

Concept of Megalithism in the 21st Century Archaeology of Indiaⁱ

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Abstract Megalithism is a death phenomenon, which starts from Neolithic period onwards and continues up to the historical period through the Bronze Age. It spreads widely almost all the parts during the Neolithic period. In Japan it continues up to the middle of the seventh century A.D. until the then Emperor Kotoku prohibited it. Such cultural element is not being seen, as living tradition in other parts of the world. In North East India, particularly in Manipur, it is practised as a living tradition till date by some non-Christian tribes. The Liangmai tribe is one of the indigenous and larger tribes of this state, who still continued this tradition with some modification. In this paper the author would like to document the present concept of megalithic tradition in the north easternmost part of India as far as the material allows. The main objective is to make an interpretative visualization before it dies out in course of time.

Keywords Megalithism, Tradition, Northeast India, Liangmai, Phenomenon, Tribe, Visualization

1. Introduction

Megaliths, which are in the past known as Rude or Rough Stone Monuments (Fergusson, 1872; Brandfield, 1873) attracted the attention of scholars all over the Eurasian landmass. The nature and conspicuousness of the megalithic monuments of India drew the attention of early European antiquarians. Though the earliest notation of Indian stone monuments is made by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, the credit is given to John Babington, who explored and excavated a megalithic site at Chataparambu, near Calicut, and also in Madras Presidency, and published his excavation reports. Thereafter, many European archaeologists particularly the British officials pursued the path set by Babington in the megalithic studies of India.

2. Indian Megaliths

Megaliths are distributed in different parts of India particularly in South India, Northern India, and in Eastern and Northeastern India also. The distribution of Indian

megaliths has been grouped into various zones, of which the South-Indian zone forms a class by itself. In peninsular India iron, and black and red ware occurs in direct association with megaliths and hence the term Iron Age has often been used interchangeably with archaeological levels referring to the construction of stone monuments. To refer to the monuments and the cultural period, the terms megalithic period, megalithism, and even megalithic civilization are used. The Indian peninsula is more prolific in this culture. In Northern India and also in Eastern India, this is sporadic in occurrence in comparison with that of South India. In both regions, the megaliths are associated with burials or burial monuments. The largest fields of megalithic monuments are in South India particularly in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Maharashtra. A typological classification of South Indian megaliths was attempted by V. D. Krishnaswami (Krishnaswami, 1949: 35-45).

In Northeast India it is distributed profusely, and continued as a living tradition till date with some modification. Each megalith in this region has a specific and unique feature regarding their typological and functional classifications.

The enigma of metal technology rest on the supposed semi-nomadic life of these people, but it does not seem to correlate with the preparation of very fine objects, experience of generation, specialization, and economic affluence (Deo, 1985: 450).

Dating of excavated megalithic sites is also made. Salur, Porkalam, and Brahmagiri are dated to 2nd century B.C and 1st century A.D (Dikshit and Kumar, 2014: X); whereas the Hallur and Kamaranahalli in Karnataka are dated to 1000B.C. and 1400 B.C. Moreover, the future researchers (like A. Sundara, Ajit Kumar, Jenee Peter, K.N. Dikshit, K. P. Rao, K. Rajan, S. K. Tiwary, M. L. K. Murty, U. S. Moorti, V. D. Krishnaswamy, Vinay Kumar, *etc.*) observe a dichotomy in the nature of cultural elements recover from habitation sites, and those from the burial sites.

3. Review of Literature

John Babington published his excavation reports in 1819.

This is the first kind ever reported on megaliths of India. Again in the year 1823, he brought out another work entitled *Description of Pandu Coolies in Malabar*. In 1872, James Fergusson published his excellent work entitled *Rude stone monuments in all countries: their ages and uses*. His work may still be regarded as a landmark for its wide scope and integrated approach. J.W. Brecks published his book entitled *An account of the primitive tribes and monuments of the Nilgiris*, in 1873. Likewise, in the same year again (*i.e.*, 1873), Meadows Taylor wrote about his observations pertaining to the Distribution of cairns, cromlechs, kistvaens, and other Celtic, Druidical, or Scythian monuments in the Dekhan. In the year 1879, Rivett-Carnac excavated the extensive site of Junapani, near Nagpur in Maharashtra on a small scale. Simultaneously, extensive exploration in the Madras region continued by Sewell, which resulted in the publication of the *List of antiquarian remain remains in the Presidency of Madras in 1882*. All earlier authors showed a strong bias towards tracing the ancestry of the megalithic builders of the Celts, Druids or Scythians.

