J. Wisseman Christie

State formation in early maritime Southeast Asia; A consideration of the theories and the data

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 151 (1995), no: 2, Leiden, 235-288

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

STATE-OF-THE-ART REVIEWS

JAN WISSEMAN CHRISTIE

State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia

A Consideration of the Theories and the Data

Introduction

Over the last decade or so several attempts have been made to come to grips with the problem of how and when the early states of Southeast Asia first developed. Most of the more prominent essays (Wolters 1982; Wheatley 1983; Higham 1989; Hagesteijn 1989) have focused largely or exclusively upon the first states of the mainland. The maritime region has been less well served, due partly to the paucity and intractability of the data, and partly to the fact that most scholars dealing with the early history of the maritime region are still struggling to produce adequate descriptions of the states of the later first millennium A.D., well after the first states were founded. Although a number of studies have dealt in passing with aspects of the question, and others have focused upon the earliest states in limited portions of the region, no overview of the ideas concerning state formation in the region has yet been produced. This essay represents a preliminary attempt to redress the balance between the maritime and mainland portions of Southeast Asia, by providing a brief survey of some of the views, assumptions and models that have arisen in literature on the early history of the maritime region, and by reviewing the data – some very recently published – available for the study of the late prehistoric and early historic periods in the area. Given the numbers of polities and periods which might be covered by a general study of state formation in the maritime region, and the need to keep the survey reasonably compact, this outline will be confined to covering the very earliest states which formed in the area – those that appeared early in the first millennium A.D., or perhaps somewhat earlier, in the Malay-speaking portion of the Malay peninsula and in the western portion of the Indonesian archipelago settled by a number of

JAN WISSEMAN CHRISTIE, who obtained her PhD at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and has specialized in history, archaeology and epigraphy with particular reference to early maritime Southeast Asia, is an honorary professor and lecturer at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies in Hull. Her publications include: 'States Without Cities; Demographic Trends in Early Java', *Indonesia* 52, 1991, pp. 23-40, and 'Texts and Textiles in "Medieval" Java', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 80-1, 1993, pp. 181-211. She may be contacted at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX, U.K.

groups speaking related Malayo-Polynesian languages. It is hoped that the ideas and data presented here will stimulate discussion and further research concerning the very early phases of political history of the islands and the peninsula.

State formation as 'Indianization'

One of the most striking characteristics of the monumental, artistic and literary remains of the early historic states of western Indonesia is the degree to which they were apparently dependent upon ideas, beliefs and models borrowed from the Indian subcontinent. Given the overwhelming evidence for the impact of Indian court and religious culture upon these early states, few historians – particularly in the decades before independence – doubted that the process of state formation in the archipelago was tied to borrowings from India. Coedès (1968:7, 11) spoke for most when he asserted that 'the peoples of Farther India were still in the midst of late Neolithic civilization when the Brahmano-Buddhist culture of India came into contact with them', resulting in the formation of states which were 'culturally dependent on India'. This view still has its adherents. Mabbett (1977a) has even gone so far as to suggest that Southeast Asians were not far removed from a Hoabinhian level of technology and life-style when Indians finally arrived in sufficient numbers to supply not only the ideology and leadership, but even the agricultural technology which made possible the establishment of the first states in the region.

Until fairly recently 'Indianization' has been accepted as the main prerequisite for the formation of states in Southeast Asia. The major debates in the past focused upon detail: the identity of the Indian in-comers and the circumstances under which they arrived and interacted with local populations (Bosch 1961a; D.G.E. Hall 1968; De Casparis 1983). The most radical version of this thesis was that proposed by Van Leur (1955), who suggested that the Indonesians were active participants in the process. Even he agreed that the early Indonesians must have had to turn to India in order to acquire the necessary political and social skills for state-building: some essential ingredient was assumed to be missing in local societies. These general views are by no means outdated, and they still form the basis of much discussion. Suggestions offered concerning the nature of this deficiency have included general backwardness of social and political culture (Mabbett 1977a), weak and diffuse kin ties (Winzeler 1976; Wolters 1982:5), and an inadequate agricultural technology to produce the necessary surpluses (Mabbett 1977a).

Kulke (1990), however, has countered these views by proposing a 'convergence hypothesis', which highlights the relative lateness of state formation in the eastern and southern portions of the Indian subcontinent with which Southeast Asia had most contact. He points out that much of the development on both coasts of the Bay of Bengal (and further into Southeast Asia) took place at roughly the same time – aside, of course, from

some of the regions of northeast India, where the Guptas held power. This 'convergence' is, he feels, well demonstrated by the fact that Hindu temple architecture of a constructed rather than excavated nature began to become popular along the east and south coasts of India only in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and the idea was transmitted to Java within decades. The Javanese temples do not have true Indian prototypes – they evolved within a tradition that ran parallel to, and during the same period as, the Pallava temples of south India. These reassessments of the political developments on both sides of the Bay of Bengal in the early to mid first millennium A.D. are in line with some of the newer work on the process of state formation in India itself (Thapar 1990), and its relationship to contacts with the East (Ray 1989).

State formation and social science models

The process of decolonization in Southeast Asia brought in its wake a number of changes in the manner in which the early history of the region was viewed. Some of the shifts – notably a declining interest in 'Indianization' as a primary explanation for state formation – have reflected the changed political status of the region and the development of local schools of thought. Much of the movement in the field, however, derives from changing approaches to the description and ordering of the past within the scholarly world in general. The cross-fertilization of history, archaeology, geography and a number of social sciences has produced approaches to the study of the remote past which have relied increasingly upon theoretical models. Theoretical discussions of the origins of the state and the means by which it can be distinguished from a chiefdom have been more prominent among anthropologists working in such areas as Polynesia and Africa than amongst Southeast Asianists, particularly those studying the maritime region. Since, however, the theoretical descriptions of such states generated by these scholars provide some point of reference for discussion of state formation, it is worth outlining the points upon which most appear to agree. Claessen and Skalník (1978:640) defined the 'early' state as:

'a centralized socio-political organization for the regulation of social relations in a complex, stratified society divided into at least two basic strata, or emergent social classes – viz. the rulers and the ruled – whose relations are characterized by political dominance of the former and tributary relations of the latter, legitimized by a common ideology of which reciprocity is the basic principle'.

More recently, Claessen (n.d.), recognizing the rather amorphous nature of this description, has added a list of more specific features to this basic formulation, among them: a fixed territory; a minimum population of about 5000 persons; a production system capable of producing a regular and reasonably stable surplus; and an ideology legitimizing not only a political

and social hierarchy, but also some sort of sacral position of the ruler. Elsewhere Claessen (1986:113) has defined the king of such a state as 'the supreme, hereditary ruler of an independent stratified society, having the legitimate power to enforce decisions', a definition which allows one to 'disconnect kingship from the territorial state' (Claessen 1986:114). This last suggestion, concerning the possibility of uncoupling the ruler from a particular stretch of territory, sits more comfortably with the data from Malay sources than does the necessary identification of a state with a particular bounded area of land. These generalizations concerning the nature of 'early' states, although they include a useful checklist of basic characteristics of nascent states, do not provide a compelling description of any particular early state in maritime Southeast Asia. For examinations of the states which *did* actually form in the region, one must turn to the studies of the area produced by a series of scholars who have worked in tandem or in parallel over the past few decades.

Heine-Geldern's (1942) essay on the religious basis of state and kingship remained for some time the most influential single study of early Southeast Asian politics. During the 1950's, however, interest shifted to the structure of political power, under the influence of Weber's notion of the 'patrimonial' state, and broadened to include the economic underpinnings of early states, under the influence of Polanyi's (1957) ideas concerning 'substantive' (i.e. socially restricted) economies of reciprocity, redistribution, and politically controlled trade in early states. These ideas gained particular popularity in the 1960's amongst a number of anthropologists and economic geographers using backward extrapolation from selected aspects of modern 'traditional' societies in the region to explain the past. Wittfogel's (1957) model of Oriental Despotism, based upon 'hydraulic' (irrigation-economy) societies, and Marxian theories grouped under the heading of 'Asiatic Mode of Production' also attracted attention during this period. Benda's (1962) article on the structure of Southeast Asian history welds Wittfogel's 'hydraulic society' to Heine-Geldern's 'god-kingship' in what was once viewed as the classic formulation concerning the nature of those early Southeast Asian states falling within the 'Indic' (the term 'Indianized' having fallen from favour) sphere. More recent critiques of the concepts of 'god-king' (e.g. Kulke 1978) and 'hydraulic society' (e.g. Van Liere 1980) have highlighted the weaknesses of this formulation.

During the later 1950's and 1960's several seminal scholarly works were produced on maritime Southeast Asia which profoundly affected the direction of subsequent theoretical discussion. Both Van Leur's (1955) ground-breaking thesis and some of the sociological writings of Schrieke and others became available in English, providing a wider audience for the discussion of the non-'Indianized' elements in Indonesian political traditions. Important and timely archaeological confirmation of the sophistication and cosmopolitan nature of pre-'Indic' Indonesia was provided by

Van Heekeren (1958), while Wang (1958), Wheatley (1961) and Wolters (1967) looked at early maritime Southeast Asians through the eyes of their contemporaries in China and the Middle East.

During the 1960's and 1970's a series of historical and anthropological studies generated considerable interest in the cultural traditions of Java and Bali. Works by Geertz (1960; 1980), Pigeaud (1960), Moertono (1968), and Anderson (1972) provided a platform for the study of the interplay of religion and power in early Javanese and Balinese states. Several of these studies focused on the image and structure of the *negara*, a term used by a number of traditional maritime populations to describe their states. The use of this term (derived from the Sanskrit term *nagara*, 'city') was adopted by writers in an attempt to side-step the definition of the state in overly Eurocentric terms. The *negara*, as defined by this model, was both the state and its capital, the latter giving its name to the former. This type of polity was 'typically defined, not by its perimeter, but by its centre' (Anderson 1972:28). The territory controlled by this centre was always in a state of flux; in the absence of permanent boundaries, its limits varied in relation to the quality of 'charismatic', 'supernatural' power concentrated at the centre in the person and possessions of the ruler. The ruler draws the state inwards towards the centre; government of the *negara* and its mainland analogues was theoretically as much government by attraction as by compulsion (Geertz 1980:132). Anderson (1972:34) has suggested that the administrative structure of such a polity was 'in effect, composed of stratified clusters of patron-client relationships', the power of the patron being reflected directly in the size of his clientage. In this respect, the traditional Javanese, Balinese and Malay states are judged to have been very similar.

Tambiah (1976) has described states, in a mainland Southeast Asian context, in terms of the geographically descriptive 'galactic polity' (highlighting the Buddhist ideal of the *cakkavatti* king), which grew by accreting, but not absorbing, smaller neighbouring polities. The *maṇḍala* polity proposed by Wolters (1982) is very closely related to the 'galactic polity'. Both bear more than a passing resemblance to the 'segmentary state' proposed by Southall (1953, 1988), first for some African states and then as a more general model – one which was, in fact, briefly used in connection with early states in Southeast Asia (Kulke 1980; Wheatley 1983:305), before it was displaced by the more area-specific model of the *maṇḍala*. The 'segmentary state' model has bequeathed to the *maṇḍala* the notion that the authority of the centre, outside its own core region, was ritual and symbolic in nature rather than administrative. No clear distinction, it is felt, was made in this type of polity between internal relations amongst the polity's 'segments' and external relations between separate polities. The *maṇḍala* (derived from the Sanskrit term 'circle') has thus been defined by Wolters (1982:16-32) as an unstable 'circle of kings' in a territory without fixed borders, and in which each subjugated unit of the

state remained a complete, potentially independent, polity with its own centre and court. This image has provided the focus for studies of the origins of states in mainland Southeast Asia (Wolters 1982; Hagesteijn 1989; Higham 1989). It also provides one of the important reference points for the study of state formation in the maritime region, although it must be handled with some care.

A number of these strands of thought were drawn together by Geertz (1980) when he proposed the most detailed and ambitious of the models belonging to the *negara* family of descriptions. Although this 'theatre state' model was specifically applied to nineteenth-century Bali, Geertz did suggest that it might have a more general application in the region (Geertz 1980:3). This view of the traditional Southeast Asian state explicitly excludes not only that of Marx and Wittfogel – the 'relentless unfoldment of a monolithic "Oriental Despotism"' (Geertz 1980) – but also the feudal analogy used by Pigeaud for early Java (Geertz 1980:5; Pigeaud 1960-63). In Geertz's view, the *negara* focused on a centre largely divorced from the realm of practical politics and administration, concerning itself more with the 'poetics' than the 'mechanics' of power (Geertz 1980:123). This model moves one step beyond that of the 'segmentary state' in suggesting that the ruler's hegemony was of a ritual nature even in the core of the state. Although this vision of the traditional *negara* has elements in common with the picture of later Malay states presented by Gullick (1958), and may be accurate to a degree in describing some Balinese polities at the end of their beleaguered careers, there is no reason to believe that it provides more than a distorted and blurred image of a functioning *negara* of earlier periods. It certainly provides few clues to the origins of local polities.

Another strand of anthropological speculation was initiated by Sahlins (1963; 1972), who made a major impact on the direction taken by theoretical discussions of political development when he presented his analysis of studies on political leadership in Melanesia and Polynesia, characterizing that of the former as the 'big-man' system of achieved status amongst competing individuals in essentially egalitarian societies, and the latter as power based largely upon inherited rank in stratified societies. Putative 'big-men' have cropped up regularly since that time in the anthropological literature on Southeast Asia. In some cases, as in the study of stone-dragging and grave-building in modern West Sumba (Hoskins 1986), very useful insights have been produced concerning societies in which status involves elements of both types of ranking. On the whole, however, it may be profitable to bear in mind that the Malayo-Polynesian language speakers who settled in western Indonesia and peninsular Malaysia during the second millennium B.C. appear, from reconstructions of their proto-language (Wurm and Wilson 1975; Churchill 1911), to have brought with them a rudimentary political culture which involved elements common to Indonesia, Polynesia, and Madagascar. Populations settling in western Indonesia already seem to have had some degree of ascribed rank by the

later neolithic period, and had thus moved beyond the pure 'big-man' system of political organization – although some isolated communities may have abandoned this political structure at a later date. Quasi-hereditary chieftaincy of some description, linked to spiritual power and the ancestors, is a feature of societies belonging to this diaspora, from Madagascar to Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand. Discussions of aspects of this complex of shared political culture can be found in Manguin (1986), Benjamin (1985, 1986, 1988), Waterson (1991:91ff) and Wisseman Christie (1994).

At much the same time, other scholars, working within the Marxian school of political anthropology, began to follow Godelier (1969) in focusing upon the village infrastructure as the core of the idea of the 'Asiatic Mode of Production'. They tended to link the AMP with the most primitive and archaic of state types, and therefore to view it as the first stage in the formation of states. Friedman (1975) was, amongst the Southeast Asianists, the first to produce a detailed and dynamic model for state formation based explicitly upon this theory. His evolutionary model for state development is based upon his reinterpretation of Leach's (1954) classic study of the Kachin of Upper Burma. He argues that the Kachin *gumlao* (egalitarian) and *gumsa* (stratified) chiefdoms and 'Asiatic' state societies lie in a continuum, wherein a sacred segmentary hierarchy first forms and then assumes increasing control of the economy. For Friedman and Rowlands (1977:218) the 'Asiatic' (that is, segmentary, theocratic, conical clan) state represents the first step above the chiefdom level of political organization, in which there are only two real classes: the ruling elite and the 'exploited' masses. Such a state must necessarily be small, and it is thus not to be confused with the far larger, and much more developed 'Oriental' despotic empires, which, under the right 'techno-environmental' conditions (in which irrigation was both feasible and necessary), might evolve out of the 'Asiatic' state. State development would, according to this thesis, occur in part via the 'prestige goods system' of domination of valuables and monopolization of trade. Of the ideas advanced by Friedman and Rowlands (1977), perhaps the most useful is their highlighting of the importance of prestige goods or status-conferring valuables, usually of exotic origin, in the early phases of political development.

During the 1970's and 1980's, another group of scholars – composed largely of historians – worked within the same general framework of the 'Asiatic Mode of Production' to formulate models for the formation of the early states of western Indonesia, apparently unaware of the ideas being generated in circles of anthropologists. These historians tended explicitly – like Tichelman (1980) – or implicitly – like Van Naerssen (Van Naerssen and De Jongh 1977) – to accept the 'hydraulic society' as the mode of organization of even the earliest states in the region. These models, with their high degree of reliance upon the idea of irrigation as a prime mover in the development of states, were, not unnaturally, applied to the agrarian

states in the region, and particularly to those of Java. Van Naerssen's reconstructions of the early phases of political development on Java owe much to Benda and (less directly) to Wittfogel's interpretation of Marx's Asiatic state model. His thesis runs thus:

'The determinant factor in Central Java, East Java, and Bali for the formation of Hindu-Javanese *kratons*, was the relationship between the population living in agrarian communities (e.g. *wanua*) and the person(s) who had the disposal of part of their labour and produce ... This authority ... emerged from the previous equalitarian society – long before the intrusion of Hinduism – when the *sawah* with its severe water control system was introduced ... The introduction of *sawah*, i.e. the cultivation of rice on irrigated fields, required a complicated system of irrigation and is therefore based on the co-operation of several communities or *wanuas*, all depending on the water of the same river or its tributaries. It goes without saying that such an irrigation system needed a head whose authority reached beyond that of a single *wanua*. Such a head could have extended his power over a federation of *wanuas* and be considered as a *raka* or "older brother" of the *ramas* of the *wanua*. It was essential that the *raka* had the right of disposal of the produce and the labour of his subjects to fulfil this function. Hence he became the ruler of that federation' (Van Naerssen and De Jongh 1977:27, 37-8).

