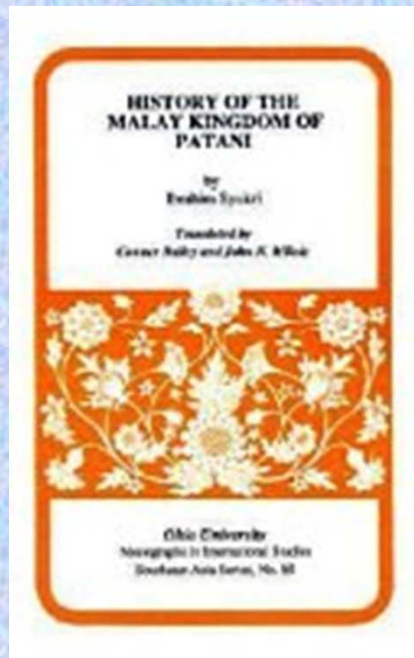


# History Of Patani



## Introduction

Organizing and arranging this Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani (History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani) was a very difficult task that consumed much time in order to achieve clarity and to ascertain the truth of actual events. During this time there were some old people in Patani who had written a few stories, but many of them were legends which illogical or useless tales and not important to a precise history. They (the old people) were very secretive and the handwritten manuscripts were closely guarded and not mentioned to anyone. However, the writer struggled with great difficulty to gather these stories and to borrow or pay their owners for their use. Among these the writer received a hand written manuscript which was particularly accurate and could be used as a guide in compiling this book. To the owner of that manuscript this writer expresses a thousand thanks. The writer began personally to investigate old remains still are scattered around Patani to this today. The writer expended great effort and much time seeking additional information in history book written in foreign language and in searching libraries so that finally the writer could put in order all the essentials so that this small book could come to exist.

The author believes that the arrangement and contents of this book do not include all event and changes which have occurred in the hundreds of years since the foundation of the Malay Kingdom of Patani. The writer is especially concerned that there might be errors in this narrative or opinions written in this book, but the writer has proceeded because to this day there are no chronicles or histories written in the Malay language concerning the historical development of the Malay Kingdom of Patani. To this day many Patani Malay are not aware of the circumstances concerning their kingdom in ancient times, that is, during the time that the Malay Kingdom of Patani was sovereign and in complete authority. It is to be hoped that with this small book they will be able to learn a little of the life and circumstances of their ancestors. It

is especially hoped that this book will become something permanent for succeeding generations and will inspire them to study and compile more detailed books such as this.

Should the readers note, mistake in the writer's compilation, the writer greatly begs for pardon and constructive criticism in order to make corrections, and the writer expresses many thanks and best wishes.

Apologies and salutations from the author.

Ibrahim Syukri

## CHAPTER 1:

### MALAY IN ANCIENT TIMES.

#### Tanah Melayu (Malay Land)



Malaya is a peninsula which stretches southward from and is situated at the southeastern part of the continent of Asia, possessing an extensive area. Beginning in the north it stretches from the Kra Isthmus to the top of Malaya, including Singapura to the south.

In the north this peninsula joins Siam which is located between two kingdoms, on its left the kingdom of Burma and on its right the kingdom of Annam which is called French Indochina. The kingdom of Siam, Annam and Burma are

located in a large peninsula, the peninsula of Indochina.

The peninsula of Malaya has two parts, the northern part and the southern. Its northern part begins at the Kra Isthmus and reaches to the provinces (jajahan) of Setul, Singgora, Yala, and Benggera. Currently the people of these provinces are included among the subject of the kingdom of Siam or Thailand. A large number of the inhabitants of the northern part of this peninsula are Siam-Thai, but in the six provinces of Setul, Cenak, Tiba, Patani, Yala, and Benggenara the majority are Malays.

The southern part of this peninsula begins at the border of the Siam-Thai provinces previously mentioned down to the tip of the Malay Peninsula, including the island of Singapura. In this part exist several Malay kingdoms today: Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Terengganu, Perak, Pahang, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Johor, Melaka, Pulau Pinang, and Singapura.

Although this peninsula has been called Malaya, the Malays were not the original people (bangsa) to inhabit it. The Malays were the last people to settle and reside in the peninsula after it had first been inhabited by several other peoples.

The first people to inhabit the peninsula of Malaya, according to information in history books, were people of a primitive type. Later it was settled by Hindus who came from India, after which is ruled by the Siam-Asli who came from Siam. Only later did the Malays arrive.

Briefly below there follows a short historical explanation of event in Malaya during ancient times.

There was a time a few hundred years before the birth of Christ when Malaya was not yet inhabited by civilized types of people as it is today. The land was covered with jungle and undergrowth and was inhabited by many kinds of wild animals.

Under the shelter of thick jungle and together with the wild animals there were two kinds of human beings of a primitive type who were able to make their own dwellings. They were the Semang (Pangan) people and the Sakai people. Although both people are called human, actually their condition and way of life were still primitive, and far from the ways of civilized human.

Several hundred years before the birth of Christ, the Hindus from India began to arrive in Malaya. At that time the Hindus had attained a high level of progress and culture in India. They arrived in Malaya with the intention of expanding their livelihood beyond their country. Malaya attracted them to come to this area of eastern of Asia by its wealth, prosperity, and fame.

The path taken by the Hindus to East Asia at that time followed by two routes, land and sea. By the land routes they traveled via Burma, entering the lands of Siam and Annam. By the sea route journeyed from India, sailing ships across the India Ocean, and entered Malaya and all the southern islands, including Sumatera, Java, Bali, Brunei, and others. They went as far as Siam, Cambodia, and Annam.

As a people which had a high culture in India, the Hindus possessed their own customs, traditions, and religion. Wherever they lived they firmly clung to their customs, traditions, and religion and they practiced them as though they were in their homeland of India.

Because the Hindus possessed a high culture with well-organized customs and traditions, the eastern inhabitants were drawn to imitate or follow the actions of the Hindus. Eventually the Hindus became teachers who taught the inhabitants of the East their customs, traditions, and religion. In this way, as time passed all inhabitants of the East completely accepted the customs and traditions of the Hindus. Although the religion of the Hindus was of many kinds, nevertheless the best known were two religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism. Brahmanism is a religion that worships gods or goddesses and also ghosts and spirits and is divided into several sects according to which of the six gods are worshipped. Those who worship Siva for example, are therefore called people of the Siva sect. While those who worship the god Vishnu are called people of the Vishnu sect and so on for other sects.

The gods worshipped by the Hindus are very numerous and it would be of no use for us to mention them here. It is only necessary to note that this religion is the oldest in India and is still actively practiced. Meanwhile, more than two thousand years ago, there appeared a great teacher in India who purified the faith of India and taught a new faith called Buddhism to his followers.

When the great teacher Buddha died, Buddhism split into several sects, but among them were two major sects, Hinayana and Mahayana. The followers of the Hinayana sect, meaning "lesser vehicle," clung only to the teachings of the great teacher without alterations. At that time most of the followers of this sect were people of South India and therefore this sect came to be called *daksina nikaya* meaning southern sect, in time the teaching of this sect withered away in India until finally it disappeared, except in Ceylon where it still is strong. In addition to the Indian followers of that sect, type Ceylonese, the present-day Siam-Thai remain faithful to this sect.

There is also the Mahayana sect, meaning "greater vehicle." The teachings of his sect have been much changed and altered according to the ideas of its followers. Some have added Brahmanic teachings so that there came into being far-reaching differences between two sects, Hinayana and Mahayana. At that time the Mahayana sect was followed by the people of north India. Therefore this sect was called *utara nikaya* meaning northern sect, and its followers were called *maha nikaya*, people of the Mahayana sect. The teaching of this sect though time became widespread and it is still strong in India. In the past this sect was most popular among people of the East, including those of Sumatra, Java, Bali, as well as the peninsula of Malaya. During the time of Ignorance this sect was still strongly adhered to and believed in, as it is now by people in Annam, Cambodia, China, Japan, and Korea.

The wide distribution of the Mahayana sect of the Buddhist religion to the East was brought about by people who came from India and spread their religion. The majority of them were from northern India, for example the country (negeri) of Kashmir and others. Most numerous were Buddhist of the Mahayana sect.

Because of this, besides the followers of the Brahman religion there were also many people of the East who followed the Buddhist religion of the Mahayana sect. Only the Siam-Thai people firmly followed the Hinayana sect. When the Hindus arrived in the East they usually lived in groups. After they had grouped together, many of those places became countries. Malaya and other places then began to be developed. Hindus from India occasionally liked to act like rajas. When they began to settle in Malaya the desire to act like a rajas did not disappear. When these countries were first established, Hindus began to be appointed as headmen or rajas to rule for the peace and safety of their people. Therefore each country had a raja governing it so that one after another countries were developed according to where there were Hindus gathered. At that time in the northern part of Malaya several countries were established, namely Tambralinga, Gerahi, Takkola, Langkasuka (Kedah), and others. All of these countries were ruled by Hindus. Tambralinggam is Nakhon Sri Thammarat or Ligor which now is ruled by Thailand.

The Hindus are a people who do not forget their customs, traditions, or religion. No matter where they reside they always also built religion sanctuaries and other places of worship so that any place where Hindus have lived can be recognized from the remains and traces of such structures.

When the Hindus stayed in any place always behaved well and mingled with the local residents. Finally they inter-married with them. Their descendants increased and because of this intermingling their descendants inherited authority over all regions of the East.

Here let us examine some matters regarding the inhabitants of the main peninsula of Indochina, the place which today constitutes the country of Siam, so that we may easily comprehend when matters concerning the Malays are mentioned.

In the time before the coming of the Hindus to the East the center or the Indochina peninsula was inhabited by several people who possessed their own negeri and kingdom. Whenever Hindus arrived, there occurred a situation similar to their arrival in Malaya that is the Hindus were elevated by local inhabitants to be their teachers. Thus it was not difficult for their religion to spread very easily and freely until finally almost all inhabitants in those countries had adopted the religion brought by the Hindus. The natives greatly respected and honored the

Hindus until eventually there were those among them who desired to surrender sovereignty of their country to the Hindus, becoming like their servants.

In the center of the Indochina peninsula at that time there existed three separate kingdoms, like kingdom of the Khmer people located in the east, the Lao kingdom located in the center of the peninsula, which has become the location of the country of Siam today, and third the kingdom of the Mon of Talaing people. Although these three people possessed their own individual governments, their custom and religion were identical except that the Mon and Khmer people were more influenced by the Hindus so that even their rajas were Hindus.

The system of government in the Lao kingdom at that time involved division into four territories and each had its own capital. Among these four territories the most famous was the territory known as Siam, and its capital also was called Siam. This was the largest of the territories.

When the Thai who lived in the south of the country of China came to subjugate that region or territory their country was given the name of Siam, and because of this until today the Thai are well-known and recognized by the world by the name of Siam.

These three kingdoms firmly maintained their individual power until the ninth century A.D. only then did their situation change. The power of the Lao kingdom declined and it was subjugated by the Khmer people. Finally, the power of the Khmer was overthrown by the Thai, so that by the twelfth century A.D. all the land of Siam which had been in the power of the Khmer was completely under the authority of the Thai. Since then all the authority of the Khmer in Siam has been eliminated, as had that of the Lao.

In fact, these three kingdoms continually formed relationships with all other countries and kingdoms in all the islands in the south. At that time people from Siam began gradually to move south and gain a foothold in order not to confuse them with the present-day Thai. Thus we call them the Siam-Asli, which means the Siamese who originally settled in Siam before the arrival of the modern-day Siam-Thai.

The coming of the Siam-Asli to Malaya was gradual, group by group. According to information in history books they arrived in Malaya during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. During this long period there came to be many who settled in Malaya, after which Siam-Asli began to share the power of the Hindus through associating and intermarrying with them. This finally the blood of the Hindus to mingle with the blood of the Siam-Asli and brought them the ancient power of the Hindus. Eventually the result of this mingling caused the Hindus rajas to change and become of Siam-Asli blood. Finally, by degrees, the power of the Hindus in Malaya fell into the hands of the Siam-Asli.

After the Siam-Asli gained power in Malaya they pushed on and went far to the south and also developed several countries in southern Malaya such as the countries of Gelanggayu, Gangga Nagara, Pahang dan others. At that time the Siam-Asli held power throughout Malaya.

Thus, the power of the Siam-Asli in Malay endured for several hundred years until in the eighth century A.D. their power began to weaken, because at that time a kingdom of Malaya was established in the islands of Sumatera, the kingdom of Srivijaya. This kingdom came to subjugate the countries of the Siam-Asli and finally the whole of Malaya was subject to the Srivijaya kingdom. The power of the Siam-Asli was completely destroyed. Moreover, at that

time, the power of the Siam-Asli in the land of Siam was seized by the Thai who came from the south of the country of China so that the power of the Siam-Asli in Malaya was lost.

Original settlements of the Thai were in the districts of Southern China, in the territories of Szechwan, Yunan, and others. Because the settlements of the Thai in China constantly were oppressed, crushed, and attacked by the Chinese, who were more powerful, the Thai gradually were forced to flee group by group and wander south through the center of the Indochinese peninsula. Wherever they found peace and safety from the oppression of the Chinese, there they made their country. After some time many of the countries of Siam.

Among them there came a company of Thai who fled and developed a country near the region of Siam where the Khmer were then in control. Then the Thai began to attack and press against the power of the Khmer people until finally all the land of to the southeast where they were able to re-establish a kingdom in the country of Cambodia which has endured until now.

Thus all the land of Siam was subjugated by the Thai, who established a kingdom of their own. The power has endured so that the name of the Thai kingdom is widely known today.

Now let us investigate matters and affairs which concern the descent of the Malays and the place from which they originally came to settle in the Malay Peninsula. There were ancestors of the Malays located in the island of Perca or Sumatera at the time of the arrival of the Hindus in Malaya. Some of them (the Hindus) sailed eastward and arrived in the islands to the south and settled and mingled with the original inhabitants of that island so that several kingdoms were established by the descendants of the Hindus.

At that time the region along the eastern and northern shores of Sumatera already was settled by a people who were called Jakun. This people were not of the primitive type of people which were in that island because they were more civilized than the primitive peoples. They preferred to inhabit regions by the seaside, whereas the primitive peoples greatly feared to live on the seashore and preferred to make their settlements inland, far from the water.

Although the Jakun communities were not organized into countries, nevertheless there were permanent settlements with their own leaders and they and they were skilled at making a living by such method as fishing and so forth. Thus they knew how to make and to use boats and had the boldness to sail their boats far into the open sea to seek their living.

When the Hindus came and mingled with the Jakun people, they eventually brought forth children and grandchildren, and a new people was created who call themselves "Malays," meaning people of Malaya.

In fact these Malays were more advanced and civilized than their original ancestors because they had inherited culture than progress from two sides, that is from the Jakun people and from the Hindus people. These Malays followed the religions of their ancestors that are Buddhism of the Mahayana sect or "maha nikaya" and the Brahmanism religion.

As the settlements of the Malays increased day by day, they were force to move and seek for places to live throughout the world and these Malays developed several countries in Sumatera. Some went forth from the shores of Sumatera and sailed through the islands and great lands in the northeast of the continent of Asia such as the Malay Archipelago, including also the islands of Hawaii and the island of Japan in the Pacific Ocean, and the island of

Andaman, Ceylon, Nicobar, Madagascar, and others in the India Ocean. During these voyages the Malays landed and formed countries on the southern shores of the continent of Asia.

Some of these Malays continually sailed back and forth, and some of them stayed to settle in those places until they had children, grandchildren, and great-children that became dwellers in the entire place mentioned. As a result, the entire island in the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean together with several places on the shores of the mainland of the continent of Asia had settlers who were descendants of the ancient Malays. Thus, also several islands to the west were called the "Malay Archipelago." The archipelago inhabited by Malays who are descended from these ancient ancestors.

There many place on the shores of the continent of Asia which have at some time been visited and inhabited by ancient Malays, especially in the Malay Peninsula which they called Tanah Melayu. Although now some of these places mentioned are no longer settled by Malays, nevertheless from chronicles and history together with the appearances of traces and names of places or villages and so forth, it is clear that in ancient times they were once inhabited by Malays. Some of them are in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, in the area under Siam-Thai control. Many places or villages are still found which are known by Malay names.

In the Siam-Thai annals of Singgora in the side of a hill named Kauding or "Red Hill," in the ancient days there existed a country of Malay people. When that country existed and what the name of that country was is no definitely known. It is also believed that perhaps it was this country which originally was called the country of Singgora because the meaning of Singgora is "hill."

Furthermore, we find that the annals of the country of Pattalung say that a raja who ruled that country was of the Islamic religion. His name was Sultan Sulaiman. This Malay kingdom at last overthrown by its enemies and Sultan Sulaiman died in the battle. Therefore all the people of the country were scattered. Some of them fled north and opened up a new country (also) called Pattalung or Badalung, which today is under the rule of the kingdom of Siam-Thai. The body of the late Sulatan Sulaiman was buried in his country. The area of the cemetery still can be seen today. It is full of nothing by jungle. The Malays in Singgora and Nakhon Sri Thammarat call this graveyard "hum", that is "the Late". It is still much visited by the residents of that country every year.

There is another country called Champa mentioned in books on the history of the people of French Indochina. This country was established by Malays who visited there in ancient times. Their capitol was Indrapura. This country was very famous for its strength from the beginning of the first century A.D., but in A.D. 1471 this country was overthrown by its enemies, the Annamese. It is no longer known where the country of Champa was located. We can only note that it is in history books.

The information cited above has shown how long the voyages were and how great the spirit or the Malays at that time, who came to rule in the countries of, people everywhere. This is very different from the Malays of today.

When the Malays arrived form Sumatera in Malaya, at first they lived only on the seashores and the nearby islands. They passed along the southern shores, afterward gradually entering northern Malaya. Although at that time the Siam-Asli controlled Malaya, nevertheless their power lay in the interior far from the seas because normally the Siam-Asli preferred not to



live beside the ocean. Thus it came about that their country was established in the interior far from the sea.

So it was that when the Malays who came to Malaya stayed only on the fringes of the shore, there were no disputes or enmity with the Siam-Asli since they had their separate places of residence. Also the Malays of that time used customs and religion which were similar to the Siam-Asli and therefore they were able to live peacefully. In fact, the Malays arrived at that time with no intention other than to make a living together in Malaya, but as time passed the number of Malays increased until southern shores, as well as to the north. Meanwhile, the kingdom of Srivijaya had come to power in Sumatera. Thus the aim of Malays then changed from that of subsisting to that of taking power in Malaya. This process was begun by one of the princes of Srivijaya named Raja Nila Utama who established the country Tumasik, which had previously been settled by Malays. The kingdom which ruled there came to be called Singapura and this country was the very first to be established by Malays in Malaya. Not many years later the raja of Srivijaya finally subjugated all their countries so that all power of the Siam-Asli in Malaya was shattered.

Now let us briefly consider the situation of the kingdom of Srivijaya. The kingdom of Srivijaya was established by ancient Malays on the island of Sumatera, the first century A.D. its center of government was in modern-day Palembang. The people who developed this country were Malays of the Hindu religion who were also called Hindu Malays.

Their kingdom was ruled by several descendants of their raja, and they were called the descendants of the Rajah Silin. Thus it is also believed that the raja that first established and held the throne of the Srivijaya kingdom was named Raja Silin. It is also said that this raja was a descendant of the family of the "King of the Mountain," an indication of the height of their power at that time.

The kingdom of Srivijaya prospered greatly until in the fourteenth century its power was broken. During the time it held power all countries which were governed by the Siam-Asli were completely subjugated including Malaya, Sumatera, Java, Bali and others. In the eighth century A.D. Srivijaya succeeded in subjugating the country of Malaya and also at the end of that century his majesty subjugated the country of Kedah. Then in the ninth century A.D. the power of Srivijaya increased and spread until his majesty subjugated the country of Nakhon Sri Thammarat together with several country to the north, including the country of Nakhon Phatung or Nikapatam which is situated on the west side of Bangkok today.

Srivijaya erected large temples in the countries of Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Nakhon Phatung. There are still some of their temples remaining yet today. At that time, the power of the Siam-Asli in Malaya shifted to the Malays from Sumatera. During this time, the Malays freely came to Malaya until they crowded then Selangor, Terengganu, Perak, Kelantan, and Patani. All these countries submitted to the authority of Srivijaya.

The power of the kingdom of Srivijaya continued to persist and expand until almost the end of fourth century A.D. Then its power gradually began to weaken because at that time the country of Palembang, the center of its government in Sumatera, fell into the hands of the kingdom of Majapahit, a kingdom newly in power on the island of Java. In the year A.D. 1377 the kingdom of Majapahit subjugated the country of Singapura and all the countries in Malaya.

