

Chapter 5

At the Origins of Sriwijaya: The Emergence of State and City in Southeast Sumatra¹

Pierre-Yves MANGUIN

Introduction

There are many different histories of the kingdom of Sriwijaya,² a notoriously elusive polity which eventually held sway over regions now belonging to three modern nations of Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Sriwijaya, however, has for long become part and parcel of Indonesian history, and is even referred to in the nation's constitutional preamble as one of the two ancestral 'national states' to the modern republic [Manguin 2008]. Mainstream historians and archaeologists have always maintained that Sriwijaya was born in the late seventh century CE in southeast Sumatra, where its political centre remained until its demise some seven centuries later, notwithstanding a complex and still badly understood relationship with Java and the Sailendra dynasty, and with outlying areas on the Thai-Malay Peninsula and Borneo.³

¹ This essay is dedicated to the memory of Dra. Satyawati Suleiman and Professor Oliver W. Wolters, the two scholars to whom we owe the revival of Sriwijayan studies in Sumatra, and who were the driving force behind my own involvement, in the early 1980s, in this elusive field of studies.

² I will use throughout this article the common Indonesian spelling Sriwijaya rather than Śrīvijaya, the more correct transliteration of this Sanskrit name.

³ A comprehensive history of Sriwijaya remains to be written. Major works that provide and discuss the available evidence remain George Cœdès' relevant chapters of his outdated but still indispensable *Indianised States* (French edition of 1964, translated into English in the 1969 edition) and Oliver Wolters' crucial *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967). Major articles by Cœdès on Sriwijayan epigraphy have been translated into English and published in Cœdès and Damais 1992, and into Indonesian in Cœdès, Damais, Kulke, and Manguin 2014. More recent works on epigraphy will be found in J. de Casparis 1956 and in Griffiths 2011a, 2011b, 2014. Articles summarizing recent field research will be found in Charras, Manguin, and Soeroso 2006; Manguin 1993, 2004, 2009.

This essay considers only the stages that precede and immediately follow the foundation of Sriwijaya in the 680s. Paradoxically, this is the period in her history that is better understood, despite difficulties encountered in tracing it down to the archaeological field. This is when we have a flurry of inscriptions written in Old Malay (albeit with an important Sanskrit vocabulary), probably all engraved by the founding ruler (*datu*) of this first large state of Insular Southeast Asia, which provide us with precious local representations of the newly-founded state. This is also when a significant amount of seventh- to early-eighth-century Buddhist statues have been found in sites along both the Batang Hari and Musi rivers, in line with the clear religious affiliation of the early rulers of the polity.

After this inscriptional outburst, the Sriwijaya rulers become irremediably mute. Sriwijaya no doubt grew into a long-lived, world stature polity during the economic boom of ninth-tenth century and in later times, with a remarkable religious and economic international outreach, from Abbasid Baghdad to the late Tang and Song courts, via the Pala and Cola realms, not to mention Nepal and Tibet, as attested by numerous foreign accounts. These rulers ordered religious buildings to be built under their sponsorship in Bengal, in Tamil country, and in China, as attested by local inscriptions that mentioned their role; they, however, left no relevant inscriptions that can be assigned to them in southeast Sumatra until the final years of the realm in the thirteenth century. For the periods that follow the foundation years, we therefore have to rely on field archaeology and foreign sources to try to understand the structure of the polity: contrary to the early years, no local representation of the state is available.

Sriwijayan studies have been at the center of long debates over the origins and structure of the state in Insular Southeast Asia. Scholars have now come a long way from the early ‘orientalist’ interpretations, epitomized in George Cœdès’ pioneering works of the mid-twentieth century: Sriwijaya and other Indianized states of Southeast Asia are no longer seen as born in a late prehistoric morass after the region was ‘civilized’ by the more advanced Indian neighbour. More recent archaeological research and reappraisals of ancient source material have nurtured debates on the specificity of early and classic Malay or Javanese polities. Mostly complementary interpretations have been offered over the years: models involving concentric, *mandala*-like polities, amorphous political structures with powerful, movable centers and extended peripheries, or dendritic, upstream-downstream features have all found their way into scholarly literature.⁴ As any typology, they serve their heuristic purpose but, as Max Weber himself stated, these models are only there to facilitate our understanding of ‘the reality of life’ where ‘you only have intermediary cases’. They allow us to operate fruitful distinctions in the fluid continuity of real life processes

⁴ Such models have been discussed in Bronson 1977; Wolters 1999; Kulke 1986, 1991, 1993; Manguin 2000, 2002, 2009; Miksic 2009.

[Weber 2013]. As such they will no doubt continue to be updated as new finds are brought to light by epigraphers and field archaeologists.

One such example of radical updating of our representations of Sriwijaya, which confirms that the acquisition of empirical data has to remain our priority, is one major archaeological breakthrough of the past decades in southeast Sumatra: the unveiling of a variety of coastal sites in tidal swamplands downstream from Palembang, with dense settlements of houses built on stilts starting in the third-fourth century CE, and artefacts indicating long-range Indian Ocean and South China Sea exchange networks. They provide the missing links between contemporary sites now brought to light all over coastal Southeast Asia, continental and insular, from the coasts of southern China all the way to Bali and probably further east on the route to the Spice Islands of eastern Indonesia.

1. Before Sriwijaya: Lowland and Highland Settlements

The low, marshy lands downstream from Palembang were totally ignored by historians and archaeologists until the 1970s; indeed, there was then no reason to take them into consideration, as they were thought to have lain underwater, and the coastline to have been situated in Sriwijaya times at the limit of the tertiary peneplain, some 80 km inland from the present-day coast, thus turning ancient Palembang into a true coastal city. This theory, based on flawed readings of ancient maps, chronologically fallacious geological observations, and circular reasoning took a long time to die. In fact, it took the discovery of settlement sites in the back mangrove zone to once and for all refute these unfounded speculations.⁵

This discovery in South Sumatra, on both shores of the Strait of Bangka, of proto-historic coastal sites comparable in nature and in age to those brought to light earlier on along the coasts of the Thai-Malay Peninsula and South and Central Vietnam has provided a missing link between the latter sites and those of Batujaya and Sembiran, on the north coasts of Java and Bali (see map below). These sites are all situated on the major thoroughfare between the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Java Sea, where much of the economic and political development of following centuries would take place.

The South Sumatran sites came to light during the 1980s and 1990s when extensive areas of freshwater swamp forest along the east coast of South Sumatra, were cleared to make place for transmigration settlements.⁶ A few kilometres inland,

⁵ Earlier, text-based refutations of the alleged major coastal change were published by Wolters [1975] and Manguin [1982].

⁶ Data presented below has been gathered from Lucas, Manguin, and Soeroso 1998; Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998; Manguin 2004; Soeroso 1998, 1999; Tri Marhaeni 2006, 2011; Nurhadi Rangkuti 2014; Agustijanto 2012, 2014.



Fig. 5.1: Map of Southeast Sumatra: Proto-historic and Early Sriwijaya Sites.

the area situated between the Sugihan and Saleh rivers, east of the Musi River's main estuaries, was thus brought to the attention of archaeologists in the late 1980s. Due to extensive looting, however, all that could then be gathered was an array of artefacts lacking context, roughly dating from late prehistoric to early historic times: coarse pottery, rather crude gold ornaments, glass and bronze bangles, and a quantity of glass and stone beads of various forms and colours. Recent surveys and excavations by Indonesian archaeologists have confirmed the density and extent of these wetland settlement sites of the first half of the first millennium CE. At least one burial was found. A variety of small artefacts indicating a participation in Indian Ocean and South China Sea networks have been brought to light. Glass beads figure prominently, as usual, but also gold filigree beads and tin objects with Funan affinities. Some of the sites of the Air Sugihan were clearly occupied until the sixth and seventh centuries and during Sriwijaya times, judging from the few Sui, late Tang, and later

Chinese glazed ceramics found during excavations (and from radiocarbon dates of some wooden house poles).

