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THE KINGDOM OF PATANI
Between Thai and Malay Mandala

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INTRODUCTION

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of Malay merchant city-states evolved in Western Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula in reaction to the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511. The most famous of these states were Aceh in North Sumatra, Banten in West Java, Patani and Johore on the Peninsula, and Brunei in Borneo. This article will only focus one of these states - Patani.

Today Patani is one of Thailand's four southernmost provinces. The other three are Yala, Narathiwat, and Setul. Patani is located halfway down the Malay Peninsula between Bangkok and Singapore. The provincial capital, also known as Patani, is located on the east coast of the Peninsula. It is a small, sleepy town with an estimated population of perhaps fifty thousand. The town serves the local rice farming, fishing, and rubber planting industries. Approximately eighty percent of the Province's inhabitants are ethnically Malay, Muslim, and speak Malay as their first language. The remainder of the population is either Thai or Chinese. Malay Muslims in Patani along with the inhabitants of the three other southern provinces constitute an ethnic minority in Thailand which is a predominantly Buddhist and Thai-speaking country.

In the seventeenth century Patani was one of the principle cities and trading centers in Southeast Asia. Peter Floris, who visited Patani in 1611, noted that ships from all parts of Southeast Asia, India, and even Europe were coming and going in its port. Its population then was perhaps as large if not larger than its modern day counterpart.

Patani's history and culture, the focus of this article, can in part be explained by its geographical position which was unique among Malay states. It represented the northernmost extension of Malay-speaking peoples on the Peninsula. Located at mid-peninsula, Patani was caught, so to speak, between mainland and island Southeast Asia. It was strongly influenced by more powerful Khmer and Thai states to the north and the Malay kingdoms of Srivijaya, Majapahit, and Malacca to the south. One of the principle objects of this paper is then to reveal how the history, culture, and characteristics of Patani as a mercantile city-state were shaped by its mediating position between Thai and Malay worlds.

The paper begins with an early history of Patani focusing on Langkasuka, a 7th century state most probably located in the Patani



MAP #1
SOUTHEAST ASIA IN
THE SRIVIJAYAN AGE

River basin. The founding of Patani itself is discussed as well as Patani's relations with Nakhon Sri Thammarat, Ayuthya, Majapahit, and Malacca. State and society in the fourteenth century, emphasizing the role of Shivaism, are next described, followed by Patani's subsequent conversion to Islam. Changing trade patterns and the rise of Patani as a great seventeenth century trading emporium are then examined. Internal politics, particularly the rise of the *orang kaya* and the curtailment of royal power are then described. The paper looks at Patani's later relations with Ayuthya and Johore and finally its eventual decline. It is hoped that this approach presents an accurate picture of the history, character, and grandeur that was once seventeenth century Patani.

EARLY HISTORY

Peninsular States

The Malay Peninsula hangs down from continental Southeast Asia like a serpent's head protruding from the branches of a tree. It is approximately 2000 kilometers long stretching from Bangkok in the north to Singapore at its southernmost tip. Mountain ranges running down its spine reach an altitude of 7000 feet in some places. Small rivers run off these ranges both to the east and the west. In the past the Peninsula was also covered by thick often impenetrable forests. It once served as a bridge linking mainland Southeast Asia with the Indonesian Archipelago. In historical times Mon-Khmer peoples and later the Thai moved down the Peninsula, while Malays from Sumatra and other islands migrated north.

In the first half of the first millennium A.D. a number of small states appeared on both the eastern and western coasts of the Isthmus of Kra and the upper Malay Peninsula: Kedah and Tapuaka on the west coast and Chaiya, Trabralinga, Sathing Pra, and Langkasuka on the east. The east coast was able to support more settlements because it had better natural harbors and more land suited to rice cultivation needed to support larger, urban populations.

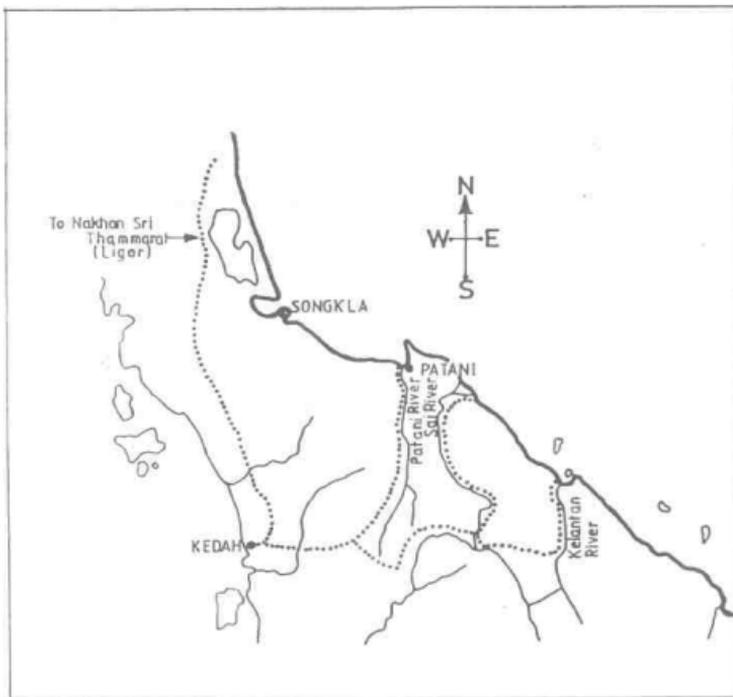
These mini-states shared a number of common features. Each was generally located near a river and built on ancient beach ridges paralleling the shoreline or on natural levees built up by rivers. This type of settlement pattern allowed inhabitants to live above the flood plain but near the sea where they could fish or trade. Settlers could also cultivate rice in the fertile lowlands located between ancient ridges and

plant coconuts and fruit trees in the sandy soil of the ridges (Miskic, 1977:157-158). These sites also had access via river to tin and gold deposits in the interior of the Peninsula. It is also interesting to note that most centers were located near outcrops of limestone that were later used for the earliest sacred statuary on the Isthmus (Stargardt, 1983:4).

In the second century A.D. these states began to participate in international trade. The central Asian caravan routes, which had previously connected East and West commercial networks were disrupted by internal strife and Roman and Arab merchants began to use a sea route to trade with China (Hall, 1985:38). The Malay Peninsula presented a huge barrier to this seaborne trade. Cargoes were, therefore, unloaded either on the western or eastern coast and transported across the Isthmus and then reloaded for onward shipment. Isthmian states were normally located near these transpeninsular routes. These centers also extracted valuable forest products - aromatics such as frankincense and camphor - from Isthmus uplands for local use and international trade (Stargardt, 1983:5).

Peninsular states underwent rapid social and cultural change because of these commercial and cultural contacts with India and the Far East. Archaeological research indicates that these states had become thoroughly Indianized by the 6th century A.D. They had adopted Hinduism and Buddhism, Indian models of state and courtly life, and Indian script. It is not clear how these Indian ideals were transmitted to the Peninsula. It is doubtful that local rulers socialized with Indian merchants and seamen and that ideas were transferred in this manner. It seems more likely that, once initial contact had been established through commerce, the more sophisticated aspects of Indian religion, ritual, and statecraft were introduced by Indian rulers and Brahmin scholars, invited to the Isthmus by local rulers to enhance their claims to govern (Maxwell, 1990:150).

Indianization profoundly changed the character of Isthmian states. Early settlements were probably no more than chiefdoms held together in part by the charismatic character of a dynamic leader and perhaps his martial abilities in leading raiding parties and his skills in arranging marriage alliances to strengthen his position (Wolters, 1982:6-8). With Indianization a chief became a god-king often likening himself to one or more of the Hindu gods, notably Shiva or Vishnu. Once egalitarian tribal societies were now transformed into hierarchical ones with kings and their families at the apex of the social pyramid and a vast peasantry at the bottom. Power was no longer necessarily based on the ability to wage war or adeptness at arranging politically advantageous marriages,



MAP #2
EARLY LAND AND RIVER ROUTES
ACROSS MALAYSIA AND SOUTH THAILAND

but rather on the control of manpower, ownership of land, and the collection of revenues from trade (Maxwell, 1990:175).

Langkasuka

An Indianized state may have evolved in the region of Patani as early as the second century A.D. (Wheatley, 1961:252). The earliest state in the area about which we can definitely say something, however, is Langkasuka, which began sending diplomatic and trade missions to China in the 6th century:

'It was an important port for Asian sailors; particularly when mariners began to sail directly across the Gulf of Siam from the southernmost tip of Vietnam to the Malay Peninsula which often brought them to land fall in the region of Patani' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:3).

The most detailed description of Langkasuka is found in the eighth century Chinese history, the Tung Tien, later in the Tai Ping Huan Yu Chi, and finally in the Wen-hsien Tung-Kao compiled by Ma T'ui-lin in about A.D. 1300:

'The kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu (Langkasuka) is situated in the southern seas... Aloeswood, Barus camphor, and suchlike are especially abundant... It is customary for men and women to go with the upper part of the body naked, with their hair hanging dishevelled down their backs, and a cotton *kan-man*. The king and his high officials wear golden cords as girdles, and insert gold rings in their ears. The kingdom (city-state) is surrounded by walls to form a city with double gates, towers and pavilions. When the king goes forth, he rides an elephant. He is accompanied by banners, fly-whisks, flags, and drums and is shaded by a white parasol' (Wheatley, 1961:254).

The search for Langkasuka has been the major focus of archaeological investigation in Patani. A number of scholars have concluded that Langkasuka must have been located at a site in the Patani River Basin commonly referred to as the Yarang Complex. This complex is located near the modern village of Yarang which is situated 12 to 16 kilometers inland from Patani Bay. It consists of a group of three moated sites and about 30 mounds (*chedi*/pagodas) covering a twelve kilometer square area (Welch and McNeil, 1989:29). Pallava (southern Indian) script found at the site suggests that some of the temples in the complex were

constructed sometime during the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. These *chedi* represent the earliest Buddhist shrines discovered and excavated in Thailand to date. Scholars now believe that the Patani river valley was directly influenced by southern India. Central Thailand at this time in turn was initially influenced by Langkasuka and perhaps other southern states and not the reverse as previously thought.

Srivijayan Domination

One of the principle themes of this article is that the region of Patani occupied a transitional zone between mainland and island Southeast Asia. Langkasuka and later Patani were therefore often forced to play a delicate balancing act between much larger and powerful kingdoms to the north and south in order to survive. Both states ultimately adopted religious ideas, political concepts and artistic forms from their more powerful and influential neighbors and combined and reinterpreted them to form their own unique cultures. This pattern of existence, caught between but also adjusting to more powerful states and dynamic cultures, Mon-Khmer and later Thai in the north and Malay in the south, began to emerge in the second half of the first millennium A.D. Then the Malay kingdom of Srivijaya (670 A.D. -1025 A.D.), located at what is today the city of Palembang in South Sumatra, extended its power into the Malay Peninsula and the Isthmus of Kra. Sometime most probably during the 8th century A.D. Langkasuka came under the control of Srivijaya. The international trade route that had once crossed the Peninsula had by now shifted south to a sea passage through the Straits of Malacca. Srivijaya, in order to completely dominate this maritime commerce, projected its power north into the upper Malay Peninsula in order to gain control of the portage routes across the Isthmus. If the original inhabitants of this area were Mon-Khmer and not Malay, as some scholars would have us believe, it was during this period of Srivijayan domination that the Malay language was introduced and that the population of the Isthmian parts of the Malay Peninsula changed from being Mon to Malay speakers (Benjamin, 1987:119-125).

In 1025 A.D. the Cholas of South India raided Srivijaya and shattered its hegemony in the Straits. Trade was now no longer dominated by a single port but became dispersed among numerous regional centers. Java, the ports of northern and western Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula began to function independently as alternate commercial centers (Hall, 1985:102). Langkasuka and the upper Malay Peninsula now receded from the patterns of trade and power in the island world and were drawn into those of mainland Southeast Asia. The area

ultimately became a bone of contention among the Burmese, Sinhalese, and the Khmers in Cambodia.

Foundation of Patani

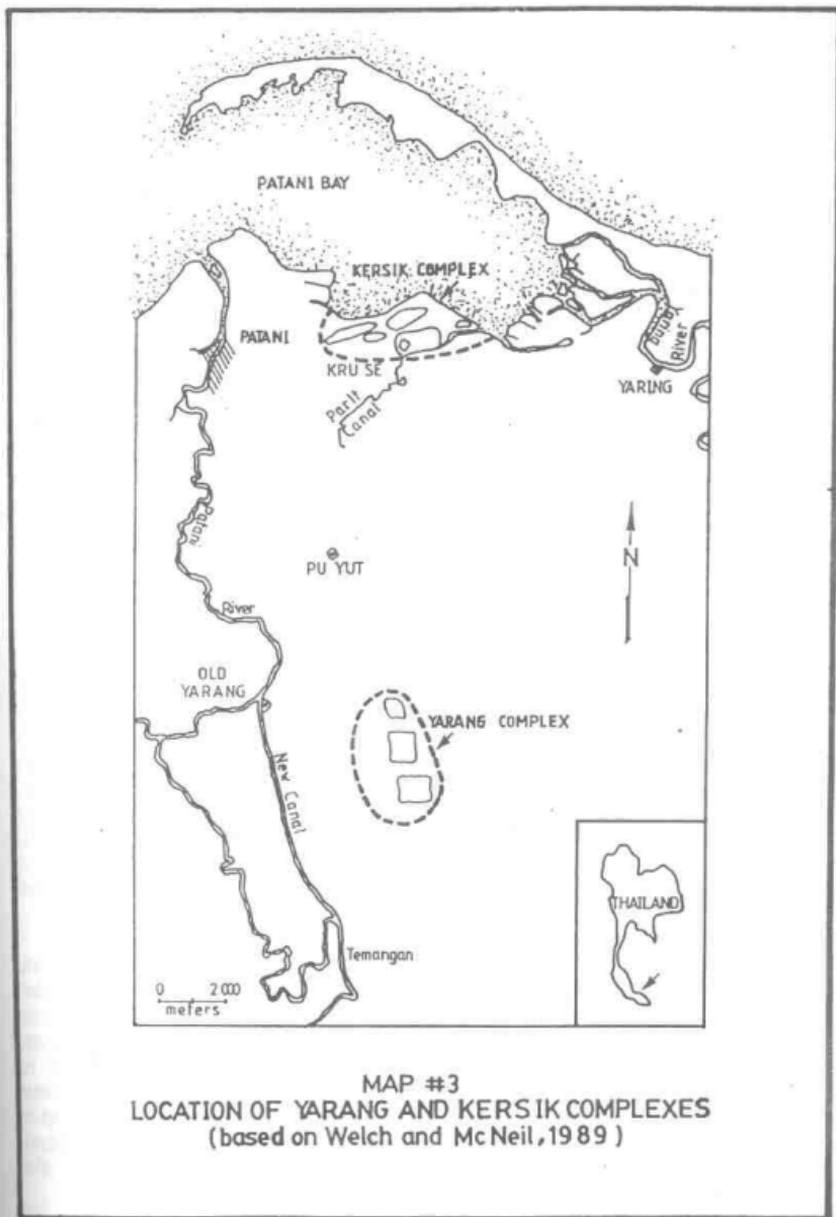
Little is known about the transition from Langkasuka to Patani. The Hikayat Raja Langkasuka says that Patani was the harbor of Langkasuka. This could explain why Welch and McNeil's excavations at Yarang revealed little evidence of trade there. Traditional local Malay histories, such as the Hikayat Patani (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970) and the Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani (Syukri, 1985) also recount how the ruler of an inland town, Kota Mahligai, moved his capital to the coastal village of Patani. Taken together these accounts suggest that Langkasuka may have originally been located upriver, perhaps for protection, and that it may have had a smaller harbor, Patani, on the coast. At some point in time and for reasons unknown, the ruler of Langkasuka may have decided to move his palace and court to Patani.

Patani was located near present day Kampong Kersik (Thai: Ban Kru Se), a small village 6 kilometers east of the modern city of Patani. Archaeological evidence supports this location of Patani. Aerial photographs, for example, reveal the outline of a 10 hectare rectangular area surrounded by a moat. Concentrations of pot sherds are found over a 90 hectare area and the density is far greater than found anywhere else in the Patani basin.

Patani and Nakhon

The name Patani or 'Tani' is first actually mentioned in conjunction with a group of Buddhist states including Kedah and Pahang with center on Nakhon Sri Thammarat. The Nakhon chronicles perpetuate a tradition which suggests that this group of states was brought together in the first half of the thirteenth century under Nakhon's leadership (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:3). The chronicles list twelve tributary states among them Patani and note that these states participated in the building of the great Buddhist reliquary (Wat Mahatat) at Nakhon and were bound by religious as well as political ties to the ruler of that city (Wyatt and Bastin, 1968:15). We are also told that these states were established to correspond with the 'twelve year animal cycle and that Patani bore the seal of an ox' (Wyatt, 1975:84).

One way the ruler of Nakhon bound these vassals to him was through an act of oath taking. Srivijaya kings followed a similar



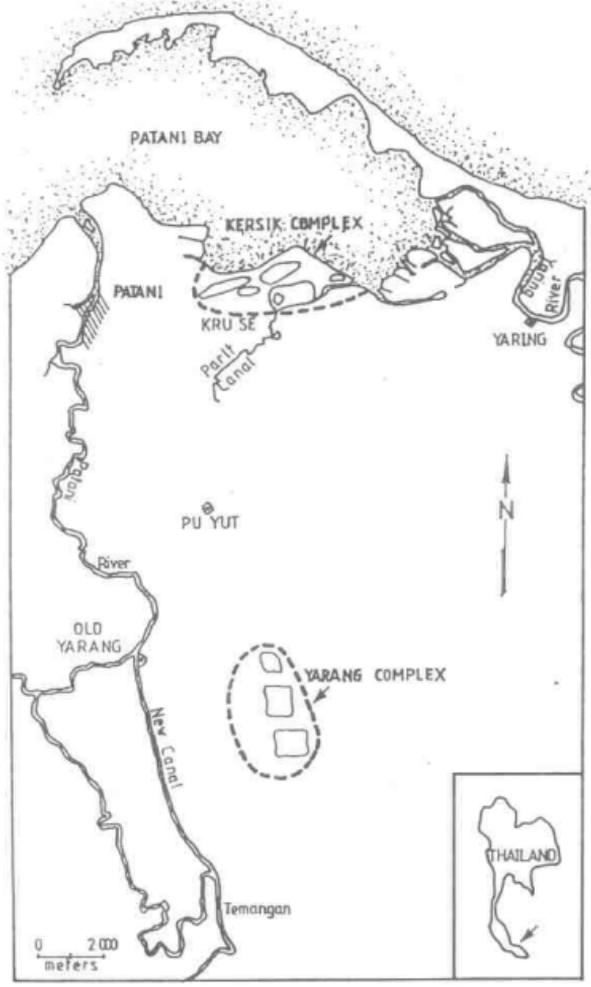
practice. The oath of allegiance there was carved on a ceremonial stone and water was poured over it during the oath taken ceremony. A vassal king would recite the oath and drink the water poured over the stone. The water was believed to possess magical properties that would harm the oath taker should he be disloyal (Hall, 1985:88). The rulers of the twelve vassal states of Nakhon, including Patani, were likewise required to swear allegiance to a newly installed king in Nakhon.

