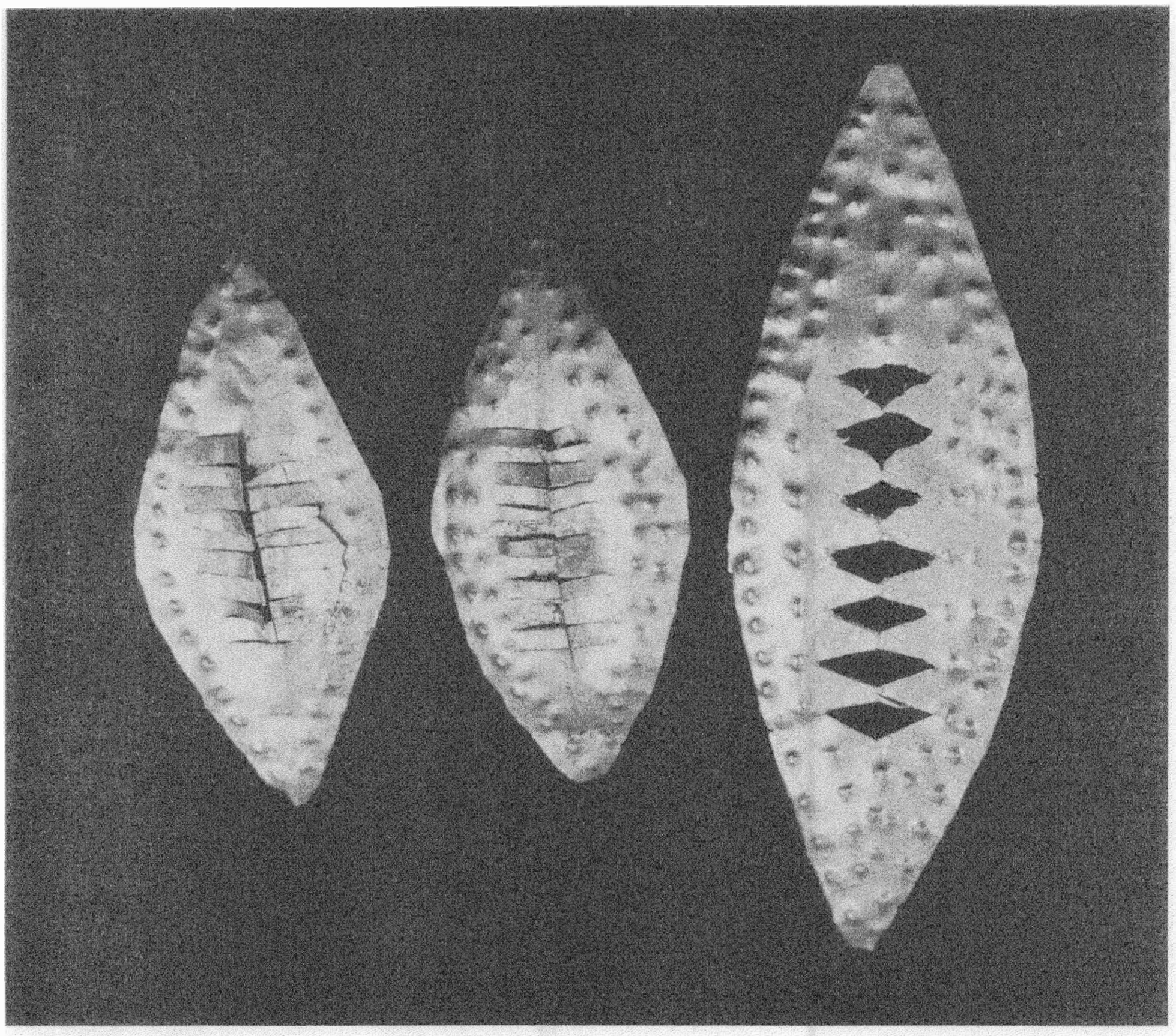


Plate 24. Cut-breach leaf-foil of beaten gold, decorated with repoussé dots. This is typical of the shape and style excavated in and about the pebble-beds at Jaong, and is regarded as an important marker for burial and related activities at that time. Closely similar pieces have been found elsewhere in Sarawak (Plate 30)t as well as in Bali, the Philippines, and as far afield as Tinnevelly in southern India (Chapters 7, 10, 16, 27). The leaf may have been put over the eyes of the dead (Chapter 16.e; cf. 31 (ii)).

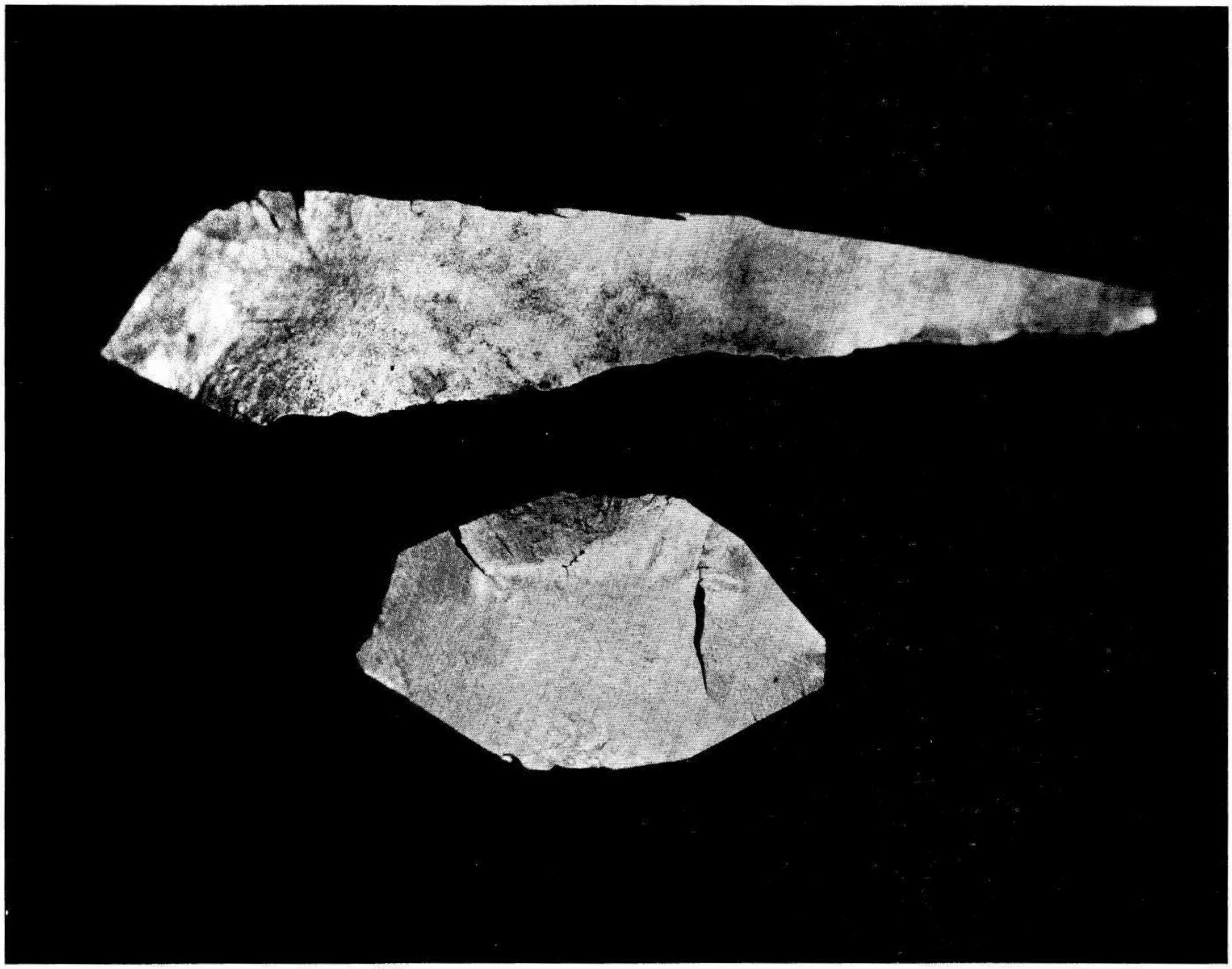


Plate 25. Plain gold leaf pieces from Sarawak River delta excavations. These occur both at Jaong and Bongkisam, and came in all shapes. They are very finely beaten thin. This technique belongs, we believe, to the earliest native gold tradition in Borneo, where more advanced crafting (e.g., casting) of gold seems to have been very late to develop--perhaps not until the 12th-13th centuries, and then considerably under "Javanese" influence rather than (as with iron) on a native art basis. (Chapters 6, 9).

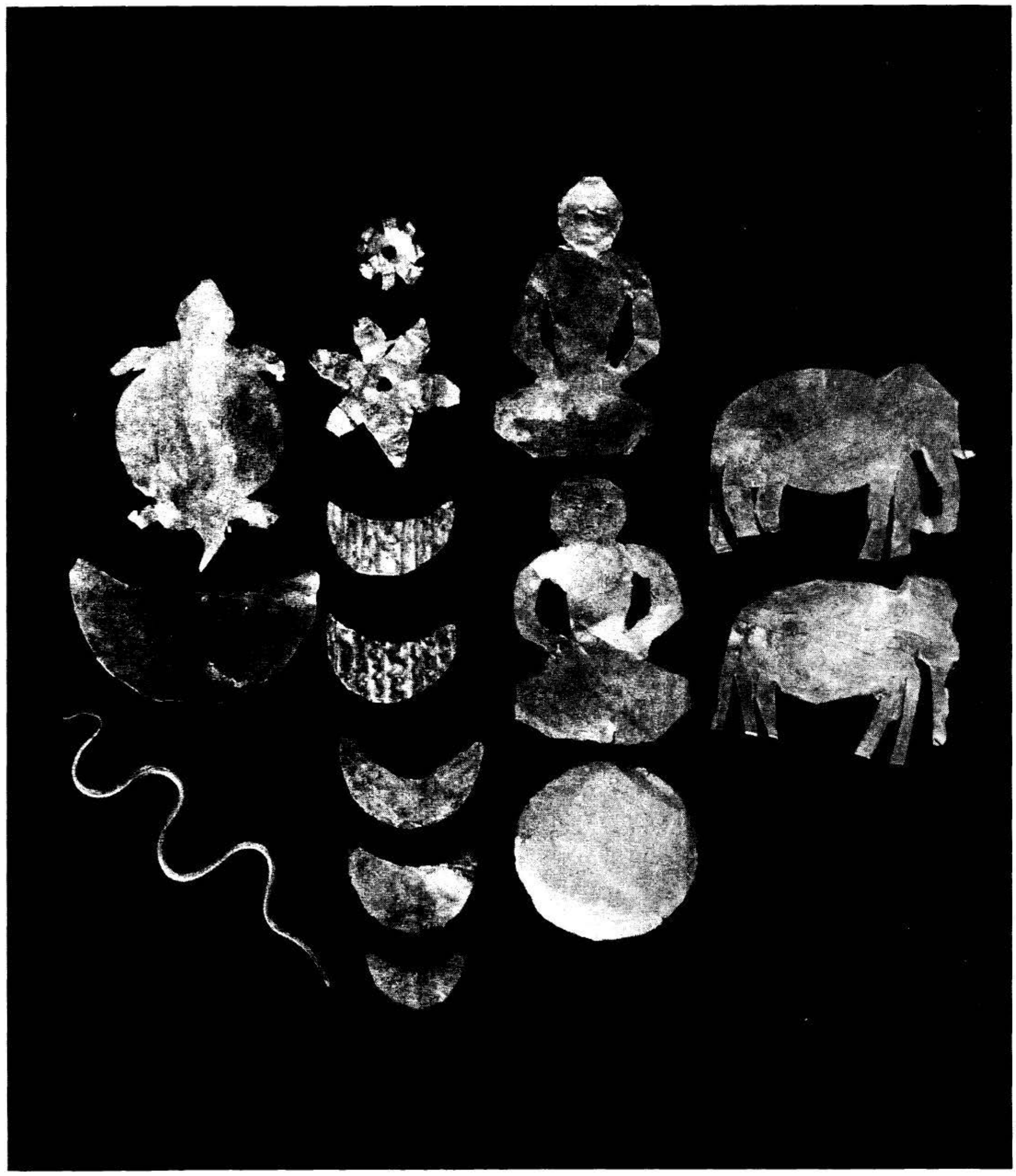


Plate 26. Gold foil figurines from the Tantric Shrine at Bongkisam, dated to approximately 1300 A.D., in association with a silver ritual deposit box containing a fine golden *liṅga*. These included a tortoise, two elephants (which are not indigenous to Borneo), a nicely made snake, two sexless squatting humans, crescent moon (6), star (2), and sun (1) symbolst This simple but expressive style follows naturally out of the earlier symbolism of the leaf foil (Plate 24). (See Chapter 24.)

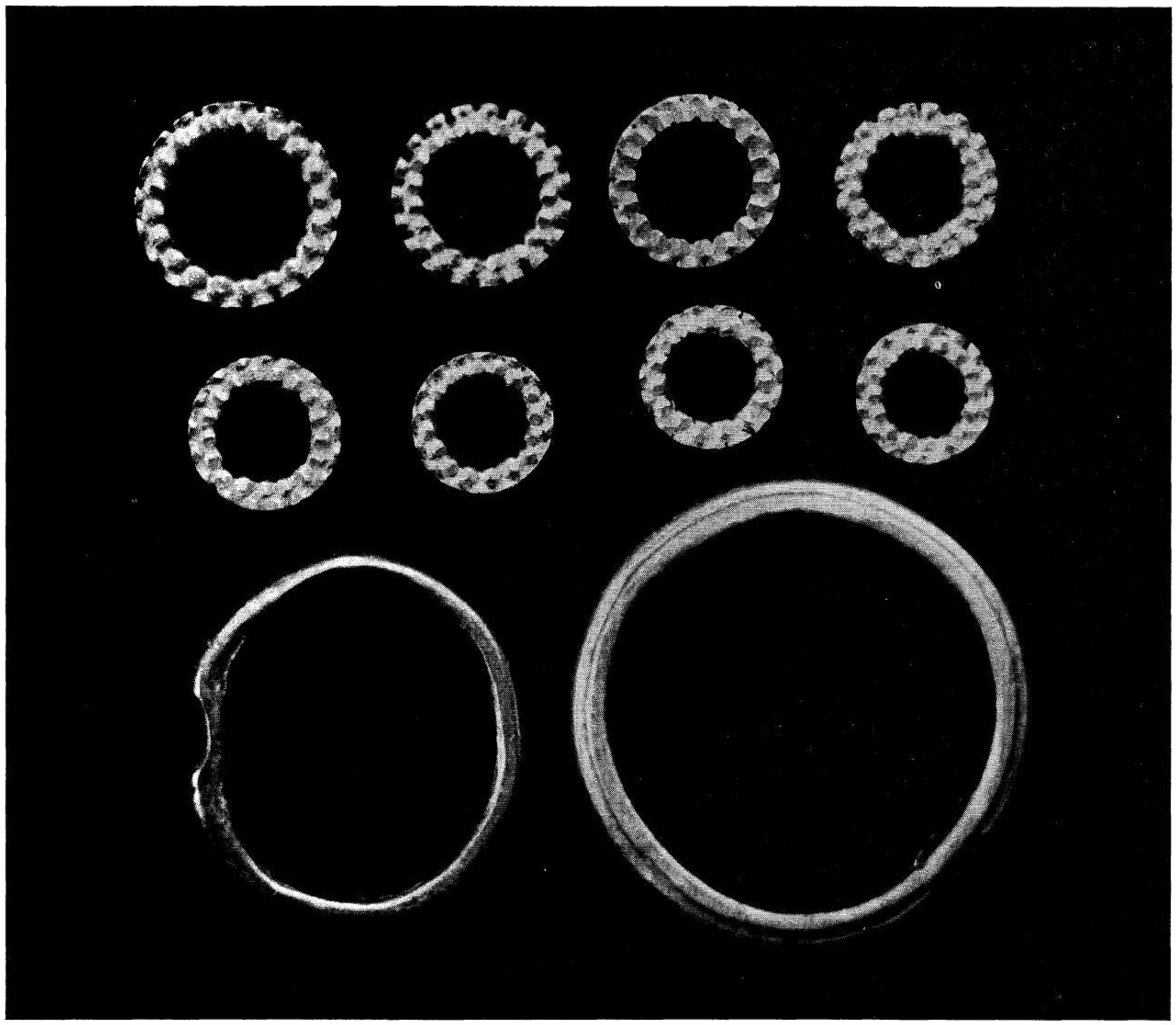


Plate 27. Various styles of ring from the Bongkisam shrine, as detailed in Chapter 24.c.2. The smaller whorls may have been studs of some kind, on clothing. The workmanship is simple, but effective, the gold of high quality and probably of local production, either from the Bau gold field upriver or from Santubong Mt. foot-slopes.