This is, in fact, probably the most widely held view of the manner in which the first states of Java and Bali came into existence. Van Setten van der Meer (1979), moreover, manages to incorporate both this theory and its opposite in her model when she accepts Van Naerssen's hypothesis and then also posits the existence of *subak*-type irrigation societies in early Java – the presence of which would obviate the need for strong central direction of irrigation within the political rather than religious realm (see Lansing 1991). If one examines the epigraphic corpus of early Java and Bali, however, it is clear that neither Van Naerssen's simple hydraulic society model nor Van Setten van der Meer's more muddled version is supported by the historical record (Wisseman Christie 1992b). Irrigation in early Javanese states was a matter for village regulation, and that of early Bali was under the control of *subak* societies, just as they were in later centuries. In neither case does the appearance of early states seem to have been linked to the control of irrigation.

Attempts to distinguish between chiefdoms and early states through the study of their economic structures, their administrative arrangements and their use of religious authority have drawn contributions not only from anthropologists and historians, but also from a range of economists, geographers and archaeologists. An elaboration of the 'substantivist' views on economic development was offered for Southeast Asia by Wheatley (1975). His staged model of development from the level of 'reciprocity' to the presumed late appearance of market trade has fallen victim to changing views concerning the nature of early exchange, as

rather less rigid attitudes towards the idea of ancient trade have prevailed. Of continuing value, however, are his suggestions concerning the potential destabilizing effects of partial borrowings of economic and political institutions from other cultures, which may be expected to provoke continuing change within the recipient culture until a new equilibrium can be established. Thus changes in some sectors may produce profound – although unplanned – changes in other institutions and patterns of behaviour as a knock-on effect. The same effects can be expected from the indigenous invention of institutions.

Work undertaken by a number of archaeologists both inside and outside Southeast Asia over the last three decades has contributed a number of ideas to the general debate concerning the means by which one might recognize, through archaeological remains, the signs of a society in the midst of this sort of transition. One line of discussion was precipitated by Adams' (1966) study of the evolution of urban society in the Middle East and in Mexico. Urban genesis, as a concomitant of state formation, has been highlighted by Wheatley (1983) and Kulke (1986), among others. Other scholars working more directly with Southeast Asian archaeological remains, like Miksic (1991) and Higham (1989), have focused on changes in settlement patterns as the key to the recognition of early states, noting the utility of Crumley's (1976) suggestion that not all early states were characterized by a recognizable degree of urbanization. This is particularly true in maritime Southeast Asia.

The importance of trade in political development, and the possibility of archaeological recovery of the phase of transition from lower to higher levels of political integration through study of evidence for changing trade patterns, suggested by Renfrew (1972, 1975), have begun to be explored in maritime Southeast Asia in recent years (Bronson 1977; Miksic 1985; Manguin 1987; Wisseman Christie 1982, 1984/85, 1990b). This line of enquiry may prove to be more fruitful than the study of settlement patterns alone. Long-distance trade, in particular, and the inclusion at an early date of parts of the maritime region in a developing world system of trade and information exchange, may signal important political changes in a number of societies in the region. What remains to be done at this stage is to search out the available evidence for political and economic development in western maritime Southeast Asia, and compare the data with the assumptions inherent in the various models or partial models that have been proposed to date.

'First catch your hare' ...; A commentary on the data

Archaeological investigations that have been undertaken in maritime Southeast Asia over the past few decades have begun to produce data which challenge the assumption that state formation in the region awaited the arrival of substantial cultural influence from South Asia. These same

data, however, have given added weight to the argument that long-distance sea trade itself played a key role in stimulating political development which eventually led to the formation of states. At the same time, archaeologists in South Asia have begun to reassess the data connected with the early long-distance trade of the subcontinent and the role it may have played in the process of urbanization and state formation in India. Since the new data and discussions, as well as much of the material collected in previous decades, are published in scattered and often difficult-to-obtain sources, they are worth reviewing before assessing the various models that have been proposed for the formation of the earliest states in the region.

The relevant data span a period of over a millennium, from the fifth century B.C. to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. For maritime Southeast Asia, they fall into three, more or less distinct, groupings. The first grouping covers the end of the prehistoric period in the maritime region, from about the fifth century B.C. to the fourth or fifth century A.D. The material consists largely of a broad spectrum of archaeological remains, including megalithic ritual sites, inhumations, hoards, boat fragments, settlement sites and numerous scattered small finds. The second group comprises several sets of early inscriptions on stone found in the region, a few other archaeological remains, and some rather vague references in Chinese records, dating to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Although there is some overlap between the probable dates of these inscriptions and some of the archaeological data of the first group, none of the inscriptions has an established archaeological context. The third grouping dates to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and comprises further collections of inscriptions, some rather more reliable Chinese references, and a number of monumental structural and sculptural remains assumed to have been produced during this period. Again, none of the epigraphic or structural remains has yet been directly associated with remains of a settlement, so information concerning the societies which produced them can only be drawn from the inscriptions themselves and the Chinese reports. Difficulties that archaeologists have experienced in finding settlement remains which can be connected chronologically with the inscriptions of the fifth and later centuries may arise from an expectation that these settlements must have looked different from those that are classed as Metal Age or late prehistoric. This expectation may be a very misleading one. It is certainly rooted in an unstated assumption that early polities were significantly 'Indianized' at all levels and that they must have experienced a profound cultural revolution that can be recognized archaeologically.

The later prehistory of maritime Southeast Asia

The archaeological record relating to the period between about 500 B.C. and A.D. 500 in maritime Southeast Asia is far from complete, and it may never be sufficiently detailed to allow a truly comprehensive picture to be

formed of developments during this millennium. Bellwood (1992:126) has recently drawn attention to the marked differences between the extant archaeological records of the maritime and mainland regions that can be dated to this critical period, and to the effect this has had upon the views of scholars:

'The record in Thailand and Vietnam consists almost entirely of large settlement and burial sites which encourage debate on such matters as the rise of social complexity, the growth of settlement hierarchies and the evolution of skills in metalworking. The mainland tradition of tight settlement nucleation in a relatively dry environment ... has clearly aided research into these questions.

In the islands, however, especially those with equatorial climates, the record has only rarely yielded coherent settlement and social evidence ... Large, stable and nucleated settlements seem to have been rare in these latitudes in both prehistoric and historic times ... Perhaps because of this, interpretations of island Southeast Asian late prehistory tend to focus more on supra-settlement phenomena such as population expansion, style diffusion and trade. The history of social complexity before the Indic civilization is basically unknown ...'

Even on such relatively heavily populated islands as Java and Bali, where substantial wet-rice farming began some time after the introduction of iron in the last five centuries B.C., settlements never achieved the size and stability of their mainland counterparts. Lack of stability of settlement in the islands during the later prehistory should not, however, be accepted as evidence of social underdevelopment in the region. Settlement drift may have developed out of an interplay of environmental factors and habits brought into the region by the early Austronesian settlers. This pattern of behaviour survived well into the period of early states on Java and Bali, and into far more recent times on Sumatra and the peninsula. It does not appear to have constituted a bar to the formation of complex societies or large and relatively stable political units.

There is, in fact, evidence – albeit of an indirect and inferential nature – that marked changes occurred in the region after about 500 B.C. Sources of metals are very unevenly distributed in maritime Southeast Asia (Bronson 1992), a fact which has had considerable impact upon the patterns of economic interaction in the region from the first millennium B.C. onwards. In particular, the key metals for early tool-making – copper, tin, and later iron – are very unevenly dispersed. High-grade copper ores are known to have been mined in the past in a number of places on the mainland, and in parts of the Philippines. In the southern maritime region, only Sumatra and Timor are recorded as early sources of quantities of the ore. Tin ores are confined to a belt of mountains running south from China into mainland Southeast Asia, with major fields of alluvial tin lying near the west coast of the peninsula. Iron is more widely distributed, but often in

small, lateritic deposits. Although the peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo and some of the islands at the eastern end of the archipelago appear to have had sufficient iron deposits to support local industries of small to moderate size, Java and Bali have few deposits of iron or other tool-making metals and no recorded early mining or ore-processing industries. Thus, the inhabitants of the two most heavily populated islands of the archipelago, and large portions of Sumatra, were forced to import most, if not all, of the metals used for tools, weapons, vessels, armour, and often for adornment and for ritual use. This may be one reason why polished stone adzes continued in use for so long in the islands: although suitable stone is also unevenly distributed in the area, it seems probable that long-established exchange networks were not abandoned in favour of the more complex and longer-distance exchange linkages until they achieved a degree of reliability.

Metal objects were apparently traded into the maritime region by the beginning of the first millennium B.C., if not before. However, this trade seems to have remained fairly small-scale and intermittent for some time. Then, shortly after 500 B.C., a sudden, almost explosive, expansion occurred in the quantities and range of metal goods imported by certain populations in the region. Most prominent amongst the metallic imports of this period were the often very large, and clearly very expensive, Dong-son bronze drums of the Heger I type that were exported from north Vietnam between the fifth and the second centuries B.C. Large bronze 'flasks' and 'bells' of a related decorative tradition circulated in the maritime region at the same time. Most of the valuable bronzes that have come to light have been recovered from burials. The same burials contain numerous glass and stone beads from south and east India. These graves also appear to mark an important stage in the elaboration of a number of localized but interrelated 'megalithic' traditions, the main features of which were stone slab graves, dolmens, standing stones, stone circles, stone pavements, stone terraces, and so forth. Foci of these traditions are located in south and west Sumatra, north and west Java, Bali, the west coast of peninsular Malaysia, as well as parts of Borneo and some eastern islands. In addition, certain traditions of jar and 'boat' burial appear to have become fashionable in parts of maritime Southeast Asia following contacts with the north and central coasts of Vietnam, possibly mediated by the Chams.

The two epicentres of wealth accumulation and trading activity in maritime Southeast Asia during the last few centuries B.C. were the Malacca Straits (principally the east coast and mountainous interior of Sumatra and the west coast and mountainous interior of peninsular Malaysia) and the southern Java Sea region (mainly the north coasts and parts of the interiors of Java and Bali, plus a series of points encircling the Flores and Banda Seas which were tied into Java's archipelago trade network). Since these were precisely the areas in which the earliest states subsequently formed, it would seem reasonable to infer that the roots of those states lay in the political developments that occurred during this

period. Moreover, although the sites and assemblages throughout western Indonesia which date to the last few centuries B.C. clearly belong to the same broad family of cultural traditions, there are some differences in the patterns of distribution of trade goods – characteristic of the early states in the two maritime sub-regions – which appear to have begun to manifest themselves at this time (see below).

Despite the apparent emergence of distinctive sub-regional patterns in movements of valuable trade goods, the two networks exhibit certain marked similarities in archaeological record. First of all, by the last few centuries B.C., some proportion of the wealth accumulated in the two sub-regions was invested in the acquisition of the same range of large bronzes from northern Vietnam and the southern borders of China, or beads of various sorts from the Indian subcontinent, or both. Many of these items were, moreover, subsequently removed from circulation when they were placed in sumptuous burials belonging to similar traditions. Some of these burials, in both sub-regions, involved the use of large stones and thus imply some degree of group effort. These developments, taken together, suggest that wealth in the two sub-regions was increasingly concentrated in the hands of politically powerful elites who exercised some control over prestige-goods economies. The fact that these developments in the two sub-regions occurred either together or in tandem during the last five centuries B.C. seems not to have been a coincidence. Local societies in the Malacca Straits area and in the Java Sea region appear to have responded at much the same time to similar, if not identical, external economic stimuli.

Major economic and political changes were apparently occurring on the Indian subcontinent in the same period (Ray 1989). In north India, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism during the middle of the first millennium B.C. gave impetus to the growth in urbanism and in the investment in trade. Developing trade links along the coast, between the Ganges valley, the Deccan and south India, reinforced by a spread of Mauryan power in the third century B.C., led to a spread of north Indian political culture southwards into the southern 'megalithic' chiefdoms. By the second century B.C., a series of urban coastal trading enclaves had appeared along the east coast of the subcontinent. These urban centres and the tribal chiefdoms in their hinterlands began, at about this time, to strike their own coinage, the earliest versions of which included issues in high-tin bronze. India has few tin deposits, and there is no evidence that they were exploited at this early date. The nearest deposits of tin, from which ore was definitely being extracted at the time, were the massive deposits on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. High-tin bronze items were, in fact, already being produced in the U Thong region. These were exported not only southwards into the peninsula, but also westwards across northern India as far as Taxila in modern Pakistan (Glover 1990). The glass and stone beads found in widely scattered Southeast Asian sites of this period came, in return, from the urban centres on the east coast of India (Basa 1991; Glover 1990). This

was the period during which the first mentions appeared in Indian literature of the metal tin, and of the fabulous gold-rich lands of Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa far to the east (Ray 1989).

Given the probable state of marine technology in South and Southeast Asia at the time – and the fact that all shipwrecks so far discovered in Southeast Asian waters that date to prehistoric and early historic periods were of Southeast Asian construction (Manguin 1985) – it seems likely that much of the trade across the Bay of Bengal at this early date was carried in Malay or Indonesian vessels. The tin-belt ports along the eastern fringes of the Bay of Bengal, from Moulmein to Muar, appear to have acted not only as export centres for local tin and gold, but also as middleman handlers of Indian beads and other goods moving east, and presumably of East and Southeast Asian commodities moving west. Against this background, the distribution of sites and artefacts in the Malacca Straits sub-region dating to the fifth to third century B.C. is particularly interesting, since in certain parts of this area they fall into patterns remarkably similar to those produced by coastal trading states of later periods.

The sites in question fall into several interconnected clusters, both on Sumatra and on the peninsula. In peninsular Malaysia, the greatest concentration both of known sites and artefacts is found close to the west coast along the lower reaches of the Klang and Langat rivers, both of which enter the sea near Klang. This dual watershed region drains one of the richest and most accessible of the peninsula's alluvial tin deposits. Scatters of similar finds in lesser concentrations have been found along the lower reaches of other west-coast rivers in tin-rich areas, and along rivers on the east coast draining the gold-producing portions of the interior (Wisseman Christie 1990b). The other major concentration of remains of this period is found along the upper Pahang-Tembeling River valley in the heart of one of the gold-producing regions of the mountainous interior. These sites are all linked by the presence of a group of artefacts made during this period, some of them imported, others apparently manufactured in coastal settlements (Peacock 1979). The contrast between the very large quantities of imports found on the lower reaches of rivers near both coasts, and the very small quantities and inferior quality of these imports found in the interior, is marked. Differences in quantities and quality of iron tools and pottery found on the coast and in the interior are much less marked. All but two or three Indian beads of this period have been reported from coastal sites. All but one of the ten major Dong-son bronzes that have been found in peninsular Malaysia have come from sites along the lower reaches of rivers, most of them in tin-rich regions (Peacock 1979; Batchelor 1977; Adi 1983; Leong 1990; Wisseman Christie 1990b). Six of these ten bronzes have been found in a circumscribed area near Klang, together with large numbers of beads, high-tin bronze bowls, iron tools and resin-coated pottery. Most of these goods have been found in hoards or graves

belonging to members of a local elite. The trade links of the ports in the Klang region reached west to the coast of India, north to central Thailand, and north-eastwards (presumably less directly) to the coast of Vietnam. While the compass of the trading networks in which this early community operated is not in itself a sufficient argument for the degree of its political sophistication, these trade connections, and the income derived from them, were probably necessary conditions for the formation of a trading state of the type that did later appear on this and neighbouring coasts.

At the same time, the distribution of artefacts between the coast and the interior closely resembles the distribution of goods produced by the segmented internal trade systems of coastal trading states which later formed on the peninsula, along the east coast of Sumatra, and later still on the coasts of Borneo (Bronson 1977). It looks as if the settlements of the Klang region may already have been trading with the gold-producing areas in the interior by the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Small quantities of imported prestige goods were sent inland at this time, as they were in later periods by coastal states. However, as in later periods, they formed an insignificant trickle when compared with the quantities of coastal community manufactures reaching the far interior. Most of the goods sent inland were made locally; most of the expensive and prestigious imports were consumed by a small number of people in downstream communities. This pattern, which appears to have developed between 500 and 200 B.C. in this limited area, is characteristic of a whole class of 'gatekeeper' or middleman trading polities of precolonial Sumatra and Malaya.

Across the Straits on the east coast of Sumatra, during this same late prehistoric period, there appear to have been two distinct patterns of distribution of imported prestige goods. At the southern end of the island, in the present province of Lampung, a series of finds of Dong-son bronzes has been made at coastal and estuarine sites along the east coast (McKinnon 1993), and a fragmentary drum has been found upriver from Kota Agung on the Sunda Straits (Bernet Kempers 1988). Although nothing is known of possible associated material, this pattern of distribution appears to resemble, in general terms, those on the coasts of the peninsula, the trade of the Lampung coastal settlements apparently depending in this period, as later, on the export of gold from the mountains of the interior.