4. Works on Megalithism in the 19th Century India

Brecks, at least, was the first to show that local megalithic traditions had survived in the Nilgiris. In 1873, he tried to correlate megalithic practices with some of the customs and rituals practised by the tribes still living in the region of the Nilgiri hills of Tamil Nadu. In the later part of 19th century Dr. Jagor first excavated haphazardly the site of Adichanallur, Tinnevely district, Tamil Nadu in 1876. Similarly in the last quarter of nineteenth century (1889) and the first quarter of the twentieth century (1905), Alexander Rea excavated a number of megalithic sites in South India (Deo, 1985:447).

5. Works on Megalithism in the 20th Century India

In the early part of the 20th century, R. B. Foote brought out an excellent catalogue of antiquities, including megaliths. A Frenchman called Louis Lapique had also conducted an excavation at Adichanallur, in 1904. There was a revival in megalithic studies during the middle part of the 20th century, (particularly in 1940s).

For the information on megalithic rites contained in the writings of Sarat Chandra Roy, W. V. Grigson, G. C. Majumdar and others are confined to Chotanagpur and Baster regions. The highly developed megalithic ritual of the hill tribes of Orissa (Gadabas and Bondos), had noticed by Haimendorf in 1943.

The subject of megaliths had only been sporadically studied until 1944. No systematic attempt to make a complete note of their features, contents, and distribution with a view to classifying them typologically and arriving at even tentative conclusions had been made.

In 1944, a regular survey of megalithic monuments and sites was taken up by the A. S. I., and in 1948, the whole Chingleput district of Tamil Nadu, which covers a little over 3000 square miles was thoroughly explored. This resulted in the discovery of nearly 200 sites in the district.

In the year 1968, six principal megalithic types were classified by Allchin and Allchin; and K. N. Dikshit. However, both the scholars did not mention the then new type of megalithic structure in Karnataka, which A. Sundara had termed as "Passage Chamber Tomb".

Megalithic culture which still flourishes in NE India and on several islands of Malayan Archipelago has during the recent decades been studied in considerable detailed. It has been possible to establish the fundamental homogeneity of the megalithic complex throughout South-East Asia.

6. Concept of Megalithism in the 21st Century India

The purpose and the significance of megalithism is not the same in every society. It differs from community to community or from one culture to another. Further it may be noted that megalithic monument always serves as an important archaeological source for the construction of past history. The statement is so significant that the scanty of archaeological sources is discernable deterrent in dealing with the early history of the area under study. In this matter, the author would like to emphasise that megalithic monuments are always strong the indicative of the pattern of migration of the people of the world, which could have lent a helping hand to the future scholars who wish to study the history of origin and migration of the people of the study area.

7. North East Indian Megaliths

The north eastern states are rich in this tradition and occupy a prominent place in the archaeological map of the world because of their rich megalithic remains. This point is highlighted by J.P. Mills, who writes "An archaeological characteristic of Assam of world-wide fame is its wealth of megaliths". Indeed, it is one the few places in the world where monuments of this type are still erected" (Mills, 1933: 3-6). Although none of the megalithic structure of North East India has yet been dated, it is agreed by all writers that the customs of erection of megaliths prevailed in North East India from the prehistoric period (Clarke, 1847: 481 – 93).

The megalithic practices are even today observed by different aboriginal tribes in various regions of North East India. V.D. Krishnaswami also discusses the types of megalithic monuments so far discovered in South India and compares them with those of the North East India where megaliths still constitute a living culture among some aboriginal tribes. He also made an attempt to clarify the terminology used by different scholars in different regions and concluded it by giving the terminology applied and used

by the ASI (Krishnaswami, 1949: 35 – 45).

8. Manipur Megaliths

The discovery of megalithic sites in Manipur by T.C. Hodson in 1900 and J.H. Hutton in 1928-29 constitutes a new chapter in the Indian Archaeology. Before that time, it was generally presumed that the Megalithic culture was confined to the south Indian states. Megalithic monuments of Willong and Maram area were first noticed in 1900 and reported by T.C. Hodson in his book, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911(reprint 1989). Besides he also mentioned various megaliths that were constructed and planted by

different tribes of the state (Hodson, 1989:186-191).