Remains found at another new transmigration settlement, located north of the Musi estuary, cleared during the 1990s, were in this case brought to the attention of Indonesian archaeologists in time for extensive surveys and test excavations to be immediately conducted by the Balai Arkeologi Palembang before too much looting took place. This group of sites is situated on the north bank of the Sungai Lalan, not far from where it flows into the broad Banyuasin inlet and estuary. At Karang Agung and neighbouring sites, finds of local pottery were scattered over an area of some 400 ha, predominantly along ancient riverbeds. This area yielded many remains of wooden house poles, the largest being some 30 cm in diameter. Two such poles have been radiocarbon dated to between 220 and 440 CE. Tin net sinkers and fragments of boat timbers and a rudder belonging to the ancient Southeast Asian stitched plank and lashed lug tradition point to fishing and sailing activities. Gold ornaments with practically no decoration were found, and unverified information indicates that a gold leaf eye-cover was found in a burial together with beads, bones, and teeth. At Karang Agung, these indigenous artefacts are accompanied by a broad variety of foreign objects. Again, as in Air Sugihan, bronze and glass bangles are often found. Two small tin pendants appear to have come from Oc Eo in southern Vietnam. Some polished black shards with a pinkish-grey paste also appear to have been imported from India. No rouletted ware has so far been identified in Sumatra, however, neither the original fine ware nor the coarser copies, abundantly found in other Southeast Asian sites, including at the closest site of Batujaya, in West Java. This peculiarity remains to be explained; possibly, the growth of the southeast Sumatra sites and their linkage to international networks only took place after the second century CE, when rouletted ware was no longer produced. The abundant array of high quality beads of all sizes and qualities made of stone or glass do however indicate contact with India or with production sites in continental Southeast Asia. The local pottery assemblage, like that of many other comparable sites of coastal Indonesia, comprised both the coarser cord-impressed type and some finer ware with incised or punctate decoration, including tall necked *kendis* with a red polished slip, found all over the Indonesian archipelago.

Surveys carried out a dozen kilometres north of the Sungai Lalan group of Karang Agung revealed possibly still earlier coastal Paleo-Metallic sites situated on an ancient beach ridge along the Sungai Sembilan. The place known as Tanah Abang, still known for possessing the only fresh water well in the region, yielded an archaeological assemblage of large tall-necked carinated pots with geometric punctate decoration, simple socketed iron tools similar to those found in the Klang-Langsat sites of Malaysia, and trade beads.⁷ Considering the current hypothesis that

⁷ Tanah Abang and other sites along the Sungei Sembilan River remain unpublished. Early

considers Malay speakers moving out of their homeland in West Borneo and settling in coastal settlements of Sumatra some time in the third to first centuries BCE, we now have to admit the distinct possibility that these early Sungai Sembilan sites could have been among the first Malay settlements in Sumatra [Blust 2006: 76, 84-86].

All these finds are in dire need of systematic investigation, but enough accumulated data by Indonesian archaeologists do now appear to be indicative of large, well-populated settlements. The wetland sites are located in an area that was still rich in natural commodities only a few decades ago (elephant tusks, deer antlers, tortoise shell, tiger skins, valuable timber, and possibly also rhinoceros horns); they would have also controlled the flow of alluvial gold and forest products from further upstream.⁸ The key location of these sites near the estuary of the Musi River, astride the obligatory sailing lane passing through the Strait of Bangka, further appears to have provided them with the opportunity to act as intermediaries between seafaring groups and the contemporary societies of the upper valleys of the extensive Musi River basin.⁹

It is too early, on the basis of present archaeological reports, to ascertain what type of political system all these sites belonged to (chiefdom, pre-state, early state). By the third-fourth century CE, the significant size and extent of the wooden buildings brought to light so far in most of these sites, together with the density of sites, appear to indicate that they would have belonged to a proto-urban environment. Those situated on the Sembilan and Lalan, north of the Musi delta, do not show signs of having survived after the fourth or fifth century, possibly because they had no direct access to the Musi River and its rich catchment area. At Air Sugihan (which, contrary to the latter, had direct access to the Musi basin), as already noted, finds now brought to light in some of the sites indicate that occupation continued into the proto-historic and historic (i.e. Sriwijaya) periods.

In the higher valleys of the Musi River (Ulu Musi and Lintang), excavations conducted in the past two decades have complemented the evidence gathered in the earlier part of the twentieth century on the well documented but little known Pasemah and Lahat megalithic and slab grave cultures. Evidence for neighbouring but culturally different populations practising jar burial rituals was gathered during

finds gathered during surveys by the Balai Arkeologi Palembang archaeologists in 1996 were confirmed during a survey and surface sampling in 2001 by Indonesian archaeologists led by Soeroso, accompanied by E.E. McKinnon and the present author. On the Klang-Langsar sites of Malaysia and their interpretation, see Christie 1990.

⁸ On upstream-downstream exchange in Sumatra, see Miksic 1985, 2009; Manguin 2009; and, more generally, various chapters of Bonatz et al. 2009.

⁹ Wolters 1967, specifically chapter 13 ('The Favoured Coast of Early Indonesian Commerce'). The strait of Bangka is an obligatory passage for sailing vessels going from the Melaka and Singapore straits into the Java Sea, as the intricate and therefore dangerous routes through the Riau archipelago would not have been sailable for an economically viable traffic.

excavations, some sites being associated with earthen works. No absolute dates could yet be ascertained for jar burial sites, but one excavation carried out near an earthen work (possibly also associated with a destroyed burial), points to the occupation of these higher valleys during the end of the Neolithic and the Bronze-Iron Age, i.e. approximately during the last few centuries of the first millennium BCE and the fourth to fifth century CE.¹⁰ Late prehistoric jar burial sites have also been found in the lower lands of Jambi Province, in the modern town of Jambi, as well as along the Bayung Lencir River basin [Nurhadi Rangkuti 2008; Sunarto 2001].¹¹ Indian beads, Han sherds, Dong Son artefacts, and red polished tall-necked *kendis* have been found in the Pasemah megalithic sites and in the Ulu Musi and Jambi jar burial complexes, indicating that they were integrated within regional and overseas exchange networks, probably obtaining from them salt, textiles, and metal manufactured goods, in exchange for alluvial gold and forest products from the upstream valleys.

During the first half of the first millennium CE, we therefore appear to have an exchange network that functions with two poles only along the Musi River basin: (1) a group of significantly populated lowland sites, straddling the various mouths of the Musi and the Banyuasin inlet, with one iron-working site at Kota Kapur, across the Strait of Bangka, on the island of the same name (see below p. 95), together with some groups further north, on drier lands in the Bayung Lencir and Jambi area; (2) two (or more) neighbouring groups of settlements on the slopes of the Barisan Range, along the Lematang and Musi valleys, and in the higher valleys of Pasemah and Lintang. Nothing so far indicates that there are intermediate nodes between these two groups, in the broad peneplain that separates them (where most historical sites would be located after the foundation of Sriwijaya), nor is there a large settlement acting as a central place. This situation is comparable to that reconstructed by F.L. Dunn for the forest collectors and the coastal dwellers of the Malay Peninsula in pre-modern times, based on ethnographical data [Dunn 1975]. This period probably lasted until the fourth to fifth century CE.

As we move into the proto-historic period of southeast Sumatra, during the two to three centuries that precede the foundation of Sriwijaya, only one site stands out so far, due mainly to the fact that its physical and human environment allowed long-term, systematic excavations. Facing the mouths of the Musi delta across the Strait of Bangka, on the western coast of the island bearing the same name, the site of Kota

¹⁰ Van der Hoop 1932; Soeroso 1997; Forestier et al. 2006; Guillaud 2006: 44-46; Miksic 2009; Manguin 2009. Recent excavations and radiocarbon dates by Indonesian archaeologists appear to indicate that some megalithic sites in Pasemah could have been maintained in use during Sriwijaya times [Bagyo Prasetyo 2014].

¹¹ The lowlands along the Batang Hari, downriver from Jambi, and the Bayung Lencir area are geologically different from those further south along the Musi delta; they do not qualify as wetlands.

