THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF ISLAMIC REVIVALISM IN

SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE RISE OF THE PATANI SCHOOL, 1785-1909

by

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2010

for Jessica

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Kelantan

Kedah

To Mecca

Penang

Trengganu

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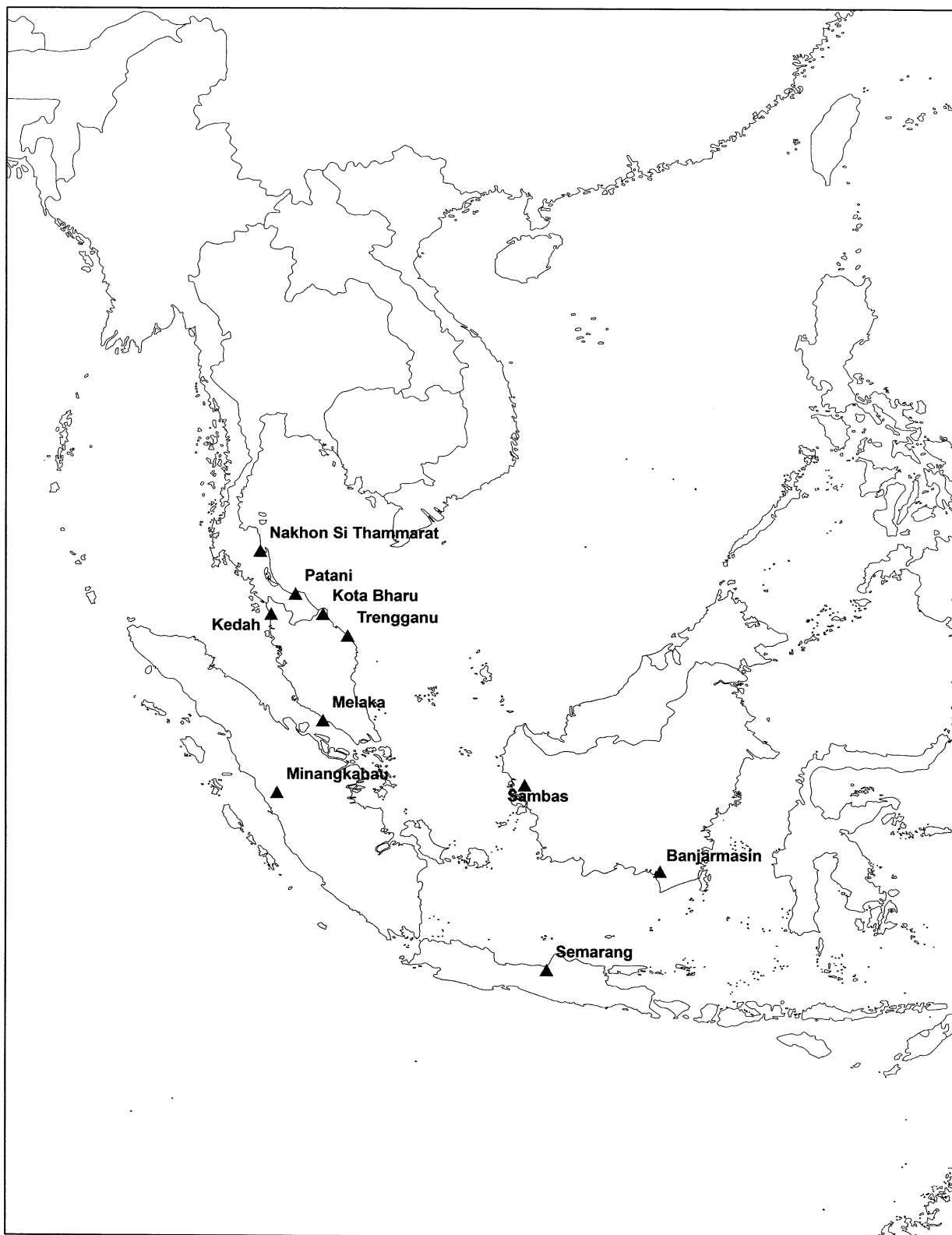
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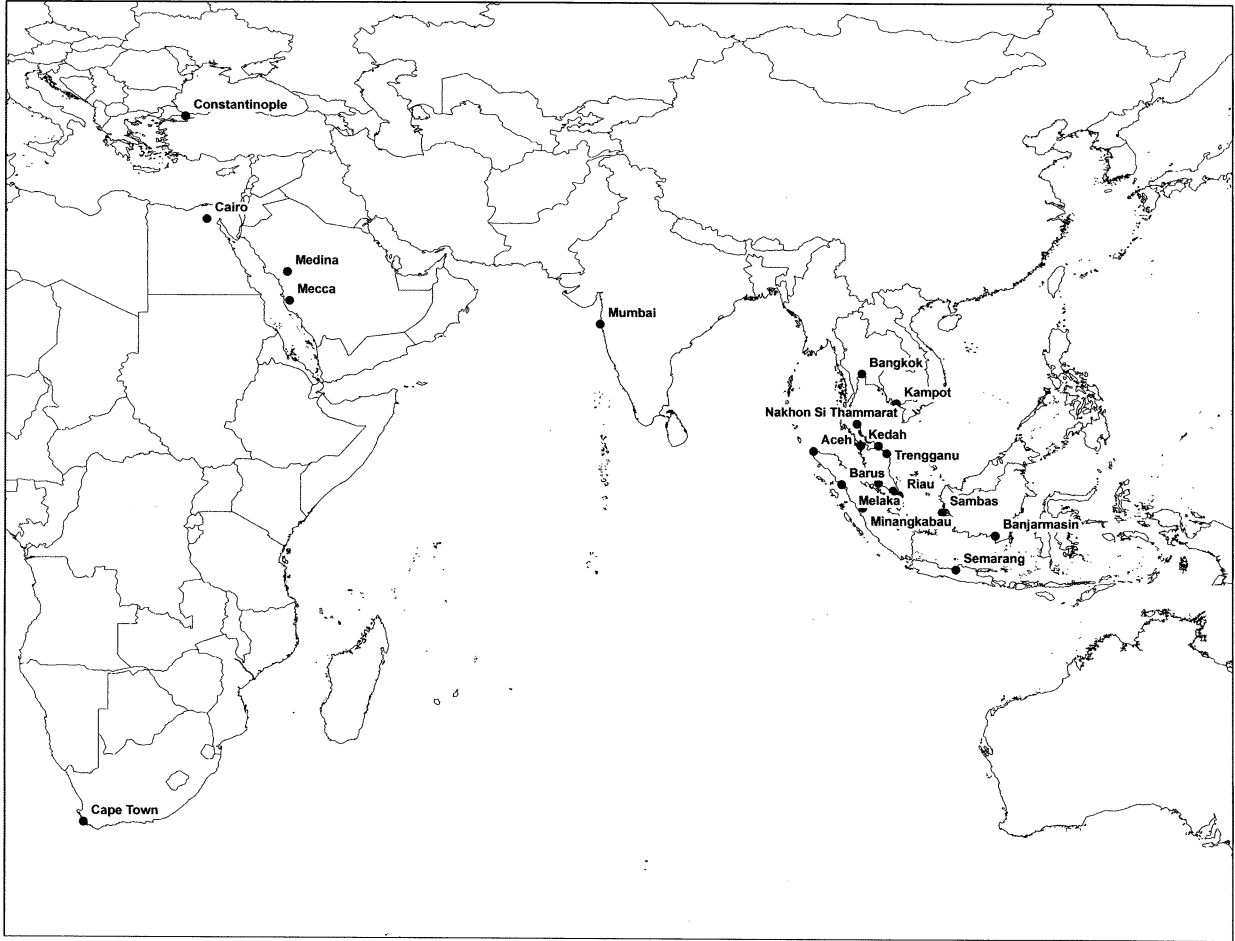
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Mecca
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Bangkok
Kampot
Nakhon Si Thammarat
Aceh
Kedah
Trengganu
Barus
Riau
Melaka
Sambas
Minangkabau
Banjarmasin
Semarang
Cape Town

Kampot

Patani

Kota Bharu

Trengganu

Aceh

Barus

Melaka

Singapore

Riau

Sambas

Banjarmasin
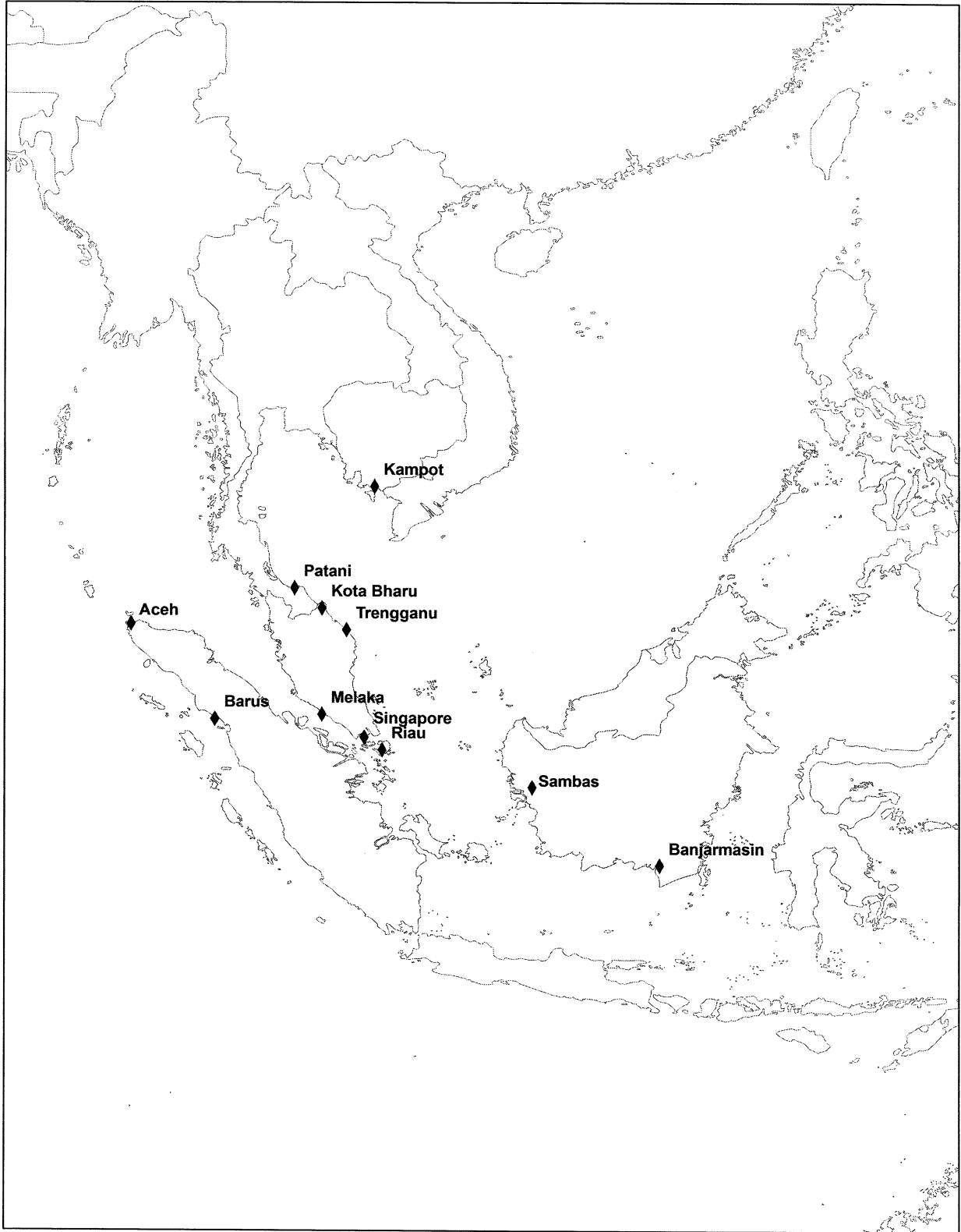
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Patani● ●
Yaring
Yala●
Perlis●
Kedah●
Kota Bharu●
Pasir Mas●
Trengganu●
Kuala Kangsar●
Kampung Burau●
Pahang●
Klang●
Negeri Sembilan●
Melaka●
Johor●
Singapore●
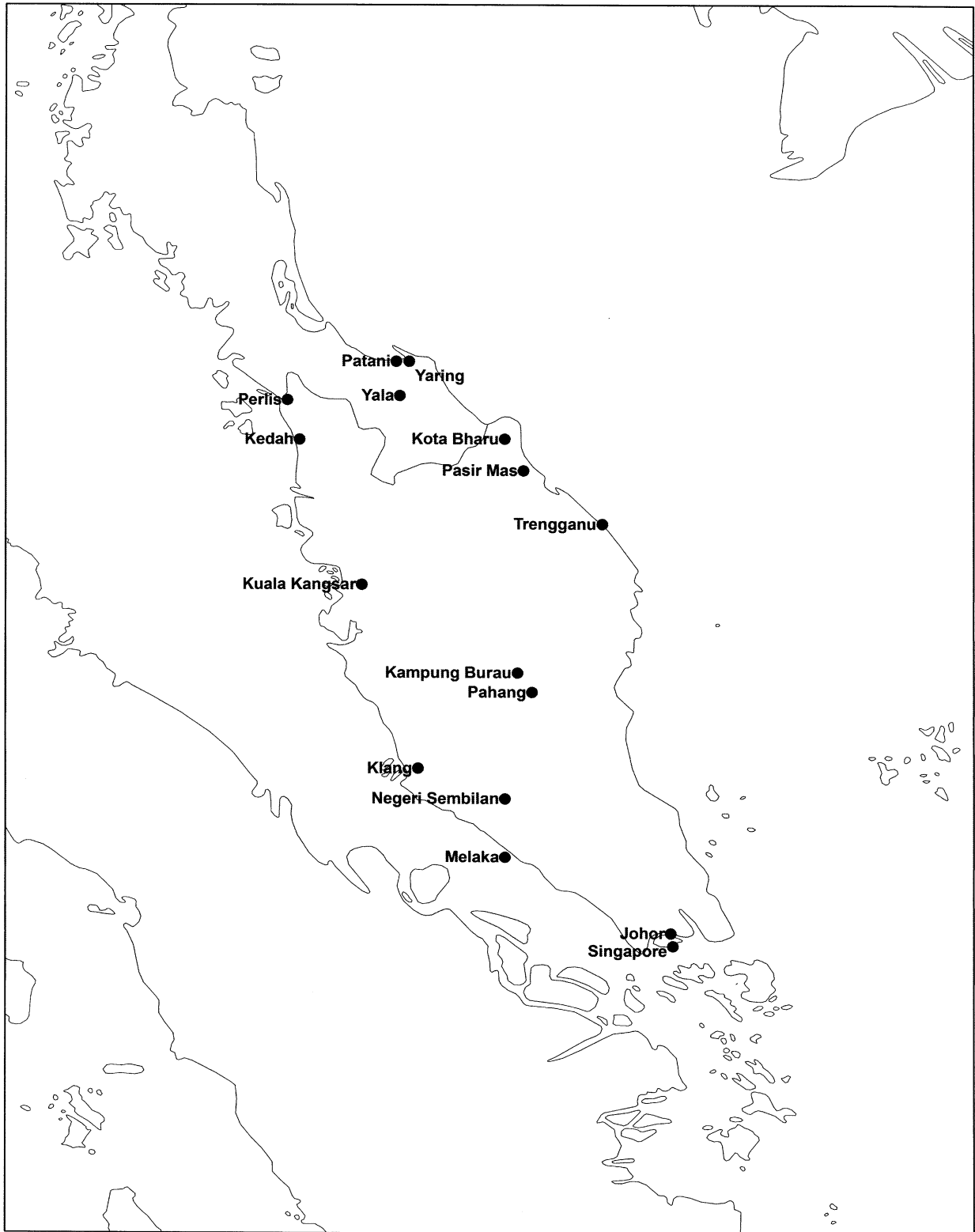
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Arabic/Jawi	Transliteration
ا	ā
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th, ny
ج	j
چ	ch
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	gh, ny
ف	f, p
ق	q[1]
ک	k
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	u[2]
ه	h
ة	h
ي	y, ī

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[1] When transliterated into Romanized Malay, this letter appears as "k".
[2] In Romanized Malay, this sometimes appears as "o".

Acknowledgments

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THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF ISLAMIC REVIVALISM IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE RISE OF THE PATANI SCHOOL, 1785-1909

Francis R. Bradley

Under the supervision of Professor Thongchai Winichakul

At the University of Wisconsin-Madison

This dissertation is a social and intellectual history of Islamic revivalist movements in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia. I focus on one particularly active center of Islamic learning at Patani, on the Malay-Thai Peninsula, and how its people forged transnational scholarly networks across much of maritime Asia, the Middle East, and southern Africa. This movement grew out of a fifty-year period of intense warfare during which time the Patani Sultanate was dismembered and destroyed by the expanding Siamese empire, producing a scattered Patani diaspora that stretched from their homeland through the adjacent parts of the peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, Cambodia, and the Middle East. Before long, a leader emerged in Mecca, Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, whose scholarship became central to the cultural genesis of the diasporan population and served as vibrant and transformative social capital for a rising Islamic elite.

Centered in Mecca, the Patani scholarly network reached back into Southeast Asia, where its participants built numerous schools that served as dissemination points for the spread of Islamic texts. This network of scholars continued to grow in number and reached further into the hinterlands of their communities by the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Their work in spreading texts and teachings formed the building blocks for Islamic education in much of what are now Malaysia and southern Thailand, as well as significant portions of Indonesia and Cambodia.

Empires, technology, and modernity brought great changes to the scholarly communities by the 1880s, when print culture began to replace the handwritten manuscript tradition. The contest for control of peninsular territories also resulted in the coalescing of the border that now divides Malaysia from Thailand, placing Patani—now Pattani—north of the border and setting the stage for contentious twentieth-century political struggles for autonomy or independence by Malay-speakers in an increasingly Thai nation-state. Nevertheless, the legacy of the Patani scholars continued to be evident in the curricula of Islamic schools throughout the peninsula and other parts of Southeast Asia until at least World War II, and in some regions their texts still form the basis of education systems today.

Introduction

This dissertation examines the social dynamics of Islamic revivalism in nineteenth century Southeast Asia. In the course of this study, I investigate the shifting patterns of social and cultural capital that accompanied the political collapse of Patani[1]—a nineteenth-century kingdom along the Malay-Thai border region—and the subsequent rise of Islamic scholarship. Following a series of defeats by Siam (today Thailand), Patani became the most active distribution point for Islamic knowledge throughout Southeast Asia, and a meeting ground for scholars from around the Indian Ocean littoral. By constructing active networks between Patani and Mecca, scholars from the region drew together and transformed Muslim communities on the Malay-Thai Peninsula and throughout Southeast Asia, including parts of what are today southern Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Singapore. These networks also played an integral role in linking and transforming diasporan Muslim communities in Bombay and Cape Town, and drew together major publishing centers in Arabia, Cairo, and Constantinople with their counterparts in Southeast Asia. This dissertation shows how these communities—disparate in social, cultural, and spatial origin—were connected by transnational currents of Islamic thought and action.

Southeast Asian Islam has often been treated as the exception to broader trends, whether due to the fact that maritime merchants brought the first waves of Islam there rather than conquering armies or how syncreticism colored Islamic belief and practice in the region from its inception. The nineteenth century, following the reforms of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb

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[1] The spelling of Patani is a contentious issue. I use the Malay spelling when referring to the Patani Sultanate before its formal annexation by Siam in 1909, and I employ the Thai transliteration of the name, Pattani, when referencing the present-day province or city. Jawi: فطاني

(1115-1206/1703-92)[2], was the period when Islam became increasingly Arabicized and globalized, and took a scholarly, law-centered turn, during which time the learned themselves began to claim social authority and distinction. Traditions of Islamic learning had existed in Southeast Asia since at least the fourteenth century, but it was during the nineteenth century that people took a textual and institutionalized turn in their methods of appropriating and defining that knowledge. Within this context, I ask the question, how did Southeast Asian revivalist movements reinterpret Islam and how did a scholarly movement become a social one? How did Southeast Asian *'ulamā*[3] (Islamic scholars) assert their presence as the shepherds and progenitors of the socio-moral order that, in turn, allowed them to revolutionize peoples' relationship with Islam and Islamic authority?

Rather than focus on Islam as the object of inquiry, as many previous studies have done, I have chosen to focus on how specific people negotiated and redefined themselves as Muslims in particular historical contexts and how they embraced and transformed Islamic teachings in their home societies in an unprecedented way. This approach allows us to examine the relationship that reformists had with the texts and ideas that they promoted rather than relying upon some generic sense of Islam as the object which transformed a rather passive populace. Only in identifying the social uses of and motivations for acquiring Islamic knowledge can we better understand the rise of new beliefs and decline of old traditions in Southeast Asia and how such changes transformed those societies.

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[2] All precise dates in this dissertation are presented first with the Islamic year, followed by the corresponding Christian or common era year.

[3] Arabic: علماء.

Primary Sources

Any attempt to deal with these issues immediately confronts the problem of the paucity of primary sources. Historians have often lamented the lack of available written documents by which to study the period, resulting in the reasonable question: is a social history of the period even possible? It is true that many places in Southeast Asia offer us very little in the way of locally-produced documents, largely due to the tropical climate which causes paper to decompose at an accelerated rate even when compared to South or East Asia, not to mention the Middle East or Europe. We are left with the realization that no matter what records survive, they must only be a fraction of those that were originally produced. The further we move away from the old political centers, such as Jogjakarta, Surakarta, Aceh, or Johor, the problem is exacerbated further due to the general lack of storage facilities where indigenous documents might have been collected and preserved. Such documentation would go far to illustrate the role of Islam in late court life, particularly its social position at the crucial moments when one of several imperial forces in the region destroyed or undermined these political centers.

Despite the general lack of sources for studying Southeast Asian Islam, I soon became aware of over 1,300 extant manuscripts produced by the Patani scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These works include legal tracts, prayer manuals, mystical treatises and poetry, guides to Arabic grammar, numerous Malay translations of well-known Arabic works, and the first written forms of local oral traditions. Nearly all of the documents are written in Jawi (classical Malay written in a modified Arabic script), though a small minority are composed in Arabic. Together, the Patani manuscripts constitute one of the largest collections ever assembled from the region, but have received virtually no attention in academic literature.[4]

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[4] A small number of studies have appeared since the late 1980s that have focused on individual manuscripts from this collection, all of which approach them from the perspective of philology or religious studies. No study has

This scholarly output was unparalleled in Southeast Asia during the period and today offers us a unique opportunity to analyze Islamic revivalist scholars who operated at that time. The manuscripts themselves have been sold, in small-scale collections, to the Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (National Library of Malaysia) and the Muzium Kesenian Islam (Islamic Arts Museum), both in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Each of the texts offers us a snapshot of the social cosmos and moral authority embodied in the teacher-student relationship that produced them. The texts also afford us the opportunity to examine how people involved in this intellectual movement disseminated texts not only back to Patani, but also to other parts of Southeast and South Asia, the Middle East, and southern Africa, thus linking the Malay-speaking diaspora across much of the extent of the eastern hemisphere.

On today's map, Patani might seem an unlikely place to have produced such a massive volume of written sources. Situated in Thailand's "deep south," Pattani is nearly equidistant from the Malaysian-Thai border as it is from the next nearest major city in Thailand. Patani was once the center of a mid-level port sultanate that rose to prominence by exploiting Chinese mercantile networks to attract Southeast Asian, Japanese, and European traders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Political conflicts with Siam in the seventeenth century gradually undermined Patani as a viable port and these political tensions climaxed with five major political defeats in the period 1199-1258/1785-1842, during which time the city was destroyed, many people captured or killed, and tens of thousands of refugees were expelled into neighboring polities and even so distant as Mecca. Out of this violent dislocation, the Patani diaspora was

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considered these manuscripts within the broad historical context that produced them or as a collective body of works that represented a much wider trend. See Abdul Ghaffar Muhammad, *Kifayat al-Muhtaj fi-al-Isra wal Mi'raj: Analisis dan Penurunan Teks* (M.A. Thesis, Universiti Malaya, 1989); Norhayati Ab. Rahman, *Al-Musawaddah: Di antara Karya Sastera dengan Kitab Agama* (M.A. Thesis, Universiti Malaya, 1991); Fauziah binti Abas, *Tahṣīl nayl al-Marām li Bayān Manẓūmah 'Aqīdah al-'Awwām: Satu Introduksi dan Tahqiq* (M.A. Thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1992); Mohd. Zain bin Abd. Rahman, *An Annotated Translation and Transliteration of* Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz ahl al-Ṣūfī *of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī* (M.A. Thesis, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 2000).

born and via mobile networks of far-flung Patani migrants, scholars from within the community

rose in the nineteenth century as adept intellectuals who not only transformed Patani society, but

also other Malay-speaking areas of the Indian Ocean world from Southeast Asia to southern

Africa.

Despite the high-volume of manuscript production in nineteenth-century Patani and

nearby areas, the region has been largely ignored in discussions of the development of Southeast

Asian Islam. This is due to several reasons. First, the vast majority of the Patani manuscript

collections have been gathered in the past twenty-five years, largely due to the efforts of the

directors of the Malay manuscripts division at Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia. In addition, much

of the discourse on the history of Thailand's south has been conducted in Thai, based on Thai-

language sources. Malay sources in Jawi script[5] (classical Malay written in modified Arabic

script), aside from the *Hikayat Patani*[6] (Story of Patani), have often been ignored. The numerous

stories I encountered in the border region that told of old Jawi manuscripts being burned—either

by Thailand's state forces or locals who feared such a possession would lead to undue attention

from government officials—further suggest that these writings have been marginalized. The

present study aims to move our understanding of the region forward by looking both at local

historical developments and transnational contexts.

Analysis of the Patani manuscripts allows us to reshape the historiography on Islam in

eighteenth to twentieth century Southeast Asia. Colonial era scholarship, carried out by British

and Dutch officer-scholars, privileged local literary and historical writings and oral traditions

over religious writings. They were most interested in the traditions of the raja-centered courts

and most often chose to study texts produced or preserved by royal scribes, such as the *Sejarah*

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[5] For an explanation of the diacritical marks used in Arabic and Jawi transliterations in this study, please refer to the explanatory table outlined at the beginning of this study.

[6] Jawi: حكاية فطاني

Melayu[7] (Malay Annals), or the numerous examples of the *Babad* or *Hikayat* traditions.[8] While these texts are clearly important for understanding the evolution of political systems as well as the cosmologies the rulers attempted to embody, they have long directed scholarly investigation away from religious texts, a trend that continued even after political independence in Malaysia, Indonesia, and elsewhere. In the Patani case, Muslim scholars produced written documents at an incomparably higher rate than all of the court-sanctioned histories or written literatures for the entire Malay-speaking part of the peninsula during the nineteenth century.[9]

Due to the fact that early twentieth-century Southeast Asian Islamic reformists became quickly allied with many early nationalist, anti-colonial movements, particularly in Indonesia, much of the post-independence scholarship has understandably viewed the reformists through the prism of the study of nationalism.[10] The study of Islam in Southeast Asia has largely been relegated to the realm of religious studies, while historians have considered the development of the nation as the single-most important historiographical problem in the region. Academicians' romance with the nation, born out of sentiments for worldwide anti-colonial movements, has obscured other critical developments and afforded little autonomy for Islamic social forces that melded communities before, during, and after the rise of national consciousness. The recent resurgence of Islamic political movements in Indonesia and Malaysia is clear evidence of its

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[7] Jawi: سجاره ملايو

[8] *Hikayat* (Malay: stories), a common genre or tradition of Malay-language literature that includes royal chronicles, popular stories, and tales of heroic figures. *Babad* (Javanese) is a Javanese tradition of historical chronicles or popular stories similar to *Hikayat*.

[9] A survey of manuscripts held in major collections at Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, Muzium Kesenian Islam, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, and other repositories in Malaysia provide ample evidence that Islamic writings predominated during the period.

[10] Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*, Monograph Series, Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asia Program (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973); Mohd. Sarim b. Hj. Mustajab, "Gerakan Islah Islamiyah di Tanah Melayu 1906 hingga 1948," in *Malaysia, Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunan*, 121-35 (Kuala Lumpur: Salam Press, 1979); Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds*, SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East, eds. Benjamin C. Fortna and Ulrike Freitag (London: Routledge, 2003).

continued transformational role in these societies that cannot be explained simply by focusing attention upon Islam's relevance to discourses on nation and politics.

The role of the Patani scholars in the development of the wider Islamic tradition in Southeast Asia has also been ignored because it does not fit into existing historical paradigms. Discussion of Pattani's gilded Islamic past has often been muted because it has served as a rallying cry for many of the Patani independence movements since 1367/1948 and is thus seen as threatening to a broader view of the Thai nation. Ironically, most historical scholarship on Pattani in the post-World War II period has either been written in support of Patani nationalism, when written in Malay, or treated the principle social actors as separatists or political dissidents when written in other languages. The eruption of violence in southern Thailand since 1424/January 2004, which at the time of my writing in early 1431/2010, shows no clear signs of ending, has claimed the lives of over 4,100 people. We presently bear witness to the unfolding tragedy of forces active in the three provinces and wider Thai political circles that are again contesting the present, future, and past of the region that have further politicized or delegitimized historical investigations.

A vast majority of the Jawi sources are manuscripts concerning various aspects of Islamic doctrine, practice, and belief. It is not my goal to delve deeply into the actual doctrines professed, but instead examine how the scholars involved in the network employed knowledge production via the handwritten word as a means of transforming the moral and social order of their home societies. By teaching and spreading texts, they established and continued to revitalize a socio-moral system based around a new type of leadership—shaykhs[11] and *'ulamā'* positioned at the pinnacle as leaders of an Islamic populace. They further institutionalized the

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[11] Shaykh (Arabic: شيخ) refers to an Islamic scholar of high regard or the head of a Sufi order.

system by proliferating schools throughout what is now southern Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and beyond.

Social History and Moral Authority

To understand how the social uses of Islamic knowledge changed so dramatically in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia, we must uncover the social dynamics of Patani that propelled Islamic scholars to the forefront. Potent, visible Islamic leadership did not emerge until the destruction of political power in the city created a social void, a two-century process that reached a climax in the series of wars between Patani and Siam in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Therefore, I engage with recent studies regarding cities and social power relations in Southeast Asia, with the purpose of drawing upon theoretical approaches to direct the present study. Beginning with Anthony Reid's groundbreaking *Age of Commerce* theory, I look at his root influences in Max Weber's sociological theory and Structuralist understandings of social formation and power.

Reid illuminates the early modern Southeast Asian world in his book, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*. He criticizes scholarship from the 1960s to 1980s that characterized the region as one that lacked change and innovation, or one that was easily dominated by Europeans, East Asians, or other external groups from the fall of Melaka in 917/1511 through the centuries that followed. Reid argues instead that Southeast Asian political powers initially benefited from the upsurge of trade in the region from the fifteenth-century Chinese trade missions of Zheng He, through the reorientation of the spice trade brought on by rising Arab, Indian, and Portuguese demand, and even continued into the early Dutch period of the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company, hereafter VOC) when the latter began to slowly

establish near-monopolies over particular goods. Reid shows how during all of these economic

transformations, the sultans, rajas, and other rulers harnessed the markets for economic and

political gain.

In spite of two centuries of economic success, Dutch interference finally undermined the

stability of Southeast Asian polities as early as the 1620s and more widely after 1060/1650,

leaving political regimes in a weakened state. More broadly, Reid concludes, without an

autonomous mercantile class of the sort that appeared in Europe, no capitalist or industrial

economy was possible. Reid states:

> Southeast Asians were less inclined to put their resources into fixed capital, such as buildings, ships, trade
> goods, or machinery. The more ambitious tended rather to accumulate followers for both security and
> status, thereby replicating the position of the king at a local level. The small people put what wealth they
> had into jewelry and fine cloth, which they could hide or carry when they had to flee. The culturally
> preferred style of light elevated wooden houses, easily destroyed but as easily reconstructed, further
> discouraged any hoarding of wealth from one generation to the next.[12]

Reid further notes that both local and foreign military and political forces either physically

destroyed once powerful and centripetal centers or internally eliminated an environment that

allowed local merchants to survive, resulting in the "origins of Southeast Asian poverty."[13]

Thus, fundamentally to Reid, Southeast Asia's stunted economic growth had blunted political,

cultural, and social developments in the three centuries since that time.

Much of Reid's argument rests upon Weber's proposition that a necessary precondition

of capitalism was a mercantile class secure from the depredations of rulers.[14] The most

influential development that resulted in European cities, according to Weber, was the politico-

administrative autonomy that arose as a result of the fusion between the city as a market center

and a place for the garrison of troops. From such a combination of market activity and defense,

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[12] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, Volume 2: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993): 269.
[13] Ibid., 267.
[14] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 2 vols., eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, tr. Ephraim Fischoff, et al. (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968): 1212-24.

local and autonomous law resulted. Without the establishment of political authority at a city-based level, Weber argues that Western capitalist societies could not have developed. The natural implication of Weber's analysis, as employed by Reid, is that Asian cities failed to follow the same trajectory towards capitalism and were thus diminished into relative poverty. But as I display in the present work, Southeast Asian elites were quick to shift their focus when one social strategy failed them. In the Patani case, elites shifted towards Islamic learning by the nineteenth century as one of the main driving forces for the establishment of a new moral order that gave their social and cultural capital value and meaning. Out of this process, a new system of social power emerged that not only took hold in Patani, but found cultural exchange in neighboring Malay-speaking areas throughout Southeast Asia.

By taking a comparative look at social histories of cities in other parts of the Islamic world, I have adopted an approached far different from Reid's which is based upon recent social theory and other scholarship. One scholar compelled historians to look past the structural relationship of city to state and instead investigate the make-up of cities by examining the internal power brokers, urban elites, and the social customs and manners that resulted from each city's unique social structure.[15] To move beyond the Weberian underpinnings present in Reid's understanding of Southeast Asian cities, I adopt a similar trajectory in the present study.

Two other scholars focused upon how cultural attitudes and manners, as cultural institutions passed through the generations, produce and reproduce systems of social power and value within societies.[16] When adopting this approach, we must consider how the social fabric of Patani (and ultimately a broader swath of Malay-speaking societies) was based upon a system

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[15] Ira Marvin Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).
[16] Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization series, ed. David Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

of commitments between individuals, and modes of respect for varying forms of symbolic authority. This allows us to revolutionize our understanding of Southeast Asian social history by asking the question: how did elites and other social actors reproduce their status in non-material forms? By analyzing the social repercussions of cultural practices in Southeast Asia, we stand to better understand the seventeenth-century economic decline and the strategies that elites adopted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that allowed them to maintain their position. Through the course of this study, I show how Islamic scholarship and the various value systems it proffered became valuable social capital for members of the Patani diaspora both in their fractured homeland as well as in the wider Malay-speaking world. After the economic decline of the seventeenth century, Patani elites shifted from the marketplace to the palace or mosque as more fertile arenas for the acquisition of social power. The destruction of the palace so definitively in 1200/1786 dealt a mortal blow to what had been such a vibrant social space for status reproduction, thus leaving the mosque, and the myriad *'ulamā'* and other Islamic elites attached to it, as the most propitious heirs to an evolving cultural landscape.

Understanding elite competition and the cultural practice of manners in Southeast Asia cannot be undertaken without also engaging with recent scholarship on the establishment and maintenance of moral order in Southeast Asia, particularly in the pre-colonial period. Craig Reynolds, in his groundbreaking article, showed how historical texts served as legitimizing forces in early Bangkok when King Rama I, the founder of the Chakri dynasty, felt a need to strengthen his position as the new monarch.[17] The transformations ongoing in Patani during the

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[17] Craig J. Reynolds, "Religious Historical Writing and the Legitimation of the First Bangkok Reign," in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, eds. Anthony Reid and David Marr, 90-107, Asian Studies Association of Australia, Southeast Asia Publications Series, no. 4 (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979); David K. Wyatt, "History and Directionality in the Early Nineteenth-century Tai World," in *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to modernity in the diverse states of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900*, ed. Anthony Reid, 425-43, Studies in the Economies of East and South-East Asia, ed. Peter Nolan (London: MacMillan, 1997): 435.

same period involved religious instead of political actors, but they too employed texts in Patani as a means of establishing social hegemony and preeminent moral authority. Islamic leaders thus used moralistic texts as legitimizing forces and as guides to curing the social ills of their day by which they sought to rebuild Patani in the wake of the 1199-1200/1785-6 defeat.

The proliferation of early nineteenth-century historical writing that David Wyatt and others have noted throughout the Tai world coincided with a similar pattern in Patani.[18] While Wyatt argued that political turmoil compelled people in the central and northern Tai regions to turn to Bangkok as a moral center, Patani embraced Mecca on an unprecedented level at the same time. Influential scholars, led by Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (hereafter Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī), began producing and disseminating Islamic knowledge from 1222/1808 onwards, which they transmitted back to Malay-speakers in Southeast and South Asia, the Middle East, and southern Africa through the century that followed.

Knowledge, Cultural Production, and Power

To understand how the Patani scholars interacted with the structures, hierarchies, and social power relations of their day, I examine how people mapped out their social actions and strategies in relation to other actors and the social environment. Patani society was as a sum of a number of physical, intellectual, or imagined spaces in which people contended for cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. Within this system, people, particularly elites, operated in a constant struggle for social power and status in a number of ways. Distinct but socially interrelated spaces of competition existed in Patani as they did elsewhere and were based upon a materialist logic of utilitarian practices and strategy. Patani's main spaces of competition in the seventeenth century were political, economic, and sacred domains, or more poignantly: the

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[18] Ibid., 433.

palace, the marketplace, and the mosque. These three spaces expanded and contracted over time, overlapped with each other considerably as actors passed between them, competed with and complemented the other spaces, and had their character and definition evolve over time. To understand how social power reverberated between and within these social spaces, I look beyond social structures and institutions and instead examine the practices social actors employed to gain power and status and reproduce it over time, and ultimately how the sum total of these individual actions coalesced to redefine the moral value attributed to such practices and the spaces that contained them.

The primary actors in the social fabric of Patani were powerful lineages with entourages of warriors, servants, and slaves that might be considered an extension of familial power. Southeast Asian social units were maintained through constant renewal of numbers (via slave-raiding) and reaffirmation of loyalties among existing members via oaths and deeds. These lineages generally centered around one or a number of individuals with superior capabilities or capital who contended with rivals for social position and influence. I use the Malay term, *orangkaya*[19] which literally means "rich person," to identify the primary social actors upon which I focus in chapter one. The *orangkaya* developed many strategies by which to compete in social spaces and by which to reproduce their status in succeeding generations. In pre-1199/1785 Patani, *orangkaya* accumulated followers, whether by personal hiring, slave-raiding, or other forms of bondage or patronage, which allowed them to exert greater social influence over, or gain greater favor of, the raja *vis-à-vis* other competitors. In turn, the *orangkaya* employed their retinue of followers to project their own power into the social spaces of their choosing more effectively. In this regard, social actors first sought to perfect their ability to compete within whatever accepted rules governed them, and then to redefine or exceed the rules

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[19] Jawi: اورغ كاي

of the contest itself if given the opportunity. Thus elites reproduced the social order in this manner by exceeding social restraints and besting rivals.

Individuals at the head of *orangkaya* families employed a "practical logic" when determining the best course for their social actions and through this process accumulated greater social power and status. The most easily quantifiable form of capital was wealth, but political influence with the raja helped one obtain court patronage which, serving as both potential economic capital and cultural capital, functioned as the single-most powerful force for social mobility. Islamic learning and knowledge production remained one of the less visible forms of cultural capital in Patani until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when political circumstances allowed the Islamic elite to irreversibly usurp social control from court elites.

The *orangkaya* of Patani emerged by the late sixteenth century as an elite group of symbolic producers who managed to slowly and gradually dominate the social mechanisms of symbolic power. The raja or sultan remained at the pinnacle of the social hierarchy as the *orangkaya* gained power, but over time, the political elites, who relied upon trade, found that the sources of their social position began to dissipate. Thus by the early to mid-eighteenth century, political space had withered into a much-weakened reflection of its original sixteenth and seventeenth-century predecessor. Nevertheless, elites were not bound to one space or another. Many elites undoubtedly attained social mobility by contending in all three spaces (and additional spaces, not discussed here) or successfully converting capital from one space into another. Through this system of capital exchange, political elites entered the economic arena, Islamic elites obtained court patronage, wealthy merchants were granted noble titles, and so forth. The constant re-shuffling of resources and power became one of the defining characteristics of social life in the Patani Sultanate.

As economic space collapsed in the seventeenth century and political space contracted early in the century following, Islamic space expanded and Islamic leaders, led by intellectuals, wrested social control from the dominant material class. Through this process, Islamic elites secured power to impose the legitimate scale of social and cultural value that had been formerly held by the court, thereby becoming the progenitors and shepherds of Patani's moral order. Erosion of elite political power began after Patani's defeat by Siam in the period 1100-5/1689-94, when the occupying army destroyed the Sultanate's last vital economic links, and ended climactically in Shawwal 1200/August 1786 when Siam defeated Patani, killed the sultan, and razed the city to the ground. As survivors rebuilt the city in the years that followed, Islamic elites emerged as the most powerful actors and developed a new hierarchy for social relations and moral authority in Patani in succeeding years.

Patani's scholarly elites employed texts as their main means of cultural production. By spreading Islamic teachings throughout Patani and beyond, they refashioned the moral order that elevated particular social actions, beliefs, and practices to greater value while diminishing others. These "new" forms of cultural capital became the bedrock of social power by the closing decades of the nineteenth century not only in Patani, but also in Kelantan, Terengganu, and in a more limited fashion in other learning centers linked together through the scholarly networks. The ousting of Patani's raja in 1319/1902 and the formation of the border between Malaysia and Thailand in 1327/1909 sounded the death knell for Patani as the premier Islamic learning center on the peninsula as it sent a shockwave of social and cultural insecurity through the community.

Islamic Learning in Southeast Asia and the Middle East

The links built by the Patani scholars between Southeast Asia and the Middle East in the

nineteenth century were of unprecedented strength and virility, but they had many long-existing

precursors dating back at least to the late sixteenth century. A brief survey of the existing

literature will help situate the contributions of the present study to these debates. Colonial era

scholarship in both Indonesia and Malaysia generally diminished the role of locals in the major

centers of learning in favor of scholars from India or Arabia. Scholarship in the 1960s, 1970s,

and 1980s generally focused on the works produced by key individuals and how these reflected

ideas contemporary elsewhere in the Islamic world. Since the 1990s, scholars have begun to see

the vast networks of *'ulamā'* and Sufis[20] who made a great impact upon the societies of the

archipelago. At the time of the rise of the Patani scholarly communities in the nineteenth

century, they had more than two centuries of a well-developed Southeast Asian tradition from

which to grow. I provide a brief survey of studies on Islamic learning in the archipelago below.

Though some scholars have shown that Melaka, and before it, Pasai, functioned as

centers of Islamic learning, war and the environment have not left sufficient sources to assess the

influence of scholars working in these schools with any degree of certainty.[21] Regardless of the

exact nature of the schools, however, both Pasai and Melaka attained great prestige within the

burgeoning Malayo-Islamic coastal settlements of the straits, peninsula, and related communities

throughout in the archipelago.[22] Three subsequent schools have been generally identified: Aceh

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[20] Arabic: صوفي

[21] Ismail Hamid, *The Malay Islamic Hikayat*, Monograph 1, Institut Bahasa Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983): 18-21; M. Kamal Hassan, *Towards Actualizing Islamic Ethical and Educational Principles in Malaysian Society: Some Critical Observations* (Petaling Jaya: Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia, 1996): 4.

[22] H. Overbeck, "The Answer of Pasai," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11, no. 2 (1933): 254-60; R. Roolvink, "The Answer of Pasai," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38, no. 2 (1965): 129-39.

(17th century), Johore-Riau (18th century), and Patani (19th century).[23] Aceh had emerged, by the late sixteenth century, as a political and economic power and the sultans began to patronize Islamic scholars in their court as a way of augmenting royal prestige and to promote learning.

Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas argues that through the first three decades of the seventeenth century, scholarship in the Islamic learning centers of Southeast Asia concentrated primarily upon *taṣawwuf*[24] (Sufism or Islamic mysticism).[25] Traditions from southern Arabia and India influenced these studies heavily, culminating in the work of two particularly gifted Sufis, Ḥamza Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, who flourished in Mecca and Aceh between 987/1580 and 1039/1630. Fansūrī, his successor Shams al-Dīn, and other Southeast Asian students gradually formed a relationship with Middle Eastern learning centers that was more intimate than in previous times.

Al-Attas points to the importance of patronage from Aceh's greatest sultan, Iskandar Muda, who promoted mysticism as the main subject of Islamic learning in the sultanate. Followers of Ḥamza Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn ultimately clashed with a newly arrived scholar in the Aceh court, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī, which resulted in one of Southeast Asia's first great disputes over Islamic doctrine during the period 1046-54/1637-44. But as al-Attas argues in many of his writings, the works of both Ḥamza Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn were not heretical, but rather corrupted by their followers, called the Wujūdiyya, who had misunderstood the teachings of the two great mystics to endorse a pantheistic view of the Divine.[26] Al-Attas further elaborates that al-Ranīrī's reforms were politically driven and that he mistook the beliefs of the

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[23] Hamid, *Malay Islamic Hikayat*, 21-22; Hassan, *Towards Actualizing*, 4.

[24] Arabic: تصوّف

[25] Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970): 193.

[26] Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Acheh*, Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 3 (Singapore: Malaysia Printers, Ltd., 1966): 18; al-Attas, *Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 31; Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the* Hujjat al-Siddiq *of Nur al-Din al-Raniri* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture of Malaysia, 1986): 8-10.

Wujudiyyah to accurately represent the teachings and writings of the two teachers.[27] Azyumardi

Azra, however, argues that al-Raniri's polemics were the first appearance of Islamic reformism

in Southeast Asia and began the gradual trend towards greater emphasis being placed upon the

study of *uṣūl al-dīn*[28] (dogmatic theology) and *fiqh*[29] (Islamic jurisprudence) instead of

taṣawwuf.[30] Whereas al-Attas and other authors generally considered al-Ranīrī's influence small

because of the reformer's short time in Aceh, Azra argues convincingly that al-Ranīrī's deepest

impact was not his writing or his heresy-hunt, but the network of scholars who descended from

him intellectually.

A. H. Johns viewed all of the scholars of the period to be part of one growing tradition of

scholarly inquiry, culminating in the work of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīli, heavily influenced by

Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, who attempted to reconcile the factions in Aceh.[31] Al-Sinkīli produced the

first major work on Qur'ānic exegesis in Southeast Asia, though as Peter Riddell has showed in

detailed analysis, he based it firmly upon long-standing traditions current in Arabia.[32]

Furthermore, Johns proffers that the establishment of the Aceh School was the first in a series of

crucial steps that allowed Islam to evolve from a coastal phenomenon to an integral part in the

life of Southeast Asian cities, a process through which they adopted a distinctive Islamic

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[27] Al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyyah*, 18-42; al-Attas, *Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 31-65; al-Attas, *Commentary on the* Hujjat al-Siddiq, 8-12.

[28] Arabic: أصول الدين

[29] Arabic: فقه

[30] Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Asian Studies Association of Australia, Southeast Asia Publications Series (Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawaii Press, 2004): 52-54.

[31] A. H. Johns, "From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamization of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java," *Hamdard Islamicus* 4, no. 4 (1981): 11-12; A. H. Johns, "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with Some References to Quranic Exegesis," in *Islam in Asia* Vol. 2, *Southeast and East Asia*, eds. Raphael Israeli and Anthony H. Johns, 115-61 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984): 120-24; A. H. Johns, "Quranic Exegesis in the Malay World: In Search of a Profile," in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Quran*, ed. Andrew Rippin, 257-73 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[32] A. H. Johns, "The Quran in the Malay World: Reflections on 'Abd al-Rauf of Singkel (1615-1693); Peter Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition: 'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili's Rendering into Malay of the Jalalayn Commentary*, Monograph 31, Monograph Series, Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1990.

structure and sacred geography.[33] Azra, however, takes a different approach to understanding

the conflict, seeing al-Ranīrī as the beginning a much longer trend that stretched into the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Azra explicitly argues against prevailing ideas that

reformism was a nineteenth century phenomenon in Southeast Asia.[34] Together, these scholars

have shown us how the Aceh school served as an arena of debate over the prominent intellectual

issues of that time, drawing together scholars from Arabia, India, and Southeast Asia into one

discourse.

When analyzing the Johore-Riau school, one is immediately struck by the paucity of

articles and books dedicated to the subject. This seems largely due to the fact that the learning

center lacked the sort of powerful personalities that predominated in the Aceh school.

Intellectual debates were not nearly so divisive and emphasis seems to have been placed mostly

upon education and the dissemination of prevailing ideas rather than the development of new

interpretations. Most of all, Johore-Riau seems to have served as a storehouse for earlier

writings and a place where *'ulamā'* around the archipelago met to learn and share their ideas

with one another.[35] Palawa argues that the school flourished only in the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries, thus preventing an easily drawn link with Aceh a century and a half

earlier.[36] Azra, however, illustrates how networks of *'ulamā'* that traced their origins back to al-

Ranīrī, al-Singkīli, and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (a prominent student of the former two),

survived well into the eighteenth century throughout the archipelago.[37]

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[33] Johns, "From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City."

[34] The theory of reformism as primarily a nineteenth century phenomenon began with Albert Hourani, but has been repeated by numerous scholars since the publishing of his book. Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[35] Alimuddin Hassan Palawa, "The Penyengat School: A Review of the Intellectual Traditions of the Malay-Riau Kingdom," *Studia Islamika* 10, no. 3 (2003): 106-18.

[36] Ibid., 106.

[37] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 109-26.

Before Azra, previous scholars tended to focus upon individual writers or teachers.[38] While these studies drew light upon each individual's accomplishments and, at times, the general school of thought into which they fit, such studies ignored the oral nature of knowledge transmission evident throughout both Southeast Asian and Islamic traditions. Peter Riddell attempted the first broad survey of Islamic thought in Southeast Asia and remains an invaluable resource for intellectual history of the region in the seventeenth to twentieth centuries.[39] Though he shows how trends in Islamic thought changed over time throughout the archipelago, he does not convincingly argue how scholars influenced one another on a practical level and if they actually had access to each others' writings and teachings in many cases. Azra's book stands in stark contrast to previous studies of Southeast Asian Islamic intellectuals because he identified networks by which scholars transmitted ideas, primarily reformist thinkers who emerged from the seventeenth century onward as a part of a movement towards a more legalistic interpretation of Islam. The present study adopts a similar approach to Azra in identifying the main channels of knowledge dissemination in nineteenth century Southeast Asia that centered so prominently on Patani.

Evidence for reformism in the nineteenth century is stronger and more directly influenced from Arabia. Beginning in the early decades, intellectuals in Mecca, Medina, and Cairo grappled with what they saw as the failure of Islam to stand up to European economic and political intrusion.[40] By the last quarter of the century, several Arab intellectuals rose to prominence who called for the reform of Islamic thought and practice. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his student Muḥammad 'Abduh were preeminent among these thinkers and called for new innovations in

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[38] There are innumerable examples of such studies. Good examples include: Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994); Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition*; H. W. M. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990).

[39] Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (London: Hurst, 2001).

[40] Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 67-102.

education which would reverse the internal decay Islamic societies had endured over the preceding centuries.[41]

Among the prominent Southeast Asian scholars who studied in Mecca, Medina, and Cairo in these years, the most influential was Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, from Patani, whose career is the main topic of chapter three.[42] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's training in Arabia followed a pattern similar to many who followed him. He arrived in Mecca in the late 1780s and spent the rest of his life learning, teaching, and writing works on Islamic doctrine, mysticism, and law.[43] Before he embarked on the *hajj* (annual Islamic pilgrimage) he had prepared by studying with whatever local teachers were available but expanded his studies greatly upon arriving in Arabia. In the decades following, students from around the archipelago flocked to Mecca to study with him and became exposed to currents of thought then active in Arabia concerning the revival and reform of Islam. Many classic Islamic literary works were made available to readers of Malay for the first time, thereby drawing Southeast Asian Muslims into the orbit of the wider Islamic World on an unprecedented level.[44]

Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker showed how succeeding generations of scholars studied in Mecca as a way of preserving the Islamic tradition back home in Southeast Asia.[45] Via networks of students and the general rise in access to published materials (often reproduced by the students themselves), Islamic ideas became more clearly defined and widespread in their distribution.[46] Through the course of the nineteenth century, as the reformist thinking of al-Afghānī and Abduh became increasingly popular as a doctrine of resistance to colonialism, hajjis

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[41] Ibid., 103-60.

[42] A. H. Johns was the first to survey the writings of Shaykh Dāwūd, but he only covered the most well-known works in a brief survey. A. H. Johns, "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey," 130-1.

[43] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 55-90.

[44] Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 61, no. 1 (1988): 19-26.

[45] Ibid., 18.

[46] Ibid.

transmitted these new ideas back to the archipelago.[47] Throughout this process, the role of the

Patani-Kelantan school was preeminent.

Despite the fact that the present study's stated focus is illuminating the social dynamics

that gave rise to Southeast Asian revivalist scholarly networks, we cannot ignore the vibrant

intellectual debates of the times in question. The fluctuating discourses carried on by scholars

formed some of the most vibrant sources of social and cultural capital within these communities.

Therefore, the extended discussion above situates the present study as an analysis of the social

uses of knowledge within Southeast Asian Islamic communities, particularly focused upon the

networks emanating out from Patani.

Islamic Revivalism and Reformism

The present study makes significant contributions to our understanding of Islamic

revivalism and reformism by engaging with recent scholarship and offering new approaches to

existing historical problems. The first major work on Islamic revivalism in Southeast Asia,

written by Christine Dobbin in 1403/1983, has gone largely unchallenged in recent scholarship.[48]

While she provides insights into the evolution of the peasant economy in central Sumatra during

the period 1198-1263/1784-1847, she relies too heavily upon structural Marxist theory to explain

the evolving social dynamics within that society. Her focus upon materialist understandings of

social action prevent her work from delving to the root causes of social change brought on by

revivalist movements. She characterizes the rise of Islamic leaders as the result of economic

transformations rather than as the agents of social change empowered by symbolic cultural

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[47] Abdullah al-Qari bin Haji Salleh, "To' Kenali: His Life and Influence," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 89-91.

[48] Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series, no. 47 (London: Curzon Press, 1983); Christine Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 3 (1974): 319-45.

power. I instead turn to Pierre Bourdieu's theories on symbolic capital and social power tempered by cultural specificities from the Malay context. Through this process, I analyze the manner in which Islamic leaders managed to construct a new moral order that undermined or replaced the social prestige of the rajas through knowledge production and educational reforms.

William Roff outlines the intellectual genealogy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī through Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, who played a key role in the development of the Patani and Kelantan schools during the last two decades of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries as two of the central nodes for the dissemination of reformist Islamic ideas to the archipelago. Roff notes how Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī trained initially with students of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's in Mecca, but soon came under the influence of the ideas of Muḥammad Abduh. His most gifted student Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Aḥmad, known popularly as Tok Kenali, returned to Kelantan at the turn of the twentieth century with plans to implement Abduh's educational reforms.[49] Tok Kenali founded the *Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan*[50] (Kelantan Council of Religion and Malay Custom), a religious educational council that standardized education throughout the state and set about establishing graded textbooks by which students developed a detailed understanding of the requirements and obligations of proper Muslims.[51] From the initial center of Kota Baru, students of Tok Kenali returned to their homes as far as Java, Sumatra, and Cambodia, where they set up schools based upon the model of those in Kelantan.[52] Roff's study makes only passing reference to Kelantan's inheritance of Islamic intellectualism from Patani and that its schools were based upon preceding institutions in its

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[49] Ibid., 91-92; William R. Roff, "The Origins and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 126, 132-38.
[50] Hereafter, *Majlis Ugama*. Jawi: مجليس اڬام دان استعادة ملايو
[51] Roff, "The Origins and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," 140-46.
[52] Salleh, "To' Kenali: His Life and Influence," 95-97; Muhammad Salleh bin Wan Musa, "Theological Debates: Wan Musa b. Haji Abdul Samad and His Family," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 155.

northern neighbor that had been built throughout the nineteenth century. In the present work I fully illustrate Patani's role in the growth of Islamic educational institutions in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century, while illustrating the curricula of the schools and the most hotly contested religious debates of the period.

Besides educational institutions, the other legacy of the Islamic reformists in Southeast Asia was the development of religious presses and journals. The influence of these new publications cannot be separated entirely from the growth of educational facilities, because students who studied in the schools often spent their time making new copies of existing texts which were used to spread important doctrines or beliefs.[53] Snouck Hurgronje observes, during his stay in Mecca in the 1880s, that the most prominent publisher, Shaykh Aḥmad Fatani, mentioned above, became the head of the Ottoman press in Mecca in the 1880s and made a large number of texts available to the Malay audience for the first time.[54] Journals also appeared in Southeast Asia in increasing numbers and discussed all manner of subjects from abstract doctrinal issues to practical concerns of diet, conducting prayers, and daily life.[55] These journals and writings were of particular interest to Hurgronje because of his involvement in the Dutch colonial project in Aceh and their attempts to quell pan-Islamic movements that threatened their designs. The present study delves further into the role of Patani scholars in the growth of publishing institutions, the connections between these centers, and the continued trends of scholarship that influenced Malay Islamic education well into the twentieth century.

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[53] Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani," 18-35.

[54] Ibid., 28-29; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning, the Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, tr. J. H. Monahan (Leyden: Late E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1931): 286.

[55] Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, "Notes Towards a History of Malay Periodicals in Kelantan," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 170-89; Roff, "The Origins and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," 141.

Riddell argues for the existence of a "Patani Connection" between Mecca and Southeast Asia in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[56] He suggests that Patani became the bridge between Islamic ideas of orthodoxy and reform then being formulated in Arabia and the wider Southeast Asian Islamic World. However, research in Malaysian archives concerning manuscripts composed by Patani-born, Meccan-educated scholars during the first half of the century suggest that the connection had been established much earlier. Furthermore, the existence of such a large body of scholarship speaks volumes for the strength of Islamic religious and intellectual movements ongoing in early nineteenth century Patani that helped transform social dynamics within the societies of the central peninsula. The present work illuminates the social forces that allowed (or propelled) Patani intellectuals to come to Mecca in increasing numbers in the early nineteenth-century where they began the critical process of transmitting Islamic knowledge back to Southeast Asia.

Despite underlying themes of Islamic reform, the movement was never a united front and many debates emerged over unresolved issues or disagreements about how to implement the reforms. In Kelantan, controversy surrounded the decision by the *Majlis Ugama* to use *zakāt*[57] (obligatory tax) for the maintenance of schools and mosques.[58] The majority of the *'ulamā'* supported the measure, but a minority group, led by Mufti Hajji Wan Musa bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Kalantānī, thought that this was in contradiction to *Sharī'a*[59] (Islamic law). In Java, an *'alīm*[60] named Sayyid 'Uthmān vehemently opposed the Wahhābiyya movement and even went so far as to collaborate with the Dutch colonial regime to fight some of the attempts by the Wahhābiyya to

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[56] Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 198-200.
[57] Arabic: زكاة
[58] Roff, "The Origins and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," 139-46.
[59] Arabic: شريعة
[60] The singular form of *'ulamā'*.

"purify" Islamic practice.[61] The new waves of reform were not greeted everywhere with enthusiasm and in many places the effects of the reformist movement took a generation or two to sink into the local level.

Patani Historiography

The present work may also be added to the slim number of scholarly studies of Patani history. The first monograph to fully examine Patani's history was written by the pseudonymous author Ibrahim Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* (History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani), originally in Jawi, around 1369/1950. The book was circulated in the border region and soon after banned by the government of Thailand because of its nationalist portrayal of Patani's past (and present). It gained a wider readership with Conner Bailey and John Miksic's full English translation in 1405/1985.[62] Syukri's work has generally been branded a political treatise, not without reason, but with the side-effect of being ignored as a historical work with some merit. In chapter two, I present Syukri's arguments alongside existing primary source materials which prove that he had access not only to Thai and Malay sources, but British as well. More recent Malay-language writings, such as the works of Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani and Zamberi Malek, are other examples of politically-charged accounts of the region's past that bear many insights generally ignored in scholarly discourses.[63]

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[61] Azyumardi Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthman," in *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, ed. Ulrike Freitag and William G. Clarence-Smith, Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, v. 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1997): 256-57.

[62] Ibrahim Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, tr. Conner Bailey and John N. Miksic (Athens: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1985). Limited evidence suggests that fragmented translations existed by the early 1970s.

[63] I have argued elsewhere that al-Fatani's chronology for Patani's seventeenth-century political history is more plausible than Teeuw and Wyatt's account. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani* (Alor Setar: Pustaka Darussalam, 1994); Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek, *Umat Islam Patani: Sejarah dan Politik* (Shah Alam: Hizbi, 1993); Francis R. Bradley, "Moral Order in a Time of Damnation: The *Hikayat Patani* in Historical Context," *JSEAS* 40, no. 2 (2009): 274-6. A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, 5 (The Hague: Marinus Nijhoff, 1970): 10, 18-20.

The fact that Patani's history has been largely ignored in Thai historiography underscores the importance of the present work. David Wyatt, for example, traces Thailand's past through the political centers of Bangkok, Ayudhya, and Sukhothai.[64] This work helps us understand the political evolution of the center, but leaves the region of Patani out of the picture. Furthermore, Patani was a regional political center in its own right, generally a tributary of Siam, but dominant over local states such as Kelantan, Terengganu, and Saiburi (formerly Sai), but no scholarship has attempted to analyze these relationships and the role they played in the political fortunes of the states in the Thai-Malay border region. In the most recent general history of Thailand, by Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, Patani again remains at the edge of the stage, only mentioned as a source of political unrest and cultural difference.[65] If the deep roots of the political conflict in southern Thailand are to be understood, the lens must be focused upon Patani as a region that possessed its own social dynamics which in turn shaped the way people negotiated the myriad practices and indices of social power.

Despite the plethora of primary sources available, historical scholarship on the Patani Sultanate remains in its infancy. Andries Teeuw and David Wyatt translated and commented upon the *Hikayat Patani*, Patani's royal chronicle composed by anonymous court intellectuals in the period 1101-42/1690-1730.[66] The *Hikayat Patani* chronicle, however, only provides an elite view of that society giving no picture of Patani outside of the palace walls. Another scholar, Wayne Bougas, examines Patani's ambiguous status in both the Thai and Malay worlds and the repercussions this had for its fate as a tributary state to Siam.[67] He has also contributed analysis of Patani's economic resources during its apex in the seventeenth century. Still, these studies

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[64] David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
[65] Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[66] A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Indonesica, v. 5 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).
[67] Wayne A. Bougas, *The Kingdom of Patani: Between Thai and Malay Mandalas*, Terbitan Tak Berkala Dunia Melayu, no. 12 (Bangi: Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1994).

have not analyzed Patani's status as a political and religious center, loosely tied to Ayudhya and Bangkok through tributary agreements, but tied culturally and linguistically to the rest of the Malay states. Understanding Patani's place within the existing system of political relations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will be critical to understanding its evolution from regional political center to tributary state and ultimately its provincial status in modern Thailand. Furthermore, the process of disintegration of Patani's political apparatuses in the late eighteenth century led directly to the critical social changes in the century following.

Hasan Madmarn composed the first analysis of the development of Islam in Patani.[68] He charts the influence of two early *'ulamā'* in the region and the opening of several of the major *pondok*[69] (Islamic schools) in the region, mainly with a focus on the twentieth century. Chapters four to six of the present work expound considerably upon Madmarn's work, detailing dozens of previously unknown learning centers illuminated in primary sources available in Malaysia. I also provide the global context of Islamic movements that linked Patani with the Middle East, other parts of Southeast Asia, and beyond.

An investigation into the historical consequences of Patani's distinct form of moral authority and its active writing tradition leads one to naturally engage in what John Smail termed "autonomous history."[70] He compelled scholars of Southeast Asia to study autonomous history as part of a movement away from colonial era scholarship and the nationalist counter-narrative. Smail sought to liberate pre-colonial history from the contemporary imprint often imposed back upon earlier times. In recent years, efforts by scholars such as Sunait Chutintarinond and others

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[68] Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani*, Monograph Series of Malay World and Civilisation, ed. Wan Hashim Wan The (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002).
[69] Jawi: فوندوق
[70] John R. W. Smail, "On the Possibility of an Autonomous History of Modern Southeast Asia," *JSEAS* 2, no. 2 (1961): 72-102.

have made great strides forward in the realm of autonomous history.[71] On the Malay-speaking

region of southern Thailand, however, there remains a dearth of scholarship, particularly

regarding the history of the Patani Sultanate prior to or during its formal incorporation into Siam.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the history of Patani when it was a political center in

contrast to the Malay-Thai borderland's position today on the periphery between the nation states

of Thailand and Malaysia.

Dissertation Outline

This study makes significant inroads into our understanding of transnational Islamic

history in maritime Asia contemporary to the rise of colonial regimes in those regions. No

previous study has followed the development of scholarly networks between Mecca and

Southeast Asia during the period. The rise of Arabicized, reformist Islam outside of the Middle

East prior to the twentieth century has been little studied because of the general paucity of

primary source material. The manuscripts left behind by the Patani shaykhs open a unique

window for our understanding of the critical process that drew Islam's easternmost periphery

into debates about Islamic belief and practice in an increasingly globalized world. I show how

succeeding waves of Islamic thought coursed through even its outer regions: person to person,

hand-to-hand passing of manuscripts, and circles of students receiving and discussing the oral

transmission of texts. Most previous studies of Southeast Asian Islam have invariably relied too

heavily upon sources written by the colonizers, if even out of pure necessity.

This study is as much a social history as it is a history of Islam. I argue that Islamic

revivalist and reformist scholarship became social and cultural capital for reconstituting the

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[71] Sunait Chutintarinond and Chris Baker, ed., *Recalling Local Pasts: Autonomous History in Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002); Sunait Chutintarinond, '"Mandala," "segmentary state" and Politics of Centralization in Medieval Ayudhya,' *JSS* 78 (1989): pp. 89-100.

socio-moral order of Patani and other Malay-speaking centers in Southeast Asia. After having endured economic and political decline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most powerful social actors in Patani were members of a number of *'ulamā'* families. The most capable of these scholars commanded great agency in transforming local social and cultural practices, values, and scales that positioned Islamic teachings far more central than ever before, not only in Patani, but across a wide swath of Malay-speaking societies in Southeast Asia and in the maritime diaspora.

The Patani diaspora has never been studied historically, despite its members playing crucial roles in cultural exchange between and within Southeast Asia and the Middle East. The present study analyzes the period of violent displacement and the influential members of the diaspora who emerged in the decades that followed. Their work in translating Arabic teachings into Malay and disseminating them via diasporan connections back into numerous places in Southeast Asia formed the early roots of the *pondok* system of Islamic education. Patani's role in this process has only been mentioned briefly in existing scholarship. The present study displays its role in the building of the *pondok* system in step-by-step detail.

Patani as a great center of Islamic learning, however, has never been adequately historicized. I argue that Patani became a major center for scholarship partly as a result of being conquered. The annihilation, dispersal, or marginalization of economic and political elites allowed for Islamic leaders to harness the dominant principles of hierarchization on a social and cultural level in an unprecedented and critically influential manner. I treat Islamic scholars as individuals with agency and vested interests, as well as deep religious faith, to move away from one of the persisting dialogues in Islamic history since the 1970s that has often viewed revivalist or reformist movements as somehow prevailing over a passive populace while simultaneously

serving some grander sense of Islam. Only in seeking to figure out what social uses Islamic scholarship had in our specific contexts can we begin to understand how such scholars implemented tremendous cultural transformations with such clear success.

In chapter one, I describe political, economic, and sacred space in turn, charting their evolution over time, taking into account both internal and external stimuli for historical change in the period prior to the 1199-1200/1785-6 war. This chapter is important for the study as it offers us an internal, comparative view of Patani before the rise of the Islamic scholars. During the period of Patani's *zaman emas* (golden age) of the seventeenth century, the *orangkaya* had a multitude of social opportunities and chose to compete for power and status in the royal court, the marketplace, and the mosque. In part I, I analyze the palace as the sacred center of the society, where the raja served as the progenitor of the socio-moral order in the sultanate. Status was determined by one's service to the raja, whether as a leading court official, palace guard, soldier, servant, spy, musician, or other roles. Even by mid-century this system of social authority was deteriorating, though it was a gradual process that ended abruptly in 1200/1786.

In part II of chapter one, I analyze Patani's rising and falling fortunes as a center for the trade of silk, pepper, and many other products that attracted merchants from throughout East, South, and Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. From 1029/1620, and increasingly after 1060/1650, the economic collapse of the sultanate undercut the power of the raja. Economic problems led to increased political divisions within Patani as people fought over the diminishing resources available for the acquisition of social prestige. Internal feuding occurred simultaneously with protracted periods of open war with Siam and other peninsular neighbors that ended with several crippling defeats of Patani. Economic and environmental destruction left the sultanate in a weakened state that lingered on until the climactic war between Siam and

Patani in 1199-1200/1785-6. In part III, I analyze sacred space in Patani during the period and see how Islam rose from one of a number of traditions in the region to the most important and royally-sanctioned faith of the polity. Islamic elites initially contended with Buddhist, animist, and other local actors for access to royal patronage, but triumphed by the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Still, Islamic leaders remained at the margins of Patani society until after the destruction of the palace.

In chapter two, I analyze how Siam systematically destroyed Patani's remaining autonomous political space and how that drove elites into the mosque as the refuge of moral order and social power in Patani society. This was accomplished through the course of five devastating wars in 1199-1200/1785-6, 1203-6/1789-92, 1222/1808, 1246-7/1831-2, and 1253/1838. I turn a keen eye upon the practices of warfare in the period and demonstrate how Siam's armies employed massacre, slave-raiding, and expulsion to eliminate the political power of Patani's *orangkaya* and permanently depopulate or under-populate the region. The destruction of political space left the mosque as the single most dynamic social space in Patani society, which was to become the most contested space as scholars emerged in the decades following.

In part I of chapter two, I survey the practices of warfare and the spread of firearms in Southeast Asia prior to the 1199-1200/1785-6 war. I build upon recent scholarship that has challenged Anthony Reid's "low casualty" thesis, particularly on the mainland after 1152/1740, by citing a number of examples of widespread massacre in the Burma-Siam theatre. Then in part II, I examine how Patani's failed political strategies after the fall of Ayudhya to the Burmese ultimately drew it into conflict with Siam. Patani's political unity had deteriorated through the course of the eighteenth century leaving it especially vulnerable by the time of the war. Finally,

I piece together the events of the war and the aftermath which resulted in massacre, slave-raiding, environmental destruction, and the expulsion of refugees that together produced the Patani diaspora. In addition to the human casualties, Siam destroyed all remaining marks of Patani's sovereignty by burning the palace (and the entire city) to the ground and confiscating the famous cannons considered to provide its earlier rulers with such strength and virility.

In part III of chapter two, I analyze the role of the British in political relations of the region against the backdrop of continued conflict between Patani and Siam in 1203-6/1789-92 and 1222/1808. British desire to mine the peninsula's tin reserves, now known to be the most extensive in the world, compelled them to exert influence upon local political relations. While Patani continued to fight for its political survival, the British slowly gained overlordship over sections of Kedah, and asserted a significant influence upon the courts of the northern Malay states who, in turn, viewed the British as a counterbalance to the Siamese threat. Even British arms were not enough to prevent Siam from invading the region again, this time to take direct control of Kedah in 1235-6/1820-1. Finally, in part IV, I analyze how the conflict between Kedah and Siam eventually splilled over into Patani in 1246-7/1831-2 and 1253/1838. These wars resulted in further defeats that sealed Patani's political fate. With Patani's political elites effectively annihilated or co-opted, Siam continued to secure its position over the conquered territory, with the side-effect of leaving the former sultanate's Islamic elites as the sole remaining leaders in the region.

In chapter three, I follow Patani's most influential *'alīm*, Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, in his journey to Mecca. Set against the backdrop of his experience as a refugee expelled from Patani in 1200/1786, I analyze the profound influence that the turbulent intellectual and political climate of Mecca had upon him. He rose to become one of the most

prolific Malay-language writers and translators and his works became the cornerstone for Islamic learning in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. Through Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the work of his students and other intellectual descendants, the mosque became one of the most dynamic sites for the acquisition of cultural and social power in Patani and beyond.

In part I of chapter three, I illustrate the early life of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the intellectual tradition from which he developed upon his arrival in Mecca. In part II, I focus upon the city of Mecca and its turbulent history in the period which witnessed the invasion of the Wahhābiyya which had distinct effects upon scholarly life in the city. Then, in part III, I reconstruct the intellectual influences Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had during his approximate twenty years of study before he turned to producing scholarship of his own. He studied with many of the great Arab- and Malay-speaking scholars of his day, developed the skills necessary for translation between the two languages, and studied many of the principle Shāfi'ī writers from earlier centuries. Finally, in part IV, I situate each of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's written works by analyzing his sources, the trends in which he participated; and I sketch an intellectual biography of his works and their influence upon later generations of scholars.

In chapter four, I chart the activities of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students who flocked from Patani, Kelantan, Terengganu, and other parts of the peninsula and archipelago to study with him in Mecca. His students reproduced handwritten copies of his work, which they brought back to Southeast Asia and employed as the principle texts for the *pondok* schools they founded throughout the region. Most students returned to their home communities, but some carried their teachings further afield, forging links between Southeast Asian Islamic learning centers and beyond to eventually include a broad network linking together Patani, Aceh, Banjar, Cambodia, Kedah, Kelantan, Melaka, Minangkabau, Riau, Sambas, Terengganu, Malay-speakers in Cape

Town (today a part of South Africa), and innumerable small villages (*kampung*)[72] throughout the region. These sites all shared a particular cultural grammar that allowed the ascendancy of a new moral order based around Islamic teachings, guarded, promoted, and revitalized by the work of the shaykhs.

In part I of chapter four, I analyze the work of each of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's twenty-eight known students, the books they studied, and the schools they founded in various regions of Southeast Asia up to the time of the great shaykh's retirement around 1260/1844. In part II, I chart how the community adjusted after the death of the network's founder as new teachers emerged within the "Patani circle" in Mecca. I note a similar pattern throughout the region wherein scholars studied locally, then eventually went to Mecca for an extended period, but returned, often to their hometown, and founded a school primarily implementing the thought of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and others. In both sections, following discussions of the principle teachers and schools, I analyze the principle texts that they studied and taught, based upon the surviving manuscripts from the region.

In chapter five, I examine the proliferation of *pondok* in the Patani region that embodied the new system of social power and value reproduction instilled by the shaykhs. *Pondok* were legitimating institutions designed for the validation of prestige within the new social system. I note how Patani rose to become the preeminent Islamic learning center on the peninsula which drew students from elsewhere on the peninsula, Sumatra, Cambodia, Borneo, Siam, and further afield. This process positioned Patani's shaykhs at the apex of a cultural sphere that extended from what is now the Thai province of Songkhla to the Malaysian state of Terengganu, with links to many other parts of Southeast Asia. The Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1327/1909, which

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[72] Jawi: كامڤوڠ

established the present-day border between Malaysia and Thailand cut directly through this sphere and sent the world of the Patani shaykhs into disarray.

In part I of chapter five, I analyze the third and fourth generation scholars of the Patani network who continued to be the main teachers of Malay-speaking students in Mecca. By this time, several families had begun to monopolize the prestigious teaching positions in Mecca and elsewhere in the network, though there was also a constant influx of new or unrelated individuals. Then in parts II and III, I analyze the rise of the *pondok* in Patani that resulted in dozens of new schools appearing throughout the region during the period 1285-1327/1869-1909. A common pattern emerges wherein scholars studied locally, regionally, and finally in Patani before going to Mecca, suggesting that the Patani schools were the most prestigious throughout the peninsula and neighboring areas. Finally, in part IV, I illustrate the primary texts, ideas, and oral traditions that circulated in these schools during the period.

In chapter six, I broaden the scope of the study by analyzing the role of the Patani diaspora (and other diasporas) in the building of *pondok* throughout the Malay-speaking parts of the peninsula and western Borneo with continued connections to Cham Muslims in Cambodia and descendants of the Patani slaves taken to Bangkok. Patani's influence was greatest in Kelantan, but the diasporan scholars also made significant contributions to developing Islamic educational institutions in Kedah, Melaka, Perak, Perlis, Singapore, Trengganu, and the other peninsular Malay states. In fact, many of the early Malay centers for Islamic learning trace their roots to schools founded by the Patani scholars during this period. As Patani declined rapidly as the premier peninsular learning center, Kelantan, particularly *pondok* around Kota Bharu, emerged as Patani's successor in the cultural sphere.

Finally, in chapter seven, I analyze the emergence of publishing centers in Patani, British Malaya, Singapore, British India, and numerous places in the Middle East as one of the most enduring legacies of the Patani shaykhs. As their social fortunes became increasingly threatened after 1327/1909, compelling some to relocate to British Malaya or Mecca, the teachings of the Patani scholars continued to circulate throughout the region in greater quantity. These texts were the main source for teachings in many Malay *pondok* well into the twentieth century. Only by the 1940s is there clear evidence of works by authors other than Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī appearing in the publishing houses of the network. The premier position of these writings has also endured in southern Thailand up to the present time as institutions in the education of many Pattani Malays.