In 1929, J.H. Hutton reported about the confuse groups of stones at all angles found in Willong. In 1985 (Proceedings of an International Symposium held in Poona, December 19-21, 1978), the Megalithic monuments of Maos areas had been reported by O.K. Singh (Singh, 1985:491-496). But there has always been some reticence about including these megalithic sites of Manipur within the megalithic tradition of India. Taking clues from the above discoveries the present author started exploration among 14 tribes of Manipur and classified them into 12 structural types including miscellaneous group. The Liangmais is one the tribes, who practise and still practising megalithic tradition.

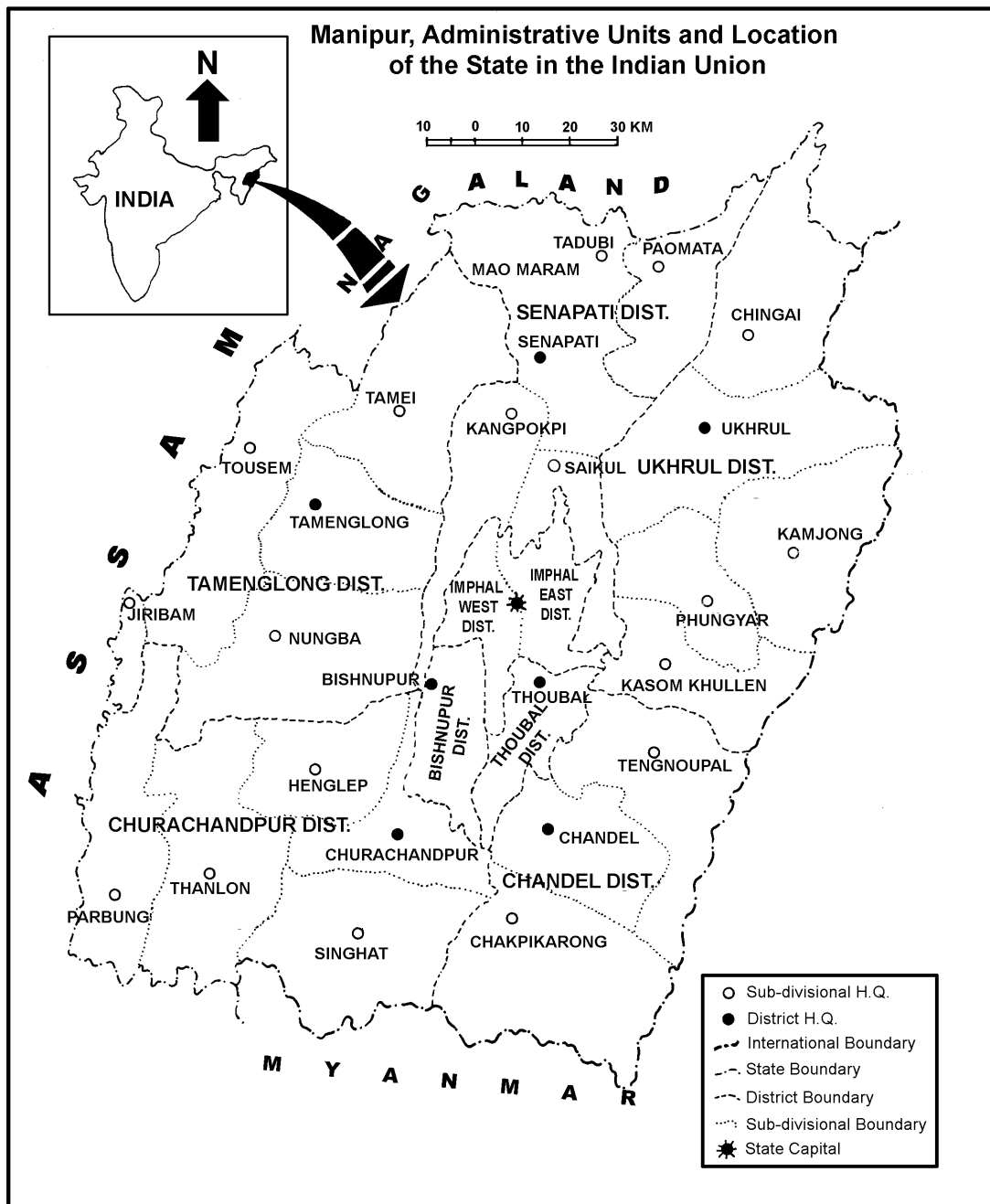


Figure 1. Manipur, Administrative Units and Location of the State in the Indian Union