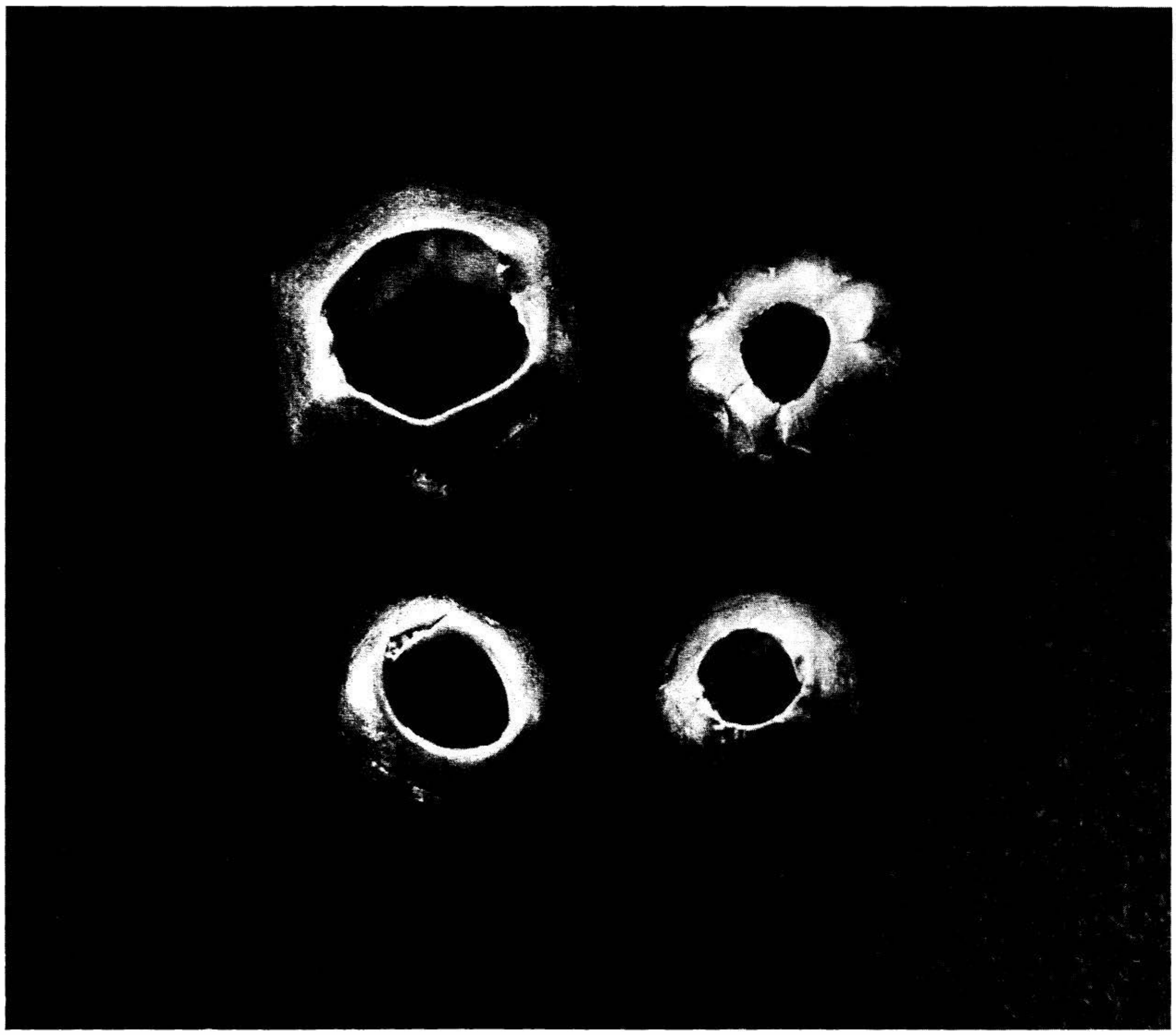


Plate 28. Four gold beads from Bongkisam, again showing the relatively crude and simple workmanship as indicated for Plates 26-27 previously. These beads are seldom solid, but hollow and therefore light. No such gold beads have been recorded in use in Borneo during modern times. (See Chapter 24.)

Plate 29. The stone platform of the Bongkisam shrine, with the deposit shaft positioned under the white card in center. The transition between use of pebbles and small stones to roughly shaped tiles or bricks is considered important in this setting (as discussed in Chapters 24.a, 24.d, 26.b). Adjacent charcoal here gave a C-14 date of 1315 A.D. ± 95 years. See also another view in *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 15, 1967: Plate XXXVIIt

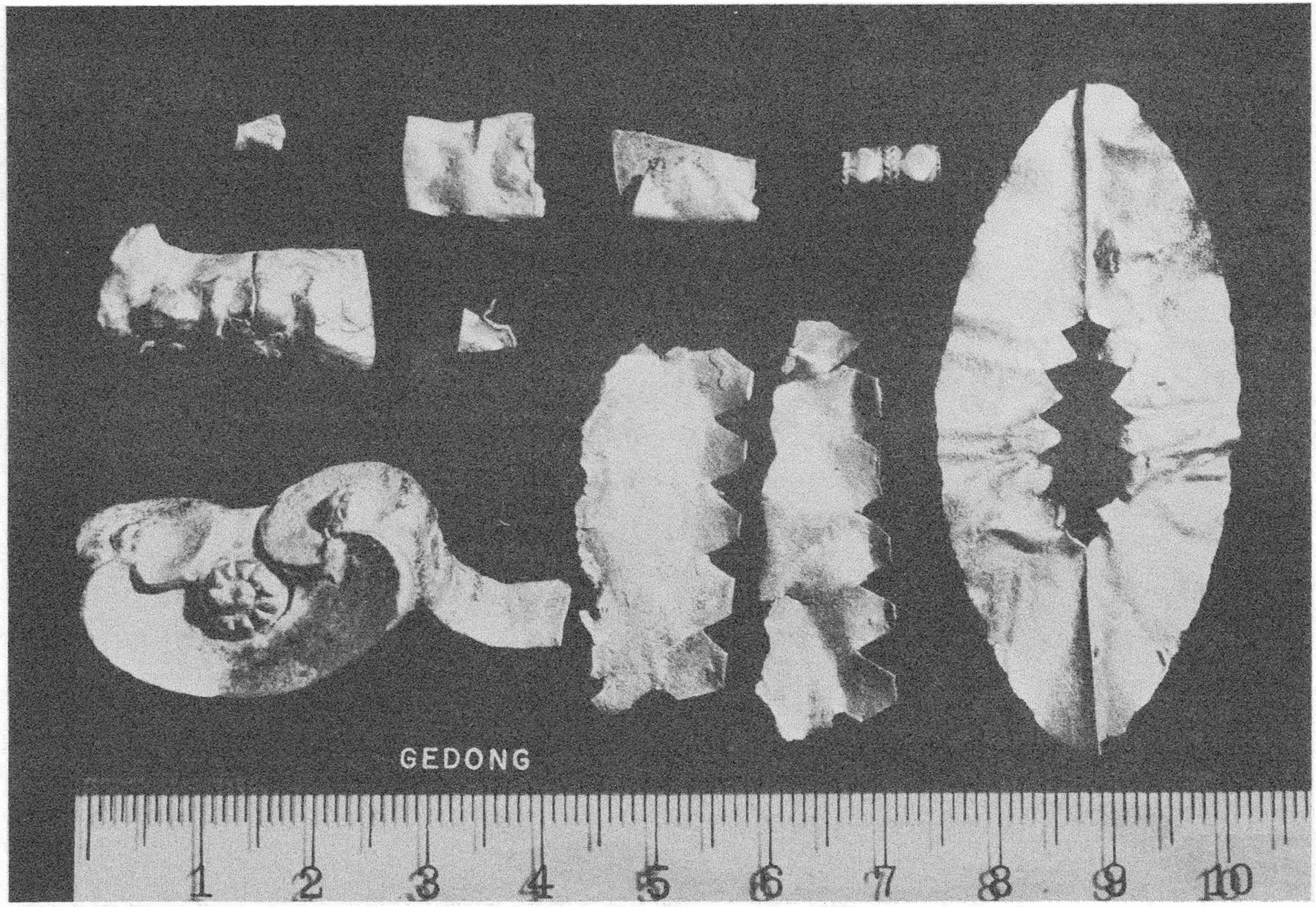


Plate 30. Cut-breach gold foil from the recently discovered open site at Gedong, on the Sadong River 40 miles from Jaong. This site has been excavated by the Sarawak Museum and revealed large amounts of T'ang and Sung stonewares. It will be reported upon shortly by R. Nyandoh and Lucas Chin, in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*. (See Chapter 11 for preliminary information.)

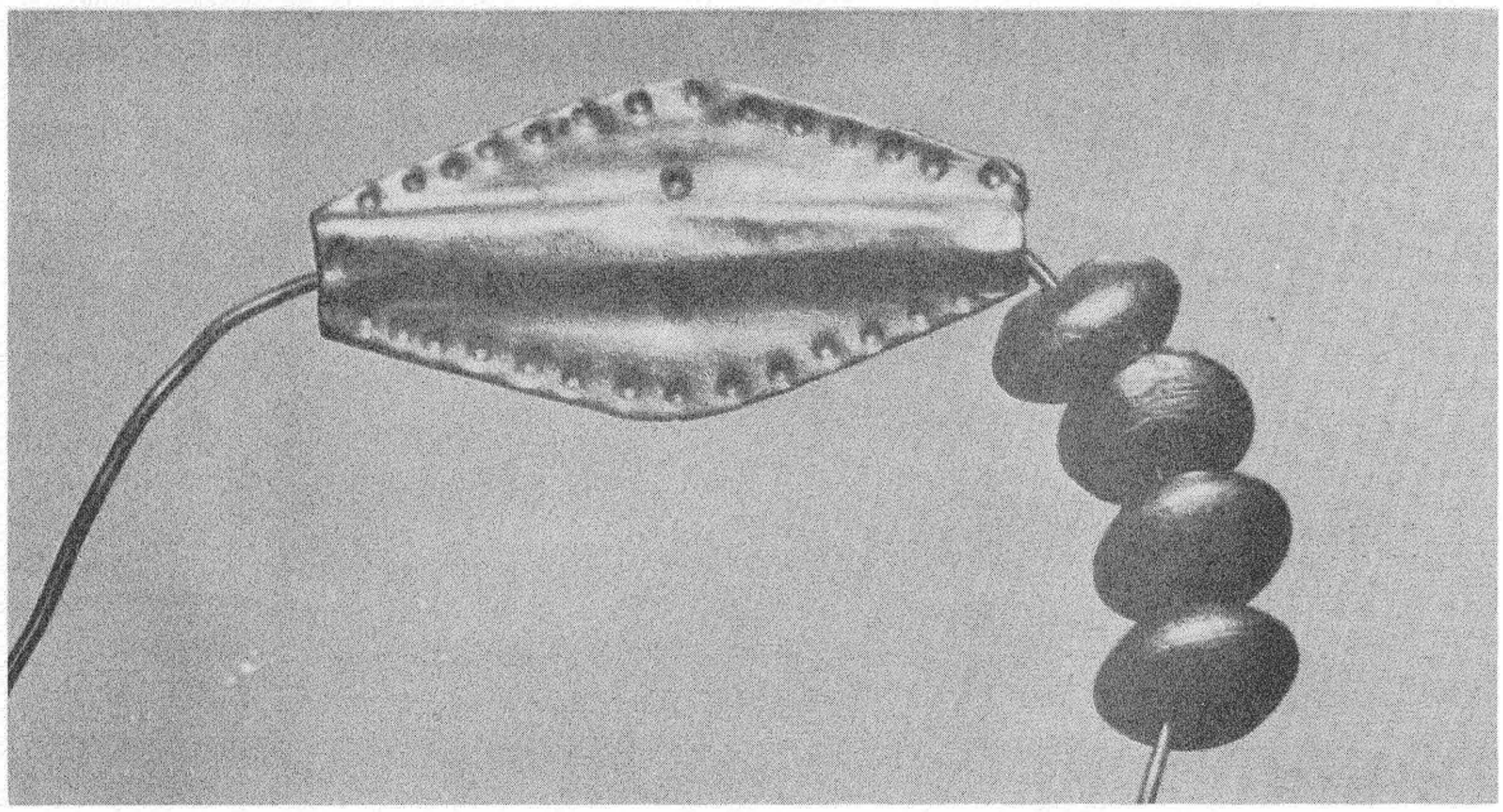


Plate 31i (a) "Fillet" of gold from the Limbang hoard in Brunei Bay, showing affinities to the Jaong style as in Plate 24 previously. The piece is described in Chapter 15.b; it has distinct if remote affinities to the Tinnevelly "diadems"i(Chapter 16.e).

(b) This handsome gold ring, one of several from the Limbang hoard with Javanese-style workmanship, has been identified by Professor Sastri and Dr. Chhabra, leading Indian scholars, as representing a dolmen (see details in Chapter 15.b)a. It is remarkable that of only five rings with designs known from West Borneo, one has a megalithic connection.