Chapter 1
Power in Patani: Constructing the Social Order in the Palace, Marketplace, and Mosque, Origins to 1785

Introduction

In this chapter, I illustrate the social dynamics that formed the mechanisms behind

Patani's moral order, how social actors maintained that order, and how it evolved over time.

First, I show the manner in which elites struggled for the control, acquisition, and accumulation

of power that caused them to gain or lose status for themselves and their descendants. This was

a complex and relentless process of competition between rival elite individuals and families who

employed myriad strategies of survival in a treacherous social environment. Social actors

operated in one or more vibrant spaces that were particularly fertile grounds for status

acquisition. Secondly, I look at how social competition transformed Patani's moral order over

time, first during the sultanate's "golden age" and subsequently during a period of internal

division and political decline. The most powerful actors, namely the rajas and other political

elites, had the ability to affect the social value attributed to particular actions, strategies, and

outcomes. I also pay special attention to external influences which also played a role in

threatening the nucleus of the royal court, resulted in economic fluctuations, and brought Islam

to the region that gradually transformed the spiritual space of the sultanate. Ultimately the

collapse of the Patani market had profound effects upon all social actors and led to an internal

crisis at the close of the seventeenth century.

In the early modern period, Patani was a mid-sized trade *entrepôt* that exploited a number

of resources either locally produced or delivered from one of the numerous far-flung maritime

trade routes it controlled. The city was geographically well-situated along the east coast of the

Malay-Thai Peninsula at the southwestern edge of the Gulf of Thailand and, by extension, the

South China Sea. It was also just a few weeks' travel north of the entrance to the Straits of

Melaka, and the lucrative Indian Ocean trade that it provided, as well as the Java Sea which bore

spice trade from Maluku. On a local scale, the city was well-placed next to the *Sungai Patani*[1]

(Patani River) and other local rivers that gave access to the interior and to overland trade routes

that connected it to Kedah and other west coast ports, that served as second access point for

Indian Ocean trade when the straits were inaccessible due to political interference or "piracy."

While Patani was not placed to dominate one of the above trading spheres, it was uniquely

located to exploit all of them and found that when external interference caused the decline of one

or the other, its merchants were able to alter their course to profit from routes to other locales.

Patani was also distant enough from the great political powers of Aceh, Ayudhya, the Javanese

kingdoms, and Melaka to be afforded a great degree of political flexibility at least up until the

end of the seventeenth century, when Siam's rising demographic and maritime strength allowed

it to project its political force more effectively to the south. Patani was a mid-sized political

power of its own, in a superior position to all of its immediate neighbors, including Kelantan,

Saiburi[2], Songkhla[3], and Trengganu, and bolstered by deft political alliances, at times, with

Kedah, Johor, Melaka, Pahang, and other polities. Patani naturally attracted not only merchants,

but also artisans, clerks, holy persons, laborers, mystics, performing artists, poets, scholars, and

soldiers from many parts of the Southeast Asian littoral. Yet, as inviting a place as it may have

been for a vast array of individuals, in Patani, like polities throughout the region, social elites

struggled to preserve their status and pass it through the generations. In the present chapter, I

will discuss the myriad strategies that the elites of Patani adopted to maintain power for

themselves, their families, and their loyal followers.

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[1] Jawi: سوڠاي قطاني

[2] *Sai* in Malay and British sources.

[3] *Sanggora*, *Singgora*, or *Soongora* in Malay and British sources.

In Part I of this chapter, I illustrate the power nexus that revolved around the raja and the royal court which were situated at the sacred center of society. At the pinnacle of social power relations, the raja inhabited a unique position as a ceremonial figure and the custodian of an immense quantity of social and cultural power and significance, in material and symbolic forms. Surrounding the raja as supporters and competitors, Patani's myriad elites struggled for royal favor or influence, institutional offices, wartime glory, beneficial marriage alliances, and other marks of prestige. On a broader scale, Patani struggled to improve its position within the *mandala*[4] matrices and local political elites found such struggles as potentially lucrative opportunities for social prestige acquisition through war and diplomacy. Over time the sultanate's external conflicts opened up rifts within the society that increasingly allowed internal factions to compete against one another for control of a contracting political sphere.

In Part II, I examine Patani's changing economic fortunes as an alternative to political competition for the sultanate's elites, through five distinct phases in the period 895-1120/1490-1709. First, Patani benefited from trade missions sent by Ryukyu (today Okinawa) as an alternative to direct trade with China, which had been banned since the 1430s. Secondly, in concert with the Portuguese, Patani superseded the Ryukyu routes by tapping into the Chinese trade through informal channels termed "piracy" or "smuggling" by Ming officials. Then as China finally managed to enforce its control of the sea coast from 975/1567 onwards, Patani became a haven for these disaffected Chinese "pirates" who operated a rich trade that reached from Japan to Melaka. In the fourth stage, Patani achieved its greatest success by forging enduring trade links with Japan, and by attracting Dutch and English merchants to their docks as

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[4] Term used for the borderless pre-modern polities of Southeast Asia whose power revolved around a political center and extended as far as its rulers could propel it. Polities of this sort had to be constantly maintained and often collapsed after the death of a ruler, when various tributaries "rebelled" against central control. Great, mid-level, and local political centers thus were tied together through a complex web of political allegiances.

a market for Chinese products. Finally, after 1059/1649, trade shifts and political instability ultimately doomed the Patani market which imploded after 1101/1690. Others have observed that trade was a source of power and wealth that would sometimes threaten the position of the raja, but in Patani I illustrate how the rulers and other political elites co-opted the marketplace as a significant source of power for their activities in the court. I further argue that the eclipse of the marketplace as a viable space for the acquisition of power and status caused mercantile elites to retreat into the royal palace which, in turn, led to the boiling over of internal political tensions and the rupture of the court.

In Part III, I chart the growth of mosques in Patani as one of a competing number of sacred spaces. Much like other polities of the archipelago, Islam developed in Patani alongside other religious and ceremonial practices sometimes in syncretic symbiosis and at other times outright competition. The conversion of the raja was thus a significant moment in the social cosmology of the sultanate and one that resulted in the steady rise of Islam as a social institution and religious practice from the sixteenth century onwards, fueled by royal patronage. Still, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Patani's royal palace remained a significant autonomous "sacred" space as well, the centrality of which declined in the eighteenth century and was destroyed in the Patani-Siam War of 1199-1200/1785-6.

Part I – The Court: Political Capital in Patani before 1785

Patani appeared on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century as the result of a movement of a group of Malay-speaking people from the interior.[5] It is likely that the founders came from Langkasuka, a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom that

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[5] The theme of movement from the interior to the coast permeates the opening tale of the *Hikayat Patani*. LC 1839: 1-5; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 68-71, 146-8.

had been centered about fifteen kilometers from present-day Pattani and had reached its peak of

power in the late sixth century as a transit port for merchants traveling between India and China,

but had declined after the ninth century. Having experienced a brief resurgence in the twelfth

century, Langkasuka then disappeared. Besides trade fluctuations that had left the region a

backwater, there is evidence that the peninsula's shifting eastern coastline also caused the

precursor kingdom's port to silt up, making it impassable for trading vessels.[6] Tales relate that

Patani was first a fishing outpost for a raja and that not until it had become successful did he

come down from the interior.[7] Into a precarious and volatile political atmosphere, Patani

emerged under constant threat from its neighbors, north and south, that compelled it to quickly

enter into tributary relations with the great powers of the time.

The struggle to control political capital within the court (in its various manifestations:

artistic, cultural, social, etc.) compelled the *orangkaya* to employ multiple methods and

strategies, the chief of which I will discuss in this section. Court musicians who played in the

royal orchestra were the *orangkaya* most intimately connected to the raja through their direct

participation in a number of sacred ceremonies that were crucial in maintaining the symbolic

power of the court at the center of society. Outside of the court, the rajas led their soldiers in

times of war, thus accumulating a great deal of social prestige as lord and protector, while also

bestowing honors upon the most capable followers who therefore benefited from the increased

power and prestige of their sovereign. Other influential *orangkaya* served as diplomats or spies

in neighboring courts, where their service directly benefited the raja and who, if successful, were

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[6] Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula: Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road (100 BC – 1300 AD)*, tr. Victoria Hobson, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 3: South-East Asia, v. 13, eds. B. Arps, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 168, Document 17.

[7] Because of the impossible chronology included in the *Hikayat Patani* that seems to have conflated the early generations of kings, it is clear that there are a number of missing generations in the early tales that stretched back to at least the fourteenth century.

rewarded for their work. Some *orangkaya*, often members of the royal family, forged marriage alliances with neighboring families either local or foreign, thereby participating in what Tony Day termed in the Southeast Asian context as the "familial state."[8] This practice of networking provided social capital to those actors who successfully forged reliable, relevant, and enduring marital bonds that continued to bear political fruit. After having concluded my discussion of court competition in the following section, I analyze Patani's court as one within a hierarchy of *mandala*-webbed polities, how its survival and prosperity was in the interest of most *orangkaya*, but how its struggle with Ayudhya from the 1630s onwards gradually undermined the court as a profitable arena for social competition. Finally, I turn to internal "rebellion" as the culminating social action made by many *orangkaya* when other strategies failed them. As the court became increasingly overwhelmed by desperate *orangkaya*, particularly after 1101/1690, the Patani sultanate experienced a fundamental, if painful, transformation of its social milieu that would ultimately position the mosque as the most dynamic space for social competition after 1199/1785.

The Court as the Sacred Center of Patani

The palace, positioned at the sacred center of Patani society, was the most important social space in pre-1785 Patani and bore witness to the fiercest competition between social actors. The royal court functioned as Patani's sacred and spatial center known as *kota raja*[9] (city of the raja) or *kota wang*[10] (city of the palace). The royal compound was surrounded by earthen walls as much as six or eight feet thick in places.[11] A broad gate, called *pintu gerbang*[12] (arched

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[8] Tony Day, *Fluid Iron: State Formation in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002): 39.
[9] Jawi: كوتا راج
[10] Jawi: كوتا واڠ
[11] Wayne A. Bougas, "Patani in the Beginning of the XVIIe Century," *Archipel* 39 (1990): 119.

gate) allowed ingress and egress from the royal palace west to the *padang*[13] (town square) of the

bandar[14] (city proper). The sultanate's oldest mosque likely stood on the opposite side of the

square, with the marketplace positioned on the north side. The harbor district and merchant

quarters were further to the northwest abreast to the sea, where visiting merchants worked and

lived when their ships were anchored approximately a kilometer off the coast in Patani Bay.

Patani's valuable salt-pans existed just north of the royal citadel, with a customs house

positioned at the mouth of Sungai Perigi to the east of the palace at Kuala Aru which imposed

taxes upon any ships entering or leaving the river.[15] A royal cemetery existed just to the east of

the palace with a Buddhist *wat* (temple) positioned further out, just before the river and customs

house.[16] A second market called *kedai Cina*[17] (Chinese marketplace), positioned 1.5 kilometers

upriver to the southeast of the palace was also the center of the vibrant Chinese quarter known as

Kampong Pengkalang Besar.

The palace itself was built on many wooden pillars as was the custom throughout the

peninsula. The exterior was decorated lavishly with gold panels and wooden carvings that

impressed Dutch and other visitors who commented upon them in their reports.[18] The interior

was likely divided into three parts: a *balai*[19] (audience hall) where the raja received guests, an

inner hall where the ruler conducted affairs of state, and the *istana*[20] (palace) where the royal

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[12] Jawi: فينتو ڬرباغ

[13] Jawi: ڤادڠ

[14] Jawi: بندر

[15] Ibid., 119-21.

[16] Ibid., 121.

[17] Jawi: كداي چينا

[18] J. W. Ijzerman, "Hollandsche Prenten als Handelsartikel te Patani in 1602," Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, *Gedenkschrift Uitgegeven ter Gelegenheid van Het 75-Jarig Bestaan op 4 Juni 1926* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926): 87.

[19] Jawi: بالاي

[20] Jawi: ايستان

family lived.[21] The inner chambers are thought to have been adorned with ivory or even

sapphire based upon the *Hikayat Patani* which refers to a *balai gading*[22] (ivory hall) and oral

accounts that mention *istana nilam*[23] (sapphire palace).[24]

From within the walls of the court, the raja's power radiated outward, reaching as far as

he or she could propel it through an established and maintained retinue of followers. Such rulers

rose as charismatic leaders who possessed *daulat*[25], or perceived "soul force," which gave them

the strength and right to rule, and the ability to gather loyal supporters. The raja's *daulat* was the

summation of his or her perceived social and cultural capital, exhibited by his or her power,

regardless of whether it was actualized, practiced, or symbolic. At the pinnacle of the court

hierarchy, the raja thus possessed the greatest amount of capital of any single actor in the social

milieu and his or her bestowal of symbolic or material marks of prestige to loyal followers was

the central social dynamic of the court as a space for social competition.

The raja also possessed several material items of great symbolic importance, namely the

legendary *meriam*[26] (cannons) and the *nobat*[27] (royal drums). The cannons were built at some

point in the 1570s or 1580s and symbolized the sultanate's strength and virility. When Patani's

royal chronicle, the *Hikayat Patani*, was written at the dawn of the eighteenth century, the tale of

the cannons followed only the founding of the city and the conversion to Islam in importance to

the cosmology of the society. Following Manṣūr Shāh's escape from Patani's failed assault on

Ayudhya in 971/1564, for example, he honored the cannons by beating the royal drums for seven

days, which Charney argued, in addition to them gaining names, was an indication of the

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[21] Bougas, "Patani in the Beginning of the XVIIe Century," 124.
[22] Jawi: بالاي ڬاديڠ
[23] Jawi: ايستان نيلام
[24] Ibid.
[25] Jawi: دولة
[26] Jawi: مريام
[27] Jawi: نوبت

cannons' political and spiritual significance.[28] While there are only a few surviving records telling of the cannons being employed in warfare, their symbolic power was preeminent in the minds of the court elites who flaunted the fact that Patani had possessed them before other neighboring powers such as Siam or Johor, and that this seems to have indicated Patani's superiority in the region.[29]

Patani's *nobat* and other ceremonial musical instruments were of supreme significance to the functioning of the court, particularly in royal ceremonies, and the musicians that played them were of high stature within the court elite. The *nobat*, according to the story outlined in the *Sejarah Melayu*, were given by the sultan of Melaka to the raja of Patani, at some point during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh (893-916/1488-1511).[30] While this denoted Melaka as the superior power, it also imbued Patani with regional significance, allowing it to claim superiority over its immediate neighbors by bearing the sacred symbols of sovereignty much sought after in the Malay-speaking parts of the peninsula. At its peak, Patani's royal orchestra included twelve *gendang*[31] and eight *negara*[32] (state) drums, four golden and four silver *nafiri*[33] (trumpets), and two golden and two silver *serunai*[34] (oboes). The size of Patani's royal orchestra gave the court great prestige in comparison to its neighbors such as Kedah, Perak, Selangor, and Trengganu, which generally only possessed five drums each. The musicians who played in the orchestra were highly skilled and not easily replaced, as noted by one of the writers of the *Hikayat Patani*, who bemoaned the fact that after the Patani-Siam conflict of 970-1/1563-4, during which many courtiers were slain, they no longer had enough qualified musicians to play all of the

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[28] Michael W. Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare, 1300-1900*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 3: South-East Asia, v. 16, eds. V. Lieberman, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 66.
[29] LC 1839: 11-4, 23-4; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 75-8, 85-6, 152-4, 161.
[30] C. C. Brown, *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970): 146.
[31] A term referring to a variety of Malay drums or membranophones. Jawi: گندغ
[32] Jawi: نگارا
[33] Jawi: نفيري
[34] Jawi: سروني

instruments.[35] Ceremonial music was central to almost every court function including installing

a new raja, call to war, changing of the seasons, yearly or monthly rituals, declaration of a royal

childbirth, and so forth.[36] It is clear that the *nobat* were of critical symbolic and ceremonial

importance to the functioning of the court and the musicians who played them were among the

chief elites who competed for cultural and social capital in the court. Having described the

physical space of the royal palace, the position inhabited by the raja, and the material objects of

his sovereignty and virility, the following section describes the diverse array of individuals who

might be classified as *orangkaya*, and who competed for royal favor and employed other

strategies for social survival.

Patani's Orangkaya

Before focusing our lens upon the methods and strategies employed by Patani's

orangkaya, we must first illustrate them as a "class" and how they operated in the sultanate as a

political force. The *orangkaya* lived within the royal compound in dwellings that emulated the

raja's palace on a smaller scale.[37] The *orangkaya* exhibited their power most visibly by building

entourages of guards, followers, and slaves, who, in theory, all contributed to and benefited from

the rising status of their chief. They also received titles, estates, and public honors from the raja

and other leading officials as marks of prestige that elevated their status *vis-à-vis* other

competing elites. Patani's *orangkaya* held diverse positions such as collectors and protectors of

navigational lore, diplomats, elephant tamers and trainers, engineers, generals and other leading

soldiers, governing officials in the court or port, landed elite, court musicians, and personal

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[35] LC 1839: 89; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 141, 211.
[36] *Menobatkan* (Malay): to install, to crown.
[37] Bougas, "Patani in the Beginning of the XVIIe Century," 125.

guards and attendants of the raja or the palace.[38] Of equal importance to the elites were their retinue of followers which included a vast array of specialized individuals such as accountants, chief artisans, assassins, concubines, great hunters, spies, translators, and warriors, not to mention agricultural laborers and slaves. As Anthony Reid and John Villiers have argued, most Southeast Asian aristocrats faced difficulty when attempting to protect their material wealth, but he noted that Patani was one of the exceptions where the *orangkaya* managed to attain enough security as to build powerful lineages within which families could accumulate and pass down their wealth and status.[39] But whereas Reid and Villiers point to purely economic sources of their power, I argue that the *orangkaya* additionally gained a strong position in Patani's court during the sultanate's interregnum, 979-92/1572-84. At this time leading *orangkaya* attained enough influence to alter the existing practices of succession, culminating in the assassination of Sultan Bahdur in 992/1584 and the ascension of Raja Ijau, Patani's first queen. From 992/1584 onward, Patani's *orangkaya* appear more involved in court affairs and commerce, a position they retained until the collapse of the court following the final stages of Patani's intermittent sixty-year war against Ayudhya, 1043-1105/1634-94.

There is ample evidence for active social competition within the walls of the royal palace which was the most dynamic space for social and cultural capital acquisition in the pre-1785 period. Leading *orangkaya* contended for positions of prestige within the court, the chief of which was the position of *bendahara*[40] (prime minister), who oversaw the court treasury as well as providing the raja with counsel. The *bendahara* was the most powerful social actor other than

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[38] This is a brief list of the sort of prominent characters that appear in the *Hikayat Patani*.
[39] Anthony Reid, "The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," *JSEAS* 11, no. 2 (Sep 1980): 247; John Villiers, "The Cash-crop Economy and State Formation in the Spice Islands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, eds. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990): 91.
[40] Jawi: بندهار

the raja and even managed to seriously threaten the power of the ruler in at least one instance, following the succession of Raja Ijau.[41] Much later, with the court in great disarray following the second phase of the sixty-year Patani-Siam War with Ayudhya (1081-1105/1671-94) ambitious *bendahara* even seized the position of raja or promoted their own puppet candidates to the throne.[42] Thus the *bendahara* commanded a strong retinue of followers who played a key role in his success in the political arena. Some *bendahara* were granted estates by the raja, such as Saiburi, which provided him considerable sway over local affairs.[43] The *bendahara* thus became a central figure in all court maneuverings and a possible counterweight to the raja's ability to exercise power. At the same time, there is ample evidence that no single family monopolized the position of *bendahara* and that many *orangkaya* fought for the position within the court thus making it the single greatest prize for competitors in the political arena.[44]

Another key position for Patani, like many other ports caught in the upswing of Southeast Asian economies during the "Age of Commerce" was that of *shahbandar*[45] (harbormaster). Occupants of this position were entrusted with the duty to collect port dues, establish good relations with important merchant groups, maintain the peace between rival merchants, and be well-versed in a variety of languages including Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, Thai, and other languages as well as multiple dialects of Chinese and Malay.[46] The *shahbandar* was the chief economic official in Patani and held the ear of the raja in trade negotiations. When new

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[41] LC 1839: 42-6; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 100-3, 173-5.

[42] LC 1839: 74-8, 83-88; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 128-31, 136-40, 197-201, 205-10.

[43] LC 1839: 26; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 87, 163.

[44] LC 1839: 78-80; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 132-3, 201-2.

[45] Jawi: شاهباندر

[46] B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, Volume 2: *Ruler and Realm in Early Java* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1957): 238.

merchants arrived at port, they naturally approached the *shahbandar* before addressing the raja

directly, as evidenced by Peter Floris's mission as well as numerous Dutch accounts.[47]

In military matters, the *laksamana*[48] (admiral) was preeminent and led the raja's armies in

battle. In such a volatile political atmosphere, distinguishing oneself in battle was a particularly

dynamic way to rise in the raja's favor. Especially during the period of intermittent war with

Siam, 1043-1105/1634-94, battlefield prowess and tactical expertise were potent sources for the

improvement of social status. Returning heroes might be granted official positions at court, local

estates, or the opportunity to serve the raja in new ways that would expand a person's future

influence or status.

Other influential positions included the *datuk besar*[49] (great lord)[50], *maharajalela*[51] (chief

security officer), and many *menteri*[52] (court officers), soldiers, and dignitaries. *Orangkaya* also

wielded great influence through their ability to mobilize their retinue of followers, servants, and

slaves. The assassins who took part in the slaying of Sultan Patik Siam and his aunt-regent Raja

Aisyah in 980/1573, and Sultan Bahdur in 992/1584, both served leading *orangkaya* including

the half-brother of the latter, Raja Bima, whose plot to take control of the palace failed.[53] These

episodes show that assassins, perhaps members of an individual *orangkaya*'s entourage of

followers, played critical roles in palace politics during troubled times and might be seen as an

extension of the power of their benefactors who exhibited their strength through the actions of

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[47] W. H. Mooreland, *Peter Floris: His Voyage to the East Indies in the* Globe, *1611-1615*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, v. 74 (London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1934): 34; H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, v. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938): 10.
[48] Jawi: لاكسمانا
[49] Jawi: داتق بسر
[50] L. F. van Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias van Vliet's Description of the Kingdom of Siam," *JSS* 7 (1910): 37; Dhiravat na Pombejra, *A Political History of Siam Under the Prasatthong Dynasty 1629-1688* (Ph.D. Diss., University of London: 1984): 158.
[51] Jawi: مهاراجليلا
[52] Jawi: منتري
[53] LC 1839: 35-42; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 95-100, 168-73.

their servants. Because of the great importance of elephants to Patani cosmologically, militarily, and economically, a high status was reserved for elephant tamers, trainers, and doctors, evidenced by one of the stories in the *Hikayat Patani*. This is perhaps the clearest example of an *orangkaya* gaining royal favor, having titles and lands bestowed upon him, and his ability to preserve this prestige through his children and further progeny. It further shows that the local social milieu was far from static, as Cau Hang, in this case, was a foreigner who quickly rose to high status in Patani.

Others participated in local and regional plays for political power via marriage negotiations, which involved the wedded individuals, parents, siblings and extended family, and quite often the royal court itself.[54] Marriage-eligible family members, whether men or women, were valuable sources of social capital for powerful elites who sought to extend their own influence by arranging beneficial relations with desirable allies. The earliest example of marriage negotiations that bore political repercussions is when Sultan Iskandar Shāh of Melaka married the daughter of the raja of Patani.[55] A new, but powerful player on the peninsula, the favor of Melaka was of great importance to the rajas of Patani, who were clearly seeking to enhance their position against Siam. In the sixteenth century, Raja Aisyah (d. 980/1573), sister of Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh and Sultan Manṣūr Shāh of Patani, married Raja Jalal of Saiburi.[56] This marriage might be seen as a clear maneuver by the rulers of Patani to solidify their control over their nearest notable neighbor, Saiburi, while at the same time the leader of the latter gained some influence at the Patani court as a regional political player. Patani maintained close ties with both Pahang and Johor in this fashion, when Raja Ungu, Patani's third queen, married the

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[54] Though as Floris noted, these marriage alliances could sometimes provide reason for dispute between the neighboring sultanates. Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 72-3.

[55] W. G. Shellabear, ed. *Sejarah Melayu* (Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1975): 52.

[56] LC 1839: 19; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 82, 158.

raja of Pahang.[57] Raja Ungu's daughter, Raja Kuning, married the Raja of Siak who was the brother of Sultan 'Alā'ud-dīn Ri'āyat Shāh II of Johor.[58] Following the fall of Batu Sawar to Aceh in 1021/1613, for example, the Sultan of Pahang fled to Patani where he sought refuge until it was safe to return. In 1048/1639, in a parallel conflict between Aceh and Johor, the ruler of the latter sought refuge in Patani for two years while he negotiated assistance from the Dutch against Aceh.[59] Marriage negotiations were at the center of the building of the Patani-Johor-Pahang-Portuguese Melaka alliance that rose as a counterweight to Acehnese, Ayudhyan, and Dutch power in the straits and peninsula in the 1620s and 1630s before finally being dealt a major blow with the Dutch capture of Melaka in 1050/1641. Even as late as 1055/1645 there is evidence of Johor's prince still holding considerable influence at the Patani court at which time an internal dispute led to his expulsion.[60]

Patani's alliances naturally required able diplomats and spies who furthered the raja's influence and reported intelligence back to Patani. As early as 929/1523, Patani was a center of regional diplomatic activity that involved a wide array of actors including neighboring Malay sultanates, the Chinese, the Portuguese, Siamese, and others.[61] Diplomats and spies played a crucial role in building the allied fleet that dealt Aceh its critical defeat off the coast of Melaka in 1038/1629, for example, and thus these officials gained great prestige in Patani.[62] Diplomats also went regularly to Batavia and other regional trade centers to encourage merchants to come to their ports and to report the opening of new trade channels or important political news such as

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[57] LC 1839: 30; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 91, 165.
[58] LC 1839: 51-4; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 107-10, 179-81; Bassett 1969: 431.
[59] D. K. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics, 1629-c. 1655," *JSEAH* 10, no. 3 (1969): 432, 434, 438.
[60] LC 1839: 59-66; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 115-21, 186-90; Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics," 445; D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 4th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981): 372.
[61] Chang Tien-Tse, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644: A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources* (Leyden: Late E. J. Brill, 1934): 60-1.
[62] Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics," 430; Hall, *History of South-East Asia*, 369; Bernard H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago*, European Business: Four Centuries of Expansion series (New York: Arno Press, 1977): 109.

alliances, wars, and so forth.[63] In 1065-6/1655-6, for example, an alliance between Aceh, Banten, Patani, Perak, Johor, Makassar, and Mataram threatened to expel Dutch merchants from their ports as a way of fighting against Dutch trade hegemony.[64] Diplomats and spies were crucial to the functioning of the sultanate and gained prestige both home and abroad through their service.

The cultural and social capital Patani's *orangkaya* accumulated and preserved in their lineages was mobile, and as a Patani-Malay merchant diaspora grew in the seventeenth century, many were able to transfer their prestige at home into powerful positions abroad. When internal turmoil in Patani in the 1620s led to the departure of Datuk Maharajalela, a leading *orangkaya*, he quickly became the leader of the Malay diaspora community in Makassar where he was famed for his charisma and prowess in battle.[65] In another case, Entji Ahmat, an *orangkaya* from Patani, became the leader of the Batavia Malay community and served the VOC as writer, translator, diplomat, and protocol officer.[66] These two examples show that opportunities existed for Patani *orangkaya* to take their newly gained status abroad if they found conditions at home unsuitable. Furthermore, this indicates that the forms of cultural and social capital they accumulated in Patani found value in a regional exchange—in regions with a shared cultural grammar—built along cultural, linguistic, and religious lines that provided the Patani *orangkaya*

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[63] Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics," 432.

[64] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asian in the Age of Commerce*, Volume 2: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993): 320.

[65] Entji Amin, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War)*, ed. and trans. C. Skinner, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, v. 40 ('s-Gravenhage: Martin Nijhoff, 1963): 240; "De Kapitein Melajoe te Makassar (1920)," *Adatrechtbundels* 31 (1929): 110; A. A. Cense, "Maleise Invloeden in het Oostelijk Deel van de Indonesische Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 134 (1978): 425; Anthony Reid, "The Rise of Makassar," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17 (1983): 139-40; Heather Sutherland, "The Makassar Malays: Adaptation and Identity, c. 1660-1790," in *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity Across Boundaries*, ed. Timothy P. Barnard (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004): 80.

[66] The name is the Dutch transliteration of Encik Ahmad. Ibid., 80.

deeper bonds with the wider Malay community throughout the region than any other single group.

Patani in the Mandala *Matrices*

Having focused upon social competition at the local level in the previous sections, we now must look at how cumulative social actions fueled critical macro-level political relations. Prior to 1199/1785, Patani had always been a mid-level power involved in several overlapping *mandalas*. The volatile relationship between polities within the *mandala* system was its defining characteristic as political elites of subjected polities waited for opportunities to seize supreme position within the hierarchy. Each ruler projected his or her power as far as possible and contended with innumerable rivals both near and far in what Stanley Tambiah termed a "galactic polity."[67] There was always competition for supreme position within the *mandala* or for autonomy as a *mandala* and this caused constant tension between distant but powerful centers such as Ayudhya, Burma, and Melaka, which all fought to control the peninsula and other parts of Southeast Asia. The structure of the *mandala* was based often on personal loyalty to a particular sovereign, but the bonds quickly disintegrated at the death of the overlord, as exhibited by the Patani "rebellions" following dynastic change in Ayudhya in 1038/1629 and 1099/1688.

A *mandala*'s strength was generally based upon its ability to acquire and control a workforce.[68] Patani's population, like that of other polities in the period, is difficult to estimate, though we may gain some sense of its size from travel accounts. Anthony Reid estimated that Patani's urban population was approximately 20,000 in 1010/1602, based on the Dutch traders

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[67] S. J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976): 102-24.
[68] O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, revised ed., Southeast Asia Program Publications (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999): 20.

who observed a royal procession of 4,000-5,000 people.[69] Reid thus placed Patani in the second

tier of Southeast Asian cities alongside Ava, Kim-long, Mrauk-u, Pnompenh, Surabaya, and

Vientiane, all of which peaked around 20-50,000 in the seventeenth century.[70] In 1035/1626,

however, Patani sent 100 ships and 9,000 soldiers against Aceh, which suggests its total

population to be considerably higher than Reid's estimates.[71] In 1048/1639, Mandelslo

estimated Patani's total fighting men to number 180,000, a number repeated by the Dutchman

John Nieuhoff in 1072/1662, citing the ability of the ruler to conscript a substantial peasant

population.[72] While this number may be an exaggeration, Mandelslo and Nieuhoff appear to be

the only observers who considered the rural as well as the urban populations of Patani. Japanese

estimates in 1101/1690 placed the urban population around 10-20,000 people.[73] In any event, it

has oft been noted that Patani produced less than half of its own food and thus relied heavily

upon trade to maintain its population, particularly in the seventeenth century.[74] Furthermore, if

the Javanese slave rebellion in Patani on October 4, 1613 is any indication of the volatility of the

orangkaya's labor force, it is clear that the position of the elite could quickly disintegrate if their

control of manpower faltered.[75]

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[69] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 71, 73.
[70] Reid, "Structure of Cities," 237-9; Anthony Reid, "Economic and Social Change, c. 1400-1800," in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Volume 1: *From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 473.
[71] Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Vanishing *Jong*: Insular Southeast Asian Fleets in Trade and War (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid, Asia East by South (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 212.
[72] Nieuhoff believed that the urban settlements could provide 10,000 soldiers by themselves. John Nieuhoff, "Mr. John Nieuhoff's Remarkable Voyages and Travels into Brazil, and the Best Parts of the East-Indies," in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, some now First Printed from Original Manuscripts*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Nester-Row, 1704): 220.
[73] Ishii Yoneo, ed., *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia: Translations from the* Tosen Fusetsu-gaki, *1674-1723*, Data Paper Series, Sources for the Economic History of Southeast Asia, no. 6 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998): 119.
[74] Reid, "Economic and Social Change," 471.
[75] Sha'ban 19, 1022. Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 94-5.

As previously discussed, when Patani accepted the *nobat* drums from Melaka in the fifteenth century, it seems to have given some form of nominal obeisance in return. There is no further evidence of Patani offering tribute to Melaka, but it seems likely that there was an exchange between the two polities that has gone unrecorded. Patani's relationship with Ayudhya is clearer, given that tribute appeared regularly in Siam's center from at least the late fourteenth century onwards. Patani may have paid obeisance to Nakhon Si Thammarat[76] as early as 596/1200, as David Wyatt claims, but the chronicles that make these claims were recorded much later and may reflect a projection of conditions from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries back upon earlier times.[77] Much later, in 789/1397, Patani ousted Paremesvara from Singapore, supposedly on command from Ayudhya.[78] Patani seems to have maintained a rivalry with Melaka until some point in the fifteenth century when the former was finally defeated and it is likely that at that time Melaka bestowed the *nobat* drums to pull Patani into its political orbit.[79] The balance between Melaka and Ayudhya on the peninsula was unalterably changed when the Portuguese conquered Melaka in 916/1511. From that point forward, Ayudhyan power on the peninsula, particularly in the northern areas including Kedah, Kelantan, Patani, and Trengganu, grew because there was no counterweight to oppose it. Yet great fluidity remained within the

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[76] *Ligor* in Malay and British sources, hereafter referred to as "Nakhon."

[77] David K. Wyatt, "Mainland Powers on the Malay Peninsula, 1000-1511," in *Studies in Thai History: Collected Articles*, ed. David K. Wyatt (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1994): 33.

[78] Christopher H. Wake, "Malacca's Early Kings and the Reception of Islam," *JSEAH* 5, no. 2 (1964): 117; O. W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History* (London: Lund Humphries Publishers, 1970): 115-6.

[79] Armando Cortesão, ed. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to China, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues Pilot-Major of the Armada that Discovered Banda and the Moluccas, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, vol. 2, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, second series (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1944): 232; Wake, "Malacca's Early Kings," 117; Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *The Malay Sultanate of Malacca: A Study of Various Aspects of Malacca in the 15th and 16th Centuries in Malaysian History*, trans. D. J. Muzaffar Tate (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992): 145.

political relationships and the peninsular polities were only loosely tied to Ayudhya because of Siam's general lack of naval power in the early centuries.[80]

On a more regional scale, Patani was positioned atop a local *mandala* that included Saiburi, Kelantan, at times Trengganu, and countless smaller polities and local chieftains. Hashim claims that Kelantan was the greater power until the armies of Sultan Mansur Shāh of Melaka defeated Kelantan in the fifteenth century.[81] Thereafter Patani rose to become the most powerful polity in the region and after the fall of Melaka became the premier east coast port north of Johor. After the 1785-6 war between Patani and Siam, Kelantan again became the superior polity, a matter to which I will return in chapter two.

Tribute and Revolt: Ayudhya-Patani Relations, 970-1105/1563-1694

As long as a strong ruler existed in Ayudhya, Patani did not resist paying tribute to its northern neighbor in the form of the *bunga emas*[82] (gold flowers).[83] But whenever an opportunity to "rebel" against the power of Ayudhya arose, Patani did so. We must first qualify the term rebellion, because it intones legitimacy to the greater power—something Siam constantly sought to reinforce and which Patani, like many other polities caught in the *mandala* web, often considered unjustified. In 971/1564, when a Burmese army moved to attack Ayudhya, King Chakkraphat requested assistance from Patani, one of the obligations a powerful *mandala* might expect of its vassals in return for the protection it offered.[84] However, as the

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[80] LC 1839: 54; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 110, 182.

[81] Hashim, *Malay Sultanate of Malacca*, 38.

[82] Jawi: بوڠا امس

[83] Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias van Vliet's Description," 37; Wayne A. Bougas, *The Kingdom of Patani: Between Thai and Malay mandalas*, Occasional Paper on the Malay World, no. 12 (Selangor: Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1994): 65-7; Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, *Thai-Malay Relations: Traditional Intra-regional Relations from the Seventeenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*, East Asian Historical Monographs, ed. Wang Gungwu (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988): 42-3.

[84] Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description," 37.

Ayudhyan army suffered defeat against its enemy, Patani turned and occupied the city for a brief period, supported by a fleet of 200 ships, before the returning army managed to expel Patani's force.[85] Patani's Sultan Muẓāffar Shāh died in the fighting but entrusted rule to his brother Sultan Manṣūr Shāh who he compelled to return by ship to Patani.[86] Interestingly, in the *Hikayat Patani*, this episode is only remembered as an attack on Siam, never mentioning tributary obligations or Patani's change of heart during the conflict because the authors were not interested in supporting such claims.[87]

In the 1630s, following the coup that placed King Prasartthong upon the throne of Ayudhya, Patani refused to pay tribute to the new king.[88] Former Patani rulers had generally taken the title *peracau*, bestowed by the Ayudhyan king, but Raja Ungu, the third of the Patani queens, refused to take the title which inferred obeisance to Ayudhya.[89] She and the *datuk besar* carried out the "rebellion" calling King Prasartthong "a rascal, murderer, and traitor," who had no legitimate claim to rule as a usurper, a position that rulers of other polities also took.[90] Patani attacked Phattalung and Songhkla in 1039/1630 and seized two Siamese merchant vessels bound for Batavia.[91] Raja Ungu further refused to negotiate with the Dutchman Anthonij Caen sent as a Siamese envoy to negotiate peace in 1041/1632.

This time Patani carried out a sustained "rebellion" against Ayudhyan political encroachment following three decades of profitable trade and bolstered by close relations with

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[85] W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam from the Earliest Times to the Year A.D. 1781, with a Supplement Dealing with More Recent Events* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1926): 119.

[86] LC 1839: 23-24; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 85, 160-1.

[87] LC 1839: 18-24; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 81-6, 157-61.

[88] Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description," 37.

[89] The title has been Romanized in a number of ways including *prachao*, *phraocao*, and *pra'tJiau*. This title is taken from the Thai, "phra chao," meaning king. One Dutch observer in 1623 referred to "Patani in the south of Siam." G. J. Hoogewerff, ed., *Journalen van de Gedenckwaerdige Reijsen van Willem Ijsbrantsz 1618-1625* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952): 93.

[90] Japan, Lampang, and Cambodia also refused to send tribute to the new king. Quoted in Wood, *History of Siam*, 176-7; Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description," 37; Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 158.

[91] Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description," 37.

Johor, Pahang, and Portuguese Melaka.[92] The four peninsular powers had been gradually drawn

together in the 1620s in opposition to growing Acehnese naval power in the straits.[93] Aceh had

by then developed a near-monopoly over Sumatran pepper and sought to defeat the peninsular

states in order to consolidate its military and political power on both sides of the straits. The

Johor-Pahang-Patani-Portuguese Melaka allied fleets defeated Aceh in a great naval battle just

off of the coast of Melaka in 1038/1629 in which Patani played a significant role.[94] Patani had

also strengthened its relationship with other Malay polities through skilful marriage alliances,

previously discussed. Whether via political interests or familial bonds, Patani had, by

1039/1630, bolstered its political position in relation to Ayudhya.[95] Furthermore, the conflict of

the 1630s between Patani and Ayudhya might be seen as one episode in a larger straits-

peninsular war.

In response to Patani's refusal to pay tribute, Ayudhya mustered an army of nearly

60,000 soldiers with elephants, horses, artillery, and ammunition and attacked Patani in May

1634.[96] King Prasartthong also sent a small fleet of "forty junks and galleys with ammunition

and the necessary provisions" to Patani.[97] This fleet, even in comparison to Patani's forces

alone, was inadequate to make any impact upon the invasion. Patani is known to have sent 100

ships against Aceh in 1035/1626 and likely increased its forces by the greater 1038/1629 battle,

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[92] DR 1640-1: 85-6.

[93] The alliance formed despite open warfare between Johor and Pahang as late as September 1612, though the former afterward fell to Aceh by July 1613. Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 41, 81; D. K. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics," 430. Schrieke also claims that Patani allied with Kedah against Aceh in 1619. B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*, vol. 1 (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1955): 53-4.

[94] Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay politics," 430; Hall, *History of South-East Asia*, 369; Vlekke, *Nusantara*, 109.

[95] In 1633, Ayudhya attempted unsuccessfully to forge an alliance with Aceh against both the Portuguese and Patani. W. Linehan, "A History of Pahang," *JMBRAS* 14 (1936): 39; Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 167.

[96] Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description," 38.

[97] Ibid.

mentioned above.[98] When one considers also the strength of the fleets of Pahang, Johor, and Portuguese Melaka, it quickly becomes apparent that Siam's naval forces were insufficient to have any significant bearing upon the battle and their failure deprived the land troops of necessary supplies.[99] Johor and Pahang alone are said to have sent "fifty large Malay galleons" and 5,000 soldiers.[100] To add to Siam's problems, a Dutch fleet intended to assist Ayudhyan forces against Patani failed to arrive until early June, by which time the battle had already turned against the Siamese.[101]

On land, the fighting was much bloodier than at sea, but Patani forces eventually forced the Ayudhyan soldiers into retreat. Patani endured a month-long siege during which tactical blunders and a shortage of provisions played a role in the defeat of the invading army.[102] Only when King Prasartthong raised another army in 1044/1635 for the same purpose did the sultan of Kedah intercede and convince Raja Ungu and her advisors to acquiesce to Ayudhya's demands.[103] Finally envoys appeared in Ayudhya in October of that year stating that Raja Ungu was now prepared to make payments of *bunga emas* once again.[104] King Prasartthong sent a diplomatic mission to Patani, now ruled by Raja Ungu's daughter Raja Kuning, that eventually precipitated Patani's *bunga emas* arriving in Ayudhya in March 1636.[105] When envoys from Patani arrived in Ayudhya in 1049/1640, they were accompanied by an emissary from Sultan

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[98] Manguin, "Vanishing *Jong*," 212.

[99] Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay politics," 431.

[100] DR 1631-4: 432.

[101] The Dutch nevertheless made a symbolic attack on six empty junks and captured a few Patani prisoners whom they took to Ayudhya to defray accusations that the failure of the invasion had been their fault. Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description," 39-40; Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 178, 180.

[102] Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's Description,' 39-40; Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 178.

[103] GM I: 516; Ravenswaay, "Translation of Jeremias Van Vliet's description," 41.

[104] Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 183.

[105] DR 1636: 55.

'Abd al-Jalīl III of Johor who also presented a letter and gifts to the king of Siam, perhaps indicating that via Patani, Ayudhya had also drawn Johor into its orbit, at least temporarily.[106]

By the mid-1640s, the Patani-Johor-Pahang-Portuguese alliance had disintegrated, largely because of Melaka's capture by the Dutch. Thus in the decades following, Patani fostered closer relationships with its peninsular neighbours, particularly Songhkla. Peaceful relations only existed between Ayudhya and Patani for a decade, for in 1056/1646 Kedah and Songhkla rose in "rebellion." Patani and other neighbouring tributary-states of Ayudhya joined the revolt the following year.[107] King Prasartthong mustered an army of 15,000 soldiers and sixty warships and sent them south in 1056/1646 to quell the forces of the Kedah-Patani-Songkhla alliance. A second force, amounting to 7,000 soldiers recruited from Nakhon, was supposed to join the main force, but failed to do so. The military expedition failed in suppressing the peninsular polities and the Ayudhyan king set about organizing a second army in 1057-8/1647-8. Meanwhile, Songhkla subjugated Phattalung because it had provided troops to Siam the previous year.[108] Siam continued to rely upon Dutch support, who obtained trade monopolies over tin and hides in exchange for their assistance, but artillery from Batavia failed to arrive before a second defeat had been endured by the Ayudhyan army.[109] Having survived the two previous invasions, Songhkla led a counter-attack in 1058/1649, fully supported with the armies of Patani and Phattalung, and conquered Nakhon Si Thammarat.[110] This time Siam responded with an army of 25,000 soldiers, 300 elephants, and many horses, as well as a fleet of twenty ships operated by Dutch soldiers and sailors. Finally Ayudhya defeated the peninsular polities and they agreed to

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[106] Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics," 432.

[107] Davisakd Puaksom, "Ayudhya in Patani's Grasp: The Relations Between a Buddhist and a Muslim state in a Historical Perspective," First Inter-Dialogue Conference on Southern Thailand (Pattani, Thailand, Jun. 2002): 7; David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982): 111; Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 227-8.

[108] Ibid., 228.

[109] Ibid., 228-9.

[110] Ibid., 231.

again send annual payments of *bunga emas*, though Songhkla continued petty warfare with

Ayudhya throughout the period.

Through the 1650s and 1660s, Patani returned to paying annual tribute, though in the

1670s renewed conflict on the peninsula eventually led to Ayudhyan intervention. In 1080-

1/1670-71, war erupted between Patani and Songhkla, despite efforts by the sultan of Kedah to

mediate a peace accord.[111] Patani's advantage over Songhkla seems to have been its larger army,

for an English observer stated that the Songhkla soldiers were more experienced in the use of

firearms, including both muskets and cannons.[112] Feeling confident after conquering its

neighbor, Patani "rebelled" against Ayudhya in 1083/1673.[113] King Narai sent an Ayudhyan

army south which managed to capture Patani in January 1674.[114] A nobleman of Patani, second

in power only to the raja was said to be the cause of the "rebellion" and Ayudhyan forces

brought him back to the capital where he was put to death along with his two sons.[115] King

Narai then elevated a second Patani nobleman, a Raja Mansur, to the position of governor of

Phattalung in an attempt to increase Ayudhya's control of Songhkla. Upon succession in

Songhkla in 1087/1676, the son of the former ruler indeed visited Ayudhya to receive

confirmation of his position as raja, but his submission was short-lived.

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[111] David and Portman to Surat, 3 Feb. 1671, RR II: 101; English factors in Kedah in 1671 wrote, "Warrs between the Queen of Patana and the King of Singora continue still." Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, ed. Richard Carnac Temple, Series 2, no. 12 (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1905): 266.

[112] The letter stated that Patani's army was four times the size that of Songhkla's force. This also coincides with the population difference between the two polities likely due to Songhkla's two and a half decades of near-constant conflict with Siam. David and Portman to Surat, RR II: 101.

[113] The intrigue between Patani and its peninsular neighbors in the 1670s-80s plays out in Section V of the *Hikayat Patani*, which chronicles the many political players during the reign of Raja Emas Kelantan. Corroborating the events and key figures from the *Hikayat Patani* with Dutch and English records, I have previously revised Teeuw and Wyatt's chronology of this period. Francis R. Bradley, "Moral Order in a Time of Damnation: The *Hikayat Patani* in Historical Context," *JSEAS* 40, no. 2: 273-6. LC 1839: 83-8; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 136-40, 205-10.

[114] An English East India Company agent in Kedah claimed the war had ceased nine months prior with Siam as the victor. Letter of Burroughs to Surat, 28 Oct. 1674, RR II: 111.

[115] Ibid.

Later in 1087/1676, Kedah refused to pay tribute and the following year Patani and

Songhkla coordinated a "rebellion" against Ayudhya.[116] Patani had improved its military with

the importation of a large number of English firearms, which they received via Kedah.[117]

Furthermore, Siam suspected Patani and Johor to be planning an attack on Nakhon Si

Thammarat with 200 ships.[118] In 1089/1678, Ayudhya sent an army south, but it experienced a

number of initial setbacks. Sometime before February 1679 the Siamese governor of Phattalung

was poisoned, probably by an internal anti-Ayudhya faction, for the city then joined the other

polities in their war against Ayudhya.[119] Only by an alliance with Portuguese maritime forces,

which blockaded Songhkla, and Dutch ships, which bolstered the attack on Patani, were Siamese

armies able to secure victory.[120] Ayudhya even ordered for Dutch artillerists to raze Patani to the

ground if they managed to capture the city, but a shortage of resources compelled the Siamese,

Portuguese, and Dutch forces to concentrate more fully on Songkhla.[121] Though many people

died in the fighting, rampant starvation throughout the peninsula resulted in the greatest number

of casualties because of spoiled harvests, supply shortages, and coastal blockades.[122] No details

survive to tell how the various warring groups established peace, but tribute again appeared in

Ayudhya from Patani in November 1680.[123]

The conflicts between Ayudhya and Patani reached a climax in 1099/1688. When

Phetracha seized power in Ayudhya, Patani "rebelled" by attacking Songhkla in 1100/1689 with

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[116] The two year interval between the rebellions of 1674 and 1676 fits with the chronology given in the *Hikayat Patani*. LC 1839: 84-5; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 137, 206; DR 1676: 340; GM IV: 160.
[117] Potts to Siam Factors, 18 Sept. 1678, RR II: 178.
[118] DR 1678: 20.
[119] DR 1679: 563.
[120] Persian observers mention this conflict briefly when visiting the region about a decade after the conflict, though they seem to indicate that Patani had recovered by that time. John O'Kane, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, Persian Heritage Series, no. 11 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972): 218-9.
[121] William Strangh's Journal, 23 Nov. 1683, RR III: 234.
[122] GM IV: 380.
[123] Dhiravat, *Political History of Siam*, 339; GM IV: 662; O'Kane, *Ship of Sulaiman*, 219.

an army of approximately 10-15,000 soldiers.[124] Ayudhya then supported Songhkla in a counter-attack, defeating Patani the following year and forcing the raja to again send tribute to Ayudhya. By 1103/1692, Chinese and Japanese merchants and other travellers reported that Patani had "rebelled" again, though the reasons for refusing to pay tribute are unclear.[125] Ayudhya then attacked by sea and chased Raja Emas Kelantan and her people into the hills and mountains surrounding Patani, where their familiarity with the terrain allowed them to effectively evade any further attacks against them. In what skirmishes resulted, Patani defeated Siam's army of 6,000 soldiers, but its success was short-lived.[126] After frequent attempts at poisoning the river water failed to extricate the Siamese army from Patani, the queen eventually surrendered and promised to again send tribute to Ayudhya.[127]

"Rebellion" in the Social and Cultural Capital Index, 970-1105/1563-1694

As we have discussed, Patani expended considerable resources towards political "rebellion" against Ayudhyan control. These political moves were the result of innumerable social actions of not only Patani's rajas, but also its leading nobles, elite warrior families, naval commanders, diplomats, and other *orangkaya*. When taken together, these actions, while often done in concerted competition between internal factions, were set in opposition to an overwhelming external, if distant political force. Why did local elites risk so much to oppose Ayudhyan political control? Or more poignantly, why was political "rebellion," particularly in

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[124] Ishii, ed., *Junk Trade*, 115, 118.

[125] Ibid., 120, 122-4; O'Kane, *Ship of Sulaiman*, 219.

[126] Note that an initial Dutch report listed the Siamese casualties as 60,000, but later amended the number. See GM IV: pp. 464, 499; Dhiravat na Pombejra, "Ayutthaya at the End of the Seventeenth Century: Was There a Shift to Isolation?" in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid, Asia East by South series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 256-7.

[127] The tactic apparently inflicted frequent casualties, however. Ishii, ed., *Junk Trade*, 121-4; GM IV: 660.

the period 1043-1105/1634-94, the central dynamic of social action in the court? What stake did court elites have in the politics of the greater *mandala*?

The most obvious reasons for "rebellion" were the social benefits that its leaders might reap in the event of victory. Patani's political life was extremely volatile throughout the period as it struggled to remain the dominant east coast polity while resisting intrusions from Ayudhya. The brief Kelantanese resurgence in 1059-61/1649-51, during which Raja Kuning was deposed and a Kelantanese royal prince placed upon the throne by the invading armies was proof enough that one misstep could be disastrous for *orangkaya* with a vested interested in the survival of the court.[128] Each disruption jeopardized the cultural and social capital of the *orangkaya* because it drastically altered the accepted rules of social competition (even if social players still sought to exceed such limitations), redrew certain social barriers and norms, and established new criteria for social prestige and capital acquisition. The social "system" was in constant flux, but dramatic shifts caused the greatest social anxiety. Resulting social anguish gained a voice in the *Hikayat Patani*:

دان فد زمان مرحوم تلق داتس تخت كراجاانله يغ براوبه ٢ عادت ترتيب يغتله لالو دان حاسل نكري فون
تياداله دغن دكرنياٸ راج لاكي بارغ سكهندق هاتي سكل منتريفون برلاكوله كارن تياد سياف يغ منديريكن
عادت يغتله لالو ايت لاكي ماكين كباوه ماكين برتمبهله كورغث كارن دنيا سده لعنت الزمان[129]

Malay Transliteration:

Dan pada zaman Marhum Teluk diatas takhta kerajaanlah yang berubah-ubah adat tertib yang telah lalu dan hasil negeri pun tiadalah dengan dikaruniai raja lagi, barang sekehendak hati segala menteri pun berlakulah, karena tiada siapa yang mendirikan adat yang telah lalu itu lagi, makin kebawah makin bertambahlah kurangnya karena dunia sudah la'nat al-zaman.

Translation:

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[128] Recent scholarship has challenged Teeuw and Wyatt's established chronology by arguing for an earlier end to Raja Kuning's reign in 1649, rather than 1688 as originally proposed. This allows later sections of the chronology to match more easily with events of the 1670s and 1680s, while also offering an explanation for the establishment of the Kelantan Dynasty in Patani after the fall of Raja Kuning. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani* (Alor Setar: Pustaka Darussalam, 1994): 24-8; Bradley, "Moral Order in a Time of Damnation," 273-6.

[129] LC 1839: 80

During the time of Marhum Teluk's reign the rules and customs changed continually, and the wealth of the country was no longer granted according to royal favor. All of the ministers did whatever they liked for there was nobody who upheld the traditions—on the contrary, these traditions increasingly disappeared because the world had reached a time of damnation.

Marhum Teluk, the burial name for the first ruler of the Kelantan dynasty in Patani, was accompanied by a retinue of followers and competing elites that had an edge against Patani's entrenched *orangkaya*. Most threatening to the elites, however, were the changes to the accepted rules of social competition and the new outcomes that prevented them from taking social action as they had in the past. In essence, the dynastic change resulted in a change in the value attributed to cultural capital. This placed the *orangkaya* in a precarious position because titles or court positions appeared to lose their former prestige or were replaced by new positions filled by members of recently arrived competing factions. The memory of this apocalyptic moment is preserved in the *Hikayat Patani* detailing the social anguish the author and other elites experienced during the dynastic change.

The rise and fall of a viable social space in the royal palace was the principle social dynamic of the Patani Sultanate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the period of greatest political power, 992-1059/1584-1649, the raja and *orangkaya* contended with one another for control, acquisition, and accumulation of power vested in particular social forms. While fortunes were on the rise, these actors were able to hold considerable sway over the other two social spaces discussed in this chapter, but in the period of decline they were unable to maintain the social order which erupted into intense competition and fractured social divisions within local social hierarchies. Having concluded our discussion of cultural and social power in the political arena, I will now turn to an analysis of Patani's economic fortunes that afforded many elites an alternative to the fierce political feuds of the palace.

Part II – The Marketplace: Economic Capital in Patani before 1785

The economic arena in Patani society was the most volatile of the three social spaces discussed here, but it also afforded the most mobility for its participants when engaging with competitors from the other arenas of social competition. Whereas political power centered on a stationary space at the sacred center of Patani society, the marketplace was the bargaining ground for industrious merchants and "smugglers" who contended with one another for a share of the profit. Such capital gain was safer than in most other polities which, unlike Patani, were subject to arbitrary seizure by the raja or, at the very least, to constant interference from royal agents.[130] Nevertheless, economic action in the marketplace was often a means to a social end: namely, merchants attempted, sometimes unsuccessfully, to convert their economic capital into forms of cultural and social capital, particularly in the political arena because their social position was not guaranteed and fluctuated constantly according to the whim of the market. Furthermore, Patani's social dynamics afforded political elites greater esteem than even the most successful traveling traders. Others found that living among the wider Malay mercantile diaspora and the mobility it afforded the participants was the best method to employ economic capital in preserving and reproducing their elite status.

In practical terms, however, many merchants who operated in Patani were, in fact, court officials or nobles. The queen was active both as a manager of her merchant officials and as a lender to those who lacked the resources to purchase goods in the marketplace.[131] The *shahbandar* and other high-ranking court officials, as previously discussed, played a direct role

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[130] Nicolas Gervaise, *Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam* (Paris: Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, sur le second Perron de la Sainte Chappelle, 1688): 316-7; Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, ed. and tr. Rebecca D. Catz (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989): 68.
[131] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 75.

in trade negotiations with visiting merchants or wooing merchants to come to Patani when they were operating abroad.[132] The energy the court expended with concern to the marketplace shows that a great deal of political stability depended upon the growth and maintenance of the market as a viable option for both domestic and foreign merchants. During the period of rising economic fortunes, 895-1059/1490-1649, the marketplace was the breeding ground for new generations of skilled merchants whose social position was based upon their ability to contend for economic capital and their ingenuity to convert it into stable capital forms in other spaces. But as Patani's port began to decline after 1060/1650, and especially after 1101/1690, the merchants bore the brunt of the social anxiety that undermined their strategies for social reproduction. Economic space contracted and forced merchants either to relocate to other ports or to flee into the political arena, which was unfit to accommodate new players into the fold. The eighteenth century saw the political arena begin to erode as elites failed to develop new strategies to deal with the declining social realities.

Patani's rise as a mid-level economic power in the seventeenth century was the result of more than a century of elevated mercantile activity in the area. Caught in the general upswing of the Southeast Asian economy in the fifteenth century, Patani benefited from the growth of both the spice trade to India, the Middle East, and Europe, as well as the rise in Chinese trading networks. In addition, Patani naturally prospered due to the rise of Melaka, which imported gold from the region.[133] By the end of the fifteenth century, Patani was on course for its economic rise and gained its greatest prominence in the latter half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. Since the fate of Patani's *orangkaya* who chose to contend for economic

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[132] Ibid., 34-5; Bowrey, *Geographical Account*, 242. The *shahbandar* was the highest ranking official in many Malay ports who oversaw all maritime trade activities. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, II: 238.
[133] Marie Antoinette Petronella Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962): 81.

capital in the marketplace was tied intimately with the rising and falling trade fluctuations, I have

chosen to address Patani's economic history in five distinct phases detailed below. The first

phase witnessed the opening of trade relations between Patani and Ryukyu. The rise in

commercial activity soon led to a second phase during which Patani engaged more directly with

the trade of the south China coast, exchanging pepper for porcelain and silk. Having tapped into

the rich trade of East Asia, Patani soon attracted a large Chinese merchant diaspora. Possessing

valuable connections throughout the South China Sea, Patani soon attracted Japanese merchants

to port who, combined with its China trade, made it one of the first ports of call for European

trading companies during the fourth phase. Finally, after dynastic change in the mid-seventeenth

century and the rise of Dutch monopolies, Patani's market gradually declined until the 1690s

when it suddenly and irrevocably collapsed.

Phase 1: Patani-Ryukyu Trade Relations, 895-949/1490-1543

The growth of relations between Patani and Ryukyu allowed the sultanate to establish

itself as one of the main pepper markets of the South China Sea. The first phase in the rise of

Patani as a regional trade center began in approximately 895/1490 when Ryukyu started sending

mercantile missions to Patani as part of a broader trade it had carried out with a number of

Southeast Asian ports since the 1440s such as Ayudhya, Melaka, Palembang, northern Javanese

polities, and others.[134] The *Rekidai Hoan* records these exchanges and shows that the Ryukyuans

mainly traded Chinese porcelain and silk for pepper and sapan wood, one of a number of local

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[134] Ishii even speculates that trade between Ryukyu and Patani began earlier but records of this activity have not survived. Ishii Yoneo, "The Ryukyu in Southeast Asian Trade in the 15th and 16th Centuries," in *Asian Panorama: Essays in Asian History, Past and Present*, eds. K. M. de Silva, et al. (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1990): 358.

aromatic woods for which the Patani region had been famous for many centuries.[135] Four key factors played a role in the emergence of the Patani-Ryukyu network as outlined below.

Patani's Chinese community first appeared during the time of Zheng He's expeditions, 807-36/1405-33. There are no records that show the exact number of people who settled in the area at that time, but one writer recorded that the Chinese had settled in such great numbers in the region that "their heels touched each other."[136] When they came to Patani, they brought with them knowledge of safe maritime routes to China and their participation in extensive trade networks soon tied Patani to Ryukyu, Fujian, and other southern Chinese regions. Other local traders in Patani undoubtedly soon joined the growing Chinese community in the commercial activity in the region.

Following the Chinese official ban on maritime trade in 836/1433 there had been a steady decline in Ming maritime power, resulting in the development of a number of illicit trading networks, but mainly placing trade in the hands of merchants operating out of Ryukyu.[137] This island kingdom was strategically situated south of Japan, east of the great sea emporium of Ningpo, and north of Taiwan and the Fujian coast where trade activity was the highest in all of maritime China. Many merchants from Fujian came to settle near the Ryukyuan capital of Okinawa after the establishment of the official trade ban and were among the most active in the Patani-Ryukyu network. Via well-established and well-maintained tributary relations with the

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[135] Kobata Atsushi and Matsuda Mitsugu, *Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Sea Countries: An Annotated Translation of Documents in the* Rekidai Hoan (Kyoto: Kobata Atsushi,1969): 177-82; the Chinese had considered the Patani region (and its progenitor Langkasuka) the best source of aromatic woods that came to their markets. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961): 265; Bougas, *Kingdom of Patani*, 4.

[136] Chang 1618 in Chang Pin-Tsun, "The First Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century," in *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade*, eds. Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991): 20.

[137] Chang Pin-Tsun, "Maritime Trade and Local Economy in Late Ming Fukien," in *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. E. B. Vermeer (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990): 67; Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 15.

Ming court, Ryukyu emerged from 846/1443 onwards as the major player in East Asian trade. Through Ryukyu's network, the ports of Southeast Asia that had traditionally relied upon trade with China for the prosperity of their own economies had access to a steady flow of Chinese goods into their markets.[138]

Patani was also evidently developing its own pepper-producing areas in the interior of the Peninsula and continued to do so throughout the period. It may well have been the aromatic wood of the region that first brought Ryukyuan traders there, but pepper soon became the primary commodity of trade. Patani's pepper-growing regions continued to expand over the following century.[139] Patani never rivaled other pepper markets such as Sunda, Melaka (before 917/1511), or Aceh, but its close proximity to southern China likely played a role in the development of the port into one of the major centers for the pepper-porcelain trade.

The fall of Melaka in 917/1511 initially brought much greater benefit to the pepper-traders of the South China Sea than to the Portuguese, who spent the following four decades attempting to tap into the Chinese market with only limited success.[140] A new network emerged almost immediately in which pepper from Patani, Sunda, and Pahang was drawn northwards into the ports of Ryukyu and Fujian. This shift away from Melaka allowed for trade between Patani and Ryukyu to reach its height in the years 913-49/1508-43.[141] No quantities can be estimated, but the largest number of surviving documents date from that period. Other than the major commodities already mentioned, Ryukyu also imported camphor, gold, tin, ivory, sandalwood,

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[138] Chang, "First Chinese Diaspora," 20; Ishii, "Ryukyu in Southeast Asian Trade, 356.

[139] Tomé Pires spoke highly of Patani as a center for the China Sea pepper trade and seemed to indicate that Patani became the center of trade along the entire east coast of the Malay-Thai Peninsula, its only significant rival at that time being Pahang; Cortesão, *Tomé Pires*, 110, 268.

[140] Donald Ferguson, *Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton written in 1534 and 1536* (Bombay: Education Society's Steam Press, 1902): 94, 100, 156, 163. This has been dealt with extensively in the secondary literature and is only discussed here briefly to highlight the role of the shifting networks for Patani. Roderich Ptak, "The Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese (c. 1511 to 1540s): Allies or Competitors?" in *Anais de Historia de Alem-Mar*, vol. 3 (2002): 447-67.

[141] Kobata and Matsuda, *Ryukyuan Relations*, 181-2.

bezoar stones,[142] dried prawns, birds' nests, beeswax, and dried buffalo and deer meat from

Patani[143] in exchange for its own sulfur and horses, Chinese porcelain, silk, other cloth, copper

coins, iron, ironware, and grain, and Japanese weapons, armor, and gold handicrafts.[144]

The shift in trade from Melaka to Patani also represents a massive influx of Islamic

merchants who linked the sultanate into wider networks of the early sixteenth century which

boosted the port's position *vis-à-vis* its neighbors. These networks stretched as far as south

Sulawesi where the Portuguese noted Patani merchants as one of the most active groups of

merchants by the 1540s.[145] Through this process of expansion, Patani merchants also played a

role in the forging of diplomatic and religious bonds with rulers across the region in places such

as Gowa, Makassar, and elsewhere.[146] The establishment of Portuguese power in Melaka,

however, severed what had been vital maritime trade routes through the straits, and thus cross-

peninsular trade rose in the decades following, particularly the Kedah-Patani route along which

merchants made use of interior rivers for part of the journey.[147] These overland routes, forged by

Islamic merchants from both sides of the peninsula, kept trade between prominent Indian Ocean

trade emporia and Patani alive throughout the sixteenth century. Further evidence that Melaka's

workforce shifted to Patani can be seen in Peter Floris's observations of the Javanese slave

rebellion in 1022/1613 when the discontented workers burned much of the city.[148] Their

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[142] Bezoar stones, produced in the stomachs of goats, were used as medicine against internal poisoning, poisoned wounds, and a host of other illnesses. Pedro Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his 'Kings of Hormuz' and Extracts from his 'Kings of Persia'*, ed. and tr. William F. Sinclair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1902): 230.

[143] Patani did not export rhinoceros horn, as claimed by the Dutch merchant John Huyghen van Linschoten. He seems to have confused Patani with Patna, a polity on the Bay of Bengal near the Ganges. Arthur Coke Burnell and P. A. Tiele, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1884): 8-10; Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario: Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten Naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579-1592*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910): 206-7. A clarification between the states of Patani and Patna has appeared. Bowrey, *Geographical Account*, 222.

[144] Sakamaki Shunzo, "Ryukyu and Southeast Asia," *JAS* 23, no. 3 (1964): 387.

[145] Reid, "Rise of Makassar," 137.

[146] J. Noorduyn, "De Islamisering van Makasar," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 112 (1956): 249.

[147] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 59.

[148] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 94-5.

existence in Patani in such great numbers suggests that the sultanate absorbed at least a portion of Melaka's underclass of laborers and craftsmen who served as a valuable asset in a region where the scarcity of manpower was commonplace.

Ultimately, Ryukyu's hold on trade with Patani and other Southeast Asian ports weakened during the 1520s and 1530s because of three inter-related factors.[149] First and foremost, "pirate" fleets originating along the coast of Fujian preyed upon ships that passed through their waters, a route that Ryukyuan ships took when accessing Southeast Asian ports other than Luzon. The shift of trade into the hands of Fujian merchants will be discussed fully in the next phase, but here it may suffice to say that Ryukyu steadily lost out to Fujian merchants and ceased to be a major factor in Patani trade by mid-century. Patani merchants engaged in the profitable pepper and porcelain trade may not have cared with whom they traded as long as they had continued access to Chinese goods. Furthermore, Fujian was geographically closer and thus shipments returned more easily and quickly to Patani and the other pepper ports. Unlike the Ryukyu-based traders, the merchants of Fujian employed more aggressive tactics when dealing with coastal authorities and, at times, with each other. Perhaps most crucial was the influx of Portuguese firearms that enhanced the ability of Fujian seafarers to wage war on their enemies.[150] The Portuguese were new arrivals and, in their attempt to gain access to Chinese porcelain and silk, opened up new trading links with the merchants of Fujian and, to a lesser extent, those of Guangdong. The first phase of Patani's commercial success came to a close but was succeeded by another period of even greater economic activity as the Patani-Fujian-Portuguese networks triumphed decisively over the trade missions of Ryukyu.

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[149] Sakamaki, "Ryukyu and Southeast Asia," 388-9.
[150] Roderick Ptak, "Reconsidering Melaka and Central Guangdong: Portugal's and Fujian's Impact on Southeast Asian Trade (Early Sixteenth Century)," in *Iberians in the Singapore-Melaka Area and Adjacent Regions (16th to 18th Century)*, ed. Peter Borschberg (Lisbon: Fundacão Oriente, 2004): 12.

The Patani-Ryukyu trade nevertheless had profound effects on the local economy and allowed Patani to expand its pepper-growing regions. Though there is no available quantitative data concerning pepper production in the sultanate, it is clear that Patani maintained its position as a major pepper port visited by Chinese, Portuguese, and other merchants after its trade with Ryukyu declined. Throughout the first half of the century, Patani was second only to Ayudhya in the number of trade missions it received from Ryukyu. It was during this period in which Patani's marketplace became a viable space for dynamic social action that fused local and foreign merchants into a complex milieu of powerful *orangkaya*. Soon Portuguese traders came to establish warehouses in Patani in 922/1516, and the community had grown to about 300 merchants by the late 1530s.[151] Patani's most active and profitable trade connections continued to be with Chinese merchants, however, now living in Fujian.

Phase 2: "Piracy" and "Smuggling" in the Patani Trade Networks, 917-74/1511-67

During the second phase, Patani assumed a more direct role in the trade of the South China Sea. The official Ming ban on Chinese maritime trade had left merchants with two options: tributary trade missions or "smuggling." Tributary trade missions as a method of attracting Chinese trade had declined by the late fifteenth century. Two of the polities that had sent active trade missions to the Ming emperors – Ayudhya and Melaka – may well have blocked attempts by other potential rivals such as Patani to follow the same course. The fall of Melaka to the Portuguese, however, placed the South China Sea pepper trade in the hands of merchants from Patani, Pahang, Sunda, and Fujian.[152] Of these, only Fujian was a major consumer of pepper – as the entry point for much of China – whereas the former three polities were the

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[151] E. W. Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Royal Asiatic Society: 1940): 22.
[152] Ptak, "Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese," 459.

producers in the network. As a result, "small private merchant empires" emerged in the early decades of the sixteenth century, composed of now displaced Melaka-based Islamic merchants with connections to Fujian who traded for pepper grown in the three pepper-producing regions.[153] Pepper had to be "smuggled" into Fujian at various points along the coast beyond the gaze of Ming officials who patrolled tirelessly to prevent trade they considered illegal. Despite official efforts "smuggling" grew from the 1520s onwards as the main economic activity in the South China Sea.

The Portuguese soon realized that their capture of Melaka had done more to disperse trade to other ports than to draw it into their orbit. For the first decade after the conquest, however, when they were allowed to trade at Canton unhindered, the Portuguese managed to carry on a prosperous trade for Chinese porcelain and silk. But after the Portuguese were expelled from Canton in 928/1522 they had to search for trading connections elsewhere, for unlike the merchants of Patani and Pahang who had long-standing connections with Chinese merchants, the Portuguese were bereft of such social capital.[154] They had to seek out new economic ties along the east coast of the Peninsula, eventually establishing a mutually beneficial relationship with the Patani trading community which was just then emerging as the premier peninsular port for Chinese goods and pepper sales.[155] Patani's location was particularly advantageous because it could take part both in the trade of the South China Sea as well as the burgeoning trans-peninsular trade routes that sprung up in reaction to the Portuguese control of the Straits of Melaka.[156] Patani maintained close connections via land routes to Kedah that allowed it to continue its involvement in the transit spice trade of the Indian Ocean.

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[153] Ptak, "Reconsidering Melaka," 10.
[154] Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, 69.
[155] Ferguson, *Letters from Portuguese Captives*, 162.
[156] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 59.

The administration of the emerging Portuguese trade empire was weakest in the China Sea which remained until at least mid-century a minor appendage to its burgeoning India and Maluku trade.[157] Many Portuguese merchants engaged in trade for personal profit and had to rely upon their own armaments and ties to local rulers for protection of their mercantile interests. When they entered the South China Sea trade, especially as it was conducted off of the Fujian coast, they had no decisive military advantage over their rivals nor could they risk open display of their guns lest they draw further wrath from the Ming central government. Thus the Portuguese, in close connection with Patani merchants, entered into the complex milieu of the "smuggling" trade by acquiring pepper at Patani and Pahang and trading it in China along the Fujian coast.

Trade, not piracy, remained the main interest of most, if not all, of the merchants toiling in Fujian waters. Though Portuguese records often portray their allies and competitors as passive members in the trading system, a close reading of such records reveals a more complex relationship. Gaspar de Cruz, for example, wrote that the Portuguese managed to enter into the Fujian markets because Chinese merchants of the diaspora who composed the bulk of their crew had contacts – whether financial or familial – with local merchants along the coast.[158] Many of the Chinese merchants aboard Portuguese ships came from Patani where a large Fujian diaspora lived and where the Portuguese had a growing economic presence.[159] Ships arrived filled with pepper that merchants exchanged for local wares, foodstuffs, porcelain, and silk.[160] This system

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[157] James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993): 63.

[158] C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953): 192. Fernão Mendes Pinto noted in several instances that Portuguese captains often hired Patani merchants and crewmen for their ships, who were said to be both loyal and trustworthy. Mendes Pinto, *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, 104-6, 135-8. Much later, the English employed the same strategy when trying to gain an edge in the Patani market. Albert Hastings Markham, ed., *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880): 182.

[159] Ptak, "Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese," 459.

[160] Chang, "Maritime Trade," 74.

put the Chinese merchants employed by the Portuguese at a clear advantage in bartering for their portion of the profits, because, when they were in Fujian, they could often rely upon family connections or other social relations to obtain better prices.[161] The same group of Chinese merchants also worked with local elites to gain access to capital, manpower, or protection for their trade activity.[162] Furthermore, they worked as interpreters and arranged the exchange of goods which naturally put them in a profitable position *vis-à-vis* the Portuguese.

If the Portuguese possessed a counterweight to the social capital of the diaspora merchants it was their possession of firearms and their readiness to trade them in Fujian.[163] No records detailing quantities of gun sales are available, but one may take the rising level of violence as evidence of the influx of firearms into the "smuggling" networks. The 1530s and 1540s saw an increasing number of coastal raids and the Portuguese – in concert with their trading partners – gained a steady presence in Fujian.[164] Many "pirate" bands began to appear in open defiance of the Ming ban and operated within the "smuggling" networks for their own profit. The level of direct conflict reached a climax in 955/1548 when Ming officials managed to defeat Hsu Tung, whose band had gained great power through the preceding decade.[165] Internal corruption, however, led to the dismissal of those officials who opposed "smuggling" along the coast and ushered in a brief reversal of the more serious attempts at suppressing trade. In this case, the "corruption" of Fujian officials might be seen as the pragmatic manner in which coastal

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[161] Boxer, *South China*, 192.

[162] Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, 69-70; Chang Pin-Tsun, *Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Fu-Chien (Fukien)* (Princeton University, Ph.D. Diss., 1983): 227; Ng Chin-Keong, "Trade, the Sea Prohibition and the 'Fo-lang-chi', 1513-1550," in *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Portuguese and the Pacific, University of California-Santa Barbara, October 1993*, eds. Francis A. Dutra and João Camilo dos Santos (Santa Barbara: Center for Portuguese Studies, University of California-Santa Barbara, 1995): 392.

[163] Ptak, "Reconsidering Melaka," 12.

[164] Boxer, *South China*, 191-2. Hsu Tung, one of the "pirate" chiefs, had previously traded at Melaka and maintained a close relationship with the Portuguese. Ng, "Trade, the Sea Prohibition and the 'Fo-lang-chi'," 394.

[165] Ibid., 394; John E. Wills, Jr., "Maritime China from Wang Chih to Chih Lang: Themes in Peripheral History," in *From Ming to Ch'ing: Conquest, Region and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century China*, eds. Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979): 211-2.

authorities came to regard the necessities of trade in the region in defiance of the strictures imposed by the unrealistic Ming ideological environment.

Chinese and Muslim merchants based in Patani also engaged in trade along similar routes as the Portuguese.[166] Likewise, many Fujian merchants found it safer to transport their goods south to Patani and the other pepper ports where they could conduct their trade in relative peace and safety.[167] In all of the dealings within the Patani-Fujian-Portuguese networks, there was a surprising level of cooperation between the three major players.[168] Certainly individual merchants competed for sales when in port, but as the Portuguese adventurer Fernão Mendes Pinto noted in his colorful account, they often greeted each other at sea with a lessened degree of hostility than that which they showed Ming officials.[169] In comparison to the Fujian coast, where one had to be on constant guard, Mendes Pinto depicts Patani as a safe haven where Portuguese and other ships returned to safety after enduring the rigors of "smuggling" and raiding.[170] The characterization of the period as one of "lawlessness" seems merely to convey Ming conceptions of all trade along the Fujian coast as illegal and should not be taken as any indication of the actual volume of trade conducted. There was a general rise in trade such that one might view the expansion of "smuggling" and "pirate" networks as the lifeblood of the overall economic fabric of the South China Sea in which Patani was becoming a significant player from the 1530s onward.[171]

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[166] Mendes Pinto, *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, 104-6.
[167] Barbara Watson Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993): 44; Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, 69, 95; Ptak, "Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese," 458; Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence*, 263.
[168] Examples of cooperation and good relations between the Portuguese, Fujian, and Patani merchants appear throughout Mendes Pinto's work. Mendes Pinto, *Travels of Mendes Pinto*; Ptak, "Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese," 466).
[169] Mendes Pinto, *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, 104-6.
[170] Ibid.; Maurice Collis, *The Grand Peregrination: Being the Life and Adventures of Fernão Mendes Pinto* (London: Faber and Faber, 1949): 67-9.
[171] Ptak, "Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese," 451.