Figure 2. Google map of Northeast India showing the location of Manipur

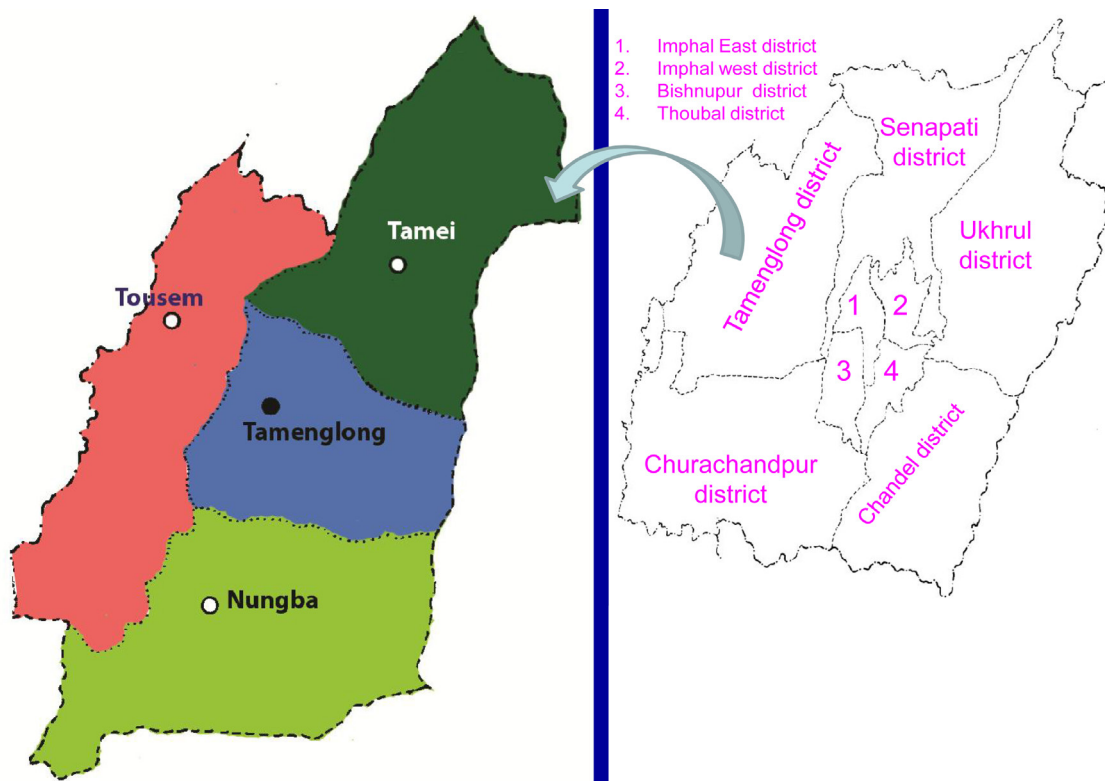


Figure 3. Map of Tamenglong District showing the Liangmai concentrated, area Tamei sub-division

9. The Liangmais

The Liangmai community is one of the indigenous and larger tribes of Manipur, who speaks Liangmai dialect. They are good artists and craftsmen. They are primarily agriculturists, and practise hoe culture. They are good hunters. Thus hunting and fishing contribute to some extent to their food supply. In short, they may also be defined as foragers.

10. Distribution Pattern

At present the Liangmais are distributed in 47 villages, of which 28 villages are in the Tamenglong district; and 19 villages are in the Senapati district, Manipur. In Tamenglong district, the Tamei sub-division is the most Liangmai concentrated area. Next to it are the Tamenglong sub-division, and Tousem sub-division of the same district. Besides, scattered pockets are also found in the Imphal East, and Imphal West districts.