Kapur comprises a tiny sixth-seventh-century coastal settlement with two diminutive Hindu temples complete with their statuary, a 1.5 km long earthen wall protecting it from outside attack, and a gathering of small riparian settlements. It was built on top of an earlier iron-working site dated the third to fifth centuries CE, which exploited the local ferruginous laterite. The two identified temples are simple stone platforms (respectively 5.6 and 2.8 m square) on which, in all probability, wooden structures would have been erected to provide shelter to the images. Statues found in the main sanctuary belong to the Vaishnava cult encountered in much of Southeast Asia, starting in the fifth century CE. Those of Kota Kapur were dated to the late sixth or early seventh century, based on both stylistic considerations and radiocarbon dating from stratigraphic excavations. The secondary temple contained a coarse *linga* made of an uncarved natural stone.¹² The area is extremely rich in tin ore, but no signs of tin mining or working has been found so far.

This coastal settlement was therefore one small link in a long chain of Vaishnava settlements, strewn from the Mekong delta, to the Thai-Malay Peninsula, to Sumatra, to Cibuaya (West Java), and to Bali. The role of Buddhism in the propagation of Indian civilization in Southeast Asia has long been acknowledged: its universalist doctrines made it a convenient means of proselytizing among foreign people who did not belong to the rigid caste system of India [Ray 1994]. However, such universalist conceptions were shared with devotional (*bhakti*) sects of Vaishnavism that are also known to have been active in Funan or on the Thai-Malay Peninsula, as evidenced by local inscriptions and iconography [O'Connor 1972; Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998; Manguin 2010; Lavy 2013].

It is usually a rather vain exercise in map-making to try to precisely associate sites, as revealed by archaeology, to names of contemporary polities referred to in Chinese sources of the mid-first millennium CE. Some of the 'countries' (*guo* 國 or *zhou* 洲) referred to in Chinese texts were however proved by Oliver Wolters [1967] to fall, geographically speaking, along the 'favoured coast' of southeast Sumatra, long before archaeologists started to carry out systematic research in this area. These *guo*, which appeared to control the flow of trade in the region, were among the first fifth to sixth-century polities in insular Southeast Asia to be acknowledged by and send tribute to China.

The Vaishnava polity brought to light by archaeologists at Kota Kapur on the island of Bangka was possibly one of them. If Wolters [1979: 30-32] is right in

¹² The report on the first 1994 campaign at Kota Kapur was published in Koestoro, Manguin, and Soeroso 1998. The report of the second campaign of 1996 remains unpublished; some results were discussed in Manguin 2004: 304-305. Excavations by Indonesian archaeologists after 2007 have brought up a third, undefined stone structure on one of the hills, and what appears to be a wooden jetty built on its shore [Laporan Kota Kapur 2007; Agustijanto Indradjaya, personal communication, 2013]. They also confirm that some parts of the site were still settled in Sriwijaya times.

equating Yijing's *Mohexin* 莫訶信 (situated south of Malayu) with the Banyuasin inlet, the third-fourth-century Sungai Lalan sites around Karang Agung may have been the forerunners of a seventh-century site so far not identified on the ground.

The rather flimsy textual identification of *Gantuoli guo* 干陁利國, with a recorded history from 441 to 563 CE, was largely based on a much later Ming reference to it being the forerunner of Sriwijaya. The new discoveries in the field, and the fact that some of the proto-historic sites in Air Sugihan survived into historic times have turned this *Gantuoli* into a more secure candidate for the Musi delta sites. Rulers of this polity carried Indian sounding names and played host to Buddhist monks [Pelliot 1904: 401-402; Wolters 1967: 162, 222].

The early history of Malayu remains difficult to substantiate. The eponym polity of the Malays, appears as *Moluoyu* 末羅瑜 in various Chinese texts. It appears in the international scene in the early seventh century and sent its first embassy to China in 644 CE. [Wolters 1967: 210]. It is usually located in the Jambi area on the basis of a few contextless finds of statues and the interpretation of the scant information provided by the erudite Buddhist pilgrim Yijing, who spent some time there in the 670s (the fact that a better documented polity bearing the same name reappears near Jambi after the demise of Sriwijaya also pleads in favour of this position). In the second half of the seventh century, the polity had therefore developed into a center of religious and Sanskrit learning frequented by Chinese Buddhist monks on their way to India in quest of canonical texts.

As we will see later, other early Buddhist sites were found along the Batang Hari River, starting in the present-day city of Jambi (in the Solok Sipin area), and were strewn all the way upstream to the border of present-day West Sumatra Province. None of these sites have yet been subjected to systematic excavations and absolute dating, and the seventh to early eighth date of the statues in post-Gupta and other styles is too vague to discriminate between those consecrated under the sponsorship of Malayu or of early Sriwijaya polities.

The mere fact that many of the upstream Buddhist sites were situated along the Batang Hari, along the middle valley of Musi River, flowing not far from the Batang Hari, and in one site (Candi Tingkip) along the foot tracks leading from one catchment area to the other, strongly indicates that the center of gravity of Buddhist activities must have been situated far north of Palembang when the shift occurred between Malayu and Sriwijaya; in fact, the seventh-eighth-century sites in Palembang are the furthest south (see map; and Manguin 2009 for more details and maps on the geographical spread of seventh-eighth-century sites between Palembang and the Batang Hari).

All the archaeological finds described above therefore provide a vivid, concrete illustration and overwhelming confirmation of the process hypothesized on the basis of textual sources alone (mainly Chinese) by Oliver Wolters in his ground breaking book *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Sri Vijaya* (1967).

Changing circumstances in the history of the Ancient World then brought about a steady increase of Asian maritime trade, to the detriment of the overland Silk Route. The reunification of China under the Sui and Tang dynasties and the demise of the Persian long distance trade exerted a great impact on Southeast Asia's burgeoning kingdoms. A huge Chinese market opened to Southeast Asian traders and their goods. Camphor, benzoin, and other oleoresins from Sumatra and the Thai-Malay Peninsula replaced Middle Eastern true incense in demand in China for Buddhist rituals and soon became standard commodities alongside spices from eastern Indonesia. Nautical archaeology has moreover ascertained in the past years that Southeast Asian shippers, heirs to a mature technical tradition, had for centuries been developing skills for the construction of large trading vessels which plied routes from China to India [Manguin 1996, in press].

Taken together, the combined results of textual and archaeological studies totally disrupt the earlier representations of state formation among Malay-speaking populations in southeast Sumatra (as they are doing elsewhere in Southeast Asia). No sudden intervention in the seventh century of a *deus ex machina*, Indian or otherwise, needs to be invoked to explain the process and allegedly sudden appearance of Sriwijaya on the Southeast Asian scene. The extent, the wealth, and the outreach of these new sites are a strong indication that state formation and urbanization processes were at work in the region long before the foundation of Sriwijaya, and that long-distance trade looms large as one of their main facilitators. Nodes of political, economic, and religious activities (qualified as *guo* or *zhou* in Chinese sources) had by then appeared in Malayu and along the coasts of the Bangka Strait.¹³

2. The Birth of Sriwijaya

The erudite Buddhist monk Yijing, who spent some ten years in southeast Sumatra, tells us that, sometime in the late 670s or early 680s, Malayu 'had become *Shilifoshi* 室利佛逝', a city where 'there are more than a thousand Buddhist priests whose minds are bent on study and good works; their rules and ceremonies are identical with those in India'. From there on, most of the polities that had sent embassies to China in the previous centuries disappear from Chinese records and only *Shilifoshi* keeps sending embassies to China until 742 CE. Chinese texts soon describe it as one of the major trading operators of the South Seas.

As is well known, in 1918, philologist George Coëdès brilliantly linked these Chinese and other foreign sources to a group of stone inscriptions, written in an Indic script, but using Old Malay as a language. Carved between 683 and 686, these

¹³ Discussions on the precise meaning of these Chinese terms and their possible local or Sanskrit equivalents will be found in Wolters 1986: 15-21; Kulke 1993: 177-180.

inscriptions told of a newly-founded polity named *Śrīvijaya* (of which *Shilifoshi* is a regular Chinese transcription). Combining the texts of local inscriptions and the evidence from Buddhist and Hindu statues with data gathered from Arabic, Indian, and Chinese sources, Cœdès concluded that the center and birthplace of prosperous Sriwijaya was located in the modern city of Palembang where most of the contemporary evidence had then been unearthed. Many late seventh or early eighth-century statues and late seventh-century inscriptions had already been found in Cœdès' time within or in the immediate vicinity of the modern city of Palembang. More Buddhist images and Old Malay inscriptions contemporary with the Sriwijayan earliest historic phase were found since Cœdès' major articles were published, removing any doubts that this was the birthplace of Sriwijaya.