To the north, in the provinces of Sumatra Selatan and Jambi, where the large Musi and Batang Hari river systems drain eastwards to the Straits from the substantial gold sources in the mountains bordering the highland valleys of Pasemah, Lebong and Kerinci, the pattern of distribution of imported prestige goods of this period appears to have been very different. In fact, on the basis of the data available at present, it appears that the pattern may have been virtually a mirror image of that in Lampung to the south and on the coasts of the peninsula. Here, most of the finds of imported bronzes and beads – and illustrations of them on megalithic

sculptures and slab graves – have been made in the highland valleys near the mountain sources of gold and other ores (Van Heekeren 1958; Hoop 1932). In these drainage systems there appear to have been no effective barriers to the movement of prestige goods directly into the far interior: there were at that time no ‘gatekeeper’ or middleman trading communities controlling the lower reaches of the rivers. Such communities seem to have appeared later in these large systems than they did in the smaller systems of Lampung or the peninsula. When, exactly, this threshold was crossed in the major drainage systems is unclear, but if one accepts the authority of early Chinese reports, and the locations assigned to the places mentioned in them, then they were already in existence by about the fifth century A.D.

It seems likely that both the model for, and the leadership of, the first gatekeeper polities in the larger drainage systems of east Sumatra were drawn from the already extant polities on the peninsula. The Malacca Straits is one of the areas in which peer-polity interaction is likely to have been the major source not only of economic competition, but also of transmission and elaboration of political models. The distribution of trade goods during the period between about 500 and 200 B.C. provides a (partial) snapshot of a series of related, neighbouring communities in the middle of a phase of political transition. The end result of these transformations was a series of very similar and interrelated trading polities that the Chinese, who came into contact with them in the mid first millennium A.D., recognized as ‘states’. The point at which trading ‘chiefdoms’ became trading ‘states’ on these coasts is, in part, a matter of definition. Even so, in this very early period there appears to be only one possible candidate for the position of true state: the wealthy, tin-trading community focused on the lower Klang and Langat rivers on the west coast of the peninsula – and even its claim to that position is rather tenuous.

Further to the east, in the Java Sea region, the distribution of Dong-son bronzes, Indian beads, and other valuables fashionable during the fifth to third centuries B.C. also foreshadows the distribution of trade goods in the same region in later centuries. Here, however, the transition from down-the-line exchange (in which valuables were transmitted through the network all the way to the source of a region’s exports) to central place distribution (in which one centre dominated a network and limited access to imports) (Renfrew 1975) appears to have been well under way on a rather larger scale by this time. So far, the greatest concentration of Dong-son drums of the period to be reported outside Vietnam itself is that found in Java, mainly in regions close to the coast or in its immediate hinterland, in the central and eastern portions of the island. From this concentration a string of smaller concentrations and single finds extends eastwards in the islands encircling the Flores and Banda Seas towards the Maluku group and the islands adjacent to Timor. The pattern of distribution of these drums in the eastern archipelago is markedly similar to that of trade goods distributed

through the same circuit by Javanese and Balinese traders operating out of the states of the first and second millennia A.D. Since Java and Bali themselves have no economically important ore deposits that could have been exploited at the time – aside, possibly, from small quantities of gold – the concentration of wealth reflected by the imported drums and other valuables found in Java can only be explained by assuming that some of the island's coastal communities had not only begun to export local crops such as cubebs, but were also acting as the major handlers of the trade in cloves, nutmeg and sandalwood from the eastern islands.

Coastal communities in Java appear by the middle of the last millennium B.C., at the latest, to have been the points of densest distribution of bronze axes in the islands. Of the eight types of socketed bronze axes identified in the archipelago by Soejono (1972), five appear to have been manufactured in Java, including both utilitarian forms possibly copied from mainland models, and the distinctively local ceremonial *candrasa* axes. It seems likely that these bronzes, as well as other metal tools, along with a variety of perishable manufactures and crops, circulated through the same network as the imported drums and beads. The ports of north Java must have formed the heart of this network, sending a combination of local manufactures, foodstuffs and a few prestige imports eastwards to exchange for spices, sandalwood and other raw materials, in much the same way that the gatekeeper ports of the Malacca Straits handled their interior trade networks. At times this network appears to have extended northwards into the Philippine archipelago.

In sum, then, it appears that between about 500 and 200 B.C. an explosion of trading activity occurred in two distinct sectors of the maritime region: in the Malacca Straits and in the Java Sea. In both of these sub-regions there is evidence of a dramatic increase both in wealth and in the extent of the trading sphere in which local communities operated; there is also clear evidence that much of the trade-generated wealth came into the hands of local elites in political units of some description. On Java and Bali the situation must have been complicated by the fact that agriculture was a major source of income for political elites, both in a direct manner and in terms of exploitable exports. At the same time, these islands have no substantial sources of the metals needed for tool- and weapon-making. Metals were apparently imported in both a worked and an unworked form, and much of the evidence for metal-working in both prehistoric and historic Java and Bali comes from sites near the coast. The products of these coastal industries were distributed widely on both islands, and clearly formed a major commodity in the domestic trading networks. Control of metal imports may thus have been even more important as a source of political power than control of valuables.

Not long after 200 B.C. the international trading climate began to change. The absorption of the Red River valley region of northern Vietnam into the south Chinese state of Nam Viet in 208 B.C. and then into the

expanding Han state in 111 B.C. seems to have brought to an end the export of the large Dong-son-style bronzes. The Malacca Straits communities appear to have reacted to this loss by increasing their trade with Mon centres in the U Thong region that manufactured high-tin bronzes, and by increasing their connections with Indian ports. The response in Java and Bali was somewhat different: some of the communities in these areas that were already engaged in metal production began to produce their own large bronze drums. These local *pejeng*-type drums, in turn, formed the prototype for the *moko* drums made until recently in eastern Indonesia (Bintarti 1985, 1990). These developments appear to have coincided with increasing 'megalithic' activity at Gilimanuk in Bali (Van Heekeren 1955; Soejono 1977) and in parts of Java (Haris Sukendar 1985; Haris Sukendar et al. 1977; Proyek 1986; Bellwood 1992:132-3; Miksic 1990).

In the first century B.C., the expanding Roman empire began to draw in trade goods from the East, and by the turn of the millennium south Indian urban centres had begun to dominate the trade that linked Roman West Asia to Southeast Asia. Trading centres like Arikamedu began to export to the east not only beads, but also Roman-influenced Rouletted Ware pottery, and to re-export small Roman items. The movement of the relatively fragile Rouletted Ware, manufactured in the first two centuries A.D., has provided some indication of the reach of this suddenly burgeoning trade system. Rouletted Ware pottery has been found in port sites on the north coast of Java (Walker and Santoso 1980), the north coast of Bali (Ardika and Bellwood 1991), and recently at an early Cham site on the coast of central Vietnam (Glover and Yamagata 1994). This was the period during which the Roman emperors began to receive cloves from the Maluku region of eastern Indonesia and the sandalwood sent west from Indian ports, which may have originated in Nusa Tenggara Timur (Miller 1969:86-7). By the first century A.D., a world trading system linked the Mediterranean Basin, parts of India, parts of Southeast Asia, and Han China (Glover 1990:36).

Roman trade with the Indian subcontinent reached its peak during the later first and the second century A.D., and by the second century A.D. the focus of that trade in India had shifted to the east coast, due partly to the expansion of Sātavāhana interests in the region. As Roman trade declined during the third century A.D., many Indian ports began to decline as well. The only very active trading centres of the third century appear to have been those of the lower Krishna valley on the east coast, controlled by the Sanskrit-using Ikṣvākus. These seem to have remained prosperous because of their trade with Southeast Asia. By the fourth century A.D., however, the Pallavas of south India appear to have captured much of this eastern trade, thus acquiring the economic base for political expansion (Ray 1989:46). Throughout this period, Buddhism and Jainism remained the major networking religions of the merchants and the many craftsmen, although ruling elites in India at the same time and in the same places

tended, on the whole, to seek legitimization through Hindu rites and gifts to brahmins (Ray 1989:47). The impact of Buddhism in maritime Southeast Asia was early and widespread. The fact that it was rapidly succeeded by Hinduism of some sort in the Java Sea sector (but only briefly in the Malacca Straits) says more about the nature and developmental trajectories of the local political cultures than it does about specific connections with India.

This combination of intensifying Indian trade across the Bay of Bengal, which filled the vacuum left by the declining Roman trade, and the importance of Buddhism in particular in networking amongst sea traders, was apparently given a boost in the fourth century A.D. by the breakdown of the Western Chin state in China into a series of regional polities. The independent southern Chinese states of the fourth and fifth centuries, no longer able to receive Western goods or the increasingly desired Buddhist holy items by overland routes, encouraged sea trade with Kwangchou and Hanoi (Wang 1958:46). With the increase in both population and wealth in the south of China, this trade became economically important to a number of ports in the region of the Malacca and Sunda Straits, raising the overall volume of trade in the region, and that of 'favoured coasts' (Wolters 1967:197) in particular. It is probable, in fact, that this increased wealth from the China trade paid for the 'Indianization' of maritime Southeast Asia. It is to this period that the Pontian boat wreck from the east coast of peninsular Malaysia, with its cargo of 'Oc-èò'-style ceramics (Evans 1927; Gibson-Hill 1952; Manguin 1985), and the Butuan wreck from the Philippines (Manguin 1985), both unmistakably of Southeast Asian construction, appear to date.

Protohistory: The fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

The polities of maritime Southeast Asia entered the historic record as specific entities rather than as vaguely defined regions when they came to the attention of the Chinese government and Buddhist pilgrims in the fifth century A.D. Given the uncertainty of the geographical positions of most of the polities mentioned, it is still not possible, despite decades of discussion and theorizing, to tie most of the early, ephemeral Chinese names for these polities to exact locations in the region. It does seem likely, however, that most of the polities noted by the Chinese at that time lay along the route between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean – on the coasts of Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula. Entities on the coasts of Borneo and Bali may also be amongst those mentioned, but unless new information comes to light in the Chinese archives, the exact location of the various polities named by the Chinese may always remain uncertain. The most that can be said with any certainty concerning the majority of the maritime polities, based on Chinese sources, is that their rulers appear already to have been influenced to a degree by Indian religious culture and were active in international sea trade, and that the Chinese who visited

maritime Southeast Asia or who received embassies from the region were inclined to view them as political rather than as tribal entities.

Some of the inscriptions of this period that have been found in maritime Southeast Asia – on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, and on the islands of Java and Borneo – appear to confirm these three basic observations. One of the problems which has faced archaeologists and historians is the fact that none of these inscriptions has a recognizable archaeological context. There are a few known sites that clearly overlap in date with the inscriptions (including the industrial port centre at Tanjung Rawa on the west coast of the peninsula), but the inscriptions have not been found in close proximity to them, and the sites are difficult to relate to the contents of the inscriptions, since none appears to have been significantly ‘Indianized’. Tanjung Rawa is particularly interesting, since the port remains include boat burials, stoneware, jewellery and cloth stamps similar to those found at Oc-èo in the Mekong delta, beads, a stone seal and ring from India, as well as gold, tin and lead slag, the remains of a large indigenous glass-bead and bangle manufacturing industry, stamps used in a local textile industry, and dammar from the interior. This is precisely the mix of trade goods that one would expect from the port-capital of a classic coastal trading state of this region. There seems no reason to doubt that this site, by the third or fourth century A.D., formed the heart of a fully-fledged trading state that had extensive trade relations with the Indian subcontinent. Yet it remained un-‘Indianized’ until it was abandoned later in the first millennium A.D. How one relates this site to the collection of fifth-century Buddhist inscriptions found a few miles to the north on the same coast is unclear. Lamb (1964), followed by Peacock (1979), Allen (1988:230-3), and Jacq-Hergoualc’h (1992), has tended to view the ‘Indianized’ inscriptions and non-‘Indianized’ sites as the remains left by two types of community, one at least partly immigrant and the other indigenous, with the indigenous centres acting as suppliers to the more sophisticated, larger Indian or ‘Indianized’ ports (which have yet to be found). This continuing popularity of theories that connect state formation to the arrival and perhaps settlement of Indians on the peninsular coast leaves the inscriptions without settlement context and sites like Tanjung Rawa without historical context. In fact, the inscriptions and the sites almost certainly reflect different facets of the same coastal trading culture, coexisting in polities that were in the process of ‘gentrifying’ themselves through selective adoption of imported religious and political ideas.

Similar problems arise in connection with the early inscriptions of west Java. The dated sites of this period include a wide range of megalithic remains similar or identical to those of the first three centuries A.D., and the remains of port settlements that contain both material reminiscent of the Buni complex of ‘Roman-period’ ports and the fragments of brick-built Buddhist stupas and mitred Viṣṇu statues similar to those of peninsular Thailand. McKinnon (McKinnon et al. 1994) connects these sites to the

early state of Tarumanagara mentioned in the fifth-century inscriptions, and there seems no reason to doubt that these sites represent a local culture in the process of gentrifying itself, first, like those on the Malay coast, through the medium of the Buddhist cults so widespread in trading circles, and then through the adoption of the more self-consciously 'royal' cults of a Hindu nature that coexisted with the more 'commercial' Buddhist cults in port enclaves on the Indian coast at the same time. In this respect, the Javanese states which evolved during the middle of the first millennium A.D. moved a step beyond the coastal trading states of the Malacca Straits, which remained (with a few ephemeral exceptions) attached to some form of Buddhism until the second millennium A.D., when the newer trading religion of Islam began to displace the old cults. The Javanese states of the first and early second millennia A.D. borrowed extensively from the broader Indian religious tradition in a manner which suggests a self-conscious balancing of ideas thought to be useful for the maintenance of power in economies at once agrarian and mercantile.

The fifth-century Buddhist texts of peninsular Malaysia and Borneo

Buddhist texts, written in Sanskrit using south Indian script and dated palaeographically to about the fifth century A.D., have been found in three regions of maritime Southeast Asia: in Kedah and Province Wellesley on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, up the Kapuas River in West Kalimantan in Borneo, and in Brunei, on the north coast of Borneo. These texts have several features in common in addition to their script, date, and general Buddhist content. Most comprise or include a stanza which is clearly associated with the more common Buddhist credo, but which is not a feature of inscriptions in India. This '*ajñānāc=ciyate karmma*' formula appears to have enjoyed a relatively brief period of popularity in a restricted area. All of the published examples come from parts of maritime Southeast Asia which later supported coastal trading states linked to each other by trade, similarities in material culture, common use of some form of Malay language, and the same general style of political organization.

The numerous archaeological remains of the Merbok and Muda River valleys in Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, have been the subject of several surveys and excavations over the past fifty years and more (Quaritch Wales 1940; Lamb 1963; Peacock 1980; Nik Hassan 1984, 1994; Allen 1988; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992). Two major settlement sites have been found in the region to date: one along the Bujang River, which runs into the Merbok, and another, which has come to light quite recently, at Kampong Sungei Mas, between the Muda and Merbok rivers (Allen 1988; Nik Hassan 1984; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992). These two sites are apparently the remains of port settlements dating to the late first and early second millennia, the Kampong Sungei Mas site having apparently been abandoned by the twelfth century (perhaps because of silting problems) in favour of the Bujang River site about five kilometres to the north. The

presence of large quantities of Chinese stoneware sherds and fragments of Middle Eastern glass at both sites attests to the importance of the ports in the trade networks that linked the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

An even earlier phase of port activity in this area is indicated by the presence of several inscriptions which have been dated palaeographically to the fifth century A.D. (Wisseman Christie 1990a). Of these early inscriptions, the most significant are the three tablets from scattered sites in the Muda valley (Low 1848:63; Chhabra 1965:18-26; Allen 1986-7; Wisseman Christie 1990a). No settlement remains of this period have yet been located, but it appears that the three inscriptions were connected with an early-to-mid-first-millennium port settlement somewhere on the lower reaches of the Muda River. These tablet inscriptions are linked not only by their contents but also by the facts that all three were apparently executed on small slabs of local stone and that two of them bear very similar illustrations of Buddhist stupas. All of these tablets bear the '*ajñānāc=cīyate karmma*' formula. The Kampong Sungei Mas inscription appears to be a rather defective copy of another inscription of this type which is now lost (Wisseman Christie 1990a:40-4). The most interesting of these inscriptions, however, is that which was found some kilometres upstream on the Muda – the so-called Buddhagupta stone. This stone bears, in addition to the illustration of a stupa and the above formula, two extra lines of text, identifying the donor as a sea-captain named Buddhagupta, resident of Raktamṛttika, who wished to guarantee a successful voyage (Chhabra 1965:23-4). Both the name of the donor and that of his country of residence are Sanskrit, the latter possibly a Sanskrit translation of the common Malay name Tanah Merah – one which is particularly apt for Kedah and neighbouring regions of the peninsular coast – although it should be noted that a Buddhist monastery in present-day Bengal once bore this name (Thaplyal 1972:215). The references to rituals or donations designed to ensure success (*siddhayātra*) also appear later in the seventh-century inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, across the straits in Sumatra, which seem to have been tied to a similar Buddhist cult.