11. Socio-political System

This tribe has two patrilineal clans. They are the so called the *Newmai* clan and the *Pamai* clan. Each clan has twelve lineages. The lineages of the *Newmai* clan are: the *Abonmei*, *Daimai*, *Dirinamai*, *Disongpunamai*, *Moitamai*, *Ngomai*, *Ngunamai*, *Penmai*, *Ringkunamai*, *Thiumai*, *Thiupuongtamai*, and *Ziungnamai*.

The lineages of the *Pamai* clan are: the *Boijunamai*, *Bonmai*, *Charengnamai*, *Ginpuinamai*, *Hengmai*, *Khapuinamai*, *Langmai*, *Makhomai*, *Malangmai*, *Mariangmai*, *Renchang*, and *Renta*.

12. Village Administration

Each Liangmai village has a traditional village council called the *Pei*, headed by the village chief called the *Chawang*. He administers the village with his councilors known as the *Peimai*. The *Pei* has its own system of preserving their tradition, maintaining law and order, administering justice, and defending the village. In addition to the *Pei*, there is also a modern system of village administration, called the village authority, where the *Chawang* is the ex-officio chairman.

13. Liangmai Megalithic Types

There are twelve different types of megaliths which exist in the Liangmai occupied areas. They are listed below in their local dialect along with classified types:

<i>Kasaibao Tusom</i>	Menhir with flat stones
<i>Chenku/ Lungaibao Tusom</i>	Menhir
<i>Maning Taoba Tusom</i>	Menhir on a raised platform

<i>Tazan-Tatbo Tusom</i>	Cairn
<i>Atugra or Atukra</i>	Dolmen with a menhir
<i>Taideli Atu/Taikulana Ranii</i>	Capstone/gravestone
<i>Pet bam</i>	Menhir
<i>Kapet bam</i>	Cromlech
<i>Tabaolong</i>	Cairn
<i>Roukhangtoh/Taraotoh</i>	Upright/Horizontal stone/both
<i>Kaho-Katanmei Saimingbao</i>	Menhir
<i>Kareng Hang & Kareng Dree</i>	Village gates

Kasaibao Tusom (Menhir with Flat Stones)

This composite structure is connected with sepulchral monument as it is constructed in honour of a distinguished person after his/her death, by his family members (Photo 1).



Photo 1a. *Kasaibao Tusom* (Memorial stone for a distinguished deceased person), PUILONGSITE.



Photo 1b. *Kasaibao Tusom* (Memorial stone for a distinguished deceased person), Makhansite

To construct such structure the donor takes permission

from the traditional village council. Thereafter, he along with the co-villagers searches the suitable stones. If the desire stone is found, the host performs a ritual. At the same time he lets loose a cock/hen on the spot.

An auspicious day is fixed by the village priest (*Phaimew*) to drag the stones and construct on the selected spot. For pulling the stones they use a wooden sled. While the stone pulling process is going on, the performer's wife is neither allowed to sit down on the ground nor to go out of her home. Hence, she moves inside the house, till the stone reaches its selected spot. Meanwhile the performer himself is required to walk in front of all the stone pullers.

The *host* sacrifices on the stone pulling day two bulls, two buffaloes; four/five pigs to feed the pullers and participants of the ceremony, along with rice and rice-beer.

Chenku Tusom/Lungaibao Tusom(Menhir)

The *Chenku tusom* is a menhir (Photo 2a, 2b, and 2c), which is allowed to construct/raise such structure by an individual in recognition of his prosperous life. Besides, it is erected after performing the feast-of-merit called *Chenku*. Here also the merit-seeker needs permission from the traditional village council. Next to it is the selection of the stone. It should be followed by the pulling and erecting of the

selected stone. The auspicious day for dragging and setting up the stone is fixed by the village chief (*Chawang*) assisted by the village priest (*Phaimew*). The head and base of the stone is also sorted out by the expert village elders. The Liangmais believe that the stone thus erected may cause many harms to the merit-seeker and his family, if mistakes are committed in the process of erection.

The feast-of-merit lasts for four consecutive days with grand feasting, singing and dancing. Every day the host sacrifices a number of cattle and pigs. On the first day, the *Phaimew* performs rituals with the chanting of hymns. He purifies the stone by pouring rice-beer over it and loses a cock at the same time. On this day, invitees, co-villagers, and relatives, who have attended there, brought gifts in cash or kind and presented to the merit-seeker.