Communal religious ceremonies, ultimately derived from earlier Mahayana Buddhist rites, may also have served to hold the community together and bind Patani and other vassals to Nakhon. Today Thai Buddhists, for example, from all over southern Thailand converge on Wat Mahatat in Nakhon during the 10th lunar month to celebrate *Wan Ching Phret*, the 'Day of the Ancestors'. They came to make offerings and thereby make merit for their ancestors. The devout believe that the dead have a constant need for merit dedicated by their living relatives so that they can be reincarnated in a better world (Vannapesert, Rahimmula, Jitpoosa, 1987:121-123). This is a very ancient ceremony and the Buddhist inhabitants of Patani most certainly participated in these rites and assembled in Nakhon each year to honor the dead long before their conversion to Islam.

Relations with Ayuthya and Majapahit

The 14th century witnessed the foundation of two powerful states that would play major roles in Patani's subsequent political and cultural development: the mainland, Thai state of Ayuthya (1350 A.D. - 1767 A.D.) and the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (1293 A.D. - mid 16th century). Both states influenced Patani, but in vastly different ways. Ayuthya politically subjugated Patani and numbered it as one of its peripheral vassals. Majapahit's influence on the other hand was cultural; Javanese art forms such as the *wayang* shadow puppet theatre and the use of the peculiarly Javanese dagger, the *keris*, were probably introduced into Patani by Majapahit during this period.

During the 1200's a number of Thai states were established which cut across the center of mainland Southeast Asia and extended their influence deep into the Malay Peninsula. Perhaps the most successful early Thai state was Sukothai. Sometime during the second half of the 13th century, a Thai state, perhaps Sukothai, projected its power south and conquered Nakhon. The Nakhon chronicles indicate that a new ruling class (Thai) was installed and land was divided up to their benefit, and that Nakhon was put into a relationship of semi-dependency to the Thais (Wyatt and Bastin, 1968:28). Patani was also



MAP #3
LOCATION OF YARANG AND KERSIK COMPLEXES
(based on Welch and McNeil, 1989)

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incorporated into this new Thai order, but was administered indirectly through Nakhon. The Nakhon chronicles reveal that the new Thai ruler in Nakhon installed a Malay prince, known as Raja Riddhideva, to govern Patani and that it like other vassals was required to send ten 'tamkin' (600 grams) of gold annually to Nakhon (Wyatt and Bastin, 1968:29). After Sukothai collapsed, a new Thai kingdom, Ayuthya, was founded in Thailand's central plains; Ayuthya continued to rule the Peninsula and Patani indirectly through Nakhon. Tôme Pires in the Summa Oriental describes the 'viceroy' of Nakhon, also known as Ligor, as a very rich and important person 'who was the governor of all the states and provinces from Pahang to Ayuthya' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:6).

In 1293 A.D. the Kingdom of Majapahit was founded in East Java. The influence of Majapahit was felt over a large area from the spice producing islands of the Moluccas in the eastern part of the Archipelago to South Sumatra and the east coast of Peninsula Malaysia in the west. In the Nagarakrtagama, a poem written by the Javanese court poet, Prapanca, in 1365 A.D., Langkasuka is specifically mentioned as a state subject to Majapahit (Wheatley, 1961:260). It is doubtful whether Majapahit ever conquered Langkasuka or Patani; if it did, its tenure was surely brief. While Patani may have been politically bound to Ayuthya, the kingdom was culturally and religiously inspired by Majapahit. The Hikayat Patani makes it abundantly clear that Ayuthya's sovereignty was strictly limited in scope; Patani, we are told, was entitled to a large degree of cultural, religious, and political freedom and her Malay identity was asserted as an alienable right (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:293). Patani most certainly practised, for example, a form of Tantric Shivaism similar to that in Majapahit Java. *Tolak Bala* ceremonies, rites traditionally used to expel evil spirits that were believed to cause cholera, resemble *bersih desa* (cleansing of the village) rites in Java and may have been introduced from there. The wayang puppet shadow theatre, its predominately Ramayana repertoire, the *keris*, and dress styles, perhaps the *justar* headpiece traditionally worn in Patani weddings, may also have been borrowed from Java. Javanese literature, particularly the *Panji* cycle of stories that had evolved in 13th century East Java, were once also very popular in Patani.

The Malaccan Wars

At the end of the 15th century the Malay kingdom of Malacca (1394 A.D. - 1511 A.D.), located at the tip of the Malay Peninsula, temporarily wrested Patani away from Thai control. Patani's

incorporation into Malacca's sphere of influence was an outgrowth of Ayuthya's failed attempts to gain control the entire Malay Peninsula. Thai attempts to subjugate the Peninsula and the resulting clashes which resulted with the newly founded Malay state of Malacca can partially be explained in economic terms:

'The establishment in 1250 of the Mameluke dynasty in Egypt brought stability to the Red Sea passage from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, and in 1368 the founders of the Ming dynasty overthrew the Mongolian Yuan dynasty and established their capital at Nanking, a city on the Yangtze River in China's commercial heartland. With the collapse of the overland caravan route across the central Asian steppes that the Yuan had organized, the maritime route between East and West that had passed through Southeast Asia once again boomed. On the western end the Mameluke dynasty contracted with Venetian merchants to facilitate the flow of goods into growing European markets.... on the eastern end the Ming began to solicit trade by sending maritime expeditions to Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia responded by expanding their marketing of pepper, tin, and spices and new entrepots emerged as well. The Archipelago's trade was no longer dominated by entrepots on the southeastern Sumatran and Java coasts.... During the fourteenth century, Southeast Asian states dependent on commercial revenues rose in the island realm at Pasai (N. Sumatra), Malacca, Brunei, and Makassar and on the mainland at the Thai center of Ayuthya....' (Hall, 1985:222-223).

As Ayuthya and her tributaries - Nakhon, Patani, and Pahang - extended their influence down the Peninsula in order to tap into the burgeoning seaborne trade passing through the straits, it was inevitable that they would come into conflict with the newly founded kingdom of Malacca. Initially Malacca was too weak to contest the Straits with Siam. Chinese sources indicate that Malacca, in fact, was in direct tributary relationship to Thailand. When the Chinese envoy Yin Ch'ing arrived in Malacca in 1404, for example, he noted that the country 'belonged to Siam, to which it paid an annual tribute of forty taels of gold' (Wyatt & Bastin, 1968:44). Malacca took advantage of Chinese embassies in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and established diplomatic relations with China. The Sultanate gained a powerful friend and hence a protector against Siam. By the 1430's when China had decided to withdraw from active participation in Southeast Asian affairs and would no longer serve as Malacca's protector, Malacca had grown

sufficiently strong to defend itself and to repel on its own two Siamese attacks, one overland via Pahang in 1445 and another by sea in 1456. Malacca had grown so strong, in fact, that by mid-century Sultan Mansur Syah (1456 - 1477) was able to take the initiative against Siam or rather its tributaries on the east coast. Malacca conquered Pahang and Kelantan and extended Malacca's power and influence into the northern Malay Peninsula. These defeats lead Patani and Kedah to request the *nobat* (drum of sovereignty) from Malacca implying their acceptance of Malacca's suzerainty over them (Wahid, 1983:108). Wars between Malacca and Ayuthya for control of the Malaccan Straits, however, continued to the end of the century and only ceased with Malacca's fall to the Portuguese in 1511.

Patani has traditionally been depicted by the Sejarah Melayu, a Malay history of Malacca, and by European accounts as a loyal vassal assisting Ayuthya and Nakhon in their attempts to dominate the Peninsula. Patani may possibly have been looking out after her own interests as well, since she may have construed the rise of Malacca as a threat to her and her east coast neighbors' trade through the Straits.

Malacca initially feared Patani. Portuguese sources, for example, reveal that Parameswara, the founder of Malacca, had driven the brother of the king of Patani out of Singapore when he first established himself as ruler there and that he himself was eventually expelled from Singapore by a force from Patani (Wyatt & Bastin, 1968:32). The marriage of Megat Iskandar Syah (1414 -1424), Malacca's second king, to the daughter of the ruler of Patani may also be indicative of Malacca's deference to her hostile northern neighbor. Patani also participated in the Thai attacks on Malacca in 1445 and 1456. Patani may in fact have provided a fleet for the second campaign, since the Siamese did not yet know how to sail and as late as the 1630's Thai armies traditionally travelled overland (Teuw and Wyatt, 1970:182).

The Tawarikh Raja Kota, another local history written in Patani, also describes these events. Contrary to what might be expected, it does not, however, picture Patani as a loyal Siamese vassal ultimately defeated and forced to recognize Malacca's authority. Rather Patani is depicted as conspiring and working in league with Malacca to defeat the Siamese and thwart Thai expansion:

"The King of Patani ordered the people of Patani not to fight as enemies of Malacca. Patani should seem to aid Siam, but in fact she should not attack Malacca because Patani and Malacca were Islamic and Malay."

The Tawarikh Raja Kota also adds that:

'In 1445 Siam asked Patani to assist it in attacking Malacca. Patani was forced to participate in the attack, but she helped Malacca. In 1456 Siam again sought Patani's aid against Malacca. The battle took place at Batu Pahat near Malacca and Siam was clearly defeated. Patani's troops openly opposed Siamese forces there. It was at this time that the commander of the King of Patani was given the title *Agung*. All his descendants were known by this title. The King of Patani opened a training ground for his troops to train to defend the country against Siam. Instructors were sent from Malacca. The place where the troops were trained is known to this day as 'Kampong Agung'.

The contradictory pictures of Patani presented in European accounts and the Sejarah Melayu on one hand and the Tawarikh Raja Kota on the other are difficult to reconcile. Both agree that Patani was incorporated into Malacca's sphere of influence during the second half of the fifteenth century. The former, however, suggests the Patani's recognition of Malacca's supremacy was forced, while the latter maintains that Patani may have entered into a secret alliance with Malacca as a counterweight to Ayuthya's power. Whichever interpretation or combination thereof is correct, Patani seems to have attempted to use the mutual hostility between Ayuthya and Malacca to her own advantage walking a delicate and dangerous tightrope for survival and independence between two more powerful and possibly threatening neighbors to the north and south.

STATE AND SOCIETY IN THE 14TH CENTURY

State as Hierarchy

Fourteenth century Malay society in Patani was most certainly organized along hierarchical lines. The king stood at the top of the social pyramid. The royal family formed the next rung on the social ladder followed by the nobility. The peasantry, bondsmen, and slaves formed the base of the social pyramid. The king himself was the keystone that supported and animated society and the state. He provided titles, land, and wealth for services rendered and thus ultimately determined each individual's social position in the hierarchy. The



centrality of kingship among the Northern Malays was indicated by the traditional Malay term for state, *kerajaan*, which meant the state or the condition of having a *raja* or king. A state then was not a territorial unit but rather the institution of kingship itself (O'Connor, 1985:62).

A basic animism permeated the entire social structure in Patani from the king down to the lowest peasant. Northern Malays had probably brought this ancient animism with them when they first arrived in the Peninsula. They believed, for example, that human beings and all other living creatures possessed a life force, known as *semangat*, which animated all life. Even certain non-living entities such as rivers, houses, boats, and metals like iron were believed to contain *semangat*. *Semangat* was concentrated in human hair, nails, blood, and saliva. Humans were, therefore, constantly shedding or losing *semangat* every time their hair was cut or their nails clipped. Patani Malays also believed that a person's *semangat* could wander off while he was sleeping. Lose of *semangat* could lead to temporary confusion, nervousness, and illness, if the *semangat* were absent for a prolonged period. A traditional healer, or *homoh*, it was believed, could restore an individual to health through rituals which recalled and even strengthened a person's *semangat*. Malays also believed that *semangat* was not evenly distributed among men. Some individuals, notably kings, were thought to have exceptionally high concentrations of this soul stuff. This made them strong, powerful and contributed to their success in whatever endeavors they undertook. The world was also believed to be inhabited by all sorts of evil spirits, which were not confined to a physical body like *semangat*. There were ghosts of the dead, vampires, and spirits of place, for example, which inhabited the land, forests, and the sea; if not appeased or if the appropriate precautions were not taken, these spirits could and did attack humans. They feasted off an individual's *semangat* and thus caused illness, which if not properly diagnosed and treated could lead to death. *Bomoh* were able to identify evil spirits that possessed a person and exorcise them.

The top of the social pyramid - the king, his family, and the nobility - unlike the peasantry, had been thoroughly Indianized by the 14th century. Hinduism and Buddhism had, in fact, introduced Northern Malays to the very notion of state and society as hierarchy. Indianization introduced another equally important concept - the notion that the world of man must somehow be in accord with the world of the gods and the universe and that this harmony could only be achieved by modelling the state and society on the cosmos.

Cosmic Replica

Northern Malays modelled their cities on Hindu concepts of the universe which held that the universe centered on a central mountain, Mount Meru, the abode of the gods. This mountain was surrounded by seven concentric ranges of mountains separated one from the other by seven concentric seas. The heavens towered above Meru and the netherworld sank below its base. This magic mountain then served as an *axis mundi*, connecting the heavens, the world of man, and the underworld, serving as a symbolic bridge, enabling man to communicate with the divine. The Buddhist world subscribed to a somewhat similar geography. The numerous Buddhist heavens towered above Meru and torturous hells lie beneath the mountain. Indra, the king of the gods, reigned from his divine city on Meru's peak, while Lord Buddha dwelled in the highest heaven.

When Northern Malay architects and artists tried to build cities, temples, and palaces based on these images, the symbol, they most frequently employed to represent the universe, was the *mandala* - a central space enclosed in a square or rectangle. Cities based on a *mandala* designs normally had a temple or palace constructed in the symbolic center of the town. This temple or palace symbolized Mount Meru and represented the pivotal point - the *axis mundi* - where the world of man and the gods were joined. Just as Shiva or Indra dwelled atop the cosmic mountain, so too a Northern Malay king resided in his palace. There or in the temple he mediated between the heavens and the world of man, performing rituals to ensure both were in accord, so that his kingdom and its people might prosper and live in peace. A town's rectangular walls and associated moats completed the *mandala* symbolizing the seven mountain ranges and concentric seas that encircled Meru.

Patani definitely followed this architectural pattern. Its citadel, or *Kota Raja*, for example, was a fortified area where the royal family and members of the nobility lived. It was rectangular in shape and was roughly aligned to the cardinal directions. It evolved through the ages, but by the 17th century it came to be approximately 1000 meters long and 500 meter wide. In 1602 the Dutch described it as follows:

'The place where the palace of the queen is and where the most powerful people of the town live is surrounded by a palisade of wooden beams, placed tightly together and powerfully driven into the ground' (Ijzerman, 1926).

The citadel had two gates, large enough for elephants to pass through, one in its western wall, the other in its eastern end. The entire enclosure was surrounded by a moat. Nothing remains of Patani's fortification today except for the moat. It is now planted with rice and is easily identified from aerial photos.

The Hindu and Buddhist universe also had a vertical dimension consisting of the heavens, the world of man, and the netherworld. In Patani and other East Coast states this concept was architecturally expressed in a threefold division of the house or palace - its roof, the living quarters, and the open area between the floor and the ground. The roof of almost any structure there was associated with the heavens. That the roof of a building symbolized the heavens is indicated by the sun motif at the gable ends. Many traditional houses in Patani also have a roof ornament known as a *phom* (Sheppard, 1969:8). Cambodia and Thailand have a similarly named roof ornament which symbolizes the heavens in both countries.

This vertical division of the cosmos was often expressed horizontally. Palaces naturally, for example, had three courtyards. The building proper was also divided into three main sections: the *balai* or hall where state affairs were conducted, the *rumah ibu* or bedchamber where the royal family lived, and the *dapur* or kitchen. This tripartite division of the grounds and the palace itself again symbolized the tripartite cosmos. As one entered a palace and progressed further into the building through the *balai* and on into the royal apartments, the more sacred the area became. The royal apartments were located in the third and final courtyard and these rooms may once have been associated with the heavens. This area was also traditionally known as the *dalam* - the center or core area of the palace - to which access was normally restricted. The royal regalia or *kebesaran* were traditionally stored here whose supernatural powers only the king could unlock for the benefit of the kingdom.

The King as God

Indianization also introduced Northern Malays to the notion of kings as *devaraja* or gods incarnate. Patani's kings, for example, most often associated themselves with Shiva. Shiva was the greatest of all Hindu gods. He symbolized the Hindu belief that all the various aspects of phenomenal existence reflect in fact a higher, unitary reality (Blurton, 1992:84-94). This belief is reflected in the basic duality that characterizes Shiva's nature and the fact that all opposites are resolved in his person. He was, for example, the greatest ascetic renouncing family

and home, yet he also revealed himself as a devoted husband and father. In his benign male form he was associated with fertility and creation. In his demonic form as *Mahakala* he was unpredictable, dangerous, and destructive. His consort *Uma* or *Pravati* represented the feminine aspects of his nature; they were associated with fertility, agriculture and life. In his demonic female form Shiva became *Durga*, the goddess of Death and Destruction. He was most often worshipped in the form of a *linga* - or 'phallic pillar', housed in a temple. The *linga* was a symbol of the god's positive, procreative potency. The *linga* was often found combined with a round or square base, the *yoni*, meaning 'womb', or 'vagina'. The *linga-yoni* motif revealed the basic (male/female) duality of god's nature and together they symbolized Shiva's inherent power of procreation. Shiva was also worshipped in human form. One of his most famous manifestations was as *Shiva Nataraja* or 'Lord of the Dance':

'The four armed god is depicted within a ring of flames, his unkempt hair flying out around his head as he performed the dance. The icon depicts Shiva as both creator and destroyer, bringing one time cycle to an end and ushering in the next. It is an image connected with the destruction and creation (of the universe). Shiva carries in his hands the fire of destruction and the double-sided drum whose beat summons up creation. Shiva reconciles at this moment of cosmic history these oppositional activities along with all other contrasts love and hate, day and night, good and bad -the image reminds the devotees that true reality is beyond contrasting opposites' (Blurton, 1992:86).

Prior to their conversion to Islam, the kings of Patani seem to have practiced a form of tantric Shivaism. During the 13th and 14th centuries tantric Shivaism had spread from South India to the Archipelago. It was the major religion of the great Javanese Kingdom of Majapahit (Buddhism being the second) and has survived in altered form, of course, in Bali to this day. It was also practiced in South Sumatra. The Sumatran founder of Malacca (circa 1400 A.D.) was, for example, named *Parameswara*, one of the many names of Shiva. Tantric Shivaism may have been introduced to Patani directly from India or indirectly from Majapahit, since Majapahit had once claimed control of the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

Majapahit and possibly Patani followed the *Shiva-Siddhanta* school of Shivaism which had developed in South India and had evolved into an established system during the 12th century:

'*Shiva-Siddhanta* was essentially a mystic system, seeking redemption by freeing the soul from the delusions of existence through study and various methods of insight. This eventually resulted in a *unio mystica* with Shiva in his aspect of *Paramasiva*, The Highest God, himself' (Kempers, 1991:52).

Paramasiva was the final stage in a series of manifestations of Shiva. A *Shiva-Siddhanta* devotee was guided through each stage by the god Shiva himself in the guise of a teacher. In Java, Bali, and the Malay Peninsula Shiva was, therefore, commonly known as *Batara Guru* - 'Lord Teacher'. Asceticism and meditation formed a key part of the curriculum. By practicing self-denial and meditating, a king was eventually able to obtain the *sakti*, the spiritual and temporal power of the God.