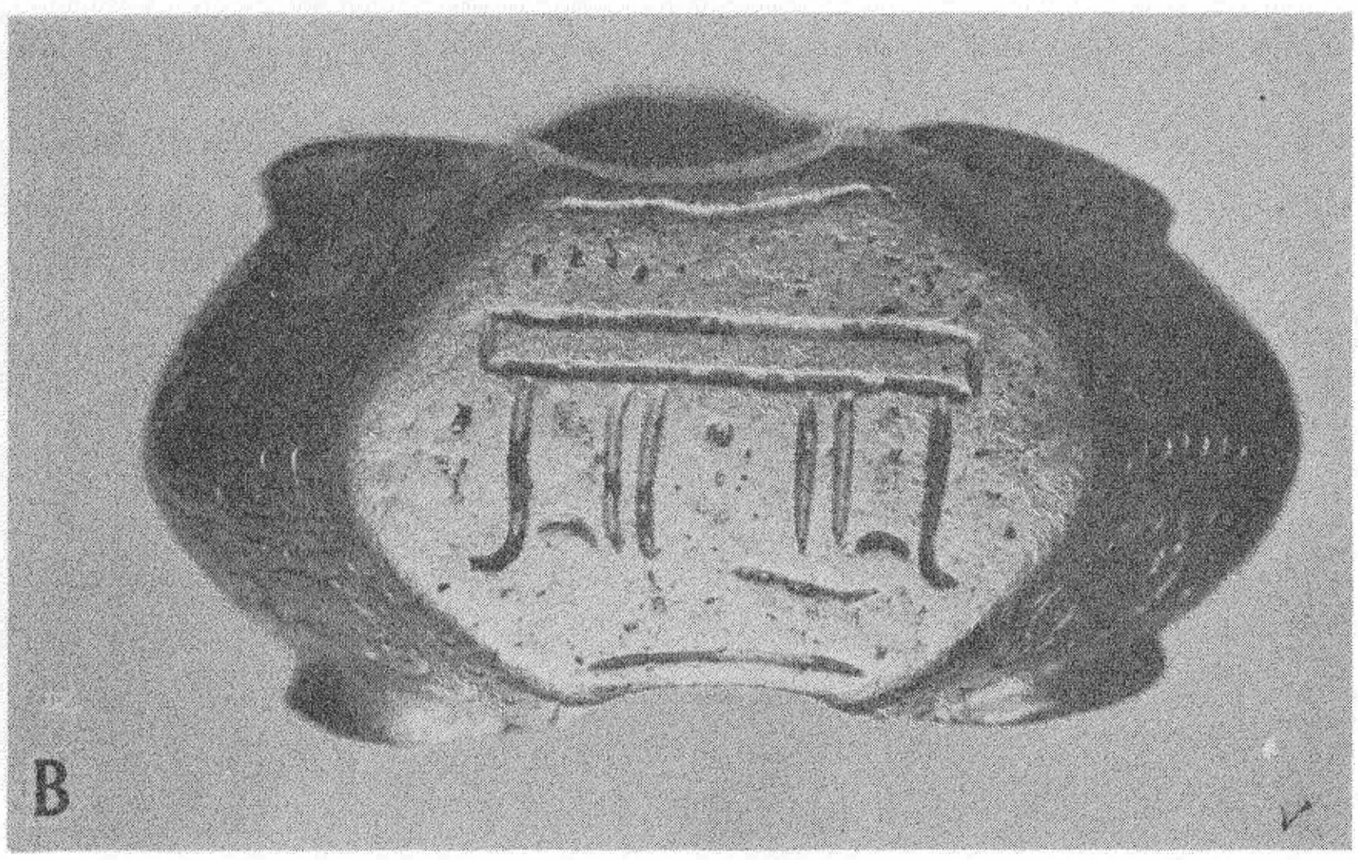


Plate 32. The well-known and often described (with varying accuracy) Batu Gambar, the sandstone rock carving identified in the Jaong creek at Santubong, which triggered the Sarawak River delta excavations after 1947 A.D. This is not to be confused with the cast copy now outside the Museum in Kuching. This photo of the original was taken in 1966. The figure is rather less than life size. See our earlier Data Paper, frontispiece, for another view at a higher angle (H.O.: ii). (See Chapters 3, 18; cf. Plate 51 following.)

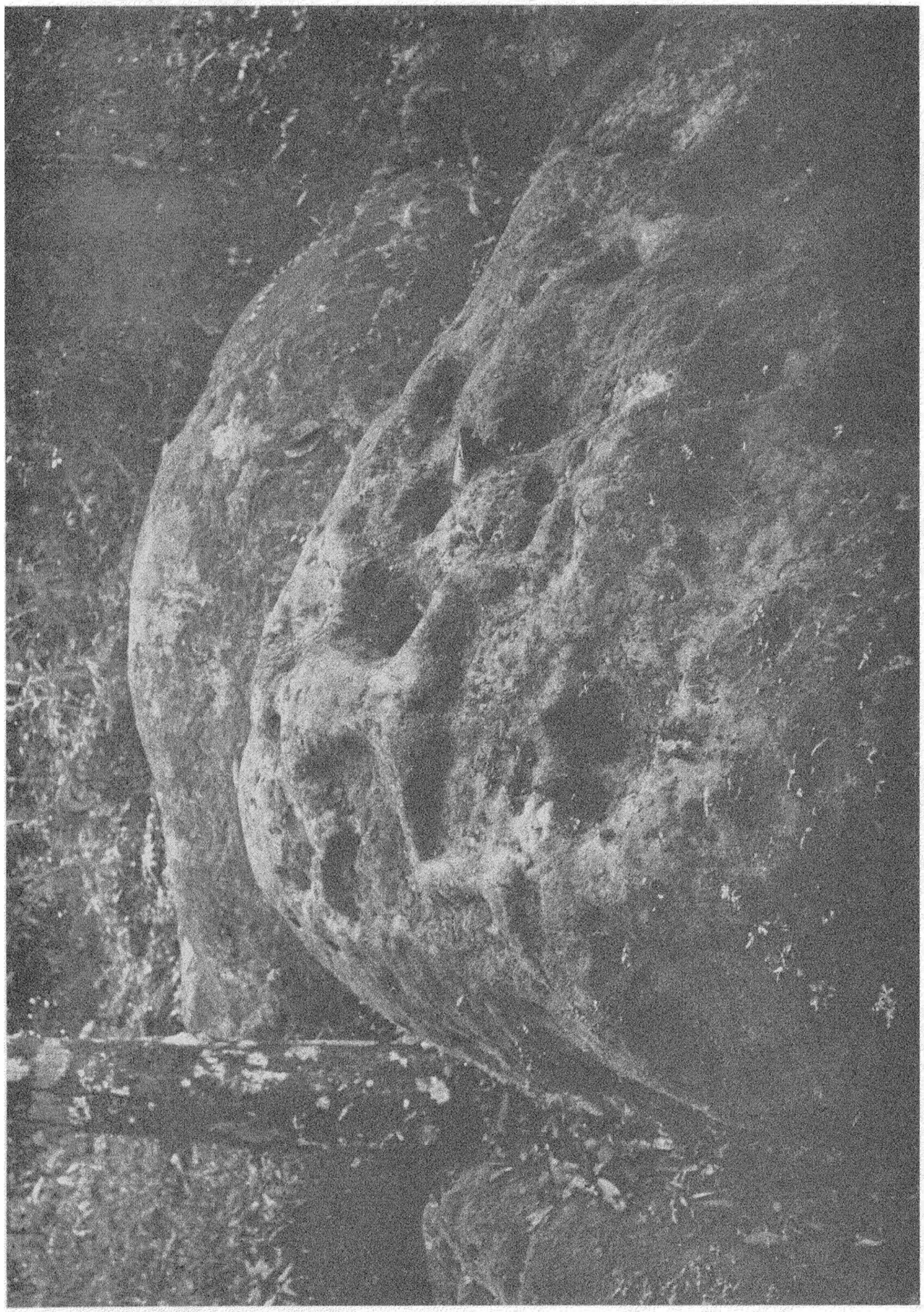


Plate 33. Small human figure from Jaong with curious headdress (common in these petroglyphs). The black and white scale at the side measures 12 inches. The outline has been chalked in for photographic purposes, as the original execution is often far from clear and there is jungle overhead. Most of these Jaong designs are incised in chipped or gouged lines on the soft rock surface, whereas Batu Gambar has been cut in high relief (Plate 32). Heavy climatic and vegetational weathering has therefore made exact retracing difficult. In all the following Plates (34-44) these qualifications must be emphatically borne in mind: (i) first, that some of the original pattern may have been lost; (ii) second, that what remains frequently merges into the natural weathering and seaming of such soft rock, so that to some extent what is marked as deliberate design depends on subjective eye judgment. (See also caption to Plate 2, previously.)

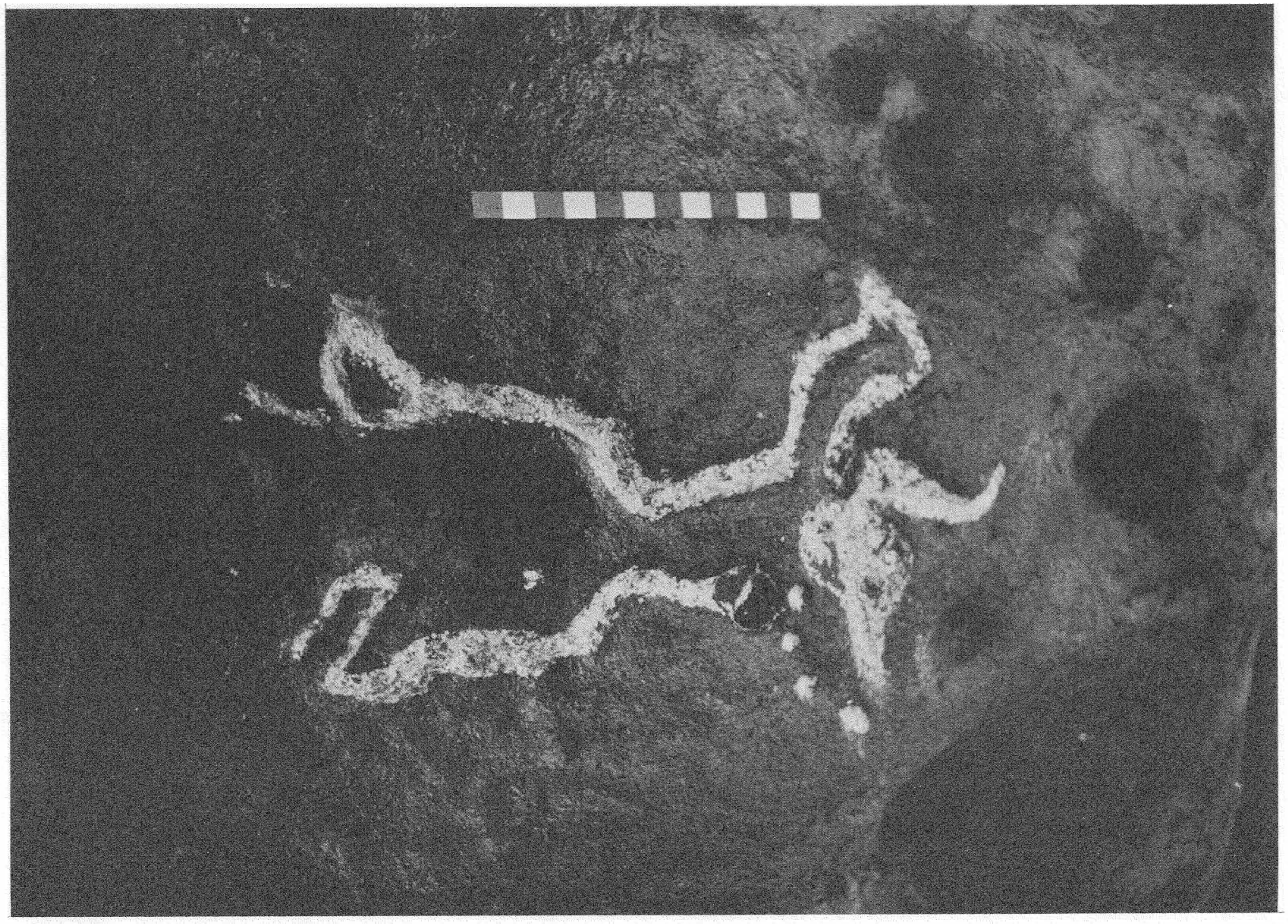


Plate 34. This small human figure, again with a curious head treatment, is transitional between the two previously illustrated (Plates 32-33) in technique; it is executed, unusually, in low relief. The right hand may hold a weapon. There appear to be roughly indicated sex organs, probably female (cf. Plates 5-6 previously). This figure is cut on an unusually level almost squared section of a natural boulder, in the old river bed, where most are more rounded.

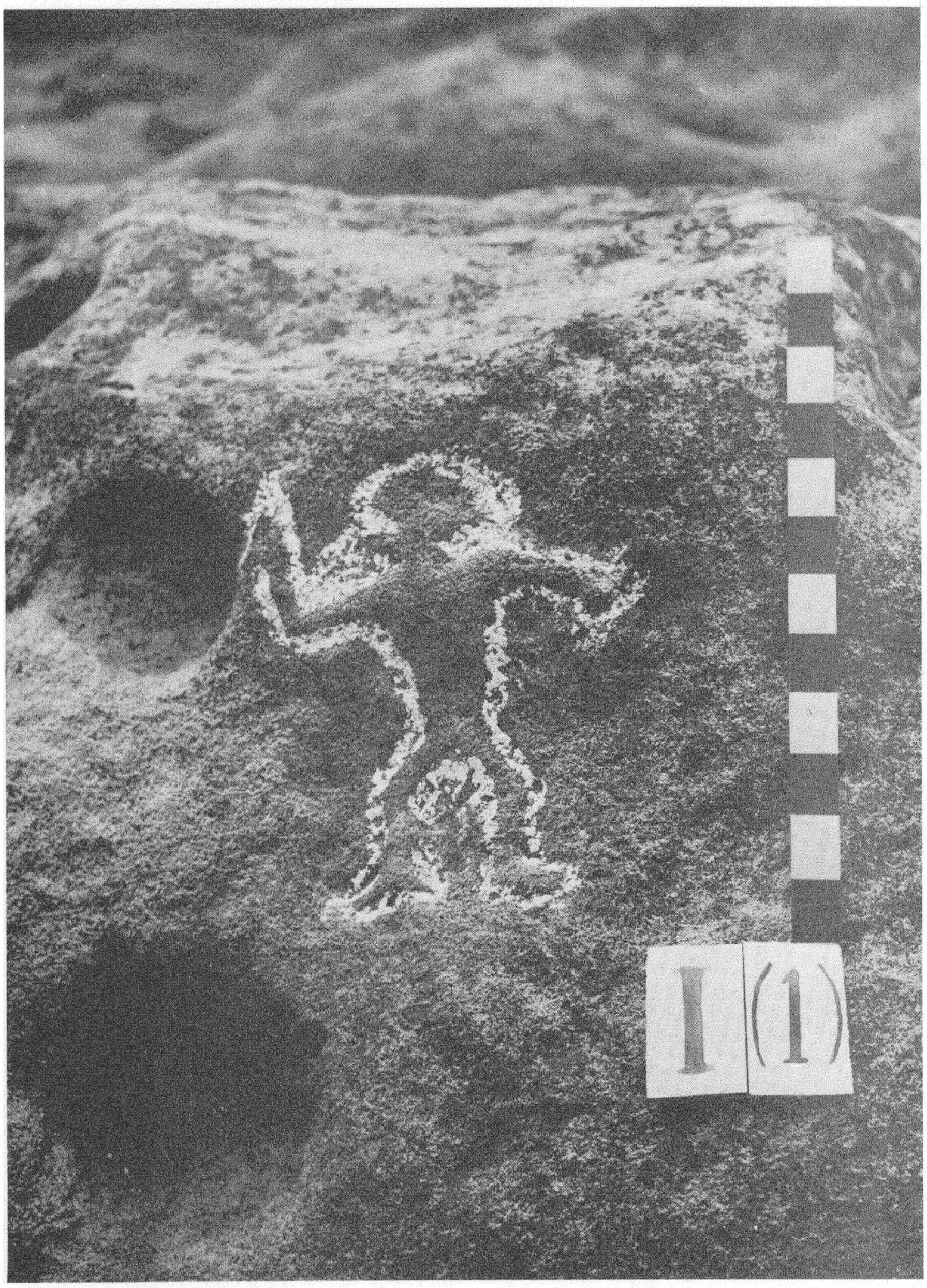

I (1)

Plate 35. One of several Jaong figures which are mostly pecked out with a metal (iron?) tip, but with head in slight relief. The result is open to more than one interpretation, along the lines discussed with some uncertainty in Chapter 18. The desire to make *some* pattern on the natural rock of Jaong seems to have been at least as important as a physical act as any intent to achieve representation, let alone art formso