The hasty attempt by Bennet Bronson to carry out test excavations in Palembang in 1972 resulted in rushed conclusions, and a refusal to admit that a large city could have been built there in Sriwijaya times [Bronson and Wisseman 1976]. Such conclusions were proved wrong as soon as more systematic surveys and excavations were carried out starting in the 1980s [McKinnon 1979, 1985; Manguin 1987, 1992, 1993]. This should, however, not obscure the fact that no settlement site of the early Sriwijaya phase (or identifiable brick structure associated with seventh-eighth-century statues) has yet been brought to light in Palembang proper. This may largely be explained by the forbidding difficulties archaeologists encounter when they excavate in the few urban interstices left by a crawling city (gone from 25,000 to more than a million inhabitants in less than a century), by the reoccupation and rebuilding of sites in later periods, by the constant destruction of sites that are usually rather close to the surface, and finally by the absence in sites, before the end of the eighth century, of glazed Chinese wares that survive through centuries and provide superb indicators of past activities during field surveys.

Systematic excavations during the 1990s of sites with a stratigraphic sequence starting in the late eighth or early ninth century, which produced hundreds of thousands of pottery sherds (some 20 per cent of them imported wares, mainly Chinese) and many more artefacts, have overwhelmingly confirmed that the harbour-city continued thriving during the economic boom of the ninth-tenth century and was then the central place of the reconfigured state of Sriwijaya the Chinese now called *Sanfoqi* 三佛齊. This period is outside the scope of this essay, but such results show that, despite the difficulties encountered in bringing to light pre-ninth century sites in Palembang, the overall picture now gathered for the long-lived urban central place of Sriwijaya does help us understand the tenuous, context-less archaeological evidence available for foundation times. Altogether, sites in and around the modern city have yielded archaeological evidence for settlement, manufacturing, commercial, religious, and political activity at a level that can only be reconciled with a capital city of the early Malay state. A riverine pattern, as expected, is by now clearly discernible. All centers of activity were situated either on the Musi riverbanks or clearly within reach,

by water, from the main river and thus from the sea, downstream from Palembang. In Palembang and its immediate vicinity, trading activities have also been clearly evidenced by nautical archaeology: remains of large ships dating from pre- and early Sriwijayan times were found, all built with well-known Southeast Asian techniques [Manguin 1996, in press].

As will be seen below, archaeological research carried out far upriver along the Musi and Batang Hari rivers, in less disturbed environments, have now brought to light buried foundations of brick temples and related Buddhist statues dating from the seventh or early eighth century, proving that Sriwijaya's sphere of influence reached as far, and that the control of the flow of gold and forest products from the highlands was effective very early in Sriwijaya history. The circulation of gold and other unspecified commodities was specifically mentioned in the late seventh-century Sabokingking inscription as one process that needed to be protected [de Casparis 1956: 39].

2.1. *The Choice of Palembang as an Urban Center*

We have no indication as to why exactly it is the Musi River basin that was chosen in the 670s to set up the new polity of Sriwijaya, rather than maintain and develop the already active polity of Malayu/Jambi (keeping in mind that Jambi did become the capital of Sriwijaya at the end of the eleventh century; Wolters 1966). We may assume that such a choice could have derived from the end results of local rivalries and military conflicts (of the sort attested in the Sriwijaya inscriptions of the 680s). But the fact is that nothing comparable to the Musi delta settlement sites has been found so far in the delta of the Batang Hari. Systematic surveys carried out downstream of Muara Jambi have only brought to light sites yielding Chinese ceramics dated to the Sung and later periods [Miksic 2013: 117-118]. No sign of activity earlier than the ninth-tenth century has otherwise been brought to light in the well studied temple complex of Muara Jambi.

The rich and extensive settlements of Air Sugihan in the Musi delta may now be considered as forerunners; they contribute to explain the choice of the Musi River to erect the central place of the new polity, sometime before the founding inscriptions of Sriwijaya were inscribed in the mid-680s. As already noted, some of these sites survived into proto-historic and early historic phases along river courses that had easy access to the main course of the Musi River, and therefore to the future Palembang locale, and hence to the rich valleys further upstream. Once the choice was made to establish the new power on the Musi, the geographical factors in favour of a situation at what is now Palembang are overwhelming. Geographical determinism and ecological factors loom large when one tries to analyse the reasons why the first

rulers of the newly-founded polity of Sriwijaya decided to settle at the locale now known as Palembang.

The specific spot where the new city would be located is at the confluence of three major rivers leading into the hinterland (the Musi, the Komerang, and the Ogan), and only a short distance downriver from the junction with the fourth major river fanning into the same hinterland, the Lematang. This was therefore the right place to sit at, to efficiently control the steady flow of merchandise and people between the coast and the higher lands. Later sources all confirm that this strategic location was a major asset for the central place at Palembang, at the confluence of what is recurrently called by the local people the *Batang Hari Sembilan* (i.e. ‘the Nine Rivers’).

A verse taken from the *Guritan Radin Suane*, a Pasemah epic poem recorded in the 1970s, sums it all in so many words:

Seven ridges radiated from the settlement,
 nine rivers joined at the bathing place [i.e. the siege of the kingdom],
 The goal of merchants up and downstream,
 set apart from enemies at sea.¹⁴

The last two lines of the verse emphasize the better protection of the site, some 80 km away from the coast, from enemies from overseas; as we will see further down, the newly-established power launched a number of military campaigns to secure its position.

The mention of the ‘seven ridges’ (*tujuh pematang*) alludes to another geological feature of the Palembang area and contributes to explain the choice of a harbour-city situated 80 km away from the sea. This is where the tertiary penepain meets the quaternary alluvial lands further east, forming a multiple ridge-shaped anticline, some 30-40 m high, in fact the first solid ground encountered after sailing up from the mouths of the Musi.

Whereas the earlier polities downriver from Palembang had managed to organize their life on buildings, some of them obviously large, built upon wooden stilts, Sriwijayan rulers appear to have felt it necessary to move to partly higher, drier grounds, keeping their familiar riverine environment along the banks of the Musi and its tributaries. This dual opposition, locally known as *talang/lebak* (dry land/wet land) continued to structure the traditional settlement patterns at Palembang until late in the twentieth century (when most smaller streams were reclaimed to build a modern city).

The reasons for this choice of a dual environment by Malay founders of capital settlements is best illustrated by vernacular perceptions of such a process. Two classical Malay texts, when relating the mythical episodes of the foundation of

¹⁴ Collins 1998, canto 5. I have slightly adapted Collins’ English translation.

two riverine cities in pre-Islamic times (one a former Banjar capital, and the other Palembang, hence, in fact, Sriwijaya), convey a similar episode concerning the necessary (re)location to higher grounds of the initial settlements, to provide new sacred space for religious buildings.

The *Hikayat Banjar* (an eighteenth-century compilation) recounts how the founding hero of the Banjarmasin dynasty of southern Borneo, Ampu Jatmaka, sailed upriver with his retinue until he reached Hujung Tanah (literally ‘Land’s End’), where he decided they would settle [Ras 1968: 236-237]:

Ampu Jatmaka (...) said: I shall found a settlement here in Hujung Tanah. Tell our men to use all the stones which we have brought with us for building a shrine (*candi*) on the spot where I dug the hole. Here in Hujung Tanah we shall have our settlement. (...) Then (he) ordered the men to make a clearing for the city (*nagri* < *nagara*) and to bring the stones for the shrine. When the shrine was completed they built a palace (*astana*) for Ampu Jatmaka.

The foundation myth therefore tells us how, in the newly cleared forest where he intends to set up his city state (*nagara*), the ruler starts by erecting a shrine (*candi*), built in solid stones. His palace—which is not built in stone—only comes second; other government and court buildings come next. After these tasks have been accomplished, he names the new settlement *Nagara-Dipa* and takes the title of ‘King of the Shrine’ (*Maharajah di candi*).