Shivaite mysticism eventually evolved into tantricism - in other words, individuals sought short cuts to salvation through the use of *mantra*, or magic formula to achieve certain ends. In order to attain mystical union with the highest God, rites were carried out which imitated the unification of various aspects of the universe such as the union of the male and female principles. Two approaches developed within tantricism - the 'right' path and the 'left':

'The right path sought liberation, that is, union with the godhead, through asceticism, the left through black magic and sorcery... While the right hand approach tended to avoid the world's temptations, the left hand approach strove to master life's more disturbing aspects. To triumph over the terrific aspects of the world, such as death, illness, and the existence of demonic powers, the left path made direct contact with them' (Kempers, 1991:54).

In Patani, Shiva was worshipped in his demonic form as *Kala*. *Uma*, his consort, was worshipped as *Durga*, the Goddess of Death. Tantric worship of *Kala* and *Durga* could and often did involve shocking and quite unorthodox acts such as sexual intercourse and even human sacrifice. That tantric rites were practiced by the Northern Malays is evidenced in part by the fact that the Chinese traveller Wang-Ta-Yuan reported witnessing human sacrifice in Trengganu in 1349 before images of fragrant wood. The rite may have been held in honor of the great goddess, *Durga*, and the wooden images, described by Wang-Ta-Yuan were probably statues of the goddess.

Kings in Patani and Kelantan also associated themselves with the Hindu god Vishnu who was regarded first and foremost as a savior god. He was believed to manifest himself on earth in incarnations, *avatar*, in order to save mankind. His savior qualities are, for example, clearly revealed in the popular myth, The Churning of the Milky Ocean. The myth narrates how the Gods and their titan enemies, the *Asuras*, competed to obtain *amrita*, the nectar of immortality, the production of which was likened to the churning of milk and the production of butter. In the story Vishnu wrapped the serpent, *Vasuki*, around the sacred mountain, *Mandara*, which he then used as a churning pole. The Gods pulled on one end of the giant snake, the *Asuras* tugged on the other end, producing a rotating motion, so that the mountain was moved back and forth in the milky sea to produce the immortalizing brew. Vishnu ultimately tricked the *Asuras* and gave the nectar to the Gods. He is thus depicted as siding with the forces of good and order symbolized by the Gods and helping them to overcome evil and chaos associated with the *Asuras*. The most important incarnation of Vishnu, however, was that as *Rama*; this hero's exploits are recorded in the great Hindu epic, the *Ramayana*, which describes Rama's rescue of his wife, *Sita*, kidnapped by the evil demon *Maharaja Wana*. The tale once again associates Vishnu and hence kings with the triumph of goodness over evil.

That kings once associated themselves with Shiva and Vishnu is still evidenced in marriage and circumcision rites in Patani. With the introduction of Shivaism in Patani, Shiva and his consort *Uma* became the paradigm bridal pair for royal weddings. The association of Shiva and *Uma* with the bridal pair is reflected in various ways - in the place where weddings were held, in the costume of the groom, and in the tree/mountain (*linga/yoni*) symbolism frequently encountered in marriage rites. The *Hikayat Patani* mentions, for example, the existence of a hall known as the *balai gading* within the palace compound in Patani, but does not state its function. The *Smaradhana*, a 12th century Javanese epic, also mentions a certain *madira gading* - a pavilion for the daughter of the Lord of the Mountain and *Mammatharipu* (Shiva) and further adds that Shiva betook himself there to lay with her. In Bali the *balai gading* is also called *sanggah panganten* or 'nuptial chamber' (Hooykaas, 1961:11-12). Might not the *balai gading* mentioned in the *Hikayat Patani* have been a special hall within the palace in which the king and his consort were married in the guise of Shiva and Uma? The traditional headpiece (*justar*), worn by Patani princes during weddings, may have symbolized the serpent killed in Javanese legend by Shiva and the *Nagasari* tree, which sprouted from its body. The *justar* traditionally consisted of a tubular, twisted piece of cloth, the serpent, and a miniature golden tree, the *Nagasari* tree, which blossomed from its folds. A prince about to be married and wearing such a crown would

naturally have been associated with Shiva. Tree/mountain (*linga/yoni*) motifs, associated with Shiva and *Uma*, were frequently employed during weddings because they symbolized sexual union. The wedding dais, for example, which was actually a throne, had a triangular back decoration symbolizing the cosmic mountain and was also often decorated with a tree of life motif.

Muslim boys about to be circumcised in Patani were often carried to the place of their circumcision on huge processional vehicles constructed in the shape of a bird. Tengku Mansor, the twelve year old heir of Kelantan, for example, rode atop such a bird to his circumcision in 1933:

'The prince sat cross-legged on a low railed pavilion which rested on a huge winged bird - *Pertala Indera Maha Sakti* - the winged steed of Shiva, the King of the Gods' (Sheppard, 1972:1).

These bird vehicles may have originally been used in tonsure or ordination ceremonies prior to conversion to Islam and were later retained and incorporated into Islamic circumcision rites. Such vehicles normally consisted of a bird clutching a serpent or *naga* in its mouth or claws. The bird of course symbolized the heavens and was associated with the sun principle, while the *naga* symbolized the earth, the netherworld, and was associated with the waters that fertilize the crops. Taken together, the bird and *naga* symbolized the cosmos. Both animals were also traditionally united in the person of the Hindu god Vishnu. The god's mount was the *garuda* bird and Vishnu in art is often depicted lying asleep on a giant cosmic serpent floating on the sea. A Patani king or prince, mounted atop such a huge processional bird clutching a *naga* in its talons and symbolizing the cosmos, could surely have very well styled himself as Vishnu and *Raja Alam* - 'Lord of the Universe'.

Immediately preceding conversion to Islam Northern Malay kings may also have embraced Theravada Buddhism. It was introduced into Nakhon Sri Thammarat from Sri Lanka during the 13th century. Nakhon most certainly propagated the faith among its twelve vassals which included Patani and Kelantan. Influenced by both Nakhon and also Buddhist Ayuthya Patani's kings themselves soon adopted Theravada Buddhist notions of kingship. These were in actuality an amalgam of Buddhist and Hindu beliefs. This mixture of Buddhist and Hindu beliefs is partially explained by the fact that, when Buddhist Ayuthya conquered Cambodia, it incorporated the Cambodian and basically Hindu notion of *devaraja* into its Theravada Buddhist concept of kingship. The Theravada Buddhist aspect of Thai kingship was represented by the concept of

dharmaraja. A *dharmaraja* was a king who upheld the moral and cosmic laws (*dharma*) that Buddha had taught. Because he was the most powerful and wealthiest individual in the state, he could donate more to the monkhood and build more temples, thus accumulating great stores of merit for his good works. A *dharmaraja* could share his merit with his subjects, thus becoming their savior; His good works and the merit he earned for them could free them from the never-ending cycle of death and rebirth and thus help them to achieve release or *nirvana*. The *devaraja* concept of kingship adopted from Cambodia on the other hand presented Buddhist kings as Hindu gods; kings were traditionally associated with Indra but also with Shiva and even Vishnu.

State as Theatre

Hand in hand with Indianization came the notion that art must serve the king and hence state. Patani's kings became the traditional and principle patrons of arts. They used art to make manifest notions of themselves as gods and of the state as cosmic replica and hierarchy. Kings, for example, fitted themselves out in resplendent apparel resembling the dress of the gods. They once built palaces and temples as images of Mount Meru, the Hindu abode of the gods. The presence of such buildings identified a polity as a true center and replica of heaven. Clifford Geertz has labelled such states, employing art to make manifest their underlying principles visible 'theatre' states:

'Through splendid rituals often centering on the person of the king, the pre-modern Southeast Asian state showed its subjects and its neighbors that its *raja* was truly a king, whose power on earth was in some sense based on the divine order of the cosmos. Important events in the life of the court and state were accompanied by processions, music, dance and other entertainments. The biggest events were important religious festivals and the rites of passage of the royal family - circumcisions, weddings and funerals' (Reid, 1989:25).

Theatre states like Patani were constantly trying to prove themselves - to demonstrate to others and possibly to convince themselves that they were true centers reflecting a divine model. A state visibly proved itself, that it was indeed a center, through its arts. Inability to build temples and palaces or to sponsor lavish royal life-cycle rites were signs that a polity was not a center and could not legitimately be termed a *negeri* or state.

Mak Yong and Main Puteri

Some of the show and entertainment sponsored by Patani's rajas may have once had its origin in tantric religious rites. *Mak Yong*, an ancient form of dance drama, and *Main Puteri*, a traditional type of healing practice, are two examples.

Mak Yong is a form of Malay dance drama that was once patronized by royal courts in Patani and Kelantan. It is a very ancient form of drama that most certainly preceded the introduction of Islam in the Peninsula. A single *Mak Yong* performance may take several nights and combines acting, singing, dancing, drama, romance, and comedy in one performance (Sheppard, 1983:33). The main roles are played by women. Men, however, play the clowns and the supporting cast. In the past, but not today, the actors may have worn masks. *Mak Yong* is accompanied by music and the orchestra consists of three instruments: a three-stringed, spiked fiddle known as a *rebab*, a pair of double-headed, barrel drums (*gendang*), and a pair of hanging gongs, called *retawak* (Yusof, 1992:29). The *rebab* was the most important instrument and its player was normally the leader of the musical ensemble.

The *Mak Yong* repertoire contains twelve stories. The core story was *Dewa Muda* (The Young God). The other stories were added later to this basic tale. It has not been possible to link any of these twelve stories with other major South or Southeast Asian literary or dramatic cycles, except for one, *Anak Raja Gondong* (The Conch-Shell Prince), which seems to have been derived from a *Jataka* tale (Yusof, 1992:27). The following summary of the *Dewa Muda* story is based on Sheppard (1983), De Danaan (1984) and Yusof (1992):

A young prince, Dewa Muda, and his attendant, Sejambul Lebat, lost their way in the forest one day while hunting a deer. Dewa Muda decided to bathe in a pool deep in the forest which they had chanced upon. It was then that he discovered a seven-petalled blossom, known as *Campal Malay Wijaya*, floating on the surface of the water. A message was written on the flower inviting Dewa Muda to come and visit a beautiful princess, Tuan Puteri Ratna Mas, living in the sky in the country of *Kayangan Tujuh*. Dewa Muda decided that he must meet her as soon as possible and so borrowed his father's golden kite which lifted him and his attendant up to the heavenly abode of the princess. There he met the sky princess and they fell in love. The princess invited Dewa Muda to her room but first transformed him into a white flower that she put in her hair

so that her attendants would not know her plans. Once inside her apartment, the prince returned to his normal appearance. The couple spent many happy hours together, but were ultimately found out by one of the Princess' servants, an old nurse, known as Inang Bongsu. She set a trap for the prince by placing an arrow at the window of Puteri Ratna's apartment. When Dewa Muda, now transformed into a mouse in order to escape the royal compound unnoticed, scampered through the window, he was immediately impaled on the arrow. Mortally wounded, he was transformed to his real self. His faithful attendant then immediately brought him back down to earth, and left his body with his mother. He told her that only a certain *bomoh* could bring the Prince back to life. While a search for the *bomoh* was undertaken, the Princess herself descended from the heavens upon a rainbow disguised as a *bomoh*. She encountered the Prince's funeral cortege and asked permission to cure him. The Princess in the guise of the *bomoh* then revived Dewa Muda and restored him to life. The young couple did not, however, marry, since they soon discovered they were both fathered by the same god and hence were, in fact, brother and sister. Dewa Muda remained on earth, but the Princess returned to heaven. She, however, promised to return to earth, if and when Dewa Muda needed her.

Mak Yong, is clearly related to traditional trance healing practices in Patani and Kelantan known as *Main Puteri* (Playing the Princess). *Main Puteri* often deals with illnesses associated with *angin* (wind). These are ailments relating to personality or individual character, what we might call psychological disorders. *Bomoh* in *Main Puteri* do, however, sometimes tackle physical illness as well. A *Main Puteri* curing session is composed of the following individuals: a spirit medium (or *bomoh*), who is often a woman, and her principle assistant, called a *bergending*, who questions her, while she is possessed and in trance (*lupa*). Additional helpers make up the orchestra. The principle instrument as in *Mak Yong* is the *rebab* which is played by the *bergending*. When the seance starts, the *bomoh* sits facing west and the *bergending* with the spiked fiddle sits in front of her. The sick person possessed by spirits lies on his or her back behind the *bomoh*. The *bomoh* begins by calling on all the spirits she knows until she is possessed by one. She then uses this 'friendly' spirit to help her identify the other malevolent spirits causing illness in her patient. Once the spirits or spirit have been identified and named, they become powerless. The *bergending* then often tries to coax them to leave the body of their victim by promising that a feast will later be given in their honor. If

they persist and refuse to leave, the *bomoh* then extracts them, places them in a clay pot sealed by three layers of colored cloth, and sets the pot containing the spirits adrift in a nearby river (Shaw, 1973:161). The structure of *Main Puteri* suggests that it may actually be a dramatization of the *Mak Yong* story. The princesses in *Mak Yong* and *Main Puteri* may very well be one and the same individual (De Danaan, 1984:223). She restores Dewa Muda to life in *Mak Yong*. She is the helper and healer represented by the *bomoh* in *Main Puteri* rites. The patient in *Main Puteri* should be identified with the hero of the *Mak Yong* drama, *Dewa Muda*. The *puteri/bomoh* then guides the *Dewa Muda*/patient through psychic transformations that facilitates rebirth in the form of restored health (De Danaan, 1984:223).

The question naturally arises as to the identity of this princess. The best answer is that we simply do not know. Given the supposition that Patani like Majapahit practiced a form of tantric Shivaism before conversion to Islam, we might, however, speculate that the princess in *Mak Yong* and *Main Puteri* is none other than *Durga*, Shiva's consort. While she may have been the goddess of death, in Java she also had the power there to restore life. In the story of *Sri Tanjung*, which is carved on six temples in East Java dating to the Majapahit period, *Durga* is, for example, depicted as restoring a certain woman, *Sri Tanjung*, who was murdered by her husband, back to life. Trance healers in Bali today, known as *balian*, are also associated with *Durga*. They have and use, for example, a number of medical treatises, one of which has the name: *Kali-Maha-Usadha* - 'The Great Medicine granted by the Goddess Kali (*Durga*)' (Hooykaas, 1973:16). The princess who restored Dewa Muda to life and who was once the patron of *bomoh* in *Main Puteri* rites was perhaps then *Durga*. With the intense Islamization later experienced by the Northern Malays this connection between *Durga* and *bomoh* was, however, eventually severed.

Mak Yong and *Main Puteri* may ultimately have had their origins in tantric rites. Dewa Muda's ascendance to heaven and his 'marriage' there with Puteri Ratna Mas, for instance, recall tantric Shivaite rites in which Southeast Asia kings ritually slept with Shiva's consort in the guise of *Kali* or *Durga* in order to obtain the god's *sakti* or power. During these rites a woman or young girl was bathed, bedecked with flowers, and transformed into a divinity, an ascetic goddess or princess, and then treated and worshipped like an idol. Devotees later spent the night with her (Winstedt, 1961:63). Chou-Ta Kuan, a Chinese visitor to Cambodia from 1296 to 1297, relates how, for example, the king there every night would climb a golden tower (ascend to heaven on a golden kite) and there couple with a nine-headed serpent in the form of a woman (Chou-Ta Kuan, 1592:5). *Main Puteri* rites, once carried out on the

stat-level (*puja negeri*) in Patani and Kelantan to cleanse the kingdom of evil and propitiate the gods, suggest similar tantric practices may have once been conducted by the Northern Malays. During these rites one of the state *homoh*, a woman, played the part of a princess (Shiva's female aspect), while her chief assistant, the *bergending*, who may once have been the king, was traditionally called her 'bridegroom' (Winstedt, 1961:63). This suggests that long ago kings in Patani and Kelantan may have themselves slept with Shiva's consort. The annual reenactment of the union between Shiva and his consort by a king and his 'princess' was originally perceived to generate prosperity in the kingdom in the form of good harvests. It was also thought such rites could end epidemics and protect the kingdom and its king from disaster. The union of king and princess, the annual regeneration of the rice crop, as well as the healing of illness and the exorcism of epidemics and misfortune may have at one time in the past all been related and linked to tantric Shivaism. *Mak Yong* and *Main Puteri* rites may then have once been performed in association with agricultural rites as a form of sympathetic magic in order to ensure a bountiful crop as well as to facilitate the expulsion of epidemics and evil from the kingdom.

In summary, Patani in the 14th century was a hierarchical society. The king, his family, and the nobility were at the top of the social pyramid, while the peasantry formed its base. The elite had been Indianized, while the peasantry still embraced animistic practices and beliefs. Indianized kings styled themselves gods and endeavoured to model their kingdoms and capitals on the cosmos. Immediately prior to the conversion to Islam Northern Malay kings through asceticism, meditation and even magic sought to associate themselves with the Hindu god Shiva. They may have also briefly embraced Theravada Buddhism and aspired to *dharamaraja* status. In life-cycle rites and state ceremonies they often associated themselves with the gods Shiva, Vishnu and Indra. Northern Malay kings used art to make manifest these concepts of king and state in order to prove to themselves and to others that they were truly gods incarnate and that their kingdoms were indeed heaven on earth.

CONVERSION TO ISLAM

Early Contacts with Islam

Little is known about Patani's first contact with Islam. Persian or Arabic merchants may have first introduced the faith to Patani. Contact

between Muslim and Southeast Asian countries were established as early as the 10th century A.D. (Scupin, 1980:55). The Hikayat Raja Langkasuka briefly acknowledges the presence of Arabs and Persian traders in Patani:

'Many Arabs and Persians married with local Malay women and they often took their wives with them when they went to trade in China and Cambodia....'

The Hikayat, unfortunately, does not tell us anything more about these early contacts with Persian-Arabic merchants. It is clear, however, that their presence did not result in the conversion of the court or the general population.

Patani folklore suggests that Islam may have been introduced into Patani from Champa or by Chinese Muslims. We know that Muslim trading colonies with merchants from the Middle East had been established in Champa at least since the eleventh century. The Malay Annals of Semarang also indicates that a Hanafite Chinese Muslim community, a by-product of Muslim expansion into China, was active for a time on Java's north coast (Kumar, 1987:611). Both traditions probably contain some element of truth. Muslim traders in Champa and Chinese Muslims may have at one time lived in Langkasuka or Patani, but they were not successful in transplanting their religious traditions and their presence in Patani did not lead to the conversion of the local population.

Conversion to Islam

Despite earlier contacts, Islam really only began to take root in Southeast Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was during this period that courts and kingdoms began to embrace the faith. Pasai, an important trading port on the north coast of Sumatra, was perhaps the first kingdom of significance in the Archipelago to convert to Islam. The conversion probably took place in the last half of the thirteenth century. Most scholars like Hurgronje, Vlekke, Kern, and Schieke believe that Indian merchants from Gujerat, Malabar, and the Coromandel, rather than Arabs, were responsible for converting Pasai and Southeast Asia (Hassan, 1985:29). Pasai in turn played an instrumental role in the conversion of Malacca (ca. 1424 -1445 A.D.) and together the two kingdoms became missionary and theological centers for the spread of Islam throughout the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago (Scupin, 1980:55).