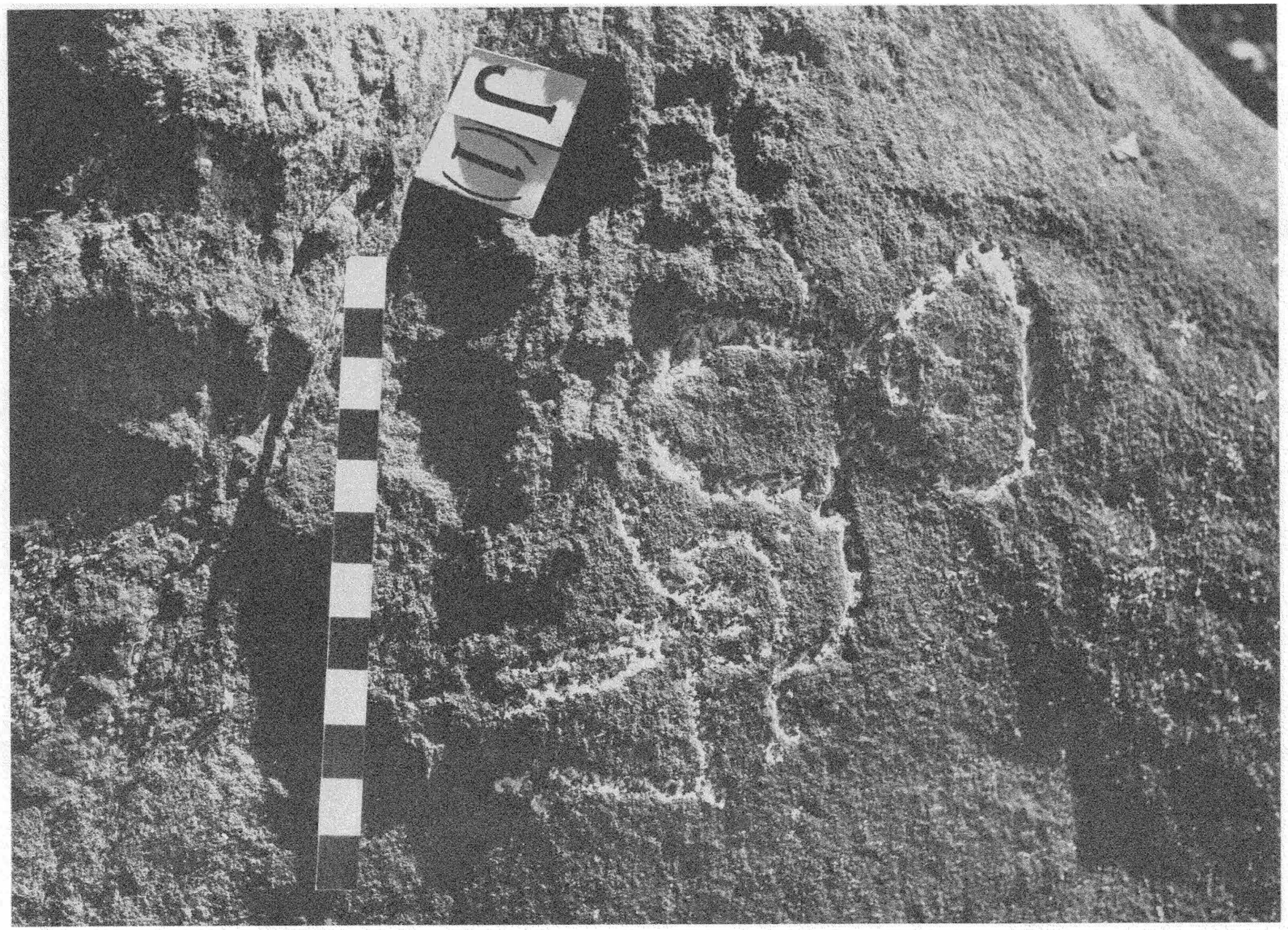


Plate 36i This figure, apparently spread-eagled in the same way as Batu Gambar, has an evidently deliberate open side with carefully pecked out spots as shown in the petroglyph. We have been tempted to relate this to the idea of scattering iron slag pebbles, even conceivably semen, in a symbolism which however remains obscure indeed from a millennium or so ago. (See Chapter 18.)

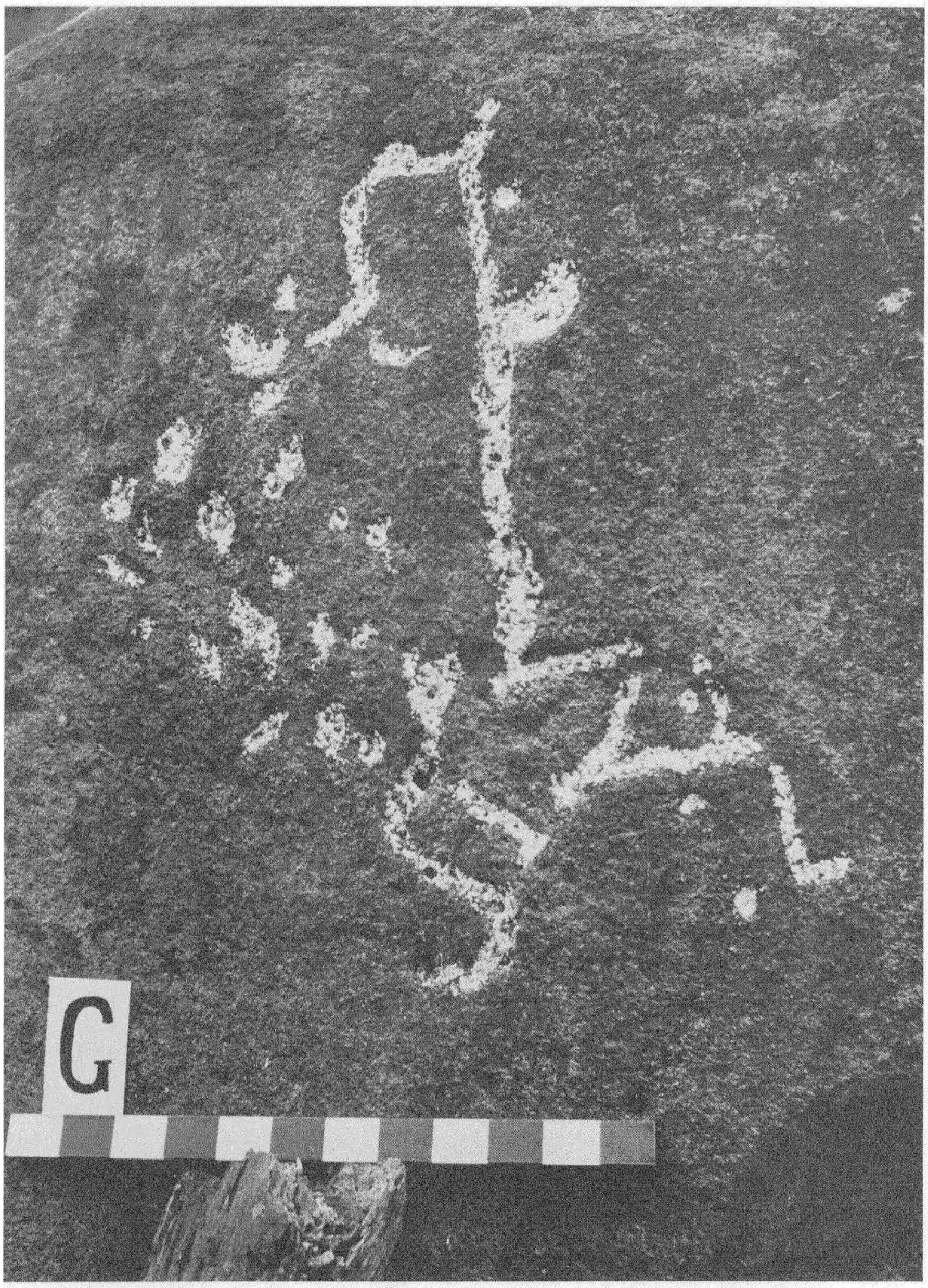

G

Plate 37. Another rather complicated set of apparently human figures among the petroglyphs (cf. Plate 35). Here again it is difficult to be certain of the original design, and of what the result was intended to convey. When experienced observers examine either these photographs or the unchalked rock-faces *in situ* at Jaong, they come up with surprisingly different visual interpretations ofwhat they see. (Chapter 18).

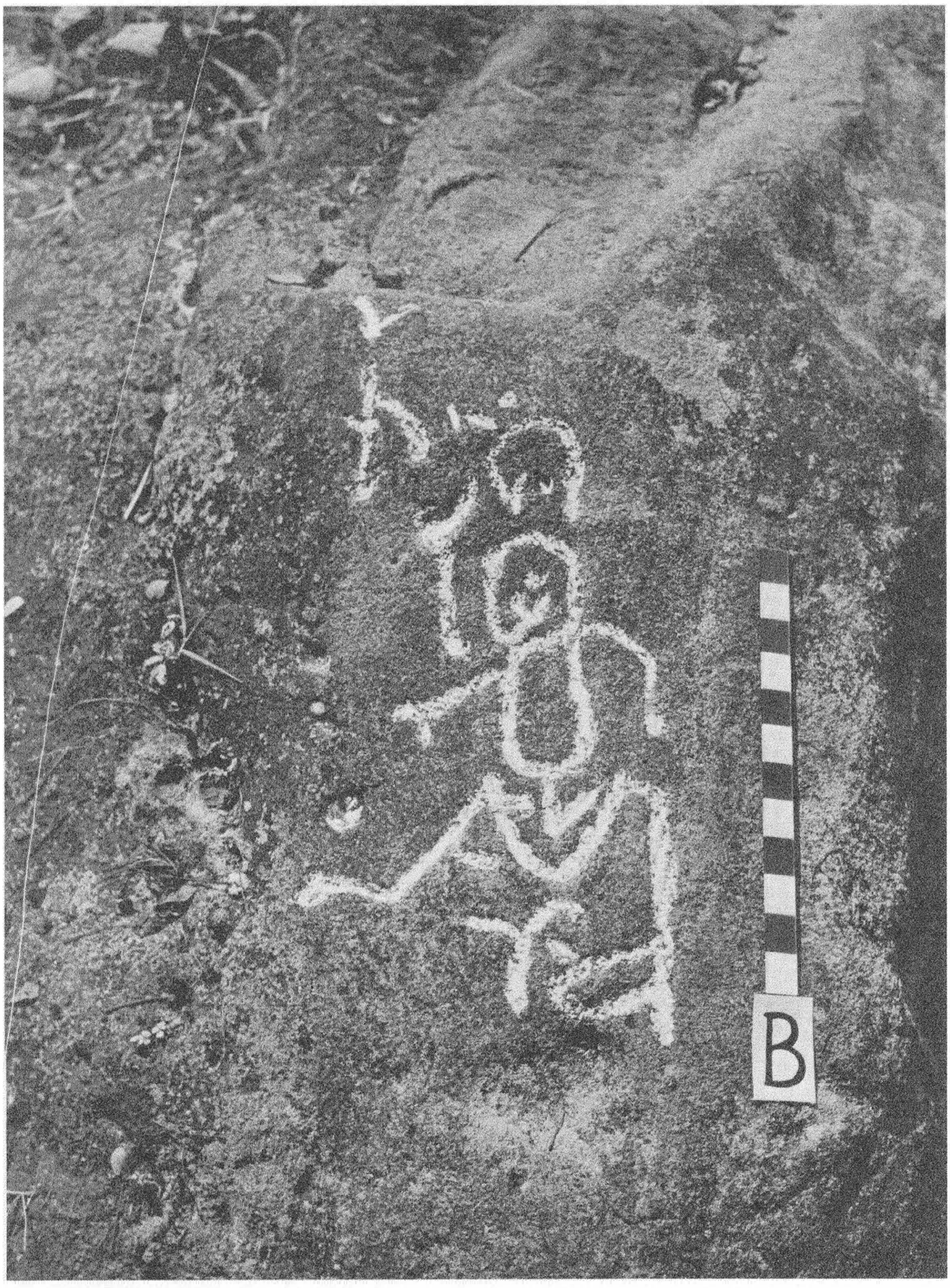

B

Plate 38. The most complete "family" of figures, with dancing or some processional movement strongly implied. Once more, the hand is in each case treated with a measure of fantasy, suggesting that whatever happened so long ago at Jaong was especially concerned with heads and headdresses too. The whole assemblage covers less than 2 feet of rock face, and like *all* these petroglyphs except Batu Gambar was buried deep in roots, moss and soil before excavation (1952 on).

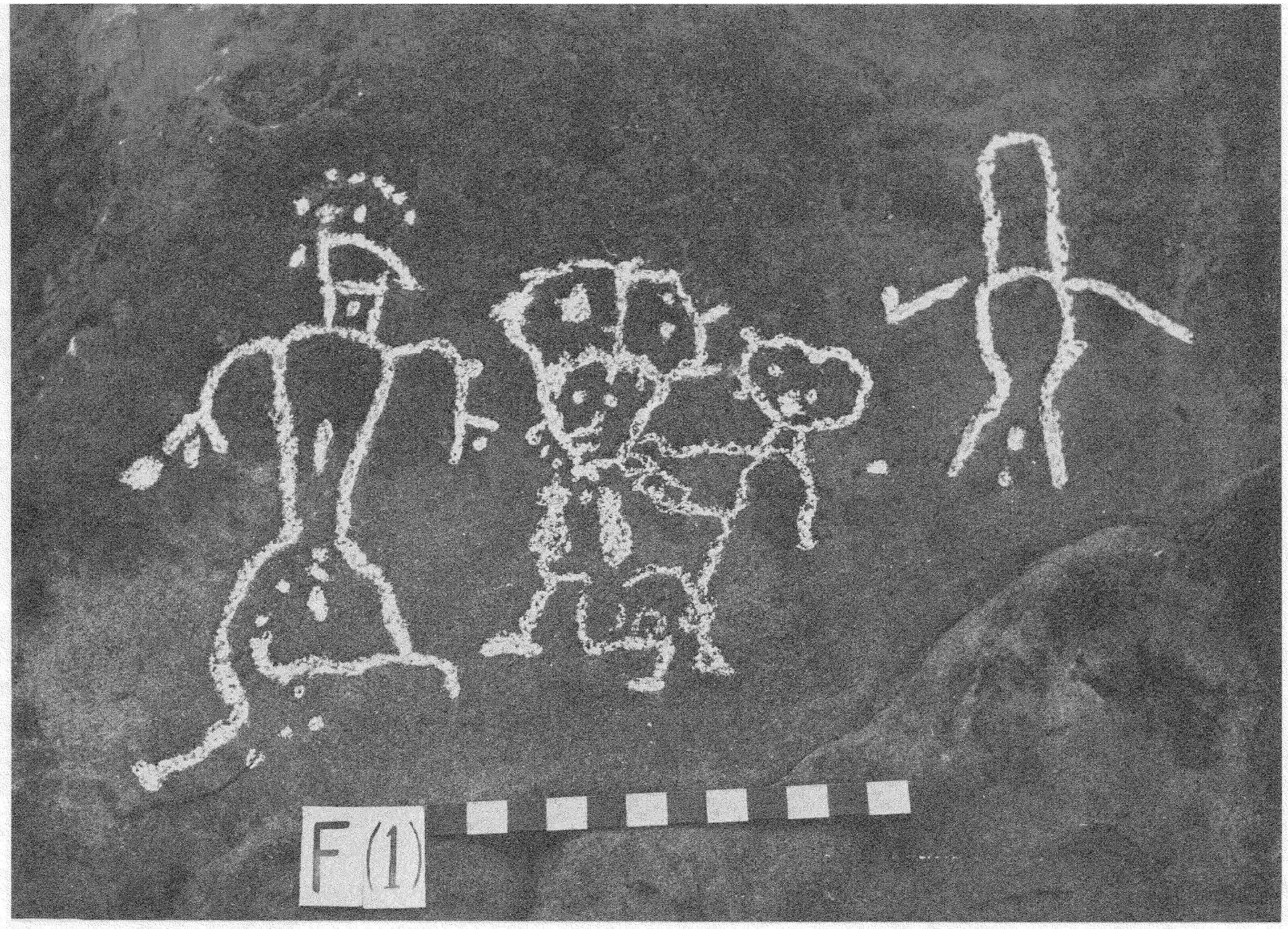

F (1)

Plate 39. Another spreadteagle figure, this time with a more pronounced "weapon" in the right hand; and more "normal" treatment of the head heret Important on this is the triangle with a central dot, which occurs in many forms and which we suggest symbolizes the female pudenda in this context (cf. Plates 3-6, 40-41 and Chapter 18, cf. 31.ii). The "Mother Earth" idea is especially connected with "The Magic Iron" scattered all around (H.O.: 77, etc.).

