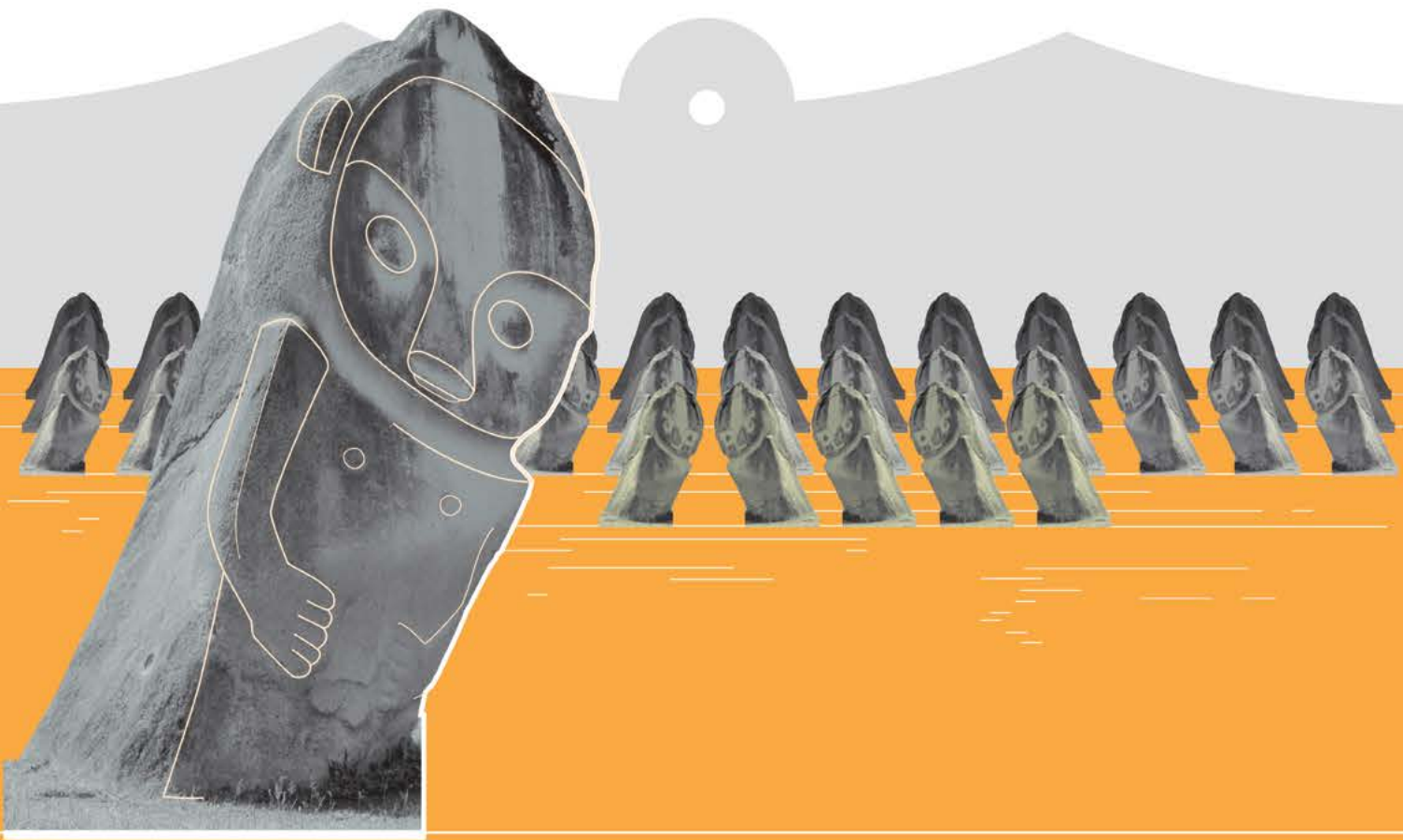


# Indonesian Megaliths

A forgotten cultural heritage

Tara Steimer-Herbet





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Cover: Monumental statue of Palindo in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)

Laboratoire d'archéologie préhistorique UNIGE



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Fig. 1 Monumental statue of Palindo in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)

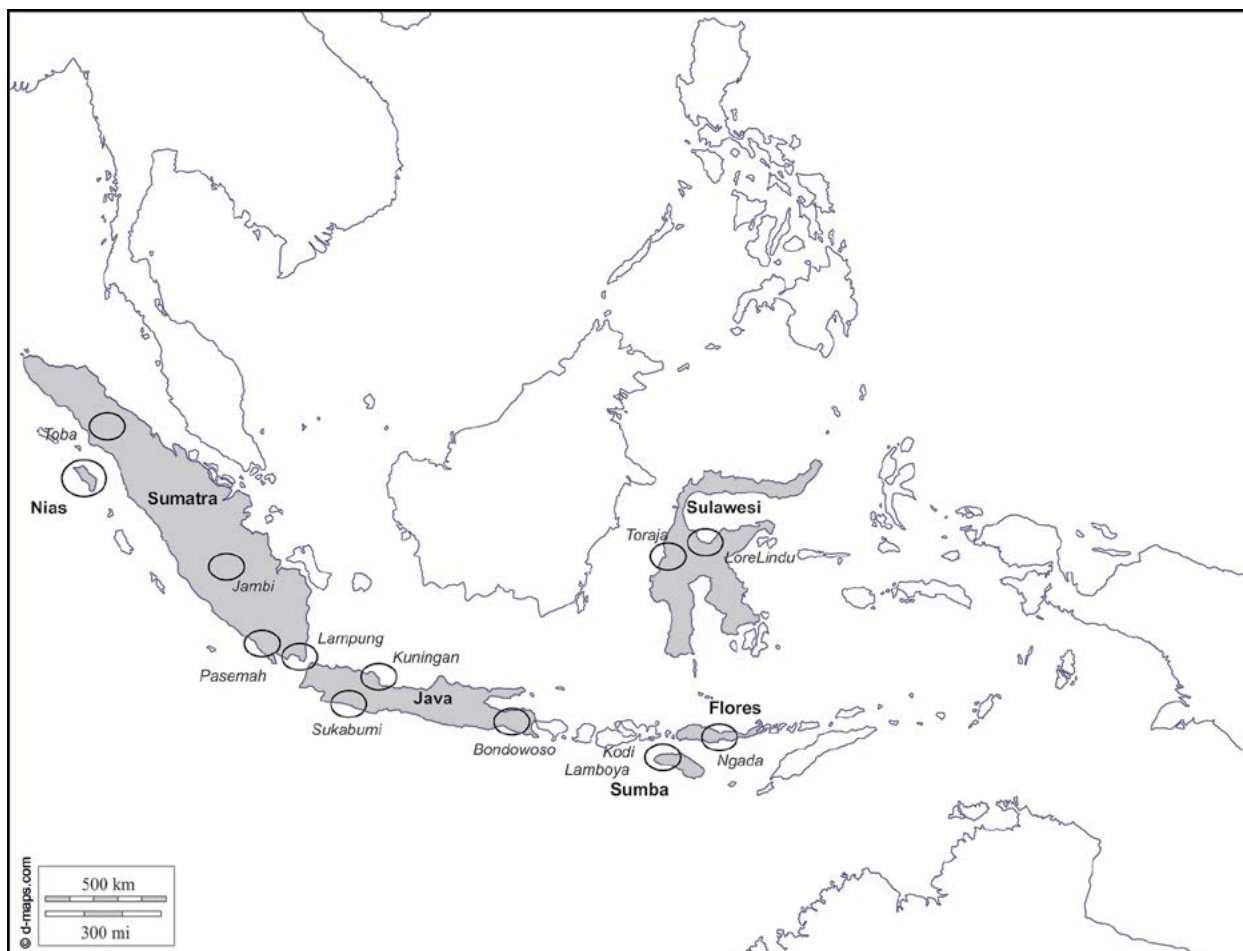


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## Foreword

On the margins of the major Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of Sriwijaya, Majapahit and Malayu, indigenous peoples were still living in the forests, mountains, and plateaus of Indonesia. These peoples had religions qualified as 'primitive', based on the cult of ancestors and the spirits of nature. This was a common cultural background they shared from Bondowoso (East Java) to Toba (North Sumatra) as well as Sukabumi, Kuningan, Lampung Pasemah, Jambi and Minangkabau for the most studied regions.

Through the exchange of resources and services with Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, the indigenous peoples acquired prestige goods leading to social competition. The emergence of leaders preceded the original creation of megalithic monuments, which were used to bury, honor, commemorate and / or communicate with ancestors. For those without a written language, these stones, rough or carved, marked the landscape and transmitted the memory of men from one generation to another. In Java, Sumatra (central and south) and Sulawesi (center: Lore Lindu), the erection of megalithic monuments ceased as soon as the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms lost power. The use of megaliths spread later in the islands of Sumba, Flores, Nias, North Sumatra (Toba) and Sulawesi (Tanah Toraja) under the influence of European traders, and despite massive conversions to Catholicism and Protestantism in these areas this ancient tradition has remained alive.

Ethno-anthropological studies of the three regions examined the pulling of stones, construction of buildings, the arrangement and ceremonies of the deceased, which advantageously complements the archaeological work on megalithic monuments abandoned for several centuries in the rest of the Indonesian archipelago.



# Introduction

Spirits of nature and numerous stone statues inhabit the rice fields, forests and mountains of Indonesia. Legend says that the goddess *Pahit Lidah*, a mythical figure of Asia, turns men who transgress moral codes into stone. Thus Indonesians are not surprised to see in their fields statues that intertwine anthropomorphic creatures, buffaloes and mystical animals.

Petrification is not always considered a punishment on the Indonesian archipelago by the numerous indigenous peoples distinguished from each other by language, architecture, clothing and rituals. The people of Nias do not understand those of Flores, or those of Sumba; likewise a Toraja from Sulawesi is as much a stranger to a man from the Bada Valley as an Inuit to a Papuan, though there is only four days walk between the valleys that separate the former. Nevertheless there is among these natives a common cultural background. The community social system is based on a founding ancestor who inaugurated the lineage of a tribe that is divided into clans and castes (nobles, commoners, slaves). Each tribe has a leader. Although in contact with state societies, indigenous peoples forsake writing. They prefer the art of stone steles and tombs erected in honor of either their living leader or leaders who have become ancestral spirits. It is for this reason that the complex set of indigenous cosmological beliefs and their social transcription can be characterized as 'megalithic culture.'

Supported by the data of archaeologists and ethnologists, the indigenous populations in Indonesia constructed megalithic monuments in two periods. The first began in the 7th and 8th centuries in East Java and spread to the rest of the island, South and Central Sumatra and Lore Lindu in Central Sulawesi. It persisted in these regions until the 13-15th centuries. The second period stretches from the 16th century to the present, and in some ways is a continuation of the first but encompassing other islands and regions: Sumba, Flores, Nias, North Sumatra by the Batak and Central Sulawesi with the Toraja. The construction

of megalithic monuments intensified as indigenous peoples came in contact with newcomers: Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in the first episode and European merchants in the second. The acquisition of wealth, metal tools, fierce competition between tribes and clans, and a willingness to please ancestors gave rise to small local leaders during both periods.

These leaders became sponsors of thousands of statues, standing stones, dolmens, jar (*kalambas*), sarcophagi, platforms, temples, seats and stones with cup-holes (*Dakon*). The collective effort required to construct megalithic monuments contributed to the cohesion of the tribes. The stone monuments, rough or carved, displayed the social status of the sponsor, and additionally in these cultures based on oral traditions, the stones are fundamental communication tools to transmit tribal identity. The construction of megalithic monuments in Java and South and Central Sumatra ended with the decline of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. In the 15th century, the last monuments erected near Kuningan and Sukabumi (West Java) and around Padang Lawas (Sumatra Centre) were more strongly influenced by Hinduism, a syncretism that would recur five centuries later in the 19th century with the arrival of missionaries in Sumba, Nias, Flores, Toba and in Tanah Toraja.

Mutations in the indigenous tribes occurred quickly: in just a few centuries, and sometimes in as little as fifty years, cultural heritage can disappear or become a soulless tourist trap. Although the *Pancasila* (Indonesian constitution) advocates unity in diversity, indigenous religions deemed 'primitive' do not have a place in the new administrative standards of an Indonesia where everyone must choose from one of six permitted religions. Forgotten or forced to adapt, megalithic culture, an integral part of Indonesian heritage, deserves to be described and photographed so that its heritage remains clear: this is the main purpose of this work.

## Part One: Hindu-Buddhist Kingdoms and Indigenous Peoples of Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi

The majority of archaeological data were acquired during the Dutch colonization. Three figures of archeology of that time – Heine-Geldern (1945), [Stein Callenfels](#) (1934) and [Kruyt](#) (in Hoop 1932) – attributed foreign origins (Mediterranean, Indian or Japanese) to the megalithic cultures. Indonesian archaeologists, such as H. Sukendar, R. Mulia, R.P. Soejono, L. Yondri, continued identifying monuments under the influence of the Dutch without really seeking to verify their origin and dating. There was a time when the polished axes discovered in the graves of Cipari near Kuningan constituted sufficient evidence for dating the megalithic tombs to the Neolithic period. Then came the metal drums of the Dong Son period, found on the reliefs on the Pasemah Plateau, which helped to adjust the chronological range to the Paleo-metallic Period,

between 2000 and 500 BC. But excavations in Pasemah by [Hoop](#) (1932), in Pakauman by [Willem](#)s (1938) and more recently those of E.E. [McKinnon](#) in Lampung (1993), B. [Prasetyo](#) in Bondowoso (2006; 2000; 1996) and D. [Bonatz](#) in Jambi (2006a; 2006b) revealed iron objects, glass beads, Chinese porcelain and gold objects: all examples of prestige property acquired between the 7th and 15th century depending on the region. So in light of these discoveries, and despite the national desire to see these megaliths traced to an ancient civilization, Indonesian megalithic culture is contemporary with the classical Hindu-Buddhist period.