On the second day the selected stone is dragged and kept on the selected spot. On the third day, they level the spot and raise the megalith in the name of the merit-seeker. On the fourth day, all the invitees, guests, and relatives retreat to their home. The host is still required to offer one more feast for his own co-villagers in recognition of their services rendered during the whole process of *Chenku* feasting and *Chenku tusom* memorial stone.



Photo 2. *Chenku/LungaibaoTusom*(a)Menhir of high social status with engravings, Tharonsite; (b) Menhir of high social status , Oklong site; (c) (Menhir of high social status, with the merit-seeker), Oklong site

Maning Taoba Tusom (Menhir on a Raised Platform)

The *Maning Taoba Tusom* (Photo 3) is also raised after performing a feast-of-merit. At this stage the host is allowed to construct a new house (*Chakiwki*) with a house-horn called *Pomnin* in the gable. The whole process of stone erecting ceremony is similar to that of the *Chenku Tusom*. This megalithic type is connected with the memorials dedicated to the spirit of the deceased person who performed a *Chenku* feast-of-merit and raised *Chenku Tusom* in his name.



Photo 3. *Maning TaobaTusom*, (Memorial Stone), Tharon site.

Tazan-Tatbo Tusom (Cairn)

The erection of *Tazan Tatbo Tusom* is restricted to some individuals. Such individuals are those persons who had performed a series of feasts-of-merit and raised *Chenku Tusom* and *Maning Taoba Tusom*. Thus it is raised after performing the last feast-of merit called *Tazan Tatbo*. It lasts for five consecutive days. This megalithic structure is a small cairn. After constructing the cairn, the performer is shaved ritually and adorned with a new female dress (traditional Liangmai female dress). The main function of this structure is to attain the highest social position in the Liangmai society.

Atugra or Atukra (Dolmen with a Menhir)

This composite megalithic structure (Photo 4) raised by the village chief concerned with his council members and village elders. They consider it the most holy stone. It is related with the judiciary function. They use this megalith in every oath taking function of the village (generally these are resorted to only in the most serious cases when all means fail to materialize).



Photo 4. *Atugra/Atukra*(Witnessstone, amenhir associated with three dolmens)OklongSite

Taideli Atu/Taikulana Ranii(Capstone/Gravestone/ Stone Seats Associated with a Capstone and a Small Menhir)

A wealthy Liangmai can construct a memorial stone structure in honour and loving memory of a deceased person of his family or clan member without performing an elaborate feast-of-merit. Such monuments are constructed within three to five years, after the death of a person. This type of megalithic structure is known as *Taideli Atu/Taikulana Ranii*, (Photo 5) but in some villages, the name of the deceased person in whose honour the feast is celebrated is given to the structure as a suffix or prefix word e.g. *Taikulana Ranii/Taideli Atu* of Mr, X/Y.



Photo 5. *Taikulana Ranii/Taideli Atu*(Stone seats with an upright stone on a low plate form raised in memory of deceased person), Maryram Site.

Pet bam(Menhir)

It is the village foundation stone. It is a miniature menhir raised by the founder member and also the then new chief (*Chawang*) of the village ritually along with their clan members. The Liangmais consider as a holy stone, on which the *Chawang* climbs up and announces the ritualistic events to be observed by the villagers.

Kapet bam (Cromlech)

After erecting the *Pet Bam*, it is the duty of the new village chief to raise another megalithic structure called the *Kapet Bam* (Figure 4). It is circular in structure with a flat capstone at its centre. It is related to head hunting as they used to hide/bury the decapitated heads on raids until the fleshy parts are completely rotten. No elaborate ceremony/feasting is associated with this structure.

