

Master thesis archaeology, specialisation Asia, Leiden University

Śriwijaya: Myth or Reality?



Roy-William Bottenberg

S0212652

Supervisors: Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler & Dr. I.R. Bausch

Leiden, march 2010

Photograph on the front: source: beeldbank.wsd.leidenuniv.nl (OD-19509), location where the Karang Brahi inscription has been found. Author unknown.

Master thesis archaeology, specialisation Asia, Leiden University

Śriwijaya: Myth or Reality?

Roy-William Bottenberg

S0212652

Supervisors: Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler & Dr. I.R. Bausch

Leiden, februari 2010

Abstract:

Śriwijaya was a kingdom on the island of Sumatra, Indonesia between 600 and 1400 A.D. It was discovered in 1918 in written records of Sumatran, Indian, Arabian and Chinese origin by Georges Coèdes. The records portrait Śriwijaya as a thalassocracy, a strong maritime empire that controlled the Straits of Malacca. In the last ten to twenty years, the image of Śriwijaya as a strong maritime thalassocracy, with a powerful navy, international trade and little contact with its hinterland as parameters, is falling apart. Archaeological excavations and surveys reveal no strong maritime empire, but polities or kingdoms, on Sumatra only and not polities across the Straits of Malacca. Almost all the archaeological data gathered in this thesis of the provinces of South-Sumatra and Jambi on Sumatra is placed in the context of the peer polity interaction theory and the *mandala* theory. A closer look at the archaeological data, together with the written records, to prove Śriwijaya did not last more than six centuries. It appears that the first polity of Śriwijaya was the polity at Palembang, South-Sumatra from roughly 650 to 1025 A.D, and the second polity of Śriwijaya was the polity at Jambi, Jambi from 1079 to 1400 A.D. The Cola raid in 1025 A.D. at Palembang shifted the capital of Śriwijaya to Jambi to maintain better contact with its hinterland by means of the Batang Hari river, for products such as gold, tin and non-timber forest products to reach the international market through Śriwijaya. Written records change when the capital shifted. Epigraphical sources on Sumatra on Śriwijaya disappear, and its name changes in Chinese records. Despite the fact archaeological data reveals no strong thalassocracy, but instead reveals trade polities with good contact with their hinterland to maintain their trade products on which the international market depends, the image of Śriwijaya as a thalassocracy remains alive, by old epigraphical and other written records together with nation-building and Cultural Tourism by the Indonesian government. Future research should focus on the archaeological differences in material culture between Palembang and Jambi to define if Śriwijaya lasted over six centuries or if it was only the early polity at Palembang, where the polity at Jambi was different than its predecessor.

Contents:

List of Figures & Tables:	7
Preface:	8
Chapter 1: Introduction:	9
Regional Background of Sumatra:	12
Śriwijaya as a Case Study:	13
Data on Śriwijaya:	14
Research Questions:	15
Chapter 2: Research History:	18
Śriwijaya According to Contemporaries	18
Chinese Sources	18
Arab Sources	20
Indian Sources	20
Sumatran and Javanese Sources	20
The Image of Śriwijaya	21
Coèdes:	22
Dutch Colonial Rule:	24
Indianization:	25
Nation building & Cultural Tourism:	26
The First Scientific Excavations & Surveys:	28
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework:	30
Archaeology:	31
Peer Polity Interaction:	32
A Coastal State and its Theories:	36
Mandala:	38
World Systems Theory:	42
Chapter 4: The Archaeology of South Sumatra:	44
Chapter 5: The Archaeology of Jambi:	53
Chapter 6: The Polities and the Material Culture:	59
Evaluation of the Written Accounts:	59
The Archaeology of South Sumatra:	60
The Archaeology of Jambi:	61
The Polities of Śriwijaya:	62
Exchange & Contact with the Hinterland:	66
Kedah as Śriwijaya:	69
Chapter 7: Conclusion:	73
Bibliography:	75
Appendix I: Glossary:	82

Appendix II: Archaeological Sites & Artifacts of South-Sumatra:	83
Appendix III: Archaeological Sites & Artifacts of Jambi:	90

List of Figures & Charts:

Figure 1: Classical Southeast Asia:	10
Figure 2: Western Indonesia:	11
Figure 3: Cross-Section of Sumatra:	12
Figure 4: Exchange model:	35
Figure 5: Archaeological sites in South-Sumatra:	46
Figure 6: Archaeological sites around Palembang:	47
Figure 7: Nandi, Bumiayu I (Tanah Abang):	50
Figure 8: Stambha, Bumiayu (Tanah Abang):	50
Figure 9: Terracotta Lion, Bumiayu III (Tanah Abang):	50
Figure 10: Siwa, Bumiayu I (Tanah Abang):	51
Figure 11: Agastya, Bumiayu I (Tanah Abang):	51
Figure 12: King or god, Bumiayu I (Tanah Abang):	51
Figure 13: King or god, Bumiayu I (Tanah Abang):	51
Figure 14: Torso, Bumiayu (Tanah Abang):	52
Figure 15: Terracotta heads, Bumiayu III (Tanah Abang):	52
Figure 16: Terracotta heads, Bumiayu III (Tanah Abang):	52
Figure 17: Fragments of makara's, Bumiayu III (Tanah Abang):	52
Figure 18: Archaeological sites in Jambi:	56
Figure 19: Finding spot of the Karang Brahi inscription:	57
Figure 20: Karang Brahi inscription:	56
Figure 21: Amoghapasa statue:	58
Figure 22: Map of the finding spot of the Amoghapasa statue:	58
Table 1: Archaeological sites and artifacts of South Sumatra:	45
Table 2: Archaeological sites and artifacts of Jambi:	55

Preface

In 2007 I was fortunate enough to gain an internship for a year at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, The Netherlands. The internship was in the section Insular Southeast Asia/Indonesia under guidance of P. Ter Keurs supporting a new exposition in the Museum Nasional in Jakarta about Sumatra. Pieter Ter Keurs suggested I begin reading F. M. Schnitger about Sumatra. After I started reading and expanded further on the reading about the archaeology and history on Sumatra, I found a very interesting realm in Sumatra that appeared to be controversial and confusing: Śriwijaya.

Śriwijaya was a kingdom that has many theories regarding its existence and many researchers wishing Śriwijaya to be an important, rich and long existent kingdom. Up to this day archaeologists, anthropologists, philologists and other researchers in Southeast Asia do not agree with each other about what Śriwijaya exactly is. For the most part however, researchers agree that at one point in its history Śriwijaya had its capital on the island of Sumatra, Indonesia, but there have been two other theories that the capital shifted to other places a couple of times. This kingdom, or empire as some wish to call it, is still not clearly defined and I hope that this thesis sheds some light on the ongoing discussion about Śriwijaya, where it is located and what it really means.

I also wish to thank both my readers dr. H. I. R. Hinzler and dr. I. R. Bausch for their guidance and help during my research and writing of this thesis. H. Hinzler for her knowledge about all the written accounts, advise for the contents and framework of my thesis, and I. Bausch for guiding the lay-out, structure, theoretical framework and figures and tables.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Śriwijaya was a realm that was supposed to exist somewhere between the 7th and 15th century A.D. in Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula (See Figures 1 & 2 on page 10 and 11 for maps of Southeast Asia and Sumatra). Some researchers, such as Wolters and Manguin, believe that the capital of Śriwijaya shifted at several points in history, mostly on Sumatra itself, while others, such as N. K. Shuhaimi, believe that Śriwijaya did have its capital in Kedah, Malaysia as well. Some attention will be paid to Malaysia in this thesis, but I will focus mostly on the ‘core’ region of what is supposed to be Śriwijaya, namely Sumatra. I consider two places on Sumatra to be the core regions. Those are at Palembang, in South Sumatra and Jambi, in Jambi. I base these core regions on excavations and literary evidence. Palembang, South Sumatra, was the capital of Śriwijaya in the 7th century. The joint excavation by the l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient and Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional from 1989-1991 held in the Palembang region, found evidence of occupation from the 7th century onward (Manguin 1993). Textual evidence, both local and foreign from the 7th onward, confirm that the Palembang region had activity. The Jambi province has more architectural remains than Palembang; for example in Kerinci and Muara Jambi temple ruins have been found. Textual evidence, again both local and foreign, describe the move of the capital of a realm from Palembang to Jambi in the 10th – 11th century.

I am of the opinion that it is important to investigate the local archaeology of this trade society and its culture, in order to collect information without interference of biased foreign sources about what has happened from the 6th century to the 14th century on Sumatra. A key aspect of this thesis will be the relationship of Śriwijaya with its hinterland; the Minangkabau and the Batak, with whom it is assumed Śriwijaya traded a lot. This will help understanding maritime trade polities not only with regard to their relationship with the peoples coming from overseas to trade and to where the trade was going, i.e. India and China. But also their relationship with their hinterland, with whom they traded for export products and, according to several written sources I will discuss later, for manpower in times of war.

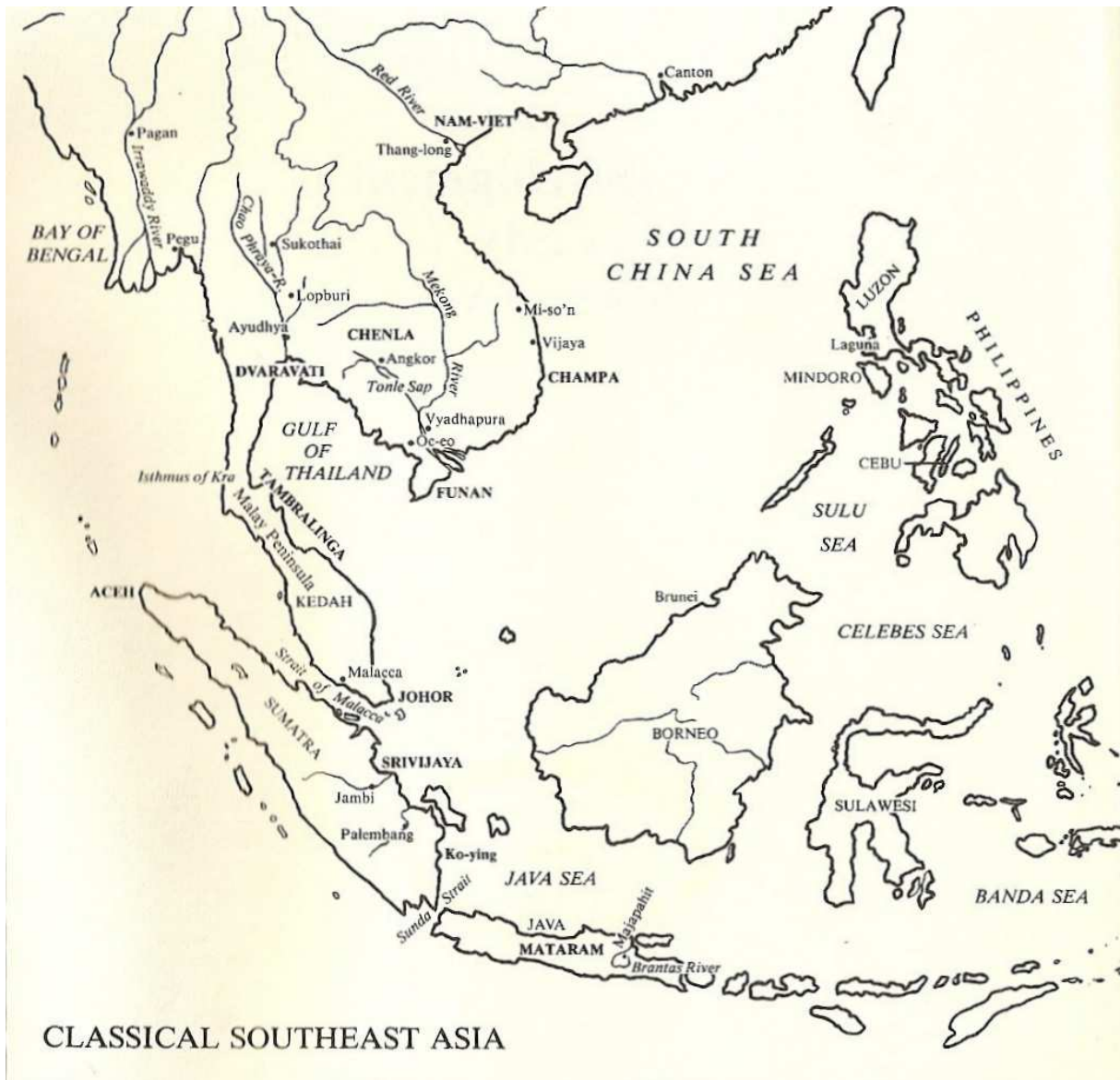


Figure 1: A map of Classical Southeast Asia (Hall, 1985).

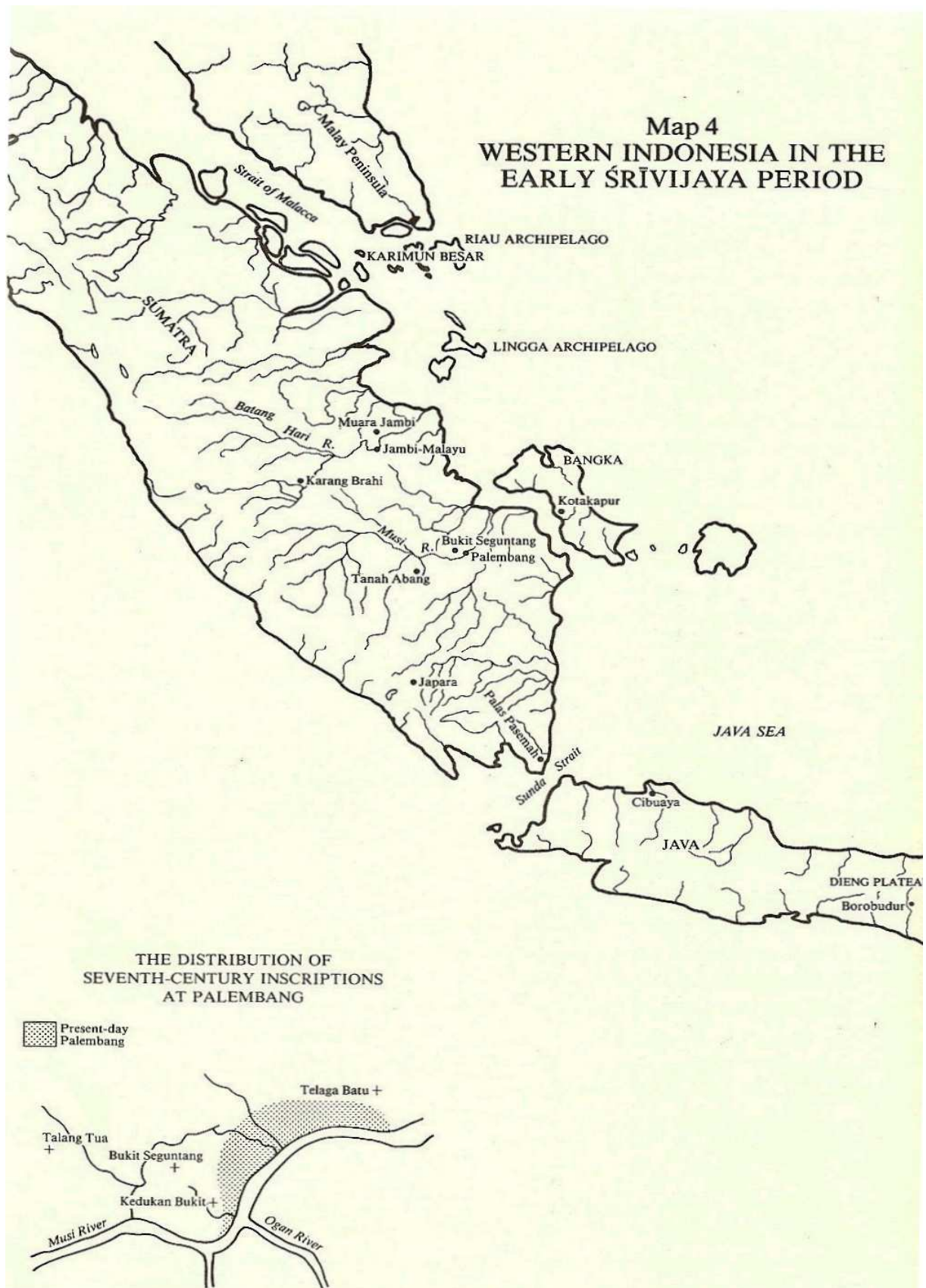


Figure 2: Western Indonesia during the seventh century (Hall, 1985).

Regional Background of Sumatra

First, I would like to describe briefly Sumatra's ecology, biology and climate, and its geographical history. Sumatra has different ecological regions where different cultural groups live, each with their own culture and lifestyle. Part of the argumentation of what Śrīwijaya exactly is, is based upon the interaction between itself, and different cultural groups on Sumatra, between Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula and between Sumatra and India and China.

Sumatra is the sixth largest island in the world and can be divided roughly into three topographical regions (Furukawa 1994: 1) The Barisan Mountains on Sumatra's westcoast. 2) The hills east of the Barisan Mountains and 3) The wetlands on the east side of Sumatra. See Figure 3 below for a schematic crosssection of Sumatra.

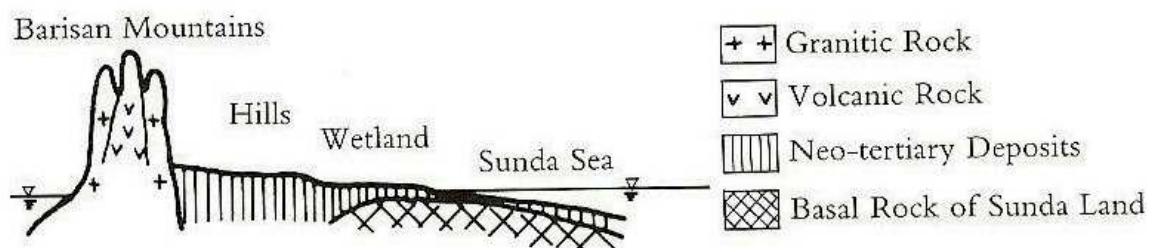


Figure 3: Crosssection of Sumatra from the west coast to the east coast (Furukawa, 1994).

The core regions of Śrīwijaya are in the provinces of South Sumatra and Jambi. Both of them have similar flora and fauna. The majority of the provinces consist of tropical forest on peat wetlands. In the west of them lay the hills leading up to the Barisan Mountains. Both South Sumatra and Jambi have an important river flowing through it: in South Sumatra flows the Musi river and in Jambi flows the Batang Hari river. Both rivers have branches which make up for an excellent communication and transport system in an otherwise swampy, inhospitable place. The modern location of the capitals of South Sumatra and Jambi, Palembang and Jambi, are on the border of the landscape of hills and tropical peat wetland. To the west of Palembang and Jambi the landscape consists of hills leading up to the Barisan Mountains. To the east of Palembang and Jambi begins the tropical peat wetlands. This tropical peat in the east coast wetlands is one of the reasons Sumatra is considered an 'infertile' island (Ibid.). As opposed to Java, Sumatra does not have the grassland savanna climate that allows food-stapling and wet-rice production in great quantities; therefore South- and East-Sumatra could

not have supported a big population as Java could. Instead Sumatran people on the east coast had to deal with a peat layered soil and its subsequent tropical infertility. By means of swidden agriculture or freshwater tidal irrigation by river, the freshwater is pushed upwards and overflows the riverbanks, which allows the practice of tidal irrigation there (Ibid: 20). The surface remained fertile and rice and fruits could be grown. However, drainage of the peat was not an option to obtain larger amounts of fertile arable land. When the peat is drained, toxic elements are freed, poisoning the plants and trees, which results in fruit trees not bearing fruits and the harvesting of rice is minimum (Ibid.).

Whatever Sumatra lacks in staple food and arable land, it makes up for it with its mangrove forests. Almost the entire east coast is covered with mangrove forests. Mangrove forests are the nurseries of many types of fish, so fish was plenty. Sumatra also had plenty of Non-Timber-Forest Products (NFTP). Colombijn (2005) sums up the important and expensive NTFP for Sumatra in the 19th century: bird's nests, ivory, rhinoceros horn, tortoiseshell, camphor, lac trees, dragon's blood and bezoar stones. These were often traded with Java and China in that period and presumably also in earlier times. Besides the richness in forest products, Sumatra as a region, including the islands of Sumatra's coast such as the island of Bangka, the Nias islands and the Mentawai islands are also home to precious metals. For example, Bangka, the island before the coast of South Sumatra, is rich in tin. The Barisan Mountains have other precious metals, most notably gold. *Suvarṇadwīpa*, Island of Gold, was the Sanskrit name Indians gave to Sumatra. Arab travellers who wrote about Sumatra from the ninth century on also referred to it as 'Isle of Gold'.

Furthermore, Sumatra has different groups living on the island. In the interior of the island people like the Batak and Minangkabau live, compared to the Malay on the east coast of Sumatra. The Batak and Minangkabau are groups that are viewed as the hinterland of Śriwijaya.

Śriwijaya as a Case Study

As said before, South Sumatra and Jambi are the core regions of Śriwijaya, as will be expanded on in this thesis. That means that Śriwijaya and its people have Malay roots. Śriwijaya can be considered as a 'recent' kingdom. It was 'discovered' in 1918 by Coedès. This 'discovery' was not done by exploring deep into the tropical forests of Indonesia and stumbling upon ancient ruins, but by carefully studying the ancient texts and sources and basing a theory on those sources. The first mentioning of Śriwijaya as an empire into the

academic world was by Coedès in his article: *Le royaume de Śriwijaya*, in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* in 1918. His conclusions were based upon various iconographic, epigraphic texts from Indonesia itself and sources from outside Indonesia writing about Indonesia. Examples from those sources are Chinese texts, such as I-Tsing (Takakusu 1896) and Chou Ja-Koua (Hirth 1967), Arabic traveller stories such as Sulayman and Ibn Rustah (Wolters 1967), and Indian inscriptions, such as Rajaraja and Rājendracola (Wolters 1967; Coedès 1918).

Before Coedès' article, researchers thought Śriwijaya to be a king on Sumatra, but after his article the term is associated with a realm. That means there was now theoretical evidence that an empire existed, however only in texts and on paper. Before Coedès' article there was already much research into the inscriptions and other written sources of and about Śriwijaya and after Coedès' article, the philologists researched further into the new kingdom. Since recent times however, ideas about Śriwijaya are changing.

Researchers such as Manguin and Jacq-Hergoualc'h believe that the old concept of Śriwijaya is misplaced. Coedès and most of his fellow scholars gave the impression that Śriwijaya was a strong thalassocracy that ruled six centuries long over the Strait of Malacca and more. Currently scholars are reinterpreting the ideas and theories of Śriwijaya and what it must have been. While I agree that reassessing Śriwijaya is good, it is still in need of improvement and the idea of a strong thalassocracy should be reconsidered. A thalassocracy is typically associated with island kingdoms in the Mediterranean Sea, having a strong navy, international trade and not much contact with their hinterland. Śriwijaya is considered an island kingdom because of its international trade, but it also appears to have good contact with its hinterland. These conflicting ideas, theories and archaeology make Śriwijaya an interesting case study. Redefining Śriwijaya from a thalassocracy towards peer polities and replacing it in the history of Southeast Asia using archaeology and material culture of South-Sumatra and Jambi as a primary source and using written records by the Chinese, Arabs and Indians as an asset to archaeology instead of the written records as a primary source and archaeology as secondary is something that has not been done often.