We know little about the lifestyle of the indigenous peoples of that period. Archaeologists have discovered stone pillars used for housing foundations near

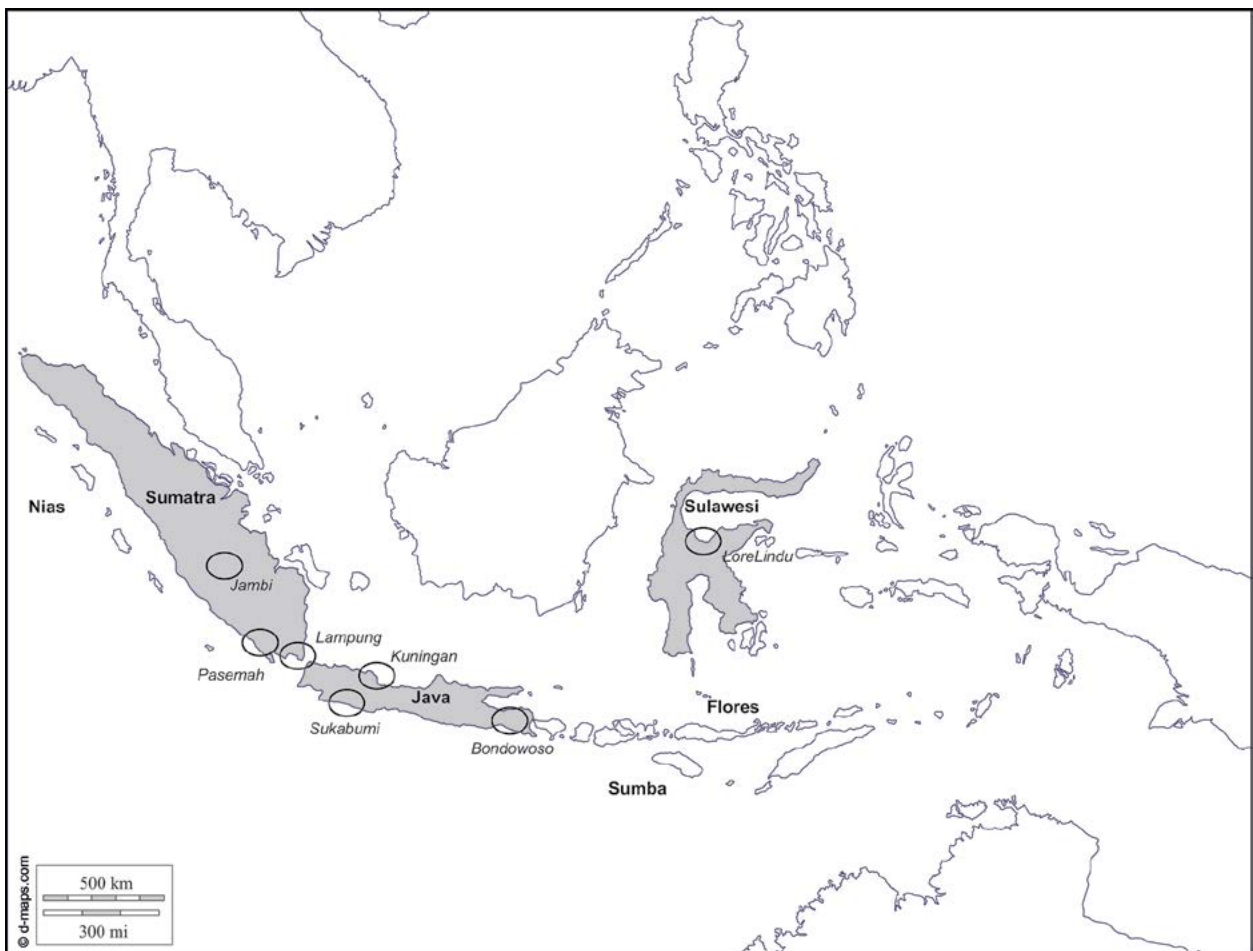


Fig. 3 Map of the studied areas where the remains of the first phase of the megalithic societies are: the region of Bondowoso, the region of Sukabumi, the region of Kuningan (Java); the Pasemah plateau, the Highland of Jambi, the region of Lampung (Sumatra) and the region of Lore Lindu (Sulawesi)





Fig. 4a Dolmen or 'Pandhusa' from Grujugan in Bondowoso Valley (Java)

megalithic sites, a sign of sedentary populations. Analysis of macro-remains mainly indicates a mode of livelihood gleaned from exploiting roots and gathering resources in the forest. However, in contact with Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, these small village communities rapidly developed; they were quick to adopt rice cultivation and started using megaliths to honor their ancestors. The differences observed between the monuments and burial methods show a concurrent emergence of social hierarchy led by an elite.

### The region of Bondowoso in East Java

Bondowoso's valley is crossed everyday by travelers visiting the Kawa Ijen to observe sulfur carriers. Onlookers are often amazed by the large loads carried on the backs of laborers from the crater into the valley. These men are the descendants of the builders of megalithic monuments occupying a vast territory stretching from West to East, from the town of Jember to the outskirts of the town of Situbondo. It unfolds on the lower parts of the slopes of the Ijen and Iyang volcano and then over the hills and the plain of Bondowoso. To discover these megalithic monuments you must leave



Fig. 4b Willems picture during the excavation of a dolmen or 'Pandhusa' from Grujugan in Bondowoso Valley (Java) (fig. 4b – Willems 1938, fig. 19)

the main road for the narrow roads that run along the rice fields and lead to small traditional villages.

In 1898, the Dutch Steinmetz was one of the first to identify hundreds of megalithic monuments, which





Fig. 5a Sarcophagus cylinder in the middle of corn field close to Glinseran in Bondowoso Valley



Fig. 6 General view of a sarcophagus cylinder from Glinseran in Bondowoso Valley in the midst of corn field



Fig. 5b Overturned sarcophagus cylinders from Nangkaan in Bondowoso Valley



Fig. 5c Top part of a sarcophagus cylinder from Glinseran in Bondowoso Valley

he called the '*Pandhusa*' (fig. 4a; 4b) and sarcophagi cylinder (Glinseran, Nangkaan, Kretek, Kemuningan, Tanggulangin, Pakisan, Tlogosari, and Sukosari Pakauman) (fig. 5a; 5b; 5c). Van Heekeren continued his reconnaissance work in 1931, and Willems published the results of his excavations of the Pakauman monuments in 1938. It took almost fifty years, but in 1983 a team of Indonesian archaeologists from Yogyakarta took interest in these buildings.

Since then, 47 sites have been identified, among which Wringin and Grujugan have been excavated. Their results confirmed those that had been recorded in the books of Willems and Van Heekeren: these excavated rooms were sepulchers. Chinese porcelain fragments, glass beads and clay, as well as buffalo horns accompanied the deceased. Two samples of coal collected in the Dawulan and Doplang dolmens by B. Prasetyo (2006) date the Bondowoso's Valley dolmens between the 8th and 14th centuries.

The stone sarcophagi cylinders are impressive in size; in the midst of rice fields and corn we only see their lids (fig. 6): a huge stone cylinder that covers an underground chamber. Published pictures from Willems's 1938 excavations showed upright slabs forming a rectangular funerary space covered by a stone lid. Tomb raiders sometimes cut the cylindrical lid hoping to find a treasure, and it is not uncommon to find holes in the rock or broken cylinders (fig. 7a; 7b). In the village of Grujugan two megalithic graves are still intact. These are dolmens; the first one called *Pandhusa* (cf. fig. 4a; 4b), has a rectangular chamber identical to those of the coffins cylinder but with a different lid: the stone has been cut so that its flat surface rests on the walls; the upper part is rounded into a sort of half-cylinder. The second tomb is built with crude



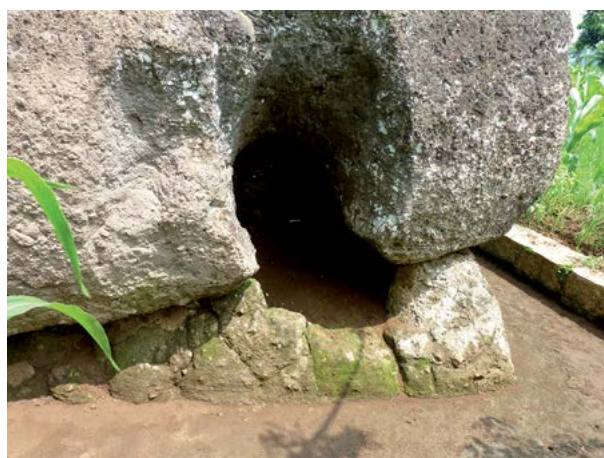
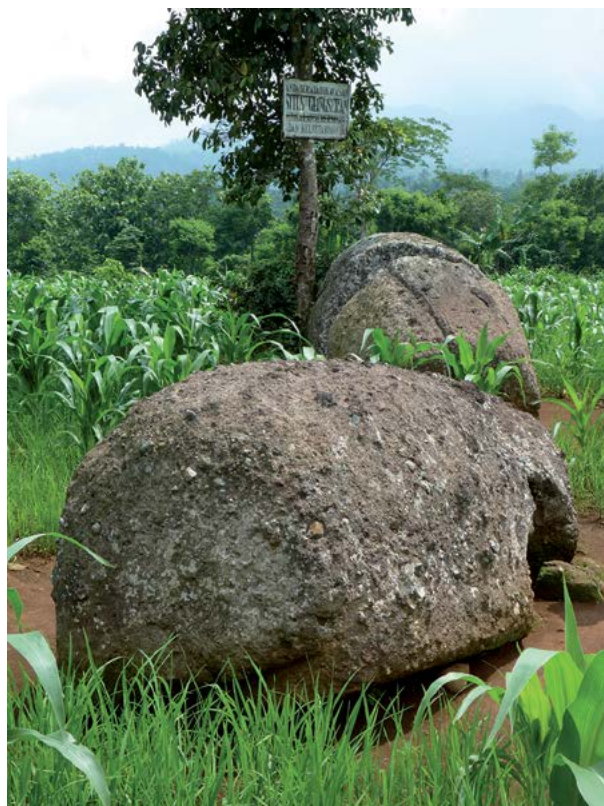


Fig. 7a-b Broken sarcophagi cylinders from Glinseran in Bondowoso Valley

blocks. Its coverage rests on scattered blocks leaving an open space below (fig. 8a; 8b; 8c). On the outskirts of Grujugan (fig. 9a; 9b; 9c), between the road and rice fields, one can observe the remains of an indigenous traditional house of the Bondowoso region. *Kenong*, cut stones with one or more protrusions on the top, served as a support for a now disappeared wooden house (fig. 10). On these settlement sites, archaeologists have discovered material similar to that of the megalithic tombs (glass beads, earthenware, bracelets and metal tools). Next to it, lay two anthropomorphic statues, one of which has been straightened and is still in place (fig.

11). This sculpture is rough but feminine curves are well rendered. According to written sources, a male statue stood by her side; it is kept in the museum of Probolinggo.

Although these stones do not mean much to most people in the Bondowoso valley, it is still said that at night, especially on Fridays that are '*legi*' in the Javanese calendar, the stones emit strange noises, sounds similar to those produced by the gamelan instruments. These mystical beliefs generate an aura; and it is not uncommon to discover that offerings continue to be regularly displayed physically with a dish of rice at the sites, in general in front of the monuments.

### The region of Sukabumi in West Java

Gunung Padang, the Indonesian megalithic site that boasts the most media coverage, is mentioned in the tales and legends of the people of the Sukabumi area (fig. 12). Prabu Siliwangi, a Hindu king of the Bogor region stayed there in the late 15th century. Discovered in 1914 by the Dutch NJ Krom, the site is located on top of a mountain and disappeared under vegetation and was rediscovered in 1979 by the villagers of Karyamukti. It was the subject of an archaeological report in 1985 by the N.R.C.A. Jakarta before falling into oblivion. Since 2011, Gunung Padang has been featured by the Indonesian media. According to electromagnetic surveys, under the megalithic remains is a huge cavity corresponding to the burial chamber of a pyramid dating to before those of Egypt.

Fortunately Gunung Padang is classified as cultural heritage and is therefore protected from any disastrous intervention that could destroy the stone monuments that occupy the top of the mountain. The known remains are a series of terraces and stairs that rise 150m in elevation as they stretch from the village square of Karyamukti to the top.

The staircase leading to the site is steep but its four hundred steps are in good condition (fig. 13a; 13b; 13c). The stone blocks used are from the Cikuta River about 300m far; they can also be found in the rice fields a little further down the valley. The blocks are made of an igneous prismatic rock whose dark brown color contrasts with the green of the surrounding vegetation. If the hill is arranged into 13 terraces, only the last 5 are sufficiently well preserved and developed for the searching eye to find. Shortly before reaching the summit, a strong retaining wall supports the first of the last five terraces (fig. 14). At this location lie the remains of a rectangular structure whose door opens to the north facing Gunung Gede. Its inner surface is covered with paving stones (fig. 15a; 15b). To access the fourth terrace you must climb a narrow staircase in a retaining wall partially collapsed. Terraces 3, 2 and 1





Fig. 8a-c Dolmen from Grujugan in Bondowoso Valley

are separated by low field gradients marked by standing stones (fig. 16). Stone alignments also delineate the East and West borders terraces. In the center, rectangular and circular buildings are distributed without apparent order (fig. 17a; 17b).

While researchers see distant similarities in these series of terraces with a Penanggungan temple built by the Majapahit in the 15th century, it is likely that the

megalithic site of Gunung Padang was built earlier. It is part of a set of homogeneous sites, located on the slopes of Salak and Halimun and more widely in the Sukabumi area, all built around the 12th and 13th centuries. Surveys have documented dozens of standing stone sites (Ciarca, Ciawitali, Kampung Kuta Batu Jolan, Pasir Gada, Salak Datar, Tugu Gede, Tenjolaya) (fig. 18a; 18b; 18c; 18d; 18e) of superimposed pyramidal platforms (Ciranjang, Ciawitali, Lemah Duhur, Pangguyangan)





Fig. 9a Foundation of an ancient house from Grujugan in Bondowoso Valley



Fig. 9b Few 'kenong', pillars of the foundation of the ancient houses from Grujugan in Bondowoso Valley

(fig. 19a; 19b; 19c; 19d) and statues (Ciarca) (fig. 20a; 20b). All these monuments are always flanked by stone seats (fig. 21a; 21b), basins and stones with cup-holes (*dakon*) (Ciarca, Bukit Tongtu, Tugu Gede) (fig. 22a; 22b). Some sites are protected by fences and monitored by guards; this is the case at Tugu Gede near Pelabuhan

Ratu where a 4m-tall menhir is still honored. Each year after the harvest, the inhabitants of the region come to tie a white cloth to it and make offerings in honor of the spirits of nature (fig. 23a; 23b). Some sites are abandoned and overgrown, while others have been restored, such as the one in Pangguyangan, where an Islamic grave covers the top of a pyramidal platform. With its seven terraces and a small narrow staircase, the monument, though covered with Islamic inscriptions, clearly lies within a megalithic culture site (cf. fig. 19a-b-c-d).

Though there is no significant information on the use of Gunung Padang by the indigenous people of the region of Sukabumi, the considerable effort required to construct the 13 terraces certainly involved more than one clan. This site, one of the most spectacular in Indonesia, functioned as a gathering center.