Texts very similar both in script and content to those on the three tablets from Kedah have been found in two locations on the island of Borneo: at Batu Pahat, near the springs of Sungei Tekarek, a tributary of the River Kapuas, in Kabupaten Sanggau, West Kalimantan (Goenadi et al. 1977:10-1; Chhabra 1965:53-7), and near the coast in Brunei (Wisseman Christie 1990a:49-50). These inscriptions lack archaeological context, but their positions – one in the forested interior along a gold-exporting route, and the other on the coast – suggest that they were produced within similar trading cultures. The contents of the inscriptions do not, in themselves, suggest that they were produced within the framework of states. What they do suggest, however, is that the communities or individuals who produced them were tied into a network which exchanged both goods and ideas, and that they participated in a cult whose written remains are so

similar to each other and so localized within the region, that they must have been linked to a central cult site. On the basis of present evidence, it appears that the cult centre may have been located on the west coast of the peninsula, in the Muda-Merbok estuary. This still elusive port settlement and cult centre may well have been the focus of a small trading state with both Malay membership and Malay leadership, whose trading network encompassed a number of similar – though politically less developed – communities elsewhere in the maritime region. Whether the sea-captain Buddhagupta was a member of this community or a trader from India who used the cult centre is unclear. Either way, the inscription suggests that active trade with northeast India was accompanied by cultural links.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of western Java

The region of Sunda, at the western end of the island of Java, is particularly rich in remains of the late prehistoric and protohistoric period, which in western Indonesia stretched from about 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. Amongst the remains that have come to light in this part of the island are five inscriptions in the Sanskrit language, written in south Indian script, and dated palaeographically to the fifth century A.D. Four of these inscriptions – one found at Tugu on the Ciliwung River near Jakarta's harbour and three found in the hilly interior along the upper reaches of the neighbouring Cisadane River to the west of Bogor (Vogel 1925; Chhabra 1965:40-2, 93-7) – were found in the nineteenth century. A fifth inscription belonging to this group was found in 1949 in the bed of the Cidanghyang River, which flows westwards into the Sunda Straits (Bambang Sumadio 1975:42-3). All five of these inscriptions appear to have been written at the behest of the ruler of a polity called Taruma or Tarumanagara, whose name was Pūrṇavarman. The Tugu inscription, which is the longest of the five, also mentions Pūrṇavarman's grandfather, and a predecessor (possibly the same person) whose name or epithet was Pinabāhu. The religious connections of the inscriptions are clearly Hindu: two of them refer to the god Viṣṇu, one mentions the god Indra's elephant, and the main Tugu inscription mentions the names of two holy rivers in India, refers to gifts – including a thousand head of cattle – presented to brahmins, and bears a Śaivite symbol (Bosch 1961b:164-7).

The Tugu inscription refers to a waterway that was excavated at the behest of Pūrṇavarman's predecessor near the royal settlement, and to another that Pūrṇavarman himself ordered to be dug, cutting across the site of his grandfather's former royal residence. These references appear to indicate that the centre of the polity lay within a short distance of the site of the Tugu inscription, on the coast of Jakarta Bay. Noorduyin and Verstappen (1972) discussed this possibility from a geomorphological point of view and reached the conclusion that the royal settlement was located between Tugu and the present harbour at Tanjung Priok, and that the canals described were excavated in order to control the flooding of the

river in the port area, rather than for the purpose of irrigation, as had been suggested by Coedès (1968:54) and others. The four inscriptions found in the interior are of a different nature: three of them refer to Pūrṇavarman's footprints (two likening them to those of the god Viṣṇu), and the fourth speaks of the footprints of Pūrṇavarman's war elephant, associating them with those of the god Indra's elephant. The longest of these four inscriptions speaks both of conquest of the *nagara* of his enemies and of his magnanimity and generosity to allies. The interior thus appears to have been attached, at least temporarily, to the coastal polity through a series of military campaigns, possibly designed to gain control of the gold sources in the mountains (McKinnon et al. 1994).

The origins of this state and its leaders have been the subjects of some discussion. Chhabra (1965:40-2, 93-7) saw in the inscriptions evidence of south Indian colonization of this part of Java, and of the importation of the Pallava political model. He linked the name Taruma to a place-name found in a south Indian inscription, and although Krom (1931:78) suggested that the name was derived from an Indonesian word for indigo (*tarum*), preserved in the name of the River Citarum which flows into the Jakarta Bay not far to the east of Tugu, Wheatley (1983:250, n. 13) is inclined to accept that the name was borrowed from the subcontinent, although he does not accept this as evidence of colonization, any more than the adoption by the ruler of a Sanskrit name.

Most recent discussions have tended to take as a probable given that both the population and the leadership involved were of local extraction, even if the brahmins were not. Kulke (1991:6) notes that, although allusions in the inscriptions indicate that the polity had come under some fairly direct Indian religious influence, this influence cannot be shown to have extended into the realm of political relations. Kulke does suggest, however, that the use in the inscriptions of the term *nagara* both for Pūrṇavarman's polity and for those of his conquered enemies in the interior, as well as the use of the term *puri* to describe the royal settlement of Tarumanagara, 'may be understood as an indication that the spatial concept of the "state" in fifth-century Java was primarily "city"-centered' (Kulke 1991:7), and that this conforms to Wheatley's model for early polities on the Malay peninsula (Wheatley 1983:233).

If the capital of Tarumanagara was located in the neighbourhood of Tanjung Priok, then it is probably lost forever to urban development. However, there are a number of other archaeological sites both in the coastal region and in the interior which may have been connected in some manner to this polity or one like it. Two key sites near the coast a few kilometres to the east of Jakarta have been highlighted by McKinnon et al. (1994). These are Batujaya, on the north bank of the Citarum River about six kilometres from the present coast, and Cibuaya, twenty-five kilometres to the east of Batujaya, also about six kilometres from the current coast. Both these sites were apparently port settlements during the early to mid

first millennium A.D. Surface finds from Batujaya include glass and stone beads, metal slag and local pottery, at least one piece of which can be recognized as locally produced Buni-type Rouletted Ware, a style influenced by the imports in the first centuries A.D. of south Indian Rouletted Ware pottery. No Chinese ceramics appear to be associated with this complex of sites, although late first millennium A.D. Chinese stonewares have been found at sites to the west of the Batujaya complex. This seems to indicate that the cluster of sites was abandoned before the eighth century A.D. The main finds at Batujaya are a collection of brick foundations and earthen mounds, along with some associated religious material. These remains include those of several Buddhist stupas, upright and horizontal 'megalithic' stones, and fragments of an unidentified statue. The site of Cibuaya, some kilometres to the east, has produced three small mitred Viṣṇu statues (one found as recently as 1975) of a style which O'Connor has dated to about the fifth or sixth century A.D. (O'Connor 1972). Other finds include *lingas*, *yonis*, stone mortars, and the foundations of brick structures, some of which appear to have been Buddhist stupas. No associated domestic remains have yet been reported from the site, making comparisons with the site of Batujaya difficult at this point. It is possible, however, that Batujaya is the older of the two sites (given the possible connection with the Buni site that has Roman-period associations), and that the tentative dating of the Cibuaya site (on the basis of the mitred Viṣṇus) is to the fifth century or so.

If these dates, and the nature of the religious remains, can be confirmed, then it would appear that the Tarumanagara of the fifth century A.D. may have been the end-product of several centuries of local development, initiated perhaps by the participation of ports on this coast in a regional trade network that brought Dong-son drums into Sunda, possibly in exchange for gold, cubeb pepper, and forest products. The port at Buni, located between Tugu and Batujaya, was apparently linked into the Old World trade system by the first two or three centuries A.D., importing south Indian pottery. The port at Batujaya, which appears to have succeeded Buni as a trade focus, imported or copied Indian beads and was associated both with megalithic remains and with a Buddhist cult which seems to have had a fairly substantial local following, judging by the number of remains of what were probably stupas. The remains at the somewhat later site of Cibuaya, which may be of roughly fifth-century date, appear to reflect a wider range of religious influences from India, including not only Buddhism but also Hindu cults associated with both Viṣṇu and Śiva. Pūrṇavarman's religious affiliation appears to have been roughly Hindu, if somewhat eclectic, encompassing reverence not only for Viṣṇu and Indra but also, apparently, for Śiva (Bosch 1961b:164-7). This shift in royal religious imagery may reflect the changing needs of a coastal political unit that was extending its power and its economic base by attaching farming communities of the interior.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Kutei

The most difficult to explain of all the finds of early Sanskrit-language inscriptions in maritime Southeast Asia is the cluster of seven *yūpa* or stone-pillar inscriptions, dated palaeographically to the fifth century A.D., located in the Kutei region of East Kalimantan on the east coast of Borneo (Vogel 1918; Chhabra 1965:88-92; De Casparis 1986b). They were composed in verse and inscribed by a person or persons competent both in Sanskrit and in the use of south Indian script. Parallel (but not identical) inscriptions were composed in India during the first four or five centuries A.D. (Chhabra 1965:102-6). The Kutei inscriptions record a series of substantial gifts presented by a ruler named Mūlavarman to brahmins associated with a holy place called Vaprakeśvara (Chhabra 1965:85-92; De Casparis 1986b; Hariani 1989). These gifts comprised land, ghee, sesame seeds, lamps, water, and above all, cattle. One inscription records the gift of twenty thousand cattle, while another appears to allude to the gift of a further seventy thousand. All of these would have been considered proper gifts to brahmins in an Indian context.

The most interesting of these inscriptions, however, is that which records Mūlavarman's genealogy. It states that he was a son of Aśvavarman, who 'founded a noble race', and grandson of the 'illustrious lord-of-men, the mighty, great Kuṇḍuṅga' (Chhabra 1965:85). The names of these three men have been the subject of some discussion, since they may provide a clue to their identity and origins, and by extension, may provide an insight into the process by which Mūlavarman's polity took shape. The names Mūlavarman and Aśvavarman are clearly Sanskrit, but that of Mūlavarman's grandfather, Kuṇḍuṅga, is not. Chhabra (1965:48-53) was inclined to view this name as a variant of an old Tamil name, and to accept its presence as evidence for the implantation on the coast of Borneo of a Tamil-speaking – but Sanskrit-using – Indian colony, drawn thither by the gold trade. Coedès (1968:52), however, suggested that the name might have been an Indonesian one, and Bambang Sumadio (1975:34-5) sees in the ceremonies described in the inscriptions the rites by which a local ruler was personally 'Indianized'. Van Naerssen (Van Naerssen and De Jongh 1977: 19-23) was inclined to accept the name as Indonesian, as well, and drew parallels between these ceremonies of extravagant gift-giving and potlatches. The parallels between these ceremonies and potlatches have been further developed by De Casparis (1983:3-5; 1986b:249), who has drawn attention to similar gift ceremonies of more recent periods in Kalimantan and Sulawesi. He has suggested that, despite the use of Sanskrit language, the inscriptions record truly Indonesian ceremonies, and that Mūlavarman's kingdom must have been created out of his grandfather's chieftaincy. Bugie Kusumohartono (1991) has looked more closely at the institution of the potlatch, and has pointed out that extravagant gift-giving has been associated with so-called 'big-man' societies of eastern Indonesia as well as in Melanesia, whereby status is achieved through publicly gener-

ous acts of redistribution of wealth. He further ties these ceremonies to those that must have been enacted in connection with the erection of megalithic monuments in Indonesia during the later phases of prehistory. Kulke (1991:3-5), analysing the Sanskrit terminology of the inscriptions in connection with terms used elsewhere in early Southeast Asia, concludes that Mūlavarman's nascent kingdom was an early example of a *maṇḍala* polity, but that it was not developed enough to have a proper bureaucracy.

All those who have discussed the *yūpa* inscriptions have agreed that the abrupt appearance of this polity in East Kalimantan must have been due to some sort of gold rush in the region, which not only brought sudden wealth to those who controlled access to the gold supply, but also brought swarms of outsiders hoping to get rich, and thus overnight cosmopolitanism, to a previously rather isolated society. Both the abruptness of the onset of the gold rush and the degree of previous isolation of the coast may be somewhat exaggerated, however. Certainly the degree of true 'Indianization' of the local society cannot be judged by the contents or language of the inscriptions. Although no Dong-son drums have been found in the Kutei area, the recent find of one in the Sambas district near the west coast of the island suggests that there is more to be found in Borneo than has so far come to light. If bronze drums were traded to such out-of-the-way places as the Vogelkop at the west end of New Guinea, then it seems unlikely that the east coast of Borneo was completely isolated even in the third century B.C. Kutei certainly fell within the orbit of the trade network that focused upon Java. The Kutei inscriptions appear to have been written at much the same time as the first known inscriptions of Java, those of Pūrṇavarman, who is also praised for his generosity in giving gifts – amongst them cattle – who also refers to a grandfather who was a ruler (Chhabra 1965:93-7), and who also attached himself to some sort of Hindu cult with brahmin officiants.

The most striking difference between the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman in Java and Mūlavarman in Kutei is the fact that Mūlavarman's claims are so much less plausible. Pūrṇavarman claimed to have given no more than a thousand cattle to the brahmins – a number well within the realms of probability in an area which could have supported a large number of cattle. Mūlavarman's claims of having presented the brahmins with at least twenty thousand – and perhaps as many as ninety thousand – cattle, in a heavily forested region where indigenous societies have no known history of large-scale cattle herding (and are, in the past, more likely to have used buffalo, pigs, and even chickens as ceremonial gifts and sacrifices), does beggar belief. The other gifts listed seem, on the whole, no more plausible. Ghee is not commonly used by Southeast Asians; ownership of land, in swiddening societies, is not individual and is unlikely to have been within Mūlavarman's gift (Wisseman Christie 1982:26-7). This combination of hyperbole and general implausibility probably indicates that the list of gifts

was more symbolic than real. They were those with which the author of the inscriptions, if he was an Indian brahmin, would have been familiar and which he must have considered to be the most ritually efficacious. Since the wealth of the polity was probably derived from trade in gold, it seems likely that any gifts that actually changed hands were far more portable and negotiable – aside, of course, from those necessary for the foundation and upkeep of a small religious centre.

It seems most likely, on the basis of the evidence available, that Kuṇḍuṅga and his descendants were members of a local elite. The word *kundung* appears in Iban as the name of a tree (Scott 1956:95), and it may have had similar meanings in earlier local languages: it is the most likely source of the name Kuṇḍuṅga. If these inscriptions were engraved for members of a local society, it is unlikely that those who commissioned them could either have read the script or understood the language in which they were written. Nor would they have had any clear understanding of the contents. Local and external perceptions of the ceremonies associated with the inscriptions – and of the use and meaning of the stones themselves – must have been very different indeed. If the group for whom the inscriptions were written was related to any of the surviving groups in the general region, they may have been members of a society similar in some ways to the Kayan. Theirs was probably a swidden-farming, long-house dwelling, stratified community with an endogamous aristocracy from amongst whom paramount chiefs were drawn in times of expansionistic warfare (Lebar 1972:168-73; King 1993:208-18). The modern Kayan have a long history of engaging in wars of conquest and a reputation for cultural sophistication and ceremonial extravagance. The early inhabitants of Kutei may have built a polity of some sort on a similar cultural base. Whether this polity was a true state or not is a question that is unlikely to be resolved on the basis of the contents of the inscriptions alone. There are at present no supporting archaeological data – no remains of settlements, shrines or political centres – which can be associated with the inscriptions. We therefore have no idea how large the polity was, how long it survived, or how it was structured. However, it has been pointed out by De Casparis (1986b:250-2) that the seventeenth-century kingdom of Kutei was known to have had a long pre-Muslim history behind it, which included continuing connections with Java. The statuary found at Gunung Kombeng, far upstream from the delta (Bosch 1925), is generally classed as provincial Javanese and probably dates to about the tenth century; 'Kute' is listed amongst the tributaries of Majapahit in the fourteenth century (Pigeaud 1960, III:16). A long-term and relatively stable trade in gold with or via Java may well have provided the necessary financial underpinnings for the creation of a polity that was at least as complex as most of those that developed on the coasts facing the Malacca Straits.

Early historic polities of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

By the seventh century A.D. Chinese records relating to maritime South-east Asia had become relatively reliable, and in a number of cases it is possible to relate names appearing in the Chinese archives to specific coasts – if not to specific sites – in the region (Wang 1958; Wolters 1967, 1986; Pelliot 1904; Wheatley 1961). Of the polities in the islands that came to the attention of the Chinese in that period, two were particularly important. The polity that the Chinese called Ho-ling, but for which the local name is lost, was probably located on the north coast of central Java. It sent its first mission to China in A.D. 640 (Wang 1958:122). Later in the same century, around the year A.D. 670, a polity called Shih-li-fo-shih by the Chinese (and Śrīvijaya in local inscriptions), located on the southeast coast of Sumatra, made its appearance in Chinese records. These polities drew the attention of Chinese writers partly because of the Buddhist establishments they supported, and partly because they formed important links in the sea trade network that joined the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean. During the middle decades of the seventh century most monks travelling by sea from China to India followed a rather circuitous route that included a stop-over in Ho-ling, then passage – possibly through the Sunda Straits – to Sri Lanka, followed by a voyage to northeast India. After Shih-li-fo-shih had appeared on the Sumatran coast, however, Chinese pilgrims began frequently to take the more direct route to northeast India, via the Sumatran port and the Malacca Straits (Chavannes 1894). Since most, if not all, of these journeys were made in relays of merchant ships, it appears that Shih-li-fo-shih had begun to displace Ho-ling as the major trading centre linking China and northeast India by the late seventh century. The balance of economic power seems, however, to have shifted back in favour of the Javanese ports by the end of the eighth century, after the state of Ho-ling had merged into the larger central Javanese polity of Mataram.