Following the death of Hsu Tung in 955/1548, "piracy" erupted to unprecedented levels of coastal raiding and "smuggling," probably due to a combination of bureaucratic bribery and a splintering of the once relatively united "pirate" band into many competing factions. The block of Fujian "smugglers" who had tended to "cooperate" in preceding years now began to compete much more fiercely with one another as many new merchants were forced into the fray as a result of Ming policies suppressing coastal raiding which disrupted the remaining stable trade centers.[172] South China entered what was termed the *wokou* crisis, 955-68/1549-61. Originally the term was used to refer to the Japanese "pirates" who had entered the area for coastal raiding and "smuggling," but later came to encompass all the people who conducted illegal trade along the Fujian coast, most of whom were Chinese. Spurred on by access to Portuguese guns, rival groups fought each other as much as they opposed Ming government interference in their affairs.[173] Individual "pirate" bands often controlled one or more ports which they used as bases for raiding and trade. The 1550s saw an increase in violence at sea, but trade continued to prosper with the influx of Japanese goods fully into Fujian-centered networks that finally eclipsed the Ryukyu trade. At this time Patani began to gain access to Japanese goods through the network when some of the *wokou* groups visited the port.[174] This trade, whether in the hands of merchants from Fujian, Portugal, Japan, Siam, or Malay parts of the Peninsula, was clearly now in the hands of anti-Ming merchants and "smugglers."[175]

Wang Chih succeeded Hsu Tung as the leader of the largest band of *wokou* throughout the 1550s. He commanded a loose merchant empire that stretched as far south as Patani, where

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[172] Wills, "Maritime China," 212.
[173] Roland Louis Higgins, *Piracy and Coastal Defense in the Ming Period: Government Response to Coastal Disturbances, 1523-1549* (University of Minnesota, Ph.D. Thesis, 1981): 61, 63.
[174] Ptak, "Fujianese, Ryukyuans and Portuguese," 458.
[175] Boxer, *South China*, 193.

he is said to have traded his wares frequently without conflicts with the local authorities.[176] He

possessed great military skill and was an able commander at sea where he harassed his enemies

tirelessly. Ming officials even managed to bribe him into attacking rival bands in a slow process

of elimination.[177] The government did not enact serious measures to reassert direct control of

Fujian until about 964/1557 and by 968/1561 sections of the coast were free of "pirate" bands.

Ming control was finally reasserted in Fujian in 971/1564 and Guangdong in 973/1566.[178] The

following year the central government lifted the ban on trade by issuing a new system of licenses

to local merchants. Almost overnight many small-scale merchants gave up "smuggling" to work

within the new system which allowed them to trade without fear of retribution.[179] The

Portuguese had already established "legitimate" trade with China at Macau in 960/1553 and

afterwards appeared to rely less upon mercantile connections they had previously garnered in

Patani and other Southeast Asian ports. Patani merchants were, by that time, in a strong enough

position to forge new connections with China Sea traders to further their own economic

interests.[180]

The decline of Ryukyu-Patani trade missions in the 1540s brought about no general

downturn for the economy of the sultanate. Instead, Patani merchants in the period 917-74/1511-

67, whether under the protection of Portuguese shipmasters or aboard their own ships, continued

to establish new relations with merchants throughout the South China Sea networks centered on

the Fujian coast. In many cases merchants from Fujian who had operated at ports in Ryukyu

merely returned to their home province as the focus of the trade networks shifted southward.

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[176] Wills, "Maritime China," 211-2.
[177] Ibid., 213.
[178] Ibid., 211.
[179] Roderich Ptak, "Ming Maritime Trade to Southeast Asia, 1368-1567: Visions of a System," in *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, eds. Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998): 187.
[180] Mendes Pinto, *Travels of Mendes Pinto*, 273.

Along the island-dotted coastline of Fujian they continued to trade with Patani merchants among others which brought bountiful rewards for merchants who braved the seas. As the high era of "piracy" along the South China coast came to a close at the end of the 1560s, most "smugglers" of the region accepted the new Ming system of mercantile conduct.

Phase 3: The Lin Dao-Qian Band in Patani, 973-1000/1566-92

Not all of the *wokou* groups accepted the new Ming policy, however. Lin Dao-Qian, a native of Guangdong and a prominent member of one of the "pirate" bands subdued in 973/1566, soon reorganized disaffected merchants and "smugglers" in the region under his leadership and by 974/1567 was again leading raids along the coastline.[181] The Ming authorities placed a bounty price upon him and supplied superior vessels to Fujian and Guangdong with which to apprehend him. The authorities also attempted to turn one "pirate" leader against another and even managed to co-opt Lin's fleet against one of his rivals in 976/1569. Meanwhile, Lin feigned further cooperation as he rebuilt his own fleet and drew in stragglers from other bands to restore his group's numbers. By July of that year, one report estimated he had has many as 5,000 followers armed with Portuguese firearms.[182] For the following three years, he alternated between submission to and rebellion against the Ming court as he continued to dominate trade and "smuggling" along the coast.

In the face of mounting opposition, Lin and his band fled south in 980/1573 along the coast, perhaps spending a time in Taiwan and the P'eng-hu Islands, and settling at K'un-lun

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[181] Chan Hok-Lam, "Lin Tao-Ch'ien," in *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, vol. 2, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976): 927-30.
[182] Ibid., 928.

Island (Pulo Condore) in the South China Sea in 981/1574.[183] He also probably spent time along the coast of central Siam where a joint Chinese-Siamese force is said to have attacked him.[184] In 986/1578, he moved his base to Patani when his forces are thought to have declined to about 2,000 men.[185] There is no indication why he moved suddenly much further south, but it is possible that, following a major defeat, he relied upon long-standing trade connections with the sultanate and found welcome there. Local Pattani tales tell that Lin conquered the city, but given that the court chronicle of the sultanate, the *Hikayat Patani*, does not mention such an attack, it is probable that he gained influence there after a symbolic show of arms.[186] The Ming records for 988-9/1580-81 show that authorities continued to try to apprehend Lin since he continued to lead raids from Patani against Chinese ships.[187]

Lin Dao-Qian quickly solidified his position in Patani by marrying a member of the royal family.[188] While in local tales this is usually stated to be the raja's daughter, the ruler at the time of Lin's arrival was Sultan Bahdur, who was not known to have had any children. A more likely case is that he married one of Bahdur's sisters, perhaps Raja Ijau. She was the eldest of three royal sisters, is not known to have entered into any other marriage, and succeeded Bahdur following his assassination in 992/1584. When he married the royal princess, Lin is said to have embraced Islam.[189] The conversion of the Chinese merchant leader no doubt convinced many of

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[183] Ibid., 929; Geoff Wade, "From Chaiya to Pahang: The Eastern Seaboard of the Peninsula as Recorded in Classical Chinese Texts," in *Etudes sur l'Histoire du Sultanat de Patani*, ed. Daniel Perret, et al. (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient, 2004): 60, 75.

[184] Ibid., 59.

[185] Ibid., 57, 62; Wee Khoon Hock, "Kelantan and the Chinese Kelantanese," in *Kelantan Zaman Awal: Kajian Arkeologi dan Sejarah di Malaysia*, ed. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abd Rahman (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1987): 223.

[186] Wade, "From Chaiya to Pahang," 56, 75. The authors of the *Hikayat Patani*, it might be added, were never shy to mention conflicts or potential threats to Patani, particularly those posed by Ayudhya. LC 1839; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*.

[187] Wade, "From Chaiya to Pahang," 56.

[188] Ibid., 75; Wee, "Kelantan and the Chinese Kelantanese," 223. Wee based his account on stories said to have been common in the Pattani area in the 1920s and 1930s.

[189] Ibid., 223.

his followers to do likewise. This process pays credence to the already strong influence of the

Islamic merchants and the court culture that was emerging in Patani by the late sixteenth century.

Lin also acquired a fief somewhere near Patani where he established a short-lived port that bore

his name.[190] Chinese records even suggest that other members of Lin's band attained prestigious

positions in the raja's service and that some members were bequeathed the local title of *datuk*.[191]

The success of Lin and his band in Chinese and oral accounts thus exhibits the flexible nature of

the Patani court to incorporate Malay, Chinese, and perhaps even Siamese interests, and thus

affords a different view than that portrayed in the *Hikayat Patani*. Taken as a whole, Lin's

activities in Patani suggest that he and his followers sought to establish permanent ties in their

new base.[192] After 989/1581, he fades from the Ming records, which suggests that he retired

from sea raiding and took up permanent residence in Patani.[193]

Lin Dao-Qian is most well-known in Patani as the person who cast its three famous

cannons.[194] In Malay accounts, he is only credited with furnishing the cannon ball as a gift to the

raja of Patani. According to stories preserved by the Chinese community of Pattani, Raja Ijau

requested three cannons to be constructed and after merchants acquired the necessary amount of

copper or brass, Lin constructed the cannons and gave each of them a name: Nang Patani, Seri

Negeri, and Maha Lela.[195] Colorful tales relate that the greatest of the three cannons would not

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[190] Wade, "From Chaiya to Pahang," 59-60.

[191] Kobata and Matsuda, *Ryukyuan Relations*, 179-80.

[192] "Japanese pirates" supposedly set Patani afire twice in the period 1606-12, which may indicate that the relationship between Lian Dao-Qian's band and the local rulers remained a volatile one even after his death. Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 36. It may be during one of these episodes that the English sea captain John Davis was killed. Markham, *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, 178-9.

[193] Ming records last mention Lian in connection to a raid he led against Qiong-zhou and Ya-zhou (both administrative divisions on Hainan Island) in 1580-81. Wade, "From Chaiya to Pahang," 56).

[194] Ibid., 76-7; Wee, "Kelantan and the Chinese Kelantanese," 223-4.

[195] The above names were drawn from Chinese legends. Wade, "Chaiya to Pahang," 76-7. Malay accounts name them *Seri Negeri* (سري نکري), *Tuk Buk* (تو ء بوء), and *Nang Liu-Liu* (نغ ليو ٢). LC 1839: 14; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 78, 154.

fire and that after recasting it, Lin died during a test fire.[196] All accounts agree that Raja Ijau had

ascended the throne prior to the time of the casting of the cannons, thus suggesting that they were

constructed at some point in the late 1580s. The fact that Raja Ijau had no children that

succeeded her to the throne of Patani may also indicate that her possible marriage to Lin only

lasted a brief period before he met his tragic end.[197]

The arrival of Lin Dao-Qian's band in Patani in 986/1578 seems only to have increased

the economic power of the sultanate. While Ming officials considered such "smugglers" and

"pirates" as dangerous adversaries, other surviving records suggest that the rulers of Patani

welcomed Lin Dao-Qian and that he and his followers enjoyed social positions among the elite

of the court and marketplace. This fact provides further evidence that Lin Dao-Qian's band

possessed great economic power and played a direct role in forging enduring bonds between

Patani and the merchants of China and Japan.

Phase 4: Asians and Europeans in the Patani Market at the Pinnacle, 1000-59/1592-1649

In all of the sultanate's trade, the queen and the *orangkaya* controlled a significant

portion of the trade by seeking to establish their own monopolies, much to the chagrin of foreign

merchants who competed fiercely against them.[198] It appears that the rich mercantile class of

Patani was composed of both Chinese diasporic merchants and local Malay merchants – by

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[196] The *Hikayat Patani* also features this part of the story but again does not tell who recast the cannons. LC 1839: 14; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 78, 154.

[197] Many later Chinese legends of Lian Dao-Qian claimed him as the progenitor of the entire community. This reflects his position as the founder of their community in the Pattani region. Wee, "Kelantan and the Chinese Kelantanese," 224.

[198] DR 1636: 45; J. K. J. de Jonge, ed. *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie (1595-1610)*, II (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1865): 247; H. T. Colenbrander, ed., *Jan Pietersz. Coen: Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indie Verzameld*, II (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920): 228-9; Ibid., III (1921): 856; Letter of Antonio van Diemen to Directors of of the Company, 5 Jun. 1631, in *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, vol. 2, ed. P. A. Tiele. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1890): 173-4; "Antonie Caen's Verslag Zijner Zending naar Patani en Siam (31 Juli-27 November 1632)," *ibid.*, 220; Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, xxv.

European definition – and individuals from both groups contended for influence over the economic affairs of the sultanate.[199] In 1012/1604, for example, "a Malay of Chinese origin" named Datu Sirinara commanded the greatest influence in the port's affairs.[200] The Sri Maharaja Indra, a leading official in Patani, regularly shipped arrack to Maluku during this period, and the *shahbandar* and *datuk besar* owned their own ships and carried on freight shipping.[201] As late as 1045/1636, the queen of Patani sent her own ships to trade in Palembang and other ports.[202] Patani merchants controlled vast trading networks that stretched from China and Japan in the north, to Maluku in the east, and to the Coromandel Coast in the west. Having already elaborated upon the Patani-China connection, I will explore Patani's other economic networks in the following section.

Patani entered a new phase of economic strength in 1000/1592 when it forged official trade relations with Japan's rulers. This trade route became its most stable source of trade revenue and one of the most profitable. The first ships from Japan arrived in Patani in 1000/1592 and Patani responded with trade missions to Japan as early as 1007/1599.[203] This trade expanded through the early decades of the seventeenth century as a part of official Japanese

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[199] As late as 1622, foreign observers noted a strong Chinese influence in Patani. Augustin de Beaulieu, *Mémoires d'un Voyage aux Indes orientales, 1619-1622: Un Marchand Normand à Sumatra* (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Maisonneuve and Larose, 1996): 165; M. E. van Opstall, *De Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie 1607-1612*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 23.

[200] Wybrandt van Waerwijck, "Historische Verhael vande Reyse gedaen inde Oost-Indien, met 15 Schepen voor Reeckeninghe vande vereenichde Gheoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie: Onder het Beleydt van den Vjoomen ende Manhasten Wybrandt van Waerwijck, als Admirael ende Sebaldt de Weert, als Vice-Admirael," in *Begin ende Voortgang vande Vereenigde Neederlandtsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, ed. I. Commelin (Amsterdam: Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland, 1969): 43.

[201] Colenbrander, ed., *Jan Pietersz. Coen*, II: 379; Ibid., III: 856; "Antonie Caen's Verslag Zijner Zending naar Patani en Siam," 220.

[202] DR 1636: 45. The queen mentioned here would have probably been Raja Kuning who succeeded her mother, Raja Biru, around 1635-6.

[203] D. W. Davies, *A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961): 70; Khien Theeravit, "Japanese-Siamese Relations, 1606-1629," in *Thai-Japanese Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Chaiwat Khamchoo and E. Bruce Reynolds (Bangkok: Innomedia Co., 1988): 22, 24.

economic policy, first under Shogun Hideyoshi, and then Shogun Ieyashu, 1012-44/1604-35.[204]

Five Japanese ships arrived in Patani in 1012-3/1604-5 and two more in 1020-24/1611-5, though

the traffic was likely even higher due to an incomplete historical record.[205]

The Japanese port of Hirado became known, together with Patani, as "sister ports," and

Patani was referred to by European traders as the "the door to China and Japan" because of the

abundance of East Asian products in the Patani market.[206] Patani served as an easy-access point

for merchants who, due to economic obstacles or political wrangling with China, could not

obtain Chinese goods directly.[207] In addition to porcelain and silk, Patani was also a major

distribution center for Chinese ironware products which were in great demand by Bornean

merchants, among others.[208]

Over time, Patani's trade with East Asia became part of a triangular network that

involved ships from southern China arriving in Patani and either trading or dispensing of their

cargo, then hiring a crew to sail for Japan.[209] The main products traded in this network were

animal hides, birds' nests, buffalo horn, dried shrimp, honey, pepper, tin, and wax. Japanese and

south Fujianese were the main carriers of cargo between Patani and Japan and along with the

latter, ships from Chekiang played a central role in the China traffic to Patani.[210] Clearly, the

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[204] Ishii Yoneo, "Seventeenth Century Japanese Documents about Siam," in *JSS* 59, no. 2 (1971): 165.
[205] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 18.
[206] John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1890): 53; Davies, *Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade*, 70; Opstall, *De Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff*, 23; Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853*, Harvard East Asian Monographs series, v. 76 (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977): 62.
[207] W. P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China*, Volume 1: *De Eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601-1624)*, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1898): 48.
[208] H. A. van Foreest and A. de Booy, *De vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)*, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980): 229-30.
[209] J. Keuning, *De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck en Wybrant Warwijck, 1598-1600: Journalen, Documenten en Andere Bescheiden* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938): cxii; Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*, 62-3.
[210] Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*, 62.

networks established through the course of the previous century continued to be lucrative trade routes in the early decades of the seventeenth century, despite European interference. Chinese merchants, who still lived in great numbers in Patani in the 1620s, had enjoyed a particularly beneficial position in Patani since the coming of Lin Dao-Qian's band, where they were generally allowed to trade free of port duties, unlike most other merchants.[211] After the rupture of trade relations between Japan and Siam in 1038/1629, following the dynastic change in the latter, trade between Patani and Japan shifted mainly into the hands of the Chinese diaspora traders who continued to operate out of Patani.[212]

Patani also possessed extensive regional networks on the peninsula and the neighboring islands where its main regional competitors were Johor and Pahang.[213] Patani's main exports included: bezoar stones, camphor, local fruits, gold, pepper, and various types of aromatic woods including aloeswood, calamba wood[214], eaglewood, and sapanwood.[215] Patani imported cotton and rice from Cambodia, Songkla, and Nakhon Si Thammarat to support its growing population, though Patani appears to have exported rice to the VOC at certain times.[216] The sultanate's most cooperative trading partner on the peninsula was Johor and powerful merchants from the two east coast polities may have even entered into joint trading ventures that reached as far as Maluku.[217] By the mid-1620s, Patani merchants sent as many as forty ships to Maluku to engage in the spice trade.[218] Merchants from Patani arrived annually in Bantam and Palembang,

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[211] Beaulieu, *Mémoires d'un Voyage aux Indes orientales*, 165; Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*, 62.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Linschoten, *Itinerario*, 83.
[214] Malay: *kalambak*.
[215] This list only includes products produced locally. Linschoten, *Itinerario*, 83; O'Kane, tr., *Ship of Sulaiman*, 218.
[216] Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen*, VII: 647; van Foreest and de Booy, eds., *Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië*, 229; Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence*, 233.
[217] Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen*, VII: 684.
[218] DR 1624-29: 125.

according to the monsoon cycle, where they presumably traded for pepper.[219] Javanese

merchants from Japara, Gresik, Surabaya, and other ports, came to Patani where they traded rice

for Chinese silk and porcelain, Indian cloth, and other products.[220] Patani merchants traded

pepper for salt at Japara as late as the 1630s.[221] Patani also appears to have been the center of the

Bornean diamond trade that had been dominated by Chinese diasporic merchants since at least

the sixteenth century.[222] Pepper and possibly tin drew merchants from the Coromandel Coast to

the Patani docks after Dutch control of the spice trade caused Indian merchants to begin seeking

other commodities.[223]

By the 1620s, a powerful Patani merchant diaspora had arisen in what is now eastern

Indonesia that traced its origins to at least the late fifteenth century. Portuguese merchants who

traded at Siang, in south Sulawesi, in the 1540s wrote of rival merchants from Patani who had

been trading there for approximately fifty years.[224] The lucrative spice trade naturally attracted

merchants from Patani, who may have been expelled from Melaka after 917/1511, but also

sought local products such as sandalwood, tortoise shell, rice, slaves, and other commodities.[225]

By the 1550s or 1560s, the Patani diaspora merchants had shifted operations to Gowa-Tallo and

were influential enough there that the karaeng of Gowa, Tunijallo (r. 972-98/1565-90), went to

Patani to arrange further trade negotiations himself.[226]

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[219] Markham, ed., *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, 177-8.
[220] *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap, Gevestigd te Utrecht*, vol. 27 (1871): 532-3, 544. Japara maintained the closest connection to Patani. Popular tales relate that an early Islamic sheikh from Patani went to Java and founded Grisek, which he named for the town of the same name that today constitutes old Patani.
[221] DR 1631-4: 19.
[222] Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, II: 29. The trade had previously been controlled by the Javanese, but with the rise of the Patani-Chinese diaspora in the sixteenth century, the trade of diamonds came into their hands.
[223] Ashin Das Gupta, "Introduction II: The Story," in *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987): 36.
[224] Reid, "Rise of Makassar," 137.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Noorduyn, "Islamisering van Makasar," 249; G. J. Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa*, Series A, vol. 1 (Makassar: Jajasan Kebudajaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, n.d.), 50-1. Normally a ruler's chief advisors or supporters negotiated trade relations with other ports, so for a ruler to do this himself was quite unusual.

By 1034/1625, the VOC official Sihordt noted that most of the merchants operating in Makassar were Malays from Patani and Johor, and that they numbered in the thousands.[227] In 1041/1632, due to an internal conflict in Patani[228], an uncle and a sister of the raja of Patani left for Makassar where they established themselves as powerful players in the local trading networks.[229] The uncle, a man called Datuk Maharajalela, was elected headman of the Malay community in Makassar in 1630s which included a military function, and was confirmed to the position by the sultan of Gowa. This merchant diaspora centered in Makassar naturally continued to maintain links with Patani and played an important role in linking the sultanate to the Maluku spice trade.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, Patani's unrivaled market for Chinese and Japanese goods attracted Dutch and English merchants to the port.[230] The Dutch, like others who followed them, were fully aware of Patani's strategic importance in the growth of Portuguese trade in the previous century and thus they attempted to replicate early Portuguese trade missions in the region, while at the same time attempting to beat the Portuguese out of the competition.[231] Patani was the access-point for European merchants to join trade or diplomatic missions to the East Asian countries.[232] Here, as elsewhere, the VOC quickly established itself as the most capable of the European merchant companies, founding a factory in Patani in 1602,

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[227] DR 1624-29: 125.

[228] The conflict mentioned here is likely to have been associated with Patani's rebellion against Siam. See Part I of this chapter for a discussion of the political repercussions of Raja Ungu's rebellion in 1632.

[229] "De Kapitein Melajoe te Makassar," 109-10; Cense, "Maleise Invloeden," 425-6; Amin, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar*, 240).

[230] Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China*, 14-9; Richard Cocks to EIC, Nov 30, 1613, in Richard Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*, vol. 2, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1883): 258. For an account of VOC activities in Patani, see H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938); Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen*, vol. 1: 33, vol. 2: 10-1; Opstall, ed., *Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff*, 134.

[231] Groeneveldt, *Nederlanders in China*, 49-53.

[232] Hoogerwerff, *Journalen van de Gedenckwaerdige Reijsen van Willem Ijsbrantsz. Bontekoe*, 93; Davies, *Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade*, 70.

under the guidance of Jacob van Neck.[233] Captain van Neck had previously visited Maluku and having failed to acquire the desired amounts of spices there, sailed for Patani in 1601. After three days of negotiations with Raja Ijau, and despite protests from Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese merchants, the Dutch were granted permission to build a warehouse and to trade pepper at the port.[234] By the end of 1010/1602, the Dutch had twenty-six permanent merchants working in Patani operating in three competing companies.[235] From Patani, Dutch ships might then sail to Borneo, then to Maluku, and back via the northern Javanese ports to Johor, before returning to Patani.[236]

After the unification of all Dutch merchants under the VOC in 1012/1604, its Patani trading operations expanded considerably over the following decade. They accessed Patani's diplomatic channels to send a trade mission to Siam in the same year, but due to a conflict with the Burmese, the death of the king, and the ascension of the successor, the mission was delayed.[237] But this attempt by Europeans to use existing avenues to forge commercial ties demonstrates the importance of Patani as a regional trade center with powerful trade links to other markets. In fact, to the Europeans, it was Patani's trade connections that were of greatest importance, exceeding even the value of the trade in which they engaged while at port. Nevertheless, Coen noticed quickly that Chinese products purchased at Patani brought 33% higher profit than those at Bantam, despite the problems of higher port duties being exacted by the raja's officials.[238]

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[233] Terpstra, *Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani.*
[234] Ibid., 4-6.
[235] Ibid., 7-13.
[236] Opstall, ed., *Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff,* 87.
[237] Terpstra, *Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani,* 23-4.
[238] Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz. Coen,* vol. 7: 211; Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence,* 265, 399. Meilink-Roelofsz notes that this contrasted Chinese merchants who made better profits in Bantam than in Patani.

Patani, like Bantam and Jambi, was quick to recognize the rising demand of pepper particularly by the Dutch during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Thus they increased local production while attempting to control other sources of the same product and raising their own prices to exploit the new market.[239] This caused Patani to reduce its shipments of pepper to Aceh from 1011/1603 onward and instead sell it directly to the Dutch.[240] Following the rise of Jambi, however, there seems to have been a slow decline in Patani's importance as a pepper market, primarily due to its modest local production areas in comparison to those of Sumatra or Java. Whereas before the arrival of the Dutch, Patani had managed to control a portion of the pepper trade that came north from the Sunda Straits along the east coast of the peninsula to China, from 1013/1605 onwards pepper steadily fell into the hands of the Dutch and other European companies.[241] Patani's pepper exports had clearly fallen by the early 1620s, when the European companies withdrew their warehouses, and by the 1630s Patani ceased to be a significant player in the pepper trade altogether.[242]

Besides Chinese and Japanese products and local pepper, the Patani market served as a testing ground for Dutch exports into Southeast Asia. Due to their relatively recent arrival on the trade scene, such attempts were not always immediately successful. For example, the Dutch tried to trade thousands of wood engravings depicting a variety of images such as the Virgin Mary, Biblical nature scenes, nudes, and other pictures.[243] Though these were of little appeal in the Patani market, there is limited evidence that Dutch craftsmen may have also begun to

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[239] P. A. Tiele, "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel, Negende Gedeelte 1618-1623," *BKI* 36 (1887): 241, 306.
[240] DR 1624-29: 42, 305; *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap*, 565, 569-70, 614; J. K. J. de Jonge, ed. *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie (1595-1610)*, II (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1862): 493, 501; de Jonge, ed., *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie*, III: 154-5; P. A. Tiele, "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel, Zesde Gedeelte 1598-1605," *BKI* 30 (1882): 178; Opstall, ed., *Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff*, 126.
[241] Opstall, *Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff*, 126.
[242] DR 1631-4: 123.
[243] Ijzerman, "Hollandsche Prenten als Handelsartikel," 84.

produce similar products portraying local people and events, such as the now well-known engraving preserved in illustrative form of the procession of Raja Ijau and her royal retinue.[244]

Dutch company officials increasingly complained about the decline of the Patani pepper market by the 1610s.[245] Reports also mentioned the poor quality of the Chinese products they obtained there, though it is not clear whether disruptions in the supply lines or changes in the Chinese economy were the cause. Coen played an instrumental role in the withdrawal of the VOC from Patani in 1031/1622 and with the founding of Batavia, Dutch interest in the east coast of the peninsula began to decline.[246]

The English were second only to the Dutch among the European merchants who traded at the Patani market. One of the earliest Englishmen to sail in the region, Sir James Lancaster, may have visited Patani as early as June 1592, but formal trade relations between England and Patani did not occur until 1020/1612. Peter Floris, a Dutchman in the service of the English East India Company (EIC), arrived in that year with a letter addressed to the queen of Patani from King James I.[247] Floris's strategy, quite typical for his time, was to purchase Masulipatam cloth, trade for pepper at Bantam, and then obtain Chinese silk at Patani or Siam.[248] The English also traded various Chinese wares, deerskins, various fish products, pepper, porcelain, satins, silk, spices, taffeta, velvets, and wax at the Patani market.[249] Like the Portuguese and Dutch who preceded them, the English often hired local merchants and sailors who were well-versed in the local

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[244] This engraving appears on the cover of Teeuw and Wyatt's book. See Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani.*

[245] Patani is mentioned as a major center of Dutch trade in late 1610, but its position declined steadily over the following decade. Opstall, *Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff,* 127, 129.

[246] Hoogewerff, *Journalen van de Gedenckwaerdige Reijsen van Willem Ijsbrantsz. Bontekoe,* 93; J. C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History,* Selected Studies on Indonesia, vol. 1 (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1955): 186; Barbara Watson Andaya, "Cash Cropping and Upstream-Downstream Tensions: The Case of Jambi in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief,* ed. Anthony Reid, Asia East by South series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 97-8.

[247] Mooreland, *Peter Floris,* 33-4.

[248] Ibid., xix-xxvi.

[249] Ibid., 64.

economic channels, to accelerate the establishment of their trade connections.[250] The English quickly used their base at Patani to forge trade links with Banda, Bantam, Makassar, Pahang, Siam, and other regional ports.[251]

Like the Dutch, the English traders had an interest in the east coast polity for its potential for tapping into the markets of East Asia. But rather than looking for a direct channel into China, the English seemed more intent upon obtaining goods then in demand in Japan.[252] Such products included cloth, deerskin and other animal hides, buffalo horns, sapanwood, and other aromatic woods.[253] The English also traded glassware, muskets, ordnance, and other European wares for Chinese silk and porcelain and Japanese copper at Patani.[254] In the latter case, the EIC planned to ship copper via Patani to England, by borrowing money from the queen, but a combination of poor sailing conditions, initially, and intense competition for copper in Japan caused an extension of these plans to be abandoned.[255] One sign that this was not a successful trading venture for the EIC is that they failed to settle their debt with the queen of Patani until 1031/1622, when they repaid her with Japanese porcelain.[256]

Despite their concentration upon Japan during the first two decades, the EIC had a clear objective of also trading in Chinese goods. To do so, they bought cloth on the Coromandel Coast, traded for pepper at Bantam, and then obtained Chinese silk and porcelain at Patani and

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[250] Markham, *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, 182.

[251] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 83-9.

[252] Mills mentions that the English also found products at Patani to trade on the Coromandel Coast, but he does not elucidate further on the subject. L. A. Mills, *British Malaya 1824-67*, in *JMBRAS* 3, no. 2, 1925 (reprinted Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966): 8.

[253] Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*, 10; Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 64.

[254] Ibid.; Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800*, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976): 41-2.

[255] Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 33. It is not immediately clear which queen financed this venture because the English ship arrived in Patani in 1616, the approximate date of Raja Ijau's death. There is a record of Raja Ijau being active in earlier financial ventures, so it is likely that she, at the very least, initiated the transactions that were perhaps concluded by her sister and successor Raja Biru.

[256] Ibid., 34.

Siam.[257] In other cases, the English were known to hire Chinese diasporic traders from Patani to assist in their trading operations because of their knowledge of both Chinese and Japanese products and how best to obtain them at the port.[258]

English trade at Patani seems to have initially sparked great interest among directors of the company. Captain William Keeling, who had been put in charge of all English operations in Southeast Asia by the factors at Gujarat, even proposed a grouping of factories into four divisions that included Surat, Bantam, Patani, and some place on the Coromandel Coast.[259] Patani became the distribution center for cloth that the EIC obtained at Masulipatam and traded in Southeast and East Asia. Initially, the EIC found Patani to be a good market for all manner of Chinese products including silk, taffeta, satins, damasks, velvets, porcelain, and goods from Southeast Asian ports such as spices, wax, animal skins, and fish.[260] Internal competition, high port duties, and the decline of the pepper and spice market may have all played a role in declining interest by the English in Patani's trade.[261]

Competition with the Dutch may have also been a factor in the decision of the EIC to withdraw its factory from Patani in 1031/1622. The rivalry between the two companies, which erupted into open conflict elsewhere, eventually brought the two groups to clash along the shores of the Patani port. Captain John Jourdain of the EIC seized the Dutch ship *Black Lion* at Patani with the hopes of forcing the VOC to withdraw from the port, but on July 17, 1619, three Dutch ships suddenly appeared and soundly defeated the English, killing Jourdain in the process.[262]

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[257] Moreland, *Peter Floris*, xix-xxvi.
[258] Markham, *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, 182.
[259] Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade*, 41-2.
[260] Moreland, *Peter Floris*, 64.
[261] Ibid., 35. Floris complained of the duties that he claimed were the highest he had encountered anywhere in Southeast Asia. While this may have alienated the EIC, it also demonstrates the secure and powerful position of the Patani court.
[262] Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 33-4; Hall 1981: 382-3. Jourdain's journal, thought to contain a detailed account of Patani at the time, was also lost during the conflict.

The remaining English would certainly have been massacred had the queen, Raja Biru, not intervened on their behalf.[263]

Certainly other trade rivalries existed which often erupted into open warfare. During a chance meeting between English and Japanese vessels off the Patani coast in 1014/1606, Captain John Davis and his crew defeated their rivals, but not without massive damage to their ships and the loss of their captain.[264] These sorts of acts of violence show that the intensity of competition at the Patani market was at a very high level to the point where even the local rulers could not always ensure safety for those who came to trade. In Floris's journal, he mentions that Patani had been attacked and burned by "Japanese merchants or pirates" twice in the 5-6 years preceding his arrival in 1020/1612.[265] This constant threat to the port suggests that Japanese and Chinese maritime power was still a formidable force along the east coast of the peninsula during the first two or three decades of the seventeenth century, probably not declining until the 1630s.

The rising fortunes of Patani's marketplace reached an apex in the early seventeenth century during which time it became the social space chosen by many of Patani's *orangkaya* to compete against other powerful merchants, to vie for participation in profitable royal trade missions, and to accumulate wealth that could be converted into prestige at court. A few of the emerging mercantile elites have been preserved in the historical record suggesting that many others gained a footing during this period. As we shall see in the following section, as Patani's economy declined after 1059/1649, the marketplace became an increasingly unsuitable space for the acquisition of economic capital and failed to offer leading *orangkaya* the ability to acquire and reproduce status as they had during the sultanate's more prosperous past.

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[263] Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam*, 33-4; Wood, *History of Siam*, 167.
[264] Markham, *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, 178-9.
[265] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 36.

Phase 5: Patani's Economic Decline, 1059-1121/1649-1709

After 1059/1649, as Asian and European merchants scaled back their trade with Patani, the sultanate experienced a period of social crisis. The Dutch and English withdrew their factories at Patani in 1031/1622, but both merchant companies continued to trade with Patani until the 1640s, when local wars began to erode interest in the Patani market.[266] The Dutch carried on a sporadic pepper trade with Patani in the 1650s and 1660s, but the port had clearly declined in importance as an exporter of pepper.[267] Patani participated in a region-wide boycott of Dutch trade in 1065-6/1655-6 that also included Aceh, Perak, Johor, Banten, and Makassar, but this does not seem to have soured relations permanently with the Dutch company.[268] Trade with the Dutch and English increased in the 1670s and 1680s before it dwindled in the decades that followed.[269] To support its wars against Siam and its peninsular neighbours in the 1670s, Patani imported large numbers of English firearms via Kedah.[270] The Portuguese at Macao carried on a trade with Patani either aboard their own ships or via English vessels in the 1680s.[271] Signs point to the general decline of Patani's pepper market, due to peninsular wars that

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[266] Patani supplied pepper to Aceh and several ports of northern Java, but the Dutch and English companies began to interrupt this trade gradually after 1600. The head of Dutch mercantile strategy, Jan Pieterszen Coen led the push by the VOC to control the Jambi pepper trade after 1615 which cut off one of the supply lines to the Patani market. The Dutch Dagh-register affords Patani noticeably fewer entries in the 1650s and 1660s than in the preceding and succeeding decades. See DR 1631-4: 19; "Antonie Caen's Verslag Zijner Zending naar Patani en Siam," 221.

[267] GM III: 56, 68, 323.

[268] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 320.

[269] The letters of Samuel Potts, the English East India Company agent in Songhkla, are invaluable to the study of Patani's relations with the company during the period. "Several Transactions at Siam," Jul.-Nov. 1678, RR II: 167-8; Letter of Potts to Siam Factors, 18 Sept. 1678, RR II: 177-81; Letter of Burnaby to Bantam, 28 Oct. 1678, RR II: 184; Letter of Potts to Burnaby, 16 Nov. 1678, RR II: 189-90; Letter of Potts to Burnaby, 19 Dec. 1678, RR II: 200-1; Letter of Potts to Burnaby, 22 Jan. 1679, RR II: 214-5; Letter of Potts to Burnaby, 23 Mar. 1679, RR II: 220-1; Letter of Potts to Burnaby, 9 Aug. 1679, RR II: 237-9; "Council at Batavia to the Dutch East India Company," 3 Mar. 1680, RR II: 267.

[270] Potts to Siam Factors, 18 Sept. 1678, RR II: p. 178.

[271] GM IV: 691, 760.

disrupted supply lines and destroyed the region's pepper fields in the period 1043-1105/1634-94.[272]

Patani remained connected to the South China Sea trading networks as late as 1065/1655, when a Dutch merchant commented upon the extensive Chinese networks on the peninsula.[273] These networks were most likely remnants of the old pepper-porcelain trade, but also included elephants and elephant tusks for which Patani had become quite famous.[274] Patani also traded with Makassar, even after the Dutch captured the city in 1079/1669, where they were among the most prominent Malay traders.[275] Patani's merchants were also among the most prominent Malay traders in Batavia, where one family held the position of *Kapitan Melayu* (Captain of the Malays) until 1144/1732.[276] Merchants from Patani traded in Banjarmasin in the 1660s, most likely for pepper, spices, and other commodities.[277] Elsewhere on Borneo, Patani exported cannons to the coastal trading polity of Pasir in the 1660s which suggests that the products of their foundry appeared elsewhere as well.[278] As late as 1091/1680, Patani merchants traded in Riau with the English, Siamese, and other traders.[279] From these myriad trading connections we can see that Patani's trade gradually declined after 1060/1650 and more sharply from the 1670s onwards.

Patani also attracted merchant diasporas from around maritime Asia other than the aforementioned Chinese. Policies espoused by Mataram's Amangkurat I caused many Javanese merchants to relocate to Patani, among other trade havens, which shows that trade links between

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[272] DR 1631-4: 123.
[273] The Chinese were most prevalent at Patani, Johor, and Melaka. GM III: 19.
[274] Nieuhoff, "Voyages and travels," 218; Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 139-40.
[275] Anthony Reid, "Understanding *Melayu* (Malay) as a Source of Diverse Modern Identities," *JSEAS* 32, no. 3 (2001): 301.
[276] Ibid.
[277] GM III: 323.
[278] Sutherland, "The Makassar Malays," 83.
[279] GM IV: 417.

Patani and Java that had been alive since the early seventeenth century and likely earlier, had

persisted as late as the 1650s and 1660s.[280] Other foreign merchants from India's Coromandel

Coast, via Bantam, traded at Patani alongside Javanese and Malay merchants who operated as

business partners.[281] Some Coromandel-born merchants worked with the EIC as translators and

negotiators during early decades of the seventeenth century.[282] As trade in Patani declined, these

populations shifted their activities to other ports where they could still find profits.

Patani's most enduring trade was with Japan. This trade was generally routed through

Fujian and Zhejiang where it was carried aboard junks operated by Chinese and Japanese

merchants.[283] Patani-Japan trade peaked in the 1650s when Japanese records show twenty ships

having docked in Nagasaki.[284] Trade declined sharply into the 1670s, when Patani was engaged

in near-constant warfare, revived slightly in the 1680s and 1690s, and then ceased altogether

after 1121/1709.[285] Even as late as 1098/1687, a Persian visitor wrote very complimentary of

Patani:

> That port is the very eye of beauty, happiness, abundance and prosperity. Most all the fruits of the
> surrounding countries are found there and they also have camphor, tin, aloes wood, sandalwood, and sapan-
> wood.[286]

Though such high praise could possibly indicate that the Persian report was in fact based on

earlier sources rather than an eye-witness account, it may yet suggest that Patani's market still

possessed some of the splendor told of it in earlier years.

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[280] Reid, "Economic and Social Change," 493.

[281] Sinnappah Arasaratnam, "The Coromandel-Southeast Asia Trade 1650-1740: Challenges and Responses of a Commercial System," in *Journal of Asian History* 18 (1984): 126.

[282] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 33. Floris relates that "Chattis" who lived in Patani, originally from Coromandel, translated the letter from King James I addressed to Raja Ijau.

[283] E. M. Satow, "Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 13 (1885): 140.

[284] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 289-90.

[285] Patani received twenty ships during 1651-60, nine ships 1661-70, 2 ships 1671-80, nine ships 1681-90, seven ships 1691-1700, and two ships 1701-09. Ishii, ed., *Junk Trade*, 103-29; GM IV: 537; Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*, 15-6, 65-6.

[286] O'Kane, *Ship of Sulaiman*, 218.

The decline in Patani-Japan trade was due to a number of internal and external factors including Patani's numerous local "rebellions" against Siam and its resulting economic and agricultural destruction, its failure to stem the rise of "piracy" along its coast from the 1690s onwards, and the copper shortages Japan experienced by the turn of the eighteenth century.[287] Indeed, other merchants complained of the dangerous conditions in or near to Patani that contrasted their earlier visits.[288] Together the forces of economic decline led to the negative demographic shifts discussed at the end of part I that ultimately undercut the sultanate's ability to fend off foreign aggressors.

Economic Capital and Moral Authority in Patani

The marketplace was the Patani Sultanate's most volatile social space and witnessed the rise and fall of countless merchants, both local and foreign, through its two centuries as a principal trading center. Due to unique social dynamics that propelled Raja Ijau to the throne in 992/1584 after the assassination of her brother, Sultan Bahdur, Patani's merchants played a more central role in the social life of the sultanate than other polities in the region. This fact compelled Anthony Reid, in his discussion of "the problems of the absolutist state," to argue that Patani was a rare case where merchants prospered without fear of royal intervention or arbitrary seizure of property.[289] The most glaring example of such royal autocracy was Aceh, where merchants and leading nobles suffered extreme measures under Iskandar Muda, and this is thought to have been a prevailing norm at the time. In many polities throughout Southeast Asia, merchants presented a significant threat to the power of the monarch and thus foreign powers,

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[287] Ishii, ed., *Junk Trade*, 115-29; Sarasin, *Tribute and Profit*, 66.
[288] Alexander Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. 2, ed. William Foster (London: Argonaut Press, 1930): 84.
[289] Reid, "Structure of Cities," 247; Reid, *Age of Commerce*, I: 171.

especially European companies that offered trade in firearms, provided a counterweight that rulers employed against their local rivals.

Patani, as I have already discussed, experienced conditions prior to the coronation of Raja Ijau that were less than ideal for the mercantile elites. Sultan Bahdur had a terrible reputation and was likely assassinated by the leading merchants who possessed great military and economic power. Even earlier, Mendes Pinto mentioned that Sultan Muẓāffar Shāh manufactured false charges against local merchants and nobles in order to seize their property or otherwise interfere with their affairs.[290] Nicolas Gervaise, a French traveler in the region, reported that, "On dit que ses Peuples lassez d'obeyir à des Rois qui les maltraittoient, secoüerent le joug...."[291] Translation: "It is said that [Patani's] people were tired of obeying kings who maltreated them, and shook off their yoke."

Reid argues that favorable conditions for trade arose as the result of female-led regimes – as in Patani after 992/1584 – because of the ability of the mercantile oligarchy to control the queens. In contrast, I argue that these two social components ascended hand-in-hand as the result of changes to the locally accepted notions of moral authority. There is ample evidence that Patani's first queen, Raja Ijau, was active in economic affairs and engaged directly in trade ventures with Asians and Europeans, negotiations that occurred with great ceremony on behalf of the court.[292] Likewise, the chief merchants and nobles of her reign also engaged in trade and appear to have been so successful as to alienate Dutch and English merchants who competed at the port. The success of local merchants was the result of greater involvement by the mercantile oligarchy in the affairs of state from the reign of Raja Ijau onward. They successfully

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[290] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 265.
[291] Gervaise, *Histoire Naturelle et Politique*, 316.
[292] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 34, 63. The pomp and circumstance that surrounded trade meetings, particularly the first of such between the two parties, included great processions of courtiers and warriors, dancing of which "I have not seene better in all the Indies," a mutual exchange of gifts, and the offering of elephant mounts to the visitors.

transformed the prevailing moral authority that gave value and justification to their rising position in concert with the monarch and the court, rather than in opposition to it. In Patani it became acceptable, in fact preferable, to gain ones fortune through the rising commercial boom, and a social strata of successful merchants arose as a result. These players, in turn, fed back into court life whether through title acquisition, diplomatic or wartime service, or by furthering the queen's economic interests abroad through myriad trading networks.

The raja and her court played crucial roles in the Patani money market. Unlike most other Southeast Asian polities, Patani had reliable access to its interior gold mines and thus minted gold coins[293] rather than having to rely upon uncertain access to Japanese or American silver to lubricate the local economy.[294] Patani's steady trade with Japan brought an influx of silver to further sustain the local economy and promote trade.[295] Perhaps most telling about the changing relationship between the court and the merchants after 992/1584 was the queen's active involvement in lending money to foreign merchants in need of capital.[296] The rates of 2% per month were comparable to lenders in India and Europe and much better than many other ports in the region.[297]

Thus in Patani, the elevated position of the merchants prevailed as long as the court was strong enough to protect the extensive and far-reaching economic interests of the powerful players. By the 1670s, due to incessant warfare with Siam, and especially after 1101/1690, when

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[293] These coins were called *mas* from the Malay word for gold, *emas*. Jeyamalar Kathirithamby-Wells, "Restraints on the Development of Merchant Capitalism in Southeast Asia before c. 1800," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid, Asia East by South series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 144.

[294] Neighboring polities such as Kedah also relied heavily upon Patani gold for the functioning of their economy. Bowrey, *Geographical Account*, 280; Kathirithamby-Wells, "Restraints on the Development of Merchant Capitalism," 144; Reid, "Economic and Social Change," 485.

[295] Reid, *Age of Commerce*, II: 26.

[296] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 75-6, 96; Opstall, *van de Vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff*, 36. After Floris repaid his debt, the queen granted him a *keris*, the medium-length bladed weapon common throughout the archipelago and peninsula, that had both practical and ceremonial functions.

[297] Mooreland, *Peter Floris*, 75; Reid, "Economic and Social Change," 479.

political turmoil finally severed critical trade links with Japan, Patani as a mercantile refuge had definitively ended. Many merchants tried to force their way back into the court, but its declining fortunes could not accommodate them and the court's failure undermined its own moral authority. The social and moral prestige of the court, which was in grave jeopardy after 1101/1690, was to be destroyed in the events of 1199-1200/1785-6 and the succeeding wars. Before turning to the Patani-Siam conflict, which I address in chapter two, I will analyze the rise of the mosque as a limited but increasingly critical space in the competition for social power and status and for the changing socio-moral cosmology in Patani.

Part III – Mosques and Temples: Sacred Capital in Patani before 1785

The mosque and temples, as a collective arena of social competition, is the most difficult to illustrate in the pre-1785 period because of the dearth of primary source material. Nevertheless, we are able to find fragmentary evidence that shows that the mosque and temples were social spaces that permitted Patani's *orangkaya* to compete for cultural and social capital as a part of their rationalized strategies for gaining social status. First the mosque had to contend with other temples for royal patronage but emerged by the seventeenth century as the primary recipient of such favor. Though the mosque was still a peripheral space for social action, prominent Muslim lineages maintained their elite position until 1199/1785, after which they managed to rise to greater prominence as we shall discuss in chapters two and three. Before analyzing Patani's sacred spaces within a social context, it is first necessary to take a brief look at Islam's introduction into the port polity.

Origins and Growth of Patani Islam

Islam naturally traces its roots to Arabia. Demographic pressure in the Hadramaut region

of southern Arabia in the thirteenth century caused Yemeni and Hadrami migrants to eventually

settle in Southeast Asia by the end of that century.[298] From their base in North Sumatra at Pasai

in the 1290s, Muslims came through the straits and gained influence in Patani's southern

neighbor, Trengganu, by 702/1303.[299] Early Portuguese records indicate that portions of Patani's

population converted to Islam before Melaka, i.e. before 815-39/1413-36, but that the rajas

maintained their Hindu-Buddhist-animist traditions.[300] Indeed, Patani may well be the Islamic

kingdom on the peninsula to which Ibn Battuta mentioned being ruled by "an infidel."[301] If this

is the case, then we may presume that Patani, like Melaka and some other Southeast Asian cities

caught in the upswing or Reid's "Age of Commerce," possessed Islamic communities almost

from their inception. Accompanying the rise in trade was the influx of great numbers of Islamic

merchants and Sufis who quickly gained influence in the archipelago. In Patani the community

became the fusion of interior migratory Malay-speaking populations, which had a history of

Hindu-Buddhist-animist traditions dating to as early as the sixth century, with a coastal Muslim

mercantile elite. It appears that the two elements mingled and co-existed in the polity for several

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[298] Andrew D. W. Forbes, "Southern Arabia and the Islamicisation of the Central Indian Ocean Archipelagoes," *Archipel* 21 (1981): 82; B. G. Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7, no. 3 (1975): 370.

[299] A. H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," *JMBRAS* 33, no. 2 (1961): 118-9; Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions," *Indonesia* 19 (Apr 1975): 25; Henry Yule, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, II (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1993): 284; Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Correct Date of the Trengganu Inscription: Friday, 4th Rejab, 702 A.H./Friday 22nd. February, 1303*, 2d ed. (Kuala Lumpur: Muzium Negara, 1984).

[300] J. V. Mills, "Eredia's Description of Malaca, Meridional India, and Cathay, translated from the Portuguese with Notes", *JMBRAS* 8, no. 1 (1930): 49; Anthony Reid, "The Islamization of Southeast Asia," in *Historia: Essays in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Department of History University of Malaya*, eds. Muhammad Abu Bakar, et al. (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Historical Society, 1984): 24; Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, volume 2: *The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest 11th-13th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1997): 293.

[301] Hall, *History of South-East Asia*, 222.

centuries before the beginnings of Islamic revival and reform in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries that gave the latter definitive ascendancy.

Islam's prominence in Patani seems to have grown steadily from the fifteenth century,

however, and was destined to be a sustained tradition after the rulers converted at some point in

the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries.[302] Two separate stories tell of a raja's conversion

which may, in fact, indicate that some of the early rulers of Patani reverted to earlier traditions or

participated in syncretic practices and belief systems as was the case in both Melaka and Pasai.[303]

The *Hikayat Patani*, unlike other Southeast Asian chronicles, described the process as gradual

with the first Islamic raja giving up eating pork and worshipping idols, but making few other

changes in lifestyle and conduct.[304] Not until the reign of Sultan Muẓāffar Shāh was the first

mosque built and Islam became more widely practiced in the rural areas stretching as far as Kota

Malighai, the descendant settlements in the area of what was once the political and economic

center of Langkasuka.[305]

Mosques in Patani to 1785

The construction of Patani's first permanent mosque at Keresik[306] was a major event not

only in the history of Islam in Patani, but throughout the entire region. Whereas the mosques of

the west coast of the peninsula and on the east coast at Pahang and further south were generally

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[302] Casparis and Mabbett dated the Islamization of Patani to the fifteenth century mainly because this was the time in which it was rapidly expanding into neighboring Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, Perak, and Trengganu. J. G. De Casparis and I. W. Mabbett, "Religion and Popular Beliefs of Southeast Asia before c. 1500," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Volume 1: *From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling, 276-339 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 330.
[303] Wake, "Malacca's Early Kings," 120-1.
[304] LC 1839: 11; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 75, 152. Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid, Asia East by South series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 156.
[305] LC 1839: 14-5; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 78-9, 154-5.
[306] "Gresik/Kresik" is the Malay spelling for the mosque and today is used to refer to the area around the old city of Patani. "Kru Se" often appears in scholarly writing in English, which is the Romanization of the Thai spelling for the same word. Jawi: كرسيق

built in a Javanese style of architecture promulgated by Melaka, Patani maintained its own

distinct style bearing some Persian and local Buddhist architectural influences.[307] Developing a

recognizable style of mosque architecture which had sacred significance to key components of

the community denotes a certain level of confidence and pride about local traditions which

further suggests that Patani's Islamic elites saw themselves as legitimate regional leaders within

the emerging Malay-Islamic tradition. The "Patani style" of mosque, generally constructed from

wood, as Bougas argued, was raised on posts and possessed three parts: a *balai*, prayer hall, and

a *mihrab*[308] (rear annex).[309] The main prayer halls were generally rectangular in shape with the

north and south walls supported by five pillars each. Shuttered windows adorned with flower

motifs or Jawi inscriptions were one of the defining characteristics of the "Patani style."[310]

Because the Southeast Asian climate causes wooden constructions to decay so quickly,

many of Patani's oldest mosques have not survived. Some details have survived in early

European accounts, however, such as Nieuhoff who cited an earlier Dutch reference:

> The Mahometan Church is a stately Edifice of Brick-work, gilt very richly within, and adorned with Pillars, curiously wrought with Figures. In the midst close to the Wall is the Pulpit, carv'd and gilt all over, unto which the Priests are only permitted to ascend by four large Steps.[311]

This observation almost certainly refers to the Gresik mosque, built around the turn of the

seventeenth century by Raja Ijau or one of her successors, perhaps before more modern changes

were made to remove some of the identifying characteristics.[312] The building of such a

magnificent mosque as the Dutch description seems to indicate, naturally points to a growing

interest within the royal court held both by the raja and leading *orangkaya* to offer royal

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[307] Wayne A. L. Bougas, "Surau Air: Patani's Oldest Mosque," *Archipel* 43 (1992); Allan Bruce, "Notes on Early Mosques of the Malaysian Peninsula," *JMBRAS* 68, no. 2 (1996): 78.
[308] Jawi:
[309] Ibid., 100.
[310] Ibid., 105-8.
[311] Nieuhoff, "Mr. John Nieuhoff's Remarkable Voyages," 218.
[312] Reid claims that Chinese laborers were involved in its construction. Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, volume 1: *The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 68.

patronage to Islamic adherents and to glorify the faith. In so doing, the rajas expanded their own social influence in the society and simultaneously incorporated their own legacy within the emerging tradition.

The patronage of mosques and imams had the reciprocal effect of affording greater esteem to Muslim leaders who were then beginning to open a new space for social competition in Patani. Muslim leaders vied for royal favor in the form of patronized positions either in the court or in the mosque. In the latter, one might gain great royal favor, such as Seri Raja Fakih[313], the title granted to Shaykh Safī al-Dīn of Pasai after he directed the building of Patani's first mosque during Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh's reign. Other positions also likely existed so that scholars or preachers could survive while carrying out their work. In the court, there is evidence as early as the reign of Sultan Manṣūr Shāh, of prominent Muslim leaders serving as diplomats and in other court functions.[314] In one instance, Wan Muhammad, claimed in other sources to be the son of Shaykh Safī al-Dīn, was sent to negotiate a peace with Ayudhya following the 971/1564 war, and received the title of Orangkaya Seri Agar Diraja.[315] This not only evidences the growth of the mosque as a viable space for cultural and social capital acquisition, but also the ability of talented and ambitious Muslim leaders to sustain their status through extended lineages.[316]

Other tertiary evidence shows that some prominent Islamic intellectuals gained influence at court to the degree that they were able to convince the raja to implement their interpretations of Islamic law within the Shafi'i tradition. In 1009/1601, for instance, two young members of

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[313] A legal advisor to the raja.
[314] LC 1839: 30-5; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 91-4, 165-8.
[315] تاريخ فطاني [Tarikh Patani], Syeikh Faqih ʻAli al-Fathani, tr. Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, Pengenalan Series, v. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1998): 6; Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek, *Pensejarahan Patani* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2006): 149; LC 1839: 32; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 93, 167.
[316] Patani's most successful "Islamic" lineages shall be discussed in chapters 3-6.

orangkaya families were executed for committing *zina*[317] (fornication).[318] Later in the century, a

Persian observer noted that "the inhabitants are Muslims who adhere to the Shafiʻi sect."[319] The

replacement of *adat*[320] (traditional law) and the gradual implementation of some Islamic laws

over the course of several centuries shows that Islamic leaders had gained moral ascendancy

within the court and continued to achieve greater levels of influence through the course of the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Other Muslim leaders in Patani found their best opportunities for sacred capital

acquisition by teaching or proselytizing abroad. Alongside other prominent sixteenth and

seventeenth century Islamic missionaries from Aceh and Java, Patani preachers were most active

in the wider diaspora already discussed that centered on Makassar.[321] They likely forged links to

other Islamic communities throughout the region, including those in neighboring Kelantan,

Trengganu, Borneo, and perhaps Champa.

The mosque was always at the center of Patani's literate tradition due to the fact that

paper had come to Southeast Asia with Islamic merchants who had a near-monopoly of such

products in peninsular Southeast Asia.[322] Whereas paper had existed alongside other writing

forms prior to the sixteenth century, during the "Age of Commerce" the need for more practical

methods of writing became more widespread.[323] Writers of Malay had also adopted a modified

Persian script known as Jawi with which to conduct their writing as early as the fourteenth

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[317] Jawi: زينا
[318] Van Foreest and de Booy, *Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie*, 224.
[319] O'Kane, *Ship of Sulaiman*, 218.
[320] Jawi: عداة
[321] Barbara Watson Andaya and Ishii Yoneo, "Religious Developments in Southeast Asia, c. 1500-1800," in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, volume 1: *From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 519.
[322] Russell Jones, "The Origins of the Malay Manuscript Tradition," *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- end Volkenkunde* 115 (1986): 35-6.
[323] J. G. de Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography: A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. A.D. 1500*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, v. 3, no. 4, pt. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 122.

century and certainly by the sixteenth and seventeenth century its usage became preeminent in Patani.[324] Literacy was a skill gaining more importance as the need for documenting economic transactions in the marketplace, or recording oral traditions, codifying laws, and conducting diplomacy in the court became increasingly important. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw an explosion of written works promulgated mainly by Muslims and later by Europeans. In Patani, Muslims certainly had the edge as far as literacy was concerned and it seems natural to assume that needs for literate court dignitaries would be recruited from the mosque itself. Still, until at least the early seventeenth century the mosque had to compete with other temples for royal patronage and social prestige.

Non-Islamic Temples and Other Sacred Spaces

Bougas speculated that one of the three Buddhist *wat* described by the Dutch in 1058/1648 was located to the east of the royal palace in a place known as Kampung Kedi. This village may have been founded in 971/1564 when Sultan Muẓāffar Shāh settled sixty Burmese prisoners of war there. They supposedly built a monastery within their settlement called *kedi* referring to a pagoda or stupa.[325] Dutch visitors in 1010/1602 may have included this monastery in their description of three temples in the nearby area:

> They have also several Temples Dedicated to their *Pagan* Idols, among which three excel the rest. When the *Dutch* in 1602, settled first here, they saw in one of those Temples belonging to the Subjects of the King of *Siam*, a guilt Statue resembling a Man, but of the biggness of a Horse, with one hand down and the other upwards. On each side stood a very large Dragon gilt, with two Stone Statues, to wit, a Man on the one, and a Woman on the other side, with their hands lift up to Heaven. The same they saw in the second, with this difference only, That one half of it was only gilt, the other painted red. In the third was the same posture, with a gilt streak cross the breast; and behind the Altar of the great Idol, was another lesser Statue, resembling a Man, with a large horn in the forehead; This Idol their Priests say, represents the Great God.[326]

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[324] The author visited the old royal graveyards of Patani dating to the early sixteenth century in June 2008. Wayne A. Bougas, "Some Early Islamic Tombstones in Patani," *JMBRAS* 59, no. 1 (1986): 85-112.
[325] This term is derived from the Pali word "cetiya" or "chedi" in Thai. Bougas, "Patani in the Beginning of the XVIIe Century," 131.
[326] Nieuhoff, "Mr. Nieuhoff's Remarkable Voyages," 218.

The above description indicates that some Buddhist temples existed in the region and that these often included images and practices known only to the local area. The principle social players in these temples no doubt competed, like the imams of the mosques, for patronage from the rajas. It is not clear how long after the court's conversion the rajas continued to sponsor non-Islamic sacred spaces, if they did at all. Certainly by the seventeenth century the mosques had the upper hand as the bond between Islamic leaders and court officials strengthened. But these non-Islamic spaces certainly lingered on, gaining mention as late as the 1780s in British records. Not until the nineteenth century was there a sudden and dramatic shift towards further Islamization of the local area, as the Islamic elites definitively triumphed over all other social actors.

The Mosque in Patani's Social Milieu before 1199/1785

From our discussion here, we may conclude that from the mosques' first appearances from the sixteenth century onwards, they slowly developed into viable arenas for social competition where elites vied for cultural and social capital with which to preserve and transmit via lineages to their descendants. Whereas in the sixteenth century non-Islamic temples appear to have held their own as equally important social spaces, even by the seventeenth century the mosques had gained ascendancy over their rivals through royal patronage. Such social spaces might be seen as individual arenas of competition but also ones that came together in common cause against other temples that competed for royal patronage. When the royal court appears to have turned towards promoting mosques over other temples by the seventeenth century, the other temples became less dynamic spaces for social action. The rise of Islamic sacred spaces was due largely to a combination of financial superiority and increasing moral authority as the privileged venue for spiritual and religious expression for the people of Patani.

Conclusion

Patani's economic collapse in the final decade of the seventeenth century forced mercantile elites to retreat from the market to the court as the only remaining major space for social competition. This influx of powerful, but desperate elites into court affairs quickly overloaded the court's capacity to absorb new players into the fold.[327] The rajas were unable to keep various factions at bay and became increasingly reliant upon *orangkaya* for their hold on power. Powerful *orangkaya* then began promoting puppet candidates to the throne, leading to a breakdown in the social order in the sultanate especially after 1122/1710.[328] Without a united front, Patani could not repel invasions from Ayudhya and after the attack of 1101/1690 the sultanate never recovered its political cohesion or economic stability, much to the detriment of local elites. Yet, the moral authority of the court lingered on, without a viable successor as the progenitor and judge of social value and prestige

Following Patani's defeat by Ayudhya in 1105/1694, Siamese influence in local politics appeared to escalate, showing that some local political elites found it advantageous to their own social outcomes to draw on this new source of political capital. This had the double effect of pitting factions of *orangkaya* against one another while simultaneously undermining the central power of the raja due to the internal divisions. Raja Emas Kelantan faced particular troubles maintaining stability throughout her reign, but the troubles increased dramatically during the reigns of her successors (c. 1109-41/1698-1729).[329] The rajas that succeeded her no longer were

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[327] In the *Hikayat Patani*'s account of the *bendahara* of Patani, it specifically notes that the raja could no longer effectively bestow royal patronage upon court elites. LC 1839: 74-80; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 128-33, 197-202.
[328] LC 1839: 74-78, 83-88; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 128-31, 136-40, 197-201, 205-10.
[329] There has been some confusion about the gender of this ruler. Teeuw and Wyatt assumed Raja Emas Kelantan to be a king. The ambiguity of non-gendered personal pronouns in Malay does not help clarify this issue. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani argued that she was a queen and the widow of her predecessor Raja Bakal, a position that I have bolstered

the most powerful social actors in the sultanate and instead had to increasingly rely upon leading

orangkaya or regional allies loyal to Ayudhya to maintain their position. Of this period, one of

the authors of the *Hikayat Patani* wrote:

مک نکری فتانی فون ساغتله هارو هار اث دان سکل ر عیت فون بایق کساکیتن دان عادة ترتیب فون سده
تیاد ملینکن فرنته الله سحبانه وتعالي جوک یغ کهدافن ایت تیاد دافت سکل مخلق مغتهوي دي[330]

Malay Transliteration:

> Maka negeri Patani pun sangatlah haru-haranya dan segala rakyat pun banyak kesakitan dan adat tertib pun
> sudah tiada, melainkan perintah Allah subhanahu watakala juga yang ke hadapan itu tiada dapat segala
> makhluk mengetahui dia.

Translation:

> The country of Patani has been in great confusion and all of its people have many sufferings, while rules
> and customs are no longer followed; but it is not for any creature to know the command of God – praise be
> to Him and may He be exalted – regarding what lies ahead.

Again, the authors of the sultanate's royal chronicle seem most attuned to the disintegration of

"rules and customs" indicating that shifts in the methods and strategies of social competition had

again resulted in great anxiety for the *orangkaya*. Some court elites managed to usurp royal

power either by wielding the power and influence of the office of *bendahara* to the point where

they exceeded that of the raja, or by deposing the raja and taking the *nobat* for their own.[331]

With court politics becoming increasingly factional, the social survival of existing elites became

ever more precarious and faltered over time without a stabilizing influence.

The sultanate experienced at least two famines that appear to have devastated an already

declining population, further undermining the power of elites whose position was based upon

attracting and maintaining a retinue of followers. A Dutch company official wrote of a great

famine in Patani in 1105/1694, likely due to a combination of problems relating to the recent war

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elsewhere. LC 1839: 75; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 129, 197; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, 35; Bradley, "Moral Order in a Time of Damnation," (forthcoming).
[330] LC 1839: 78
[331] LC 1839: 74-8; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 128-31, 197-201.

with Ayudhya during which time the occupying army had destroyed Patani's agricultural

resources.[332] After another conflict with Siam, Patani endured a second famine in 1126/1714

that affected the entire mid-peninsula where food prices had risen dramatically.[333] The Scottish

EIC merchant Alexander Hamilton, passing through the region in 1129/1717, wrote:

> It was formerly the greatest port of trade in all those seas, but the inhabitants being too potent to be afraid of the King's laws, they became so insolent, that merchants were obliged to remove their commerce to countries of more security. It was the staple port for Surat shipping, and from Goa, Malabar and Chormondel[334] they had a good trade, and so they had from China, Tunquin,[335] Cambodia, and Siam; but the merchants finding no restraint on robbers and murderers, were obliged to give their trade a turn into another chanel, which was a great advantage to Batavia, Siam and Malacca.[336]

As the social order collapsed, famines and the resulting economic fallout led to widespread

starvation and migration from Patani that decimated the population. The decline in population

was critical to undercutting the power of the raja and *orangkaya* whose power relied most

heavily upon their ability to maintain large retinues of loyal followers through which they

extended their social power. Though the decline in the strength of local entourages affected all

of the leading *orangkaya* in Patani, the power balance with Ayudhya swung irreversibly in favor

of the latter through the decades that followed. As we shall see in chapter two, the Burmese

sacking of Ayudhya in 1180/1767 only gave Patani a brief reprieve; and from the apparent

opportunity to "rebel" sprung the seed of its undoing.

Despite the rising fortunes of Islamic elites in the pre-1785 period, the mosque remained

a much smaller space for social competition when compared to the royal palace and the

marketplace. The latter two spaces were the dynamic social spaces where *orangkaya* found the

best opportunity to acquire and accumulate cultural and social capital in the sixteenth and

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[332] GM V: 721.
[333] GM VII: 98.
[334] The Coromandel Coast.
[335] Tonkin.
[336] Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, 84.

seventeenth centuries. A devastated economy and declining political power and cohesion were evident by the turn of the eighteenth century, however, which propelled surviving *orangkaya* to seek new methods and strategies for social survival, if they had any at all. The links that persisted between the mosque and the royal court and the marketplace were ones that would become vital after the fall of Patani to Siam in 1199-1200/1785-6.

Chapter 2
The Shattering of Patani:
Firearms, Massacres, and the Realignment of Political Space, 1767-1842

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze how Siam conquered Patani through the course of five wars, at least two major attempts at permanent depopulation, and widespread massacre and exile. In the period 1180-1258/1767-1842, Siam annihilated Patani's elite political players and their lineages in successive waves. Those who managed to survive the violence either had to take flight or accept a position of obeisance as a provincial administrator who reported to Siam's representatives in Songkhla. The period 1199-1253/1785-1838 marks the moment during which Patani transitioned from a semi-independent *mandala*-based polity to a peripheral Siamese imperial province. The critical destruction of Patani's political players who had featured so prominent a role in the sixteenth and seventeenth century social milieu, as described in chapter one, was to propel Patani to the brink of a socio-moral crisis.

The political elites were not easily defeated, however, and many of their adherents came to their aid because by attacking them, Siam was assaulting the central substance that made Patani a cohesive society and a community. As Milner noted about political loyalties and identities of people in other parts of Southeast Asia, one was reported to have stated, "I am the subject of the Raja of Lingga."[1] Both elites and common residents had an interest in preserving these sorts of affiliations, the former as a means of generating and maintaining a labor and conscription base, the latter for protection from neighboring aggressors and other elites. Thus the directed assault by Siam against the political elites of Patani resulted, on a macro-level, in a beheading of the existing social hierarchies. Following the removal of the raja and the other

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[1] Quoted in A. C. Milner, *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule*, The Association of Asian Studies Monograph, no. 40 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982): 2.

major political players, Patani was bereft of the progenitors and shepherds of the society's moral order. Between 1199/1785 and 1253/1838, the fabric of Patani society was torn asunder, as Siam aimed to dismember it and absorb it into its expanding empire. The Patani elites who remained, bearing a legacy of previous failure, eventually constructed a new social order—one in which Islamic intellectuals were to have a central role.

I analyze the destruction of Patani's political elites in four major parts. First, following scholarship posited by Michael Charney and Gerrit Knaap, I critique Anthony Reid's "low casualty" thesis in regards to Southeast Asian warfare. Drawing upon evidence in both Southeast Asian and European accounts of warfare, I argue that the eighteenth century bore witness to a steady rise of bloodshed on the battlefield as opposed to earlier periods when greater equality in access to firearms and demographics allowed Patani to stand against and even defeat Siam on the field of battle. Indeed, there appears to be a change in both capacity and intention to kill in the eighteenth century, as attempts at depopulation became increasingly important for centralizing state regimes.

I analyze the fall of Ayudhya in the second section and follow the political circumstances that ultimately led to the catastrophic Patani-Siam War of 1199-1200/1785-6 that had profound ramifications for Patani's political status, demographics, and notions of Patani's sovereignty. Thus began the process of shattering Patani into fractured political units, casting waves of refugees into the northern Malay states who would, at times, look back to Patani as a homeland to be regained. I argue that the conflict was a turning point, not only in political relations, but sent the society into social and cultural disarray from which it would not surface fully until the 1870s. Nevertheless, the profoundly influential Shaykh Dāwūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī was among those who were displaced in the 1785-6 war. He took refuge in Mecca where he wrote

many dozens of books concerning Islamic doctrines and in later years, his students returned to Patani, where they employed his writings as a blueprint for forging a new cultural and religious destiny for Patani society, as discussed in the succeeding chapters.

In the third section, I analyze two succeeding conflicts with Bangkok in the period 1203-22/1789-1808 and the slow rise of British interest in the decade following. The latter conflict solidified the shattering of Patani that had already begun in the initial invasion by institutionalizing the division of Patani into a number of petty kingdoms. Though political elites continued to make attempts at solidarity and reunification, Siam had irreversibly shattered the political landscape as a means of deepening its control of the region.

In the concluding section, I analyze how regional politics, particularly the Siamese invasion of Kedah in 1236/1821, led to more sustained wars in the 1830s that dealt Patani's political elites a mortal blow from which they never recovered. The final conflicts in 1246-7/1831-2 and 1253/1838 sent another wave of refugees into neighboring areas, which resulted in a fresh class of students appearing in Mecca—many of whom studied with Shaykh Dawud Fatani, who was then at the height of his intellectual powers. With their homeland in political disunity and under continued threat from Siam, his students were to return in succeeding decades to resurrect, rebuild, and reshape Patani, which is fully illustrated in chapters three to six.

Part I: Firearms, Warfare, and Massacres on the Mainland before 1785
Practices of Southeast Asian Warfare: The "Low Casualty" Theory and its Critics

In Anthony Reid's seminal work, he argued that the scarcity of large, stable workforces in Southeast Asia compelled rulers to engage in low casualty warfare.[2] This manner of thinking led generals and rulers to compete with their enemies over the control of people, rather than land.

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[2] Anthony Reid, *Europe and Southeast Asia: The Military Balance*, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies Occasional Paper, no. 16, ed. Bob Hering (Townsville: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1982): 1.

Whether by near-constant small-scale raiding or in the clashes between great armies, the main goal of any conflict was to increase the labor forces of a particular ruler at the expense of an enemy. Cities were rarely built of "permanent" materials such as stone, and their rulers rarely afforded them major fortifications such as walls or moats or bothered developing defensive strategies because there was little within the city worth defending. The weaker party in a conflict often responded with quick flight into a nearby forest or mountainous region where they sought refuge until the soldiers of the invading army had satisfied themselves by carrying off as much loot as they could manage, and withdrew back to their capital.

Even when fighting occurred, Reid proffered, opposing sides often went to great lengths to intimidate their enemies into surrendering, whether by amassing an overwhelming force or by shooting into the air, beating drums, or making other impressive shows of strength or positive fate, rather than defeating them by sheer force of arms.[3] At other times, a contest might be decided by single-combat between two opposing generals, the loser's army thereafter submitting to the victor to be taken as captives back to the opposition's royal court and offered to the ruler as war booty. Generals engaged in these sorts of tactics because they could scarcely afford to lose a large number of soldiers when their labor forces were in perpetual shortage. Though warfare was endemic in many places, it was rarely very costly in terms of lives, according to Reid's theory.

Certainly one important goal of warfare was to take captives to supplement a ruler's labor force or army, as evidenced by the Ayudhyan-Patani conflicts discussed in chapter one. Of war, the Frenchman La Loubere remarked:

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[3] Ibid.

> They busie themselves only in making Slaves. If the *Peguins*, for example, do on one fide invade the lands of *Siam*, the *Siameses* will at another place enter the Lands of *Pegu*, and both Parties will carry away whole Villages into Captivity."[4]

Many of such captives were also sold, as evidenced by Patani's own market for Bornean slaves, like many others in the region, to cover the costs of raiding.[5] The need to raid, as has been noted, increased in proportion as the central state apparatuses grew in strength and size, particularly in the mainland powers of Burma, Siam, and Viet Nam.[6]

As Michael Charney has argued in his recent comprehensive study of pre-modern and early colonial era Southeast Asian warfare, however, European visitors in the region often underestimated the bloodiness of armed conflicts in the region.[7] On the one hand, as Gerrit Knaap explained in his study of headhunting and communal raiding, "violence was endemic" in many places.[8] But more importantly, Reid and other historians who ascribed to the "low casualty" theory ignore numerous indigenous and European accounts of violent warfare in the region and placed too much evidence upon reports such as La Loubere's:

> The Opinion of *Metempsychosis* inspiring them with an horror of blood, deprives them likewise of the Spirit of War ... if the Armies meet, they will not shoot directly one against the other, but higher; and yet as they endeavour to make these random Shots to fall back upon the enemies, to the end that they may be overtaken therewith, if they do not retreat, one of the two Parties do's not long defer from taking flight, upon perceiving it never so little to rain Darts and Bullets. But if the design be to stop the Troops that come upon them, they will shoot lower than it is necessary; to the end that if the Enemies approach, the fault be their own in coming within the reach of being wounded or slain. Kill not is the order, which the

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[4] Simon de la Loubere, *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam* (London: F. L. for Thomas Horne at the Royal Exchange, Francis Saunders at the New Exchange, and Thomas Bennet at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1688, reprinted Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986): 90.

[5] W. H. Mooreland, *Peter Floris: His Voyage to the East Indies in the* Globe, *1611-1615*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, v. 74 (London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1934): 94-5; Wayne A. Bougas, *The Kingdom of Patani: Between Thai and Malay mandalas*, Occasional Paper on the Malay World, no. 12 (Selangor: Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1994): 44; Gerrit Knaap, "Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace in Amboina, 1500-1700," in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, no. 2 (2003): 169; Anthony Reid, "The Rise of Makassar," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17 (1983): 137.

[6] Michael W. Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare, 1300-1900*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Three: Southeast Asia, v. 16, eds. V. Lieberman, et al. (Leiden: Brill: 2004): 18.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Knaap, "Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace," 189.

> King of Siam gives his Troops, when he sends them into the Field: which cannot signifie that they should kill absolutely, but that they shoot not directly upon the Enemy.[9]

This may well have been a misinterpretation by the Frenchman that in Southeast Asian warfare small guns were often used for more than just lethal action, but also functioned as a drum substitute and noise-maker for intimidating enemy forces. Along this vein, a Persian observer noted:

> The fixed custom is that when two factions have lined up before one another, a group from each side comes forward, beating kettle drums and playing flutes and the infantry and the horsemen on both sides begin dancing and shouting and raising all the noise they can. Every so often one army advances and the other retreats and in that way the one that has some luck manages to catch the other off guard. They rush up and surround their rivals and when the victorious group like a pair of compasses draws a line around the other army, the vanquished, being the dot in the center, admit defeat and place their will in the circle of obedience.[10]

Charney cites numerous examples throughout the region from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries in which battles were fought face to face with the intent of killing their enemies, and resulted in large numbers of casualties. Perhaps most illustrative was John Crawfurd's remark:

> The abhorrence of shedding blood inculcated in theory by the worship of the Buddha has had no influence whatever in elevating and humanizing the character of its votaries; for the history of the Singalese, the Burmans, the Peguans, and Siamese, abounds in acts of the utmost cruelty and ferocity;--in a word, there are no countries in Asia in which human life is held so cheap as in those in which the shedding of blood is considered a sacrilege.[11]

While Crawfurd's experience was naturally colored by the British experience in coastal Burma in the 1820s—during which time the British also committed many horrific acts of violence against the Burmese—it is still telling that Europeans observed soldiers in Southeast Asian armies who were willing and capable of committing acts of great violence.