According to studies by researchers R. Mauludy Dahlan and H. Situngkir of the Sociological Institute of Bandung, the location was chosen due to the fact that the site has special acoustics: four notes spanning the 2600-5200 kHz range can be produced by knocking on the top side of the stone prisms. These notes sound in harmony with F, G, D and A. The site materials would



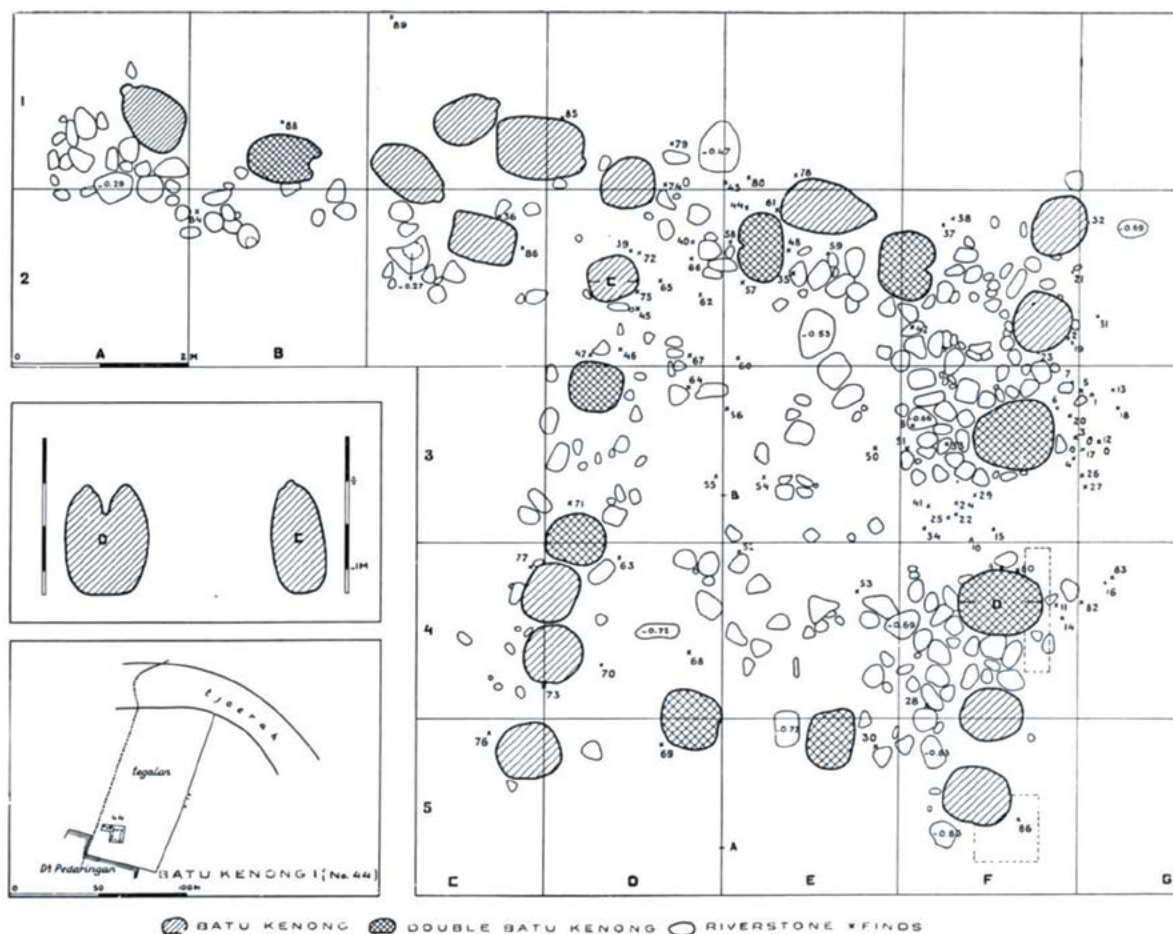


Fig. 9c Sketch after excavation of the foundation of an ancient house in Pakuman from Heekeren (1958, fig. 18)



Fig. 10 'kenong' or pillars of the ancient houses from Grujugan in Bondowoso

have been chosen for their resonance and arranged so that they can be used as instruments. The acoustics still attract musicians and singers who are willing to spend several nights at the summit of Gunung Padang to test their voice or to play their instruments.



Fig. 11 Statue of Grujugan in Bondowoso Valley





Fig. 12 General view of the 4th terrace with the rectangular structure from the site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)



Fig. 13a View of the many stone prisms scattered in the slope between the 3rd terrace and the 4th one from site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)



Fig. 13b Monumental stone steps to climb up to the site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)



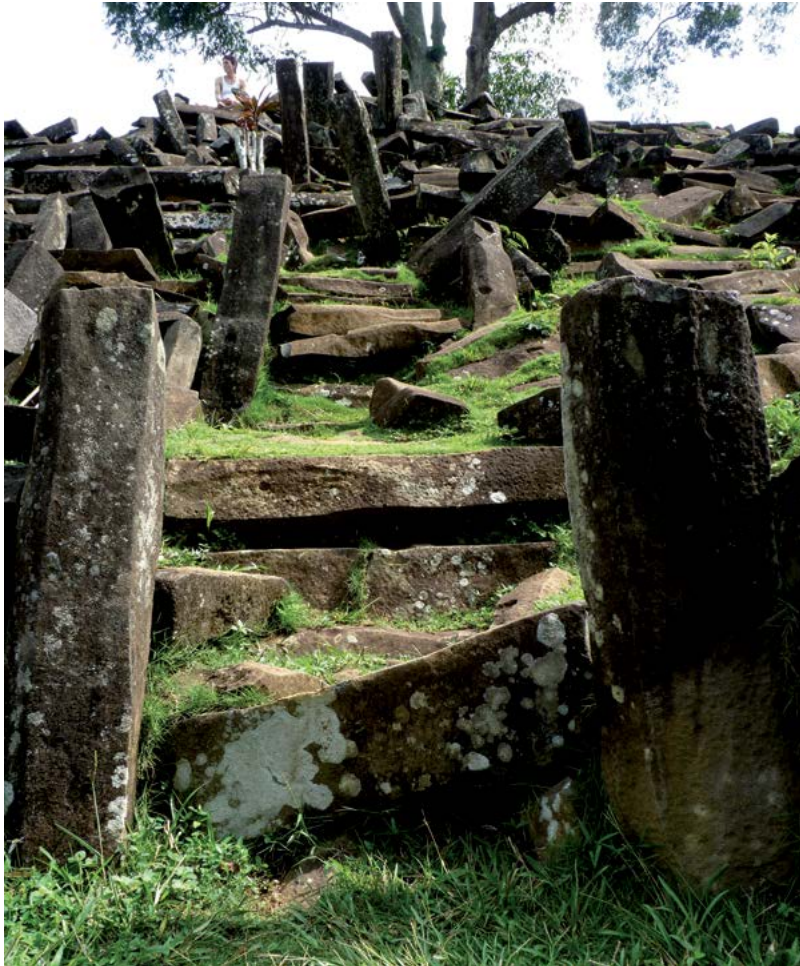


Fig. 13c Stone steps between the 4th terrace and the 3rd one in the site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)



Fig. 14 Retaining wall for the 5th terrace from the site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)





Fig. 15a Rectangular structure in the 4th terrace, view from the back side (Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region - Java)



Fig. 15b Entrance of the rectangular structure (Gunung Padang site in Sukabumi region, Java)





Fig. 16 Aerial view of terraces 1, 2 and 3 from the site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)



Fig. 17a-b Monuments from the 1st terrace from the site of Gunung Padang in Sukabumi region (Java)





Fig. 18a-e Standing stone from Tugu Gede in Mount Halimun (Java)





Fig. 19a Pyramidal platform from Pangguyangan in Mount Halimun (Java)

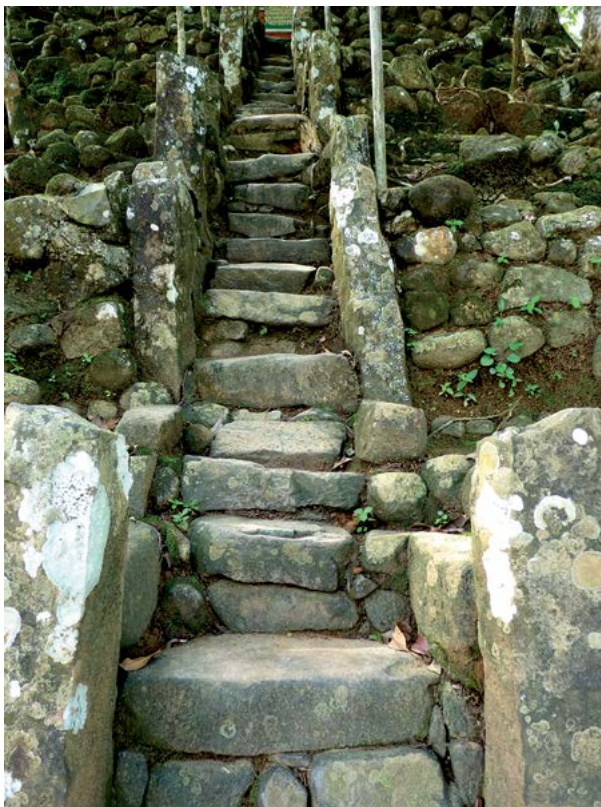


Fig. 19b Upper part of the steps to the pyramidal platform from Pangguyangan in Mount Halimun (Java)



Fig. 19c Detail of the retaining wall of the Pyramidal platform from Pangguyangan in Mount Halimun (Java)





Fig. 19d Lower part of the steps access to the platform from Pangguyangan in Mount Halimun (Java)



Fig. 20a-b Statue from Ciarca in Mount Halimun (Java)



Fig. 21a-b Stone seats from Tugu Gede in Mount Halimun (Java)





Fig. 22a-b Cauldron stone from Tugu Gede in Mount Halimun (Java)





Fig. 23a-b Offering for the spirits in the place of Tugu Gede in Mount Halimun (Java)



### The region of Kuningan in West Java

Van der Hoop explored the area of Kuningan in 1935. Today more than 33 sites of megalithic monuments are registered, some of which are isolated while others are grouped into large sets. Cipari is the largest and best preserved in the region (fig. 24). Discovered in 1971 by Wijaya, the owner of the land, Cipari occupies an area of 700m<sup>2</sup>. A model presented in Cipari's museum enables one to admire the harmony of the distribution of monuments: two graves, two circles and two standing menhir.

The walls of the tombs, walls circles and menhirs platforms are built from thin slabs of andesite, a volcanic rock. The slabs of the tombs walls are not very thick; the dimensions of the vault accommodate a small person. The lids rest on the side. Inside and outside the tomb, various material was unearthed: pottery (dishes, bowls, plates, jars) and celadon, incense, stone bracelets (carnelian / agate), axes of polished stone, bronze axes and pearls. No human bones have been found.

Juxtaposed to the graves (fig. 25a; 25b) are two structures: one circular (6m diameter) and one oval (fig.

26). Upright flat slabs and benches bound the second (fig. 27), and in the center stands a large stone 1m high. On either side of these circles stairs lead to relatively well built terraces upon which stand menhirs (fig. 28). The menhir 1m high to the south lies on a circular platform. At its base rests a flat stone and on either side are two stone with cup-holes (*dakon*) (fig. 29a; 29b). The situation of the monuments in Cipari demonstrates the proximity of ancestral spirits (deceased in the grave) and community members (circle with stone seats).

Excavations in the 1970's dated this group to the Neolithic period. The shadow of the Dutch archaeologist HR Von Heine Geldern hangs over shriveled labels attempting to give museum visitors some indication of the function and dating of the objects discovered. The presence of polished axes next to a celadon vase or iron axes is disturbing. To correctly situate chronologically the Cipari's site we must look to the sites discovered nearby or in the Bogor area to the southwest.

In a close area Cibuntu bears many similarities to Cipari. Conducting an excavation at the same time as HR Von Heine Geldern, Teguh Asmar (1972) notes the presence in the graves of a mixture of lime, which



Fig. 24 Aerial view of the site of Cipari in Kuningan region (Java)





Fig. 25a-b Cist from the site of Cipari in Kuningan region (Java)



Fig. 26 Circle and oval structures from the site of Cipari in Kuningan region (Java)

Fig. 27 Upright flat slabs and benches bound the second from the site of Cipari in Kuningan region (Java)







Fig. 28 Standing stone from the site of Cipari in Kuningan region (Java)



Fig. 29a-b Standing stone on a platform and grinding stones (Dakon) from the site of Cipari in Kuningan region (Java)

would explain the disappearance of human bones. He describes a statue whose stylistic features are similar to those visited in the Halimun region (Ciarca) or in the Bondowoso Valley (Grujugan). Juliati, an archaeologist from Banten, also mentions a similar site near Saurip, which is a few kilometers from Cibuntu (pers. comm). The nature and style of these anthropomorphic statues

distinguish them from the small Kadugede cow statue (*Sanghiang*) (fig. 30): general features and the presence of a Yoni and three menhirs indicate a Hindu-Buddhist influence. Kadugede (*Sanghiang*) belongs to the end of the first period of Indonesian megalithic culture around the 15th century, while Cipari, Cibuntu and Saurip were constructed a few centuries earlier.





Fig. 30 Cow Statue from the site of Kadugede in Kuningan region (Java)

### The plateau of Pasemah, the Highlands of Jambi and Lampung forests in South and Central Sumatra

In the Pasemah Plateau in southwest Sumatra, the average features of the indigenous inhabitants are marked by almond eyes and delicate lips. Yet Pasemah's statues feature low and receding forehead, bulging eyes, thick lips, wide jaws and sharp angles (fig. 31a; 31b; 31c) leading one to ponder what kind of inspiration could have animated the sculptors of these amazing statues scattered at the foot of Gunung Dempo.

In his thesis *'Megaliths remains in South Sumatra'* (1932), T.H. Van der [Hoop](#) recognized that this style of representation was similar to conventions used in Javanese and Balinese *wayang*. These features identify the character as a '*kasar*' or villain. Also according to Van der Hoop, if these creatures resembled those of *wayang*, they were nevertheless part of the circle of the Ancestors that the *Rejang*, the indigenous tribes of the Pasemah Plateau believed into. The presence of helmets, force bracelets and leggings is reminiscent of warrior attributes; however, large bags or objects on their backs were too bulky for fighting (figs. 32a; 32b).

To which period do these megaliths belong? And who were these men with a crude look, always on the move, dressed in loincloths and carrying heavy loads?