Of the Buddhist scholar-pilgrims who took the sea route from China to India early in the T'ang period, the best-known is I-ching, who left China early in the 670's and returned home in the 690's. He has left behind not only a record of his travels and observations on Buddhist practices abroad (Takakusu 1896), and a more detailed study of Buddhism (Wolters 1986), but also a collection of brief accounts of the travels of other monks who made their way to India in the seventh century (Chavannes 1894). In his writings, I-ching refers to a number of polities in maritime Southeast Asia:

'... the islands [*chou*] of the Southern Sea – consisting of more than ten countries [*kuo*] ... An enumeration from the west. There is P'o-lu-shih [Barus?] *chou*, Mo-lo-yu [Malayu?] *chou* which is now Shih-li-fo-shih *kuo*, Mo-ho-hsin [Sunda?] *chou*, Ho-ling [central Java?] *chou*, Tan-tan [in east Java?] *chou*, P'en-p'en [in east Java?] *chou*, P'o-li [Bali?] *chou*, Chüeh-lun [= K'un-lun / eastern Indonesia?] *chou*, Fo-shih-pu-lo

[Vijayapura in Borneo?] *chou*, O-shan [?] *chou*, and Mo-chia-man [?] *chou*. There are also some small *chou* which cannot be recorded.' (Wolters 1967:199; Takakusu 1896:xxxix; Wheatley 1961:54.)

I-ching also mentions the *kuo* (Wolters 1967:19) of Chieh-ch'a [Kedah?] on the west coast of the peninsula.

Wolters (1986) takes the term *chou* in the above passage to be the Chinese gloss of the Sanskrit term *dvīpa* (island, land mass bordering the sea), a rather vague term used to describe places rather than political entities as such. He feels, however, that in the seventh century the term *kuo* – as applied to Śrīvijaya proper, and in some of I-ching's writings to Malayu and other dependencies of Śrīvijaya, as well as to Kedah and the neighbouring state of Langkasuka – described political entities that would fit his definition of a *mandala* polity, probably of a somewhat limited scale (Wheatley 1983:233; Wolters 1986; Kulke 1993). What was happening in the Java Sea sector is less clear. Since, however, the states which existed in the two sectors between the seventh and ninth centuries were the end-products of possibly somewhat different state-forming processes, no study of state formation in the region can ignore them. They are the touchstones by which the plausibility of any theory must be judged.

Śrīvijaya in the seventh and eighth centuries

Towards the end of the seventh century a substantial polity coalesced in southeast Sumatra. Although no remains of settlements, burials or monumental structures in the region can be dated with any confidence to this phase of this polity's existence (Bronson and Wisseman 1978; Manguin 1987, 1992), a fairly detailed picture of some aspects of its political structure can be drawn from Chinese records of the period (Chavannes 1894; Takakusu 1896; Ferrand 1922; Wang 1958; Groeneveldt 1960), and, more importantly, from a number of stone inscriptions found in southeast Sumatra which were written in Old Malay and Sanskrit, using south Indian script, and dating to the 680's or so A.D. This polity adopted the Sanskrit name Śrīvijaya (a somewhat grandiose name laying claim to victory, prosperity and glory); it appears in the Chinese records as Shih-li-fo-shih or Fo-shih.

The study of Śrīvijaya began in earnest in 1918 with Coedès' reclamation of the polity from historical limbo. Since that time the literature on the subject of Śrīvijaya has grown enormously (Manguin 1989; SPAFA 1985). In the absence of archaeological data, most of the discussions of the earliest phase of the polity's existence have tended to focus either on the Chinese records or on the contents of the inscriptions, depending on the linguistic expertise which various scholars have brought to their studies. The best-known of those in recent years who have approached the study of Śrīvijaya principally through the Chinese sources is Wolters (1961, 1967, 1979, 1986), although Wheatley (1961, 1983) has also addressed the

subject more tangentially. Of those who have tackled the inscriptions as a source of data, the most prominent in the past decades have been Coedès (1918, 1930), De Casparis (1956), Chhabra (1965), Boechari (1979, 1986) and Kulke (1991, 1993).

Although the seventh- and eighth-century Chinese sources provide valuable, albeit brief, eye-witness descriptions of the polity, as well as insights into its external links, economic underpinnings and some aspects of its religious culture, the local inscriptions provide by far the most important body of information concerning Śrīvijaya's internal political organization. Inscriptions belonging to a set issued in the late seventh century have so far been found in four separate locations in southeast Sumatra and at one site on the small island of Bangka across a narrow channel from the Musi River estuary. The largest cluster of these stones has been found in the neighbourhood of the port of Palembang on the lower Musi River. This group includes three major inscriptions in Old Malay and the fragments of others in Old Malay and Sanskrit, as well as a collection of about thirty stones bearing variations on the Sanskrit compound *siddhayātra* ('success'), which were apparently inscribed in connection with ceremonies or prayers of a roughly Buddhist nature designed to ensure success in enterprises.¹ Old-Malay-language inscriptions have also been found at four widely scattered locations outside the Palembang region: one on the upper reaches of the Merangin River in Jambi Province (Coedès 1930), two in eastern Lampung Province – at Palas Pasemah (Boechari 1979) and at Karanganyar (Boechari 1986) – and one at Kota Kapur on the west coast of the island of Bangka, this last found with the fragment of a *siddhayātra* stone (Coedès 1930) near the remains of a small temple where three undated mitred Viṣṇu statues have now been excavated (Koestoro et al. 1994). All four of these inscriptions are nearly identical in content, the only significant variation being the addition of a dated postscript to the Kota Kapur text.

Aside from the *siddhayātra* stones, the inscriptions appear to fall into two classes: commemorative stones inscribed to record certain royal gifts or victories, and oath stones designed for use in ceremonies performed to ensure political loyalty. Both classes provide information concerning the polity. The commemoration stones (all of which have been found in Palembang, with the exception of the single line added to the Kota Kapur oath stone) tell us not only that the polity bore the Sanskrit name of

¹ See Coedès (1930), Chhabra (1965), De Casparis (1956). Although Coedès (1930:79) was inclined to see in the term *siddhayātra* a mistaken spelling of the term *siddhiyātrā* (magic, magical power), and thus assumed the ceremony was connected with esoteric spiritual power, Chhabra (1965:24-5) has quite rightly pointed out that the term *siddhayātra* appears with that spelling so many times in so many places over the centuries in maritime Southeast Asia that there is no reason to believe that the writers meant anything else.

Śrīvijaya, but also that the ruler had taken the Sanskrit name and epithet Śrī Jayanāśa. The ruler's title, however, was a local one: *punta hiyang*. This was, moreover, a religious title rather than a political one. Jayanāśa's activities for which he commissioned commemorative inscriptions included: his performance (in A.D. 683) of a ritual to ensure success before leading a military expedition upstream to annex part of the interior; two other military campaigns against internal rivals; the dedication (in A.D. 684) of a garden for public use as part of a programme of Buddhist good works; a visit to a Buddhist monastery; and (in A.D. 686) the dispatch of a military expedition against 'Bhūmi Jāwa' (apparently referring to Java), which was not submissive to Śrīvijaya.

The other major class of inscription includes five oath stones, all written in Old Malay, with a generous sprinkling of Sanskrit terminology, but all prefaced by the same short, largely unintelligible invocation of local (non-Buddhist) spirits in what appears to be an esoteric 'spirit' language, of a type still used by spirit mediums in parts of Indonesia. This group includes one main stone found in Palembang and four subsidiary stones from outlying regions, these latter bearing texts nearly identical to each other. The main stone, that of Telaga Batu (or Sabokingking), was apparently a water-oath stone (De Casparis 1956:28-9) used by the ruler to ensure the loyalty of members of his family and household, military leaders, officials in the palace, port personnel, and regional *datu* (chiefs) either appointed to or confirmed in office by the ruler. Most of the contents comprise lengthy curse formulae promising both supernatural and corporal punishment for those who break their oath. The four subsidiary oath stones contain a series of curses designed to be used by local *datu* to ensure the loyalty of their own underlings. Since the texts of the four are the same, they probably adhered to a model provided by the palace. These stones are remarkable for the length and detail of the curses, and for the general air of paranoia about internal foes that clings to them. The only mention of Buddhism in these oath texts is an oblique reference to Tantric practices in the central Telaga Batu stone.

The terms in which Śrīvijaya and its components are described in these inscriptions have contributed to the uncertainty about the structure of this and other early Sumatran polities. This uncertainty, which arises partly from the use of two parallel political vocabularies drawn from Old Malay and Sanskrit, has led, in turn, to the proposal of more than one model for this early polity. Those who view Śrīvijaya as a port hierarchy – in effect, a proto-Malacca – have focused upon the Old Malay vocabulary (Bronson 1977; Wisseman Christie 1982). Others have concentrated on the Sanskrit vocabulary to a much greater extent, and have, as a result, tended to apply more general models to early Śrīvijaya. For these scholars in particular the appearance of the Sanskrit term *maṇḍala* in one of the early Śrīvijayan inscriptions has appeared to prove that this early Sumatran polity shared general structural features with its contemporaries on the mainland of

Southeast Asia. Wolters (1982:16-33) suggested that Śrīvijaya, like the early Khmer state, was a *maṇḍala* polity on a fairly grand scale, but later (1986) scaled down this model for Śrīvijaya, suggesting that the Chinese term *kuo*, applied in the seventh century to Śrīvijaya, implied a rather geographically restricted entity. He has proposed that the term *maṇḍala* in this case should be understood in the way it was applied by Wheatley (1983:233) to the early polity of Langkasuka, where the territory under the *direct* control of the political centre was adjudged to have been small. Kulke (1993:177) considers this revised model to be too limited in scale and too simple in structure to adequately describe Śrīvijaya, even in the seventh century.

It may be useful at this point to examine the terms of political significance that were used in Śrīvijaya's inscriptions, since they may provide some clues about the process by which Śrīvijaya was consolidated and the manner in which it was organized. If one sets aside the lengthy list of court and port officials appearing in the Telaga Batu inscription (many of whom were given grandiose Sanskrit titles drawn from the administrative vocabulary of the imperial Guptas), there were over a dozen terms used in Old-Malay-language inscriptions to describe the polity as a whole, its component parts, and its leadership. Roughly half of this vocabulary was indigenous; the rest was drawn from the richer Sanskrit political vocabulary. In general, the terms connected with political relations and authority were Old Malay, while those connected with geographical images were Sanskrit. It is worth noting that the borrowed terms central to later political vocabularies in the region – *rāja* (ruler) and *negri* (state, from *nagara*) – do not appear in these early texts. The Old Malay terms used were: *punta hiyang* (a religious title used by the ruler), *datu* (chief of a group or a smaller political entity subordinate to Śrīvijaya), *kadatuan* (the ruler's palace), *parddatwan* (group or place under the control of a *datu*), *wanua* (community, settled territory), and *huluntuhan* (literally 'lord's slaves', here apparently referring to the polity as a whole).² The terms borrowed from Sanskrit were: *bhūmi* (land, country – a term also used in Java to describe the state), *deśa* (region), *sthāna* (place, abode), (*sa*)*maryyāda* (border, frontier), *rājya* (realm, kingdom), *parwāṇḍan* (district or district officer), and *maṇḍala* (literally 'circle', but used in a political sense to mean anything from 'territory, province, country' to 'surrounding district' and 'neighbouring states'). In the context in which the word *maṇḍala* appears in the Telaga Batu inscription, it seems to refer to provinces or territories

² The term *huluntuhan* has been translated in several ways. De Casparis (1956:26) glosses it as 'empire'; K.R. Hall (1976:80-1), working through De Casparis' translation, suggests 'slaves and lords'; Kulke (1993:168) translated the term as 'officers and servants of the court'. Although De Casparis' translation is perhaps rather vague, it covers all of the uses of the term. In line 9 of the Telaga Batu inscription, it clearly refers to a geographical entity as well as a collectivity of people.

under the control of the palace. The word used most prominently and most frequently in the same text to refer to Śrīvijaya is *huluntuhan*, which emphasizes the political relationships rather than the geography of the state. The term used in parallel contexts in the outlying (and subordinate) oath stones is *bhūmi*, the more neutral Sanskrit term.

The twin problems of the structure of the state of Śrīvijaya and the relationship between its ruler and those who held the office of *datu* in outlying regions have been discussed at some length by Kulke (1993). He has pointed out that there are two different Sanskrit terms that were used in the inscriptions to characterize the ruler's relations to the *datu*: the term *sanyāsa* (*saṃnyāsa*), translated by him as 'recognized', which the ruler used when referring to the *datu* whose communities had been annexed to the larger polity with their leadership intact, and the term *samvarddhi* (*samvṛddhi*), translated by him as 'raised to [the status of]', which is used in a passage concerned with the status of *datu* as conferred by the ruler upon members of his family, apparently when placing them in charge of a newly annexed community in lieu of their former leadership. Kulke goes on to delineate a somewhat complex model for the physical layout and political structure of this early state, based largely upon the Sanskrit vocabulary used in the Old Malay inscriptions – an emphasis which may have caused some distortion and over-complication of the model. His use of the term *maṇḍala* to describe the structure of Śrīvijaya very much reflects Wolters' general model, but may give undue prominence to a word used only once, and in a very ambiguous context. In line with this model, he concludes that:

'... Early Śrīvijaya was neither an empire nor a chieftaincy but a typical Early Kingdom, characterized by a strong centre and surrounded by a number of subdued but not yet annexed (or "provincialized") smaller polities. The unique feature of Śrīvijaya's future development was its peculiarity that it never succeeded, or perhaps even never tried, to change this structure of its *bhūmi* polity ... In fact, one may even argue that the longevity and the flexible greatness of Śrīvijaya was based on the very non-existence of those structural features which historians regard as a prerequisite of a genuine empire.' (Kulke 1993:176.)

Although this statement is probably true, as far as it goes, by emphasizing those features of Śrīvijaya and its political vocabulary which were shared in a general way by other early polities, Kulke has failed to produce a truly convincing description of this early polity in particular. This problem is shared by other schematic models that have been proposed for this early Southeast Asian state. In the case of Śrīvijaya, the constraints imposed by the landscape and climate, the possible sources of finance, and the complex ethnic structure of the island of Sumatra worked together to produce a type of polity unlike any which developed on the mainland or on the more

fertile islands of Java and Bali. It is this uniqueness of Śrīvijaya – rather than the fact that it can be classed in a general manner as an Early State or Kingdom – that makes the polity of interest, not least because of the light that it may throw upon the process of state formation in maritime Southeast Asia. It must be borne in mind that, in spite of the lack both of an agrarian base capable of producing substantial surpluses and of large concentrations of population, Śrīvijaya was one of the first, not one of the last, large polities to appear in the maritime region. In order to properly describe Śrīvijaya, one must compare it with later polities in the Malacca Straits region and look for parallels and divergences in internal structure and external ambitions.

The geographical complexity of the Malay peninsula and Sumatra (as well as Borneo), in combination with the rigid ecological constraints that high rainfall and relatively poor soil conditions imposed upon them, produced a diversity of economic niches more persistent than in better-endowed regions, the interior lowlands and foothills being subject to too high a rate of leaching and erosion of the soil for a settled regime of agriculture to have been as successful as shifting or swidden agriculture. The exceptions to this rule are the highland valleys of the Barisan mountains near the west coast of Sumatra and limited drier areas of northern Sumatra and northwest peninsular Malaysia. Density of forest cover elsewhere has meant that communication, and especially transport of bulky goods, in the past was restricted to the river systems and a limited number of tracks through the mountainous portions of the interior. On Sumatra in particular this ecological complexity has been matched by ethnic diversity.

The Malay-speaking riparian communities of Sumatra had direct access to very little of the island's exportable produce – the ores from the mountains and the camphor and other products from the forests. Counterpart communities on the west coast of the peninsula were in a more fortunate position, since the alluvial tin beds lie along the lower courses of the rivers, and were therefore within their reach – even if the gold of the interior lay beyond their immediate political grasp. This difference in access to resources may have led to some differences in the timing of state formation on the two facing coasts. On the island of Sumatra, the communities with the greatest economic advantage and the largest settled populations from the later prehistoric period onwards were undoubtedly the highland farming groups. Yet none of these groups ever produced true states. It was among the riparian and coastal communities that polities which can be considered states were formed. These polities were supported by the most developed type of inter-ethnic economic dependence for which Southeast Asia as a whole is noted (Kennedy 1977).

Landscape and settlement patterns imposed upon the early polities of southeast Sumatra a typically dendritic physical structure. Historically documented states in this region have had a number of economic features in common, which have been discussed by Bronson (1977), on the basis of

descriptions provided by Gullick (1958), Dunn (1975) and others, and more recently by Miksic (1985), who provides a critique of Bronson's model. All agree on several of the features which define the southeast Sumatran states: the economic base of these polities was trade, and since most of them survived by trading the goods produced by others, individual states were economically quite fragile and historically often ephemeral, although the political tradition itself was very resilient. There were two types of such states: the simple, single-port state and the larger, multi-port state, the latter being composed, essentially, of two or more simple states.

The simple state of this type was centred on its port, which was placed near the mouth of a single large river system, or more rarely, near that of one of a cluster of smaller contiguous systems. From a position in or near the port, a ruler and his clients could regulate movement in and out of the entire river system and the territory it drained. Those who controlled the port thus controlled the import-export trade of the drainage system and could act as gatekeepers for the entire system. This is, in effect, what Malay-speaking groups settled on the lower reaches of the main Sumatran rivers did. The states formed on these rivers financed themselves by acting as middlemen in trade, by taxing goods moving through the ports, and by organizing communities settled along the river systems in the interior into networks of trading and collecting stations which facilitated this trade, providing enough economic benefits to ensure the cooperation of those groups upon which the states were dependent for trade but which they were unable to coerce into compliance. States of this type can be traced back from historical records into the archaeological record because of the patterns of distribution of trade goods which were characteristic of them (Wisseman Christie 1982).