Along the same lines as Charney, Gerrit Knaap argued that it is difficult to imagine warriors on the battlefield rationally choosing to avoid bloodshed for the sake of saving enemies for their ruler's workforce. Killing may have well been "of prime importance," in fact, and used

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[9] Loubere, *New Historical Relation*, 90.

[10] John O'Kane, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, Persian Heritage Series, no. 11 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972): 91.

[11] John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China; Exhibiting a View of the Actual State of Those Kingdoms*, (London: Henry Colburn, 1828): 371.

first to break the will of a conquered enemy before taking whatever fearful survivors remained as slaves.[12] Knaap's view was that the burning of rival villages and the destruction of plantations was as much for power and war booty as it was for captives.[13]

A Brief Account of Firearm Technology in Southeast Asia, 14th to 18th Centuries

Charney argues that rather than attempt to draw some distinction between European and Southeast Asian views of killing, as Reid had done, one should instead accept that the new technology imported primarily from Europe increased the scale of killing by making it possible for better-equipped armies to defeat their neighbors who did not possess the latest in gunpowder technology.[14] This began from almost first-contact between Europe and Southeast Asia in the early sixteenth century, and in Sinicized regions which had access to firearms from China even earlier.[15] The most important firearms Southeast Asian armies employed can be broken into two categories: heavy and small guns.

Heavy guns, including various types of cannons, appeared in Southeast Asia perhaps as early as the fourteenth century when, according to the Ayudhyan chronicles, the Siamese employed them against Chiang Mai.[16] The Chinese also appear to have employed firearms against the Burmese as early as 790/1388.[17] Gunpowder technologies then proliferated in the following century, spreading from China, India, and the Middle East, particularly to the mainland states of Burma, Ayudhya, and to the western archipelago in places such as Melaka

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[12] Knaap, "Headhunting, Carnage and Armed Peace," 190.
[13] Ibid., 172.
[14] Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 21.
[15] Ibid., 42-9.
[16] Richard D. Cushman, tr. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, ed. David K. Wyatt (Bangkok: The Siam Society under Royal Patronage, 2000): 13.
[17] L. Carrington Goodrich and Feng Chia-sheng, "The Early Development of Firearms in China." *Isis* 36, no. 2 (1946): 120-1; Wang Ling, "On the Invention and Use of Gunpowder and Firearms in China," *Isis* 37, no. 3/4 (1947): 175.

and later Aceh.[18] When the Portuguese arrived in the sixteenth century, they found that their

only real advantage over local powers was their ability to employ cannons in warfare at sea,

whereas on land they were on a more equal footing.[19] While the seventeenth century saw a

general escalation of firearm technology propagated by the Dutch, the century that followed

resulted in the greatest inequality between powerful centralizing states who had the ability to

finance gun foundries and those that lacked such resources. By the 1690s, the Siamese were

crafting their own cannons, though European observers believed them to be poorly constructed.[20]

When they found their own crafts to be unsatisfactory, the Ayudhyan authorities turned to the

Portuguese at Macao for better supplies.[21] By the 1780s, Burma is known to have had what

Europeans called "serpentines," or extremely long guns which sometimes approached 10 meters

in length.[22] Mainland powers also had a need to develop light field artillery, such as swivel-

guns, which were more effective in land battles because of their mobility.[23]

It is not clear when small guns first appeared in Southeast Asia but were noted in the

earliest Portuguese accounts of Melaka, Trinh Viet Nam, and Mindanao.[24] Small guns, including

early muskets and rifles, were unreliable in combat, and remained a second option to swords and

[18] Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 44-7.

[19] Reid, *Military Balance*, 5; Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400-1700* (London: Collins, 1965).

[20] Loubere, *New Historical Relation*, 91; Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 59.

[21] Loubere, *New Historical Relation*, 91.

[22] C. A. Gibson-Hill, "Notes on the Old Cannon Found in Malaya, and Known to Be of Dutch Origin," *JMBRAS* 26, no.1 (1953): 170n; J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1960): 226; Charney 2004: 49.

[23] Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 49-50.

[24] Armando Cortesão, ed. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to China, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues Pilot-Major of the Armada that Discovered Banda and the Moluccas, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, vol. 2, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, second series (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1944): 115; Leonard Y. Andaya, "Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Volume 1: *From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 380; Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 52-3; Gibson-Hill, "Notes on the Old Cannon," 147, 170n; C. R. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill." *JMBRAS* 38, no. 2 (1965): 168.

spears well into the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries.[25] By the early seventeenth century, the flintlock musket became an increasingly common weapon proliferated in arms trading between European company officials and local rulers, particularly by the Dutch and French.[26] The Dutch were central to introducing new versions of small guns, and by the period 1090-1132/1680-1720, were selling matchlock muskets throughout the archipelago which were much more reliable than earlier small guns. Evidently the Burmese and other rulers on the mainland also sought out superior guns for the soldiers in their armies throughout the eighteenth century. By the late seventeenth century, craftsmen in Viet Nam were making their own gunpowder, a trade that also appeared in Burma around the same time.[27] Perhaps one of the most illustrative examples of the gunpowder stores of the mainland Southeast Asian powers was the tremendous arsenal the Burmese captured from Ayudhya in 1180/1767.[28] It is evident from our discussion here that certainly by the eighteenth century, certain powerful states had gained functional control over the production and maintenance of firearms for the purposes of employing them in battle. This was to be a crucial factor in the rise of the mainland powers with disastrous effects upon their less populated, technologically inferior neighbors.

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[25] Charney, *Southeast Asian Warfare*, 51-2; Gibson-Hill, "Notes on the Old Cannon," 170n.

[26] Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire A Hundred Years Ago*, ed. John Jardine (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1893): 97-8; Andaya, "Interactions with the Outside World," 394; Victor Lieberman, "Was the Seventeenth Century a Watershed in Burmese History?" in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid, Asia East by South series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 228-9; M. C. Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy in Java, 1677-1726: Asian and European Imperialism in the Early Kartasura Period*, Asian Studies Association of Australia Southeast Asia Publications Series, no. 24 (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993): 130, 324; Frank N. Trager and William J. Koenig, *Burmese Sit-tàns 1764-1826: Records of Rural Life and Administration*, Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, v. 36, ed. Frank Reynolds, et al. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979): 73; Gibson-Hill, "Notes on the Old Cannon," 170n.

[27] William Dampier, *Dampier's Voyages*, vol. 2, ed. John Masefield (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906): 4-5, 28-30.

[28] Andaya, "Interactions with the Outside World," 382-3.

Enhanced Ability to Kill: An Overview of Firearm Massacres on the Mainland before 1199/1785

In this section, I discuss how the inequality of the development of gunpowder technology played a direct role in the occurrence of massacres in early modern Southeast Asian history that, coupled with demographic expansion brought on by agricultural innovations, allowed centralized state apparatuses to rise on the mainland.[29] Though Victor Lieberman eloquently makes the case for "integration" in the construction of the early modern kingdoms of Burma, Siam, and Viet Nam, it was also a process of violent assimilation, via warfare, disproportionate demographic expansion, or forced ethnic absorption, which allowed these three powerful political centers to lay waste to the innumerable smaller polities that lay between and beside them. I will concentrate upon the cases of Burma and Siam because of their relevance to the Patani case due to the fact that the two mainland powers competed against one another to extend their influence down the peninsula. Reid wrote, "Military technology tends to be the first to be borrowed, since the penalties for not doing so are immediate and fatal."[30] As Patani's populace would painfully realize in the 1785-6 war, the eighteenth century had born witness to the increased ability of humans to kill each other, made possible by greater, more efficient, increasingly reliable

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[29] Nicolas Gervaise, *Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam* (Paris: Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, dur le second Perron de la Sainte Chappelle, 1688): 3-4; O'Kane, *Ship of Sulaiman*, 153-4; C. Skinner, ed. *The Battle for Junk Ceylon: The Syair Sultan Maulana, Text, Translation and Notes*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, v. 25 (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1985): 10-2; Ishii Yoneo, ed. *Thailand: A Rice-Growing Society*, tr. Peter and Stephanie Hawkes, Monographs of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies Kyoto University series (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978): 26-7, 41-2; William J. Koenig, *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819: Politics, Administration, and Social Organization in the Early Kon-baung Period*, Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, no. 34 (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1990): 25; Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*. Volume 1: *Integration on the Mainland*, Studies in Comparative World History series, ed. Michael Adas and Philip D. Curtin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 164-7, 248-58; John Sternstein, "'Krung Kao': The Old Capital of Ayutthaya," *JSS* 53, no. 1 (1965): 96-7; Martin Stuart-Fox, *The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang: Rise and Decline* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1998): 60-1; Sunait Chutintaranond, "The Origins of Siamese-Burmese Warfare," in *Proceedings for the International Workshop: Ayudhya and Asia*, ed. Kajit Jittasevi, 87-107 (Bangkok, Dec 18-20, 1995): 96-101; Thant Myint-U, *The Making of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 13-20; Michael W. Charney, "Shallow-draft Boats, Guns, and the *Aye-ra-wa-ti*: Continuity and Change in Ship Structure and River Warfare in Precolonial Myanma." *Oriens Extremus* 40, no. 1 (1997): 16-63.
[30] Reid, *Military Balance*, 1.

firearms. And Patani, bereft of its more extensive array of seventeenth century trading partners, was unable to maintain the military edge it had possessed in earlier conflicts. The firearms imbalance coupled with demographic shifts meant that the political powers centered around lush river valleys, particularly Burma and Siam, where agricultural innovations were leading to rapid population growth, were able to mobilize forces large enough to dominate their neighbors on a scale not previously possible.

Firearm massacres occurred in Burma by at least the sixteenth century when the coastal polity of Pegu struggled against the interior power of Ava for position of supreme political power in the region.[31] Generally the central basin with its political center at Ava had held a distinct demographic advantage over the southern coastal territories at Pegu and monopolized trade routes to China where it obtained firearms, but in the 1530s, an influx of warships, arquebuses, matchlocks, and small cannon obtained from the Portuguese allowed the coastal polity to gain a significant military advantage it enjoyed for approximately six decades.[32] The Portuguese guns (and Portuguese mercenaries) offered Pegu some clear advantages because they were less likely to burst and their range was much greater than existing Chinese or Indian weapons generally in use in the interior. In succeeding decades, Pegu managed to conquer most of the key inland areas of the central Irrawaddy Basin and make war against the northern Shans, who had a more limited access to firearms.[33] It is difficult to estimate the casualties but Pegu managed to take Ava in 963/1555 and "unify" the region into one political unit, through the process of massacring local populations and the forced resettlement of large numbers of

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[31] Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): 148-50.
[32] Victor B. Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, c. 1580-1760* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): 28.
[33] Ibid., 29.

inhabitants. One contemporary observer wrote of King Bayin-naung's attack on the interior

capital:

> The reports of [his] cannon and muskets reverberated like ... thunderbolts. Detonation followed detonation till it seemed a man's ears would burst; no defender dared expose so much as a finger above the battlements."[34]

Having conquered the interior basin, Pegu then turned its attention to Chiang Mai and even

conquered Ayudhya twice in 971/1564 and 976/1569. Each time, Pegu's ability to pose such a

threat to Ayudhya was due mostly to their "unprecedented array of large-caliber cannon."[35]

Military advantages did not provide the short-lived empire permanent stability and

administrative weaknesses by the 1580s resulting in numerous uprisings from across the empire

that gave rise to the Restored Toungoo Empire and the fall of Pegu in 1006/1598. Though Pegu

still possessed at least 150 large Portuguese cannons at that time, the disintegration of their

supporting armies prevented them from employing the weapons effectively, due to critical food

shortages and local discontent.[36] This caused the displacement of as many as 200,000 people

near Martaban, for example, and likely many more people throughout the region who either fled

the conquering armies of Arakan and Toungoo or had to relocate because of agricultural

destruction and famine.[37] The victorious generals forcibly resettled the conquered populations to

the central Irrawaddy regions under their control to further glorify their rulers and enhance their

power. Captives deemed suitable soldiers were forced into the conquering armies to replace

those who had been lost in the fighting.[38] Other massacres and deportations followed in the

period up to 1037/1628, during which time Ava's armies defeated the people who inhabited the

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[34] Quoted in Ibid., 30-1.
[35] Ibid., 31.
[36] It also appears that many soldiers and cultivators had already begun to flee north from the region beginning in the 1590s. Ibid., 42-3.
[37] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, v. 10 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905): 215.
[38] Lieberman, *Administrative Cycles*, 50.

coastal and mountainous regions west of the Salween River, bringing wave after wave of conquered subjects back to the central basin as slaves to work the rice fields.

For the rest of the seventeenth century, Ava's rulers seemed content to maintain their empire by occasionally strengthening its military at the perimeters of its empire, while quelling dissent amongst political rivals closer to home. The coastal ports still had unique access to firearms. Musketeers and artillerymen amounted to a sizeable proportion of the imperial troops, especially by the early eighteenth century.[39] As mentioned earlier, gunpowder was by then manufactured in Upper Burma, but the rulers still obtained the best quality muskets and cannons from European and Muslim traders. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century the Burmese army was equipped with flintlocks and perhaps even wheel locks, both of which surpassed earlier matchlock guns in "convenience, safety, and versatility."[40] When hereditary artillerymen could not suffice, they hired foreign mercenary gunners for particular campaigns. The combination of imported guns and mercenary personnel gave Burma an "important military advantage over traditional foes, whether provincial rebels or restive tributaries."[41] In open field battles, firearms were employed to weaken the enemy at a distance before setting upon them for melee combat. Cannons also had a central role in attacking or defending bamboo, brick, or wood fortifications. Each successful raid resulted in large numbers of captives that allowed the large political centers to gain even greater power as they supplemented their already growing populations that were prospering due to agricultural innovations. As we discussed at the conclusion of chapter one, the decline of Patani's population during the final decade of the seventeenth and opening two decades of the eighteenth centuries was just the opposite of Ayudhya's burgeoning populations in the Chao Phraya delta. Siam's population may have

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[39] Ibid., 104, 126.
[40] Ibid., 126.
[41] Ibid., 127.

grown from approximately 2.5 million in 1008/1600 to about four million in 1214/1800.[42] This

demographic shift would ultimately become a crucial factor in Patani's catastrophic defeat of

1785-6.

Before moving forward to examine the eighteenth century imbalance of military power,

however, we must first briefly discuss Ayudhya's military development during the two previous

centuries, particularly its way of fending off Burma's advances, even while the latter generally

possessed the upper hand. From its mid-sixteenth century humiliation at the hands of Pegu,

Ayudhya had a resurgence of power enough to throw off Burmese suzerainty in 992/1584 and

even threaten coastal Burma by 1007/1599.[43] Through the course of the century following, Siam

generally fought petty battles with Ava during which time neither of the polities enacted a

catastrophic defeat upon the other. By the late sixteenth century, Siam had gained access to

effective firearms and employed them against their enemies, first noted in their sacking of the

Khmer capital at Lovek in 1002/1594.[44] This meant that by the dawn of the seventeenth century,

Ayudhya had no major rivals in the central mainland. Having gained some ascendancy over the

Cambodian and Lan Sang courts, Ayudhya contented itself in keeping a watchful eye upon its

nearest notable neighbors.[45] Throughout the period, the royal court possessed an effective

monopoly over the importation of firearms into Ayudhya and though, like Burma, Siam had

developed its own gun foundries and gunpowder manufacturers, the best guns apparently still

came from European traders. Like the Burmese, Ayudhyan generals also hired Japanese, Malay,

Mon, and Portuguese mercenaries for specific campaigns when they found local conscripts

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[42] Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy*, 451-2; Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 295; Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, Volume 1: *The Lands Below the Winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 14; G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: an Analytical History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957): 68.
[43] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 275.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 275, 285-6.

insufficient for the task. The coast still afforded Ayudhya unique access to firearms that interior, land-locked polities could not obtain, and smaller coastal polities could not afford.

Beginning in the 1730s, the balance of military power on the western and central mainland was again thrown into disarray, beginning with the disintegration of Ava's central political control and the revolt of Pegu in 1152/1740.[46] From the beginning, access to the best guns obtained through coastal commerce was a factor in Pegu's success which, along with trade revenues, compensated for its small population. During the following two decades, Burman princes and Pegu diplomats vigorously attempted to obtain ammunition, cannons, and the latest muskets from the English and the French.[47] In the first attack on Syriam, the Pegu forces entered the city "in tumult and violence."[48] Smin Dhaw, the new Karen king of Pegu, then ordered his soldiers to "kill all the governing Burmars that were in Syriam; and as now the said governing Burmars are destroyed."[49] A British official stationed in Madras reported that Smin Dhaw's armies had "killed 7 or 8,000 Burmars in Syrian."[50] Another British official reported, "I saved the lives of above two thousand Burmars and have since been endeavouring by all means to regulate and moderate the Government."[51]

The violence did not end quickly. After marching north on Prome, Smin Dhaw found the city to be mostly abandoned because the inhabitants had "fled toward Ava to a man."[52] Smin Dhaw's successor, Banya-dala, marched his army north and laid siege to Ava, eventually achieving victory which allowed him to deport 15,000 "northern Burman courtiers and troops"

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[46] Koenig, *Burmese Polity*, 11-2; Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, 211.
[47] Ibid., 212.
[48] Quoted in Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 151.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

back to Pegu.[53] The following year when he reportedly discovered a plot amongst the captives to rebel against him, he massacred 1,000 of them, including the deposed Burmese king, in 1167-8/October 1754, which sparked a Burman revolt in Prome.[54] Other Burmese accounts telling of the 1165/1752 fall of Ava stated that the aftermath witnessed, "destruction and disorder throughout the countryside, when mothers could not find their children, nor children their mothers, when the Mon rebels carried off people, selling and reselling them as slaves."[55]

In the north, the Burmese king Alaung-hpaya responded with an attack on the south, conquering Pegu on the morning of May 7, 1757 after a one and a half year siege. A Mon account, written in Thai in the 1790s stated, "The inhabitants were in a bad way. Some decided to join the Burmese side, and set fires in the city."[56] Indeed, Alaung-hpaya's army razed the city to the ground and massacred the enemy garrison, "with bodies piled so high in the gates that people within the city could not escape."[57] A Burmese-language version of a Mon chronicle written a decade later reported:

> Alaungpaya took revenge on the Mons ... He flung most of them including 3,000 monks [under] the elephants, killing them all. The Burmese officials used the monks' velvet robes for making cloaks for themselves. The cotton robes were used for making mattresses, rice bags, napkins, and rugs. The monks' iron begging bowls were used as pots for cooking rice ... The surviving population was also badly treated. They suffered terribly at the hands of Burmese. The Burmese officials sold the Mon captives as cattle at different prices: 100 ticals of silver, 50 ticals, 25 ticals, 20 ticals and 15 ticals each. Thus the families were separated. The sons could not see their mothers, the mothers could not see their sons.[58]

Another report stated that Alaung-hpaya "declared that [the monks] were not true *bhikkhus*[59] and thus had his soldiers kill more than 1,000 of them. The *bhikkhus* fled in fright to the forests, to Chiang Mai, to Muang Thai and to Tavoy." A third report, written by a Mon monk who had escaped, stated:

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[53] The estimates of deportees vary. Koenig, *Burmese Polity*, 12-3; Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, 230.
[54] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 204-5.
[55] Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, 230-1.
[56] Quoted in Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 153.
[57] Quoted in Ibid.
[58] Quoted in Ibid., 153.
[59] Thai: A fully ordained male Buddhist monk.

> At that time all the monks of the country who lived outside the city were gathered together in Pegu. There were over three thousand of them. The Burmese king having taken Pegu, put all of the monks to death. Only the monks who lived right out east of Sittang took flight across to Martaban and went away on to the Siamese cities of Lampun and Chiengmai to escape from death.[60]

Though some reports stated that the invading armies spared ethnic Burmans – by whatever definition – who had served in the Mon ranks, they supposedly killed all Mon prisoners of war.[61] It was in this manner that the Kon-baung dynasty began. King Alaung-hpaya had proven that firearms coupled with overwhelming demographic might had no counter from smaller neighboring polities that resisted him.

The death of Alaung-hpaya did not bring an end to the widespread massacres the Burmese army was capable of carrying out upon their opposition. Their armies fought several regional wars, including a conflict with three armies from China in the period 1179-82/1766-9, but the greatest destruction they wrought was against Ayudhya, when it fell on April 17, 1767. Lieberman puts the Siamese death toll in the hundreds of thousands.[62] Though Ayudhya possessed a vast arsenal of firearms, many were long-outdated, suggesting that they had not updated their weapons as rigorously as Ava had.[63] Reinvigorating its army with freshly imported firearms in the period 1183-98/1770-84, the Burmese armies brought about massive deportation of conquered populations and continued massacres against any opposition that may have led to a demographic decline throughout southern Burma and northern Siam of as much as 17% augmented by numerous famines during the same period.[64] Through the 1770s, Burma suppressed as many as six Mon uprisings, executed the surviving members of the Mon royal family, and caused as many as 40,000 Mon to flee into neighboring Siam to escape being

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[60] R. Halliday, tr. "*Salap Rajawan Datow Smin Ron* [A History of Kings], by the Mon 'monk of Athwa'," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 13 (1923): 64.

[61] Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, 236-7, 249.

[62] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 327.

[63] Andaya, "Interaction with the Outside World," 382-3.

[64] Koenig, *Burmese Polity*, 58-9.

deported into the central Irrawaddy basin.[65] One European observer wrote, "The Peguers no longer exist as a nation; they are nearly become extinct, or are incorporated with the Burman."[66]

We may draw a number of conclusions from our lengthy discussion of firearms and warfare in the central and western mainland. First, firearms should be seen as a destabilizing force for regional relations, offering certain privileged groups greater killing power in times of war. Gunpowder and firearm innovations were critical to the maintenance of power and coastal authorities almost always had an advantage over interior populations. The sixteenth century rise of Pegu was thus partly due to their ability to tap into the firearms trade and use them against a more numerous, interior enemy.

Second, simultaneous demographic expansion allowed the two great political powers of Ava and Ayudhya to overwhelm their neighbors who because of environmental conditions were unable to sustain proportional growth. Pegu, like Patani, prospered when they were able to attract trade and thus expand their populations beyond the local means of food production. But when economic fortunes declined in the latter case, or when demographic imbalances led to military vulnerability in both, they fell under the domination of larger, better-equipped political powers.

Third, asserting power over the vanquished enemy was accomplished through the symbiotic processes of massacre and deportation. Massacring the conquered populations was the most effective manner of breaking the will to resist, but with the goal of taking those who were selected to survive back as slaves to serve the victorious king. Massacres were carried out in several ways—most visibly with the slaughtering of (often male) captives, but also in the course of environmental warfare. Of those who escaped to the jungle who survived long enough to

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[65] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 156.
[66] Quoted in Ibid., 206.

return, most died soon after of starvation because of the agricultural destruction that victorious armies systematically carried out when withdrawing from a territory. Thus depopulation was both a means of increasing a local workforce as well as controlling a distant territory by making its inhabitants politically and militarily impotent.

And fourth, we may accept Charney's critique of Reid's "low casualty" thesis. While the end goal may have remained the capturing of enemy populations as part of an ongoing string of slave raids, the destructive potential of increasingly efficient, reliable, and powerful firearms enabled armies to kill their enemies in greater numbers than ever before and therefore they carried out increasingly brutal massacres against those that they conquered. The four major points discussed here would all play a crucial role in the massacre that followed the 1785-6 war between Patani and Siam. The "petty" wars of the seventeenth century took a decisive turn in the eighteenth century, brought on by the growing demographic and military imbalance that would decisively alter Patani's political relationship with Siam.

Part II: Patani Checkmate: Failed Political Strategies and the Great "Extirpation"
The Fall of Ayudhya and Its Aftermath, 1180-98/1767-84

The fall of Ayudhya to the Burmese in 1180/1767 left the Tai *mandala* system in disarray and resulted in political uncertainties for many of its former tributaries. In the south, Patani, like other peninsular states, had to decide whether to resist or acquiesce, a decision made difficult by the unclear outcomes and the potentially fatal consequences amidst the ever-changing political realities in the north. In the years that followed, Patani at times sent the *bunga emas*, the traditional annual tribute, but refused greater demands such as the request for troops and money to contribute to Thonburi's ongoing wars. Ayudhya's dramatic demise was followed by an even

more momentous rebirth as Siam's political successor state came, by 1181/1768, under the

leadership of General Taksin, or Pra'ya Taq[67] in Malay-language sources.[68]

Patani refused any further allegiance to Siam after 1180/1767, much like the neighboring

polities of Kedah, Nakhon, Phattalung, and Songkhla.[69] This was not a moment of political

jubilance, however, but rather a temporary realignment towards Ava as the recognized supreme

power in the region. Situated at Pulau Pinang, the East India Company agent Francis Light

wrote:

> Quida[70] was very near Ligore, a Kingdom of Siam. They sent every Third year, a Gold and Silver Tree[71] as a Token of Homage to Ligore.[72] This was done to Preserve a good correspondence; for at this period the Siamese were very Rich and numerous but no Warriors; and a Considerable Trade was Carried on between Ligore and Quida. After the destruction of Siam, The King of Ava demanded the Token of Homage from Quida, and received the Gold and Silver Tree.[73]

We may assume that Patani followed Kedah's example, in all likelihood, since its ties to Nakhon

would have become insubstantial after the fall of Ayudhya.

But as Taksin rebuilt the Siamese political center, now at Thonburi, he began

immediately reasserting control over the "rebellious" provinces. Though his armies were

initially repelled in an attempt to take Phitsanoluk in 1181/May 1768, a second attempt late in

the following year allowed him to subdue Nakhon.[74] The raja of Nakhon subsequently took

refuge at Singgora, but when the Siamese army swept further south, defeating both the latter

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[67] Jawi: فراء ياتق

[68] Ibrahim Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2005): 70 [pages numbers cited in this text are for the Jawi section].

[69] Ibid., 69; R. Bonney, *Kedah 1771-1821: The Search for Security and Independence*, East Asian Monographs series, ed. Wang Gungwu (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971): 25; David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982): 141.

[70] Kedah.

[71] The *bunga mas* discussed in chapter 1.

[72] Siam administered its southern territories via Nakhon, the *phraya* of which was in charge of collecting the triennial tribute from Patani, as well as Kedah, Phattalung, Songkhla,Trengganu, and other polities in the region. Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, *Thai-Malay Relations: Traditional Intra-regional Relations from the Seventeenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*, East Asian Monographs, ed. Wang Gungwu (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988): 160-1.

[73] Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786, SSR 2: 317 (FWC Dec 13, 1786).

[74] Bonney, *Kedah*, 25; Wyatt, *Thailand*, 141.

polity and Phattalung, the rajas of all three then fled to the court of Sultan Muhammad[75] in Patani.[76] Patani's ruler was in no position to offer the fugitives protection. Patani was known to have experienced a near constant struggle between local elites for political control between 1109/1698 and 1199/1785, a fact that even British officials at Pulau Pinang noted.[77] Furthermore, Sultan Muhammad had only recently ascended the throne and had not likely asserted full control over his rivals in the region enough to coerce them into performing military service for him.[78] With the Siamese army advancing on Patani, the sultan supposedly met with the local chiefs and decided to turn the three "rebellious" rajas over to the Siamese army to avoid the imminent attack.[79] Sultan Muhammad had, for the moment, avoided a disastrous fight against Siam's revived military strength.

The so-called "protection" the great powers such as Burma and Siam theoretically offered their tributaries was often not against outside aggressors, but rather a promise from the supreme overlord not to plunder the territories of his weaker neighbors. From this, we may gauge that shifting political allegiance had little to do with loyalty and everything to do with mere political survival. Though Patani, along with Trengganu and possibly Kedah, sent tribute to Thonburi in 1182/1769, evidence suggests that many of the peninsular tributary polities also sent tribute to Burma in an attempt to stave off aggression from both militarily superior powers and that they may have sent tribute to both powers simultaneously. Light observed:

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[75] His name is sometimes transliterated as Mahmud. Ibrahim Syukri, *History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani*, tr. Conner Bailey and John Miksic (Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University): 1985: 53.

[76] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 70.

[77] Light to GG, Feb 15, 1786, SSR 2: 41 (FWC Mar 2, 1786).

[78] The exact date of his royal ascension is hard to pin-point, but Syukri mentions Sultan Muhammad in his discussion of the negotiations mentioned above. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, however, claims that he did not become sultan until 1771 and was the founder of a new, if brief dynasty of rulers, succeeding Long Nah (Datuk Pujud), the last of the First Kelantanese Dynasty. If we accept the latter, then these negotiations would have been conducted by a raja in the twilight of his years and power in perhaps an even weaker position *vis-à-vis* the Siamese. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani* (Alor Setar: Pustaka Darussalam, 1994): 42. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani based his argument upon Kelantanese genealogies. Abdullah bin Mohamed, *Keturunan Raja-raja Kelantan dan Peristiwa-peristiwa Bersejarah* (Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1981): 42.

[79] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 71.

> When Pia Tack drove away the Burmers[80] & Built a new City in Siam, the King of Quida send the Tree to Siam; and has kept Peace with both Paying homage sometimes to one and sometimes to the other and often to both.[81]

Furthermore, when either or both of the powers requested military assistance, the peninsular

tributaries had to comply with all of their demands. Light wrote:

> Last year the Preparations of the Burmers were so great that the King of Quida expected the Total destruction of the Siamese. The Burmers sent to the King [of Kedah] to demand a supply of arms and ammunition which he Complied with this in a very Scanty manner and very Politically gave the Prows which carried them two Letters, one for the Burmers and one for the Siamese. One or two of the Prows went to the Burmers while attacking Salary. The others meeting with the Siamese delivered their Letters. This has been told to the Siamese General with much addition, so that it is yet in doubt if they will not destroy Quida ..."[82]

Though there is no direct evidence that Patani maintained as close a relationship with Burma as

did Kedah. Situated on the east coast of the Malay-Thai Peninsula, Patani would have been less

well-suited to provide assistance to Burma in its military campaigns against Siam. But given

Patani's overland trade routes with Kedah and other west coast polities, it is possible that Patani

also sent arms to either or both of the powers. Most importantly, the above passages indicate the

fluidity by which tributary relations were conducted, particularly in the volatile period of 1180-

99/1767-85 when technological limitations of the day made it unclear whether Burma or Siam

happened to have the upper hand at a given moment. The peninsular powers either chose one

side or more often placated both sides in their attempts to avoid destruction. This was a political

game that would ultimately have fatal consequences for Patani.

In 1190/1776, when Ava sent another army to attack northern Siam, General Taksin sent

a request to Patani, Kelantan, and Trengganu for military assistance. He demanded that they

each send 80,000 *baht* to contribute to his war effort against the Burmese. None of the

tributaries complied with the demand, however, and for the time being all three polities were

situated far enough from Thonburi to avoid any serious repercussions. The war between Burma

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[80] Burmans.
[81] Light to GG, 12 Sep 1786 (FWC 13 Dec 1786), SSR 2: 317.
[82] Light to GG, 12 Sep 1786 (FWC 13 Dec 1786), SSR 2: 317-8.

and Siam ended abruptly at the death of King Hsinbyshin of Burma, whose forces

simultaneously suffered a near-catastrophic defeat.[83] After a peaceful interlude between the

great powers, the Burmese attacked and conquered Nakhon in 1198/1784, which had been at that

time a tributary to Siam. Of this campaign, Light wrote:

> The Burmers divided their Army into several Parties and ravaged at the same time the Countries of Lao and upper Siam, Ligore, Chia, Champore, Murdelong, and Banery, Burning, destroying, and Massacring without Compassion or exception; On a sudden their Army disappeared; but Beat by the Siamese or occasioned by a dissention Among the Generals is uncertain, as both are alledged. The Siamese recovered the Places they had lost, and the Kings Brother Soorune[84] who came to Ligore with a small Army had no sooner put to Death the two Thousand Burmers left there as a Guard, than they resolved to call to Account all the Neighbouring States, who had not given the Siamese Aid against the Burmers.[85]

If previous events are any indication of the likely political moves in Patani, with a powerful

Burmese army on their doorstep, Sultan Muhammad most likely swore allegiance to Burma and

renounced ties to Siam once again as a method of political survival. It appears that the Burmese

general was worried about being cornered in the peninsula after conquering Nakhon and thus

retreated, leaving only a small garrison behind. The Siamese army, now under the control of

King Ramathibodi (Rama I) with the leadership of his younger brother, had little difficulty in

subduing the 2,000 Burmese troops at Nakhon, and now stood poised to punish the peninsular

tributaries once and for all for their failure to assist Siam against Burma in 1190/1776 and other

conflicts.[86] Light continued:

> [Chaophraya Surasi] sent for the Chiefs of Pattany, the Kings of Tringano and Queda, none of whom chusing to enter the court of so desperate a Tyrant sent their several excuses with Presents which he returned, and began immediately with Poogit[87].[88]

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[83] Bonney, *Kedah*, 26, 56-7.

[84] Chaophraya Surasi. The spelling in the original letter appears to have been subsequently edited and is unclear.

[85] Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786 (FWC Oct 9, 1786), SSR 2: 131.

[86] James Low, "A Retrospect of British Policy in the Straits of Mallacca from the Period of the First Establishment of Penang on the 17th of July 1786 up to April 1842, Combining Historical Details Respecting the Straits Settlements and the Neighbouring Native States," CO 273/1: 34v.

[87] Pujut: Patani's primary fort.

[88] Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786 (FWC Oct 9, 1786), SSR 2: 131-2.

Patani's delicately played game of political survival had finally come to an end. The rival Burmese power would not come to their aid and they had nothing left to offer the Siamese general who now appeared bent on destroying all opposition to Siam's political control in the central peninsula. As the Siamese armies advanced on Patani, now under the Phraya Kalahom, Sultan Muhammad chose to fortify a large garrison within the fort at Pujut.[89] The period of volatile political maneuverings that had existed for the peninsular polities since 1180/1767 was to come to an abrupt end with the arrival of Siam's army at the walls of Patani's most formidable fortress. It was there that Patani's mandala-based sovereignty and autonomy was to be lost upon the battlefield.

Patani's Eighteenth Century Political Disintegration

Two main reasons compelled Chaophraya Surasi to direct his army exclusively against Patani instead of the Kedah or Trengganu. First, Patani's geographic position as the northernmost polity of the three meant that the land army that moved south arrived first at Patani without having to cross over the Tenasserim Range to get to Kedah, nor to push much further south through Patani and Kelantan to get to Trengganu. But secondly, and more important, Siam had long viewed Patani as the ringleader of the "troublesome" tributaries because it was the most powerful polity in the region and, as discussed in chapter one, had coordinated region-wide "rebellions" against Ayudhyan control at numerous points in the seventeenth century. Siam's leaders clearly believed that dealing a decisive blow to Patani would quickly bring the other two

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[89] Pujut had a regional political center of its own, much like Sai, Bendang Badang, and other such centers, ruled by rajas who swore loyalty to the raja of Patani as a part of regional *mandala* relations. Long Nik, Datuk of Pujut, for example, was the younger brother or Raja Baha of Patani. Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 72; Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, 39.

sultans into obeisance.[90] Patani was still the most powerful east coast polity north of Johor and posed as the most serious threat to Siamese authority in the region.

The relative strength of Patani *vis-à-vis* Siam had changed dramatically since the numerous conflicts of the seventeenth century. Patani's military advantage, particularly at sea, had been entirely erased even by the close of the previous century as discussed in chapter one, and therefore they no longer possessed the ability to fend off a sustained and focused Siamese attack. And neither did Patani possess powerful regional allies such as Johor, Pahang, or Portuguese Melaka, as it had in the first half of the previous century. Patani's grip on Kelantan, which had generally been beneath Patani in the local mandala structure, had clearly weakened as early as the second decade of the eighteenth century. Kelantan had maintained close ties with Patani since 1059/1649 when Raja Sakti I of the Kelantan invaded Patani at the behest of Siam and placed his son Raja Bakar upon the throne of Patani.[91] Raja Sakti I's descendants ruled over both polities until some point in the 1710s when three brothers, themselves the son of an ousted elite Cham family, but also distant cousins of the Sakti line, came to power in both Kelantan and Patani.[92] Descendants, often brothers or cousins, ruled over both Kelantan and Patani until the ascension of Sultan Muhammad in Patani in about 1182/1769 or 1184/1771.[93] The new sultan appears to have been from a different local faction than the previous rulers and had no known connections to the Kelantan branch of the Sakti-Cham line.[94] Francis Light described the Patani political situation, simply, "Patany [is] a mixture of Mahomedans and Pagans governed by

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[90] Kobkua, *Thai-Malay Relations*, 160.

[91] This event is curiously glossed over in the *Hikayat Patani*. LC 1839: 74-5; A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, Bibliotheca Indonesia, no. 5 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970): 128-9, 197. Mohamed, *Keturunan Raja-raja Kelantan*, 22.

[92] Ibid., 24-5, 41-2; al-Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, 34.

[93] Mohamed, *Keturunan Raja-raja Kelantan*, 42.

[94] Syukri stated that he was the son of Raja Ahmad of Kampung Dawai. Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 68-9.

several Chiefs who are frequently at War with each other but join against a foreign Enemy."[95]

As I will outline in the following section, though Patani's chiefs did "unite" against the Siamese

threat, their defense was nevertheless fragmented, with evidence suggesting that the various local

chiefs were not able to fully come together to coordinate their military efforts. Patani was at the

very least disunited, militarily weakened, and had undergone negative demographic growth as

discussed in chapter one. At best, Patani's loose confederation of chieftains and warlords might

come together to attempt to stave off another invasion. Siam's long-awaited chance to deal a

decisive blow to Patani had finally come.

The Shattering of Patani, 1199-1200/1785-6

Despite Patani's potential military vulnerability by 1198/1784, Siam's attack must still

have come as a surprise. As the EIC agent James Scott remarked:

> As is frequently the case in war Maugre probability, the Siamise has had such success decissive success in the Last campaign as to be able after driving back the Burmans, to attempt the Conquest of Patani.[96]

Here Scott clearly refers to the routing of Burmese forces at Nakhon and the subsequent

appearance of the Siamese army further south. This came as quite a surprise to the Sultan of

Patani, who had only recently pledged his support of Burma against Siam believing the former

power to be in control of the peninsula.

A Thai source states that Phraya Kalahom's army fought against Ratupakaran,

presumably a local Patani chief, at Tambon Ban Yirin[97] who they defeated, though the latter

escaped to Raman to reorganize his army and draw together additional troops.[98] Phraya

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[95] Light to GG, Feb 15, 1786 (FWC Mar 2, 1786), SSR 2, 41.
[96] Scott to GG, Sep 4, 1786 (FWC Oct 9, 1786), SSR 2, 140.
[97] Yaring.
[98] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani [Chronicle of Pattani]," in *Prachum Phongsawadan, Phak thi Sam* [Collected Chronicles, Part 3] (Bangkok: Thai Printing House, 2457 B.E.), 4. The author employed the unpublished English translation of this chronicle provided by Toua Thao.

Kalahom then turned to a local Songkhla official, named Palad Cana, who apparently had detailed knowledge of the region and served as a guide for the army's course as it pushed south. Ratupakaran thence fled to Ban Paera where he was shot and killed by the invading army and presumably his soldiers were also routed. By that time, the Kronpralabchawansathanmongkron had arrived with his fleet at Patani bay where a larger battle was soon to be fought.[99] According to this source, the Siamese forces were led by a number of important figures in addition to Phraya Kalahom, including Phraya Sanaehaputhorn (Taung-En), Phraya Pratalong (Taung-Khao), Luang Suwankliri (Boon-Huey), and governor of Songkhla, and the afore-mentioned Palad Cana (Kwun-Xai), all of whom reported to Kronpralabchawansathanmongkron.[100]

Evidently, news of the final outcome of the battle at Nakhon had not yet reached Pulau Pinang at the time of Scott's letter noted above, but in another letter dated just eight days later Francis Light included more details. He wrote:

> [Pujut] was deemed impregnable. It was surrounded by Seven thick rows of Bamboes, within the Bamboes an exceeding wide and deep Canal, and within the Canal a Strong Rampart of Earth, on which was mounted a Number of large Cannon. The Area within the Walls Contained all the Inhabitants Cattle and Grain. Their Strength Amounted to near 4,000 Fighting Men.[101]

If numbers from previous wars meant anything, the force assembled at Pujut was probably just one small garrison of Patani's troops who often numbered in the range of 10-20,000 in the seventeenth century. And if the early nineteenth century wars were any indication, Patani may well have been supported by troops from the neighboring polities in the fight as well. Furthermore, the British, who were often quick to point out the military weaknesses or poor strategy, as they perceived it, of various people in the region, the fact that Light spoke so highly of the fortress at Pujut is significant. This further suggests that it likely contained Patani's elite warriors and it was there that Siam's assault was to fall hardest.

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[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 5.
[101] Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786 (FWC Oct 9, 1786), SSR 2, 312.

Despite the impressive fortifications, Patani fell to Siam's armies by 1200/August 1786 after a year-long siege. Siam achieved victory due to several factors in addition to those already discussed, namely technology and treachery. Siam had access to superior weaponry and in far greater numbers, even if many of their guns were obsolete.[102] It was quite common for Southeast Asian arsenals to continue to hold old guns even after new and better ones had been obtained. Nevertheless, Siam had the clear advantage in the arms trade in comparison to Patani, which was by the late eighteenth century bereft of any major European trading partners from whom to obtain the best matchlock rifles for use in war. Patani's famous cannon foundry, a landmark achievement in the sixteenth century had, by 1199/1785, become outdated as well. Ibrahim Syukri, in his account of Sultan Muhammad's preparations for the Siamese invasion in 1785-6, wrote:

... بكندا مغومفولكن سنجات ٢ لام يغ ماسيه اد ايت ... [103]

Malay Transliteration:

> ... Baginda mengumpulkan senjata-senjata lama yang masih ada itu ...

Translation:

> ... His Majesty gathered together all of the old weapons that still existed ...

It had been nearly a century since Patani had engaged in a serious conflict with Siam or any of its other neighbors, their weapons were outdated and poorly stocked, and their soldiers may have lacked experience in combat without sufficient recent practice.[104] Due to a combination of these

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[102] Andaya, "Interaction with the Outside World," 382-3; Siam had access to British firearms, such as the 1400 or 1826 muskets General Taksin had purchased from EIC agent Francis Light in 1777, for which the latter was granted the royal title of *P'ya Raja Capitan*. Kachorn Sukhabanij, "Siamese Documents Concerning Captain Francis Light," in *Papers on Malayan History: Papers Submitted to the First International Conference of South-East Asian Historians, Singapore, January 1961*, ed. K. G. Tregonning (Singapore: Journal of South-East Asian History, 1962): 1, 4.

[103] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 73.

[104] Ibid., 76.

factors, the Patani army appears to have been ill-prepared to engage in repelling a major invasion from the north.

The battle itself must have proceeded for many months through the long siege with various stages of fighting and retreating, feints and full-on assaults. Ibrahim Syukri, a pseudonymic author who wrote in the 1950s and whose account appears to have relied upon oral sources of the event, illustrated the clash:

ستله همفير اغكاتن فرغ سيام ايت اكن سمفى دفتانى سكلين رعيت جلات فتانى تاه دكره اوله سلطان محمد بركومفول دلوار كوت استان دان دبهاكى منجادى دوا فاسوقكن فاسوقكن يغ فرتام دفرنته بركاوال دالم كوبو ٢ دتفى فنتى اونتوق ممفرتاهنكن فندارتن اورغ ٢ سيام تهاى درى كفل فرغث فاسوقكن يغ كدوا بركاول دهادفن كوت استان دان سكل الت سنجات ترماسوق مريم سرت فلورو ٢ ث تله دبهاكى سام رات مريم بسر سرى نكارا دان سرى فتانى يغ تله فرنه مغالهكن اورغ سيام تهاى دهولو تله دباوا سمولا دلتق دلوار كوت هاث منوغكو فرنته سهاج اكن ملفسكن فلوروث يغ هندال دان كدوا ٢ فاسوقكن فرتاهنن ايت هاث مننتى ساعة سهاج اكن مغهنتم سراغن اورغ ٢ سيام تهاى[105]

Malay Transliteration:

> Setelah hampir angkatan perang Siam itu akan sampai di Patani sekalian rakyat jelata Patani telah dikerah oleh Sultan Muhammad berkumpul di luar kota istana dan dibahagi menjadi dua pasukan. Pasukan yang pertama diperintah berkawal dalam kubu-kubu di tepi pantai untuk mempertahankan pendaratan orang-orang Siam Thai dari kapal perangnya. Pasukan yang kedua berkawal di hadapan kota istana dan segala alat senjata termasuk meriam serta peluru-pelurunya telah dibahagi sama rata. Meriam besar Seri Negara dan Seri Patani yang telah pernah mengalahkan orang-orang Siam Thai dahulu telah dibawa semula diletak di luar kota hanya menunggu perintah sahaja akan melepaskan pelurunya yang handal dan kedua-dua pasukan pertahanan itu hanya menanti saat sahaja akan menghentam serangan orang-orang Siam Thai.

Translation:

> When the Siamese army had almost arrived at Patani, all of the people of Patani were summoned together by Sultan Muhammad outside of the royal palace and divided into two companies. The first company was ordered to defend the fortresses on the shore to protect them from the landings of the Siam-Thai people. The second company guarded the front of the royal palace. All weapons including cannons and cannonballs were divided evenly. The great cannons Seri Negara and Seri Patani that had previously defeated the Siam-Thai people were again brought outside of the palace only to wait orders to be fired. Both companies waited for the moment to attack the Siam-Thai people.

The most significant element of battle preparations were the use of two Patani's three legendary cannons, which held immense spiritual and moral power within the worldview of the Patani people. The cannons had been a centerpiece to concepts of Patani's virility as a political entity

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[105] Ibid., 74.

since their construction in the sixteenth century. Syukri's description also suggests that there was a method of conscription of troops, though the actual logistics remain unclear. That all of the Patani people gathered to defend the fortress is doubtful, but a large number of the inhabitants likely participated.

After the arrival of Phraya Kalahom's army, fighting ensued primarily along the beach where land forces apparently combined with those that had been sent aboard ships that also contained numerous cannons and other firearms.[106] Syukri then makes the argument that Patani's undoing was due primarily to the intrigue of a local chief named Nai Chanthong, who had originated from Nakhon, but who had gained the confidence of the Patani raja and had subsequently been made a datuk in or near Patani.[107] Nai Chanthong supposedly slipped out of the Patani force at night and sold the plans of the defense to the Siamese commander. While the conjuration of a fifth column may well have been an anachronistic explanation for defeat, hints of treachery also appears in the British account by Light. He wrote, "The Chief had rendered himself obnoxious to his People from Tyranizing. This and their Confidence of Situation gave the Siamese an easy Conquest."[108] Light's description is quite counter to Syukri's view, but both seem to agree that Patani was not united at the time of the 1785-6 war which made it vulnerable to the Siamese assault.

In the ensuing days of fighting after Nai Chanthong's supposed betrayal, the two forces bombarded each other with a great amount of firepower until Patani's defenses began to weaken. As the fortresses on the beach came under increasing duress, the Siamese army was able to bring many more forces onto land with the aim of separating the two Patani companies described

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[106] Ibid., 74-5.
[107] Ibid., 74.
[108] Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786 (FWC Oct 9, 1786), SSR 2: 132.

earlier.[109] Siam's army managed to surround Patani's coastal forts and massacred all of the defenders contained within before turning for a final assault on the royal palace that involved more cannon bombardment and eventually melee fighting with *keris* (short sword), and other hand-held weapons.[110] At some point during the attack on the royal palace, Sultan Muhammad was supposedly struck by a cannonball and died immediately.[111] The death of the sultan must have dealt a great blow to the morale of the remaining defenders, though there is no sign that those who remained ever offered surrender. Rather, the Siamese army eventually pierced the outer walls of the palace defenses and slew all whom they came across, though as Syukri wrote:

فرتاهنن اورغ ٢ ملايو سمفيله فد ساعة يغ اخير دغن برفچهبله ممباوا ديرى ماسيغ ٢[112]

Malay Transliteration:

> Pertahanan orang-orang Melayu[113] sampailah pada saat yang akhir dengan berpecah belah membawa diri masing-masing.

Translation:

> [When] the resistance of the Malay people had reached its final moment it shattered and everyone fled.

Syukri's account preserved, in later memory, the precise moment that Patani was defeated, the very instant during which Patani was broken into many pieces as a community and as a society. As I will discuss in succeeding sections in this chapter, the pivotal moment in 1200/August 1786 led to nothing less than a complete remaking of Patani society. Due to the transformations of warfare in the eighteenth century that I discussed earlier, the war of 1785-6 was different for Patani than the conflicts of the seventeenth century. The sultanate experienced an utter defeat

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[109] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 75.
[110] Ibid., 75-6.
[111] Ibid., 76.
[112] Ibid., 76.
[113] Syukri strictly refers to the Patani people as "Melayu" or "Malay" throughout his account, which is an anachronism reflecting his racial and nationalist conception of Patani identity.

and had been destroyed by force of arms on an unprecedented level. But the initial defeat was to pale in comparison to the battle's aftermath.

The "Extirpation": The Great Patani Massacre of 1200/1786

The annihilation of the Patani people in 1200/1786 occurred as the result of three actions carried out by the Siamese army: slaughter, forced expulsion, and capture. I will address each of these in turn below. A contemporary account of battle aftermath may help illustrate the situation in Patani after the fall of the fort at Pujut and the collapse of defenses around the royal palace. Scott wrote of wars in the region in 1199/1785:

> If we follow an Army in its Progress, Desolation and Depopulation goes hand in hand. Carrying off every thing of value, Men, Women, and Children included. And Burning what the[y] cannot carry they Render the country they have overrun untenable, on their Retreat those who had Retired to the fastnesses appear ½ of which die or emigrate for want of sustenance, so that one Campaign leaves the country over run a Wild.[114]

The gradual depopulation or demographic stagnation already discussed in chapter one that had occurred in Patani from the final decade of the seventeenth century onwards had reached an acute point by 1200/1786. An already declining population was then massacred in succeeding waves after resistance was broken. After first discussing the effects upon the population of Patani, I will then turn to the destruction of the city itself, paying close attention to the long-term social consequences of the physical destruction of both places and objects of great importance.

From Pulau Pinang, Light observed, "The Siamese General is extirpating Pattany all the men Children and old women he orders to be Tied and thrown upon the grounds and there Trampled to Death by Elephants." Killing with elephants in this manner was a commonly practice method of execution and probably was reserved for whatever elites the Siamese identified after capture. Nevertheless, the mass execution of the captured Patani people, if even

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[114] Scott to GG, Oct 28, 1785 (FWC Mar 2, 1786), SSR 2: 8.

just of the leading *orangkaya*, generals, and principle soldiers suggests something quite different from Reid's "low casualty" thesis. Massacre was the method employed to decisively break the will of any further resistance and instill fear into the population.

If we look very closely at Light's choice of words, however, we see that he explicitly excluded any mention of the "young women" who became victims of the invading army. Light's silence alone illustrates that he believed something unmentionable had occurred, an incident that remains obscured by his choice to ignore it. Nevertheless, Light's words bear great significance for our understanding of the battle's aftermath. What is clear from Light's report is that the people selected for death in the massacre of Patani were determined at least partially by a person's gender. In contemporary studies, such an episode is called "gendercide," first applied by Mary Anne Warren, but elaborated further by Adam Jones and others.[115] As Jones noted, such occurrences almost without exception led to the disproportionate extermination of men from a given population.[116] In most other cases of this phenomenon, women were then left behind, often after first being subjected to rape, or taken as concubines or sex slaves by the victors. In any case, acts of selective killing showed at the very least that arbitrary annihilation of inhabitants (within given perimeters) was being carried out through deliberate means, that leaders of the victorious army were controlling and directing the process of killing, and that these killings were being carried out long after the Siamese had vanquished the Patani soldiers. Much later, in the 1246-7/1831-2 war between Patani and Siam, clearer evidence of disproportionate killing of men can be seen, suggesting that something similar was practiced in the aftermath of the 1785-6 war.

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[115] Mary Anne Warren, *Gendercide: The Implications of Sex Selection* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld, 1985): 1.

[116] Adam Jones, "Gendercide and Genocide," in *Gendercide and Genocide*, ed. Adam Jones (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004): 3-5.

The Patani people who escaped death or capture fled by the tens of thousands into the neighboring polities of Kedah, Kelantan, Perak, and Trengganu. They carried food and only possessions worth taking on the journey, if anything at all, as the Siamese army pillaged and destroyed their homes. Records of the refugees only survive in Kedah, where British observers nervously noted them in their reports to their superiors in Calcutta. Light wrote:

> The Siamese have conquered Pattany, such of the People as have escaped their Sword, are Perishing in the Forests, The King of Queda being afraid to grant them admittance into any Part of his Country having received from the Siamese General Strict injunctions not to Succour one of them. The whole Race being devoted to destruction.[117]

This report provides further evidence that the Siamese intended to deliberately annihilate the residents of Patani as part of achieving a complete political victory. Those who fled were preceded by a Siamese messenger who apparently warned the neighboring rulers not to assist the vanquished refugees who were then flooding their borders. With a large Siamese army not far away, the neighboring leaders were fearful of offering asylum to the displaced Patani people. In Kedah, however, it appears that the sultan appealed to the British on their behalf, though the latter ever acquiesced to their pleas. Light wrote, "I have received repeated solicitations from the King of Queda to come and Consult with him respecting the Siamese and People of Pattany," referring here to the arrival of the Patani refugees. He continued, "Yesterday the King of Queda sent the Shabander to enquire if I would consent to the People of Pattany settling opposite to Pinang and afsist him if attacked by the Siamese."[118] He further elaborated:

> The Laxamana[119] [of Kedah] is desirous I should receive a Thousand of the Pattany People on this Island. This would be highly imprudent while we have a small Force, especially as the Laxamana from the beginning was much averse to our Coming here, and wishes to expel us.[120]

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[117] Light to GG, Nov 25, 1786 (FWC Jan 22, 1787), SSR 2: 410.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Malay: *laksamana* (admiral or general). The *laksamana* at the time was the sultan's brother-in-law. Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786 (FWC Dec 13, 1786), SSR 2: 311.
[120] Light to GG, Nov 25, 1786 (FWC Jan 22, 1787), SSR 2: 412.

Light's paranoia towards the *laksamana*'s motives seems a convenient excuse to ignore the plight of the refugees. The fact that no subsequent report records any British aid indicates that in all likelihood the EIC was not in a strong enough position to fend off a major Siamese offensive, nor were they willing to take on the potential political risk of offering support to the Patani refugees. Patani's lack of powerful or even regional allies in 1785-6 was a critical factor in its demise.

Many more Patani refugees fled into Kelantan and Trengganu where many families possessed kinship ties as well as cultural affinities with local residents.[121] Details of their fate is obscured by the dearth of surviving records. It nevertheless becomes clear, however, that the refugees must have been overwhelming and the limited ability of "border" guards to keep them from infiltrating their kingdoms, particularly in rural areas, must have allowed many to escape. Still widespread famine almost certainly resulted amongst the survivors of the massacre as evidenced in other regions during the same period as a side-effect of warfare that managed to further enlarge the death toll.[122] How many people died as a result of displacement is unclear, but likely accounted for more deaths than those actually killed in battle. An estimate in the thousands or even tens of thousands seems within reason if the total population of Patani at the time was between 100,000 and 150,000.[123]

A significant number of the residents of Patani who managed to survive were taken as prisoners. Clearly one of the objectives was to depopulate the Patani region as a measure of

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[121] Evidence exists for entire settlements in Trengganu, for example, that were formed by Patani refugees. Shaharil Talib, "The Port and Polity of Trengganu during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Realizing its Potential," in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, eds. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990): 220.

[122] Light to GG, Nov 25, 1786 (FWC Jan 22, 1787), SSR 2: 409.

[123] These are quite rough figures. See chapter 1 for a discussion of Patani's seventeenth century population estimates and see below for post-1832 population approximations made by British officials.

establishing political dominance once and for all. It is unclear how many people were captured, for Syukri only states that when the Siamese withdrew from Patani, they:

ممباوا بيراف باڤق اورغ ۲ تاونن ملايو ترماسوق للاكى فرمفوان دان كانق ۲ سرت هرت بندا رمفاسن فرغ[124]

Malay Transliteration:

> … membawa beberapa banyak orang-orang tawanan Melayu termasuk lelaki perempuan dan kanak-kanak serta harta benda rampasan perang.

Translation:

> ... took many Malay captives, including men, women, and young children together with the other war booty.

Many of the captives no doubt served as slaves in the building of the new emerging Siamese political center – Bangkok. Female prisoners were also likely given as concubines to elite families in the capital. As late as 1243/1828, John Crawfurd noted, "Besides the Malays living in their own countries, there are said to be at Bangkok not less than ten thousand, chiefly captives, carried off from Queda and Patani, but especially from the latter."[125]

By death, expulsion, and capture, Siam dealt Patani society a blow from which it would take many generations to recover. In terms of demographics, the 1200/1786 massacre marked a watershed moment for the city and its environs. Light, in an economic report of the peninsula in 1203/1789, observed simply, "Pattany – destroyed by the Siamese, the inhabitants dispersed." The balance had now been tipped irreversibly in favor of other regional political centers, where many of the surviving Patani refugees would remain even after it was "safe" to return to their homes. But even for those who did return, they would soon find that the social dynamics that had been so vibrant in the seventeenth century centered around the palace where social position depended upon ones relation to the raja or ones action within the various social spaces, were

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[124] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 77.
[125] Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy*, 449.

dead. There was to be no going back to the social system and court etiquette of the old order because the palace and the city had been utterly destroyed, the sultan had been slain, and the marks of Patani's sovereignty had been confiscated or destroyed. To understand the truly devastating effects the spatial disruptions had upon Patani and how these changes were interwoven with the social transformations, I will now turn to the physical destruction of the 1785-6 war that were to leave a deep imprint upon Patani society for generations after.

Violating Patani's Sovereignty: Nobat, *Cannons, and the Destruction of Political Authority*

Besides the death, capture, and expulsion of the Patani population, the Siamese army looted the palace and burnt the city to the ground.[126] Syukri wrote that the army:

<div dir="rtl">

... مرمفس سكل هرت بندا الت سنجات[127]

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Malay Transliteration:

"... merampas segala harta benda alat senjata."

Translation:

"... seized all the property and weapons."

In the process of pillaging the palace, the sultanate's sacred *nobat*, regalia of sacred sovereignty passed down since the fifteenth century were either captured or destroyed. It is not clear whether the Siamese would have even recognized the musical instruments as politically important and may well have cast them upon the fire as the palace burned. There remains the possibility, however, that they were known to be important and were taken back by the victorious army. In any event, Patani's regalia, imbued with sacred power by the last sultan of Melaka, were items of great importance to the political cosmology of the royal court. The removal of these items dealt

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[126] Ibid., 77.
[127] Ibid.

a serious blow to the power and prestige of any raja or sultan who later assumed power.
Subsequent rulers now drew their power and legitimacy from Bangkok as "puppet rajas" instead
of following in the footsteps of those great rulers of old who had meticulously followed and
preserved the laws set forth in the *Hikayat Patani* regarding the ascendance and succession of
monarchs.[128]

Equal in importance was the seizure of Patani's legendary cannons. The three famous
cannons, named *Seri Negeri*, *Tuk Buk*, and *Nang Liu-liu* (also called *Nang Patani*), were of great
symbolic significance to Patani's political power and were themselves imbued with profound
spiritual significance.[129] According to the *Hikayat Patani* chronicle, they had kept Patani safe
since the reign of Sultan Manzur Shah (reigned c. 971-79/1564-72), though other evidence
suggests they were not forged until sometime between 987/1580 and 1039/1630. Nevertheless,
these cannons were credited with keeping Patani safe in battle through two centuries which were
plagued with warfare. The cannons symbolized Patani's strength and virility in the face of its
enemies. The capture of these cannons showed the impotence of Patani's political elite to protect
their own people against the threat of neighboring powers. According to several reports, the
cannon *Nang Liu-liu* was taken safely to Bangkok, but the second, *Seri Negara*, was lost in
Patani Bay when a storm capsized the boat.[130] There is no mention of the third cannon, which
may indicate that it was destroyed during the fighting.

The razing of Patani, particularly the complete destruction of the palace, irreversibly
destroyed the social and symbolic center of Patani as a society. As I argued in chapter one, the
royal palace was the center of the social life of the sultanate, where *orangkaya*, whether powerful

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[128] Ibid., 78; LC 1839: 88-94; Teeuw and Wyatt, *HP*, 140-5, 211-16. For a more in depth discussion of the
significance of *nobat* in the social order of Patani, refer to Francis R. Bradley, "Moral Order in a Time of
Damnation: the *Hikayat Patani* in Historical Context." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (forthcoming).
[129] LC 1839: 14; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, 78, 154.
[130] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 5; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 77-8.

political players, great merchants, or notable religious figures, converged to interact and compete

for a place within the constantly evolving social fabric of the society. The social gravity the

palace bore upon the elites of the sultanate was unequaled and its destruction in 1200/1786

further undermined the political elites of the time. Upon returning in later years, the remaining

orangkaya would never be able to reestablish the same level of prestige they had possessed

before the destruction of the city. The *orangkaya* and others, who returned to their homes in the

years that followed found entire city in ruin except for one building: the Keresik mosque alone

had survived to stand above the carnage, though it bore severe damage. A Thai account of the

mosque following the war described the building:

> The mosque is made of brick. There are three rooms in the mosque. The width of the ceiling is six sauk[131],
> the length is about four wah[132]. The ceiling and floor are all broken, but the walls are still there which
> enclosed all four sides.[133]

The survival of the Patani mosque served as a symbol of the rejuvenating force Islam was to

have in the coming decades. But the Patani political elites were not yet ready to relinquish their

position as the leaders and protectors of the community. It would take their defeat in four more

wars to quell the spirit of resistance. Before discussing the wars that followed, however, the role

of the British at Pulau Pinang warrants our attention as we reconstruct the relevant political

relations of the period.

Part III: The Further Shattering of Patani and the British Quest for Tin
The Role of the British in Regional Political Relations

The arrival of Francis Light at Pulau Pinang in 1200/1786 provided an immediate

counterweight to Siam for the northern Malay polities most notably Kedah, but also Perak and

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[131] "Sauk" is an old Siamese measurement of the distance from a person's elbow to the tip of the fingers.
[132] "Wah" is an old Siamese measurement of the distance from end to end of a person's outstretched arms, generally
about 1.5 to 2 meters.
[133] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 1.

Trengganu. The EIC did not maintain a substantial enough garrison at their fort to challenge

Siam openly, but they were a constant source of firearms for the rulers who in succeeding

decades struggled against Siamese hegemony. The British found it relatively easy to establish

significant influence in the courts of the sultans who were desperate for support against Siam.

Having conquered Patani by 1200/August 1786, the Siamese general appeared poised to further

his campaign in the neighboring states if need be, but the stories and reports of the devastation

that had occurred, borne upon the lips of Patani refugees seems to have compelled the nearby

sultans to quickly offer obeisance to the victorious Phraya Kalahom.

Still, as they offered their allegiance to Siam, the sultans of Kedah, Perak, and Trengganu

sought a counterweight to the Siamese threat. Light wrote:

> The king of Siam sent for the King of Queda to Sangora. Afraid to trust himself with the Siamese He sent his Brother in law with presents which were returned with an Order for to come himself. He next sent his son with larger Presents. These were received and the Young Man admitted to an Audience. The General asked him if he was come with full Powers from his Father, If he would make war upon the Burmins and if he would Provide Prows to Attack Margui and Tavoy, To all which he answered in the Affirmative. He was then sent back with Titles and Presents and an Order to his Father to Provide and send one hundred boyans of Rice to Salong[134] and to send to the General Four Brass Cannon, 12 Prows with a Quantity of Cloth, etc. all which is complied with, and the Malays Recalled from the Frontiers; but the People of Queda are not without their Fears.[135]

The example of the Patani massacre was enough to compel all of the neighboring sultans to

follow Kedah's example of obeisance. Light added:

> The Reduction of [Patani] has made every One[136] Tremble for his Safety and tho' the King of Quida has Avoided the Storm for the Present by Submissions, yet there is no dependance upon the word of a Man, who has no moral restraint what ever.[137]

Light reported that one after another of the Malay rulers solicited British aid. Kedah's pursuit of

British support has been well-documented and warrants no further discussion here.[138] Light

noted a letter from Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, dated November 7, 1786, in which he mentions

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[134] Junk Ceylon (in British records) or today, Phuket.
[135] Light's Journal, Jun 30, 1786 (FWC Dec 13, 1786), SSR 2: 519-20 (FWC Dec 13, 1786).
[136] The rulers and court elites in Kedah, presumably, or perhaps meant also to include neighboring rulers.
[137] Light to GG, Sep 12, 1786 (FWC Oct 9, 1786), SSR 2, 132.
[138] Bonney, *Kedah*.

300 muskets and other arms he had recently purchased from EIC agents.[139] The sultan

repeatedly requested an alliance that clearly indicated his fear of an imminent attack by Siam.

Shortly thereafter, Light recorded that, "The King of Tringano has wrote for Captain Glass to

come to assist him, as he expected the Siamese would invade his Country."[140] Even as late as

1206/1792, the sultan still feared that the Siamese, who were then carrying out another

devastating attack against Patani, might press further south.[141] By clever political negotiations,

the sultan of Trengganu eventually managed to avoid war with Siam. Light wrote:

> 30th July [1787] The King of Tringano sent two Officers with a Letter over Land, the purport of which is to inform me that he is Lineally descended from the Kings of Johore and Pataney.[142] The King of Siam having wrote to him last year to come and do homage at Sangora, He returned for answer that there is no record of any of his Predecessors having gone out of their Dominions to prostrate themselves before the King of Siam; nothing had ever been demanded and Granted but the Gold and Silver Flowers, by this acknowledging the superiority of the King of Siam, and their desiring to live in friendship with him. The Siam Prince then sent for all Kinds of Arms and Amunition, and all the Siamesse dwelling in Tringano. To this the Rajah returned a Soft and evasive Answer, with some Presents, the Siamesse having burned and Plundered Patany, destroyed the Princes, and carried away great Numbers of the People. Threatened to attack Tringano, but was diverted from this purpose by the particular favor of God and his Prophet, the Dutch also have expressed their Anger for Trading with the English he had now no hope left but in supplicating the Hon'ble Company. He requested I woud assist him with Rice and make Known his distress to the Government of Bengal.[143]

The British clearly saw this as an opportunity to gain influence in Kedah, Trengganu, and other

courts that were threatened by Siam.

Further detail of the development of British relations with the northern Malay polities

falls outside of the aim of the present study. The brief comparison offered here is important,

however, for several reasons. First, the destruction of Patani might be seen as a political

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[139] Sultan of Trengganu to GG, Nov 7, 1786 (FWC Dec 13, 1786), tr. Edward Colebrooke, SSR 2: 149, excerpted in *Collection of Documents on Tin Trade 1821: a Collection of Letter Excerpts from Penang Officials, Company officials and Native Rulers*, 42-5 (FCC Dec 27, 1821). The Sultan of Trengganu also began immediately pursuing trade relations with the company to further strengthen his relationship with the EIC to bolster his position against a Siamese attack. Sultan of Trengganu to GG, Feb 24, 1787, in ibid., 45-7 (FCC Dec 27, 1821).
[140] Light to GG, Nov 25, 1786 (FWC Jan 22, 1787), SSR 2: 409.
[141] P. J. Begbie, *The Malayan Peninsula Embracing the History, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, Politics, Natural History &c from its Earliest Records* (Printed for the author at the Vepery Mission Press, 1834): 89-90.
[142] His claim to descent from the rulers of Johor may here be an exaggeration, seeing as he was the son-in-law of the raja of Johor. His mother was supposedly a princess from Patani. Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2001): 88.
[143] Light to GG, Oct 6, 1787 (FWC Jan 25, 1788), SSR 3: 7-8.

message declared quite vividly by the Phraya Kalahom to get the neighboring tributaries to acquiesce to Siam's demands of political submission. In this regard, the Siamese achieved decisive success. But this also indicates that the other Siamese tributaries were now to turn to the British in coming years as a way to counter Siamese power in the region. The British had arrived too late for Patani, however, and the leaders of the shattered polity would forge ahead without allies, making repeated attempts at throwing off Siamese political control, but all in vain.

Patani-Siam War of 1203-6/1789-92

Before withdrawing his army from Patani in 1200/1786 or 1201/1787, the Phraya Kalahom elevated one of the remaining Malay chiefs, Raja Bendang Badang[144], named Tungku Lamidin, as raja of Patani. Patani was then placed under the suzerainty of Nakhon and the raja was expected to send tribute to Bangkok to show its loyalty.[145] Syukri claims that it was Tungku Lamidin who decided to move Patani to its present location, haunted as he was by the destruction of the old city near Kresik and the bitter memories that remained.[146] No sooner had he compelled some of the Patani refugees to return, however, he set about planning an attack against Siam.

In preparation for the coming war, Tunku Lamidin sent a letter to King Wan Cheng Su[147] of Annam seeking an alliance against Siam.[148] Not interested in any quarrel with the rejuvenated Siamese power, the king of Annam sent the letter to Bangkok to alert them of the anticipated attack. Tungku Lamidin apparently attacked Thepa and then Chana before arriving at Kampung

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[144] Teeuw and Wyatt refer to this rajaship as Bendang Badan.
[145] Strangely, the Phongsawadan does not mention this ruler, nor does it make note of the war that soon followed. It merely mentions the one who succeeded him as the first one appointed by Bangkok. "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 5.
[146] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 78.
[147] Jawi: اون چيڠ سو
[148] Nguyen Anh of Annam, later Emperor Gia Long. Ibid.; Kobkua, *Thai-Malay Relations*, 165.

Bukit Anak Gajah in Songkhla proper, where they fought with a Siamese garrison.[149] After a

few days of fighting Tungku Lamidin was victorious and compelled the leaders of the Siamese

forces to flee to Nakhon and thence to Phattalung, where they sought reinforcements. Patani's

forces marched further north and fought a sustained battle in Phattalung that Syukri claims lasted

three years, though this certainly seems an exaggeration. Finally forced into retreat because of

rising casualties and disrupted supply lines, Tungku Lamidin led his army south where he sought

reinforcements for an imminent attack.[150]

In 1205/1791 an influential sheikh from Mecca arrived to support the Patani cause. It is

not clear whether Tungku Lamidin knew of possible allies or whether he had even sent a request

for aid. It seems unlikely in any case, that he could have expected much assistance from so

distant a place. Nevertheless, Tungku Lamidin appears to have forged a short-lived alliance with

the hopes of staving off the attack from the large Siamese army that was then marching down the

peninsula. Light wrote:

> The King of Queda has involved himself in a quarrel with the Siamesse which is likely to prove dangerous
> to himself & Country. One Shaick Abdool Samatt came from Mecca last year with the intention to revenge
> the sufferings of a Pattany Chief from whom he had received many pious Gifts, the destruction of this part
> of Pattany by the Siamese in 1788[151] deprived the Shaick of his accustomed receipts, enraged at this
> diminution of revenue the Shaick determined to revenge the sufferings of the faithful servants of the
> Prophet, he arrived singly at Queda & applied to the King for assistance. The King was afraid to grant him
> such aid as would have insured success, yet permitted him to assemble four hundred Hadjees, Men who
> having been at Mecca were esteemed to be more particularly under the protection of Mahomed. With these
> Men the Shaick marched to Pattany were he was joined by three or four thousand Pattanese.[152] They
> plundered and destroyed several villages in Mardalong & Ligore provinces of Siam. From thence they
> crossed the Peninsula to Sangora. While they were attacking the Fort the Siamese who had by this time
> assembled a body of Men came & surrounded the Enemy. The King[153] emboldened by the first successes
> of the Shaick sent him a small supply of Fire Arms. These fell into the hands of the Siamesse. This will be
> a certain Proof of the King's disaffections …[154]

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[149] Ibid., 79.
[150] Ibid., 79-81.
[151] While it is possible that Light here refers to some initial set-backs experienced by Tungku Lamidin around 1789, it seems more likely he mistook the date of 1788 for 1786.
[152] A British toponym for people from Patani.
[153] The sultan of Kedah.
[154] Light to GG, Jul 30, 1792 (FWC Aug 24, 1792), SSR 5: 61-2.

Whatever success Tungku Lamidin had enjoyed during his initial campaigns came to a quick and sudden end in 1206/June 1792. Syukri dates the defeat to 1205/1791, but the EIC report concerning "Shaick Abdool Samatt" did not appear until July 30, 1792, suggesting the defeat had occurred not long prior to the date of that letter. [155] This is further supported by a letter, supposedly dated "9th day of the month Dul Hadju, 12 o'clock, which is July 1792"[156] in which the Sultan of Trengganu stated, "The Siamese attacked the Patani District in the month Dulkaida" which intuition would tell us refers to the month previous, not thirteen months prior.[157] In any event, surrounded in battle, the Patani soldiers were either massacred or captured and Tungku Lamidin was executed for his role in leading the war against Bangkok.[158]

The episode of 1203-6/1789-92 tells us several things. First, Patani in 1203/1789, like Siam in 1180/1767, was quick to rebuild and attempt to reestablish itself through military means, but here with far less success. This brief resurgence of Patani's political elite was a vain attempt to regain the position they had enjoyed prior to 1199/1785 and one that would be attempted in political wars in the following decades. Secondly, and perhaps most interesting for Patani's budding Islamic consciousness and identity, is the connection it illustrates between Patani and Mecca. Sheikh Abdul Samit, mentioned above, may well have been from the Patani area, having embarked upon the *hajj*, returned to join the cause against Siamese political encroachment. Then again, if he was a native of Mecca, it opens the possibility of an even stronger connection between Patani and Mecca, one which compelled an influential Meccan intellectual to travel to one of the far flung corners of the Islamic world and fight for the defense of its people. At the very least, we may assume with a degree of certainty that Sultan Muhammad of Patani had sent

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[155] Ibid.; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 81.
[156] This date corresponds to July 29, 1792.
[157] Begbie, *Malayan Peninsula*, 90.
[158] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 81.

money and other gifts to some *waqf*[159] (Islamic religious endowment) or other charities in Mecca and had been doing so regularly for some time. Light's report also illustrates that elite Muslims from Patani were then embarking on the *hajj* to Mecca as a part of what they believed to be an essential religious duty. How many were able to go is unknown, but must have included only a small number because of the rigors of the journey and the resources required to embark for a year or more abroad. Furthermore, the existence of 400 hajjis in Kedah is also interesting, especially because of their willingness to take part in a war that may not have involved their home or birthplace. The growing sense of something universally Islamic, or the need or desire to forge bonds along Islamic lines foreshadows the profound developments of Islamic elites in Patani in the nineteenth century. For both the Siamese and the various "Malay" polities, Patani was the beachhead where their wars were to be fought most violently, the place at which Siam focused its imperial aims on the southern peninsula, and where the numerous "Malay" rulers sought to contain what they perceived of as Siamese aggression.

Following the 1789-92 war, Bangkok sought to maintain greater control of Patani. Before returning his army to the capital, the Siamese commander appointed Palad Cana (Kwun-Xai) to govern Patani, possibly the Datuk Pangkalan referred to in Malay sources, who bore the title of *luang*.[160] Syukri also mentions an additional official, called Laksamana Dajang, a military commander of some sort, who was also left behind, along with some Siamese officials, to offer support to the governor in the advent of another war in the area.[161] These precautions apparently were enough to keep the peace for a number of years, as Palad Cana's governance was said to be a respite from the near-constant warfare that had embroiled Patani since

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[159] Arabic: وقف
[160] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 5-6; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 81.
[161] Ibid.

1199/1785.[162] Palad Cana established his administration at Tambon Ban Mana until his death

some years later. His brother, Nai Prai, was subsequently appointed to succeed him, and the

former's son, Nai Yim-Xai, became Luang Sawapladee to assist his uncle.[163] Under Phraya Nai

Prai, Patani's administration was moved to Ban Yamu on the east side of the region, apparently

some three hours' walk from Patani city.[164] The Phraya (governor) of Patani reported to the

Phraya of Songkhla, which had been elevated as the head of the administration on Siam's

extreme southern territories.

Patani-Siam War of 1222/1808

The Thai *phongsawadan* refers to the leaders of the 1222/1808 uprising as "Malayu

people" (Malay) which here needs to be qualified if it is not in fact an anachronism. The usage

of the term "Malayu" may have indicated a linguistic group, a certain type of political

organization (which at that time was being undermined and destroyed), or even a marker to

denote local adherence to Islam. In the first case, language would have clearly been a clear mark

of difference, especially in a region that had an active oral and written literary tradition.