Strangely, despite the many surveys carried out on the Pasemah's complexes since 1850 during the Dutch colonization (Bie, Forbes, van der Hoops, Tombrink, Uhlmann, Vonk Schüller) and after following Indonesian independence (Caldwell, McKinnon, Soeroso), these monuments have never been dated. Bronze drums from the Dong Son period (c. 500 BC to c. 200 AD) appear on a low relief in Batu Tatahan and in a scene engraved on a wall in Tegurwangi (fig. 33). The presence of these drums would date Pasemah's megalithic complexes to a period before the Christian era, making them the oldest megaliths of Indonesia. These statements should be taken with caution. Drawings made from a photograph taken in 2012 show that the figure is holding an object in his hands but not the drum described by I. [Caldwell](#) (1997). And the recent work of J. Miksic (1986), E.E. [McKinnon](#) (1993) and D. [Bonatz](#) (2006) based on carbone-14 dating, typology of pottery, and Chinese porcelain of the 5th Dynasty and North Song period from the excavations of Kerinci/Sinamar sites





Fig. 31a-c Statues from Tegurwangi on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)





Fig. 32a-b Statues from Belumai on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)



Fig. 33 Character engraved on the wall in a place called Batu Balai from Tegurwangi on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)



(Jambi) and Mahat Valley (Minangkabau) in central and southern Sumatra establish a much later date range there spanning the 9th to 14th centuries.

The stylistic qualities of Pasemah's sculptures are surprising. One will not find the delicacy of Hindu-Buddhist statuary, but they exude a dynamic form in which the relationship between form and matter expresses raw power. The rock utilized, a grainy and rough andesite, does not facilitate the task of the sculptor who skillfully employs it nonetheless using metal tools. The sculptor eschewed polishing for a bumpy and imperfect surface in the majority of sculptures. Upon close inspection, one sees the coarseness of the finishing; but to grasp the subtleties one must stand afar. Only at this distance does the true communion between sculpture and nature appear (fig. 34a; 34b; 34c).

Pasemah artists are gifted and driven by a specific purpose: to integrate their work into the environment. The nature and its surrounding relief are the heart of their concerns (fig. 35a; 35b; 35c). Men face a difficult nature that they respect while simultaneously fearing its spirits. Thus at Tegurwangu, we can observe four kneeling men who, in their original positions, were staring the four cardinal points. Did they represent the dead buried in the dolmens that are found in the back? Or are they the simple protectors of important people? Inside the dolmens (fig. 36a; 36b; 36c; 36d; 36e), although no bones remain visible, a rich funeral deposit was discovered: gold, bronze, glass beads and a set of amazing paintings in natural pigments covering the interior walls of Tanjung Arau (fig. 37a; 37b; 37c; 37d). In Tegurwangu, these paintings represent a man and a buffalo; in Tanjung Arau (Kota Raya), a rooster and a bird. Unfortunately, since the graves were opened, the paintings have disappeared as a result of contact with the outside air, and today we can only distinguish spots of red and black pigments; the colors ochre and white have disappeared.

The plantations between Cawang and Talang hold one of the most moving compositions in the Pasemah Plateau. On a sloping ground covered with coffee trees, a large stream turns into a waterfall. The people who discovered the site had the wisdom to install a bench in front of the waterfall. Once seated, it only takes a few seconds to see the cliff bears the face and the arms of a man on the left and the head of an elephant on the right (fig. 38a; 38b). Depictions of elephants are quite common in Pasemah (Tanjung Arau, Losung Batu), and like buffalo, birds, snakes and monkeys, these animals are still present in Sumatra. The figure possesses the characteristic features of statues of Tegurwangu: big eyes and thick lips. All these sculptures are in harmony with their environment.



Fig. 34a-c Statues from Belumai on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)





Fig. 35a-c Statue from Kota Raya on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)





Fig. 36a Dolmen from Gunung Megang on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)



Fig. 36b Dolmens from Tanjung Arau on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)



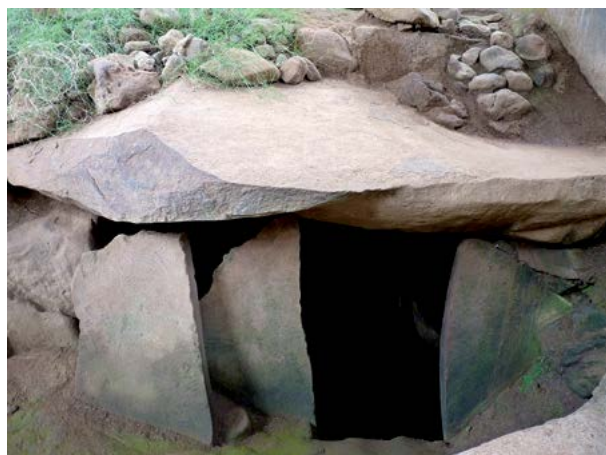


Fig. 36c Dolmens from Tanjung Arau on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)



Fig. 36d Dolmen from Tegurwangi on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)



Fig. 36e Dolmen from Belumai on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)

Around Lake Kerinci, Northwest of Pasemah, twenty megalithic monuments of varying shapes and designs have been registered (Bonatz 2008; Bonatz *et al.* 2006). The most significant are lying menhirs on gravel (2.20 to 4.55m long and 0.75 to 1.2m in diameter). These are large conical or cylindrical stones carved with geometric patterns, concentric circles and anthropomorphic figures (Serampas, Pratin Tuo, Sungai Tenang). Although the balance of proportions is respected, the figures are more schematic than those of Pasemah; they are similar to *ikat* patterns (Pondok, Kumun Mudikuk, Lolo Gedang, Lubuk Mantilin and Dusun Tuo).

Bas-relief figures dance and form human chains, a style similar to that of reliefs discovered in Sumbawa on rock tombs in Batu-Tering (fig. 39a; 39b). The menhirs discovered by D. Bonatz in the Kerinci region (Pondok, Sungai Hangat, Renah Kemunu - Batu Larung, Lempur, Lolo Kecil, Muak, Sungai Tenang, Pratin Tuo Tuo Dusun, Tanjung Putih) have long been abandoned and covered by sedimentation; however, in Talang Anau of the Payakumbuh region, menhirs are currently the subject of rituals near the excavated sites: laid on wooden logs they are used as giant xylophones. After long preparation during which benzoin is burned around the menhirs, the stone has a particular resonance. Struck with a roller, it emits a sound that resembles that of a traditional Minangkabau instrument: the *Talempong* (something like an overturned set of metallic timbales).

In the valleys of Tanahdatar, Limapuluh Kota and Mahat, the Minang people erected megalithic monuments composed of standing stones, stone seats aligned or arranged around a stone table (Istano Rajo Alam (fig. 40)), and graves (Tantejo, Dusun Tuo, Limo Kaum (fig. 41a; 41b)). At Limo Kaum, the graves are gathered in an enclosure covered with patterned stones shaped like a Kris handle (fig. 42). In Guguk, one standing stone measures 2.75m high, and it features a curved top (fig. 43a; 43b). At the base is an engraved decoration representing a uterus.

In Balubus, the stones are covered with geometric patterns (fig. 44a; 44b; 44c). To the northeast just a few kilometers away, the Mahat Valley holds thousands of standing stones concentrated within a diameter of only 5km. The stones are isolated (Koto Tinggi) or aligned (Ronah) and sometimes associated with burials.

In the Lampung region of South Sumatra, dolmens, standing stones and large cylindrical tanks or jar known as *Kalamba* in Sulawesi have been identified. These monuments were discovered in Sumberjaya near Wai Besai, a tributary of Tulangbawang River that feeds into the Sunda Strait. As in the Pasemah Plateau, dolmen walls are covered with paintings.



Fig. 37a-b Pictures details of the paintings covering the interior walls of Tanjung Arau dolmens and two drawings published by Willems in 1938 (after C. W. P. de Bie, fig. 20 & 21)



After C. W. P. de Bie.



After C. W. P. de Bie.

Fig. 37c-d Draw of the paintings covering the interior walls of Tanjung Arau dolmens and two drawings published by Willems in 1938 (after C. W. P. de Bie, fig. 20 & 21)

The material discovered around the statues, menhirs and within the dolmens came from trade with the kingdom of Srivijaya. Known for its maritime power and its long-distance trading, the kingdom imported and exported goods via the ports of Indrapura, Muko-Muko and Menjuto on the west coast, from Pauh, Tembesi, Batang Asai on the east coast and Tulangbawang on the south coast. The bags shown on the statues of Pasemah were full of goods from the plateau (forestry products, camphor, benzoin, ivory, rhinoceros horns, feathers and gold). The natives of south and central Sumatra exchanged their resources for imported tools and materials, and they probably carried these goods on their backs from one coast to the other. Sculptors memorialized this journey through their depictions of the porters: eyes bulging with effort, the grins on their lips marking the suffering of the journey. The sculptors also highlighted joints with circles, signaling the Achilles heel of these heavy load carriers.





Fig. 38a-b Bas-relief of a woman and an elephant in the waterfall of Cawang on the plateau of Pasemah (Sumatra)





Fig. 39a Bas-relief of human in the rock tombs of Batu-Tering (Sumbawa)



Fig. 39b Bas-relief of crocodile in the rock tombs of Batu-Tering (Sumbawa)



Fig. 40 Stone seats around a table from Ustano Rajo Alam in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)





Fig. 41a-b Standing stone on a grave from Ustano Rajo Alam in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)



Fig. 42 Standing stones from Ustano Rajo Alam in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)



Fig. 43a Standing stone from Guguk in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)



Fig. 43b Carving detail on the standing stone from Guguk in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)





Fig. 44a Standing stone from Balubus in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)

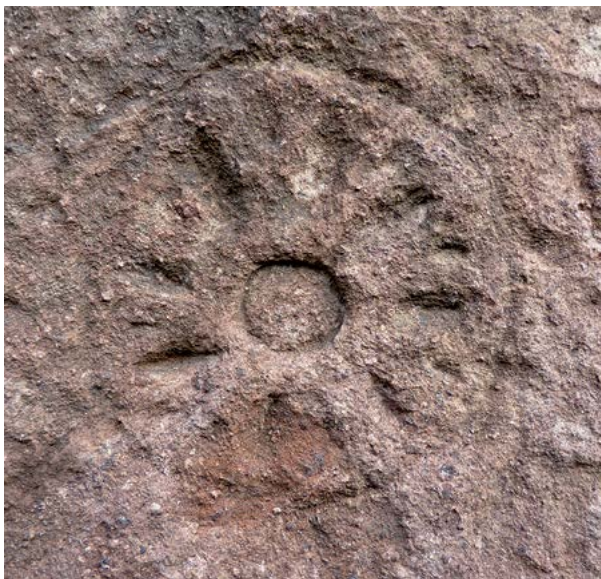


Fig. 44b Detail of the decors on standing stone from Balubus in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)



Fig. 44c Standing stone from Balubus in Minangkabau region (Sumatra)

### Lore Lindu: the Easter Island in Sulawesi

Even though Palindo (Watu Molindo) is leaning, it remains an impressive 4.5m high (fig. 45a; 45b). This massive statue has a face as big as a third of the block of granite. Only its front is polished; its back, roughly trimmed on the upper part, has remained raw. A simple ring defines the facial contour. On the top of the head, a protuberance represents a knotted fabric or a crown, while the ears are represented by two simply outlined protuberances. On the contrary, the nose, eyes and mouth are the result of meticulous work. The eyebrows and the bridge of the nose form a single line. The rain has left blackish traces but the original color of the rock is clear. The chin is missing. Under the oval face a gutter was hollowed out, releasing the neck and shoulders. The line of the arm is barely marked and two discrete protuberances mark the nipples. The sculptor's chisel has been more incisive on the fingers of the hand, drawing attention to an erect phallus.

This statue is located south of the village of Sepe, in the Bada Valley in the region of Lore Lindu. The inhabitants of Sepe recount that the Raja of Luwu, convinced that the strength of the Bada tribes (the *Koro*) came from this statue, reportedly ordered 1800 of his subjects to move it up to Palopo. The effort to displace the statue failed, as did the Raja's attempt to submit the people of Lore Lindu.

The first references to Lore Lindu megaliths date back to 1889 and the descriptions of Adriani and Kruyt. Between 1917 and 1922 Walter Kaudern created an archaeological inventory of the three connected valleys, Bada, Besoa and Napu. Classified by UNESCO since 1978 as a world heritage site, Lore Lindu became a National Park in 1993. This region is rich in minerals: gold, sulfur, coal and iron. Its fauna and flora are diverse and cohabit with the megalithic vestiges of the natives. The Bada and Besoa valleys, located 750m above sea level, are protected islets. The Bada Valley is cut in two by a wide river, and it is surrounded by hills reaching 1200 to 1300m and a tall primary forest. A pass at 2000m leads to Besoa Valley, which itself is cut by numerous rivers (the *uwe* are small tributaries that eventually form a river). Hidden in the hills and rice fields of the national park, anthropomorphic statues and cylindrical pitchers are not easy to spot.

In Bada, 14 anthropomorphic statues have been identified. Maturu, or 'the Sleeper', measures 3.5m (fig. 46a; 46b) and it can be seen by following a path covered with vegetation. Lying on its back, the statue was designed to stand like the one in Palindo. The face is a bit different: elongated and slightly convex, its forehead is marked with a headband. The arms are badly proportioned and end with thick hands whose fingers are detailed. On this one the hands are joined above the

erect phallus. The proportions of the statue of Langke Bulawa are smaller (about 2.5m). The statue wears a crown or a slightly tall headdress held by a headband (fig. 47). The style of the face is a compromise between the statues of Palindo and Maturu. In Loga, there is a statue with approximately human dimensions (fig. 48). The nose is clearly marked and the oval eyes traced back slightly, giving it a different expression than the statues described above. Smaller in size, its location on a hill overlooking the valley captures the viewer's attention. On the facing hill are the remains of a former settlement. While the statue of Tinoe Badang-Kaya (fig. 49a; 49b) is of the same style as Loga, the presence of two very prominent buttons for breasts are noted. The statue is nonetheless the representation of a man: the statue's phallus is simply buried deeper underground than those of the other statues.

Hidden in a paddy field, a 1m-tall statue looks more like a monkey than a man (fig. 50a; 50b), which has led local inhabitants of the Bada to name it 'Watu Oba' ('monkey's stone'). Watu Oba's small size distinguishes it from other statues. The sculptor represented a scrunched figure: the head is caught in the shoulders and there is no chin. The thick and stretched rearward skull resembles that of a primate. It is nevertheless standing with arms in a hieratic position that meet on an excrescence, the outline of a phallus. Not far away lies the head of 'Watu Balao' (fig. 51a; 51b) a statue never intended to stand. The sculpted head is at the end of a natural block. When the rice reaches maturity the stone face is hardly seen. At the back of the head on the rock surface small cups and deep lines were dug. The sculptor may have sought to represent the skin of an animal.