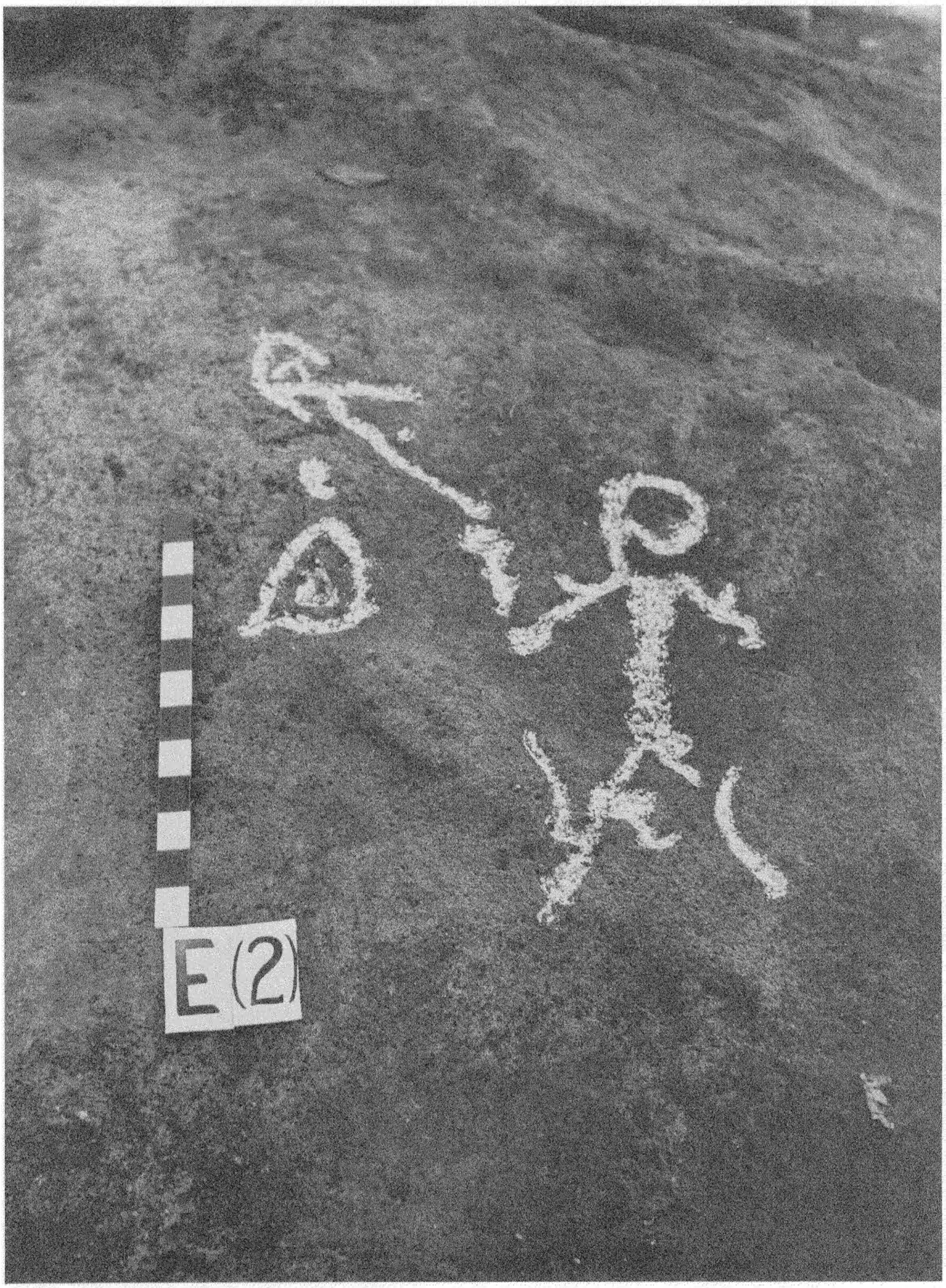

E(2)

Plate 40. The nearest thing to an "animal," though still to be seen as human perhaps? The emphasis on human form is striking in this whole Jaong assemblage. The spotted triangle occurs here again (cf. Plate 39) in the metaphor which has been proposed as female sex (Chapter 18; also Plates 5, 9).


F (4)

Plate 41. A rather clear-cut set of petroglyphs exposed under a big tree in the Jaong excavationst The headdress figure on the background is as shown in the drawing at Plate 2, and the "female" near the measuring-rod with its surroundings in Plate 4. (See discussion in captions to those, previously.)

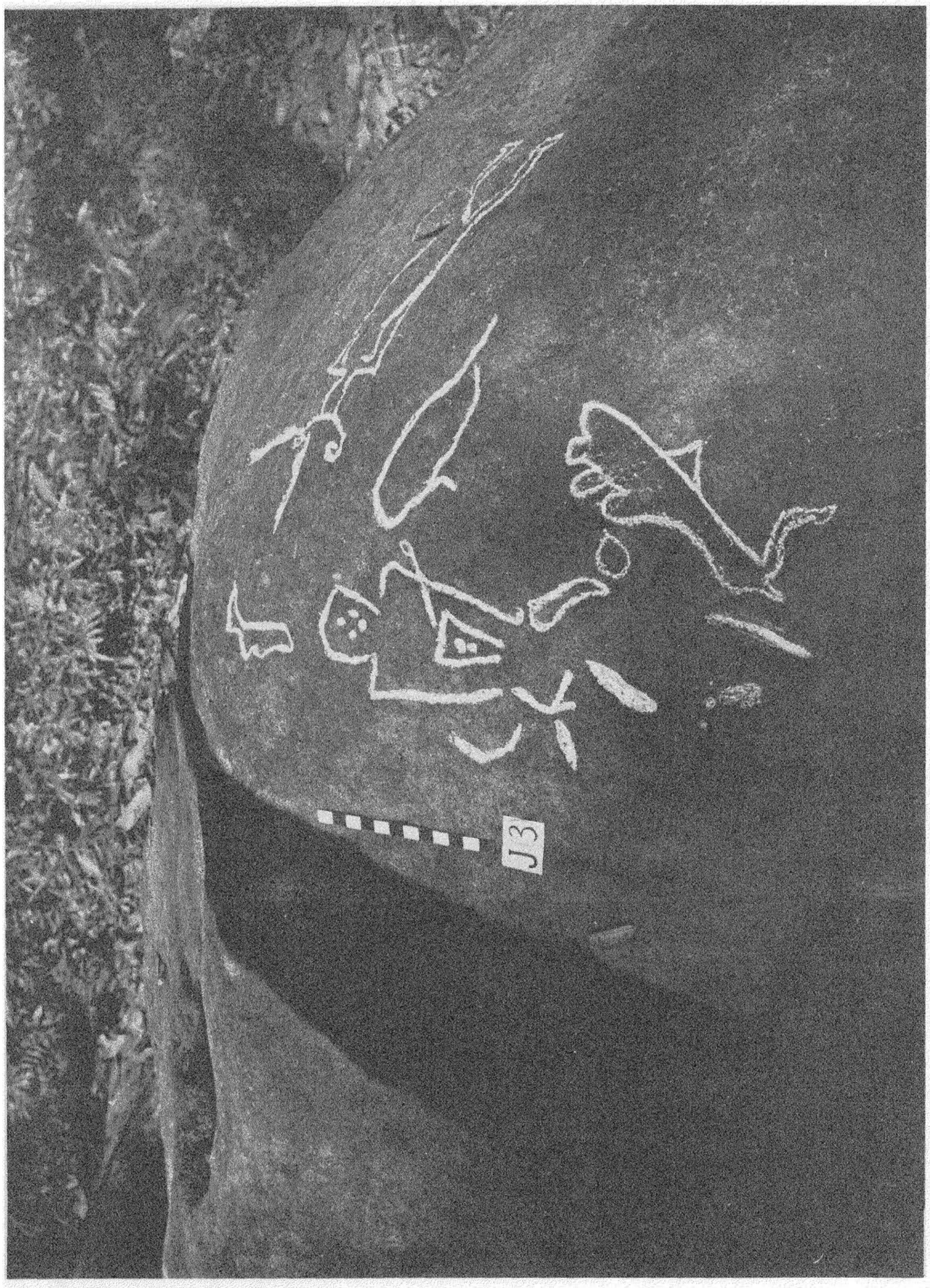

J3

Plate 42. A cryptic set of incised lines, one of which might be taken to symbolize a bird (hornbill? egret?). More probably, in this very rounded boulder face, much of the original has been lost in erosion (cf. Plate 33 above on this aspect)t

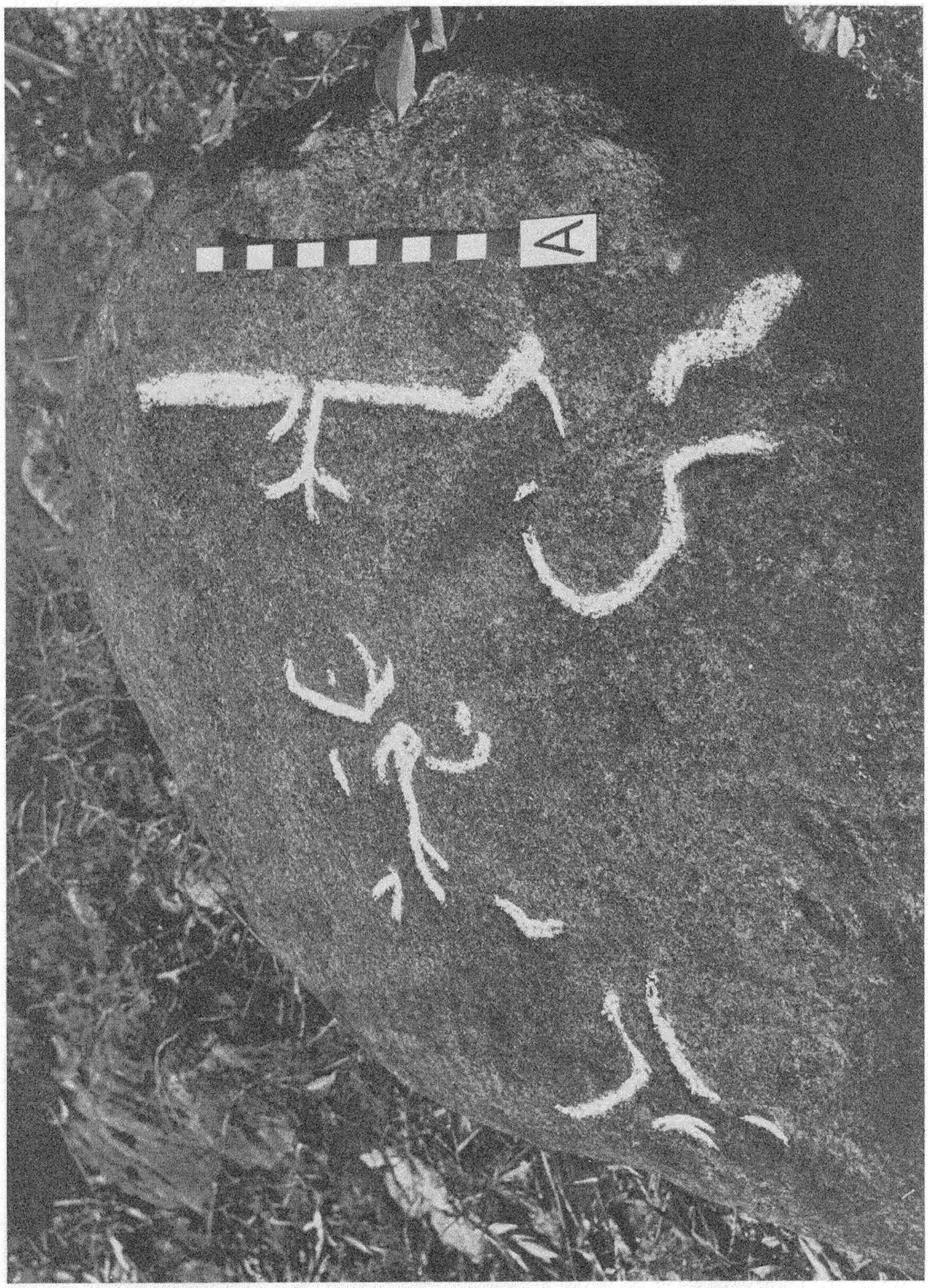

A

Plate 43. The least representational of all the Jaong petroglyph assemblages, cut in a yard-long band low on a large sandstone boulder beside the present creek-bed. It is thought that in this case the chalked lines reflect the original intention with more than usual accuracy. Some sort of tally or score could be indicated--perhaps of the iron-worker?

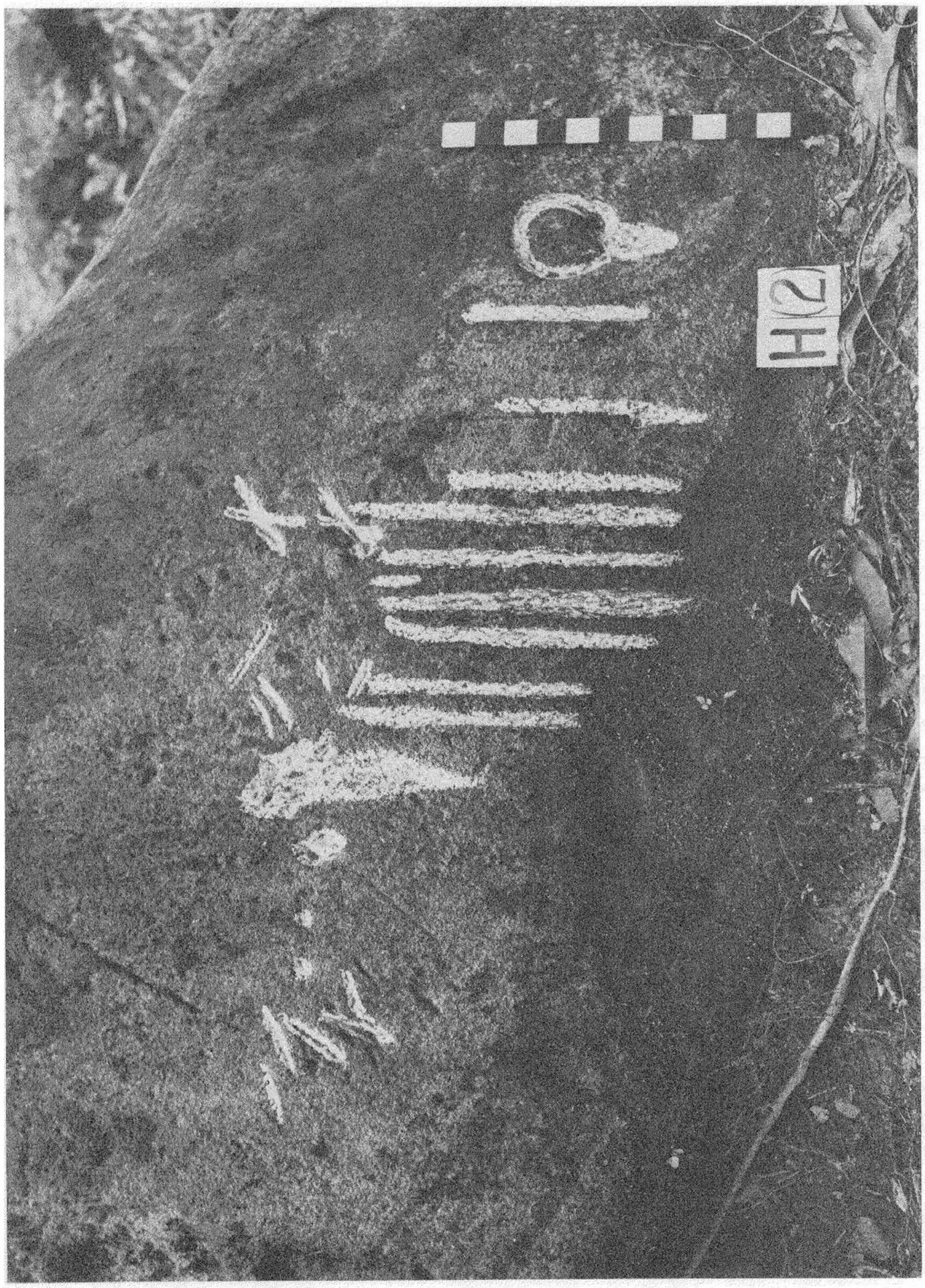

H2

Plate 44. An isolated head with unusually clear features indicated, though the nose line is far from certain. Two female pudenda symbols each have a dash cut at one side (as if to signify some act against the sex). This rock is particularly difficult to interpret, the face is so worn. Thus the hole and lines immediately below the measure may very well be man-made. In such cases, decision has been conservative and no effort made to stretch the petroglyph dimensions (Chapter 18). Compare this Plate with the drawn version reproduced as Plate 22 in H.O.i 301.