In historically documented states of this type the culture and language of the port-capital were shared by a relatively small proportion of the population within its economic sphere: the population of the port, of at least some of the settlements along the navigable portions of the river system upstream from the port, and perhaps some of the aquatic populations living off-shore. The total population of such a state need not have exceeded a few thousand persons owing direct political allegiance to, and receiving patronage from, the ruler. Most of this population was often concentrated in or near the port; this was the population which Malay histories referred to as the ruler's *ra'yat* (lit. 'flock'). Riparian communities in the interior were organized into groups of settlements, the dominant settlement being a 'gatekeeper' downstream from the others, usually at the confluence of their branch of the river with the main stream. This pattern of settlement replicated on a smaller scale that of the state as a whole. Heads of these settlement groupings were still called *datu* in the nineteenth century (Marsden 1811:350). Marsden (1811:351) noted that smaller Sumatran coastal polities were governed solely by *datu*, often in groups of four, who owed some sort of allegiance to one or another of the larger

states on the island. These *datu*, although not nominated by the ruler of the larger patron state, were given investiture by, and paid tribute to, him. The groups in the interior, and the aquatic groups off-shore, were partially endogamous, but their elites tended to marry out, into families of similar status in other communities, some of their daughters marrying upwards into the river system's ruling families. The ruling families, however, tended to choose their primary wives from amongst the families of rulers of neighbouring polities. Members of these ruling families who were denied access to the throne and who were not placed as *datu* in subordinate communities were historically a source of potential danger and disruption in Sumatran and Malay states. Some of these disaffected junior members collected groups of clients (themselves often ambitious younger sons of elite families) and founded pioneer polities in river systems lacking political organization. This process was still occurring in the eighteenth century in such places as Pontianak in West Kalimantan (Van Goor 1986). These polities were thus tied together by a web of family and cultural relationships at higher levels. If earlier states on the same coasts bore any resemblance to their later successors, then peer polity interaction may have provided one of the primary dynamics for state development on the Sumatran, Bornean and peninsular coasts.

These simple states are interesting because they come close to the model (often rejected by social scientists) of the polity formed by voluntary association, or at least held together more by perceived mutual benefit than by force. Historically documented states of this kind, however, expanded beyond their river system's limits by subordinating (through a combination of force and inducement) – but not absorbing – their neighbours, forming hierarchies of ports under the leadership of a dominant ruling family. Major threats to the stability of these states were the defection of outlying centres under the leadership of local *datu* or ambitious younger sons of the dominant ruling family, instability of relations within the court, and economic weakness, caused either by a decline in trade or by smuggling. The size and complexity of port states of this type depended to a large degree upon the wealth passing through the hands of the ruler, since this wealth was normally converted directly into political power through generosity to clients and the maintenance of personal armies. Flows of wealth in these port states tended to be more complex and erratic than the patterns normally described for Early States.

Turning back to the inscriptions of seventh-century Śrīvijaya, it can be argued that the picture that emerges from them is that of a polity very similar in broad outline to later port states of the same coast. The distribution of early inscriptions mirrors the political organization of later states formed along the same river systems. The oath stone of Karang Brahi on the upper reaches of the Merangin River must have served the *datu* of a key riparian community which acted as intermediary between the port and gold-exporting Minangkabau across the mountain passes. The Kota Kapur

inscription from the coast of Bangka may have been used in an aquatic community connected to the Śrīvijayan ruling family as clients. The two oath stones found on the lower reaches of small rivers in Lampung appear to mark the annexation by Śrīvijaya of some of its smaller neighbours, just as it appears that Mo-lo-yu had been annexed. Śrīvijaya in the seventh century appears to have been, in many ways, a prototype of Malacca of the fifteenth century – a less stable, more primitive version of the multi-port Sultanate which later dominated the Malacca Straits and its trade through the same combination of force, bribery and spiritual power, drawing some small port states into its structure with their leadership intact, and forcing members of the ruling family upon others, in a manner described by Tomé Pires in 1515 (Cortêsão 1944). Malay rulers of later centuries conceived of their states more in terms of populace and patron-client relationships than in terms of bounded territory, as apparently did Jayanāśa in the seventh century, whose marked reliance upon magic and religion as a form of political cement for his polity was echoed by later Malay and Sumatran rulers.

Given these apparent parallels, and the similarities in the geographical and possibly the ethnographic settings of the earlier and later polities on the coasts facing the Malacca Straits, a few tentative remarks can be essayed concerning the nature of the polity calling itself Śrīvijaya in the seventh century. First, there seems no doubt that it was large enough to be considered a true state of the classic 'Malay' type. In fact, Śrīvijaya clearly represented a stage in the political development of the region that superseded the simple port-state: Śrīvijaya was a multi-port state similar in general outline to the later Sultanate of Malacca. The building blocks of seventh-century Śrīvijaya were apparently the previously independent *wanua* under the leadership of rulers called *datu*. The survival of the term *datu* as the root of the word used in the seventh century for palace (*kadatuan*) appears to indicate that the ruler of Śrīvijaya, or one of his predecessors, rose from amongst this class of *datu* of independent port polities.

Ho-ling and Mataram in seventh- to ninth-century Java

In A.D. 640 a polity called Ho-ling sent its first recorded mission to the Chinese court. It continued to send embassies to China at irregular intervals into the early years of the ninth century, when Chinese clerks noted that its name had changed to She-p'o (Java) (Wang 1958:123; Groeneveldt 1960:13). The Chinese records of the seventh century provide only a few pieces of clear information concerning this early polity (Van der Meulen 1977), the Buddhist monk I-ching being the source of most of them. In his list of the polities of the islands, I-ching places Ho-ling to the east of Shih-li-fo-shih and appears to indicate that it was at that time one of four polities (*chou*) on the island of Java (Takakusu 1896:10; Wolters 1967:199). He also states that Buddhism was important there, and in his

biographies of Chinese monks making pilgrimages to India (Chavannes 1894:60-4), he notes that at least two Chinese monks went to Ho-ling to study under an important Buddhist teacher residing in that polity. From the patterns of travels of Chinese monks described by I-ching, it appears that during the middle decades of the seventh century most of those travelling to India went via Ho-ling, but that by about A.D. 670, with the emergence of Shih-li-fo-shih in the Malacca Straits, much of this traffic shifted to the Straits route. This appears to be the sum of hard information that can be derived from seventh-century Chinese sources concerning Ho-ling.

Very little in the way of archaeological data can be attached with any confidence to this shadowy polity. Ho-ling must have been centred on the north coast of Java, probably between Pekalongan and Semarang, and although a number of scattered remains have been reported from this region, the only detailed survey of any part of this region to be produced to date is that written by Sutrisno (1972) on the remains in the Batang district just to the east of Pekalongan. The earliest epigraphic remains in Central Java have been found on a boulder beside the spring Tuk Mas on the slopes of the volcano Merbabu, some distance to the south of Semarang. This short inscription, written in Sanskrit and using south Indian script of about the sixth century (Kern 1917:201), likens the spring to the source of the holy River Ganges. Remains that can be dated to the seventh and early eighth centuries are more plentiful, although few descriptions are published. In the Batang region several inscriptions dating to the ninth century or earlier have so far been found (Sutrisno 1972). One of these is the inscription from Sojomerto, near Bawang. Boechari (1966) has suggested a seventh-century date for this inscription, which is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and a dialect of Old Malay (possibly a coastal Javanese version). The text contains lines of homage to the Hindu god Śiva and others, and gives the name and a short genealogy of the man who commissioned the inscription. This man, *dapunta* Selendra, has been identified by Boechari (1966) as a member of the Śailendra royal family whose name seems to have been linked in some manner to both Śrīvijaya and the Javanese state of Mataram in the eighth century. This family has been the subject of much speculative discussion, particularly on the part of those who view state formation in Java and Sumatra as part of the process of Indianization and the related movement of displaced Indian (or Indianized Funanese) royalty. The title taken by Selendra is an indigenous religious or quasi-religious title, very similar to that taken by the ruler of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century. On the basis of Boechari's dating of this text, it has been suggested that both the family and the polities associated with them were of local extraction. Although the conclusions are almost certainly correct, the fact that Boechari assigned a date at least a century too early to this text, the script of which appears better placed in the early ninth century (De Casparis: personal communication), weakens the argument.

Far more archaeological and epigraphic research needs to be undertaken

before a clear picture of early Ho-ling can be assembled. At present, only a few tentative remarks can be made about this seventh-century polity and what appears to have happened to it in the eighth century. The Chinese of the seventh century accepted Ho-ling as one of about ten polities in the islands that they recognized as states of some kind. Although Chinese reports emphasize the importance of Buddhism in Ho-ling, it appears, from the archaeological remains in north central Java, that the local attachment to imported Indian religions was of an eclectic nature and that the sites (particularly those on volcanoes) of foreign-influenced sacred foundations were chosen for reasons arising out of indigenous religious traditions. The leaders of this state appear to have been local, although they took Sanskrit names and commissioned inscriptions written in a mixture of Sanskrit and local dialects. The source of authority of the ruler may have been partly religious and related to local traditions of ancestor-spirit-cum-volcano veneration (Wisseman Christie 1992b). Ho-ling was, however, a state with widespread trade connections: it was apparently the key middleman polity in the trade between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean for some decades in the middle of the seventh century, and it must have taken over from the ports of west Java the dominant position in the Java-Banda Sea spice and sandalwood trade. Although it can be assumed that the state – located as it was in the fertile Kedu and coastal plains region – had a reasonably substantial and expandable agricultural base, it may have been stimulated into political development by the economic opportunities offered by international trade at a time when China began to open its markets.

Some time early in the eighth century this trading and farming state apparently annexed (or was annexed by) a neighbouring polity located further to the south in the most fertile region of the interior of central Java. This union of two – and possibly more – medium-sized and small polities produced the major Javanese state of Mataram. The few inscriptions surviving from the eighth century were written in Sanskrit or a local dialect very similar to that of the earlier Sojomerto inscription, possibly a coastal dialect related to Old Malay. An early title which appears to have been taken by rulers was *datu*, the Old Javanese cognate being *ratu*. The derivation of the Old Javanese term for ‘palace’, *kadatuan*, from the coastal rather than the interior dialect may be a relic of a period of annexation which preceded Indianized inflation of titles. By the ninth century most inscriptions (the majority of which dealt with tax transfers and other financial matters) were written in Old Javanese, presumably the dominant dialect of the interior. Most of the great Hindu and Buddhist temples of central Java were built between the late eighth and late ninth centuries, during the period when the state apparently grew by absorbing smaller polities on its eastern and western flanks, finally annexing the more substantial polity located in the Brantas delta region of east Java late in the ninth century.

Although very little is known about the structure of Ho-ling or of

Mataram during the eighth century, a good deal is known about that of Mataram from the ninth century onwards (Wisseman Christie 1983, 1991; De Casparis 1981, 1986a; Van Naerssen and De Jongh 1977; Barrett Jones 1984; Kusen 1988-89). By this time the state had a well-established, if rather decentralized, three-tier administration. The middle tier in this administration appears to have comprised a class of officials and relatives of the ruler similar in a number of respects to the later groups of apanage holders in Java. While some of the *watĕk* or apanage-type holdings of the ninth century were clearly remnants of older, annexed minor polities (Wisseman Christie 1983:17), most were territorially very dispersed, and the rulers of Mataram regularly shifted tax rights around. Rebellions and palace coups were not uncommon in the history of the state (Kusen 1988-89; Wisseman Christie 1991), but none of those recorded appear to have represented breakdowns of the state into units which resembled the older polities from which Mataram was constructed. Within the region claimed by the state of Mataram, for which the Sanskrit term *bhūmi* (land, country) was used, taxes were regularly collected and labour levies imposed in the name of the ruler, and village councils or individuals wishing to adjust their tax burden approached the ruler rather than the *watĕk* holders. Although the state clearly grew by annexing its neighbours, there is no evidence that these annexed polities remained intact as tribute-paying units or client states, as appears to have been the case with Śrīvijaya in Sumatra.

Mataram was at once more decentralized and more integrative than the *maṇḍala* model would predict. This may have been due to the fact that the major horizontal connections within the state lay in the web of periodic marketing networks that tied the village communities together (Wisseman Christie 1983, 1991, 1992a). These communities (called *wanua* in the early inscriptions), like those in most essentially agrarian states, were more stable and long-lived than the states that incorporated them, even after their structures began to change late in the tenth century (Wisseman Christie 1994). While wet-rice agriculture formed an important element of the economy of many village communities – and produced a large proportion of the tax revenue of the state – there is no evidence that *subak*-type irrigation societies ever formed in Java, as they did in the very different physical and political landscape of Bali (Sukarto 1986; Goris 1954, 1965); nor is there any evidence that Javanese rulers involved themselves in the construction of waterworks, except under extraordinary circumstances (Wisseman Christie 1992b).

In no way did the early states of Java resemble Wittfogel's Hydraulic Society or any of the Marxian models developed out of theories concerning the Asiatic Mode of Production. By the ninth century, Mataram was neither an unintegrated *maṇḍala* nor a form of overbearing Oriental Despotism. It was, in many respects, a more developed version of the type of *negara* state that survived until more recently in Bali (Geertz 1980; Schulte Nordholt 1991, 1992) – Balinese states remaining small enough for

the intermediate *watek* level never to develop. Although expanding Javanese states were more likely to integrate annexed polities than were the Malay states, in terms of political culture they were probably more closely related to the trading states of the Malacca Straits than to their counterparts in mainland Southeast Asia.

Conclusions

Given the general paucity of archaeological data relating to the late prehistoric and the protohistoric periods in maritime Southeast Asia, and the size and the number of gaps in the record at present, any reconstructions of the early political history of the region must, of necessity, be even more partial and contingent than most. New data may radically change the picture presented above, and many of the detailed conclusions integrated into the above discussion may need revision. However, there do seem to be some general tentative conclusions that can be drawn from the record as it stands.

First, there were apparently two foci of very early state formation in maritime Southeast Asia: the Malacca Straits, and the southern shores of the Java Sea. The Malayo-Polynesian-speaking populations of these two sub-regions shared a number of basic political concepts which had apparently been brought into the region during the Neolithic period when Malayo-Polynesian speakers settled on the coasts of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Polynesia and, later on, Madagascar. Later developments occurred within this broad tradition of political ideas, and, although the states that formed in the two sub-regions subsequently developed in somewhat different directions, they continued to share some core political ideas.

Political developments appear to have begun in both of these sub-regions at much the same time, probably because coastal communities in these two areas were responding to the same external economic stimuli. The sequence of events after about 500 B.C. appears to have been roughly as follows: increasing use of metals on the mainland of Southeast Asia, as well as in southern China and on the Indian subcontinent, contributed to a general shift in the economic and social structures of a number of agrarian communities in those regions, precipitating localized growth of political power centres of various sizes. These increasingly populous and complex societies produced substantial elites, those in southern China and in parts of India growing particularly powerful and wealthy over time, and in so doing created large and expanding markets for valuable, status-enhancing commodities, as well as for medicinal substances and raw materials of various descriptions. These societies – some of which had begun to produce not only early states but also early empires – extended their trade links (directly or indirectly) into the seas of maritime Southeast Asia, stimulating the development of iron-working and other

advanced metallurgical techniques in a region already tied into several overlapping maritime trade networks of considerable antiquity and possessing what was, by the standards of the time, an advanced marine technology and considerable navigational expertise. Technological change led to the identification of new ore sources which could be exploited for profit in the maritime region, of which the most important for external trade were tin and gold. The extension and expansion of trade networks focused upon the Malacca Straits ore deposits stimulated trade in other, more perishable goods, including the spices, medicinal substances, dyestuffs and sandalwood of Java and its trading sphere in the eastern islands. This expansion of the economic base of a number of trading communities, possibly in conjunction with increased exposure to more developed political cultures, led to the formation of a series, first, of chiefdoms, and then, of nascent states, on the relevant coasts of the peninsula and the western islands.

Trade appears to have been the key to economic growth; control of trade appears to have provided the key to political development. Moreover, trade in Southeast Asian waters seems to have been information-maximizing rather than information-minimizing – that is, it carried a substantial baggage of information and ideas along with material commodities. This suggests that the carriers of most of this trade were members of maritime Southeast Asian communities rather than outsiders, and that the long-distance trade networks extending into the South China Sea and the Bay of Bengal were focused on the chiefdoms of western Indonesia and peninsular Malaysia, a suggestion further reinforced by the presumed late prehistoric or protohistoric date assigned to the spread of Malayo-Polynesian-speaking settlements to the coast of Madagascar. These trade networks, between the fifth and the second centuries B.C., began to draw the same range of expensive prestige goods – including large ceremonial bronzes from northern Vietnam and glass and stone beads from India – into both maritime sub-regions. These goods were imported by local elite groups, who were frequently buried with them in ‘megalithic’ graves, the creation of which required substantial inputs of labour.