Near the statues one can find cylindrical jars sometimes covered with a stone lid; they are known locally as *kalamba*. In the Bada Valley they are not in good condition, as one often finds them in the form of fragments or devoid of their lids (site of Suso-Lore Barat, (fig. 52).

The most beautiful *kalamba* are in the Besoa Valley northwest of the Bada. The valley opens onto the Napu Valley towards the city of Palu. Fifteen sites have been identified, and the richest are Pokekea, Tadulako, Padalalu, Bangkelua, Halodo, Potabakoa, Padang Taipa, Padang Hadoa and Entovera. In Pokekea is the most important site, Lore Lindu Park, where 27 *kalamba* can be observed. The one at the entrance of the site is exceptional with a height of 4.70m and a diameter of 1.87 m. This *kalamba*'s outer wall is decorated with a strip of faces (fig. 53a; 53b) whose features are similar to the statues of Bada and even more so those of Palindo. Also at Pokekea, a group of 11 *kalambas* is interesting for its sculptures (their heights are 0.92 to 1.80m, and diameters 0.77 to 2.16m), which feature only decoration





Fig. 45a Statue from Palindo in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 45b Detail of the face of the statue from Palindo in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 46a Statue from Maturu in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 46b Detail of the face of the statue from Maturu in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 47 Statue from Langke Bulawa in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)

on the lids, from simple protrusions to small figures (fig. 54a; 54b; 54c).

On one lid, five figures squat in a completely submissive posture (fig. 55a; 55b; 55c). Another lid is decorated with four small, embossed figures that are also in a squatting position (fig. 56a; 56b). Wrongly described as monkeys by archaeologists, these figures decrease in size and represent two adults and two children. The sculptor focused on the spine and represented them with the face looking upward to render an extremely servile attitude. One wonders about the nature of these

individuals who are undoubtedly human (fig. 57a; 57b): are they slaves? Have they followed the deceased, buried alive as was the custom in Sumba?

Also at Pokekea is (fig. 58a; 58b; 58c) a singular structure that lies apart from the *kalambas*: a box covered with thick slabs in front of which stand two statues. Facing south, one of these statues carries a dagger above a phallus, while the other figure is a woman with two lines that emphasize the breasts. This latter statue is the sole female representation we saw in the Bada, Besoa and Napu Valleys. The features of this couple are nearly



Fig. 48 Statue from Loga in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 49a Statue from Tinoe-Badang Kaya in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 49b Detail of the face of the statue from Tinoe-Badang Kaya in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)

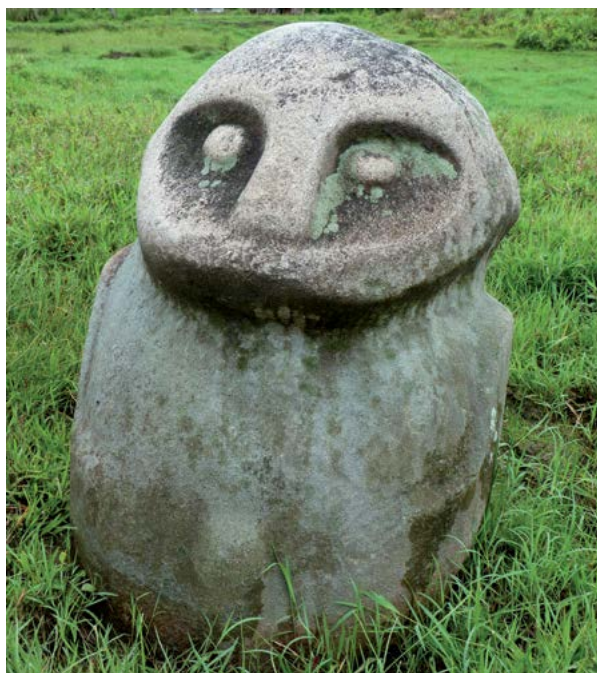


Fig. 50a-b Oba Statue in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)

identical to those of the other statues of the region: only circles around the nipples and excrescence for the arms serve to distinguish it. About 10m to the rear of the structure stands a statue of black granite (fig. 59a; 59b). Its face is turned south, and at its feet lies a white granite statue lying on its back. The circle around the nipple is unique to Besoa Valley, and it is also observed on male statue of the site of Tadulako (fig. 60). The statue wears on its head a folded cloth cap (*tali bonto*).

Excavations done in 2000 by the archaeologist Dwi Yuniawati in Tadulako and Pokekea (2000; 2008) have established that *kalamba*, with or without





Fig. 51a Head of Watu Balao Statue in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 51b Detail of the head of Watu Balao Statue in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 52 Jar (Kalamba) from Suso in Bada Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 53a Monumental Jar (Kalamba) and a traditional house from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 53b Detail of the strip of faces of the monumental jar (Kalamba) in Pokekea in Besoa Valley



Fig. 54a-c Jars (Kalambas) from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 55a-c Jar (Kalamba) lid with five caracters from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 56a-b Jar (Kalamba) lid with four figures from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 57a-b Detail of a caractere and decors from jar's (Kalamba) lid from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)



Fig. 58a Statues in front of a rectangular structure from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 58b-c Statues in front of a rectangular structure from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)





Fig. 59a-b Statues in black granit from Pokekea in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)

compartments, served as collective tombs. Enclosing 10 people minimum, these tombs were made for families. Anthropologists have observed traces of mutilation on exhumed teeth and traces of cremation of bones. Dwi Yuniawati mentioned funerary jars around *kalamba*. It is probable that the *kalamba* was reserved for important people and their families. Offerings accompanied the deceased: pots and earthenware jars, chalcedony beads (round or diamond shape), bark clothes, grinding stone, an iron ax and a spear, an incense burner.

Though the statues of Bada often appear in articles, archaeological records mainly come from the

monuments of the Besoa Valley. An analysis by a German team in 2006 ([Kirleis et al. 2011](#)) in two *kalambas* from Pokekea indicate a chronological range between AD 766-1272. This range coincides with climate change between the 8th and 13th centuries, when the valleys experienced a severe drought likely due to hydrological change. The results of the paleo-environmental study did not specify whether these changes were due to the activity of the tribes themselves or high volcanic activity. But what is known is that climate change (drought and increased salinity) led the natives to abandon Lore Lindu in the 12th century.





Fig. 60 Statue from Tadulako in Besoa Valley (Sulawesi)



## Part Two: The Influence of European Traders from the 16th Century to Today, from Sumba to Nias

Located outside navigation routes, or too isolated in the mountains, the regions of Sumba, Flores, Toba, Toraja and Nias were little affected by the influence of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. It was not until the 16th century, when these regions entered contact with the first European traders, that megaliths appear. Today, these households are actively maintained to honor ancestors and the spirits of nature. They allow archaeologists to turn into ethnologists who observe the indigenous peoples, to better understand their socio-political organization and cultural complexity while learning about modes of megalith construction and installation. Archaeological remains from the turn of the first millennium AD raise suspicions about an early form of hierarchy amongst the indigenous peoples, and the stories of the first European traders in the 16th century and 20th century ethnographic studies confirm this

suspicion (Viaro 1984; Ziegler 1986; Erb 1988; Bonneff 1980; Nooy-Palm 1988; Barbier 1999). In megalithic cultures, stone monuments are intended for important people.

The basic unit of social structure is the extended family (clan), which is patrilineal and exogamous. Men choose their wives from other tribes. The Ngada in Flores are an exception: they are matrilineal, with the mother becoming the head of the family and land being inherited from mother to daughter. And yet despite this and the fact that the husband settles in the village of the bride, the villages maintain a well displayed duality with small wooden figures on the roofs representing both males and females. The communal lifestyle of indigenous peoples was governed by a rigid caste system where nobles and common shared a founding ancestor



Fig. 61 Map of the studied areas where the remains of the second phase of the megalithic societies are: Lamboya to Kodi in the West Sumba, the Ngada in Central Flores, the Toraja in Central Sulawesi, the Batak in North Sumatra and the Niha in Nias



until the recent arrival of the central government began to blur boundaries. Previously, one was born noble or not, and the chasm between noble and common was impassable. Politically, the tribes organized themselves into village units whose leaders, in Nias and in Toba for example, could form alliances without necessarily giving birth to a central power. Besides rare and sought after commodities such as sandalwood in Sumba and

spices in Toba, European traders also came looking to obtain slaves. Village chiefs, particularly in Nias, did not hesitate to wage wars and raids on neighboring villages to take prisoners, and many gained reputations as headhunters and dangerous warriors that was only mitigated during Christianization in the early 20th century.



Fig. 62a-c Dolmens in the villages of Waru-Wora and Wayniapu in Lamboya region (Sumba)



### West Sumba, from Lamboya to Kodi

In the 19th century, the Dutch captain J. Batiest observed that in the region of Lamboya, important people were entitled to a 'house of the dead' made of stone. The captain had already noted the impact of Arab, Chinese and Portuguese traders who, in bringing goods and foreign weapons from the 16th century, had changed funeral customs of the local people and initiated a sharp taste for monumental tombs, despite not really having intended this.



Fig. 62d-f Dolmens in the villages of Waru-Wora and Wayniapu in Lamboya region (Sumba)



Fig. 63 Natara, the space dedicated to ceremonies that may be sometime located in the periphery of the village of Waru-Wora in Lamboya region (Sumba)



Fig. 64a-b Dolmens outside of the enclosure wall of Waru-Wora's village in Lamboya region (Sumba)





Fig. 65 Dolmens from the ancient place of Ratengaro's village in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 66a-b Decoration of the dolmens in Lamboya region (Sumba)

In Sumba, every dying man becomes a *Marapu*, which is to say an ancestor cum essential guarantor of the continuity of the cosmic order as an intermediary between men and gods (Adams 2004). For their dead, the people of Sumba build tomb-dolmens (Sukendar 2003) in the center of the village or around the *nataru* (figs. 62a; 62b; 62c; 62d; 62e; 62f), the space dedicated to ceremonies that may be sometime located in the periphery (fig.63). Accidental deaths, as troubled spirits threaten the tranquility of the village, cannot benefit from these grounds (fig. 64a; 64b). Sometimes after a natural disaster or a fire, villages would move, leaving the tombs in their original locations, which explains the concentration of graves without neighboring habitation (fig. 65).

In the region of Lamboya (West Sumba), the villages inhabitants are common people and thus their dolmens have few decorations (buffalo, waves, floral and geometric patterns, fig.66a; 66b; 66c; 66d; 66e; 66f; 66g; 66h; 66i; 66j; 66k; 66l; 66m; 66n; 66o). The graves are sometimes integrated into a mound or platform (fig. 67a; 67b; 67c; 67d), which is the mark of belonging to a particular clan (in this village there are four). Located in front of houses, the large slabs of the vaults are used for everyday activities – washing, drying seeds, conversation – and a place to relax for many dogs (fig. 68a; 68b; 68c; 68d). Nothing is taboo, and in this way the deceased continue to participate in the life of the villagers. In the north, perched on a hill, lies the village of Tarong. Cobblestone streets and running water have





Fig. 66c-j Decoration of the dolmens in Lamboya region (Sumba)





Fig. 66k-o Decoration of the dolmens in Lamboya region (Sumba)





Fig. 67a-d Dolmens on mound or platform in Lamboya region (Sumba)





Fig. 68a-d Domestic activities of the inhabitants around or up to the dolmens in Lamboya region (Sumba)

been developed for tourism. The graves are piled on several levels at the center of the traditional village (fig. 69a; 69b; 69c; 69d). The limestone slabs, softer and thinner, facilitate decoration: geometric patterns, *mamuli* for fertility and *maranga* for protection are numerous. An amazing anthropomorphic statue stands on a lid slab. His hieratic posture is the representation of an ancestor. Around the cemetery, small straw huts are places for prayer where only the shamans have the right to enter (fig. 70).

Normally, the deceased are placed in shrouds and buried in the ground while the family raises the money needed for the construction of the tomb and displacement of bones (*Wolekkoda to mati* ceremony). Fundraising may take several years. The tomb-dolmens of Sumba are big or small stone boxes, closed by a run over horizontal stone (Joussaume 1997; 1999). The stone vaults of important people are covered by a large slab supported by four or six cylindrical pillars. The royal tombs carry on their capstone, or on a stele erected in front of the tomb, statues with figures. Burial methods differ from one clan to another (the deceased may be lengthened, sitting with the head on the side, or sitting with straight

head), but the body is always covered and maintained by textiles. Several members of the same family, with the exception of children, can be buried in a tomb. When the room is too cramped, it is not uncommon for the family to crush the bones and distribute the objects of the deceased.

The villages of Anakalang have the most beautiful tombs in Sumba. Large headstones adorn the facades, which are often more complex than the ones in Lamboya. At Kampung Pasunga, a monolithic slab 4m high represents a man and a woman with her hands on her hips (figs. 71a; 71b). Although it was built in 1926, reports differ on the identity of these figures: slaves or the deceased themselves, no one knows. It was not uncommon for the slaves to accompany their owners into the afterlife at the time of the owners' deaths. The widow of King Ngaka in Prailio near Waingapu has described the corresponding deaths (murders).

A few kilometers from Pasunga, Prince Reda Ana Buni (fig. 72) of the village of Tabela Wuntu is proud to have a tomb while he is still alive and well. In 2008, his son, a local politician, built for him a monumental





Fig. 69a-d Piled dolmens from Tarong's village in Lamboya region (Sumba)





Fig. 70 Around the cemetery in Tarong village small straw huts are places for prayer where only the shamans have the right to enter (Sumba)



Fig. 71a Monumental dolmen with a stela from Kampung Pasunga village in Anakalang region (Sumba)





Fig. 71b Detail of a stela in front of monumental dolmen from Kampung Pasunga village in Anakalang region (Sumba)

dolmen in front of his house (fig. 73). The stages of its construction, filmed by R. Handini, demonstrate how 16 tons of stone blocks were transported on a wooden sleigh decorated with a horse's head, from the quarry 5km away to the village. More than 400 people and two years of preparation were needed from the carving of the stone to the organization of the ceremony.