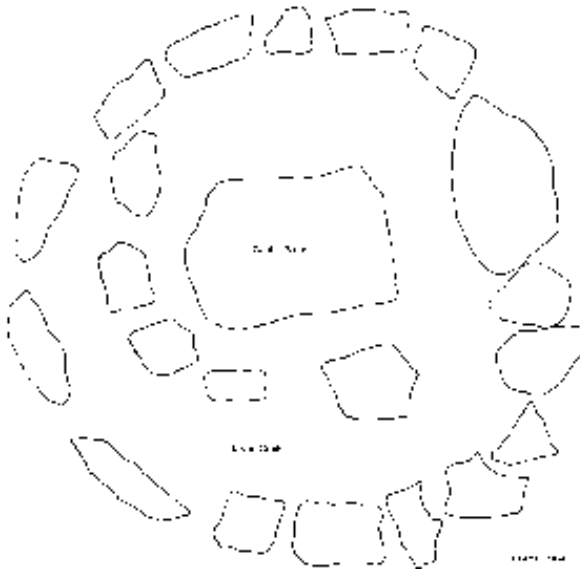


Figure 4 Stone circle called *Kapet Bam*, the centre stone measures 100 cm x 70 cm x 12.6 cm.

Tabaolong (Cairn)

It is a cairn (Photo 7) constructed by the concerned village chief with the help of the villagers collectively. It is used as stone look out. The construction of the *Tabaolong* (Cairn) is the last duty of the new chief.



Photo 6. *Tabaolong*, Stone circle with cairn filling (Stone circle is not clearly seen), Pui long site.

Roukhangtoh (Upright/Horizontal Stone)

This is a flat stone placed horizontally or vertically just above the grave, but after performing the last rite (*Takebao/Chakebou*) of a deceased person. It (Photo 8) is

also known as ancestor's stone. It lasts two to three consecutive days with feasting, drumming, singing and dancing.



Photo 7. *Roukhangtoh/Taraotoh* (Gravestone or ancestor's stone)

Kaho-Katanmei Saimingbao (Menhir)

It is the stone for the bravest and strongest person. It is raised by the merit-seeker while he was alive. The *Kaho-Katanmei Saimingbao* (Photo 9) is a commemorative stone, as it is raised to commemorate the actions of the bravest and the most fortunate person while he is living. It lasts for two consecutive days with feasting, drumming, dancing, and singing.



Photo 8. *Kaho Katanmei Saimingbao* (Stone for the bravest and richest person), Pui long site.

For erecting, the *Kaho-Katanmei Saimingbao*, the merit-seeker seeks permission from the traditional village council. After getting the permission, he informs all his paternal kinsmen and holds a meeting, regarding the performance of the stone raising ceremony successfully. Selection of the stone is done by the host with the help of

experienced village elders. The selected stone is purified ritually by pouring rice-beer on it and letting a fowl free. The stone searching party returns home before dusk. On that night, the merit-seeker observes the omen looking process through his dream. If unfavourable, they repeat the same process of stone selection.

The selected stone is again purified ritually on the stone pulling day. While performing the ritual, much care is taken. They believe that the performer would suffer from blindness if some mistake is happened while performing the ritual. On the next day morning they raise the stone. At night, a clan elder of the host come out and declares the number of outstanding works done by merit-seeker during his lifetime.

Kareng Hang and Kareng Dree (Village Gates)

In each Liangmai village, there are two village gates, either east or west or north and south. The gate facing east or north is called ***Kareng Hang***, whereas the gate which faces west or south is known as ***Kareng Dree*** in their own tongue.

14. Function of Liangmai Megaliths

The Liangmais erect various structural types of megaliths having different functions. They use to raise monoliths to attain a high position in their social ladder. They also raise miniature cairns for the following functions:

- commemorative for the great feast-of-merit;
- as memorials for the deceased person; and
- also to attain the highest position in their society.

Stone seats are the common scene among this tribe. It is found in every locality of each village. It serves as the resting places for the passerby if it is located by the roadside, or as the meeting places for the village functionaries and aged persons of the village concerned if it is located inside the village settlement area.

Dolmen associated with a menhir is raised for oath taking purposes. It is resorted to in most serious cases when all means failed to materialise the disputed problem. The dolmens have also been used for different functions. Most of the megaliths in Liangmai areas (either dolmen or menhir, or both) are decorated with various types of engravings. They are grooves and line drawings, which include foot print, animal and human figures, animal heads, counting symbols, *jhum* fields (cultivable land with slash and burn methods), clothes, household implements, and game patterns.