It has been suggested that at the stage of political development in which polities identified as ‘chiefdoms’ appear, luxury goods – particularly those of an exotic nature – have a greater impact on the local political economy than their relative scarcity would imply, and that trade in these valuables was important in the development of ‘states’ out of these ‘chiefdoms’ (Claessen and Skalnik 1978:543; Kipp and Schortman 1989:371). This is judged to be particularly the case in secondary state formation, in which ‘the transition was often abrupt, as a chiefdom or ranked society was propelled into statehood through direct or indirect contact with a previously existing state’ (Kipp and Schortman 1989:371). The Vietnamese bronzes and Indian beads circulating amongst elites in the western maritime region during the last few centuries B.C. may, in fact, mark the

beginnings of such a phase of rapid political transition.

It must be borne in mind, however, that none of the communities on the east coast of the Indian sub-continent or on the mainland of Southeast Asia which produced the items most in demand in the maritime communities can be said at this time to have belonged to sophisticated or powerful states. Such states lay further to the north in China and further to the northwest in India. Those communities with which the maritime societies had demonstrable trade links were, in fact, in the process of transforming themselves politically. These groups and those of the coasts of maritime Southeast Asia may have interacted at this time on a fairly equal basis.

It should also be kept in mind that much of the maritime trade was probably in the hands of Malays and Indonesians, within whose cultures navigational lore – and thus access to overseas trading partners – may or may not have been easily monopolizable. It was probably easier for would-be elites to dominate the local collecting or trading networks that produced the exports for exchange, in fact, than it was to limit access to foreign valuables. This is a point made by Junker (1993, 1994) in connection with Philippine chiefdoms of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., the internal organization of which bore a family resemblance to that of the much earlier Malay and Sumatran polities in the Malacca Straits sub-region. Junker uses both archaeological and ethno-historic data to 'demonstrate that chiefly participation in this foreign luxury goods trade was strongly linked to centralized control of a complex intra-regional system of production, exchange and resource mobilization ... in response to foreign demands for raw materials that were controlled by interior populations' (Junker 1993:1). One of the ways in which the chiefs of the lowlands and coasts achieved this end was through patronage of artisans who manufactured goods for exchange with peoples of the interior. This is precisely the manner in which the rulers of precolonial coastal states in Sumatra, Borneo and the Malay peninsula controlled the trade of their polities (De Sturler 1843; Praetorius 1843), and it is a pattern of politico-economic behaviour that can be traced backwards through the archaeological record of the Malacca Straits region. The first full-blown example of this pattern may have manifested itself in the Klang region of the Malay peninsula during the period between 500 and 200 B.C. Similar parallels between later historical patterns of trade and the archaeological record of this early period can be observed in the Java Sea sub-region and its trading sphere in the eastern islands. Within Java and Bali themselves, political control may have been achieved partly through regulation of the imports of important tool-making metals to the metal-deficient, but agriculturally rich, interiors.

The second stage in the process of state formation in the maritime region appears to have occurred between about 200 B.C. and A.D. 300, when the maritime region's key overseas trading partners – north Vietnam and the

coastal enclaves on the east coast of India – experienced major economic and political changes. Vietnam was absorbed into the expanding Han Chinese empire and became that empire's link with the southern seas, in the process losing its own bronze-exporting industry. Then the Indian ports became linked into the luxury trade of the Roman empire, and at the same time Buddhism (as well as the less readily exported Jainism) became entrenched as the major networking religion amongst merchants and artisans. The maritime coastal polities of Southeast Asia were thus drawn into more direct contact with major empires of the time, or at least with their huge markets for exotic luxury goods and raw materials. The region became both a link in the chain of the first great Old World trading system, which coalesced in the first century A.D. (Glover 1990), and a supplier of certain highly prized luxury items. The distribution of Romano-Indian Rouletted pottery indicates that the 'favoured' coasts in this trading system of the first two or three centuries A.D. included the north coasts of Java and Bali and the coast of central Vietnam. The economic stimulation of the maritime region may have come equally from China and India, but it appears that the political and cultural stimulation of the region was already coming primarily from the Indian subcontinent, probably carried along Buddhist commercial networks. Chinese governments were unwilling to afford open access for foreigners to their empires, and the Chinese languages and writing system must have provided as much of a cultural barrier in the past as they do at present. Indian states were more open and their cultures easier to access.

With the decline of Roman trade to the east in the third century A.D., the commercial ties between some of the Indian ports and Southeast Asia were strengthened. Buddhism, the Indian subcontinent's most important historic export, was by this time beginning to draw across the Bay of Bengal not only pilgrims from Southeast Asia, but also an increasing number from China, thus reinforcing commercial links within Asia. The period between A.D. 300 and 600 seems to have marked a third stage in the political development of western maritime Southeast Asia. By this time there appear to have been several fully formed states in both of the maritime sub-regions which had intermittent contact with the Chinese court. It was during this period that clear differences began to develop between the coastal trading states of the Malacca Straits and the increasingly mixed-economy (that is, rice-growing and spice-trading) states of Java and Bali. The coastal trading states extended the use of Buddhism as a commercial networking religion, pulling ports of north and west Borneo into their cultural orbit. The elite groups in the states of the Java Sea and their dependencies began to add elements of Hinduism – with its royal and agrarian overtones – to the already existing Buddhist-cum-'megalthic' cultural mix of the ports, as they began to attach farming populations of the interior to their coastal centres. In both sub-regions of the maritime area, peer-polity interaction must have played a major role in

the development of characteristic political styles of states in the two sectors. By the seventh- to ninth-century period, when states in both of the sub-regions began to produce literature in indigenous languages, it seems clear that the old, small states were being increasingly absorbed into larger, more complex political entities. These major maritime states of the mid to late first millennium A.D. appear already to have borne a recognizable family resemblance to their successors, which were described by European observers in the sixteenth century.

20 December 1994

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

- Adams, R.McC., 1966, *The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Adi bin Haji Taha, 1983, 'Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Peninsular Malaysia, 1976-1982', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 56: 1:46-63.
- Allen, S.J., 1986-87, 'An Inscribed Tablet from Kedah, Malaysia: Comparison with Earlier Finds', *Asian Perspectives* 27-1:35-58.
- , 1988, *Trade, Transportation and Tributaries: Exchange, Agriculture and Settlement Distribution in Early Historic-Period Kedah, Malaysia*. [Ph.D. thesis, University of Hawaii.]
- Anderson, B.R.O'G., 1972, 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture', in: C. Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, pp. 1-69. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ardika, I.W., 1994, 'Early Evidence of Indian Contacts with Bali', Paper presented at the 5th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeology, Paris, 24-28 October 1994.
- Ardika, I.W., and P. Bellwood, 1991, 'Sembiran: The Beginning of Indian Contact with Bali', *Antiquity* 65-247:221-32.
- Bacus, E.A., 1994, 'Political Economy and Interaction among Late Prehistoric Chiefdoms in the Central Philippines: Current Research in the Dumaguete-Bacong Area of Southeastern Negros', Paper presented at the 15th Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Congress, Chiang Mai, 5-12 January 1994.
- Bambang Sumadio (ed.), 1975, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, II: Jaman Kuno*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Barnes, G.L., 1986, 'Peer Polity Interaction: An East Asian Perspective', in: C. Renfrew and J. Cherry (eds), *Peer Polity Interaction*, pp. 79-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barrett Jones, A.M., 1984, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions*. Dordrecht: Foris. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 107.]
- Basa, K.K., 1991, *The Westerly Trade of Southeast Asia from c. 400 B.C. to c. A.D. 500, with Special Reference to Glass Beads*. [Ph.D. thesis, University of London.]
- Batchelor, B.C., 1977, 'Post "Hoabinhian" Coastal Settlement Indicated by Finds in Stanniferous Langat River Alluvium near Dengkil, Selangor, Peninsular Malaysia', *Federation Museums Journal* n.s. 22:1-55.
- Bayard, D., 1992, 'Models, Scenarios, Variables and Suppositions: Approaches to the Rise of Social Complexity in Mainland Southeast Asia, 700 B.C. - 500 A.D.', in: I.C. Glover et al. (eds), pp. 13-38.
- Beal, S., 1869, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-yun*. London: Susil Gupta. [Reprint 1964.]
- Bellwood, P., 1979, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia*

* This bibliography does not list exclusively titles mentioned in the text.

- and Oceania. New York: Oxford University Press.
- , 1985, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*. London: Academic Press.
 - , 1992, 'Southeast Asia before History', in: N. Tarling (ed.), pp. 55-136.
 - Benda, H.J., 1962, 'The Structure of Southeast Asian History', *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 3-1:106-38.
 - Benjamin, G., 1985, 'In the Long Term: Three Themes in Malayan Cultural Ecology', in: K.L. Hutterer, A.T. Rambo and G. Lovelace (eds), *Cultural Values and Human Ecology in Southeast Asia*, pp. 219-78. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. [Papers on South and Southeast Asia 27.]
 - , 1986, *Between Isthmus and Islands: Reflections on Malayan Palaeo-Sociology*. Singapore: National University of Singapore. [Department of Sociology, Working Paper 71.]
 - , 1988, 'Ethnohistorical Perspectives on Kelantan's Prehistory', in: Nik Hassan Shuhaimi (ed.), *Kelantan Zaman Awal: Kajian Arkeologi dan Sejarah di Malaysia*, pp. 1-44. Kota Baru: Muzium Negara Kelantan.
 - Bentley, G. Carter, 1986, 'Indigenous States of Southeast Asia', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15:275-305.
 - Bernet Kempers, A.J., 1988, *The Kettledrums of Southeast Asia*. Rotterdam/Brookfield: Balkema. [Modern Quaternary Research 10.]
 - Bintarti, D.D., 1985, 'Prehistoric Bronze Objects in Indonesia', *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Bulletin* 6:64-73.
 - , 1990, 'Pejong Type Bronze Kettledrums', *Kalpataru: Majalah Arkeologi* 9:1-19.
 - Boechari, 1966, 'Preliminary Report on the Discovery of an Old-Malay Inscription at Sodjomerto', *Madjalah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia* 3-2:241-51.
 - , 1979, 'An Old Malay Inscription of Śrīvijaya at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung)', in: *Pra-Seminar Penelitian Śrīwijaya*, pp. 19-40. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional.
 - , 1986, 'New Investigations on the Kedukan Bukit Inscription', in: *Untuk Bapak Guru*, pp. 33-56. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
 - Bosch, F.D.K., 1925, 'Oudheden in Koetei', *Oudheidkundig Verslagen*:132-46.
 - , 1961a, 'The Problem of the Hindu Colonization of Indonesia', in: F.D.K. Bosch, *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, pp. 1-22. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Translation Series 5.]
 - , 1961b, 'Guru, Trident and Spring', in: F.D.K. Bosch, *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, pp. 153-70. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Translation Series 5.]
 - Bronson, B., 1977, 'Exchange at the Upstream and Downstream Ends: Notes toward a Functional Model of the Coastal State in Southeast Asia', in: K.L. Hutterer (ed.), pp. 39-52.
 - , 1979, 'The Archaeology of Sumatra and the Problem of Śrīvijaya', in: R.B. Smith and W. Watson (eds), pp. 395-405.
 - , 1992, 'Patterns of the Early Southeast Asian Metals Trade', in: I.C. Glover et al. (eds), pp. 63-114.
 - Bronson, B., and J. Wisseman, 1978, 'Palembang as Śrīvijaya: The Lateness of Early Cities in Southern Southeast Asia', *Asian Perspectives* 19-2:220-39.
 - Bugie Kusumohartono, 1991, 'Konsepsi Big Men dalam Kehidupan Sosial-Politik Indonesia Kuna', Paper presented at Rapat Analisis Sumber Tertulis Masa Klasik Trawulan, Trawulan, 18-23 November 1991.
 - Carneiro, R., 1970, 'A Theory of the Origin of the State', *Science* 169:733-8.
 - , 1987, 'Cross-Currents in the Theory of State Formation', *American Ethnologist* 14-4:756-70.
 - Casparis, J.G. de, 1956, *Prasasti Indonesia II: Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.* Bandung: Masa Baru.
 - , 1981, 'Pour une histoire sociale de l'ancienne Java, principalement au Xième s.', *Archipel* 21:125-51.
 - , 1983, *India and Maritime South East Asia: A Lasting Relationship*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.
 - , 1986a, 'Some Notes on Relations between Central and Local Government in Ancient Java', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), pp. 49-63.

- , 1986b, 'Some Notes on the Oldest Inscriptions of Indonesia', in: C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson (eds), *A Man of Indonesian Letters: Essays in Honour of Professor A. Teeuw*, pp. 242-56. Dordrecht: Foris. [KITLV, Verhandeligen 121.]
- Chavannes, E., 1894, *Mémoire ... sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident, par I-Tsing*. Paris: Leroux.
- Chhabra, B.Ch., 1965, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*. Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal.
- Churchill, W., 1911, *The Polynesian Wanderings*. Washington: Carnegie Institution.
- Claessen, H.J.M., 1986, 'Kingship in the Early State', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 142-1:113-27.
- , 1988, 'Tongan Traditions: On Model Building and Historical Evidence', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 144-4:433-44.
- , n.d., 'Ongezoekt en Onbedoeld? Over het Ontstaan van de (Vroege) Staat'. [Unpublished manuscript.]
- Claessen, H.J.M., and P. Skalník (eds), 1978, *The Early State*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Claessen, H.J.M., and P. van de Velde, 1987, 'Introduction', in: H.J.M. Claessen and P. van de Velde (eds), *Early State Dynamics*, pp. 1-23. Leiden: Brill.
- Coedès, G., 1918, 'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 18-6:1-36.
- , 1930, 'Les Inscriptions malaises de Çrīvijaya', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 30:29-80.
- , 1968, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center Press.
- Cohen, R., and J.D. Toland (eds), 1988, *State Formation and Political Legitimacy*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction.
- Cortésão, A. (ed. and translator), 1944, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, 2 volumes. London: The Hakluyt Society.
- Court, M.H., 1821, *An Exposition of the Relations of the British Government with the Sultana and State of Palembang*. London: Black Kingsbury, Parbury and Allen.
- Crumley, C.L., 1976, 'Toward a Locational Definition of State Systems of Settlement', *American Anthropologist* 78-1:59-73.
- Dunn, F.L., 1975, *Rain-Forest Collectors and Traders: A Study of Resource Utilization in Modern and Ancient Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. [Monograph 5.]
- Earle, T.K., 1989, 'The Evolution of Chiefdoms', *Current Anthropology* 30-1:84-8.
- Evans, I.H.N., 1927, 'Notes on the Remains of an Old Boat Found at Pontian', *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* 12:93-6.
- , 1932, 'Excavations at Tanjung Rawa, Kuala Selensing, Perak', *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* 15-3:79-134.
- Ferrand, G., 1922, *L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Flannery, K.V., 1972, 'The Cultural Evolution of Civilizations', *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 3:399-426.
- Friedman, J., 1975, 'Tribes, States and Transformations', in: M. Bloch (ed.), *Marxist Analysis and Social Anthropology*, pp. 161-202. London: Malaby Press.
- Friedman, J., and M.J. Rowlands, 1977, 'Notes towards an Epigenetic Model of the Evolution of "Civilization"', in: J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands (eds), *The Evolution of Social Systems*, pp. 201-76. London: Duckworth.
- Geertz, C., 1960, *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- , 1980, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gibson-Hill, C.A., 1952, 'Further Notes on the Old Boat from Pontian', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25-1:110-33.
- Glover, I.C., 1979, 'The Late Prehistoric Period in Indonesia', in: R.B. Smith and W. Watson (eds), pp. 167-84.
- , 1990, *Early Trade Between India and South-East Asia: A Link in the Development of a World Trading System*, 2nd edition. Hull: University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies.
- Glover, I.C., Pornchai Suchitta, and J. Villiers (eds), 1992, *Early Metallurgy, Trade and Urban Centres in Thailand and Southeast Asia*. Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Glover, I.C., and M. Yamagata, 1994, 'Excavation at Buu Chau Hill, Tra Kieu,

- Quangnam-Danang Province, Vietnam, 1993', *Journal of Southeast Asian Archaeology* 14:48-57.
- Godelier, M., 1969, 'La notion de "Mode de Production Asiatique" et les schémas marxistes d'évolution des sociétés', in: J. Garaudy (ed.), *Sur le 'Mode de Production Asiatique'*, pp. 47-100. Paris: Éditions Sociales.
- Goenadi Nithaminoto, Armeiny, and Kosasih S.A., 1977, 'Laporan Hasil Survei Kepurbakalaan di Propinsi Kalimantan Barat', in: *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi* 6, pp. 1-51. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Gonda, J., 1973, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, 2nd edition. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Goor, J. van, 1986, 'Seapower, Trade and State Formation: Pontianak and the Dutch', in: J. van Goor (ed.), *Trading Companies in Asia 1600-1830*, pp. 83-106. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Goris, R., 1954, *Prasasti Bali*. Bandung: Masa Baru.
- , 1965, *Ancient History of Bali*. Denpasar: Udayana University, Faculty of Letters.
- Groeneveldt, W.P., 1960, *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya Compiled from Chinese Sources*. Jakarta: Bhratara.
- Gullick, J.M., 1958, *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*. London: Athlone Press.
- Hagesteijn, R., 1989, *Circle of Kings: Political Dynamics in Early Continental Southeast Asia*. Dordrecht: Foris. [KITLV, Verhandeligen 138.]
- Hall, D.G.E., 1968, *A History of South-East Asia*, 3rd edition. London: Macmillan.
- Hall, K.R., 1976, 'State and Statecraft in Early Śrīvijaya', in: *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origins of Southeast Asian Statecraft*, pp. 61-105. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies. [Monograph 11.]
- , 1985, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press.
- Hariani Santiko, 1989, 'Waprakeśwara: Tempat Bersaji Pemeluk Agama Weda?', *Amerta* 11:1-8.
- Haris Sukendar, 1985, *Peninggalan Tradisi Megalitik di Daerah Cianjur, Jawa Barat*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Haris Sukendar, et al., 1977, 'Laporan Penelitian Prasejarah di Daerah Jampangkulon dan Sekitarnya (Jawa Barat)', in: *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi* 10, pp. 1-40. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Hasan Muarif Ambary, 1978, 'Notes on Research on Sites from the Śrīvijaya Period', in: *Studies on Śrīvijaya*, pp. 7-17. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Heekeren, H.R. van, 1955, 'Proto-Historic Sarcophagi on Bali', *Berita Dinas Purbakala* 2:1-15.
- , 1958, *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Heine-Geldern, R., 1942, 'Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia', *Far Eastern Quarterly* 2:15-30.
- Higham, C., 1989, *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia from 10,000 B.C. to the Fall of Angkor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoop, A.N.J.Th. à Th. van der, 1932, *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra*. Zutphen: Thieme.
- Hoskins, J.A., 1986, 'So my Name Shall Live: Stone-Dragging and Grave-Building in Kodi, West Sumba', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 142-1:31-51.
- Hutterer, K.L. (ed.), 1977, *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History and Ethnography*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies. [Papers on South and Southeast Asia 13.]
- Jacq-Hergoualc'h, M., 1992, *La civilisation de ports-entrepôts du Sud Kedah (Malaysia), Ve-XIVe siècle*. Paris: l'Harmattan.
- Junker, L.L., 1993, 'Craft Goods Specialization and Prestige Goods Exchange in Philippine Chiefdoms of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Asian Perspectives* 32-1:1-35.
- , 1994, 'The Development of Centralized Craft Production Systems in A.D. 500-1600 Philippine Chiefdoms', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25-1:1-30.