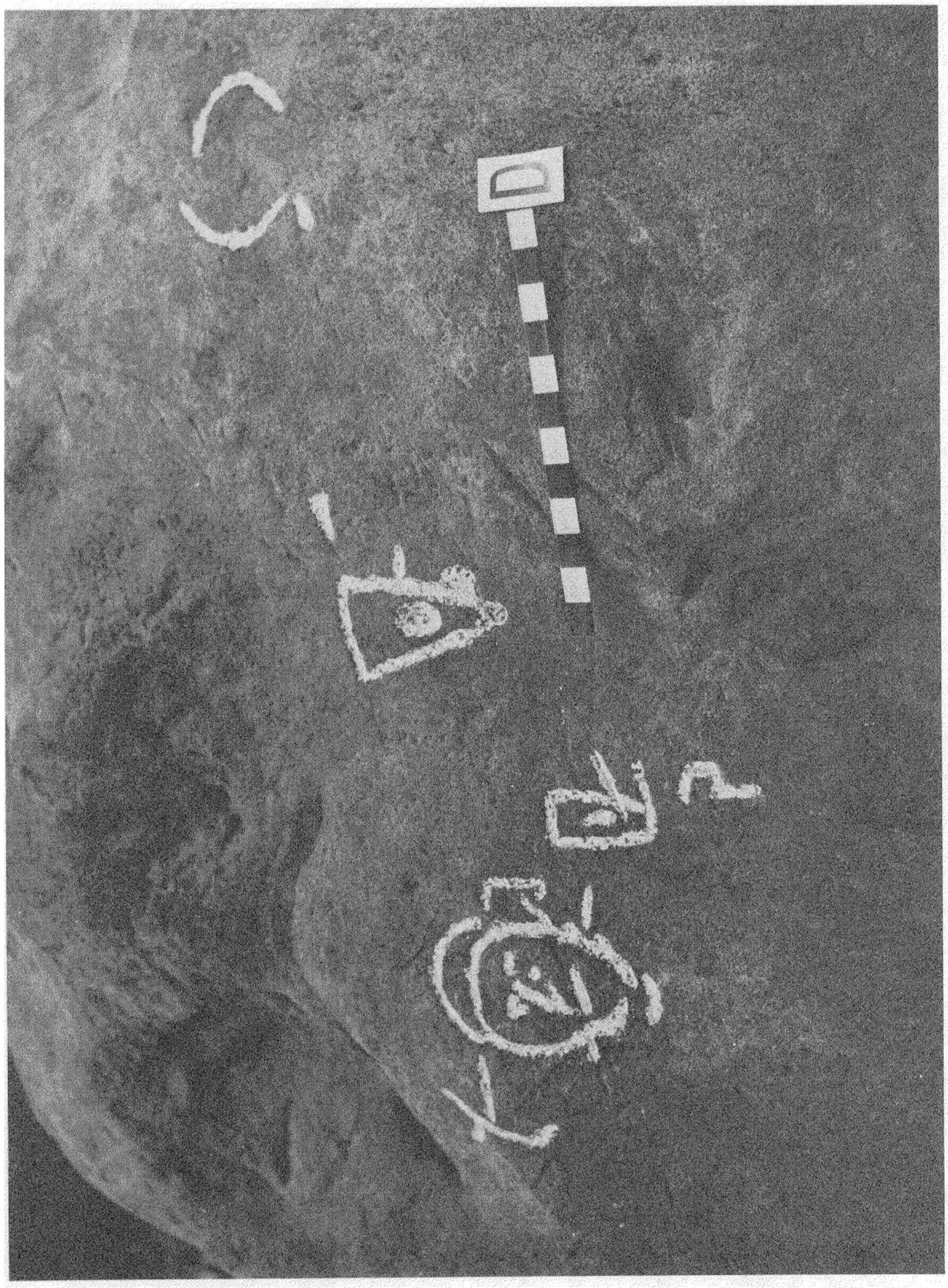


Plate 45. Batu Boya, Crocodile Rock, which guards the western mouth of the Sarawak River on the point just below Santubong village. It is a natural formation, which to the local people strongly reveals a crocodile's head. In folklore this is the petrified head of the monster-dragon-serpent-crocodile (according to source version) which befriended the culture hero Datu Merpati, and which had golden scalesi (See Chapter 24.f.)

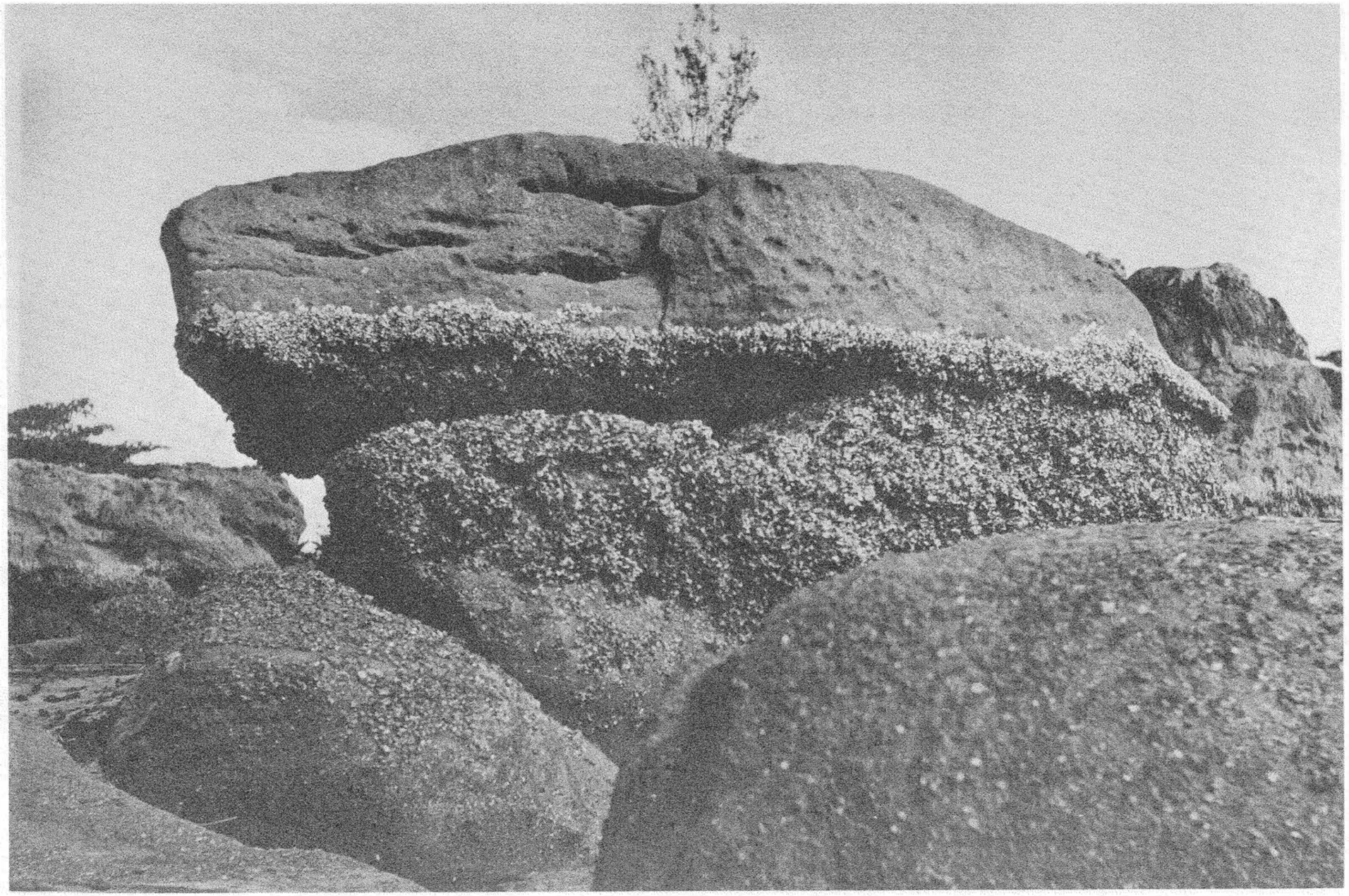


Plate 46. Massive dolmen placed on mound of pebbles and stones; called *parapun* (prehistoric; but iron age). Traditional monument to a person dying without heirs and the largest single type of megalithic activity in the Kelabit uplands of northern interior Sarawak and just over the border into northwest Kalimantan. The structure is in course of excavation near Pa Trap, at 3800 feet, in 1963. Note characteristic stone size in foreground. (See Chapter 17.d.)

Plate 47. A *parapun* in the Kelabit uplands at 3700 feet (cf. Plate 46), the mound overgrown by jungle and the dolmen collapsed (T.H. stands on cap stone). Thousands of stones are scattered about, some of them showing at the feet of the Kelabit men at each side. (Chapter 17.d.)

te 48e In another remote, now uninhabited jungle area at 4500 feet in the Kelabit uplands stands an impressive row of megaliths (only partly shown in this Plate). The Kelabit man sits on a stone seat, one of several. Behind him is a stone table. In the foreground a slab grave (cyst) which contained charred bones and 15th century ceramics. Large menhirs to left and right, one capped by a stone slab.

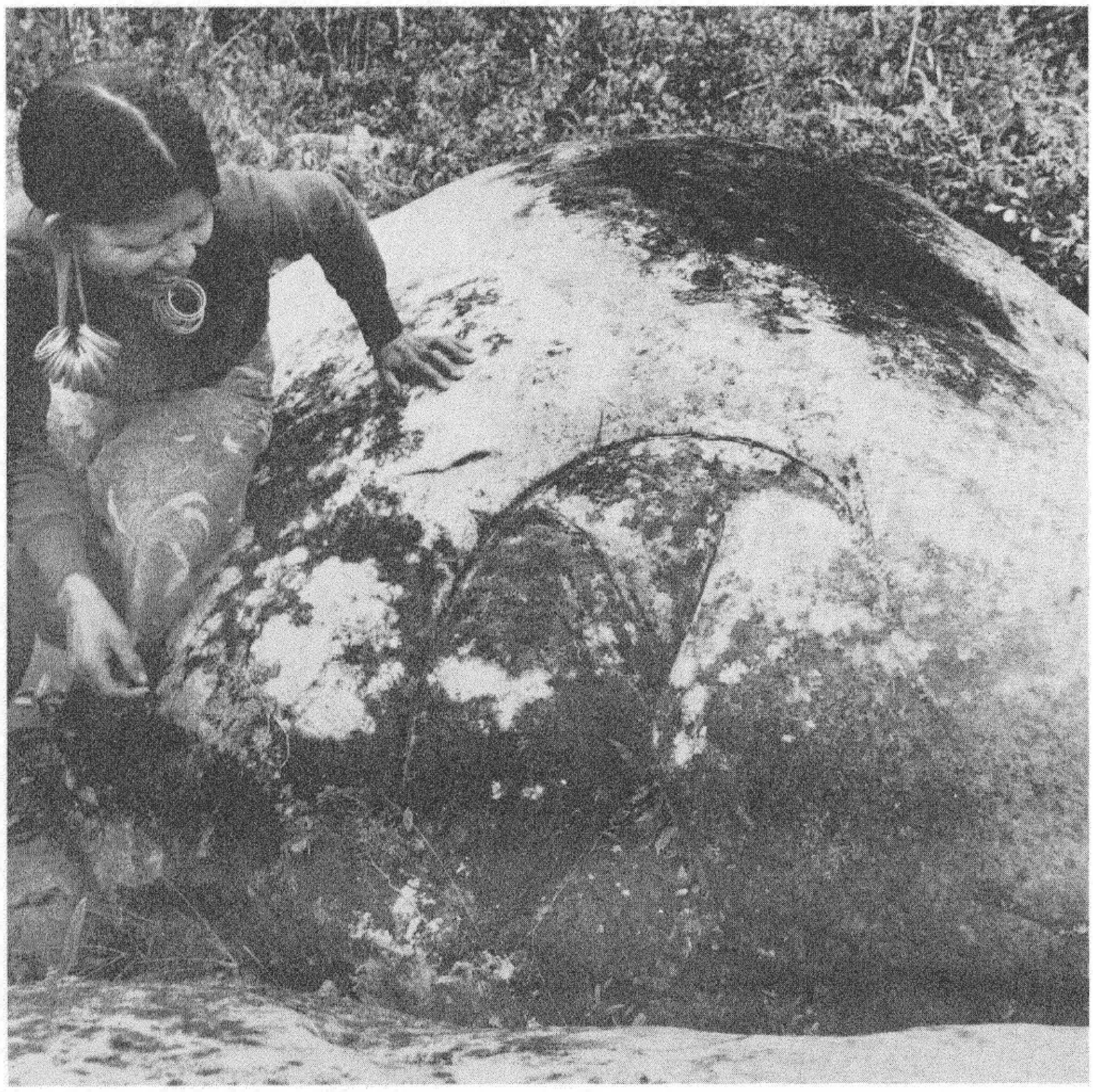


Plate 49. A sandstone boulder (very like some at Jaong in the lowlands) curiously cut to enlarge a natural feature, near Bario in the Kelabit uplands of the far interior at 3,000 feet. There is a resemblance to the technique used with the "block-cuts" at Jaong (see Plates 7-14 previously), but with less of a square "male" and more of a female (in the Jaong sense) atmosphere. The Kelabit woman Bulan, who definitely considers the form here sexy and fun, is wearing the earrings until very recently required for all upper-class upland women, and recalled also in the Plate 51 figure.

Plate 50. Another natural sandstone boulder which has been cut by a metal blade to produce in larger form some of the same symbolism (?) as in Plate 49. This boulder stands as part of an "avenue" of similar stones and two impressive dolmens near Bario in the uplands, as one of the very many Kelabit megalithic forms (see Table 7 in Chapter 17.c).