As the kingdom of Srivijaya gradually began to lose its power, the Thai who had come to inhabit and control Siam began to attack and subjugate the country of Nakhon Sri Thammarat and the country in southern Siam so that the power of Srivijaya in Malaya and Siam was completely broken. Then Malaya was separated into two parts, the northern part ruled by the Thai kingdom and the southern part dominated by the Majapahit kingdom.

Although all the Malay countries were subject to the Majapahit kingdom, because the center of its government was located on Java, which was very far away from Malaya, the Malay countries were allowed to be ruled by their respective rajas. When the Majapahit kingdom lost power after being subjugated by an Islamic kingdom in Java, more and more matters and affairs in Malaya were neglected. Thereafter the authority to govern returned to the Malay rajas who ruled their respective countries. Since then the Malay rajas have been firmly seated on their royal thrones, free and undisturbed by anyone, the basis for the freedom of the states (negeri) in Malay today.

When the Islamic religion was born in the Arabian peninsula, brought by the Master Prophet Mohammad, it spread to India, and from India the Islamic religion was brought to Malay and the islands to the East. Historians have said that Muslim began to settle in the country of Kedah from the ninth century A.D. They were Arab, Indian, and Parsia merchants who came to do business in Malaya.

In the year A.D 1403 one of the Hindus Malay rajas who ruled over the kingdom of Melaka voluntarily converted to Islam. His majesty in the time of Hinduism was known as Raja Parameswara and when he became a Muslim his majesty was known as Sultan Mahmud Shah. Afterward Raja Mahawangsa, who ruled Kedah, also adopted Islam and was given the title Sultan Mansur Shah, since then Islam has spread far and wide through all the countries in Malaya and as far as a few territories under the rule of Siam. Thus the Siamese who have adopted Islam are called Samsam.

## CHAPTER 2 :

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATANI AND THE DESCENT OF ITS RAJAS



In time Kedah was developed and became a prosperous country and Singapura and Melaka were developed by Malays who came from the island of Sumatera. In this period the name Patani was not yet known. It is believed that in the area which came to be known as Patani there lived Siam-Asli as it is definitely known that long ago all of Malaya was settled by these peoples. Even so, at that time there were Malays who came from the island of Sumatera and settled on the coasts of Malaya, and some of them gained power and established countries in the south such as Singapura and Melaka. Nevertheless, the influence of the Malays did not yet extend to the north. The Siam-Asli continued to control the north of Malaya, in Pahang, Kedah, Kelantan, and thus also in Patani. All of the governments of the Siam-Asli were under the protection of the center of their government which was established at Ligor or Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

At this time in Patani there was established a kingdom of Siam-Asli the center of whose rule was located in the district of Perawan, although the

actual name of the country is not known ('Now called Kampung Perawan situated in the district of Jering. Its official name is "Krung" which in the Siamese language mans city or citadel of the raja [*Kota Raja*]. In this village there still exists the ruins of the Kota Raja and traces of antiquity which were erected by the SiamAsli. There also is a large Buddhist idol in a cave on top of a hill which is revered by Buddhists in the District of Yala yet today. This idol was made by the Siam-Ash and there is evidence which indicates that this figure was made during the same period that Maharaja Srivijaya Palembang erected the pillars of the sanctuary at Ligor. In view of the traces still present it is believed that the kingdom of the Siam-Asli in Patani was long established and was not insignificant.). The stories concerning Patani say only that it was called "Kota Mahligai." (The name is still a matter of confusion because the word Mahligai is from the Persian language, not from the Siamese or Hindu languages. It is possible also that writers of books concerning Patani have been mistaken in taking this word from "maha nikaya" which means country of followers of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism. It also can be understood from the translation of the Pra Wang to mean Kota Raja which then was called Kota Mahligai. In this matter it is not yet certain which [interpretation] is correct). From its traces, still clearly visible, this country was large and was ruled by a number of rajas and eventually was ruled by a raja known in the time of his reign as Raja Sri Wangsa (The name of this raja is written in a book of stories on Patani as "Paya korp Mahyana," meaning raja who worships the Mahayana religion. This was not his official name. In the words of the Malay Annals it is stated that the name of the raja who first opened up the country of Patani was Raja Sri Bangsa or Sri Wangsa. This writer is of the opinion that the name

Sri Wangsa is more accurate). At Kota Mahligai there were Malays who came from countries which were recently established in the south of Malaya and also from the island of Sumatera. They came and resided on the coasts by the sea. The country of Kota Mahligai was situated very far inland, some tens of miles from the sea, because the Siam-Asli did not like living near the sea. Because of this, Kota Mahligai only with difficulty was reached by traders and merchants, causing the prosperity and luxury of Kota Mahligai to decrease with each day. Finally the inhabitants of the country gradually were forced to leave and make a living outside of the country's capital. As Kota Mahligai began to lose its inhabitants, the villages newly founded by Malays near the sea became more developed and populated because merchant boats began to stop and sell their goods there. Among the merchants were some who chose to stay, working and trading in that place so that it became prosperous and densely populated.

At that time on the coast of the country of Patani a village was established and first settled by an old Malay fisherman named "Tani." This old man was very well-mannered and refined and he became the head of the group of fishermen there. The inhabitants of that village honored and praised him, and he was given the title of Bapak, and called "Pak Tani."<sup>32</sup> That village increased in population day by day until finally it was called Kampung Pak Tani [Village of Pak Tani].

This village was situated in a very beautiful area with level land high above the floods of the rainy season. Its coast formed a wide bay while in front of it extended a long cape, so that within the bay there was a very good harbor for boats and ships, well protected from the danger of waves and heavy winds. The fishermen in Kampung Pak Tani were able to catch fish and other marine life in the bay without having to go far into the middle of the sea. Within the area of the high and level land, the inhabitants of Kampung Pak Tani worked their wet rice fields. Near their village there was a small river by which boats could easily go to and from the sea, known today as the Kerisik River. Because of this it was not long before Kampung Pak Tani became large and its inhabitants numerous. It became a large city while on the coast there was a trading center for merchants who regularly came to the city.

As Kampung Pak Tani grew increasingly large, Kota Mahligai became more and more lonely because many of its inhabitants left. Finally Raja Sri Wangsa decided to move from the capital of the country. He moved with all of the royal family and common people, and erected a large palace near Kampung Pak Tani in the District of Kerisik. This royal citadel [*kota istana*] was built across

the river facing Kampung Pak Tani. The entrance of the royal citadel faced the river to facilitate traffic by boat. This river was named the Papiri River, not Parit River as it is known today. (The Papiri River has since been filled in.)

As soon as the royal citadel was completed, his majesty ordered the excavation of a moat around the citadel as a defense against attacks by enemies, according to the defensive strategies of that era. The moat was dug beginning from the Kerisik River proceeding behind his majesty's citadel until it rejoined with the Papiri River at Kampung Parit. Raja Sri Wangsa together with all his royal family and commoners settled within the royal citadel of Kampung Kerisik, and Kota Mahligai was abandoned.

At that time the place where the royal citadel was built by Raja Sri Wangsa had not yet been named, but because it was situated near Kampung Pak Tani most people simply called it the country of Pak Tani. Then it began to be known by the name of "Pak Tani." Thus the Arabs who came to trade at Patani also called it "Patani" as that was easier for them to pronounce." Then Patani began to be known throughout the world, East and West, and became the subject of several fantastic and remarkable tales from the past until this day.

After Raja Sri Wangsa was established as the ruler of Patani, the country became even more populous and trading progressed due to visits by merchants from other countries. Several years later Raja Sri Wangsa died and he was replaced on the throne of Patani by his son who was named Raja Intera (Indra).<sup>34</sup>

The raja in power and all of the commoners in Patani continued to follow the religion introduced by the Hindus, the Buddhist religion of the Mahayana sect. At the same time on the island of Sumatera there existed a country named Pasai whose residents had embraced the Islamic religion, but surrounding their country there were still many people of the Hindu religion. Therefore, the country of Pasai was frequently attacked by the Hindus causing the Muslims in the country of Pasai to endure a life of hardship. Some of them left for other countries to save themselves. Among them there were those who fled in the direction of Patani, so that Patani began to receive Muslims arriving from Pasai. They built a village there, all the residents of which were people from Pasai, and the village was named Kampung Pasai, as it is today.

Among the Pasai Muslims there was an old man learned in religious law named Sheik Syafialudin. This old man was also known as a *dukun* skilled in treating many different illnesses.<sup>35</sup> Because of this the residents of Patani honored and were exceedingly respectful toward the Tuan Sheik.'

At one time Raja Intera (Raja Patani) was afflicted by a disease which broke out over his body, leprosy. The longer it

lasted the worse it became. Many dukun and healers of the SiamAsh were called to treat his majesty but to no avail. Then his majesty ordered his servant to beat a cymbal throughout the country to find someone able to treat his majesty's disease, offering several gifts. The raja's servant traveled while striking the cymbal through every village and field looking for a dukun able to treat his majesty's illness but without success until he entered the village of the people of Pasai. When Sheik Syafialudin heard the striking of the cymbal he went out and asked, "Why do you strike that cymbal?" Replied the raja's servant, "Our raja is afflicted with leprosy, every one of the dukun in the country has tried to treat it without success. Because of this I walk striking the cymbal looking for someone who is able to treat his majesty's illness, and his majesty has promised to give a fine gift to the one able to treat him." Then said Sheik Syafialudin, "Tell your raja I am able to treat his disease."

Several days later Sheik Syafialudin was seen coming to the royal citadel and entered into the presence of His Majesty Raja Intera. When his majesty inquired whether it was true that Tuan Sheik was able to treat his disease, respectfully he replied, "Your will be done, Your Majesty, a thousand pardons, your humble servant is willing to treat it, but with the stipulation that Your Majesty will make a vow to your humble servant first." His majesty said, "What promises do you want?" Answered Sheik Syafialudin, "It is the wish of your humble servant that should your Sovereign Majesty's disease be cured by our humble servant,

Your Majesty would be willing to leave behind the Buddhist religion and follow that of your humble servant, the Islamic religion." The wish of Sheik Syafialudin was granted by his majesty. After several days his majesty's disease was cured by the Tuan Sheik. So exceedingly happy was his majesty that he bestowed much property upon Sheik Syafialudin. But his majesty's promise to change his religion was not fulfilled.

It was not long thereafter that his majesty's disease again recurred. His majesty ordered that Sheik Syafialudin be called to treat him once again. Sheik Syafialudin agreed to treat him but with the condition already noted to which the raja must submit. After treating him for several days the disease was cured. Again his majesty disavowed the wishes of the sheik and the disease

returned for a third time. It was again ordered that Sheik Syafialudin treat him. This time Sheik Syafialudin came respectfully to the raja saying, "As long as Your Majesty does not fulfill Your Majesty's promises to your humble servant, during that time Your Majesty's disease will not be cured." Upon hearing the words of the Sheik, his majesty commanded, "Cure my disease this time and I will be obliged to fulfill my promises." Then Sheik Syafialudin once again treated his majesty's illness until finally it was cured, and after that his majesty's body was restored.

After this his majesty invited Sheik Syafialudin into this palace and ordered him to teach the confession of faith. Sheik Syafialudin was extremely pleased knowing that his desire was achieved, and taught his majesty how to pronounce the confession of faith. Since that time his majesty firmly embraced the Islamic faith and turned away from the Buddhist religion.

At the behest of Raja Intera, Sheik Syafialudin was appointed to teach Islamic law in his palace and he was given the elevated title of "Datuk Sri Raja Patih," Thus Datuk Sri Raja Patih continued teaching Islamic law to his majesty, the royal family, and other important people until they too embraced the Islamic religion. After this the Islamic religion began to spread beyond the royal palace and was accepted by the common people of Patani as well. Finally, all the people of Patani embraced the religion of Islam, and the Hindu religion gradually began to weaken as the people of Patani no longer paid it any attention. Buddhist idols and places of worship were completely collapsed and destroyed."

Since that time the people of Patani have followed the religion of Islam, which until this day has become their national religion. One day Datuk Sri Raja Patih convened a public gathering to install Raja Intera as sultan according to Islamic customs, giving his majesty the title Sultan Mahmud Shah. Then the titles of all the raja's chief men were arranged according to the style of titles which are used in Malay countries, titles for the rank of their ministers being called datuk and orang kaya, so that those titles were soon restricted [to only those people holding certain offices].

When matters within the country were thus settled, Sultan Mahmud Shah composed a missive to foreign lands to be carried by a party of his ambassadors to the sultan of Melaka to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries, especially as Melaka was known as the oldest Malay country and the first to embrace Islam. At that time the sultan who ruled Melaka was Sultan Mahmud Shah (Ascending to the throne of the kingdom of Melaka in the year A.D. 1478, his majesty was the last sultan to govern the country of Malacca. In the year 1511 Melaka was subjugated by the Portuguese. When the ambassadors from the Malay kingdom

of Patani arrived in Melaka they were greeted by the sultan of Melaka with full honors. When the ambassadors returned to Patani many things were sent as gifts to the sultan of Patani.

Not many years thereafter Sultan Mahmud Shah [of Patani] sent a mission to the country of Siam, which was ruled from Ayuthia, in order to form friendly ties between his majesty and the Siam-Thai raja (At that time the country of Siam was under the control of the Siam-Thai. At first their center of administration was in Sukothai; subsequently their center of government was moved to Ayuthia). After that Patani became increasingly known to the outside world so that its name was recognized by all the Eastern and Western peoples. Even more than during the time of his majesty's father, merchants began to gather in Patani, selling and buying their wares. They included Siam-Thai, Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Indians, and Arabs. Only the Europeans had not yet arrived at Patani.

Each day Patani increased in populousness while the trading between peoples continually progressed. The mouth of the Patani River was constantly frequented by ships which carried trade goods from foreign lands so that the development of Patani at that time was no less than that of Melaka, which was older. Development in Patani continued until the year A.D. 1516, the century of the arrival of the European peoples in East Asia. In that year Patani first received a Portuguese ship arriving from Melaka carrying many different kinds of trade goods with the intention of trading in the country of Patani. By that time Melaka had been subjugated by the Portuguese. When the Portuguese ship arrived at Kuala Patani, its captain landed on the beach and came before his majesty asking permission to trade within Patani. This request was for a factory for their trade in the city of Patani. This was the first visit of the European peoples to Patani, and the Portuguese were the first who came to trade in Patani.

The arrival of the Portuguese in East Asia was solely for the purpose of trade.' On the continent of Europe they had established a trading company whose purpose was to expand their trade in the eastern region. Early in the fifteenth century A.D. Portuguese trading ships began to sail for India. From there they first heard of the fame of Melaka's commerce. When they saw that Melaka's location was very favorable from a commercial standpoint, even better than they had dreamed, and that internal commerce was well developed, an imperialistic spirit arose among the Portuguese, who desired to govern Melaka themselves. Therefore in April of A.D. 1511 there arrived a force of Portuguese war ships captained by Alphonso d'Alberquerque, who attacked and landed his troops in the beach of Melaka. A fierce battle with the people of Melaka took place, but the defenses of the city of Melaka, which were regarded as being invincible, were successfully destroyed and the country of Melaka fell into the hands of the Portuguese. Melaka then became a center for Portuguese trade in Southeast Asia. The Portuguese then began to send their trading ships to Patani.

In Patani the trade of the Portuguese steadily increased because at that time there were no other European peoples conducting trade there and they were able to do so freely. One trade item that the Portuguese brought, which was exceedingly remarkable in the eyes of the Patani Malays, was firearms, that is, guns and their bullets. The Patani Malays were not yet acquainted with these weapons. Only when they were brought by the Portuguese did they learn and master their use. After that time trading ships and Portuguese flocked to trade in Patani.

A Portuguese merchant named Pinto who came to trade in Patani in the year A.D. 1538 wrote in his diary as follows: "At the time I arrived in Patani in that year, I met nearly 300 Portuguese who lived within the city of Patani. Besides these Portuguese there were also Eastern

peoples such as Siam-Thai, Chinese, and Japanese. The Japanese commerce is very extensive in this city."

Information found in books on Patani's history indicates that His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Shah, who then occupied the throne of the Malay kingdom of Patani, always governed justly, causing the country of Patani gradually to increase the level of its development. Several years thereafter his majesty died leaving two sons, that is Raja Muzafar and Raja Mansur, together with one daughter named Raja Aisyah. Raja Aisyah married Raja Jalalludin who governed the country of Sai.

With the agreement of the royal family and the chiefs, Raja Muzafar was proclaimed sultan to replace his father the late Sultan Mahmud Shah, and he was given the title Sultan Muzafar Shah. His younger brother, Raja Mansur was appointed *Raja Muda* while his majesty appointed the grandchild of Datuk Sri Raja Patih to become one of his chiefs, as was to be the case from generation to generation."

After Sultan Muzafar Shah had occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani for some time, his majesty considered visiting the country of Siam-Thai in order to make acquaintances and to create a closer friendship with that country's raja. As soon as preparations had been completed his majesty temporarily turned over the government of the country to his younger brother, Raja Mansur. Then his majesty set sail with several ships escorted by his chiefs and their soldiers in the direction of the country of Siam-Thai. After several days' sail his majesty arrived at the mouth of the Chao Phrya River, that is the estuary of the country of Siam. By following this river his majesty's expedition proceeded upstream straight to the city of Ayuthia (This was the center of the Thai government once they gained control of the country of Siam. Its raja was named Phra Maha Cakkraphat. [He reigned between 1548 and 1568/69.]). His majesty was not well received by the raja of Siam-Thai because the raja of Siam-Thai considered the rank of his majesty very much lower than his own. After his majesty had stayed there but a few days, his majesty returned to Patani with a feeling of grievance and dissatisfaction aroused by the proud nature of the Siam-Thai. When his majesty departed, the raja of Siam-Thai gave him several slaves from his prisoners of war, people of Pegu (Burma) and people of Khmer (Cambodia). All the captive slaves were brought back to Patani and his majesty gave them a village in which to live. To this day their descendants are still to be found in that village. Because those people were still of the Buddhist religion, a monastery was built within their village which was named Kedi, meaning monk's house. Because of this, the Malays of Patani named that village Kampung Kedi, and so it has remained until this day.

In the year A.D. 1563 there came to Sultan Muzafar Shah the news that the country of Siam was under attack by the Burmese. His majesty remembered the proud nature of the Siam-Thai which had been shown during the time of his majesty's visit to the city of Ayuthia. His majesty met in council with his younger brother and his chiefs and a decision was reached to attack Ayuthia as repayment for their shame and to take revenge upon the Siam-Thai. His younger brother, Raja Mansur, together with all ministers and war chiefs agreed to accompany his majesty to war.

Then his majesty commanded the preparation of 200 warships, one thousand soldiers, and 100 women as a combined force led by his majesty to attack Siam. Several days later the army departed from Patani and headed for the country of the Siam-Thai, while the



government of the country was left to one of his majesty's chiefs. Then his majesty sailed with his army to SiamThai.

When Sultan Muzafar Shah arrived with his army at SiamThai he discovered that the citadel of Ayuthia was surrounded by Burmese soldiers. Quickly his majesty landed his army and immediately invaded the royal citadel of Siam-Thai, running amuck and killing the Siamese until the Siam-Thai, who were guarding the front of the citadel, were killed by the Patani Malay soldiers." Finally, all the defenses of the Siam-Thai were weakened, and one by one they fled. At that time their raja was within his palace. When he heard the war cries of the Malay soldiers, who had successfully seized the citadel's gate, he fled through a door in the back of the citadel and ran to hide in a place named "Maha Phram Island." There the Siam-Thai regathered their strength to counter-attack the army of Patani Malays.

As soon as they were sated with running amuck and killing the Siam-Thai, the Malay army left the citadel, returned to their

ships, and immediately weighed their anchors to sail back to Patani. But when their army had gone as far as the mouth of the Chao Phrya River, by the will of God who is all powerful, His Majesty Sultan Muzafar Shah suddenly died, and they were forced to bury him at the estuary of the country of Siam. The army returned to Patani with sadness at the loss of their beloved raja.

At the time that Sultan Muzafar Shah set out to attack Siam, his queen was pregnant. After his majesty died and Raja Mansur had returned to Patani the queen had not yet given birth. There arose a question as to who should be elevated to the throne of the late sultan. At that time there was an older son of his majesty named Raja Mambang, a child borne by a concubine. According to royal prescripts, offspring from a concubine may not be elevated to become sultan. Because of this the entire royal family and all of the chiefs decided that Raja Mansur would become sultan and be given the title Sultan Mansur Shah.