At Palembang, where the founding myth of the Malays takes place, the author of the *Sejarah Melayu* (a text composed in the sixteenth century) writes ‘This is the story of a city (*negeri*) named Palembang, in the country of Andelas [Sumatra] (...). This [former] city of Palembang is the same as the one we know of today. Her river is called Muara Tatang, and used to be called Melayu. Near this river there is a hill named Bukit Seguntang Mahameru (...)’ [Winstedt 1938].

As is well known, Bukit Seguntang is to this day the sacred hill to which all the Malays trace back their origin. It is also one of the richest sites in Palembang in archaeological terms, despite the looting and modern damage to the grounds. This is where the largest seventh-eighth-century Buddha statue was found, as well as many other Buddhist statues, and where unfortunately very damaged and badly reported brick foundations of *stupas* were found in the 1930s. One should remember at this point that one fragmentary inscription of the 680s found near Bukit Seguntang does refer to the building by the ruler of a *vihara* in his *vanua* (that is in the urbanized settlement of his new capital) [de Casparis 1956: 14]. Indeed, solid ground was needed to build the brick shrines required for the developing Buddhist cults being practised and proselytized by the new ruler of Sriwijaya; we therefore have confirmation that the transfer of the center of the polity to more solid grounds, upriver to Palembang (or Banjarmasin), was a necessary step for a new capital with stone (or brick) buildings

to be erected (an impossible exercise in the flooded forests downstream from Palembang). If the physical impossibility of building a solid structure in wetlands is obvious, one should not forget that, in the low lying environment of the penneplain of South Sumatra, a small hill such as Bukit Seguntang, a mere 30 m high, would have passed for a mountain, and it is well known that Southeast Asian societies, as a rule, kept a strong relation with 'mountains', be they hills or mountain-temples; the latter anchored the city-state in its spiritual and temporal territory.

Early nineteenth-century Dutch maps of Palembang depict two hills only: one is the above-mentioned Bukit Seguntang, west of the city center; the other is Bukit Sabokingking, east of the center. Sabokingking is still the name of an elevated ridge not far from the northern river bank, in the eastern suburbs of Palembang. It is on this ridge that the principal, most central inscription of Sriwijaya was found (formerly known as Telaga Batu, the name of the place where it had been moved, until its exact find spot was determined in the 1980s). The politically ominous declaration it contains, written in the 680s, indicates that the inscription was erected at the very center of the polity, in the *kadatuan*, literally the place of the ruler (*datu*), as referred to in the text itself [Kulke 1993]. This favourable spot was also where the first sultans established their palace grounds and stockades in the sixteenth century. Intensive looting, unfortunately, took place in the early 1990s on this ridge, bringing to light many Buddhist statues. Another part of the Sabokingking area is no longer exploitable by archaeologists, as it lies buried under a major fertilizer factory built in the 1960s.

Ecological factors should also be taken into consideration to validate the choice of Palembang as the site of a major city-state. Governing a large harbour-city (archaeological remains are spread over 12 km along the north bank of the Musi), even if made of a gathering of 'rurban' (rural-urban), low density settlements, means having many mouths to feed, particularly during the trade season when many merchants and crews from abroad would have converged to the city. On-going research on the ecology of the Palembang area indeed confirms that this growing population had no trouble feeding itself.¹⁵

Rice would have been part of the diet, but not the main staple food. Irrigated rice, in this environment, cannot be grown and the little dry rice that would have grown on the elevated *talang* would not have been sufficient to feed a large population. Only high-yield flood recess rice cultivation was well adapted to the environment and remains in use to this day in the seasonally flooded *lebak* behind the ridges that border the Musi, starting in Palembang. This is a type of agriculture that does not guarantee

¹⁵ I am grateful to Muriel Charras for sharing with me the results of her research, to be presented in a forthcoming article [Charras forthcoming]. Useful studies of the modern environment and agricultural practices in Sumatra will be found in Tsubouchi and Nasruddin 1980; Takaya 1986; Furukawa 1986, 1994.

a regular production, as it is largely dependent on seasonal rains and flooding of the *lebak*. The population of Palembang would have therefore much relied upon rich sago palm (*Metroxylon*) forests, as attested in a variety of sources. Writing about Sriwijaya in the thirteenth century, Zhao Rugua remarked that the king was not allowed to consume ‘grain’ (i.e. rice), but was fed on sago (*shahu* 沙糊), short of which a draught would take place; another taboo had to be respected to prevent floods. As noted by Muriel Charras, draught and flooding would be the major risks for flood recess rice production, and it is characteristic that sago is mentioned in this context as another food staple.¹⁶ Historians, neglecting variability in agricultural processes, have more often than not overemphasized rice consumption in Southeast Asia (and in East Asia), following modern local perceptions of rice as the most prestigious staple food. Sago flour or sap, rich in carbohydrates, remained one major subsistence staple for many people at least until the sixteenth century. To return to early Sriwijaya times, such practices are confirmed in the Old Malay inscription of Talang Tuo, written in the 680s, where the founding ruler of Sriwijaya records, among his many good deeds, the creation of gardens for growing sago (*rumbia*), together with other food staples (coconuts, sugar palm, areca nut trees; rice growing is not mentioned).

2.2. *The Control of the Periphery and the Religious Factor*

Sriwijaya, was more than just one harbour polity among many others, however large the population of her central place. As early as the 680s, no doubt building upon the state formation process at work in coastal settlements sites downriver, and in Malayu/Jambi, it showed characteristics of a true city state in the sense that it immediately extended its sphere of influence far upstream into two of the largest river basins of Insular Southeast Asia, allowing it to control the flow of gold and forest products from its hinterland and that of salt and manufactured products going upriver [Andaya 1993: 238; Collins 1998: 54, 63-64; Manguin 2000, 2009].

The inscriptions engraved at foundation times at Palembang proper and those distributed in a circle of outlying *mandalas*¹⁷ make it clear that the spread of the newly-established power was a major concern of the ruler at the center and that armed forces (*vala*) were used when necessary to impose themselves upon those who did not pay respect to the new power, as far as Java (*yang tida bhakti ka Śrīvijaya*); in one contemporary fragment of inscription, the ruler clearly refers to internal enemies

¹⁶ Hirth and Rockhill 1911: 61. Zhao Rugua also mentions sago as a major food staple among people of the northern coast of Java and in Borneo [Hirth and Rockhill 1911: 84, 155].

¹⁷ I use the term *mandala* in strict conformity with its usage in the Sabokingking inscription: it does not designate the whole polity (as in the well publicized ‘*mandala* state’ model developed by Wolters), only those formerly independent, outlying polities newly integrated into Sriwijaya.

against which he uses the army he commands [de Casparis 1956: 6]. It is a distinct possibility, though this is never formally referred to in inscriptions, that the ruler, a self-proclaimed devout Buddhist (as is made clear by the Talang Tuo inscription), would have followed the ideal model of *cakravartin* kingship, often attained by ways of military success, so as to reach a status superior to that of the rulers of other polities.¹⁸ What is made clear by these contemporary statements, however, is that the ruler had the power to project his armed forces outside of his core area (one necessary capability of a true state) and that he made sure that ritual and political authority coincided.

Only two sites of outlying *mandala* inscriptions have so far yielded brick structures and traces of contemporary or earlier settlements. The Vaishnava settlement at Kota Kapur is a case apart. It was clearly singled out by Buddhist ruler Jayanaga when he sent a fleet there in 686 CE to bring the site under his control. As other *mandala* inscriptions, the Kota Kapur inscription then erected near the Vaishnava temple carried a subset of the oath inscription of Sabokingking; it added a final paragraph stating that the ruler's fleet was on her way to submit Java. This submission of a Vaishnava site was probably part of a broader strategy against a Vaishnava network that had run parallel to and in competition with merchant networks of Buddhist obedience. The other *mandala* inscription site that yielded structures (however modest) is Karang Brahi, far upriver from Jambi on the Merangin River, a tributary of the Batang Hari. Two more inscriptions were found near the southern tip of Sumatra, in Lampung Province. Archaeological research in southern Lampung has so far yielded no remains that can be associated with these outlying sites of Bungkok and Palas Pasemah. Their presence there can so far only be loosely explained by their geographic position, on the route leading from the Strait of Bangka to West Java.