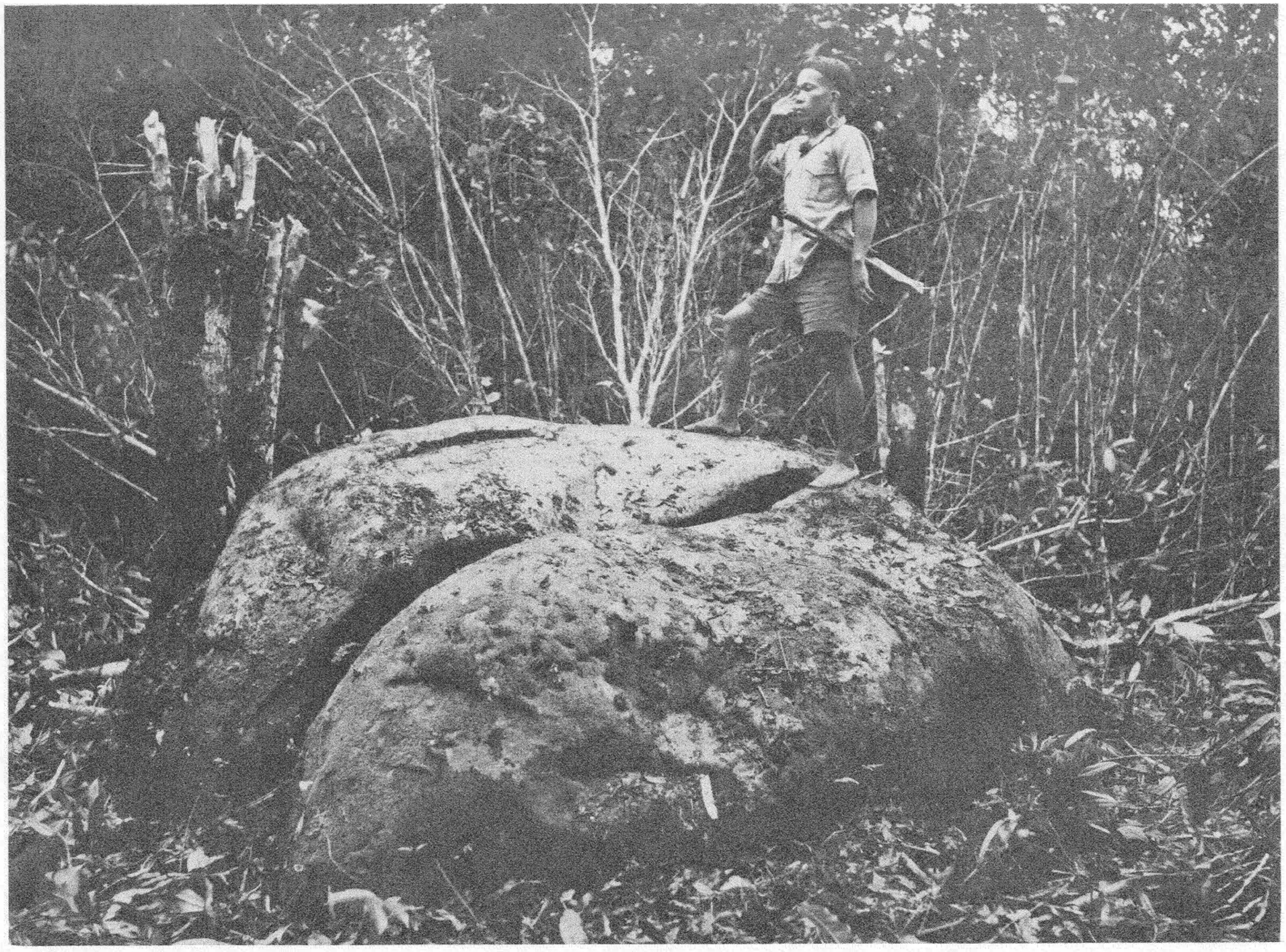
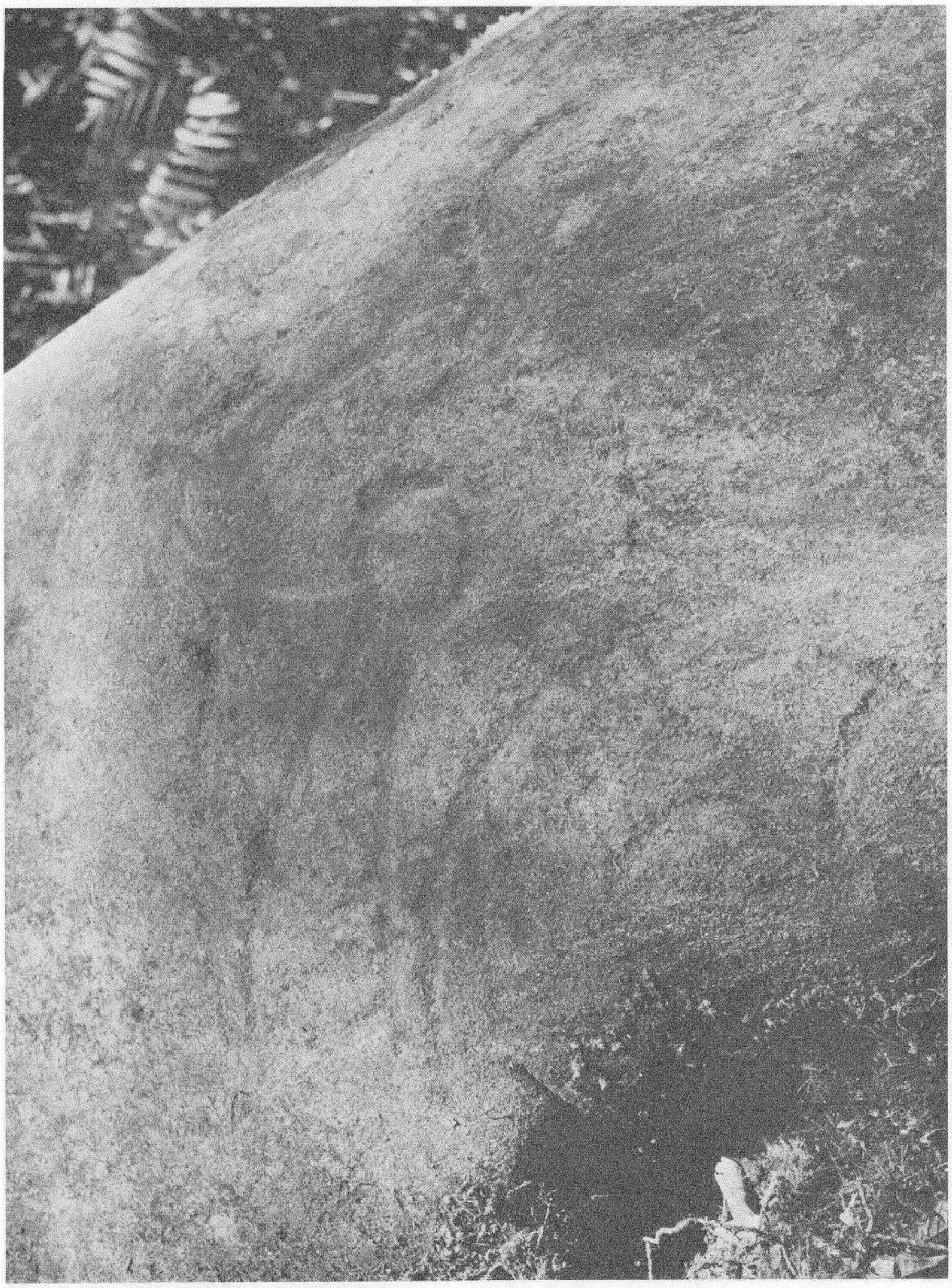
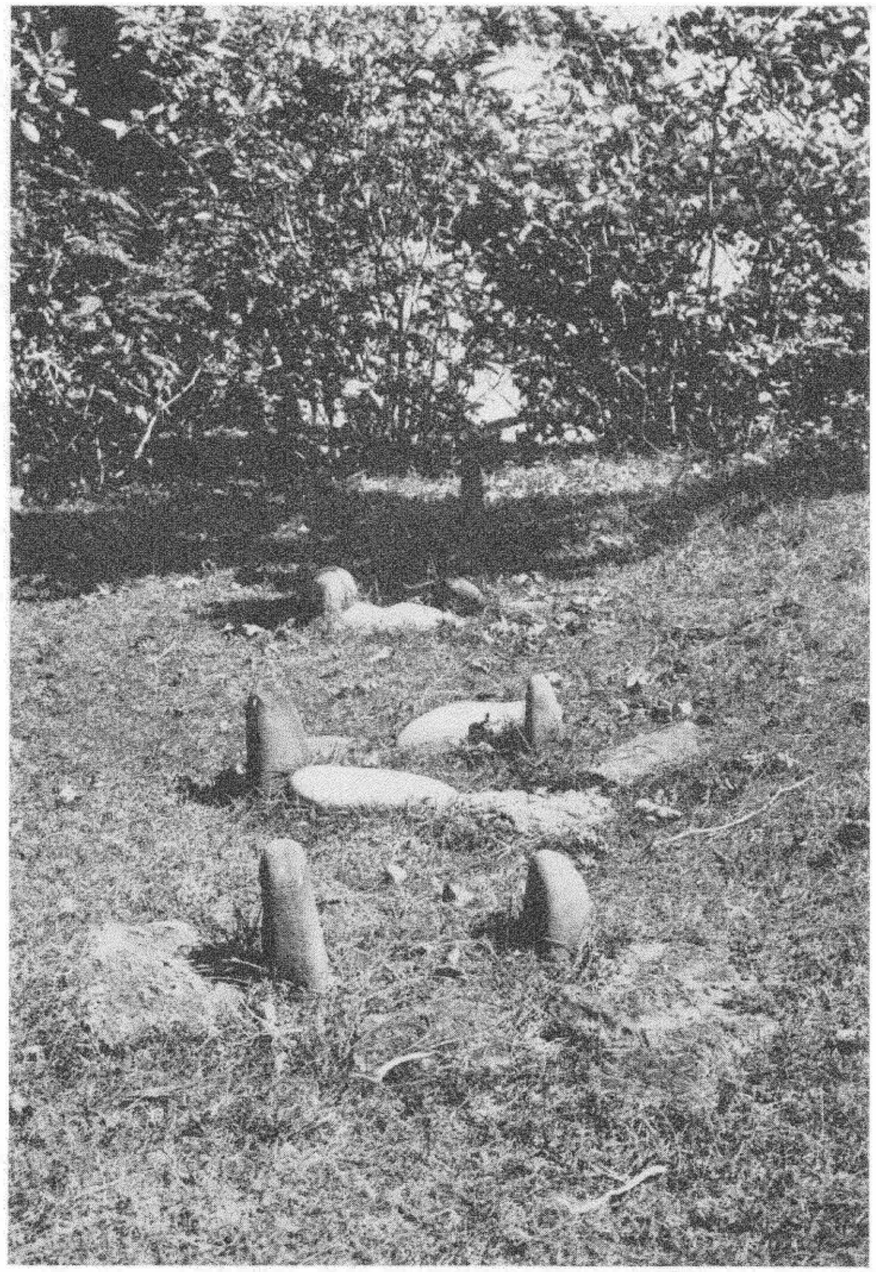


Plate 51. High in the mountains of the Indonesian-Malaysia border behind the village of Pa Main, this is one of several similar half life-size figures cut in bold relief on a natural boulder as part of a cliff face. Compare this to Batu Gambar at Jaong (Plate 32). The enlarged earlobes are a regular feature (compare the Kelabit woman in Plate 49).

Plate 52. Prehistoric petroglyph between Bario and Pa Main in the Kelabit uplands, pecked out with an iron point and believed to represent a man-eating hornbill; cfi Garuda) about three times natural size. Lower on the sandstone boulder some small, nearly triangular human heads are similarly outlined. (Chapter 17.)





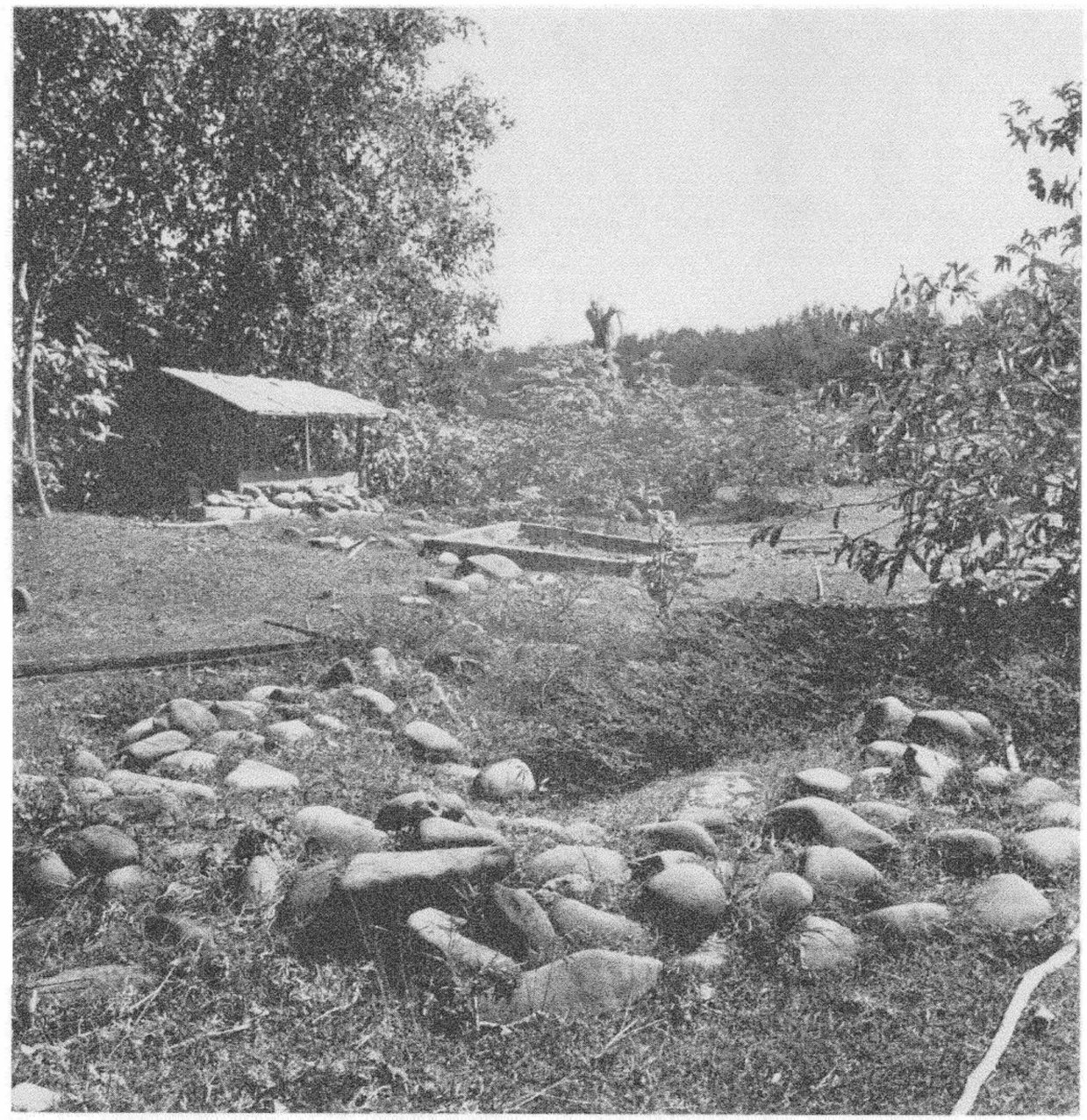


Plate 53

(a) Line of stones placed as menhirs (= Moslem *nisan*) on Ubian graves at Usukan Island off the northwest coast of Sabah.

(b) Stones strewn over Ubian burials on Usukan Island (see Chapter 17.b).