As soon as the ceremony inaugurating Raja Mansur was completed, the queen of the late sultan gave birth to a son who was named Raja Patik Siam, to obtain good fortune from the death of his father in Siam." Not long thereafter word came of the death of Raja Jelal, ruler of the country of Sai and husband of Raja Aisyah, and that he had died without leaving a single child. Sultan Mansur Shah elevated one of his chiefs to govern that country and invited Raja Aisyah to return and reside with his majesty in Patani.

For nine years Sultan Mansur Shah occupied the throne of the Malay kingdom of Patani. When he died he left two sons, Raja Bahadur and Raja Bima, a child borne by a concubine. Before he died, his majesty made a will to the effect that should his majesty die it was his wish that Raja Patik Siam, the son of his brother, be inaugurated sultan. This was carried out by Raja Aisyah, his aunt, who became regent.

There was also Raja Mambang, elder brother of the sultan. When he saw that his younger brother had become sultan he felt envy, hate and dissatisfaction towards his younger brother. He was constantly incited by his comrades until his hatred could not longer be contained. Thus one day while it was still morning, just at the break of dawn, while Sultan Patik Siam was praying alone within

the palace, Raja Mambang entered that room with a drawn dagger [*keris*] intending to murder the sultan from behind.

Seeing this, Raja Aisyah realized Raja Mambang's intent and ran to embrace the sultan to protect him so that he would not be stabbed by Raja Mambang. But at that moment Raja Mambang lost his senses and, following the impulse of a passionate heart, immediately stabbed both intertwined bodies without pity. Sultan Patik Siam, together with his aunt Raja Aisyah, fell in the middle of the palace chamber completely smeared with blood and in but a moment both were dead.

The palace was shaken by word that the sultan and Raja Aisyah had been murdered by Raja Mambang. All of the raja's people gathered to look for Raja Mambang within the palace, surrounded Raja Mambang in a chamber, and stabbed him with a lance. Raja Mambang died before he was able to flee the palace.

After Sultan Patik Siam died, the royal family and chiefs agreed to elevate Raja Bahadur, son of the late Sultan Mansur Shah, to become sultan, and he was given the name Sultan Bahadur Shah. For many years his majesty sat upon the throne of the kingdom until one day there occurred a dispute between his majesty and his elder brother, Raja Bima. This dispute became increasingly heated until it caused Raja Bima to become unfaithful to his majesty.

The contentious atmosphere became grimmer with the passing of each day and finally resulted in a saddening incident. One day, as his majesty was praying within his palace, Raja Bima entered quietly and stealthily, then quickly stabbed his majesty from behind so that his dagger disappeared in his majesty's stomach. His majesty fell forward without a chance to fight. In a moment his majesty was died. Similarly Raja Bima, before he could run away, was surrounded by his majesty's people and he too in turn was stabbed until he died. At his death Sultan Bahadur Shah left behind three daughters, but no sons. The daughters were named Raja Hijau, Raja Biru, and Raja Ungu [Green Princess, Blue Princess, and Purple Princess].

In a council meeting among the royal family and the chiefs, a decision was made to elevate Raja Hijau to ascend the throne of the kingdom of Patani, the very first female Raja to rule the country of Patani.

For many years Raja Hijau governed with feminine justice and skill. Her name became famous in all countries including the continent of Europe, so that rajas of those countries sent missions to Patani in order to strengthen bonds of friendship. Raja Hijau also sent missions to the rajas of those countries to return their expressions of friendship. Among them were the rajas of Siam and Japan. This is known from the information provided by Pinto, the Portuguese merchant, who stated that earlier there were Japanese who came to trade in Patani but that their raja had not yet established official ties of friendship with the kingdom of Patani. Only during the reign of the female Raja did the raja of Japan begin to take notice and send his envoys to Patani requesting official permissions to trade in Patani.

In the history of the Japanese people it is said that in the year A.D. 1592 there set sail a ship from Japan carrying a letter from their raja together with many kinds of gifts to the raja of Patani and requesting official permission for Japanese to conduct trade in Patani. The raja

of Japan's mission was well received by the raja of Patani and all of its requests were granted.

Seven years later, that is in the year A.D. 1599, the raja of Patani sent a mission to Japan to appear before their raja to secure ties of friendship, and a second mission was sent in the year A.D. 1606. Each time the missions of the raja of Patani arrived they were well received by the raja of Japan. Afterwards commercial relations between Patani and Japan steadily increased.

At that time the largest center of commerce in Japan was the country of "Birado" which was situated near the territory of present-day Nagasaki. From that country Japanese trading ships carried their trade goods to Patani. These ships sailed back and forth without interruption.

Thus also relations with Siam became increasingly close because Siam was very close to the country of Patani. Trading ships continually came and went and crowds of Siam-Thai came to trade in Patani. Thus also the people of Patani frequently traded in Siam. The Raja of Patani and the Raja of Siam-Thai regularly sent missions in order to enhance friendly relationships.

In all communications the raja of Siam-Thai always referred to the raja of Patani by the title of Pra Nang Chau Ying, meaning her majesty the female Raja. This title over time became permanent so that the female rajahs who occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani after Raja Hijau were always referred to by this title by the raja of Siam. This title became increasingly well known so that the Malays of Patani themselves called their raja in accordance with what she was called by the Raja of Siam. But because of the accent of the Malays, this title Pra Nang Chau Ying was pronounced Raja Nang Chayang. This title continued to be used by all of the female rajahs who governed the country of Patani.

During the time that Raja Hijau occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani the country became increasingly developed and populous. Her majesty was exceedingly conscientious concerning the problems of her populace. One of the works that her majesty performed was the digging of a river. At that time the Kerisik River which flowed in the midst of the common people was almost useless because the water was brackish and it did not go far inland. All the wet rice fields there could not produce a good crop because of the brackish water. Thus one day her majesty called upon the corvee laborers and gathered all of her people to extend the river beginning from the Kerisik River proceeding inland until it joined the Sungai Besar [Big River] at Kuala Temangan (at the present-day fort of Kampung Perigi). As soon as it joined the Sungai Besar, the water came down following the river that was excavated and swiftly poured into the Kerisik River and then into the sea at Kuala Ru. With the arrival of the water from upstream, the water in the Kerisik River became fresh and all of the wet rice fields were able to produce satisfactorily (Later the excavated river was filled in again by Raja Biru and the brackish water returned once again.)

While Patani was governed by Raja Hijau its name became well-known and famous throughout the world, East and West. Its harbor was always full of the trading ships of several peoples. The Dutch also came to conduct their commerce in Patani and became the second European people after the Portuguese.

The Dutch arrived in East Asia after they learned of the success of Portuguese commerce in Asia, which produced exceedingly good profits. Wishing to share in the profits

of the Portuguese, the Dutch were inspired to form a trading company to carry out trade in Asia. The Dutch began to send trading ships to Asia, and the country of India became their first goal. From India the Dutch first came to Malaya. The arrival of the Dutch caused a feeling of dissatisfaction among the Portuguese, who felt that it would disturb the basis of their trade with the Asian peoples. With time, this feeling became increasingly strong, finally resulting in a dispute between the two peoples, each of whom endeavored to gain power in every aspect of trade. The Portuguese began to take steps to block all progress in trade by the Dutch.

The Dutch conducted their trade without heeding the actions of the Portuguese until in the year A.D. 1641, Melaka, which had been ruled by the Portuguese and had become the center for their trade, was attacked by the Dutch. The battle between the two European peoples over Melaka was violent, and in that year Melaka fell into the hands of the Dutch, causing the commercial power of the Portuguese to decline and their influence in Malaya to erode. Finally all of their relationships with Malaya were eliminated by the Dutch. After that the Dutch began to establish a relationship with the Kingdom of Patani.

One day, in the year A.D. 1602, a Dutch trading ship suddenly entered the harbor of Patani, captained by Daniel van de Leck. As soon as the ship dropped anchor, the captain landed and entered the palace of the raja, coming before the raja of Patani with gifts and requesting permission that the Dutch might conduct their trade in Patani. Her majesty granted this request.

At this all of the Dutch landed and built a factory for their trade. The entry of the Dutch to Patani was very alarming to the Japanese and Portuguese. A feeling of hate towards the Dutch was implanted in the hearts of the Japanese and Portuguese, but because they did not have the chance to oppose the Dutch they were forced to remain silent for several years.

At that time Patani had reached such a high level of progress and prosperity that it would be difficult to find Malay countries comparable to Patani. A German traveler named Mandelslohe had the opportunity to visit Patani during that period. In his diary he wrote:

Patani is a very prosperous country. The people of Patani are able to eat fruits of scores of different kinds each month. Chickens here lay eggs twice each day. The paddy is exceedingly plentiful, there are many kinds of meat such as beef, mutton, goose, duck, chicken, capon, peacock, deer jerky, mouse-deer, and birds, together with hundreds of kinds of fruits.

Thus the words written by a German traveler demonstrate how prosperous was Patani during that period. In matters of commerce it is also believed that at that time Patani had become an important center of trade within Southeast Asia so that Ayuthia, the center of government of Siam during that period, could not equal the commercial progress of Patani. Seeing the progress of Patani, the raja of Siam was inspired with intense desire to subjugate Patani.

The intensity of the desire of the raja of Siam-Thai to subjugate Patani grew hotter and hotter until in the year A.D. 1603 a Siam-Thai navy from Ayuthia set off toward Patani with thousands of soldiers led by a commander named Okya Decho, who intended to rob the Malays of Patani of their independence and subjugate them.<sup>43</sup> At this time the kingdom of Siam-Thai was governed by a raja who was named "Phraya Naresuan."<sup>14</sup> This raja is very

famous in the history of the Siam-Thai people and sought to expand the subjugated territories and to destroy the independence of other peoples.

When the Siam-Thai navy reached Patani, the Siamese commander began to land his troops at Kuala Patani and launched an invasion. The people of Patani under the leadership of their Raja came out to fight off the attack of the Siam-Thai. With full assistance from the merchants within Patani, including the Europeans, who gave assistance with firearms, cannon, and materials, they fought the aggression of the Siam-Thai. The people of Patani used cannon to bombard the Siam-Thai until they were weakened, landing further away because many of their soldiers were killed and wounded. Finally the Siam-Thai retreated to their ships and set sail for home, having suffered a terrible defeat.

When they arrived at Ayuthia the raja of Siam began to realize the importance of cannon in war. Several years later he sent a mission to Patani to buy cannon, because at that time these weapons were very plentiful in Patani and their sale became an important business. The raja of Japan also desired these cannon which were purchased from Patani.

In the national history of Japan it is written that in the year A.D. 1606 the raja of Japan sent a mission to the raja of Siam at Ayuthia asking the help of this raja to purchase cannon and send them to his country. Another mission was sent in the direction of India. There the English began to learn of the fame and progress of the commerce within Patani.

On the fifth of January A.D. 1611 a trading ship named The Globe left from London, captained by Anthony Heath, and carrying numerous trade goods together with gifts from his raja, in addition to a letter which was to be delivered to the female raja of Patani. This ship sailed for months in the direction of the continent of Asia, making short stops until on the 23rd of June A.D. 1611 this ship arrived at Patani. Her captain landed and came before the female raja of Patani carrying gifts and the letter from his raja, together with a request for permission from her majesty to allow the English to trade in Patani. Permission was granted by her majesty just as she had favored each of the other European peoples.

The people of Patani greeted the arrival of the English with gladness, but as for the Dutch, Portuguese, and others, the feeling of dissatisfaction was very strong and increasingly they hated the English. After the ship The Globe had been anchored at Patani a month the English built a trading factory to store their trade goods. After that the English began to trade in Patani.

Among the Englishmen who came with the ship The Globe was an English merchant named Peter Will Peloris. He wrote concerning his travels to Patani:

On the first of June in the year A.D. 1611 we departed from Bintam (on the island of Java) and sailed to Patani. We arrived at Patani on the 22nd of that June." We asked for news from people who were in a ship in the harbor concerning the customs and traditions of the inhabitants. On the 26th of June we landed, carrying a letter and gifts to the female raja of Patani. There we were greeted by an honor guard. Then we were brought into the city. The letter from our raja was received and placed on top of a small golden piece of gauze and then carried by an elephant into the city.

The palace of the female raja was beautifully constructed. We received permission from her majesty to trade within Patani, just as do the Dutch. We

returned from the palace of the raja without being able to come before her majesty herself, but her people brought us to the house of one of her chiefs who is named "Orang Kaya Sri Nuna" (It is believed that his name was Orang Kayo Inche Yunus, so it is said in the history of Patani). The next day we were favored by her majesty with many kinds of fruits ordered to be sent to our ship by her people.

On the third of July of that year a Dutch ship named Lipri Thim left Patani for Japan. We sent a letter with that ship to Mister Adams who traded in Japan. We planned to request permission from the raja of Patani to build a trading factory within Patani but we had to expend not a little expense for this matter.

In the time we stayed at Patani many people on our ship were afflicted by a disease. Mister Heath, captain of our ship, also was afflicted by this disease, and on the ninth of July he died. We selected Mister Brown to become captain, but Mister Brown also died of his disease, and we had to select Mister Thomas Eppington to replace him as well. Since then we have had increasingly ill luck. Many of our trade goods have been stolen. Nearly 280 bolts of cloth have been stolen from my box.

There are fifteen people within our house and at night a light is always lit until dawn. I suspect that the thief is none other than one of us because a large dog which we have had here all the time has never sounded a bark. I together with six friends was ordered to remain with the trade goods at Patani until the first of August and the ship The Globe set sail for Siam.

Our commerce in Patani was not very successful and I wished to open a factory for textile trade in the country of Makassar on the island of Celebes. Because of this, on the eighth of October I sent Mister John France to take goods there with a ship. On the next day, 9 October, we received word from Mister Eppington and his followers who went to the country of Siam saying [here what is written concerns only the country of Siam]."

We stayed in Patani until the end of the cold season and on 31 December the female raja of Patani departed to play at sea accompanied by 600 boats." On the 25th of January in the year 1612 we received word from Siam saying that our trade goods there had more than half been sold, the largest part being bought by the raja of Siam-Thai himself. Because of this, in the month of March we sent a ship to the country of Ayuthia to take additional goods there.

On 31 July 1612 the sultan of Pahang arrived at Patani. We were invited by the female raja of Patani on the first of August to witness the wedding ceremony of this sultan with the youngest sister of her majesty. We were informed of the reasons for which this marriage was to take place. Her majesty wished to marry her younger sister to the sultan of Pahang, so her majesty sent a mission to the sultan of Pahang to discuss this matter and to invite the sultan of Pahang to visit Patani in order to observe the countenance of her younger sister. But the sultan of Pahang refused to accept her majesty's invitation. Because of this her majesty was extremely angry with the sultan of Pahang as her wish was not granted. Then it was ordered to prepare an army totalling four thousand men and eighty boats to go to Pahang in order to threaten the sultan so that he would agree to marry her younger sister. Truly at that time the country of Pahang was in difficulties. Seeing the army from

Patani, the sultan of Pahang was frightened that his country would be laid to waste. So the sultan of Pahang agreed to the wishes of the female raja of Patani and he departed for Patani and the marriage was carried out.

On 21 October in the year 1613 we all decided to return to England and we went before the female raja to inform her of our wish. After we made our request to her majesty, the female raja bestowed upon Captain Eppington a dagger [*keris*]. Then we returned to the ship The Globe and sailed to Masulipatam in India.

This is all that is written in the traveler's tale of an English merchant who came to Patani during the reign of Her Majesty Raja Hijau. His writings serve as an important memoir, portraying the progress and power of the Malay kingdom of Patani at the end of the sixteenth century which is properly commemorated by the Malays of Patani to this day.

The younger sister of Raja Hijau who married the sultan of Pahang was Raja Ungu. After the marriage the sultan returned to Pahang, taking Raja Ungu with him. After that the kingdom of Patani was secure in progress and fame. All of the people lived peacefully and securely, undisturbed by their enemies. After the return of the ship The Globe to England, Patani became increas

ingly well known among English merchants. Other English ships and merchants regularly came to trade at Patani.

The clearest evidence of this is stated in a history book on Patani which says that early in the seventeenth century Patani's harbor was visited by trading ships from several peoples and became a port of call for ships which came from the country of Surati (in India), Goa, and from the Coromandel coast, and became known as an excellent harbor by the sailing ships that came from the countries of China and Japan.

Meanwhile the feeling of envy and hate among the European merchants who traded in Patani became increasingly intense, especially the feeling of the Dutch against the English. At that time the Dutch had succeeded in taking control of the majority of trade centers in the island of Java. Because of this, the Dutch developed a strong desire to control all of the commercial affairs throughout East Asia for the benefit of their people alone. They began to implement a restrictive policy to reduce and exterminate the trading endeavors of other peoples, especially the English. Because of this, disputes frequently occurred between these people and there arose enmity on both land and sea. Dutch ships, whenever they met with ships owned by the English, always attacked and fired upon them so that in all the eastern seas battles often occurred between Dutch and English ships. Each time these battles occurred the English ships usually were the ones which suffered losses.

With matters in this state, it was difficult for the English to conduct their trade in the East. The officials of the English Company met in council to find ways to protect their trading endeavors and prevent interference by the Dutch. The decision of this meeting was that merchant ships owned by the English Company were to be equipped with weapons in order to fight off enemy attacks. After that time all English merchant ships were changed to resemble the warships of the government.

In the year A.D. 1618, battles due to trade competition frequently occurred between the ships of the Dutch and the English. At Patani, two English merchant ships of the English

Company named Simpson and Hound, full of trade goods bound for the country of Champa in Indochina, arrived at Patani on 17 July A.D. 1619, and dropped anchor. At that time Dutch ships were on guard there. When the English ships were seen coming to anchor the Dutch ships quickly attacked and loosed a terrific barrage on the two English ships. The firing startled all of the inhabitants of the city of Patani. The battle lasted five hours before it ended. The ships of the English Company sustained heavy damage and finally raised a flag of surrender and all of the property and trade goods within those ships was seized by the Dutch. The English were captured and the two ships burned.

With this naval victory the Dutch became increasingly bold and their hatred for the English burned hotter. Crowds of Dutchmen landed and began to mistreat the Englishmen in the city of Patani. But Her Majesty Raja Hijau did not permit them to do this; on the contrary she ordered her majesty's people to guard strongly the security of the English. The Dutch were afraid to violate the sovereignty of her majesty. When they met with Englishmen they could only threaten them with swords.

Because the ships of the English Company repeatedly suffered losses due to the actions of the Dutch, the officers of the Company decided to stop their trade within the countries of Patani, Siam, and Japan for the time being. Beginning in the year A.D. 1623 all Englishmen within the city of Patani left to conduct trade within other countries. From that time relations between the English and Patani ceased, while on the other hand the position of the Dutch within Patani became increasingly strong and they continued their trade freely until their colony on the island of Java was firmly under their control. Only then did the Dutch move their center of trade there [that is to Java]. However, their contacts with Patani continued for some time afterwards.

Time passed, the days rolled by, and several years later Her Majesty Raja Hijau, ruler of the kingdom of Patani, died. Her majesty was given the title Marhum Ketemangan by her people in memory of her majesty's processions to visit her people digging the river at Kampung Temangan.

With the passing of her majesty, the royal household and their chiefs decided to elevate her younger sister Raja Biru to the throne of the kingdom of Patani. Three years later the river that had been dug from Kampung Temangan to Kerisik during the

reign of her elder sister, the late Raja Hijau, had begun to flow too swiftly and constantly caused the bank of the river at the foot of the palace to cave in. Moreover, because the water in the Kerisik River had become fresh, all the salt fields at the beach by the river mouth no longer formed salt. The water was not briny enough. Because of this, Her Majesty Raja Biru ordered the construction of a dam to divert the water from the Kerisik River and close off the mouth of the Papiri River. This dam was built with stone and to this day its site of construction is named Kampung Tahanduk Batu [Stone Dam Village]. Finally the river that had been dug dried up, as did the Papiri River.

Several years later news was received from Pahang that the sultan of Pahang, husband of Raja Ungu, had died. A chief was sent to Pahang to invite Raja Ungu to return to Patani. Raja Ungu returned to Patani bringing with her a daughter she had had with the sultan of Pahang. This daughter was given the name Raja Kuning [Yellow Raja] because her skin was whitish-yellow in color.