On the basis of the available data (and leaving aside the outlying southern Lampung sites), the spatial distribution of seventh-eighth-century sites shows that only the northern part of the Musi drainage basin, the paths linking this area to the Batang Hari valley, and the latter's middle river basin, between Jambi, the Merangin, and Muara Tebo (a gold producing area), would have been controlled by the new state of Sriwijaya.¹⁹ This spatial distribution of inscriptions complements that of Buddhist statues associated with the earliest phase of Sriwijaya history, whether they are associated with foundations of brick shrines, or remain, as yet, contextless. The most surprising discovery is to find a large Buddha statue at Muara Timpeh, a site very far

¹⁸ Buddhist priests employed at the Malayu and Sriwijaya courts may well have given their rulers the same advice given by Buddhist pilgrim Gunavarman of Kashmir to the ruler of Java in the early fifth century: when asked whether it was proper for him to fight his enemies, he was told that he should do so (as quoted in Wolters 1967: 222).

¹⁹ The temple sites revealed in the past years along the southern tributaries of the Musi—the Koming, and the Lematang—all date back to the ninth century onwards (see Manguin 2009 for more details).

upstream on the Batang Hari. This find, as those downriver at Betung Bedarah, still lack archaeological context. So far, only in two sites have archaeologists brought to light remains of substantial temple structures associated with seventh-eighth-century statues: at Tingkip on the footpath allowing a passage between the two river basins; and at Bingin, on the banks of the Musi Rawas overlooking rapids, where transshipment of cargoes would have been necessary. No systematic excavations have yet been carried out around these religious sites to look for and investigate the kind of settlement with which they would have been associated.

Immediately after the foundation of the new state, therefore, secondary nodes appear in the landscape, within each river basin and in between the two basins. These nodes were situated at confluences, at transshipment stages, and may have acted as self-sufficient units of collection of local trade commodities, at the focal point of ecological niches (a similar pattern was maintained in later Sriwijaya times, with later temples being built at confluences of tributary rivers). They no doubt acted also as control centers for traders on their way to the highland valleys, including those rich gold-producing areas in the upper Batang Hari, thus allowing the two drainage systems to come under the sway of one single *datu*, a *primus inter pares* settled at the now burgeoning urban center at Palembang. The new power was thus almost immediately able to rise above the geographical limits of physiographic macro-regions defined in terms of drainage basins; the economy of Sriwijaya was no longer contained within a single river basin in Sumatra.

After considering the data obtained from the archaeological terrain, there are grounds to briefly consider again local perceptions of the southeast Sumatra political environment, as expressed in later times in oral sources or ethnographical testimonies, from both upstream (*hulu*, as expressed in Pasemah literature), and downstream (*hilir*, in nineteenth-century Palembang Sultanate texts and in contemporary Dutch reports).

All appear to fit well with the earlier evidence presented above and may thus provide a hypothetical context to the situation in Sriwijaya times, substantiating the role of the Musi River basin system, and shore up Palembang's earlier role as a central place. Many Western authors, working from Palembang with local informers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have noted the *hulu-hilir* complementarities in the Musi River basin (all sources quoted in Manguin 2009). The 'Batang Hari Sembilan' (the 'Nine Rivers'), as the Musi drainage system was locally referred to, was explicitly perceived as the *oikumene* of the Sultans (together with the tin-producing Bangka and Belitung islands); nineteenth-century Malay texts from Palembang define this social space in unambiguous terms: the raja rules ' (...) in the polity (*negeri*) of Palembang, with all its upstream countries of the Batang Hari Sembilan, as well as with its outlying *negeri* such as Bangka, Mentok, and Belitung; all these are governed by the *negeri* of Palembang'. When Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin fought against the Dutch at Palembang, he is said to have taken refuge

upriver to renew alliances among the Malay people there, 'and he assembled all the clans (*pucukan*) of the Musi and its tributaries. The chiefs of all these clans had taken an oath by sacrificing a buffalo and eating with the Sultan, and swore to live and die with (=in the service of) the Sultan' [Woelders 1975: 74, 162]. Again, we have here, as in Sriwijaya times, a polity in which a focally situated settlement exercised a measure of control, in the form of a renewable alliance, over a limited periphery.

The key term in this political system is indeed *sumpah*, designating those oaths that appear to have been constantly renewed between the Sultans and the Malays settled upriver, along the banks of the Batang Hari Sembilan, during ceremonies where the charters of investiture (*piagam*) were bestowed, and then brought back upriver by the local chiefs. These references, however, appear to have mostly referred to those Malay settlers of the Musi River basin that were the true subjects of the rulers at Palembang, to which they paid taxes. At the risk of being anachronistic, I would say to simplify that these people would have been the 'descendants' of those settlers of the peripheral *mandala* polities referred to in seventh-century inscriptions, those who would have built and established the sites where statues and temples were brought to light. The hypothetical parallel is reinforced by the fact that the Sabokingking text and its subsets in the various *mandalas* are strongly worded imprecations that repeatedly refer, in Old Malay, to oaths being pronounced. The same term (*sumpah/persumpahan*) is used and clearly defines relations with people from outside the central *kadatuan*. The shape of the stone on which the central Sabokingking text is inscribed, with a groove and a spout that can only have been there to gather the water used in stone bathing rituals, to be drunk by those taking the oath, also checks nicely with the ethnographic evidence. The text clearly states that those taking the oath had to drink this water. Such oath taking ceremonies are known to have been practised in India, in both legal and Tantric Buddhism contexts [de Casparis 1956: 28-29, 43-44; Wolters 1983: 54]. Whether such oath taking rituals were introduced with Buddhism or were practised earlier on in local upstream/downstream relationships, the fact remains that they survived into modern times.

The people in the highlands, further upriver from those dwelling along the valleys of the 'Nine Rivers', were not under the direct administration of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sultans, to whom they did not pay taxes. They are known however to have 'gone down river to pay homage' (*milir sebo*) to Palembang and its rulers three times a year and also to take an oath (*bersumpah*) at Bukit Seguntang, therefore also entering in a comparable form of contractual relationship. They do appear to have considered themselves as part of one single *oikumene*, at least if one listens to their way of describing their world-view in their oral epics, as recorded in the 1970s [Collins 1998]. In this Pasemah oral tradition, the *raje* (Malay *raja*), as opposed to the local chief (*pasirah*), had his residence downstream, in Palembang, where the dangerous forces resided, and where commercial expeditions needed to be organized regularly, during which *piagams* were renewed. The Pasemah recognized

that Palembang had always been a great downstream center for commerce and government. It was the distant seat of the *raja* who ruled at the harbour city, at the distant end of all the rivers of the region. He represented a larger order in which the highlanders took part. Traditionally, Pasemah people say, forest products like timber, rattan, aromatic resins, and honey were sent downriver in exchange for salt and cotton fabrics. The congruence of modern and ancient sources is striking.

* * *

To conclude this essay, I would like to make a few remarks on what makes the Sriwijaya state so different from what we know of Java, or of India for that matter. We have seen that the major late seventh-century Sriwijaya inscriptions, with one exception that describes the good deeds of the Buddhist ruler, are political and provide us with a detailed local representation of the state [Kulke 1993]. We have also noted that no further inscriptions were produced by Sriwijaya rulers in Sumatra during the centuries that follow, whereas, starting in the eighth century, Javanese rulers produced thousands of inscriptions (among these, the Sailendra rulers, who entertained intimate, symbiotic links with ninth- and tenth-century Sriwijaya and used Old Malay for their inscriptions in Java).

What does this difference tell us? The main reason for engraving inscriptions in Java or Bali is agriculture (mostly rice cultivation): it is mostly about agrarian extensions, land grants, their recipients such as Brahmans or religious establishments, the emergence of landed intermediaries, irrigation and correlated social and economic organization of power. As far as I understand it, and I am aware of the risk taken when using an argument *a silentio*, none of these features were relevant in Sumatra during Sriwijaya times, which is confirmed by conclusions reached by research on the ecology of ancient southeast Sumatra. As often stated, the Malays were no agriculturalists. They were men of the river and of the forest. This accounts for the structure of the realm [as already noted by Oliver Wolters in 1979].