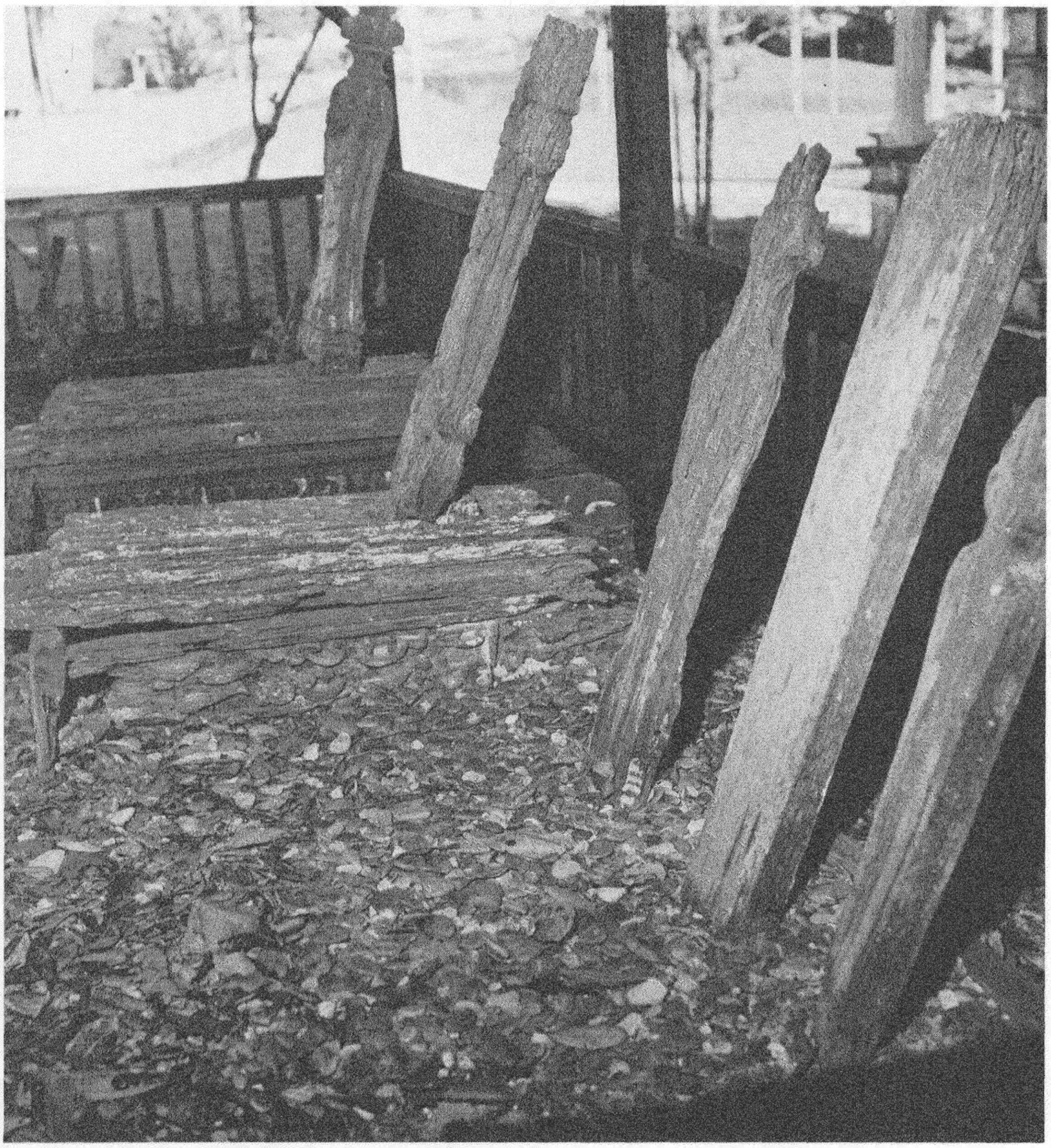


Plate 54. Small black pebbles are often strewn over Moslem Malay graves in southwest Borneo. These are the oldest such graves known in Sarawak, created for Brunei nobles. Originally in the grounds of the Astana (Palace) across the river in Kuching, they were moved to the Museum grounds after World War II, and replaced exactly as before. (Chapters 23, 26).

Plate 55. One of the wooden figures which could be used in place of stone menhirs among the Kadazans round Kota Kinabalu, Sabah. This one represents a female, and was erected in connection with the death of an heirless person (cf. Plate 46). The original has now been removed to the Sabah Museum, and replaced *in situ* by an exact cast replica. (Chapter 17.a).

Plate 56. Menhir incorporated as *liṅga* in a special shrine inside the main upper court of the great terraced hill-temple at Besakih, State Temple of Bali. This is one of several such menhirs here incorporated from a pre-Hindu megalithic past into the structure of Hindu observance. The same tradition included the stone terraces, pebble pavements, and stone seats (Chapters 24.d, 26.c; Appendix A; and following Plates).

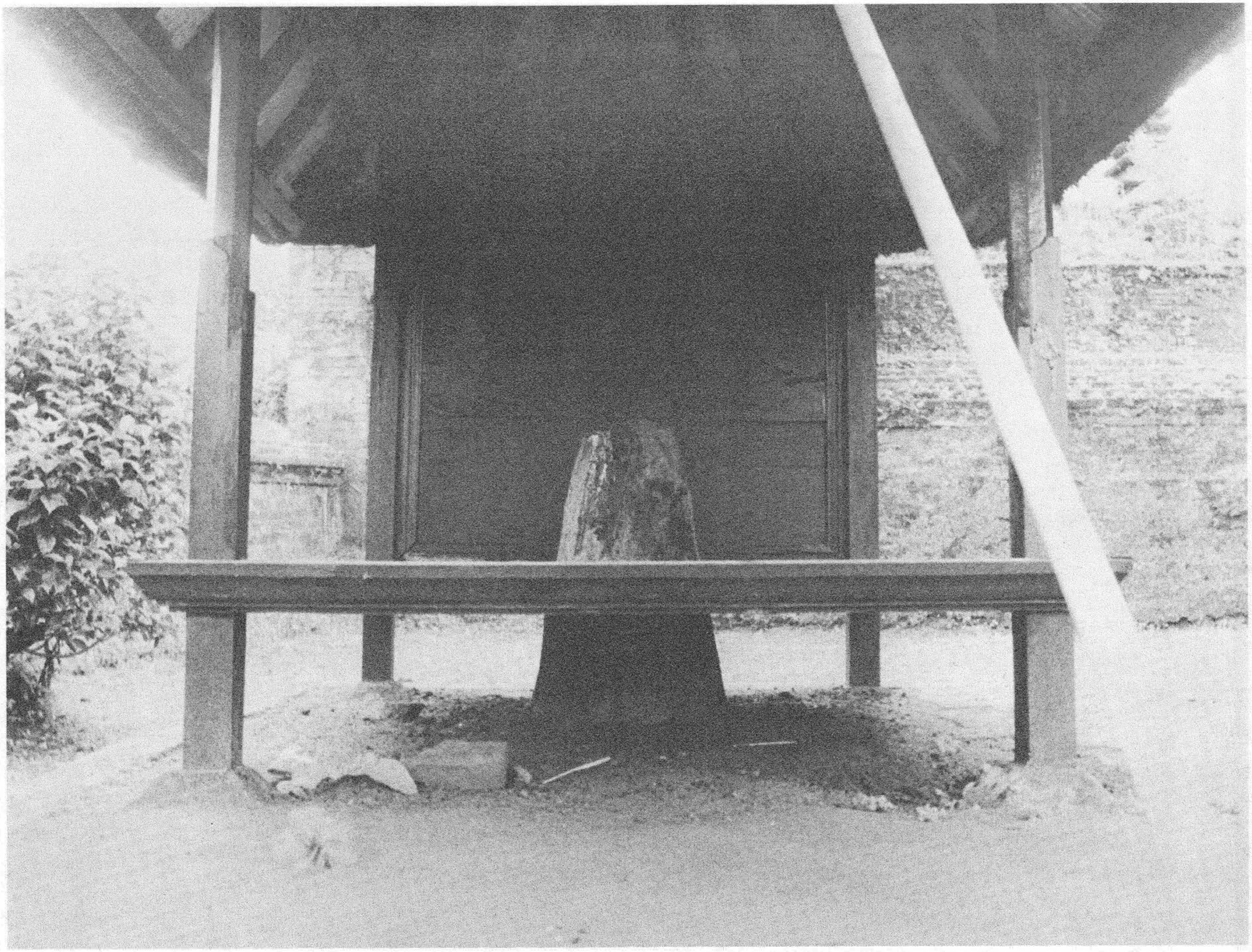


Plate 57. Stone seats for the visiting gods and spirits are essential and central in Balinese temples, but have also a continuing "secular" use, notably around Gelgel in the southeast. Commonly the seat itself is of two natural large stones, one upright and the other flat, placed on a platform of smaller stones and pebbles in micro-megalithic style (Chapter 23). This line of seats circling a clump of bamboo has strong animist links also.

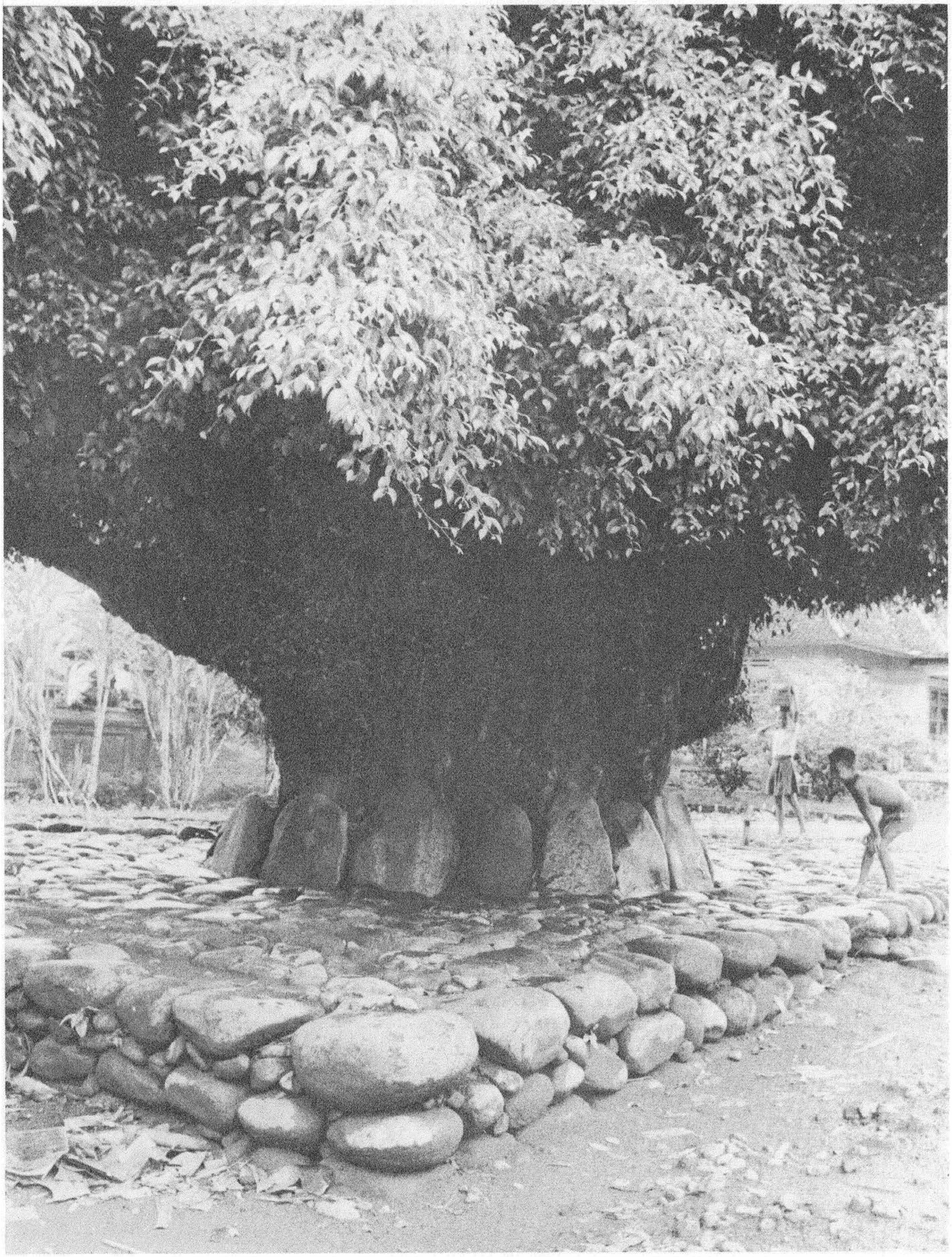


Plate 58. Menhir seat back with smaller stone as seat base, part of a loose assemblage in micro-megalithic style. The back is pock-marked with low cup-shaped depressions, which have puzzled observers on several examples in southern Bali. This one, at Gelgel, suggests a "board" for the widespread Asian game of throwing small pebbles into cup-like depressions arranged in rows.

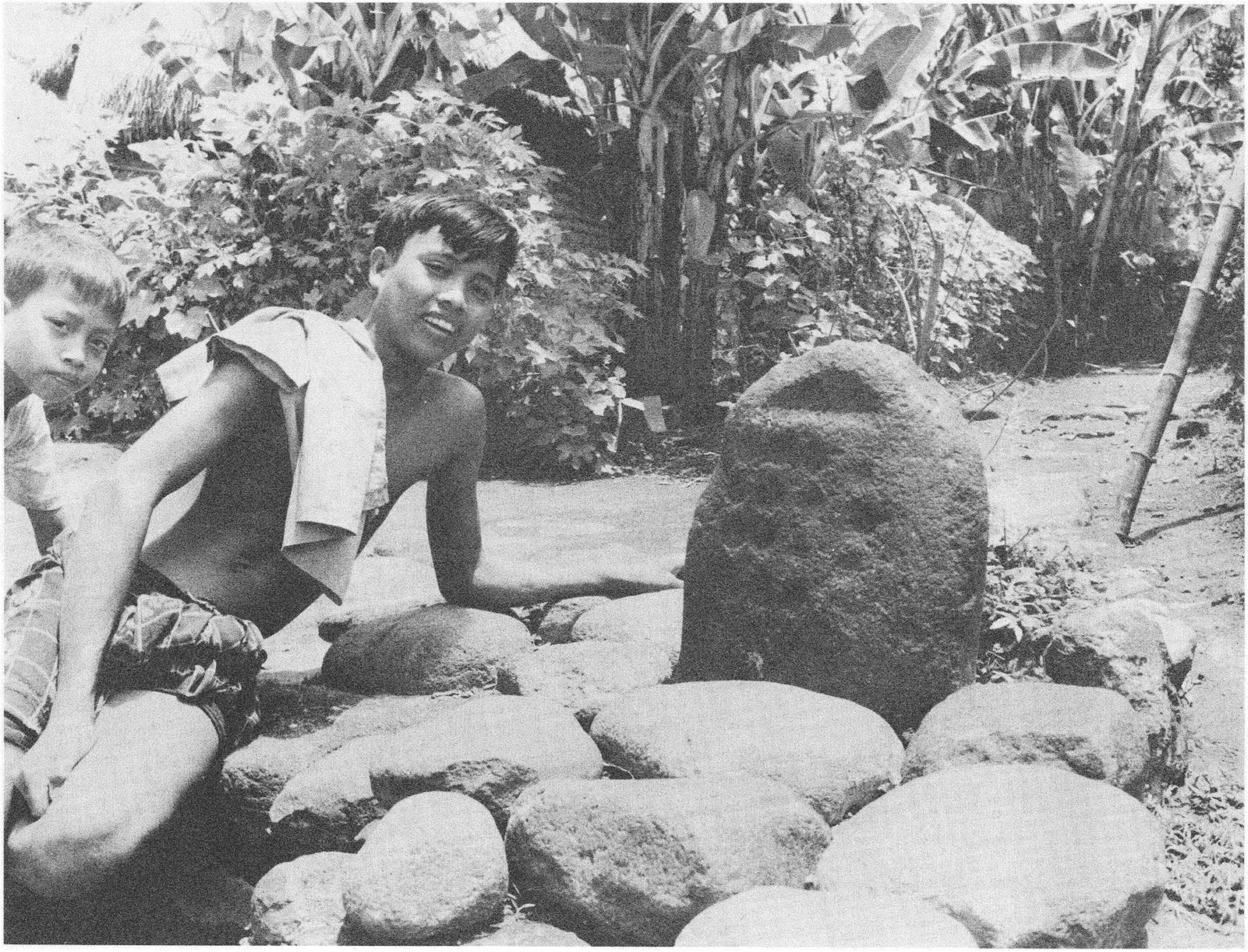


Plate 59. Menhir adapted as animist shrine under sacred fig-tree beside the road between Sanur and Den Pasar, capital of Bali. "Offerings" on stone and on wooden platform above, upon which several pebbles had also been placed--a common micro-megalithic feature from the State Temple downwards at several levels of Bali religious observance.