During the time that Patani was governed by Raja Biru there was constant rumor that the raja of Siam-Thai was preparing a large armed force to attack Patani. Hearing these rumors, her majesty the raja of Patani was continually worried that they might be true. Her majesty knew that the Siam-Thai people at that time were no longer like the Siam-Thai at the time of the attack on Patani during the reign of her elder sister, Raja Hijau. The power of the Siam-Thai had increased through the purchase of firearms and cannon. On the other hand, within the army of the kingdom of Patani, firearms were not fully utilized. All that was available were those weapons which had been used during the reign of her elder sister, Raja Hijau. In addition, the hope of receiving assistance from foreigners had lessened because most of them had moved away and firearms and cannon were no longer sold in Patani.

In view of these dangers, Her Majesty Raja Biru began to meet with her ministers and chiefs to decide how to obtain firearms in order to protect the independence of Patani and to guard against attack by her enemies. Her majesty proposed the construction of large cannon, as many as possible, as it was understood that the cannon sold by the Europeans were not sufficient to safeguard the independence of Patani and the sovereignty of her rajas.

All of the ministers and chiefs agreed to her majesty's proposal and the manufacture of large cannon began. But because there was not yet a steel foundry in Patani at that time, it was necessary to manufacture the large cannon from brass. In addition, the cannon that were brought by the Europeans to Patani at that time were mainly made from brass. Brass was a type of alloy easily obtainable in Patani at that time.

The manufacture of large cannon proceeded. 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 Tho Khiam and came from China hoping to make a living in Patani.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup>

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. When she learned that her elder brother 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 killed herself by hanging from a *janggus (ketirih)* tree." The Chinese of Patani took her corpse and buried it according to the customs of their religion."

This 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 Toh Pe Kong Mek and the image has been kept in the Toh Pe Kong in Patani until this very day.<sup>52</sup>

Since there was a craftsman who agreed to cast the large cannon which the female raja of Patani desired, her majesty commanded her chiefs to order anyone in Patani who possessed old brass to present it to her majesty's country to make cannon. It was forbidden

to all of the people to send or sell brass outside of the country. For a period of three years anyone who broke this law would suffer the death penalty.

There was a Minangkabau merchant named Saudagar Gembak who came to trade in Patani with a servant named Abdul Mukmin.<sup>53</sup> This merchant had stored large quantities of brass which he wished to sell. In that very year there came a ship from Melaka hoping to purchase brass in Patani. The master of the ship negotiated with Saudagar Gembak hoping to purchase all of his brass. He knew of the prohibition of the raja of Patani, but because the merchant was greedy he agreed to sell the brass and conspired to smuggle the brass at night. When night came, Saudagar Gembak with his servant Abdul Mukmin carried the brass in a sampan to the mouth of the Kuala Ru River towards the Melaka ship which was anchored there.

Unexpectedly the two of them were met by a watchman who arrested them and took them to the harbormaster [*shahbandur*]. When this matter was brought before the raja, her majesty was furious with Saudagar Gembak and his servant. It was ordered that they be killed and their corpses be thrown into the sea at Kuala Ru because of their sin of treachery against the orders of her majesty. The next day the corpses were washed ashore at high tide and they remained there for several days until they became worrisome to the people who came and went there because their odor was so foul. Finally it was necessary to request permission from the raja to bury the corpses. After her majesty assented, the corpses of Saudagar Gembak and his servant were taken to be buried at a place separate from the public cemetery. Their burial place was called "Kubur Tok Panjang," located in present-day Kampung Datu.<sup>54</sup>

After some time much brass was collected by the populace and given to her majesty. The cannon were cast at a place inland from her majesty's citadel and the place where the forge once stood still can be seen to this day near Kampung Kerisik. The soil at that place has become black and not a plant can grow there. The casting of the cannon was an important event in the history of the Malay kingdom of Patani.

After several months the work was completed and three large cannon were made, two of which were very large. Their length was three *depa*, one *hasta*, one *jengkal*, and two and one half fingers, and their projectile was eleven fingers around." The small cannon's length was five *hasta* and one *jengkal*, and the span of nine fingers, and its projectile was three fingers in diameter. Her majesty named the two large pieces Sri Negara and Sri Patani, while the small one was named Mahalela. These three cannon were placed on wheeled carts and became the main weapons of war and defense at that time.

Several years thereafter Her Majesty Raja Biru died and her younger sister Raja Ungu, who was the wife of the sultan of Pahang, was elevated to the throne of the kingdom of Patani, replacing her elder sister. Not many years thereafter there came a mission from one of the raja of Johor's sons, who governed the country of Trengganu and who was titled the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor. His purpose was to propose marriage to the daughter of the raja of Patani. The raja of Patani accepted the engagement [of her daughter] to the Johor raja's son with great gladness. After this the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor came to Patani with one of his ministers named Incik Idris, together with three thousand of his people and tens of sailing ships, for the wedding. The raja of Patani delayed the marriage for three months in order to complete preparations for the wedding and it became necessary for the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor to wait in Patani.

While Patani was busy preparing for the royal marriage ceremonies, the raja of Siam-Thai at Ayuthia increased his desire to subjugate Patani as his eternal slave. In the year A.D. 1632 a Siam-Thai naval force led by the commander Okya Decho arrived intending to attack Patani for a second time."

But before the Siam-Thai military force attacked Patani, the Siam-Thai raja established contact with the Dutch Company which was based at Batavia [Jakarta], requesting assistance in his attack. The Dutch Company agreed to send two warships together with weapons to assist the Siam-Thai, but when the Siam-Thai military force arrived at Patani the assistance promised by the Dutch Company had not been sent.

Even so, the Siam-Thai commander was resolved to carry out the attack and proceeded to order his forces to land on Patani's beach. The Patani Malays under the leadership of the raja and her commanders united with all of the people brought by the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor to resist the attack of the Siam-Thai. The battle was carried out with great ferocity all along the beach. After several days of fighting the Siam-Thai army was still unable to enter the city [*bandar*] of Patani because of the tremendous resistance of the Patani Malays. In particular, the Patani Malays were well equipped with the weapons of war which

Raja Biru previously had readied. In this battle the three large cannon were used and brought extremely gratifying results because with but a few shots hundreds of Siam-Thai soldiers were killed. The efforts of the Siam-Thai army to enter the city of Patani were completely frustrated.

After several days of fighting, the Siam-Thai commander Okya Decho gave up his hope at defeating the Patani Malays. He saw that the Siam-Thai army was weakened in spirit because of the extremely heavy blows given by the weapons of war of the Patani Malays. He decided to order his forces to return to their ships. As soon as this retreat was completed the Siamese commander ordered his warships to sail back to Siam, humiliatingly disappointed because they had not succeeded in defeating the defenses of the Patani Malays.<sup>57</sup>

When the battle was over, Her Majesty Raja Biru immediately proceeded with the wedding ceremony between her daughter and the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor. When his marriage was completed the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor resolved to remain in Patani, not wishing to return to Trengganu.

When the raja of Siam learned that his military commander had not succeeded in subjugating Patani as he had wished, he was extremely angry, which only served to increase his desire to subjugate Patani at all costs. Because of this in the year A.D. 1633 he again sent a mission to Batavia requesting the assistance of the Dutch Company and making known his resolve to attack Patani once again. The Dutch Company agreed to the request of the Siam-Thai raja and undertook to send six warships together with soldiers and their weapons to assist the Siam-Thai. As soon as this agreement was completed the raja of Siam-Thai ordered his military commander Okya Decho to prepare a large military force with the addition of thousands of Siam-Thai soldiers, in full confidence that this time they would be able to breach the defenses of the Patani Malays.

Then the military forces set sail for Patani. When they arrived at Patani the Siamese commander began to land his soldiers on the beach and then assembled to attack the

city of Patani. Without hesitation the Patani Malays and the people of the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor joined together to stop the Siamese attack. All batteries of cannon proceeded to bombard the Siam-Thai and [the Malays] attacked without pause or retreat. The attack of the Siam-Thai became increasingly strong as they tried with all their might to destroy the defenses of the Patani Malays.

As the battle was fought, the Siam-Thai commander was still awaiting arrival of the assistance promised by the Dutch Company at Batavia. But though he waited and waited, the assistance did not arrive. The Siamese commander was not discouraged, on the contrary he continued fighting and concentrated all of his energy and skill on defeating the defenses of the Patani Malays. The warfare continued for several months until the supply of food brought by the Siam-Thai proved inadequate and the Siam-Thai commander had no means to find food for his people who were fighting. With the appearance of various diseases in his warships, his army began to weaken until the Siam-Thai had no more resources to carry on the battle. Finally the Siam-Thai commander was forced to withdraw his army to the ships and set sail for Singgora, and from there to Ayuthia, bringing home another defeat. Only after the Siam-Thai army had sailed for home did the Dutch warships from Batavia arrive, ready to aid them in attacking Patani according to the agreement between the raja of Siam-Thai and the Dutch Company. But since they arrived too late they did not meet the Siamese army. Upon learning that the Siam-Thai warships had returned they set sail for Batavia.

Two years after the end of the war with the Siamese, in the year A.D. 1635, Her Majesty Raja Ungu died. In a conference at the royal pavilion between the royal family and the chiefs it was agreed to elevate Raja Kuning, the daughter of her majesty, to succeed to the throne of the kingdom of Patani, assisted by her husband the Yang di Pertuan Muda Johor.

In the history of Raja Kuning's life, it is noted that her majesty was a ruler who greatly enjoyed gardening and trading. During the time that her majesty ruled, never did her majesty use the revenue of her kingdom for daily expenditures, although her majesty had the right to that money. Instead, daily expenditures were met by selling of flowers and plants from within her majesty's gardens.

The period of Raja Kuning's reign was the first time that a raja of Patani had directly carried out trade outside of the country. Her majesty had a trading ship and appointed a captain that she trusted to carry all kinds of trade goods from Patani to all countries. This captain was known as the *Saudagar Raja* [the Raja's Merchant].

Even though the Siamese had attacked Patani three times, and each time their attack had failed with great loss and destruction, nevertheless the intense desire of the raja of Siam to subjugate Patani and the goal of enslaving the Malays never disappeared. With matters thus, he received news of Raja Ungu's death and that the governance of Patani had been entrusted to her daughter, Raja Kuning. Hearing this news, the Siam-Thai Raja sent his commander Okya Decho to Patani with an army. The arrival [of the Siam-Thai army] this time was not aimed at attacking Patani. Rather the visit was a mission from the Siamese raja politely requesting that the raja of Patani submit to placing herself under the suzerainty of the Siam-Thai raja. Raja Kuning did not heed the request of the Siam-Thai raja. On the contrary, it made her heroic blood seethe because such a request showed contempt for her majesty's sovereignty. After the Siamese raja learned that Raja Kuning had not accepted his request, his anger grew and his intense desire to subjugate Patani and enslave the

Malays increased in strength. In the year A.D. 1638 the country of Siam-Thai also changed its raja. With this, however, the desire of the kingdom of Siam to subjugate Patani did not disappear.

After the power of the country of Siam-Thai was given to the new raja, the Siam-Thai viceroy who ruled Ligor was ordered to take his people and attack Patani. This viceroy himself was of Japanese descent and was named Yamada. He had come to Siam as a military officer serving the Siam-Thai raja and led a troop of Japanese in the city of Ayuthia. Because of his qualities and service to the Siam-Thai raja, he was elevated to become the Siamese viceroy of Ligor and was given the title Okya Senaphimuk.

When he received the order from the Siam-Thai raja he came with a troop of Japanese and Siam-Ligor soldiers to attack Patani. But the Malays of Patani at that time were quite accustomed to war, greatly treasured the sovereignty of the raja, and knew the advantage of a life of independence. The attack of the Japanese and Siam-Ligor did not succeed this time either. Finally they were forced to return to Ligor, taking their defeat with them.

After four consecutive defeats, the raja of Siam began to understand his weakness, and all parties knew of his intention to subjugate Patani. Even though Patani was only a very small country to the *maharaja* [great raja] of Siam-Thai, the losses which succeeded one another made it evident that it was very difficult to subjugate the Malays, especially as the heroic blood of the Patani Malays at that time was still hot and they were exceedingly loyal to their raja. With such loyalty they were willing to die to the last man in order to defend the sovereignty of her majesty, and the independence of their country.

At that time Patani possessed a very extensive territory with many inhabitants. An Englishman named Hamilton was able to visit Patani at this time and wrote:

Patani at this time possessed forty-three territories including Trengganu and Kelantan, but when one of the raja of Johor's children came and married, becoming the husband of the female raja of Patani, Trengganu came to be included within the territories under Johor. The sultan of Johor has sent one of his trusted ministers to govern there, leaving only fortytwo territories.

He continued: "Patani possesses two river mouths, that is Kuala Patani (Now called Kuala Ru or Kuala Tok Uguk. The anchorage for all ships and boats which came to trade at Patani was located there) and Kuala Bekah (Now called Kuala Sungai Patani.). The city of Patani is called Kota Kedaya."

Continuing, Hamilton wrote:

The populace of Patani at this time, counting the males (not including females) aged sixteen years to sixty years is 150,000. The inhabitants within the city of Patani are so numerous that this very large city is filled with a jumble of houses. Beginning at the gate of the royal citadel and continuing to the village there is no gap between the houses. If, for example, a cat were to walk on top of the houses' rafters beginning at the lower end going to the other end it would be possible to proceed without needing to descend to the ground.

Not long thereafter the son of the raja of Johor (husband of Raja Kuning) fell in love with a young woman of great beauty, that is one of the "retainers" of the raja in Patani (In the history of Patani it is stated that Raja Kuning kept dancing girls in the palace. One of these was named Dang, who was very clever with love charms. It is said that she kept a talisman [*cemara babil*].<sup>58</sup> Her voice was very gentle and her dancing very good. Because of this, Her Majesty Raja Kuning's husband made her his mistress. This greatly angered Raja Kuning. Her husband took Dang secretly and built a house at a place inland. But finally her majesty's husband came to know of her love charm and stabbed her to death, and her majesty's husband returned to Patani. Because of this behavior there were constant fights between Her Majesty Raja Kuning and her husband.) Raja Kuning was angry and forced her husband to have made a chastity belt of gold the size of one hasta and the weight of five *kall*.<sup>59</sup> The craftsman who made it was most astonished. When her majesty wore the chastity belt she appeared like a person who was pregnant. This was quite amusing to her chiefs who saw her. But there was none who laughed for fear of her majesty's wrath, and that of her husband.

After Her Majesty Raja Kuning had occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani for some time the matter of the dispute with her husband became worse. Finally he was forced to depart and return to Johor together with his people.' This left Her Majesty Raja Kuning to govern Patani in a condition of peace and security until she passed away.

The date of her majesty's death is not definitely known but it is known that in the year A.D. 1686 a Frenchman visited Patani and noted that at that time Patani still was governed by a female raja. Because of this it is believed that the date of her majesty's death was subsequent to the date of the Frenchman's visit.

Her Majesty Raja Kuning was the very last female raja or Raja Nang Chayang to govern Patani. With her majesty's death there ended the line of succession from Raja Sri Wangsa, the raja who first established the country of Patani. See the genealogy from Raja Sri Wangsa which follow

## CHAPTER 3:

### THE GOVERNMENT OF PATANI IN THE PERIOD OF DECLINE



Al-Marhum Tengku Abdul Kadir Kamarudin.  
Raja yang terakhir memerintah negeri Melayu Patani (1899-1902)

When Raja Kuning was dead and there were no more descendants of Raja Sri Wangsa who could be installed as ruler to occupy the throne of the kingdom of Patani, all the royal family and chiefs met to choose a person who was suitable and qualified to ascend the royal throne. An aged chief named Raja Bakar was then living in Kampung Teluk who was invited to ascend the royal throne of Patani. But after Raja Bakar had ruled just a few years on the royal throne, he too died.

Thus the question of choosing a Raja to ascend the throne of the kingdom of Patani was again brought before the council of the royal family and their chiefs. It was decided that those who would be raja of Patani should be descended from a pure raja. At that time in Patani there were none of the line of rajas who could ascend the throne of the kingdom. Therefore, with agreement of the council, one of the sons of the raja of Kelantan, whose name was Raja Mas Kelantan, was invited to become raja of Patani. From that time Patani was ruled

by rajas descended from the raja of Kelantan. Raja Mas ruled in Patani a few years until he died and the throne of the kingdom of Patani was given over to his daughter named Raja Mas Chayam.

After a few years Raja Mas Chayam died, also without leaving an heir. Then, with the agreement of the council, a son of a raja named Raja Ahmad from Kampung Dawai (nor in the Rakap district) was chosen. He ascended the throne of the kingdom of Patani and was given the title Sultan Mahmud.

While Patani was ruled by Raja Bakar, Raja Mas Kelantan and Raja Mas Chayam, Patani was in a state of peace, never attacked by its enemies, including the Siam-Thai. However, in the question of progress, the country of Patani gradually had begun to decline, particularly in commercial matters. During the rule of the rajas of Patani who were descended from Raja Sri Wangsa, Patani was known as a great commercial center in Southeast Asia and was frequently visited by European peoples. During the rule of the Kelantan rajas commercial progress began to decline. The European peoples all were gone. All that remained in Patani were the Eastern peoples from Japan, China, Indian Muslim businessmen, and Arabs. They lived harmoniously with the Patani Malays, carrying on business

peacefully. Because the Indians and Arabs were Muslims, they easily mingled with the Malays and with no obstacle they finally became Malays.

The Siam-Thai, the primary enemies of the people at that time, no longer came to attack Patani because at that time Siam was experiencing such problems as treachery, individual usurpation of power, and frequent civil war, so that the royal throne was constantly being shaken. In addition, the Burmese, who were their constant enemies, did not cease attacking the country of SiamThai, with the result that the raja of Siam had no chance to attack and subjugate Patani.

In the year A.D. 1767 the citadel of Ayuthia, center of government of Siam at that time, was captured by the Burmese. Severe disruption was caused when the Burmese entered and ruled Ayuthia. All the minor rajas who ruled the various territories subject to Siam at that time each eagerly desired to rule independently and free themselves from subjugation to the raja of Siam. The raja in the country of Ligor used this opportunity to re-establish his free and independent kingdom. Then he arranged the freedom of his kingdom in southern Siam. The countries of Singgora and Pattalung having become his vassals, he sent his minister to become ruler in these territories.

While Siam was disorganized and its minor rajas in all those territories had established their individual kingdoms, there arose a Siam-Thai chief called Phraya Tak. He was able to assemble a group of Siam-Thai and organize a large army. Then he led this army in a counterattack on the Burmese in Ayuthia. Finally he succeeded and the Burmese were completely routed and killed, and Ayuthia was restored to the hands of the Siam-Thai. The Siam-Thai kingdom was re-established and he himself became its raja. But its center of government was moved to another place in the territory of Thonburi.

Then Phraya Tak, Raja of Siam, sent an army through all his subject territories to defeat the minor rajas who strongly desired independence from the rule of the raja of Siam-Thai. In just a short time all the minor rajas were bowing their heads to him again. Only the raja of Ligor was not yet defeated. Thus in the year A.D. 1769 the Siam-Thai raja launched a great attack on Ligor. Because his strength was greater, the raja of Siam defeated the raja of Ligor. And the raja of Ligor, who had greatly desired independence, was forced to flee to Singgora, but he was pursued by the raja of Siam. Finally the raja of Ligor, the raja of Singgora, and the raja of Pattalung, taking their royal families, fled to Patani and asked for shelter from Sultan Mahmud.

However the Siam-Thai had followed them to the district of Tiba, that is the border of Patani with Siam. From there he sent a mission to Sultan Mahmud asking that the three rajas who had fled from Singgora be arrested and sent to him.

If Sultan Mahmud hesitated to fulfill this wish, he would certainly attack Patani. The mission of the Siam-Thai raja arrived in Patani in the month of December A.D. 1769. Sultan Mahmud met with his chiefs seeking a decision whether or not to accede to the wish of the Siam-Thai raja. Their decision was that it should be acceded to because of concern for the safety and security of the country, which otherwise would be attacked by the Thai raja for such an insignificant reason. In addition, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud felt he had no connection with the raja of Ligor and the other rajas. Afterwards, his majesty ordered his men to arrest the raja of Ligor and take him to the raja of Siam. Then the raja of Siam-Thai sailed back, carrying the



three rajas as his prisoners. Since that time Ligor was once again subjugated by the Siam-Thai raja.

The return home of the Siam-Thai raja did not eliminate his evil designs on the country of Patani. He was inflamed with the desire that Patani be subjugated and the Malays there be enslaved, just as he had succeeded in subjugating Ligor, Singgora, and Pattalung. Because his strength was not yet sufficient, he was forced to be silent, meanwhile awaiting a better time.