- Kennedy, J., 1977, 'From Stage to Development in Prehistoric Thailand: An Exploration of the Origins of Growth, Exchange and Variability in Southeast Asia', in: K.L. Hutterer (ed.), pp. 23-38.
- Kern, H., 1917, *Verspreide Geschriften VII*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- King, V.T., 1993, *The Peoples of Borneo*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kipp, R.S., and E.M. Schortman, 1989, 'The Political Impact of Trade in Chiefdoms', *American Anthropologist* 91-2: 370-85.
- Koestoro, L.P., Soeroso M.P., and P.-Y. Manguin, 1994, 'Kota Kapur (Bangka): A pre-Śrīwijaya Hindu Site in South-Sumatra?', Paper presented at the 5th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeology, Paris, 24-28 October 1994.
- Krom, N.J., 1931, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Kulke, H., 1978, *The Devarāja Cult*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program. [Data Paper 108.]
- , 1980, 'Early State Formation and Ritual Policy in East Java', Paper presented at the 8th International Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Kuala Lumpur, 25-29 August 1980.
- , 1986, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom in Southeast Asian History', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), pp. 1-22.
- , 1990, 'Indian Colonies, Indianization or Cultural Convergence? Reflections on the Changing Image of India's Role in South-East Asia', in: H. Schulte Nordholt (ed.), *Onderzoek in Zuidoost-Azië: Agenda's voor de Jaren Negentig*, pp. 8-32. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië.
- , 1991, 'Epigraphical References on the "City" and the "State" in Early Indonesia', *Indonesia* 52:3-22.
- , 1993, '"Kadatuan Śrīvijaya" - Empire or Kraton of Śrīvijaya? A Reassessment of the Epigraphical Data', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 80-1:159-80.
- Kusen, 1988-89, *Faktor-faktor Penyebab Terjadinya Perubahan Status Sawah di Wanua Tengah dalam Masa Pemerintahan Raja-raja Kuna Abad 8-10*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, Fakultas Sastra.
- Lamb, A., 1963, 'Indianized Inscriptions in North-Western Malaya', *Tamil Culture* 10-1:75-86.
- , 1964, 'Early History', in: Wang Gungwu (ed.), *Malaysia: A Survey*, pp. 99-112. London: Pall Mall.
- Lansing, J.S., 1983, 'The "Indianization" of Bali', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 14-2:409-21.
- , 1991, *Priests and Programmers: Technologies of Power in the Engineered Landscape of Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Leach, E., 1954, *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London: Athlone Press.
- Lebar, F.M. (ed.), 1972, *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia. Volume I: Indonesia, Andaman Islands, and Madagascar*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Leong Sau Heng, 1990, 'Collecting Centres, Feeder Points and Entrepots in the Malay Peninsula 1000 B.C. - A.D. 1400', in: J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (eds), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity*, pp. 17-38. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- , 1992, 'Recent Finds of More Slab-Graves in the Bernam Valley, Peninsular Malaysia', *SPAFA Journal* 2-3:4-8.
- Leur, J.C. van, 1955, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*. The Hague: Van Hoeve. [Reissue 1967.]
- Liere, W.J. van, 1980, 'Traditional Water Management in the Lower Mekong Basin', *World Archaeology* 11:265-80.
- Low, J., 1848, 'An Account of Several Inscriptions Found in Province Wellesley on the Peninsula of Malacca', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 17-2:62-6.
- Lowie, R.H., 1927, *The Origin of the State*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- McKinnon, E.E., 1985, 'Early Politics in Southern Sumatra: Some Preliminary Observations Based on Archaeological Evidence', *Indonesia* 40:1-36.

- , 1993, 'A Note on Finds of Early Chinese Ceramics Associated with Megalithic Remains in Northwest Lampung', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 24-2:227-38.
- McKinnon, E.E., Hasan Djafar, and Soeroso M.P., 1994, 'Tarumanagara? A Note on Discoveries at Batujaya and Cibuaya, West Java', Paper presented at the 15th Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Congress, Chiang Mai, 5-12 January 1994.
- McKnight, C.C., 1986, 'Changing Perspectives on Island Southeast Asia', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), pp. 215-27.
- Mabbett, I.W., 1977a, 'The "Indianization" of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the Prehistoric Sources', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 8-1:1-14.
- , 1977b, 'The "Indianization" of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the Historical Sources', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 8-2:143-61.
- Majumdar, R.C., 1979, *India and South-East Asia*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp.
- Manguin, P.Y., 1985, 'Research on the Ships of Śrīvijaya (and of First Millennium A.D. Southeast Asia)', in: *SPAFA Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Śrīvijaya, Final Report*, pp. 291-306. Bangkok: SEAMEO.
- , 1986, 'Shipshape Societies: Boat Symbolism and Political Systems in Insular Southeast Asia', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), pp. 187-213.
- , 1987, 'Études sumatranaises, I: Palembang et Śrīvijaya; Anciennes hypothèses, recherches nouvelles', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 76:337-402.
- , 1989, *A Bibliography for Śrīvijayan Studies*. Jakarta: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- , 1992, 'Excavations in South Sumatra, 1988-90: New Evidence for Śrīwijayan Sites', in: I.C. Glover (ed.), *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1990*, pp. 63-73. Hull: University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies.
- Marr, D.G., and A.C. Milner (eds), 1986, *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*. Singapore: ISEAS and Australian National University.
- Marsden, W., 1811, *The History of Sumatra*. London: Oxford University Press. [Reprint 1966.]
- Meulen, W.J. van der, 1977, 'In Search of "Ho-ling"', *Indonesia* 23:87-111.
- Miksic, J.N., 1985, 'Traditional Sumatran Trade', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 74:423-67.
- , 1990, *Old Javanese Gold*. Singapore: Ideation.
- , 1991, 'Settlement Patterns and Sub-Regions in Southeast Asian History', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 24:86-144.
- Miller, J.I., 1969, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. - A.D. 641*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milner, A.C., 1982, *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Moertono, Soemarsaid, 1968, *State and Statecraft in Old Java*. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project. [Monograph 43.]
- Naerssen, F.H. van, and R.C. de Jongh, 1977, *The Economic and Administrative History of Indonesia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, 1984, *Art, Archaeology and the Early Kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, c. 400-1400 A.D.* [Ph.D. thesis, University of London.]
- , 1994, 'The Evolution of pre-Modern Urbanized Centres in the Malay Peninsula, c. 500 B.C. - A.D. 500', Paper presented at the 15th Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Congress, Chiang Mai, 5-12 January 1994.
- Noorduyn, J., and H.Th. Verstappen, 1972, 'Pūrnavarman's River-Works near Tugu', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 128-2/3:298-307.
- O'Connor, S.J., 1972, *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam*. Ascona: Artibus Asiae.
- Peacock, B.A.V., 1979, 'The Later Prehistory of the Malay Peninsula', in: R.B. Smith and W. Watson (eds), pp. 199-214.
- , 1980, 'New Light on the Ancient Settlements of Kedah and Province Wellesley', in: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (ed.), *Lembah Bujang*, pp. 82-8. Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan United Selangor.
- Pelliot, P., 1904, 'Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 4:131-413.

- Pigeaud, Th.G.Th., 1960-3, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, 5 volumes. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Polanyi, K., C.M. Arenburg, and H.W. Pearson (eds), 1957, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*. New York: Macmillan.
- Postma, A., 1991, 'The Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription: A Valuable Philippine Document', in: P. Bellwood (ed.), *Indo-Pacific Prehistory 1990*, vol. 2, pp. 160-72. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Praetorius, C.F.E., 1843, 'Eenige Bijzonderheden omtrent Palembang', *De Indische Bijl* 1:376-479.
- Price, B.J., 1978, 'Secondary State Formation: An Explanatory Model', in: R. Cohen and E.R. Service (eds), *Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Political Evolution*, pp. 161-86. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, 1986, *Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi dan Geologi di Jawa Barat, 1978-82*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. [Berita Penelitian Arkeologi 36.]
- Quaritch Wales, H.G., 1940, 'Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18-1:1-85.
- Ray, H.P., 1989, 'Early Maritime Contacts between South and Southeast Asia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 20-1:42-54.
- Renfrew, C., 1972, *The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* London: Methuen.
- , 1975, 'Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication', in: J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds), *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, pp. 3-59. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Richadiana Kartakusuma, 1993, 'Dapunta Hyam Śrī Jayanāśa: Kajian atas Makna dari Prasasti Telaga Batu', *Amerita* 13:17-32.
- Roo de la Faille, P. de, 1929, 'Uit den Palembangschen Sultanstijd', *Feestbundel, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen II*, pp. 316-52. Weltevreden: Kolff.
- Sahlins, M., 1963, 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5-3:285-303.
- , 1972, *Stone Age Economics*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Sarkar, H.B., 1981, 'A Geographical Introduction to South-East Asia', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 137-2/3:293-323.
- , 1985, 'The Kings of Śrī Śailam and the Foundation of the Śailendra Dynasty of Indonesia', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 141-2/3:323-38.
- Satari, Soejatmi, 1978, 'New Finds in Northern Central Java', *Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology* 13:1-18.
- Schrieke, B., 1955, 'Some Remarks on Borrowing in the Development of Culture', in: *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, part I, pp. 223-37. The Hague: Van Hoeve.
- Schulte Nordholt, H., 1991, *State, Village and Ritual in Bali: A Historical Perspective*. Amsterdam: VU University Press for the Centre for Asian Studies Amsterdam.
- , 1992, 'Origin, Descent, and Destruction: Text and Context in Balinese Representations of the Past', *Indonesia* 54:27-58.
- Scott, N.C., 1956, *A Dictionary of Sea Dayak*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Service, E., 1975, *Evolution of the State and Civilization*. New York: Norton.
- Setten van der Meer, N.C. van, 1979, *Sawah Cultivation in Ancient Java*. Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies.
- Slamet-Velsink, I.E., 1986, *Emerging Hierarchies. Processes of Stratification and Early State Formation in the Indonesian Archipelago: Prehistory and the Ethnographic Present*. [Ph.D. thesis, Leiden University.]
- Smith, C.A., 1976, 'Regional Economic Systems: Linking Geographical Models and Socioeconomic Problems', in: C.A. Smith (ed.), *Regional Analysis. Volume 1: Economic Systems*, pp. 3-63. New York: Academic Press.
- Smith, M.G., 1974, *Corporations and Society*. London: Duckworth.
- Smith, R.B., and W. Watson (eds), 1979, *Early South East Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soejono, R.P., 1972, 'The Distribution of Types of Bronze Axes in Indonesia', in:

- Berita Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional* 9, pp. 1-7. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- , 1977, *Sarkofagus Bali dan Nekropolis Gilimanuk*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Southall, A.W., 1953, *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1988, 'The Segmentary State in Africa and Asia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30:52-82.
- SPAFA, 1985, *Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies on Śrīvijaya*. Bangkok: SPAFA/SEAMEO.
- Sturler, W.L. de, 1843, *Proeve eener Beschrijving van het Gebied van Palembang*. Groningen: Oomkens.
- Sukarto K. Atmodjo M.M., 1986, 'Some Short Notes on Agricultural Data from Ancient Balinese Inscriptions', in: Sartono Kartodirdjo (ed.), *Papers of the Fourth Indonesian-Dutch History Conference. Volume I: Agrarian History*, pp. 25-62. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Sutrisno, 1972, *Sejarah Daerah Batang Kuno*. [Thesis IKIP Moh. Oemar, Semarang.]
- Takakusu, J., 1896, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I Tsing*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tambiah, S.J., 1976, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarling, N. (ed.), 1992, *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, volume 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thapar, R., 1990, *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Thaplyal, K.K., 1972, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad.
- Tibbetts, G.R., 1979, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Tichelman, F., 1980, *The Social Evolution of Indonesia: The Asiatic Mode of Production and its Legacy*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Vogel, J.Ph., 1918, 'The Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman, from Kutei', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 74:167-232.
- , 1925, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*. Batavia: Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië.
- Walker, M.J., and S. Santoso, 1980, 'Romano-Indian Rouletted Pottery in Indonesia', *Asian Perspectives* 20-2:228-35.
- Wang Gungwu, 1958, 'The Nanhai Trade', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31-2:1-135.
- Waterson, R., 1991, *The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Weber, M., 1968, *Economy and Society*, 3 volumes. New York: Bedminster Press.
- Wheatley, P., 1961, *The Golden Khersonese*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- , 1973, 'Comments on the Dynamics of the Process of Indianization', in: K.S. Sandhu, *Early Malaysia: Some Observations on the Nature of Indian Contacts with pre-British Malaya*, pp. 37-49. Singapore: Singapore Education Press.
- , 1975, 'Satyānṛta in Suvarṇadvīpa: From Reciprocity to Redistribution in Ancient Southeast Asia', in: J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds), *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, pp. 227-38. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- , 1983, *Nāgara and Commandery: Origins of the Southeast Asian Urban Traditions*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography.
- Winzeler, R.L., 1976, 'Ecology, Culture, Social Organization and State Formation in Southeast Asia', *Current Anthropology* 17-4:623-40.
- , 1981, 'The Study of the Southeast Asian State', in: H.J.M. Claessen and P. Skalník (eds), *The Study of the State*, pp. 455-67. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wiseman Christie, J., 1982, *Patterns of Trade in Western Indonesia: Ninth through Thirteenth Centuries A.D.* [Ph.D. thesis, University of London.]
- , 1983, 'Rāja and Rāma: The Classical State in Early Java', in: L. Gesick (ed.),

- Centers, Symbols and Hierarchies: Essays on the Classical States of Southeast Asia*, pp. 9-44. New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asian Studies. [Monograph 26.]
- , 1984/5, 'Trade and Early State Formation in Maritime Southeast Asia: Kedah and Śrīvijaya', *Jebat* 13:43-56.
 - , 1986, 'Negara, Maṇḍala and Despotism: Images of Early Java', in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner (eds), pp. 65-94.
 - , 1990a, 'The Sanskrit Inscription Recently Discovered in Kedah, Malaysia', *Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia* 11:39-53.
 - , 1990b, 'Trade and State Formation in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, 300 B.C. - A.D. 700', in: J. Kathirithamby-Wells and J. Villiers (eds), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity*, pp. 39-60. Singapore: University of Singapore Press.
 - , 1991, 'States without Cities: Demographic Trends in Early Java', *Indonesia* 52:23-40.
 - , 1992a, 'Trade and Settlement in Early Java: Integrating the Epigraphic and Archaeological Data', in: I.C. Glover et al. (eds), pp. 181-97.
 - , 1992b, 'Water from the Ancestors: Irrigation in Early Java and Bali', in: J. Rigg (ed.), *The Gift of Water*, pp. 7-25. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
 - , 1994, 'Wanua, Thani, Paraduwan: The "Disintegrating" Village in Early Java?', in: W. Marschall (ed.), *Texts from the Islands: Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World*, pp. 27-42. Bern: University of Bern, Institute of Ethnology.
- Wittfogel, K., 1957, *Oriental Despotism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Woelders, M.O., 1975, *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 72.]
- Wolters, O.W., 1961, 'Śrīvijayan Expansion in the Seventh Century', *Artibus Asiae* 24:417-24.
- , 1967, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
 - , 1979, 'Studying Śrīvijaya', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 52-2:1-32.
 - , 1982, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies.
 - , 1986, 'Restudying Some Chinese Writings on Śrīvijaya', *Indonesia* 42:1-42.
- Wurm, S.A., and B. Wilson, 1975, *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austro-nesian Languages*. Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies.