

Palembang as Śrīvijaya

THE LATENESS OF EARLY CITIES IN SOUTHERN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Received 17 April 1975

BENNET BRONSON AND JAN WISSEMAN

INTRODUCTION: THE EARLY CITY IN MALESIA

IT IS a striking if infrequently noted fact that Malesia—southern or peninsular and Island Southeast Asia—is almost empty of archaeologically locatable cities earlier than the 14th century A.D. The southern region contrasts strongly in this respect with the Southeast Asian mainland, where numerous urban and quasi-urban settlements have been dated to the middle or early 1st millennium A.D. (in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and South Vietnam—see Aung Thaw 1968; Boisselier 1968; Groslier 1966: 39–56; Malleret 1959–63) or even to the preceding millennium (in North Vietnam—Davidson 1973). The historical evidence does not support such an extreme north-south contrast. Chinese sources (summarized in Wang 1958; Wheatley 1961; and Wolters 1967) are quite definite that settlements very much like cities existed in the island and peninsular region from at least A.D. 700 onward, and these sources find limited confirmation in the accounts of Arab travellers who began to visit the region in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Even the archaeological data themselves have seemed to suggest that an urban society had developed in parts of Malesia well before A.D. 1000. Inscriptions in local vernaculars, surely the products of complexly organized societies, began appearing in Sumatra and Java in the late 7th century; by the late 9th century in Java they were commonplace. Monuments and statuary in indigenous styles seem to have followed a similar chronology. They made their first appearance in various parts of the region during the 7th and 8th centuries and reached their peak in the late 9th and early 10th, a time when one subdivision of the region—central Java—temporarily managed to outproduce the whole of the Southeast Asian mainland in

Bennet Bronson is affiliated with the Field Museum of Natural History and the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Jan Wisseman is affiliated with the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

terms of durable art and architecture. Such achievements point unmistakably to a substantial population, a developed regional economy, and a high level of social control exercised by a cosmopolitan ruling class. They would also seem to point to the existence of cities. Yet, despite the splendor of the art and the profusion of the monuments, identifiable urban places are in short supply.

This is partly because few have looked for them. Like their colleagues working in Cambodia and Thailand, the archaeological Indonesianists of the 1920s and 1930s were interested in little save art and epigraphy. Some of the Northern specialists did occasionally find and report settlements (like Lunet de Lajonquière 1912–13). The Southern specialists never did, and seem never to have been concerned with the probability that residential sites should have existed somewhere near their monuments. Two facts kept them from being forced to be concerned: first, the sites contained few if any residential structures built of permanent materials, and second, the sites were rarely surrounded by the defensive or population-controlling walls and moats which are a conspicuous feature of most of the larger early settlements in northern Southeast Asia. Earthwork or brick *enceintes* on the Northern model do occur at later sites in Java (e.g., at the Majapahit capital of Trowulan) and at a handful of somewhat earlier sites in Sumatra (at Bawang in Lampung, which has a 10th century inscription—Bronson et al. 1973: 6) and on the Peninsula (at Yarang—Wales 1974). But they are nowhere common or easily noticed from the ground or on aerial photographs.

The disinterest of the archaeologists and the inconspicuousness of the physical remains thus accounts in part for the lack of known citylike sites. The earliest substantial settlement found in Indonesia so far is Kota Cina in northern Sumatra (McKinnon 1973, 1974), perhaps as early as A.D. 1000. With the possible exception of Santubong in Sarawak (O'Connor and Harrison 1964), the earliest settlements with urban characteristics in East Malaysia or the Philippines cannot be shown to antedate European contact by very much. The earliest in West Malaysia is the 11th–13th century site complex at Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah (Lamb 1961: 21–37). Even the Thai portion of the Peninsula is not overly rich in 1st millennium sites that might be towns or cities. Two—Yarang and Wieng Sra (Wales 1935)—have earthwork *enceintes* and some claim to a 7th or 8th century date, but the rest are no more than findspots of moderately early statues or inscriptions without circumscribing fortifications or prominent amounts of demonstrably early residential debris.

Large early settlements, then, are scarce everywhere in the southern part of Southeast Asia, and this scarcity to some extent can be explained by a local disinclination to surround settlements with walls and moats. But the question persists, is this a full explanation? After all, much of the lowland portion of northern Southeast Asia was quite densely filled with people and with cities or towns by the 7th or 8th centuries—there must be upwards of fifty such settlements in central Thailand alone (many are enumerated in Boisselier 1968; Bronson and Dales 1972: 42–43; Dupont 1959: 18–23; and Wales 1969; a number of others remain unpublished)—while most of the South seems on present evidence to have been thinly settled as well as limitedly urbanized. Except for central Java and perhaps southern Thailand, few parts of the southern region show the high concentrations of artistic and epigraphic finds that would lead one to expect large and perhaps city-dwelling

populations even in the absence of direct indications such as finds of quantities of sherds, charcoal, and faunal refuse.

Analogy with recent settlement patterns might lead one to a similarly negative conclusion. As late as the 19th century, few parts of the South, again with the exception of Java, contained substantial populations or urban-level settlements in spite of the existence of widespread literacy and other advanced cultural institutions. This might lend strength to the suspicion that the absence of archaeologically discoverable cities of the 1st millennium is not simply an effect of lack of proper research. It is entirely plausible that early urbanization was less developed in the South than in the North. As we argue later, it is also possible that Southern urbanization, or its structural equivalent, followed from the beginning a rather anomalous course.

The remainder of this report is focused on a demonstration of the difficulty of finding an early urban-level settlement in one area, in what until now would have been regarded as a likely rival to central Java and southern Thailand for the distinction of having produced the first true city in Malesia. The city in question is Śrīvijaya, the hypothetical capital of the historical empire of that name, which is said to have ruled the seas of Southeast Asia for five hundred years from its rise to power in the late 7th century until its relapse into obscurity sometime in the early second millennium. The area in question is the neighborhood of the modern Sumatran city of Palembang.

THE PALEMBANG PROJECT

The choice of Śrīvijaya as a research objective rested on three considerations. First, despite the rather tenuous nature of its career, Śrīvijaya is the best-described and most securely historical of the early statelike polities that can be more or less definitely located in Malesia. Wolters (1967: 220–21) has suggested that Śrīvijaya had predecessor states near its later location, and Wheatley (1961: 41–60) and Coedès (1968: 50–55, 77–80) have placed other “states” with citylike capitals elsewhere in the South at about the same time that Śrīvijaya was beginning its rise to power. But as far as the earlier sources go, Śrīvijaya is the most solidly authenticated 1st millennium state between Indochina and India. It was actually visited for an extended period in the 680s by the famous Buddhist pilgrim, I Ch’ing (Chavannes 1894; Takakusu 1896).

A second advantage of Śrīvijaya was its apparent wealth and the seemingly urban character of its capital; while we were interested in seeing any early urban place, one as large and rich as Śrīvijaya should have been relatively easy to locate. And as a third advantage, shared by almost no other 1st millennium city in the region, the location of the Śrīvijayan capital was believed to be known. The consensus of experts placed it in or very near the city of Palembang, at the junction of the Musi, Komering, and Ogan rivers on the coast of southern Sumatra (Fig. 1).