With matters thus, in A.D. 1776 the Burmese came to attack the northern part of Siam. The Siam-Thai raja wished to know whether Sultan Mahmud, raja of Patani, feared his influence. As a pretense, he sent a mission to Patani asking Sultan Mahmud to help him to resist the Burmese attack and requesting a sum of *80,000 baht* (similar missions also were sent to the sultans of Kelantan and Trengganu as well as Patani.). But Sultan Mahmud did not heed these requests. When the Siam-Thai raja became aware that his wish had not been heeded, he became very angry and his intention to subjugate Patani became increasingly firm.

Meanwhile, in A.D. 1782, the Siam-Thai raja named Phraya Tak or the raja of Thonburi died, murdered by one of his commanders, and this commander was elevated to become raja of Siam-Thai. He was given the title Phraphutta Yotfa Culalok, or Raja Rama the First of the line of Mahachakri. In the reign of this raja the present city of Bangkok was founded.

Two years later, in A.D. 1784, the Burmese came again and attacked Ligor, which was subject to the raja of Siam. The raja of Siam sent his younger brother, who was the raja muda, with an army to fight the Burmese. This army went forth from Bangkok with several warships toward Ligor. When they arrived at Ligor the Siam-Thai commander immediately landed his troops and united with the force of Siam-Ligor to fight the Burmese. The war continued for several months, after which the Burmese were forced to retreat home having been defeated by the Siam-Thai force from Bangkok.

After the end of the war, the raja muda of Siam took his army to Singgora in order to put in order affairs of government there. Having finished his work, he sent a mission to Patani asking Sultan Mahmud to submit to him properly. When the mission of the Siam-Thai raja arrived in Patani, Sultan Mahmud called a meeting of his chiefs. It was unanimously decided to reject the demand to submit, which was aimed at usurping the sovereignty of the raja and the freedom of the country of Patani.

This decision was announced to the Thai mission. When the Thai raja knew that his desire was unfulfilled and that in addition he had received a proud answer from Sultan Mahmud, the breath of imperialism flared hotly in his heart and he decided to attack Patani. Then he told his commander named Phraya Kalahom to take his army and attack Patani and he ordered the commander to fight to the end until Patani became subjugated .12

Sultan Mahmud, after the departure of the Siam-Thai mission, was certain that this time the Siam-Thai would attack Patani. Therefore his majesty, with no further delay, ordered weapons of war to be assembled, defense forts to be built, and as many war supplies as could be obtained be prepared.

But unhappily the position of Patani at that time was weak, its power had declined, and all its weapons of war would be insufficient if the war were long. Since the end of war with the Siam-Thai during the reign of Raja Kuning, almost half a century earlier, Patani had not equipped itself with weapons of war as no enemies had come to attack. During that time the Patani Malays had lived securely and peacefully and they had forgotten how to prepare for war. Tactics for guarding their land were nearly forgotten. Thus as time passed the bravery of the Malays had gradually weakened while the weapons which were kept in the armories were nearly useless and not of the same standard as the new weapons in the hands of the Thai army.

Thus was the situation. Nevertheless, seeing the attitude of the Siam-Thai raja, who fully intended to subjugate Patani, Sultan Mahmud did not lose hope. Rather, his majesty immediately assembled the old weapons which still existed and advised his people that the coming war would determine the success or failure and the life or death of the Malay kingdom of Patani, asking his people to unite and take full part in the fight to defend the independence of their people and kingdom. Sultan Mahmud's request was gladly received by the people of Patani and all were willing to resist the wickedness of the Siam-Thai even though they were forced to sacrifice themselves and break their limbs and bodies. It was better to sacrifice themselves thus in war to defend their independence than to live as vassals dominated by the Siam-Thai.

When the Siamese army approached Patani, all the people of Patani were mobilized by Sultan Mahmud to assemble outside the royal citadel and were divided into two forces. The first force was ordered to guard the forts on the shore in order to defend against landings by the Siam-Thai from their warships. The second force was ordered to guard the front of the royal citadel. All weapons, including cannon and cannonballs, were divided equally. The large cannon Sri Negara and Sri Patani which had once before defeated the Thai were again brought out and placed outside the citadel to await the official order to let fly their reliable projectiles.

Both defense forces awaited the moment to repulse the Siam-Thai attack. Not many days later the Thai army led by Phraya Kalahom arrived in Kuala Patani and anchored there while awaiting a propitious time to launch its attack. At this most important moment, in the group of Sultan Mahmud's chiefs there was a Siam-Thai named Nai Chanthong who came originally from Siam-Ligor to live in Patani with some followers. He had been of great service to the kingdom of Patani so that Sultan Mahmud placed full confidence in him and had appointed him a royal chief.

While the Siam-Thai army was anchored in Kuala Patani, there rose in him an evil feeling toward the kingdom of Patani, and wishing to show devotion to his race and kingdom, he devised an evil plan. Quickly he went before His Majesty Sultan Mahmud to say that he was willing to fight the Siam-Thai invasion but he wished to be appointed the leader of the force of Malays defending the forts on the beach, and he requested the sultan give him a large boat five cubits long to be equipped with cannon and weapons. Trustingly, Sultan Mahmud granted his request and Nai Chanthong with his boat pretended to set off for the defense forts on the shore. Here he began to put his evil plan into effect against the Patani kingdom.

When midnight came, when the world is dark and gloomy and shelters a person who would do evil, Nai Chanthong went out in his boat toward the Siam-Thai warships and

asked to meet with commander Phraya Kalahom. Upon meeting him, he [Nai Chanthong] revealed the secrets of the Patani Malays' defenses. Phraya Kalahom was very pleased to learn the secrets of the Malay defenses. He was sure that this time his army would certainly win and that this time it was assured that the kingdom of Patani would topple, overturned by his army.

When the proper moment arrived, the commander began to direct his cannon to bombard the Malay defense forts on the beach and quickly he landed his troops on the beach under cover of the projectiles fired by his cannon. Unfortunately every time a shell was fired by the Thai cannon it fell in a Malay fort, so that after just a few rounds many Malays were killed. However the Malays determinedly and fiercely returned the fire. The attack and bombardment of the Siam-Thai increased in intensity until all the Thai forces had come up on the beach and with all their combined strength attacked the Malay forts. Suddenly the Malay position was surrounded and they were cut off from the second force which was defending the citadel. Although they were surrounded and their hope was gone, the Malays in the forts continued to resist without faltering. Afterwards the defense of the Malays on the shore was destroyed and the forts and their cannon were captured by the Siam-Thai.

After the defensive line of the Malays on the shore fell, commander Phraya Kalahom reassembled his remaining military power and immediately launched his attack on the citadel. The commander's attack met fierce opposition from the Malay defenders in front of the royal citadel, and Sultan Mahmud himself came forth to organize the defense. The cannon Sri Negara and Sri Patani too began to fire their trusty projectiles hitting the Siam-Thai advance and fierce hand-to-hand fighting with swords and daggers ensued.

This battle continued for several days without ceasing. Sadly, Sultan Mahmud was struck by a cannonball fired by the Siam-Thai, and his majesty fell and died in the midst of the battle. Not many hours after the death of his majesty, the defenses of the Malays in front of the royal citadel were pierced and the Siam-Thai attack continued just as powerfully. The Malay defense reached its final moment and broke, and everyone scattered. The royal citadel fell into the hands of the Siam-Thai and the battle ended with the defeat of the Malays.

This defeat was the first in the history of the Malay kingdom of Patani, and signified the loss of independence of the Malay kingdom of Patani and the abolition of the sovereignty of the Malay rajas which had been defended for hundreds of years. The purpose of the Siam-Thai raja was accomplished, which he had long desired, to subjugate Patani and to enslave its people.

The loss of the Patani Malays on this occasion was caused by several factors, the most important of which were:

1. The secrets of the Malay defense and their strength were revealed by Nai Chanthong to the Siam-Thai commander;
2. Sultan Mahmud died in the battle;
3. The supply of weapons of the Malays was insufficient; (4) The military might of the Siam-Thai was greater than the Malays.

All the Patani Malay defenses were destroyed, and Patani fell under the yoke of Thai subjugation. This was the first defeat of the country of Patani, which had been sovereign

and independent for hundreds of years since the reign of the Raja Sri Wangsa, so the defeat was very significant in the history of the Malay kingdom of Patani. Thus the struggle and sacrifice of the Patani rajas for hundreds of years to defend their royal sovereignty and the independence of the Malays finally had achieved a most saddening result. The sovereignty of the Patani rajas and the independence of the Malays fell under the yoke of Thai subjugation, and this defeat brought Patani directly under the Siam-Thai yoke to this day.

After capturing all the defenses of the Malays, the first thing the Thai in Patani did was to arrest and kill unarmed Patani Malay men, women, and young children, and to steal all property and weapons. Then the palace of the late Sultan Mahmud was burnt to the ground.

For about a month the Siam-Thai sacked Patani in order to gain complete revenge on the Patani Malays, who had been characterized as their greatest enemy. The commander Phraya Kalahom began to organize the laws of government in Patani according to the pattern of laws of subjugation and took away the sovereignty of the raja and his chiefs.

After establishing these laws, the Siamese commander ordered his troops to return to the warships, weigh anchor, and sail back to Bangkok, carrying some Malay captives, including men, women, and children, along with the booty of war. Among this booty, the most valuable thing to the Malays were the great cannon made in the reign of Raja Biru. One of them was carried along with the captives to Bangkok, but the second fell into the sea off Kuala Patani while the Siam-Thai were carrying it up to the ship. One was taken to Bangkok. To this day the great Patani cannon decorates the front of the office of the Minister of War in Bangkok.

The laws of government composed by the Thai commander before his return to Bangkok included the appointment of a Malay to be ruler of Patani as a puppet raja. The administration of the country was put under the supervision of the Siam-Thai raja in Ligor, and he was forced to send tribute to Bangkok to show his loyalty (What tribute was sent by the raja of Patani to the raja of Siam at that time is not yet clearly known. In later times tribute was known to be sent once every three years in the form of a flowering tree with five tiers of leaves [commonly known as the *bunga emas*], all made of ten karat gold.<sup>63</sup> Besides this golden flowering tree, it also was necessary to send with it three golden boxes and three lances also plated with gold. The total gold making up the flowering tree, boxes and lances was no less than forty *lahil* in weight). The puppet raja appointed by the Siam-Thai was Raja Bendang Badang named Tungku Lamidin."

When Tungku Lamidin was elevated by Siam to be the raja of Patani, his first duty was to rebuild the palace and reassemble the people of Patani, who had fled. But when he saw the palace in Kerisik was completely destroyed and deserted because many of the people had died in the war and many more had been captured by Siam and taken to Bangkok, Tungku Lamidin did not want to stay in Kerisik. Then his majesty built a new palace in Perawan and appointed a chief named Datuk Pangkalan, who lived in Kampung Pangkalan Besar, to be ruler in Kerisik."

Although Tungku Lamidin had been appointed by the Siam-Thai to be a puppet raja, a feeling of sadness took root in his heart in account of the deeds of the Siam-Thai against the Patani Malays. Therefore his majesty firmly resolved to seek revenge for this defeat

and to free the kingdom of Patani from the yoke of Siam-Thai subjugation. His majesty only awaited a good opportunity to carry out this intention.

With matters thus, in A.D. 1789 his majesty sent a mission carrying a letter to the raja of Annam (Vietnam) in Indochina, named Raja "Wan Cheng Su," inviting that raja to join him in attacking Siam. His majesty would attack southern Siam and the raja of Annam would attack from the north.

Unfortunately the raja of Annam sent Tungku Lamidin's letter to the raja of Siam in Bangkok. When the raja of Siam learned of the raja of Patani's plan he became very angry and ordered his commander Phraya Kelahom to arrest the raja of Patani. Meanwhile Tungku Lamidin had completely re-equipped his army and he rose up with his troops and attacked the country of Tiba, driving out the Siam-Thai there. Immediately thereafter he invaded the territory of Chenak, meeting little opposition and finally arriving at Singgora. When his majesty arrived at Singgora he met a force of Siam-Thai who were fortified at Kampung Bukit Anak Gajah. There they fought for several days.

News of the Malay attack on Singgora reached the Siam-Thai raja in Ligor, who sent reinforcements to help the Singgora Siam-Thai. The attack of the Malays under the direction of Tungku Lamidin became increasingly ferocious, and finally the defense of the Singgora Siam-Thai was defeated. The Siam-Thai rajahs of Singgora and Ligor fled to the country of Pattalung, but they were immediately pursued by the Malays so that a battle also took place in the country of Pattalung.

With matters thus, the force of commander Phraya Kalahom arrived from Bangkok seeking to capture the raja of Patani. This army united with the rajahs of Singgora and Ligor and together they fought against the Patani attack. This war continued fiercely for three years with no winner or loser. Because the war lasted so long, the Malay forces became weakened. Far from their home base, it was very difficult for them to get assistance of food and weapons from Patani. In the end Tungku Lamidin was forced to withdraw his people to Patani.

The retreat of Tungku Lamidin did not bring any benefit whatsoever to his majesty as it provided an opportunity for the Siamese to launch their counterattack. All during their retreat they were constantly followed by the Siam-Thai. Finally the Malays arrived in Patani and together they prepared to defend Perawan and awaited the Siamese attack.

Because the Siamese army was collected from three large forces they were more numerous than the Malays. In the end Perawan was surrounded by the Siamese and they cut all communication of the Malays with their comrades outside the citadel. With matters thus, after a long Malay defense Perawan finally fell into the hands of the Siamese and Tungku Lamidin was arrested by the Siamese. His majesty was sentenced to be killed for his crime of treachery against the Siam-Thai Raja in Bangkok. Then the Malays broke and fled. This defeat occurred in 1791, the second defeat in the history of the Malay kingdom of Patani. As usual the Siam-Thai entered Perawan capturing and killing Malays and stealing all their property. When they were sated with terrorizing, they returned to Singgora, taking some Malay captives.

Before the Thais returned, they chose a Malay chief to be elevated as raja to rule Patani, "Datuk Pangkalan," who they gave the title Luang.<sup>b</sup> Because of this all children of

this chief also are called Luang. In order to watch over the Malays and guard against treachery they also appointed a Siamese chief named "Laksamana Dajang"<sup>i8</sup> to control the Malay chiefs and a few SiamThai were also asked to remain to keep order in Patani.

Afterwards affairs in Patani were somewhat calmer but the ruler, Datuk Pangkalan, frequently quarreled with the Siamese because he had no freedom to conduct the government of the country. He was continually surrounded by Siam-Thai whose attitude was evil and who continually committed cruelties against the Patani Malay people. Therefore in A.D. 1808 there arose a fierce dispute between Datuk Pangkalan and the Siamese.

Losing his patience, Datuk Pangkalan came with his men and launched a surprise attack against the Siam-Thai. They were forced to save themselves and flee with their leader Laksamana Dajang to Singgora. The raja of Singgora sent a letter to Bangkok stating that Datuk Pangkalan and the Patani Malays were traitors to the Siam-Thai raja. Meanwhile, the raja of Ligor and the raja of Singgora came with their troops to Patani in order to arrest Datuk Pangkalan.

In Patani all the families of the chiefs, that is Datuk Pangkalan, Datuk Sai, Datuk Pujud, and others, were ready and collected their strength, awaiting the arrival of the Siamese from Ligor and Singgora. When the Siamese arrived they fought the people of Patani for months. The people of Patani under the leadership of the chiefs fought to the end, firmly determined to drive the Siamese from Patani and free themselves from the yoke of Thai subjugation. Against this holy purpose, the Siamese were lost and retreated to Singgora, and Laksamana Dajang returned to Ligor.

A few months later, a Thai force from Bangkok led by Phraya Kalahom arrived with several warships and landed, followed by Siamese from Singgora and Ligor. This time the battle took place simultaneously on land and sea, the land battle occurring in Bawarah, and the sea battle at Kerisik. Finally the Patani Malays lost. Datuk Pangkalan died in the struggle, and all the other chiefs fled.

After achieving victory, the exulting Siam-Thai entered and ruled Patani, took Malays prisoner, seized all their possessions, and arranged the laws of the government in Patani to suit their wishes. Then the Siam-Thai began to carry out their plan to destroy the sovereignty of the Malay rajas. They elevated a SiamThai named "Nai Khwan Sai" to be raja of Patani. After completing the organization of the government of Patani, commander Phraya Kalahom returned to Bangkok with his army. Nai Khwan Sai was a son of the raja of Chenak, who was descended from a Chinese who came to do business in Chenak. Afterwards Nai Khwan Sai came to rule in Patani and brought several hundred Singgora Siamese and [they] made their settlement in the city.

Thenceforth, the sovereignty of the Malay rajas and the country of Patani was eliminated and full power fell into the hands of the Siam-Thai. In the next few years Raja Khwan Sai died and was succeeded by his son "Nai Phai" who became raja of Patani. A son of his older brother named "Nai Yim Sai" was given the title Luang Sawatphakdi and elevated to become his aide.

During the time Nai Phai ruled the country of Patani as raja, the situation in the country was not as peaceful as in the reign of the previous Malay rajas. Because the Siamese considered themselves more powerful, they continually acted cruelly and fiercely

toward the Malays of Patani, and were always in conflict with the Malays. This state of affairs caused the Malays to hate them deeply.

Nai Phai was of the opinion that the Malays were always plotting revenge against the Siamese, and he became worried that the Malays might revolt and demand their freedom. Therefore he sent a letter to the raja of Singgora expressing his concern, and the raja of Singgora conveyed this concern to the raja of Siam in Bangkok. The question was brought before a meeting with his ministers to decide on consolidating their rule in the subject territory of Patani.

The conference agreed that the strength of Patani should be dispersed so that it could be ruled more easily. In this way the position of the Malays could be weakened. The raja of Siam sent one of his ministers named "Phraya Aphaisongkhram" to Singgora to confer with the raja of Singgora in order to divide the country of Patani into seven small provinces, Patani, Jering, Nongchik, Yala, Sia, Rahman, and LigeH.

Thus the country of Patani which before was ruled by just one raja and never divided, now had been split up into several provinces. It was split up by the raja of Siam with the intention of weakening the strength of the Malays in order to make it easy for him to rule and enslave the Malays according to the principles of colonization (imperialism), that is, "divide and rule." When the task of dividing Patani was complete, Nai Phai was elevated to become raja of Jering and to him was surrendered the authority to supervise all the other provinces. All matters of internal government were placed beneath the care and control of the raja of Singgora. For each of those provinces Nai Phai was allowed to choose men who he trusted and he sent them to rule in each of those provinces and gave them the rank of raja.

The men chosen by Nai Phai and sent to govern in the provinces are as follows:

1. Tuan Sulong was elevated to be the raja of Patani and resided in Kota Kerisik;
2. Tuan Nik was elevated to be the raja of Nongchik and resided in Kota Nongchik;<sup>69</sup>
3. Tuan Mansor was elevated to become the raja of Rahman and resided in Kota Baharu;
4. Tuan Jalur was elevated to be the raja of Yala and resided in Yala;
5. Nik Dah was elevated to be the raja of LigeH and resided in Kota LigeH;
6. Nik Dih was elevated to be the raja of Sia and resided in Jeringu.

Tuan Sulong, who became the raja of Patani, was a grandchild of Datuk Pangkalan and resided with his family in Kampung Kerisik. Nai Phai trusted all the men completely except for him. While Tuan Sulong was raja of Patani, his majesty strongly stressed Islamic religious affairs and it was his majesty who constructed the mosque in Pintu Gerbang, and remains of which still can be found in Kampung Kerisik today.

In A.D. 1817 Tuan Jalur who ruled the province of Yala died and was succeeded by his son Tuan Bangkok. Then Tuan Nik, raja of Nongchik, also died and Tuan Kechil,

younger brother of Tuan Sulong, the raja of Patani, was elevated to succeed him and rule in Nongchik. A few years later Tuan Mansur, raja of Rahman, also died and was succeeded by his son named Tuan Kundur. Thus was the government in Patani while it was dominated by the authority of the Siamese. The system of government was under the yoke of their colonization.

Beginning at this point the country of Patani was involved with the country of Kedah. Therefore it is best if we introduce some of Kedah's history while it was connected with the history of the kingdom of Patani and the Thai so that we may easily understand it. At that time the country of Kedah was ruled by a Malay raja known as Sultan Ahmad Tajud'din Abdulhalim Shah or Tungku Pengeran. His majesty was defeated by the Siam-Thai raja and fled to save himself in Melaka. The country of Kedah came to be ruled by a son of the raja of Siam-Ligor.

In A.D. 1831 a son from the royal family of Kedah together with Tungku Rudin assembled all the people of Kedah who were still loyal to their raja and launched an attack on the Siamese in Kedah. Finally they regained the royal palace occupied by the Siamese raja and the Siamese raja with his chiefs fled back to Singgora. There he conferred with the raja of Singgora and his father the raja of Ligor in order to form a large force to reconquer the people of Kedah. Each agreed to this plan and they gathered an armed force of the combined men of Singgora and Siam-Ligor.

This Siamese force launched a heavy counterattack on Kedah. Tungku Din himself went out to lead the people of Kedah in fighting the Siam-Thai attack. This battle continued, but the Siamese attack did not succeed in conquering the people of Kedah, and the Siamese Raja was forced to retreat with his army to Singgora. Throughout his retreat he was pursued and attacked by Tungku Din and his people as far as Singgora.

Seeing that the attack of the Kedah people had reached his country, the raja of Singgora informed the raja of Siam in Bangkok and asked him for help quickly. A letter was also sent to Raja Nai Phai in Patani asking that help be sent to him to fight the Kedah people.

When the letter arrived in Patani, Raja Nai Phai directed all the rajas of the six provinces in Patani to bring their people and assemble in the district of Jering (Jambu) because they were to be sent to the raja of Singgora. The raja of Patani, the raja of Nongchik, the raja of Lige, and the raja of Yala each brought their people to assemble in Jering. Only the raja of Sia and the raja of Rahman did not come. Nai Phai asked those rajas to take their men and go to Singgora, but the rajas were reluctant to follow his order because they knew their men would be taken to fight their brothers, the people of Kedah, who were the same type of people [that is, Malays] as they. Nai Phai was forced to carry out harsh measures and threats until the four rajas were willing to take their men to Singgora. Only then did his harsh measures cease.

With matters thus, the four rajas secretly met to discuss their problem. Each was firmly opposed to taking their men to Singgora to fight their brothers the people of Kedah and each agreed to rebel against the Raja Nai Phai and the Siamese who were in Patani.

The four rajas ordered their men to take up their weapons and unite in attacking the Siamese in Patani. Because the Siamese were very few in number they were incapable of



fighting the Malay revolt. Many Siamese were killed and many were able to flee to Singgora. But they were pursued by the Malays as far as Tiba and Chenak. When they crossed the border of Singgora, the Malays met their brothers, the people of Kedah, who were then fighting the Siamese of Singgora.

The Malays of Patani united with their Kedah brothers and together fought the Siam-Thai. In this battle the Malays of Patani fortified themselves at Bukit Anak Gajah and Katnpung Bangkadan. While the battle was fiercely raging, a force of Siam-Thai from Bangkok arrived led by Phraya Phraklang who had been sent by their raja to help the raja of Singgora.<sup>70</sup> This was a large military force, well-equipped with many weapons. After he had united with the Singgora Siamese, their strength to fight the Malays increased. But the Malays continued to fight without considering the greater power of their enemies. With matters thus, Tungku Kudin, commander of the Kedah men, died in the fighting and the people of Kedah scattered and fled. The Malays of Patani saw their brothers were scattered, and realizing they did not have the means to fight the more powerful Thai, they were forced to retreat to Patani, where they determined to make their final stand.

The Siam-Thai commander Phraya Phraklang assembled all the Siamese forces and divided them into two troops. The first was sent to attack the Kedah people and the second force was sent to attack the people of Patani. The first troop launched their attack on Kedah, concentrating all their strength. After Kedah was again subjugated, the Siamese raja who had ruled previously was again elevated to be the Siamese ruler. After the conclusion of their battle with the people of Kedah, the second force went forth, led by Phraya Phraklang himself, toward Patani with several of his warships. When they arrived in Patani he landed his men on the beach at Kuala Patani and invaded the country. The Malays under the leadership of their four rajas put up a stout defense.

Tuan Sulong, who was ruler of Patani at that time, was a nephew of Long Ahmad, the sultan of Kelantan. When he learned that Patani was attacked by the Siamese, His Majesty Long Ahmad sent a troop of Kelantan people to help the people of Patani, who were at war with the Siam-Thai. This troop was led by the raja muda of Kampung Laut, his son Tungku Besar (Tungku Ahmad), and the raja of Banggul. Furthermore, the sultan of Trengganu sent a force to aid Patani led by Panglima Tungku Indris, Panglima Incik Kilan, Panglima Wan Kamal, and Panglima Incik Ismail." After these reinforcements arrived in Patani, they joined the people of Patani to battle the Siamese.

This battle proceeded with the greatest ferocity in the history of Patani. Phraya Phraklang ordered the Siamese to fight to the finish and he did not care that the losses and destruction he sustained were greater than that of the Malays. Finally the Malay defenses collapsed and the gate of victory was opened to the Siamese. The Malays, who were not powerful enough to resist their attack, were forced to scatter. The people of Kelantan and Trengganu with their chiefs retreated to their countries.

Tuan Sulong, raja of Patani, and Tuan Kundur, raja of Yala, fled with their wives and children to sanctuary in Kelantan. At the same time Tuan Kechil, raja of Nongchik, and Nik Dah, raja of Lige, fled to the interior of Patani, but they were pursued by the Siamese as far as the district of Jarum on the Perak border and there occurred a battle between the two Rajas and the Siamese. Tuan Kechil died in the battle and Nik Dah escaped to Perak. After the Rajas of Patani had all fled, the people of Patani suffered sorrowfully from oppression, murder, and rape by the Siam-Thai who prided themselves on their victories.

All the property and foodstuffs of the Malays, such as rice, fowl, and others, were completely loaded aboard the ships as booty.

When they were sated with sacking Patani, Phraya Phraklang, the Siamese commander, began to equip his army to invade Kelantan and Trengganu, wishing to gain revenge for the actions of their rajas, who had aided the Malays of Patani in battling the Siamese.

When this became known to Long Mahmud, sultan of Kelantan, his majesty worried lest Kelantan be attacked and subjugated by the Siam-Thai. In order to ensure that Kelantan not suffer the same fate as Patani, the sultan of Kelantan sent a peace mission to Phraya Phraklang seeking to submit to the raja of Siam and to pay for his mistake with a sum of \$50,000. Tuan Sulong, raja of Patani, and Tuan Kundur, raja of Yala, and their wives and children who were in Kelantan, were sent back to the Siamese commander. With this, the plan to attack Kelantan was set aside.

Then the Siam-Thai commander sent a mission to the sultan of Trengganu, reminding him of his mistake in aiding the people of Patani, and forcing him to send back all the people of Patani who had come for sanctuary in Trengganu, especially the Patani commanders Panglima Damit, Panglima Mahmud, Panglima Pia, and Panglima Ahmad. All the people of Patani and their commanders were surrendered by the sultan of Trengganu to the Siamese commander, who was waiting in Patani.

After the government in Patani was re-established by the Siamese commander, in the month of September 1832 the SiamThai army returned to Bangkok, carrying with them prisoners of war and possessions seized in Patani. The Patani Malay captives taken by Siam this time were no less than 4,000 people, men, women, and children. The suffering borne by the Malays who were confined in the Siam-Thai warships during the journey to Bangkok cannot be written and some of them died in the ships before arriving in Bangkok .12

Before the Siamese returned, their commander chose successors to those rajas of the small provinces of Patani who had been caught or who had died:

In Patani, Nik Yusuf of Gerisik was chosen;

In Nongchik, Nai Min, a Siamese of Chenak, was chosen;

In Yala, Nai Yim Sai (Luang Sawatphakdi), aide of Raja Nai Phai, was chosen;

In Lige, Nik Bungsu of Bapu, who was faithful to Nai Phai, was chosen.

Nai Yim Sai, raja of Yala, resided in Kubang Teras. Nik Bungsu, raja of Lige, resided in Tanjong Emas. Nik Yusuf, raja of Patani, resided in Kuala Bekah, downriver from present-day Gedung China.

After that time the countries of Patani and Kedah were under the authority of the raja of Siam. Kedah was ruled by a son of the Siamese raja of Ligor and Patani was ruled by rajas appointed by the Siam-Thai. Their rule continued until the year A.D. 1838. There were two princes in the family of the raja of Kedah named Tungku Mahmud Sa'ad and Tungku Abdullah. These two princes devised a secret plan of action to overturn the power of the Siamese raja and retake control of the Malay kingdom of Kedah. When the appointed day

and hour arrived, the people of Kedah under the leadership of the two princes attacked the Siamese, and immediately retook the palace and killed the Siamese in Kedah, but their raja was able to flee to Singgora with his people.

The fleeing Siamese were immediately followed the pursued by the people of Kedah as far as Chenak, and here the Singgora Siamese came to aid their comrades in resisting the attack of the Kedah people. Because the Kedah people's attack became fiercer and fiercer, the raja of Singgora sent a messenger to Bangkok to ask for immediate aid. A similar message was sent to Raja Nai Phai in Jering.

Raja Nai Phai called all the rajas of these provinces to bring their people to Singgora. Because these rajas were loyal to Raja Nai Phai and had for long been tools of his rule, they did not pose any obstacle to Raja Nai Phai and brought their people to Singgora. But when they arrived in Chenak, many of the people of Patani ran from their rajas because they did not want to help the Siamese. They were to be taken to fight their brothers, the people of Kedah. The people of Patani went to join their brothers the people of Kedah and turned to fight the Siamese.

This battle continued for some time until the Malays were weak. Tungku Mahmud Sa'ad, leader of the people of Kedah, died in the fight and Tungku Abdullah retreated with his people to Kedah. His retreat was followed by Siamese attacks on his rear as far as Kedah. Because the Kedah peoples' strength had been exhausted in the battle, Kedah easily fell again into the hands of the Siamese, and the Patani Malays who had joined the Kedah people were forced to flee.

After the end of the battle, the raja of Singgora asked the rajas of Patani from the six provinces to return with their subjects because he worried that a revolt of the Patani Malays might arise. Not many years later Raja Nai Phai, who ruled in the province of Jering, died. The center of government in Singgora was informed of his death. By order of the raja of Singgora, Nai Yim Sai, raja at Yala, was appointed to be the raja ruling in Jering. Then he appointed a Singgora Siamese named Nai Muang to be raja ruling in Yala, and Nai Muang moved from Kota Kubang and established a new town of Kampung Seting, across the Sungai Besar.

In A.D. 1842 Kelantan was ruled by Sultan Tuan Senik the Red Mouth." In this year an atmosphere of conflict clouded the family of the raja of Kelantan. This conflict occurred between the sultan and several members of his family, including Sultan Dewa (Raja Penembang), the raja muda, Tungku Sri Indra, and Tungku Mahmud (Tungku Besar), son of the raja muda of Kampung Laut. This dispute caused enmity and civil war between the sultan and the rajas mentioned.

After the civil war had continued for some time and there was no hope of obtaining peace, the two sides submitted the matter to the raja of Siam in Bangkok. This submission was well received by the raja of Siam. He sent one of his chiefs named Phraya Chaiya Thainam with the raja of Ligor and the raja of Singgora to Kelantan as intermediaries to stop the fighting.

At the same time that the Thai rajas were working to end the civil war in Kelantan, Nai Yi Sai (Luang Sawatphakdi), raja of Jering, died. Nik Yusuf, raja of Patani, was elevated to succeed him, and because Patani had no raja, Tungku Mahmud (Tungku Besar) son of

the raja muda of Kampung Laut was invited to move to Patani and he was officially installed as raja to rule Patani. All internal administration was put under the control and care of the Siamese raja of Singgora. Sultan Dewa went to Ligor and remained there permanently.

In this transfer to Patani, Tungku Mahmud was accompanied by his relatives, including Tungku Tuan Menanjiwa and Tungku Banggul, together with their families, and also by Tungku Long Ahmad, raja of Bukit. All these rajas stayed together with Tungku Mahmud in Patani. At first Tungku Mahmud established his palace compound across from the end of the Peninsula, now called Kampung Tungku Besar Semarak, but not long afterward he decided that the area of that compound was not suitable. He and his relatives then moved and established a new palace in Kampung "Chabang Tiga" and to this day this is the site of the palace of the rajas of Patani.

After Tungku Mahmud was chosen to become the raja of Patani, he was given the title Sultan Mahmud, but by the raja of Siam in Bangkok he was titled Phraya Tani. At the wish and order of the raja of Siam, all the royal family who accompanied Tungku Mahmud to Patani were given their own positions. The raja of Banggul was chosen to become Phraya Phitak, which means the office of adviser to the sultan of Patani, and all the other rajas also were chosen to become high officers of the kingdom. After two years the raja of Banggul and Tungku Long Ahmad, the raja of Bukit, both died in Patani. Then Tungku Tengah, son of the raja of Banggul, who chosen to become Phraya Phitak to replace his father.

Since that time, the country of Patani began to be ruled by rajas from Kelantan who were appointed by the raja of Siam. Internal government was carried out under the supervision and control of the raja of Siam, through the administrative center at Singgora. Thus the sovereignty of Sultan Mahmud and his chiefs went no further than the end of the index finger of the raja of Siam. In other words, the government operated according to the beckoning of the finger of the raja of Siam, whose wishes were based on principles of their subjugation. Only in the era of the rule of Sultan Mahmud did the atmosphere in Patani gradually become increasingly calm and peaceful.

Not long afterward, Nai Min, raja of the province of Nongchik was removed from office by the raja of Siam because he governed ineffectively. Nai Kliang, son to Nai Yi Sai, formerly the raja of Jering, was appointed raja of Nongchik. Nai Kliang moved his center of government from Nongchik to Kampung Tok Jong. Afterward, Nai Muang, raja of Yala, also was dismissed from his office by the raja of Siam because he was unqualified to rule. Tungku Mahmud Salih (Tuan Batu Putih) was appointed to become raja of Yala and Tungku Mahmud Salih moved the center of his government to Kampung Yala, where it had been in earlier times.

Then Nik Dah, raja of the province of Sia and who lived in Jering, died; Tungku Halal Aladin (Nik Lebai), his son, was appointed to become the raja there.<sup>75</sup> In the year A.D. 1853 Nik Yusuf, raja of the province of Jering, also died. This raja was called Raja Tok Ki by the people of Patani.<sup>75</sup> The raja of Siam at Singgora chose Sultan Dewa who lived in Ligor to become raja in the province of Jering to replace him. After that Sultan Dewa moved with his children to rule in Jering and his son Tungku Sulong was elevated to become his aide with the title Luang Sunthonraya.

After Sultan Dewa had been raja ruling in Jering for approximately one year he too died and his son Tungku Sulong requested permission from the raja of Siam to move

back to Kelantan because he did not want to stay in Jering any more. Nik Timung, son of raja Nik Yusuf, former raja of Jering, was then appointed to become raja ruling in Jering.

In the year A.D. 1856 Sultan Mahmud, raja of Patani, also died. His majesty was buried in the cemetery of Tanjung Datuk, therefore he is referred to as Almarhum Tanjung to this day. At his death, his majesty left four sons and two daughters, namely:

1. Tungku Putih, who later became the second Raja of Patani;
2. Tungku Bulat (Tungku Haji Tua);
3. Tungku Hassan (Tungku Nik Mandarahan);
4. Tungku Bongsu (Tungku Sulaiman Sharit Aladin, fourth
5. Raja of Patani);<sup>76</sup>
6. Tungku Temenal, married to Raja Rahman;
7. Tungku Laboh, married to Tungku Chik, son of Tungku Banggul.

With the agreement of the raja at Siam, Tungku Putih was appointed to become raja of Patani in place of his father and given the title "Phraya Wichitphakdi (. In the reign of Tungku Putih the titles in the Siamese language for the raja of Patani and his chief men were officially fixed, as follows: the title for the raja of Patani was Phraya Wichitphakdi; the title for the adviser of the raja was Phraya Phithakthammasunthon; the title of the heir apparent was Phraya Si Burirattaphanit; the title of his assistant was Phraya Phiphitphakdi. From then on these titles were given by the raja of Siam to anyone who occupied these offices).

In the reign of Tungku Putih the country of Patani became increasingly populous and many foreign businessmen came to do business in Patani. Among them the most numerous were the Chinese. Because of the large number of these people the village in which they lived became known as Kampung China, as it is today.

Not many years later Tuan Kundur, raja at Rahman, and Tungku Mahmud Salih (Tuan Batu Putin), raja of Yala, both died. Tuan Timung, son of Tuan Kundur, was appointed to become the raja in Rahman, with the title Phraya Rattanaphakdi. It was this raja who moved and made his village at present-day Kota Baharu Rahman. In Yala, Tungku Sulaiman (Tuan Kechik), son of Tungku Mahmud Salih, was appointed to become raja replacing his father and bearing the title Phraya Narongritphakdi. Thus too in the province at Nongchik, after the death of its raja named Nia Keliam, a Siamese chief named Nia Wing became Raja there with the title Phraya Pichera Pibul Narubit.

After this, Tungku Jeladaladin (Nik Lebai), raja of Sia, and 'I'uan Timung, raja of Rahman, also died. Tungku Abdul Kadir (Nik Kelapik), son of Tungku Jelaludin, became raja of the province of Sia, and was given the title Phraya Suriyasunthon Bowonphakdi, and Tungku Abdul Muta'ib (Nik Pik) was appointed to become his aide and

given the title Phraya Rattanamontri. It was this Tungku Abdul Kadir who established the royal palace in Selindong Bayu or Teluban which still exists today.

In the province of Rahman, Tungku Abdul Kendis (Tuan Jangong), younger brother of Tuan Timong, was appointed to become raja, with the title Phraya Rattanaphakdi. Tuan Bali Jawa, son of Tuan Timong, and Tuan Lebih, son of Tungku Abdul Kendis, were both appointed to become his aides (. Previous to this, the rajas of the seven provinces of Patani were only given the title of Phraya. For example, the raja of Patani was titled Phraya Tani, the raja of Yala was titled Phraya Yala, and so forth. From this time the rajas were distinguished with individual titles: the raja of Patani was titled Phraya Wichitphakdi; the raja of Nongchik was titled Phraya Phetcharaphiban; the raja of Yala was titled Phraya Narongrit Si Prathet Winetwangsa; the raja of Sia was titled Phraya Suriayasonthan Bowonphakdi; the raja of Rahman was titled Phraya Phuphaphakdi; the raja of Ligei was titled Phraya Phuphaphakdi; and the raja of Jering was titled Phraya Phiphitphakdi. These titles were used officially until, in the year A.D. 1902, the sovereignty and authority of the Malay rajas were abolished by the Siamese kingdom.)

Tungku Putih continued to rule Patani securely and peacefully. At the beginning of A.D. 1881, his majesty died after occupying the throne of the kingdom of Patani for twenty-six years. During his lifetime, his majesty had had two wives, namely: in Kelantan he had married Tungku Raja Puteri, the daughter of the sultan of Kelantan; in Patani he had married Tungku Wawah Puteri, daughter of Tungku Tengah who became advisor to the raja (Phraya Pitek). His majesty died of an illness while in Kelantan, and is remembered as Almarhum Mangkat di Kelantan.<sup>18</sup>

At his death his majesty left one son and six daughters,<sup>79</sup> namely:  
From his Kelantan wife

1. Tungku Besar (Tungku Timung), the third raja of Patani;
2. Tungku Ambung, wife of the Raja Bendahara of Kelantan;

From his Patani wife,

3. Tungku Ambik, wife of Tungku Mahmud of Kelantan; Tungku Tengah, wife of the raja of Yala;
4. Tungku Pik, wife of Tungku Mahmud, son of the raja of Belat;
5. Tungku Patani, wife of Tungku Besar Indera, raja of Kelantan;
6. Tungku Mahmud, who became raja muda in the government of Tungku Sulaiman Sharif Aladin.

When Tungku Putih died his son Tungku Besar (Tungku Timung) was appointed to occupy the throne of the kingdom of Patani and became the third raja. Also at that time no one had yet been appointed to fill the office of advisor to the raja. After the death of the raja of Banggul, Tungku Tengah, son of the raja of Banggul was appointed to become advisor to the raja, and Tungku Sulaiman became raja muda. Tungku Abdul Kadir, son of Tungku Tengah, was appointed as an assistant to the raja.

Meanwhile Nai Wiang, raja of Nongchik, died and was replaced by a Siamese named Nia Ming who was given the title Phraya Phetcharaphiban. Not long afterward Nik Timun, raja of Jering, also died. His younger brother Nik Mah was appointed to become the raja ruling there and was given the title Phraya Phiphitsenamattayathibodi. Afterward, Nai Ming, raja of Nongchik, and Nik Bongsu, raja of Lige, also died. Nai Tud was appointed to become raja in Nongchik. Tuan Indu, son of Nik Bongsu, was appointed to become raja of Lige with the title Phraya Phuphaphakdi.

Tungku Besar (Tuan Timung) had occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani for nine years and was the third raja of Patani to rule under the control of the raja of Siam-Thai. Because Patani at that time had fallen under the subjugation of the Siam-Thai raja, the question of the safety of the country from attacks by its enemies was no longer an issue. Thus, during the period of Tungku Besar's reign, in Patani there occurred no conflict either with enemies outside the country or with its enemies within the country itself, that is with the Siam-Thai.

In A.D. 1890 Tungku Besar died and was buried in a cemetery (Tok Ayah) which still exists today. At this death, his majesty left two sons and three daughters together with his three wives, Che Wah, Mek Putih, and Che Mek Inche Tih. Children by his wife Che Wah were (1) Tungku Besar, wife of the raja muda of Kelantan; (2) Tungku Wawah, wife of Tungku Hussein (Tungku Besar Nayara). His child by Mek Putih was (3) Tungku Mek Haji (Tungku Ismail).<sup>80</sup> Children by his wife Che Mek Inche Tih were (4) Tungku Tengah, wife of Tungku Nga, son of the raja of Sia; (5) Tungku Mahmud (Tungku Che Kumat).

After Tungku Besar died, Tungku Sulaiman Syarifalludin, the raja muda, was appointed to ascend the throne of the kingdom of Patani with the title Sultan Sulaiman Syarifalludin. He became the fourth raja during the period of Siam-Thai subjugation, and was titled by the Siam-Thai as Phraya Wichitphakdi.

Then Tungku Mahmud, son of Tungku Besar, was appointed to become raja muda. At that time Tungku Tengah, who held the position of advisor to the raja (Phraya Phakdi), also died and was replaced by his son, Tungku Abdul Kadir. Tungku Abdul Kadir, son of Sulaiman, was appointed to become assistant to the raja (Phraya Phiphitphakdi).

During his reign Sultan Sulaiman Syarifalludin was very concerned about the safety of the lives of the Patani people. Among his acts was the straightening of the Sungai Patani, which required excavation from Kampung Perigi as far as Kampung Anak Buloh. Its length was approximately seven kilometers, and is known now by the name of Sungai Baru.

Besides this, his majesty took very seriously Islamic religious affairs. At his wish a large mosque was built of stone which is known by the name "Great Mosque of Chabang Tiga," and exists to this day. His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Syarifalludin did not pray in the palace which was built previously by Almarhum Raja of Kelantan. Instead, his majesty built a new palace on the side of the city where the sun rose. In it his majesty prayed until [the day] he died, and this new palace became the place of prayer of Tungku Mahmud, the raja muda.

Not many years later Wan Induk, the raja of Lige, died and Tuan Tengah, his relative, that is the son of Tuan Sulong, was appointed to become raja of Lige in his place. Thus also when Nik Mah, raja of Jering, died, his son Nik Wawa was appointed to become raja to rule there.

Sultan Sulaiman Syarifalludin ruled with impartial justice and his majesty was very devoted to the people and the kingdom of Patani. Although his majesty's rule was carried out under the control and supervision of the Siam-Thai raja, nevertheless he upheld the position of his people, country, and kingdom.

After Sultan Sulaiman Syarifalludin had occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani for ten years, to the beginning of A.D. 1899, on the fourth of the month of Rabi'ul-awwal 1316, his majesty also died and was buried in the cemetery of Tok Ayah.

On his death his majesty left two sons and two daughters which were borne by two wives, namely:

His child by his Kelantan wife,

(1) Tungku Sulung, wife of Tungku Betara.

His children by Tungku Nik Putih, daughter of the Raja of Sia,

(2) Tungku Besar Tuan Kambing, wife of Tungku Mahmud,

the raja muda;

(3) Tungku Abdulkadir Kamaralladin, who later became the fifth raja of Patani,

(4) Tungku Mahmud Saleh.

After the death of his majesty, his son Tungku Abdulkadir Kamaralladin was chosen to ascend the throne of the kingdom of Patani in place of his father, and became the fifth raja of Patani descended from the rajas of Kelantan. He was also the last Malay raja to rule the country of Patani.

In the year A.D. 1902, the Siam-Thai raja in Bangkok decided to change the system of government in his subject territory of Patani. He wanted the seven provinces in Patani to be combined into a single province, called a region [*boriwen*]. He abolished the sovereignty and authority of the seven Malay rajas and placed the government of the country of Patani under the supervision and control of the raja of Singgora.

The Siam-Thai raja well knew that this wish would certainly be resisted strongly by the Malay rajas because this meant withdrawing their sovereignty and their right of overlordship in the country of Patani. Therefore he sent a minister as envoy to Patani in order to discuss this matter with the Malay rajas. In this meeting he requested the signatures of the Malay rajas as a token of permission and agreement with the wish of the raja of Siam. At the same time he promised to give pensions to the rajas and their households until their deaths. However, the rights and revenues in the country of Patani all had to be surrendered to the raja of Siam in Bangkok. The Malay rajas would no longer be forced to send tribute of the *bunga mas* to Bangkok.

By using all sorts of trickery and deceit many of the Malay rajas were deceived so that they were willing to give their signatures admitting agreement with the wishes of the raja of Siam-Thai. Only Tungku Abdulkadir Kamaralludin, raja of Patani, staunchly resisted the



wishes of the raja of Siam and did not want to give his signature to the envoy from Siam who came to Patani. This was because his majesty knew that the desire of the raja of Siam meant the seizing of all rights of the Malay people, including the right of suzerainty over the country of Patani, and that the fate of the Malays would be to fall under the yoke of subjugation to the Siam-Thai, having lost their rights to freedom and independence.

With this realization, Tungku Abdulkadir was fully determined not to agree to the wish of the raja of Siam-Thai. At this the ministerial envoy tried forcibly to arrest his majesty. One day he pretended to invite his majesty to the house where he was staying. He said he wanted to discuss many things. As soon as his majesty came to his house he was quickly confined by the Siam-Thai men in a room and not permitted to leave. This affair was so quickly carried out that his majesty himself did not realize what was happening.

When the fact of his capture was known to the Malay chiefs they came in a crowd intending to free their raja from the captivity of the Siamese. But his majesty thought it useless to allow his people to spill their blood because he knew the strength of the people of Patani at that time was too small. So they left his majesty in captivity. The other Malay rajas agreed with the SiamThai raja by giving their signatures, except for the raja of Lige and the raja of Rahrnan, who were of the same opinion as his majesty. However, because they were threatened by the SiamThai, these rajas too later were forced to accede to the wishes of the raja of Siam.

Afterward the ministerial envoy of Siam returned to Bangkok, taking with him Tungku Abdulkadir Kamaralludin with the hope of urging or threatening his majesty to give his signature and agree with the wishes of the raja of Siam. But his majesty was a Malay raja of stout heart and greatly valued the sovereignty of the kingdom of Patani. He steadfastly resisted the wish of the raja of Siam-Thai. Then his majesty was sent to a place of confinement in the country of Phitsanulok, north of the city of Bangkok. Then many among the Malays of Patani who were loyal to his majesty resolved to go together to Phitsanulok. Some of them died on the way and some of them died there.

After two years and nine months during which his majesty was confined there, in A.D. 1905, his majesty received permission from the raja of Siam to return to Patani. At that time the system of government in the country of Patani had changed and altered according to the wishes of the Siam-Thai raja. The country of Patani had been combined into one province and was placed under the control and command of the raja of Singgora, and was ruled by a Siamese commissioner named Phraya Mahibanborirak, who lived in the country of Patani. All six rajas had lost their sovereignty and authority. Each lived only on his pension until the end of their lives.

After the return of Tungku Abdulkadir Kamaralludin to Patani, his majesty no longer wanted to stay in Patani and immediately set off to live in Kelantan for a few years, until in A.D. 1933 his majesty died of bronchitis in Kelantan.

At his death his majesty left three sons and three daughters:<sup>81</sup>

(1) Tungku Ahmad Nuraladdin (Tungku Sri Akar Raja

Kelantan);

By Tuan Namsa,

- (2) Tungku Zubaidah (Tungku Besar);
- (3) Tungku Yusuf Shamsaladdin;
- (4) Tungku Todzah, married to Raja Haji Ahmad of Perak,
- (5) Tungku Kamariah:

By Che Manuk Patani,

- (6) Tungku Yah, married to Tungku Abdulkadir (Tungku Putera), child of the Raja of Sia;
- (7) Tungku Mahmud Mahialaddin.

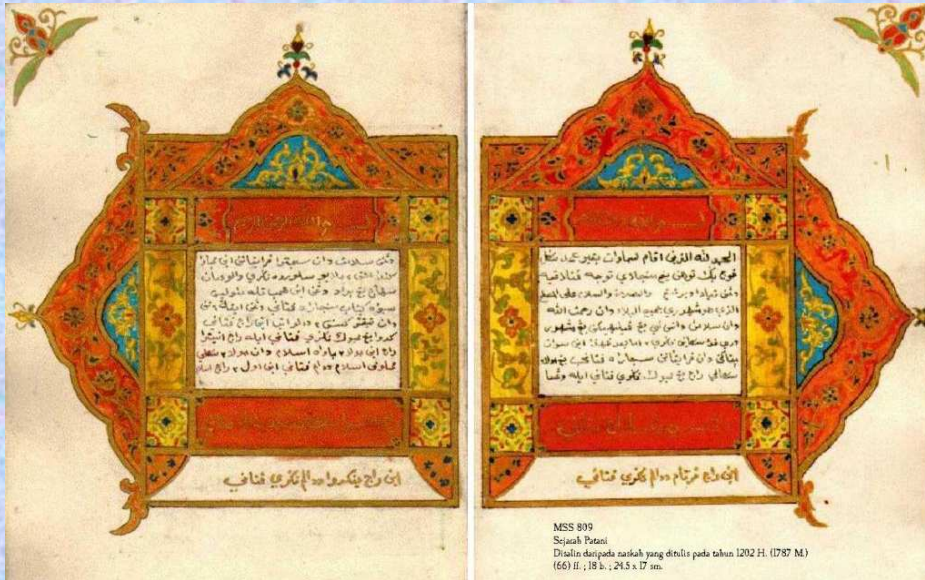
Thus, A.D. 1902 was the year of the ultimate fall of the country of Patani, the loss of the sovereignty of its rajas, the destruction of the right of suzerainty of the Malays in the country of Patani, and the pawning of all rights to liberty and independence to the raja of Siam-Thai. This was the last and most unfortunate year in the history of the fall of the Malay kingdom of Patani.

With the death of Tungku Abdulkadir Kamaralludin, the Malay rajas from the line of Kelantan rajas who occupied the throne of the kingdom of Patani were no more. From that time no one was elevated to become raja of Patani. The country of Patani had begun to be just one of the provinces subject to the Siam-Thai kingdom. In A.D. 1906, also upon the wish of the raja of Siam, the government was dissolved and replaced by a newer method of government. All seven provinces in Patani were reunited in one provincial territory of Patani, in the Siamese language termed "*monton* Patani." Then the province of Patani was again divided into four territories which were called *changwat*, that is the changwat of Patani, Yala, Saiburi, and Narathiwat (Banganara). Then a Siam-Thai commissioner was appointed to rule in each changwat.

A high commissioner (governor-general) was appointed and stationed in Patani, to govern the four provinces, and all the commissioners in each province governed under his supervision. The high commissioner was called, in the Siamese language, Samuha Thetsaphiban. The Siamese who first held this post of high commissioner in the province of Patani was named Phraya Sakseninarong, and his new titled was Phraya Dechanuchi.

## Chapter 4:

### THE COUNTRY OF PATANI IN THE PERIOD OF REAWAKENING



After the sovereignty of the Malay rajahs of Patani was abolished through trickery by the Siamese kingdom in 1902, the country of Patani was gradually absorbed as a part of the territory of the country of Siam-Thai and its Patani Malay subjects were changed to citizens of the state of Siam-Thai. Siamese officials who came from Bangkok region began

to take up posts in Thai at that time were conducted through rule by the authority of the raja (autocracy). Thus the pattern of government in Patani stressed the advantages and benefits for these Siamese officials and their kingdom.

The Malays were made subject to and forced to pay maximum taxes as revenue to the kingdom. As far as possible all the wealth of Patani was to be collected and all the revenue thus to pay the salaries of the Siamese officials. It may be said that no one part of the revenue was used for the welfare of the Malays who had strained to pay the tax.

The majority of the Siamese officials never seriously considered the welfare of the Malays. They first came to Patani with only their official rank. But when they retired they had obtained many broad estates and large compounds in Patani. Some of them, when they retired, returned to Bangkok taking possessions to make their lives luxurious. The officials of Siam-Thai never tried to understand the Malay people and the Islamic religion, because in the period of autocratic rule there was no such concern. They ruled with great ease, but were unconcerned with progress in these territories except for affairs concerning their own advantage.

Service of health, education, and welfare did not exist; Siamese schools were established only in the city, for the benefit of children of Siamese officials. There were no Malay schools. When the government wanted roads to facilitate communications between one territory and another, they depended on local people to build them. They were mobilized to work as laborers. Sometimes laborers were forced to come from their home miles away and were forced to bring their own supplies.

The administration of judicial matters depended on the high commissioner, on the police, and finally on the judges. Sometimes people brought to court were forced to wait for months before their case came to trial. This state of affairs was caused by officials who wanted to find

out how much money would be given to them by an accused person when their case came to trial. Such a system of administration made the Malays feel restless and dissatisfied.

In 1923 the Malays started a movement by refusing to pay tax because of their hatred of the Siam-Thai officials who received their money and also because their system of administration did nothing to improve the country. In this year the Malays launched a movement to demand freedom. This movement was suppressed by the kingdom of Siam after a fight occurred between members of the movement and a troop of Siamese police in the district of Mayul (Rakak). Several Malay leaders accused of involvement in this movement were arrested and sent to Bangkok charged with treason. Some of them died and were buried there.

Among the Malay leaders who directed the movement was Tungku Abdulkadir Kamarullidin, the last raja of Patani, who had refused the offer of the Siamese kingdom to become a puppet raja. After the movement began to break up his majesty withdrew to Kelantan and stayed there permanently until he died.

Because this event occurred, and because he was too old. Phraya Dechanuchit, high commissioner for the province (monton) of Patani, was withdrawn from office and replaced by another person. The occupant of this post changed several times until 1932. In this year the country of Siam was ruled by Raja Prajadhipok, the seventh of his line, and the economic situation of the country of Siam declined so far as to endanger the kingdom.

With the aim of reversing the collapse of the economy of the kingdom of Siam, methods of internal administration were greatly altered, including a decreased number of officials and a cutback on plans for unimportant expenditures. Several provinces throughout the country of Siam were eliminated, one of which was the province of Patani, which was abolished and combined with the province of Nakhon Sri Thammarat. And in Patani one district was abolished the Saiburi (Teluban) district. Half of it was combined with Patani district and half was combined with Narathiwat district. Then there remained only three districts Patani, Yala, Narathiwat. And all three were under the rule of the high commissioner of the province of Nakhon Sri Thammarat, centered of Singgora.

Steps to reverse the economic collapse were implemented without much success. The politicians felt their country would slip into poverty and the number of unemployed people would increase. Therefore on the morning of 24 Jun 1932 a revolt occurred which seized power and Bangkok was controlled by politicians called "The People's Association" consisting of officers of the army, navy, and air force, together with civilians. Their aim was to change the autocratic style of government to a democratic style of government (sovereignty of the people). This association was led by Phraya Pahun, Nia Pridi Panum Yong, Luang Phibungsongkhram and others, including leaders of Islamic community in Bangkok such as Haji Abdulwahad and Haji Shamsalladin Mustapi.

Afterward a new constitution was promulgated and implemented according to democratic methods, giving an opportunity to the people of every district to exercise their right to choose a representative to attend a council of the kingdom in Bangkok, as people's representative who were responsible and had the right to formerly unlimited sovereignty of the raja of Siam was restricted permanently established. Then five principles of the government of the country were promulgated as basic acts of democracy which were.

1. To ensure political, judicial, and economic independence

2. To ensure safety and calm in the country
3. to advance the prosperity of the common people
4. To give equal right to the common people
5. To provide sufficient education for the common people

In 1933 the Siam-Thai kingdom abolished all province (monton) in the country of Siam and retained only district (changwat), and all district including the District of Patani, Yala, and Bangenara were made directly subject to rule by the Ministry of the Interior in Bangkok. With this last change the country of Patani essentially had become an integral part of the country of Siam-Thai, and its condition became increasingly separated from the other Malay countries in the peninsula.

In the new constitutional arrangement, it was stated in the first sentence that "the country of Siam-Thai is one in all aspects and may not be divided." With the democratic form of government in existence, the Malays in the district mentioned felt a sense of hope upon hearing the proclamations of democracy which sounded so sweet, and each awaited the opportunity to express the spirit of democracy which gave equal right and freedom. But from year to year there was no change at all, particularly in matters of health, education, roads, and others. All these were neglected as in the previous period of autocracy. Again the Malays felt restless and dissatisfied.

However, the democratic form of government caused the Siamese to become increasingly, more than before. The Siamese interpreted the first sentence of constitution to mean that every person who is a Siam-Thai subject must be counted as a Siamese in everything, that all must use one language, set of customs, similar clothes, and one religion. They had forgotten that in the constitution there also was one sentence which guaranteed freedom of religion, custom, and way of life to all people who live in the country of Siam.

In 1939 Thai nationalism had begun to spread in the country of Siam, spurred by Luang Phibungsongkhram, who at that time had become prime minister. Among the chief men of Siam, Luang Phibungsongkhram was famous as a strong politician who made much use of nationalism. He had many plans to develop nationalism throughout all the provinces of Indochina. He also intended to suppress minority groups in his country.

In 1940 a Siamese Cultural Institute was established in Bangkok and was known by the name "Sapha Wattanatham," the goal of which was the advancement of nationalism and the expansion of Siamese culture throughout the country. This Cultural Institute gradually issued directives in the form of compulsory rules of the public. One of the first directives which was issued compelled all people of Siam to wear Western-style clothing, including hats for both men and women. At meals it was necessary to use spoons and forks and to sit on chairs at a table. Malays in the district of Patani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Setul felt this directive was aimed directly at them because they were forbidden to wear Malay clothing, use Malay names, speak the Malay language, and embrace the Islamic religion.

Among a few requirements of the rules advancing Siamese culture, it was forbidden to speak Malay in any government office. Government officers who knew Malay were strictly forbidden to speak Malay with local inhabitants. Malays who came to settle a matter in an office

of the kingdom were forced to use the Siamese language. If they did not speak Siamese they were forced to hire someone who knew speak Siamese to be their interpret, whether the affair was important or not.

Among the requirements advancing Thai culture, it also was stated that Buddhism was the official religion, that Islam must be opposed, and that every effort which would advance Islam must be inhibited. Even worse, some Malay people in the district of Saiburi (Teluban) were forced to pray to an idol of Buddha. Thus Buddhist idols were installed in Siamese schools and the pupils, a majority of whom were Malays who held offices in the kingdom were forced to change their names to Siamese and it was forbidden for Malays to hold high offices. People who were Muslims were forbidden to attend military schools and hold higher offices.

In 1942 the cultural regulations were gradually implemented in the Malay district, forcing Malays to wear Western clothes: coat, trousers, and hats for men, and tight blouses and short skirts for women. Anyone refusing to follow regulations was arrested and fined, and sometimes kicked and beaten by the Siamese police. In this year the Malays in those districts became restless, especially the religious teachers. They too were forced to wear Western clothing and often the robes and turbans of the Hajis were snatched off by the Siamese police and trampled under their feet. Similarly women, while buying and selling in Malay markets, were kicked and jabbed with gun butts by the Siamese police because they wore long loose dresses and shawls.

Thus, because of the proposals of Luang Phibunsongkhram, the Siamese officials in Malay districts were able to terrorize unchecked everywhere, supported by the cultural regulations. They became more and more zealous in desecrating the honor of the Islamic religion and Malay custom, and their nationalism caused them to feel scorn and contempt for the Malays.

On 8 December 1942 war broke out in East Asia when Japanese troops launched their attack in areas of Southeast Asia. Among their attacks were landings on all the east coast of Siam, including Patani. The Japanese troops attacked all along the eastern border of Siam and fighting with Siamese troops went on for several hours. Luang Phibunsongkhram violated his neutral status by permitting Japanese troops to pass through the country of Siam to extend their attacks against Burma and Malaya. With this step Luang Phibunsongkhram caused Malaya and Singapore to fall into the hands of Japan with ease. Not many days later he declared war on the other side and faithfully worked together with Japan. During the war the movement to advance Siamese culture and nationalism broadened and an agreement was reached between the Siamese Cultural Institute and the Japanese Cultural Institute in order to assist in advancing each culture.

Using military strength and an iron fist, Luang Phibunsongkhram succeeded in maintaining high power in government and, sheltered under the samurai sword, he began to implement dictatorial rule and imitate the actions of the Fascists. During the rule of the dictator Phibunsongkhram, the acts of the Siamese officials toward the Malays became increasingly highhanded and cruel and the movement to "Siamize" the Malays became increasingly clear. The second step began to be implemented, that is the building up of the grandeur of Siam based on the concept of Greater Siam. On this basis, the dictator Phibunsongkhram sent a troop of his soldiers to subjugate the Shan districts in Burma and in 1943 entered to govern within Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis, and Kedah.

In the year 1944, Phibunsongkhram abolished the office of religious magistrate in the districts of Patani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Setul, and revoked Islamic laws concerning marriage, divorce, and inheritance which had been recognized by the kingdom of Siam for decades. Subsequently all cases pertaining to Islamic affairs were forced to follow the civil laws of the kingdom and were settled by Siamese courts.

In this year the situation of the Malays and the honor of the Islamic religion became increasingly endangered. In the same year, theologians led by Haji Sulung bin Abdul Kadir established an Islamic organization in Patani called *He'et alNapadh alLahkan alShanat* with the object of encouraging cooperation among Islamic leaders responsible for resisting the movement of the kingdom of Siam to Siamize the Malays and to violate the Islamic religion.

On the 14th day of January 1944, which coincides with the Siamese year 2487, a request was sent to the Prime Minister Phibunsongkhram by Tungku Abdul Jalal bin Tungku Abdul Talib, a leader of the Malays in southern Siam who was motivated by genuine loyalty to his people and was the Malay representative in the Siamese parliament at that time. This request concerned enforcement of the Siamese cultural regulations with regard to the culture of the Malay people in southern Siam and the desecration of the religion of Islam, which was being carried out by the governor of Patani (a Siam-Thai). An official reply was finally received on the 29th of April 1944, coinciding with the Siamese year 2487. This reply came from the Office of the Secretary of the Prime Minister Phibunsongkhram and expressed approval of the behavior of the governor of Patani and the manner in which he carried out the tyrannical Siamese cultural regulations, which were so crude and forceful. The letter read: "I wish to make known to you that your letter dated 14/2/1944 concerning the actions of the governor of Patani has been examined, and the Office of the Ministry of the Interior has given notice that the actions of the Governor of Patani are considered to be proper and should give no cause for anger from the majority of the people. Be so informed

This was the only answer of the government of Phibunsongkhram to the protest of the Malays and the Islamic congregation in southern Siam voiced by their leader. This protest did not receive fair consideration. On the contrary, the government of Siam approved the behavior of its cruel and tyrannical officials. On the 14th of August, Japan surrendered to the Allies and the war of Greater East Asia ended. The dictator Phibunsongkhram was arrested as a war criminal in Siam due to his cooperation with the Japanese and was put into a Siamese jail for six months.

With the victory of the Allies, the goal of establishing Greater Siam was no longer attainable and efforts to spread Siamese culture were halted. In the month of August 1945, Nai Khuana Aphaiwong was selected to become prime minister of Siam and a new cabinet of ministers was formed. The government of Nai Kuang abolished all of the culture laws made by Phibunsongkhram and the movement to Siamize the Malays stopped.

Even so, the cruelty and violations of Siamese officials against the Malays did not cease. The sensibilities of the Siamese officials were ruined so that laws of justice and humanity were discarded. At this time there was a sort of contagious disease among the Siamese officials which led to disregard of directives and the taking of bribes. This occurred from the highest officials to the lowest peons. A matter that was very important could not succeed if bribes to the officials were not first prepared.

With the police, a criminal who was caught could with ease be safe and free if he gave them a bribe. Repeatedly, when a Malay was accused of friendship with bad elements, he was immediately arrested by the Siamese police, taken to a lonely place, and beaten before he was taken to the place of detention. This also happened to Malays accused of taking part in political movements critical of the government. They were always threatened and slandered in various ways by the Siamese police, arrested, or simply beaten without bothering to take the matter to court.

In the month of December 1947, a tragic and horrible event occurred in Patani when a Siamese police bailiff was shot to death by bandits near a village named Kampung Belukar Masahak. A force of Siamese police went to this village to arrest Malay youths and proceeded to torture them in various ways in order to find out who among them was the murderer. They charged that the Malay youths in that village were supplying provisions to bandits, giving them full assistance. Many Siamese police came and burned the village because it was charged that the residents of the village were befriending the bandits. With this fire twenty-five Malay families were made homeless.

On the 26th of September 1947 Miss Barbara Wittingham-Jones, an English reporter, visited Patani for the first time since the end of the war. She traveled through 250 miles of the country in order to study and observe the condition of the 700,000 Malays under the oppression of the kingdom of Siam.

In the newspaper *Straits Times*, from Singapore, in the issue of December 1, Miss [Wittingham-] Jones told of her investigation. In her words: "Wherever I went, I found principles of oppression applied in an organized manner and an intentional movement launched to Siamize the subjects of the country." The opinion of the public has been disregarded by enforced prohibition by the kingdom of Siam regarding education for the Malays there," said Miss [Wittingham-] Jones, while explaining that schools in Patani had been closed by the Thai kingdom of Siam.

All along the way I saw school buildings closed and empty. Even religious schools were prohibited by the kingdom of Siam, although one or two Malay schools were still open, mainly in Yala and Narathiwat. But during one or two days of my visit there, a few more were forced to close. Because the Malays do not want to send their children to Siamese schools and are stubborn about not wanting to study the Siamese language, the decline of education among the Malay people in Patani is holding back their social and economic progress.<

Stating that this Siamese principle has killed the life and spirit of the Malay people, Miss [Wittingham-] Jones explained that the result is a gulf separating "the Siamese subjects and the Malays, which grows wider every day." The Siamese colonist, she says further, looks with obvious distaste and contempt on the Malay subjects, characterizing the Malay subjects as a race of illiterate and stupid farmers.

"As a pariah among social groups, it is not surprising if some of the more stubborn Malays become enemies of society, by becoming pirates on land and sea," Miss [Wittingham-] Jones says. "Every level of Siamese officials take bribes and because this evil is further compounded by the feelings of the Siamese officials who look with distaste and contempt on the Malays, the fate of the Patani Malays is to suffer constant tyranny and oppression,



the basis for their desire for revenge on the Siamese officials." Then Miss [Wittingham-] Jones relates how the Siamese police burned Malay villages to the ground because those<sup>l</sup>villages were accused of protecting criminals. "The Siamese police did not wish to investigate the truth or falsehood of those accusations or to try the people in court. Siamese officials have entered Malay homes to rape Malay women and force Malay shops to pay protection money. That protection money totals thousands of *tikal* and Siamese police often enter Malay shops to steal whatever they want," Miss [Wittingham-] Jones said further."

To demonstrate that the lives of Patani Malays were cheap the reporter says "Malays are often summarily shot without further investigation or mysteriously disappear without leaving a trace or further reports. Because Patani is isolated from the outside world, the Malays cannot and do not constitute an opposition to this harsh and cruel government. Simple dissention against the Siamese rule is considered by the kingdom of Siam to endanger the safety of the country. Such dissention is crushed by death sentences or torture. Malays in Patani are not free to speak, have no newspapers, have few radios, and no political organization. The place used by the Patani Malays to raise their voices are the mosques. Occasionally a Malay newspaper is smuggled to Patani, the *Ulusan Melayu* newspaper [of Malaya].

Furthermore Miss [Wittingham-] Jones explains: "Although Thai Siam has oppressed the Patani Malays so terribly for fifty years, nevertheless the principle of Siamizing Malays in Patani has not yet succeeded. I was surprised to see the spiritual strength of the Patani Malays in withstanding oppression so that they are able to preserve their culture."

Thus the summary of the facts by which the reporter Miss [Wittingham-] Jones portrays the situation actually prevailing in the Malay districts of southern Siam. From this can be understood the reasons why the Patani Malays have simultaneously arisen and asked for independence and justice.

The news of cruelty and the efforts to Siamize the Malays of Patani caused a commotion throughout the world, especially in Malaya. In the month of August 1947 the kingdom of Siam sent a commission consisting of seven people to Patani in order to investigate these matters and to listen to the local inhabitants in order to bring about a change that would be suitable to the Malays.

On the 24th of August the investigatory commission held a general meeting with the Malays of Patani which provided an opportunity for questions and answers. In this meeting Haji Sulung bin Abdul Kadir, the head of the Islamic Council, and Wan Othman Ahmad, head of the *Persekutuan Semangat Patani* [Alliance of the Spirit of Patani], represented the populace of Patani, and submitted to the commission seven demands to be presented to the government.' The contents of the demands were:

1. The government of Siam should have a person of high rank possessing full power to govern the four provinces of Patani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Setul, and this person should be a Muslim born within one of the provinces and elected by the populace. The person in this position should be retained without being replaced;
2. All of the taxes obtained within the four provinces should be spent only within the provinces;

3. The government should support education in the Malay medium up to the fourth grade in paarish schools within the four provinces;
4. Eighty percent of the government officials within the four provinces should be Muslims born within the provinces;
5. The government should use the Malay language within government offices alongside the Siamese language;
6. The government should allow the Islamic Council to establish laws pertaining to the customs and ceremonies of Islam with the agreement of the [above noted] high official;
7. The government should separate the religious court from the civil court in the four provinces and permit [the former] full authority to conduct cases.

The letter containing these demands made clear the deeds of the local Siamese officials who often indecently abrogated the rights of the Malay populace, and attempted to persuade the SiamThai government that their demands were At contrary to the constitution of the kingdom of Siam, rather that they [the demands] were directed toward improving the fate of their people and their homeland in a time when the world is busy preparing important rights and freedoms for the peoples who have been colonized.

In analyzing the problems faced by the Malay populace in conjunction with these demands it was stated:

We the Malay people realize that the true reality of our condition under the government of Siam is indecent and miserable whenever we are called Thai Islam. With such an appellation it is made clear that the question of our nationality as Malay people is not recognized by the kingdom of Siam. Because of this, we, in the name of all of the Malay common people in Patani, unanimously demand that the kingdom of Siam consider us as Malay people of the Islamic religion so that no longer will the world view us as Thai Islam.

The Siamese government investigating team heard all of the demands of the Patani Malays and it was agreed that the demands would be forwarded to the government in Bangkok

At the same time it was reported that the Malays in the province of Narathiwat also had proposed similar demands to the same investigating team. Their demands were made by fifty-five local Malay leaders. Among their demands was that the Siamese Office of Broadcasting in Bangkok should have a portion of their broadcast in the Malay language every day. Offices of the government should close on Fridayss as the day of rest and also on Islamic religious holidays. The system of education should be changed to accord with the standards of the modern world. Under the direction of Muslim officials, taxes obtained from the four provinces should be applied to the welfare of the four provinces. There were other demands contained in the thirteen points. Not many days later Malays from the province of Setul, represented by Incik Abdullah bin Mahmud Sa'ad, sent similar demands.

All of the demands of the Malay people were delivered to the Siamese government in Bangkok, but did not result in any changes from the Siamese government. Rather,

Siamese officials were of the opinion that these demands were quite contrary to the national Constitution and need not be considered.

On the 30th of January 1948 a special correspondent of the *Utusan Melayu* in Bangkok asked the deputy prime minister of Siam what was the attitude of the government regarding these demands. He answered, "The demands will be considered punctually and as many of the demands as possible will be implemented." This reply meant that the Malay demands which did not hinder the operations of the Siamese government would be implemented, but that whichever conflicted with their proprieties would be rejected. Some members of the Siamese government interpreted the demands as a political movement against the constitutional laws, and thought that it was necessary to take strong action against the Malays.

By order of the Siamese commissioner of Patani, on the morning of the 16th of January 1948, a troop of armed Siamese police arrested Haji Sulung at his house and two days later arrested Wan Othman Ahmad, Haji Wan Hussein, and Wan Mahmud Ami. The Malay leaders who had voted the demands of the Malay people were arrested and accused of treason against the kingdom. One month later Haji Sulung and his colleagues were taken to Nakhon Sri Thammarat, and the Siamese court there concluded their deliberations by imposing jail sentences of three years. Two months later they were taken to Bangkok and detained in the large prison "Bang Kwang."

After these arrests, many Malays of Patani who also were accused of involvement in the movement fled to seek refuge in Malaya. The Islamic Council of Patani was outlawed by the government. During this year all activities of the Patani Malays were constantly watched by the Siamese government, and many special undercover agents were sent from Bangkok to Patani, Yala, and Narathiwat to investigate the activities of those Malays who were considered to be political and opposed to the government, or who demanded freedom.

The Malay question became a regular subject in the discussions of the members of the Siamese government. Moreover, their problems caused a commotion in Malaya when Malay newspapers stood up in support of the Malay movements in southern Siam. *Utusan Melayu*, the most important Malay newspaper, stood up for and supported their aspirations. The voice of *Utusan Melayu* constantly criticized the members of the Siamese government and its voice resounded in the Siamese parliament when the condition of the Malays, who suffered behind the Siamese iron curtain [*tabir besi*], was made known.

During this time a group of conservative Siamese newspapers who supported the government constantly slandered the endeavors of the Malay people while calling their movement wicked. There also were honest Siamese newspapers who honored the principles of the press and were sympathetic to the Malays.

On the 30th of January 1948 a troop of special Siamese police were sent from Bangkok to the Malay provinces to reinforce the hold of the government over the Malay people, as it was believed that their movement would expand. On the 28th of April 1948, there occurred a fierce battle between one thousand Malays and a force of Siam-Thai police at Kampung Dusun Nyior in the province of Narathiwat. The Siamese police began the attack against the Malays, accusing the Malays of actions against the Siamese government. The battle lasted for thirty-six hours before

the Malays retreated to the jungle to carry out a guerrilla struggle. Close to 400 Malays, including old people, women, and children, were killed in the battle, and more than thirty Siamese police were killed.

On the 27th of April, three Siamese bombers flew over the area of the battle to bomb the Malays." Siamese warships harbored at Kuala Bengenara were ordered to land their troops to assist the Siamese police in killing the Malay people. One month later, *Kamnan* Mahmud, the headman of Kampung Tanjong Mas, and Mustaphi, and old Malay man of Telabuan, were arrested by the Siamese police and accused of involvement in the unrest. The two of them were killed without being given a hearing in

court.<sup>90</sup>

The Siamese government tried to keep secret the events which led up to the battle and lied to the world by saying that it was simply a battle between a group of bandits and the guardians of peace. But the truth could not be hidden in the face of clear evidence that showed that the Malays had lost their patience and were increasingly dissatisfied with the Siam-Thai government. The sacrifice of hundreds of Malay lives was a major event in the history of the rising of the Malay people of Patani, who demand justice and freedom.

The government of Siam endeavored to blur the eyes of the world with their propaganda by belittling the Malay movement and stressing that the Malays acted because they were paid by a small

group of Patani Malay agitators who had fled to Malaya.

To confront the propaganda of the Siamese government, on the 6th of February 1948, under the leadership of the head of a committee of Malay representatives in southern Siam, a protest was sent to the prime minister of Siam who had said that the Malay movement represented only a small faction of the Malays. The head of the committee also sent his protest to Lake Success, New York, asking that the United Nations take measures to carry out an investigation in Siam for the purpose of holding a plebiscite to determine the true condition and attitude of the Malays in

southern Siam.<sup>91</sup>

Copies of the protest also were sent to the British and American embassies in Bangkok, noting the true condition of the

Malay movement. This protest demanded that the prime minister of Siam prove to the world the truth or falsity of the position of the kingdom of Siam by permitting a plebiscite headed by a representative of the United Nations, and without the presence of the Siamese troops and officials.

This protest was received by the government of Siam in Bangkok, but it was not considered, as on the 8th of December 1947 a *coup d'etat* occurred in Bangkok." Two months later Luang Phibunsongkhram, the former war criminal, became prime minister. On the 29th of January 1948, the government of Phibunsongkhram held an election to legitimize the government, and to obtain the recognition of foreign nations, especially world powers. The Malays of Patani began to boycott the election, not wanting to elect representatives to parliament because of

the return of Luang Phibunsongkhram, which was not legitimate under the Constitution of the nation. They did not want to support the government of Phibunsongkhram, but the efforts of the Malays were unsuccessful because of the threats and intimidations of the Siamese police. Finally, Luang Phibunsongkhram returned to power in the government. With his return, the Malays were restless and dissatisfied because during the dictator's previous rule, Luang Phibunsongkhram had been a great enemy of the Malays.

With the return of Luang Phibunsongkhram the question arose among the Malays whether he would once again attempt to Siamize the Malays as he had before, or whether he would implement other measures. Several months later he re-established the Council of Culture and gradually began to implement the cultural laws of the past, which were compulsory. Beginning with the year 1950, the Chinese within Siam were barred from thirteen

occupations, and there were reports that he would force the Malays to wear Western clothing once again. These matters troubled the Malays.

On the 10th of October 1949, at the invitation of the kingdom of Siam, a group of Malay news reporters representing Malay, English, Chinese, and Tamil newspapers were taken to visit the provinces of Patani, Yala, and Narathiwat, to observe and investigate the true condition of the Malays in southern Siam. Wherever they went they were constantly misled and spied upon

by the Siamese police. Their condition was the same as prisoners as they [the police] did not want to allow the reporters to meet and speak with the Malays and/or receive the true story.

Even though closed off and covered up by the government of Siam, the condition of the Malays in southern Siam has become clear to the world. Their life is one of constant sorrow and they receive no assistance from the Siam-Thai government. If studied in depth, since the fall of Patani in the eighteenth century until this day, it is clear that the government of Siam has misgoverned during this whole period of time. No progress has been made in Patani to provide well-being for the Malays. In matters of health, education, association, and economy, Patani has lagged far behind the progress of its neighbors in Malaya. The actions of the Siamese government which allow the Malays to live in backwardness, definitely gives a large profit to them, but this has grieved the hearts of the Malays. The Malays of Patani were forced to pawn their country to the government of Siam with the hope that they would be given good leadership toward general progress, or at the very least be allowed equality with the leadership given to the Siamese people. Patani is not poor, and has natural wealth in the land. Among the provinces of southern Siam, Patani should be counted as rich, with no need to depend on the wealth of the Siamese from other provinces to pay for the welfare of the Malays. If in the more than sixty years of Siamese rule in Patani only 50 percent of the taxes had been used for the welfare of the Malays, then surely this day Patani would appear in a better condition. At least the main roads of Patani would not be cart tracks and her towns would surely not be like the towns of the Sakai of Malaya.

The principles of democracy in Siam claim to provide equality and freedom, to assure adequate education to the people and certain other beautiful claims. But it has been seventeen years since democracy in Siam has been in effect, and no evidence is visible to the Malay people. Certainly there is progress in a period of democracy, as can be seen in the city of Bangkok, which is far more developed than ten years ago. The streets of the city have been made from concrete, hundreds of hospitals have been built, tens of institutions

of higher education have been established, all aspects of the livelihood of the Siamese have been given assistance, and many kinds of useful guidance given to the Siamese people. In Patani, democracy such as this appears not to have arrived and is unknown by the Malays in Patani. Siamese democracy apparently reaches only the area of Bangkok and the territory surrounding it. Siam-Thai democracy is for the Siam-Thai, for the religion of Buddha, for the oppression of the Malays, and for the violation of the religion of Islam. Truly peculiar is the Siamese democracy, and it is clear that democracy made in Siam is not fit for the Malay people.

Observing the condition of the world today, there arises one further question: is it the ultimate condition of the Patani Malays to be forever satisfied to live imprisoned under the conservative democracy of Siam? Today the world is moving to build a true understanding of democracy, under the grand principles of the United Nations at Lake Success, New York, to free the colonized peoples and implant feelings of democracy among all peoples, so that love of democracy enters their consciousness and it becomes their mutual responsibility to guard world security. When will the Patani Malays experience democracy and, one conscious of their fate, agree to struggle until the end or democracy? These questions are raised by the intellectuals of Patani's Malays today.

Among the one hundred million Malay people of the world, the Malays of Patani are the most ill-fated. Even though the Malay people of Patani long have lived in the democratic world, because Siam-Thai democracy is limited, the fate of the Malay people is like a climbing vine unable to grow up the trellis.

In truth the fate of Patani Malay people should not be placed in the hands of the Siam-Thai government. Rather, measures to improve their fate and condition should be placed in their own hands.