"Malayu" may also be seen as referencing a political system centered around a sultan or raja who

dwelled in a royal court. This was in fact the system that from 1200/1786 onwards Siam had

taken explicit steps to undermine and eradicate while forcing local allegiances to turn to

Bangkok. The process of realigning local political space and establishing legitimacy in the

region is a process that appears inadequate and incomplete two centuries later.[165] "Malayu" may

well have also been a demarcation of religious difference, namely the adherence of many Patani

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[162] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 6.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Duncan McCargo, *Tearing Apart the Land: Islam and Legitimacy in Southern Thailand* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

people to Islam, which seems to have enjoyed gradual ascendance since the sixteenth century.

Kobkua argued that, "Siam's anxiety over Pattani partly stemmed from the ability of Pattani to

project itself as the centre of Islamic teachings and Malay culture among the northern Malay

negeri."[166]

In 1222/1808, political and Islamic elites joined forces in an attack against the Siamese

phraya. The *phongsawadan* relates:

> During the time that Phraya Prai governed his administration from Ban Yamu, the Sayawd[167] and
> Rathanawong, who were Malayu people, worked together and planned to rob Phraya Patani Prai and Luang
> Sawapladee Yim-Xai. Phraya Patani Prai and Luang Sawapladee Yim-Xai fought against the Sayawd and
> Rathanawong. As a result, the Sayawd and Rathanawong were not able to defeat Phraya Patani Prai and
> Luang Sawapladee Yim-Xai. They escaped and hid at Tambon Ban Kalapo[168].[169]

Rathanawong is unknown in other sources, but seems likely to have been a political or old

military leader who would have possessed the ability to muster a force to attack the Siamese

governor. Their plan was far more serious than the chronicle indicates however, as this was

certainly a political uprising and an attempt to turn back Siamese political power in the region.

The involvement of a Sayyid in the movement is interesting, though his role in the conflict is not

clear. Kobkua argued that it was the teachings of the sa'id that inspired people to join the cause

against the local Siamese political forces, but it is not clear from the sources available whether

this was the case.[170] If we accept Kobkua's supposition, it may further indicate that Patani's

Islamic leaders had attained enough cultural and social prestige by 1222/1808 to call on members

of the faithful to join them in their struggle against Siam.

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[166] Kobkua, *Thai-Malay Relations*, 160. *Negeri* (Malay): a city, town; a country; a province, district. William
Marsden, *A Dictionary and Grammar of the Malayan Language*, v. 1, Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints (1812,
reprinted Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984): 350.
[167] Sayyid (Arabic): honorific given to men claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad through the latter's
grandsons, Hasan and Husayn.
[168] Malay: Kelaba.
[169] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 6.
[170] Kobkua, *Thai-Malay Relations*, 160.

According to the *phongsawadan*, fugitives at Kelaba eventually surrendered and pleaded with the Siamese authorities for amnesty.[171] They were then given a verbal reprimand and demanded to offer some goods and rattans to the Phraya Songkhla. The discontented groups numbered some 400 families and were supposedly resettled, in separate groups at Nongchik and Yiring, where food shortages and famine resulted.[172] This further compelled the Siamese authorities in Songkhla to reassess their governing policies over Siam's southern imperial districts.

Syukri paints a very different picture. He claims that it was Datuk Pangkalan (the Phraya?) who, by this time was possibly either the brother or the son of the one installed in 1791, who planned the attack against the *phraya* in Songkhla and chased out other Siamese officials led by the Laksamana Dajang who took refuge in Songkhla.[173] From there, the governor of Songkhla sent an urgent request for aid to Nakhon and Bangkok, to which the governor of the former responded with a swift dispatch of troops. Together the forces of Nakhon and Songkhla then advanced upon Patani, where they fought for several months before being forced into retreat. Syukri claims that all of the chief Patani political elites banned together, including Datuk Pangkalan, Datuk Sai, Patuk Pujud, and others.[174] Apparently a few months later, a force from Bangkok led by Phraya Kalahom arrived by sea and led a coordinated attack along with renewed forces sent by Nakhon and Songkhla, with the land battle occurring at Bawarah and the sea battle at Kerisik. Datuk Pangkalan was killed in the battle and the Patani forces were routed once again.[175]

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[171] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 7.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 82.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.

Having defeated the Patani forces, the Siamese army looted the city and took many prisoners who were taken back to Bangkok, thus neutralizing whatever demographic recovery may have occurred since 1200/1786. Furthermore, according to Syukri, the Phraya Kalahom appointed a man named Nai Khwan Sai, who was apparently the son of a ruler in Chana, and was of Chinese descent.[176] This contradicts the chronology set out in the *phongsawadan*, which suggests that this ruler had been in power prior and during the time of the 1808 conflict (referred to as Palad Cana, above). The Thai source does not indicate a date of the war, which further obscures this matter. Until other sources surface regarding this matter, the exact chronology and succession of individuals will remain obscure.

What the sources describe clearly, however, are the results of Patani's defeat. Determined to break local resistance to Siamese political domination, the phraya of Patani brought with him hundreds of Siamese from Songkhla to assist with the administration of the region as an imperial province.[177] Most importantly, the region was broken into seven districts known collectively in Thai as the *Khaek Jet Huamuang*.[178] They included: Patani (Tani), Yaring/Jaring (Yirin), Sai (Saiburi), Nongchik, Raman, Legeh/Rangae, and Yala.[179] The mapping and illustrating of these districts became very important to the Siamese authorities in Songkhla as a method of further stamping out resistance to their rule, which the *phongsawadan* illustrates in great detail.[180] The phraya of each of these districts now reported directly to the phraya of Songkhla and the latter was afforded considerable liberty to treat the *Khaek Jet Huamuang* as his personal fief, leading to corruption and abuse of power.[181]

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[176] Ibid., 82-3.
[177] Ibid., 83.
[178] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 12.
[179] Ibid., 8; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 83. Kobkua, *Thai-Malay Relations*, 161.
[180] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 8-12.
[181] Kobkua, *Thai-Malay Relations*, 162.

The shattering of Patani into seven small principalities was a significant moment in the political history of the region. Most importantly it functioned as an effective means of dividing the political elites with the aim of quelling any further resistance to Siamese political hegemony. Indeed, it would take more than two decades for Patani's local elites to come together to mount a renewed challenge to Siamese rule. Perhaps even more crippling, the division of Patani prevented a unifying leader from emerging who might have otherwise been able to garner British "protection." As British interest in the region grew as the worldwide demand for tin increased in the 1810s and 1820s, Patani remained on a separate trajectory from that of Kedah, Perak, Trengganu, and even its nearest neighbor Kelantan. Before analyzing the effect that the tin trade had upon the region, however, we must first consider local conditions in Patani after the failure of the 1222/1808 uprising.

Tin, Slave Raiding, and the Rise of British Interest in Patani, 1223-36/1809-21

As a result of the warfare between 1199/1785 and 1223/1809, Patani was experiencing severe demographic shrinkage intensified by the collapse of trade routes and the agricultural involution that was a common accompaniment of war. The *orangkaya* who returned after the three major episodes of violence in 1786, 1792, and 1808 surely returned to ruined rice fields, plundered treasuries, and a depleted labor supply. Existing trade partners had been chased off during the conflicts and many merchants were undoubtedly loath to return to a region that could make no promises of any long-term stability. With the economy in dire straits, local elites turned to the common practice of slave raiding to supplement their workforces.

In all likelihood, elites in the Patani area had engaged in slave-raiding in times past, much like many people had done throughout Southeast, which has been well-documented.[182] But after 1223/1809, slave-raiding increased to the point where it was noted in a complaint by British officials to the raja of Kedah concerning "subjects of this Government."[183] Having captured six residents of Pulau Pinang, the leaders of one such raid fled to "Tanjong Putees"[184] which was "inland of Kuala Muda."[185] This place was apparently a well-known slave market to those who engaged in such traffic, for they quickly arranged a sale of the captives:

> to a Patani Man, named Che Awong Mahomud, for the sum of fifty Dollars, who took them with him to Kroh, of which place he is said to be the Poongoloo[186] or Principal Man – it is situated on the borders of the Patani and Quedah Countries, and these persons are known now to be there.[187]

The actual capturing appears to have been carried out by "a Gang of Malay murderers and Robbers" from Kedah, but perhaps in the employ of agents of the Penghulu of Kroh or other elites in the region who also sought to swell their number of laborers.[188] With what appears to have been such an efficient channel for the capture, sale, and transport of slaves from coastal Kedah to the interior of Patani along *Sungai Patani*, we may assume that other slave traders operated in the region whose efforts met with similar success.

The British demand for tin further stimulated the need for increased labor supply in southern Patani. Throughout the 1810s, the British had begun to develop plans for the

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[182] V. Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Slavery in the Malay Texts: Categories of Dependency and Compensation," in *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid, 182-208 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983): 199; A. Reid, "'Closed' and 'Open' Slave Systems in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid, 156-81 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); B. Terwiel, "Bondage and Slavery in Nineteenth Century Siam," in *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid, 118-37 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).
[183] GPWI to Raja of Kedah, Jul 9, 1818 (FCC Jul 23, 1818), SSR 66: 669.
[184] Malay: *Tanjung Putih.*
[185] Ibid.
[186] Penghulu (Malay): headman.
[187] Ibid., 669-70.
[188] Ibid., 671.

exploitation of the peninsula's ample tin deposits.[189] By 1236/1821, EIC officials had been

working for a number of years on building this trade, identifying the most lucrative regions for

mining, and forging durable relationships with local rulers in the designated areas. Perak was

paramount in the tin trade, but the EIC also sought out mines in neighboring regions such as

Selangor as well as in the aforementioned Kroh, in southern Patani, the latter accessed with

relative ease by way of the Sungei Patani. The Penghulu of Kroh wrote, in response to EIC

advances:

> ... here at my place of residence, two hundred Bhars[190] of Tin can be annually procured. This should it be agreeable to the Governor to send some Confidential person to me with a letter from him (on the subject) can be sent annually to him at Pulo Pinang....[191]

Clearly the earlier tensions regarding the slave-raiding had not spoiled relations between the

Penghulu of Kroh and the EIC, though there is no record of whether the captives were ever

returned. The British evidently had more pressing plans already set in motion, ones that would

offer southern Patani some respite from its economic degradation.

EIC records further indicate that Kroh's tin trade had been carrying on for an unspecified

number of years as Lieutenant Henry Burney, then private secretary to the Governor at Pulau

Pinang, wrote in 1236/1821:

> There has been for many years past some Tin imported into this Island[192] from Qualla Mooda[193], which river flows from the Patani Country passing within six miles of the place where the Tin is procured and continues its course to the Sea through the Territories of the Rajah of Quedah. The Tin is conveyed on Elephants to the Banks of the River where it is shipped being about six hours journey. The Mines in that

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[189] Patani had already attracted Chinese tin and gold prospectors by the turn of the century and were still active in the region at the time of Burney's diplomatic mission to Bangkok in 1826. By the 1830s, this trade seemed to have swung under the control of the Siamese king who then, in turn, sold various commodities from the lower Malay-Thai peninsula to Chinese merchants in Bangkok, likely a result of the 1832 and 1838 conflicts. Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853*, Harvard East Asian Monographs series, v. 76 (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977): 174, 215.

[190] The EIC translator, R. Caunter, further noted, "The Bhara or Bhar is a weight that varies in different Countries. The Bhar here meant is I believe in weight, 3 Piculs or 400 Pounds. Penghulu of Kroh to GPWI, Jul 31, 1818, *Collection of Documents on Tin Trade 1821: a Collection of Letter Excerpts from Penang Officials, Company officials and Native Rulers*, 4 (FCC Dec 27, 1821).

[191] Ibid., 3-4.

[192] Pulau Pinang.

[193] Kuala Muda River.

quarter we have every reason to believe are very productive in Tin Ore, and the small quantity obtained is ascribable solely to the few workmen employed.[194]

Here we again see that Patani's economic elites struggled to accumulate enough laborers to successfully meet the British demands for tin. Despite this, a profitable trade followed that certainly brought some stability to economic elites, primarily the Penghulu of Kroh who drew a stable income from the tin trade, despite the levies the sultan of Kedah charged for commercial traffic that flowed through his country via the river. The Governor of Prince of Wales Island wrote to the Sultan of Kedah, the following as he advanced the idea of a trade agreement that was to displace Chinese merchants already operating on the river:

> I must then acquaint my friend that Inchi Mahomed Punghulu of Kroh sent me a letter some time ago, making a voluntary offer to supply this Government with a quantity of Tin, the produce of the Patani Country, and that after much deliberation I accepted it, agreeing to pay for the same when brought and received on the South side of the Qualla Mooda River, partly in Dollars and partly in Opium and Rice Goods.[195]

After extensive negotiations, the EIC negotiated a settlement with Kedah regarding the trade for Patani tin. For it was noted in EIC records that by September 29, 1819:

> ... a Chief[196] of Patani opened a Correspondence with our late President, offering to supply Tin on the most favorable terms, viz. 40 Dollars per Bhar.[197] As this Tin was to be brought down the Mooda River, and received and paid for at the Qualla or Mouth of the River, an Agent was dispatched there with the Money and Goods, which were to empower the payment for a certain quantity ....[198]

The tin trade from Kroh prospered throughout the 1820s, as even noted by the Examiner's Office in London:

> ... our President's attention has been directed ... the superintendent of [Prince of Wales Island], to obtain through the means of its water communication with Patani some supply of the extensive produce of Tin which that Country is so celebrated for, and to afford encouragement to its Importation here, by all possible means. For this purpose your Honourable Court will observe we authorized Mr. Maingy to take measures, under the immediate Sanction of the Government, for procuring through confidential Agents and by suitable small advances of Cash, a supply of Tin from Patani, which, being conveyed down the Muda

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[194] Burney to GPWI, Sep 5, 1818, *Collection of Documents on Tin Trade 1821: a Collection of Letter Excerpts from Penang Officials, Company officials and Native Rulers*, 4-5 (FCC Dec 27, 1821).

[195] GPWI to Sultan of Kedah, Oct 21, 1818, *Collection of Documents on Tin Trade 1821: a Collection of Letter Excerpts from Penang Officials, Company Officials and Native Rulers*, 16-7 (FCC Dec 27, 1821). For a full account of the EIC's pleas to Kedah to obstruct the local Chinese merchants, see ibid., 16-22.

[196] This is, with very little doubt, the Penghulu of Kroh mentioned earlier.

[197] See my earlier note regarding the *bhar* as a unit of measurement.

[198] Extract from the President's Minute, Sep 29, 1819, *Collection of Documents on Tin Trade*, 30.

Rivers, might be sent over from our Territory there to this Island[199], such a measure as we looked upon as calculated to give a spur to Industry; and while it turned the attention of the Natives from other less worthy Pursuits might open the means of obtaining hereafter through that channel a plentiful supply of this valuable article for the China market.[200]

By "Patani," the anonymous writer here clearly refers to Kroh, as in the earlier sources referring to the Patani tin trade. As part of grander British imperial designs, the tin procured from Patani undoubtedly was a sustained trade of considerable value for the local elites that benefited from it as well.

For our purposes, the tin trade at Kroh illustrates two things. First, the political fragmentation of Patani is evident throughout the EIC's negotiations with the penghulu of Kroh since prior to 1223/1809 they would certainly have had to deal with the sultan or raja of Patani first before making any advances towards a local chief or official. It further suggests that the raja of Patani had no jurisdiction over the neighboring regions, though he likely held a symbolic and perhaps kinship advantage over the governors of the other *Khaek Jet Huamuang*. With the further decline of Patani and the strengthening of regional leaders, future opposition to Siam in the region would be impossible without external alliances.

Secondly, the rising British interest in the tin trade gave them, for the first time since the late seventeenth century, a distinct interest in Patani affairs. As we shall see, Patani's tin mining districts were enough to spark intense debate within the EIC regarding Patani's political status and ultimately what claims might be made regarding its sovereignty. The fact that the EIC considered interfering directly with Siamese interests in the region are a clear indicator of Patani's rising status in the eye of EIC officials. It is to the present topic that we now turn in the following section.

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[199] Prince of Wales Island.
[200] F/4/825/21917, PWI, no. 30, Public Dept., Examiner's Office, April 1825: 96-7.

Patani, the British, and the Fall of Kedah, 1235-6/1820-1

As an ongoing part of Patani's struggle against Siamese political hegemony, the raja of

Patani, Syed Ali, appealed to British aid in a letter received by the latter, September 7, 1820:

> My Friends answer to my former Letter[201] with two rolls of white Cloth and two pieces of Chintz have reached me and been received in safety. My friend says he has considered of the points noticed in my former letter in which I transmitted the Map[202], and that he will do his utmost to assist me and my family which I shall feel grateful for to my latest hour. I trust much in my friend's assistance to me and my family and I shall be happy to transact my Friend's business in any mercantile affairs, but only let my Friend overcome the Country of Siam and take possession of it while I will do the same by Soongora[203]. If my friend will, I request him to send me such force as he thinks right this Season and I will superintend its operations against Ligor and Soongora first, as all my connections are in the latter Country.[204]

It is evident from this correspondence that some elite, but marginalized political faction in the

Patani region had previously approached the British for possible military assistance against

Siam. There is no doubt that Patani, following the examples of Kedah and Trengganu, viewed

the British as a counterweight to Siamese power. After the above section of the raja of Patani's

letter, he goes on to offer all of Patani's exports as trade goods to the British:

> If my friend will assist me, I will certainly follow my friend's Orders in all these things and annually great quantities of them shall come to my friend. I am much distressed the same as if I was in the midst of war and have nothing to do but acquaint my friend that he may send me some certain decision in this affair that my heart may be at rest. I moreover acquaint my friend that most of the Chiefs in power under Siam are very strong opponents to me, let not therefore my friend follow their advice to my detriment.[205]

Using local trade goods as leverage, the raja of Patani hoped to garner British aid against what

were again rising tensions with Siam.

The British issued a swift and clear response to the advances of the Patani raja:

> It being evident from the Contents of the Letter just received from my Friend that mine to him has been either misconceived or ill interpreted, I hasten to repeat the Policy of this Government is not that of Subjugating its Neighbours but to conciliate them and encourage mutual friendship by promoting Commerce between the surrounding Countries and Pulo Pinang in view to the fullest accomplishment of which have all my Letters tended and in no way to encrease or to take a part in the unhappy feuds or jealousies existing. Once more therefore I invite my Friend and his Adherents to bring the produce of their Country to Pinang where they will be protected and encouraged to pursue their Mercantile transactions. At

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[201] This earlier letter has not been found.
[202] Like the letter that accompanied it, this map has not been found, but must have included some intelligence concerning Siam's military strength, position of forts or garrisons on the peninsula, and so forth.
[203] Songkhla.
[204] Raja of Patani to GPWI, undated (FCC Sep 7, 1820), tr. W. L. Cracroft, SSR 76: 23-5.
[205] Ibid., 25-6.

the same time have it to my own character to undeceive my friend in the reputations formed of the British Government intermeddling in any differences between my Friend and the Government of Siam or State of Soongora with whom the British Government are in friendship.[206]

Though as we discussed in the previous section, British interest in Patani trade, particularly tin,

had risen throughout the 1810s, they had managed to draw it down the river to the west coast via

the Kuala Muda River, thus averting the need for an east coast trading center that would have

certainly drawn them further into local political wranglings. For now, at least, the EIC was

content to let Patani fend for itself as long as its southern tin mining districts were not further

endangered by political unrest with Siam. Even more so, the EIC had an interest in maintaining

the political status quo so that trade was not disrupted. This may be seen in their subsequent

rejection of a request by the *phraya* of Songkhla who approached the authorities at Pulau Pinang

with a request to purchase guns and ammunition to be used, in all likelihood, against what they

perceived as rising discontent in Patani.[207] The British, however, who chose to aid neither side

of this political struggle, offered only a polite and evasive response to the Siamese authorities in

Songkhla.[208]

The following year, Siam flexed its political muscle in an attempt to fend off an imminent

attack by the Burmese against their isthmian territories. By 1236/February 1821, the governor of

Prince of Wales Island wrote to Sultan Ahmad of Kedah:

> I hasten to communicate to my friend, that intelligence has reached this place from Siam stating the King of that Country to be engaged in the equipment of about 6,000 Troops destined to march to Kedah. This army, it is said, will embark at Bangkok to Sangora, from whence it is to march overland. It is further stated, that some remissness in the transmission of the Boonga Mas[209] is the reason assigned for this measure; it is however not improbable, that as the Burmahs have declared war with Siam, this movement of the Troops of the latter Power is in view to avail of the situation of my friend's Country and vessels to embark an Expedition against the Island of Salang[210].[211]

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[206] GPWI to Raja of Patani, undated (FCC Sep 7, 1820), SSR 76: 26-8.
[207] Raja of Soongora to GPWI, Aug 5, 1820 (FCC Sep 7, 1820), SSR 76: 28-30.
[208] Phillips to Raja of Soongora, undated (FCC Sep 7, 1820), SSR 76: 30-1.
[209] *Bunga Mas* (Malay): gold flowers.
[210] Phuket was a common target for Burmese attacks directed at the peninsula, as seen in earlier conflicts. Skinner, *Battle for Junk Ceylon.*

Naturally as the Siamese army marched south from Songkhla, they would have entered Patani and made a show of strength to intimidate the local leaders into further cooperation with Siam. The arrival of a Siamese army in the region was always the source of great anxiety for local rulers as they lived in fear of having alienated Siamese representatives in Songkhla who supplied the army's general with a report of the region upon arrival. As in 1199/1785, local leaders quickly offered supplications to ensure a momentary stay for the army and to encourage its hasty departure.

This time, however, Siam was to make an example of Kedah, instead of Patani. Supplementing its army with naval forces, Siam made a "sudden and brazen invasion of Kedah," on November 12, 1821.[212] This event, though fiercely resisted by Sultan Ahmad and his sons, other family members, and loyal supporters, would disrupt politics in the region until his restoration in 1258/1842. For our purpose of analyzing Patani's political maneuverings in these years, the fall of Kedah to Siam ushered in a new period of Siamese power in the lower peninsula and in the following two decades, an alliance of discontented political elites from the east and west coasts was to slowly coalesce under the leadership of Tuanku Din of Kedah in which Patani played a significant role. However, before looking at the reemergence of violent uprisings against Siamese rule as a method employed by local political elites, we must first consider the British position and explain their continued interest in the peninsula.

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[211] John Anderson, *Political and Commercial Considerations Relative to the Malayan Peninsula and the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (Prince of Wales Island: William Cox, 1824, reprinted *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 35, no. 4 (1965)): 88-9 [original page numbers].
[212] Bonney, *Kedah*, 156.

Patani's Sovereignty: A British View

As previously discussed, the British had a growing interest in the peninsula by the 1820s and were in constant conflict with both Burma and Siam for influence in the region. There appeared in the 1820s a publication titled, *Political and Commercial Considerations Relative to the Malayan Peninsula*, written by EIC agent and translator John Anderson (1209-61/1795-1845). He had previously worked as the EIC "agent for tin" in Perak and in his role as chief Malay translator at Pulau Pinang, had gained an unrivaled knowledge of the political and economic situation throughout the peninsular polities. Anderson's book, originally commissioned as an official company publication, came at a time of rising tension between the EIC and Siam, spawned by Governor Fullerton who, having only just arrived from Madras for his new position at Pulau Pinang in 1239-40/August 1824, came under the influence of Anderson and other British officials who promoted a more aggressive policy in regards to Siam's political hegemony over its tributary states on the peninsula.[213] This is evidenced by an extensive letter Governor Fullerton wrote to Calcutta, dated October 19, 1824, in which he urged "the adoption of a strong anti-Thai policy in the peninsula and the restoration of the ex-sultan of Kedah."[214] L.A. Mills added that Fullerton's dispatch "read almost like an abstract of Anderson's pamphlet."[215]

Anderson's work was a politically volatile book, offering the British justification for the adoption of a new approach to the entire region, one that he rooted in Enlightenment thought and what were then, widely accepted ideas in Europe concerning the manner by which states should engage with one another in diplomacy. Though John Bastin has laid to rest the many misconceptions concerning rumors that the book was in fact suppressed, it seems clear that the

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[213] John Bastin, "Introduction," in Anderson, *Political and Commercial*, 3.
[214] Ibid.
[215] L. A. Mills, "British Malaya 1824-1867," *JMBRAS* 3, no. 2 (1925): 137.

work was at the very least intentionally limited in supply so as to lessen the chance that it fall

into Siamese hands or otherwise adversely affect British relations with Siam.[216]

To explain the book's importance, it is necessary to examine Anderson's argument, the

sources of his reasoning, and its potential impact upon the peninsula. He began the work with a

brief overview of the various "Malay" states of the peninsula among which he includes Patani.

He introduced Patani's early history with its foundation story and mentions how Patani's early

political legitimacy was embodied in the presentation of *nobat* by the Melaka sultan to the rulers

of Patani.[217] He concluded his entry for Patani rather abruptly, "The Siamese about the time

Pinang was taken possession of, plundered the place, and murdered and carried off the

Inhabitants, and in subsequent years, the State became separated and disunited under different

Leaders, or petty independent Rajahs."[218]

Immediately following the above quote, Anderson entered into a long foray regarding

"Malay" sovereignty, as he viewed it, with the ultimate goal of justifying British "protection" of

the region:

> In the history of the first Malayan Settlement at Singapura, we find that the Emigrants from Sumatra found
> no Inhabitants, and met with no opposition, and in their subsequent expulsion from thence, their
> Establishments at Malacca, and again at Johor and other places, were effected under similar happy
> circumstances; nor do we read in the whole annals of Malayan History, of their Colonies on the Peninsula,
> of one single instance in which a Country was wrested by force, from aboriginal Inhabitants.[219]

Anderson's interest was not in examining the earliest historical records in the region to

necessarily justify his claim, but rather to build a clear case for "Malay" sovereignty throughout

the peninsula in opposition to Siam, which naturally included Patani, as based upon some

European conceptions of how states should operate and interact. To bolster his argument, he

relied upon Emer de Vattel (1126-81/1714-67), the Swiss philosopher, diplomat, and legal

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[216] John Bastin, "Introduction," 1-10.
[217] Anderson, *Political and Commercial*, 40.
[218] Ibid., 41.
[219] Ibid.

theoretician, whose writings are today seen as laying the foundation of modern international law and political science. Anderson noted from Vattel:

> Tous les hommes ont un droit égal aux chofes qui ne font point encore tombées dans la propriété de quelqu'un ; & ces chofes-là appartiennent au prémier occupant. Lors donc qu'une Nation trouve un pays inhabité & fans maître, elle peut légitimement s'en emparer : Et après qu'elle a fuffifamment marqué fa volonté à cet égard, une autre ne peut l'en dépouiller.[220]

Translation:

> All mankind have a right to things that have not yet fallen into the possession of any one, and those things belong to the persons who first take possession of them. When therefore a nation finds a Country uninhabited, and without an owner, it may lawfully take possession of it, and after it has efficiently made known its will in this respect, it cannot be deprived of it by another Nation.[221]

Anderson subsequently argued:

> The Emigrants who founded the Malayan Colonies, had an undoubted right to possess themselves of desert Countries which they found on the Peninsula, and that having possession, and never relinquished it, during a period of 660 years, they are, and must be considered, the rightful possessors of these Countries at the present day.[222]

In Anderson's view, the various "Malayan" rulers, stretching from Johor to Patani on the east coast, and Singapore to Perlis on the west coast, could claim political legitimacy in opposition to Siam's claims on the peninsula from the virtue of the "Malays" having arrived in the territory first and having never relinquished their possession of it, justified by Enlightenment-inspired notions of political legitimacy.

Anderson continued his line of argument by considering states involved in various types of tributary relations. Though his object was explicitly the situation in Kedah, he addressed the aforementioned peninsular polities as a universal, again turning to Vattel:

> On doit donc compter au nombre des Souverains, ces Etats qui se font liés à un autre plus puissant, par une *Alliance inégale*, dans laquelle, comme l'a dit *Aristote*, on donne au plus puissant plus d'honneur, & au plus soible plus de secours. Les conditions de ces Alliances inégales peuvent varier à l'infini. Mais quelles qu'elles soient, pourvu que l'Allié inférieur se réserve la *Souveraineté*, ou le Droit de se gouverner par lui-

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[220] M. de Vattel, *Le Droit des Gens ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle: Appliqué à la conduite et aux affaires des Nations et des Souverains*, I (1758: reprinted Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1916): 193.

[221] In this text, I have included Anderson's own translations of Emer de Vattel as not to misconstrue his interpretation and intended application. Anderson, *Political and Commercial*, 41.

[222] Anderson, *Political and Commercial*, 42.

même, il doit être regardé comme un Etat indépendant qui commerce ave les autres fous l'Autorité du Droit des Gens.[223]

Translation:

> We ought to account as Sovereign States, those which have united themselves to another more powerful, by an unequal alliance, in which, as Aristotle says, to the more powerful is given more honor, and to the weaker, more assistance. The conditions of these unequal alliances, may be infinitely varied. But whatever they are, provided the inferior Ally secure to itself Sovereignty, or the right of governing its own body, it ought to be considered as an independent State that keeps up an intercourse with others under the Law of Nations.[224]

Anderson then turned to Vattel's theories regarding tributary states:

> Il n'y a pas plus de difficulté à l'égard des Etats *Tributaires*. Car bien qu'un Tribut paié à une puissance étrangère diminué quelque chose de la Dignité de ces Etats, étant un aveu de leur soiblesse; il laisse subsister entiérement leur Souveraineté. L'usage de païer Tribut étoit autrefois très fréquent; les plus soibles se rachetant par là des véxations du plus fort, ou se ménageant à ce prix fa protection, fans cesser d'être Souverains.[225]

Translation:

> There occurs no greater difference with Tributary States, for though the payment of Tribute to a foreign Power, does in some degree diminish the dignity of those States, from its being a confession of their weakness, yet it suffers their Sovereignty to subsist entire. The custom of paying Tribute was formerly very common, the weaker by that means purchasing of their more powerful neighbour, an exemption from oppression, or, at that price, securing his protection without ceasing to be Sovereign.[226]

From our discussion here, it has become obvious that Anderson was making the case for "Malay" sovereignty in opposition to Siam and that he saw Britain's role as "protector" of these polities which he believed were too militarily or politically weak to fend for themselves. His statement was nothing less than a call for the dissolution of the *mandala* system centered around a Tai polity on the Chao Phraya River that had been operating in the region for at least four or five centuries. And while Anderson observed the local tributary system, he failed to note its very different intention, application, and end result in the Southeast Asian context. Anderson's position was intended to give British administrators moral and political justification for further interference in the affairs of the peninsula, but they still had to consider political realities,

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[223] De Vattel, *Droit de Gens*, 19.
[224] Anderson, *Political and Commercial*, 42.
[225] De Vattel, *Droit des Gens*, 19.
[226] Anderson, *Political and Commercial*, 43.

namely, that Siam had no intention of relinquishing its control of the tributaries without a fight. Following its 1236/1821 invasion of Kedah, Siamese power must have seemed more virile than ever before. The British, on the other hand, though they had rising economic interests in the peninsula were only willing to invest a limited amount of resources that were in constant need elsewhere, particularly India. The solidification of the border that today separates the nation-states of Malaysia and Thailand was not to be finalized for another eighty-five years, but Anderson had sparked British debate on the issue of local sovereignty and the role of the British in local political affairs. Patani's inability to gain significant British interest throughout the nineteenth century and particularly from the 1820s onwards, alongside its political splintering in 1223/1809, were the two most crucial factors in its eventual position north of the present border.

Part IV: The Last Stand of Patani's Political Elites
Patani's Role in the First Kedah-Siam War, 1243-47/1828-32

From the mid-1820s, various disaffected family members of the ex-sultan of Kedah settled in Pulau Pinang or Province Wellesley, much to the chagrin of the British, who made consistent efforts to compel them to remove to Melaka.[227] Chief among these were the ex-sultan's nephew, Tuanku Din[228], his brother-in-law, Tuanku Long Puteh, and his younger brother Tuanku Soliman. Following minor disturbances the previous year, and after an abortive attempt at "rebellion" led by Tuanku Din in 1245/July 1829 failed, the various family members of the ex-sultan regrouped and planned for another revolt the following year under the same leader.[229] By 1246/October 1830, "numerous pirates" appeared off the Kedah coast, led by the notorious

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[227] Report, undated (FCC Jun 19, 1827), SSR 117: 159-60; Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 116r-117v.
[228] He also appears in British records as Kudin or Tuanku Kudin.
[229] Ibid., 116r.

Pakusa, who had come to support the cause of the Kedah discontents.[230] By late 1830, Tuanku

Din, having taken the title of vice-regent, was again leading his troops in battle against the

Siamese and chased their officials "to the frontier" causing them to retreat to Songkhla.[231]

Meanwhile, a letter from James Low dated April 18 reported:

> A force rated at 3,000 men have, by reports entitled to some credit, come down from Patani and have, in conjunction with Malays from within the Honble. Company's jurisdiction, seized on two Siamese posts, a day or two distant only from the North East frontier of this Province, from whence they either marched or intend in a few days to march on Kedah.[232]

The Patani forces apparently joined with the army of either Tuanku Din's son, Tuanku

Mahomed, or his nephew by the same name, as Low apparently speculated.[233] Low also

believed that the arrival of the Patani armies was enough to further embolden Tuanku Din and

his followers.[234] On June 13, 1831, the Phraya of Nakhon arrived with 7,500 soldiers from

Siamese garrisons at Nakhon and Songkhla and attacked Kedah on June 26 following, quickly

driving the Kedah forces back to the Kedah fort.[235] By the following month, Siam had encircled

the fort and settled in for a long siege. The *Singapore Chronicle* reported:

> On the day of the final assault, Tuanku Koodin had only fourteen men with him able to bear arms—the rest of his garrison consisted of such of his followers as had been disabled in previous actions with the enemy, and a crowd of women and children, all in the utmost distress for want of provisions. Tuanku and his people offered a desperate but fruitless resistance; most of followers were overpowered and cut down.[236]

The Kedah fort fell to Siam on October 4, and reports stated that Tuanku Din was found dead

upon the ramparts.[237] But another more colorful report stated:

> ... Tuanku and another Chief retired into a dwelling-house from which they assailed the enemy with shot, killing several and keeping them all at bay. The house was at last set fire to, when Tuanku & his

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[230] Ibid., 117v.

[231] Ibid., 125r; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 86.

[232] James Low to K. Murchison, Apr 18, 1831 (FWC Jul 22, 1831), *The Burney Papers*, Volume 3, part 1: *March 1827 to June 1833* (Bangkok: Printed by order of the Vijiranana National Library, 1912): 210.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 130v-130r; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 86.

[236] "Quedah," *Singapore Chronicle*, 24 Nov 1831.

[237] Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 133r-134v.

> companion sallied forth with a drawn weapon in each hand and struck down several of their assailants; but seeing no hope of ultimate escape, they, by mutual consent, plunged their weapons into each other.[238]

Here, as in previous accounts, there is evidence of the Siamese army massacring their enemy. One eye-witness report stated, "The Siamese shewed no mercy, and the following day, the interior of the Fort presented a scene of indiscriminate slaughter, 120 bodies of every age and sex being found murdered."[239]

As James Low relates the incidents, it was not until Kedah had been fully defeated that Patani chose to attack the Siamese, an ill-timed decision perhaps due to the limited communications possible by Kedah forces during the three-month siege.[240] Syukri, however, tells a very different story in which four of the seven petty rajas in the Patani region, when asked by the Siamese to support their fight against Kedah instead joined together and chased Siam's administrators, including *Phraya* Nai Phai of Yiring who had chosen to support the Siamese, back to Songkhla, pursuing them as far as Thepa and Chana.[241] The Siamese authorities in Songkhla sent an urgent plea to Bangkok and asked that the *phraya* of Phetburi be appointed the general to assist them.[242] The leaders of this challenge to Siamese authority in the region were Tuan Sulong, who had assumed the position of raja of Patani, his older brother Tuan Kecil[243], the *phraya* of Nongchik, his younger brother, Tuan Kundur[244], the *phraya* of Yala, and Tuan Nik Dah[245], the *phraya* of Legeh.[246] These four discontent rajas fortified their forces at Bukit Anak Gajah and Kampung Bangkadan where they remained until a larger force from Bangkok arrived

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[238] "Quedah," *Singapore Chronicle*, 17 Nov 1831.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 134v.
[241] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 16; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 88.
[242] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 16.
[243] Thai: Tawan Kachik. Ibid.
[244] Thai: Tawan Bangkok. Ibid.
[245] Thai: Tawan Nik Dah. Ibid.
[246] Ibid.

to aid Songkhla and Nakhon's efforts.[247] From Syukri's account, we may gather that James Low, stationed at Pulau Pinang, received his reports long after the events had unfolded and was not fully aware of the contemporaneous fighting that had transpired on the east coast.

Even after Kedah had fallen to Siam, the four petty rajas continued their fight. The *phraya* of Nakhon responded by dispatching "one of his sons with five-hundred Siamese and three thousand of the very Malays who had so lately been arrayed against him to put down the rebellion which was speedily affected."[248] Sultan Long Ahmad, the uncle of Tuan Sulong, sent troops to aid in the fight against Siam.[249] Likewise, the sultan of Trengganu sent a force to assist Patani against Siam, led by Panglima Tungku Idris, Panglima Incik Kilan, Panglima Wan Kamal, and Panglima Incik Ismail.[250] The Siamese attack on Patani occurred in early 1832, though the Phrakhlang apparently delayed his arrival until after the Patani forces had already been driven back from Songkhla, when he arrived from Bangkok in "a war-boat with a fine gilt stern and gilt head, accompanied by about 18 more war-boats containing altogether about 3,000 men."[251] Thus the attack came from both land and sea and after several months of fighting, Patani again fell to the Siamese.[252]

J. H. Moor, the editor of a Singapore newspaper, had a different perception of the origins of the conflict:

> The Malayan states of *Patani, Calantan*[253], and the other smaller states of *Jella*[254] and *Jarim* began to assume a hostile appearance towards Siam and refused to be taxed and have their hands written on – (all the people belonging to the king of Siam are marked on the wrist) – besides having the mark of slavery put on

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[247] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 88.

[248] Low, 134v. Syukri relays a similar account with fewer specifics. Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 88.

[249] Ibid., 89.

[250] Ibid.

[251] J. H. Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago, and Adjacent Countries: Being a Collection of Papers Relating to Borneo, Celebes, Bali, Java, Sumatra, Nias, the Philippine Islands, Sulus, Siam, Cochin China, Malayan Peninsula, &c.* (Singapore: 1837): 201.

[252] Begbie, *Malayan Peninsula*, 90; Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 201; Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 88-89.

[253] Kelantan.

[254] Yala.

their arms. The officer, who collected the tax, (phra of the second class,) by way of remunerating himself for his trouble, demanded three ticals a head. This was more than the poor people could pay, and those who could not pay, he flogged, whether men, women, or children. From this unauthorised act of oppression and cruelty arose the disturbance. When the second king heard of the misconduct of his officer, he ordered him to be seized and beheaded, without trial. The Praklang as Kalahom was ordered to proceed immediately to *Singora* and from thence to *Patani*, in order to put an end at once to the disturbance in that quarter.[255]

Though the account of abuse of power by Siam's local administrators is not corroborated by any other available sources, the gross misconduct by the tax officer, if practiced throughout the Patani region might account for the ability of a majority of the petty rajas to unite in solidarity against Siam and further inspire their adherents to join in what may well have seemed a futile cause.

In the aftermath, the leaders of the Kelantan and Trengganu forces retreated to their respective centers, taking Raja Tuan Sulong and Raja Tuan Kundur with them to the former, along with their families.[256] Raja Tuan Kecil and Raja Nik Dah fled south with their armies as far as Jarum, where they fought again with the Siamese forces that had pursued them.[257] Only the latter managed to escape with a few of his soldiers through the mountain passes into Perak.[258] Thai accounts differ in that they claim the Siamese killed the first three of the above rajas in a battle at Legeh, but agree that only the fourth managed to escape, though this may have just been an administrator's shortened summary of the events.[259] Other refugees are thought to have relocated permanently as far south as Kemaman, in Trengganu, at this time, likely one example of a wider trend.[260] The raja of Kelantan only managed to avoid further war by paying 30,000

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[255] Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 201.
[256] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 89.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] "Phongsawadan Muang Pattani," 17; In a British report, they state that Siam had "a large force at a place called Ligile in Patani, close to the borders of Calantan." Here "Ligile" seems to be an Anglicized version of "Legeh." Siam also apparently sent five "war boats" to Kuala Trengganu. S. G. Bonham to GPWI, Aug 9, 1832 (FWC Nov 19, 1832), *The Burney Papers*, III: 317; S. G. Bonham to Chow Phya Calahom, Aug 9, 1832 (FWC Nov 19, 1832), in *ibid.*, 319.
[260] Talib, "Port and Polity of Trengganu," 220.

Spanish dollars and "ten catties of gold dust" as recompense for his involvement in the war.[261]

The sultan of Trengganu appealed to British aid at the time, fearing, like in 1200/1786, an imminent attack from Siam on his territories.[262] Furthermore, the sultan of Kelantan was forced to turn over Tuan Sulong and the other disaffected leaders who had taken refuge there.[263] Tuan Sulong was eventually taken to Bangkok along with his family, where it may be presumed that they remained until their deaths. Moor, who was in Bangkok at the time, reported:

> The Praklang himself arrived on the 20th of September 1832 bringing with him the rajah of *Patani* and his family. The rajah was sent in chains to the king's palace where he is still kept, and his family were placed in another house with other prisoners of rank.

The authorities at Songkhla, on orders from Bangkok via Nakhon, had already set about reorganizing their imperial provinces according to a new system, at least in part to avert the problems they had experienced in the south.

Siam's most prized plunder of the war, the residents of Patani, were again captured during the sacking and looting that followed Patani's defeat in 1247/1832. According to an American missionary who passed through the region:

> The district [of Patani] fell under the displeasure of Siam, and war ensued, which was terminated by the present Prah Klang, who, in 1832, laid waste the country, and brought away all the inhabitants he could find. These were distributed to the principal families in Bangkok as slaves, and this fine region now lies almost depopulated and desert.[264]

Malcolm's account is remarkably similar to Light's descriptions of the battle and aftermath of 1785-6. Moor gave a more descriptive account of the taking of slaves:

> We are informed by [a] person who accompanied the expedition, that the hordes of Siamese soldiers, or more appropriately armed coolies, which were landed at *Singora* from the Junks, having proceeded overland to *Patani*, committed every outrage there. Most of the inhabitants fled at their approach; but many of them previously set fire to their houses. Such as were taken, were made prisoners, and to prevent the fugitives from re-occupying the country, (which is described as having been most beautiful and in good

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[261] Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 202; Syukri states $50,000, but is not specific as to which dollar he refers. Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 90.

[262] S. G. Bonham to GPWI, Aug 9, 1832 (FWC Nov 19, 1832), *Burney Papers*, III: 317.

[263] Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 201.

[264] Howard Malcolm, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia, Embracing Hindustan, Malaya, Siam, and China; with Notices of Numerous Missionary Stations, and a Full Account of the Burman Empire; with Dissertations, Tables, etc.* (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1840): 106.

cultivation.) every fruit tree was cut down, and the country devastated in a most barbarous manner. Of the captives, the women suffered most from their brutality, as neither infant youth, nor age were spared. But to close this savage and revolting scene, the captives were thrust by hundreds into the filthy holds of the junks, which were totally incapable of containing so many, and in most instances, the wretched beings were obliged to trample or lay on each other, by which numbers of them perished![265]

Clearly again, the Siamese army was bent on destroying Patani to ensure its political dominance of the region and here, like before, Siam was content with using Patani as an example of what might happen if other rulers in the region continued to defy Siamese political control. The focus of Siam's efforts in the aftermath of the fall of Patani in 1247/1832 was to depopulate the region and by doing so, defuse whatever resistance remained. Syukri even levels charges of widespread rape carried out by the Siamese during this conflict, though this is not corroborated by any other source.[266] In a separate account, Moor recorded:

> About the end of August, the Malays being *quiet*, and everything settled to the satisfaction of the Praklang, he proposed to return to Bankok with his principle spoils: viz. from four to five thousand prisoners, or slaves. Those miserable, wretched creatures were forced on board the small junks and war-boats, and were crowded together as thickly as they could be stowed, without any room being left for them to move. When they arrived at Bankok and were landed on the banks of the river the sight they presented was most miserable, and the stench of their persons and vessels, dreadful. One fourth were covered with the small pox. They were all placed or huddled together, in one side of the building called the British Factory, and there the writer was an eye-witness of such distress and misery as would have rent even a heart of stone.[267]

In a more detailed account that Moor sent to the *Singapore Chronicle* newspaper that appeared in the November 22, 1832 issue, he wrote:

> I have seen most of the poor, wretched creatures that have been brought up from the Malay Coast, and were I even capable of conveying to you, in a slight degree, the miserable sights I have seen, it would make you shudder. I even wonder that God permits such wanton cruelty and oppression to exist on the face of the earth. The number of Malay slaves brought up here, within the last six weeks, will amount to between 4,200 and 5,000 souls, consisting principally of very old women and numbers of young children, and only a very few able-bodied men. Those, I suppose, who were able to run, made their escape, and left the old, sickly and very young to the mercy of the merciless Siamese invaders.[268]

Moor likely made the misjudgment with the assumption that the men had escaped more easily. As we discussed in our account of earlier conflicts, men were sometimes summarily executed in

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[265] "Siam," *Singapore Chronicle*, 22 Nov 1832.

[266] Syukri, *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, 89.

[267] Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 202.

[268] "Siam," *Singapore Chronicle*, 22 Nov 1832.

the aftermath of defeat, leaving the old, the young, and many women to be taken as slaves by the victors. In the wake of Patani's 1832 defeat, much like that of 1786, some manner of gendercide again seems to have been carried out by the victorious Siamese.

Moor continued to describe the condition of the slaves and how they were divided and distributed to the chief families of Bangkok and elsewhere:

> Out of compliment, of course, to their *Ally*, the British Indian Government, the poor, wretched, diseased creatures, (and few indeed, were free of disease) were quartered in what the Siamese style, "the British Factory." I occupy one side, and the Malays, to the amount of 400 or 500, were confined to the other, until a conveyance could be got to take them up the country, or perhaps until they were given as presents to some of the great men here. They were counted in and out just like so much sheep, and when an order was given in presents to some of the Siamese Chiefs to send off 40 or 50, it did not matter whether they were sick or well; off they must go, the healthy carrying the sick, and in some instances you would see them counting out old men and women, in such a condition, that it was scarcely possible they could have lived, had they been left alone, a single hour. Most of the Malays had immense large ulcers about their feet or legs, and the stench from them alone was enough to breed a plague. Besides that, they were all swarming with lice, and covered with the itch and to wind up all, had sore eyes. At night, could you but have seen them—without beds, or mats, or musquito curtains—the sick, the young and the old, all huddled together; and ever dead bodies lying amongst them. The children, from sunset to sunrise were continually crying— the poor little wretches must have been nearly eaten up by the musquitoes. Another thing I was obliged to observe, was that no regard was paid to the parental feelings of either the father or mother. I often saw the children taken away from their parents, altho' the father generally seemed quite *callous*, the poor mother used to set up such a howling, tearing her hair, and begging and praying to be allowed to accompany her only child—but the more she cryed the more the Siamese clerks laughed at her![269]

Thus, in many ways, the events of 1247/1832 were similar to those of 1200/1786, though here we are afforded some account as to the fates of the slave war-captives. The apparent disregard of the condition of the war captives here sheds serious doubt upon Reid's "low casualty theory" in that we must consider other reasons for the taking of inhabitants beyond their abilities as laborers. In 1247/1832, as in previous conflicts, such acts were an attempt at depopulation—a political act of controlling a distant territory—more than it was a rationalized attempt at bolstering the home workforce.

The Siamese forces also appear determined to make the region uninhabitable as they had in previous wars, destroying Patani's agricultural yield wherever possible. Moor wrote:

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[269] Ibid.

On the Praklang's arriving [in Songkhla], he found the Malays had been already dispersed, and he had nothing left to perform, but to plunder the people, to do which, it may be certain, he did not lose so good an opportunity as then presented itself.... The Praklang ... removed his headquarters to *Patani*, and employed his people in plundering in every direction. Not content with the taking of whatever the poor people possessed, they caught every person they could find, young and old, sick and healthy, promiscuously; and not satisfied with capturing the unfortunate inhabitants of *Patani*, *Jella*, and *Jarim*, they also carried off all the cattle, and burnt and cut down all the fruit trees that came in their way.[270]

In a similar vein, Malcolm wrote, in reference to the destruction in 1247/1832, "[Patani] was once the most populous and well-cultivated part of the peninsula ...."[271] Agricultural degradation appears common practice by the Siamese army during this period upon its retreat from a plundered, depopulated, recently razed city or province. As we have seen from our analysis of the earlier wars, agricultural destruction could easily lead to far greater casualties than direct combat-related deaths and remained the most poignant means to depopulate a place. Given Moor's credible estimates of 4-5,000 captured slaves taken to Bangkok, it appears that about 15,000 people died or permanently relocated to the neighboring states of Kedah, Kelantan, Perak, and Trengganu as a result of the conflict, but these numbers only reflect the urban casualties.[272] As we have seen in earlier episodes of warfare in the region, the rural population was much more numerous and would have been similarly devastated by the effects of the war.

Patani's Role in the Second Kedah-Siam War, 1253-4/1838-9

By 1253/1838, the remaining members of the family of the ex-sultan of Kedah had organized themselves and come together with the purpose of driving the Siamese from Kedah and reclaiming the kingdom as their own. This time the principle actors were Tuanku Mahomed Saad, son of Tuanku Daad the half-brother to the ex-sultan's father, Tuanku Mahomed Taib Putik, brother of the first, and Wan Mahomed Ali better known as Wan Mat Ali. Together they

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[270] Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, 201.
[271] Malcolm, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, 106.
[272] Nicholas N. Dodge, "Population Estimates for the Malay Peninsula in the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the East Coast States," *Population Studies* 34, no. 3 (Nov. 1980): 439.

routed Siamese forces at the Kedah fort aided by "Malay" defectors that had served as conscripts in the Siamese force.[273] Retreating strategically in the night, the fort fell without much resistance. With their armies gathered, the Kedah forces then marched on Songkhla, and upon nearing Patani sent a small detachment to the latter, hoping to gather more supporters. Five-hundred Patani soldiers had already joined the cause, with the duty of keeping watch on Songkhla's movements in the period prior to the Kedah force's arrival, but no additional Patani warriors were gained immediately because they were apparently fearful of the consequences of joining another abortive political conflict.[274] However, a force said to number approximately 10,000 soldiers composed of Patani and Perak warriors was eventually conscripted and took part in the attack on Songkhla.[275] A British envoy in Bangkok at the time reported:

> On the 1st March [1839] an express arrived from Songora, informing the Ministers that the Malays were within a few a few miles of that place with 3000 men (the Patani people joined the other insurgents), that the Rajah of Ligore was still quietly remaining at Ligore and begging that immediate assistance might be sent to Songora.[276]

A Siamese force eventually arrived, however, that was strong enough to defeat the accumulated "Malay" warriors who had come together in alliance, said to number approximately 11,000 soldiers.[277] After intense fighting, the Kedah-led alliance was again defeated. This last war, as far as Patani is concerned, was an exercise in political folly. Though initially successful, once a larger force arrived to assist Songkhla, the accumulated Malay forces were defeated and Patani was again plundered and its people taken as slaves. Though population estimates may only be taken as rough approximations, they may give us some understanding of the demographic effects the two wars had on the Patani population in the 1830s. Low, for instance,

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[273] Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 199r-202v.
[274] Ibid., 201v-202v, 203v.
[275] Ibid., 203v-203r.
[276] India Secret Consultations, vol. 20, no. 35, undated (FWC May 8, 1839), *The Burney Papers*, Volume 4, part 1: *February 1838 to March 1849* (Bangkok: Printed by order of the Vajiranana National Library, 1913): 22.
[277] Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 203v.

claimed that Patani's population in 1258/1842 was about 60,000, or one-third of its pre-1832 total.[278] T. J. Newbold, writing three years previous, claimed that Patani's (presumably urban) population was only 10,000, down from a pre-1832 total of 90,000, a reduction of 89%.[279] He added, "These fine provinces[280] now contain little more than one-eighth of their former inhabitants, and this remnant in a wretched state."[281]

Simultaneously to the Kedah-Patani war against Siam in 1253/1838, a civil war broke out in Kelantan. Political intrigue spawned by Bangkok led to the rise of a pro-Siam faction in Patani's southerly neighbor that was to remain in power for the rest of the century. One of the disaffected Kelantanese princes, Tuan Besar, was eventually granted the petty rajaship of Nongchik, in 1258/1842. Upon the death of the Bangkok-appointed phraya of Patani around 1266/1850, Tuan Besar filled the position, one that he and his descendants would hold until being ousted during the period of Siamese administrative restructuring in 1319/1902.

Conclusion: The Destruction and Realignment of Patani's Political Landscape

Through the nearly six decades covered in this chapter, I have charted the cataclysmic clashes between Patani and Siam that together caused, in successive waves, the gradual destruction of Patani's political elites. The five conflicts between Patani and Siam had three major political effects. Externally, the political unity of Patani was shattered into a number of petty kingdoms that prevented Patani from mounting effective attacks against Bangkok's administrative representatives. This also hampered Patani's ability to garner assistance from the

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[278] Ibid., 32v, 134r.
[279] T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in Straits of Malacca, viz. Pinang, Malacca, and Singapore; with a History of the Malayan States on the Peninsula of Malacca* (London: John Murray, 1839): 419.
[280] Kedah and Patani.
[281] Ibid., 419-20.

British, unlike Kedah, Perak, Kelantan, and Trengganu. Because of Patani's fractured political situation after 1223/1809, had the British even desired to include Patani in their expanding sphere of influence, they would have been hard-pressed to find a single, unifying leader in the area strong enough to be worth supporting. Even after 1241/1826 and the occupation of Lower Burma by the British, the latter still sought to maintain friendly alliances with Siam as a counter-balance to future problems in Burma. Thus, even after tin mining became a focus of the English company from 1233/1818 onwards, the agents in the area quickly found that they could effectively route most of the ore down the western rivers, thus allowing them to avoid the city of Patani and the east coast almost entirely. Ultimately it just was not worth the political risk for the British to invest significant resources in Patani's political future.

On a local level, however, Patani was also dislodged from its position at the top of a local *mandala* that included the sultanates of Kelantan and Trengganu, both of which had been formally part of Patani at certain points in the eighteenth century and whose royal families maintained close ties with Patani. Patani also held a superior position over innumerable smaller, petty chiefs throughout the area. This position evaporated as Patani, if still a symbolic political center, was reduced to the status of one of a number of petty kingdoms and now inferior to Kelantan and Trengganu, both of which continued to rise throughout the course of the nineteenth century.

Internally, the power structure and social hierarchy that had centered around the royal court, having been dealt a mortal blow in 1200/1786, lingered on until it withered away in the 1830s. By the 1840s, most of the local political elites had been killed, displaced, or forced into a dependent relationship with Siamese power-brokers in Songkhla and elsewhere. Rather than risk further problems with local uprisings, Bangkok installed Tuan Besar, a Kelantanese prince who,

despite his descendants' attempts to unify Patani, was never able to restore the royal family to its former position.

Other than Patani's one mining district at Kroh, which enjoyed some prosperity following the rise in demand for tin, most of Patani's other industries declined throughout the period. Patani managed to continue its export of gold, which it obtained from the mountains that bordered Perak, but its agricultural output faltered. Even in the decades after 1199/1785, Patani supplied Penang with cattle and grain, but this declined steadily until the 1830s when there appear to have been major food shortages in the region that led to widespread famine.[282] With British estimates of population decline anywhere between two-thirds and nearly nine-tenths, the truly devastating effects upon Patani society become self-evident. Six decades of intermittent warfare, political competition both internally and externally, and major inward and outward migrations of people had disastrous effects upon the local population. Even as Bangkok and other urban centers were beginning to expand through the course of the nineteenth century, Patani's population was contracting due to war, massacre, starvation, and slave-raiding.

Each war gave members of the prominent political families a chance to reestablish control over Patani's moral order and each time they were defeated with devastating effects to the cosmology of those who resided in or near Patani who looked to the raja, dwelling at the sacred center of society, for protection and even prosperity. The annihilation of the elite political families left a social void open at the pinnacle of Patani society that was gradually filled through the course of the nineteenth century by Islamic scholars, teachers, and scribes, most of whom had engaged upon the hajj and had studied a variety of Islamic doctrines. The enduring strength of Islam in Patani might be illustrated most poignantly with the picture of Patani refugees returning after the 1786 massacre. As they came upon the city, they found it in utter ruin with its

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[282] Low, "Retrospect of British Policy," 33v.

thousands of wooden structures reduced to ash amidst which the remnants of the dead still lay as a chilling reminder of the casualties of war. The royal palace was conspicuously absent, having been looted and burnt to the ground such that not even the foundation remained. There, standing battered but resilient above the battlefield as the only surviving building, was the Keresik mosque. It is in the succeeding chapter that I discuss the origins of Patani's transformation by drawing a biographical sketch of Patani's most highly revered *'alīm*: Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī.

Chapter 3
Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī's Meccan Contemplations and the Forging of a New Patani, 1809-43

Introduction

In this chapter, I focus upon the founder of the Patani scholarly network, Shaykh Dā'ūd

bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. He was a figure of unparalleled importance and influence in post-1785

Patani society and thus we must afford special attention to his life and work if we are to

understand nineteenth-century social transformations in Patani and neighboring Malay-speaking

regions of Southeast Asia. He has the dual distinction of being both one of the most adept

Arabic-Malay translators and one of the most prolific Malay writers ever to wet a pen. The early

part of the century was a crucial "rebuilding" period that ultimately resulted in the triumph of

specific Islamic marks of social value and prestige in Patani that were based upon the writings of

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. With the establishment of a circle of students that eventually grew into a

broad network of scholars stretching through the Malay diaspora from Patani and Mecca to other

parts of Southeast Asia and the Middle East, South Asia, and southern Africa, Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī had his vehicle for broad cultural and social change. Employing his works, many of

which were Malay translations of well-established and highly-regarded Islamic writings, the

scholars of the Patani scholarly network set in motion the forces of renewal and reform.

Previous scholars who have addressed Islamic renewal and reform such as John Voll

have generally characterized these movements as broad reactions to Western imperialism.[1] But

as is evident with the present case, there was no dominating "Western" force in Patani that

caused people to seek reforms within their own faith. Siam's acts of imperialism, as we

discussed in chapter two—in the Southeast Asian context of the late *mandala* system—might

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[1] John Obert Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World*, 2nd ed., Contemporary Issues in the Middle East series (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994): 84.

still, however, be seen as a catalyzing force, if a disruptive and destructive one. In reading Voll's account, one is left with the question of who the actors were and what compelled them to invite reforms upon their home societies. In the case of Patani, I argue that it was the disruption to the socio-moral order that was of greatest concern and formed the driving force behind the Islamic leaders who sought to reform their faith as a way of reestablishing moral order in what had become a fractured and disparate community. In fact, it must be noted that it was the desolated corners of Southeast Asia that experienced the greatest disruptions to which Islamic reform came first and with greatest energy, among which Patani was the premier center in the nineteenth century. In a more recent work, Azyumardi Azra argues that reform began in the archipelago as early as the mid-seventeenth century with links that ultimately connected Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī to earlier reformers.[2] Nevertheless, the nineteenth-century reforms were far more substantive and with deeper impact than the earlier movements.

In part I, I discuss the early life of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in order to construct a clear chronology of his later work. Aside from placing him within the Patani social milieu, I also analyze his intellectual background and the sort of scholarship he would have read when first studying Islamic doctrine in Patani. As one of the tens of thousands of refugees forced out of Patani in the wake of their defeat by Siam in 1200/1786, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī eventually made his way to Mecca as a hajji.[3] He remained there for nearly his entire life and and in his new

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[2] Azyumardi Azra, *The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1992); Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Asian Studies Association of Australia Southeast Asia Publications Series (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

[3] Hajjis from the period generally embarked from Aceh, and later Singapore or Batavia, via Sri Lanka or India, to Jeddah or the "quarantine islands" before concluding the final leg of the journey overland to Mecca. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning; the Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, tr. J. H. Monahan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931): 217-8, 226.

home composed as many as sixty-three major works, forty-four of which have survived in extant handwritten manuscript copies.

In part II, I illustrate Mecca as it was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century—a city, holy site, and Islamic learning center that experienced great turbulence and physical, as well as intellectual, transformations. In addition to engaging with the diverse milieu of hajjis and scholars in the city, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also inhabited Mecca during the period 1218-27/1803-12, when the Wahhābiyya seized Mecca and left a distinct imprint upon the scholarly community. Through the course of his writings, we can see that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī never accepted some of the core Wahhābiyya precepts, but he nevertheless might be counted among scholars of the neo-Sufi school of thought who sought to reconcile Islam's mystical beliefs and practices with legal codes and doctrines.

In part III, I discuss the Meccan intellectual community of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's day and situate him within the milieu of teachers, students, and writers of the period. He bore significant influence from several of his intellectual masters, but also reached back to earlier thinkers in his translations and other writings. Ultimately he inherited a great level of prestige from those who taught him, something that he, in turn, transferred on to his students.

In part IV, I survey each of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings, situating each within the intellectual genealogy that produced it. I comment upon the sources of his translations and the major subjects upon which he wrote and then note the general level of popularity that each garnered among his students and his intellectual descendants. I also draw light upon the later transition to printed form of his most popular works. This section is an overview of his writings, an appraisal of the development and evolution of his intellectual interests that ultimately came to

form the basis for a new socio-moral order for Patani, and is intended as a guide for future research given the confused state of contemporary scholarship on his works.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings went far beyond the various Islamic subjects with which he dealt. They mapped out an intellectual space that, in turn, transformed the socio-moral geography of Patani and surrounding regions. His writings, most of which were translations of Arabic originals into Malay for the first time, offered to rebuild the shattered Patani community and society around well-developed and clearly-defined practices, beliefs, and values. Much like the northern Tai world, Patani had been pushed to the brink of a socio-moral crisis during the period after 1199/1785, but instead of turning to Bangkok, as David Wyatt observed elsewhere, Patani's intellectuals turned to Mecca on an unprecedented scale.[4] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Meccan contemplations were the building blocks for Patani's new vision of itself as a conquered Malay-speaking Islamic community in dire need of renewal and reform. It was no coincidence that Patani became one of the earliest centers for reformist Islam in Southeast Asia—these new waves were an absolute social necessity.

Part I: Background and Early Life

There is much confusion regarding the origins and early life of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, thus here I will discuss the matters at length in the hopes of drawing some light upon this period of his life with repercussions for our understanding of his life in Mecca. Three dates have been typically given for his birth, namely 1133/1720, 1153/1740, and 1183/1769. The first date was proposed by Ḥājjah Wan Zaynab binti Shaykh Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, the daughter of a well-known

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[4] David K. Wyatt, "History and directionality in the early nineteenth-century Tai world," in *The Last stand of Asian autonomies: Responses to modernity in the diverse states of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900*, ed. Anthony Reid: 425-43, Studies in the Economies of East and South-East Asia, ed. Peter Nolan (London: MacMillan, 1997): 433.

Patani *ʿalīm* who will be discussed in chapters five and seven.[5] It is not clear upon what

evidence this is based, or whether by oral tradition, but this date is far too early, given the later

details of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's life which bear a far clearer picture in the surviving primary

sources.

The second proposed date, 1153/1740, is based upon a claim made by Ḥajjah Siti

Saʿūdah, the mother of the Ḥājjah Wan Zaynab mentioned above.[6] While unlike the first

supposition, this date is entirely possible, but as I will argue in the succeeding section, is less

likely than the third proposed date. Ḥajjah Siti Saʿudah's claim has been largely substantiated in

the writings of Hajji Wan Muhammad Shaghir Abdullah, who wrote extensively on the lives and

writings of many of the Patani *ʿulamā'* and has been accepted more recently by Muhammad Zain

bin Abdul Rahman and also by Azyumardi Azra in his ground-breaking book.[7] Muhammad

Shaghir's argument rests entirely upon his claim that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī studied with some of

the leading Acehnese and Meccan scholars of the 1760s-70s.[8] These claims find no support

beyond Abdullah's own writings, however, and until whatever private documents he has based

his arguments upon are made public, we cannot accept this as substantive support for a birth date

of 1153/1740.

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[5] Mohd. Zain bin Abd. Rahman, *An Annotated Translation and Transliteration of* Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz ahl al-Ṣūfī *of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī* (M.A. Thesis, Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 2000): 16.

[6] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Sejarah Ringkas Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani dan Karya-karyanya," in *Nadwah Ilmiah Tokoh Ulama Peringkat Kebangsaan Kali Keempat (Syeikh Daud Abdullah al-Fatani)*, BAHEIS, Kuala Lumpur, 17-19 December 1991: 4.

[7] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 16; Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman, "New Lights on the Life and Works of Shaikh Dawud al-Fattani," *Studia Islamika* 90, no. 3 (2002): 90; Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 123.

[8] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdush Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1996): 6; Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama' dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Shah Alam: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990): 32-3, 39.

The last date, 1183/1769, claimed by a relative of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's named Ḥaji Nik Isḥāq Tikat, seems the most plausible for a number of reasons.[9] Ḥaji Nik Isḥāq Tikat also reported that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī died in Ṭā'if, Thursday Rajab 22, 1263/July 6, 1847 at the age of 78 (or 80 according to the Islamic calendar), a date that is not disputed by any other credible sources.[10] A lifespan of 78 years seems far more plausible than 107 years (if born in 1153/1740). The earlier birth date is made even less likely when we consider that the first of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works is dated Muharram 27, 1224/March 14, 1809 and his last was dated Syawal 14, 1259/November 7, 1843.[11] Are we to believe that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī spent over 40 years studying in Mecca without writing anything and then composed at least 44 works, and possibly as many as 100 as some scholars claim[12], between the ages of 69 and 103? It is hard to imagine that a writer even so prolific as Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī could have authored over half of his works after the age of 80.[13] If we accept 1183/1769 for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's birth, then we see that after about twenty years of studying with the leading scholars of Mecca, he began writing his own works at the age of 40, penned his last at the age of 74, and died in retirement in Ṭā'if in 1263/1847.

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[9] Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 20; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Penerbitan Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 25.

[10] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 58; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 37.

[11] For the date of his first work, see MKI 134, 442[x], 622D, 746; MNT D80; PNM 172, 319, 473, 484, 892, 899, 928, 1218(2), 1498, 1984, 2015, 2025, 2150, 2315, 2318, 2373, 2386D, 2413, 2429, 2516, 2546, 2562, 2661, 2786; CCD 4[B], CMLI 8, and one contained in a private collection. For the date of his final work, see MKI 19A, 136B, 136B, 151B, 299B, 724C; PNM 627A, 816B, 929A, 1368A, 2723B, 2768C, 2773A, 3362B.

[12] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 17.

[13] More than half of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's dated works came after 1238/1822. See below for a full chronological account of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings.

The exact location of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's birth is likewise disputed, the three places have generally been proffered as possibilities: Keresik, Parik Marhum[14], and Bendang Gucir. The last of these, claimed by Abdullah al-Qari, has no substantive support in the primary sources.[15] The first two, however, come from conflicting but otherwise authoritative sources. Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Kalabāwī al-Faṭānī, known as Tok Kelaba, who was a student of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's in Mecca, wrote that his teacher had been born in Keresik, a village located near a river.[16] Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr bin Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī (d. 1363/1943) wrote in his *Kifāyat al-Mubtadī*, which was a commentary on Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Sullam al-Mubtadī*: "... Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh bin Senik al-Faṭānī, kampung Parik Marhum ...."[17] Translation: "... Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh bin Senik al-Faṭānī of the village of Parik Marhum ...." Of these, the former seems the more credible since it comes from a person who knew Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī personally and who likely drew his information from personal conversations rather than a lengthy oral tradition. This also seems in line with the claim that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's grandfather, Shaykh 'Idrīs al-Faṭānī was a teacher at a pondok in Keresik.[18]

If we look at Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's full name as it appears in his writings, we may get a sense of his origins: Shaykh Dā'ūd bin Shaykh 'Abd Allāh bin Shaykh 'Idrīs al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī.[19] One scholar even claims earlier generations of his family were established Shaykhs in the region,

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[14] This seems to most closely resemble Parit Marhum, a village near Keresik and just seven kilometers south of present-day Pattani.

[15] Abdullah al-Qari, "Pujangga Syeikh Daud Fatani," *Majalah Dian* 10 (1967): 131.

[16] Tok Kelaba composed this in poetic form as an opening to his personally transcribed version of *Ḥidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, one of Shaykh Dawud Fatani's works on Sufism discussed in Part IV of the present chapter. PNM 2146: 1.

[17] Muḥammad Nūr bin Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī, *Kifāyat al-Muhtadī*, 1351 A.H. [1932]: 386-7.

[18] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam & Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu*, v. 1, Pengenalan Siri, 2 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999): 40.

[19] The names of his father and grandfather appear in hundreds of copies of his extant works. For a genealogical account of this family, see the Appendix, section A.

but this has not been substantiated by any other source.[20] In any event, we know that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was at least a third generation *'alīm* from a well-established family that resided near the Patani royal palace and was brought up in the circle of key elites that taught and worshipped at the Keresik mosque.[21] They very likely maintained close ties with the Patani sultans or, at the very least, benefited from royal patronage of the sultanate's most revered mosque at Keresik. The final two portions of his name "al-Jāwī" and "al-Faṭānī" were not adopted until his arrival in Mecca. The former was a distinction often assumed by Malay-speaking Muslim scholars and hajjis who lived in the Ḥaramayn[22] (two sanctuaries).[23] The latter was the result of "Patani" being transliterated into Arabic in which there is no "p" sound and was customarily written with ف (the Arabic "f"). Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was not the first person from the region to assume the name, but certainly popularized its usage, as it became common for most of the Patani scholars in the Ḥaramayn in the nineteenth century.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was the eldest of at least six children that included five boys, the eldest three of which, including Dā'ūd, became *'ulamā'*.[24] It is said that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī received his first instruction in the Islamic sciences at *pondok* in the region, likely taught by his father who was among the chief teachers.[25] His education was nevertheless cut short at the age of 16 by the Siamese invasion of Patani in 1199/1785 which was a transformative moment for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. He fled south with the tens of thousands of other refugees to Kedah, Kelantan, Perak, or Trengganu, though the first of these seems the most convenient for a

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Anwar Zainal Abidin, "Formasi Ulama Patani," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara I: Peranan dan Sumbangan Ulama Patani; Ulama Pencetus Budaya Ilmu* (Pattani, May 19-20, 2001): 2.

[22] Arabic: حرمين

[23] Arabic term, meaning "two sanctuaries" used to collectively refer to Mecca and Medina.

[24] Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 1, 40; Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 20; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 26.

[25] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 32; Ismail Che Daud 2001: 20; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 26.

chronology that would have him arriving in Mecca a few years later. In the years following his expulsion from Patani, he may have studied briefly in Aceh before eventually embarked upon the hajj to Mecca.[26] Whether or not he expected to merely perform his religious obligations or study a short time in Mecca is unclear, but Arabia became his place of residence for the rest of his life. Though he only returned for a few brief visits throughout the rest of his life, the constant influx of hajjis and students allowed him to remain informed about the events back home which were to color his intellectual interests and drive his motivations along the path towards deeper understanding of Islam.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Intellectual Inheritance

It is impossible to reconstruct a clear picture of the content of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's early education in Patani as it relates to his later scholarship, but we may speculate with some certainty about its general nature. Patani had maintained close connections with Aceh since the sixteenth century, whether by trade, alliance, or competition, and local students and teachers via routes either overland from Kedah or through the straits, engaged with the writings of the renowned Acehnese scholars of the previous centuries. Indeed, Southeast Asian courts had supported an active intellectual tradition as early as the fourteenth century and one that had been a critical sustaining force behind Islamization in the region. In this section, I will give a brief synopsis of the Southeast Asian scholars who preceded Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, highlighting their principal writings and favorite topics of study with the intent of illustrating the myriad influences upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the intellectual tradition of which he was a part.

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[26] Several authors make this claim, though it is not supported in the available primary sources. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 32; Abidin, "Formasi Ulama," 2.

Southeast Asian royal courts and schools established by scholars of repute nurtured

Islamic discourse in Samudra-Pasai, c. 1280-1400, Melaka, c. 1400-1511, and Aceh, c. 1550-

1690.[27] Closer to Patani, there is evidence that Trengganu was home to at least one powerful

'ulamā' families by the early eighteenth century.[28] These centers were always connected closely

to Mecca and were commonly seen as gateways for those embarking upon the *hajj*.[29] They were

also influx points for traveling scholars from the Arab Middle East, India, and Persia, who came

to Southeast Asia to proselytize or teach in one of the burgeoning royal courts that patronized

Islam learning. In fact, it was this scholarly traffic and exchange that became one of the

hallmarks of the growth of Southeast Asian Islam. Southeast Asian scholars generally pursued

the Islamic sciences of *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, and *uṣūl al-dīn*. Most of the early works were

translations of existing scholarship from Arabia or other parts of the Islamic World that

concentrated on the social and religious duties of Muslims.[30] As Johns argues, while it is

important to study the adjustments made by Islam in Southeast Asia according to previously

established traditions, at the same time one cannot grasp its nature and significance outside the

greater tradition of Islam that gave it birth.[31] It was through the Islamic scholarly tradition that

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[27] Hooker argues that courts were integral to the formation of cities and that in Southeast Asia the latter formed around the royal center. Hence, the centers of Islamic learning formed at the nucleus of society. M. B. Hooker, "Introduction: Translation of Islam into South-East Asia", in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 18. To this, historian Tony Day adds that due to the impermanent nature of urban settlements in the volatile geography of Southeast Asia, cities revolved around courts so that when a settlement was moved to a new location, the court retained its centrality while the city's make-up changed. Hence, the scholarship that emerged was more closely tied to the court than any sort of urban culture. A. Day, "Islam and Literature in South-East Asia: Some Pre-modern, Mainly Javanese Perspectives" in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 143. Both Hooker and Day are reacting to an earlier argument by Johns stating that an urban culture emerged in Southeast Asia that fit into a model constructed by Hourani for Islamic cities elsewhere. A. H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Perspective," in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D. G. E. Hall*, eds. C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters: 304-20 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976): 309-10.
[28] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Pulau Manis (1650-an-1736)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 1.
[29] M. Kamal Hassan, *Towards Actualizing Islamic Ethical and Educational Principles in Malaysian Society: Some Critical Observations* (Petaling Jaya: Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia, 1996): 4-5.
[30] Hassan, *Towards Actualizing*, 6-7; M. B. Hooker, "Translation of Islam," 9-10.
[31] Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems", 320.

adherents to Islam both maintained connections with the wider Islamic world as well as deepened the impact of Islam upon Southeast Asian society.

In Samudra-Pasai foreigners filled an important role as men of learning.[32] When Ibn Battuta visited the royal court in 745/1345, he was impressed by the proficiency with which the sultan debated Islamic doctrines.[33] The linguist Hamid Ismail, using Ibn Battuta's account, argues that two eminent Persian scholars were at the court: Qāḍī Sharīf ʿĀmir Saʿīd of Shiraz and Tāj al-Dīn of Isfahan.[34] This seems to indicate that scholars arrived in the straits not only from South Arabia and India, but from Persia as well. The appearance of ʿĀmir Dawlasa, an official of Sultan Muḥammad of Delhi, suggests that diplomatic relations even existed between Sumatra and North India.[35] ʿAbd Allah ibn Muḥammad al-Muntaṣīr, a descendant of the last caliph of Baghdad, died in Pasai in 809/1407.[36] Together, all of this fragmentary evidence suggests that religious scholarship had sprung up in Southeast Asia and was being patronized in the courts.

On the peninsula, Melaka gained a reputation as a place for elites to study Islam.[37] For example, the sultans of Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri and their relatives studied at Melaka under the sponsorship of its sultan.[38] *Taṣawwuf* flourished in Melaka, whereas Pasai was known

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[32] B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*, Part 2: *Ruler and Realm in Early Java* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1957): 260-61.

[33] Samuel Lee, trans. & ed., *Travels of Ibn Battuta in the Near East, Asia and Africa 1325-1354* (Reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover Publications Inc., 2004), 200.

[34] Ismail Hamid, *Malay Islamic Hikayat*, Monograph Series, Institut Bahasa Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu, no. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983), 19.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibn Battuta had met al-Muntasir's father in Delhi during his travels. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, II, 262.

[37] Hamid, *Malay Islamic Hikayat*, 20-21. Winstedt stated that by the end of the fifteenth century, people preferred to go to Melaka to study Islam, but there was probably a gradual rise of Melaka over Pasai as the preeminent place, cut short by the Portuguese conquest of 1511. Richard Winstedt, "A History of Malay Literature," *JMBRAS* 14, no. 3 (1936): 58.