Data on Śriwijaya

The majority of the data on Śriwijaya relevant for this thesis is the archaeology found in South Sumatra and Jambi. The data comes from surveys and excavations since the 1970s and early reports by historical societies under the colonial rule of the Dutch. I will expand on

this further in chapter two. The majority of the written sources available are being re-evaluated and reinterpreted by means of this thesis. Together with the written sources, the ‘art’ of Śrīwijaya is also being re-evaluated and reinterpreted, while both written sources and remains of material, particularly statuary, are the most important markers for identifying Śrīwijaya.

The ‘art’ consists mostly of Buddhist or Hindu statues that have been found on Sumatra. I have put the word art in quotation marks for two reasons. The first reason is that the people during those times did not think of their religion and accompanying statues and rituals as art. It was a daily life practical matter. The second is that when it is considered art by modern scholars searching for similarities or differences with contemporary ‘art’ elsewhere in South (east) Asia, it will get a disentangled meaning without context. However, recently the ‘art’ of Śrīwijaya is being reassessed as well, and the whole concept of Śrīwijayan art is under discussion. As Jacq-Hergoualc’h said: The single account of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing turned the capital of this supposed thalassocracy into a centre of Buddhist scholarship that was reputed to be the equal of the greatest Indian universities. From then on, it was only one step before it was transformed into a major artistic centre, peppered with prestigious monuments sheltering peerless images (Jacq-Hergoualc’h, 2002: 494). While certain written sources might confirm the theories of Śrīwijaya being a thalassocracy, the archaeology has not provided reliable evidence for this. The monuments and the ‘art’ are not a solid proof for a thalassocracy that existed for over six centuries.

Research questions

This thesis tries to bring all the evidence about Śrīwijaya together and combine them into a single argument whether or not Śrīwijaya is real or a myth, instigated by the scholars searching for something that never existed. Was Śrīwijaya really a thalassocracy that existed over six centuries and ruled parts of Southeast Asia? And where were its core areas? The focus of studies on Śrīwijaya has mostly been on written accounts. An analysis of the archaeological record as primary evidence of Śrīwijaya’s activities and location is something that has not been done before in this way.

I will include the ‘art’ into the archaeology of South Sumatra and Jambi. My goal with regard to the ‘art’ is to analyse the dating, the ‘style’ and most importantly the context in which the statues have been found. The goal is to analyse the sites that have been found in South Sumatra and Jambi in the timeframe 600 -1400 A.D., which is that timeframe of

Śriwijaya's existence as thought of by scholars on Śriwijaya. I also want to look at the quantity and quality of the artifacts that have been found on the sites in order to draw conclusions about the age and importance of the site. The expected distribution and dating of the artifacts should be continuous in the time-frame of 600 – 1400 A.D at the core areas and sites of South-Sumatra and Jambi. The archaeological data will prove or disprove if the distribution and dating of the artifacts in South-Sumatra and Jambi is continuous and as such a thalassocracy. Another important category of data consists of records about Śriwijaya. The written sources are both from Sumatra and from foreign sources. In this thesis I will include inscriptions found in South Sumatra and Jambi that are connected to Śriwijaya in the archaeology of the two provinces. However, I will list them as archaeological material and will not discuss them in great detail, since the scope of this thesis is too small for that. I have chosen to discuss the foreign sources on Śriwijaya in chapters two and six and not include them in the archaeology of South Sumatra and Jambi, because they give us a different view of Śriwijaya than the archaeological ones.

In chapter two the research history of Sumatra will be discussed, followed by the theoretical framework in chapter three. Chapter two is vital for understanding how the theories and ideas of Śriwijaya shaped up during the course of history and why people and certain academics hang on to the idea of Śriwijaya as a strong thalassocracy. The theoretical framework of chapter three will mostly be of Renfrew & Cherry's peer polity interaction (1995) and of Wolters' *mandala* theory (1999). I have chosen these theories because the peer polity theory is about interaction between polities, whether city states or kingdoms, in general, outside the Asian continent and the *mandala* theory is about governments of polities or kingdoms, specified for Southeast Asia.

All the data on Śriwijaya will be discussed in chapters four and five. Chapter four will be about the sites and artifacts of South Sumatra and chapter five about the sites and artifacts and Jambi.

As mentioned above, the region of Kedah, Malaysia was a candidate for the capital of Śriwijaya, moreover, according to Chinese, Arab and Indian sources, this region also had polities that were under the rule of Śriwijaya during its reign. The hinterland of Śriwijaya, consisting of the Batak and Minangkabau in the Barisan Mountains will also be discussed in chapter six. All these theories and ideas will be discussed in chapter six, in combination with the data from chapters four and five and the theory from chapter three. The importance of Śriwijaya for contemporary society will also be briefly discussed in chapter six.

The goal of this thesis is to go back to the roots of a past culture; namely its material culture. By primarily studying the archaeological finds in South Sumatra and Jambi from the time Śriwijaya is supposed to exist, within the theoretical framework of peer polities and *mandala's* I will expand on in chapter two and three, I hope to contribute to the question whether Śriwijaya was a thalassocracy: a strong, maritime-based, trade emporium that ruled the Straits of Malacca for almost eight centuries or just a prestigious *mandala* at Palembang in the 7th century.

Chapter 2: Research History

Śriwijaya According to Contemporaries

In order to understand the image of Śriwijaya, before analyzing it in a scholarly way, establishing ideas of societies co-existing and interacting with Śriwijaya is needed as contemporaneous records, Indian, Arabian, Chinese, Javanese and Sumatran texts give us information. The scope of this thesis is too small to treat every single word ever written on Śriwijaya, so I will summarize main views on it. I would like to start with the most extensive material available for Śriwijaya, namely the Chinese accounts. I will give more details about inscriptions and written accounts in chapter six when I can combine them with archaeological material from this thesis.

Chinese sources

There are important foreign sources telling us about activity and interaction on Sumatra, with Śriwijaya. The most extensive are the Chinese accounts. On one hand there are the eye-witness accounts such as Fa-Shien, I-Tsing, and Chao Jou-Koua, on the other hand are the accounts of the officials of different Chinese dynasties. The latter consists of foreign embassies to China and reports of port officials about the export and import from and to China.

The Hsin Tang shu and Ts'e fu yuan kwei encyclopaedia of embassies to China between 702 and 742, both compiled in the 11th century are examples of Chinese documents (Wolter, 1967: 16). A problem arises with the documents of the Chinese. The accounts of the dynasties, such as the Tang Annals about the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), were written several centuries later. Errors could have been made in those centuries and the authors could have left details out.

The Hsin Tang shu states that Śriwijaya was a double kingdom (Wolters, 1967: 17-18). The last recorded embassy to China from Jambi was in 644 A.D, indicating a take-over from Palembang Śriwijaya (Shuhaimi, 1990: 66).

One of the first known and important travelers to write about Sumatra is I-Tsing. He was a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who travelled from China to India to study Buddhism in the seventh century. His aim was to study at Nalanda University in Bihar, India. During his

travels between India and China, he stayed in Sumatra. At the time of his first trip to the holy places of Buddhism in 671 A.D., he stopped in Śrīwijaya to study grammar for six months. He lived in India for ten years and returned to Śrīwijaya afterwards for four years, from 685 to 689 A.D. In Śrīwijaya he copied and translated Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese. In 689 A.D. , after a stop in Canton, he returned to Śrīwijaya, writing his memoirs there. In 692 he sent his manuscripts to China, returning there himself in 695 (Jacq-Hergoualc'h, 2002: 238-239).

I-Tsing stayed for a total of over 10 years in Sumatra, first learning the Sanskrit language and after his visit in Nalanda translating Sanskrit texts into Chinese to take them back to China.

I-Tsing writes that Śrīwijaya had 'over 1000 monks' doing their chores according to the rules set by the Indians, placing even more importance to Śrīwijaya by referring to population numbers and a high level of Buddhist knowledge. I-Tsing also discusses fifteen different 'kingdoms' who were conquered by Śrīwijaya with a description of their locations.

The scholar who translated I-Tsing' writings is the Japanese Takakusu (1896). He completed the unfinished translation his master Kasawara started. Takakusu published his book of I-Tsing translations in 1896, over hundred years ago. An English edition was published in 1986, but that publication was a reprint of the 1896 one. He published his original version in English, with a letter from F. Max Muller attached. In this letter he is told that not all of I-Tsing writings have been translated:

“Mr. Nanjino once examined MS., and noted: Kasawara leaves out more than a half of the original translation. But I think the portion he has translated agrees with the original pretty well. In reality his translation covered some 72 pages out of 206 in all, the obscure and uninteresting portion naturally left out.” (Takakusu 1896: xix).

That is one of my problems with I-Tsing as a main source for identifying Śrīwijaya: scholars use a century-old source as arguments in favour of Śrīwijaya. If that source is good and useful it is not a problem, but I-Tsing's words have been translated from Tang Chinese through Japanese to English. There is no knowledge of how much information is lost in the translation from Takakusu. As the methods, interests and priorities of scholars at the end of the nineteenth century are vastly different from today's scholars, we should ask ourselves what kind of information is obscure and uninteresting? What kind of, perhaps vital, information is skipped by Takakusu?

Arab sources

Besides early Chinese sources, there are also Arab travellers who wrote about Sumatra and Śrīwijaya from the 9th century on. However, there seems to be very little knowledge about those Arabian writers. As mentioned before, Sumatra was named ‘Isle of Gold’ by Arabian travelers, placing emphasis on the wealth of Śrīwijaya. It seems that scholars who mention Arabian writers in their research papers and monographs take their information from secondary sources and not the primary ones and, to my knowledge, I have so far not discovered a study or re-study of Arabian writers about Sumatra, Śrīwijaya by Southeast Asian scholars that might place what has been said by Arabian writers, such as Abu Zaid Hasan, Ibn Rustah, Sulayman and Ibn Batuta, in a Southeast Asian context.

Indian sources

Perhaps surprisingly, compared to the Chinese accounts on Śrīwijaya, there are not much inscriptions of India on those polities. The most famous and most relevant literature on Śrīwijaya for this thesis made by Indians is the Tanjore-inscription of 1030. This inscription, made by Rājendracola from the Cola dynasty in India, lists the names of the polities it conquered from Śrīwijaya, among them, but not excluded were Pannai, Malayur, Mayuridingam, which were presumably on Sumatra (Majumdar, 1961: 342). It is a very popular inscription for philologists because it lists the names of the polities ruled by Śrīwijaya according to Rājendracola.

Sumatran and Javanese sources

A variety of local inscriptions on Sumatra have been found in multiple languages. There are, so far 67 inscriptions found on Sumatra.¹ The majority of those inscriptions, 36, are in Sanskrit. The rest of the inscriptions are in Old Javanese, Old Malay or Tamil or a combination of those four languages. The inscriptions can be divided into two categories: commemorative stones and oath stones. The commemorative stones tell us about the founding of a garden at Palembang (Talang Tuwo inscription, A.D. 684) and two military expeditions,

¹ Personal communication H.I.R. Hinzler

one against Java (Kota Kapur inscription, A.D. 684) and one against the hinterland of Palembang (Kedukan Bukit inscription, 683 A.D.) all made by the ruler Jayanasa (Wisseman-Christie, 1995: 265-266). According to the inscriptions on the pedestal of the Amoghapasa statue, of which details can be found in chapter five, it was a gift from Krtanagara, king in the Singasari dynasty (1222 – 1292 A.D.) to his followers in Malayu (which is Jambi-Śriwijaya). Adityavarman, depicted as a Bhairava with a statue of four metres high, was stationed in West-Sumatra and from there he conquered Jambi. He was the son of a Javanese prince and Sumatran princess and was raja of Sumatra in 1347. He added an inscription to the same Amoghapasa statue from Krtanagara. The inscriptions from Sumatra and Java tell us about marriages between Sumatran and Javanese courts and warfare.

Another famous text about the interactions between Java and Sumatra is the Nagarakretagama. It is dated to 1365 A.D. and is an Old Javanese eulogy to Hayam Wuruk. It describes details of the Majapahit empire, such as ceremonial observances, temples and palaces. Canto 13 of the Nagarakretagama contains states that are under Majapahit's influence, whether conquered or a vassal state. Jambi, Palembang and Minangkabau are among the states mentioned in the eulogy as under Majapahit's influence (Robson, 1995).

The Image of Śriwijaya

We may conclude the following from the sources at the time of Śriwijaya. Arabian and Chinese sources depict Śriwijaya as a wealthy kingdom where trade goods are abundant. Chinese, Arabian and Indian sources mention the amount of places Śriwijaya conquered and how Śriwijaya ruled the Straits of Malacca. I-Tsing describes Śriwijaya as a Buddhist haven, with vassal states. In the Singasari and Mahajapahit period we see marriages between royalty from Sumatra and Java and commemorative stones from Java on Sumatra as a reminder of Javanese greatness.

The image of Śriwijaya that is shown from the written sources:

- Buddhist, based on I-Tsing's texts and several commemorative stones about founding of a garden or village to Buddhist temples in the Malay Peninsula and Negepatam, India.
- Trade is important and valuable according to Arabian and Chinese sources throughout Śriwijaya's existence.
- It is a wealthy empire according to Arabian, Chinese, Indian, Javanese and Sumatran sources, throughout Śriwijaya's existence.

- A mighty empire, because of the kingdoms Śriwijaya conquered and the vassals it had mostly before the 10th century A.D., according to Arabian, Indian and Chinese sources, who list Śriwijaya as having dominion over various, up to this date, unknown kingdoms.
- Śriwijaya conquered and was conquered multiple times during its existence, so warfare seems to be embedded in Śriwijaya, as evidenced by the Tanjore-inscription, Chinese Dynasty Annals and the Nagarakretagama.
- Marriages between the Javanese and Sumatran royalty after the 11th century A.D. suggest that Sumatra and Śriwijaya were important enough to negotiate with or waging war against.

Coedès

The initial ‘discovery’ of Śriwijaya was not, as I mentioned before, due to finds of ancient ruins. Śriwijaya was first ‘discovered’ by George Coedès in 1918 (Coedès, 1918). In his article he formulated and proved his theory about an empire that existed in Sumatra by identifying Śriwijaya as an empire. He used written sources for his identification: Chinese sources such as I-Tsing and Chao Jou-Koua; old Indonesian epigraphy in Sumatra and Java; and Indian epigraphy. Where other researchers before him identified Śriwijaya as a city or king in the texts, Coedès was the first to suggest that the name Śriwijaya might refer to a realm or *mandala* rather than a king or city. He does not discuss or even mention archaeological material in his article, but uses solely written sources. These are mostly not from Śriwijaya itself, but from other authors outside Sumatra who wrote about Śriwijaya.

As a consequence, researchers of this area have been trying to find artifacts to prove the theory of Śriwijaya, instead of finding archaeological material first and then come up with theories of what Śriwijaya (or whatever the archaeological culture is named) is.

One other important problem is that Śriwijaya is classified as a ‘thalassocracy’. An empire based on trade and commerce. As Van Leur (1983: 105) put it:

“On the other hand the Sumatran state, a coastal state, a ‘commercial power’, a ‘sea power’ lying open on the river close to the sea, basing its might and wealth on the stapling of the international trade of Southeast Asia, an expansive maritime power...”

But there has not yet been any convincing evidence of such trade and commerce, nor that Śrīwijaya indeed ever had much maritime power. The theory is based on the written sources, both local and foreign, without having found archaeological evidence for such claims.

Another problem arising in Coedès' article is the use of dates. He quotes written sources ranging from late 7th century until the 14th century to claim Śrīwijaya existed. For example he mentions (1918: 2) the inscription of Kota Kapur, which is dated to 608 Saka (684 A.D.). Later on page 5, he uses the Tanjore inscription of Rājendracola, dated 1030 A.D. as evidence of another mention of Śrīwijaya as an empire (Ibid: 5). As a final example he refers to the Chinese writer Chao Jou-Koua from the 12th century as a means to claim Śrīwijaya was an empire (Ibid: 19).

While the world history has proven that certain empires existed for centuries without falling apart such as the Han Dynasty in China or the Roman Empire in the Mediterranean, Southeast Asia, and Sumatra have never witnessed such an empire that lasted for centuries. There have been dynasties such as the Śailendra, Singasari and Majapahit in Java, the Khmers in Cambodia, Dvaravati and Sukhothai in Thailand and the Cham in Vietnam, all with their monumental architecture, but those empires did not last for more than two or three centuries at the most, and lacked, unlike the empires such as the Han and Tang Dynasty in China, the Roman Empire, and the Aztec and Inca in the America's, a strong centralized government. On page 19 Coedès (Ibid: 19) attributes the Malay inscription of Bangka and the Sanskrit Stone of Wiang Sa to the kingdom of Palembang. Unfortunately, the time of writing is apparent in Coedès' article. The option of a confederacy of city states or kingdoms does not come to his mind. It had to be an empire. Palembang might have been a dominant force during a certain period of time, but other polities also have been dominant. Jambi has taken over control of Palembang at least once during the 'Śrīwijayan times'. According to Wolters (1967: 18) Jambi took the leading role over from Palembang before 1077. Chinese annals of different Chinese dynasties, such as the Tang and the Song mention embassies of both Jambi and Palembang during the 7th and 11th century indicating that at least two polities coexisted in Sumatra.

Another aspect of doubt in Coedès article is his deduction of geographical locations mentioned by I-Tsing combined with the conquered countries of the Tanjore-inscription of Rājendracola. Coedès considers those countries mentioned at the very least tributaries of Palembang Śrīwijaya. One of the problems with combining I-Tsing and Rājendracola is the time frame. I-Tsing stayed in Sumatra in the 7th century, while Rājendracola conquered

Śriwijaya in the 11th century. Names and places might have changed during three centuries. Sumarizing, it can be said that before the discovery of Śriwijaya by Coedès, scholars in Southeast Asia focused on ancient texts, iconography and restorations of monuments more than anything else. This did not change after the discovery of Śriwijaya. Because of the search ‘from the word to the world’, scholars kept looking for places that are being mentioned repeatedly in different ancient sources.

Dutch Colonial Rule

Another scholar important for studying early East-Sumatra is F.M. Schnitger. He was one of the first to actively search for ruins in East-Sumatra, on behalf of the *Oudheidkundige Dienst*. His books *The Archaeology of Hindu-Sumatra* and *Forgotten Kingdoms of Sumatra* (Schnitger, 1936; Schnitger 1937) are invaluable for early records of artifacts or temple ruins. Besides Schnitger several other ‘*residenten*’ were engaged in Śriwijayan studies, an example is L.C. Westenenk (Westenenk 1920), who became a ‘*resident*’ of Palembang in 1920 and wrote several articles about the ‘Hindu-Buddhist Javanese’ of Sumatra. He reports about ‘Javanese’ who built the *candi*’s and the statues in his articles. Reports in the colonial period about the archaeology and linguistics were made in several different journals. Among those journals were *Oudheidkundige Verslagen*, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, and *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschap*.

These early Dutch reports are invaluable for the records and finding of artifacts during the colonial period. Besides these reports, the Dutch also had several important linguists with knowledge of Old Javanese, Old Malay, Tamil and Sanskrit to translate and transcribe ancient inscriptions that were found in Indonesia and the Malaysian Peninsula. The most famous of these archaeologists and epigraphists were F. D. K. Bosch (1886-1967), J. H. C. Kern (1833-1917), A. J. Bernet Kempers (1906-1992), N. J. Krom (1883-1945), J. L. A. Brandes (1857-1905) and J. G. de Casparis (1916-2002). While their focus was mostly on the bigger corpus of Javanese inscriptions, they also gave attention to the Sumatran epigraphical material. De Casparis, with his book *Prasasti Indonesia II* (1956) is invaluable for identification of several inscriptions in the vicinity of Palembang.

Indianization

The next marker in Southeast Asian history is: 'The Indianized States of Southeast Asia' by Coedès in 1948. The first publication was in French and the first English translation was published in 1968, four years after the third edition of the French version.

This book had a major influence with regards to theory formation of Southeast Asian history. The idea of Indianization was not new; Krom (1926;1931) also mentions Indianization but Coedès was the first who formalized the theory of Indianization. The method of Indianization was by trade ships from India. With the ships came the introduction of the major religions: Hinduism and Buddhism. It was thought that the Indianization brought culture and development to Southeast Asia: The kingdoms that already existed in Southeast Asia were transformed by the contacts with India, especially with the introduction of the new religions. Southeast Asia was subject to change in the realms of society, politics and art because of the influences on culture and religion of the Indians. Hinduism and Buddhism were crucial in that change. Rulers, which were previously seen as 'men of prowess', could now identify themselves with the most important gods of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon: Śiwa, Wisnu and Buddha. The identification with Siwa, Wisnu or Buddha, made the rulers the equals of gods and was a way to legitimize their rule on divine grounds; they became an incarnation or avatar of one of those three supreme gods. This change in society differentiation was the catalyst for new developments and was supposed to bring the Southeast Asian societies in a more advanced form of complexity in state formation. The prime catalyst for more complexity in the Southeast Asian societies are, according to the Indianization theory, not because of internal changes and advancements, but because of Indian contacts that brought change with them.

This view of the region is still present in India. The view of Southeast Asia is because the region, at first, only knew Western scholars. Later, Indian scholars who focused more on ancient texts, joined the Western scholars in studying Southeast Asia. In present publications, Indian scholars still refer to Indian and Southeast Asia as 'Greater India'. For scholars in colonial times and shortly after World War II, Southeast Asia lies between two greater cultural areas: China and India. Both are considered birthplaces of civilization: Both have histories of birthplaces of religions, both adopted agriculture and both had advanced forms of complexity and state formation. Southeast Asia is the cultural area between these two birthplaces of civilization, without strong, dynastical empires or birthplace of religions. Southeast Asia was seen as an area where technology and culture flowed to from China and

India. Previous studies of epigraphy and iconography in Southeast Asia in the period of the 'Indianization' led to conclusions previously stated. The iconography of statues or scenes on temples seemed to be different than the same stories and scenes that were made in India. These conclusions strengthened the idea of the scholars that the peoples from Southeast Asia were indeed influenced by India and to a lesser extent China and that the peoples from Southeast Asia 'were not as smart' because they seem to make regularly mistakes in epigraphy and iconography. The massive amount of Chinese ceramics that have been found on archaeological sites confirmed the believe of researchers in less complex societies in Southeast Asia as well, because they did not make excellent pottery themselves and had to import it from China.

The 'Indianization' of Śrīwijaya was not too apparent however. Up to the present, the concept of Śrīwijaya was textual and theoretical. This meant that the focus of the Indianization of Southeast Asia went to the better known kingdoms in Southeast Asia, such as the Khmer in Cambodia or the Śailendra and Singasari from Java. These dynasties produced texts in their own language and in Sanskrit. They built monumental temples with scenes from Hindu or Buddhist myth and the archaeological record of those dynasties is much larger than what is known of Śrīwijaya.

Nation-Building & Cultural Tourism

After World War II, Indonesia became independent from The Netherlands. Before The Netherlands united Indonesia, as we now know it, in the 19th-20th century because of imperial ambitions, Indonesia was not one country. It existed of independent sultanates spread across the islands. The most important sultanates were from Java, Bali and Sumatra. Every sultanate expected to be integrated in the discussion and government with the newly won independence, fearing the new government might become 'Java-centered' again as was in the past (and present). A strong nation-building for a unified Indonesia was important to the new government of Soekarno.