The Hikayat Patani also attributes Patani's conversion to Pasai. It relates that the King of Patani was suffering from an incurable skin affliction, when a religious teacher from Kampong Pasai in Patani, a certain Sheikh Said, promised to cure him, provided he convert to Islam.

The king agreed, was cured, and eventually kept his word and was converted:

'When the Sheikh heard (that the king wished to become a Muslim).... he quickly kissed the king's hand and placed it on his head and taught him the Statement of the Creed (*Shahadah*), which runs thus: I profess that there is no God but Allah and I profess that Muhammad is Allah's prophet. And the king professed the religion of Islam for good. After the king had pronounced the Creed, Sheikh Said taught this statement to all the ministers, officers, and subjects as well..... and the king received the name Sultan Ismail Syah Zillulah Fil-'Alam from Sheikh Said' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:151).

The earliest known Islamic tombstones found in Patani are of a type known as *Batu Aceh* which were originally produced in North Sumatra and exported to the Malay Peninsula (Yatim, 1988). These beautifully carved tombstones again point to Pasai and Sumatra as the source of Patani's Islam.

The *Hikayat* never mentions Malacca when describing Patani's conversion. While Malacca's domination of Patani at the end of the fifteenth century may never have initiated or forced the conversion, it seems to have at least supported and sustained it. The Tawarikh Raja Kota reveals, for example, that when the King of Patani came to Malacca to swear allegiance (*sembah*) to Sultan Mansur Syah, the Sultan provided him with a number of Islamic scholars and teachers (*Tok Alim*) to take back to Patani.

Patani converted probably for many of the same reasons as other states in Southeast Asia did: Patani profited from the burgeoning trade brought to her harbor by Muslim merchants. Also, just as Islam provided a common ideological base for harbor principalities along the north coast of Java which wanted to break away from the Hinduized empire of Majapahit, Patani (and Malacca, too) could and did use the new faith to distance themselves from Buddhist Ayuthya. Islam also later served to unify Malay rulers to resist political encroachments of the Portuguese and Dutch (Hassan, 1985:36).

Islamic Concepts of Kingship

Medieval Islam had evolved in Middle Eastern and Persian courts. It was, therefore, hierarchical in character and supported the institution of kingship. These two features fit well with traditional Malay society and made it attractive to Patani's kings. Upon conversion they like other Malay rajas assumed titles and descriptive formulae used in the Persianized Muslim world (Milner, 1983:35). The first king of Patani to convert was, for example, given the title *Sultan Ismail Syah Zillullah Fil-Alam*. *Sultan* was an ancient title introduced by the Saljugs in the Middle East during the 11th century (Milner, 1983:38). *Syah* was also another Persian title. *Zillullah Fil-Alam* means 'God's Shadow on Earth'. It was a very ancient title that was first used in Babylon. It was later adopted by the Caliphate in Baghdad and the Delhi sultans in India. Such new titles and formulae most probably did not initially enhance a ruler's status in the eyes of his subjects:

'Islamic elements might, however, have strengthened his relationship with the foreign Muslim community in his port. The acquisition of these new titles and epithets permitted the ruler to explain his position in the polity to Muslims.... These titles were ultimately then an aspect of the Southeast Asian rajas' response to the Islamization of the Indian ocean trade' (Milner, 1983:36).

Persian notions of kingship were not the only thing that Malay rajas found appealing about medieval Islam. Islamic sufism also attracted the attention of rulers on the Peninsula and in the Archipelago. Sufism was a mystical movement in Islam. Sufis tried to interiorize religious life. They believed that through asceticism, penitence, and meditation an individual could ultimately become one with God. The *Kitab Mukhtasar*, an 18th century text from South Sumatra, described union with God in the following terms:

'Make sure that you have passed away all but God. Being belongs to him alone, not to you, that is to say, that you are a non-entity without any being aside from him.... The gate to higher reality will be open to you; all your works will pass into his works; all your attributes into His attributes, your essence into His essence' (Woodward, 1989:131).

This mystical approach fit well with the meditation and self-denial Hindu Śhivaite kings on the Peninsula and in the Archipelago practiced prior to Islamization in order to obtain union with Shiva.

Patani's kings were particularly interested in the Sufic doctrine of the 'Perfect Man' which ultimately became the linchpin of Islamic kingship in the Malay world. According to this concept there were basically seven grades of being. The Perfect Man was the last and was thought to be a manifestation of the essence of Allah. He was, therefore, granted special powers to perform miracles (Malay: *kramat*). He was also blessed by God and this blessing (Malay: *berkah*) could be passed on by him to others in life and after death. Kings in Patani ultimately claimed they were Perfect Men, one with God, and blessed by Him. The concept of the Perfect Man also fit in well with previous beliefs. The Sufi novice, like his Shaivite predecessor, had, for example, to pass through a series of seven stages, the Sufi Path, guided by a religious instructor in order to attain the status of a Perfect Man. Ancient coins, known as *Mas Kijang*, which were minted in the 17th century Patani, indicate that rulers there associated themselves with the concept of the Perfect Man. The reverse side of these coins contains the inscription: *Malik al-Adil* which means 'The Just King'. This epitaph was commonly used by kings who aspired to be Perfect Men. In Aceh in North Sumatra, for instance, the Sultan was called 'the just king, the saint of God who is eminently united with God, the gnostic king, moreover the most excellent' (Woodward, 1989:128).

With conversion to Islam, Patani's kings were transformed from Hindu gods into Perfect Men. The arts were used to reflect this transformation. Palaces, for example, still symbolized the universe, but an Islamic one. Just as the *Kaba* in Mecca stood at the center of the Islamic world, symbolizing the union of the horizontal and vertical axes, the union of man and God, and emitting God's blessing, or *berkah*, on mankind, the palaces of Patani's kings were the spiritual centers of the kingdom, serving as a container (Malay: *jasad*) for the divine essence represented by the sultan himself; Allah's blessing spread through the sultan in the palace out into the kingdom to the benefit of all his subjects (Woodward, 1989:200). A palace's seven gateways and seven enclosed areas no longer symbolized the seven concentric rings of mountains and seas, once believed to encircle Meru; they now recalled the seven stages an individual (particularly the sultan) had to pass through to become a Perfect Man.

Patani's kings still sponsored festivities and entertainments to demonstrate that their kingdoms were centers and to draw and attach outlying areas to the capital. These entertainments now, however, often had an Islamic character. During the years 1782 - 1785 a Chinese merchant, named Hsieh Ching-Kao, for example, visited Kelantan several times. In his diaries he describes what may have been a *Maulud* celebration celebrating the birth of Muhammad. The description,

unfortunately, does not provide enough information to definitely identify the celebration:

'The people of Kelantan were very fond of the festivities and every year there was sort of a fair when there would be a gathering of chieftains from far and near to pay tribute to their king. An open space was found outside the stockade and on the great opening day, the king would come and order the feasting and theatrical entertainment to commerce. He would then receive the gifts of local produce from all parts of the kingdom' (Wang, 1960:34).

Comparisons with Islamic rites in Java support the notion that Hsieh Ching-Kao may have been describing a *Maulud* celebration. In Java taxes and tribute were normally paid to the Sultan of Yogyakarta in Central Java during *Maulud* festivities. The sultan there also sponsored a carnival at this time recalling the entertainments described by Ching-Kao.

The Spread of Islam Throughout Patani

The Hikayat Patani indicates that initially only the town itself and the court were converted and that the countryside remained pagan. Islamic missionaries and teachers eventually converted the interior. Very little is known about these early missionaries. Their names have not survived the passage of time. The countryside in Patani, however, is dotted with their graves. When asked, villagers will respond that a certain *Tok Fikh* or *Tok Serban Kuning* were buried here and that they were the first to teach Islam in these parts. *Tok* is an honorific derived from the Malay title *Datok*; *Fikh* is Arabic and refers to Islamic jurisprudence. *Serban* refers to the turbans these preachers traditionally wore. Some of these missionaries came from Pasai and that others were sent out from Malacca. We also know that when Malacca fell to the Portuguese, Muslim scholars there fled to other Islamic centers including Patani. The Tawarikh Raja Kota also reveals that missionaries were sent out into the countryside under royal patronage:

'When the King of Patani heard about the poor behavior of the King of Kota, he sent out Islamic teachers to instruct the people there.'

These early missionaries seemed to have followed the rivers. The Hikayat Patani, for example, indicates that Kota Mahligai, which was

up stream from Patani, was converted soon after the capital (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:155).

Overseas Missionary Activity

Patani was known as a 'cradle' of Islam because of the important role she is believed to have played in propagating the faith throughout the Archipelago. Little is known, however, about Patani's overseas missionary activity and what is known has been gleaned from the literature of the people converted. In 1448 a certain Sayid Husein Jamadul Qubran from Kelantan along with a group of followers went to preach in Java. Four years later he is thought to have proceeded to Wajo in South Sulawesi where he died in 1452 (Al-ahmadi, 1984:70). Another missionary, Syeikh Abdul Wahid Syarit Sulaiman al-Patani, is said to have travelled from Patani to Buton in Southeast Sulawesi. This area had recently converted to Islam and he instructed the people there in the new faith (Pelras, 1985:112). Another Patani ulama, or preacher, Syeikh Abdul Jalil Al-Patani also taught Islam in Western Kalimantan in the seventeenth century. The early dates of some of this overseas missionaries would seem to support an early date for the conversion of Patani itself.

The Syncretic Character of Islam in Patani

Sufi missionaries played a prominent role in converting Patani to Islam. They were willing to accommodate and incorporate many traditional, pre-Islamic ideas and art forms, once associated with Shiva, into Islam and provide them with new Islamic meaning. Shiva himself survived as an Islamic *Jinn*, or spirit, subject, of course, to Allah.

The *mimbar*, or pulpit, used in a mosque, provides an excellent example of the incorporation and Islamization of Hindu-Buddhist motifs in the art of the Northern Malays. The *Hadiths* (sayings, practices, and rites not contained in the Qur'an, but attributed to Muhammad and his close companions) indicate that prayer was conceived of as both a private affair as well as a collective act. Individuals were required to pray five times daily and this obligation was normally carried out at home. Once a week on Friday an Islamic community came together at noon to collectively pray. The Friday prayer services differ from the daily worship in that it contains a sermon. *Jame* mosques, that is, those used for Friday services, therefore, normally contained a *mimbar* or pulpit:

In origin the *mimbar* was a throne of the leader of the community, set up in the place of assembly, from the top of which, he, the Prophet Muhammad, pontificated as law giver. Having completed the sermon, he would descend from the pulpit and lead the prayer, for as leader he represented the people to God and lead the prayer in this capacity. This double role is expressed in the practice whereby to this day, it is the same man who delivers the sermon and leads the prayer. The *mimbar* is, therefore, a symbol of the delegated authority of the *iman* or preacher' (Dickie, 1978:36).

Initially in the Middle East a *mimbar* seems to have resembled a seat mounted by steps. At a later stage of development it acquired a canopy or dome which symbolized royalty and in a more general sense served as a sign of respect. The *iman* never sat in the seat nor did he deliver his sermon from the top step. The empty seat and the step symbolized the place of the Prophet Muhammad (Dickie, 1978:36).

Mimbar in Patani also consist of steps, an elevated seat, and a canopy. The intricate floral headpieces, that decorate the entrances or doorways of *mimbar* in Patani, were probably originally based on Javanese designs. Similar headpieces are, for example, found on *mimbar* in both Java and Bali. The motif in Java, however, is not restricted to *mimbar*. It is also found over gateways, doorways, on thrones, and even crowns. It generally seems to have been a decorative ornament placed at the top or on things. It was originally a Hindu pattern that combined tree of life and Meru motifs. The combination of the two motifs was ultimately derived from and represented the Shiva *linga* and *yoni*. The tree represented the male component, the phallic pillar, while the mountain symbolized the female aspect of the universe (Ras, 1973:450). The two together symbolized sexual union and the reconciliation of opposites and the oneness or totality of the universe. This symbol was often associated with kingship; hence it is encountered over palace gates, in crowns, and on thrones (Hooykaas, 1957:328). It may initially have on one level served to identify kings with Shiva. With Islamization, the motif was retained, but divested of any Hindu connotations or connections with Shiva it may have once had. It maintained, however, its association with royalty and still continued to function as a sign of respect, hence its continued appearance on *mimbar*.

Mosques designs in Patani may also have once been based on Hindu-Buddhist prototypes. An old wooden mosque, Surau Aur, which is still standing today in Kampong Tanjong, Yaring District, Patani is rectangular in shape and has a three-tiered, single ridge roof with



TOMBSTONES OF SULTAN ISMAIL SYAH AND HIS CONSORT

EARLY BATU ACEH, STYLE, KUBO BARAHOM
PATANI PROVINCE

(NOTE THE HINDU-BUDDHIST MOTIFS
ON THESE EARLY ISLAMIC GRAVEMARKERS)

serpentine gable boards typical of Thai Buddhist architecture (Bougas, 1992). The earliest Islamic tombstones in Patani, *Batu Aceh*, are also decorated with lotus and mountain motifs, common Hindu-Buddhist symbols.

The syncreticism between traditional beliefs and Islam also manifested itself in the manner in which Patani Malays conceived the dead. Malays in Patani had since ancient times worshipped their ancestors. Death for them did not produce an irrevocable break between the living and the dead. They believed that individuals and the community could petition ancestors for good harvests and protection from calamity. The acceptance of Islam would certainly have been impeded if it had not provided some way for the living to contact the dead. Such communication with the dead found continuing expression in the Medieval Islamic concept of *kramat* and the 'Cult of Saints'. A *kramat* or saint (Perfect Man) was a person who, by virtue or supernatural or divine powers that he had been endowed with by God, was capable of performing miraculous feats in life as well as in death (Hassan, 1985:75). After the introduction of Islam Malays in Patani would visit a *kramat* grave, petition the saint to intercede with God on their behalf, and vow to make an offering to the saint if their requests were granted. Saint worship ultimately became one of the principle and characteristic features of early Islam in Patani.

Patani's unique blending of Buddhism and Islam was also due to the fact that both faiths continued to exist side by side there. Only Malay speakers seem to have converted to Islam. Seventeenth century Dutch accounts indicate that the Thai living in Patani, who made up almost one third of the population, continued to worship in their own Buddhist *wats* or temples. The tolerant nature of Patani's kings is also indicated by the fact that sixty Burmese slaves from Pegu (Burma) presented to Mudhaffar Syah by the Thai king were allowed to remain Buddhist (Syukri, 1985:20).

This situation is quite different from the general pattern in island Southeast Asia where Islam subplanted or eventually replaced its Hindu-Buddhist predecessor. Over the centuries the two faiths in Patani, coexisted side by side, mutually interacting one upon the other. Islam in Patani, heavily influenced by Buddhism, acquired a unique character of its own, quite different from that encountered in the rest of the Peninsula and Archipelago. The heads of Malay boys about to be circumcized, for instance, were sometimes shaved as is the custom for Buddhist youths entering the monkhood. A Muslim boy, we have seen, was traditionally carried to the circumcision ceremony mounted on a figure of a huge bird known as the *burong singa merah*, the 'peacock-lion bird'

(Anandale, 1904:67). Buddhist youths were similarly transported on bird-like creatures to the temple, when they were to be ordained as monks.

Today these practices have almost disappeared and clear cut boundaries now distinguish Buddhists and Muslims in South Thailand. This separation of beliefs is recent and is due in part to Islamic reform movements arising at the turn of the last century in the Middle East which sought to cleanse Islam of non-Islamic elements. It also stems from the Thai king Chulalongkorn's attempts to incorporate Patani into a modern Thai nation state, the resultant conflict and hostility which ensued, and a subsequent effort on both parties, Thai and Malay, to more clearly distinguish themselves one from the other.

Shiite Influences

Islam in Patani was also initially influenced by Shiite beliefs. In Shiite countries like Iran the first ten days of the Islamic month of Muharram are devoted to ceremonies and processions, purporting to commemorate the conflict between Muhammad's grandson Hussein and the Umayyads and his eventual martyrdom (Hurgronje, 1906, Vol. 1:202-206). Kampong Malays in Patani (although they are Sunni persuasion) still commemorate these events on the tenth day of Muharram by preparing a special porridge or dessert known as *zura* which consists of coconut milk, rice, sugar, and soya beans (Vannaprasert, Rahimmula and Jitipooa, 1987:119-121). Muslims in Aceh also prepare a special porridge this time of year (Hurgronje, 1906, Vol. 1:204-205). Such parallels between festivities in North Sumatra and Patani lends support to the claim that Islam was introduced to Patani from Pasai. Hurgronje further points out that Muslims of the Deccan, who are non-Shiite, also commemorate Hussein's martyrdom and suggests that Shiite rites practiced in areas like Aceh and Patani have their most immediate precedent in South India.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND THE RISE OF PATANI

The rise of Patani as a major trading emporium in the sixteenth century was directly linked to the appearance of the Portuguese in Southeast Asia and their capture of Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese admiral, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached

the coast of India in 1498. He brought with him the hatred of the Christians of Spain and Portugal for the Muslims of Northern Africa. He thus attacked Arabian shipping between Middle East and India Ocean for Portugal (Vlekke, 1943:87-88). His successor, Alfonso de Albuquerque broke the Muslim monopoly on the spice trade in Southeast Asia and opened the Far East to Portuguese merchants by seizing Malacca.

We have already seen that trade, which had been dispersed among a number of regional centers after the fall of Srivijaya, had once again come to focus on a single entrepot dominating the Malaccan Straits:

'Malacca's rise at the beginning of the fifteenth century was in part due to initiatives of the Ming Dynasty (1368 A.D. - 1644 A.D.) to fill what they perceived to be a political void in the area and to contain piracy, which was jeopardizing the steady flow of commerce to South China's ports. With China's official withdrawal from active participation in Southeast Asian affairs in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Malacca's prosperity depended less on Chinese support and more on the interaction with Javanese and other Southeast Asian merchants and networks.... Malacca was able to forge a new economic relationship with the Javanese whereby Javanese traders shifted their spice trade (Java controlled the eastern Spice Islands) to Malacca. Pasai in North Sumatra lost its reputation as a source of Javanese spices and Indian Ocean merchants began to converge on Malacca to acquire them.....' (Hall, 1985:226).

The Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511 shattered this trade zone and disrupted the flow of international trade. Continuing Portuguese attacks on all Muslim shipping between Goa (India) and Malacca further alienated Muslim traders in Malacca. These merchants sought alternative ports and routes to continue their trade while avoiding the Portuguese-controlled city. They eventually chose Aceh, Banten, Johore, Brunei and Patani.

The Chinese also turned their attention to other ports such as Patani, Pahang, Johore, and Banten avoiding Malacca (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:169). Initially the Portuguese encouraged the Chinese junk trade traffic which had figured so largely in Malaccan commerce. But once they had established themselves in Macao off mainland China and no longer felt dependent upon the supplies brought by the Chinese to Malacca, the Chinese junk traders were no longer treated with special

consideration and they like other Asian merchants became subject to the exactions and extortions practiced by the Portuguese.

Aceh, Johore, Banten, Brunei and Patani were initially hostile toward Portuguese efforts to draw traders to Malacca and their attempts to monopolize the spice trade:

'Portuguese power in the Straits was thus held in check, initially, by Acehnese naval power and the general hostility of Muslim traders. Malacca's position was sustained only by its more successful commercial dealings with the east coast of Sumatra where military assistance was offered to local chiefs and rajas against their rivals in order to draw produce to Malacca....' (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1987:30).

