



Fig. 8: A recently painted mural, done in the Kenyah-Kayan style by Jok Bato, one of the most well-known indigenous painters in Sarawak. The painting shows stylized nagas and hornbills 'flowing' into one another and linked with curved tendrils. They join to form a 'tree of life' in the centre of the picture

liang because there are variations of both the major forms. For example, in some cases two posts may be erected side by side, or a tomb-hut may be placed on one, two, four, or more posts (Gill 1968: figs. 48–55, pp. 261–264).¹⁹ Some of the best illustrations of these aristocratic funeral posts or *klirieng/kelerieng/keliriang* can be found among the Kejaman, a sub-group of the Kajang, who live along the upper Rejang river (Leach 1950: 133–136; cf. Nicolaisen 1976:

¹⁹ For early references on *salong* and *klirieng* see Leach (1950: 133–136).

75–76, 1977–1978: 189, 196). There are also some good examples and photographs of 'death-posts' (*temadu*, *sandung*, *pantar*) from the Ot Danum of the Melawi river in West Kalimantan (ten Cate 1922: 201–222), and Ling Roth has a drawing of an Ot Danum *kariring*, as well as pictures of a range of other tombs from various Central Borneo groups (1968: 146–150, Ch. VII). The 'Ulu Air Dayaks', apparently a branch of the Ot Danum in West Kalimantan, practised secondary treatment of the dead and placed the bones in their final resting place in a charnel-house on one post (*keriring*), while neighbouring peoples called Suruk and Mentebah have charnel-houses on two posts (*sandung*) or four posts (*timpa*) (Bouman 1924: 177). Schärer refers to a *sandong* among the Ngaju and has an illustration of one; it received the ashes of the dead after cremation (1963: 146–147, illustration 29).

Finally, one of the best recent studies of beliefs and practices surrounding death, secondary treatment of the dead, and differentiation in funerary symbols according to rank is that by Metcalf on the Berawan (1982).²⁰ Metcalf notes two basic types of mausoleum among the Berawan – the *salong*, which is a tomb-house with a door, raised on many posts, and often containing many coffins, and the *lijeng* comprising a single post with no door, or two posts side by side with a chamber on the top for the coffins, or a variant of the *lijeng*, a *pagul* which is a post topped by a massive triangular slab of timber (1976: 121–136, pl. VI–XVI).²¹

It is interesting how widespread the two basic terms (and their variants) for funeral structures are among Borneo stratified societies *salong/sandong/sandung* and *klirieng/kariring/keriring/kelideng/kelerieng/keliriang/liang/lijeng*, though there are distinctive usages such

²⁰ For a detailed comparative study of death rites and funerary structures in Borneo as a whole see Waldemar Stöhr, especially sections on the Ot Danum–Ngaju and the Kenyah-Kayan (1959: 22–58, 86–108). But also see Harrison's long appreciation and critique of Stöhr's study (1962: 1–41).

²¹ Equally impressive death-monuments, but of a different sort, are those of the Kelabit, who erected stone dolmens and menhirs to commemorate the death of those of high rank (Gill 1968: 103).