[38] Ismail Hamid, *Malay Islamic Hikayat*, 20.

for its scholarship on *fiqh*.[39] Attas references early Malay chronicles – principally the *Hikayat*

Raja-Raja Pasai – noting that nearly all references to Islamic scholars mentioned jurists and

suggesting that Sufism did not have an early presence. The first serious Sufi work, the *al-Durr*

al-Manẓūm of Shaykh Abū ‘Isḥāq of Mecca was found in Melaka in 863/1459. After that, many

more works appear in the historical record, illustrating an intellectual shift towards mysticism

that persisted in Southeast Asia until the late eighteenth century.[40]

Melaka was doubly important for the development of Islam in the archipelago because it

attracted merchants from many places including Arabia, Ayudhya, China, India, Java, and

Sumatra. Patronage by the court allowed schools to open, providing the opportunity for a

diverse array of students to engage with Islamic discourse.[41] The scholars acquired political

influence in the courts such that it is reputed that a mullah counseled Sultan Mahmud Shah, last

ruler of Melaka, not to deal with the Portuguese peacefully.[42] Indeed, the last sultan was the

disciple of a mystic in 892/1488.[43] In any event, when the Portuguese conquered Melaka in

916/1511, they discovered many books on Islamic doctrine and practice, which they

unfortunately burned.[44]

With the fall of Melaka, the main Islamic center of learning shifted to Aceh.[45] The

process was not immediate, but by the mid-sixteenth century scholars in Aceh began attracting

students from across the archipelago. The rulers there were better able to patronize local

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[39] Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970), 193.

[40] Attas, *Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 193; Hassan, *Towards Actualizing*, 7.

[41] Kenneth Perry Landon, *Southeast Asia: Crossroad of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949): 137.

[42] Cesar Adib Majul, "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia," *Silliman Journal* 11, no. 4 (October 1964): 371.

[43] Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practiced Among the Malays*, ed. Shirle Gordon (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, Ltd., 1993), 22.

[44] Landon, *Southeast Asia*, 137.

[45] Ibid., 138; Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, II, 235, 247-53; William R. Roff, "The Malayo-Muslim World of Singapore at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," *JAS* 24, no. 1 (Nov 1964): 83.

religious scholars than anywhere else in the Malay-Islamic World, benefiting from the resurgence of the Red Sea pepper trade route after 956/1550.[46] Reid naturally links the rise in scholarship with the increase in rate of contact between Arabia and Southeast Asia, especially during 977-1039/1570-1630, or the boom years of the "age of commerce."[47] The rise of unprecedented commercial centers simultaneously produced new levels of political power and wealth, some of which was funneled by royal patrons to religious scholars in the courts.[48] Reid believes that this shift in trade routes allowed for more direct contact with the Islamic heartland.[49] Taking Hamid's evidence of earlier centers of learning in Southeast Asia into account, the rise in intellectual activity in the late sixteenth century may have resulted from an increase in the exchange of ideas that was already occurring. Likewise, people interested in studying in the traditional Islamic learning centers of Mecca and Medina found them more accessible after 987/1580.[50] Still, most Muslim students did not possess the means to make the journey.

In Aceh, as in Pasai, foreign scholars seem to have been preeminent. Scholars such as Muḥammad ʿAzharī, Shaykh ʿAbū ʾl-Khayr ibn Shaykh ibn Ḥajjār of Mecca, and Shaykh Muḥammad of the Yemen journeyed to Aceh in the 1580s and made it their home while preaching, teaching, and debating Islamic mystical thought and practice.[51] By 998/1590, the teaching system of Muḥammad bin Faḍl ʿAllāh al-Hindī al-Burhānbūrī (d. 1029/1620) was

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[46] Charles Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh," *JSEAH* 10, no. 3 (1969): 415-28.
[47] Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid: 151-79 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 158-59.
[48] Ibid..
[49] Ibid., 162.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, II, 243; Reid, "Islamization and Christianization", 162.

implemented in Aceh and became very popular in the succeeding century. This system involved

seven grades of being through which a student gained an understanding of God.[52]

Aceh acquired a reputation as a textural dispersion center and produced four prolific

scholars in the last quarter of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.[53] Three of

them are thought to be Malay, the fourth hailing from Gujarat. Ḥamza Fansūrī, who wrote on

taṣawwuf, was the first of the great scholars of Aceh of whom there exists any record. Fansuri,

who had command of Malay, Arabic, and Persian traveled widely through the Islamic World and

studied mysticism. He was heavily influenced by Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad al-

Ḥātimī al-Ṭāʻī al-Andalusī Muḥyi ʻl-Dīn al-Shaykh al-Akbar Abū ʻAbd Allāh, better known

simply as Ibn al-ʻArabī (560-638/1165-1240), whom he regarded as his intellectual master, and

his most well-known theory, "Unity of Existence," was essentially a "reproduction and

exposition of the famous original of Ibn al-ʻArabī."[54] Through poetry, he employed "technical

terms and symbolism" to express his understanding of the Divine.[55] Ḥamza Fansūrī introduced

key concepts to Southeast Asian mysticism, and brought the region's mystics into the fold of

greater Islamic discourse.

Another Malay mystic, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d. 1039/1630) of Pasai was active in

Aceh just after Ḥamza Fansūrī, who is thought to have been his teacher. In his metaphysical

speculations, he emphasized "the priority of the intellect rather than the emotion, in the pursuit of

knowledge of God."[56] Both Shams al-Dīn and Ḥamza Fansūrī were considered "heterodox"

mystics and most of their works were later burned by the "orthodox" scholars that succeeded

them. The root of the disagreement between the two schools of thought lay in the fact that

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[52] Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems", 316.
[53] Ibid., 314.
[54] Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, 23.
[55] Ibid., 24.
[56] Syams al-Dīn al-Sumatrani was influenced by the thought of Junayd al-Baghdādī. Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, 25.

Ḥamza Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn both believed "the world is God," whereas later scholars regarded such a claim as heresy.[57]

In 1046/1637, the mystic Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (d. 1068/1658) arrived in Aceh from Gujarat. He was a prolific writer who left many more examples of his work than those who preceded him. He criticized what he believed to be the "pantheism" of Ḥamza Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, a scholar of early Malayo-Islamic mysticism, argued that al-Raniri's criticism was, in fact, misplaced and the reasoning behind his attacks, flawed.[58] Furthermore, al-Attas shows that the essential parts of their interpretation of the "Existence" and "Being" were the same.[59] Nevertheless, Azyumardi Azra has eloquently argued that Nūr al-Dīn's presence in Aceh in the seventeenth century marked the beginning of "reform" in the Southeast Asian scholarly networks.[60] His works were common in the later Patani scholarly networks and were likely studied by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī as a part of his early corpus.

The last influential seventeenth century mystic was ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Sinkīli (1023-1104/1615-93). He wrote many treatises and translated many works on mysticism from Arabic.[61] He wrote the earliest surviving example of Southeast Asian Qur'ānic exegesis, though as Peter Riddell has argued, it was a translation of the well-known *Tafsir al-Jalālayn*[62] (Exegesis of the Twin Jalāls).[63] Like Ḥamza Fansūrī, he traveled throughout the Islamic world and studied

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[57] A. Johns, "Aspects of Sufi Thought in India and Indonesia in the First Half of the 17th Century," *JMBRAS* 28, no. 1 (1955): 74.
[58] Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism*, 26.
[59] Ibid., 26-28.
[60] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 52.
[61] A. H. Johns, "Friends in Grace: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Raʿuf al-Singkeli," in *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Udin, 469-85 (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978).
[62] Arabic: تفسير الجلالين
[63] This Qur'ānic commentary was begun by Jalal al-Dīn al-Mahalli in 863/1459 and finished by his student Jalal al-Dīn al-Suyuti in 910/1505. It remains a popular exegesis for Sunni Muslims even today. Peter Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition: ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Singkilī's Rendering into Malay of the Jalālayn Commentary*, Monograph Series, no. 31 (Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1990); A. H.

in a number of schools with a wide array of teachers. While in Medina, he studied with the famous teacher, Aḥmad Qushāshī, a Shaykh of the Shaṭṭāriyya[64] order.[65] When his master died, the order's successor granted ʿAbd al-Raʾūf permission to found a school in Aceh. From there, his teachings spread throughout Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Java.

Perhaps most influential for Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī, was the appearance of ʿAbd al-Malik bin ʿAbd Allah al-Tarkanu, better known as Tok Pulau Manis of Trengganu. He arrived in Mecca in 1091/1681, where he studied with the aforementioned ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkīlī, Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Ḥasan bin Shihab al-Dīn al-Kurdī (1024-1101/1616-90), and other leading scholars of his day.[66] He left four well-known works, namely *Kitāb al-Kifāya*[67] (Book of Sufficiency), *Risālat Naql*[68] (Epistle of Transmission), *Risālat Kayfiyyat al-Niyya*[69] (Epistle of the Way of Intention), and *Sharḥ Ḥikām*[70] (Wise Explanations). Like his predecessors, he mainly studied *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, and *uṣūl al-dīn*. Presumably his students spread his writings throughout the region, because some of his writings later appeared in the Patani network of the nineteenth century, thus suggesting that Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī most likely had access to them during his early years of study.

We cannot definitively reconstruct the influences Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī encountered during the early years of his instruction in Patani, but each of the scholars and schools discussed

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Johns, "The Qurʾān in the Malay World: Reflections on ʿAbd al-Raʾuf of Singkel (1615-1693)," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 2 (1998): 120-45.

[64] Arabic: شطّاريّة

[65] The *Shaṭṭāriyya* Sufi order originated in fifteenth-century Persia and later spread to India, influenced considerably by the *Naqshibandī* order. Arabic: نقشبندي

[66] Shafie Abu Bakar, "Tok Pulau Manis dan Pengasasan Pendidikan Islam," in *Ulama Trengganu: Suatu Sorotan*, ed. Muhammad Abu Bakar, 53-61 (Kuala Trengganu: Utusan Publications, 1991): 54; Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Pulau Manis (1650an-c.1736)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1: 2-3.

[67] Arabic: كتاب الكفاية

[68] Arabic: رسالة نقل

[69] Arabic: رسالة الكيفيّة النيّة

[70] Arabic: شرح حكام

in this section had profound influence upon Southeast Asian Islamic thought, particularly the Acehnese scholars of the seventeenth century. His early studies, if they did not directly engage with the aforementioned scholars of the region, were no doubt colored by such writings and worldview. Upon his arrival in Mecca, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī certainly had perspectives and opinions regarding the intellectual debates of his day that he carried with him as he engaged with the leading scholars in the Ḥaramayn. Still, coloring much of his work, he was propelled by an intense desire to find some answer to the problems of the Patani community, to explain its defeat and continued destruction, and to offer some vindication for its future prospects. Before turning to his writings, however, it is necessary to draw a picture of Mecca's intellectual atmosphere that embraced Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī upon his arrival and the volatile changes that occurred during his early years in the region.

Part II: The Mecca of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī

Though a certain timeless quality might be attributed to any holy site and the significance it holds for worshippers of a particular faith, there are also innumerable historical tethers attached to such places that tell us how they evolved over time. My goal in the present section is to describe the setting for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's contemplations and discuss the great turmoil that must have surrounded his early years in the Ḥaramayn, before addressing the direct influence of his teachers and his resultant writings. In so doing, I illustrate the major intellectual divisions around, between, and within which he navigated as a way of investigating both what he wrote about and what he ignored or avoided in his numerous books.

The Mecca of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's day was much smaller, both in physical space and population, than the city is today. Before its twentieth-century expansions, Mecca was located at the broadest point of a narrow north-south valley. An early-nineteenth century visitor stated:

> The town itself covers a space of about fifteen hundred paces in length, from the quarter called El Shebeyka to the extremity of the Mala[71]; but the whole extent of ground comprehended under the denomination of Mekka, from the suburb called Djerouel to the suburb called Moabede, amounts to three thousand five hundred paces.[72]

The surrounding mountains vary from 200 to 500 feet (60-150 m) in height, with the largest standing to the east of the city, the lowest stretches of which were home to some sparse inhabitants by the late eighteenth century when Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī arrived.

The city itself was laid out with broad unpaved streets uncharacteristic to neighboring parts of Arabia, lined with multi-storied stone buildings with many windows protected by slim reeds.[73] This pattern of urban design facilitated the influx of large numbers of pilgrims, merchants, and other travelers who boarded in the homes of local inhabitants for a modest fee. Such houses often had many rooms or had an interior divided into separate "apartments" that allowed for the privacy of visitors and may well have served as a meeting point between Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and other local Muslims, scholars, or even teachers. Local people collected water—so crucial in the desert climate—in cisterns, drew it from several wells such as the famous Zamzam[74], and also had an aqueduct that brought water in from distant environs.[75] The city itself was not walled to prevent attack, but had several towers, a garrison typically

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[71] Alternatively: *Maalā*, a cemetery.

[72] John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia: Comprehending an Account of Those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829): 103.

[73] Ibid., 104.

[74] Arabic: زمزم. This well is located twenty meters east of the Ka'aba and is considered pure and sacred water by Muslims. The well supposedly dates to pre-history when Hajar and Isma'il, wife and son of the Prophet 'Ibrahim (Abraham) sought water in the desert. Snouck Hurgronje notes that Southeast Asian pilgrims visited the well for ritual purification at least three times while in Arabia, "first when they come to Mekka, then before departure to visit the Holy Tomb in Medina, and finally before leaving for home." Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 234.

[75] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 106-7, 144-5.

commandeered by the *sharīf*[76], and the mountains themselves provided the city great defense in

times of war.[77] The city was separated into quarters, though no gates enforced any sort of

segregation of the inhabitants. Mecca was an ethnically diverse city even in Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī's day and it bore architectural influences from around the Islamic world, some of which

could be dated back many centuries. In total, Burckhardt estimated the stationary population in

the city to be approximately 30-35,000, but capable of containing three times that number.[78]

The focal point of the city was the *baytullāh*[79] or *masjid al-ḥarām*[80], the great mosque

containing the Ka'aba, which represented the nucleus of the annual *hajj*. One early nineteenth-

century traveler described the mosque:

> The Kaaba stands in an oblong square, two hundred and fifty paces long, and two hundred broad ... The
> open square is enclosed on the eastern side by a colonnade: the pillars stand in a quadruple row: they are
> three deep on the other sides, and united by pointed arches, every four of which support a dome, plastered
> and whitened on the outside.[81]

The *masjid al-ḥarām* is unique among human architectural achievements because it bears so

many influences as the result of innumerable patrons, both local and imperial, who at one time or

other contributed to the construction, repair, or improvement of its edifice. "Seven paved

causeways lead from the colonnades to the Kaaba," thus making it the focal point for all who

entered the mosque.[82] "Round the Kaaba is a good pavement of marble," upon which hajjis

would typically walk and pray during the pilgrimage season as well as by those who visited the

mosque during the rest of the year. On each of the four sides of the Ka'aba, imām of the four

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[76] *Sharīf* is an Arab title given to one who serves as the protector of a tribe or city. Arabic: شريف
[77] Ibid., 104.
[78] Ibid., 132-3.
[79] Arabic: بيتّله
[80] Arabic: مسجد الحرام
[81] Ibid., 134.
[82] Ibid., 136.

schools of jurisprudence might also lead their followers in worship.[83] No further description of

the Ka'aba[84] will be entertained here out of respect to the sanctity of the pilgrimage site.

Burckhardt continues his description of the mosque itself:

> ... facing the middle part of the front of the Kaaba, stands the Mambar or pulpit of the mosque; it is elegantly formed of fine white marble ... a straight and narrow staircase leads up to the post of the Khatyb ... Here a sermon is preached on Fridays, as well as at the end of the first daily evening prayers ...[85]

Burckhardt believed that at maximum capacity, the mosque might contain as many as 35,000

worshippers, but this seems a gross under-estimation.[86] In any event, many thousands more

could have prayed outside if the interior was entirely full of people performing their prayers.

Arriving in Mecca as early as the late 1780s, as I argued earlier, one of Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī's initial goals was to fulfill his pilgrimage obligations as one of the five pillars of his faith.

As a traveler arriving in 1229/1814, wrote, "Whoever enters Mekka, whether pilgrim or not, is

enjoined by the law to visit the Temple immediately, and not to attend to any worldly concern

whatever, before he has done so."[87] The author refers here to the *'umra*[88] (lesser pilgrimage),

which is a journey to pay homate to Mecca's holy places that can be performed at any time of

year.[89] The more important, annual *hajj* takes place from the seventh to eleventh days of Dhu al-

Hijja[90], the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar. Those who had arrived for either *'umra* or

hajj performed their duties in three distinct parts: the procession around the Ka'aba, the walk

between al-Ṣafā[91] and al-Marwa[92], and the *'umra*. Each will be described in turn.

Pilgrims performed the rites at the Ka'aba as follows:

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[83] Ibid., 142-3.

[84] Arabic: كعبة

[85] Ibid., 144.

[86] Ibid., 149.

[87] Ibid., 94.

[88] Arabic: عمرة

[89] Hurgronje notes this in his account of Mecca. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 228.

[90] Arabic: ذو الحجة

[91] Arabic: الصفا

[92] Arabic: المروة

At the entrance, under the colonnade, some prayers are recited on first site of the Kaaba, and then two rikats, or four prostrations addressed to the divinity, in thanks for having reached the holy spot, and in salutation of the mosque itself; after which the pilgrim approaches the Kaaba by one of the paved ways to it, through the open area in which it stands. In passing under the insulated arch in front of the Kaaba, called Bab-es'-Salam, certain prayers are said. Other prayers are recited in a low voice, and the visitor then places himself opposite to the black stone of the Kaaba, and prays two rikats; at the conclusion of which, the stone is touched with the right hand, or kissed, if there is no great pressure of people. The devotee then begins the Towaf, or walk round the Kaaba, keeping that building on his left hand. This ceremony is to be repeated seven times; the three first are in a quick pace, in imitation of the Prophet ... Every circuit must be accompanied with prescribed prayers, which are recited in a low voice, and appropriated to the different parts of the building that are passed: the black stone is kissed or touched at the conclusion of each circuit, as well as another stone, walled in at one corner of the black stone. When the seven circuits are finished, the visiter approaches the wall of the Kaaba, between the black stone and the door of the building, which space is called El Metzem. There, with widely outstretched arms, and with his breast closely pressed against the wall, he beseeches the Lord to pardon his sins. He then retires towards the neighbouring Mekam Ibrahim, and there prays two rikats, called Sunnet-et-towaf, after which he repairs to the adjoining well of Zemzem; and, after a short pious address in honour of the well, drinks as much of the water as he wishes, or as he can on occasions when the crowd is very great; and this completes the ceremonies to be observed within the temple.[93]

The pilgrims then began the second part of the ritual, proceeding from Ṣafā to Marwa, thus described:

About fifty yards from the S.E. side of the mosque, on a slightly ascending ground, stand three open arches, connected by an architrave above, having below three broad stone steps leading up to them. This is called the Hill of Szafa: here, standing, on the upper step, with his face turning towards the mosque, which is hidden from view by the intervening houses, the pilgrim raises his hands towards heaven, addresses a short prayer to the Deity, and implores his assistance in the holy walk, or Say, as it is called; he then descends, to begin the walk, along a level street about six hundred paces in length, which the Arabian historians call Wady Szafa, leading towards Meroua, which is at its farther extremity, where stands a stone platform, elevated about six or eight feet above the level of the street, with several broad steps ascending to it. The visiter is enjoined to walk at a quick pace from Szafa to Meroua; and for a short pace, which is marked by four stones or pilasters, called El Myleyn el Akhdereyn, built into the walls of the houses on both sides, he must run. Two of these stones seemed to be of a green colour; they exhibit numerous inscriptions; but these are so high in the walls, that it would be difficult to read them. Prayers are recited uninterruptedly in a loud voice during this walk. Persons who are unwell may ride, or be borne in a litter. On reaching Meroua, the pilgrim ascends the steps, and, with uplifted hands, repeats a short prayer like that of Szafa, to which place he must now return. The walk between the two places is to be repeated seven times, concluding at Meroua; four times from Szafa to Meroua; and three times from Meroua to Szaffa.[94]

The pilgrimage concluded with one final step:

In the vicinity to Meroua are many barbers' shops; into one of these the pilgrim enters, having completed the Say, and the barber shaves his head, reciting a particular prayer, which the pilgrim repeats after him. The Hanefys, one of the four orthodox sects of Moslims, shave only one-fourth part of the head; the other three-fourths continuing untouched till they return from the Omra. After the ceremony of shaving is finished, the visitor is at liberty to lay aside the ihram, and put on his ordinary dress; or, if he choose, he may go immediately from thence to the Omra, in which case he still wears the ihram, and says only two rikats on setting out. This however, is seldom done, as the ceremonies of the Towaf and Say are sufficiently fatiguing to render repose desirable on their completion the visitor, therefore, dresses in his

[93] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 94-5.
[94] Ibid., 96-7.

usual clothes; but the next day or any following day, (the sooner the better,) he resumes the ihram, with the same ceremonies as are observed on first assuming it, and then proceeds to the Omra, a place one hour and a half from Mekka. Here he repeats two rikats in a small chapel, and returns to the city, chanting all the way the pious ejaculations called Telby, beginning with the words, "Lebeyk, Alla humma, Lebeyk." He must now again perform the Towaf and the Say, have his head completely shaved, and lay aside the ihram, which closes those ceremonies. A visit to the Omra is enjoined by the law as absolutely necessary; but many individuals, notwithstanding, dispense with it. I went thither, on the third day after my arrival in the city, performing the walk in the night-time, which is the fashion during the hot season. At the time of the Hadj, all these ceremonies must be repeated after returning from Wady Muna, and again on taking leave of Mekka. The Towaf, or walk round the Kaaba, should also be performed as often as convenient; and few foreigners live at Mekka, who do not make it a point to execute it twice daily; in the evening and before day-break.[95]

We may only assume that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī fulfilled his religious obligations upon first entrance to Mecca, probably at some point in the late 1780s or early 1790s. He arrived in Mecca with knowledge of Qur'ānic Arabic, at the very least, and improved his speaking and reading ability upon establishing residence in the city. Whether or not he was already familiar with the intricacies of the *hajj* ceremonies, guides were available to lead the many thousands of people who came to take part in the ritual each year.[96] The *hajj* was just one of a number of important rituals in which Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī took part that was to increase his awareness of Islam as a world religion with universal aspirations, which must have given him a different perspective of his own faith as he had previously practiced it in Patani, positioned on the northern fringes of the Southeast Asian Islamic world.[97]

During the Islamic month of Ramaḍān[98], Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also had the opportunity to build a community with other hajjis in Mecca, whether in prayer, breaking fast, or otherwise discussing intellectual matters. The conduct of the Muslim holy month again centered around *masjid al-ḥarām*, described thus, "The thousands of lamps lighted during Ramaḍān in the great

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[95] Ibid., 97-8.
[96] Ibid., 96.
[97] Hurgronje alludes to this among his observations of the intellectual changes that many pilgrims experienced in the nineteenth century. He also notes that for Muslims who had performed the hajj, Islam was more of a lived reality than it had been before visiting Mecca. Some Southeast Asian Muslims finished their circumcision or even changed their names as part of ritual transformation. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 228, 233-4, 236-7, 244-5.
[98] Arabic: رمضان

mosque, rendered it a nightly resort of all foreigners at Mekka; here they took their walk, or sat conversing till after midnight."[99] This tranquil setting must have seemed a sanctuary to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, whose last memories of his home were ones of war, fire, and death.[100] Still, they may have yet contrasted his home traditions as he engaged with the Meccan manner of fasting during the month. Burckhardt concluded, "The night which closes Ramaḍān, did not present those brilliant displays of rejoicing that are seen in other parts of the East; and the three subsequent days of the festival are equally devoid of public amusements."[101] As it is today in many parts of the Islamic world, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān drew families and communities together, and in a place like Mecca, provided an opportunity for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī to meet local people and take part in one of the central rites of his faith. At the same time, however, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī must have become immediately aware of the intense disputes that existed at the time, friction between traditionalists and reformers who were then fighting for control of Islam's sacred center.

Wahhābiyya Reforms and the Islamic Revival

The Wahhābiyya movement spawned by Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-92) sent profound socio-moral reverberations throughout the Islamic world as the most concerted and powerful effort to reform Islamic practice since Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (450-505/1058-1111). His followers, who later adopted the term

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[99] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 100.
[100] Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani and Ismail Che Daud believed Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī to be among the refugees that fled south from Patani after its fall to Siam in August 1786. Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 24; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 26.
[101] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 102.

Salafī[102] (Unitarian), will here be referred to as Wahhābiyya. The historian Uwaidah al-Juhany

wrote:

> The rise of Shaykh Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and his reform movement at the middle of the 12th/18th century was the culmination and consequence of the growth of learning which had been progressing in Najd throughout the preceding two-and-a-half centuries.[103]

The Wahhābiyya began as followers of the *Ḥanbalī*[104] *madhhab*[105] (school of law), generally

considered the most "conservative" of the four Sunni schools of law, and were considerably

influenced by the writings of Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn 'Abd al-

Salām ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī (661-728/1263-1328). The central doctrine of the Wahhābiyya

was *tawḥīd*[106] (monotheism) and they rejected theological innovation, blind *taqlīd*[107] (imitation),

saint-worship, vows and pilgrimages to shrines.[108] And though they did not find fault with

Muslims who appealed for intercession from the Prophet Muḥammad in approved ways, they

criticized those who practiced *tasawwul*[109], the attempt to gain oneness with God, often turning

to earlier "saints" to assist in the process.[110] They also opposed Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine of the

Unity of Being, discussed above as one of the most prevalent and popular intellectual ideas in

early Southeast Asian Islam that had garnered opposition by the mid-seventeenth century. Their

reforms naturally put the Wahhābiyya into conflict with many Sufi practices, which were

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[102] Arabic: سلفي

[103] Uwaidah M. al-Juhany, *Najd Before the Salafi Reform Movement: Social, Political and Religious Conditions during the Three Centuries Preceding the Rise of the Saudi State* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press in Association with the King Abdul Aziz Foundation for Research and Archives, 2002): 138.

[104] Arabic: حنبلي

[105] Arabic: مذهب

[106] Arabic: توحيد

[107] Arabic: تقليد

[108] Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les Doctrines Sociales et Politiques de Taḳī-d-dīn Aḥmad b. Taimiyya: Canoniste Ḥanbalite né à Ḥarrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939): 514-24.

[109] Arabic: تسوّل

[110] R. Bayly Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965): 9.

synonymous with Islamic practice in many parts of the Muslim World. By advocating *jihād*[111] (holy war) to spread, defend, and purify the faith, the Wahhābiyya spread their reforms on a wider scale in Arabia and beyond.

The Wahhābiyya experienced a great deal of political success brought on by the alliance formed between al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad ibn Suʿūd, the ruler of al-Dirʿiyya, in central Najd in 1157/1744.[112] From inner Arabia, the Wahhābiyya, now emboldened with a political wing attached to their movement, began to expand and consolidate their power. By al-Wahhāb's death in 1206/1792, they had secured much of central Arabia. In 1215/1801, they sacked the Shiʿī holy city of Karbalā in what is now Iraq and destroyed the domes that had been set over a number of well-known tombs, including the Prophet Muḥammad's grandson Ḥusayn.[113] In 1217/1803, they made their most daring move yet by capturing Mecca and Medina from the Ottomans.[114] Local military responses from Baghdad and Mecca proved ineffective in expelling the Wahhābiyya from the Ḥaramayn and it was not until Sultan Maḥmūd II (r. 1222-54/1808-39) sent an army under Muḥammad ʿAlī, viceroy of Egypt, did they make headway against the Wahhābiyya in western Arabia.[115] But not until 1226/1812 did Muḥammad ʿAlī force ʿAbd Allah ibn Suʿūd (r. 1229-33/1814-8) out of the holy cities; and the former's son, Ibrāhīm Pasha,

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[111] Arabic: جهاد

[112] Jean Baptiste Louis Jacques Rousseau, *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad, suivie d'une Notice Historique sur les Wahabis, et quelques autres Pièces Relatives à l'Histoire et à la Littérature de l'Orient* (Paris: Chez Treuttel et Würtz, 1809): 127, 131; Jean Raymond, *Mémoire sur l'Origine des Wahabys sur la Naissance de leur Puissance et sur l'Influence Dont ils Jouissent Comme Nation ; Rapport de Jean Raymond Daté de 1806 Document Inédit Extrait des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Ètrangères de France* (Paris: Imprimé par l'Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale pour la Société Royale de Géographie d'Ègypte, 1925): 5, 8-9.

[113] Louis Alexandre Olivier de Corancez, *Histoire des Wahabis, depuis leur Origine Jusqu'à la Fin de 1809* (Paris: Chez Crapart, 1810): 27-8; Harford Jones Brydges, *An Account of the Transaction of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia, in the Years 1807-11*, Volume 2: *A Brief History of the Wahauby* (London: James Bohn, 1834): 27.

[114] Corancez, *Histoire des Wahabis*, 30-7; Raymond, *Mémoire sur l'Origine des Wahabys*, 23-4 ; Brydges, *Account of the Transactions*, 31-2.

[115] Corancez, *Histoire des Wahabis*, 60-5.

dealt the Wahhābiyya-Suʿūdi alliance a decisive blow in 1233/1818 that left them politically impotent until the turn of the twentieth century.[116]

During their brief nine year control of Mecca, the Wahhābiyya enacted great changes to the physical landscape. As stated above, one of their principle problems with Islamic practice as it occurred in the eighteenth century was "saint worship" which they charged as polytheism. Thus, they often tore down structures built to glorify particularly influential and highly-regarded political and religious teachers, and particularly former Sufi notables. In Mecca, for example, they tore down the dome over the grave of the third caliph ʿUmar.[117] They also destroyed the building that enclosed the tomb of Abū Ṭalīb, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad and father of the fourth caliph ʿAlī.[118] But in regards to the Kaʿaba itself, they provided a new woven covering, a red kesoua, to mark the shrine's importance.[119] They also forbid prayers being addressed to the sultan or *sharīf*[120] during Friday prayers at the *masjid al-ḥarām*.[121] On a related note, the *sharīf*'s monopoly over the water of the well Zamzam, considered sacred by many visiting hajjis, was made publicly available at no cost by the Wahhābiyya.[122]

The affects of the Wahhābiyya movement upon Mecca's intellectual milieu was far more profound than spatial changes, since much of their reform agenda was directed at the scholars who gathered in the Ḥaramayn.[123] On the surface, they provided an example of what they

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[116] Brydges, *Account of the Transactions*, 45-51.

[117] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 114.

[118] Some of these changes were later repaired on orders of the Ottoman sultan in 1816. Ibid., 129-30, 170.

[119] Ibid., 140n.

[120] The *sharīf* was the leading political figure in Mecca, considered the guardian of the *Ḥaramayn*, and imbued with his office by the Ottoman sultan. Arabic: شريف

[121] Ibid., 147.

[122] Ibid., 143-4.

[123] For studies of reforms in the wider Islamic World, see Louis Brenner, "Muslim Thought in Eighteenth-Century West Africa: The Case of Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi," in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, eds. Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987): 39-67; John O. Voll, "Linking Groups in the Networks of Eighteenth-Century Revivalist Scholars," in *Ibid.*, 69-92; John Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā

considered to be a purer practice of Islam to all who visited the Ḥaramayn and thus gained great influence quickly.[124] The Wahhābiyya emphasized *fiqh* in intellectual circles as a way of reforming Sufi beliefs and practices that they regarded as too variant from the prescribed laws of the Prophet. While some scholars felt compelled to support or oppose[125] the Wahhābiyya outright, many who bore reformist influence did so in the school of thought termed, "neo-Sufi."[126] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was clearly of this intellectual strain, interested in Sufi doctrines and practices, but also compelled to bring them in closer adherence to long and well-established legal traditions of the Shāfi'ī[127] *madhhab*. Now that we have drawn a rough picture of the physical and intellectual atmosphere of Mecca in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's time, I shall address the Meccan scholarly community itself.

Part III: The Scholarly Community in Mecca: Teachers and Students

Burckhardt witnessed evidence of an active scholarly community in Mecca, centered at *masjid al-ḥarām*. He wrote, "At every hour of the day persons may be seen under the colonnade, occupied in reading the Koran and other religious books."[128] He added:

> In several parts of the colonnade, public schools are held, where young children are taught to spell and read ... Some learned men of Mekka deliver lectures on religious subjects every afternoon under the colonnade ... On Fridays, after prayer, some Turkish olemas[129] explain to their countrymen assembled around them a few chapters of the Koran[130] ...[131]

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al-Sindī and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 38, no. 1 (1975): 32-9; Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change*; Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Literature and Islamic Scholarship in the 17th/18th Century: Topics and Biographies," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, 42, no. 3 (2002): 281-8.

[124] Brydges, *Account of the Transaction*, 33-5.

[125] For example, see Samer Traboulsi, "An Early Refutation of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Reformist Views," *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, 42, no. 3 (2002): 373-415.

[126] This term was first employed by Fazlur Rahman in his survey of Islamic intellectual history. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (New York: Anchor Books, 1968): 240.

[127] Arabic: شافعي

[128] Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 149.

[129] *'ulama.*

[130] *Qur'ān.*

Malay circles of scholars, or the Jāwah as the Meccans called them, are also known to have

existed at *masjid al-ḥarām*.[132] Students interested in learning on all levels of advancement

gathered daily at the mosque. We may only assume that it was at one of these sorts of informal

gatherings that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī first engaged with his potential teachers. Though there is

no existing evidence of his financial situation, the length and expense of the journey from

Southeast Asia to the Middle East, combined with the fact that he came from an elite *'ulamā'*

family from Patani, he likely carried enough wealth with him to pay some of the more gifted

teachers in Mecca.[133] He must have spent his early years in the city networking among the local

scholars and taking the opportunity on such occasions to impress the learned of the city with his

talents, not only in Arabic, but his growing interest in *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *uṣūl al-dīn*, and the other

Islamic sciences for which he eventually became well-known. It is to the matter of his teachers

that we now turn.

The Malay Circle and the Meccan Intellectuals: Teachers and Influences

When Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī arrived in Mecca, he joined a circle of Malay-speaking

scholars in the city that possessed a legacy that dated back nearly two centuries.[134] In fact, the

Malay-speaking community in Mecca formed a sort of cultural unity that their diverse members

did not experience when back in Southeast Asia.[135] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was not even the first

scholar from Patani to study for an extended period in Mecca, for Abdullah tells us that two

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[131] Ibid., 150-1.

[132] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 213.

[133] Hurgronje observes that most "Jāwah" hajjis in Mecca were "wealthy." He also notes that some Southeast Asian shaykhs that resided in Mecca drew a small part of the money sent to pilgrims or students who hailed from their respective homelands. Ibid., 220, 227-8.

[134] Malay was the *lingua franca* of Southeast Asian Muslims in Mecca. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 229; Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 52.

[135] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 245.

others preceded him, namely Shaykh 'Alī bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī and Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī.[136] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī apparently had direct contact with the

former, who likely served as the main contact for the newly arrived hajji as he sought to integrate

himself into the Meccan intellectual community. As Hurgronje noted in the 1880s, it was

common for pilgrims such as Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī to begin their initial studies upon arrival in

the holy city. The former wrote:

> Some, who weeks before the Hajj dwell in Mekka under guidance of a pious sheikh of pilgrims are
> instructed by the sheikh himself (particularly if the pilgrims are his countryfolk), or by a competent
> compatriot under his orders, in the rules of Sacred Law regarding the pilgrimage. For that purpose a
> *manāsik*-book, written in Malay … is used.[137]

Such students then followed their initial preparations with study of Qur'ānic recitation and

possibly joined one of the many Sufi *ṭarīqa*[138] (order) that abounded in the city.[139]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī became exposed to key figures in the wider Malay-speaking

community in Mecca, chief of which was Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-

Falimbānī.[140] Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was at the height of his long career around

the time of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's arrival, completing his well-known work *Sayr al-Sālikīn*[141]

(Path for the Travelers) in 1203/1789.[142] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, a young aspiring scholar at the

time, may well have had an opportunity to study with the venerable teacher, though for only a

short time since it is thought that al-Falimbānī died shortly after finishing the above work.[143]

The Malay-speaking circle of scholars also included Muḥammad Nafīs bin 'Idrīs bin Ḥusayn al-

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[136] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 36; Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 25; Abidin, "Formasi Ulama," 2; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 27-8.

[137] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 239.

[138] Arabic: طريقة

[139] Ibid., 240-1.

[140] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 112.

[141] Arabic: سير السالكين

[142] Ibid., 114; Many published versions exist. For a transliterated Malay edition, see Syeikh Abdus Samad al-Jawi al-Palembani, *Siyarus Salikin*, 4 vols., ed. Muhammad Labib (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional, 2002).

[143] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 114.

Banjārī (b. 1147/1735), who completed his most well-known work *al-Durr al-Nafīs*[144] (Precious Pearls) in 1200/1785.[145]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also studied with many prominent Arab-speaking scholars of his day.[146] As I stated earlier, because of his active scholarly production as late as 1843 and his most probable birth date of 1182/1769, it is unlikely that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī arrived in Mecca before the late 1780s.[147] Therefore it is unlikely that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had the opportunity to study with the other prominent Malay-speaking scholars of the time, Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (d. 1227/1812), 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugisī, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Maṣrī, as claimed by Abdullah, because they had returned to Southeast Asia in 1186/1772 to carry out reforms there.[148] It is equally improbable that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had the opportunity to study with 'Isā bin Aḥmad al-Barrāwī (d. 1182/1768), Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī (d. 1189/1775), or Ibrāhīm al-Ra'īs al-Zamzamī al-Makkī (1110-94/1698-1780).[149]

Despite the fact that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī did not study with the above teachers, he was no doubt influenced, at the very least, by al-Barrāwī, whose student, Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-

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[144] Arabic: الدرّ النفيس

[145] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 25; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 27; Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 120.

[146] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī appears to have overcome many of the social and cultural tensions to which Hurgronje refers at length in his account, for he seems to have gained the respect of some of the great Arab-speaking scholars teaching in Mecca in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 225.

[147] Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani estimated his arrival in Mecca to be around 1787, having fled after the fall of Patani Siam as described in chapter 2. Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 24; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 26.

[148] Che Ismail Daud and Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani have argued similarly in their biographical sketches. Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 26; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 28; Zafry Zamzam, *Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary sebagai Ulama Juru Da'wah: Dalam Sejarah Penyiaran Islam di Kalimantan abad 13 H / 18 M dan Pengaruhnya di Asia Tenggara* (Banjarmasin, 1974): 8; Mohd. Saperi Kadir, "Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari Pelopor Da'wah Islam di Kalimantan Selatan," *Mimbar Ulama* 6 (1976): 74; Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari: Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1990): 11; Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 119.

[149] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 33; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdush Shamad*, 6.

Shanwānī (d. 1233/1817), was one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's principle teachers.[150] Al-Barrāwī

was a *muḥaddith*[151] (expert in *ḥadīth*[152], the traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad)

and *faqīh*[153] (jurist) and was regarded as an expert in comparative knowledge of all four schools

of Islamic law and al-Shanwānī studied *fiqh* with him.[154] Al-Shanwānī was the President of al-

Azhar University in Cairo who made frequent trips to the Ḥaramayn. In addition to studying

with al-Barrāwī, al-Shanwānī studied with many of the leading scholars in Egypt, including

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣayyām al-Damanhūrī al-Madhāhibī al-Azharī (1101-

92/1689-1778), 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥijāzī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī al-Sharqāwī (1150-

1227/1737-1812), and Sayyid Abu'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad

'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī (1145-1205/1732-91).[155] Al-Shanwānī's

intellectual background made him a leading scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *'ilm al-kalām*[156] (theological

discourse), and *tafsīr*[157] (exegesis).[158] He wrote a commentary on the same by Shaykh 'Abd al-

Salām concerning *al-Jawharah*. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī developed his interest and knowledge of a

number of Islamic sciences most prominently with al-Shanwānī.

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[150] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 125.

[151] Arabic: محدّث

[152] Arabic: حديث

[153] Arabic: فقيه

[154] Ibid.

[155] The last of these was a scholar from Bilgrām, Kanawj, who had been studying and teaching in Cairo since 1167/1753 and who was most well-known for his composition *Tāj al-'Arūs* (Arabic: تاج العروس, The Crown of the Bride), a commentary on al-Fayrūzabādī's *Qāmūs* (Dictionary), and a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences, Arabic: إحياء علوم الدين), titled *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn* (Impressing the Pious Masters, Arabic: إتحاف السادة المتقين). C. Brockelmann, "Muḥammad Murtaḍā," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 7, new ed., eds. C. E. Bosworth, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993): 445.

[156] Arabic: علم الكلام

[157] Arabic: تفسير

[158] Ibid.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also studied directly with al-Shanwānī's predecessor at al-Azhar University, the aforementioned al-Sharqāwī.[159] The latter had studied with many prominent scholars, including al-Damanhūrī, Maḥmūd al-Kurdī al-Khalwatī, and Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Karīm al-Dīn al-Karīmī al-Khālidī al-Azharī al-Shāfi'ī al-Jawharī. Al-Sharqāwī was a well-known reformer of the Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqa* in Cairo, but was knowledgeable in a wide-range of Islamic sciences, including *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *kalām*, *sharī'a*[160] (rules and regulations for Muslims), and *taṣawwuf*.[161] He wrote many works, including a commentary upon al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*[162] (Mother of Proofs) and *al-Sharqāwī 'alā al-Taḥrīr* (Sharqāwī on Liberation).[163] In his writings, he was known to "emphasize the importance of *ḥadīth* in terms of its position not only as the second source of Islamic legal doctrines but also as the indispensable source of proper moral conduct."[164] Al-Sharqāwī was clearly someone later scholars would dub a "neo-Sufi" interested in reconciling

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[159] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 38.

[160] Arabic: شريعة

[161] The Khalwatiyya (Arabic: خلوتيّة) *ṭarīqa* was a widespread Sufi order that traced its origins to fourteenth-century Tabriz (today in northwest Iran), had gained prominence in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire, and spread into Egypt and Mecca by the eighteenth century. There is evidence of this *ṭarīqa*'s influence among other scholars who had at least peripheral influence upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, such as the aforementioned al-Sammānī, who is credited in having spread it to Southeast Asia via students in Mecca. The order is named for its practice of *khalwa* (Arabic: خلوة), or isolation in a solitary place, ranging from three to forty days. Al-Khalwatī most likely inducted al-Sharqāwī into the *ṭarīqa*. Some branches of the order later took part in the 'Urābī insurrection of 1882 against foreign control of Egypt. H. Landolt, "Khalwa," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 4, eds. E. van Donzel, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978): 990-1; F. de Jong, "Khalwatiyya," in *Ibid.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978): 991-3; F. de Jong, "Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (1688-1749): Revival and Reform of the Khalwatiyya?"in *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, eds. Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987): 123; Frederick de Jong, "The Ṣūfī Orders in Egypt during the 'Urābī Insurrection and the British Occupation (1882-1914): Some Societal Factors Generating Aloofness, Support, and Opposition," in *Sufi Orders in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Egypt and the Middle East: Collected Studies*, ed. Frederick de Jong, 147-59, Analecta Isisiana series, vol. 48 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000): 150-1.

[162] Arabic: أمّ البراهين

[163] Al-Sharqāwī's works, particularly the above mentioned commentary, were quite popular in the Patani scholarly network as we shall see in succeeding chapters. Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 21. Arabic: الشرقاوي علا التحرير

[164] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 121.

Sufi practices with reformist Islamic legal traditions.[165] He was to have a profound effect upon

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's own intellectual development as the latter emerged as the foremost

scholar within the Malay-speaking neo-Sufi tradition in the nineteenth century.

In addition to the above teachers, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also studied with Shaykh

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Ibrāhīm al-Zubayrī (1188-1240/1774-1825), Sayyid 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥjūb

al-Mīrghanī (d. 1207/1792), Muḥammad As'ad, and Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī.[166] Al-Zubayrī

was the author of a treatise on prayer titled *Hizb al-Bahr*.[167] Al-Mīrghanī was a well-known

Sufi, whose teachings played a role in his grandson Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mīrghanī founding

the Mīrghaniyya *ṭarīqa* and spread the teachings of Aḥmad bin 'Idrīs al-Fāsī, the well-known

Sufi reformer of the nineteenth century.[168] Azra has identified the third of these as Muḥammad

As'ad al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī, who inducted Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī into the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa*. Al-

Marzūqī, also a student of al-Shanwānī, was a *muḥaddith* who taught in Mecca.[169] Shaykh

Dā'ūd Faṭānī later wrote a commentary on al-Marzūqī's work, which will be addressed later in

this chapter. As we shall see in the following section, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī worked firmly

within the Shāfi'ī legal tradition, but it is interesting to note that his final two teachers mentioned

here were both from non-Shāfi'ī *madhāhib*, a trend that Azra noted in earlier periods as well.[170]

It is clear from our discussion here that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's education in Mecca

afforded him comprehensive knowledge of his faith and its intellectual traditions. He had a

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[165] See below for further detail on Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's neo-Sufi works. The term "neo-Sufi" is not without its critics. R. S. O'Fahey and B. Radtke, "Neo-sufism reconsidered," *Der Islam* (1993): 87.

[166] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 25; Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 125-6.

[167] Daud, "Syaikh Daud Fatani," 25; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 27. Arabic: حزب البحر

[168] Members of the Mīrghaniyya later became prominent opponents of Muḥammad Aḥmad after the latter proclaimed himself the Mahdī (Arabic: مهدي) of the Sudan in 1881 and where they remained a prominent political force well into the twentieth century. "Mīrghaniyya," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 7, eds. C. E. Bosworth, et al., 124-5 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993).

[169] Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 126.

[170] Ibid.

broad education in the Islamic sciences, was a member of at least one Sufi *ṭarīqa*, and was

exposed to a number of additional orders. He studied with many of the leading scholars of his

day whose willingness to teach him is a testament to his own intellectual abilities. One of his

biographers claims that after having studied for many years and having gained the great respect

of his teachers, the Mufti of Mecca, Shaykh ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, granted him the esteemed privilege to

teach classes in the *masjid al-ḥarām*.[171] Given the large number of students that he attracted in

later years and his position as the premier Malay-speaking scholar of his day, he must have

developed a far-reaching reputation that enabled him to draw students from various places in the

archipelago. These students came to attend his lectures and to study his writings, the activities of

whom will be addressed in chapter four. A full account of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's work follows.

Part IV: Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's Writings

Dated or Datable Works

In this section, I survey the written works of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī that bear a date or for

which a date is estimable, assembled here in chronological order so as to follow the progression

of his intellectual development. Most of his writings bore Arabic titles, but the texts are

predominantly written in Malay with occasional Arabic passages. Because scholarship

concerning Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's writings are only in a preliminary stage and much of the work

is fragmentary, contradictory, or otherwise in a state of confusion, I will give a thorough outline

of all of his works that might provide a guide for future studies.

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[171] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 25-6.

1. *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (The Manner of the One in Need on the *'Isrā'* and *Mi'rāj*)[172]

Completed: Muharram 27, 1224/March 14, 1809[173]

Extant Manuscripts: 52[174]

This is a translation of *Qiṣṣah Mi'rāj al-Nabi*[175] (Story of the Prophet's *Mi'rāj*) by al-Najm al-Dīn al-Ghayṭī (d. 909/1504), which relates the story of the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*, the Prophet Muḥammad's journey by night from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascension to heaven. It also contains, in the margins, part of a commentary by Aḥmad Shahāb al-Dīn al-Qalyūbī (d. 1068/1658) referencing Ghayṭī's original text, which relates information regarding the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and other prophets. There are also graphic descriptions of the inhabitants of heaven and hell. The work concludes with the special prayers which may be said after reciting the story of the Prophet Muḥammad's ascent into heaven. In a colophon, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī acknowledges his Arabic sources, including a Shaykh Nur al-Dīn, who may well be Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī of Aceh.[176] Abdullah speculates that this is the first example of these teachings

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[172] Hereafter, referred to as *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj*. Arabic: كيفية المحتاج في الإسراء والمعراج

[173] CCD 4[B]; CMLI 8; MKI 134; MKI 442[x]; MKI 622D; MKI 746; MNT D80; PNM 172; PNM 319; PNM 473; PNM 484; PNM 892; PNM 899; PNM 928; PNM 1218(2) ; PNM 1498; PNM 1984; PNM 2015; PNM 2025; PNM 2150; PNM 2315; PNM 2318; PNM 2373; PNM 2386D; PNM 2413; PNM 2429; PNM 2516; PNM 2546; PNM 2562; PNM 2661; PNM 2786; and one manuscript in a private collection. One manuscript bears an erroneous date that some scholars have propagated in secondary literature, Tuesday between zuhur and 'asar prayer times, Muharram 27, 1204/October 17, 1789, which must have been a copyist error, see MKI 674.

[174] Dated Colophons (8): MKI 582A; 44; MNT D80: 20; PNM 473: 8r; PNM 484: 50v; PNM 928: 26r; 28v; PNM 2516: 22v; PNM 2786: 18v; P1: 20. Partially or undated colophons (6): CCD 4[B]: 157; MKI 588: 73; PNM 319: 3r-4v; PNM 684: 17r; PNM 892: 21v-21r; PNM 1498: 19r. No colophons (38): MKI 134; MKI 324; MKI 442[x]; MKI 507; MKI 583; MKI 613[x] ; MKI 622D; MKI 674; MKI 696; MKI 746; MSM 8; PNM 172; PNM 176; PNM 514; PNM 558(1) ; PNM 899; PNM 1218(2) ; PNM 1238; PNM 1369(1) ; PNM 1660B; PNM 1984; PNM 2015; PNM 2025; PNM 2110; PNM 2150; PNM 2315; PNM 2318; PNM 2373; PNM 2386D; PNM 2413; PNM 2429; PNM 2435(2) ; PNM 2546; PNM 2562; PNM 2661; PNM 2890; PNM 2958; CMLI 8.

[175] Arabic: قسّة معراج النبي

[176] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 69.

being translated into the Malay language.[177] This is a work of *sīra*[178] (biography), but also possesses broad implications for students of eschatology and mysticism as well. This text was among the more commonly copied works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, gaining significant popularity in the 1840s and maintained into the early decades of the twentieth century. It was only rarely included in manuscript compilations that included Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works such as *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*[179], *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*[180], *Munyat al-Muṣallī*[181], or with works by other scholars[182] of the Patani network.

2. *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*[183] (Explanation of the Chapter for the One Who Desires a Good Marriage)

Completed: Rabiulawal 9, 1224/April 24, 1809, in Mecca[184]

Extant Manuscripts: 93[185]

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[177] Ibid.

[178] Arabic: سيرة

[179] PNM 2386D. See the entry for this text below.

[180] MKI 622D. See the entry for this text below.

[181] MKI 622D. See the entry for this text below.

[182] MKI 582A, MKI 622D; PNM 1660B.

[183] Hereafter referred to as *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*. This text is often referred to by its popular title, *Bāb al-Nikāḥ*. Arabic: إيضاح الباب لمريد النكاح بالصّواب

[184] CCD 4[A]; CMLI 10; MKI 45; MKI 75B; MKI 193; MKI 356C; MKI 612; MKI 731[x] ; MKI 743; MNT 86.47; PNM 161; PNM 227; PNM 265; PNM 470; PNM 472A; PNM 524; PNM 530; PNM 539; PNM 696; PNM 815; PNM 1142; PNM 1256; PNM 1330; PNM 2014; PNM 2038; PNM 2043; PNM 2094; PNM 2260(1) ; PNM 2376; PNM 2412; PNM 2442; PNM 2452; PNM 2454; PNM 2523(2); PNM 2541; PNM 2545; PNM 2566; PNM 2642; PNM 2667; PNM 2723A; PNM 2788A; PNM 2959; UM Manuskrip 250. One manuscript bears the author date of Ramaḍān 24, 1224/November 2, 1809, but this was clearly a copyist error due to the abundance of manuscripts bearing the above date.

[185] Dated colophons: MKI 75[B], 105; MKI 356[C], 16; MKI 612: 84; MNT 86.47: 63r; PNM 123: 42v; PNM 161: 78v-78r; PNM 470: 93; PNM 530: 60v; PNM 696: 70r; PNM 815: 25r; PNM 1142: 28v; PNM 1546: 85; PNM 2014: 109; PNM 2038: 114; PNM 2452: 42v; PNM 2454: 70r; PNM 2545: 70v; PNM 2566: 48r-49v; PNM 2642: 73r; CCD 4[A], CMLI 10. Partially or undated colophons: MKI 247: 92; MKI 586: 103; MKI 597: 79; PNM 472A, 70r; PNM 524: 55v; PNM 1256: 25v; PNM 2043: 100; PNM 2094: 143; PNM 2412: 47v; PNM 2541: 44v; PNM 2959: 23r. No colophons: CUL Scott lower left 7; MKI 45; MKI 117; MKI 131; MKI 169[x] ; MKI 193; MKI 194;

This is a work of *fiqh* and is a translation of a portion of Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā

Yaḥyā bin Sharaf al-Nawāwī's (631-76/1233-77) *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*[186] (Direction for the

Inquirers) and parts of commentaries such as *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj*[187] (Treasure for the One in Need)

by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ḥajr al-Ḥatimī al-Makkī (d. 973/1565), *Fatḥ al-*

Wahhāb[188] (The Bounty of the Giver) by Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā bin Muḥammad al-Anṣārī[189]

(824-926/1420-1520), *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj*[190] (The End for the One in Need) by Shams al-Dīn Abū

'Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Ramlī al-Anṣārī (fl. 9th/15th century), and *Hādī al-Muḥtāj*[191] (The Guide

for the One in Need).[192] Al-Nawāwī was one of the most respected legal minds within the

Shāfi'ī *madhhab* as well as an expert on *ḥadīth* and therefore Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's reference to

him here was certainly to draw directly from one of the school's highest authorities. His

extraction is a treatise on Shāfi'ī laws of marriage, advice for a successful marriage, and a

number of related issues such as dowry, divorce procedures, and so forth.[193] For the sake of

understanding the structure of the Patani scholarly network, this is undoubtedly the most

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MKI 328; MKI 410; MKI 598; MKI 731[x] ; MKI 743; PNM 157; PNM 185; PNM 196; PNM 227; PNM 241; PNM 265; PNM 303; PNM 531; PNM 539; PNM 568; PNM 600; PNM 625(4); PNM 643; PNM 671; PNM 713(1); PNM 902; PNM 1138; PNM 1221; PNM 1283; PNM 1296; PNM 1330; PNM 1335; PNM 1383; PNM 1526; PNM 1626; PNM 1628; PNM 2061; PNM 2260(1); PNM 2376; PNM 2436; PNM 2442; PNM 2523(2); PNM 2602; PNM 2667; PNM 2723A; PNM 2788A; PNM 2949; PNM 3057; MNI ML773 [VI 38]; UM Manuskrip 250.

[186] Arabic: منهاج الصالبين

[187] Arabic: تحفة المحتاج

[188] Arabic: فتح الوهّاب

[189] He was prominent figure in the development of the Shāfi'ī school of law, having worked for many years as a *qāḍī* during the tumultuous final years of Mamluk rule in Egypt. The writings by this author, such as *Manhaj al-Ṭullāb* (Arabic: منهج الطلّاب) and the above mentioned work, were very popular in Southeast Asia even before Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's time. Earlier scholars, such as al-Rānīrī, al-Sinkīlī, al-Banjārī, and the Palembang scholars Shihab al-Dīn and Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn, all referenced him in their writings. G. W. J. Drewes, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path: Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's Kitāb Fatḥ al-Raḥmān and Its Indonesian Adaptations*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde series, vol. 81 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977): 27.

[190] Arabic: نهاية المحتاج

[191] Arabic: هادي المحتاج

[192] L. W. C. van den Berg, tr., *Minhādj aṭ-Ṭālibīn Le Guide des Zélés Croyants: Manuel de Jurisprudence Musulmane Selon le Rite de Chàfi'ī ; Texte Arabe, Publié par Ordre du Gouvernement avec Traduction et Annotations*, vol. 1 (Batavia: Imprimerie de Gouvernement, 1882): vii-viii.

[193] Hurgronje refers to this work as a "hand-book of . . . marriage-law." Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

important text because the greatest number of extant manuscripts have survived. As noted

above, there are ninety-three known existing manuscript copies of this work and thus stands as

the most commonly copied work of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. It was among the earliest of his works

copied and students maintained a steady interest in this text well into the twentieth century. It

somewhat rarely appeared in manuscript compilations that included Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other

works such as *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*[194] or *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*[195], but

was included more often with works by other scholars[196] of the Patani scholarly network. This

book is featured prominently in my discussion of the growth of the Patani scholarly network in

chapters four and five.

3. *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*[197] (The Goal of Approximation in Inheritance and

Genealogy)

Completed: Safar 5, 1226/March 1, 1811, in Mecca[198]

Extant Manuscripts: 53[199]

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[194] PNM 472A. See the entry for this text below.

[195] PNM 2723A. See the entry for this text below.

[196] MKI 75B; MKI 356C; LUL Cod. 3200B; PNM 2788B.

[197] Hereafter referred to as *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*. Arabic: غاية التقريب في الإرث والتعصيب

[198] MKI 52; MKI 65; MKI 121A; MKI 127; MKI 148; MKI 186A; MKI 387; MKI 391; MKI 481; MKI 587; MKI 651; MKI 709; PNM 231; PNM 472B; PNM 515(2); PNM 522; PNM 529; PNM 835; PNM 896; PNM 1152; PNM 1747; PNM 1966; PNM 1979; PNM 2260(2); PNM 2384; PNM 2419; PNM 2481; PNM 2733B; PNM 3037A; UM Manuskrip 247. Several manuscripts bear the author date of Safar 5, 1227/February 19, 1812, but this appears to be a copyist error that was promulgated, see PNM 1147. A second erroneous author date appears as Safar 5, 1234/December 4, 1818, which is an error, see PNM 230. A third erroneous author date appears as Safar 5, 1236/November 12, 1820, which is an error, see PNM 164. A fourth erroneous author date appears as Safar 5, 1295/February 8, 1878, clearly a copyist error, see PNM 220.

[199] Dated colophons (13): MKI 121A; MKI 391; PNM 220; PNM 231; PNM 522; PNM 1147; PNM 1747; PNM 1966; PNM 2260(2); PNM 2419; PNM 2481; PNM 2733B. Partially or undated colophons (5): MKI 65; MKI 127; PNM 472B; PNM 835; PNM 1152. No colophons (35): DBP 132; MKI 52; MKI 148; MKI 186A; MKI 387; MKI 481; MKI 587; MKI 651; MKI 709; MNT D105; PNM 164; PNM 207B; PNM 212; PNM 230; PNM 262; PNM 278; PNM 515(2); PNM 529; PNM 620; PNM 672; PNM 896; PNM 1146; PNM 1170; PNM 1543; PNM 1979; PNM 2000; PNM 2326(1); PNM 2384; PNM 2446(1); PNM 2557; PNM 2600; PNM 3037A; PNM 3156; PNM 3354; UM Manuskrip 247.

This is a short treatise on the Shāfiʿī laws of *farāʾiḍ*[200] (rules), focusing on inheritance, translated from Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad bin ʿIdrīs al-Shāfiʿī (150-204/767-820), the founder of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. Following *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, the writing of this text makes it clear that Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī had taken it upon himself to translate some of the key Shāfiʿī legal codes into Malay for use back in Southeast Asia. This was one of the most commonly copied manuscripts of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī and maintained its popularity from the 1820s into the early decades of twentieth century. It sometimes appeared in manuscript compilations that included Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's other works such as *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*[201] or *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadī*[202], but more commonly was included with works by other scholars[203] in the Patani scholarly network.

4. *Bishārat al-Ikhwān bi-Asbāb al-Mawt ʿalā al-Īmān*[204] (The Brother's Proclamation on the Reasons to Die with Faith)

Completed: Rabiulakhir 8, 1226/May 2, 1811, in Mecca[205]

Extant Manuscripts: 3[206]

This is a work on eschatology and is a translation of his teacher al-Mirghānī's work. Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's early interest in eschatology may well have been due to his own experience as a Patani refugee. Having personally witnessed the devastation caused by the Siamese invasion of Patani in 1199-1200/1785-6 combined with the shared stories of death,

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[200] Arabic: فراءض

[201] PNM 472B.

[202] PNM 207; PNM 2733B. See entry for this text below.

[203] MKI 121A; MKI 186A; PNM 3037A.

[204] Hereafter referred to as *Bishārat al-Ikhwān*. Its title is sometimes shortened to *Sharh al-Ikhwān*. Arabic: بشارة الأخوان بأسباب الموت على الإيمان

[205] PNM 1368C; PNM 2273.

[206] No colophons: PNM 1368C; MKI 2273; and one manuscript viewed in a private collection.

capture, and flight he no doubt heard from his fellows, it seems no surprise that he had an interest in Islamic scholarship concerning the end of the world, death, and the Hereafter. This was not an interest that seemed to prevail among his students and in the succeeding generations of the Patani scholarly network, for this work does not appear to have been spread much at all by the participants in the network. In what few copies of this text have survived, it sometimes appears in manuscript compilations including Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*[207], *Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrat al-Iḥrām, Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, and works by other authors.[208] In later years, it was often included in printed editions with another of his works, titled *Jam' al-Fawā'id* (see below, dated works).

5. *Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*[209] (Direction for the Inquirers and Path for the Illumined)

Completed: 1226 AH/1811 CE—volume 1[210]

Jamadilakhir 6, 1232/April 23, 1817, in Mecca—volume 2[211]

Extant Manuscripts: 11[212]

This is a massive legal text concerning the laws of trade and transaction. Much like his first work on *fiqh, Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī drew from al-Nawāwī's *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*, and its commentaries *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj* by al-Haitamī and *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj* by al-Ramlī. When printed editions appeared around the turn of the twentieth century, this text often included one of

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[207] PNM 1368C. See entries for these texts below.

[208] PNM 1368C.

[209] Hereafter referred to as *Nahj al-Rāghibīn*. Arabic: نهج الراغبين وسبيل المهتدين

[210] MKI 195; MKI 314[x]; MKI 480[x]; KASZA MSP 3; PNM 332; PNM 2221; PNM 2626; PNM 2719; PNM 2804.

[211] PNM 2221; PNM 2274. One mss claims it was completed Jamadilakhir 7, 1232 AH/April 22, 1817, in Mecca.

[212] Dated colophons (6): MKI 480[x]; KASZA MSP3; PNM 2221; PNM 2626; PNM 2804; PNM 2881(2). No colophons (5): MKI 195; MKI 314[x]; PNM 332; PNM 2274; PNM 2719.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other ambitious legal projects, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi al-Ṣawāb*[213], in the margins. The composition of this impressive work marked a continuation in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's lifelong mission of translating significant portions of the Shāfi'ī legal discourse into Malay. Like his other extensive legal texts, they were reproduced sparingly but consistently due to the arduous task it required.

6. *Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrat al-Iḥrām*[214] (Reaching the Goal in the Manner of Comparisons of Articulating *Takbīrat*)

Completed: Rabiulawal 1227/1812, in Mecca[215]

Extant Manuscripts: 25[216]

This is a work on *fiqh* drawn from the well-known collection of *ḥadīth* titled *Bulūgh al-Marām* compiled by Imām al-Ḥāfiz Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773-852/1372-1448) of Cairo. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī only translated the part concerning *niyya*[217] (intention) before prayer. It was commonly included in manuscript compilations with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*[218], *Bishārat al-Ikhwān*[219], *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*[220], and works by other

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[213] See entry for this text below.

[214] Hereafter referred to as *Bulūgh al-Marām*. Arabic: بلوغ المرام في كيفية مقارنات تكبيرات الإحرام

[215] MKI 19B; MKI 151A; MKI 303A; MKI 327; MKI 615B; MNT D44; PNM 627B; PNM 654; PNM 724; PNM 726B; PNM 803B; PNM 816A; PNM 1113B; PNM 1168; PNM 2309B; PNM 2386B; PNM 2670; PNM 2773C; PNM 2944A; PNM 3362A. One manuscript bears an earlier date of 1222/1807, but this must be copyist error, see PNM 2793A.

[216] Date colophons (6): MKI 151A; MKI 303A; MKI 359C; PNM 504A; PNM 803B; PNM 2670; PNM 3362A. Partially or undated colophons (8): DBP 131; MKI 19B; MNT D44; PNM 627B; PNM 726B; PNM 816A; PNM 1368B; PNM 2773C. No colophons (10): MKI 327; MKI 615B; PNM 654; PNM 724; PNM 1113B; PNM 1168; PNM 2309B; PNM 2386B; PNM 2793A; PNM 2944A.

[217] Arabic: نيّة

[218] MKI 151A; MKI 303A; PNM 504B; PNM 627B; PNM 726B; PNM 816A; PNM 1368B; PNM 2386B; PNM 2944A; PNM 3362A. See entry for this text below.

[219] PNM 1368B.

[220] PNM 1113B; PNM 1368B. See entry for this text below.

scholars[221] of the Patani network. In later printed editions, this text was often included with *Kashf al-Kirām*[222] (Revelation for the Noble) by Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn bin Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ashī or *Risāla Muqārana*[223] (Comparative Treatise) by Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's student Shaykh Ismāʿīl bin ʿAbd Allāh (see chapter four). This work was of little interest to the scholars of the Patani network until the 1850s and 1860s when it became widely distributed, but maintained its popularity only until the 1880s. It was only rarely printed in Meccan publishing houses in the early twentieth century.

7. *Ghāyat al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat ʾAdāʾ al-Ḥajj fī-l-Islām*[224] (The Reaching of the Goal in the Manner of Performing the Hajj in Islam)

Completed: Zulkaedah 5, 1229/October 19, 1814, in Mecca[225]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[226]

This text was intended as a guide for those Muslims who planned to engage upon the *hajj*. Though it never gained popularity as a manuscript in the Patani scholarly network, it gained much wider circulation around the turn of the twentieth century in printed form.

8. *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Muʿminīn*[227] (Treasure of the Inquirers in the Explanation of the Truth of the Faith of the Faithful)

Completed: 1230/1814[228]

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[221] MKI 19B; MKI 615B; PNM 1368B; PNM 2309B; PNM 2386B; PNM 2773C; PNM 2793A.

[222] Arabic: كشف الكرام

[223] Arabic: رسالة مقارنة

[224] Hereafter referred to as *Ghāyat al-Marām*. This text has an alternate title, *Manāsik al-Ḥajj wa al-ʿUmrah*. Arabic: غاية المرام في كيفية أداء الحج في الإسلام

[225] PNM 2838: 1v.

[226] Dated colophon (1): PNM 2838.

[227] Hereafter referred to as *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān*. Arabic: تحفة الراغبين في بيان حقيقة إيمان المؤمنين

Extant Manuscripts: 8[229]

This is a translation of a work by the same name authored by al-Banjārī and also includes work by al-Falimbānī. It is mainly concerned with theological differences of the various *firaq*[230] (sects or sub-groups) of Muslims. Though this is a detailed work, it seems to be aimed at several audiences—first as a comprehensive guide to the varieties of Islamic belief, and as a manual for Muslims such as those in Patani who were less familiar with the non-Shāfi'ī *maddhab*s and other disputes that had arisen throughout the course of the development of the Islamic faith. This text gained popularity in the Patani scholarly network from the 1850s to the 1880s, but never experienced extensive publication in printed form.

9. *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*[231] (Book of the Friday Prayer)

Completed: Sha'ban 2, 1232/June 17, 1817, in Mecca[232]

Extant Manuscripts: 21[233]

This is a work on *fiqh* concerning the Friday prayer. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also addresses the issue of when it is valid to construct a second mosque for the Friday prayer in a town that already possesses one. This seems so specific an issue that it must have been written in response to queries made by members of the community either in Mecca or from new students who were at the time of its completion first coming in significant numbers to the Ḥaramayn to study with

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[228] MKI 650[x]; PNM 2420(1).

[229] Dated colophons (3): PNM 5; PNM 506; PNM 1160. Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 2420(1). No colophons (4): MKI 115; 650[x]; PNM 455; PNM 1525.

[230] Arabic: فرق

[231] This book has many alternate titles, including *Risālat al-Masā'il, Risālat al-Sā'il, Ta'līq Laṭīf Mimmā Yata'allaq bi-Jawāz Ta'addut al-Jum'ah*, and *Diya' al-Lum'ah fi ṣolat al-Zuhr ba'd al-Jum'atayn*. Arabic/Jawi: كتاب سمبهيغ جمعة

[232] MKI 15; MKI 151C; MKI 156B; MKI 210A; MKI 374; MKI 681(1)[x]; MKI 794; PNM 179; PNM 627C; PNM 836(1); PNM 1218(1); PNM 1222; PNM 2143(2); PNM 2275; PNM 2574A.

[233] Dated colophons (7): MKI 151C; MKI 156B; MKI 210A; MKI 374; MKI 681(1)[x]; PNM 2574A. Partially or undated colophons (4): PNM 179; PNM 627C; PNM 1141B; PNM 2773B. No colophons (10): MKI 15; MKI 335; MKI 794; PNM 648B; PNM 836(1); PNM 1113A; PNM 1218(1); PNM 1222; PNM 2143(2); PNM 2275.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. This text was commonly included in manuscript compilations that included *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*[234], *Bulūgh al-Marām*[235], *Munyat al-Muṣallī*[236], or works by other scholars[237] of the Patani scholarly network.

10. *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*[238] (The Precious Pearls in the Creeds of the Faithful)

Completed: Shawwal 17, 1232/August 30, 1817, in Mecca[239]

Extant Manuscripts: 40[240]

This is one of the most well-known works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. It deals with *al-Ashā'riyya i'tiqād*[241] (creed), *kalām*, and, as Mohd. Nor observed, chose a middle path in the debate between pre-destination and free will.[242] This text establishes that in the tensions between the Wahhābiyya reformers and traditionalists of his day, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī sided with the

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[234] MKI 151C; PNM 627C; PNM 648B; PNM 2574A.

[235] MKI 151C; PNM 627C.

[236] PNM 1141B. See the entry for this text below.

[237] MKI 156B; MKI 210A; PNM 2574A.

[238] Hereafter referred to as *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*. Arabic: الدرّ الثمين في عقائد المؤمنين

[239] MKI 53; MKI 69; MKI 779; PNM 64; PNM 153; PNM 226; PNM 490; PNM 569; PNM 827(2); PNM 1264B; PNM 1326(2); PNM 1916; PNM 1967A; PNM 2034; PNM 2395; PNM 2433; PNM 2435(1); PNM 2445; PNM 2523(1); PNM 2627; PNM 2676; PNM 3071; UM Manuskrip 246; P1. One manuscript bears an author date of "Tuesday evening, zhuhr (Arabic: الظهر) prayer time, Ramaḍān 20, 1170/June 8, 1757, year "١" ('Alif) in Mecca and that it was translated at the above date (see PNM 2311). This may indicate that PNM 2311 is Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's original handwritten copy or at the very least, indicates that he translated his version from a manuscript with the aforementioned date, possibly copied earlier by another member of the "Malay circle" in Mecca.

[240] Dated colophons (10): MKI 53; MKI 69; PNM 64; PNM 153; PNM 1326(2); PNM 1916; PNM 1967A; PNM 2676; PNM 3071; UM Manuskrip 246. Partially or undated colophons (5): PNM 490; PNM 827(2); PNM 2034; PNM 2445; P1. No colophons (25): MKI 446; MKI 779; KASZA MSP6; MSM 6; PNM 202; PNM 209A; PNM 226; PNM 253; PNM 569; PNM 579; PNM 599; PNM 711; PNM 919; PNM 1236; PNM 1264B; PNM 1297; PNM 2009; PNM 2311; PNM 2395; PNM 2433; PNM 2435(1); PNM 2523(1); PNM 2627; PNRI ML 224 [VI 117]; ML 793 [VI 118].

[241] Arabic: اعتقاد الاشعرية

[242] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Bangkok: Muhammad al-Nahdi, n.d.), 48; Mohd. Nor bin Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*, Research Notes and Discussions Paper, no. 33 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1983): 19. Hurgronje refers to this book as a "handbook of dogma." Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

latter, though he certainly still saw himself as a reformer along neo-Sufi lines. Though the *Ashā'riyya* school of Islamic theology was named for its founder, Imām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashā'rī, its most prominent articulation appeared in al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*[243] (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), which argued in favor of occasionalism in regards to causation. These ideas, like much of al-Ghazālī's thought, had come under considerable attack from the Wahhābiyya movement since the late eighteenth century. Participants in the Patani scholarly network commonly copied this text from its very beginning in the 1810s until the end of the century when it became one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most often printed texts in the burgeoning publishing houses of the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia. It was only rarely included in manuscript compilations with another of his extensive works, *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il*[244], and also only rarely included with works by other scholars[245] of the Patani network.

11. *Kitāb Majmu'*[246] (Book of Compilations)

Completed: Muharram 30, 1233/December 10, 1817[247]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[248]

This book is a work on *tawḥīd*, but was not popularly copied by participants in the Patani scholarly network. It was included in a compilation that also contained Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Bulūgh al-Marām*.[249] Subsequent scholars paid very little attention to this work.

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[243] Arabic: تهافت الفلاسفة
[244] PNM 1264B.
[245] PNM 1967A.
[246] Arabic: كتاب مجموع
[247] MKI 615A.
[248] No colophon (1): MKI 615A.
[249] MKI 615A.

12. *Shiʿr Saudagar Yaḥyā*[250] (Poetry of Yahya the Merchant)

Completed: Ramaḍān 15, 1233/July 19, 1818[251]

Extant Manuscripts: 3[252]

This text is a work of *taṣawwuf* and addresses the *ṣifāt*[253] (attributes) of Allah in poetic form. The authorship of this text is not clear, since the only dated copy states that it was copied by "Dāʾūd Faṭānī, saudagar miskin," which translates as "Dāʾūd Faṭānī, poor merchant."[254] This most likely refers to our Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī since it is dated at a time when he was producing texts at a high rate and there are no others known by the same name in Mecca at that time. It is interesting to note that if this text can be further confirmed, it indicates that Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī may have been working in a mercantile trade to fund his scholarship. Yet still, an author so prolific as he could not have spent undue time with other affairs. To further suggest that this is his work, it is worthy of note that it was included in a compilation with others of his works *Ḍiyāʾ al-Murīd fī Maʿrifat Kalimah al-Tawḥīd*[255], *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabāʾi*[256], as well as with works by other identified scholars[257] of the Patani network. Subsequent scholars paid only passing attention to this text.

13. *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*[258] (Treasure of the One Who Wants to Take the Path of the Pious)

Completed: Zulhijah 1233/October 1818, in Mecca[259]

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[250] Arabic/Jawi: شعر ساوداگر يحيى
[251] PNM 666A; PNM 1974B; PNM 2486B.
[252] Dated colophons (3): PNM 666A; PNM 1974B; PNM 2486B.
[253] Arabic: صفات
[254] PNM 1974B, 178.
[255] PNM 1974B. See entry for this text below.
[256] PNM 2486B. See entry for this text below.
[257] PNM 666A; PNM 2486B.
[258] Arabic: تحفة الراغبين في سلوك طريق المتّقين

Extant Manuscripts: 7[260]

This is the second volume to his earlier work, *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān* (see above). This volume is mainly concerned with *fiqh* and was sometimes included with manuscript compilations with other works by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī such as *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*.[261]

14. *Kitāb Mawlid al-Nabī Ṣalla Allāh 'alayh wa Sallam*[262] (The Book of the Birth of the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him))

Completed: Safar 1234/November-December 1818[263]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[264]

This text records the story of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday. The later participants in the network do not appear to have been interested in this book.

15. *Musawwada*[265] (Draft)

Completed: Rabiulawal 9, 1234/January 6, 1819, in Mecca[266]

Extant Manuscripts: 7[267]

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[259] MKI 318; MKI 623B; PNM 728(1). MKI 487B states that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī translated his version from an earlier composition dated 1188/1774.

[260] Partially or undated colophon (1): MKI 623B. No colophons (5): MKI 318; MKI 487B; MKI 649A; PNM 728(1); PNM 2818; PNM 3356.

[261] MKI 487B.

[262] Arabic: كتاب موليد النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم

[263] DBP 54.

[264] No colophon (1): DBP 54.

[265] Arabic: مسوّدة

[266] He began this work just 7 days prior. MKI 95; MKI 182; MKI 329; MKI 394; PNM 1392. One other author date appears as the result of copyist error: Monday, Ramaḍān 9, 1234/July 2, 1819 (MKI 154).

[267] No colophons (7): MKI 95; MKI 154; MKI 182; MKI 329; MKI 394; MKI 718; PNM 1392.

This is a work on the *sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad. It only experienced a limited level of distribution through the Patani scholarly network, though since no dated colophons exist in surviving manuscripts, the dates and quantity of distribution cannot be determined.