From the 1970s on, scholars from countries like Indonesia, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam and other countries in Southeast Asia gained prominence and started to study their own history. Gradually this led to the downfall of the Indianization theory. The new scholars wanted to see their own country as more than just a cultural backyard of India and China. A new problem that arises with these native writers is the nationalism of the new countries after the Second World War and the decolonization of Southeast Asia. The new countries

developed several strategies to strengthen the idea and unity of the new nations. In Indonesia, between the 1970s and 1990s, Soeharto developed his Cultural Tourism ideology.

“This is perhaps because the Indonesian government, and especially President Soeharto’s regime, has been, among Southeast Asian countries, one of the most consciously and carefully manipulating local cultures in order to integrate them into the national culture” (Kagami, 1997: 62).

The local cultures on Bali, Sulawesi and Sumatra had distinctive dance, music, puppet plays and art which attracted tourists, who had to be entertained. The Cultural Tourism tried to promote the dance, music, puppet plays and art of those local cultures as an ‘Indonesian’ culture. Sumatra has lots of local cultures to integrate into the national culture; The Batak, the Minangkabau from the Barisan Mountains and the Malay of South- and East-Sumatra, each with their distinctiveness from each other and from the national culture. The discovery of a maritime empire that controlled most of insular Southeast Asia before the impressive dynasty of the Śailendra’s on Java was a boost for the Indonesian culture and many Indonesian researchers took the Indianization over and remoulded it to fit the theories of grand empires in Indonesia who took control over other regions in Southeast Asia and dominated them for several centuries, such as Śriwijaya. The careful manipulation of the past was made to let the past reflect on the present: Indonesia was, and is, very important to Southeast Asian past and present.

One of the theories that came along within the Cultural Tourism is the idea of Śriwijayan art. The style of the ‘art of Śriwijaya’ was ‘discovered’ during this period. S. Suleiman is an expert on Śriwijayan art. She examined statues found on Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula in the period of Śriwijaya. She tried to define a unified ‘Śriwijaya’ style of religious statues spread out in Southeast Asia by looking at similar statues found in Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia, India and Sri Lanka. Similarities between statues, even if they were imported, were attributed to Śriwijaya. Suleiman was an apprentice of Bernet Kempers and De Casparis and is Sumatran. After the independence of Indonesia in light of the ‘Indianization’ that affected Southeast Asia and the notion that Śriwijaya was a maritime empire that existed between 600 and 1400 A.D., the search for a Śriwijaya style that belonged to a great empire is justifiable in a period where ‘Indianization’, and after that, nationalism, were the viable theoretical movements of the moment.

The First Scientific Excavations & Surveys

Another benchmark in Śriwijayan research history is the archaeological investigation of Palembang by Bennet Bronson in 1975 and 1979. His research and his conclusions pointed towards the non-existence of Śriwijaya. Palembang was supposed to be a major hub, if not a capital, and Bronson's investigation led to believe otherwise. He found no great amount of pottery or other artifacts. The investigation was important because it was one of the first professional archaeological excavations Sumatra, or Indonesia for that matter, had seen. Besides opening up Sumatra for further archaeological research, Bronson also laid the foundations for scholars for new ideas about Śriwijaya. These new ideas were that Śriwijaya might not be the great maritime empire that scholars since Coedès thought it was. Although Śriwijaya came into existence by convincing ancient written sources, it was not backed up by archaeological evidence. Bronson provided evidence with his excavations that there was no archaeological data backing up the theory of Coedès, thus negating or at least renegotiating the notion of Śriwijaya as a great maritime empire that existed for at least six centuries. These claims of Śriwijaya being not the empire most of the scholars were looking for, was not new, but they have not been properly backed up before.

After the great scholars of pre World War II passed away, new ideas in the field of philology and epigraphy gained ground. The new criticism coupled with the lack of archaeological evidence shook the foundations of the scholars. Was there really a thalassocracy or a maritime empire based on trade relations and domination of the Strait of Malacca? Where is the physical evidence of such an empire? Where are the monuments and where is the art that is so prevalent in other Southeast Asian dynasties that did not leave enough physical evidence?

An answer to these questions came from Pierre-Yves Manguin. Manguin conducted excavations in Palembang between 1989 and 1991 and came to a different conclusion than Bronson. Pottery, earthenware and glazed ware sherds were found in massive quantities. Tens of thousands of sherds were found. A minority was Chinese and the majority was locally produced pottery. This proved that Palembang, at least once in its history, was a big hub or capital in the timeframe of Śriwijaya. Since Manguin, more professional excavations have been executed in search for more physical evidence of occupation in Southeast Sumatra. The dating of the site Manguin excavated was done by all the pottery that has been found; especially the Chinese. Tang, Sui, Yue and Yuan pottery (Manguin 1993) is used for dating of the site at Palembang. Chinese ceramics are easiest to use for dating. Since the Qin dynasty

united China, it unified measures, writing and payment systems. The different dynasties that followed the Qin had distinct cultural and material differences compared to their predecessors, making it easy to distinguish the material culture from different dynasties and making it easier to date sites where the pottery is found. Besides the easy recognition of Chinese pottery from different dynasties, it is also vastly more studied by archaeologists and art historians.

One flaw of the Chinese pottery as dating in Southeast Asia is that the majority of the finds are from surveys or surface finds and not from controlled excavations with context and stratigraphy available.

Besides the fact that not all Chinese pottery are from controlled excavations, is it a fast and fairly reliable dating of the site. Tang, Sui, Song and Yuan dynasty pottery in various shapes and sizes are the most common and recognizable find on sites in Southeast Sumatra. The problem I have with the method of using Chinese ceramics for dating a Southeastern Sumatran site is the foreignness of the pottery. It was made in China and exported to Southeast Asia and in this special case Southeast Sumatra. The majority of the pottery sherds found at Manguins excavation were local (Manguin, 1993: 27). The focus of the scholars is, of course, on the Chinese pottery for its identifiable qualities. The local pottery can not yet be identified as few pottery and ceramics are excavated from controlled sites and there is not yet an established typology of local Sumatran ceramics and pottery.

Physical evidence coupled with textual evidence is one way of identifying a culture. Another way is to study the artifacts in their own context. Provide the artifacts with their own history and study them in their own context, so that their own history speaks to us before we can draw conclusions that affect whole Southeast Asia and theory formation. Grasping an entire, supposedly very important empire, without most of their own physical artifacts, is a seemingly impossible task and I believe that that is one of the reasons why Śrīwijaya is still shrouded in mystery.

Thus, in order to give and get a good overview of what Śrīwijaya exactly is or has been in the past, we need to give ourselves a solid theoretical framework, something that has not happened too often in the past.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The New Archaeology wanted to break with traditional archaeology and approach archaeology in a scientific way. The most important criticism from the New Archaeology towards the traditional or cultural history approach was that it never explained the past. In 1958, Willey and Phillips argued for greater emphasis on the social aspect, for a broader “processual interpretation” or study of the general processes at work in culture history (Willey & Phillips, 1958). The New Archaeology is also known as Processual Archaeology. The thought behind the Processual Archaeology is that by means of a scientific approach, by formulating a hypothesis and testing it by ways of excavating and coming up with a general model for a particular culture or site of what has happened there in the past and why. One positive aspect of this new movement in the archaeological world are the scientific methods developed for excavating a site. Stratigraphy, context and the recording of all data found on a site, together with photographing important aspects of the excavation and the artifacts was all standardized because of the scientific approach, which led to an improved understanding of the past.

Archaeology can be considered as a very recent addition to the sciences that study Southeast Asian history. Other sciences have, compared to archaeology, a long history in this region. Especially linguistics and epigraphists have a strong foot regarding the study of ancient Sumatra. The Sanskrit language has been the focus of many studies, especially in India. Inscriptions in Southeast Asia contain Sanskrit loan words when written in one of the other languages, making it difficult for the translator or transcriber to decipher the inscription, making the shift to inscriptions that are fully Sanskrit even easier. Originating in India, it spread to Southeast Asia and Sanskrit inscriptions have been found on Sumatra. Coedès, Damais, Kern, Krom, De Casparis, Boechari, Bosch, Ferrand and Groeneveldt have done studies of the inscriptions of Sumatra.

Buddhism and Hinduism originated in India as well as the Sanskrit language. Together with the religions came religious ‘art’. I do not agree with the word ‘art’ in this sense. It cannot be considered an ancient version of *l’art pour l’art* because the religious ‘art’ had its meaning for the people. It is possible to discern stylistic changes throughout time, but a lot of parallels are being drawn between India and different Southeast Asian cultures. Hindu and Buddhist statues or reliefs on temples have been studied and compared to the temple scenes in India. Mythological stories or depictions of what happened during the reign of a king were the

most common on temple or palace depictions in Southeast Asia. Because the religions were studied before archaeology became a serious scientific occupation in the 19th and 20th century, iconography connected to the religious depictions were also very important and has led to many stylistic studies in the past and present.

The last of the other important sciences that has great influence in Southeast Asia and Sumatra is architecture. I believe that one of the reasons architecture is so important for Indonesians is that a primary aspect of managing archaeological sites is reconstructing temple complexes. The reasons for the reconstructing or rebuilding now are that rebuilt temples attracts tourists. The reconstruction of temples began sometime after 1970 with the Cultural Tourism of Soeharto as an incentive, together with the influx of tourists.

Archaeology

Archaeology is not the primary science in Indonesia to study the past. As said in the above paragraphs, other sciences have been around longer and receive more attention. Bronson (1979: 396) claims:

“Thus far, no place-name mentioned in the earlier Chinese sources has been securely fixed in Sumatra and, as will shortly be pointed out, the island is securely lacking in archaeological evidence for ‘Indianization’ or any foreign contact during what is here called the protohistoric period.”

I have to agree with him regarding the identification of the names in the Chinese sources. However, in the past 15 years excavations have been taken place and Manguin has placed ‘a capital’ of Śrīwijaya in Palembang during the 1990s (Manguin 1993). According to Ter Keurs² in Muara Jambi, about 92 brick temples or platforms have been discovered during recent investigations. Muara Jambi was known in earlier times: S.C. Crooke found antiquities at Muara Jambi as early as 1820 (Schnitger 1937: 13) and Schnitger also visited Muara Jambi (Schnitger, 1937). It appears that Muara Jambi was also a capital as archaeological evidence is increasing since the 1990s.

Bronson mentions different places and names from indigenous inscriptions that mention Śrīwijaya: Six inscriptions name Śrīwijaya of which three are found in the immediate vicinity of Palembang; Talang Tuwo, Kedukan Bukit and Telaga Batu. The other three are

² Ter Keurs, 2007: personal communication.

located in the northwest, northeast and southeast of Palembang: At Karang Brahi in Jambi, at Kota Kapur on Bangka Island and Palas Pasemah in Lampung. All six inscriptions are in Old Malay and are assigned to 680-690, by dates in the Saka era or by textual parallels (Bronson, 1979: 400). Further in his article Bronson tells us that the Telaga Batu inscription of 683 A.D., together with thirty minor inscriptions, as almost the complete corpus of Sumatran inscriptions in the first millennium A.D (Ibid: 400). The inscriptions mentioned in the above quote, all put the name Śriwijaya in one decade. Was Śriwijaya really that short-lived? Did Śriwijaya suddenly come into existence and disappeared after 20 years of epigraphy? We do not know. As Bronson puts it: One reason why these antecedents are elusive is because, in spite of considerable theorizing, no one has ever looked for them Bronson (Ibid: 399). He considers the hypothesis that the founders of Śriwijaya came from outside Sumatra a valid one (Ibid: 399). To this date, scholars and scientists still argue whether or not Śriwijaya is a Sumatran kingdom or if peoples from outside Sumatra ruled over Śriwijaya on Sumatra.

“Śriwijaya shows little uniformity of style, less connection with the comparatively uniform ‘Śriwijaya style’ of southern Thailand, and none of the concentration or abundance that usually characterizes the fine arts of major South East Asian political foci”(Ibid: 401).

The same holds true for its architectural remains. There have been finds of architectural remains in Sumatra, but few of the first millennium. There is more, but it has not yet been uncovered. Most of the architectural remains of Sumatra are in Padang Lawas, but that site is from the second millennium A.D. (Ibid: 402) and lies in North-Sumatra.

Peer Polity Interaction

One way to help determine what Śriwijaya could have been is the peer polity interaction theory by Renfrew & Cherry (1986:1):

“Peer polity interaction designates the full range of interchanges taking place (including imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the exchange of material goods and of information) between autonomous (i.e. self-governing and in that sense politically independent) socio-political units which are situated beside or close to each within a single geographical region, or in some cases more widely.”

Intensification of production and an increase of long distance trade are all part of the peer polity interaction theory. However, intermediate scale interactions between local, independent groups are often the most neglected and deserve attention (Ibid: 6-7).

Information and symbolic exchange are important in the absence of trade in material goods. Social transformations are accompanied by increased production, which leads to production beyond subsistence (PBS), which in turn allows crafts specialists who work for the elite who control the PBS. Warfare and competitive emulation also promote intensification of resources and interaction between polities (Ibid: 8).

I-Tsing's statement that, Malayu was now Śrīwijaya (Wolters, 1967:41), may refer to a conquest or merging of different polities. This theory fits well into the Śrīwijaya problem because there have been numerous claims in the past about the possible locations of the capitals of Śrīwijayan polities. Palembang, Jambi and Kedah were all candidates for the capital of Śrīwijaya, but no definite proof has been provided (Soekmono, 1985: 58). After his excavations in the early 1990s, Manguin placed the capital of Śrīwijaya at Palembang for at least the second half of the first millennium, but the capital of Śrīwijaya for the first half of the second millennium still has not been thoroughly fixed at Jambi despite literary evidence and the few excavations and surveys that took place there. I believe Jambi, Palembang, Kedah and more polities in the Malaysian Peninsula and Western Indonesia during Śrīwijayan times fit into the theory of Peer Polity Interaction. One must keep in mind that the peer polity theory was developed at first for the Aegean area, as a solution to the endogenous and exogenous influences that are being attributed to change in the Aegean societies. So at some points the theory might not stroke completely with the situation of Śrīwijaya or Southeast Asia in general. The underlying principle is conceived to fairly complex societies, such as developed chiefdoms or early states. Those autonomous territorial units, with administrative centres constitute a civilization (Renfrew & Cherry, 1985: 2). It is safe to assume that Śrīwijaya, as a kingdom or state or empire is a complex society.

Going back to the Peer Polity Interaction and its several variables, it is apparent that for Sumatran Śrīwijaya there is a lack of material goods if we consider Śrīwijaya to be a strong, maritime based, trade-oriented thalassocracy. When lack of material goods is apparent, as can be seen in chapters four and five, the determination of the symbolic exchange and information flow is important. What exactly is the symbolic exchange and information flow of Śrīwijaya?

I consider the name Śriwijaya as symbolic exchange. According to Bronson, whom I have quoted earlier, Śriwijaya, based upon epigraphical data found on Sumatra, should have existed about 20 years before vanishing and resurfacing approximately 150 years later. If we consider the ‘real’ Śriwijaya to be that kingdom that came into existence a bit earlier before the Kedukan Bukit inscription (683 A.D.), then why does the name Śriwijaya last until the 14th century?

The name of Śriwijaya can be part of symbolic exchange and information flow. The peer polities in the region which used the name Śriwijaya as a part in the symbolic exchange and information flow can be viewed as a socio-cultural entity. Not only was the name part of the symbolic exchange of Śriwijaya or the polities that surrounded Śriwijaya, there was more symbolic exchange. Manguin (2004: 285) argues:

“However, is it most probable that, to achieve their economic goals, they must already have commanded some sort of symbiotic relationship with the gold-producing inland societies, including those that constructed the slab graves. This in turn implies that these coastal societies belonged to already complex political systems, not far from the states that would coalesce in the Straits area later in the first millennium A.D., and whose prosperity was also clearly based, among other factors, on the exploitation of a rich hinterland.”

The exchange between Śriwijaya and its hinterland is clear, particular in perishable materials such as NTFPs (Non-Timber Forest Products) and precious metals. Together with this material exchange, there was also symbolic exchange, though studies on this topic are preliminary. There have been some attempts to study the symbolic exchange between Śriwijaya and its hinterland. On one hand, the studies concentrated on exchange after the Europeans penetrated the area in the nineteenth century and on the other hand the studies focused on the exchange of religions in the hinterland. Figure 4 on page 35 shows the exchange of a coastal power with its hinterland and overseas trading partners. This figure is still being used in Southeast Asia for coastal power and their international trade. However for Śriwijaya this model needs some readjustment. Both Palembang and Jambi, both capitals of Śriwijaya, lay more inland than this model suggest. In figure 4, “A” is considered the important site, the capital that controls the trade to the international theatre. If we follow the Śriwijaya model, “B” is the important site. Both Palembang and Jambi lay more than 80 kilometres upstream from the sea. The expected distribution of sites and artifacts should be

upstream on (former) or nearby riverbanks up to the Barisan mountains as this model shows. If “B” is the most important site for Śrīwijayan polities, what does it suggest regarding contact with its hinterland (“C”, “D”, “E” in the model)?

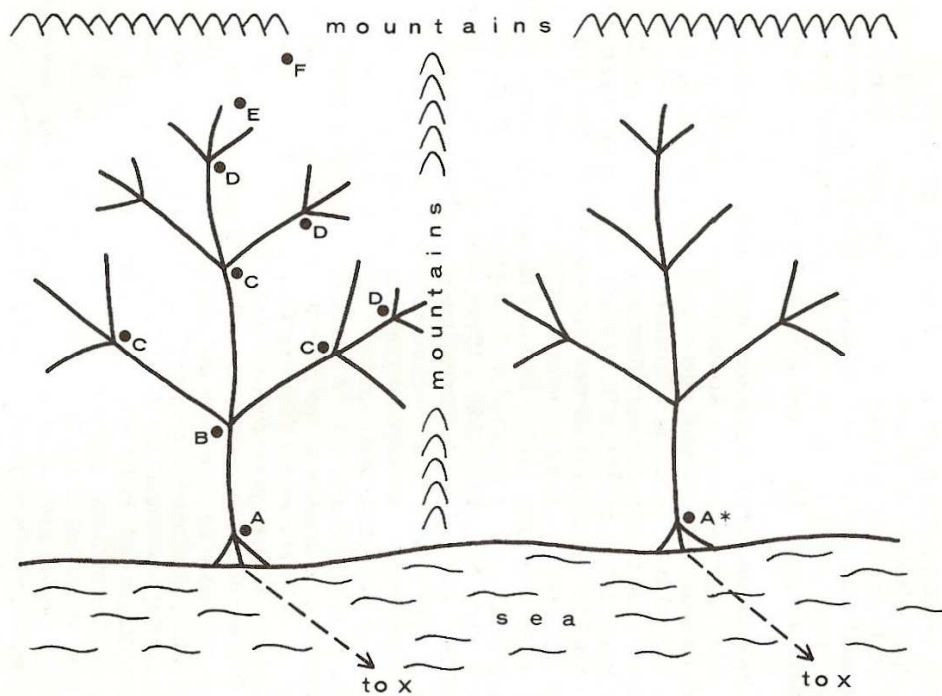


Figure 1: Abstract Model for Exchange between a Drainage Basin Center and an Overseas Power

Figure 4: Bronson, 1979.

From inscriptions is known that Śrīwijaya was no stranger to war. In the Kedukan Bukit inscription, the Śrīwijayan ruler fulfilled the Sumatran role of war chief and consolidated his state. He allied himself with chiefs from surrounding villages and led all the men into battle against Malayu, to rule the Batang Hari River network (Hall, 1985: 83-84). The Telaga Batu inscription (D.162) also informs us of conquest (De Casparis, 1956: 6). This means that at least one part of social change, warfare, is apparent in the peer polities of early Śrīwijaya. The warfare mentioned in those inscriptions and in several Chinese Annals leads to believe that warfare together with competitive emulation were important factors in the creation of the polity system in the Malaysian Peninsula and Western Indonesia to which Śrīwijaya relates. One of them may achieve political dominance over the others uniting the clusters into a nation-state or empire, but it also holds true for chiefdom societies. The chiefdoms or kingdoms are autonomous in power relations, but they do not exist in isolation

of each other and have much in common. It is not restricted to stratified and ranked societies (Renfrew & Cherry, 1986: 2).

I believe this statement holds true for Śriwijaya, since in the early days of Śriwijaya, Palembang conquered Jambi. Based upon I-Tsing's itineraries it is generally agreed that early Malayu had its centre in Jambi, near or at the ruins of Muara Jambi (Wolters, 1967:241).

The production beyond substance (PBS) in the Peer Polity Interaction theory is not valid for Sumatra. It's soil, as explained in the first chapter, makes it less suitable for major population increase than for example on Java. Bronson says about East-Sumatra and later polities: The historically successors of Śriwijaya, Malacca, Brunei, Palembang, Jambi and Banjarmasin, were unusually dependent on commerce for obtaining clothing and food (1978: 40). There was agriculture around to produce food for the population, together with importing food, but not enough to attain population number like Java. What role does the hinterland play with regards to producing food for Śriwijaya? Would Śriwijaya coerce its hinterland for forest products, food and trade commodities or would Śriwijaya have a more peaceful, cooperative collaboration with its hinterland to secure their trade products and food source?

A Coastal State and its theories?

Can Śriwijaya be seen as a coastal state and as such as a thalassocracy, i.e. focused on (international) trade with little to none influence or contact with its hinterland? It appears Śriwijaya is different than most coastal states or thalassocracies:

“Sumatran Śriwijayan kings had extremely good contacts with their hinterland, if not ruled their hinterland. The wealth of Śriwijaya and later kingdoms came from redistribution between long-distance trade and the hinterland. The view taken here is that Southeast Asia's response to international trade was a reflection of pre-existing patterns of exchange”(Hall, 1985: 1).

Internal socioeconomic and political networks existed before the Chinese, Indians and Arabs penetrated Sumatra. Internal conditions within Southeast Asian states changed to accommodate the increased external contacts (Ibid: 1). An early type of exchange are between the highland hunters and gatherers with lowland swidden and sawah cultivation.

A question which then rises and is not dealt with, is the trade and redistribution between polities of Śriwijaya, and the trade and redistribution between Śriwijaya and the

hinterland. The focus is on Chinese and Indian contacts and patterns of trade because Chinese ceramics prove the long-distance trade. Architectural and epigraphical evidence found in the hinterland of Sumatra, prove that trade, distribution and exchange happened within, and between, polities. But what is still unknown, is the trade and interaction between the polities of Palembang and Jambi with the Batak and Minangkabau, who are the hinterland of Śriwijaya. Is competitive emulation of the peer polity interaction theory the answer to this question? I believe it is. Different polities strive to become the main competitor for trade in the region. One governmental skill of a successful *mandala* ruler was diplomacy. He had to dispossess his rivals of their claims and bring them under his own influence, and to accommodate them within a network of loyalties (Wolters, 1999: 29). The one who controls most of the trade and is the most powerful, both military and economically, adopts the name of Śriwijaya, as part of competitive emulation and as part of symbolic exchange. As said before, different polities in Sumatra sent embassies during the same timeframe to China for trade, politics and help:

“The first Sumatran kingdom found in Chinese records (Gantoli) sent envoys to China in A.D. 454-464. A king of this country named Vijayavarman, perhaps a Hindu, sent another embassy in A.D. 519. [...] More envoys went to China from Sumatra in A.D. 644-645, from a kingdom called Malayu. In the late seventh century a kingdom named Srivijaya suddenly asserted control over shipping through the Strait of Melaka” (Miksic, 2004: 238).