Stone pulling is not always so lavish. In the Kodi area, below the village of Wainyapu, is a limestone quarry, which comes to life in September, the time for the *Tarik Batu* (stone pulling) ceremonies we had the opportunity to observe (Steimer-Herbet 2011). The Sumbanese of the region come to buy the material needed to build tomb-dolmens from one of the six clans that own the quarry (Kaha Malago, Kaha Katoda, Wainjolo Wawa, Wainjolo Deta, Wainggali, Wainjoko). The price is set according to size. No Indonesian rupiah is disbursed, as the currency of the transaction is livestock (chicken, dog, pig and buffalo) – even the daily wages for the five cutters in charge of the work consists of dog or boiled chicken.

On the day of the ceremony the members of the tribe acquiring the tomb-dolmen gather to pull the stone (a hundred people were needed to pull the slab in the picture). Initially, men aged 10 to 60 years place logs



Fig. 72 Prince Reda Ana Buni of the village of Tabela Wuntu

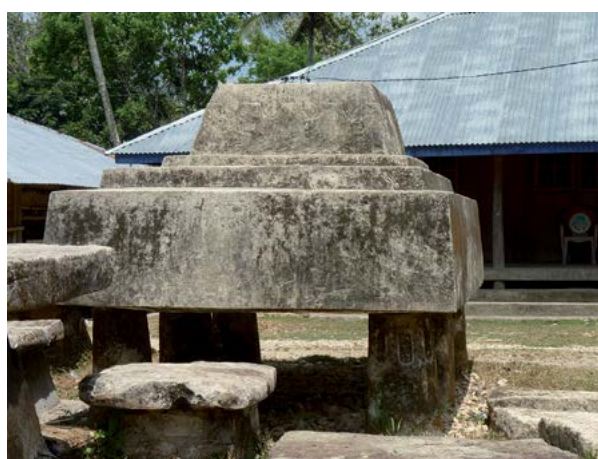


Fig. 73 Monumental dolmen in front of Prince Reda Ana Buni's house Tabela Wuntu village in Anakalang region (Sumba)

to make an exit ramp for the stone to leave the quarry. They alternate the use different woods, soft Kapok and harder Teak, and to pull the stone, thick and twisted creepers are sometimes replaced with a blue nylon rope (fig. 74a; 74b; 74c; 74d; 74e; 74f; 74g; 74h; 74i; 74j; 74k; 74l; 74m; 74n; 74o; 74p; 74q; 74r; 74s).

The chief of ceremonies, an essential character, stands on the stone. He is the one who, feeling the stone vibrate and slip under his feet, leads collective efforts by redoubling his injunctions and indicating when the pullers must increase their pull on the rope. When the slab begins a decisive movement, joy explodes and is manifested by frantic dances performed by women and men on the side, waving fabrics or *Parang*. Renting a truck can reduce the cost of the ceremony; modest people most often do this to transport the slab to its final location.





Fig. 74a-e *Tarik batu* a ceremony for the stone acquisition and transport in Wayniapu village in Kodi region (Sumba)



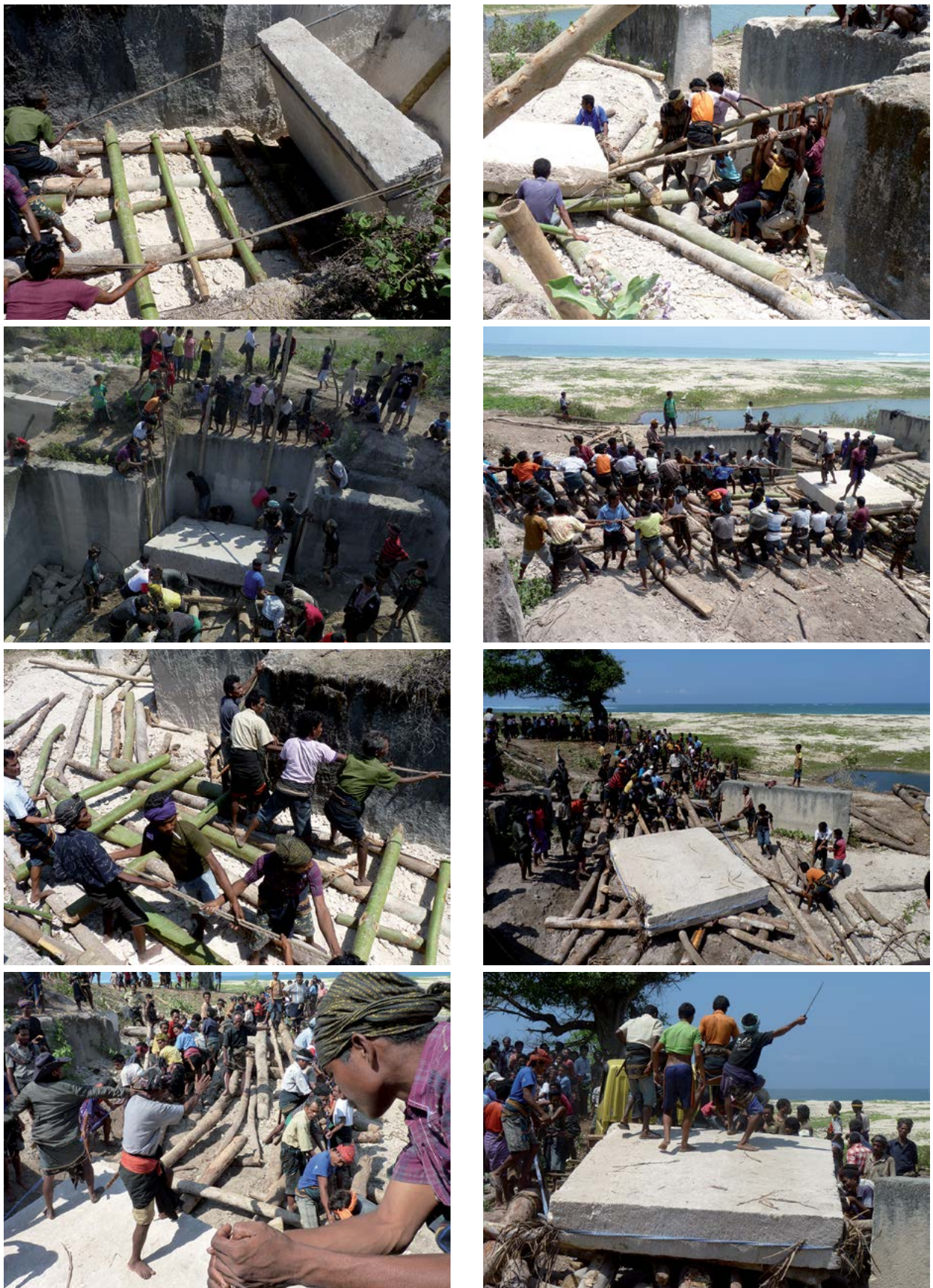


Fig. 74f-m *Tarik batu* a ceremony for the stone acquisition and transport in Wayniapu village in Kodi region (Sumba)





Fig. 74n-q *Tarik batu* a ceremony for the stone acquisition and transport in Wayniapu village in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 74r *Tarik batu* a ceremony for the stone acquisition and transport in Wayniapu village in Kodi region (Sumba)





Fig. 74s *Tarik batu* a ceremony for the stone acquisition and transport in Wayniapu village in Kodi region (Sumba)

In Ratengaro, we observed the construction of dolmens's slabs (fig. 75; 76). *Mahoni* wood (a kind of Mahogany) and coconut were used to frame the upper part of the square room, which was built of slab or concrete block. A few meters away, for another dolmen, a wooden ramp was fitted at the rear of the burial chamber so that the truck could bring the slab (fig. 77a; 77b; 77c; 77d; 77e; 77f). To get the capstone above the burial chamber, the men used ropes. Under the orders of the master of ceremonies, the stone slightly progressed until it covered the walls of the room. The logs were removed one by one with a lever. The door that was lying to the side would be sealed when the bones were deposited.



Fig. 75 Construction of the stone chest and it's cover using a wooden scaffolding in Wayniapu and Ratengaro villages in Kodi region (Sumba)





Fig. 76 Remains of a wooden scaffolding in Wayniapu and Ratengaro villages in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 77a-d Tarik batu ceremony: pulling covert for a dolmen chamber in Ratengaro village in Kodi region (Sumba)





Fig. 77e-f Tarik batu ceremony: pulling covert for a dolmen chamber in Ratengaro village in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 78 Dolmens from the ancient place of Ratengaro's village in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 79 Dolmens from the ancient place of Ratengaro's village in Kodi region (Sumba)

Victim of a fire that destroyed all its homes, the village of Ratengaro moved a kilometer inland, leaving its tombs facing the sea (figs. 78; 79; 80a-b). The inhabitants declare these tombs to be the oldest on the island. Their facades are decorated with beautiful decorations

of *mamuli*, horses and buffalo horns. Some of them, mostly marked by the patina of time, feature a burial chamber carved into a monolith. A grave of very small dimensions contains a crocodile (fig. 81), an animal feared and revered in Sumbanese legends.





Fig. 80a Dolmens from the ancient place of Ratengaro's village in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 80b Detail of dolmens from the ancient place of Ratengaro's village in Kodi region (Sumba)



Fig. 81 A small dolmen dedicated to the remains of a crocodile in Ratengaro village in Kodi region (Sumba)





Fig. 82 View from Bena of Ineri Mont in Bajawa region (Flores)



### Flores, among the Ngada, at the feet of Inieri Mont

Located in the high altitude in the center of Flores, small villages with thatched roofs in Ngada's volcanic region try to survive and perpetuate ancestral beliefs despite the exodus of young people. Ngada villages are built lengthwise: houses face each other on opposite sides of a large rectangular square (*Nua*) which is segmented by high and low terraces that follow the land. The central square of beaten earth serves as a place of worship. The Ngada practice a religion that mixes the veneration of ancestors, spirits of Nature and Christianity in the

worship of *Gae Dewa*, a god that unites *Dewa Zeta* (the heavens) with *Nitu Sale* (Earth) and the Cross brought by Portuguese missionaries. At the time of death, the Ngada become ancestors. Their spirits (*ebu nusi*) remain in the village, but, unlike in Sumba, their bodies are left to the forest. These *ebu nusi* belong to the community and are involved in the festivities: offerings are provided to them and their function is to chase away the evil forces (*Ata Polo*).

Although omnipresent in Ngada villages, megaliths are rarely cited by ethnological studies that prefer



Fig. 83a-c Male (Ngadhu) and female (bhaga) houses representations from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)





Fig. 84 Table from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)



Fig. 86 Isolated standing stone from Tololela village in Bajawa region (Flores)



Fig. 85 Altars table from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)



Fig. 87a-b Group of standing stones or isolated from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)

their wooden representations (Erb 1988), symbols of the Ngada religion. The carved wooden posts topped with thatched sunshade that stand about 3m high are the *ngadhu* symbolizing the male, while facing them, the *bhaga* are miniature houses with thatched roofs that represent the female (fig. 83a; 83b; 83c). Each pair of these wooden representations is associated with a village clan. Sometimes these are built over the course of a century to commemorate an ancestor who disappeared long ago. Behind them are the megalithic constructions, bristling pile of stones rising into the sky. These are altar table (fig. 84; 85), standing stones (*Pao*) isolated (fig. 86) or in groups (fig. 87a; 87b). As with the *ngadhu* and *bhaga* sanctuaries, the megaliths are associated with each clan village.





Fig. 88a-c Small wooden figurines from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)

The village of Bena, probably the most famous and well visited in the Ngada region, is perched on an impressive rock formation. Its natural terraces were arranged, framed by two parallel rows of rectangular traditional houses that have façades decorated with buffalo skulls, pig jaws, and the remains of many animals sacrificed during ceremonies. On the roofs of the houses are small wooden figurines (fig. 88a; 88b; 88c; 88d). In the village center are splendid altar tables, upright stones, *ngadhu* and *bhaga* (figs. 89a; 89b; 89c).

In Gurusina, the thatched roofs of the houses are aligned and form two vanishing lines that open onto a green landscape of steep hills (fig. 90). The central space is only occupied by a row of standing stones planted in a land platform and small blocks, an alignment that protects a platform composed of flat stones (fig. 91a; 91b).

To reach Tololela, you need an hour walk from Bena. One can observe there the same male/female symbols





Fig. 88d Small wooden figurines from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)

but for access to the *bhaga*, a small stone stair has been arranged (fig. 92a; 92b). The stone platforms are truly fortified constructions. Standing stones are used to maintain dry stone walls (fig. 93a; 93b). And while Christian graves have recently appeared in the heart of the village (fig. 94a; 94b), it is also not uncommon to find standing stones contiguous to the graves, a happy mixture that the ethnologists and archaeologists of the future will find hard to interpret.

In the village of Wogo, billed a showcase of Ngada culture, villagers look sad. Everything seems like what is in Bena here, but the soul of the village is missing. The inhabitants of Wogo relocated to be closer to channels of communication and electricity, and as tradition



Fig. 89a-c Standing stones, sacrifice table and christian graves from Bena village in Bajawa region (Flores)



Fig. 90 Standing stones from Gurussina village in Bajawa region (Flores)





Fig. 91a-b Standing stones and platforms from Gurussina village in Bajawa region (Flores)



Fig. 92a-b Access to the female (bhaga) house, a small stone stair has been arranged



Fig. 93a-b Stone platforms from Tololela are fortified constructions

dictates they left the standing stones in their original location a few kilometers away. The blaring music of a modern sound system cannot revive the village. To reach the standing stones of old Wogo, you must cross a bamboo forest, where the wind causes bamboo trunks

to crackle, evoking a particular atmosphere. This is especially noticeable in the morning, when the fog surrounds and obscures the stones to create a palpable otherworldly sensation that the presence of a white horse only amplifies (fig. 95a; 95b; 95c; 95d).





Fig. 94a-b Christian graves from Tololela village in Bajawa region (Flores)



Fig. 95a-d Standing stones and altars tables of the old village of Wogo in Bajawa region (Flores)



### Central Sulawesi, the country of the Toraja

The Tanah Toraja consists of hills and mountains. Eight long hours of road lined with Bugis villages from the provincial capital, Makassar, make the Tanah Toraja, literally 'the land of the people of the mountains', seem just like a Gallic enclave. In Toraja not a day passes without funeral celebrations or ceremonies to

mark a new house or marriage, all accompanied by the abundant sacrifice of pigs and buffaloes (fig. 96a; 96b; 96c; 96d). Until the influence of missionaries reached a tipping-point around 1920, the Toraja were known to be deadly headhunters. Now Christians, the Toraja people still practice their original religion and bury their dead according to traditional customs.