The picture reconstructed in this essay only applies to the late seventh to eighth century, when the Sriwijaya state was being constructed. It would most probably not remain a static entity but one that was naturally dynamic. The dearth of vernacular written evidence after the 680s obliges us to keep abiding by Oliver Wolters' admonition, asserted when he decided to abandon Sriwijayan studies and leave the field to archaeologists: 'The terrain is now the superior text in Sriwijayan studies' [Wolters 1986: 41; an argument further developed in Manguin 2001].

Bibliography

- Agustijanto Indradjaja. 2012. 'The Pre-Srivijaya Period on the Eastern Coast of Sumatra: Preliminary Research at the Air Sugihan Site'. In *Connecting Empires and States: Selected Papers from the 13th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, ed. M.L. Tjoa-Bonatz, A. Reinecke, and D. Bonatz, vol. 2, Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, pp. 32-42.
- . 2014. 'The Pre-Sriwijaya Period on the Eastern Coast of Sumatra: Progress Report of Research at the Air Sugihan Site'. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Srivijaya in Southeast Asia and South Asia Regional Context, Jambi. August 2014 (unpublished).
- Andaya, Barbara W. 1993. *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press.
- Bagyo Prasetyo. 2014. 'Megalithic in the Interior of Sumatra: The Communities that Developed during the Srivijaya Period'. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Srivijaya in Southeast Asia and South Asia Regional Context, Jambi, August 2014 (unpublished).
- Blust, Robert. 2006. 'Whence the Malays?' In *Borneo and the Homeland of the Malays: Four Essays*, ed. James T. Collins and Awang Sariyan, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp. 64-87.
- Bonatz, Dominik, John Miksic, J. David Neidel, and Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz, eds. 2009. *From Distant Tales: Archaeology and Ethnohistory in the Highlands of Sumatra*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Bronson, Bennet. 1977. 'Exchange at the Upstream and Downstream Ends: Notes Toward a Functional Model of the Coastal State in Southeast Asia'. In *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History and Ethnography*, ed. Karl L. Hutterer, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, pp. 39-52.
- Bronson, Bennet, and Jan Wisseman. 1976. 'Palembang as Śrīvijaya: The Lateness of Early Cities in Southern Southeast Asia'. *Asian Perspectives* 19(2): 220-239.
- de Casparis, Johannes G. 1956. *Prasasti Indonesia*. Vol. 2, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century AD*. Bandung: Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia/Masa Baru.
- Charras, Muriel. Forthcoming. 'The Palembang Hinterland, a Vast Production Space for Srivijaya's Emergence and Development'. Paper presented at the 5th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Studies, Naples, September 2007.
- Charras, Muriel, Pierre-Yves Manguin, and Soeroso. 2006. 'Daerah Dataran Rendah dan Daerah Pesisir: Periode Klasik [Low lying and coastal areas: The classical period]'. In *Menyelusuri sungai, merunut waktu: Penelitian arkeologi*

- di Sumatera Selatan; hasil kerja sama 2001-2004 Puslitbang Arkeolog: Nasional, IRD, EFEO* [Following rivers and time: Archaeological research in South Sumatra; the result of cooperation 2001-2004 National Archaeological Research Center, IRD, EFO], ed. Dominique Guillaud et al., Jakarta: Pt. Enrique Indonesia, pp. 49-63.
- Christie, Jan Wisseman. 1990. 'Trade and State Formation in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, 300 BC-AD 700'. In *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, ed. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and J. Villiers, Singapore: Singapore University Press, pp. 39-60.
- . 1995. 'State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia: A Consideration of the Theories and the Data'. *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151(2): 235-288.
- Cœdès, George. 1918. 'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 18(6): 1-36.
- . 1930. 'Les inscriptions malaises de Çrīvijaya'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 30(12): 29-80.
- . 1964. *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Paris: de Boccard.
- . 1968. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Ed. W.F. Wella, tr. S.B. Cowing. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Cœdès, George, and Louis-Charles Damais. 1992. *Sriwijaya: History, Religion, Language of an Early Malay Harbour Polity*. Monograph no. 20. Translated articles, ed. P.-Y. Manguin and Tan Sri Dato Mubin Sheppard. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
- Cœdès, George, Louis-Charles Damais, Hermann Kulke, and Pierre-Yves Manguin. 2014. *Kedatuan Sriwijaya: Kajian Sumber Prasasti dan Arkeologi; Pilihan artikel* [Kadatuan Sriwijaya: Studies on epigraphy and archaeology: A choice of articles]. Ed. V. Degroot, A. Griffiths and P.-Y. Manguin. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu bekerjasama dengan, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pusat Arkeologi Nasional.
- Collins, William A. 1998. *The Guritan of Radin Suane: A Study of the Besemah Oral Epic from South Sumatra*. Bibliotheca Indonesica 28. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Dalsheimer, Nadine, and Pierre-Yves Manguin. 1998. 'Viṣṇu mitrés et réseaux marchands en Asie du Sud-Est: nouvelle données archéologiques sur le Ier millénaire apr. J.-C.'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 85: 87-123.
- Dunn, F.L. 1975. *Rain Forest Collectors and Traders: A Study of Resource Utilization in Modern and Ancient Malaya*. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 5. Kuala Lumpur: Art Printing Works.
- Forestier, Hubert et al. 2006. 'New Data for the Prehistoric Chronology of South Sumatra'. In *Archaeology: Indonesian Perspective, R.P. Sojoeno's Festschrift*, ed. Truman Simanjuntak et al., Jakarta: Lipi Press, pp. 177-192.

- Furukawa Hisao. 1986. 'Environment and Agriculture in the Batang Hari River Basin of Jambi, Sumatra'. In *Environment, Agriculture and Society in the Malay World*, ed. Tsuyoshi Kato, Muchtar Lutfi, and Narifumi Maeda, Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, pp. 49-86.
- . 1994. *Coastal Wetlands of Indonesia: Environment, Subsistence and Exploitation*. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press.
- Griffiths, Arlo. 2011a. 'Inscriptions of Sumatra: Further Data on the Epigraphy of the Musi and Batang Hari Rivers Basins'. *Archipel* 81: 139-175.
- . 2011b. 'Inscriptions of Sumatra, II: Short Epigraphs in Old Javanese'. *Wacana* 14(2): 197-214.
- . 2014. 'Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: Mantras and Dhāraṇīs in Indonesian Inscriptions'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77(1): 137-194.
- Guillaud, Dominique, ed. 2006. *Menyelusuri Sungai, Merunut Waktu: Penelitian Arkeologi di Sumatera Selatan*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional; Paris: Institut de recherche pour le Développement/Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Hirth, Friedrich, and William W. Rockhill, eds. 1911. *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-Fan-Chi*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science.
- van der Hoop, Abraham N.J. Th. à Th. 1932. *Megalithic Remains in South-Sumatra*. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme and Cie.
- Koestoro, Lucas P., Pierre-Yves Manguin, and Soeroso. 1998. 'Kota Kapur (Bangka, Indonesia): A Pre-Sriwijayan Site Reascertained'. In *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1994: Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Paris, October 1994*, ed. P.-Y. Manguin, vol. 2, Hull: University of Hull, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 61-81.
- Kulke, Hermann. 1986. 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom in Southeast Asian History'. In *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, ed. D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; Canberra: Australian National University, pp. 1-22.
- . 1991. 'Epigraphical References to the "City" and the "State" in Early Indonesia'. *Indonesia* 52: 3-22.
- . 1993. "'Kadatuan Srivijaya"—Empire or Kraton of Srivijaya? A Reassessment of the Epigraphical Evidence'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 80(1): 159-180.
- Laporan Kota Kapur. 2007. *Laporan Hasil Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kawasan Situs Kota Kapur* [Report on research and development of the Kota Kapur Site]. Pangkal Pinang: Dinas Pariwisata, Seni dan Budaya, Pemerintah Kabupaten Bangka, Provinsi Kepulauan Bangka Belitung (unpublished).