Patani's initial hostility toward the Portuguese is evidenced by the fact that the Portuguese admiral, Afonso de Souza, burned and sacked the city in 1522. Castanheda, a Portuguese historian, describes the catastrophe as follows:

'He (de Souza) went to the city of Patane, whose King was the enemy of the Portuguese and in the port he found some junks which he also burned including a very large one which had at that moment arrived from Iaoa and had on board the King of Patane himself who, together with at least 200 Moors, fearful of the Portuguese fire, leaped into the sea and were killed by the lance thrusts of the Portuguese. And those in the city seeing this destruction at sea, frightened lest it should be likewise on land, evacuated the city taking with them the greater part of their goods. So that Martin Afonso when he landed found no one to fight and he burned down the city so completely, so only the plain on which it had been situated was left and a few vegetable gardens and palm groves on the outskirts' (Linehan, 1973:255-256).

Relations between the Malay states and the Portuguese eventually improved. The repeated failure of Javanese attempts to capture Malacca (1513, 1535, 1551 and 1574), for example, resulted in their reapproachment with the Portuguese in the interest of finding outlets for their rice and exports. Banten's hostility also abated and the Portuguese were allowed to share in the pepper trade there (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1987:30).

By the 1540's relations between the Portuguese and Patani had also dramatically improved. Over 300 private Portuguese merchants were living and trading in the city at this time (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:141). Ferdinand Pinto, a Portuguese adventurer, reveals the strong bond that had developed between the Portuguese and Patani's King: According to Pinto, when a Portuguese trader named de Faria had had his merchandise stolen in Pahang; Pinto and Portuguese merchants in Patani asked the King if they could be allowed to seize goods belonging to Pahang merchants in Patani up to the value of de Faria's loss. Patani's ruler consented much to the consternation of Muslims traders there and the Portuguese sailed to Kelantan where they captured three vassals belonging to Pahang merchants anchored in the river (Collis, 1949:68-69).

The Portuguese may have established better relations with Patani, in part, by proffering military assistance. We know that Portuguese military advisors had, for example, introduced the use of cannon in Ayuthya. They also helped the Thai King, Tibodi II, reorganize his army and produced for him a book on military tactics. We have no direct evidence that the Portuguese assisted Patani militarily, but a rectangular, earthen fort, constructed by Patani Malays in the late 1700's at Ban Prawae, has European style bastions at its four corners. This design may have originally been introduced by the Portuguese.

The impact of the Portuguese on Southeast Asia trade was, however, limited:

'Although the Portuguese capture of Malacca drastically altered the pattern of international trade and stimulated the rise of regional centers (like Patani), it did not alter the structure and organization of trade in the region... reapprachment with Muslim powers after an initial period of hostility and failure to achieve a monopoly in the spice trade lead the Portuguese to adapt to traditional and indigenous mercantile forms' (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1987:32).

PATANI AS A 17TH CENTURY TRADE EMPORIUM

Merchandise

Peter Floris, who lived in Patani in the years 1612 - 1613, observed that Patani was trading with virtually the whole of

Southeast Asia with ships arriving and departing for Ayuthya, Brunei, Jambi, the north coast ports of Java, the Moluccas, China, Japan, Cambodia, and Sumatra (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:13). Why did all these traders come to Patani? What did they bring to trade and what did they want in exchange? Table 1 summarizes the principle types of transactions which took place in Patani. It is based on information obtained from Van Neck, a Dutchman, who visited Patani in 1601. Not all of the merchandise listed in this table was of equal importance. Pepper, Chinese silks and porcelain, and Indian cloth seem to have been the outstanding items.

Wyatt describes how these items fit into the general pattern of exchange in Patani:

'Patani was involved in long distance trade with China, carried on in Chinese junks, and in a more localized trade with Siam and other Malay and Indonesian ports. Beyond the full reach of Malacca's power, Patani could function to circumvent Portuguese Malacca's predominant commercial influence in the sixteenth century, serving as an entrepot to which pepper could be brought from the surrounding region to be traded to Chinese merchants in return for silk and porcelain... Indian textiles were also brought to Patani to be exchanged for pepper, gold and food stuffs and both Chinese goods and Indian textiles were presumably marketed by Malay merchants of Patani in Thailand and throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, to the north coast ports of Java, and Sumatra, and to Makassar' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:7).

Merchants

Malacca's fall were actually driven by a powerful alliance of Muslim and Chinese commercial interests. The precise mixture and status of foreign traders, of course, varied from city to city. The Chinese, for example, dominated the trade in Patani, while Muslim merchants from India (Gujeratis, etc.) played a key role in Aceh.

We will now look at the community of traders in Patani beginning with the Chinese.

The Chinese

According to seventeenth century Dutch sources, approximately one-third of Patani's population was Chinese. We do not know when the Chinese first came to Patani, but based on developments elsewhere, they may have already established themselves there by the fourteenth century. They seem to have come from the south coast of China, Fujian Province, an area with a long tradition of overseas trade.

Seventeenth century Dutch sources also provide the first clear picture of Chinese activities in Patani. Van Neck arrived in 1601 and his diaries indicate that the Chinese totally dominated overseas trade there. He notes that every year it was a question of life or death in Patani whether or not the Chinese junks arrived with their precious cargoes. He also points out that while the Malay portion of the population was engaged in agriculture and fishing, the Chinese excelled in trade:

'They did not spare themselves any trouble, labour, neither treachery, theft, nor any vile thing to earn money. Therefore, they were the richest in Patani and stood in high favor with the queen' (Van Foreest and De Booy, 1980).

What the Chinese wanted in Patani was pepper and what they traded in return was silk and porcelain. They favored Patani because of the tremendous profits derived there:

'The entire overseas trade of the Chinese was carried on almost exclusively in the form of *commenda* and only very few of the merchants on the Chinese junks were travelling to the Indonesian Archipelago with their own goods and capital. The money-lenders and suppliers of goods who remained behind in China derived huge profits from this *commenda* trade. The nearer the foreign ports were to China, the smaller the risk and expenses and the larger the profits. Thus in Patani profits were a third more again than in Bantan' (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:265).

TABLE I. SUMMARY OF MERCHANDISE TRADED AT PATANI

Merchants (from)	Items Brought to Patani	Items Taken from Patani
Malacca & Johore	Indian Cloth/linen	Rice, salt, cattle, fowl and foodstuffs
Java	Sandalwood	-
Borneo	Slaves, camphor, sagu, wax	iron, copper
Siam	Gold, rice, salt, tin	Indian cloth and bad pepper
Cambodia/Champa	Slaves, cattle, calamba wood	-
China	White and yellow raw silk, porcelain, iron, copper	Clean pepper, Camphor, sandalwood, wax, buffalo horns
Japan	Japanese swords, woodwork from China, copper	Deer hides, tin, Chinese silk
Dutch	Cloth, mirrors, knives	Pepper, Chinese silk, porcelain
English	Indian cloth	Pepper

The Chinese in Patani were not all merchants. Some worked as government officials in the harbor. Lim Toh Khiam, a famous, legendary Chinese figure associated with the forging of Patani's first cannon, the building of its first mosque, and the founding of its most famous Chinese temple, is said to have become head of customs. A Chinese by the name of Chang served in the government before and after Raja Ijau's reign (1584 A.D. - 1616 A.D.). Two other Chinese, a certain Li Kuei and Lin Yin-Lin, also seem, from official letters addressed to them by Japanese officials in 1599 and 1602 respectively, to have been apparently high in the service of the same queen (Skinner, 1957:5). Patani's court may have employed Chinese in such strategic posts and even conceded their domination of trade precisely because they were a foreign minority and had no independent power base to threaten royal authority. They were more easily controlled and ultimately owed their fate to royal favor which could theoretically be withdrawn.

The Chinese in Patani were not only merchants and officials; they also worked in lesser occupations as carpenters, builders, artisans, brick-makers, potters, and even laborers. The Dutch noted, for example, that Patani's brick mosque was built by Chinese. Wood carving on one of Patani's oldest mosques, *Mesjid Tuloh Manoh*, also exhibits Chinese influence. By the 1800's the Chinese had also completely taken over the potter's industry in Patani (Skeat and Laidlaw, 1953:31).

The Chinese in Patani were not always engaged in respectable professions. Dutch records indicate that before Queen Raja Ijau's reign, Patani was a pirate's nest. Chinese sources also confirm this claim and reveal that the Hsu brothers and Cheng Tsung-hsing used Patani as a base to prey on the China coast... Lin Tao-ch'ien, one of South China's most famous pirates, and over 2000 of his followers are also thought to have settled in Patani after 1578 (Skinner, 1957:4). The legend of Lim Toh Khiam may have been actually based on this historical figure.

The question naturally arises as to why there were so many Chinese in Patani during this period. Difficulty in acquiring labor locally may provide a partial answer. Most Malays, it would seem, were either already accounted for as clients, bondsmen, and slaves or working as farmers or fishermen. The local labor market was simply not structured or organized to provide the skilled personnel that a burgeoning port like Patani required. The Chinese may have filled this manpower need in Patani. We know that the Chinese served a similar function elsewhere. Batavia, a contemporary of Patani, for example, was initially a Chinese town ruled by the Dutch. When the Dutch admiral Coen founded Batavia in 1619, he needed people to settle there to build the city. The former inhabitants of the area, who were from the Javanese

kingdom of Jayakarta, just destroyed by the Dutch, simply left and refused to help build a new town. To overcome this problem, Dutch authorities successfully attracted Chinese to the new settlement (Heuken, 1989:122-123).

The Chinese in Patani initially seem to have assimilated to local culture. This assimilation in part may be explained by the fact that the Chinese did not bring Chinese women with them to Patani. Early Chinese settlers married with local Malay or Thai girls. The legend of Lim Toh Khiam illuminates the assimilation process in Patani:

'When the King of Patani decided to obtain firearms to protect the kingdom, His Majesty proposed the construction of a large cannon... The craftsman who agreed to make them was a person of Chinese descent who had accepted the Islamic faith, named Tok Kayan. Before embracing Islam he was named Lim Toh Khiam and came from China hoping to make a living in Patani. At that time he was living in the house of a chief of the Raja and voluntarily embraced the Islamic faith. Because of his good character he was elevated to become the supervisor of import-export duties at the harbor... At that time his younger sister also arrived in Patani. Her name was Lim Kun Yew and she came to persuade her elder brother to return to China. When she learned that he had adopted Islam and did not want to return, and that he had turned from the religion of his forefathers, with a broken heart she hanged herself from a *janggus* (cashew) tree. The Chinese of Patani took her corpse and buried it according to the customs of their religion... Lim Kun Yew was known as a woman of firm resolve who did not wish to turn her back on the religion of her ancestors and she killed herself because her elder brother had dishonored this religion. All of the Chinese strongly agreed with her, and her death is eternally remembered as a holy sacrifice. They took the *janggus* tree and made an image of Lim Kun Yew which was then prayed to as a respected holy idol. The Malays of Patani called the statue of Lim Kun Yew *Tok Pe Kong Mek* and the image has been kept in the *Tok Pe Kong* temple in Patani until this very day' (Syukri, 1985:31).

This story indicates the extent of assimilation on the part of the Chinese in Patani. Some, for example, even converted to Islam and took Malay names. More importantly it reveals that there eventually came a time when the Chinese community in Patani rejected this earlier tradition

of assimilation and decided to remain 'Chinese'. The decision to preserve their ethnic identity is symbolized in the story by the community's loyalty to Lim Kun Yew and the establishment of a shrine in her honor.

The Chinese community in Patani still celebrate to this day an ancient Chinese festival that centers around the *Tok Pek Kong* Temple and the sacred statue of Lim Kun Yew which is kept there. Every year on the fifteenth day after Chinese New Year, the image of Lim Kun Yew is taken out of the temple and paraded through Patani. In the past devotees, carrying the statue, walked across sharpened blades and hot coals in their bare feet. Local Chinese in Patani today believe that the goddess will protect and bring good fortune to the town, ensure rain for farmers, and increase trade for merchants. Chinese in Fujian province sponsored similar processions and it is thought that this type of procession in Patani was introduced from China.

Van Neck provides the earliest account of Chinese festivals and rites in Patani:

'The Chinese had young men who were possessed during superstitious ceremonies. They all sat on the ground in great humility at a distance from their idol with their long hair hanging loose over their eyes in front of the dumb statue like one who was in great rapture. The by-standers then took one of the possessed young men into their hands, lifted him high above the ground, and ran to and fro with distorted faces and waving a sword as if they were going to destroy themselves and others. Then they laid the young man on the ground begging him to tell them what the dead wanted from them and what the dead had revealed..... When we were in Patani and such ceremonies were taking place, the people were ordered to go home because a great fire would destroy their houses. They obeyed their gods and went home although no fire took place. Much could be told of this idolatry. But we could not understand all this because we could not speak the language' (Van Foreest and De Booy, 1980).

Walking on fire as described during the *Tok Pek Kong* festivities in Patani and the possession of young Chinese men depicted by Van Neck suggests the Chinese in Patani practiced shamanism. Chinese in Patani and elsewhere believed that during certain ceremonies or rites, gods or spirits, represented by idols, could, for example, take possession of individuals, enabling them to walk on fire, while

experiencing no pain, and as Van Neck suggests, to communicate with the dead.

Indians and Malays

Very little is known about the Muslim trading community in Patani. Peter Floris, writing in 1612, provides some additional information about the Gujeratis there. He says that the Portuguese used to bring Indian textiles to Patani, but he adds that the bottom fell out of the market when Indian merchants including the Gujeratis landed at Tenasserim on the west coast of the Peninsula and transported their cloth across the Isthmus to Patani. Use of these portage routes allowed the Indians to avoid the high duties levied by the Portuguese in Malacca (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:165). Floris also indicates that some 'Chattis', Indians from the South Coromandel Coast, came aboard his ship, the 'Globe', and translated a letter the English had brought into Malay. This bit of information suggests that Indians like the Chinese may have been employed in the harbor service.

Although very little is known about Muslim traders in Patani, it is clear that they played a very important role in Patani's development. They obviously stimulated and helped organize Patani's trade; they may also have introduced coinage. The missionaries and Islamic scholars that followed in their wake converted Patani to Islam and introduced Islamic conceptions of kingship. According to the Hikayat Patani a 'Rum' or Turk is believed to have cast the first cannon in Patani (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:226). 'Jawi' script (Malay written in Arabic characters), and literary forms like the Sejarah Patani were also introduced by Muslims.

Patani Traders Abroad

Merchants from Patani also settled and traded abroad. When the Portuguese visited Siang, a major port on the west coast of South Sulawesi, in the 1540's, they found that the principal traders there were from Johore, Pahang, and Patani. They learned that these traders had been there for at least fifty years. During the reign of the Makassarese King Tunipalangga (1548-1566) these merchants shifted their base of operations to Makassar (Reid, 1983:137). When they arrived there, they asked for several guarantees from the king, namely that their land not be trespassed upon arbitrarily and that their homes be inviolable from arbitrary entry. These and other privileges were granted to all those 'who wore a tied sarong', that is, people from Pahang, Patani, Champa,

Minangkabau and Johore (Reid, 1983:138). Once established in Makassar, these merchants also asked for a mosque. King Tunijallo (1565-1590), Tunipalangga's successor, although himself not a Muslim, ordered a mosque constructed for them, Makassar's first, in the Mangella'kanna suburb of town (Pelras, 1985:109). This community of Malay traders, according to the Portuguese, ultimately came to dominate the trade in Makassar harbor. They also remained in contact with their fellow countrymen through the regular arrival in Makassar of junks carrying merchandise from their home ports. Junks even came from Thailand (possibly Patani) with Chinese goods for Makassar (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:163).

The Dutch and the English

Portuguese success attracted other European traders. Four Dutch ships arrived off Sumatra's west coast in 1596. Three squadrons sailed from Holland in 1599, two in 1600, and four more expeditions departed for the Indies in 1601 (Vlekke, 1943:113).

The Dutch Admiral Van Neck arrived in Patani in November 7, 1601. In 1602 six more Dutch ships sailed into Patani Bay and three Dutch trading stations or factories were established there (Ijzerman, 1926). The Dutch were attracted to Patani as a source of pepper. They also sought to establish themselves in harbors like Patani which were frequented by Chinese junks (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:263). They wanted Chinese goods but were denied direct access to China by local authorities. Dutch entry into the China trade was also opposed by the Portuguese who had already established themselves in Macao.

The Portuguese also opposed the establishment of Dutch trading posts in Patani and fighting between the Europeans ensued. The conflict, of course, had its roots in Europe. The Dutch as Calvinists, were fiercely anti-Catholic, and sworn enemies of the Spanish crown, which had ruled Portugal since 1580. Hostilities erupted as early as 1602 when the Portuguese employed two hundred Japanese to attack two Dutch ships, the Amsterdam and the Gouda, anchored in Patani harbor. The Dutch successfully repelled the attack. In 1604 the Dutch, apparently with the Queen of Patani's approval, seized a Portuguese ship in Patani Bay. The Portuguese again bribed the Japanese to attack and punish Patani, but since the Japanese were too weak to capture the city, they simply set fire to its suburbs (Terpstra, 1938).

The Dutch had high hopes for Patani. Van Neck wrote that he had never been treated better in the East Indies than in Patani and that

the town was the best place in the Indies to trade with eastern merchants. Heemskereck, another Dutch captain who was in Patani at the same time as Van Neck, also noted that he was received with great friendship there; he praised its potential as a pepper port and said that 'he found the rulers in Patani for more intelligent than in any other place in the Indies' (Ijzerman, 1926).

Dutch expectations in Patani, however, were not realized and twenty years later in 1622 - 1623 they closed their office there. A number of factors contributed to the closure:

'They encountered stiff competition from the Japanese. They also could not always obtain good quality products from China. Furthermore, their records reveal that the regular arrival of Chinese junks was often hindered by arbitrary regulations initiated by Patani court officials. The Dutch were also plagued by a shortage of suitable barter goods and inadequate money supplies' (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:263).

Although they withdrew from Patani, they continued to be intricately involved with developments there and the region in general through their presence in Batavia and Malacca which they had succeeded in capturing from the Portuguese in 1641.

The English arrived in 1612 for many of the same reasons as the Dutch. Peter Floris was on the English ship, the *Globe*, and records of his stay in Patani in the years 1612 - 1613 provide us with a great deal of information about the city. The already established Dutch opposed the establishment of the English in Patani. Dutch records indicate that a spectacular naval battle between the English and themselves occurred in Patani Bay and that John Jourdain, one of the most famous English pioneers in Asia, was killed during the engagement (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962:206). The English like the Dutch eventually withdrew from Patani.

The Bandar or Port

Seventeenth century Patani actually consisted of two districts: (1) the ancient citadel, *Kota Raja*, where the queen and her family and many of the court officials lived and (2) the mercantile section, or *bandar*, where the Chinese, Indian, and European traders stayed and conducted their business. The markets were also located in this area of the city. *Bandar* was actually a Persian term; it was used to describe the area of the city which focused on the port and trade. In Patani's early years, the

city naturally centered on the citadel and the ceremonial life there, but during the seventeenth century, when trade drove Patani, the *bandar* became the center and heartbeat of the city.