Scholars identifying Palembang with Śrīvijaya have based their opinions partly on interpretations of the rather vague sailing directions given in various Chinese sources, but more substantially on the fact that Palembang has produced a number of inscriptions in which Śrīvijaya is actually mentioned. A total of seven 1st millennium inscriptions are known in which the name “Śrīvijaya” occurs, along with two

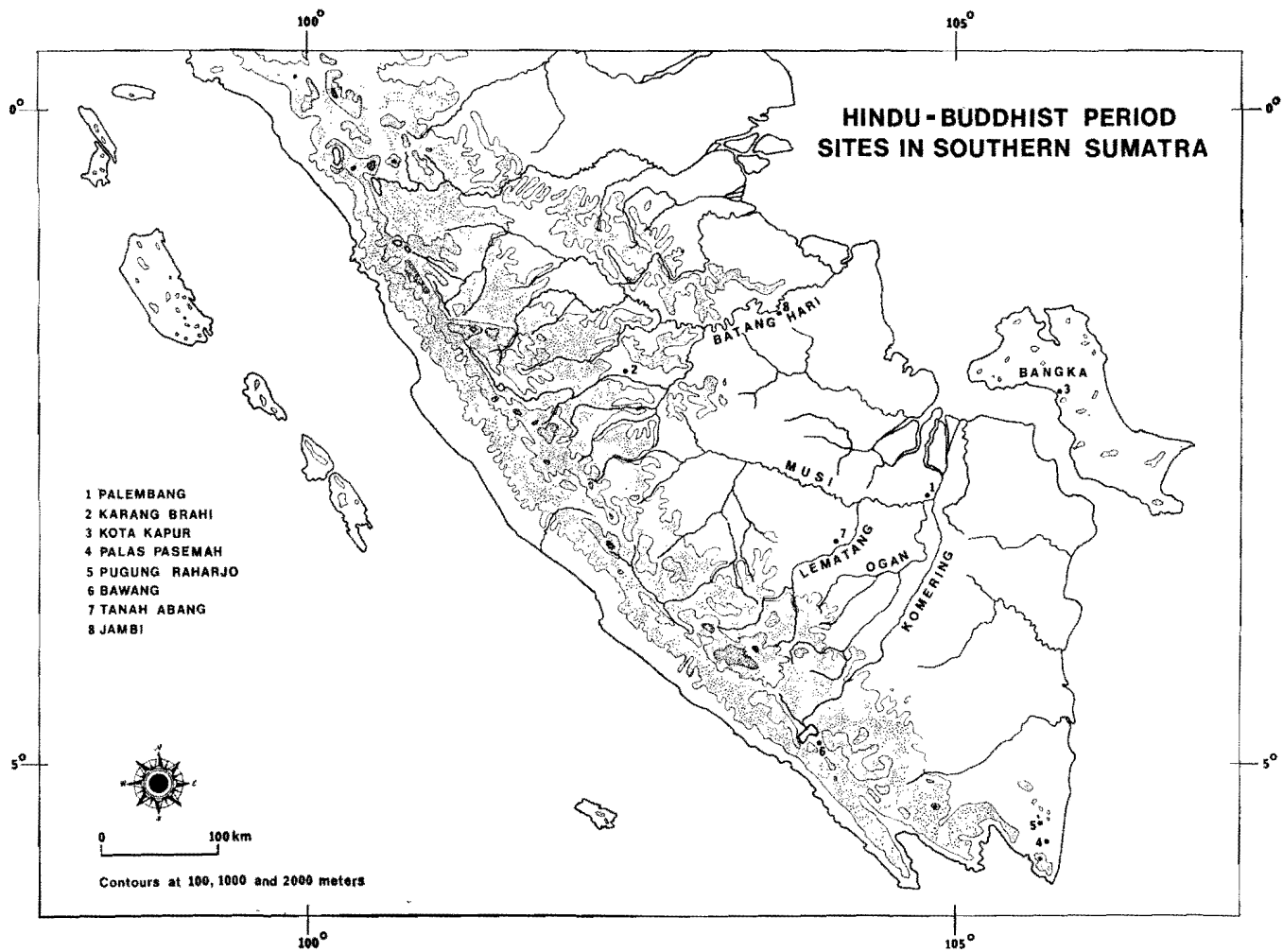


Fig. 1 Hindu-Buddhist Period sites in southern Sumatra.

fragmentary texts which seem identical although the name itself is missing. One of these comes from Ligor in southern Thailand (Coedès 1961: 20–24). Three come from rather remote spots in southern Sumatra and Bangka: Palas Pasemah, Karang Berahi, and Kota Kapur (Bronson et al. 1973: 5, 11; Coedès 1930: 45–50). The other five, including three complete and two fragmentary examples, come from the immediate vicinity of Palembang (Casparis 1956: 1–46; Coedès 1918, 1930).

Besides these, Palembang has produced the great bulk of the other identifiably 1st millennium and Indian-influenced artifacts known from the area between Java and southern Thailand, including about 30 minor inscriptions (Casparis 1956: 1–15), various rather questionable fragments of architectural ornament, and roughly 20 metal and stone statues (Schnitger 1936, 1937; Krom 1938; Dinas Purbakala 1955). The evidence from historical Chinese (and later, Arabic) sources can be variously interpreted and indeed has been thought by some to suggest other locations for Śrīvijaya. But the actual field data have seemed almost decisive in favor of Palembang.

When our group visited that city in 1973 in the course of a survey of Sumatran sites (Bronson et al. 1973; Bronson and Wisseman 1974), we came to side tentatively with those who thought Palembang might be Śrīvijaya. Initial reconnaissance had revealed large quantities of sherds and other habitation debris in the fields surrounding the suburban temple complex of Geding Suro, a site of the mid-2nd millennium which was known to have produced at least one statue dating to the 8th or 9th century. While most of the datable sherds—all of which were glazed ceramics imported from China and northern Southeast Asia—clearly belonged to the 16th and 17th centuries, there was much material which was not immediately datable. It seemed to us quite possible that some of it would prove to be relatively early.

In any case, it was evident that the Geding Suro complex differed from most findspots of earlier artistic and architectural material in Sumatra in that it had not existed in isolation from surrounding settlement. There clearly had been a town or city there in the mid-2nd millennium. Considering the numerous 7th–10th century finds made there, its strategic location on regional and local trade routes, and its siting on the one piece of high ground with good coastal access between the Sunda Strait and Singapore, we felt reasonably confident that a settlement of some kind had existed at Palembang during the 1st millennium.

That this settlement might turn out not to be the historical Śrīvijaya, assuming this could be proved one way or another, did not concern us greatly. Any 1st millennium settlement of substantial size would increase existing knowledge of early urbanization in Malesia by several hundred percent. We did not at the time consider the possibility that the vicinity of Palembang would contain no 1st millennium settlement at all.

Accordingly, plans were made to commence a series of trial excavations in the Palembang area in 1974. Work actually began on 13 July, when a team consisting of ten American and Indonesian staff members arrived in Palembang. The Indonesian staff represented the National Archaeological Institute of Indonesia, the University of Indonesia, and the Central Museum of Jakarta. The American staff represented the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania which, with the National Archaeological Institute, cosponsored the project. Field research was

halted on 28 August. After spending a week winding up recording and preliminary analysis, the team returned to Jakarta on 7 September.