15. Modern Concept on Liangmai Megaliths

In the past, all the Liangmais raised megaliths as memorials or menhirs of high social status. Earlier, they were non-Christians, but followed their own traditional religion, and raised each megalith with certain rituals. Construction or erection of each menhir is associated with a

feast-of-merit given by an individual or a merit-seeker or a donor. At present they erect a megalith to commemorate a function. Here the megaliths are raised by the villagers as a whole. Feasting is done by contributing some amount by each household to meet the expenses.

The process of selection of stone is also different. Earlier it was done by the host guided by an expert person and village priest, which is followed by rituals. Nowadays selection of the stone is done by the members of village authority and Church functionaries. Stone dragging was a spectacular event in the past, as the participants need to attire traditional dresses and ornaments. Women were not allowed to participate while dragging the stone. In the modern time, womenfolk are allowed to join the stone pulling party.

In both cases, when the signal is given, all started to pull the stone along the zigzag hilly path. It is indeed a very strenuous job to pull the heavy stone along the steep hill slopes and sharp bents of hilly tract. The experienced stone pullers could negotiate smoothly to drag up the stone to the selected place. During this period, drinks are served to refresh the pullers. Nowadays it is replaced by serving tea only.

The carved animals and human figures, and other forms of line drawings on megaliths in Manipur are not ornamental. These are the commemoratives of those animals sacrificed, and the objects donated by the donor during the feasts-of-merit. Thus their value is not only aesthetic but definitely symbolic. It may be ascribed as the symbolical character to the art of the early megalithic culture of South East Asia. The concept of megalithic rituals for gaining prosperity and prestige for the living is similar with the megalithic cultures of Indonesia too.

Moreover the ideas associated with megalithic ritual for establishing links with the souls of the deceased persons are also similar with the megalithic cultures of Indonesia. It suggests a unity of the megalithic complex extending from Northeast India to South East Asia. The social life in both regions is dominated by megalithic tradition and necessary feasting, ceremonies, and rituals involved by them. Of them the most common factor in both areas is the feast-of-merit, and carving of animal's horn.

16. Conclusions

Megalithism is a living tradition among the Liangmais of Manipur. In 2011, all the Liangmais completely converted to Christianity. Till date the Christian convert Liangmais raised menhirs with some modification as commemorative stones. Memorials are of two types *i.e.*, one is raised by the merit-seeker during his lifetime, but after performing a feast-of-merit (***Kaho-Katanmei Saimingbao, Chenku/Lungaibao Tusom, Manining Taoba Tusom etc***); while the other one is erected for the distinguished persons (***Kasaibao Tusom***) by the family members in loving memory of the deceased persons. Besides, they also constructed

different megalithic structures (like *Roukhang Toh, Taideli Atu/Taikulana Ranii etc.*) after their death, over their graves. In the past, in Liangmais area there are seven morphological types of megaliths. They are: Flat/capstone; menhir, alignment, avenue; cairns; dolmens; stone circles; stone seats; and miscellaneous types. Now there are only two types commonly planted in Liangmai areas. They are: menhirs and flat stones/capstones.

Functionally, the Liangmai megaliths can broadly divided into two main types: a) memorials and commemoratives; and b) funerary and ritualistic megaliths. These two functional types include: witness stones, memorials, watch towers, grave stones, stone seats, religious stones, village gates, and

village foundation stones.

The megalithic tradition of the Liangmais has close similarities with that of the Southeast Asia, particularly in holding the feast-of merit and symbolic character of megalithic art.

From the forgoing short discussion it can be concluded that the concept of megalithism, which is in the past considered closely, associated, sepulchral, iron, and black-and-red ware pottery, has now come to the socio-cultural and socio-religious paradigm. Besides, more focus is given to megalithic art as the vital source of archaeology.



Photo 9 and 10. Engraved human figures on menhirs (representing the donors)



Photo 11 & 12. (a closer view of the animal figures on megaliths)



Photo 13. A closer view of other animal figures representing the animals donated during the feast-of-merit.



Photo 16. The engravings of two buffalos' skulls



Photo14. Line drawings representing the clothes which were donated during the feast-of- merit



Photo17. Varieties of game patterns of Liangmai tribe



Photo 15. The engravings of buffalo's skull



Photo18. Varieties of game patterns of Liangmai tribe



Photo19. Varieties of game patterns of Liangmaitribe



Photos 20. Varieties of game patterns of Liangmai tribe

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