Dutch sources state that a tall mountain, known as *Goenoeng Nipiki* served as a landmark for ships approaching Patani. This mountain was known locally as *Gunung Indragiri*, the Mountain of Indra, or *Negiri*. *Nipiki* may be a Dutch corruption of the later. Today it is simply called *Bukit Besar*, the 'Big Mountain'. *Bukit Besar* is a little over 3,000 feet high and is located approximately 30 kilometers inland and southwest of the town (Skeat and Laidlaw, 1953:2122).

Dutch accounts reveal that Patani did not have a harbor because the bay was too shallow. Ships had to anchor in a road, four fathoms deep, less than a mile from the town. Smaller ships or lighters were used to transport cargoes to shore. Traffic in the road fluctuated depending upon monsoon winds. Dutch records note that the end of April or early May was the best time to sail from Java to Patani, while October was the most appropriate time to return. Most ships stopped sailing from October through January with the advent of the northwest winter monsoon and remained tucked away in the relative safety of the bay until the winds died down in February. Travel during the monsoon was limited not only by dangers of storm at sea or wreck on the leeshore, but also because monsoon waves sealed the river estuaries along the east coast, making entrance and exit dangerous or impossible (Gosling, 1978:84).

The *bandar*, or port area, was located on sand dunes in the vicinity of modern day *Kampong Ba Na*. *Ba Na* is a corruption of *bandar*. The *bandar* stretched along the bay from modern day *Kampong Tanjong Lulu* in the east to *Ladang Pintu Besar* in the west, a distance of almost three kilometers. It was a little over one kilometer wide bounded on the north by the bay and on the south by the *Sungai Pandang* river. Legend has it that the houses and buildings in the *bandar* were packed so tightly together that a cat could walk across the town on the roofs of houses without ever setting foot on ground.

The merchants' quarters were located within the *bandar*. These quarters were divided into ethnic wards or compounds known as *kampong*. The *Hikayat Patani* specifically mentions the *kampongs* of the Javanese, Gujeratis, and people from Pasai. Chinese legend also places a sizable Chinese community in the *bandar*.

The Dutch and English established trading stations with 'warehouses' in Patani in 1602 and 1612 respectively. These

warehouses were also probably located in the *bandar* and were originally made of wood and not stone. Dutch accounts state that in 1602, soon after his arrival in Patani, Admiral Heeskerck ...

'built a large wooden house of 60 x 24 feet to store his merchandise in. He should preferably have had a stone building, but the Portuguese might easily make the Patanis afraid of the Dutchmen's ambitions to power. A wooden building brought the disadvantage of great danger from fire; a ditch was dug around the warehouse for defense and to isolate it from its surroundings' (Terpstra, 1938).

Peter Floris' accounts reveal that the Dutch eventually were able to get their brick warehouse, although the English were unable to obtain one.

The most obvious reason for native suspicion of first Dutch and later English requests to build in permanent materials was the fact that the Portuguese had become impregnable since building their forts in Malacca and Maluku - a lesson driven home a century later when the ruler of Jakarta proved incapable of expelling the Dutch from his territory once they had built a stone fort there (Reid, 1980:246).

A field survey conducted in 1988 found strong evidence that the Dutch and English warehouses may have been built alongside a small canal that ran through the *bandar* and emptied into the bay. Villagers interviewed pointed out a now 'dead' canal planted with rice called *Kelang Belanda* or the 'Dutch Canal' and explained its name by saying Europeans once lived along its banks.

Villagers in Kampong Kersik also indicated that there was once a large market or *kedai*, on the northern side of the *padang* or town square. Nothing is known about this market except for the fact that both Chinese and Malays were said to have traded there. This market may have marked the site of older markets dating back to the 16th century or earlier. In Java markets were also traditionally located on the northern side of the *alun-alun* or *padang*.

A cemetery for merchants known as *Kubo Dagang* was once located south of the *padang*, just west of modern Kampong Kersik. It was also known as *Kubo Cerang*. *Cerang* means 'high ground' and describes the type of terrain the cemetery occupies. According to villagers, merchants from other parts, who died in Patani while trading there, were buried at *Kubo Dagang*. There are no tombstones of any

sort in the cemetery. In fact one would not know the area was a graveyard, if local villagers did not offer the information.

The Establishment of Commercial Relations in Patani

Seventeenth century Dutch and English accounts describe how the Europeans established commercial relations with Patani. When Admiral Van Neck arrived in 1601, a high ranking native came on board explaining that it was his duty to inspect the ship. He brought some fruits and said that Patani was pleased that the Dutch had arrived. Van Neck was initially hesitant to come ashore because of negative reports he had received about Patani, but the harbor master (*syahbandar*) insisted that Van Neck personally initiate the negotiations. The Dutch admiral soon landed with presents for the queen, Raja Ijau, and the harbormaster. He also carried an official letter requesting the establishment of commercial relationships. He was immediately taken to the palace on elephant where he was cordially received. There his letter, which was in Arabic, was translated by the queen's religious advisor into Malay. She then granted the Dutch permission to trade in Patani and presented the admiral with a gift. After the initial formalities, the Dutch and the queen's officials turned to business. It took Van Neck approximately one month to negotiate the purchase price of pepper. In his diaries he wrote that a very important man, the *orang kaya* Datok Sirinara (*Seri Negara*), was in charge of these negotiations. The Dutch were also allowed to build a storehouse and the pepper was delivered there after eight additional persons, including the queen and her sister, were given gifts.

The Dutch Admiral van Warwijk, who arrived in Patani three years later, describes a similar reception. Presents which he brought were divided among the queen, the *syahbandar* and Datok Sirinara. Van Warwijk perceptively notes that Datok Sirinara was a Chinese. He also indicates that the queen upon completion of their meeting presented him with a kris.

Peter Floris' description of the arrival of the English ship the *Globe* in 1612 mirrors earlier Dutch accounts. When the English anchored in Patani's roads, a group of 'Chattis', harbor officials of Indian extraction, boarded their vessel. They read a letter sent from the King of England requesting trading privileges and, after receiving presents from the English, returned to shore. When the English came ashore their letter 'was layde in a bason of golde and was carried upon an elephant to court' (Moreland, 1934:34). The charter was read again at the palace and trading rights were granted. As in the case of the

Dutch, once the formalities were dispensed with the negotiations began. The English met with the *laksamana*, the *syahbandar*, the chieftain of strangers' (foreigners), and Datok Sirinara. Floris also observes that after 'much running, toying and giving of gifts, the English were allowed to build a storehouse and begin their trade in pepper' (Moreland, 1934:37).

In addition to these formalities, the Europeans were also required to pay a number of duties in Patani. Floris offers the most complete description of these fees:

'First we must *sombah datang*, that is to say, give notice of our arrival; the second is *sombah benaga (berniaga)*, or ask leave to land your goods and have free trade; the third is the *sombah datching* or license to have weights; the fourth is the *sombah musom*, that is leave to shippe your goods coming and going oute, and the waying (i.e. weighing) money besides' (Moreland, 1934:37).

The system used in Patani for establishing commercial relations with foreigners was not unique. The Europeans encountered similar procedures elsewhere. In Aceh, for example, as in Patani westerners were conveyed to the palace on elephants, charters were read aloud at court, and presents exchanged. Duties were also similar, but known by different names. Fees associated with permission to land and trade in Patani, known as *sombah berniaga*, were known as *Adat Cap* in Aceh. That royal permission to trade was granted was symbolized in Aceh as in Patani by the presentation of a *keris*.

The reception of foreign traders and establishment of commercial ties seem to have been based on traditional concepts of diplomatic protocol and the treatment of foreign envoys. Intra-state relations in traditional Southeast Asia were hierarchical. Stronger states like Ayuthya, for example, tried to bring weaker states like Patani into tributary relationships. Exchange patterns between such states reflected the unequal character of the relationship. A suzerain would, for example, provide a vassal with a magnificent gift which he himself could never hope to have crafted, thus indicating the suzerain's superior status. The gift-giving and duties associated with the establishment of commercial relations can best be understood within this framework. The Dutch and English saw their presents as bribes, which indeed they were. But Patani's court viewed this exchange of gifts and payment of duties as the creation of a hierarchical and commercial relationship in which they were the superior party. The term *sombah (sembah)*, for example, which was used in connection with the payment of customs duties in

Patani, also means 'reverence' and derivatives of the word are used to express the giving of presents by an inferior to a superior.

Diplomatic practice also explains Floris' description of the fuss made over the letter brought by the English to Patani and its transmission to court by elephant. Letters from other monarchs were often treated by Southeast Asia kings with more respect than the ambassadors who bore them. The *Sejarah Melayu* specifies, for example, that letters of kings of appropriate rank should be carried to court on elephant (Reid, 1989:35). In Aceh, when foreign envoys carried a letter from their sovereign, the reception was particularly ornate. The letter itself would be carried on a velvet cushion on the largest and most magnificent of elephants, while the envoys themselves rode behind on other elephants in an inferior position (Reid, 1989:35).

The similarities in systems for establishing commercial relations in such states as Patani, Aceh and Banten suggests that these practices may have originally been introduced from abroad. They were probably very ancient and may have had their roots in local traditions and Indian diplomatic protocol; possible Chinese influence, however, should not be overlooked. Kingdoms in Southeast Asia had been sending diplomatic and tributary missions to China in order to establish commercial relations since the fifth century A.D. Diplomacy and trade have been intricately associated in the region for centuries.

INTERNAL POLITICS - ROYAL POWER AND THE RISE OF THE ORANG KAYA

Political Developments in the Western Archipelago

During the second half of the sixteenth century a number of trading centers in the western Archipelago and Malay Peninsula including Aceh, Johore and Patani were shaken by brutal struggles between their increasingly powerful kings and a new merchant nobility for control of the state. Kathirithamby-Wells in her article 'Royal Authority and the *Orang Kaya* in the Western Archipelago 1500 - 1800 A.D.' and 'Forces of Regional and State Integration in the Western Archipelago, c. 1500 - 1700' provides an excellent framework within which to view and better understand these struggles:

'During the pre-European era maritime centers of the Archipelago generally functioned as free ports offering

equitable and unrestricted trade to all. Participation in commerce of the ruler and *orang besar* (court officials, nobles) had been casual and irregular, while merchants of diverse origin-Chinese, Tamil, Gujerati, Arab, Javanese and Malay - had dominated trade and flourished as a significant class of patricians at the international centers (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1986:267). The day to day commercial transactions were handled by the influential community of foreign merchants from among whom the *syahbandar* was traditionally appointed. The Portuguese, Dutch and English severely disrupted this system. The Europeans were simply not interested in fair participation in trade and mutually agreed upon prices for goods. They wanted to gain a monopoly of the produce and then charge prices fixed by themselves... (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1987:32). The Portuguese and Dutch, therefore, bypassed traditional centers of exchange and sailed directly to spice producing areas. The rulers of Aceh, Banten, Johore (and Patani) resisted this pressure for monopoly which they recognized as a threat to their power and ultimately independence. Determined to turn the northern European demand for pepper and spices to their own advantage, these sultanates conquered and incorporated neighboring states, who were viewed as potential competitors, imposed varying degrees of centralized control, and pioneered the direct participation of the state in the expansion and organization of spice production. Direct royal control over main exports, for example, become a significant feature of policy' (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1987).

Royal absolutism reached its peak in the western Archipelago in Aceh under Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636):

'He conquered East Sumatra and defeated Johore and in so doing was able to monopolize the export produce of the region and destroy his major rivals. Foreign merchants were forced to come to terms with the sultan in his capital before they could proceed to other ports... He himself controlled a very large percentage of the pepper for sale within his kingdom and insisted upon selling it at very high prices before allowing foreigners to buy on the 'open' market... Royal authority was also enhanced by a strict check on all firearms' (Reid, 1975:49).

Royal power, however, was held in check in the western Archipelago and the Peninsula by the emergence of a new elite—the *orang kaya*.

'Members of the nobility, because of increased opportunities in trade, began to participate in commerce. It was the wealth they acquired through trade added to official position which led to the emergence of an influential class of merchant officials known as the *orang kaya* or 'rich men'. Through trade they obtained the resources necessary to acquire followers and slaves (the traditional measure of power) who owed their allegiance to them and fought under their command in battle... Consequently, they were sensitive to the success or failure of the king or chief minister to attract trade to port and protect their business interests (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1986:260-261).

The *orang kaya* in places like Aceh and Patani eventually accumulated a great deal of power and ultimately came into conflict with their kings whose efforts to establish royal monopolies threatened their own revenue and power base. We will now examine this power struggle in Patani and see how the *orang kaya* there ultimately gained control of the state.

Royal Power in Patani

Royal power in Patani at least in matters of trade seems to have become increasingly arbitrary during the second half of the sixteenth century. The legend of the casting of Patani's cannon reveals this trend:

'The king of Patani received a stone cannon ball from a Chinese merchant for which he has no adequate gun. The king was afraid of losing face, so he decided to cast a cannon capable of firing this cannon ball. He, therefore, issued an edict that no one would be allowed to take copper out of kingdom for three years; anyone caught dealing in copper would be executed. He needed the copper, of course, for his cannons. One day a certain Minangkabau merchant, Sheikh Gombak, who was living in Patani, traded his copper to a captain just arrived from Malacca. The sheikh's assistant who was conducting the deal was apprehended by harbor attendants. The sheikh and his assistant were taken into custody and eventually executed' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:152-153).

This legend depicts a king monopolizing copper, a king responsible for and perhaps in control of the production of firearms, and a king not above murdering a merchant. Actions such as these would not have endeared him to a rising class of *orang kaya* or the merchant community. Ports (like Patani) could only grow by attracting traders to them, and this was only possible if the richer merchants believed they would enjoy reasonable security for themselves (Reid, 1980:247).

Portuguese accounts also indicate the increasing authority of Patani's kings in matters of trade. Pinto describes, for example, how the Portuguese sought the king of Patani's permission before they seized several ships from Pahang anchored in Kelantan. This episode suggests that foreign traders did not dare visit or take action in Patani's secondary ports without the express approval of the king.

European accounts also hint at increasing local dissatisfaction with royal rule. Nicholas Gervaise, writing in the 1680's, for example, notes that:

'It is said that its (Patani's) people were weary of obeying kings who maltreated them and shock off their yoke' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:12).

Van Neck's journal also reveals similar displeasure with royal rule:

'All her (Raja Ijau's) subjects are pleased with her rule than with that of the deceased king, as all food stuffs are at present very cheap, which during the king's time were half as expensive again (so they say) as a result of the heavy exactions which were made then' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:242).

The Succession Crisis of the 1570's

Sultan Mansur Syah's death in 1572 plunged Patani into a violent succession crisis which provided an opportunity for nobility and *orang kaya* to restrict royal power and gain control of the state.

According to the *Hikayat Patani*, Sultan Mudhaffar Syah died in 1564 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Mansur Syah, who reigned from 1564 - 1572. When he died,

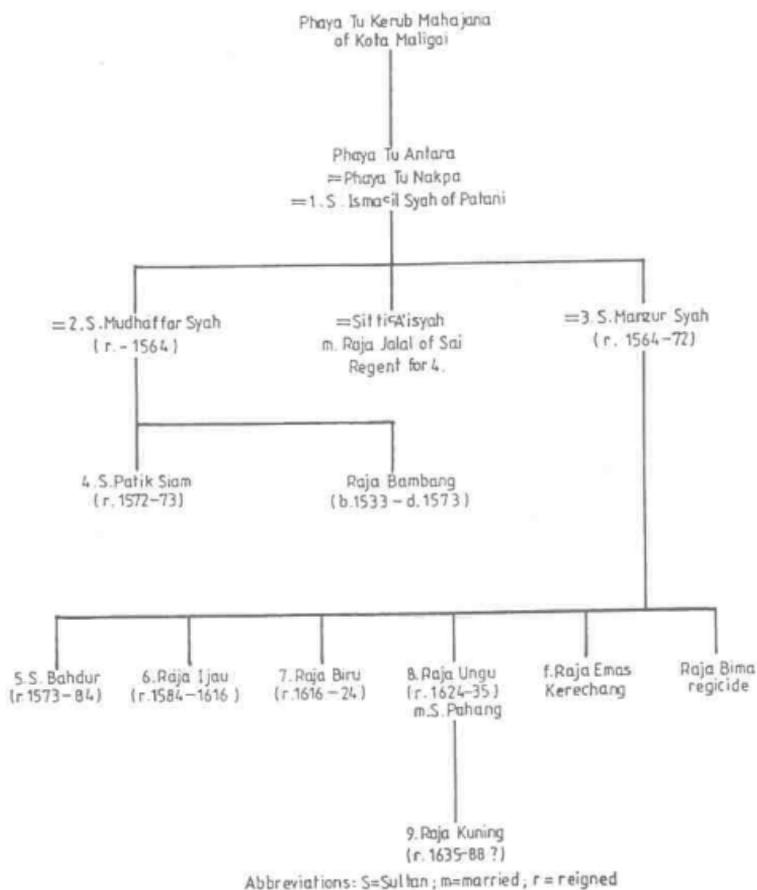


Table # 2
ROYAL GENEALOGY OF PATANI
(based on Teeuw and Wyatt)

'two of Mudnaffar Syah's children were still living: Raja Bambang, his son by a secondary wife and a post-humous son, Patik Siam, who at the time of Mansur Syah death was only nine years old (Table 2). On his death bed, Mansur Syah ordered that Patik Siam should succeed him, thus bypassing Raja Bambang and his own children of whom he has six. The three eldest were daughters, named after the colors of the rainbow: Ijau (Green), Biru (Blue), and Ungu (Violet). After them came a son by a secondary wife, Raja Bima, and then a son by his consort, Bahdur Syah. Thus when Patik Siam, who was nine, was crowned in 1572 with his aunt Raja Aisyah (the last surviving child of Ismail Syah) as regent, there were a number of rivals whose claim to the throne were as good or nearly as good as his own' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:9-10).

Between 1572 and 1584 the ensuing succession struggle resulted in the violent deaths of Sultan Patik Siam, Sultan Bahdur Syah, Raja Bambang and Raja Bima, as well as the regent, Raja Aisyah.

The Rise of the *Orang Kaya* and the Installation of Patani's Queens

It was during this period of instability that a faction of the nobility and the *orang kaya* seized power. Historical documents such as the *Hikayat Patani* shed little light on this power struggle. One version of the legend of Lim Toh Khiam and his sister Lim Kun Yew, briefly mentions the conflict:

'The king of Patani died and people tried to seize power. Lim Toh Khiam and his sister Lim Kun Yew supported the king's family. During the struggle Lim Kun Yew was surrounded by enemy troops and killed herself to avoid capture. The masts of her ships were then used to build a shrine in her honor' (Encyclopedia of Southern Thai Studies).

Once in control the nobility and the *orang kaya* restricted royal power by installing queens as rulers of Patani. Raja Ijau, Sultan Mansur Syah's daughter, was Patani's first queen and reigned from 1584 - 1616. Two more sisters followed: Raja Biru (1616 - 1624) and Raja Ungu (1624 - 1635); Raja Kuning, who reigned from 1635 - 1688(?), was probably Raja Ungu's daughter.

Gervaise describes Patani's century long rule by queens:

'Patani is no more extensive than the other three (Johore, Jambi, and Kedah), but it is much more famous, and best known by the history of its revolutions and by the present state of its government. It is said that its people were weary of obeying kings who maltreated them, and shook off their yoke. Having forced him who was reigning to descend from the throne, they put in his place a princess, to whom they gave the title of queen, without giving her any authority. They chose from amongst themselves the most able to govern in her name without her participation, so she did not enter at all into the secrets of affairs, and she had to content herself with the respect and homage which everyone formally rendered her as their sovereign. They did not allow her the freedom to choose her own high officials, but they never refused her anything which could contribute to her pleasure. Nothing prevented her from abandoning herself entirely and without reserve, as if they did not allow her to marry, they also did not forbid her lovers, and she had whomsoever pleased her, and she even had the means whereby to give considerable presents. There was a fund which was intended to pay for the cost of her clothing and the upkeep of her house. She lives ordinarily in Patani, which is the capital city of her kingdom. The golden flower (*bunga mas*) which is paid annually to the King of Siam is always presented in her name, and never on behalf of the ministers who govern the kingdom' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:12).

This description clearly indicates that the ministers, and not the queen, actually ruled in Patani. Power, in fact, was centered on the office of the *bendahara*, known in Patani as the *Datok Besar*. The increased power of this position is indicated by the fact that the *Hikayat Patani* only begins listing Patani's *bendahara* and detailing their activities after Raja Ijau's accession. Some *bendahara* became so powerful that they actually attempted to seize power for themselves. The *Hikayat Patani* reveals, for example, that Bendahara Kayu Kelat, the ruler of Sai, rebelled against Raja Ijau and almost succeeded in usurping the throne. For reasons not explained in the text, however, he aborted his attempted coup, spared the queen, and retired to Sai (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:243-244).

Patani's ministers also weakened royal authority by curtailing the economic activities of Patani's queens. They were still allowed to

indulge in commerce. Raja Ijau, for example, lent money to Peter Floris at interest. Raja Kuning also kept her own merchant who was known as the Queen's Merchant (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:185). Patani's queens were not, however, allowed to monopolize commodities or dominate trade. The *orang kaya* made perfectly clear to Peter Floris Raja Ijau's position vis-a-vis commercial activities. When the English complained about paying more duties after already giving the queen presents, the *orang kaya* replied:

'What kings gave one to another was a matter of reconing, but this (customs duties) belonged to the gentilitie and certayne officers, whereof the Queene onelye hath a parte' (Moreland, 1934:37).

The Dutch provide the best description of the *orang kaya* ruling Patani. According to the Dutch, officials in Patani were notorious for their greed. The Dutch, for example, attributed the slowness of negotiations in establishing a pepper price to the 'mandarins, the advisors of the queen, who were once again looking for their own profit' (Terpstra, 1938). They also complained that in addition to normal duties they were also asked by officials to pay 1/2 reals extra for every bahar (400 lbs) of pepper. They again felt cheated in their dealings with the *orang kaya*, when they realized that 6% of the weight of the purchased pepper was waste (Terpstra, 1938).

Chinese sources paint a similar picture of officialdom in Patani. They reveal that Chinese merchants could still make profit there despite the extortions practiced by officials which were worse in Patani than elsewhere (Meilink-Roelofs, 1963:265). Eventually the Chinese began to favor other ports where taxes and harbor duties were lower. Inpo, a Chinese trader in Patani who served the Dutch, was, in fact, forced to leave. In a letter to the V.O.C. in Holland, he angrily explained:

'I shall not be keeping my residence in Patani as a result of the molestations that are being done to us Chinese by the local Mandarins' (Blusse, 1977:499).

Despite the unflattering descriptions of Patani's merchant aristocracy, it should be reiterated that Patani enjoyed its most vigorous growth and greatest prosperity during the period when its *orang kaya* dominated politics and the arbitrary power of its kings was limited.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS - RELATIONS WITH AYUTHYA And JOHORE

The *Hikayat Patani* is absorbed with and contains long and detailed accounts of Patani's relations with Thai Ayuthya and the Malay state of Johore. These accounts reflect a more recent stage of Patani's age old endeavour to come to terms with and maintain its unique identity in the face of more powerful mainland and island mandalas to its north and south. The pattern first emerges in the second half of the first millenium A.D., when Langkasuka was incorporated into the Malay Kingdom of Srivijaya. Later, after Srivijaya's fall, Langkasuka became more embroiled in mainland Southeast Asian, notably Khmer expansionism. This same pattern reemerges with Patani's attempts to walk a delicate tightrope between Thai Ayuthya and Majapahit/Malacca. Now in the seventeenth century we find Patani once again trying to forge an alliance with her East Coast Malay neighbors in order to check Ayuthya's power. The precise nature of these latest relationships with both Ayuthya and Johore can best be understood within the context of traditional inter-state relations.

Traditional Inter-state Relations in Mainland Southeast Asia

Foreign relations in mainland Southeast Asia were traditionally hierarchical and could be categorized into two broad types: 1) tributary relations which existed between a major power center and its lesser satellite states and 2) relations between states of equal status. In the tributary system

'small states bordering on a major power center were compelled to submit to the superiority of the former's moral and military might, if they desired to live in peace and avoid military disaster, and to accept the offer of unequal status in friendship and political alignment. As a rule the weaker state was allowed a free hand in its domestic affairs but was constrained by the center in affairs touching security and relations with other powerful centers.... In some cases as a token of obligation, and as a sign of respect and loyalty to the centre, the subordinate was required to present gold and silver flowers (*bunga mas dan perak*) at specific times. Failure to send the gold and silver flowers without good reason would be taken as a declaration on the part of the satellite state's intent to sever ties with the center. Apart from the *bunga mas*, the subordinate might at times be asked to render military and economic aid to his

overlord normally during war time. On his part, the suzerain undertook to protect his vassal against possible danger from within and without' (Suwannathat-Pian, 1988:42-43).

Tributary relations were often unstable and characterized by rebellions. If a center were weakened, perhaps through war or internal upheavals, and was no longer able to protect its vassals, they often rebelled and sought to set themselves up as independent centers.

In relations between states of equal status.....

'powerful kings recognized that there were other monarchs who ruled over kingdoms of equal greatness as their own and thus should be treated as equals, at least until the time that such claims should be put to the test, and the issue of precedence decided... The term 'equal status' as applied to Buddhist states tended to reflect rivalry and hostility more than genuine regard for the high reputation of one another. It was imperative for a king to avoid at any cost committing an act that could be construed as recognizing the superiority of another of equal standing.... relations between states of equal status tended to perpetuate rivalry, suspicion, and eventually led to open hostility and warfare' (Suwannathat-Pian, 1988:44).

This system of foreign relations was also based in part on Hindu and Buddhist concepts of political organization and kingship. Indian manuals of government, we have already explained, held that states should be replicas of the cosmos. The cosmos was traditionally symbolized by a circle or square, known as a *mandala*; divine energy and creative force was thought to emanate out from the center through the universe. Indianized states in Southeast Asia, trying to mirror the cosmos, were, therefore, organized as *mandala*. The capital city and the king were located at the symbolic center of the kingdom and provinces and vassal states were thought to be symbolically arranged in concentric circles around the capital or in the case of the square in one of the four cardinal directions. A map of early Southeast Asia thus reveals itself as 'a patchwork of overlapping *mandala*, or 'circles of kings'... in each of these *mandala*, one king, identified with divine and universal authority, claimed personal hegemony over other rulers in his *mandala* who in theory were his obedient allies and vassals' (Wolters, 1982:16).

A king at the center of his state held peripheral states and their rulers, so to speak, in orbit through marriage alliances, titles, oaths of

allegiance, and ultimately the threat of force. Administrative power was, however, also bolstered by sacral and moral authority. A Buddhist king, for example, was theoretically supposed to adhere to prescribed standards of behaviour known as the *dasabidha-rajadharma* or 'ten kingly virtues'. Possession of these virtues indicated that a ruler was a *dharmaraja* (king of righteousness) (Gesick, 1983:90). A *dharmaraja* based his claim to the throne and his legitimacy first and foremost on his merit or virtue (*dharma*). He ensured, we have previously said, the prosperity of his kingdom and subjects through the bottomless reservoir of merit he possessed. Conversely, if a king lacked *dharma*, his state would face hardship, his people would suffer, and his right to rule ultimately questioned. In foreign affairs a truly righteous king would, therefore, be able to establish control over vassals and defeat equals thereby expanding his sphere of influence and providing tangible proof of his claim to be a *dharmaraja*. If a king were defeated in battle or his vassals rebelled, his virtue and merit and very legitimacy as a *dharmaraja* could be called into doubt and the door opened for possible rival claimants to the throne.

The *Mandala* concept of politics and the *dharmaraja* notion of kingship in traditional mainland Southeast Asia ultimately required that a Buddhist king, in order to survive, act aggressively toward vassals and states of equal status. Peace was, in fact, a time when one's neighbors were either weak and subdued or too preoccupied with struggles elsewhere (Suwannathat-Pian, 1988:45).

Relations with Ayuthya

Patani was part of Ayuthya's *mandala* and relations with the Thai capital were clearly tributary. *Bunga Mas*, for example, were periodically sent to Ayuthya acknowledging its superiority.

Bunga Mas

Ayuthya demanded that its vassals regularly send to the capital as a form of tribute two artificial and identical trees crafted from gold and silver (*bunga mas* and *bunga perak*). Chiangmai in Northern Thailand and other Thai towns, not simply Patani, were required to submit these trees. Ayuthya had, in fact, worked out a rather rigid code detailing frequency, size, and type of tree each vassal had to contribute. Large cities like Chiangmai, for example, had to contribute bigger trees than smaller towns (Punjabhan, 1991:77). At one time in the past there were many gold and silver trees in the royal treasury in Bangkok. Only a

few, however, have survived, since most were melted down long ago for their gold and silver content.

Skeat describes the production of *bunga mas* at Jambu in Patani in 1899:

'In the afternoon we visited the best-known manufacturer of the *bunga mas* in these parts, Che'Her of Jambu. There were eight men all strenuously engaged in hammering out the small branches, or twigs of the 'Gold Trees', each at a small iron anvil... Attached to the trunk of each 'Gold Tree' were four branches, set in successive whorls, and fixed at right angles to each other... Each branch had three twigs... The blossom at the end of each twig was a stylized four-petalled golden flower calyx... At the top of each tree perched a stylized 'golden bird' said to represent a *burong merbok*... Each gold tree attained, with its stand, a height of at least six feet and took approximately two months to complete' (Skeat and Laidlaw, 1953:77-78).

It is not known how and why this custom of sending tribute in the form of gold and silver trees came about. The following three conjectures, however, are offered. First, devote Buddhists, often offered gold and silver trees to monasteries which contained relics of Buddha. Kings also decorated stupas with royal umbrellas in order to indicate the sovereignty of Buddha's teachings. Since trees and umbrellas were symbolically interchangeable in Buddhist art, the giving of a tree by one person to another or to a *wat* was a symbolic way for the giver to visibly acknowledge the superior status of the receiver. Trees may eventually have evolved into a simple sign of status and respect. The submission of *bunga mas* then visibly expressed the inequality of relations between states and tangibly indicated the domination of one by the other. Second, there is evidence that initially, trees were not sent but gold and silver flowers (Punjabian, 1991:77). These flowers may have been associated with the *kalpavriksha* trees planted at the four corners of the Tavatinsa Heaven, the abode of the Maitreya Buddha. In popular belief these plants were known as 'wishing trees' because of their ability to fulfill man's wants and needs (Tambiah, 1970:165). Gold and silver flowers are also encountered in the coronation ceremony of Thai kings. Before leaving the audience hall, a newly crowned king traditionally scattered gold and silver flowers among the Brahmin priests (Wales, 1931:87). Some scholars believe these flowers were a symbol of riches and plenty again suggesting a connection with wishing trees. Giving a king such flowers, at one time in the distant past may have associated him with the Maitreya Buddha. This particular meaning, however, if applicable, has long since been

forgotten. Finally, British records indicate that Bangkok itself was sending golden trees to China at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Was this practice self-initiated or had the Chinese at sometime in the distant past demanded this sort of tribute from Thai envoys seeking to establish trading relations with Peking? That these trees or flowers may have once been associated with trade is further illustrated by the fact that, when Malay envoys from Kedah presented tributary trees to King Rama II (1809-1824), the Thai king immediately asked the Malays at the close of the audience if they wanted to engage in any business or trade while in Bangkok (Skinner, 1983:139).

Patani as a vassal also had to contribute manpower to Ayuthya's wars:

'Manpower, and not fixed capital, was regarded as the principal asset which had to be protected in a Southeast Asian state. Population density was very low - the really important resource of the rich and powerful was their manpower - slaves, bondsmen, clients, subjects. The fundamental aim of warfare was to increase available manpower. Powerful states (like Ayuthya) took large numbers of captives back to their capitals and imposed tribute in labor on their vassals....' (Reid, 1980:243-244).

' Manpower levees for Ayuthya's wars with Cambodia and Burma could be quite onerous for a small state like Patani. The Hikayat Patani observes, for example, that the citadel area of Patani was reduced in size because one third of the town's population had been lost in war and rebellion in Ayuthya in 1564 (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:211).

Patani also benefitted from its relationship with Ayuthya. She could and did engage in conflict with her Malay neighbors-Kelantan, Pahang, and Johore as in the 1530's and 1540's secure in the knowledge that Thai power could be relied upon to preserve her position should it be seriously threatened (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:8).

The Hikayat also indicates that should Ayuthya be weakened by external attack or internal turmoil and the *dharmaraja* status of its king questioned, Patani would rebell and endeavour to set herself up as an independent center. The Hikayat describes two rebellions, one during the reign of Sultan Mudhaffar Syah (d. 1564) and a second during the reign of Raja Ungu (1624 - 1635). Weakness at the Thai center and Patani's growing power acquired through trade were part of the underlying causes of these revolts.

Su'tan Mudhaffar Syah's Rebellion

During the 1550's warfare between the Thai and Burmese mandalas became increasingly serious, and neighboring provinces and small states including Patani were called upon by Ayuthya to bolster its defenses... In 1563 Burmese forces defeated the Thai armies and then drew up near Ayuthya's walls to threaten the city and the king... The Thai king Cakkraphat capitulated and agreed to send his son and several high officers off to Burma as hostages (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:232). These hostages symbolized Burma's superior status vis-a-vis Ayuthya and Ayuthya's possible incorporation into Burma's *mandala*. After Cakkraphat's defeat, Sultan Mudhaffar Syah and Ayuthya's other vassals realized that the Thai king was now no longer able to defend them and that their own security was in danger. They also sensed that Cakkraphat was not a *dharmaraja*; his failure and weakness indicated his illegitimacy. Ayuthya's vassals, therefore, had two choices - they could pledge their renewed support, perhaps exacting a higher price for their cooperation or they could cut their losses, rebel, and sever their ties with Ayuthya (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:8).

Mudhaffar Syah chose the later course and revolted. Since he was in Ayuthya, commanding forces sent from Patani to defend the Thai capital, he attacked the royal palace there. His aim seems to have been to overthrow, and perhaps murder the defeated Thai monarch, and seize power for himself. This was not a suicidal act; theoretically anyone who was physically able to occupy the royal palace could become king. An usurper's ability to seize and hold the palace would be a sign of his legitimate claim to the throne. Mudhaffar Syah failed, however, to capture the Thai king; the Siamese counter-attacked, retook the palace, and annihilated the Malay rebels. The *Hikayat Patani* does not relate the specific fate of the Sultan or his followers since they were never heard from again in Patani. Sultan Mansur Syah (r. 1564 - 1572), Mudhaffar's younger brother and successor, fled but later sent a mission to Ayuthya to seek forgiveness and reestablish tributary relations.

Raja Ungu's Rebellion

From 1564 well into the 1590's, when Ayuthya was still locked in a life or death struggle with Burma and Cambodia, Patani seems to have been more independent of Thai influence than she was either earlier or later (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:8-9). During this same period Patani seems to have been on fairly good terms with Ayuthya. Mansur's sister, Sitti Aisyah, who served as regent from 1572 - 1573, and Patani's first two queens, Raja Ijau (1584 - 1616) and Raja Biru (1616 - 1624),

assumed the Thai title *Phraçao* or 'king'. This title was probably bestowed upon them by Ayuthya and its use suggests positive relations between the two states.

Raja Ungu (r. 1624 - 1635), however, reversed Patani's pro-Thai policy. Upon ascending the throne she refused to allow herself to be called by the Thai title *Phraçao* and assumed instead the Malay honorific *Paduka Syah Alam*. This was a clear sign of her intentions to break with Ayuthya. In 1630 Raja Ungu decided to openly rebel and attacked Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Phattalung. The *Hikayat Patani* does not provide any reasons for this seemingly sudden reversal in policy. It may have been connected with the great internal disturbances in Ayuthya during the later years of Thai King Song Tham's reign and after his death in 1628 (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:16).

Jeremias Van Vliet, a Dutchman who was in Ayuthya in 1633, also connects Raja Ungu's revolt with internal problems in Ayuthya when he writes that the rebellion was cloaked in terms of legitimacy; the pretext put forward by authorities in Patani, he notes, was that the King of Siam did not have the right to wear the crown because he had killed the true kings and their heirs. All these accusations were indeed true. The new Thai king, Prasat Thong, had murdered his predecessor and he could not easily, therefore, claim to be a *dharmaraja*.

Van Vliet also explained that the rebellion arose.....

'by the ambition of the late princess (Raja Ungu) to obtain the highest power and by the great authority of some mandarins especially the *Datoe Besar* who was not loved by most of the *orang kaya*' (Giles, 1959).

Van Vliet's account indicates that Patani's elite did not unanimously support this anti-Thai stance. He clearly reveals that Patani's *Bendahara* (*Datoe Besar*) was behind the shift in policy and that most of the *orang kaya* did not agree with the new course Patani was taking. War with Ayuthya would certainly disrupt commerce and would not seemingly be at this time in Patani's own best self-interest.

The Thai king, Prasat Thong, eventually marshalled 30,000 troops from Nakhon, Tenasserim, Kedah and Phatthalung and attacked Patani in 1634. Patani was aided by the Malay states to the south including 5,000 men from Johore and Pahang. At one point during the battle Thai forces penetrated the royal citadel, but the city held firm and Thai troops eventually withdrew when supplies ran low. A new Thai army was being readied when Raja Ungu died in 1635. She was

succeeded by her daughter, Raja Kuning, who through the intercession of the Sultan of Kedah, sued for peace with Siam. The *bunga mas* was once again sent to Ayuthya and the new queen styled herself *Phraçao*.

Relations with Johore

Patani and Johore traditionally tended to regard one another as equals:

'When the Sultan of Johore, for example, Abdul-Jalil Syah (1623-77) came to Patani during the reign of Raja Ungu, his envoys told the queen that much to their regret and in spite of their efforts, the Sultan had proved incapable of learning the *sembah*, which meant he was incapable of paying his respects to the queen as an inferior to a superior. Although he came to Patani personally to court the queen's daughter and his envoys had made a *sembah* to the queen on his behalf: the implication of these exchanges seems to be that he did not subject himself to the queen. The queen retaliated by sending her *salam* thereby showing that she was not prepared to regard the Johore ruler as anything more than an equal' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:253).

Equality between Patani and Johore resulted in rivalry and hostility. Each, in fact, was endeavouring to incorporate the smaller, east coast, Malay states into their respective mandalas.

Patani easily annexed her nearest neighbor Sai. The Nakhon chronicles indicate that Sai was once an independent kingdom; by the early 1500's, however, it seems to have been thoroughly incorporated into Patani. This is evidenced by the fact that the rulers of Sai were members of the Patani royal family. Raja Aisyah, Sultan Mudhaffar's and Sultan Mansur Syah's sister, was married to a certain Raja Jalal. He became prime minister (*bendahara*) and two years later he and Raja Aisyah were made rulers of Sai by her father with all the ceremonies of great kings (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:158). Succeeding *bendahara* all desired to hold Sai for the obvious reason that the Sai river basin was the second largest within Patani (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:163). Its resources and population would have afforded any *bendahara* a very powerful base from which to operate within the kingdom.

Patani and Johore fiercely contested Patani's southern neighbor - Kelantan. Kelantan was joined with Patani from 1502 to 1554. That Patani was the dominant partner in the relationship is indicated by the fact that the kings of Patani were given the superior title of *Sultan*, while the rulers of Kelantan were only referred to by the lesser title of *raja*.

Patani's dominance is further revealed by the fact that it later sent its own governor with the title of *datu* to rule in Kelantan (Nakula, 1987:203).

Johore seems to have regained the advantage in the late 1500's when she rested Kelantan away from Patani. Kelantanese manuscripts indicate that a prince of Johore, Raja Hussin (1584 -1610), the son of Sultan Ala Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah of Johore (r. 1580 - 1597), was regent in Kelantan and virtually ruled the state. The Tuhfat Al-Nafis supports Kelantan accounts and says that Raja Hussin was actually installed as king in Kelantan. Three factors can then probably account for Johore's expanded influence in Kelantan: 1) the northward extension of Johore's power; 2) Patani's inability to check this expansion perhaps due in part to the internal succession and power struggles of the 1570's and 3) Ayuthya's inability to support Patani because she was preoccupied and at war with Burma and Cambodia.

During the early 1600's Patani, however, was able to gain the upper hand and retake Kelantan perhaps not so much because of her superior diplomacy or arms but because Johore and Pahang were now constantly under threat of attack from Aceh. Displeased because of a treaty concluded between the Portuguese and Johore, the Acehnese had, for example, attacked Johore and Pahang in 1617 and carried off the brother of the king of Pahang and over 10,000 of Pahang's inhabitants (Limehan, 1936:35). Kelantan was thus joined with Patani for a second time during the reign of Raja Biru and remained in union with Patani from 1619 - 1750. Kelantanese sources suggest that the original purpose of this second union was anti-Siamese. The same sources also indicate that the ruler of Kelantan, now styled Sultan, agreed to this arrangement provided he was free to conduct the kingdom's internal affairs as he saw fit and as long as Kelantan did not have to pay tribute to Patani (Nakula, 1987:205).

Patani also tried to incorporate Pahang and Johore itself into her *mandala* through a series of marriage alliances. Raja Ungu, for example, was married to the king of Pahang and she herself was quick to take advantage of Johore's fear of Aceh, when she married her daughter and heir apparent, Raja Kuning, to Abdul Jalil Syah, the Sultan of Johore from 1623 to 1677. She was evidently the dominant party in this match for she made the Sultan of Johore come to Patani for the ceremony (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:249).

All the east coast, Peninsular, Malay states were extremely important to Patani. Patani's rulers knew that if the kingdom were ever going to successfully free itself from Ayuthya, it would need the

assistance and support of these Malay states. It was no accident that Raja Ungu challenged Thai authority in the 1630's. She has been married to the king of Pahang and her daughter, Raja Kuning, was married to the king of Johore. These political marriages allowed her ministers to forge a coalition of east coast states capable of defying Ayuthya's authority.

THE DECLINE OF PATANI

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Patani was no longer the great commercial and political center that it had once been. This decline can be attributed in part to internal political conflicts that followed Raja Kuning's death (1688) and the domination of overseas trade achieved by the Dutch in the Archipelago in the late 1600's.

Internal Conflicts: The Kelantan Dynasty

Raja Kuning's death in 1688 brought the 'Inland' Dynasty to its end (Table 2). This family had ruled Patani from the upstream capital of Kota Mahligai. Kings and queens descendant from this family had moved the capital to its Kersik site, converted to Islam, and initiated Patani's rise to economic and political prominence. Raja Kuning had no heirs and the *Hikayat Patani* indicates that the kingdom's ministers were forced to search for a new king.

A series of rulers, collectively known as the 'Kelantan Dynasty', was eventually installed, since many of these kings were thought to have been related to the royal family of Kelantan. The names and reigns of these rulers are summarized in Table 3.

The Kelantan Dynasty ruled Patani for approximately 41 years and this entire period was one of great turmoil centering on the office of the prime minister or *bendahara*. The *Hikayat Patani*, for instance, notes that 'during the reign of Raja Emas Kelantan, many noblemen in Patani fought over the office of prime minister and there were many prime ministers' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:201). In fact, there were actually ten different *bendahara* who served a total of fourteen different terms during the Kelantan Dynasty. Not only do these figures suggest severe political difficulties within the Kingdom, they would also seem to indicate that Patani's new kings were mere figureheads like the queens before them and that the *bendahara* and their chief rivals seemed to prefer ruling in the name of a king rather than taking power into their own hands (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:21).

TABLE 3 THE KELANTAN DYNASTY
(CA. 1688 - 1729)

Raja Bakal	ca. 1688 - 1690
Raja Emas Kelantan	1690 - 1704
Raja Emas Jayam, Baginda (st reign)	1704 - 1707
Raja Dewi	1707 - 1716
Raja Bendang Badah	1716 - 1720
Raja Laksamana Dajang	Apr 1720 - Mar 1721
Baginda (2nd reign)	Mar 1721 - Sep 1728
Alung Yunus	Sep 1728 - Aug 1729

(Teuw and Wyatt, 1970:278)

The *Hikaya Patani* indicates the degree of chaos that prevailed during this period:

'Old rules and customs kept changing continually and revenues were no longer allotted by royal favor. Each and every minister did whatever he liked for there was no one who reinstated the old traditions, on the contrary these traditions disappeared more and more because the world had reached a time of damnation' (Teuw and Wyatt, 1970:202).

The *Hikayat* itself was most likely written during this period. The authors' intent was.....

'to vindicate a claim to greatness of the dynasty, the *Bendahara*, and the realm as a whole, and, most important, to provide a mythologically based, a truly sacral code of political conduct by which this greatness could be retained or restored.....It indicates or exemplifies the proper conduct of rulers and subjects as well as the proper pattern of the realm contrasted to the current chaotic state of affairs' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:293-294).

The turmoil that followed Raja Kuning's death negatively effected Patani's trade. The English mariner, Alexander Hamilton, who visited Patani circa 1718, indicated the extent of these disruptions:

'Patani was formerly the greatest Port for Trade in all those Seas, but the inhabitants being too potent to be afraid of the king's laws, they became so insolent, that Merchants were obliged to remove their Commerce to Countries of more security. It was the staple Port for Surat Shipping, and from Goa, Malabar and Chormondel they had a good trade, and so they came from China, Tunquin, Cambodia and Siam; but the merchants finding no restraint on Robbers and Murderers, were obliged to give their trade a turn to another channel, which was a great advantage to Batavia, Siam, and Malacca, where they were kindly used, and in those ports it has continued ever since' (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:20).

The utter confusion and anarchy that followed Raja Kuning's death in 1688 reveals the centrality of kingship in Patani. Political power had long ago been usurped by the nobility and *orang kaya*, but Patani's queens still dispensed titles, distributed royal gifts, and provided opportunities to participate in royal celebrations. These titles, gifts, and invitations to royal life-cycle ceremonies were important for they ultimately determined an individual's rank and reputation (Malay: *nama*) in society. A *raja*, in short, through these activities established an individual's position in society and life (Milner, 1977:206). A subject could only improve his *nama* by working for and serving (*bakti*) his king. A *raja* improved his own reputation by attracting to himself as many loyal subjects as possible (Milner, 1977:206). The institution of *raja* in a sense created and defined the social hierarchy that formed society. When *Raja Kuning* died and the Kelantan Dynasty failed, Patani lacked a true focal point and ordering principle and social chaos prevailed.

The rule of the *orang kaya* may also have introduced an element of instability in the state. Under royal rule legitimacy and succession were in theory at least established by blood line. The bendaharaship in Patani was not necessarily hereditary. Different families, factions and cliques depending on their relative power could vie for the position. As long as one family or individual was able to monopolize the post or as long as circumstances were able to hold competing cliques in check, the system functioned smoothly. One family, in fact, seems to have controlled the bendaharaship for years. Datuk Terenam became the *bendahara* during Raja Biru reign and seems to have continued in the office under Raja Kuning. After a brief interval his son, Datuk Bendahara Terenam, assumed the position until Raja Kuning's death. He himself died during the reign of Raja Bekal, the first king of the Kelantan dynasty (1688 - 1690) (Teeuw and Wyatt, 1970:201). When Raja Kuning and Datuk Bendahara Terenam died at the end of the seventeenth century, no one family, however, was powerful enough to seize and hold onto the bendaharaship, nor was there a king with enough authority to rein in competing factions, and as a result the state eventually unravelled.

Dutch Domination of Overseas Trade

Western participation in Southeast Asia trade between 1500 -1700 contributed initially to the region's prosperity, but the European's quest for monopoly ultimately contributed to the decline of port cities like Patani. Before the arrival of the Europeans maritime centers in the western Archipelago, we have seen, functioned generally as free ports, offering equitable and universal trade to all. The Portuguese, Dutch and the English tried to undermine this tradition of fair trade and monopolize produce such as cloves and pepper. The rulers of Aceh, Banten, Johore and Patani resisted this European pressure for monopoly but were ultimately defeated by the Dutch. The Dutch ousted the Portuguese from Malacca in 1641 and defeated the Makassarese in South Sulawesi in the 1670's. The central Javanese kingdom of Mataram also indirectly contributed to Dutch success by destroying their potential rivals - the commercial port cities of Java's north coast. The Dutch eventually gained a virtual strangle hold over commerce in the Java Seas and Straits of Malacca. It is no coincidence that Hamilton notes that merchants left Patani for Dutch controlled Malacca and Batavia.

Overseas trade was the engine that powered Patani and sustained the *orang kaya* and ruling elite. Changes in trading patterns produced by the Dutch adversely effected Patani's commerce. Faced with reduced trade due in part to Dutch ascendancy in the Archipelago, Patani declined.

SUMMARY

Patani's unique geographical position, between Thai and Malay *mandala*, in part determined its history and shaped its cosmopolitan, coastal (Malay: *pasisir*) character. Patani's history on one level can, in fact, be viewed as an almost never-ending series of attempts of the state and its people to come to terms with political and cultural developments in both mainland and island Southeast Asia and to forge and maintain its own unique identity in the light of these developments. The process continues to this day. The people of Thailand's four southernmost provinces are still seeking ways to effectively integrate into the Thai nation state, while still maintaining their Islamic and Malay identities and affinities with modern Malaysia.

An indigenous state seems to have evolved in the Patani river basin in the early centuries of the Christian era. By the sixth century A.D. this polity, perhaps through trade contacts, had been Indianized. Indian religions, concepts of kingship and the state, and script, for example, had been adopted. Indianization, we would like to hypothesize, transformed this society from a kin-based, egalitarian one dominated by chiefs into a more stratified state with more clearly defined distinctions between the rulers and the ruled. A divine king stood at the apex of the social pyramid and peasants and slaves at the bottom. Kingship and social position were hereditary and power was now based on land and trade rather than personal prowess in warfare.

The first Indianized state to emerge in the region of Patani was probably Langkasuka. We know that it was sending tributary missions to China as early as the 6th century A.D. Langkasuka seems to have led a very precarious existence threatened by more powerful states to the north and south. Srivijaya, for example, may have expanded into the Peninsula in an effort to monopolize trade passing through the straits and across the Isthmus. After the fall of Srivijaya, Langkasuka seems to have withdrawn from the island world and become more incorporated into mainland Southeast Asian politics and patterns of trade. Cambodia, Burma, and Sri Lanka all sought to extend their power into the region. The fate of Langkasuka is unknown. Some have suggested that the kingdom's port eventually developed into the Kingdom of Patani.

The thirteenth century witnessed the rise of the Thai peoples in central mainland Southeast Asia. Sukothai and later Ayuthya expanded

Thai power into the Peninsula and annexed Nakhon Sri Thammarat. This ancient kingdom eventually came to represent and implement Thai interests on the Peninsula. Patani was originally a vassal of Nakhon, but with the Thai takeover, Patani was also incorporated into the Thai orbit. Patani's kings sent the *bunga mas* to Ayuthya recognizing its authority and contributed manpower to Ayuthya's wars in exchange for protection from internal and external threats. When Ayuthya was weakened by internal turmoil or foreign wars, Patani, however, consistently sought to establish her independence.

While Patani may have been forcibly incorporated into the Thai *mandala*, she maintained a great deal of religious, cultural, and political freedom and was heavily influenced by the kingdom of Majapahit prior to conversion to Islam. Patani seems to have embraced a form of tantric Shivaism, for example, similar to that practiced in Majapahit. Her kings identified themselves with Shiva and slept with a woman, symbolizing Shiva's consort, in tantric rites designed to purify the Kingdom and produce bountiful crops. It was during this period of Majapahit influence that the *wayang* shadow theatre, *keris*, and the Panji cycle of tales were probably introduced.

Little is known about Patani's relations with the great Malay trading emporium of Malacca. Hostility seems to have characterized the early stages of the relationship. Legend has it that the king of Patani, for example, had once driven the future founder of Malacca off Singapore island. We do know, however, that in the mid-fifteenth century Patani came to recognize Malacca's hegemony over the Malay Peninsula and seems to have been actually incorporated into Malacca's sphere of influence at Ayuthya's expense. It is not certain, however, whether Patani was actually defeated by Malacca and forced to recognize Malacca's superiority or whether she had secretly allied herself with Malacca to distance herself from Ayuthya. Perhaps a combination of both explanations is closest to the truth.

Sometime during the end of fourteenth century or early fifteenth century Patani converted to Islam. The precise date is unknown. Patani's king was most likely converted by an Islamic teacher or scholar from the Kingdom of Pasai, North Sumatra. Pasai was perhaps the first kingdom in the Archipelago to convert to Islam and it later played a central role in converting other Malay states including Malacca. Patani's elite was first converted and the religion was later spread to the countryside. Conversion enhanced opportunities to trade with Muslim merchants and coinage, Jawi script, and Islamic literary forms were also introduced. Patani's rajas became sultans and protectors of the Islamic community. They were transformed from gods incarnate in the guise of

Shiva into Islamic saints or Perfect Men. Patani itself developed into a center of Islamic scholarship and played a key role in converting other areas most notably South Sulawesi and Kalimantan.

The fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 explains Patani's development into one of the major political and commercial centers of seventeenth century Southeast Asia. Indian and Malay, Minangkabau merchants in their attempts to avoid Portuguese dominated Malacca sailed to other ports such as Aceh, Johore, and, of course, Patani. Chinese traders, frustrated by Portuguese extortions in Malacca, also favored Patani and actually came to dominate the trade there. Patani ultimately became known as a commercial center where Chinese silks and porcelains could be exchanged for Indonesian pepper. Its commerce not only attracted the Portuguese, but also Dutch and English merchants who established trading stations there in the early seventeenth century. Malay traders from Patani also travelled abroad and played a key role in developing the port of Makassar in eastern Indonesia.

Patani's economic expansion witnessed an increase in the power of her kings and the development of a new class of merchant officials known as the *orang kaya* who were often allied with the port traders. Patani's kings seem to have become increasingly involved in trade, perhaps even establishing royal monopolies over certain commodities. These developments may have been triggered by European attempts to establish monopolies over spices and set prices and the subsequent attempts by maritime Malay states like Patani to check these practices. Patani's *orang kaya*, who were themselves dependent on trade as sources of power, together with port merchants may have felt threatened by the ever increasing and seemingly arbitrary nature of royal authority. Matters came to a head in the late 1500's when Sultan Mansur Syah died leaving a small boy as heir. During the ensuing succession crisis all male contenders were eventually murdered and the *orang kaya* and factions in the nobility seized power. They checked royal authority by installing a series of queens as rulers and placing real power in the office of the *bendahara*, known locally as the *Datok Besar*. The new *orang kaya* governing elite was often depicted as greedy by European and even Chinese merchants, but it was precisely during their prominence from the 1580's to the 1680's that Patani most prospered.

Patani converted her newly acquired wealth into political and military power. She had long ago gained control over Sai, and she now annexed Kelantan which was a bone of contention with Johore. Raja Ungu engineered a series of marriages designed to bring Pahang and Johore under Patani's wing. She herself had married the Sultan of Pahang and her daughter Raja Kuning was married to the Sultan of

Johore. Patani had long sought to dominate these east coast Malay states, in part, to secure allies in order to break away from Ayuthya. She may have once allied herself with Malacca one hundred years earlier to achieve this same end. Raja Ungu's rebellion in the 1630's failed, however, and her successor was forced once again to send the *bungas* to Ayuthya.

A number of factors contributed to Patani's decline at the end of the seventeenth century. Raja Kuning's death in 1688 brought to end the Inland Dynasty. This family had founded Patani, converted the kingdom to Islam, and reigned during its golden years. A series of new rulers from Kelantan were installed but this system of government only lasted for approximately forty years. During this period the state was torn apart by chronic power struggles among the *orang kaya* and the nobility centering on the office of the *bendahara*. The state in Patani had been raja-centered. The king or queen stood at the apex of the social pyramid. By dispensing titles, royal gifts, and invitation to partake in royal life cycle ceremonies, Patani's rulers defined an individual's position in the social hierarchy and served as an ordering principle that helped hold the state together. The newly appointed Kelantanese rulers could not, however, pretend to replace the Inland Dynasty. They were in fact installed by the very centrifugal forces that were tearing the state apart. These internal disturbances naturally disrupted trade and, as Hamilton indicated, the merchants moved their commerce to alternate ports. Dutch ascendancy in the Straits and Java Sea also altered trading patterns and eroded Patani's economic base. The Dutch had expelled the Portuguese from Malacca in 1641 and Mataram had destroyed the north coast Javanese ports, their most serious rivals. Makassar had also fallen to the Dutch in 1670's. Patani's prominence as a port and urban center had long since passed when in late 1700's Bangkok sacked and burned the city. Changing patterns of trade instituted by the Dutch in the south ultimately destroyed Patani, and not Thai armies invading from the north. By the early nineteenth century Patani had been reduced to a village consisting of several hundred palm huts lying along the banks of the Kuala Bekah estuary.

It should be noted that Patani's history was part of larger historical patterns unfolding in Southeast Asia. Patani's conversion to Islam, for example, was part of a general trend sweeping island Southeast Asia. The rise of the *orang kaya* was another common theme that was repeated in Aceh and other Malay states. The phenomena was, in fact, not solely limited to the Malay world; the same forces that weakened the kings in Patani may also have emasculated royal power in Ayuthya. By the 1700's the Thai nobility enriched through trade had also usurped power and controlled the state. While Patani exemplifies

larger historical trends that were at work in Southeast Asia, it also has its own distinctive past. Patani, we have stressed, found itself uniquely positioned between the Malay and Thai worlds for much of its history, dominated by one or the other, Srivijaya, Majapahit, and Malacca or Sukothai and Ayuthya. Patani was continually striving to maintain its existence and establish an identity in the shadow of more powerful neighbors to the north and south. Its history ultimately produced a unique state and society that successfully combined facets from both mainland and island Southeast Asia.

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