EXCAVATION

Survey was done concurrently with excavation; on most days at least two staff members were out exploring in different parts of Palembang in an effort to locate as many potential sites as possible. Four locations were eventually chosen for excavation (Fig. 2). These were (1) the vicinity of the monument called Geding Suro in 1 Ilir; (2) the hillside west of Penyaringan Air Bersih in 3 Ilir; (3) the surroundings of a house called Sarang Waty at Jl. Duku and Jl. Pendawa in 2 Ilir; and (4) the top and sides of the hill Bukit Seguntang, just west of the modern city. Almost all excavations were relatively small test pits which were dug down to or below natural. Excavated finds were washed, labelled, sorted, and classified tentatively within a few days after they had come out of the ground. This made it possible to tie excavation strategy closely to artifact analysis, with finds from one day influencing decisions about where to dig the next.

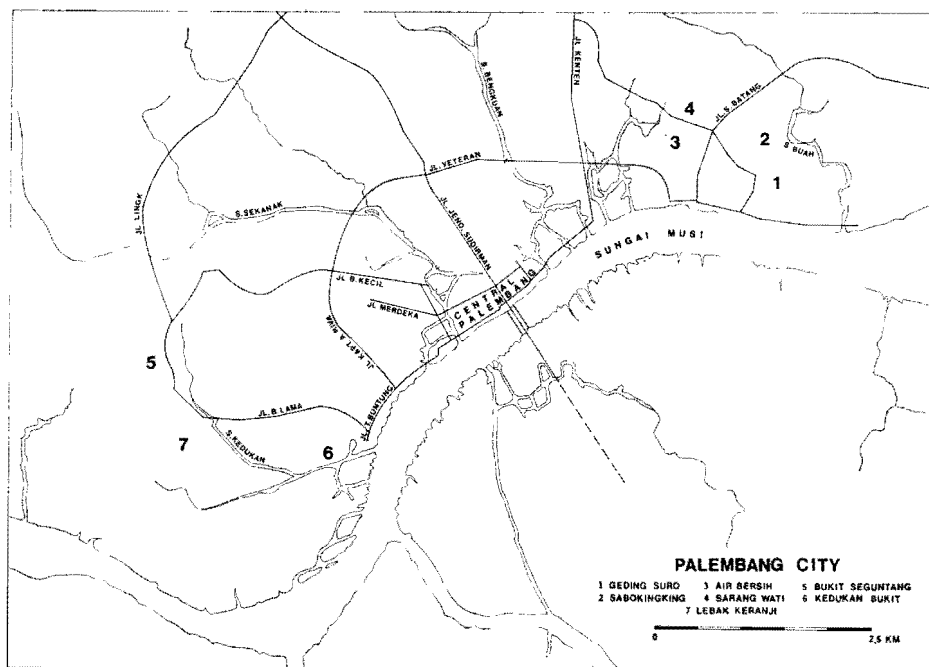


Fig. 2 Palembang City.

Excavations began first at Geding Suro, where three separate groups of trenches or "operations" were dug. Operation A consisted of 7 trenches in and around the Geding Suro temple complex, covering a total area of 27 m². The purpose of these trenches was to obtain information relevant to the absolute and relative dating of the various structures and further to determine whether, as some believed, significantly earlier structures existed within or beneath the 16th–17th century complex.

Operations B and C were located away from the temples in two parts of the surrounding area which seemed especially rich in pottery, the former about 120 m west of Geding Suro and the other about 200 m to the south. The trenches in both operations were intended specifically as stratigraphic test pits; we hoped that their lower strata would reveal different (and earlier) kinds of sherds than those found on the surface. The two trenches in B totalled 5 m² in area and the two in C, 5.75 m². All were dug well down into the natural soil.

As operations B and C were completed, attention was shifted to two new locations, Penyaringan Air Bersih (Operation D, three trenches) and Sarang Waty (Operation E, 4 trenches), both of which were located about 1 km to the west of Geding Suro. All of these trenches were also 1.5 × 1.5 m test pits dug down to or past natural.

Members of the team then began working at the fourth and final research location, Bukit Seguntang. A total of eight operations (F through N) were dug on and around the hill in a search for stratified artifactual material or intact structures. Two operations actually hit fragmentary but *in situ* building walls; the trenches in these operations (F and J) grew in size until they covered, respectively, 35 m² and 19 m². The other Bukit Seguntang operations were smaller, ranging in area from 2.25 to 5.5 m².

Geding Suro

Of all the sites in the Palembang area, the vicinity of Geding Suro comes closest to looking like a true city. The area covered with sherds and other premodern debris measures more than 150 hectares. Further, the quantity of broken bricks and tiles found there suggests that the area must have once contained a moderate number of structures built of permanent materials. One has no trouble interpreting this as an important ancient center; the only problem is that none of the artifacts in it appear to be very old.

The large quantities of imported ceramics recovered from excavations and from the surface turned out to be preponderantly of 16th–17th century date (see Table 1). Most of these imported wares, which account for nearly one quarter of the ceramic finds at the site, are South Chinese in origin and may well have been carried in Dutch ships. A few percent of the ceramics are later and perhaps ten percent can be ascribed to earlier periods, but none seem older than the 13th–14th centuries. The locally produced earthenware from the same findspots as the imported wares appears to be chronologically even more circumscribed since (1) it is almost uniform over the entire site, (2) it shows no sign of change between the deeper strata and the surface, and (3) it is easily distinguishable from the earthenware at the 14th–15th century site of Air Bersih, only 1 km away. Moreover, all the sherds of imported and local wares at Geding Suro can be accounted for; there is no handful of anomalous sherds which might eventually turn out to belong to an earlier period.

All architectural remains in the area also belong to the 16th–17th centuries, including the scattered fragments of architectural ornament found lying in the fields at a distance from the still-surviving structures. The structures themselves, Candis Geding Suro and Panembahan, have long been recognized to be closely related in style to the late and post-Majapahit architecture of East Java, suggesting a date of the 16th century. But Schnitger (1937: 4) and several other scholars believed that there might be earlier foundations at Geding Suro within or underneath the 16th

TABLE 1. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE COMPOSITION OF IMPORTED CERAMICS RECOVERED IN EXCAVATIONS AT PALEMBANG SITES

WARE	BUKIT SEGUNTANG		AIR BERSIH		GEDING SURO	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Misc. Sung-Ming celadons	52	28.7	59	9.2	28	1.9
Lung Ch'uan celadon (13th-16th c.)	0	0	33	5.1	2	0.1
Annamese white	12	6.6	135	21.0	8	0.6
Annamese green	0	0	26	4.1	0	0
Annamese iron-black	0	0	41	6.4	28	1.9
Sukhothai (early 14th c.)	0	0	(2)*	—	0	0
Sawankhalok (14th-15th c.)	0	0	13	2.0	8	0.6
Early Ming blue-and-white (14th-15th c.)	22	12.2	13	2.0	81	5.6
Annamese blue-and-white	0	0	8	1.2	1	0.1
Misc. Chinese white wares (largely Fukien?)	0	0	12	1.9	35	2.4
Brown-glazed wares†	14	7.7	33	5.1	62	4.3
Unglazed stonewares†	73	40.3	249	38.8	419	28.8
Mid-Ming blue-and-white (16th c.)	0	0	0	0	11	0.8
Mid-Ming polychrome (16th c.)	0	0	0	0	12	0.8
Wan-li (A.D. 1573-1619)	0	0	0	0	65	4.5
"Swatow" blue-and-white (16th-17th c.)	0	0	8	1.2	620	42.6
"Swatow" polychrome (16th-17th c.)	0	0	0	0	14	0.9
Misc. late Chinese wares (17th-18th c.)	8	4.4	4	0.6	59	4.0
European wares (17th-18th c.)	0	0	8	1.2	1	0.1
Totals	181	99.9	642	99.8	1454	100.0

* Only two Sukhothai sherds were found at the site, both in surface collections. None were found during excavation.

† So little is known about the various brown-glazed and unglazed wares—most of which appear to have been large storage jars—that no place or date of manufacture can be given for most of them.

century structures, basing their belief on the fact that an 8th-9th century statue was found there and on the presence of a stone structure of rather variant style which is enclosed by one of the late Majapahit brick structures. However, our excavations produced stratigraphic evidence that the stone structure might even be later than one or more of the brick structures, which are unquestionably of the 16th century. One of the trenches also produced a Chinese coin from a spot directly underneath one of the foundation blocks of the stone structure. Since the coin is believed to belong to the middle Ming dynasty, the stone structure cannot be earlier than the mid-15th century.

As for the statue which Westenek and Schnitger found during their excavation at Geding Suro in the mid-1930s (Schnitger 1936, 1937), this seems to be a clear case of redeposition. It is said by local eyewitnesses to have been found between, not beneath, two of the 16th century buildings; furthermore, our excavations show quite clearly that these buildings were constructed directly on natural soil without any ancient pit or foundation trench beneath. Thus, the 8th century statue must have been brought in and reused by the people of the 16th century. We shall have occasion to return to this theme of redeposition in a later section.

In summary, Geding Suro seems an almost classic example of a one-period site. It was first inhabited about A.D. 1500, grew to urban dimensions very quickly, and was largely abandoned by A.D. 1650-1700.

Air Bersih

In the early 1930s four bronze statues (*Jaarboek* 1934: 114–115) were found during the construction of the city water purification plant, Penyaringan Air Bersih. Three of these statues show close stylistic affinities with the art of Majapahit, an implied dating which is abundantly confirmed by the sherds of 14th–15th century ceramics that litter the 50-hectare area immediately west and south of Penyaringan Air Bersih itself. However, the fourth bronze was in a good 9th or 10th century style, and this encouraged us to think that there might be other early material somewhere in the Air Bersih area.

The results of the excavations, however, showed no sign of this. The imported ceramics, which represented about fifteen percent of the total sherd finds, were virtually all of 14th–15th century date, those from the deepest strata being very similar to those found on the surface. The surface collections, though not the test pits, did produce small quantities of ceramics from the late Sung or Yuan period (13th century). But these were so few as to give rise to the suspicion that they were brought to the site by its 14th century residents, perhaps as heirlooms.

Of the imported ceramics represented at Air Bersih (see Table 1), just under sixty percent are of Chinese manufacture, these being largely celadon bowls and unglazed storage jars. Only a small amount of blue-and-white was found here. Most of it is early Ming, but the surface strata contained a scattering of later Chinese and even 17th–18th century European material, which appears to indicate that the site was briefly reoccupied in later centuries. The remaining forty percent of the imports are from northern Southeast Asia. The bulk of these are Annamese wares. They include a smaller quantity of Sawankhalok celadon, fragments of two Sukhothai fish dishes, and some brown-glazed sherds of possible Cham or Cambodian origin.

We might note that Air Bersih rather resembles contemporary residential sites in the northern Philippines (Fox 1959: 362) in terms of the small percentage of Sawankhalok sherds present. At burial sites of similar date in the central Philippines (Fox 1959: 360–363; Hutterer 1973: 52–53) and in Sulawesi (Tan 1956: 4), Sawankhalok wares typically comprise between one-fourth and one-half of the total number of imported vessels.

An interesting aspect of the Air Bersih assemblage is that the nonimported ceramics, the unglazed earthenware of presumably local manufacture, are rather easily distinguished from the earthenwares at Geding Suro. Indeed, while the imports show roughly a ten percent carryover between the Air Bersih and Geding Suro phases, the local earthenware varieties show an almost clean break. Within an overall continuity of preference for certain vessel shapes, pastes and surface treatments change so abruptly that few Geding Suro sherds can be mistaken for sherds from Air Bersih. What caused this change, presumably within a rather short span of time, is not clear. It could reflect some change in local trading patterns that accompanied the Portuguese takeover of interisland commerce in the early 1500s. It could even indicate a limited population movement, perhaps a direct or indirect consequence of the fall of the Majapahit power in Java at the end of the 15th century.

Air Bersih seems to have been rather smaller and less impressive than Geding Suro, although this need not mean that it lacked political importance in its day.



Plate I Bodhisattva statue from Sarang Waty, Palembang.



Plate II *top*: stamped clay wafer from Sarang Waty, Palembang, bearing the standard Buddhist *ye dharmā* formula; diameter 2 cm.
bottom: stamped clay wafers from Sarang Waty, Palembang.

It cannot have had much permanent architecture within the urban area, and the debris produced is not more abundant than might be produced by a modest town. However, it is worth noting that the imported ceramics at Air Bersih are quite variable, coming from several different parts of Southeast Asia and China. This might indicate a level of taste and prosperity somewhat higher than one would expect in a minor center. On the other hand, Air Bersih is very far from being a great capital on the model of a Majapahit or an Angkor; one finds it hard to believe that the 14th and 15th century city at Palembang had great prestige or power outside its own immediate neighborhood. The limited area of dry land occupied by the site and the variety of imported ceramics present may to some extent corroborate Ma Huan's report of the early 15th century city of Chiu-chiang/P'o-lin-pang, which he described as a center of moderate size with a large Chinese population, built partially on rafts in the river (Ma Huan 1970: 98-102).

Sarang Waty

The backyard of the house named Sarang Waty, about a half km north of Air Bersih, was chosen for test pitting because of the discovery there in the early 1960s of a major piece of statuary, a 6th-8th century image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Bronson et al. 1973: 8) (Plate I). Since this was the only 1st millennium object from Palembang whose findspot was precisely known, it seemed imperative to examine the area thoroughly.

Four trenches were opened at and around the place where the statue was first discovered. In two of these trenches traces of an ancient pit appeared, and this pit when dug out proved to have been filled almost solidly with small unbaked clay models of stūpas. Most of these stūpas had disintegrated into an unrecognizable mass of clay, but careful excavation made it possible to recover about 400 fragmentary examples, of which nearly ten percent were still whole enough for details of design to be observed. Preliminary analysis indicates that the collection contains a minimum of ten separate varieties of stūpa.

Each of the stupas seems originally to have contained a clay wafer bearing an impressed Buddhist votive formula in an Early Nāgarī script. Since these wafers are also unbaked their condition is generally not good. However, a number are readable. The majority bear the well-known Sanskrit *ye dharmā* text, all seemingly made with the same stamp (Plate II, *top*). A few appear to have been impressed with a different stamp and text but are in such poor condition that they cannot be read (Plate II, *bottom*).

Similar deposits of stūpas with votive formulas have been found at Borobudur and Desa Djongke in central Java (*Oudheid*. 1935: 17), at Banyuwangi in East Java (Issatriadi n.d.), and at Pejeng in Bali (Bosch 1961), as well as at a still unidentified site in the Palembang area (Lamb 1964: 59). The earliest of these deposits is the one at Borobudur; it dates to the late 8th or 9th century. That at Banyuwangi, probably 14th century, is the latest. Paleographic considerations may indicate that the Sarang Waty deposit falls into the latter part of this time span.

Dating through associated artifacts was particularly difficult here because the entire area above the stūpa-filled pit had been stripped of soil by the same construction project that uncovered the Avalokiteśvara statue. Two test pits in an undis-

turbed area 15 m distant produced nothing except a few brick fragments and sherds of 14th–17th century stoneware. Thus the entire deposit remains somewhat puzzling. It is marginally possible that the statue might be as late as, and the inscriptions as early as, A.D. 750–800; in that case we must conclude that the combination of statue and stūpa-filled pit is some 500 years older than any other *in situ* deposit excavated under controlled conditions in the Palembang area. On the other hand, if, as appears to be the case, the inscriptions are later than the statue, this would indicate a redeposit situation where later people found and re-erected an earlier statue after consecrating it with a votive deposit of clay stūpas.

The problem of whether the statue was found in a primary or secondary location cannot be resolved definitely at the present time. However, it is worth pointing out that the Geding Suro statue is not the only well-substantiated case of monumental redeposition known from the Palembang area. The famous Telaga Batu inscription is said to have been found next to an Islamic-period grave that has become a popular pilgrimage spot for Palembangers. The inscription may have been placed there as late as the 18th or 19th century, perhaps to give added sanctity to a holy spot—reverence for Hindu–Buddhist inscriptions is still strong in some parts of Muslim Sumatra. Another probable case of redeposition is the 9th or 10th century bronze Śiva found together with three 14th century bronzes at Air Bersih.

Bukit Seguntang

The hill Bukit Seguntang is the best-known Classical site in the Palembang area; it has in the past yielded a number of finds datable to the 1st millennium, including fragments of two 7th century inscriptions (Casparis 1956: 1–15), the great 5th or 6th century statue of Amarāvati or Ceylonese inspiration known as the Bukit Seguntang Buddha (Plate III), and a number of smaller statues of various types (Krom 1923; Schnitger 1936, 1937).

In spite of this history of past discoveries, our survey teams did not feel that the neighborhood of the hill looked overly promising from the standpoint of finding ancient urban remains. Surface finds everywhere west of Palembang tend to be sparse, and in the case of the vicinity of Bukit Seguntang this sparseness could not be explained by assuming that large quantities of ancient debris had somehow disappeared—the area is too high for floods, empty of modern houses, and mostly unforested. However, it was possible that the surface collections did not give an accurate picture of what was underneath the ground, so the decision was made to check our preliminary impressions by digging.

Two of the excavations on the top of the hill, operations F and J, brought to light fragmentary foundations of brick structures. Several of the other excavations uncovered numbers of loose redeposited bricks, some of which (in Operation K) had clearly once belonged to a stūpa-like structure with a circular layout. Moreover, there must once have been many more bricks on and around Bukit Seguntang: Westenek (1923: 220) reports that quantities of brick were carried off to be used for road-building in the 19th century, and the present inhabitants of the hill still make a practice of selling any undamaged bricks they may come across while tilling their fields. Since unconfirmed reports exist of other stūpa-like structures having been found and destroyed, and since all of the statuary found there has been

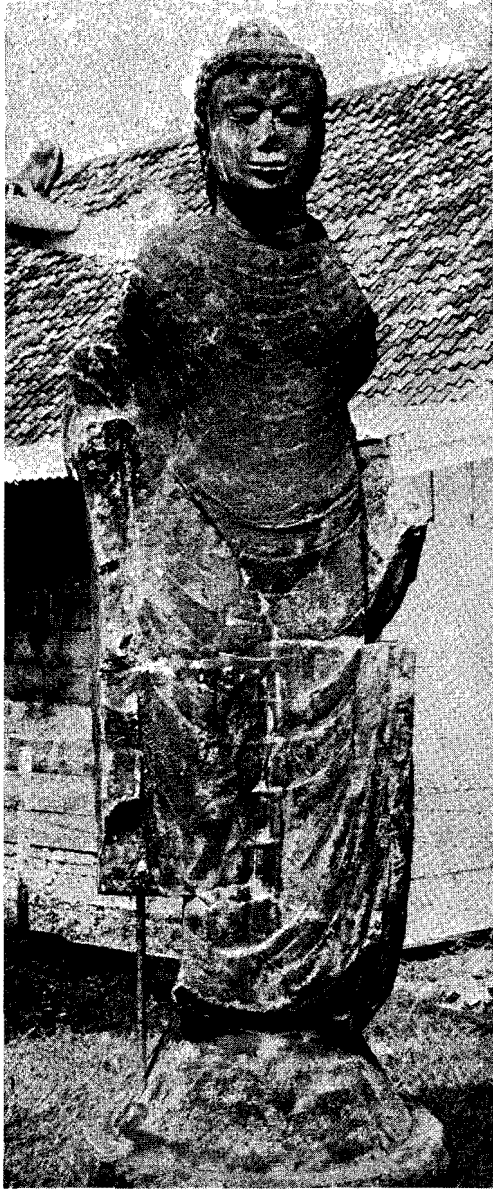


Plate III Standing Buddha statue from Bukit Seguntang, Palembang.

Buddhist in character, there is little doubt that Bukit Seguntang was in the past the site of a Buddhist religious establishment, probably a monastery. The real questions concern that establishment's size and age.

The activities of the brick robbers have made it impossible to guess at the total number of structures involved; there is certainly enough space on and around the hill for a very extensive monastic complex. However, several facts suggest that the Bukit Seguntang stūpas and vihāras were built on only a modest scale. For one thing, neither the foundations discovered by our team nor those described in earlier reports are very massive: we seem to be dealing mostly with walls of one or two bricks' thickness or with earth-cored stūpas a few meters in diameter enclosed by a brick shell, all built directly on the surface without foundation trenches or sub-structure fill. Furthermore, architectural ornament has not been abundant among the reported finds from Bukit Seguntang, suggesting that the structures which once existed there were not only small but rather plain. And third, residential debris is very sparse. A large, long-lasting monastery needs a substantial support organization even if mundane jobs like cooking are done outside its walls, and its inhabitants are just as likely to break their pots and plates as anyone else. Yet not only is the top of the hill relatively empty of sherds but so are the sides of the hill and the area at the foot for at least a half-kilometer in every direction. One has difficulty believing that Bukit Seguntang ever housed a thousand-monk monastery like the one I Ch'ing saw at Śrīvijaya in the late 7th century.

One also finds it hard to believe that the Bukit Seguntang monastery is nearly as old as I Ch'ing's. While some very early statues and inscriptions have been found there, it is significant that few of these are of the same style or date. If all the art objects from Bukit Seguntang are to be contemporary with some part of the history of the monastery, then we must assume that a small and not physically impressive religious establishment is likely to have survived for 800 years, acquiring a handful of new statues and monuments once or twice each century. We must further assume that the monastery's inhabitants produced little or no debris for the first 500 years of its existence. All of the potsherds at Bukit Seguntang, including both imported ceramics and domestic earthenwares, are closely contemporary with the potsherds at the Air Bersih site. From the standpoint of the nonartistic finds, the career of Bukit Seguntang could have begun and ended in the 14th or 15th century.

Now it is not impossible that a small monastery could have lasted so long and perhaps not completely incredible for its inhabitants to have left no rubbish behind them for 500 years. But we ourselves find it easier to imagine that the Bukit Seguntang monastery did begin and end in the period A.D. 1300-1500 and that it was attached in some way to the town or city at Air Bersih, perhaps founded or patronized by that settlement's ruler. As for the variegated collection of 1st millennium and 2nd millennium art found at Bukit Seguntang, we can conceive that it is just that—a collection. The abbots of modern Buddhist monasteries in Thailand often take an intelligent interest in archaeology and make collections of ancient statues, partly for scholarly reasons and partly because these statues have great sanctity and, in the eyes of the less sophisticated, magic power. Concern with ancient Buddhist art is in fact well-nigh universal among Southeast Asian Buddhists of the present and the recent past. There is nothing incredible in the idea that a Buddhist king or abbot in 15th century Palembang might have gone to great trouble in assembling ancient

relics from various places. Some might have been brought in from a considerable distance.

PALEMBANG AND ŚRĪVIJAYA

Let us review the situation, then. We have presented, in a sketchy and preliminary fashion, certain kinds of positive and negative evidence. We believe we have convincing positive evidence for the existence of two substantial settlements in the vicinity of Palembang: a town of the 14th and 15th centuries at Air Bersih and a city of the 16th–17th centuries at Geding Suro. Our suggested datings for these settlements are based on a combination of stratigraphic inference and the analysis of several tens of thousands of sherds. Since about twenty percent of these sherds—the porcelains and stonewares from China, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam—can be dated with fair accuracy, this chronology seems relatively secure.

Most other activity in the Palembang area during the Hindu-Buddhist period appears to revolve around these two settlements. All concentrations of premodern sherds and structural debris that we found in and around Palembang can be dated to either the Air Bersih or the Geding Suro phases; that is, these concentrations contain no artifacts which are not found at one or the other of the sites after which the phases are named. Further, the other Indian-influenced sites we visited elsewhere in the drainage basin of the Musi—which then as now must have formed the natural hinterland of a center near Palembang—gave no evidence of being older than Air Bersih. Almost all Indianized and Sinified artifacts known from this hinterland area date to the 14th–17th centuries. Contrary to Schnitger's (1937: 4) opinion, sites like Tanah Abang on the lower Lematang look so much like Air Bersih and Geding Suro that it seems probable they were satellite towns, economically and perhaps politically subordinate to the transportation nexus at Palembang.

In all this we have a familiar socioeconomic pattern: a city, perhaps a capital, with substantial populations, modest ceremonial complexes, suburban settlements, and outlying satellite centers within the hinterland that forms the city's geographic base. The pattern makes sense economically and historically, which gives us some confidence that our interpretation of the situation during the mid-2nd millennium is valid.

But before A.D. 1300 the pattern does not make sense, and this constitutes the most important negative finding of the project. The Śrīvijaya we read about in the history books is a big rich city, the capital of a major empire lasting from the 7th to the 12th or the 14th century. Many specialists would locate this capital near Palembang because of the presence there of numerous 7th century statues and inscriptions. Yet aside from these the supposed capital has left surprisingly few traces of itself. One would expect a major center to exert a profound influence over its hinterland. Even the minor centers at Air Bersih and Geding Suro have left substantial evidence of their connections with various other sites in the Musi basin. But the area drained by the Musi contains no known Indianized sites older than A.D. 1000, and no Indian-influenced or Chinese-influenced artifacts of this age other than the ones found at Palembang.

One might expect also that a major center lasting for five hundred years would produce substantial quantities of permanent architecture; yet none of the known stone or brick structures in the neighborhood of Palembang are earlier than the

14th century. Further, this hypothetical center might be expected to produce a distinctive (or at least a uniform) group of art styles, while the 1st millennium statuary from Palembang is markedly heterogeneous and derivative as well as scarce—each piece is different from the rest and most seem to copy closely the styles associated with other political and economic centers in the region. And finally, such a center should leave behind it a massive quantity of residential debris, on the scale of an U Thong if not a Majapahit or Angkor, paving the ground for miles around. Yet there is nothing like this in or around Palembang. There is no credibly early earthenware, or any of the 8th century T'ang glazed ware common at early Javanese sites (see Orsoy de Flines 1936, 1941-47), or more than a handful of Sung stonewares and porcelains, although these are found in enormous quantities at virtually every 10th-13th century site in Southeast Asia. The entire vicinity of Palembang does not contain enough pre-14th century domestic artifacts to make one small village.

How do we know that we did not somehow miss these artifacts or that they have not disappeared, perhaps through flooding or some other natural cause? Aside from the obvious fact that the Śrīvijaya inscriptions and statues were not obliterated by any flood, and indeed, seem to have been easy enough to find in the early 1900s, several other points are germane. Palembang owes its existence partly to a ridge 10 km wide that abuts the course of the Musi at the point where it joins the Ogan and Komering; this ridge lifts the city several meters above the marshes which surround it on all but its northern side. It is the first patch of dry ground one encounters in coming up the river from the sea and also the last such patch for another 50 km upstream. The area to be searched is therefore not large; our survey teams covered most of it in detail. Moreover, the elevation of the area should ensure that artifacts deposited there would survive any conceivable flood, since the whole of coastal Sumatra would have to be inundated before the waters lapped over Palembang. And lest it be objected that the ancient city may have been located nearby and later become permanently submerged in the swamps, we should remember that the consensus of geological opinion (Obdeyn 1941-43; Verstappen 1973: 55-56) holds that the eastern coast of Sumatra has been building up rather than sinking during most of the later Holocene.

A last and related objection involves the historical fact that a large proportion of the population of Palembang seems to have lived on rafts and pile dwellings over the water between the 14th and 19th centuries (see Ma Huan 1970: 98-102; Forbes 1885). Remains of such habitation as this would indeed be difficult to discover archaeologically. But since neither the 14th nor the 19th century Palembangers seem to have confined themselves to aquatic dwellings—at both those dates they left substantial quantities of refuse behind them on dry land—we need not expect hypothetical 7th century Palembangers to have deposited everything except a few statues and inscriptions in the riverbed.

For all these reasons, we feel forced to conclude that Śrīvijaya in all except perhaps the very last stages of its existence was not in or near Palembang and probably not anywhere in the area drained by the Musi River. As for the 7th century inscriptions and the 6th-10th century statues, we believe that all of these are present because they were brought in from somewhere else during the 14th-17th centuries. We hesitate to speculate about possible motives for relocating already ancient monu-

ments. However, such monumental redeposition is far from uncommon in South and Southeast Asia. Four of the eight Aśokan pillars are known to have been moved in pre-European times from their original locations (Nikam and McKeon 1959: 2) as was the above-mentioned 8th century statue found at 16th century Geding Suro. Both Buddhist and Muslim mystics have been known to move monuments for religious reasons in present-day Sumatra: for instance, local people say that the villagers of Karang Berahi themselves went and brought the Śrīvijaya inscription that had stood in front of their mosque back from the district capital where it had been taken during the war. It is not impossible that the 14th–17th century inhabitants of Palembang may have had political motives as well. Wolters (1970) has suggested that the traditions of ancient Śrīvijaya were still potent enough during the 15th century that the kings of Malacca made serious efforts to prove themselves its heirs. A similar line of thinking could have induced the contemporary rulers of Palembang to make a collection of the inscriptional remains of a Śrīvijayan king who had passed away some seven hundred years before.

OTHER SOLUTIONS TO THE EARLY CITY PROBLEM

The importance of the foregoing arguments does not lie in the doubt they cast on the geographical identification of a single historical place. Although such identity questions have served to sharpen the debating skills of generations of Southeast Asianists, they are of minor interest from the standpoint of archaeological and historical theory. But here the particularistic argument does have relevance to a broader topic. It brings into relief the problem of the lateness of early cities in southern Southeast Asia.

Śrīvijaya at Palembang, it should be reemphasized, was the sole example of an identifiable early urban place anywhere in the region south of the Thai-Malaysian border. With it gone, we have no examples at all, and so the contrast between South and North becomes very striking indeed. Archaeologically identifiable urbanization in the former area seems to lag more than a thousand years behind the latter, even though the South is as rich in natural resources, inhabited by a population as technologically advanced in late prehistoric times, and at least as well placed to receive the presumed stimulus of long-distance commerce and contact with more developed parts of the world.

Now, we do not propose to try and explain this seeming retardation. But it may be desirable to clear the way for future explanations by inquiring further into the reality of the phenomenon. Is the retardation factual or is it an illusion, caused perhaps by insufficient investigation or an inadequate concept of what an early Malesian city might be like?

That the investigation has been insufficient has already been conceded. The unfortified cities of the South do tend to be harder to find, the forested (or in Java, intensively cultivated) terrain may be more difficult to explore, and the investigators of previous generations may have been even less observant of residential debris than their colleagues in the North. We feel, however, that the void of information does conceal a certain void of sites. Central Java may be an exception. There, remains of the late 1st millennium are so abundant that few would be surprised if future research were to reveal the existence of a well-developed hierarchy of urban centers

by or before A.D. 800. Southern Thailand and the coastal plains of northern Sumatra might also be partial exceptions, since the former has produced a fair number of 1st millennium artifacts while the latter appears to contain a moderate density of substantial sites dating to the start of the 2nd millennium.

But the rest of the region is not so promising. Some areas—West Malaysia, Sarawak, parts of southern Sumatra—have now been well enough explored for it to be evident that they do not contain major complexes of 1st millennium urban sites, although a substantial number of isolated settlements may of course have been overlooked. Other areas, including Sulawesi, Mindanao, central Sumatra, southern and eastern Borneo, remain almost unexplored archaeologically, but here we may repeat the argument used earlier to the effect that few locations within these areas have shown an important development of urbanism even in modern times. It is not hard to believe that most of the ancient Malesian landscape has always been at least as unurbanized as it was in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The chief difficulty with this conclusion is that it flatly contradicts the historical sources. The Chinese chroniclers are quite explicit about the existence of citylike entities along the sea-routes between China and India during the whole last half of the 1st millennium. Are we then to dismiss this evidence as sheer fantasy, the product of the uniform inability of early Chinese travellers to comprehend alien social systems? Yet some of the travellers, like I Ch'ing, had extensive firsthand experience of the region and were sober (and by no means unsophisticated) observers; moreover their observations come to us through a bibliographic tradition of almost unmatched reliability.

One is thus reluctant to reject the historical evidence out of hand, since in doing so several major methodological objections are encountered. One is also reluctant to count the archaeological evidence as valueless. So it is necessary to devise another solution, one which utilizes a concept of "city" compatible with both sets of data, the contemporary observations and the apparent archaeological facts. While space is lacking for the construction of a fully fledged model, we think it desirable to specify here some of the characteristics of a settlement which (a) might look sufficiently urban to a contemporary observer but (b) could be quite inconspicuous to an archaeologist.

A first requirement for such a settlement is that it should exist in comparative isolation from its hinterland: if it has close cultural and economic relations with numerous lesser settlements in its neighborhood, then it will be easily traceable through the sherds and perhaps ritual artifacts it has scattered around that neighborhood. A city without a hinterland should have a low archaeological visibility. Lest the idea be regarded as sociologically absurd, we should point out that several historical instances of cities without hinterlands exist in the region under discussion. Most early accounts (Duarte Barbosa—Dames 1921 II: 178; Ma Huan—Mills 1970: 108–114) of the great maritime entrepôt of Malacca state that during its 15th–16th century heyday it was surrounded by uninhabited forest; its population of some 20,000 subsisted entirely on supplies shipped from as far away as Java (Dames *ibid.*) and Thailand (Tomé Pires—Corteseo 1944 II: 107–109).

A second and related requirement for such a settlement is that it have access to easy transportation and to major interregional trade routes. The trade routes are necessary to the model because they are one of the few resources capable of pro-

ducing the extraordinary economic surpluses needed to keep a major settlement in operation in the absence of a large exploitable hinterland population. That transportation must be easy follows from the logistic difficulties of maintaining a substantial nonfarming population at some distance from sources of basic subsistence commodities. The settlement would almost have to be close to the sea.

A third requirement is that the settlement be organized politically in such a way as to dispense with large, durable ceremonial foci. While temples, monuments, and inscriptions are common in and appear to have been indispensable to the great Mainland and Javanese states of antiquity, they are so scarce in most of the South that any advanced polity that existed there must be assumed to have done without them. If we accept that monumental ritual is practical (and perhaps useful) chiefly to polities with large nonmobile populations, then the absence of conspicuous art and architecture from the settlements proposed here is understandable.

A fourth and final requirement is that the settlement be built flimsily and, if possible, in a location where a proportion of domestic and industrial waste will be disposed of in such a way as to be unnoticeable to later archaeologists. For habitations to be impermanent poses no problems in a region like Southeast Asia, where most individuals including royalty have traditionally preferred to live in wooden structures with nonsubstantial foundations. But for domestic waste to be archaeologically unnoticeable would seem to require rather special conditions—for instance, a custom of building houses on rafts or pilings over open water. That much of Palembang was once built in this way has already been pointed out. Other historical examples of large semi-aquatic settlements in Southeast Asia include Brunei and Banjarmasin.

A settlement that meets all these requirements does not seem abstractly impossible or implausible. Whether it could be called a city depends on the definition one prefers, but there is no particular reason to think that it could not assume a number of urban characteristics, including a substantial size and density of population and a wide variety of political and economic functions. Malacca, except for its dry-land location, comes close to being an actual example of one of these otherwise hypothetical settlements, and a full review of the historical and ethnographic literature would reveal a number of others.

However, we are not concerned with defending the literal accuracy of this tentative and special-purpose model. We have proposed it with two motives in mind. First, we wish to encourage archaeologists and historians to consider the possibility of ancient centers which may be very different from the wet rice-based, ceremonially focused, and *enciente*-surrounded Mainland sites that have dominated much of our past thinking on early Southeast Asian urbanization. And second, we hope to stimulate rethinking of other basic postulates, among them the idea that the cultural achievements of the South were ever closely dependent on urbanism in the first place.

We ourselves would not be dismayed by the discovery that even central Java remained without cities, or what most would call cities, during the whole of its early florescence, and we find entirely plausible the notion that the area between Java and central Thailand might have been at once cityless and civilized. Perhaps the more conservative course is to work from the assumption that cities of some sort did exist there. But we should consider that a mobile maritime population, unified

by language over a wide region and intimately involved in an interregional commercial network of great wealth and antiquity, has available to it an unusual number of options for political organization and settlement form.

REFERENCES

AUNG THAW

1968 *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano*. Rangoon: Ministry of Union Culture.

BOISSELIER, J.

1968 L'Art de Dvāravatī. *Silpakôn* 11(6): 34-56.

BOSCH, F. D. K.

1961 An archaeological approach to the Brahman problem. In *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, ed. by F. D. K. Bosch, pp. 171-196. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

BRONSON, B., BASOEKI, MACHI SUHADI, and J. WISSEMAN

1973 *Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di Sumatera*. Jakarta: Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional.

BRONSON, B., and G. DALES

1972 Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, 1968 and 1969: a preliminary report. *AP* 15(1): 15-46.

BRONSON, B., and J. WISSEMAN

1974 An archeological survey in Sumatra, 1973. *Sumatra Research Bulletin* 4(1): 87-94.

CASPARIS, J. G. DE

1956 *Prasasti Indonesia II* [Selected inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A.D.]. Jakarta: Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia.

CHAVANNES, E.

1894 *Mémoire Composé à l'Époque de la Grande Dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Éminents qui Allèrent Chercher la Loi dans les Pays d'Occident (I Ching 634-713)*. Paris.

COEDÈS, G.

1918 Le Royaume de Çrīvijaya. *BEFEO* 18: 1-36.

1930 Les Inscriptions Malaises de Çrīvijaya. *BEFEO* 30: 29-80.

1961 *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, Deuxième Partie: Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Çrīvijaya et de Lāvo*. 2nd edition. Bangkok: Fine Arts Department.

1968 *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (1964). Trans. S. B. Cowing. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.

CORTESÃO, ARMANDO, ed. and trans.

1944 *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*. London: The Hakluyt Society.

DAMES, M. L., ed.

1921 *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. London: The Hakluyt Society.

DAVIDSON, J. H. C. S.

1973 Urban genesis in Viet-Nam. Paper presented at the London Colloquy on Early South East Asia. SOAS, University of London, September, 1973.

DINAS PURBAKALA

1955 Kisah Perdjalan ke Sumatra Selatan dan Jambi. *Amerta Warna Warta Kepurbakalaan* 3. Jakarta: Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia.

DUPONT, P.

1959 *L'Archéologie Mône de Dvāravatī*. PEFEO 16.

FORBES, H. O.

1885 *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.

FOX, R. B.

1959 The Calatagan excavations: two 15th century burial sites in Batangas, Philippines. *Philippine Studies* 7: 325-390.

- GROSLIER, B. P.
1966 *Indochina*. Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co.
- HUTTERER, K.
1973 *An Archaeological Picture of a Pre-Spanish Cebuano Community*. University of San Carlos Publications, Series A: Humanities no. 9.
- ISSATRIADI
n.d. *Penemuan Stupa Tanah Liat Bermaterai di Pemakaman Gumuk Kliting, Banyuwangi*. Privately mimeographed report. Banyuwangi, Jatim, Indonesia.
- Jaarboek
1934 *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 2: 114-115.
- KROM, N. J.
1923 *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansch Kunst I-III*. 2nd edition. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
1931 *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
1938 *De Heiligdommen van Palembang. Mededeelingen de Koninklijk Nederlandsch Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde* 1(7): 1-27.
- LAJONQUIÈRE, LUNET DE
1912-1913 *Essai d'Inventaire Archéologique du Siam. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine* 5: 19-181.
- LAMB, A.
1961 Research at Pengkalan Bujang: a preliminary report. *FMJ* 6: 21-37.
1964 Mahayana Buddhist votive tablets in Perlis. *JMBRAS* 37(2): 47-59.
- MA, HUAN
1970 *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433)*. Trans. and ed. J. V. G. Mills. London: The Hakluyt Society.
- MALLERET, L.
1959, 1960, 1962, 1963 *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong I-IV*. PEFEO 43.
- McKINNON, E. E.
1973 Kota Tjina—A Site with T'ang and Sung Period Associations: some preliminary notes. *Sumatra Research Bulletin* 3(1): 46-52.
- McKINNON, E. E., and TENGKU LUCKMAN SINAR S. H.
1974 Kota China: notes on further developments at Kota China. *Sumatra Research Bulletin* 4(1): 63-86.
- NIKAM, N. A., and R. McKEON, ed.
1959 *The Edicts of Asoka*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- OBDEYN, V.
1941-1943 Zuid-Sumatra Volgens de Oudste Berichten I-III. *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundige Genootschap* 58: 109-216, 322-341, 476-502; 59: 46-76, 742-771; 60: 102-111.
- O'CONNOR, S. J., and TOM HARRISSON
1964 Western peninsular Thailand and West Sarawak—ceramic and statuary comparisons. *SMJ* 11 (n.s. 23-24): 562-566.
- ORSOY DE FLINES, E. W. VAN
1936 De Keramische Verzameling, 1934. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 3: 209-218.
1941-1947 Onderzoek naar en van Keramische Scherven in de Bodem in Noordelijk Midden-Java, 1940-1942. *Oudheidkundig Verslag Pr.*: 66-84.
- Oudheid.
1935 *Oudheidkundig Verslag Pr.*: 17. Batavia: Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië.
- PIGAFETTA, A.
1906 *Magellan's Voyage Around the World*. Trans. J. A. Robertson. Cleveland: A. H. Clark.
- SCHNITGER, F. M.
1936 *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Palembang, Bijlage C*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
1937 The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 35: Supplement.

- 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.
- TAN, YEOK SEONG
1956 Report on the discovery of ancient porcelain wares in Celebes. *Journal of the South Seas Society* 12(1): 1-4.
- VERSTAPPEN, H. TH.
1973 *A Geomorphological Reconnaissance of Sumatra and Adjacent Islands (Indonesia)*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.
- WALES, H. H. QUARITCH
1935 A newly explored route of Indian cultural expansion. *Indian Arts and Letters* 9(1): 1-35.
1969 *Dvāravati, the Earliest Kingdom of Siam*. London: Bernard Quaritch.
1974 Langkasuka and Tambralinga: some archaeological notes. *JMBRAS* 47: 15-40.
- WANG, GUNGWU
1958 The Nanhai trade: a study of the early history of Chinese trade in the South China Sea. *JMBRAS* 31(2): 1-135.
- WESTENENK, L. C.
1923 Boekit Segoentang en Goenoeng Mahameroe uit de Sedjarah Melajoe. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 63: 212-226.
- WHEATLEY, PAUL
1961 *The Golden Khersonese*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- WOLTERS, O. W.
1967 *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
1970 *The Fall of Śrīvijaya in Malay History*. London: Oxford University Press.