16. *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*[268] (Revelation of the Unknown in the Circumstances of the Dead in the Interval between Death and Resurrection)

Completed: Rabiulawal 20, 1238/December 5, 1822, in Mecca[269]

Extant Manuscripts: 13[270]

This is a work on *ḥadīth*, *kalām*, and *fiqh* concerning the situation of the deceased and the condition of Resurrection Day, including vivid descriptions of angels that exist in the Hereafter. The text also discusses the interval of time between death and resurrection. Hurgronje refers to this text as a "grand treatise on Life after Death."[271] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī mainly drew his material from Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Sharḥ al-Shudhūr*[272] (Explanation of Fragments) and Shaykh Abū al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī's *Mukhtasar Tadhkirat Qurṭabī*[273] (Summary of the Prescriptions of Qurṭabī).[274] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī considered the latter of these scholars to be his *penghulu* (master) who guided him along his path to God.[275] This text experienced its main period of popularity in the 1850s and 1860s, though it was printed regularly from the 1880s

[268] Arabic: كشف الغمة في أحوال الموتى في البرزخ والقيامة

[269] He began the work during the year previous. MKI 142; MKI 145A; MKI 149A; PNM 276; PNM 723; PNM 728(2)B; PNM 1071; PNM 2142; PNM 2223; PNM 2298(1).

[270] Dated colophons (5): MKI 375; PNM 723; PNM 2142; PNM 2223; PNM 2298(1). Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 1071. No colophons (7): MKI 142; MKI 145A; MKI 149A; MKI 463; MKI 591A[x]; PNM 276; PNM 728(2)B.

[271] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[272] Arabic: شرح الشظور

[273] Arabic: مختسر تذكرة قرطبي

[274] For the established biographical account of al-Suyūṭī's life, see E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, Volume 1: *Biography and Background*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

[275] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 168.

onwards in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. In these printed versions, publishers sometimes included it in the margins of another of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's books, *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il*. In earlier manuscript copies, it was commonly paired in compilations with *Fatḥ al-Mannān li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad*[276], *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*[277], *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*[278], as well as works by other scholars[279] of the Patani network.

17. *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*[280] (The Compilation of the Benefits and Jewels of Necklaces)

Completed: Jamadilawal 27, 1239/January 29, 1824, in Mecca[281]

Extant Manuscripts: 19[282]

This book covers *adab*[283] (cultural knowledge and etiquette) and is primarily a Sufi text purporting the wisdom of various Sufi masters, the virtues of the holy days and months of Islam, and the rights of a wife and the ethics of raising children based on the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, the advice of his companions, and other scholars, especially Sufis. Hurgronje refers to this text as "a collection of mystic stories and warnings."[284] This text, more than any other Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī ever wrote, identified him within the neo-Sufi school set in opposition to the Wahhābiyya movement. The work only experienced mild distribution through the network

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[276] MKI 591a[x]. See the entry for this text below.

[277] MKI 149A. See the entry for this text below.

[278] MKI 145A. See the entry for this text below.

[279] PNM 728(2)B.

[280] Hereafter referred to as *Jam' al-Fawā'id*. Arabic: جمع الفوايد وجواهر القلاءد

[281] MKI 91; MKI 351; MKI 395A; MKI 395C; PNM 154; PNM 631; PNM 725; PNM 833; PNM 836(3); PNM 2948.

[282] Dated colophons (2): MKI 351; PNRI Uncat. Undated or partially dated colophons (2): MKI 395A; MKI 395C. No colophons (15): MKI 91; MKI 350; PNM 154; PNM 631; PNM 725; PNM 826; PNM 833; PNM 836(3); PNM 886; PNM 1326(1); PNM 1540; PNM 1781; PNM 2649(1); PNM 2672; PNM 2948.

[283] Arabic: أدب

[284] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

from the 1860s to the 1880s, and moderate levels of printing in the publishing houses of the Middle East from the 1880s into the early decades of the twentieth century. On rare occasions, copyists included only a set portion of the text[285], such as covering the holy days of just one particular month, for example, and sometimes included it with the works of other authors[286] active in the network.

18. *Kanz al-Mannān ‘alā Ḥikam Abī Madyan*[287] (Treasure of the Sustainer on the Maxims of Abī Madyan)

Completed: Rabiulakhir 23, 1240/December 15, 1824, in Mecca[288]

Extant Manuscripts: 2[289]

This text is a translation of a commentary on the Sufi maxims of *al-Hikam*[290] by Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb bin al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī (520-94/1126-97), commonly known as Abū Madyan al-Ghawth, in which Shaykh Dā’ūd Faṭānī offered many of his own clarifications.[291] This text demonstrates the position of Mecca as the nucleus of the Muslim world most clearly, written by a 6th/12th century scholar from the western periphery of Islam, and translated by one from the opposite Islamic extremity approximately 600 years later. Following his most recent work, this text also illustrates that Shaykh Dā’ūd Faṭānī had deepening interests in Sufism by the mid-1820s, having gone through his first legal phase in the early 1810s. This text never gained popularity in the Patani scholarly network, except for a brief period in the 1870s.

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[285] MKI 395A; MKI 395C.

[286] MKI 395A; MKI 395C.

[287] Hereafter referred to as *Kanz al-Mannān*. Arabic: كنز المنّان على حكم أبي مديان

[288] PNM 748; PNM 1240.

[289] Dated colophon (1): PNM 1240. Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 748.

[290] Arabic: الهكم

[291] His name is alternatively: Abū Madyan al-Maghribī al-Fasī.

19. *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*[292] (The Path of the Worshippers)

Completed: Jamadilakhir 15, 1240/February 4, 1825, in Mecca[293]

Extant Manuscripts: 7[294]

This is a translation of Imām al-Ghazālī's well-known work of the same title, a book on *taṣawwuf* and was the first of two translations Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī took from Islam's most revered Sufi master. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī clearly considered Imām al-Ghazālī to be one of the greatest Islamic thinkers and also bore influence of Ibn al-'Arabī.[295] This text describes the seven steps one is to take in pursuit of oneness with God.[296] This work appears to have experienced a moderate level of distribution almost immediately after completion until at least the 1860s. From the 1880s into the early decades of the twentieth century, it also found its way to the publishing houses of Middle East.

20. *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*[297] (Warning for the Ignorant)

Completed: Jamadilakhir 28, 1242/January 27, 1827[298]

Extant Manuscripts: 16[299]

This is much confusion surrounding this text because another scholar from the Patani region, named Ḥājji 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, completed one in 1184/1770, in Mecca, which was later published in Bangkok and elsewhere. Further study is required to

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[292] Arabic: منهج العابدين

[293] PNM 215; PNM 1500; PNM 1794; PNM 2310; PNM 2380.

[294] Dated colophons (4): PNM 215; PNM 1794; PNM 2310; PNM 2380. No colophons (3): DBP 59; PNM 1500; PNRI ML 775 [XI 53].

[295] Azra; *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 546.

[296] Faudzinaim Hj. Badaruddin, "Syeikh Daud al-Fatani dan Tasawuf," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara*, 5.

[297] Arabic: تنبيه الغافلين

[298] MKI 146; PNM 3213A.

[299] Dated colophons (3): PNM 2213A; PNM 2607; PNM 3086. Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 124. No colophons (12): MKI 146; PNM 603; PNM 722; PNM 1206; PNM 1618; PNM 1798E; PNM 2425; PNM 2428; PNM 2766; PNM 2880; PNM 3213A.

determine whether Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's work was merely a copy or correction of the earlier

work, or one entirely his own. Only one of the extant manuscripts mentions Ḥājji 'Abd Allāh

specifically as the author, though many of the others have the above author date which does

correspond to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's time in Mecca. In any event, this was not one of his major

works.

21. *Munyat al-Muṣallī*[300] (Supplications for the One Who Prays)

Completed: Zulhijah 15, 1242/July 10, 1827, in Mecca[301]

Extant Manuscripts: 69[302]

 This is a manual of prayers drawn from the *Qur'ān* and traditions of the Prophet

Muḥammad as well as wisdom drawn from *'ulamā'* such as al-Ghazālī and others. In the

twilight of his career in 1258/1843, as his final known written work, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī added

the text of *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya* (see below), in which he translated additional Arabic passages

into Malay. The text has political overtones, and may have been written particularly for the

Muslims of Patani, who had been involved since 1199/1785, as detailed in chapter two, in a

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[300] Arabic: منية المصلّي

[301] MKI 132; MKI 136A; MKI 152B; MKI 165; MKI 174; MKI 175; MKI 184B; MKI 202; MKI 299A; MKI 302; MKI 358; MKI 392B; MKI 430; MKI 622A; MKI 670A; MKI 724B; MKI 776; PNM 113; PNM 520; PNM 626(1)A; PNM 637(1)A; PNM 694; PNM 1049; PNM 1133; PNM 1201; PNM 1209(2); PNM 1212; PNM 1295; PNM 1874; PNM 2011; PNM 2046; PNM 2305; PNM 2313; PNM 2605; PNM 3058; PNM 3151. Four other author dates appear as the result of copyist error: Jumada 8, 1242/December 8, 1826 (PNM 2814), Rajab 25, 1242/February 22, 1827 (PNM 3359), Dhu'l Hijja 15, 1240/July 31, 1825 (PNM 2375), duha prayer time, Tuesday, Dhu'l Hijja 16, 1242/July 11, 1827 (PNM 2768B).

[302] Dated colophons (8): MKI 238; MKI 393; PNM 637(1)A; PNM 694; PNM 720; PNM 1049; PNM 2605; PNM 3151. Partially or undated colophons (6): MKI 130; 132; PNM 1141A; 2011. No colophons (55): MKI 136A; MKI 152B; MKI 165; MKI 174; MKI 175; MKI 184B; MKI 202; MKI 205; MKI 299A; MKI 302; MKI 348; MKI 358; MKI 392B; MKI 425; MKI 430; MKI 469; MKI 512; MKI 584; MKI 585; MKI 622A; MKI 670A; MKI 724B; MKI 727; MKI 776; PNM 24; PNM 113; PNM 158; PNM 263A; PNM 294; PNM 304; PNM 520; PNM 591; PNM 625(1); PNM 626(1)A; PNM 653; PNM 721; PNM 730(1); PNM 1133; PNM 1201; PNM 1209(2); PNM 1212; PNM 1272; PNM 1295; PNM 1874; PNM 2046; PNM 2297; PNM 2305; PNM 2313; PNM 2329; PNM 2371; PNM 2375; PNM 2418; PNM 2768B; PNM 2814; PNM 3058; PNM 3359; PNRI ML 379.

constant political struggle against the Siamese authorities in Bangkok.[303] It discusses just and unjust rulers and says that Allah accepts the prayers of the oppressed because there is no veil between them and Him. Though Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī advocates *jihād* in some instances, he argues that such action should only be carried out with well-thought out plans that have good chances of success, and urges people not to make abortive attempts at political rebellion. Most of the work, however, concentrates on the dogmatics of various Muslim prayers that the author discusses in great detail.

This was one of the most commonly copied texts of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and gained popularity immediately following his completion of the book. Scholars of the Patani network continued to distribute the book, the quantity of which reached a peak level in the 1880s. This work was more vigorously printed than any other book by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. In addition to the accompanying text noted above, this text was often included in compilations with others of his works such as *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi al-Ṣawāb*[304], *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj*[305], *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*[306] and many works by other authors[307] of the network. Because the text was injected into the network prior to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's addition of *Bahjat al-Marḍiyya*, many extant copies lack the author's finishing touches. The *Munyat al-Muṣallī* marks the beginning of a particularly fertile period in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's career that followed with a number of his key works.

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[303] Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 558; Suhaimi Wan Abdullah, "Isu-isu Politik Pemikiran Syeikh Daud dan Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani: Satu Analisis," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara*, 10; Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition." *JMBRAS* 61, no. 1 (1988): 25.

[304] MKI 184A. See the entry for this text below.

[305] MKI 622A.

[306] MKI 152B. See the entry for this text below.

[307] MKI 136A; MKI 622A; MKI 670A; MKI 724B.

22. *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*[308] (The Goal of the Seekers of the

Knowledge of Laws in Truth)

Completed: Safar 10, n.y. [before Jamadilawal 15, 1243/December 4, 1827][309]

Extant Manuscripts: 21[310]

This is a work on *fiqh* that focuses on *ʿibada*[311] (ritual), which involves obedience,

submission, and humility in relation to Allah with broad applications for social practice such as

eating the *ḥalāl*[312] diet and maintaining ritual purity. Together with *Furūʿ al-Masāʾil wa Uṣūl

al-Wasāʾil*, this is Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's other major contribution to Malay-language literature

on Shāfiʿī law and has been noted as the most comprehensive work on *ʿibada* ever written in

Malay.[313] He drew mainly from commentaries of Nawāwī's *Minhaj al-Talibin*, including Khaṭīb

al-Sharbīnī's (d. 977/1569) *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj*, Ibn Hajar al-Haytami's *Tuhfah*, Ramli's *Nihayah*,

and al-Ansārī's *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb*.[314] This work may have also been completed under the

guidance of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's teacher, al-Marzūqī. Furthermore, it provides a collection of

ḥadīth and provides a short history of Imām Shāfiʿī, which may well be the first of its kind in

Malay.[315] This text also served as a model for several later works, such as Shaykh Dāʾūd

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[308] Hereafter referred to as *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*. Arabic: بغية الطلّاب لمريد معرفة الاحكام بالصواب

[309] The earliest dated manuscript bears a copy date of Jumada al-Awwal 15, 1243 AH, which suggests it was completed around this time. This text may well have dated to Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's early legal period, 1809-12, though as with several other works by Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī, the first copies, if they were made during his lifetime, appeared soon after he completed his writing. For the original (incomplete) author date, see MKI 184A; PNM 2539.

[310] Dated colophons (6): MKI 407[x]; PNM 270; PNM 635(2); PNM 1912; PNM 2225; PNM 2539. Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 2048. No colophons (14): MKI 85[x]; MKI 184A; PNRI Uncat.; PNM 156; PNM 277; PNM 533; PNM 558(3); PNM 663; PNM 675; PNM 1255; PNM 1889; PNM 2330; PNM 2348; PNM 2548.

[311] Arabic: عبدة

[312] Arabic: حلال

[313] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 99; Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 531; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat; Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1995): 127.

[314] Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 531.

[315] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 58.

Faṭānī's student Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Murīd al-Rawa's *Fatḥ al-Mubīn*[316] (The Clear Opening; completed 1272/1855) and the grandnephew of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Daudi al-Faṭānī's *Al-Bahr al-Wafī*[317] (The Overflowing Sea; completed 1333/1914).[318]

Though this text only reached moderate levels of distribution in the Patani scholarly network, this seems mainly due to the dedication required for such an arduous task. This is one of the longest of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works, ranging from 500-800 pages, according to variant copying styles. Thus such a project was not taken lightly and the fact that 21 copies have survived is a tribute to the dedication of the scribes that worked within the network and the importance of the book to the scholars at the time. It appears to have gained popularity in the network from the 1820s well into the 1880s, but gained wider distribution from the printing presses from that period forward.

23. *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*[319] (Guidance of the Student and Foundation of the Master)

Completed: Jamadilakhir 12, 1244/December 20, 1828, in Mecca[320]

Extant Manuscripts: 12[321]

This work contains Sufi maxims for travelers on the path to God and consists mainly of a translation of *Bidayāt al-Nāṣiḥ*[322] (Beginnings of Intuition), by Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Zahid. This

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[316] Arabic: الفتح المبين

[317] Arabic: الحر الوفي

[318] Ibid.

[319] Hereafter referred to as *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim*. Sometimes this title has been shortened simply to *Muta'allim*. Arabic: هداية المتعلّم وعمدة المعلّم

[320] MKI 49D; MKI 149B; MKI 482B; MKI 589[x]; MKI 775; PNM 485; PNM 2145; PNM 2146; PNM 2770.

[321] Dated colophons (4): MKI 49D; MKI 589[x]; PNM 2145; PNM 2146. Partially or undated colophons (4): MKI 149B; MKI 382B[x]; MKI 589[x]; PNM 2770. No colophons (4): MKI 482B; MKI 775; PNM 485; PNM 2751.

text experienced moderate popularity in the Patani scholarly network from the 1830s to its peak in the 1880s, though it was rarely printed in the publishing centers in succeeding decades. This text was occasionally included in compilations including Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works *Kashf al-Ghummah*[323], *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*[324], as well as with works by other scholars[325] of the network.

24. *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*[326] (Pleasant Joy in Pleasant Beliefs)

Completed: Safar 24, 1245/August 25, 1829, in Mecca[327]

Extant Manuscripts: 16[328]

This is a work of *tawḥīd* and is a translation of and commentary on Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teacher, al-Marzūqī's *Taḥṣīl Nayl al-Marām fī Sharḥ 'Aqidat al-'Awām*[329] (Achieving the Goal in Explaining the Common Beliefs). It is a treatise that covers the principle beliefs of Islam such as belief in Allah, the Prophets (including the Prophet Muḥammad and his family), and *Malā'ika*[330] (angel). Abdullah believed that this text marked an important stage in the development of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī as a thinker.[331] This was the most popular text in the Patani scholarly network in the 1840s and continued to be distributed through its channels until

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[322] Arabic: بدياة الناصح

[323] MKI 149B.

[324] MKI 49D. See the entry for this text below.

[325] MKI 49D; MKI 482D.

[326] Hereafter referred to as *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya*. This book bore the popular title of *Kitāb Abda'u*, so named for the first word in the text. Arabic: البهجة السنيّة في العقاعد السنيّة

[327] MKI 126; MKI 152A; MKI 244[x]; MKI 295; MKI 359A; PNM 130; PNM 306; PNM 593; PNM 1202; PNM 2768A.

[328] Dated colophons (9): MKI 152A; MKI 244[x]; MKI 359A; PNM 130; PNM 306; PNM 593; PNM 1202; PNM 2768A; RAS Maxwell 80. Partially or undated colophon (1): MKI 126. No colophons (5): MKI 295; PNM 907(2); PNM 2768D; PNM 2899; PNRI Uncat.

[329] Arabic: تحصيل نيل المرام في شرح عقيد العولم

[330] Arabic: ملاءكة

[331] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 59.

at least the 1860s. It also saw moderate levels of publication in the Middle East from the 1880s onwards. On rare occasions when it was included in manuscript compilations, this text was typically paired with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*[332] and *Munyat al-Muṣallī*[333] as well as works by other scholars[334] in the network.

25. *Waṣāyā al-Abrār wa Mawāʿiẓ al-Akhyār*[335] (The Commandments of the Righteous and the Morals of the Chosen)

Completed: Safar 24, 1245/August 25, 1829

Extant Manuscripts: 1[336]

This is a work of *taṣawwuf* translated from Shaykh Muḥammad bin ʿUmar al-Ghamrī al-Wasiṭī. This text never gained any popularity in the Patani scholarly network, nor was it ever published.

26. *ʿAqīdat al-Jawāhir*[337] (Precious Beliefs)

Completed: Safar 24, 1245/August 25, 1829

Extant Manuscripts: (included in *Ward al-Ẓawāhir li-Ḥall Alfāẓ ʿIqd al-Jawāhir*, see below)

This is *ʿaqāʾid*[338] (dogma) written in *shiʿr*[339] (verse) that outlines the doctrines of the Sunni tradition. This poem is always included in the work that follows.

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[332] MKI 152A; PNM 2768A; PNM 2768D.

[333] MKI 152A; PNM 2768A; PNM 2768D.

[334] PNM 2768A; PNM 2768D.

[335] Hereafter referred to as *Waṣāyā al-Abrār*. Arabic: وصايا الأبرلر ومواعظ الأخيار

[336] PNM 589.

[337] Alternatively titled: *ʿIqd al-Jawāhir*. Arabic: عقيدة الجواهر

[338] Arabic: عقاءد

[339] Arabic: شعر

27. *Ward al-Ẓawāhir li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir*[340] (Phenomenal Flowers to Find Meaning in Binding Jewels)

Completed: Rajab 9, 1245/January 4, 1830[341]

Extant Manuscripts: 6[342]

This book is a broad survey of *uṣūl al-dīn* with translations of Arabic originals. It also contains *'Aqīdat al-Jawāhir* (see above). This work never gained more than modest popularity in the network, possibly due to its length, ranging from 350-600 pages, depending on the copying style. It was published a few times in the Middle East in the second decade of the twentieth century.

28. *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*[343] (Pure Spring in the Explanation of Sufi Symbolism)

Completed: [before Rajab 28, 1246/January 24, 1831][344]

Extant Manuscripts: 36[345]

This is a work on *taṣawwuf* concerning what is termed *martabāt tujuh*[346] (seven degrees of existence) in Malay and addresses *tajallī*[347] (theophany). Though this text was Shaykh Dā'ūd

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[340] Hereafter referred to as *Ward al-Ẓawāhir*. Arabic: ورد الظواهر لحلّ الفاظ عقد الجواهر

[341] MKI 406[x]; PNM 1136; PNM 1840; PNM 2550.

[342] Dated colophon (1): PNM 1136. No colophons (5): MKI 84; MKI 139; MKI 406[x]; PNM 1840; PNM 2550.

[343] Hereafter referred to as *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*. Arabic: المنهل الصافي في بيان رمز أهل الصوفي

[344] PNM 2270A bears a copy date as above, thus indicating that Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī must have completed this work prior to that time. As with other early copies of his works, copies often began appearing very soon after the original was finished.

[345] Dated colophons (8): MKI 17; MKI 603; MKI 697; PNM 147A; PNM 188B; PNM 232; PNM 547A; PNM 2270A. Partially or undated colophons (7): MKI 144A; PNM 622; PNM 649A; PNM 693; PNM 1088; PNM 1495A; PNM 2734. No colophons (22): MKI 48; MKI 128B; MKI 137B; MKI 145C; MKI 262; MKI 354; MKI 414; MKI 429A; MKI 448; MKI 467; MKI 504; MKI 669; PNM 205; PNM 460; PNM 519; PNM 629(2); PNM 1333; PNM 1386; PNM 2010; PNM 2569; PNM 2615(1).

[346] Arabic/Jawi: مرتبات توجوه (*martabat*, which is now an Arabic loan word in Malay, is written in contemporary Jawi as مرتبة)

Faṭānī's most popular Sufi text, the ideas it professed, which bore the considerable influence of Ibn al-'Arabi, came under attack by the Wahhābiyya and other reformers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It also includes a glossary of Sufi technical terms which is, perhaps, the first of its kind to be rendered into the Malay language.[348] It was one of the more popular texts in the network from the 1830s to the 1910s, though it was curiously never printed in the publishing centers in the Middle East or Southeast Asia. This book is Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most popular and well-known Sufi work. It was commonly included in compilations, but only rarely with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works, such as *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*[349] or *Kashf al-Ghummah*[350], and more commonly with works by other scholars[351] in the network.

29. *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*[352] (Light for the Seeker in Knowing the Word of Monotheism)

Completed: Zulkaedah 18, 1247/April 19, 1832[353]

Extant Manuscripts: 7[354]

This text focuses on *kalām* and contains a *dhikr*[355] (method of chanting) that includes repetition of the names of Allah, supplications and aphorisms from various *ḥadīth*, and references to the *Qur'ān*. This set of teachings was intended for the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa* and was based upon the teachings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teacher, al-Marzūqī. This text never gained

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[347] Arabic: تجلّي
[348] Rahman, "New Lights," 101.
[349] MKI 128B.
[350] MKI 145C.
[351] MKI 137B; MKI 144A; MKI 145C; MKI 429A; PNM 147B; PNM 188B; PNM 547A; PNM 649A; PNM 1495A; PNM 2270A.
[352] Hereafter referred to as *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*. Arabic: ضياء المريد في معرفة كلمة التوحيد
[353] MKI 622E; MKI 668; PNM 669; PNM 1798G; PNM 2047; PNM 2523(2).
[354] Dated colophons (2): PNM 669; PNM 2523(3). Partially or undated colophons (2): PNM 1798G; PNM 2047. No colophons (3): MKI 622E; MKI 668; PNM 666B.
[355] Arabic: ذكر

much popularity in the network, appearing briefly in the 1860s and 1870s, when the scholars were at their peak production. It was sometimes included in manuscript compilations that included Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works *Munyat al-Muṣallī*[356] and *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*[357] but more commonly with works by other scholars[358] of the network.

30. *Fatḥ al-Mannān li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad*[359] (Bounty of the Giver for the Chosen Ones)

Completed: Ramaḍān 16, 1264/January 27, 1834, in Mecca[360]

Extant Manuscripts: 5[361]

This is a work involving *aqā'id*, *fiqh*, and *taṣawwuf* which Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī translated from *Matn al-Zubad fī 'Ilm al-Fiqh 'alā Madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī*[362] (The Best Exposition on the Jurisprudence of Imam Shāfi'ī's School of Law) by Shaykh Aḥmad bin Ruslān al-Dimashqī (d. 844/1441). He addresses practical aspects of Sufi spirituality.[363] Al-Dimashqī had already gained popularity in Southeast Asia due to the work of the late-eighteenth century scholar Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn of Palembang, whose *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar*[364] (Brief Book), was based upon the former's *Risāla fī al-Tawḥīd*[365] (Epistle on Monotheism).[366] This text never gained much popularity in the Patani scholarly network. It was occasionally included in manuscript

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[356] MKI 622E.

[357] MKI 622E.

[358] MKI 622E; PNM 666B; PNM 1798G.

[359] Hereafter referred to as *Fatḥ al-Mannān*. Arabic: فتح المنّان لصفوة الزبد

[360] MKI 591B[x]; PNM 21A; PNM 2137; PNM 2147.

[361] Dated colophons (2): PNM 21A; PNM 2147. No colophons (3): MKI 591B[x]; PNM 2137; LUL Cod. Or. 7354(c).

[362] Arabic: كتن الزبد في علم الفقه على مذهب الإمام الشافعي

[363] Badaruddin, "Syeikh Daud al-Fatani dan Tasawuf," 5.

[364] Arabic: كتاب مختصر

[365] Arabic: رسالة في التوحيد

[366] Earlier in the century, the Palestinian scholar, 'Abd al-Ghanī bin Isma'īl al-Nābulusī's (d. 1731) commentary on the original work had clearly done much to repopularize al-Dimashqī. A. H. Johns, "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with Some References to Quranic Exegesis," in *Islam in Asia*, Volume 2: *Southeast and East Asia* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984): 127.

compilations that included other works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī such as *Kashf al-Ghummah*[367] or *Mudhākarat al-'Ikhwān*.[368] This text experienced only a low level of publishing in Meccan printing centers in the 1910s and 1920s.

31. *Mudhākarat al-'Ikhwān*[369] (The Study of the Brethren)

Completed: Ramaḍān 25, [1249]/February 5, 1834, [in Mecca][370]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[371]

This is a treatise of Sufi advice and reminders. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī seems to have intended it as an accompanying text to *Fatḥ al-Mannān*. The only surviving copy in manuscript form is included with that text. It was later published together with the same work in the 1910s and 1920s.

32. *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyya wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyya wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyya*[372] (Joyful Jewels in the Explanation of the Religious Dogma in the Satisfactory Laws of Jurisprudence and the Path of Muhammad's Precedent)

Completed: Jamadilawal 16, 1252/August 29, 1836, in Ṭā'if[373]

Extant Manuscripts: 70[374]

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[367] MKI 591B.

[368] PNM 21A. See entry for this text below.

[369] Arabic: مذاكرة الإخوان

[370] Abdullah deduced the year and place of this completed work based on the fact that it was completed just following *Fatḥ al-Mannān* which the author had finished earlier in the same month, in Mecca. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 65; Rahman, "New Lights," 101. See PNM 21B.

[371] Dated colophon (1): PNM 21B.

[372] Hereafter, referred to as *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*.
الجواهر السنيّة في شرح العقائد الدينيّة واحكام الفقه المرضيّة في طريق السلوك المحمديّة :Arabic

[373] MKI 20; MKI 34; MKI 153[x]; MKI 248[x]; MKI 258; MKI 363; MKI 484[x]; MKI 640[x]; MKI 660[x]; MNT 83.173; PNM 152; PNM 209B; PNM 211; PNM 323; PNM 494; PNM 496; PNM 537; PNM 577(1); PNM 635(1); PNM 697; PNM 718; PNM 820; PNM 1214; PNM 1239; PNM 1282; PNM 1362; PNM 1439; PNM 2143(1); PNM 2321; PNM 2431; PNM 2438; PNM 2609; PNM 2756; PNM 3119.

This is a work on *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *taṣawwuf* and, according to the author, intended as a introduction to the three Islamic sciences in question. This book, more than any other Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī wrote, was intended for a wide readership among beginning students. He dealt with a vast array of issues including angels, fasting, *hajj*, judgment day, inheritance, marriage and divorce, ritual purification, prayers, transactions such as buying and selling, *uṣūl al-dīn*, *waqf*, *zakāt*, and other legal matters. He drew extensively from Nawāwī's *Minhaj al-Talibin*, its commentaries, and other foundational Shāfi'ī writings, and thus repeated some concepts he touched upon in his earlier legal treatises such as *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, and *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*. Because he tailored this work for a broad audience, this text became one of his most widely copied texts from the 1850s to the 1910s and was occasionally printed in the Middle Eastern publishing centers. Because of its length (400-500 pages) it was never included in manuscript compilations with other works.

33. *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*[375] (The Beginner's Ladder in the Light of the Guided)

Completed: Rajab 13, 1252/October 24, 1836[376]

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[374] Dated colophons (15): MKI 20; MKI 248[x]; MKI 484[x]; MKI 640[x]; MNT 83.173; PNM 152; PNM 211; PNM 323; PNM 820; PNM 1439; PNM 2321; PNM 2431; PNM 2609; PNM 2764; PNM 3119. Partially or undated colophons (5): PNM 494; PNM 537; PNM 1239; PNM 1291; PNM 2438. No colophons (50): DBP 42; MKI 34; MKI 153[x]; MKI 213; MKI 258; MKI 363; MKI 660[x]; PNM 10; PNM 11; PNM 127; PNM 178; PNM 208; PNM 209B; PNM 249; PNM 255; PNM 296; PNM 316; PNM 496; PNM 546; PNM 577(1); PNM 606; PNM 625(3); PNM 635(1); PNM 639; PNM 697; PNM 718; PNM 740; PNM 767; PNM 827(3); PNM 901; PNM 915; PNM 1214; PNM 1250; PNM 1261; PNM 1282; PNM 1299; PNM 1362; PNM 1431; PNM 1462; PNM 1623; PNM 2143(1); PNM 2298(2); PNM 2322; PNM 2404(1); PNM 2426; PNM 2449; PNM 2560; PNM 2756; PNM 2795; PNM 3355.

[375] This text has been afforded the best preserved record of any of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works and many good-quality manuscript copies remain. Hereafter referred to as *Sullam al-Mubtadī*. Arabic: سلّم المبتدي في بيان طريقة المهتدي

[376] MKI 62; MKI 114; MKI 123; MKI 133; MKI 183; MKI 224; MKI 236; MKI 241; MKI 257; MKI 287; MKI 373; MKI 420; MKI 475; MKI 521; MKI 534; MKI 594; MKI 629B; MKI 675; MNT 84.244; MNT D89; PNM 14;

Extant Manuscripts: 75[377]

This is a work of *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *tawḥīd* mainly discussing the sources of religious doctrine according to the opinion of the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jama'ah*. It also discusses the precepts of jurisprudence in general on issues such as fasting, *hajj*, *jināya*[378] (criminal offenses), *jihād*, marriage, purifications before prayer, slavery, *waṣiyya*[379] (wills), *zakāt*, and other issues. This text also garnered a later commentary by Muḥammad Nūr bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, titled *Kifāyat al-Muhtadī* and the two were commonly published together in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. This was the second only to *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* as the most popular work distributed by the Patani scholarly network. It gained consistent circulation by the late 1830s and continued until the turn of the twentieth century. Published editions appeared in the Middle East and Southeast Asia from the 1890s onwards. This text occasionally appeared in compilations with other texts by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī such as *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*[380] and *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk*[381], but also appeared with works by other authors[382] in the network.

PNM 27; PNM 129; PNM 181; PNM 207A; PNM 229; PNM 275; PNM 298; PNM 456; PNM 577(2); PNM 717; PNM 730(2); PNM 768; PNM 1205; PNM 1271; PNM 1478; PNM 2299; PNM 2340; PNM 2398; PNM 2427A; PNM 2453; PNM 2608; PNM 2733A; PNM 3040; PNM 3364. Two other author dates appear as the result of copyist error: 1250/1834 (MKI 173) and Rajab 13; 1250/November 15; 1834 (MKI 176; MKI 688). PNM 3118 bears a copyist date that precedes the author date, which must be an error.

[377] Dated colophons (20): MKI 123; MKI 475; MKI 675; LUL KL 22; MNT 84.244; PNM 14; PNM 27; PNM 181; PNM 207A; PNM 229; PNM 236; PNM 456; PNM 647; PNM 717; PNM 768; PNM 1205; PNM 2340; PNM 2354; PNM 2359; PNM 2369; PNM 2733A. Partially or undated colophons (8): MKI 241; PNM 257; PNM 521; PNM 534; PNM 1345; PNM 1478; PNM 2427A; PNM 2453. No colophons (46): MKI 62; MKI 114; MKI 133; MKI 173; MKI 176; MKI 183; MKI 224; MKI 287; MKI 373; MKI 420; MKI 594; MKI 629B; MKI 688; MNT D89; PNM 35; PNM 108; PNM 116; PNM 129; PNM 174; PNM 195; PNM 203; PNM 275; PNM 298; PNM 299; PNM 310; PNM 577(2); PNM 712; PNM 730(2); PNM 837(3); PNM 904; PNM 1089; PNM 1159; PNM 1197; PNM 1258; PNM 1271; PNM 1547; PNM 2004; PNM 2037; PNM 2299; PNM 2300; PNM 2398; PNM 2608; PNM 3040; PNM 3118; PNM 3364; UKM 32.

[378] Arabic: جناية

[379] Arabic: وصيّة

[380] PNM 207A; PNM 2733A.

[381] MKI 629B.

[382] MKI 675; PNM 2427A.

34. *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il*[383] (The Branches of Principles and Origins of Means)

Completed: 1257/1841, in Mecca[384]

Extant Manuscripts: 34[385]

This is widely considered to be Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *magnum opus* in regards to Islamic law and theology, and constitutes his last major work. Hurgronje refers to it as a "great work on Law and Dogma … much used in the East-Indies."[386] The bulk of the book is a survey of the *Fatāwā* of Shaykh Muḥammad Ramlī, writings by Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Hamzah (d. 1004/1596), and the *Kashf al-Lithām 'an As'ilat al-Anām*[387] (The Revelation of the Mask of Peoples' Questions) by Shaykh Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad al-Maḥallī (790-862/1388-1458), all of whom were major figures in the development of the Shāfi'ī madhhab.[388] He also deals with a vast array of issues of daily life including fasting, *hajj*, *ḥalāl* diet, *jināya*, *jihād*, marriage, oaths and vows, principles of jurisprudence, *tawḥīd*, *waṣiyya*, *zakāt*, and other legal subjects. This book later became a model for the work *Kashf al-Lithām*[389] by Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidīn ibn Muḥammad al-Faṭānī. This work was popular in the network from the date of its authorship, being distributed most fervently in the 1850s. The level of copying of this text is all the more impressive of an accomplishment by the scholars of the Patani network because of its tremendous size, exceeding 850 pages according to some copying styles. Perhaps due to the

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[383] Hereafter referred to as *Furū' al-Masā'il*. Arabic: فروع المساءل وأصول الوساءل

[384] He began writing this work in 1254/1838. MKI 30[x]; MKI 72[x]; MKI 147; MKI 242; MKI 478[x]; MNT 84.2; 84.260; PNM 553; PNM 1688; PNM 1911; PNM 2222; PNM 2629.

[385] Dated colophons (4): PNM 553; PNM 1688; PNM 1911; PNM 2222. No colophons (30): MKI 30[x]; MKI 72[x]; MKI 147; MKI 242; MKI 405; MKI 476; MKI 477[x]; MKI 478[x]; PNRI ML 779 [VI 60]; MNT 84.2; MNT 84.260; MNT D53; PNM 664; PNM 709; PNM 917; PNM 918; PNM 1130; PNM 1166; PNM 1211(1); PNM 1264A; PNM 1414; PNM 1474; PNM 1945; PNM 2041; PNM 2045(1); PNM 2552; PNM 2629; PNM 2639; PNM 2897; PNM 3347.

[386] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[387] Arabic: كشف اللثام عن أسءلة الأنام

[388] Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 531; Joni Tomkin Borhan, "Sumbangan Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani dalam Fiqh al-Mu'amalah: Tumpuan kepada *Furu' al-Masa'il*," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara*, 6.

[389] Arabic: كشف اللثام

immense size of the volumes, or the frequency by which they were employed, we are left with few good-quality copies of this manuscript. This text experienced a very high level of printing in the publishing houses of the Middle East and Southeast Asia from the 1870s onwards, being the first of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works to be mass-produced. This work only very rarely appeared in manuscript compilations with other texts by the author, such as *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*.[390]

35. *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*[391] (The Satisfactory Pleasure in the Imam's Excuse for the Delay of the Congregant)

Completed: Shawwal 14, 1259/November 7, 1843, in Mecca[392]

Extant Manuscripts: 28[393]

This was Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's final dated work, the finishing touch to his earlier work *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, dealing with *ṣalāt*[394] (prayer). This text was distributed widely through the Patani scholarly network from the 1840s until the 1880s, when it became published regularly in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. In manuscript form, it was almost always included in compilations with other works by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī[395] such as *Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya*[396],

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[390] PNM 1264A.

[391] Hereafter referred to as *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*. Arabic: البهجة المرضيّة في عذر تخلّف المأموم عن الإمام

[392] MKI 19A; MKI 136B; MKI 136B; MKI 151B; MKI 152C; MKI 299B; MKI 724C; PNM 627A; PNM 816B; PNM 929A; PNM 1368A; PNM 2723B; PNM 2768C; PNM 2773A; PNM 3362B. Some works contain an earlier author date of Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1259/April 14, 1843, which may represent an earlier "draft" of the same work since at least three copyists cite this as the author date and recorded a copyist date prior to the above date. For the earlier date, see MKI 19A; PNM 228; PNM 648A.

[393] Dated colophons (10): MKI 19A; MKI 151B; MKI 152C; MKI 299B; MKI 721B; MKI 724C; PNM 504B; PNM 648A; PNM 929A; PNM 2773A. Partially or undated colophons (10): MKI 303B; PNM 228A; PNM 274A; PNM 627A; PNM 637(1)B; PNM 726A; PNM 816B; PNM 1368A; PNM 2574B; PNM 2768C. No colophons (8): MKI 136B; PNM 626(1)B; PNM 1290; PNM 1449; PNM 2386A; PNM 2723B; PNM 2944B; PNM 3362B.

[394] Arabic: صلات

[395] This includes several untitled works attributed to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī.

[396] MKI 152C; PNM 2768C.

Bishārat al-Ikhwān[397], *Bulūgh al-Marām*[398], *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*[399], *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*[400],

Munyat al-Muṣallī[401], *Ta'līq Laṭīf Mimma Yata'allaq bi-Jawāz Ta'addut al-Jum'ah*[402], and

works by other scholars[403] in the network.

Undated Works

36. *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*[404] (The Beginnings of Enlightenment)

Extant Manuscripts: 1[405]

This is a translation of al-Ghazālī's well-known work of the same name. This text never

gained any popularity in the Patani scholarly network and was never printed in the early

publishing centers. This may have been completed during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most intense

Sufi period in the mid-1820s, when he translated one of al-Ghazālī's other works, *Minhāj al-*

'Ābidīn.

37. *Farā'iḍ Fawā'id al-Fikri fī al-Imām al-Mahdī*[406] (The Rules of the Benefits of Imam

Mahdi's Thought)

Extant Manuscripts: 1[407]

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[397] PNM 1368A.

[398] MKI 151B; MKI 303A; PNM 504B; PNM 627A; PNM 726A; PNM 816B; PNM 1368A; PNM 2386A; PNM 2773A; PNM 2944B; PNM 3362B.

[399] PNM 2723B.

[400] PNM 627A; PNM 648A; PNM 2574B; PNM 2773A.

[401] MKI 152C; MKI 299B; MKI 724C; PNM 626(1)B; PNM 637(1)B; PNM 2768C.

[402] MKI 151B. See the entry for this text below.

[403] MKI 721B; MKI 724C; PNM 274A; PNM 929A; PNM 2386A; PNM 2574B.

[404] Arabic: بدايات الهداية

[405] Dated colophon (1): PNM 1544. This does not bear Shaykh Dawud Fatani's authorial colophon, however, and may be a version completed by either al-Falimbānī or Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn bin Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ashī. If a verified copy of Shaykh Dawud Fatani's text is found, further analysis of the variant versions of this translated text would be possible.

[406] Hereafter referred to as *Farā'iḍ Fawā'id*. Arabic: فراءض فواعد الفكر في الإمام المهدي

This is a translation of Al-'Allāmah al-Shaykh Mar'ī bin Yūsuf's book on the issue of the coming of Imām Mahdī, the descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad who, together with Jesus Christ, would rid the world of error, injustice, and tyranny, on the Day of Resurrection. As such this is another work of eschatology and may have been composed in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's early phase of writing, 1224-27/1809-12, when he exhibited similar interests in the subject.

38. *Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān*[408] (The Manner of Reading the Qur'ān)

Extant Manuscripts: 6[409]

This is a book on *adab* to be employed with regard to the *Qur'ān*. In this work, the author also recorded the chain of masters he possessed with the Sammāniyya and Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa*. In addition, it contained the *dhikr Allāh*[410] method of chanting of the latter of the two orders. This text only gained a low level of distribution in the Patani scholarly network, though since no dated colophons exist in surviving manuscripts it is not possible to chart its passage, though one scholar has claimed it was very widespread in the Malay-Indonesian world.[411] It did appear in the printing houses by the 1920s, though Abdullah claims that it was commonly printed together with *Fā'ida Muḥimma Matlūba fi Kayfiyya Ṣalāt al-Tarāwīḥ*[412] (A Vital Benefit in the Manner of Tarāwīḥ Prayer) and *Waraqāt Qalīla fi Manāsik al-Ḥajj*[413] (Pamphlet on the Rituals of Hajj) by Shaykh Muḥammad Badāwī Samāwī, who was supposedly a student of Shaykh

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[407] Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 652.

[408] Arabic: كيفية ختام القرآن

[409] No colophons (6): MKI 81; MKI 227[x]; MKI 539; MKI 560; PNM 1744A; PNM 3180.

[410] Arabic: ذكر الله

[411] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 63.

[412] Arabic: فاءدة مهمة مطلوبة في كيفية صلاة التراويح

[413] Arabic: ورقات قليلة في مناسك الحج

Dā'ūd Faṭānī.[414] Copyists occasionally included this text in manuscript compilations with works by other authors of the network.[415]

39. *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh*[416] (Book of Twenty Attributes)

Extant Manuscripts: 3[417]

This is a treatise on the attributes of Allah. Abdullah claims that this was the first work ever composed by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, but gives no evidence to support his claim.[418] Another author, Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī claimed that this was not the work of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī at all, and that booksellers had attached his name to garner higher sales.[419] This text likely experienced moderate levels of popularity, based on the assumption that some of the anonymously authored copies should in fact be attributed to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. From the 1880s onwards, however, this text was widely printed in the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia.

40. *Qawā'id al-'Islam*[420] (Rules of Islam)

Extant Manuscripts: 6[421]

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[414] Ibid., 63-4.

[415] PNM 1744A.

[416] Abdullah claimed that this text was completed Shawwal 22, but no year was given on the manuscript he possessed in his private collection. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 60.
Arabic/Jawi: كتاب صفات دوا فوله

[417] There are many manuscripts that bear this title, but where no author is given so it is difficult to determine whether they are the same text as the one composed by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī since this is a common title easily found in Malay bookshops even today. Partially or undated colophon (1): PNM 523. No colophons (2): PNM 187; PNM 667.

[418] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 60.

[419] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 36.

[420] Arabic: قواعد الإسلام

[421] Partially or undated colophon (1): MKI 156A. No colophon (5): MKI 88; MKI 279; MKI 747; PNM 1798C; PNM 1917.

This is an obscure text that only appeared in the networks in the 1840s and was never published.

41. [Risalah Kelebihan Basmalah]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[422]

This is an untitled work on the virtue of reciting the phrase *bismi-llāhi al-raḥmānī al-raḥīmi*[423] (In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate). This phrase constituted the initial part of every *sūra*[424] of the *Qur'ān*. This text was never widely distributed by the scholars of the network and was never published.

42. [Risalah Kelebihan Hamdalah]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[425]

This is an untitled work on the virtue of reciting the phrase *al-hamdu li-llāh*[426] (Praise Be to God). This text was never widely distributed by the scholars of the network and was never published.

43. [Risalah masalah fiqh][427]

Extant Manuscripts: 1[428]

This text discusses various issues of worship and the payment of *zakāt*. It was never widely distributed by the scholars of the network and was never published.

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[422] No colophon (1): MKI 303C.

[423] Arabic: بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم

[424] Arabic: سورة

[425] No colophon (1): MKI 303D.

[426] Arabic: الحمد الله

[427] This title was provided by PNM.

[428] Undated or Partially Dated colophon (1): PNM 2319B.

44. *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'ī*[429] (Hunting and the Antelope)

Extant Manuscripts: 35[430]

This text is a treatise on the Shāfiʿī laws regarding the hunting and slaughtering of animals and the proper eating habits for Muslims who wish to maintain a *ḥalāl* diet. It is the only undated work of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī that gained wide distribution. It appeared most prominently in the 1880s and was published in the Middle East around the turn of the twentieth century. It sometimes appeared in manuscript compilations including other works by the same author, such as *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*[431], *Bulūgh al-Marām*[432], or *Hidāyat al-Mutaʿallim*[433] as well as works by other scholars[434] in the network.

Unsubstantiated Texts

Below I have listed and briefly described, when possible, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings that are referred to in secondary sources but of which there are known manuscripts available.

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[429] This text was completed during the zuhur prayer time, Tuesday, in the month Rajab, in Mecca, but no year is provided. Arabic: الصيد والظّباء MKI 128A; MKI 306; MKI 338; MKI 388; MKI 449; PNM 516; PNM 834; PNM 2486.

[430] Dated colophon (1): MKI 306. Partially or undated colophons (10): MKI 128A; MKI 338; PNM 221A; PNM 698; PNM 816C; PNM 834; PNM 1918; PNM 2486A; PNM 2668; PNM 2943. No colophon (24): MKI 49B; MKI 189A; MKI 246; MKI 388; MKI 449; MKI 769; PNM 9; PNM 115; PNM 199; PNM 516; PNM 571; PNM 750; PNM 921; PNM 1111; PNM 1158; PNM 1204; PNM 1211(3); PNM 1248; PNM 1620; PNM 1886; PNM 1975; PNM 1976; PNM 2271; PNM 2952.

[431] PNM 816C.

[432] PNM 816C.

[433] MKI 49B.

[434] MKI 49B; MKI 128A; PNM 221A; PNM 2486A.

45. *Al-Bahja al-Wardiyya fī 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Jamā'at al-Sunniyya*[435] (The Joy in the Belief of the Sunni Peoples)

This is a translation of 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Salām al-Ṣaffūrī's commentary on Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazā'irī's *Manẓuma fī al-Tawḥīd*[436] (Poem on Monotheism). This has been given the completion date of Ramaḍān 1, 1258 AH/October 6, 1842 CE, though no original manuscripts have yet been located that confirm this claim.[437] This work does however appear on Meccan publisher booklists in the late nineteenth century, at the same time that many of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other works appeared in the various publishing houses of the Middle East.

46. *Bayān al-'Aḥkām*[438] (Illumination of the Laws)

47. *Fatāwā Berjual-beli dengan Kafir*[439] (Laws of Transaction with Non-Muslims)

This text supposedly is a collection of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *fatāwā* (religious opinions concerning Islamic law) concerning the laws of transaction between Muslims and non-Muslims.

48. *Hikayat Laki-laki yang Ṣāliḥ daripada Banī Isrā'il*[440] (Story of the Righteous Descendants of Israel)

49. *Ḥukum Ḥayḍ dan Istiḥḍah*[441] (The Rule of Menstruation and Purification)

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[435] Arabic: البهجة الورديّة في عقاعد أهل الحملعات السنية
[436] Arabic: منظومة في التوحيد
[437] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 38; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 34.
[438] MKI supposedly possesses a manuscript copy of this work, but it has not been catalogued and was unavailable at the time I conducted the present research. Arabic: بيان الأحكام
[439] Hājji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah claimed to have a manuscript copy of this work in a private collection. Arabic: فتاوى برجوال بلي دغان كفير
[440] This text appeared on a booklist at the Al-Maktabah al-Fattaniyya bookshop in Qashashiyya, Mecca. Arabic: حكاية لاكي٢ يغ صالح درفد بني إسرائيل

This text is purported to be a treatise on menstruation and the corresponding etiquette required of women.

50. *Jihāyat al-Takhṭub*[442]

51. *Kayfiyyat al-Mubtadī'*[443] (The Manner of the Beginner)

This book supposedly discusses the degrees of *īmān*[444] (belief), generally used to signify the strength of a Muslim's conviction. Though this text does not appear in manuscript form, it was published in Mecca in the 1890s.

52. *Kayfiyyat Ṣalāt al-Tarāwīḥ*[445] (The Manner of Tarāwīḥ Prayer)

This is said to be a treatise on the *tarāwīḥ*[446] prayer as it is conducted in the month of Ramaḍān.[447] It also covers the manner in which one is to visit graves according to the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad. This text contains Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's chain of Sufi masters for the Sammāniyya and Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa*.

53. *Kifāyat al-Jāwīyāt*[448] (The Sustenance of Jawi Women)

54. *Al-Muqaddima al-Kubrā*[449] (The Great Introduction)

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[441] Ḥājji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah claimed to have an incomplete manuscript copy of this work in a private collection. Arabic: حكم الحيض دان الاستحضاء

[442] This text is listed in an exhibition guidebook on Islamic development which was held in Kuala Lumpur in 1980. Rahman, "New Lights," 34.

[443] Alternatively: *Irshād al-Aṭfāl al-Mubtadi'īn fī 'Aqā'id al-Dīn wa al-Ad'iyat al-Nāfi'at al-Dīn*. Arabic: كيفية المبتديء

[444] Arabic: إيمان

[445] Ḥājji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah claimed to have an incomplete manuscript copy of this work in a private collection. Arabic: كيفية صلاة التراويح

[446] Arabic: تراويح

[447] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 68; Mohammad Zaini Yahya, et al., "Penulisan Fiqh Shaykh Daud al-Fatani," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara*, 5.

[448] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 63. Arabic: كفاية الجاويات

55. *Nubdha fī Bayān Shurūṭ al-Jum'a*[450] (Pamphlet on the Explanation of the Conditions of Friday)

56. *Qismat al-Zakāt Bayn al-'Aṣnāf*[451] (Dividing Alms among the People)

This text supposedly contains the fatawas of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī regarding the eligibility of Muslims to receive *zakāt*.

57. *Qiṣṣat al-Nabī Yūsuf*[452] (The Story of the Prophet Yūsuf)

Though no available manuscript exist, this text was published several times in Mecca in the 1910s. This text tells the story of the Prophet Yūsuf and Abdullah claims that this was the earliest rendering of it into the Malay language.[453]

58. *Al-Qurbah 'ilā 'Allāh*[454] (Pleasing God)

59. *Risālat Jawab Persoalan*[455] (Epistle of Debating Answers)

60. *Risālat al-Masā'il*[456] (Epistle of Principles)

This text supposedly discusses matters pertaining to the Friday prayer.

61. *Risālat Ta'alluq bi-Kalimāt al-Īmān*[457] (Epistle Pertaining to Words of Faith)

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[449] This text is mentioned in the writings of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Kalantānī. Ibid., 67. Arabic: المقدّمة الكبرى

[450] Ḥājji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah claimed to have a manuscript copy of this work in a private collection. Arabic: نبذة في بيان شروط الجمعة

[451] A manuscript copy of this is said to be held in a private collection. Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 38. Arabic: قسمة الزكاة بن الأصناف

[452] MKI supposedly possesses a manuscript copy of this work, but it has not been catalogued and was unavailable at the time I conducted the present research. Arabic: قصّة النبي يوسف

[453] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 63.

[454] This is mentioned among the works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 38. Arabic: القربة إلى الله

[455] MKI supposedly possesses a manuscript copy of this work, but it has not been catalogued and was unavailable at the time I conducted the present research. Jawi: رسالة جواب فرسوالن

[456] Ibid. Arabic: رسالة المساءل

62. *Risālah Ṭarīqat al-Shaṭṭāriyya wa al-Sammāniyya*[458] (Epistle of the Shaṭṭariyya and Sammāniyya Orders)

This text supposedly is a short treatise on Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's involvement with the two *ṭarīqa* mentioned in the title.

63. *Tārīkh Patani*[459] (History of Patani)

This document, which has recently appeared from two different publishers, was supposedly written in the sixteenth century by a distant ancestor of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, and passed down through the family until he revised it in 1228/1813.[460] Firm evidence still remains to be found to authenticate this work.

64. Other works[461]

Conclusion

Periodizing Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Writings

In his day, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī possessed peerless abilities for Arabic translation into Malay, fueled by an undying commitment to drawing the Malay-speaking world into the orbit of

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[457] MKI supposedly possesses a manuscript copy of this work, but it has not been catalogued and was unavailable at the time I conducted the present research. Arabic: رسالة تعلق نكلمات الإيمان

[458] Ḥājji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah claimed to have a manuscript copy of this work in a private collection. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 92. Arabic: رسالة الطريقة الشطارية والسمانية

[459] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 38. The author is also grateful to one individual who requested anonymity for providing a photocopy of a handwritten copy of the *Tarikh Patani* text in Jawi script, though this was not reproduced from an original manuscript (as it bears faint lines of modern notebook paper). Arabic: تاريخ فطاني

[460] Abdullah, *Tarikh Fathani: Syeikh Faqih 'Ali al-Fathani*, Pengenalan Siri, 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1998); Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek, *Pensejarahan Patani*, Siri Kajian Sejarah (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2006): 19-47, 149-60.

[461] There are several unidentified manuscripts bearing Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's name held at MKI, namely MKI 36, 359B, and 359C. Abdullah mentions other writings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in passing, but gives no further detail. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 57.

broader Islamic discourse. It is perhaps due to the fact that he was most influential as a translator that he has been ignored or downplayed in histories of Southeast Asian Islam.[462] Furthermore, the fact that he produced all, or nearly all, of his works in the Ḥaramayn has furthered estranged him from scholarly discourses on the progression of Islam in the archipelago.[463] He nevertheless had a profound impact and is arguably the most influential figure in nineteenth-century Southeast Asian Islam. As we will discuss in chapters four and five, his students faithfully transmitted his texts back to Southeast Asia at a growing rate through the century that followed the moment in which he first picked up a pen.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings display four distinct phases of intellectual interest and development. During the years 1224-7/1809-12, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī concentrated almost entirely upon translating Shāfi'ī legal codes, all of which are counted among his most popular works copied by his students and later scholars involved in the network. It is no accident that his most prolific interest in legal matters coincided with the Wahhābiyya occupation of Mecca and it was not until after they were ousted that he began to investigate Sufi works. His early legal works were his foundational accomplishments and played a key role in drawing students from the archipelago who shared his passion for jurisprudence. His treatise on dietary restrictions and guidelines, *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, also seems to fit the character of his early legal period, though the original manuscript was only partially dated. He also exhibited an interest in eschatology in his early writings which seem due to his own life experiences as a refugee and the displacement and loss of home that he endured. Discourse on eschatology was a key component to building a new socio-moral order for Patani, as the moral crux between past and future, reinforcing

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[462] Take, for instance, Riddell's exemplary survey of Southeast Asian Islamic thought. Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (London: Hurst and Co., 2001).

[463] Recent innovative work by Azra has included Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in discussions of Southeast Asian Islamic transformations. Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, 122-6.

particular actions, beliefs, and doctrines in the present. One of his undated works, *Farā'iḍ*

Fawā'id, which also deals with eschatology, was likely written during this period or soon after.

From 1229-34/1814-9, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī turned his attention to what he considered to

be principle parts of the Islamic faith that his cohorts in Southeast Asia would need if they were

to adhere to proper practices and beliefs. This included a broader understanding of Islam itself,

such that he placed the Southeast Asian and Shāfiʿī traditions within the broader Islamic

framework. This second phase was followed by a period in which he composed no writings,

1234-8/1819-22, during which time some have claimed that he returned to the archipelago.[464]

He supposedly was the guest of Sultan Muḥammad Safī al-Dīn of Sambas, a kingdom in western

Borneo, around the year 1235/1820.[465] One of his little-copied works, *Kitāb Majmu'*, bears a

colophon that claims to have been finished in Banjar in 1233/1817.[466] Other manuscripts

completed in the period 1233-4/1818-9 claim to have been authored in Mecca, however, and it

seems unlikely that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī would have embarked upon two journeys to Borneo,

first in 1232/1817, and then again around 1234/1819. Until further evidence surfaces concerning

this period of his life, the exact chronology will remain obscure. Strangely, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī

does not appear to have visited Patani at this time, though his plans to do so may have been

thwarted by the conflict between Kedah and Siam in 1236/1821 during which time travel to the

mid-peninsula would have been quite dangerous. Nevertheless, he had returned to Mecca by

1238/1822 when he resumed writing.

The years 1238-49/1822-34 bore witness to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's neo-Sufi period,

during which time he translated and expounded upon a large number of well-known Sufi works

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[464] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 30; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 30.

[465] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 59-60; Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 30; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 30.

[466] MKI 615A.

from figures as highly-respected as al-Ghazālī as well as from lesser-known scholars. Though these outnumber his earlier legal works, his Sufi texts did not garner as much interest among his students and the later scholars of the network.[467] The only notable exception is *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, which likely gained a wider readership because it was intended as an introductory Sufi text for the Malay reader. Three of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's undated texts *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, *Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān*, and *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh* were probably written during this period as well. In many of his Sufi writings, he sought to reform what he saw as ignorant innovations to rightly-guided Sufi practices.[468] He walked the fine line between defending major Sufi thinkers such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn al-ʿArabī, and calling for reform of those who had strayed too far from the core doctrines and beliefs.

There are only two major non-neo-Sufi texts from the third period, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb* and *Munyat al-Muṣallī*. The first of these was only partially dated by its author, but the oldest extant manuscript dates to 1243/1827. As I noted above, this text may actually date to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's early legal period of 1224-7/1809-12, while on the other hand it might instead indicate a sustained interest in Shāfiʿī legal codes into the 1820s. The second of the noted exceptions above, written in 1242/1827, was a manual on prayer and discussed the appropriateness of *jihād* against unjust rulers. These political overtones seem directed specifically towards Kedah and Patani which were then struggling against Siamese political hegemony on the peninsula. Claims that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, along with Shaykh al-Falimbānī, returned to take part in the 1831-2

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[467] Previous scholarship has claimed Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was a major figure in the development of *taṣawwuf* scholarship within the Southeast Asian tradition. Hawah Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf & Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, n.d.), 122-58.
[468] Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 547; Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan, 2006): 145.

Kedah-Patani war against Siam seem unlikely.[469] We know that the latter figure had passed away approximately thirty years previously, and Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, if he had any interest in joining the combatants, was far too old to be effective upon the battlefield. He composed at least six works in the period 1244-7/1828-32, which also suggests he would have scant time to travel back to Southeast Asia.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī withdrew from Mecca to his residence at Ṭā'if in 1252/1836, where he spent significant portions of his late legal phase of writing, 1252-9/1836-43. He wrote two of his most extensive works during the period, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya* and *Furū' al-Masā'il*, which along with his earlier *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, constitute his most important and influential legal writings.[470] Even so late in his career, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī continued his ambitious project of translating the major Shāfi'ī legal works into Malay, perhaps compelled by Patani's latest political defeats by Siam. The second of those mentioned above, took him three years to write, an impressive accomplishment at an advanced age. M. B. Hooker has argued that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's legal writings constituted a major contribution to the wider Southeast Asian tradition.[471] Having written his final work in 1259/1843, some scholars claim he returned to the archipelago around 1260-1/1845-6.[472] While he was there, he supposedly adopted a child later known as Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Dā'ūdī al-Faṭānī, whom he brought back to Mecca when the latter was about age three.[473] There is no evidence that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī ever married, nor did he have any biological children. He died on Rajab 22, 1263/July 6, 1847 and was buried at

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[469] Daud, "Syeikh Daud al-Fatani," 30, 32, 34; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 31. Azra also doubts this claim. Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 558.

[470] Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 127; Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World*, 116.

[471] M. B. Hooker, *Islamic Law in South-East Asia* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984): 32.

[472] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 34; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 32.

[473] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 59; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 37.

Ṭā'if, though his grave was later moved because his relatives worried it might be destroyed by the Wahhābiyya.[474]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and Patani's New Moral Order

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings covered a vast array of Islamic subjects that were to form, cumulatively, the moral building blocks of a new Patani society. As I discussed in chapter two, Patani's defeat by Siam in 1200/1786, and reinforced by subsequent military defeats in 1205/1791, 1222/1808, 1247/1832, and 1253/1838, left the political elites in a weakened state that propelled the society to the brink of socio-moral crisis. The further shattering of the sultanate into seven petty principalities under Siamese control and the expulsion of tens of thousands of Patani residents into neighboring Malay states had the transformative effect of undermining the moral and spatial authority of what few political elites remained, and created the diasporic community in Mecca which was to feed back into the socio-cultural milieu in the years that followed. Unobstructed in their work in Mecca, the upholders and producers of Patani's new symbolic authority prospered in their distant sanctuary with an object of transforming their fractured homeland.

The *orangkaya* had been dealt a blow from which they were never to recover—politically. The social system of value that had revolved around the raja, in which ones social prestige was tied to one's service to the ruler or rank within the royal palace had been definitively destroyed. While these venerable marks of social status maintained some symbolic value long after the 1785-6 war, their practiced value had become defunct; and this propelled the people of Patani to search for a new system by which to order themselves. While David Wyatt observed a similar process occurring in the northern Tai world due to the extensive wars between

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[474] Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani," 58; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 37; Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 18.

Siam, Burma, and the local states that compelled Chiang Mai, Vientiane, and other centers to orient themselves towards Bangkok, in the southern peninsula Patani people turned to Mecca on an unprecedented level.[475]

While Islam had deep roots in the region stretching back at least five centuries, this was the moment that specific teachings, structures of thought, and prescribed social practices began to become definitively Islamic, tied directly to the outpouring of scholarship and writing that then came from Mecca. In the competition between palace, marketplace, and mosque as the incubator and judge of socio-moral standing, the mosque had ultimately triumphed. At the close of the eighteenth century, no trace of the palace remained; the marketplace was a haunted remnant of the wharf that had once drawn merchants from across the Eastern hemisphere, from London to Japan, India to China, and throughout the archipelago. The mosque—and the myriad *pondok* that were tied to it—emerged as the most vibrant social space where people found cultural and social meaning, value, and place. When the old center of society had been extinguished, an alternative light was lit that led people to a wide array of religious practices, teachings, and beliefs that offered recompense for those who sought to rebuild Patani anew.

The appeal of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings was due to his acute awareness of the social and moral collapse that he envisioned in Patani and the opportunity that he saw for rebirth in the wake of defeat. His most popular legal writings dealt with social actions, relations, and practices from across the spectrum that included marriage and divorce, inheritance, personal and familial habits, dietary proscriptions, and many other social objects whose meaning and value had been thrown into disarray in the period 1199-1258/1785-1842. There is limited evidence that Shāfiʿī legal codes were not entirely new in the region and had been implemented on some level as early as 1009/1601, but they had an entirely new meaning for Patani society after the

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[475] Wyatt, "History and Directionality," 433.

destruction of the palace.[476] First of all, they were now available for a broader range of readers,

particularly teachers and religious leaders, and were written for the first time in Malay. This

made them far more accessible to local people with the natural side-effect of drawing ever-

greater numbers of the interested faithful into the fold. Secondly, and more importantly, the

codes addressed the social degradation the society had experienced since 1200/1786, and offered

a means by which people might live proper and morally good lives. This, of course, was always

built upon the assumption that the previous collapse had been partly due to internal problems,

namely that the society had not been following the "proper" codes of conduct and was in dire

need of renewal and reform.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī also addressed Patani's political problems by advocating *jihād*

against Siam.[477] These were specific pleas for political unity and action, not an irrational call for

bloodshed as the phenomenon is often portrayed in the Western media and scholarship. He even

tempered his call, stating that such military action should not be carried out unless it had a good

chance of success, so that unnecessary conflict and suffering could be avoided. His work

Munyat al-Muṣallī most brilliantly displays his case, and given the large number, but generally

poor condition of the surviving manuscripts in comparison to his other works, may indicate that

they were intended for active social and political players, rather than mere intellectual

contemplation. He argued in this and other works that able members an Islamic community, if

attacked by hostile non-Muslims, should rise up and fight until they had repelled the

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[476] H. A. van Foreest and A. de Booy, eds. *De Vierde Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie onder Jacob Wilkens en Jacob van Neck (1599-1604)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980): 224.

[477] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī addresses the concept of *jihad* in his works *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb, Furū' al-Masā'il*, and *Munyat al-Muṣallī*. Al-Falimbani had made earlier calls for Javanese *jihad* against the Dutch. Azra, *Transmission of Islamic Reformism*, 551-7; Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World*, 93.

aggressors.[478] Matheson and Hooker argued that this book had been written specifically for the Patani Muslims who were, at the time of its completion in 1242/1827, preparing for another conflict with Siam.[479] Nevertheless, in the same text, he makes an even stronger call for Muslims to conduct proper prayers, especially those who are oppressed by unjust rulers, because God will hear their pleas.

Igniting intellectual discourse and the structuring of knowledge was a natural by-product of the massive rise in writing, literacy, and the spread of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings. He clearly wrote his books for a variety of audiences—some for beginning students, others for advanced intellectuals. Thus an imprint was made upon the cultural and social discourse that occurred within Patani society as succeeding generations of individuals demarcated the acceptable, yet ever-changing, limits and structure of the Islamic discourse in which they participated. In their pursuit of rebuilding Patani after its many defeats, the Patani scholars naturally produced something that was almost entirely new, if still tethered to the past along symbolic and historical continuities. Thus renewal and reform went hand-in-hand with the spread of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works, though this was a gradual process limited by the vast distance between Mecca and Patani, the opposition of both internal and external social forces in the Patani community, and the limitations of nineteenth-century pre-publication technology that restricted the speed and flow of written documents through the scholarly network.

Despite these obstacles, the Patani scholars worked with amazing diligence and dedication. The over 1,300 extant manuscripts produced by the network that survive must be but a fraction of the total output of the scholars when considering the environmental effects of the tropical climate and the volatile political situation that has often embroiled the region in times

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[478] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*. Bangkok: Matbaah Muhammad al-Nahdi, n.d., 95.
[479] Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani," 25.

since, replete with stories of old books being burned.[480] In the two chapters that follow, I will describe the building of the network and the manner by which the Patani scholars spread the teachings of their inspirational leader, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. I will note the distribution points, the key individuals involved, and how the texts spread far beyond Patani, and how this ultimately caused people in Patani to reflect differently upon themselves as participants in a wider Malay-Islamic world.

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[480] A number of manuscripts possess colophons that mention earlier, now lost manuscripts. No firm estimate of the total number of handwritten manuscripts produced by the scholars of the Patani network may be made but it is clear that the surviving manuscripts are an incomplete collection of the original body of works. Accounts of book burnings are commonplace, whether carried out by Thai soldiers or police in the three post-World War II conflicts, or by locals hiding or destroying their own manuscripts for fear of being caught with them by government security forces.

Chapter 4
The First Two Generations of Shaykhs: Meccan Nucleus and the Creation of a Patani-Malay-Islamic Scholarly Diaspora, 1808-69

Introduction

A scholarly aesthetic emerged in the Patani-Malay-Islamic diaspora in the nineteenth century. As I discussed in chapter three, this had its cultural roots in Southeast Asian scholarly networks that had existed and had been maintained at least intermittently since the late sixteenth century. With Aceh as the early hub of Islamic intellectualism, scholars of the region had begun to engage with the debates and discourses of the broader Muslim world. With the decline of Aceh by the mid-seventeenth century, Johor carried the tradition forward, though with less visibility and success. Thus, the bonds between the Islamic heartland and far-flung Southeast Asian Muslims remained quite tenuous through the course of the eighteenth century. It was during the nineteenth century, however, that Patani scholars and their students, contemporaries, and colleagues, reinvigorated the Islamic discourse with far-reaching repercussions for Southeast Asian societies. From the second decade onwards, a scholarly aesthetic emerged that began to gradually transform the moral order that impressed its value upon cultural and social capital for Southeast Asian Muslims active in the Middle East and their home societies.

The scholarly aesthetic was a product of two converging forces: a system of social authority centered around one or more revered teachers and the social and cultural production embodied in their writings. Neither of these social forces was new to Southeast Asia, but those who promoted them did so with greater success via institutionalized networks that grew in strength and resilience through the course of the century. In Mecca, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī attained great esteem first as a particularly gifted student, then as a teacher, and also as a prolific translator, writer, and intellectual. He rose to become the leading figure of the Malay-speaking

diasporic community in Mecca by the early decades of the nineteenth century.[1] As such, he practiced and produced a social system with Islamic teachers and other leaders at the pinnacle, reproduced through his students and contemporaries. In successive waves, his students returned to the archipelago and continued to spread this aesthetic across the Indian Ocean from Cape Town to Cambodia, Singapore to Bangkok.

The social system of prestige promulgated by the Patani scholars was spread orally and via written word. The impact of the former is inferred in the written documents, as many of the manuscripts were penned by students or scribes who listened to their teachers recite their own teachings or those of their predecessors. Undoubtedly many discussions which have been lost to time expounded upon details of the various works that they studied, explaining the nuances in their meanings. But as time went on, the written word became increasingly important, particularly after the retirement of the founder of the network, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in 1261/1845. Patani and other Malay-speaking areas were semi-literate societies in which only a small portion of the elites, or those in service to them, had the opportunity—or the necessity—to learn to read and write. The mystique of the written word was compounded by the fact that texts were, in general, confined to the court or the mosque. One observer noted throughout the Malay-speaking world that texts were "preserved with superstitious care and kept from common eyes."[2] Compounded by the steady rise in manuscript production from the 1810s onwards, scholars and the cultural aesthetic that they promoted via teachings and texts became an unprecedented social force in many parts of the archipelago. The mobile and unparalleled authority of the written and

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[1] Hurgronje mentions these regional shaykh-leaders who trained newly arrived hajjis in the rites of pilgrimage, began their initial studies in various aspects of Islam, inducted promising adherents into Sufi *ṭarīqa*, and received payment for their services. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's position appears even more ascendant because of his prolific scholarly contributions to the community. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 222-3, 227-31.

[2] Isabella L. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither*, Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints (London: Murray, 1883, reprinted Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1967): 19.

spoken word promulgated by the Patani scholars spread like wildfire throughout the Southeast Asian regions in which they worked.

Returning hajjis to Southeast Asia enjoyed a new-found social prestige merely from having completed the arduous journey, which was still a rarity in the period before 1869.[3] The act of *hajj* provided them a status as Muslims that most locals could never achieve, but many of whom held their pilgrim neighbors in high regard. In addition to returning with seemingly powerful, sacred knowledge, the pilgrims' clothing gave them a new appearance that further bolstered their mystique as more devout Muslims.[4]

While much of the scholarly literature concerning the spread of Islamic teachings has focused upon the resistance among the colonizers—the Dutch in the Indonesian archipelago and the British on the peninsula—there was undoubtedly indigenous resistance from those elites whose embedded power and prestige became threatened by this new social shockwave. Many courts patronized scholars, such as in Aceh, Banjar, Johor, Kedah, Patani, Riau, and Trengganu, which had the compounded effect of providing welfare to scholars and promoting their teachings while simultaneously containing such social forces and co-opting them to serve royal purposes. There had been a long tradition of sponsoring Islamic scholars in Malay-speaking courts as a fusing of temporal and spiritual authority into one body. However, the curious characteristic of the Patani-inspired scholarly networks is that they appeared strongest in regions which had experienced recent social chaos where political structures were weak or weakened, ie., the Malay-Thai borderland stretching from Patani in the north to Trengganu and Kedah in the south. The social anxieties awakened during the period of political conflict, 1180-1257/1767-1842, as discussed in chapter two, thus opened those societies to great cultural and social change in the

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[3] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 242-4.
[4] Ibid., 224.

nineteenth century. Scholars also gained a presence at critical influx points of international

traffic, such as Singapore, Melaka, and along trade or administrative routes that linked the

African cape, British India, the Malay-Thai Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo. Before discussing

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students and their influence, we must first consider the circle of teachers

who accompanied the network's founder in Mecca.

In Part I, I examine what I refer to as the "Patani circle" of students in Mecca,

particularly those students who studied directly with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. I chart the work of

each of his known students who reproduced or otherwise spread his writings or composed their

own works. I illustrate the various teacher-students relationships that formed the basis for a new

system of social and cultural power and the emergence of Southeast Asian learning centers

where scholares disseminated these teachings and practices. I conclude by surveying the texts

and ideas that were most popular during the period.

In Part II, I continue to follow the activities of the network of scholars after the retirement

of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. This period witnessed the rise of successors to the community's

founder, legitimate teachers in their own right who continued to draw students to Mecca.

Scholars, both in Mecca and in Southeast Asia, began to develop a central corpus of religious

literature intended for several different audiences. The network reached its broadest expanse

during this period as well, stretching by 1869 from Cape Town to Cambodia. After having

followed the progress of the scholars, I discuss the texts that gained or lost popularity during the

period to reconstruct an illustration of the intellectual milieu of the time. By the close of the

period, the Patani scholars were poised to benefit from the rise of the number of hajjis brought on

by the opening of the Suez Canal and the resulting increase in trans-oceanic steamships that

linked Southeast Asia and the Middle East more intimately than ever before.

Part I: Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Students in Mecca and Southeast Asia, 1808-44

At the Center: Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the Meccan Scholars

In the previous chapter, we discussed the importance of the scholarship of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the Meccan world with which he interacted. Though he was not the first Patani scholar to study in the Ḥaramayn, he was the most important because of the tremendous intellect and charisma he possessed, self-evident in his success as a teacher, writer, and translator. Not only did he draw dozens of students from Southeast Asia and the Arab diaspora, as will be evidenced through the course of this chapter, he also attracted a number of other scholars who found fulfillment in supporting his work with their own teachings.

The teachers who joined Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's scholarly circle included some of his own teachers, other contemporary intellectuals, and his most promising and gifted students. A large number of native Arabic speakers joined Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. For example, Muḥammad Sāliḥ bin Ibrāhīm al-Zubayrī (1188-1240/1774-1825), who had taught Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī *uṣūl al-dīn*, continued similar teachings with some of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's earliest students.[5] One of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's principal teachers discussed in chapter three, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī, also taught a number of his early students, thus enhancing the position of neo-Sufi ideas in the intellectual discourse.[6] Shaykh Muḥammad Ādam, likely of Arab origin, taught Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students the *Qur'ān*.[7] When combined with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's involvement in the Shaṭṭāriyya and Sammāniyya *ṭarīqa*, it becomes clear that a wide

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[5] M. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī: Ulama' dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990): 42.

[6] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qādir bin Abdur Raḥīm Trengganu," *Dakwah* 13, no. 149 (Aug 1989): 22.

[7] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong (1792-1873)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 70.

variety of Sufi, neo-Sufi, and other teachings were present in the circle. A number of other Arabic-speaking scholars, Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī[8] (1233-1335/1817-1917), Sayyid Aḥmad 'As'ad al-Dīhan, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nazīli, and Sayyid Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn bin Sayyid Aḥmad bin Sayyid Riḍwān al-Madanī[9] taught in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's circle, along with an unidentified scholar, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh bin 'Umar bin Yaḥyā.[10]

Another Patani scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī, the date of whose arrival in Mecca is unclear, joined Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's circle of teachers at *masjid al-ḥaram*.[11] He had previously joined Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī when the latter studied with al-Marzūqī, and must have decided to continue his work with his colleague after completing his initial studies.[12] He later returned to Patani and taught at the influential Pondok Pauh Bok, which had been founded by his grandfather, Shaykh 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and where his uncle, Shaykh Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, taught before coming to study in Mecca.[13] The scholars working at this *pondok* continued to produce students throughout the nineteenth century. Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ had been a

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[8] He was a Shāfi'ī scholar who taught many Patani students and other Malay speakers. He was a rival of Shaykh Aḥmad bin Zaynī Daḥlān, another influential Meccan *'alīm*, discussed below, with whose legal opinions he sometimes disagreed. Nico Kaptein, *The* Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is: *A Bilingual Meccan* Fatwa *Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Seri Inis, vol. 32 (Jakarta: Inis, 1997): 6.

[9] This figure appears to have been a follower of Muḥammad bin Ḥasan bin Ḥamza Ẓāfir al-Madanī (1194-1263/1780-1847), who had founded the Madaniyya *ṭarīqa* as an offshoot of the Shādhiliyya order in 1240/1824. F. de Jong, "Madaniyya," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 5, eds. C. E. Bosworth, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986): 948-9.