- Lavy, Paul A. 2013. 'Conch-on-hip Images in Peninsular Thailand and Early Vaiṣṇava Sculpture in Southeast Asia'. In *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, ed. N. Revire and S.A. Murphy, Bangkok: River Books, pp. 153-173.
- Manguin, Pierre-Yves. 1982. 'The Sumatran Coastline in the Straits of Bangka: New Evidence for its Permanence in Historical Times'. *SPAFA Digest* 3(2): 24-29.
- . 1987. 'Études sumatranaises, I: Palembang et Sriwijaya: anciennes hypothèses, nouvelles recherches (Palembang Ouest)'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 76: 337-402.
- . 1992. 'Excavations in South Sumatra, 1988-1990: New Evidence for Sriwijayan Sites'. In *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1990: Proceedings of the Third Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, ed. I.C. Glover, Hull: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 63-73.
- . 1993. 'Palembang and Sriwijaya: An Early Malay Harbour-City Rediscovered'. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 66(1): 23-46.
- . 1996. 'Southeast Asian Shipping in the Indian Ocean during the 1st Millennium AD'. In *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. H.P. Ray and J.-F. Salles, Lyon: Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen/NISTADS; New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 181-198.
- . 2000. 'City-states and City-state Cultures in Pre-15th Century Southeast Asia'. In *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures*, ed. M.H. Hansen, Copenhagen: Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, pp. 409-416.
- . 2001. 'Sriwijaya, entre texte historique et terrain archéologique: un siècle à la recherche d'un État évanescent'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 88: 331-339.
- . 2002. 'The Amorphous Nature of Coastal Polities in Insular Southeast Asia: Restricted Centres, Extended Peripheries'. *Moussons* 5: 73-99.
- . 2004. 'The Archaeology of the Early Maritime Polities of Southeast Asia'. In *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, ed. P. Bellwood and I.C. Glover, London: RoutledgeCurzon, pp. 283-313.
- . 2008. "Welcome to Bumi Sriwijaya", or the Building of a Provincial Identity in Modern Indonesia'. Working Paper Series #102. Singapore: Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/publication_details.asp?pubtypeid=WP&pubid=823.
- . 2009. 'Southeast Sumatra in Protohistoric and Srivijaya Times: Upstream-Downstream Relations and the Settlement of the Peneplain'. In Bonatz et al. 2009, pp. 434-484.
- . 2010. 'Pan-Regional Responses to South Asian Inputs'. In *Early Southeast Asia: 50 Years of Archaeology in Southeast Asia; Essays in Honour of Ian*

- Glover*, ed. B. Bellina, E.A. Bacus, T.O. Pryce, and J.W. Christie, Bangkok: River Books, pp. 170-181.
- . In press. 'The Archaeology of the Lashed-lug Tradition of Southeast Asia: An Update'. In *Southeast Asian Archaeology 2010: Proceedings of the International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Dublin 2010*.
- McKinnon, E. Edwards. 1979. 'A Note on the Discovery of Spur-Marked Yueh-Type Sherds at Bukit Seguntang, Palembang'. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 52(2): 41-46.
- . 1985. 'Early Politics in Southern Sumatra: Some Preliminary Observations Based on Archaeological Evidence'. *Indonesia* 40: 1-36.
- Miksic, John N. 1985. 'Traditional Sumatran Trade'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 74: 423-468.
- . 2009. 'Highland-Lowland Connections in Jambi, South Sumatra, and West Sumatra, 11th to 14th Centuries'. In Bonatz et al. 2009, pp. 75-102.
- . 2013. *Singapore and the Silk Road of the Sea, 1300-1800*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Nurhadi Rangkuti. 2008. 'Tempayan Kubur di Situs Sentang [Jar burials in the Sentang site]'. Balai Arkeologi Palembang. <http://arkeologi.palembang.go.id/?nmodul=halaman&kat&judul=penelitian-situs-sentang>.
- . 2014. 'Pre-Sriwijaya People's Pattern of Living in the Wetland Area of the East Coast of Sumatra'. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Srivijaya in Southeast Asia and South Asia Regional Context, Jambi, August 2014 (unpublished).
- O'Connor, Stanley J. 1972. *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Thailand*. Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers.
- Pelliot, Paul. 1904. 'Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siècle'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 4: 131-413.
- Ras, Johannes Jacobus, ed. 1968. *Hikayat Banjar: A Study in Malay Historiography*. Bibliotheca Indonesica 1. The Hague: KITLV.
- Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 1994. *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Soeroso. 1997. 'Recent Discoveries of Jar Burial Sites in South Sumatra'. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 84: 418-422.
- . 1998. 'Bangka sebelum Sriwijaya [Bangka before Sriwijaya]'. *Sangkhakala* 2: 18-33.
- . 1999. 'Sumatra Selatan pada Masa Proto Sejarah dan Awal Terbentuknya Negara [South Sumatra in proto-historic and early state formation periods]'. In *Kumpulan Makalah Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi 8 [Proceedings of the Archaeology Meeting]*, Yogyakarta, 15-19 Februari 1999, Jakarta: Ikatan Ahli Arkeologi Indonesia, pp. 536-538.

- Sunarto, Eddy. 2001. 'Situs Kubur tempayan, Kelurahan Lebakbandung, Kotamadya Jambi, Provinsi Jambi [Jar burial sites, Lebak Bandung District, Jambi Municipality, Jambi Province]'. In *Kumpulan Makalah Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi 8* [Proceedings of the Archaeology Meeting], Yogyakarta, 15-19 Februari 1999, Jakarta: Ikatan Ahli Arkeologi Indonesia, pp. 379-385.
- Takaya Yoshikazu. 1986. 'Sago Production at Desa Tanjung, Riau, Sumatra: Its Past and Future Prospects'. In *Environment, Agriculture and Society in the Malay World*, ed. Tsuyoshi Kato, Muchtar Lutfi, and Narifumi Maeda, Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 87-101.
- Tri Marhaeni. 2006. 'Pemukiman Pra-Sriwijaya di Pantai Timur Sumatera Kawasan Karangagung Tengah Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin, Provinsi Sumatera Selatan [Pre-Sriwijayan settlements on the east coast of Sumatra, District Karang Agung Tengah, Regency Banyuasin, Province South Sumatra]'. *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi* 13: 44. <http://www.balarpalembang.go.id/BPA13.htm>.
- . 2011. 'Pemukiman Śrīvijaya di Kota Kapur, Pulau Bangka [Srivijaya settlements in Kota Kapur, Bangka Island]'. *Kalpataru Majalah Arkeologi* 20(2): 30-46.
- Tsubouchi Yoshiro and Iljas Nasruddin, eds. 1980. *South Sumatra: Man and Agriculture*. Kyoto: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies.
- Weber, Max. 2013 [1925]. *La Domination (Herrschaft)*. Tr. Isabelle Kalinowski, ed. Yves Sintomer. Paris: La Découverte (Politique et société).
- Winstedt, Richard O., ed. 1938. 'The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu'. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 16(3): 1-226.
- Woelders, Michiel O. 1975. *Het Sultanaat Palembang, 1811-1825*. KITLV (VKI 72). 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Wolters, Oliver W. 1966. 'A Note on the Capital of Srivijaya during the Eleventh Century'. In *Essays Offered to G.H. Luce*, Artibus Asiae Supplementum 23, ed. Ba Shin, J. Boisselier, and A.B. Griswold, vol. 1, Ascona: Publishers Artibus Asiae, pp. 225-239.
- . 1967. *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Sri Vijaya*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- . 1975. 'Landfall on the Palembang Coast in Medieval Times'. *Indonesia* 20: 1-57.
- . 1979. 'Studying Srivijaya'. *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 52(2): 1-32.
- . 1983. 'A Few Miscellaneous Pi-chi Jottings on Early Indonesia'. *Indonesia* 36: 49-64.
- . 1986. 'Restudying Some Chinese Writings on Sriwijaya'. *Indonesia* 42: 1-42.
- . 1999. *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. 2nd rev. edn. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University (Southeast Asia Program Publications); Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.