Why would there be need to send two different embassies from different polities if they belonged to the same kingdom? The explanation for change and interaction is mostly sought in exogenous or endogenous theories; contact with the hinterland or influences from India instigated change and or interaction. Even if we entertain intentionality in protohistory, it is through etic interpretations of different actor' behaviour, not through their own emic interpretations (Barnes 2007: 28).³ The most interesting look at change and interaction is how the different polities behaved with regards to each other. For scientists occupying themselves with Southeast Asia, the agency or actor behaviour is not always as clear. I-Tsing and Rājendracola tried to impress people with their writings. I-Tsing stayed for a period of time in Sumatra and not in India where Buddhism emerged at first. He had to make Sumatra

³ The theory of Barnes is with regards to state formation around the Japanese Sea in East Asia during the 4th century A.D.

impressive in order to justify his stay there. The same counts for Rājendracola. The kingdoms or polities he mentions in his inscriptions might not be powerful or even fully independent, but he mentions them to impress his subjects and proclaim his victories are an important feat. I feel that the agency or actors and which purposes their actions had and for who is something scientists in Southeast Asia do not regard as well as they should. More caution towards conclusions based on foreign texts about Śriwijaya without the support of archaeology and without consideration of the actors written the sources is something that is very much needed. Pollock (1995: 245) has an interesting view about polities and the (Western) view:

“The notion that the Sanskrit poems of polity were produced to secure a consensus of false necessity in a contingent set of power relations – in addition or to instead on relying on techniques of coercion – is, as I have tried to suggest, a mere assumption, and a exogenous, anachronistic, unfounded one at that.”

Pollock further argues that political expression in Sanskrit cannot be read off with social consequences, for example hierarchization, hegemony, and production of false belief, or singular material cause (Ibid: 245). It is acceptable that linguistic relations are relations of symbolic power through which relations of force between the speaker and their groups, but we cannot assume the nature, directionality, effect and negativity of this power (Ibid: 245). I agree with these statements of Pollock. Especially the last statement of Pollock made about Sanskrit and its functions holds true for Sumatra, as there have not been many inscriptions of Sanskrit alone. Attributing power and elite status of the use of Sanskrit in Sumatra can be dangerous for further reseach when other languages were used in inscriptions together with Sanskrit, and coupled with the fact that Sanskrit is not the major language of inscriptions in Sumatra.

Mandala

The other theory that I would like to use for this thesis, but is more regionally specified, is the *mandala* theory of O.W. Wolters, as described in his book of 1967 and in a revised edition in 1999: *History, Culture, And Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*.

A *mandala* is a circle of kings. The map of Southeast Asia evolved from prehistoric networks of small settlements and reveals itself in historical records as a patchwork of overlapping *mandala*'s. In each of them, one king identified with divine and universal

authority, claiming personal hegemony over other rules in his *mandala*, who were, in theory, his allies and vassals (Wolters, 1998: 27-28).

In practice a *mandala* is a particular and often unstable political situation in a vaguely definable geographical area without fixed boundaries and where smaller centers tended to look in all directions for security (Ibid: 28).

I believe the *mandala* can be considered a polity as described by Renfrew and Cherry, only with specified terms for Southeast Asia, and in this case Sumatra. But I believe Śrīwijaya on Sumatra is more than that. In early sources Sumatra was known as the isle of gold by both Indians and Arabs. The gold of Sumatra was found in the Sumatran highlands, known as the Barisan Mountains. These were controlled by the Batak and the Minangkabau who live in the highlands of Sumatra. An idea that fits the interaction that took place between the mountain inhabitants and the coastal peoples is from J. White (1995:104):

“Cultural pluralism; indigenous economies that tend to be characterized by household-based units of production, community-based economic specialization, and competitive, multi-centred, and overlapping mechanisms for the distribution of goods rather than monopolies controlled by a single centre; social status systems that tend to be flexible in practice and include personal achievement even where ascribed systems exist in theory; conflict resolution and political centralization strategies that tend to have alliance formation...at their core, and that may be periodically renegotiated...”

The only problem with regards to the quote above is that most, if not all, researchers that study Southeast Asian (pre)history believe that the way power and wealth were absorbed by the Śrīwijayan rulers was by means of monopolizing trade and trade routes. If we still use the quote above in relation to Śrīwijaya and with the idea of *mandala* as a theory of state formation, then it appears that two ideas collide. Did Śrīwijayan rulers indeed use a monopoly of trade to secure their empire within a circle of kings, or did they use overlapping mechanisms for distributing of goods? Can Śrīwijaya be considered an empire if it is a loose affiliation of ‘city states’, or better said *mandala*’s, connected by a strong centre that monopolized some aspect of trade? And when the ruler died, did another city state take over the monopoly of the same trade or a different trade? If so, how did they manage until the Islamic period? Is there a difference between material goods of the different polities or *mandala*’s when one became more prominent than the other? Where are the neighbouring peoples, such as the Batak and the Minangkabau, included in the *mandala* policies? What

were the goods that they traded with each other? How were the alliances made between the polities of Malay origin? Barnes (2007:32) offers another view:

“And success in establishing an ideology of rulership that is able to survive in the long term depends on balancing sources of power so that any particular one does not overwhelm the other or be turned against the ruling group to rout them. One tangible source of power is in controlling the production and circulation of precious goods; another is the creation of believe systems that reinforce rulership; and finally, performances of ceremonies – which are neither wholly tangible nor entirely intangible – provide the opportunity of repetition to establish custom and customary thought surrounding rulership.”

The believe system Barnes talks about together with the ceremonies refer to the symbolic exchange I talked about earlier, but she offers the symbolic exchange a place that goes beyond trade and into the political domain, and research will tell us if that is true.

One of the goals of this thesis is indeed to verify one of those theories by comparing it to archaeological artifacts. Can we indeed speak of a confederacy of loose city states or peer polities with maritime power (thalassocracy) or is the *mandala* system as described by Wolters the most fitting way to describe the ruling system of Śrīwijaya? Is the monopolizing of trade the way to power in Śrīwijaya or was it more the way White or Barnes describes or a combination of all three forms? In what way has the hinterland of Śrīwijaya played a role in its existence and its part on the international trade theater?

I will try to approach Śrīwijaya with a processualistic view. As said before, the first real scientific excavation was as late as 1975. The archaeology in the region is booming. Because of the late development of archaeology in this region, there have not been any ‘laws’ regarding societies evolution. The only ‘law’ that comes close to the definition of a universal one in Southeast Asia is the theory of ‘Indianization’. This idea, however, is already outdated by archaeological, linguistic, and philological evidence. One of the reasons overlapping law-defining theories have not been in practice in Southeast Asia is because of the differences in the various regions. Southeast Asia is divided into broadly speaking two regions: Mainland Southeast Asia and Insular Southeast Asia. Within the two regions differentiation is high. A good example of that is in Insular Southeast Asia. Indonesia, Philippines and the Malay Peninsula fall under the category of Insular Southeast Asia. But in Indonesia alone there are different societies. Java is more alike to the kingdoms of Mainland Southeast Asia with a farm

based staple society and control of water supplies. In Cambodia these were the basins and in Java the irrigation networks. Southeast Sumatra was more dependent on trade than on farming, seeing as Southeast Sumatra's soils can be toxic if drained too much of water.⁴ On other islands, there were still hunter-gatherers and other less complex societies that co-existed with the kingdoms of Java and the trade cities of Sumatra. This means that each cultural group should have its own theories of its existence and ending within a general framework of universal theories or theories applicable to Southeast Asia. One problem coming to mind with this approach is that Southeast Asia has not got through the same steps of development of archaeology as a science as the Western archaeologists had. In Southeast Asia, there has not been a strong processualist movement followed by a strong post-processual movement as a theoretical framework for answering questions.

One person that attempted to form 'universal' theories in Southeast Asia is John Miksic. He has tried, just as archaeologists in Mesoamerica and the Mediterranean have done, to divide Southeast Asia into periods. The periods range from the beginning of history or the beginning of state formation until the arrival of the Europeans.

"The Protohistoric Period begins with the introduction of writing around AD 400. The Early Classic Period begins in the seventh century A.D., when enough inscriptions and architectural remains become available to provide coherent accounts of a few areas of Indonesia. This phase continues until the early tenth century, when the civilization of Central Java came to an abrupt end. Then begins the Middle Classic Period, covering the tenth to the early thirteenth century. The Late Classic Period lasted until A.D. 1500 and was succeeded by the Islamic or Post-Classic era" (Miksic 2004: 234).

It has not yet been widely adopted yet by other archaeologists in the region. On the International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists in 2004 in Leiden, researchers, such as Manguin, Miksic and Glover talked about 'pre-Angkorian period' in their presentations and discussions afterwards when they talked about the dolmen of Sumatra. This is defining for the research history of Southeast Asia; there is not a defining time table, or a methodology for naming time frames, and dynasties covering both Mainland and Insular Southeast Asia. If there has not been a strong processual movement in Southeast Asia, can there be a strong post-processual movement? Is it even possible to speak

⁴ See Furukawa, 1994 for more reading about the drainage of peat soil in tropical wetlands on Sumatra's east coast.

of processual and post-processual movements in a Southeast Asian context about anthropological and archaeological theory and movements that originated in North America and Europe?

Should I focus more on one or more polities and their interrelations in Southeast Sumatra, and explain Śriwijaya by looking at internal affairs and interaction between the polities, or should I focus first on broader ‘laws’ that define the processual movement in order to establish Śriwijaya, and then look at post-processual approaches that help answer the question of what Śriwijaya exactly was?

Wolters, Renfrew & Cherry are processualists, trying to find an explanation in the form of *mandala*’s and peer polities in Southeast Asia. I will use these theories to define how Śriwijaya falls into both theories and hopefully take some post-processualistic ideas to explain more detail of Śriwijaya after establishing its form of government and state formation.

World Systems Theory

To put Śriwijaya into a global context I would like to discuss an aspect of the World Systems Theory in which Śriwijaya fits. In this theory of Frank (1993: 389) of the Bronze Age he argues about world systems cycles from 1700 B.C. onwards. These cycles consist of A) expanding and B) contracting. Frank (1993: 389):

“Therefore, cyclical decline tends to mean the relative or even absolute decline of the core power. This decline offers opportunities to rivals, even on the periphery of the system, some of which advance both absolutely and perhaps even replace the previous core.”

The cycles (Frank 1993: 389) which are the most interesting for Śriwijaya are as follows:

- A) A.D. 500-750/800
- B) A.D. 750/800-1000/1050
- A) A.D. 1000/1050-1250/1300
- B) A.D. 1250/1300-1400

Will the archaeology and literary sources stroke with the world systems cycles? Can we link these cycles to the periods Miksic is trying to identify?

In order to give a good overview I divide Southeast Sumatra into two provinces to be discussed separately. In early research history, Śrīwijaya caused controversy regarding its capital. Palembang, in South Sumatra along the Musi river has been established as a capital in the history of Śrīwijaya, but Jambi, in East Sumatra along the Batang Hari river, according to several Chinese written sources has been a capital as well.

I will investigate the archaeological records in the provinces of South Sumatra and Jambi in the next two chapters. For each province I will map the archaeological sites that have been discovered and the sites where indigenous inscriptions have been found. I will put the data of the artifacts found on sites in graphs and tables, to give a clear view of what has been found and from what age those artifacts are.

Based upon the density of the artifacts and the timeframe of the artifacts within the theories of Wolters and Renfrew & Cherry I will conclude whether or not Śrīwijaya was a maritime based empire holding sway for six centuries, or a confederacy of smaller kingdoms, or just one empire that existed within the first century of Śrīwijaya's existence whereas later claims to Śrīwijaya are just claims and have no connection to the Śrīwijaya of the 7th century. In chapter five I will also briefly discuss the vast amount of foreign literature about Sumatra and Śrīwijaya that is available, made by Chinese eye-witness accounts, port officials or annals about embassies sent to China from Southeast Asia, Arab eye-witness accounts or secondary reports of traveling Arab traders, and Indian inscriptions, such as the Tamil and Cola. In chapter five I will also discuss the theoretical framework from chapter two in combination with the data that is gathered in chapter three and four, where there is a significant focus on interaction and exchange with the hinterland of Śrīwijaya. And last, but certainly not least, is the conclusion in chapter six whether Śrīwijaya is a reality or a myth.

Chapter 4: The Archaeology of South Sumatra

Now that we have established the research history and the theoretical framework I would like to return to the very basics of past civilizations; the archaeological record. I will use this chapter to map all archaeological sites and artifacts found in the province of South Sumatra, in the time frame of Śriwijaya's supposed existence, i.e. from the founding of the capital of Śriwijaya in 683 A.D. as described in the Kedukan Bukit inscription, until the Islamic period or until the material culture linked to Śriwijaya ceases to exist. To establish whether Śriwijaya was real or a myth, I will need to look at the material culture left behind in regions where Śriwijaya supposedly reigned. I will not only look at the capital of Śriwijaya, but also look at other sites that have been reported around South Sumatra. I will map all the sites with the use of excavation reports that have been published in Dutch, English, French and some in Indonesian. The artifacts and their dating are crucial for my conclusion. Most important is the site where the artifact has been found, in situ or not, and the dating of it and how it has been dated. The artifacts found are pottery and ceramic sherds, architectural remains, beads, statues of stone or other precious metals and inscriptions. The Archaeological Service of Palembang has been helpful in dating and identifying several sites as well.

Some general conclusions can be drawn from the combined information. Sites where both material culture such as architectural remains, ceramics, statues and sometimes inscriptions are complete sites and occupation is likely. Sites where only one type of artifact are found have different interpretations: a workshop or production place, a border marker or artifacts not in situ anymore and where the context is lost. Figure 5 on page 46 shows a map of the archaeological sites in South Sumatra.

This information, in turn, can be used to conclude how areas were used and for how long. There are a few smaller finding spots of artifacts that can be seen as part of a larger site. These smaller sites will be seen as one large site on the map and in my conclusions.⁵ I have listed those sites below⁶:

- Candi Kota Kapur and Benteng Tanah are the site of **Kota Kapur**.
- Bukit Seguntang, Kedukan Bukit, Benteng Kuto Besak, near Beteng Kuto Besak, Candi Angsoka, Boom Baru, Kambanguglen, Lorong Jambu, Pulau Cempaka, Pulau Nangka, Sambirejo, Suak Bujang, Karanganyar and the finds in the Komering River

⁵ Appendix II will list all smaller sites, including extended information on all artefacts, dates and sources.

⁶ See Table 1 on page 45 for a short summary of the major sites and artefacts found.

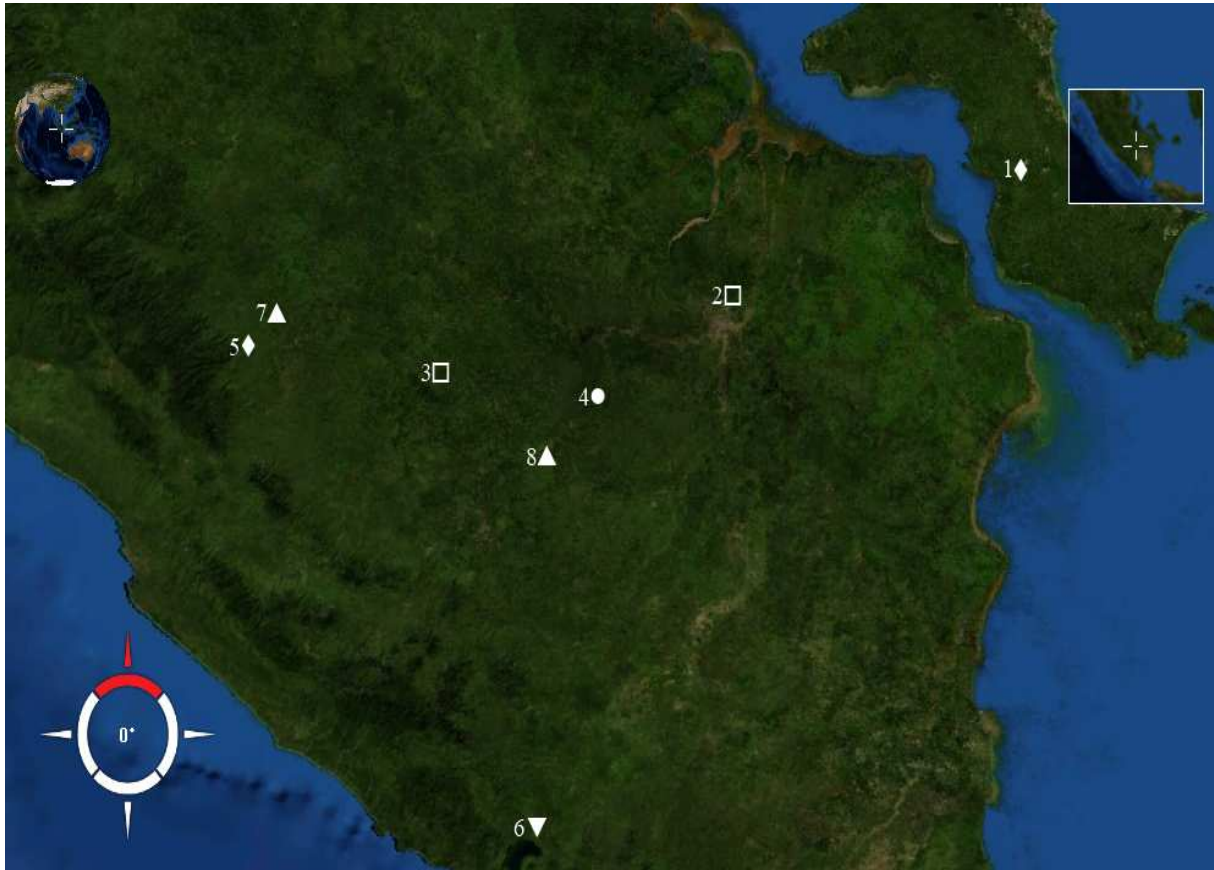
and the finds near Palembang that have no official finding spot are the site of **Palembang**.

- Candi Bumiayu 1, Candi Bumiayu II, Candi Bumiayu III, Candi Bumiayu VIII, Danau Candi, Danau Besar, Danau Kecil, Danau Lebar and Parit Piabung are the site of **Tanah Abang**.

Sites in South Sumatra	Archaeological Artifacts						
	Structures	Statues	Pottery Sherds	Precious Metals	Inscriptions	Buddhist	Hindu
1) Kota Kapur	X	X			X		
2) Palembang	X	X	X	X	X	X	
3) Candi Binginjungut		X				X	
4) Tanah Abang	X	X	X		X		X
5) Candi Tingkip		X				X	
6) Jepara	X						X
7) Lesungbatu	X	X					X
8) Sungai Lematang			X				X

Table 1: Sites in South Sumatra, the artefacts found on the sites, and the religious imagery found at the sites. I have listed the archaeological artifacts in several different categories. Structures, statues, pottery sherds, precious metals and inscriptions, Hindu and Buddhist. Beads are included in the precious metals category. Each category says something about the nature of the site. A site where only statues or inscriptions are found tells us something different of the past than a site where structures, pottery sherds, statues and other archaeological artifacts were found. Hindu and Buddhist are categories based on religious imagery or religious connotations in inscriptions.

Figure 5: South Sumatra and its archaeological sites.



This is a map of the sites of South Sumatra. The numbers correspond to the overview given on page 44. Scale: 1:25

◆: Buddhist sites between the 7th and 11th century A.D.

□: Palembang & Candi Binginjungut, sites between the 7th and 15th century A.D., where mostly Buddhist artifacts have been found.

●: Tanah Abang, site between the 8th and 14th century A.D., where mostly Hindu artefacts have been found.

▼: Hindu site between the 7th and 11th century A.D.

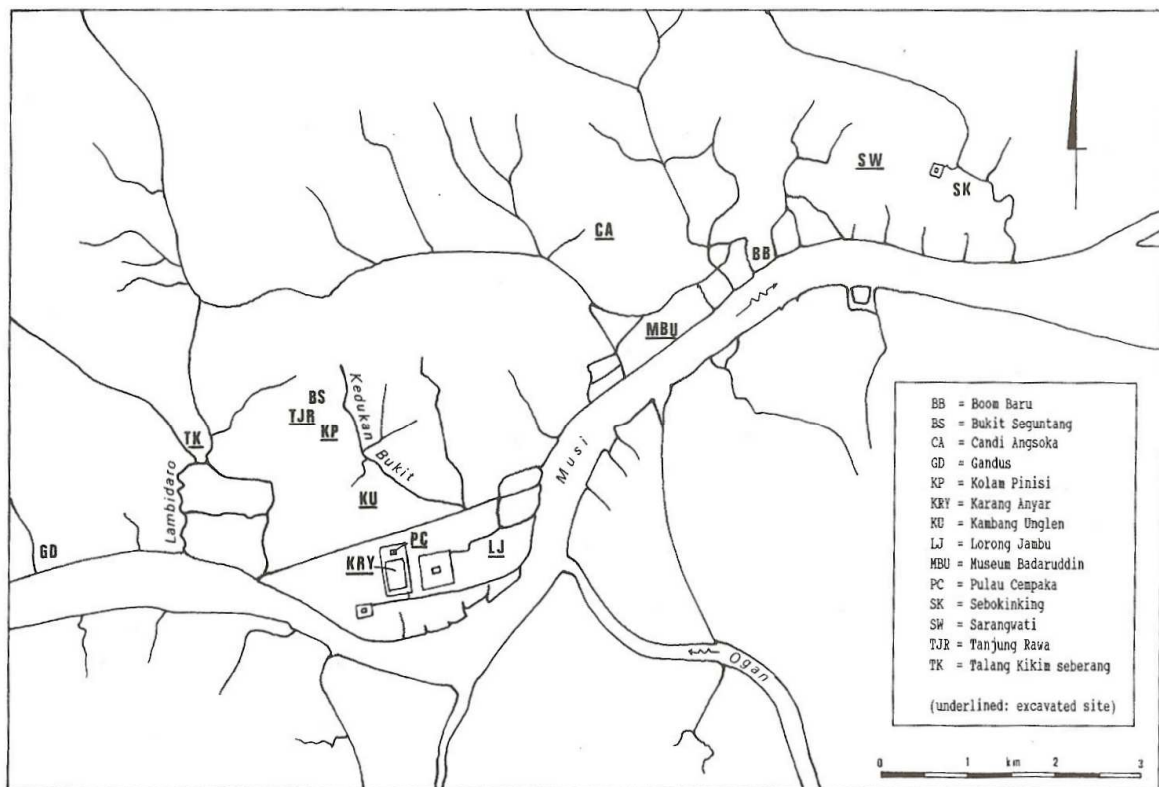
▲: Hindu sites between the 11th and 15th century A.D.

I have made several categories or distinctions between the sites in South Sumatra from the 7th to the 15th century. In the first place I have made the distinction between sites from the 7th to the 11th century and sites from the 11th to the 15th century. This distinction is based upon the Tanjore-inscription from Rājendracola and the archaeology from South Sumatra and Jambi. I will expand on this theory and distinction further in chapter six.

The majority of the datings done in this chapter are based on stylistic resemblances between statues from Sumatra and India and Java, on Chinese pottery, such as Tang and Song pottery and on dates that are found on inscriptions.

The second distinction I have made is between Hindu and Buddhist sites. One exception is Kota Kapur. This site was occupied during the 6th and 7th century, prior and during Śriwijaya's rise. Statues of Wisnu's have been found here, alongside a settlement surrounded by a mote and wall (Manguin, 2002: 67), indicating a Hindu belief system and an hostile environment. After Śriwijaya invaded Kota Kapur, Buddhism made its entrance, but shortly after the 7th century the site seems abandoned, so I have not given Kota Kapur a religion in table 1.

Other sites during the 7th and 11th century are: Palembang, Candi Binginjungut and Candi Tingkip. Extensive archaeological remains and artefacts are found at Palembang, indicating a large settlement. Temple ruins have been found, alongside tens of thousands pottery sherds, the majority being local pottery, a minority Chinese pottery, mostly consisting of Tang sherds. Several inscriptions are also found in the vicinity of Palembang, ranging from the founding of a garden to an invasion on Java. Figure 6 below is a map by P-Y Manguin covering all smaller sites covering all of the Palembang site.



Map 3. Main archaeological sites at Palembang, 1989-1991 campaigns.

Figure 6: Manguin 1993. A detailed view of the results of the archaeological campaign in 1989/1991 by Manguin.⁷

⁷ Visit youtube.com and search for the video titled: Situs Ki Gede Ing Suro. It shows structures of Gedingsuro (Palembang). The video was not made by me.

One interesting find at Palembang is Kambangunglen. This appears to be a workshop for stone and glass beads (Manguin, 1992: 27) and around 2454 beads have been found here in various colours (Satari, 1985: 76). The glass beads were imported from India, since glass was not available on Sumatra. Even though the beads were imported, there were also beads used for manufacturing on site. Kambangunglen has been dated by Manguin to the 7th century (1992: 27). This could mean that contacts between India and Śriwijaya existed in early centuries. I will expand on this further in chapter six. There are several statues found in the Palembang surroundings. Buddha's, Bodhisattwa's and Awalokiteswara's were the most popular statues of Buddhist origin.

At the small site of Gedingsuro at Palembang, several domestic refuse has been found (Bronson, 1979: 402) and at Candi Angsoka charcoal was found (Manguin, 1993). At Talang Kikim Seberang, iron slag was found in combination with late Tang wares (Manguin 1992: 25). Where did this slag come from? Was it local, from the Barisan Mountains; the hinterland of Śriwijaya or was it also imported, just as the glass beads? I have not found any research into the history or origins of the precious metals such as the iron slag or bronze statues found in South Sumatra. Research into previous questions could lead to very interesting results and perhaps more information on the role of the hinterland of Śriwijaya. Besides other candi's, artificial ponds and lakes were also found, namely Pulau Cempaka and Pulau Nangka.

One conclusion that can be drawn from Palembang is that it was a locally important site, with lots of different activities and material. Candi's, inscriptions, a workshop, boat timbers, pottery sherds that number in tens of thousands, together with all the Buddhist statues implies Palembang was a hub of trade, politics and religion. A lone Ganesa from the 11th – 12th century was also found at Palembang (McKinnon, 1985: 18), perhaps indicating Hinduism was allowed here in later centuries or moved by farmers during later centuries.

At Candi Binginjungut statues were found of Buddha and Awalokiteswara, dated to the 8th-9th century. Song pottery from the 10th – 13th century also has been found here. A stone Buddha has been found at Candi Tingkip (Suleiman, 1983: 209). Both these sites have been found alongside the Musi River and its large branches, and further upstreams from Palembang more to the mountains. I will expand more on the hinterland of Śriwijaya in chapter six.

There are several sites where Hindu statues have been found. These are Tanah Abang, Jepara, Lesungbatu, Sungai Lematang and Palembang. Two of these five sites are only found in the 11th -15th centuries: Lesungbatu and Sungai Lematang. Lesungbatu is famous for its, in situ, yoni at a candi. At Sungai Lematang, Song ceramics dating to the 10th – 13th century

were found here. It is not clear what sort of function these sites had. Lesungbatu was probably a place of worship, considering the yoni and the candi.

Jepara was a site where elements of Hinduism were found on the candi's (Bronson, 1979: 401; Satari, 1985: 77).

Tanah Abang⁸ was a larger site compared to other Hindu sites mentioned earlier. This site was occupied from the 9th – 12th century A.D. Six candi's were discovered here, together with artificial ponds, statues of Hindu gods as seen in figures 7 to 14, and surface pottery. Tanah Abang is the second largest site of South Sumatra.

The single largest site in South Sumatra was at Palembang. It was occupied from the 7th until the 15th century. However, the artificial ponds, the inscriptions, the majority of the pottery sherds and the Buddhistic statues are mostly dating from the 7th to the 11th century. The inscriptions and the statues give the impression Buddhism was the prevalent religion at Palembang.

After the 11th century, archaeological material diminishes, but Palembang was still occupied, considering the Song pottery found. Candi Bingjungut and Candi Tingkip show Buddhism as the practised religion. Jepara and Tanah Abang are Hindu sites, where Jepara vanishes after the 11th century. Tanah Abang continues after the 11th century, to the 12th century, but after the 12th century, the archaeological is gone. The ceramics from the 10th century at Tanah Abang appear to be similar to the ceramics found at Candi Angsoka in Palembang (Manguin, 1993). This could indicate Tanah Abang and Palembang belonged to a group of people who shared similar methods of pottery production. Figures 7, 8 & 9 on page 50, Figures 10, 11, 12 & 13 on page 51, and Figures 14, 15, 16 & 17 on page 52 (Satari, 2002) show statues that have been found at the candi's at Tanah Abang (also called Bumiayu).

I have left several archaeological sites undiscussed. These are Air Besir, Candi Nikan and Candi Teluk Kijing. Air Besir has several statues that depict Hindu gods, but their dating is to the Majapahit period, which is at the very end of Śrīwijayas existence. Candi Nikan and candi Teluk Kijing have very obscure datings and descriptions in literature, making conclusions based on it very hard, if not impossible.

⁸ Visit [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com) and search for the video titled: Situs Candi Bumi Ayu for a video of structures at Tanah Abang. The video was not made by me.



Figure 7: Nandi, Bumiayu I



Figure 8: Stambha, Bumiayu



Figure 9: Terracotta Lion, Bumiayu III



Figure 10: Siwa, Bumiayu I



Figure 11: Agastya, Bumiayu I



Figure 12: King or god, Bumiayu I



Figure 13: King or god, Bumiayu I

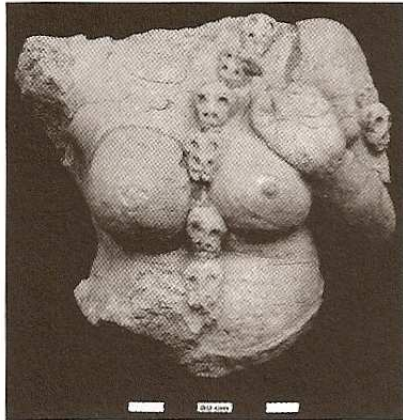


Figure 14: Torso of a god with Tantristic influences as seen by the skeletal heads

Figure 15: Terracotta heads, Bumiayu III



Figure 16: Terracotta heads, Bumiayu III

Figure 17: Fragments of makara's, Bumiayu III



Chapter 5: The Archaeology of Jambi

This chapter will deal with the archaeology of the province of Jambi. Like the previous chapter, I will focus on all the archaeology that has been found and will put in table 2. Most of the statues of Jambi are in the following museums: Museum Nasional in Jakarta, Museum Mahmud Badaruddin, Museum Negeri Balaputradewa, Museum Taman Purbakala Kerajaan Śriwijaya in Palembang, and Museum Negeri Jambi in Jambi. Recent investigations by Indonesian archaeologists at Muara Jambi uncover more and more ruins, revealing more about the mystery of Śriwijaya in Jambi. The sites can be found in table 2 on page 55, with an overview of what artifacts has been found and what the prevalent religion was. The archaeology ranges from a single find of a Buddhist or Hindu statue to (temple) structures and excavations that contained ceramics and other archaeological artifacts and precious metals. Extended details of the sites and artifacts can be found in appendix III. As with sites from South Sumatra, certain sites that are separated in reports from archaeological services in Indonesia can be considered as one will be listed here first. See Figure 18 on page 54 for locations of archaeological sites in Jambi.

- Candi Gumpung, Candi Tinggi, Desa Muara Jambi, Jambi, Muara Jambi, Muara Kempeh Ilir, Situs Muara Jambi, Solok Sipin, Solok Sakean, Suak Kandis and Ujung Plancu can be considered as one site named **Muara Jambi**.
- Batang Merangin, Kerinci, Near Kerinci, Pondok and Sungai Hangat can be considered as one site named **Kerinci**.

I have left Kuala Tungkal outside the scope of this thesis because the reports on the statue do not have a date or a religion, making determining impossible.

Figure 18: Map of archaeological sites of Jambi.



- ◆: Archaeological sites where Buddhist imagery has been found, alongside other artifacts that date the sites between the 7th and 11th century A.D.
- : Archaeological site of Jambi, where Buddhist and Hindu imagery has been found, alongside artifacts that date the site between the 7th and 15th century A.D.
- ▲: Archaeological sites where Buddhist imagery has been found, alongside other artifacts that date the sites between the 11th and 15th century A.D.

Sites in Jambi	Archaeological Artifacts						
	Structures	Statues	Pottery Sherds	Precious Metals	Inscriptions	Buddhist	Hindu
1) Betungbedaro		X				X	
2) Kota Kandis	X	X	X	X	X		
3) Muara Jambi	X	X	X	X	X	X	
4) Telukkuali		X				X	
5) Sarolangun		X				X	X
6) Karang Brahi					X		
7) Kerinci	X		X	X	X		
8) Rambahan		X				X	
9) Rantaukapastuo		X		X		X	
10) Rantaulimaumanis		X		X		X	
11) Sungai Aro		X				X	
12) Sungai Rambut		X					

Table 2: Overview of the archaeological sites of Jambi. I have listed the archaeological artifacts in several different categories. Structures, statues, pottery sherds, precious metals and inscriptions, Hindu and Buddhist. Beads are included in the precious metals category. Each category says something about the nature of the site. A site where only statues or inscriptions are found tells us something different of the past than a site where structures, pottery sherds, statues and other archaeological artifacts were found. Hindu and Buddhist are categories based on religious imagery or religious connotations in inscriptions.

There are several interesting observations to be made of table 2, the map of Jambi and the archaeological material combined. The first observation to be made is that there appears to be more archaeological sites in Jambi than in South Sumatra. However, the majority of the sites listed in table 2 consist of single artifact sites between the 7th and 11th century A.D. Those sites are: Betungbedaro, Telukkuali, Sarolangun, Karang Brahi, Rambahan, Rantaukapastuo, Rantaulimaumanis, Sungai Aro and Sungai Rambut. Figure 21 on page 58 is the Amoghapasa statue found at Rambahan and Figure 22 on page 58 is the finding spot of the Amoghapasa statue. At all of these sites, statues of Buddha, Boddhisattwa or Awalokiteswara were found. The only exceptions are Sarolangun, where a statue of Ganesa was found besides a statue of Buddha (Suleiman, 1983:202; Suleiman, 1985: 99), and Karang Brahi where an inscription was found similar to the Pasemah and Kota Kapur inscription. Figure 19 on page 56 is the Karang Brahi inscriptions and figure 20 on page 57 is the actual inscription.



Figure 19: Source: beeldbank.wsd.leidenuniv.nl (OD-19509), location where the Karang Brahi inscription has been found. Author unknown.



Figure 20: Source: beeldbank.wsd.leidenuniv.nl (OD-19511), OV, 1923: 41. The Karang Brahi inscription.

Two of these sites, Rantaukapastuo and Rantaulimaumanis have interesting statues. The statues found at Rantaukapastuo are bronze statues laminated in gold (Hardiati, 2002: 142) and the statues found at Rantaulimaumanis are bronze statues (Hardiati, 2002). The same questions that were asked in chapter four about the precious metals can be asked again with these statues. Where did the bronze and gold come from? Was it from the Barisan Mountains or was it imported? Are there in Jambi or in the Barisan Mountains evidence of smelting of precious metals? Answers to these questions have not yet come, but provide a interesting opportunity for future research.

There are three sites in the province of Jambi were different archaeological artifacts were found: Kota Kandis, Muara Jambi and Kerinci. Kota Kandis is a site very near to the east coast of Jambi. McKinnon (1985: 26) identified a bronze Mahadewi, Chinese stoneware from the 14th century A.D., beads, bricks with inscriptions and gold scraps. Details of the beads and goldscraps are not known. I can not answer the question whether or not the beads were locally manufactured or imported and what the origins of the goldscraps are. Here again lies an interesting study for the future.

Muara Jambi is the biggest archaeological site of Jambi, maybe even the biggest one in South Sumatra and Jambi. Over 92 brick monuments have been identified, and several Buddhist statues ranging from the 8th to the 12th century. Chinese ceramics ranging from the 10th to the 14th century together with local wares were also found. Around the temples of Kembarbatu, Astano and Gumpung a surrounding wall was exposed. Within the wall remains of a settlement were found with beads, earthenware and an earthenware stove (Satari, 1985: 73). Details about the archaeological material of the settlement are not known.

The third and last site with extensive archaeological material is Kerinci. The area lies in Upper Jambi, in the Barisan Mountains and in Minangkabau territory. Pottery sherds and beads have been found in high quantities (Bonatz, 2004). The beads are dated to the 12th-14th century A.D. having similarities with beads from Muara Jambi (Francis, 1990: 7; 1990: 227).

It appears that the sites dated from the 7th to the 11th century A.D. are mostly finding spots of religious imagery; Buddhist statues. The sites where more than one type of artifact were found contain pottery sherds from the 11th to the 15th century. Alongside the pottery, beads and precious metals were found nearby monuments, structures and traces of settlements.



Figure 21: Source: beeldbank.leidenuniv.nl (OD-1630a), Kawi inscription on the statue of Amoghapaśa at Rambahan.

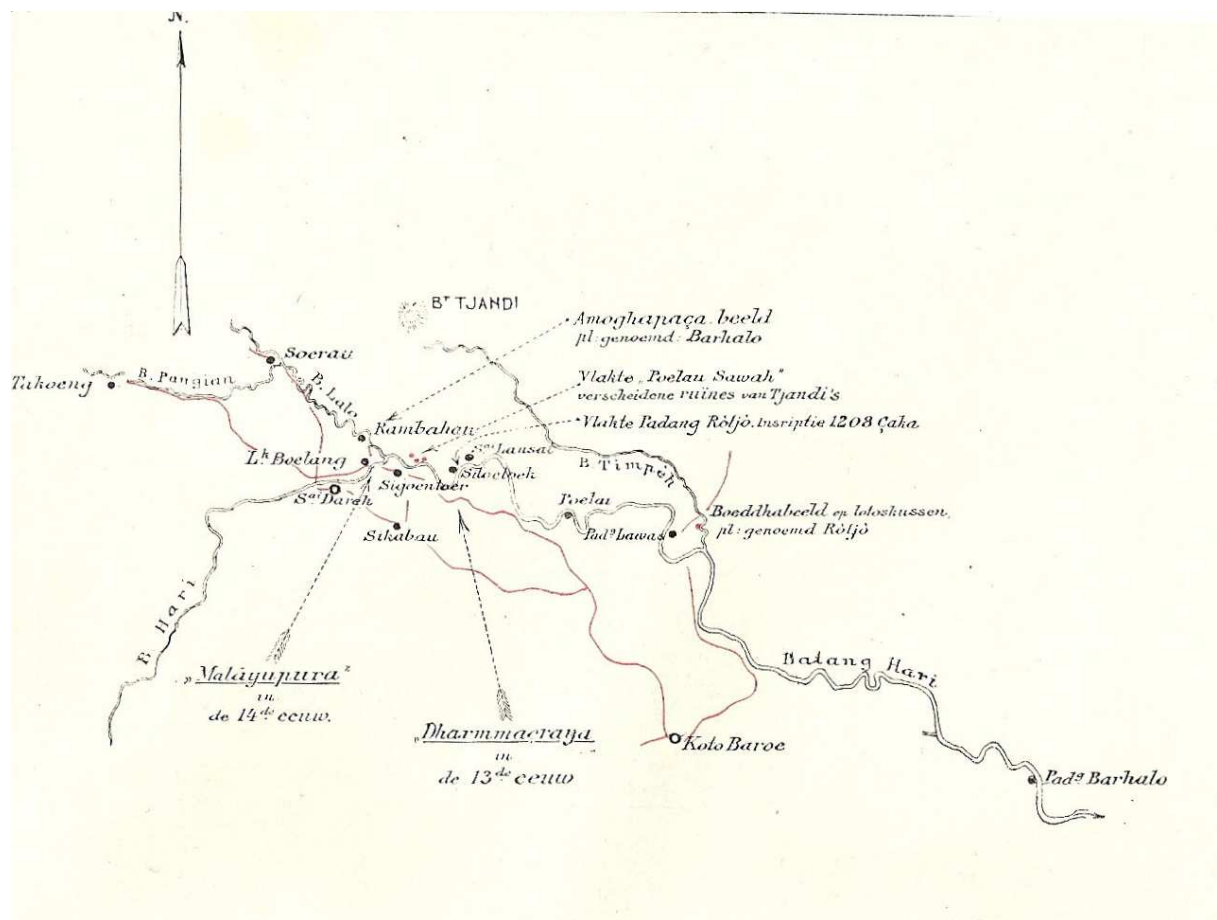


Figure 22: Finding spot of the Amoghapaśa statue at Rambahan (Westenck, 1922).

Chapter 6: The Polities and the Material Culture

This chapter will combine the theoretical framework that has been given in chapter two with the data I presented in chapters four and five. Besides that, I will also give additional information and data in the form of inscriptions and other written sources to complete the image we have of Śriwijaya, together with the possibility of a Śriwijayan presence or even a fully fledged polity of Śriwijaya in the Malaysian Peninsula, which is based on early literature. I also want to go deeper into the contacts of Śriwijaya with its hinterland; the Batak and the Minangkabau. All these points will hopefully lead to a better and clearer understanding of what Śriwijaya might have been.

Evaluation of the Written Accounts

While I try to look critical at written sources as an absolute truth of what has happened in the past, disregarding them completely is not useful either. In this chapter I will try to separate the useful and non-useful parts of the written accounts where they correspond with the archaeological material and when it is relevant for this thesis. The texts can be useful if they correspond with the archaeological material found. If they do not correspond with each other, a careful, critical analysis should be taken in consideration when dealing with the written sources. As other scholars such as Bronson (1979) and Manguin (1993) have said: perhaps it is time to re-evaluate the Chinese written sources; especially I-Tsing, as he set the expectations of Śriwijaya very high, especially after Coedès' monograph in identifying Śriwijaya. Another minor problem with I-Tsing as a source, according to me, is him being a foreigner in Sumatra. He was supposed to stay and study in Nalanda. While he did so, he also stayed in Sumatra. In order to legitimate his stay in Sumatra, he may have had to exaggerate his story and descriptions to justify his long stays on Sumatra. He tried to compare and describe Śriwijaya in Chinese ways. He referred to one supreme ruler and a bureaucratic and centralized system, as if it were a Chinese Tang-style form kingdom, while Śriwijaya is not comparable to the Chinese Tang Empire of that time. This misinterpretation of I-Tsing led to problems with the identification of other kingdoms and islands mentioned in his annals. Scholars before the Second World War use the phonetic form of Śriwijaya and transcribe it directly to Tang Chinese or the other way around, without considering language differences, mistakes or mistranslations that could have happened during the late 7th century.

I-Tsing was, and is, most influential for the epigraphists and philologists. His work is the base of the majority of the scholars who research Śriwijaya, and in that sense, important to the history of theory formation in the region of Southeast Asia. Culler expressed his views on textual study in an interesting way: ‘there is no unseemly rush from word to world in textual study’ (Culler, 1978: 130). I think this sentence is crucial for understanding early Southeast Asian studies. Studies of ancient texts in Southeast Asia exactly did so: rushing from word to world. The search in the texts was to identify places and names that could be found in the real world, instead of studying the true contents. That is one of the reasons Coedès and I-Tsing gained importance: Coedès laid down the foundations for an empire or ‘thalassocracy’ by putting Śriwijaya on the map and I-Tsing laid down the foundations for a massive empire or ‘thalassocracy’ by naming all Śriwijaya’s vassals and tributaries.

The search for those vassals, embassies and kings in other textual sources started, without a clear understanding of the archaeological remains. Some of these polities have been identified by philologists to be the same polities both I-Tsing and Rājendracola mention, such as the polity of Palembang, Jambi and Kedah . However, other names of polities have not been determined as a known polity or archaeological site. How big and how important those polities truly are, is still unknown. Perhaps they were simple storage facilities along the coast for merchants to refresh supplies where some trade took place, along with a small population to regulate it or were it indeed previously independent mandala’s, subjugated by Śriwijaya to gain a trade monopoly?

The Archaeology of South Sumatra

There are several key sites in South Sumatra that can help us in understanding the polities, archaeology and the implications of Śriwijayan presence in the area.

From chapter four we can see at least two very important sites, Tanah Abang or Bumiayu and Palembang. If we pay attention to what has been found at Tanah Abang it appears to be a Hindu site, opposed to the majority of finds in Sumatra, that are Buddhist in nature.

The majority of the inscriptions, Talang Tuwo, Kedukan Bukit, Bukit Seguntang and a few smaller ones (De Casparis, 1956), that are found around Palembang, date from the 7th century. The statuary of finds around Palembang are Buddhist. Buddha, Awalokiteswara and other forms of Bodhisattwa’s seem to be popular. However the majority of the statuary and inscriptions are not in situ anymore. The Dutch in earlier centuries did notify in their bulletins

and journals where statues had been found, but exact details are lost or not mentioned, so the context surrounding the inscriptions and statuary are for the majority lost. This is because farmers found statuary or inscriptions on their land because of plowing and brought it to the Dutch authorities. This means dating done by means of stylistic comparisons are valid for the object, but can not help us in determining the context for it. The excavations that have been done in the past are valuable to determine to context. The area around Palembang shows us that Tang pottery and earthenware are numerous and may be an indication that the area was more populous in those centuries than in later times. Another major site that shows decline after the 10th century is Tanah Abang. The excavations and surveys so far reveal less material culture left behind after the 10th-11th century in both Palembang and Tanah Abang. It is clear that at least the area in Palembang was still occupied after the 9th-10th century, and if we look at the amount of ceramics sherds after the 9th-10th century, we also see a decline in the sherds found. The archaeological material that has been found so far proves that there is a decline in material culture after the 10th century in South Sumatra.

The Archaeology of Jambi

There are several key sites in the province of Jambi as well. Muara Jambi is a key site and one of the biggest temple ruin sites of South-, East-Sumatra. Kerinci in the far west of the province of Jambi is also an archaeological site. I have not included Kerinci as relevant for Śriwijaya, because it is in the highlands of Sumatra and is occupied by another cultural group, the Minangkabau. However, Kerinci could be very interesting to investigate further on relations between Śriwijaya and the Minangkabau.

Jambi has more unique features compared to South Sumatra, or at least, has more areas in its province investigated by means of surveys or excavations. Along the Batang Hari, from Muara Jambi up to the highlands, almost all sites in Jambi are found along the river itself or its branches. In the earlier period of Jambi, the 8th and 9th century, we see the same statuary that is also present in South Sumatra, only the statuary in Jambi seems to be made of precious metals instead of stone as seen in South Sumatra. This could be an indication that the polity of Jambi already had extensive contacts with the hinterland to trade for precious metals, more so than the polity of Palembang.

The pottery and earthenware assemblage in Muara Jambi is of a later date than in South Sumatra, namely Song and Yuan pottery, which is from the 10th to the 13th century. The increasing density of the artifacts and pottery in the first half of the second millennium

suggest that Jambi, after the 9th – 10th century, witnessed an increase in artifacts, together with a decline of artifacts in South Sumatra. Artifacts worth mentioning here are the Thai bowls found on several sites in Jambi (Satari, 1985: 75). This is archaeological evidence of interaction between the Malaysian Peninsula and Sumatra. The Thai bowls, as mentioned in chapter five, were goods that were valued and exported to Śriwijaya. It has not yet been established if these bowls were common goods or luxury goods. The archaeology so far proves that Jambi reveals more material culture from the 10th century until the Islamic period, than South Sumatra.

The polities of Śriwijaya

How exactly did the polities of Śriwijaya work and how long was Śriwijaya in existence? If we go purely by the archaeological evidence, there seems to be a polity around Palembang in the early second half of the first millennium. The inscriptions found in controlled excavations, dated to the late 7th century, together with the Buddhist sculpture and Tang sherds, tell us that Śriwijaya was a polity where Buddhism had a strong influence and trading on the international theatre was known to them. I agree with the conclusions of Manguin (1993), that Palembang, was indeed, a capital of Śriwijaya during the first centuries of its existence. However it is remarkable that the corpus of inscriptions of the earlier centuries of Śriwijaya are confined to a small time period within 20 years of each other. The inscriptions fall into two categories. Commemorative stones to record royal gifts or victories, and oath stones to ensure political loyalty (Wisseman Christie, 1995: 265). The commemorative stones have all been found in the vicinity of Palembang and tell us that the polity was called Śriwijaya, and its leader Śri Jayanasa, with the local title *punta hiyang*. It was more a religious title than a political one (Ibid: 265). Jayanasa's commemorative activities have been recorded on three different stones. The Kedukan Bukit inscription, where a performance of a ritual for leading a military expedition is recorded, the dedication of a garden for Buddhist good works and a visit to a Buddhist monastery in the inscriptions of Talang Tuwo, and the Kota Kapur of a military expedition to *Bhumi Jawa* (Ibid: 266). The Kota Kapur inscription is found on the island of Bangka. The site can be considered as Hindu because several statues of Wisnu's, as seen in chapter four have been found, and all statues are not later than the 7th century. The Wisnu's proved a link between Mainland and Insular Southeast Asian sites. They date back to the early 5th and 6th centuries and have been associated with trade orientated early states of maritime Southeast Asia (Manguin, 2002: 67).

It could very well be possible that *Bhumi Jawa* mentioned in the Kota Kapur inscriptions is the site of Kota Kapur itself. A Hindu site on an island with a high concentration of tin and access to the Straits of Malaccas could be a target for a rising polity such as Śriwijaya.

The Chinese, Arab and Indian sources are the only sources of information repeating the great empire of Śriwijaya that established its hegemony over Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula. The archaeology so far has not established an empire ruling for centuries over Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula. The last Śriwijayan embassy to China seems to have been in 742 A.D. The embassies continue again after the 10th century, which indicate a pause of embassies of at least 150 years.

In the 11th century we have an invasion by the Cola dynasty conquering Śriwijaya and its ‘dependencies’, many of which are thought to be ports or harbors, used by Śriwijaya to maintain control over the trade in the Straits of Malacca. After the raid, it seems that Jambi took over as leading polity in Sumatra. Written sources seem to support this view: The famous Tanjore inscription of 1030/1031, with the list of places conquered by Rājendracola, implies a distinction between Śriwijaya and Malayur, which corresponds to Palembang and Jambi (Wolters, 1996: 227). The literary evidence seems to correspond with the archaeology present in the area.

From Chou Jou-Koua (Hirth & Rockhill, 1967), we know that Palembang was a dependency of Jambi in 1225. Is the polity of Jambi from the 10th-11th century from the same cultural background as Śriwijaya in the 7th century in Palembang?

In China, the name of Śriwijaya seems to change during the Song dynasty:

“All Chinese writers have identified San fo-tsi with Palembang. The form San-fo-tsi appears to have been first used in the Sung period. The earliest Chinese form of the name was Shi-li-fo-tsi. [...] San-fo-tsi was the kingdom of Minangkabau, the parent country of the Malays in Sumatra” (Hirth & Rockhill, 1967: 63).

Coedès and later scientists equate the San-fo-tsi with Śriwijaya and not with Minangkabau. It is interesting to note there has not yet been a discussion about the Chinese translations of the names of polities and to which polity or culture it refers to. What does this discussion mean to identify the contacts of Śriwijaya with the hinterland? Is this discussion only relevant for the time when Jambi rose to power after Palembang was defeated, or does the earlier Chinese transcription of Śriwijaya also refer to the hinterland of the polities of South Sumatra and

Jambi? There has been much discussion around the history of Śriwijaya about the ‘Śailendra’ family mentioned in inscriptions from India and Java and their presence in Śriwijaya. The discussion about the Śailendra’s is whether or not they came from Central Java and ruled over Śriwijaya or the other way around. I will not go into much detail on the indigenoussness of Śriwijaya in this thesis, but hope to shed new light on the discussion. Hall (1985: 84) says the following:

“The Kota Kapur version of the Telaga Batu inscription in Bangka invoked two gods: Ulu, Old Malay for ‘high’ and ‘mountain’, conveying the traditional Southeast Asian perception of the holiness of mountains; and Tandru n Luah, ‘the god of the Waters and Sea’, top guarantee the loyalty of Bangka’s population. The Srivijaya kings’s association with these two indigenous gods may well be the basis for the references to the titles ‘Lord of the Mountain’ and ‘Maharaja of the Isles’ in Arab accounts of Srivijaya.”

Sailendra means Lord of the Mountains and is synonymous with the corresponding dynasty in Central Java. It appears that Lord of the Mountains could also refer to Śriwijaya at Palembang. Bukit Seguntang means Sacred Hill and is at Palembang. Mount Meru is the sacred mountain of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, so the title Lord of the Mountain was important for the rulers to legitimize their rule by use of divine powers. Therefore it was a common title and not exclusive for the dynasty in Central Java.

I argue that there is a possibility that the Sailendra family on Sumatra is an indigenous family and refers to the earlier inscriptions of the late 7th century and the occupation of Bukit Seguntang by Śriwijaya.

Competitive emulation from the peer polity interaction theory might indeed have been the catalyst for Śriwijaya to rise to power in the 7th century. Purely based on written sources, Śriwijaya at Palembang conquered Malayu-Jambi somewhere in the 7th century and Jambi took the role from Palembang-Śriwijaya in the 11th century. Regarding the international trade, however archaeological evidence regarding the first conquest of Jambi does not exist. Archaeology has proven that there is an increase in artifacts at Muara Jambi and the province of Jambi since the 11th century, together with a slight change of name according to the Chinese sources, which is also regarded as Śriwijaya. The amount of foreign pottery and the frequency Śriwijaya is mentioned throughout the centuries in foreign literature lead us to believe that international trade was very important to the wealth and strength of Śriwijaya.

This probably came from the luxury goods (NTFP) and the precious metals that were obtained in the highlands and hinterland of Sumatra, from other cultural groups such as the Batak and the Minangkabau. The riverine system in South Sumatra and Jambi is vital for the contact between the groups: The tropical peat forests and mangroves make it possible for larger ships to go up the Musi river as far as Palembang (Manguin, 1987: 344).

Besides luxury goods, the hinterland also had other valuable items such as manpower and food-supplies. Wet-rice agriculture, similar to Java, while not being possible in East-, and South-Sumatra, was possible in the highlands of Sumatra and could support a much larger population than could be possible in South Sumatra and Jambi. Alliances and control over the hinterland by the coastal polities of Palembang and Jambi should have been more than is credited so far. Luxury goods, food and manpower in exchange for Chinese, Indian and Arabian goods were traded. According to the *mandala* theory by Wolters, rulers of the leading *mandala* had several key aspects to retain control and dominance over other *mandala*'s as said in chapter three. Smaller centers tended to look in all directions for security (Wolters, 1999: 27-28).

These are also means by which a *mandala* can be defined in addition to what has been said in chapter three. However, small adjustments are needed to fit the *mandala* for Śrīwijaya. For instance, I suggest that there were no small settlements that looked for security to Śrīwijaya. The hinterland with its own cultural heritage and political systems⁹ were included in the *mandala*'s and polities of Śrīwijaya, but these hinterland societies were no small centers. The copies of the Telaga Batu inscriptions found to the north (Karang Brahi), south (Palah Pasemah) and east (Sabokingking) of Palembang, in combination with high concentration of archaeology near the sites of these inscriptions make it clear that Śrīwijaya was in control or at least pretended to have control in other, evenly large polities. If the hinterland polities already had their manpower and food-supplies, these polities were also no smaller settlements looking for protection from a coastal polity, so what exactly outside the foreign luxury products, made the rulers of the hinterlands willing to almost exclusively trade with Śrīwijaya until the Cola raid in 1025? Was there symbolic exchange besides the international trade that was important to the hinterland of Śrīwijaya and what exactly did it consist of? If we have Jambi emerging as the leading polity from the 11th century and the Batak and Minangkabau moving towards the east- and north-coast to participate directly on the international trade theatre, what does it tell us of the relationship between the polities and

⁹ Anthropological studies on the Batak and Minangkabau have been extensive since the 19th century, but details of their systems is beyond the scope of this thesis.

the loss of power from the leading polity of South Sumatra? Is the moving from Palembang to Jambi as the leading polity in the 11th century after the Cola raid to gain better access to the hinterland by means of the Batang Hari River and its branches?

The shift of capitals seems to correspond with the World Systems Theory mentioned earlier. An expanding cycle, according to Frank (1993), starts between the years of 500 A.D. to 750-800 A.D. The first evidence of Śriwijaya, the inscriptions dated to 683 A.D. fall between an expanding cycle. A contracting cycle is from 750-800 A.D. to 1000-1050 A.D. In this period, there are no embassies sent to China and the contracting cycle seems to culminate in the Cola raid of 1025 A.D. In the following expanding cycle, 1000-1050 A.D. to 1250-1300, Jambi took the role over from Palembang. The last contracting cycle relevant for Śriwijaya from 1250-1300 to 1450, is when the Islamic period is starting. The cycles correspond to the different leading polities in Śriwijaya's history, including it into the world history.

It appears that the boundaries and exchange politics between the hinterland and Śriwijaya were much more intense and stable than is suggested by Wolters and his *mandala* theory, which is more fitting for wet-rice agricultural societies on Java and in Mainland Southeast Asia. Small tweaks to his theory might help us understand more of the relationship between Śriwijaya and its hinterland and the role both played for centuries in international trade. To fully extract the potential of the peer polity interaction there needs to be a focus on the regional level of exchange and material culture between the main polities in South Sumatra and Jambi and its hinterland before conclusion are drawn of Śriwijaya and the outside world. It is still unknown how Tanah Abang fits into the polities or *mandala* of Śriwijaya. Was Tanah Abang a separate polity of Palembang – Śriwijaya or did it belong to Palembang?

Exchange and contact with the hinterland

The discussion about the contact between the polities of Śriwijaya and the hinterland is a recent one. Comparisons are made between contacts with the hinterland and main polities from other Indonesian societies such as the Javanese dynasties. These dynasties on Java pretended to have control over their hinterland, while in fact it was minimal. The *mandala* theory of Wolters is based on these dynasties. The state claimed to have annexed these areas, but local elites remained in power while paying homage and tribute to the center. Through the

support of local elites, could the ruler command the loyalty of population centers in the periphery of the core (Hall, 1985: 3-4). This premise is based on Western and Chinese prejudices that equate advancement with the evolution of elaborate state systems, where successful Southeast Asian wet-rice civilization of the mainland and Java are the centralized polities (Ibid: 3). The classical cultures of Southeast Asia showed little capacity to absorb populations of regions beyond the core. The key to control over manpower lay in the state's ability to form political alliances with the locally based elite (Ibid: 4).

I suggest we have to distance ourselves from the Western and Chinese prejudices about advancement of state systems in combination with the level of integration between the polity and the hinterland. It appears that Śrīwijaya is taking up a unique spot in the history of maritime polities around the globe, because it did have good contact with their hinterland. Śrīwijaya built its wealth around the goods they traded from the hinterland and then traded those goods on the international market. The hinterland, as said before, consisted of two different cultural groups; The Batak from the North Sumatran Highlands and the Minangkabau from the West Sumatran Highlands. Several luxury items from the forests and highlands were traded with coastal polities. The people who are known as the Batak were never isolated from the developments occurring in the region (Bonatz, 2006: 310). The Batak were major suppliers of camphor and benzoin, therefore very early in history incorporated into regional trade networks. They also traded directly on the international trade market via cities such as Kota Cina and Barus:

“The rise of Kota Cina on the east coast and the re-emergence of Barus on the west coast as ports for the export of camphor and benzoin drew the Batak towards both coasts” (Ibid: 310).

The highland of Kerinci was known as Sumatra's rice barn (Schrieke 1955: 99-100) and it was Minangkabau territory. It is an extremely fertile area, where besides rice, other crops such as pepper, coffee, and cinnamon could be harvested. Also mineral resources and forest products played an important role in long-distance trade (Bonatz, 2006: 310).

Aspects of trade, besides archaeological material, from Śrīwijaya are found back in records from the Chinese Annals. From the Tang Dynasty Annals and the *Ts'e fu yuan kwei* in the 6th century is known that benzoin was a substitute for myrrh in Southern China and it became a commodity later (Andaya, 2002: 374). From Chou-Jou-Koua in the 12th century is known that Śrīwijaya traded in gold, silver, porcelain-ware, silk, sugar, iron, rice, camphor

and more (Hirth & Rockhill, 1967: 61). I assume this commodity trading of NTFP's and precious metals continued during and after Śriwijaya's existence. In chapter two I have discussed that South- and East-Sumatra can not hold a very large population due to the nature of the tropical rainforest and tropical wetlands and the draining of the soil. Perhaps more than luxury- and trade goods were traded between each other? The surplus from the wet-rice fields from the Batak and Minangkabau became the favourite source of supply (Andaya, 2002: 388). Could this be an indication that food was a source for trade as well for Śriwijaya?

We have now established that there were intensive contacts between Śriwijaya and its hinterland. How did it affect the polities and relations with each other? What were the dynamics between them from the moment Śriwijaya rose to power until the Islamic period? There is one interesting moment that really defines the importance of the hinterland for Śriwijaya which is when the capital shifts from Palembang to Jambi somewhere during the 11th century. A few centuries later, Śriwijaya as name for the polities in South and East Sumatra disappear and Malayu appears. In the 13th and 14th centuries Malayu appears in Indonesian and Chinese records and the importance of the Jambi hinterland of Minangkabau unfolds itself, together with the fact that in 1225 Palembang was a dependency of Śriwijaya (Wolters, 1996: 234).

In 1079, the center of the polity was moved from Palembang to Jambi on the Batang hari. The Cola raid on Sumatra and Śriwijaya affected not only Śriwijaya, but also the hinterland of Śriwijaya; the Batak and Minangkabau territories. Approximately fifty years after the Cola invasion, the shifting of the capital of Śriwijaya from Palembang to Jambi was complete (Wolters, 1967: 239). The Batak and Minangkabau traded minerals, such as gold and tin, and NTFP's with ports at the West coast and East coast. It is not clear whether Śriwijaya at Jambi, can be considered the same Śriwijaya at Palembang in earlier centuries and if the Jambi polity gained a trade monopoly as Śriwijaya was supposed to have before the Cola raid of 1025 A.D. Is the moving of the capital perhaps a reaction to the Cola invasion and to the shift from the trade to the North-East coast and West-coast of Sumatra?

After the fall of Palembang as capital of Śriwijaya in 1025, the peoples from the Sumatran highlands sought new harbors from where they could interact on the international theatre. The Tamil merchant guilds established several ports in North-Sumatra and the Thai-Malay Peninsula (Miksic, 2004: 247). The Batak and Minangkabau entered the international trade directly, instead of indirectly, after the capital of Śriwijaya at Palembang was sacked by the Cola. However did it mean that the Batak and Minangkabau were active actors in the relationship with Śriwijaya and that they acted swiftly if the dynamic changed?

I suggest that the Batak and the Minangkabau were already incorporated in the international trade, as soon as India and China discovered the Southeast Asian products, such as gold, tin and the NTFP's. It is possible that Śriwijaya maintained an equal relation with its hinterland in order to keep the trade goods flowing to their own markets, and on the international market. Based on the evidence gathered in this thesis, Śriwijaya did not coerce its own hinterland, because it was dependant on its hinterland for the luxury products, food and manpower. The Cola invaded Śriwijaya and subjugated its hinterland, together with the establishment of Tamil merchant guilds on the North – and West-coast on Sumatra. It appears the Cola tried to access the trade goods from Sumatra directly, without the intervention of Śriwijaya. This, however, did not last long, 50 years after the Cola raid, the Chinese report that Jambi took over the role from Palembang. I believe the reason for this shift towards Jambi, is easier access to the trade goods of the hinterland, by means of the Batang Hari and its branches. The question which then rises is: Is the polity of Jambi the same polity as the one from Palembang before the Cola raid in 1025 A.D. or is the polity of Jambi different then Palembang?

Another aspect of interest are the precious metals found on Sumatra. Several statues were made of gold or bronze. Did those precious metals come from the Barisan Mountains or Bangka. What can they tell us about a relationship between the hinterland and Śriwijaya? Could these relationships with the hinterland be the reason the main hub of Śriwijaya is not in place 'A' in figure 4 on page 35 but in place 'B'? Should a new exchange model be developed for Śriwijaya where the hinterland appears more important and the main hub on the model lies inland and not at the coast?

Kedah as Śriwijaya

Kedah has been an important candidate for Śriwijaya for a long period of time. However, in recent times, it has been deconstructed as a polity of Śriwijaya. There are several reasons why philologists thought that Kedah was Śriwijaya. I-Tsing, as mentioned earlier, hints at Kedah being of Śriwijaya. But most importantly, a stele has been found, called the Ligor 3 Stone:

“Ligor Stone Inscription of Saka year 697 (775 A.D.) from Malaysia. The inscription was discovered at Ligor, to south of the Bay of Bandon. It is written in late Brahmi. It commemorates the erection of triple brick edifice enshrining

Padmapani, Buddha and Vajrapani. This edifice was constructed by King Visnu, the Sailendravamsaprabhu and lord of Srivijaya” (Tripathi, 2003: 271).

The Ligor 3 inscription has two sides to it. Side A and Side B. Both sides have different dating. Side A is dated to 775 A.D. and side B is not sure. There are a few theories about the Ligor inscription. The stele is dated to 755 and the inscription to 1230 A.D. The stele has two sides. Coedès (1959) suspected that the two sides were written at different times. The king mentioned on side A is king Dharmasetu. Another king is mentioned on side B. A Sailendra is mentioned on side B and the earliest date at which he can be placed is between 778 and 782 (Jacq-Hergoualc’h, 2002: 245).

It is known that Śrīwijaya commemorated temples or gardens in a Buddhist fashion in more places than its own homeland. Śrīwijaya-sponsored temples were built in Gangzhou (Song dynasty), Negapatam (Cola dynasty) and on the Coromandel coast of India around 1000 A.D (Miksic, 2004: 247). These stones certainly did not mean that Śrīwijaya conquered Guangzhou and Negapatam, so a stele or inscriptions that commemorates a brick edifice, a temple or a garden is not evidence that Śrīwijaya conquered Kedah.

If we look at the archaeological material that is left behind at Sumatra Śrīwijaya (Jambi and Palembang) and at Kedah, we see a different assemblage for material culture. Early Kedah sites are rich in Zhejiang wares, with a few Changsha sherds. Southern Thai sites, associated with Śrīwijaya on epigraphic grounds, like Takuapa, Chaia and Nakhon Si Thammarat, yield a complete assemblage of 9th century wares. It is typical Southern Thailand; olive-green wares, Changsha, white wares, Sassano-Islamic etc. These differ from those found at Palembang in the 8th – 9th century, which are olive-green Guangdong and a few isolated Middle-Eastern sherds (Manguin 1993: 35).

The Ligor Stone and the archaeological temple ruins and sites found in Kedah were suspected to be of Śrīwijayan style, both artistically and architecturally. This was purely based on the writings of I-Tsing, Rājendracola and other Chinese and Arabian sources who mention that Śrīwijaya had dependencies on Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula together with Coedès’ theories regarding Śrīwijaya: a thalassocracy that dominated the trade in the Strait of Malacca and ruled over Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula. It was not based on archaeological material that had been left behind in both regions that have a similar assemblage. A strong example of such assumptions is by Shuhaimi (1990: 70):

“It seems that Srivijaya imposed its hegemony over some settlements that had already developed their own artistic, cultural and religious traditions and their own trading patterns [my Italics]. These polities and settlements had evolved as the result of an increase in shipping activities along the coasts both of the Malay Peninsula and of east Sumatra.”

If these settlements already had their own traditions and trading patterns and there are no similarities between the archaeological material of Sumatran Śriwijaya and the archaeological material of Kedah, how come that philologists follow the ancient texts without any critique and are looking for a strong, maritime, trade-based empire that controlled the most of the Straits of Malacca?

Kulke (1993: 176) says the following about that question:

“Archaeological research during these last years has revealed no more architecture and sculpture related to Srivijaya than what can be found in the city states of the Peninsula, and we are practically sure that this situation will never be contradicted by some spectacular discovery. There is no art of Srivijaya; this was a concept made out of whole cloth by historians of art in search of labels, a concept that was unfortunately inspired by that earlier, erroneous concept of an empire of Srivijaya that never existed.”

I agree with Kulke. By looking at the material and the differences in artifacts and different pottery/earthenware assemblages and the differences in temple ruins, there appears to be no connection between Śriwijaya on Sumatra and the polities on the Malaysian Peninsula. The sites where temple ruins have been found on Sumatra; Padang Lawas, Kota Cina and Barus, are not in the Śriwijaya core area. The temple ruins that have been found in Jambi and South Sumatra bear no resemblance with Indian or Malaysian temple ruins.

It appears that the connection between Śriwijaya and the Malaysian Peninsula has other motives besides history. In chapter three I spoke about a need for Indonesians to have an empire on Indonesian soil that lasted many centuries and I suggest the ideas of Kedah as a dependency of Śriwijaya and Śriwijaya as a thalassocracy that ruled Southeast Asia is such a need. Soeharto’s Cultural Tourism also played a part in the shaping of Śriwijaya as a great empire from Indonesia. There was a need to have an early empire in Southeast Asia that controlled most of the area and Śriwijaya was a perfect candidate for it. After Indonesia

became independent from The Netherlands, nation-building was important and unity in diversity became Indonesia's motto. Attention for the nation-building was placed on cultures and legacies of the past of which all Indonesians could be proud of such as Sailendra, Singasari, Majapahit and Śriwijaya. Śriwijaya is important for nation-building because it was a very early empire that supposedly controlled the Straits of Malacca and more, making Indonesia a major player in the early history of Southeast Asia and beyond. Nation-building, Cultural Tourism and scientists made Śriwijaya important for Sumatra and Indonesia. This has resulted in numerous contemporary links to Śriwijaya, such as the airport at Palembang and a football club called F.C. Śriwijaya also at Palembang, underlining the importance of Śriwijaya for Sumatran people and for Indonesians in general.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

After looking at the archaeology in South Sumatra and Jambi, I have come to a bold conclusion. I suggest that Śriwijaya did not last six centuries; from the 7th century to the 14th century. There is not enough archaeological evidence that supports that view. There are significant archaeological material and artifacts in various polities around modern day cities. Palembang in South Sumatra was a polity, and probably Tanah Abang as well, although archaeological material is not yet conclusive about this site. In Jambi, Muara Jambi and Kerinci were polities, where Kerinci was not a polity of Śriwijaya, but from the Minangkabau. Archaeological material and artifacts support the view that Palembang was a main polity in the 7th to the 9th century but was less populated after the Cola raid in 1025 A.D. Archaeological material suggests an increase of artifacts from the 11th century in Jambi compared to earlier centuries.

Considering the Chinese sources during the Song period, it appeared that the polity of Jambi took the role from Palembang, or ruled over Palembang from at least 1079 A.D. and became the main polity on Sumatra. The decrease of artifacts in South Sumatra and the increase of artifacts in Jambi correspond to that theory. With the exception of Tanah Abang and Kota Kapur, where Hindu statuary and temples have been found, Śriwijaya appears to be Buddhist in nature by looking at the statuary found and the references in the early inscriptions found around Palembang and Jambi. I-Tsing, together with stèles that commemorate new temples or gardens donated by Śriwijaya in Guangzhou, Negapatam and Kedah confirm that Śriwijaya was mainly Buddhist.

The hinterland was incorporated in the international trade as soon as the polity of Palembang made their entrance on the international market with India and China as main trade partners. Gold, to a lesser extent tin, and NTFP's were the main trade products from Sumatra that found their way to the international market. It appears that the polity of Jambi was more in direct contact with its hinterland, than the polity of Palembang a few centuries earlier. This was probably a reaction after the Cola raid in 1025 A.D. and the founding of Barus and Kota Cina afterwards. Barus and Kota Cina were also centers that traded with the Batak and Minangkabau for the products for the Indian and Chinese markets. Jambi tried to come into direct contact with their hinterland by means of the Batang Hari, which is much closer to the homelands of the Batak and Minangkabau than the Musi River in South Sumatra. Around Muara Jambi no inscriptions have been found that relate to the polity of Jambi from

the 10th-11th century until the 13th-14th century, only sources from outside Sumatra refer to Jambi as a Śrīwijayan polity. However, the spelling of Śrīwijaya in Chinese changes as Jambi becomes the main polity of Sumatra. The changing of the name of a polity in China, together with the relocation of the supposed capital in combination with the emergence of Jambi as that capital and main polity disputes the continuity of Śrīwijaya.

The rise and fall of the polities of Śrīwijaya at Palembang and Jambi correspond to the expanding and contracting cycles of the World Systems Theory. Nation-building, together with Cultural Tourism keeps the idea alive of Śrīwijaya as a strong thalassocracy that ruled the Straits of Malacca. This is a problem in the literature, as Śrīwijaya, at first glance, appears to be a strong thalassocracy. After delving deeper into the subject, controversy rises over Śrīwijaya and what it once was. Epigraphical and iconographical sources and their research, which have longer history than archaeology in Southeast Asia, receive more attention than archaeology. These sources, mostly foreign, make Śrīwijaya appear bigger than it was, trapping readers and academics in biased views in search of something that may not have existed.

There has been no research in the local pottery and earthenware found at excavations in Jambi and South Sumatra. I suggest that a typology and chronology of the local pottery and earthenware from controlled excavations might give a definite answer if Śrīwijaya continued from Palembang to Jambi. If there is a different assemblage at Palembang compared to Jambi, we might indeed conclude that Śrīwijaya was not a thalassocracy that ruled the Straits of Malacca, the seas of Southeast Asia, and other polities on Sumatra and the Malaysian Peninsula for over six centuries, but rather a polity, a kingdom that played a very important role in bringing valued trade goods, such as gold, tin and NTFP's from the highlands, to the international market. There is no archaeological proof that Śrīwijaya ruled over the polities listed by I-Tsing and Rājendracola, cutting the 'empire' of Śrīwijaya down to Sumatra only.

Hopefully, future research and controlled excavations which places emphasis on the archaeology, context of the artifacts, and especially local products, will give a definite answer whether or not Śrīwijaya was the polity at Palembang from the 7th century until the Cola raid, or if Śrīwijaya was a thalassocracy, the polity from the 7th century until the Islamic period, with a shift of capitals from Palembang to Jambi after the Cola raid and the subsequent rebuilding of the precious trade emporium previously at Palembang.

Bibliography

Adam, T., 1921: *Oudheden te Djambi*, in: *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 194-197.

Andaya, L.Y., 2002: The Trans-Sumatra Trade and the Ethnicization of the Batak, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 158 (3): 367-409, KITLV (Leiden).

Anderson, B., 1991: *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso (London).

Appadurai, 1986: *The social life of things; commodities in cultural perspectives*, Cambridge University Press (New York).

Barnes, G. L., 2007: *State formation in Japan: Emergence of a 4th Century Ruling Elite*, Routledge.

Beal, S., 1883-6: Some remarks respecting a place called Shi-li-fo-tsai frequently named in the works of the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, c. 672, in: *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde par le capitaine Bozorg bin Sahriyar de Ramhormoz, trad. Par Marcel Devic, texte arabe et notes by P.A. van der Lith*: 251-253, (Leiden).

Boechari, 1978: An Old Malay inscription of Srivijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung), in: *Pra Seminar Penelitian Srivijaya*: 19-42, Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional (Jakarta).

Boechari, 1985: Ritual Deposits of Candi Gumpung, in: *SPAFA Final Report Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Srivijaya*, Padang, Prapat dan Medan (Jakarta) 229-243.

Bonatz, D., 2006: Kerinci: archaeological research in the highlands of Jambi in Sumatra, in: *Uncovering Southeast Asia's past: selected papers from the 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian archaeologists: The British Museum, London, 14-17 september 2004*, 310-324, Singapore Press (Singapore).

Bronson, B., 1975: A lost kingdom mislaid: A short report of the search for Srivijaya, in: *Field Museum of Natural History bulletin*: 16-20.

Bronson, B., 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*, Hutterer, K.L. (eds), 39-52, University of Michigan (Ann Harbor).

Bronson B., & J. Wisseman, 1978: Palembang as Srivijaya: The Lateness of Early Cities in Southern Southeast Asia, in: *Asian Perspectives* 19, 2: 220-239.

Bronson, B., 1979: The Archaeology of Sumatra and the Problem of Srivijaya, in: *Early South East Asia; Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*, Smith, R.B. & W. Watson (eds), Oxford University Press (New York/Kuala Lumpur).

Coedès, G., 1918: Le Royaume de Srivijaya, in: *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1-36.'

Coedès, G., 1968: *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, East-West Center (Honolulu).

Colombijn, F., 2005: Dried-up dragon's blood and swarms of bees' nest collectors: non-timber forest products in Sumatra, 1600-1870, in: *Muddied waters: historical and contemporary perspectives on management of forest and fisheries in island Southeast Asia*, P. Boomgaard, D. Henley and M. Osseweijer (eds), KITLV Press (Leiden): 259-278.

Culler, C., 1978: *Structuralist Poetics, Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature*, Cornell University Press (New York).

De Casparis, J.G., 1956: *Selected Inscriptions From the 7th to the 9th Century A.D. II*, Masa Baru (Bandung).

Eriksen, T.H., 2001: *Small places, large issues; An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Pluto Press (London).

Furukawa, H., 1994: *Coastal Wetlands of Indonesia: Environment, Subsistence and Exploitation*, Japan (Kyoto University Press).

Francis, P., 1990: Glass Beads in Asia part two. Indo Pacific Beads, in: *Asian Perspectives* 29 (1): 1-23.

Francis, P., 1990: Beads in Indonesia, in: *Asian Perspectives* 30 (2): 217-220.

Frank, A.G., 1993: Bronze World Systems Cycles, in: *Current Anthropology*, vol. 34, nr. 4, 383-429.

Glover, I.C. & P. Bellwood (eds), 2004: *Southeast Asia; From prehistory to history*, RoutledgeCurzon (Oxfordshire).

Glover I.C., 2006: Some National, Regional, and Political Uses of Archaeology in East and Southeast Asia, in: *Archaeology of Asia*, Stark, M. (eds), Blackwell Publishing (Malden).

Groeneveldt, W.P., 1877: *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca; compiled from Chinese Sources*, Nijhoff (Batavia).

Hall, K.R., 1985: *Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia*, University of Hawaii Press (Honolulu).

Hagesteijn, R., 1989: Circles of Kings; Political Dynamics in Early Continental Southeast Asia, in: *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1572-1892 ; 138, Foris Publications (Dordrecht).

Hardiati, E.S., 2002: Seni Arca Masa Hindu-Buddha di Jambi, in: *25 Tahun Kerjasama, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi dan École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Kedutaan Besar Prancis di Indonesia (Jakarta) 133-149.

Hirth, F., & W.W. Rockhill, 1967: *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries entitled Chu-fan-chi*, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company (Taipei).

Hoop, van der, A. N. J. Th. À Th., 1940: A Prehistoric Site near the Lake of Kerinchi (Sumatra), in: *Proceedings of the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East*, Chasen, F. N. & M. W. F. Tweedie (eds), 200-204, Government Printing Office (Singapore).

Hodges, H., 1989: *Artifacts; An introduction to early materials and technology*, Duckworth (London).

Jacq-Hergoualc'h, M., 2002: *The Malay Peninsula; Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road* (translated by Victoria Hobson), Brill (Leiden).

Kagami, H., 1997: Tourism and National Culture: Indonesian Policies on Cultural Heritage and Its Utilization in Tourism, in: *Tourism and Cultural Development in Asia and Oceania*, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (Bangi).

Kathirithamy-Wells, J., & J. Villiers (eds), 1990: *The Southeast Asian Port & Polity; Rise and Demise*, Singapore University Press (Singapore).

Kopytoff, I., 1986: The Cultural Biography of Things: commoditization as process, in: A. Appadurai (eds), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 64-91, Cambridge University Press (New York).

Kozok, U., 2004: A 14th Century Malay Manuscript from Kerinci, in: *Archipel* 67: 37-55.

Krom, N. J., 1926: *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, Martinus Nijhoff ('s Gravenhage).

Krom, N. J., 1931: *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, Martinus Nijhoff ('s Gravenhage).

Krom, N.J., 1938: *De Heiligdommen van Palembang*, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks, deel 1, no. 7, N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij (Amsterdam).

Kulke, H., 1991: Epigraphical References to the "City" and the "State" in Early Indonesia, in: *Indonesia*, 1991: 3-22, no. 52(oktober), Cornell Southeast Asia Program.

Kulke, H., 1993: *Kings and Cults; State Formation and Legitimation in India and Southeast Asia*, Manohar (Delhi).

Leong Sau Heng, 1990: Collecting Centres, Feeder Points and Entrepôts in the Malay Peninsula, c. 1000 B.C.- A.D. 1400, in: *The Southeast Asian Port & Polity; Rise and Demise*, Kathirithamy-Wells, J., & J. Villiers (eds), 17-38, Singapore University Press (Singapore).

Leur, van, J.C., 1983: *Indonesian trade and society; essays in asian social and economic history*, Foris Publications (Dordrecht).

Majumdar, R.C., 1961: The Overseas Expeditions of King Rājendra Cola, in: *Artibus Asiae* 24 (3/4), 338-342, Artibus Asiae Publishers.

Manguin, P-Y., 1991: The Merchant and the King: Political Myths of Southeast Asian Coastal Polities, in: *Indonesia*, 1991: 41-54, no. 52 (oktober), Cornell Southeast Asia Program.

Manguin, P-Y., & Mubin Sheppard (eds), 1992: Sriwijaya, History, Religion & Language Of An Early Malay Polity; Collected Studies by G. Coèdes and L-C Damais, *Monograph of the Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society No.20*, Academe Art & Printing Services Sdn. Bhd. (Kuala Lumpur).

Manguin, P-Y., 1993: Palembang & Srivijaya: an early harbour-city rediscovered, in: *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 66, issue 1: 23-46.

Manguin, P-Y., 2002: From Funan to Srivijaya: Cultural Continuities and Discontinuities in the Early Historical Maritime States of Southeast Asia, in: *The Malay Peninsula, Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road*, translated by Victoria Hobson, Jacq-Hergoualc'h, M, 59-82, Brill (Leiden).

Manguin, P-Y., 2004: The Archaeology of Early Maritime Polities of Southeast Asia, in: *Southeast Asia; From prehistory to history*, 282-313, RoutledgeCurzon (Oxfordshire).

McKinnon, E.E., 1979: A Note on the Discovery of Spur-Marked Yueh-Type Pottery at Bukit Seguntang Palembang, in: *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 52, 2: 50-58.

McKinnon, E.E., 1985: Early Polities in Southern Sumatra: some preliminary observations based on archaeological evidence, in: *Indonesia*, vol.40 (okt. 1985): 1-36, Southeast Asia Program Publishing (Cornell University).

Miksic, J., 1990: Classical Archaeology in Sumatra, in: *Indonesia*, Vol. 30, (Oct., 1980), pp. 43-66.

Miksic, J.N., 2004: The Classical Cultures of Indonesia, in: *Southeast Asia; From prehistory to history*, 234-256, RoutledgeCurzon (Oxfordshire).

Munoz, P.M., 2006: *Early Kingdoms of the Indonesian Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula*, Editions Didier Millet Pte Ltd (Singapore).

Nazir, M., 1980: *Arkeologi Klassik Daerah Jambi*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Jambi).

Pollock, J.L., 1995: *Cognitive carpentry: a blueprint for how to build a person*, MIT Press (Cambridge).

Rajantharan, M., 2003: The Devaraja Cult in Malay tradition, in: *Proceedings of Paper, International Sanskrit Conference on Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures*, Prapandvidya, C., Leurmsai, S., Kham-Ek, B., Mangmeesukhsiri, S., Klinnoi, C., Sharma, H.D. & R., Tripathi (eds), Sanskrit Studies Centre and Department of Oriental Languages Silpakorn University (Bangkok).

- Renfrew, C. & J.F. Cherry, 1985: *Peer polity interaction and socio-political change*, Cambridge University Press (Cambridge).
- Renfrew C., & P. Bahn., 2001: *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, Thames and Hudson (London).
- Rhido, A., 1978: Daftar Keramik Asing Yang Didapati Di Sumatera Menurut Kartu De Flines, Kini Di Museum Pusat, in: *Pra Seminar Penelitian Srivijaya*: 105-118, Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional (Jakarta).
- Robson, S.O., 1995: *Deśawarnana (Nāgarakṛtāgama)*, KITLV Press (Leiden).
- Sastri, K. A. N., 1949: *South Indian influences in the Far East*, Hind Kitabs (Bombay).
- Satari, S.S., 1985: Research Activities in Indonesia, in: *SPAFA Final Report Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Srivijaya*, Padang, Prapat dan Medan (Jakarta).
- Satari, S.S., 2002: Sebuah Situs Hindu di Sumatra Selatan: Temuan Kelompok Candi dan Arca di Bumiayu, in: *25 Tahun Kerjasama, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi dan École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Kedutaan Besar Prancis di Indonesia (Jakarta) 113-132.
- Scheurleer, P. C. M., & M. J. Klokke, 1988: *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture*, KITLV Press (Leiden).
- Schnitger, F.M., 1936: *Hindoe-oudheden aan de Batang Hari*, Brill (Leiden).
- Schnitger, F.M., 1936: *Oudheidkundige vondsten in Palembang*, Brill (Leiden).
- Schnitger, F.M., 1937: *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Brill (Leiden).
- Soekmono, R., 1985: The architecture of Srivijaya: A review, in: *Country Report of Indonesia for SPAFA Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Srivijaya*, SPAFA (Bangkok).
- Soekmono, R., 1973: *Pengantar sejarah kebudayaan Indonesia*, Penerbitan Yayasan Kanisius.
- Soeroso, M. P., 2002: Seni Bangun Masa Hindu-Buddha di Jambi, in: *25 Tahun Kerjasama, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi dan École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Kedutaan Besar Prancis di Indonesia (Jakarta) 99-111.
- Shuhaimi, N. H., 1984: *Art, archaeology and the early kingdoms in the Malay peninsula and Sumatra c. 400 – 1400 A.D.*, School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London).
- Shuhaimi, N. H., & O. Yatim, 1989: Takuapa revisited: a commentary on Alistair Lamb's pre-Malacca entrépot in the Malay Peninsula, in: *Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia* 2: 93-99.

- Shuhaimi, N. H. & N. A. Rahman, 1990: *The Kingdom of Srivijaya as Socio-Political and Cultural Entity*, in: *The Southeast Asian Port & Polity; Rise and Demise*, Kathirithamy-Wells, J., & J. Villiers (eds), Singapore University Press (Singapore) 61-82.
- Suleiman, S., 1980: *A few observations on the use of ceramics in Indonesia*, Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Kebudayaan (Jakarta).
- Suleiman, S.(eds), 1981: *Studies on Sriwijaya*, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional (Jakarta).
- Suleiman, S., 1983: *Rapat evaluasi hasil penelitian arkeologi I, Cisuara 8-13 Maret 1982*, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional (Jakarta).
- Suleiman, S., 1984: *Studies on ceramics*, Proyek Penelitian Purbakala (Jakarta).
- Suleiman, S., 1985: *The Art of Srivijaya*, in: *SPAFA Final Report Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Srivijaya*, Padang, Prapat dan Medan (Jakarta) 97-104.
- Suleiman, S., 1999: *Sculptures of Ancient Sumatra*, Departemen Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional (Jakarta).
- Takakusu, J., 1896: *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I-Tsing*, Clarendon Press (Oxford).
- Tripathi, R., 2003: *Southeast Asia Through Epigraphical Records in Sanskrit*, in: *Proceedings of Paper, International Sanskrit Conference on Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures*, Prapandvidya, C., Leurmsai, S., Kham-Ek, B., Mangmeesuksiri, S., Klinnoi, C., Sharma, H.D. & R., Tripathi (eds), Sanskrit Studies Centre and Department of Oriental Languages Silpakorn University (Bangkok).
- Utomo, B.B., 1984: *Situs-situs Arkeologi di Daerah Tepi Sungai Batanghari*, in: *Amerta* 8.
- Westenenk, L.C., 1920: *De Hindoe-Javanen in Midden- en Zuid-Sumatra*, Albrecht & Co., Weltevreden.
- White, J., 1995: *Incorporating Heterarchy into Theory on Socio-Political Development: The case from Southeast Asia*, in: *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies*, Robert M. Ehrenreich, Carole L. Crumely & Janet E. Levy (eds), Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, no6. (Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association, 1995) 101-123.
- Willey, G.R., & P. Philips, 1958: *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*, University of Chicago Press (Chicago).
- Wissemann Christie, J., 1985: *Theatre states and oriental despotism: early Southeast Asia in the eyes of the West*, Centre of South-East Asian Studies (Hull).
- Schrieke, B. J. O., 1955: *Indonesian sociological studies*, Van Hoeve (Den Haag).

Wolters, O.W., 1967: *Early Indonesian Commerce; A study of the origins of Srivijaya*, Cornell University Press (New York).

Wolters, O.W., 1996: A Note on the Capital of Srivijaya during the Eleventh Century, in: *Artibus Asiae. Supplementum*, Vol. 23, Essays Offered to G. H. Luce by His Colleagues and Friends in Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Volume 1: Papers on Asian History, Religion, Languages, Literature, Music Folklore, and Anthropology (1966), pp. 225-239

Wolters, O.W., 1999: *History, Culture, And Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications (New York).

Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi VI, 1994, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional (Jakarta).

25 Tahun Kerjasama, 2002: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi dan École française d'Extrême-Orient, Kedutaan Besar Prancis di Indonesia (Jakarta).

Appendix I: Glossary

Awalokiteswara: A bodhisattwa who postpones his ascension to Buddha to help the people on earth.

Bodhisattwa: A person striving to attain enlightenment according to Buddhist teachings.

Candi: Originally the Indonesian word for stupa. A stupa is a mound-like structure where supposedly relics from Buddha were kept, originating from India. At present the word candi is interchangeable for structure and temple, without the Buddhist connotation attached.

Danau: Lake in Indonesian.

Makara: An aquatic animal in Hindu mythology, a crocodile or dolphin, that is the vehicle of Ganga or Varuna. Usually makara's can be found at temple entrances or niches in temples.

Mandala: The Sanskrit word for magic circle. In Southeast Asian archaeological context it refers to a polity or a kingdom with other, likewise, polities or kingdoms as neighbors.

Nandi: A bull in Hindu mythology. It is the animal which Śiwa uses as his vehicle.

Non-Timber Forest Products: A term used in environmental studies referring to products from forests, for example fruits, incense or ivory, almost all uses from forests except timber.

Pulau: Island in Indonesian.

Thalassocracy: Deriving from ancient Greek, where *thalassa* means sea and *kratein* means to rule. It refers to maritime realms, originally in the Mediterranean, who have maritime power and a strong navy but little control over their hinterland.

Wairocana: A Buddha of the form Dharmakaya.

Appendix II: Archaeological Sites & Artifacts of South Sumatra

Air Besir: Three statues have been found here. The first statue is Wisnu and dated to the Majapahit period; 14-15th century, height 57 centimeter. Current location: Museum Nasional, Jakarta (Inv. No.6032) (Shuheimi 1984: 396-397). The second statue is Brahmā and dated to the Majapahit period; 14-15th century, height 55 centimeter. Current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv.No.6033) (Shuheimi 1984: 396-397). The third statue is Śiwa and dated to the 14-15th century, Majapahit period, height 50 centimeter. Current Location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6034) (Shuheimi 1984: 393, Soekmono 1973: 97 gmb 33).

Kota Kapur

Candi Kota Kapur (Bangka), Kota Kapur, Mendo Barat, Bangka. It is a Hindu Candi and dated by C14 to the 6th century. This site is pre-Śriwijaya. EFEO, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Balai Arkeologi Palembang and Balai Arkeologi Yogyakarta excavated here in 1994. Four stone statues have been found at Kota Kapur. The first statue is a fragment of a body of Wisnu, 19,5 centimeters, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6313), and dated to the 6-7th century. The second statue is a fragment of Wisnu dated to the 6-7th century, 17 centimeter, current location: Balai Arkeologi Palembang. The third statue is Wisnu dated to the 6-7th century, current location: Balai Arkeologi Palembang. The fourth statue is a fragment of feet/legs of Mahadewi Candi 1, 27 centimeters high, current location: Museum Negeri Balaputradewa, and dated to the 6-7th century.

Benteng Tanah (Bangka), Kota Kapur, Bangka. It is a fort or mote. It is dated by C14 to the 6th century. This site is pre-Śriwijaya (Manguin, 1993).

Palembang

Benteng Kuto Besak: Bodhisattwa, height 17,5 centimeter, dated 8-9th century. Current location: Museum Gemeente Palembang.

At the Musi River near Beteng Kuto Besak: Wairocana has been found here, height 12 centimeter, dated 8-9th century. Current location: A. Van Doorninck en J.A. Wilton van Reede.

Boom Baru, an inscription from the 7th century has been found here.

Bukit Seguntang, Eleven statues have been found here alongside other archaeology. The first statue is Buddha, height 360 centimeter, and dated to the 6-7th century (Krom 1931: 29-33, Suleiman 1980: 14, Sastri 1949: 103, Schnitger 1937: 2-3, Shuheimi 1979: 33-40; 1984: 265-266). Current location: Museum Mahmud Badaruddin II, Palembang. The second statue is Buddha, height 16,5 centimeter, and dated to the 7-8th century (Scheurleer & Klokke 1988: 108, Shuheimi 1984: 256). Current location: H.J. Friedericy. The third statue is Buddha, height 17 centimeter, and dated to the 7-8th century (Scheurleer & Klokke 1988: 107). Current location: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Inv. No. 196). The fourth statue is the head of a Bodhisattwa, height 16 centimeter, and dated to the 7-8th century (Suleiman 1981: 42). Current location: Rumah Bari, Inv. No. A.4, Palembang. The fifth statue is Awalokiteswara, height 9,5 centimeter, and dated to the 7-8th century (Schnitger 1937: 3, Shuhaimi 1984: 304). Current location: J.L. The sixth statue is Awalokiteswara, height 8,5 centimeter, and dated to the 7-8 century (Shuhaimi 1984: 304, Schnitger 1937: 3). Current location: Museon, Den Haag (Inv. No. 6677).. The seventh statue is a fragment of Awalokisteswara, height 78 centimeter, and is dated to the 8-9th century. Current location: Rumah Bari. The 8th statue is Wairocana, height 17 centimeter, and dated to the 8-9th century. Current location: Museum Negeri Balaputradewa The nineth statue is the head of a Buddha, height 14,5 centimeter, and dated to the 8-9th century (Schnitger 1937: 3). Current location: Rumah Bari, Inv. No. A.34, Palembang. The tenth statue is Jambhala, height is 7,5 centimeter, and dated to the 10-11th century (Shuhaimi, 1984: 335-336). Current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta. The eleventh statue is the head of a Bodhisattwa, height 20 centimeter, and is dated to the 8-9th century. Current location: Museum Negeri Balaputradewa, Palembang.

At Kolam Pinisi (foot of Bukit Seguntang) boat timbers have been found. C14 dates those timbers to 5-7th century A.D. In 1984 a survey was sent to Bukit Seguntang. Tang sherds were found here from the 8th-9th century. A waterpitcher from the 11th-12th century (Satari, 1985: 75) and a fragment of a Buddhist monument was also discovered on the slopes of Bukit Seguntang (Manguin 1993).

Candi Angsoka, Palembang. It is a buddhist sanctuary. It is dated to 650-850 by C14 method. At Candi Angsoka, a floor was excavated which yielded ceramics and charcoal. The charcoal was dated with C14 to 650 – 850 A.D (Manguin 1993). Results of the excavations at Mahmud Badaruddin Museum and Candi Angsoka in 1990-1991 were overwhelming; 55,000 artifacts of which 38,000 were local and around 10,000 imported ceramics sherds (Manguin, 1993: 27).

Gedingsuro, Kuto Gawang. This is a Buddhist site. It is dated to the 7th – 15th century. Five stone statues have been found at this site. The first statue is Buddha, 10 centimeters high. Not a known date. The second statue is Buddha, 4,7 centimeters high. Not a known date. The third statue is Buddha, 10 centimeters high. Not a known date. The fourth statue is Buddha, 8 centimeters high. Not a known date. The fifth statue is a fragment of a Bodhisattwa, 118 centimeters high, current location Museum Mahmud Badaruddin II. The dates vary from 8-10th century to the 12-13th century (Schnitger 1937: 2; Shuhaimi 1984: 343-344). Extensive deposits of potsherds and other domestic refuse has also been found here (Bronson, 1979: 402).

Jalan Mayor Ruslan in Palembang. A stone statue of *Ganesā* has been found here and dated 11-12th century (McKinnon 1985: 18). Current location: Museum Mahmud Badaruddin II, Palembang.

Kambanguglen, Ilir Barat II, Palembang. It is a workplace for stone and glass beads (Manguin, 1992: 27). It is dated to the 7th century. This site is nearby Bukit Seguntang and Karanganyar. The beads are from both glass and stone and are found in association with Tang ceramic sherds and local wares. Around 2454 beads have been found here in various colours (Satari, 1985: 76).

Kedukan Bukit, Ilir Barat (II), Palembang. It is an inscription and dated to the 7th century and is the evidence of the founding of Śriwijaya. A stone fragment of the head of a Bodhisattwa also has been found here. It is dated to the 8-9th century, 21 centimeters high.

Pulau Nangka, Karanganyar, Palembang. It is an island and dated to the 7th century. This site is connected with Kedukan Bukit and Kambanguglen.

Pulau Cempaka, Karanganyar, Palembang. It is an island and dated to the 7th century. This lake is connected to Kedukan Bukit and Kambanguglen. Aerial photopgraphy in 1984 revealed a pond with two small islands in the middle. A brick structure was found on the larger island. Tang and Song ceramic sherds have beend on these islands (Satari, 1985: 76).

Sambirejo, Mariana, Palembang. On this site an old boat was found and dated by C14 to 610 – 775 A.D.

Suak Bujang, Ilir Barat (II), Palembang. It is artificial ditch and dated to the 7th century. This site is connected with Kedukan Bukit and Kambanguglen.

Talang Kikim Seberang, Palembang. Exclusively late Tang wares together with iron slag and glass beads were found here (Manguin 1992: 25). A *kendi* was also uncovered (Satari, 1985: 76).

Talang Tuwo, Talang Tuwo, Sukarami, Palembang. This site contains a Buddhist inscription which is dated to the 7th century. It is called the Talang Tuo inscription and dated to 684 A.D. Another one has been found here and is called Talang Tuo1, Sukarami, Palembang. It is a Buddhist inscription and dated to the 7th century.

Telagabatu, Ilir Timur (II). It is an inscription and dated to the 7th century. The inscription is called Telaga Batu.

Near Palembang: Four stone statues have been found here. The first statue is Śiwa dated to the 8-9th century, 77 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6031). The second statue is Awalokiteswara dated to the 8-9th century, 20 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6224/C104). The third statue is Bodhisattwa dated to the 8-9th century, 19 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6034/C103). The fourth statue is Wajrapani dated to the 8-9th century, 46 centimeter high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6611) (Suleiman 1980: 36-37 gmb. 16).

At the Komerling River mouth at Palembang: The first statue is Buddha dated to the 8-9th century, 37 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6023) (Suleiman 1981: 41). The second statue is Awalokiteswara dated to the 8-9th century, 47 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6024) (Suleiman 1981: 41, Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992: 246-247, Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 1984: 315). The third statue is a fragment of the body of a Maitreya and is dated to the 8-9th century, 24,5 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6025) (Suleiman 1984: 331).

Lorong Jambu, Palembang, A sizable amount of 10th to 13th century wares were found here (Manguin 1993: 27).

Candi Binginjungut

Candi Binginjungut, Muarakelingi, Palembang. This site consists of surface finds and it is dated to the 8th – 13th century. The 8th-9th century dating comes from a Buddha and an Awalokiteswara statue and the 10th-13th century from Song pottery. The Awalokiteswara is dated to the 8-9th century, made of stone and 172 centimeters high, current location: Museum Nasional Jakarta Inv. No. 247/D.216) (Suleiman 1981: 3). The Buddha statue is dated to the 7-8th century, made of stone and 153 centimeters high, current location: Museum Negeri Balaputradewa (Shuhaimi 1992: 101).

Candi Nikan

Candi Nikan, Buay Madang, Palembang. It is a Candi, but religion is unknown, and dated to the 10th – 13th century.

Candi Tingkip

Candi Tingkip, Rawas Ulu, Palembang. It is a Buddhist site and dated to the 7th – 9th century. Suleiman (1983:209) wrote about it. It has been investigated in 1998/1999. A stone Buddha statue has been found, 271 centimeters high, current location is Museum Negeri Balaputradewa (Inv. No. 1431), Palembang, and is dated to the 7-8th century (Suleiman 1983: 209, Nik Hassan Shuheimi 1992: 24).

Tanah Abang

Candi Bumiayu I, Palembang (Tanah Abang), a Hindu Candi dating between the 8th and 14th century A.D. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional did an excavation in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. This candi is 10, 21 x 10, 47 metres (Satari, 2002: 116). Six stone statues have been found near it. The first statue to be discussed is a Stambha, 53 centimeters high. The second statue is a Nandi, 40 centimeters high (Satari, 2002: 119). The third statue is Śiwa, 62 centimeters high. The dating, done by comparison to Singasari, is 11-12th century (Satari, 2002: 118). The fourth statue is Agastya, 69 centimeters and is dated 11-12th century (Satari, 2002: 118). The fifth statue represents an unknown god or king, 50 centimeter high, and is dated 11-12th century. The sixth statue is another unknown statue of a god or king, 62 centimeters high, and dated 11-12th century (Satari, 2002: 118-119). All of the statues can be found at Site Museum Bumiayu. At Tanah Abang (80 kilometres upstream from Palembang) brick structures were found and surface finds could be dated to the 10th century. They appear to be similar to the Candi Angsoka ceramics (Manguin 1993).

Candi Bumiayu II, Palembang (Tanahabang). It is a Hindu candi and dated between the 8-9th century and the 12th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional excavated in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. Three stone statues have been found near this candi. The first statue is a fragment of Śiwa, 23 centimeters high. Only the torso is found and is dated to the 11-12th century. The second statue is Brahmā dated 11-12th century. The third statue is an unknown god or king dated 11-12th century.

Candi Bumiayu III, Palembang (Tanahabang). This is a Hindu Candi and dated between the 8-9 and 12th century (Satari, 2002). Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. The stone statue found is Camundi, 44 centimeters high and can be found at Site Museum Bumiayu.

Candi Bumiayu VIII, Palembang (Tanahabang). This is a Hindu Candi and dated to 8th- 14th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004 (Satari, 2002).

Danau Besar, Bumiayu, Palembang (Tanahabang). This is a lake and dated to the 8-9th – 12th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. This site is connected with Hindu Candi Bumiayu I.

Danau Candi, Bumiayu, Palembang (Tanahabang). This is a lake and dated to the 8-9th – 12th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. This site is connected with Hindu Candi Bumiayu I.

Danau Kecil, Bumiayu, Palembang (Tanahabang). This is a lake and dated to the 8-9th -12th century. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. This site is connected with Hindu Candi Bumiayu I.

Danau Lebar, Bumiayu, Palembang (Tanahabang). This is a lake. It is dated to the 8-9th – 12th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Nasional excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang from 2002 to 2004. This site is connected with Hindu Candi Bumiayu I.

Parit Piabung, Tanah Abang, Palembang. It is an artificial ditch and dated to the 8-9th – 12th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Palembang excavated here in 2002 and Balai Arkeologi Palembang in 2002 to 2004. This site is connected with Hindu site Bumiayu I.

Candi Teluk Kijing

Candi Teluk Kijing, Lais, Palembang. It is a Candi Hindu and dated to the 13th century. Westenenk (1922) has investigated this site and in 1995 Balai Arkeologi Palembang, CNRS and EFEO Perancis with Museum Sumatera Selatan Balaputra Dewa investigated it as well.

Jepara

Jepara, Bandingagung, Palembang. It is a Hindu site and dated to the 9th – 10th century. Jepara can be assigned to the first millennium (Bronson, 1979: 401). Suhadi excavated here in 1984 and in 1954 an archaeological survey took place at Jepara (Satari, 1985: 77).

Lesungbatu

Lesungbatu, Rawas Ulu, Palembang. It is a Hindu site and dated to the 12th – 15th century. Pusat Penelitian arkeologi Palembang Nasional together with Balai Arkeologi Palembang excavated here in 1992. A Yoni has been found at Runtuhan Bangunan Candi and is still *in situ*. The yoni is 70 x 75 x 94 centimeters.

Sungai Lematang

Sungai Lematang, Palembang. It is a Hindu site and dated by ceramics to the 10th – 13th century.

Appendix III: Archaeological Sites & Artifacts from Jambi

Betungbedaro, Muara Bungo (Teluk Kualı)

Stone statue of a Buddha (legs/feet) found in Betungbedaro, Kab. Bungo Tebo. Current location is Museum Negeri Jambi (McKinnon 1985: 31; Nazir 1980: 29)

Muara Jambi

Candi Gumpung, Desa Muara Jambi, kec. Maro Sebo, Kab. Muaro Jambi, Jambi tahun 1978. A stone Prajñāpāramitā, height 82 centimeters, current location Site Museum Muara Jambi (Inv. No. T32), dated by Suleiman (1983: 202) and Shuhaimi (Nik Hassan 1984: 352) to the 13th century for characteristics shared with Singasari from Java. Inscribed bricks and inscribed gold plates have been found at Candi Gumpung (Suleiman 1985: 100).

The ceramics of Candi Gumpung are mostly Song and Yuan (Suleiman 1985: 101).

Candi Tinggi.

An older profile behind the most recent one has been found, which implies the candi is older than suspected (Suleiman 1985: 100). Religion is unknown.

Desa Muara Jambi, Kc. Marosabo, Kab. Muaro Jambi, Jambi.

Fragment of a torso of a stone Buddha, height 40 centimeters, Current location Rumah Bari, Palembang. The statue shows characteristics with Buddha's from the Sailendra style, so it is dated to the 8th-9th century. Hardiati (2002: 139) reports of two other fragments of standing stone Buddha's from Muara Jambi besides the Buddha mentioned above. All three statues are incomplete and only a torso is seen. The two known statues are dated to the 8th-9th century.

Jambi

A statue of a standing stone Awalokiteśwara with four hands (Hardiati 2002).

Muara Jambi

Muara Jambi is one of the biggest archaeological sites on Sumatra. Natural and artificial waterways have been discovered (McKinnon 1985: 28). As far as 1985, nine candi's and 22 *menapo* (smaller brick monuments) have been identified on this site. Recent numbers, as said earlier in this thesis, count towards 92 brick monuments. Besides the stone statue of Prajñāpāramitā, a fragment of a black, stone Buddha in Ayutthya style also has been found (McKinnon 1985: 28), and a bronze gong with a Chinese inscription dated to 1231 A.D. Chinese ceramics ranging from the 10th to the 14th century together with local earthenware

from both surface finds and controlled excavations have been found here (McKinnon 1985: 28). In the temples Kembarbatu, Astano and Gumpung remains of a settlement inside and outside the surrounding wall were exposed. Among the artifacts were found: a waterpitcher, fragments of jars, an earthenware stove and beads. The sherds were decorated with eight different motifs, such as lines and animals (Satari, 1985: 73). Adam (1921, 196-197) reports of a Nandi at Muara Jambi.

Muara Kempeh Ilir

Local pottery, Chinese sherds of the 13th-14th century and timber from a ship discovered in 1982 (McKinnon, 1985).

Situs Muara Jambi, Kec. Maro Sebo, Kab. Muaro Jambi, Jambi.

Fragment of stone statue of Buddha, height 105 centimeters, current location Museum Mahmud Badaruddin. Schnitger (1937: 7) dated the statue to the 7th-8th century. The statue has similar characteristics as the Buddha's of Wieng Sa and North India. A fragment of a right hand from a stone statue, height 8 centimeters, current location Site Museum Muara Jambi dated to the 8th-9th century. (Hardiati, 2002).

Solok Sipin, Kec. Jambi Kota, Jambi

A stone statue of Buddha with an inscription, height 172 centimeters, current location Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 233A) dated to the 6th-7th century by Nik Hassan Shuhaimi (1984: 264-265) and to the 7th century by Schnitger (1937: 7). It also shows similar characteristics as the Sailendra style from the 7th-8th century. The name Dharmawira appears on the Buddha (Suleiman 1985: 100). Hardiati (2002) also reports about this statue.

Two makara's have been found near the present city of Jambi (Soekmono, 1985: 59). A date is inscribed on one of the makara's: 1064 A.D. Suleiman (1985: 100) reports four makara's instead of two. A stupa has been found that has similar characteristics as stupas from mainland Southeast Asia (Satari, 1985: 73).

Solok Sakean

Left bank of Batang Kumpeh. Chinese stonewares dating from the 10th-14th century have been found here. Farmers mentioned bricks and jewellery (unspecified) in their rice fields (McKinnon 1985: 26).

Suak Kandis

This is a site where nearby the rivers Batang Hari and Kumpeh converge. Chinese Song sherds dating to the 11-12th century have been found and a Longguan bowl from the 12th century (Satari, 1985: 75).

Ujung Plancu

This is a site across the river from Suak Kandis. Ceramics sherds have been found, including a Thai artifact from the 13th-15th century, a Longguan artifact and a Song plate and a fragment of a mercury bottle (Satari, 1985: 75). Bambang Budi Utomo (1984: 41) also found a shipwreck and wooden poles here.

Kota Kandis, Kec. Muara Sabak, Kab. Tanjung Jabung, Jambi.

A bronze Mahadewi, identified as Dīpalaksmī, height 32 centimeters, current location Museum Negeri, Jambi, and dated to the 11th-12th century (McKinnon, 1984: 54-66). McKinnon (1985: 26) also identified on this site: Chinese stoneware, beads, bricks, inscriptions, and gold-scrap.

Telukkualli, Kec. Tebo Ulu, Kab. Bungo Tebo, Jambi.

Fragment of a stone Buddha, height 60 centimeter, current location Museum Mahmud Badaruddin, which shows characteristics with Buddhist statues from North India from the 7th-8th century. Hardiati (2002) also mentions this statue. McKinnon (1985: 31) and Nazir (1980: 29) mention this site as the finding place of a badly damaged Buddha.

Desa Sarolangun, kec. Sarolangun, Kab. Sarolangun-Bangko, Jambi.

A stone Ganesa, height 172 centimeters, current location Museum Mahmud Badaruddin (Inv. No. A15). Suleiman (1983: 202) dates this statue by cross-dating with South-India to the 8th-9th century. Suleiman (1985: 99) also reports of a standing Buddha that has been unearthed by a farmer.

Kerinci

Kerinci

This is a site near Lake Kerinci. Stone implements, potsherds, carnelian beads, bronze remains and a bronze urn or flask have been found here (McKinnon, 1985: 31; Van der Hoop 1940). A Malay manuscript has also been found here, dated by C14 to 1304 and 1465 A.D. (Kozok: 2004: 43).

Near Kerinci

A stone statue of Awalokiteśwara, dated to the 7th century, height 24,5 centimeters, current location Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6043/C 303). A stone statue of Padmapāṇi,

height 16 centimeters, current location Museum Nasional Jakarta (Inv. No. 6042). Shuhaimi (1982: 166-167) puts the statue's origin in the period of Candi Sari, Central Java. Suleiman (1981: 44; Diskul 1972: 12; 1980: 1-23) says this statue has similar characteristics with a Padmapāṇi from Thailand and with Sailendra from Central Java, therefore it is dated to the 8th-9th century.

Hardiati (2002: 142) believes this statue to be Awalokiteśwara.

Batang Merangin

Pamenang. Ancient earthwork and Chinese sherds from the 13th-14th century have been found here (McKinnon, 1985).

Sungai Hangat (Kerinci)

A site near Air Hitam in the Lake Kerinci area. A survey revealed 2692 potsherds. Excavation in the area revealed not traces of settlement, but that may be caused by constant removal of the topsoil (Bonatz, 2004: 313). The local pottery is handmade with the paddle and anvil technique (Bonatz, 2004: 313). Of the 232 imported Chinese ceramics, 128 are from the Song Dynasty, 11 from the Ming dynasty and 76 from the Qing Dynasty (Bonatz, 2004: 314). None of the artifacts were found in situ.

Pondok (Kerinci)

Pondok overlooks the site Batang Merangin. The excavation by Bonatz (2004) took place around a megalith. A shallow clay bowl as a ritual deposit, an iron knife and 680 glass beads have been found (Bonatz, 2004: 318). The bowl has small similarities with Dongson decorations (Bonatz, 2004: 318). The beads are composed of m-Na-Al, glass with a mineral soda (Bonatz, 2004: 321). They are dated to the 11th – 12th century, together with Song pottery that has been found here. The beads show similarities with Pulau Kompei in North Sumatra and Muara Jambi, both also dated between the 12th and 14th century (Francis 1990 7; 1990: 220).

Kuala Tungkal, Kec. Tungal Ilir, Kab. Tanjung Jabung, Jambi.

Aksobya, height 16 centimeter. Current location W. Steinbuch collection. The date of this statue is unknown.

Karang Brahi

This is the finding place of an inscription that is dated to the late 7th century. It is linked to the Pasemah, Kota Kapur and Telaga Batu inscription.

Rambahan

This site is in Upper Jambi. It is a stone statue of Amoghapasa. On the statue is an inscription with the name Dharmāśraya (Suleiman 1985: 101).

Rantaukapastuo, Kec. Muara Tembesi, Kab. Batanghari, Jambi tahun 1992.

It is a bronze statue, laminated in gold of Awalokiteśwara, height 9 centimeters dated to the 8th-9th century because this statue has similar characteristics with the Sailendra style from Central Java, current location Museum Negeri Jambi. Hardiati (2002: 142) dates the statue to the 11th century. A bronze statue, laminated in gold of Awalokiteśwara, height 28,2 centimeters is dated to the 11th-12th century because the style of this statue shows similar characteristics as the statues from the Cola in South India, current location Museum Negeri Jambi.

Rantaulimaumanis, kec. Tabir, Kab. Sarolangun-Bangko, Jambi.

A sitting bronze Buddha, dated to the 8th-9th century, height 10 centimeters. A small standing bronze Buddha, dated to the 8th-9th century, height 13,6 centimeters. A bronze statue of Awalokiteśwara, dated to the 8th-9th century, height 15,5 centimeters A bronze statue of Awalokiteśwara, dated to the 8th-9th century, height 15,4 centimeters All four statues have been dated to the 8th-9th century because they have similar characteristics as the Sailendra style from Central Java (Hardiati, 2002) and all four are located in Museum Negeri Jambi.

Sungai Aro, Desa Beting Bedara, kec. Tebo Ilir, Kab. Bungo Tebo, Jambi

Fragment of feet of a stone statue of Buddha, height 96 centimeters, current location Peninggalan Sejarah and Purbakala, Jambi (Schnitger 1937: 10). It is dated to the 7th century because it has similar characteristics with Dwaravati style from Thailand.

Sungai Rambut, Kec. Nipah Panjang, Kab. Tanjung Jabung, Jambi.

Awalokiteśwara, height 26,6 centimeter, current location Museum Negeri Jambi, dated to the 8th-9th century because the statue has similar characteristics as the Sailendra style from Central Java (Hardiati, 2002).