Fig. 96a-d Ceremony for the dead from Anjin village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)





Fig. 97a Wood sarcophagi from Kete Kesu village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

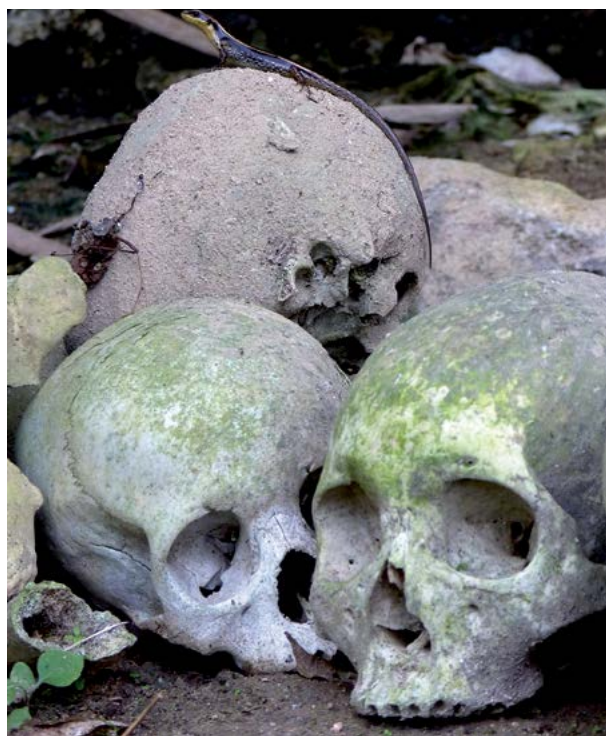


Fig. 97b Skulls from Kete Kesu village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)



Fig. 97c Wood sarcophagi from Kete Kesu village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

In the Toraja religion (*Aluk Todolo*), the world consists of three levels: the upper world (heaven) with a supreme god, *Puang Matua*, the world of men, where humans coexist with ancestral spirits (*Tomebali Puang*) to establish order on earth, and the underworld. Two souls inhabit the body: *dewata*, the divine soul, and *bombo*, the





Fig. 98a-c *Liang Pa'* in the cliff of Lemo, Tampang Allo, Batutumonga in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

wandering soul (Nooy-Palm 1988). The Toraja dedicate their lives and wealth to honoring their ancestors, thereby ensuring the happiness of their offspring.

Afterlife is a continuity of sorts, and thus the deceased must be buried according to their status in their lifetimes. Until financial means are procured to organize a befitting funeral ceremony, the dead remain in the house surrounded by their family, perhaps resembling how a gravely informed family member would be cared for. A Toraja is only really dead when his body has been placed in his tomb. And until that is possible, the deceased is immersed in formalin (formerly traditional herbs), dressed in special clothes with head facing west, and attended with care: his relatives speak to him, bring him food, water and cigarettes. The deceased's body

can stay this way for many years in the house until the family can finance the funeral (*Rambu Solok*).

There was a time when people used an *erong*, a carved wooden sarcophagus in the form of a house, a boat, a pig or a buffalo (site of Kete Kesu, fig. 97a; 97b; 97c). As wood stocks became depleted in the region, the Toraja began burying their dead in stone tombs, typically a vault (*Liang Pa'*) dug into the cliff or a natural cave (Lemo, Londa, Kete Kesu, Tampang allo - fig. 98a; 98b; 98c; 99a; 99b). In recent times, some construct vaults of cement and brick, replicas of traditional Toraja houses (*Patane*) or simple dolmens (fig. 100a; 100b, sites of Kete Kesu and Lempo). The bodies of babies or children who do not yet have teeth are buried in tree cavities (*Pasillaran*) in Kalimbuang Bori and Gambira sites whose





Fig. 99a-b *Liang Pa'* in the cliff of Lemo, Tampang Allo, Batutumonga in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)





Fig. 100a Cement graves (*Patane*) from Kete Kesu and Lempo in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)



Fig. 100b Cement grave (*Patane*) from Kete Kesu and Lempo in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

sap helps children grow to adulthood so they can join the circle of ancestors (fig. 101; 102).

The *Liangs Pa'* are located almost everywhere in the Toraja country, but Lemo's site is the most visited. The number of burial chambers depends of the surface of the cliff. Each of these rooms can accommodate the bodies of twenty people (5 x 4m<sup>2</sup>). The entrance to the family vault is through a small wood door approximately 1m<sup>2</sup>. The rooms are carved with chisels and hammers by 3-5 men laboring for 2-3 years (stonemason from Lempo, fig. 103a; 103b; 103c).

The wooden doors are decorated with buffalo heads, symbols of wealth and prosperity, that are painted in red, black and white. To personify the deceased family, wooden figures (*Tau-Tau*) are carved and placed in front of the excavated rooms (fig. 104).



Fig. 101 Children graves (*Pasillaran*) from Kalimbuang Bori and Gambira in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)



Fig. 102 Detail of children graves (*Pasillaran*) from Kalimbuang Bori and Gambira in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)



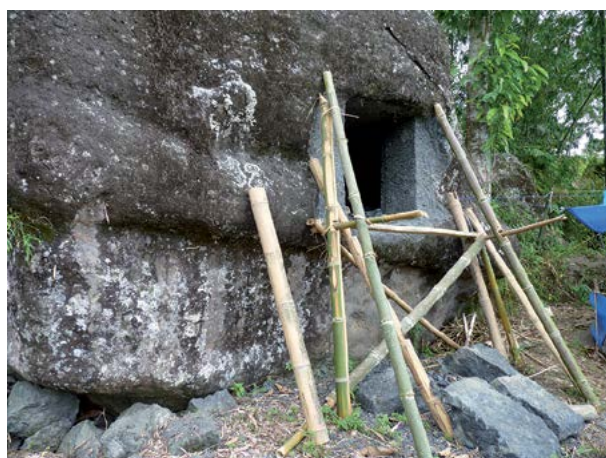


Fig. 103a-c Stone cutter of *liang Pa'* from Lempo in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)



Fig. 104 Wooden figures (*Tau-tau*) of Tampang Allo from Lemo in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

A funeral ceremony to honor an important person is accompanied by a stone pulling (*mangriu batu*) to the *Rante* (place of the dead). Before erecting a *simbuang batu* (a menhir), one must find the ideal stone, or *mebatu*. The menhirs are not always cut, but the Toraja have a preference for oval stones (fig. 105a; 105b; 105c; 105d; 105e). Previously a labor of 6 months, cutting these stones now takes only 2 months with modern tools. The stone is extracted from nearby quarries and before moving it an animal is sacrificed to secure the agreement of the spirits of the Earth. The animal's blood is collected in bamboo and used to coat the stone, honoring its spirit and sufficiently animating it in order to facilitate its movement. As in Sumba, the menhir is placed on a continuous bed of logs and pulled by the village men whose efforts are directed by a master of





Fig. 105a-c Menhirs (*Simbuang*) from Kalimbuang Bori village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)





Fig. 105d-e Menhirs (*Simbuang*) from Kalimbuang Bori village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

ceremony perched on the stone. The hauling of the stone is called *ramai*, which means noises or rumor in Indonesian, as the atmosphere is lively and punctuated by songs or poems. Mud, bamboo and water are thrown along the way to disrupt the spirit of the deceased. Women assist in the ceremony by handing out drinks, betel nuts and food. Men are paid in kind: rice, buffalo



Fig. 106 General view of the place to honor the death (*Rante*) from Kalimbuang Bori village in Tanah Toraja (Sulawesi)

meat, pork and *tuak* alcohol. When the stone has reached its destination (the *Rante*), a new sacrifice takes place at the site where the stone will be erected, and another after the stone has been placed, again in order to appease the spirits of the Earth. Under the base of the stone, buried one third of its height, a piece of iron and an old yellow pearl have been placed (this deposit is called *Manik riri*). If the deceased is an important figure, several *simbuang batu* may be erected at a time (2-5). Standing stones show the direction of Heaven, the destination of the deceased.

Near the menhir a log called *simbuang kayu* is erected and buffaloes are attached to it as well as the menhir, waiting to be sacrificed. Their meat will be distributed (*Mebala'kan*). The greater the number of animals sacrificed, the more successful the travel of the deceased in the next world will be. Throughout the ceremony a priest recites prayers to the *mebatu*. It stands beside the stone, on the logs and branches that were used to transport it. On the *Rante* of Kalimbuang Bori, stones are arranged in rows or circles (fig. 106). They can be used for other ceremonies, especially for the poor who purchase the right to use these instead of erecting their own menhirs. The most recent are still covered with palm leaves. In the middle of the *Rante* is a wooden house, where meat is distributed during the ceremony (*Balakkayan*). There are still remnants of shelters (*Tongkonan*) who received the guests and those of the palanquins (*Tongkonan Langi*), miniature copies of traditional houses, which led the body of the deceased to the vault.



### North Sumatra, in Toba among the Batak

In the coffee plantations, the *Singa* of Pollung Parsingaran stares at the viewer (fig. 107). This mythical animal, with its big bulging eyes, smile and horns, decorates the lids of the stone sarcophagi of the Batak in the Toba region. Its large and prominent chin rests on the head of a small half-recessed figure in the sarcophagus. A second sarcophagus in the village center has been repainted with white, pink and black (fig. 108a; 108b). The figure at the front rests on a seat barely carved with hands holding folded knees. The arms are decorated with wide bracelets and the head with a crown. The facial features are fine and the sculptor has emphasized the ears and eyebrows. A flat nose is extended by wrinkles that extend to the corner of the mouth. This is a man, perhaps the buried ancestor. At the back of the sarcophagus is a female figure whose haughty look commands respect (fig. 109). Her straight back gently presses the tail of the *Singa*, while her knees are bent and held by her hands, they are not as hard pressed as those of man. Her bare chest tips

forward, but her hair is well-ordered and pulled back. On her head is a stone bowl. The wooden shed has been built recently, and the plates arranged in front of the sarcophagus show that members of the tribe continue to honor their ancestors. This tomb is associated with a cylindrical urn (fig. 110), which is not old: it dates back to approximately the turn of the century.

In northern Sumatra, in the Batak country, Samosir Island is called the island of the dead, because stone tombs (or concrete tombs for the more recent) are ubiquitous along the road that circumnavigates the island, through the coffee tree fields and hillsides of the surrounding plateau. There are several types of stone tombs for preserving the bones of ancestors: miniature houses, quadrangular (fig. 111) or cylindrical urns and sarcophagi (fig. 112a; 112b; 112c).

The most common are the sarcophagi (*batu Gadjia*). Antique dealers hunt these tombs relentlessly, and the tombs bear the traces. The sarcophagi are made of a rectangular stone chamber carved from a single block



Fig. 107 Sarcophagus in the suburb of Pollung Parsingaran in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 108a-b Sarcophagus from Pollung Parsingaran village in Toba region (Sumatra)



Fig. 109 Female figure from Pollung Parsingaran village in Toba region (Sumatra)



Fig. 110 Cylindrical urn from Pollung Parsingaran in Toba region (Sumatra)

that is covered with a lid of the same size. Together they represent the body of a *Singa*, whose head is carved or etched at the front end of the lid. Below, on the front of the chamber, there is a small figure sculpted in the round that could be female, male or a small *Singa* (fig. 113a; 113b; 113c; 113d). A figurine overlooks the back of the lid, set in a notch created for this purpose. As it is removable, it is often stolen or replaced. A stone bowl placed on the front or back of the body contains lemon water for purifying (fig. 114). Today the sarcophagi are





Fig. 111 Quadrangular urn from Simanindo in Toba region (Sumatra)

made of concrete and covered with paint (fig. 115a; 115b; 115c; 115d).

The Batak, one of the five main groups of the region, have been in contact with Indian merchants since the 14th century, as evidenced by ancient texts mentioning them.

Their exchanges are found in the Batak language, which contains over 200 words borrowed from Sanskrit, and also in the Batak calendar and astrology. Less obviously, Indian influence is also apparent in the Batak practice of cremating the dead (funeral urns). Cremation remains fairly rare in the Batak, though it is common among Papaks, a tribe south of Lake Toba.

According to the original Batak religion (*perbegui*), at birth men receive a life soul from *Mula Jadi Na Bolon*, the creator. Two characters, the chief (*raja*) and the magician (*datu*) are responsible for overseeing a series of complex rituals that occur according to a specific Batak calendar. Dead or alive, a man (or his descendants) can change his status if he has (or they have) the financial means. Thus the chief and the magician have the power to help the spirits of the dead (*begu*) or the life souls of the newborn (*tendi*) to rise in the hierarchy of souls (*sumangot* and *sombaon*) (Stöhr 1965).

Following his death, an individual is normally buried in the ground (and less often in a hanging mat in the attic) before his bones are collected a year later during a second ceremony. The transportation of the bones (*manongkal holi-holi*) results in a ceremony in which the skull and long bones are washed (*horja turun*). A *begu* (spirit of the dead) keeps the social status of its previous lifetime, but it can advance to the status of *sumangot* if a wealthy descendant holds a lavish ceremony made of pigs and buffalo sacrifices that also

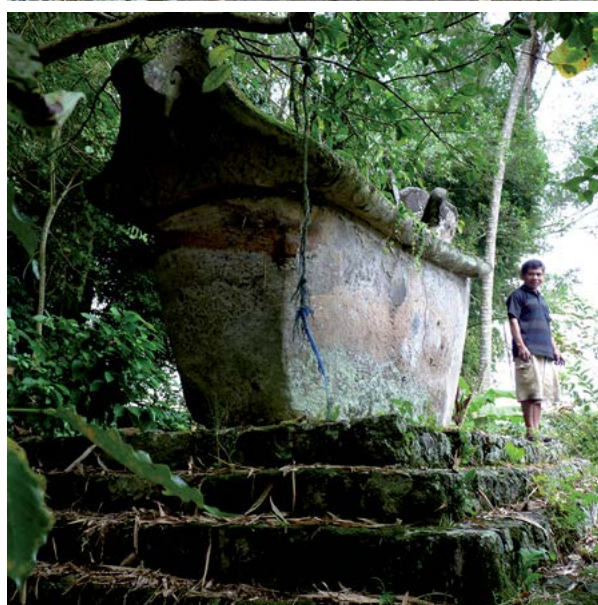


Fig. 112a-b Sarcophagus from Simbolon in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 112c Female statue from Simbolon in Toba region (Sumatra)



Fig. 113a Sarcophagus from Pollung Parsingara in Toba region (Sumatra)

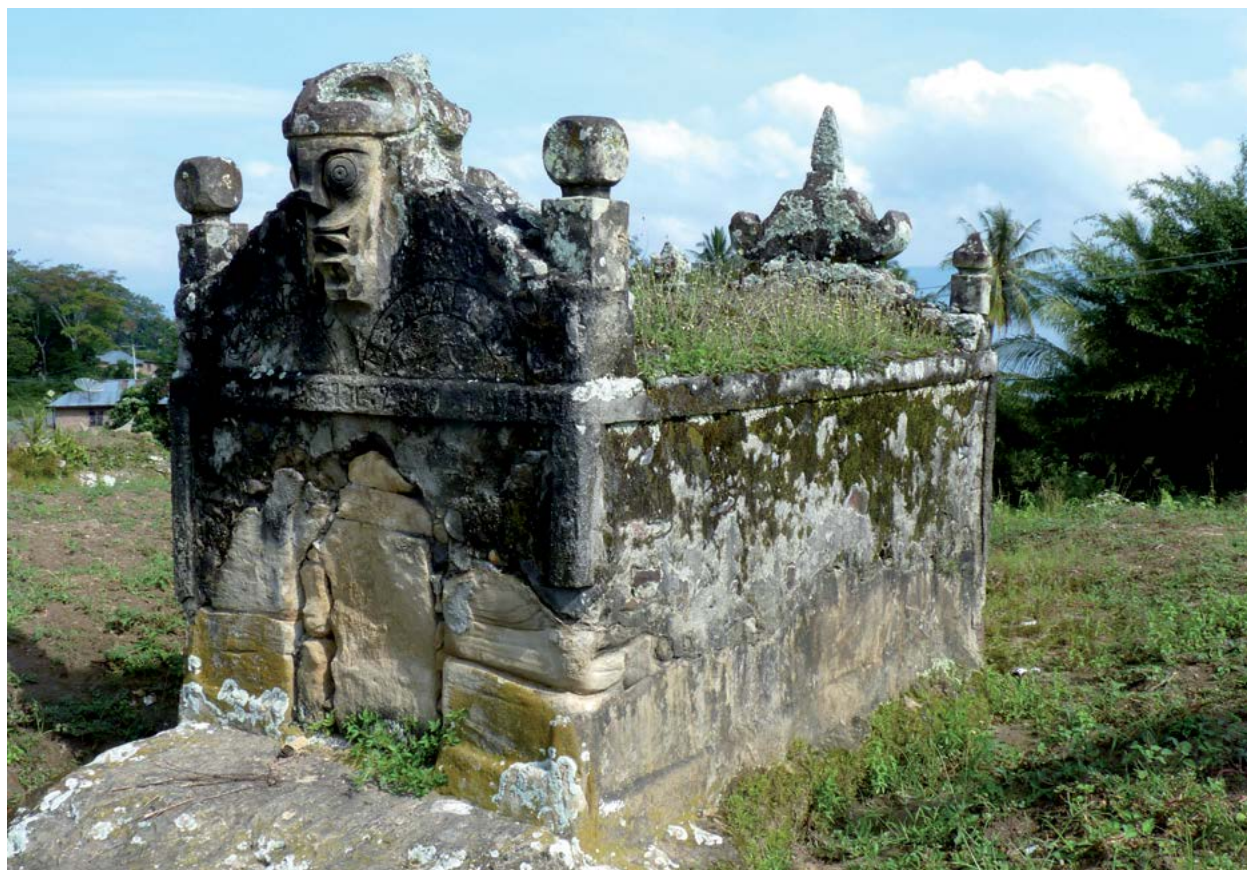


Fig. 113b Sarcophagus close to Simanindo in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 113c Sarcophagus from Hutaraja in Toba region (Sumatra)



Fig. 114 Female statue from Tomok in Toba region (Sumatra)

involves a *gondang* orchestra for 7 days. To access the rank of *sombaon*, another celebration must take place. The tomb is built near the former residence of the deceased, which allows the deceased to stay in touch with its family and descendants. The deceased may make hostile interventions in the lives of the living in several ways including nightmares, misfortunes, and diseases. To pacify an angry *begu*, a family must make offerings of food, drink, cigarettes, flowers and prayers. The ancestors (*ompu*) sometimes manifest themselves among magicians as three-horned dragon-serpents, probably in reference to the shape of sarcophagi.

In Ambarita in the main square of the village is a circle of justice that dates to the 19th century (fig. 116a; 116b; 116c). It looks like a more modern version of the Minangkabau on the Limo Kaum site. Statues representing the ancestors of the village are placed on the large *Banyan*. We find several dozen grouped in an enclosure near the sarcophagus in the village of Tomok (fig. 117a; 117b; 117c). In Pagar Batu, the pillars of a boathouse are decorated with *singa* and crocodiles (fig. 118a; 118b; 118c).



Fig. 113d Modern sarcophagus from Tomok in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 115a-d Modern sarcophagus from Northern part of Samosir Island in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 116a Circle of justice from Ambarita in Toba region (Sumatra)



Fig. 116b Circle of justice from Ambarita in Toba region (Sumatra)

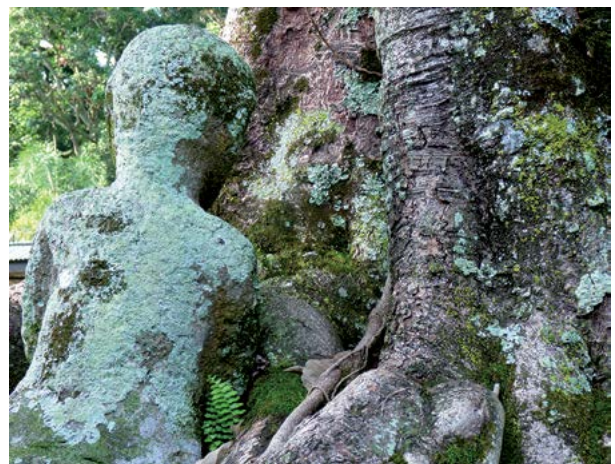


Fig. 116c Statue from Ambarita in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 117a-c Sarcophagus from Tomok in Toba region (Sumatra)





Fig. 118a-c Pillars from Pagar Batu in Toba region (Sumatra)



### Nias, amongs the Niha in the Central, in North and South

Lasciviously lying on the stone bench monuments of Bawomataluo are the sons of fierce Niha warriors and headhunters, men of Nias (fig. 119). Slavery was an important resource that allowed the tribes of the island to obtain metal tools and gold. During the second half of the 17th century (AD 1669-1693), the tribes of Gomo in the center of Nias signed an exclusive treaty with the Dutch for the trafficking of their compatriots (treaty quoted by Modigliani in 1890, in Bonatz 2002). Villagers protected themselves behind boundary walls (fig. 120) and the race for slaves was more important than agriculture. It was not until the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1865 and the massive conversions that their livelihood changed.

According to the foundational myth, the Creator, would have sent his son Hia to the central region of Gomo (called *Börö Nadu*) – and more specifically to the location of the village of Sifalagö – to populate the island of Nias. The descendants of Hia then dispersed to the north and to the south of the island, carrying with them the names of their villages or their rivers. This explains why there are many villages named Lahusa, Orahili and many Gomo rivers. Three cultural groups are distinguished in the north, center and south, and each developed various domestic architecture, customs and megalithic monuments.

Niha's society is divided into castes: the nobles (*si'ulu*; *sifulu*; *sisiwa*; the descendants of Hia), the common people (*sato*; *sifitu*) and slaves (*sawaju*). The transition from one category to another is impossible. Though



Fig. 119 Chief house from Bawomataluo village in Nias

The acquisition of prestige goods and metal tools from merchants gave rise to social competition between the heads of the tribes, nourishing a rich megalithic culture (Bonatz 2001). Unlike indigenous people who build megaliths for their deceased ancestors, the Niha erected megaliths in honor of the living. The dead were abandoned in the forest; only the skulls were, on rare occasion, brought back to be kept in pyramids, in skulls urns near the center of the island, or under a stone mound in the north. More generally it was the wooden statues that greeted the spirits of ancestors. Wood poles in a 'Y' shape representing the strength of the ancestors always accompanied the pyramids, urns and burial mounds. This tradition was probably inherited from Indian merchants of Assam.



Fig. 120 Boundary wall from Botohili village in Nias





Fig. 121a Statue from Dahana village in Nias

a noble title is hereditary, it must nevertheless be validated by prescribed ceremonies (*adat*, customary law). Nobles control the wealth of their village; they have beautiful houses built in the upper part of the village, beautiful clothes, gold jewelry and stone monuments.

In return they organize the village, manage external relations and distribute wealth by organizing huge ceremonies of merit (*owasa*) and sacrificing hundreds of pigs (the distribution of cooked or raw pork, the *urakha*, is considered very important).

In Nias, before the economic crisis in 1998 and the pig disease, ceremonies marked almost all social events: births, weddings, house construction, the appearance of 'white hair', funerals and the tribes own events such as the creation of a new village (*fondrakö*) (Ziegler 1985). On the occasion of these celebrations, nobles asserted their social status and could also acquire new titles at different junctures of a mandatory festive cycle that, varying by region, spanned 10-12 ceremonies throughout the life of a noble. Festivities were not always accompanied by the construction of megalithic

monuments. In the south, the first celebration of a noble male entailed the erection of a standing stone called the *behu* (fig. 121a; 121b; 121c; 121d; 121e; 121f), which required the help of many men to carry stone with their wages being paid by the sponsor. The 10th ceremony entailed installing a stone bench for men or women



Fig. 121b Statue from Laila Satua village in Nias





Fig. 121e Statue from Onolimbu village in Nias



Fig. 121c-d Statue from Onolimbu village in Nias



Fig. 121f Standing stones from Orahili village in Nias

(fig. 122a; 122b; 122c; 122d). In the north of the island, the accession to a new rank only or its consolidation (*bösi*) was marked by installing an anthropomorphic statue called *gowe* (fig. 123) which gave its owner the title of *balugu*. In the center, the first three ceremonies were associated with stones, the first in the honor of the husband, the second for the wife and the third for the couple and their parents (fig. 124a; 124b; 124c; 124d; 125; 126; 127a; 127b; 128a; 128b; 128c).

These stones, raw or finely carved, occupy public space and symbolize the power of the nobles. The shapes and functions vary from one region to another. The heads

of '*lasara*' are probably the most famous sculptures of Nias, they are of stone in the center of the island and in wood in the south (cf. fig. 124 & 127; fig. 129). The *lasara* has a face similar to Chinese or Balinese dragons along with deer horns, ears, a broad nose, a hornbill beak turned down, teeth. It may wear around the neck a characteristic collar (*kalabubu* or *nifi tali-tali*). This necklace is found on all the sculptures: a prestigious symbol worn by young Niha after they had cut their first head.

In Lahusa Satua and Tetegewo, two abandoned villages of the center of the island, the heads of *lasara* are many and adorn seats called *osa-osa*. These circular or quadrangular seats with four legs possess several monster heads and a tail. The *osa-osa* are used for the opening ceremony and are then put in front of the leader's house and serve as seats for nobles during the ceremonies (*owasa*). In these villages in the center of Nias there are also tables of circular stones (*Ni'o Gazi*) that look like mushrooms (cf. fig. 124).

They are carved into a 2.40-meter diameter monolith with a smooth surface; the edge is decorated with





Fig. 122a View of the megalithic monument from chiefs' house of Bawomataluo village in Nias



Fig. 122b Stone bench from Orahili village in Nias



Fig. 122c Stone bench from Orahili village in Nias





Fig. 122d Stone bench and standing stone on the road to Togizita in Nias



Fig. 123 Statue from Bitaha village in Nias



Fig. 124a *Ni'o gazi* and falling standing stone from Lahusa Satua village in Nias





Fig. 124b *Nl'o gazi* and standing stone from Lahusa Satua village in Nias



Fig. 124c *Nl'o gazi* and *Osa-osa* from Laila Satua village in Nias



Fig. 124d *Osa-osa* from Lahusa Sibolwo village in Nias





Fig. 125 Statue from Lolomoyo village in Nias



Fig. 126 Statue from Ononamolo in the forest in Nias



Fig. 127a Osa-osa from Lahusa Sibolwo village in Nias



Fig. 127b Lasara's head from Lahusa Sibolwo village in Nias



Fig. 128a Standing stone from Onowaembo village in Nias





Fig. 128b Standing stone from Onowaembo village in Nias



Fig. 128c Standing stone from Laila Satua village in Nias



Fig. 129 Wood sarcophagus with a lasara from Bawomataluo village in Nias



geometric designs (rosettes, triangles), while the foot is columnar. During the ceremonies, the noble women danced on the surface and produced sounds with their feet that mimicked the cry of birds.

The vertical stones are called '*behu*'. In the South, located behind the horizontal stones they served as chair back for the nobles (*tendro / harefa*). In the center of the island, the *behu* are massive blocks only roughly trimmed; they have protuberances so that one can climb on them. A hook stone on the side used to hang clothes and symbolic attributes of the leader (cf. fig. 124b). An *osa-osa*, fixed by tenon or mortise, was generally at the top where one could sit to dominate the ceremony.

In the north, the *behu* have human forms (male, female, hermaphrodite). The anthropomorphic statues feature manly artefacts, necklaces, bracelets (fig. 130a), a betel nut pot (fig. 130b), earrings (one for men, two for women, fig. 130c), headdress with headbands with cabochon (fig. 131a; 131b) and pointed caps (fig. 132a; 132b). They represent the leaders and their families, in varying degrees of quality. There are several styles: the features of some are barely sketched in a rough monolith (fig. 133) while others have much more detailed (fig. 134).



Fig. 130b Details from the statues in Hiligohe village in Nias: betel nut



Fig. 130a Details from the statues in Hiligohe village in Nias: bracelet



Fig. 130c Details from the statues in Hiligohe village in Nias: earrings





Fig. 131a Statue from Lolojiruji village in Nias



Fig. 131b Statue from Lolojiruji village in Nias



Fig. 132a Statue from Onolimbu village in Nias



Fig. 132b Statue from Simae 'asi village in Nias





Fig. 133 Statue (30 cm high) from Hilimegai village in Nias

In the southern villages, men have a preference for chests, the horizontal stone (*owo 'owo* or *daro daro*) (fig. 135), circular tables (*daro daro nichölö*) (fig. 136a; 136b) and relatively elaborate thrones. There is also famous 'jumping pyramids (*lompat batu* or *hombo batu*)' that young warriors had to jump (fig. 137). These rites of passage take place every year in August and have become an expensive piece of tourist folklore.



Fig. 134 Statue from Hiligohe village in Nias (4 m de haut)



Fig. 135 Standing stones from Bawomataluo village in Nias





Fig. 136a-b Table of circular stone from Hilimaenamolo village in Nias



Fig. 137 Jumping pyramids from Bawomataluo village in Nias



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