[10] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Bendang Daya II: Pondok Teramai di Asia Tenggara," *Dakwah* 15, no. 192 (May 1993): 50; Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qādir bin Abdur Rahman al Faṭānī," *Dakwah* 13, no. 152 (Nov 1989): 24.

[11] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Raḥīm Trengganu," 22.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Shaykh Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī completed the text, *Tanbih al-Ghafilin*, in Mecca, dated 1184/1770. MKI 185: 42; MKI 422: 51; MKI 424: 49; MKI 608: 47. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 289.

contemporary of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in Mecca and had studied with al-Marzūqī at the same time as the latter before returning to Patani to teach.[14]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's younger brother, Shaykh Wan Idrīs, also assisted his brother in teaching some of the Malay-speaking students in Mecca.[15] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī eventually elevated a number of his own students to teaching positions at the mosque as well. Among this elite group were Shaykh Ismā'īl bin 'Abd Allāh al-Minankabawī, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb bin 'Abd al-Ghafūr Sambas, Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Īsā Trengganu, Shaykh Ḥasan bin Shaykh Isḥāq al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī, Shaykh 'Alī bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī, and Shaykh Hajji Wan Mūsā al-Faṭānī, all of whom will be discussed later in this chapter.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was a charismatic figure with the ability to draw together Muslims from across the Islamic world, evidenced by the numerous teachers who assisted him in spreading the various prevailing teachings of their day. This teaching core gave visiting students a variety of perspectives regarding an array of Islamic subjects, especially Sufi concepts tempered with the legalistic turn of the neo-Sufi reformists. Together these teachers wove together an intellectual environment that catered to their viewpoints as well as the local concerns of their students. From this social milieu, a scholarly aesthetic emerged that transformed the moral order that informed cultural and social value in the Patani diaspora that eventually resulted in critical peninsular transformations by the last three decades of the century.

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[14] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahim Trengganu," 22.
[15] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahman al Fatani," 24.

Students in the Early Period, 1222-46/1808-31

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī attracted at least twenty-seven students that can be verified in the

primary sources, but tertiary evidence suggests many more whose names have not been

recorded.[16] Hurgronje observed:

> The very kernel of the Jāwah colony are the teachers and students. In Mekka they are the ones most highly
> regarded; from their countryfolk on pilgrimage they enjoy the deepest awe, and from Mekka they control
> the religious life of their homes. Almost all Jāwah who teach in the Holy City have risen to this height in
> Mekka herself. There are indeed in the East-Indian Archipelago opportunities for thorough Islamic studies,
> but no Jāwah would dare to come to Mekka otherwise than as a pupil. The careers of these learned men
> thus form a very important part of the history of the Jāwah colony, and are highly characteristic of it, for
> many of their countryfolk sitting at their feet glance up at the position which they have reached as the
> highest aim of their endeavours.[17]

Of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students who can be identified, fifteen were from Patani, three from

Trengganu, three from Kelantan, and one each from Sambas (Borneo), Melaka, Kedah, Nakhon,

Banjar, as well as one of unclear origins. Such students generally came from elite Southeast

Asian families who could afford to sponsor their child for an extended duration in Mecca, though

some students also conducted business or trade in the Ḥaramayn to fund their scholarly

pursuits.[18] Hurgronje further illustrates the origins of such students:

> The conditions under which the Jāwah start their scientific career in Mekka vary considerably. Regents and
> petty princes send one of their many sons to Mekka so that he may devote his life to the Holy Science in
> the name of the whole family. They recommend him to the care of pious friends settled in Mekka and send
> him annually the means necessary. The lower official circles also send similar additions to the student
> body in Mekka. Young Jāwah, who have come to the City as servants, sometimes show special capacity
> for study, and good friends then help them to meet the cares of life. There are even boys and youths who
> wander to Mekka from the East-Indian Archipelago with little means other than trust in Allah, and with no
> other object than toilsomely to conquer Arab learning.[19]

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[16] In addition to those discussed here, Abdullah lists eight additional individuals among Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's
students who cannot be confirmed in the available primary sources: Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Kalantānī, Raja Hajji
'Abd Allāh, Lebai Din bin Long Nik al-Faṭānī, Sultan Muḥammad Ṣāfī al-Dīn Sambas, Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ
Khaṭīb al-Faṭānī, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Sunan Maulana Qāḍī, Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn bin Muḥammad al-Badāwī
Sumbawi, and Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Ashī. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 42. Hurgronje discusses
the process of hajjis remaining in Mecca and studying with various learned personages and joining Sufi *ṭarīqa*. Once
a student had arranged to meet with a teacher, he thereafter provided his mentor with a modest monthly payment and
often presented the latter with gifts on Islamic holy days. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 250-1.

[17] Ibid., 254.

[18] Ibid., 220, 222, 254.

[19] Ibid., 254.

These students demonstrated the mobility of the era and the fluidity of one's participation in the diaspora—while many of these scholars returned to their homes after their tenure in Mecca, many chose to take up new residences or work as teachers in other communities.[20] As we shall see, each student discovered his own expertise, whether it was the master of a particular Islamic science, or in a particular role as teacher, translator, writer, preacher, or jurist.

As a foreign, migrant group in Mecca, Malay-speaking students and scholars, among whom Patani people formed a significant part, developed, at times, a closely-knit social cosmos in the holy city. Most initially boarded with an esteemed Malay scholar, relative, or gained employment as bodyguards or servants for Arab scholars.[21] In both cases, these initial relationships often led to opportunities to study in the months that followed. Hurgronje also notes:

> ... many waqf-houses in Mekka for neighbours of Allah, each belonging to a special branch of the Jāwah peoples ... Such foundations are partly founded by a great gentleman whilst making the Hajj and later supported at his cost and managed by someone whom he has appointed ... Other waqf-houses are built from sums collected by a Sheikh from the pilgrims "led" by him and their countryfolk.[22]

There is evidence of a *rumah Patani* (Patani house) in the late 1870s, where students and scholars met to discuss Islamic topics, but such places likely dated to earlier in the century when the Patani diaspora was first rising to prominence in Mecca.[23]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students may be conveniently categorized into two groups: those who arrived in Mecca in the period before the Kedah-Siam War of 1831-2, and those who came as part of the second major wave of Patani refugees in 1831-2 and after. The first group included many more non-Patani students, illustrating the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Mecca at the time. The earliest of these, Hajji 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Faqīh 'Abd Allāh bin Imām Hāshim (c. 1207-

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[20] Hurgronje notes that some hajjis chose to remain in Mecca to study and that their children generally enjoyed a vaulted cultural and social position in comparison to first-generation students or scholars. Ibid., 250.
[21] Ibid., 255.
[22] Ibid.
[23] MKI 513: 19.

90/1792-1873), known popularly as Tok Pulai Condong, came from Kelantan, arriving in Mecca in approximately 1222/1808.[24] After studying about ten years, he returned intermittently to Kelantan where he spread Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teachings on marriage law, bringing manuscript copies of *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* with him.[25] He soon returned to Mecca to continue his studies and where he taught for a time in the 1840s.[26] He then proceeded back to Kelantan, where he taught many years and continued to spread other texts.[27] Tok Pulai Condong was most influential as a teacher at several undetermined locations in Kelantan before opening a *pondok* in Kampung Bilai Talib in 1273/1857 and another in nearby Pulai Condong.[28] He taught at least eleven identifiable students from Kelantan and Patani, including three of his own children, all of whom went on to open *pondok* of their own in communities throughout the region.[29] Among his most prominent students was his son Hajji 'Umar bin 'Hajji 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 1329/1911), who became Imam of Surau Kerawang, Kelantan.[30] Another influential student, Hajji Wan 'Abd al-Qādir bin Hajji Wan Sulaymān, became a teacher at the court of Raja Limbat, a petty kingdom today located in Kelantan, that enjoyed relative political success until it was dissolved by the British and Siamese governments in 1311/1894.[31]

Lebai Imān "orang Kota Bharu" or "of Kota Bharu" was another early student of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī from Kelantan. He completed the first known manuscript copy of his teacher's work, dated 6 Rabiulakhir 1224/May 21, 1809, less than a month after *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* was

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[24] Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 69-71.

[25] PNM 2545: 70v.

[26] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Wan Ali bin Abdur Rahman al Kalantani," *Dakwah* 13, no. 150 (Sep 1989): 34-5.

[27] MKI 460: 56.

[28] Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 71.

[29] Ibid., 71-3; Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 44.

[30] Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 72.

[31] Ibid., 73; W. A. Graham, *Kelantan: A State of the Malay Peninsula; a Handbook of Information* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1908): 39-43.

originally written.[32] He soon returned to Kelantan where this particular text became quite popular by attracting additional scholars with an interest in Islamic marriage law. From Kelantan, scholars soon spread *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* south into Trengganu and north into Patani as other burgeoning centers appeared.

The first of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Patani students, Lebai Wan Sū bin Wan Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (fl. 1232/1817), settled in Mecca by the mid-1810s. He was most interested in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings on the *Ashā'riyya i'tiqād* and therefore studied *Al-Durr al-Thamīn* closest of all his works.[33] After making at least two copies of the text, he presumably returned to the Patani region to spread the teachings because he does not afterward appear in the Meccan milieu. Much like Lebai Aman mentioned above, Lebai Wan Su was a scribe who began reproducing the text almost immediately upon its completion. Through this channel, we may assume that by approximately 1235/1820, Muslims in the Patani area were familiarizing themselves with one of the great debates of their time—the rift between the Wahhābiyya and Sufi-traditionalists and were, for a time, siding with the latter. Lebai Wan Su's son Ibrahīm (fl. 1243/1827) later studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in the 1240s/1820s when he focused primarily on his teacher's legal compendium, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, which he also brought back to teach in Patani.[34] This is the first evidence of this extensive *fiqh* text appearing on the peninsula and would have immediately served as a definitive source for scholars or jurists interested in spreading or implementing a wide array of religious observances and laws.

Another Patani student, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm Trengganu (c. 1204-80/1790-1864), commonly called Tuan Bukit Bayas, came from Patani and first studied with Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī at Kampung Pauh Bok, before settling

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[32] MKI 75B, 105.

[33] MKI 53:138; MKI 69: 141.

[34] PNM 2539: 396r.

in Mecca by 1234/1819.[35] He returned to the peninsula around 1245/1830 with plans to open a *pondok* in Patani, but was expelled along with many other refugees in the 1831-2 Siamese invasion of the region and ultimately settled in Trengganu.[36] He soon after opened a mosque and *pondok* in Bukit Bayas and later founded *pondok* in Kampung Paya Bunga and other places in Trengganu.[37] He wrote two of his own works while in Mecca, which he passed on to his students, *al-Targhīb wa al-Tarḥīb*[38] (Alienation and Welcoming) and *Risāla fi Bayān Ḥukm al-Bay' wa-l-Ribā*[39] (Epistle in the Explanation of the Laws of Selling and Interest), the latter of which sometimes also appeared with an equivalent Malay title, *Risala pada Menyatakan Hukum Jual Beli dan Menyatakan pula Hukum Riba*.[40] His most prominent student, Sultan 'Umar of Trengganu, later appointed him Mufti of the sultanate.[41] Once again, we see evidence of royal patronage, this time in Trengganu, which played a significant role in Tuan Bukit Bayas's ability to spread the teachings he carried.

Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jāwī Trengganu (fl. 1235-91/1819-74), who first studied with Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm Trengganu, mentioned above, was one of the most prolific scribes active in the Patani scholarly network in the nineteenth century. Though he was originally from Trengganu, his eventual move to the Patani region suggests that he, like many others in the region, probably came from a refugee family expelled from Patani in 1200/1786. He traveled throughout the peninsula collecting copies of any work he could find at Sungai Tok Gali and Kampung Lengkandi, both in Patani,

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[35] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahman al Fatani," 22.
[36] Faṭānī, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 250.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Arabic: الترغيب والترحيب
[39] Arabic: رسالة في بيان حكم البيع والربا
[40] He completed *al-Targhīb wa al-Tarḥīb*, 8 Rabiulawal 1234/5 Jan 1819. His other two works are both dated 28 Rabiulawal 1234/25 Jan 1819. MKI 128C, 14; PNM 2276: 33r; PNM 2397: 88r.
[41] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 250.

and various places in Trengganu, perhaps even stopping in Aceh before going to Mecca to study

with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and a number of the latter's senior students, including Shaykh Aḥmad

Khaṭīb Sambas, Shaykh Wan 'Alī bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī, Shaykh Wan Ḥasan bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī,

and Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Minankabawī.[42] His interests spanned the corpus of Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī's writings, including works on *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, and others. The availability of a number of

manuscripts on the east coast of the Malay-Thai Peninsula by 1236/1821 provides strong

evidence that other unidentified students of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had already begun

disseminating texts, particularly in Patani, and that knowledge of this had spread as far south as

Trengganu within a few years of their arrival.[43] After returning to the peninsula, he opened a

pondok at Kampung Pusing, in what is now Thailand's Yala Province, which became one of the

most well-known and enduring schools in the region.[44] In sum total he copied at least fourteen

works which have survived, including one by Tuan Bukit Bayas, nine by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī,

one by the well-known seventeenth-century scholar of Aceh, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī, and

three by other authors.[45] By the time of his death, he had built a library of important books that

he passed on to the students at his school where they continued to be studied for decades

afterward. The *pondok* at Kampung Pusing remained an active manuscript copying center as late

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[42] This is the earliest evidence of a direct connection between the Acehnese and Patani scholarly networks, though the exact relationship is unclear. PNM 1292: 70r; PNM 1747: 45; PNM 2014: 109; PNM 2276: 33r; Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam & Silsilah Ulama: Sejagat Dunia Melayu*, v. 13, Pengenalan Siri, no. 14 (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara and Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000): 26-7.

[43] PNM 2014: 109.

[44] Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 13: 27-8.

[45] His manuscript collection included *Risalah pada menyatakan hukum jual beli dan menyatakan pula hukum riba* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm Trengganu; nine works by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya, Al-Durr al-Thamīn, Ghāyat al-Taqrīb, Īḍāḥ al-Bāb, Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya, Kanz al-Mannān, Al-Manhal al-Sāfī, Munyat al-Muṣallī, Tahṣīl nayl al-Murām,* and *Ward al-Ẓawāhir; Durr al-fara'id bi syarh al-'aqa'id,* by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī; *Sharh manzumah al-raj'iyah fī 'ilm al-fara'id* by Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Sabat al-Mardīnī; *al-Mukhtasar al-Shāfi'ī 'ala Matn al-Kāfī* by Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī; and one anonymous work on local healing lore (*kitab tib*).

as 1302/1884 and an active learning center well into the twentieth century which will be further discussed in chapter five.[46]

Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb bin ʻAbd al-Ghafūr Sambas (1216-88/1802-72) came from Sambas on the coast of western Borneo and, according to tradition, was the one who recruited Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī to come to his home to instruct Sultan Muḥammad Ṣafī al-Dīn on some religious concerns around 1233/1817.[47] He was otherwise not particularly active as a writer, though he did remain in Mecca through the 1830s when he completed one work, *Fatḥ al-ʻĀrifīn*[48] (Opening of the Knowable).[49] His former teacher later invited him to teach in the Patani circle at *masjid al-ḥaram*, during which time which his writings were copied and distributed by another of Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī's students, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān bin ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Faṭānī, who will be addressed below in part 2. Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas eventually became one of the principle Malay-language teachers in Mecca by the 1850s, a position that he retained until his death.[50] Hurgronje mentions "Khatib Sambas" as "learned in every branch [of Islamic science], who as Sheikh of the order, has initiated so many Jāwah in the Qādirite *tarīqa*."[51]

A less visible figure known to be a contemporary of Tuan Bukit Bayas and Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Shaykh ʻAbd Allāh bin Tuan Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Faṭānī appeared in Mecca in the 1830s.[52] It is not clear whether he studied directly with Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī or

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[46] PNM 601A, 21v.

[47] MKI 615A, 36; Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 59-60; Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847), in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 30; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 30.

[48] Arabic: فتح العارفين

[49] MKI 68A, 16. Arabic: فتح العارفين

[50] Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The* Umma *below the Winds* (London: Routledge, 2003): 21.

[51] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 262.

[52] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 250.

perhaps only with the latter's chief students who had at that time become teachers in their own right, but Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was directly involved with the Patani circle of students. He primarily studied *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* and left two known written works on those subjects.[53] The latter text, which dealt with *talqīn*[54] (instruction) and the principles of the *ṣalāt* prayer, saw light distribution through the network but never became a central text to the corpus. He later returned to Patani where he taught in an unidentified *pondok* and disseminated his works through his students.

Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sayyid Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-'Aydarūs (1209-95/1795-1878), known popularly as Tokku Melaka, arrived in Mecca probably at some point in the 1820s, where he studied for a time. He eventually returned to Melaka, where he became a prominent teacher and composed at least eleven of his own works, including *al-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyya mimmā Yata'allaqu bi-l-'Imamāt al-'Arabiyya*[55] (The Prophet's Hadiths on Arab Turbans), *Jawhar al-Saniyya*[56] (The Epitome of Joy), *Kayfiyyat 'Amal Ratib al-Haddad*[57] (The Manner of the Work of Ratib al-Haddad), *Kanz al-'Ulā*[58] (Treasures from Above), *Mukhtasar*[59] (Summary), *Silsila Ratib al-Haddad*[60] (Genealogy of Ratib al-Haddad), *al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyya*[61] (Biography of the Prophet), *Sullam al-Tawfīq*[62] (Ladder to Success), *Targhīb al-Ṣibyān*[63] (Making Boys Desire),

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[53] His translated collection of ḥadīth is titled, *Ḥadīth Muhimma* (Hadith Summary) and his work on fiqh is untitled. MKI 592: 12; PNM 2323: 25r; PNM 2353: 30r. Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 289.
[54] Arabic: تلقين
[55] Arabic: الأحاديث النبويّة ممّا إتعلّق بلعممات العربيّة
[56] Arabic: جوهر السنيّة
[57] Arabic: كيفيّة عمل رتيب الحدّاد
[58] Arabic: كنز العلا
[59] Arabic: مختصر
[60] Arabic: سلسلة رتيب الحدّاد
[61] Arabic: السرة النبويّة
[62] Arabic: سلّم التوفيق
[63] Arabic: ترغيب الصبيان

Tuḥfat al-Wildān[64] (Treasures for Boys), and *'Uqd al-Durratayni fi Tarjamati Kalimāt al-Shahādatayni*[65] (Stringing Two Pearls in the Translation of the Words of the Shahāda).[66] His name indicates that he descends from a famous Hadrami family of shaykhs, but must have lived in Southeast Asia long enough for his first language to be Malay, which compelled him to study with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī instead of the abundant Arab-speaking teachers in Mecca. Hence, Tokku Melaka provides us with another example of the cosmopolitan character of the participants in the Patani scholarly network—the descendant of a southern Arabian diasporic family returned to Mecca studying Islam through a Malay lens. His students are not documented, but he left a son, Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who carried on his work in Melaka. Another unaccounted for member of the family, Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ḥusayn bin Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarus, was also known as Tokku Melaka. He composed a work in 1264/1847 titled *al-Fawā'id fi al-Ṣalāḥ wa-l-'Awā'id*[67] (The Benefits and Rewards of Piety), which scholars of the Patani network later reproduced.[68]

Shaykh 'Alī bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī (fl. 1243/1828) came from Kampung Pauh Bok, where he studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's former Meccan colleague Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī.[69] He arrived at some point in the 1820s and concentrated his studies mainly on *taṣawwuf*. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī inducted him into the Sammaniyya *ṭarīqa* in

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[64] Arabic: تحفت الولدان

[65] Arabic: عقد الدرّتين في ترجمت كلماة الشهادتين

[66] He completed *Al-'Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyya mimmā Yata'allaqu bi-l-'Imamāt al-'Arabiyya*, in 1267/1850, *Jawhar al-Saniyya, Kayfiyyat 'Amal Ratib al-Ḥaddād*, 26 Ramadan 1267/Jul 25, 1850, and *Silsilah Ratib al-Ḥaddād*, 25 Ramadan 1267/Jul 24, 1850. The remaining texts are undated. Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Sayyid Muhammad bin Sayyid Zainal Ābidīn al-'Aidrus: Ulama dan Bapa Kesusasteraan Melayu Trengganu," *Dakwah* 15, no. 184 (Sep 1992): 50-1.

[67] Arabic: الفواءد في الصلاح والعواءد

[68] MKI 198: 56.

[69] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 42.

1243/1828.[70] He was later joined by his brother, Ḥasan, who arrived after the 1831-2 war and who bore greater influence than his elder brother. Nevertheless, Shaykh ʿAlī returned at some point in the 1830s and spread Sufi teachings in the Patani region, perhaps following his brother south to Trengganu together with other refugees who fled following the 1831-2 Siamese invasion.

Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's other students in the early period played minor roles in developing and expanding the scholarly network. Hajji Sulaymān bin Aḥmad Shāh (fl. 1233-42/1818-27), for example, arrived in Mecca by 1233/1818, when he began copying his teacher's texts.[71] He had returned to teach in Patani by 1242/1827 when another of his manuscripts is dated, but is unheard of after that and may have perished during the 1831-2 invasion.[72] Another student, ʿAbd al-Malik bin ʿĪsā Trengganu (fl. 1238/1823) studied briefly with Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī during the latter's short tenure in Medina, returned to Trengganu to teach and disappears from the historical record.[73] A third student, Wan ʿAlī bin Wan Ḥamīd (fl. 1243/1828), from Kampung Sena Jancar, Patani, came to Mecca in the 1820s and primarily studied marriage law with Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī.[74] Sometime after 1243/1828 he returned to teach in Patani bearing a copy of *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, but disappears from record, perhaps also killed or displaced in 1831-2. Lastly, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Murīd al-Rāwa, may have been among Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's earliest students, as Abdullah claims that he also studied with Shaykh al-Falimbānī, which would make him of similar age or older than his former teacher.[75] His work, *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn*[76],

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[70] Ibid., 54.

[71] PNM 2676: 127r.

[72] DBP 106: 374.

[73] PNM 161: 78v-78r.

[74] PNM 2566: 48r-49v.

[75] His only known work is *Fath al-Mubin*. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 42, 49.

[76] Arabic: الفتح المبين

completed in 1272/1855 was based considerably upon his teacher's comprehensive legal text, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, concerning *'ibada*.[77]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students from the early period bore the earliest copies of his writings back to Southeast Asia. These crucial early students formed the vanguard of the emerging network of Islamic scholars on the peninsula that centered on Patani. The links they constructed were tenuous, stretched across vast distances, and linked disparate Islamic learning centers. Had the work of the scholars not intensified after the 1831-2 Patani-Siam War, the early links might well have been broken. Instead, the trans-oceanic network of scholars and schools provided a critical base for scholars of succeeding periods to build upon as they broadened and intensified their efforts to spread Islamic teachings. These cumulative actions spread the scholarly aesthetic through these communities which in turn bolstered an Islamic socio-moral order in select places in Southeast Asia.

Students of the Later Period, 1246-60/1831-44

By the 1830s, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had elevated a number of his early students to teaching positions within his circle of scholars who assisted him at *masjid al-ḥaram*, including Shaykh Ismā'īl bin 'Abd Allāh al-Minankabawī, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb bin 'Abd al-Ghafūr Sambas, Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Īsā Trengganu, Shaykh Ḥasan bin Shaykh Isḥāq al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī, Shaykh 'Alī bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī, and Shaykh Hajji Wan Mūsā al-Faṭānī. Much like Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's expulsion from Patani in 1200/1786, the 1831-2 war produced another wave of refugees, some of whom made their way to Mecca to study a variety of doctrines. At this time the Patani students became the most numerous and active participants in the network, a position they would not relinquish until the early twentieth century. The corresponding decline

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[77] Ibid., 58.

in the number of non-Patani students may also indicate that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had become more concentrated upon Patani's plight at the time. In any event, the reversal of Patani's fortunes in the 1830s seems the likely inspiration for the late legal phase of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings, as discussed in chapter three.

'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Faṭānī (fl. 1246-54/1831-9) came from Patani, where he was a practitioner of local healing lore, before being displaced in the 1831-2 conflict.[78] He fled south with the thousands of other refugees and eventually made his way to Mecca by the late 1830s when he studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, and others.[79] He displayed an interest in both *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* and returned by the 1840s to the peninsula to open a *pondok*, the location of which is unknown.[80]

Shaykh Ḥasan bin Shaykh Isḥāq al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī (d. 1280/1863) came from Patani but was likewise displaced by the 1831-2 conflict and settled in Besut, Trengganu.[81] He came from a well-established family of shaykhs and further solidified his position by arranging marriages for two of his daughters with other Patani shaykhs of high regard, including Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's step-son.[82] Like his older brother mentioned above, Shaykh 'Alī, he had received his earliest education at Kampung Pauh Bok, his birthplace in Patani, where he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī. Thus, upon arrival in Mecca, Shaykh Ḥasan already had a firm grounding in many of the neo-Sufi teachings of his day and attained great esteem quickly in the Patani circle of scholars. Fittingly, he divided his time between

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[78] PNM 1470: 1.
[79] MKI 68A, 16.
[80] MKI 68C, 18; MKI 68D, 9.
[81] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 43; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 13: 37.
[82] One was Shaykh Muḥammad bin Tuan 'Abd Allāh Keresik (Patani), known as Shaykh Nik Mat Besar, who also married a daughter of Shaykh Ḥasan's brother Shaykh 'Alī (discussed above). The second was Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Dā'ūdī al-Faṭānī, the step-son and grandnephew of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, whose work will be discussed at length chapter five. Ibid., 37; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 251, 289.

studying the works of al-Ghazālī and the *ḥadīth* of al-Nawāwī, much like Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī had previously done.[83] He composed many works in the period 1249-66/1833-50, though unfortunately an incomplete record of his writings remains.[84] He returned to the peninsula in the 1850s, first settling in Kelantan, but later returning to his adopted home at Besut, where he was imam at *masjid raja* (royal mosque).[85] He also opened a *pondok* in neighboring Kampung Palembang which attracted large numbers of students.

Hajji Jamāl al-Dīn bin Lebai Muḥammad (d. 1304/1886), known popularly as Tok Ayah Jamāl, descended from a Patani family that had fled south, probably during the mass exodus in 1200/1786.[86] His father, known as Tuan Betek, settled in Peringat, near Kota Bharu, Kelantan. Tok Ayah Jamāl went first to study with Tok Pulai Condong in Kelantan before embarking for Mecca, where he studied for approximately twenty years.[87] His work was primarily as a teacher as he left none of his own writings, but eventually returned to Peringat where he taught and spread the teachings he had gathered during his travels.

Shaykh Wan 'Abd al-Qādir bin Hajji Wan Muṣṭafā bin Wan Muḥammad Faqīh al-Faṭānī (1234-1312/1818-95), known popularly as Tok Bendang Daya Muda, was one of the most important students of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's later period. He came from one of the elite families of Patani, his father, known as Tok Wan Pa, was a general who fought in the 1831-2 war and

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[83] Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 70.

[84] He completed *Hidayat al-Mukhtar*, 26 Muharram 1249/15 June 1833, which was a translation of al-Nawāwī's forty *ḥadīth*. He later produced *Ayyuha al-walad pada membicara beberapa wasiat dan nasihat*, which was a translation of some of al-Ghazālī's writings, completed 14 Rabiulawal 1266/28 January 1850. Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 70.

[85] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 43-4; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 13: 39-41; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 251-2.

[86] Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 72; Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' MuHajjirin di Kelantan," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, v. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 543-5.

[87] Ibid., 544.

who was also the chief teacher at the highly regarded Pondok Bendang Daya.[88] Around the time

of the conflict, Tok Wan Pa sent his two eldest sons including Muḥammad Zayn (1233-

1325/1817-1908) and the above.[89] The elder of the brothers was not a scholar of great

importance, but was the father of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, a key figure in the networks during

the latter part of the nineteenth century who is addressed at length in chapters five and seven.

Shaykh Wan ʿAbd al-Qādir studied for a number of years in Mecca, copying at least two of

Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's works, one by al-Banjārī, and a number by other unidentified scholars.[90]

He exhibited an interest mainly in *taṣawwuf*, but also studied *fiqh* and *tawḥīd*. He carried at least

eight different works back to Patani where he succeeded his father as the chief teacher at Pondok

Bendang Daya. He later wrote at least two of his own works concerning *taṣawwuf* and *tawḥīd*.[91]

Another student with a similar name, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-

Faṭānī (c. 1245-1315/1829-98), known popularly as Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, was the

grandnephew of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī.[92] Like Shaykh Ḥasan bin Shaykh Isḥāq al-Faṭānī and his

brother Shaykh ʿAlī mentioned above, he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin ʿAbd al-

Raḥmān al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī at Pondok Pauh Bok, Patani.[93] He also studied with one of Shaykh

Dāʾūd Faṭānī's senior students, Tuan Bukit Bayas in Trengganu, before going to Mecca in the

early 1840s.[94] He was still quite young when he arrived in Arabia and must have studied with

his granduncle when the latter was in his last years of teaching in Mecca. He also apparently

continued his education with Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's younger brother Shaykh ʿIdrīs after the

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[88] Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 3: 4.

[89] MKI 158: 10; MKI x484/PNM 2764: 66v.

[90] MKI 17: 23; MKI 729: 21; MKI x733A, 27; PNM 181: 32v; PNM 687; PNM 1495A, 11r; PNM 1495B, 14r; PNM 1495C, 14r.

[91] MKI 729: 21; MKI x733A, 27.

[92] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahman al Fatani," 24.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

former's retirement around 1260/1844.[95] He was the first of the prominent shaykhs from Shaykh

Dā'ūd Faṭānī's extended family to carry on the tradition in Mecca and taught for a time at *masjid*

al-ḥaram.[96] He joined the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa* and was instrumental in expanding its popularity

among participants in the Patani scholarly network.[97]

During his lifetime, Shaykh Nik Dir Patani composed at least twelve of his own writings,

the chief of which was his translation of *Umm al-Barāhīn* and its commentary.[98] This title first

appeared in the network in 1277/1860 when it was taken to Kedah, suggesting that scholars had

access to it on the east coast even earlier.[99] His other writings include *al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam fī*

Bayān Nasab al-Nabī al-Mu'aẓẓam[100] (The Organized Pearls in the Explanation of the

Genealogy of the Glorified Prophet), *Fatwa Jawab Soal Zakat*[101] (Fatwa on Almsgiving), *Fatwa*

Dhikr Rūḥ[102] (Fatwa of the Soul's *Dhikr*), *Kitāb Membuka Fāl*[103], *Kitāb tajwīd*[104] (Book on

Recitation), *Khulāṣat al-Asrār fī Faḍīlat al-Ṣalāh wa al-Salām 'alā Sayyid al-Abrār*[105], *Lajin al-*

Dani fī Nubzat Manāqib al-Quṭb al-Rabbānī Sayyid al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī[106] (Lajin

al-Dani in the Summary of the Roots of the Divine Sayyid al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī),

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[95] Ibid.

[96] Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Nik Dir Patani (1829-1898)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, v. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 129.

[97] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahman al Fatani," 24-5; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 14: 51.

[98] MKI 191A, 9; MKI 219C, 8; MKI 264A; MKI 272; MKI 390; 632A, 13; MKI 649; MKI 661A; MKI 667, 38; PNM 4: 25r; PNM 732, 13v; PNM 782, 14v; PNM 1226, 20r; PNM 1696: 37.

[99] PNM 1226: 20r.

[100] He completed this text 19 Rabiulawal 1312/September 20, 1894. Daud, "Syaikh Nik Dir Patani," 134. Hereafter, *al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam*. Arabic: الدّر المنظّم في بيان نسب النبي المعظّم

[101] Jawi: فتوى حواب سوال زكاة

[102] Jawi: فاتو ذكر روح

[103] Jawi: كتاب ممبوك فال

[104] He completed this book at some point before 16 Muharram 1296/10 January 1879. Ibid. Arabic: كتاب تجويد

[105] This work, like the one subsequently listed, drew from Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*. He completed it in 22 Rabiulakhir 1306/December 26, 1888. Ibid., 130. Arabic: خلاصة الأسرار في فضيلة الصلاة و السلام على سيّد الأبرار

[106] He completed this work 15 Safar 1292/March 23, 1875. Ibid., 130. Arabic: لجن الدن في نبزت مناقب القتب الربّاني سيّد الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني

Al-Mawāhib al-Makkiyya fī Ta'rīb Tajwīd al-Ad'iyah[107] (Meccan Processions in the Arabization

of the Recitation of Prayers), *Rawḍ al-Ẓawāhir fī Bayān Khawāṣṣ al-Jawāhir*[108] (Garden of

Signs in the Explanation of the Characteristics of Jewels), *Risalah pada menyatakan beberapa*

masalah 'ilm fiqh[109] (Epistle Discussing Various Problems of Jurisprudence), and *Risalah pada*

menyatakan Widā' bulan Ramaḍān[110] (Epistle Discussing the End of Ramadan). Shaykh Nik Dir

Patani wrote mainly on *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* and compiled a number of the earliest collections of

fatāwā to appear in the Patani scholarly networks.[111] Unlike many of his contemporaries, he

issued his legal rulings in Malay, at least eight of which found their way into standard collections

of *fatāwā* that scholars brought back to many parts of Southeast Asia.[112] While still in Mecca, he

taught a number of prominent students, such as Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn bin

Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalantānī, Shaykh

Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī, and many minor figures. He was perhaps most

influential in expanding the Shaṭṭariyya order, into which he inducted many of his followers. He

eventually returned to Patani, where he taught for many years, attracting many local students as

well as those from Aceh, Kelantan, and Pontianak, among other places.

Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (1235-1331/1820-1913), known

popularly as Tuan Minal, was an early student of Tok Wan Pa at Pondok Bendang Daya and a

friend of the latter's two sons, 'Abd al-Qādir and Muḥammad Zayn (see above) who he

accompanied to Mecca.[113] Though there is no clear evidence that he studied directly with

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[107] He completed this work 9 Rajab 1296/June 29, 1879. Ibid., 130.
Arabic: المواهب المكّية في تريب تجويد الأدعية
[108] Arabic: روض الظواهر في بيان خواس الجواهر
[109] Jawi: رساله فد مڽاتكن ببراف مسله علمو فقه
[110] Jawi: رساله فد مڽاتكن وداع بولن رمضان
[111] Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 14: 48-50.
[112] Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*, 6.
[113] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 64.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, he likely joined the Patani circle with his contemporaries. He soon

returned, however, and founded a *pondok* at Bendang Badang, on the banks of Sungai Patani, not

far from the present-day city. This center does not appear to have been very active until the

1870s and will be fully addressed in chapter five.

In addition to the above-mentioned influential Patani scholars, there were a few minor

figures. 'Abd al-Malik bin Muḥammad Amīn al-Faṭānī (fl. 1257-8/1842-3) studied with Shaykh

Dā'ūd Faṭānī in the early 1840s right at the end of the latter's career. Like many at the time,

'Abd al-Malik was mainly interested in neo-Sufi thought and bore two copies of his teacher's

translation of al-Marzūqī, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya*, back to Patani where he spread similar

teachings.[114] Another figure of the time, 'Abd al-Hadi bin Muḥammad 'Isam al-Faṭānī (fl.

1260/1844) mainly studied Arabic and returned with the intention to further spread knowledge of

the language in the Patani region.[115] Patani's Islamic elites had long employed Arabic, so this is

evidence that Arabic language proficiency was a natural accompaniment to other scholarship.

Nevertheless, for the wider population, some of whom may have even gained the ability to recite

the language, understanding Arabic remained an elite enterprise.[116] A third figure, Shaykh Hajji

Wan Mūsā al-Faṭānī (d. c. 1286/1870), studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī late in the latter's

career, returning to spread teachings in the Patani area around 1860.[117] He later moved to

Kelantan and taught at Kampung Tapang, near Kota Bharu. A fourth scholar, known simply as

Hajji 'Abd al-Ghanī, produced the earliest copy of *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*, which he compiled

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[114] PNM 306: 19v; PNM 593: 16v.

[115] MKI 371: 120.

[116] For a regionally related study of Arabic oral recitation in villages where an understanding of the language was not known, see James N. Baker, "The Presence of the Name: Reading Scripture in an Indonesian Village," in *The Ethnography of Reading*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin, 98-138 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[117] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 42; Daud, "Ulama' Muhajirin di Kelantan," 538.

together with *Bulūgh al-Marām.*[118] This was a significant contribution to the network, because well into the 1880s this compilation remained popular among the scholars as an elementary manual concerning *niyya* before prayer and *ṣalāt.* It also shows that students even in the later period had access to a broad range of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works, even those the latter had composed very early in his career.

In addition to the Patani students in the later period, three who originated in other parts of the peninsula also came to Mecca to study with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. The first of these, Hajji Ḥasan bin 'Abd Allāh, known as Tuan Guru Hajji Ḥasan, came from Nakhon, but moved to Kelantan with his family when he was young.[119] He studied initially in Patani with Hajji Qāsim al-Faṭānī and then went to Mecca, probably at some point in the 1830s.[120] After studying for 10-15 years, and after the death of his revered teacher, he embarked for Cambodia in 1265/1849, where he was known as Ong Ḥasan.[121] He settled at Kampot, which was situated on the Gulf of Thailand, and was a common influx point for many teachers, missionaries, and other scholars from Kelantan who went to Cambodia at that time to spread the teachings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and others.[122] He later moved to Luong, Cambodia, where he is thought to have died.[123] Ong Ḥasan's arrival in Cham-speaking areas came just over a decade after the disastrous insurrection against Viet Nam's continued political domination of that region.[124] What Islamic institutions or scholarly traditions existed in the region are unclear, but some local people felt the

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[118] This scholar may well be the Hajji 'Abd al-Ghanī Bima of Sumbawa that Laffan mentions as one of the chief Malay-language teachers in Mecca in the 1850s. MKI 19A, 6; MKI 19B, 7; Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood,* 21.

[119] Abdullah bin Mohamed Nakula, "Guru-guru Agama Kelantan yang Berdakwah di Kemboja," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu,* v. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 628.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Po Dharma, *Le Pāṇḍuraṅga (Campā) 1802-1835 ses Rapports avec le Vietnam,* vol. 1 (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1987): 151-64.

need for rejuvenating the local traditions in the period of rebuilding that followed. Via Ong

Ḥasan, we see how Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the work of the other participants in the Patani

scholarly network reached even as far as Cham Muslim communities in Cambodia by mid-

century.

Aḥmad al-Jāwī Kedah (fl. 1247/1832) either arrived in Mecca as a refugee from the 1831

Siamese invasion of Kedah or perhaps was expelled during the earlier troubles in the region that

had been ongoing since 1236/1821. He was most interested in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings

on the *Ashā'riyya i'tiqād*, which he copied and brought back to Kedah.[125] He afterwards

returned to his home and presumably spread the teachings he had accumulated, though he

disappears from the historical record.

Arshad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī Trengganu (fl. 1256/1841) came from Trengganu and

studied in Mecca with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, mainly focusing his attention on *taṣawwuf* and

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's translations of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*.[126] He afterward returned

to teach in Trengganu, but disappears from the historical record. One final student, Shaykh

Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn bin Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad (fl. 1258/1843), the son of al-Banjārī,

also came to study with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in Mecca, constituting the only student from

Borneo to appear in the network in the later period. It is interesting that the son of an esteemed

scholar such as al-Banjārī found it necessary to depart for Mecca and pursue a full education

abroad after learning a great deal at home. In Mecca, he found Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī to be the

premier Malay-speaking scholar of the time and soon found a place for himself in the Patani

circle. Like many of his contemporaries, he had a strong interest in the neo-Sufi thought of al-

Marzūqī and thus made several copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's translation, *Al-Bahja al-*

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[125] PNM 64: 95v.
[126] PNM 215.

Saniyya.[127] He was also one of the first scholars to begin popularizing *Munyat al-Muṣallī* now that it possessed the finishing touches of *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya,* the two works together forming one of the most important and commonly copied texts of the Patani scholarly network.[128]

Additional Links and the Appearance of Satellite Learning Centers

Undoubtedly many more Southeast Asian students traveled to Mecca to study with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī but were bound—either by humility or necessity—not to leave their names behind for historians to find. Nevertheless, evidence of additional activity remains carried on by anonymous scholars operating between Arabia and Southeast Asia during the period. The network gained slow momentum as time went on. Whereas in the 1810s, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī attracted only a few students, by the late 1820s, and much more visibly in the 1830s until the end of his career, students living in Mecca were prepared to study any new text their teacher produced and had a system in place to copy and disseminate it through the network.

After completing his critically important work, *Munyat al-Muṣallī,* Dhu'l Hijja 15, 1242/July 10, 1827, within one year the text was being copied and spread.[129] Eager students gathered awaiting their teacher's latest translation or exegesis, whether focusing on mystical concepts, jurisprudence, dogmatics of prayer, or other issues. In some instances, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings addressed specific concerns, as with *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a,* which was most likely written in response to queries he had received about specific issues. A similar trend can be seen in the later period, such as with the completion of *Sullam al-Mubtadī* on 13 Rajab 1252/24 Oct 1836. By 1251-2/1837-8, copies had been made and were being distributed among the students of the network which led to wide circulation by the early 1840s and soon appearing on

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[127] MKI 126: 33; MKI 152A, 26; MKI 359A, 34; PNM 130: 18r.
[128] MKI 152B.
[129] The earliest known copy dates to Shawwal 1243/Apr-May 1828. MKI 238: 56.

the peninsula and beyond.[130] Additionally, after Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī completed his final work, *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*, Shawwal 14, 1259/November 7, 1843, students were copying the text with great frequency by 1261/1845 and substantial evidence suggests that some students of the inner circle even had access to the text before the final draft was complete.[131]

The Patani scholarly network apparently gained a level of sophistication by the 1820s that allowed for regular inflow and outflow of knowledge embodied in manuscript production, reproduction, and dissemination. These written texts became the intellectual currency for the scholars who exchanged and spread them over vast distances via mobile links between disparate communities. Even a small number of texts could form the locus of a *pondok* on the peninsula as the chief teacher taught what he had learned abroad and sent his most gifted students to Mecca to acquire the latest knowledge produced by scholars abroad. The social prestige of the scholars rested upon their ability to engage with other participants in the network, acquire texts, learn a vast array of doctrines, and convey them to interested members of the communities in which they lived. Through this process, the Patani scholars became the shepherds of the new moral order that they instilled into their home communities and those in neighboring regions on the peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra, and elsewhere.

Learning Centers in Patani

Scholars maintained satellite learning centers in Southeast Asia even during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's lifetime. Unsurprisingly, the first and most influential were located in or near Patani. At Pondok Pauh Bok, for example, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, mentioned above, was one of the earliest teachers in the region. Having gone to Mecca

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[130] MKI 475: 74; PNM 2340: 56r.
[131] MKI 19A, 6; MKI 152C, 8; MKI 299B, 7; MKI 724C, 8; PNM 648A, 5.

(and later Medina) at some point in the late eighteenth century, probably with or not long after

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Ibrahīm, the Shāfi'ī Muftī of

Mecca and al-Marzūqī. He studied *fiqh* as a principal part of his education, but also engaged

with the neo-Sufi scholarship of the time which had become quite popular in Mecca and in the

burgeoning Patani circle in particular.[132] He joined the Sammaniyya *ṭarīqa* and later spread its

teachings along with the rest of his corpus to the students who came to study with him in Patani.

Upon returning to the peninsula, he continued the work of his family at Pondok Pauh Bok, which

had been founded by his grandfather, Shaykh Wan 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, and maintained by

his father, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān (fl. 1194/1780) and uncle, Shaykh Hajji 'Abd Allāh.[133] The

pondok provided the opportunity for students in the region to familiarize themselves with the

latest scholarship produced by scholars in Mecca, Egypt, and elsewhere before even traveling to

the region. This had the effect of immediately privileging others in the region who sought to

study Islam, evidenced by the rise of an unrelated family, Shaykh 'Alī bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī and his

brother Shaykh Ḥasan, both of whom have been discussed above as students of Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī who had begun their studies with Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī

at Pondok Pauh Bok. The latter shaykh's work was carried on by his son, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh,

grandson Muḥammad Samān, and by another descendant, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-

Mubīn, who was known as Tok Guru Pauh Bok.[134]

    The second major learning center in the Patani area was Pondok Bendang Daya, founded

by Hajji Wan Muṣṭafā bin Wan Muḥammad Faqīh al-Faṭānī, known as Tok Wan Pa and after his

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[132] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahim Trengganu," 22.

[133] MKI 697: 61; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 6: 27-39; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 248, 289. Shaykh Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī translated *Tanbih al-Ghafilin* in 1184/1770. There were two members of the family named Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, the first who was the son of the founder of Pondok Pauh Bok, and the second who became a well-known teacher at Pondok Pauh Bok at the turn of the 14th/20th century.

[134] MKI 697: 61; PNM 2670: 16v.

death as Tok Bendang Daya Tua. More than any other learning center in the Patani area, evidence exists most clearly for royal patronage of Bendang Daya. Its founder came from one of the elite families of Patani and was *hulubalang* or *panglima* (commander) of one of the raja's armies in the 1831-2 war, during which he achieved a victory in Yala.[135] He had married, many years earlier, a princess of the Patani royal family, who according to tradition was said to have had, "long, thick hair that hung down to her heels."[136] The close familial relationship between the raja of Patani and the founder of Pondok Bendang Daya further suggests the latter was the beneficiary of royal patronage and protection in the region. Though not as active in the first half of the century as Pondok Pauh Bok, Pondok Bendang Daya rose in reputation throughout the century as a major learning center, attracting students from throughout the peninsula. After the death of Tok Bendang Daya Tua, leadership of the *pondok* fell to his second son, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, mentioned previously as one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most influential students, and whose work at the *pondok* in the later decades of the nineteenth century will be fully analyzed in chapter five.

The third major learning center was at Kampung Pusing, in what is now Yala, founded by Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Trengganu, one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most active students. Much like Pondok Bendang Daya, Pondok Pusing reached its apex in activity during the final two decades of the nineteenth century. But unlike the other learning centers, Pondok Pusing possessed an unparalleled "library" contained within the personal collection of its founder.[137] The storehouse of texts made it a center of learning on a wide range of issues,

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[135] Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 3: 4.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Hajji Mahmud Trengganu is known to have had the following texts in his personal collection: *Risalah pada menyatakan hukum jual beli dan menyatakan pula hukum riba* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm Trengganu; nine works by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya, Al-Durr al-Thamīn, Ghāyat al-Taqrīb, Īḍāḥ al-Bāb, Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya, Kanz al-Mannān, Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī, Munyat al-Muṣallī, Tahṣīl nayl al-Murām,* and

allowing students access to nearly all of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's major works. Hajji Maḥmūd, aside from a prolific scribe, was most successful as a teacher in the region, attracting students from throughout the peninsula. Aḥmad bin Hajji Abū Bakr, for example, arrived by 1237/1821, where he studied primarily *fiqh*, taking an interest especially in inheritance law.[138] His origin is unknown, but he seems to have remained active in the region eventually being elevated to the position of teacher at the same school. He taught as late as 1282/1865, when he relied most heavily upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's encyclopedic text directed at beginning students, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, as the central text for instruction.[139] I will further address the increasing importance of Kampung Pusing as a center of scholarship in chapter five.

Several other minor centers appeared in Patani but either did not survive the death of their founders or were destroyed or moved during periods of warfare in the region. At Kampung Pauh Manis, near Yaring, for example, scholars studied *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li-l-Tafaqquh fī 'Amr al-Dīn*[140] (The Path of the Guided in the Realization of the Matter of Religion) and other writings of Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī by 1235/1820.[141] In addition to drawing students or teachers from Banjar, it is interesting to note that the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Mecca was also exhibited on the peninsula, where Malay-speakers enjoyed a great degree of mobility due to the *lingua franca* that prevailed throughout the region. A direct connection between Banjar and Patani may have weakened later in the century as colonialism wore on, but in the first half of the century it remained a vital link between two disparate but emerging centers of Islamic learning in

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Ward al-Ẓawāhir; *Durr al-Farā'iḍ bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* (The Pearls of Laws in the Explanation of Beliefs), by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī; *Sharḥ manẓūmat al-Raj'iyya fī 'Ilm al-Farā'iḍ* (Explanation of the Poem of Traditionalism in the Science of Laws) by Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Sabat al-Mardini; *al-Mukhtasar al-Shāfi'ī 'ala Matn al-Kāfī* by Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī; and others.

[138] PNM 2419: 18v.

[139] MKI x640: 327.

[140] Arabic: سبيل المهتدين للتفقه في أمر الدين

[141] MKI 767: 116.

Southeast Asia. Other centers appeared in the city of Patani, which were most active in the 1830s and 1840s, where *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-dīn* were the most popular subjects studied.[142] It is interesting that intellectual pursuits sometimes went beyond explicitly Islamic subjects—in some cases, students exchanged pieces of poetry or other literature that suggests a local influx of knowledge into the milieu as well.[143] These texts, while not as extensively reproduced by the scholars, no doubt represent a bridging together of traditions that also elevated local oral traditions as worthy subjects of study.

Trengganu

Outside of Patani, a number of early centers appeared. Of these, Trengganu was the most active during the first half of the century. Tuan Bukit Bayas was the most influential teacher, founding Pondok Bukit Bayas and Pondok Paya Bunga and others shortly after coming to the region as a refugee from the 1831-2 war.[144] This center drew its texts directly from Pondok Pauh Bok in addition to those brought back from Mecca.[145] The Trengganu *pondok* were centers of *fiqh, taṣawwuf, uṣūl al-dīn*, and other subjects.[146] Tuan Bukit Bayas was noteworthy enough to gain the attention of Sultan 'Umar who patronized the schools and elevated him to the position of Mufti of Trengganu.[147] Thus within a few decades, prominent refugees from Patani had risen to great prominence in the east coast sultanate, spreading their teachings and casting the moral

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[142] PNM 1924: 10; PNM 1961A, 5; PNM 2260(2): 24r.

[143] PNM 1961A, 5.

[144] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahim Trengganu," 22; Muhammad Abu Bakar, *Ulama Trengganu: Suatu Soratan* (Kuala Trengganu: Jawatankuasa Koleksi Trengganu and Utusan Publications, 1991): 148; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 250.

[145] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahim Trengganu," 22.

[146] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 250.

[147] Ibid.

order of the region according to a new system in which specific Islamic teachings played a more central role in constructing the society's social practice.

The most important student to emerge from the Trengganu *pondok* was Hajji Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Hajji Wan Muḥammad Amīn bin Wan Ya'qūb (c. 1216-1306/1802-89). He was born in Cabang Tiga, Patani, but fled with other refugees to Trengganu where the sultan supposedly offered land to his father in Kampung Paya Bunga, near Kuala Trengganu.[148] He became one of the most talented students of Tuan Bukit Bayas at the latter's *pondok* and also studied with Tok Ku Tuan Besar (who was a senior student of his other teacher) when the latter also taught at Pondok Paya Bunga.[149] He left in 1247/1832, perhaps again fleeing the advancing Siamese army, and settled in Mecca, where he studied until 1262/1846. While in Arabia, he studied with Sayyid Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān[150] (d. 1304/1886), Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, and Shaykh Muḥammad Ramlī bin Ḥasan, but curiously does not seem to have studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. Of these, the first, who was Mufti of the Shāfi'īs in Mecca and *Shaykh al-'Ulamā'* (head of the teachers and scholars at *masjid al-ḥaram*), is perhaps most well-known for his anti-Wahhābiyya polemics, especially, *al-Durar al-Saniyya fī-l-Radd 'alā-l-Wahhābiyya*[151] (Pleasant Pearls in the Answer to the Wahhābiyya), which provoked a heated exchange between rival groups in Mecca.[152] Upon Hajji Wan 'Abd Allāh's return, he opened a *pondok* at Duyong Kecil, Trengganu, where he supposedly drew students from Borneo, Brunei, Kelantan, Pahang, Patani, and Sumatra, as well as from the local area.[153] His most prominent students were Sultan 'Umar

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[148] Bakar, *Ulama Trengganu*, 155, 159.

[149] Ibid., 159-60.

[150] He is famous as a proclaimer of *fatāwā* that became popular among many Southeast Asian *mufti* and *'ulama* in Mecca. Nico Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*, 3-6.

[151] Arabic: الدرر السنيّة فيلردّ علالوهّابيّة

[152] He assumed the posts from 1288/1871 and regularly issued Shāfi'ī *fatwā*. J. Schacht, "Daḥlān," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 2, eds. B. Lewis, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965): 91.

[153] Ibid., 161.

and Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn III, both of Trengganu, who continued to patronize the *pondok* in the region as beneficiaries of education at these institutions. He had many other students who became religious teachers who opened new or taught at existing *pondok* in the east coast region of the peninsula and in their myriad home communities.

Kelantan

Kelantan also possessed early centers of learning connected directly to the Patani scholarly network, led most prominently by Tok Pulai Condong, at Kampung Laut, Kampung Bilai Talib, and Pulai Condong.[154] The activity at these centers is less well documented, but it is clear that Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's work on Shāfiʿī marriage law, *Iḍāḥ al-Bāb*, was particularly popular among both teachers and students.[155] This was the main text taught by Tok Pulai Condong in addition to his own teachings on how to conduct proper prayers.[156] In Kelantan, there is also evidence of non-Islamic writings entering the intellectual milieu in the late 1830s. The oldest complete extant copy of the *Hikayat Patani*, for example, was obtained by ʿAbd Allāh Munsyi when he visited the region in 1252/1837, which he, in turn, used as the basis for the copy he gave to the American missionary, Alfred North, which is now held by the Library of Congress.[157] From the 1830s onward, the strong Malay oral tradition began to gradually transition to various written forms and the textual versions of this literature and history were added to the texts being circulated through the Patani scholarly network.

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[154] Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 71-3; Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī*, 44.
[155] MKI 75B: 105; PNM 2545: 70v.
[156] MKI 460: 56.
[157] LC 1839: 94; A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, v. 5 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970): 28-31; A. H. Hill, *The Hikayat Abdullah: Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir*, Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints (*JMBRAS* 28, no. 3 (1955), Reprinted in Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970): 287-8, 290, 293, 297; *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah: Ka-Kelantan dan Ka-Judah DiBeri Pengenalan dan Anotasi oleh Kassim Ahmad* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1960): 81.

Other Learning Centers

Satellite learning centers in Riau and Sambas appear to have been mainly confined to the royal courts, which differ strongly from the more accessible schools of Patani, Kelantan, and Trengganu. Nevertheless, the acquisition of strong and consistent royal patronage promoted Islamic teaching in those regions throughout the century. The social visibility of Islamic teachers and the system of social practice that they spread was lessened in such climates, however, because common people had little access to and limited interaction with the principal teachers who were progenitors of the scholarly aesthetic.

Singapore was an important influx point for the Patani scholars from its inception. As a major transit center, scholars either embarking for, or returning from, the hajj often spent considerable time in the city. As early as 1234/1819, the year of the founding of the British settlement on the island, hajjis returning from Mecca bore copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teachings that they distributed to other scholars and students who passed through the city.[158] A Trengganu-born scholar, Hajji Isḥāq Trengganu (fl. 1234/1819), for example, having recently returned from Arabia, spread copies of *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, which had been completed only two years previously in Mecca.

Other Sources of Texts

In addition to the learning centers directly affiliated with the Patani scholarly network, many vital links between centers of learning also existed as evidenced by the passage of texts between them. Hajji Ibrahīm bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī (fl. 1235/1820), for example, after going to Mecca on the hajj, visited Aceh on his return journey, where he obtained a copy of

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[158] UM Manuskrip 246: 65.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīli's well-known *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*[159] (The Interpreter of That

Which Gives Benefit) which the latter wrote around 1085/1675.[160] This text, as Peter Riddell

has shown, was a selective rendering of the well-known *Jalālayn*, and constitutes the earliest

Malay-language commentary on the whole *Qur'ān*.[161] Hajji Ibrahīm brought the work to Patani

which is significant because the text was "ideally suited for pedagogical purposes, particularly at

the introductory level."[162] Thus for Malay-speaking students with an intermediate-level

understanding of Arabic, the text opened the door to a broad range of classic works on exegesis.

'Abd al-Rahīm Melaka (fl. 1253/1837), who likely first studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī's student, Tokku Melaka, in his birthplace, went to Aceh to further his studies. While he

was there, he obtained a copy of *Kashf al-Kirām*[163] (Revelation of the Revered) by Muḥammad

Zayn bin Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ashī, which the latter had completed in 1171/1757.[164] The availability

of seventeenth and eighteenth century Acehnese texts in the nineteenth-century Patani scholarly

milieu provides further evidence of a sustained tradition in the region and one that was not only

Mecca-focused, but possessed links throughout the region that remained vital to the sustenance

of the intellectual community.

Other scholars, particularly those without the means to travel abroad, chose to study at

peninsular learning centers that were more accessible. Muḥammad Amīn bin Lebai Isḥāq al-

Faṭānī (fl. 1245/1830), for example, first studied in Patani before going to Trengganu to study the

writings of Hajji 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd Allāh, known as Tok Ku Pulau Manis (c. 1060-

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[159] Arabic: ترجمان المستفيد
[160] PNM 1690: 207r.
[161] Peter Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition: 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī's Rendering into Malay of the Jalālayn Commentary*, Monograph Series, no. 31(Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1990); Peter G. Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (London: Hurst, 2001): 146.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Arabic: كشف الكرام
[164] PNM 2213B, 91.

1148/1650-1736).[165] He presumably returned to Patani bearing copies of those works that he, in turn, spread in his home region. Even though to attain greatest prestige as a scholar one had to study in Mecca for at least a short period, this example shows that some scholars with limited means or interest could still find a place for themselves in the scholarly community by studying at peninsular centers. For ambitious scholars, however, the peninsular centers were generally preparatory schools where one studied before going to Mecca to learn from the preeminent teachers.

The complex network of scholars, writings, and centers, allowed for a very rich education, particularly in Patani where the most successful and fertile scholarly centers existed during the first half of the nineteenth century. The community had grown organically and spontaneously—expanding quickly beyond the founder's inner circle at Mecca into Southeast Asia where new centers of learning appeared, from which ambitious intellectuals sought to build bridges to and compete against other long-established schools in the region. Thus by the time of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's death in 1263/1847, a far-reaching community of scholars, scribes, and students existed that was resilient enough to survive its founder.

Texts and Ideas in the Intellectual Milieu during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Lifetime

Islamic learning became fused to social practice in the Patani community during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's lifetime at an unprecedented level that continued to grow throughout the rest of the century. This resulted in the creation of scholarly networks that spanned the Indian Ocean, constructed new and altered existing social power relations, and resulted in an immense amount of intellectual production in the form of handwritten manuscripts. While a certain component of successful social strategies involved consuming and reproducing Islamic knowledge, the ideas

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[165] PNM 2400A, 51r.

that scholars transmitted reflect the social tensions at the time. The sort of Islamic knowledge that mattered to people in Patani and through the wider diaspora grew and evolved over time as new challenges faced members of the community. Texts and the ideas they contained acted as prescriptions for social ills.

Central to the Patani diasporic experience was death, displacement, loss of homeland, and social disintegration brought on by the wars of 1785-6, 1789-91, 1808, 1831-2, and 1838, as discussed in chapter two. As we have already discussed in this chapter, a majority of the scholars who participated in the network were either from Patani or came from refugee families that had fled south along the east coast of the peninsula during one of the many mass-exoduses that followed each invasion by Siam. These massacres and movements of people shattered social networks, undermined traditional leadership, dismembered families, and sent a shockwave through the social dynamics that defined Patani as a community. Thus as scholars engaged in intellectual pursuits, they sought to find a new moral center that could explain past failures and define paths to renewed stability and success.

The Islamic thought of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī offered scholars of the time—and other people who studied with them—a way to reconstruct their society. Central to this process was the process of defining the family, adjudicating familial relations, and moderating death and competition via inheritance. Most useful in this task were Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's books *Īḍāh al-Bāb* and *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, both of which were popular in the networks immediately following their completion. The former work, which outlined the Shāfi'ī laws of marriage, divorce, dowry, and so forth, appeared in the network by 1224/1809, the year it was written. Scholars spread it to Kelantan, at Kota Bharu and at Kampung Laut, by the decade following its release, where it

remained very popular.[166] Other scholars transmitted the text to Patani, at Kampung Lengkandi and elsewhere, by 1236/1821, and took it to Trengganu sometime after 1239/1823.[167] Scholars working in Mecca and on the peninsula continued copying the text consistently throughout the rest of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's career, incorporating it as one of the central texts of their curricula wherever they taught.[168] The second of the texts mentioned above, dealing with inheritance, was also critically important to the social thought of the time. It became most popular in Patani itself, where it appeared by 1237/1821, especially in Yala, and was reproduced consistently into the 1830s, after which it briefly declined towards the end of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's career.[169]

The intellectual interests of the scholars involved in the Patani network also naturally reflected the ongoing debates in Mecca. There was wide circulation of *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, which contained the *Ashā'riyya i'tiqād* endorsed by al-Ghazzālī, during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's lifetime. This shows that the founder of the network found it critically important to stand against the Wahhābiyya movement of his day and included this text among his central teachings. It gained popularity among his students in Mecca immediately after he had finished penning the original in 1232/1817 and likely made its way to Patani and Trengganu by around 1235/1820.[170] Scribes continued to reproduce the text through the 1820s until 1247/1832, at which time it declined in prominence until it experienced a resurgence during the latter part of the century just prior to the rise in print culture.[171]

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, the 1831-2 Siamese invasion of Kedah and Patani was a turning point for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and the scholarly network—at the very least,

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[166] MKI 75B: 105; PNM 2545: 70r.

[167] PNM 2014: 110; PNM 161: 78v-78r.

[168] PNM 2566: 48r-49v.

[169] PNM 522: 21r; PNM 1747: 46; PNM 2260(2): 24v; PNM 2419: 18r;

[170] MKI 53: 138; MKI 69: 141; PNM 2676: 132r; UM Manuskrip 246: 65r.

[171] PNM 64: 95r; PNM p1967A; PNM 3071: 190.

the great shaykh turned from his long period of Sufi writings to focus again on matters of jurisprudence and Islamic law. The most immediately successful of his late legal writings, *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, dealt with a wide range of issues generally related to social practice such as fasting, embarking on the hajj, performing jihad, purifications before prayer, and *zakāt* (obligatory alms), among other things.[172] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was once again addressing the social ills of Patani society, prescribing a number of principles by which to conduct a proper life both at an individual, as well as a societal, level.

It is important to note, however, that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī never viewed Islamic belief and practice to be dictated by some absolute choice between Sufism and reformism. He stressed the neo-Sufi thought of his most influential teacher al-Marzūqī, particularly late in his career. His translation of the aforementioned teacher's work, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya*, became the most commonly reproduced text in the network in the 1840s when scholars spread it from Mecca to Patani, Trengganu, and beyond.[173] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī remained committed to forging a middle ground between the Wahhābiyya and Sufi traditionalists until the end of his life.

Scholars passed many of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other writings around the Patani circle in Mecca at a lower rate, slowly disseminating them back to the peninsula and other parts of Southeast Asia. Copies of *Nahj al-Rāghibīn* appeared in the network by 1229/1814, just three years after the author had completed the work.[174] The massive legal text, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, became popular in Patani, spread through the network beginning in 1243/1827.[175] Copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's text, *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, which most explicitly addressed jihad and seems likely aimed towards Patani people who were, at the time of its authorship, preparing for another

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[172] MKI 123: 84; MKI 475: 74; PNM 236: 43v; PNM 717: 48v; PNM 2340: 56r.
[173] MKI 152A, 26; MKI 295: 41; MKI p359A; PNM 130: 18v; PNM 306: 17r; PNM 593: 16r; PNM 1202: 23r.
[174] PNM 2881(2): 111v.
[175] PNM 2539: 396r.

war against Siam, appeared in the network by 1243/1828.[176] A significant number of Sufi texts

emerged in the period 1242-57/1826-41, including the translation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-*

'Ābidīn, *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim*, and *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*.[177] Texts and the teachings they

contained transformed Patani's social atmosphere completely through the course of the

nineteenth century. Even as intellectual currents had shifted during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

lifetime, so to would they continue to evolve after his death as the needs and desires of

individuals in the community continued to change.

Part II: Maintaining the Scholarly Network after Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, 1844-69

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī retired from the Patani circle in Mecca around 1845-6, when he

returned briefly to the peninsula. During his return visit, he adopted his infant grandnephew,

Muḥammad, who added his new father's name to his own: Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl *Dā'ūd* al-

Faṭānī (1260-1333/1844-1915).[178] Returning shortly afterward, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī retired to

Ṭā'if, where he died on Rajab 22, 1263/July 6, 1847. His death was a major loss for the scholars

of the network. In the years that followed, the Patani shaykhs worked hard to revitalize the

network and to carry his vision forward in the Mecca circle, in Patani, and throughout the

burgeoning Patani-Malay-Islamic diaspora. His most prominent students, if they had not done so

earlier, now rose to become the great scholars and teachers of the community, while new

students flocked to them to study the writings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and other emerging

scholars in the diasporic milieu.

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[176] MKI 238: 56.

[177] MKI p149B/px589; PNM 215: 136r; PNM 2270A, 13r; PNM 2380: 24r. One other minor work to appear at this time was *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*. See chapter 3 for discussion surrounding the confusion related to this text and its author. PNM 2213A, 58.

[178] Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani (1844-1915), in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, v. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 190-1.

Unsurprisingly, Mecca retained the greatest gravity of all of the centers for the Patani scholars. As the spiritual—and often times, spatial—center of the community, Mecca continued to be the premier meeting point for scholars active in the network. New chief teachers of the Patani circle emerged in the wake of the great shaykh's death. Shaykh Ḥasan bin Isḥāq al-Faṭānī, discussed above, became one of the principle teachers in the Patani circle in Mecca after the death of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī.[179] He was joined by Tok Pulai Condong in the 1840s, when the latter returned to Mecca for a time.[180] Both of these figures returned to Southeast Asia in the early to mid-1850s and were succeeded by Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Minankabawī, Ya'qūb bin 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Kalantānī, 'Abd al-Ghanī Bīmā of Sumbawa, and others whose names are not clear but who continued to produce students who returned to the archipelago.[181]

Scholars of the Patani Circle in the Middle Period, 1260-85/1844-69

There were fewer prominent scholars active in the Patani scholarly network in Mecca after the retirement of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, evidence that the community experienced growing pains as it struggled to survive the death of its founder. Two brothers from Patani, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Wan Abu Samah al-Faṭānī (fl. 1264/1848) and 'Abd al-Malik (fl. 1276/1859) came to Mecca together in the mid-1840s and studied extensively there with the prominent teachers. The former, the more prominent of the two, showed an interest in a wide array of doctrines, including marriage law, the proper conduct of Friday prayers, and stories relating to the life of the Prophet

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[179] Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 13: 26-7; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 251.

[180] Abdullah, "Syeikh Wan Ali bin Abdur Rahman al Kalantani," 34-5; Daud, "Tok Pulai Chondong," 71-3.

[181] Ya'qūb composed a short work, *Aqidat al-furat al-najiyya*, completed 1270/1853. PNM 779: 4r. Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, v. 13: 26-7; Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, 21.

Muḥammad.[182] He copied a number of texts, including one unidentified work relating the marriage sermon of Caliph 'Alī and Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet.[183] He also carried with him, upon his return journey to Patani, a copy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, a text that had gained great popularity in the 1840s.[184] His transmission of this work is the first evidence of these teachings reaching the peninsula, which he spread upon his return. His younger brother 'Abd al-Malik was less active, focusing primarily upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teachings concerning *ṣalāt*, which he brought back to Patani.[185]

The most prolific scholar of the period, Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (fl. 1272-7/1855-60) came from Patani to Mecca by the early 1850s, where he studied extensively with the prominent scholars of his day. He focused his study of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings concerning prayer, especially *Bulūgh al-Marām*, *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, and *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*.[186] His copies were significant as they constituted the first example of a sort of "prayer manual" that grew in popularity in the network. These prayer guides either included two or all three of the above works, which scholars spread in Patani and throughout the peninsula as basic guidelines to conducting the proper Muslim prayers. These may well be the teachings mentioned by Bird, when she wrote, "The Koran, of course, stands first [among Malay literature], then comes a collection of prayers ...."[187]

Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd also studied non-Patani texts, such as *Sharḥ al-Zanjānī*[188] (Explanation of Zanjānī), a translation of the first work of Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd bin 'Umar bin 'Abd Allāh al-Taftāzānī (722-93/1322-90), a Persian (albeit Sunni and possibly Shāfi'ī)

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[182] MKI 503: 30; MKI 582A, 44; MKI 582B, 21; MKI 582C, 3.
[183] MKI 503: 30.
[184] MKI 582A, 44.
[185] MKI 721B, 13.
[186] MKI 151A, 12; MKI 151B, 10; MKI 151C, 16; PNM 274A; PNM 274B, 16r.
[187] Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, 20.
[188] Arabic: شرح الزنجاني

polymath at the court of Timur in Samarkand who wrote on the principles of jurisprudence, linguistics, rhetoric (particularly *bayān*[189], branch of rhetoric dealing with metaphorical language), logic, and speculative theology including a well-known exegetical text on the *Qur'ān*.[190] The original work was a commentary on *al-Taṣrīf al-'Izzī*[191] (The Treasured Philology) by al-Zanjānī which addressed Arabic morphology, and thus serves as another example of a rising interest in Arabic linguistics by the members of the Patani scholarly network.[192] This study went far beyond simple understanding of Arabic, pushing the discourse on philology to an unprecedented level of sophistication. Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd also produced the first known copy of *Masā'il al-Muhtadī li-'Ikhwān al-Mubtadī*[193] (Question of the Righteous to the Initiated Brethren), a text that gained great popularity among scholars in the network in the 1860s and 1870s.[194] He later returned to Patani carrying his diverse array of books and continued his work there as a teacher.

The most influential teacher to emerge in the Patani circle during the period after Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was Shaykh Wan Muḥammad 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Kalantānī (1253-1331/1837-1913), known popularly as Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan. He was born near Kota Kubang Labu, on the banks of Sungai Kelantan, but details of his early education are unknown. He arrived in Mecca where he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nazīli al-Naqshbandi, Shaykh Aḥmad bin As'ad

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[189] Arabic: بيان

[190] Al-Taftāzānī was an expert in both Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī law as well as *uṣūl*. MKI x143: 112. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, tr. Franz Rosenthal, vol. 3 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958): 117. Earl Edgar Elder, tr., *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam: Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī on the Creed of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950): xxi-xxii; W. Madelung, "al-Taftāzānī," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 10, eds. P. J. Bearman, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2000): 88-9.

[191] Arabic: التصريف العزّي

[192] Al-Taftāzānī completed the original when only sixteen years of age, intended as a commentary on al-Zanjānī's *al-Taṣrīf al-'Izzī*. Ibid., 88.

[193] Hereafter, *Masā'il al-Muhtadī*. Arabic: مساءل المهتدي لإخوان المبتدي

[194] PNM 274B, 16r.

al-Dihan, and Tok Pulai Condong, the last of whom had studied directly with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī.[195] He also went to study for a time in Medina with Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn bin Sayyid Riḍwān al-Madanī. He quickly impressed his teachers and further solidified his position by marrying 'Ā'isha, sister of Cik, the wife of Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, thus attaching himself via marriage to the prominent line of Bendang Daya shaykhs including Tok Bendang Daya Muda and Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī.[196] Another teacher, Tuan Guru Muḥammad Zuhdī bin Tengku Maḥmūd Zuhdī inducted him into the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa*, and there is strong evidence that he also joined the Naqshbandiyya Order.[197] He became such a respected scholar that by the 1860s, he was offered a position to teach at *masjid al-ḥaram*. Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan remained through for the rest of the century one of the principal teachers of the Patani circle in Mecca, where he taught dozens of students, many of whom became the most prominent scholars back on the peninsula and beyond.[198] A full account of his activities will be addressed in chapter five.

Another influential teacher, Ḥajji Nik Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Nik Ismā'īl bin Nik 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1245-1310/1830-93), known as Tok Konok, joined the Patani circle in Mecca where he studied closest with the venerable teachers Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ādam and Shaykh Aḥmad bin As'ad al-Dihan.[199] He was from Kota Bharu and when he returned to the peninsula after his studies, he settled there and became one of the most popular teachers in Kelantan and drew

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[195] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Wan Ali bin Abdur Rahman al Kalantani," *Dakwah* 13, no. 150 (Sep 1989): 34-5.

[196] Ibid., 34.

[197] Ibid., 34-5.

[198] Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan di Rantau Orang," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 521-2.

[199] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Konok (1830-an1893)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan): 84.

students from throughout the east coast.[200] His fifty documented students are but a fraction of the total number who studied at the school and spread Islamic teachings throughout the region.[201]

Another prominent scholar of the period, Hajji Muḥammad Samān al-Faṭānī (fl. 1280-9/1863-73) came from Patani and studied in Mecca. He had an expressed interest in *fiqh*, which represented a broader trend of the time. He primarily studied Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's shorter works on the subject, such as *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, and *Sullam al-Mubtadī*.[202] These treatises each dealt with specific juridical problems and provided concise summaries of the thought of major Islamic thinkers, *ḥadīth*, and other sources. Each of these texts enjoyed great popularity in the period and formed a central part of the corpus of the Patani scholars in Mecca and across the diaspora.

A Kelantan native, Muḥammad Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (fl. 1281-3/1864-6), came from Kota Bharu and studied in Mecca. Like many others of his time, he studied *taṣawwuf* as part of the resurgence in this field in the network in the 1850s and 1860s. He concentrated on one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's core neo-Sufi texts, *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, and the copy he bore back to Patani constitutes the earliest known instance of this set of teachings reaching the peninsula.[203] He also studied the more popular, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's translation of al-Marzūqī, another important neo-Sufi text of the period.[204] Muḥammad Yūsuf briefly studied prayer and wrote a work on zakat that he extracted from Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings on the subject, either from *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, or *Furū'*

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[200] Ibid., 83.
[201] Ibid., 86-8. The accomplishments of his students are further analyzed in chapter six.
[202] MKI 586: 103; PNM 1147: 20r.
[203] MKI 351: 280.
[204] MKI 359A, 34.

al-Masā'il.[205] He later returned to Kelantan where he spread the doctrines he had mastered in Mecca.

In addition to the seven figures discussed above, there were many minor figures in the period who, collectively, contributed significantly to the spread of scholarship through the network. The story of the building and sustenance of the community was not only one of "great men" but also innumerable individuals who, in the course of fulfilling religious obligations while on the hajj, played a crucial role in the network. These students generally only studied one or two texts during a limited tenure in Mecca and returned to their home societies where they either worked as teachers or passed their knowledge down through their offspring.

Of the 15 identifiable minor individuals, eight were from Patani, three from Kelantan, one from Semarang (on Java), and three of unknown origins. Ibrāhīm bin Ḥasan al-Faṭānī (1260/1845), Haji Muḥammad Amīn bin Daranī al-Faṭānī (fl. 1262/1846), Haji ʿAbd al-Ṣamad bin Haji ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (fl. 1263/1847), and Dāʾūd bin Muḥammad al-Kalantānī (fl. 1280/1864), each studied for short periods in Mecca, focusing primarily upon Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's teachings on Shafiʿi marriage law.[206] Each of these students then returned to the peninsula bearing a copy of *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* that they then spread in the region. Other students, such as an unidentified Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (fl. 1269/1853) and Aḥmad bin Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Faṭānī (fl. 1273/1856) showed an interest in other aspects of *fiqh* and brought back information regarding the laws of inheritance, trade, and other economic transactions to Islamic communities on the peninsular, particularly in Patani.[207]

Some ambitious students, such as ʿUthmān bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Kalantānī (fl. 1270/1853), Muḥammad Awan bin Wan al-Kalantānī (fl. 1271/1854), Ibrāhīm al-Faṭānī (fl.

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[205] MKI 359B; MKI 359C.
[206] PNM 470: 93; PNM 530: 60v; PNM 696: 70r; PNM 2642: 73r.
[207] KASZA MSP 3; MKI 391: 42.

1277/1861), and Muḥammad Nūr bin Tuan Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (fl. 1280/1864) chose to study Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's more extensive works of the period, returning with copies of *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, and *Furū' al-Masā'il* that they spread back on the peninsula.[208] Others, such as 'Abd al-Shukūr bin 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Samarānī[209] (fl. 1264/1848) and Encik 'Abd al-Karīm bin Encik 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (fl. 1269/1852-3) studied some of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teachings on *taṣawwuf*, bringing back copies of *Fatḥ al-Mannān*, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, and *Mudhākarat al-Ikhwān*.[210] Some students, such as Encik 'Abd al-Karīm above and Yūsuf bin 'Abd al-Ma'ālī al-Faṭānī (fl. 1263/1847) studied works by non-Patani authors, primarily *Luqtat al-'Ajlān fī Bayān al-Ḥayḍ wa al-Istiḥaḍa wa al-Nifās li-l-Niswān*[211] (Explanation of Womens' Menstrual Cycle, Ritual Purity, and Giving Birth) by al-Banjārī and *Ma'a al-Ḥayātiyyī*[212] (With What is Pertaining to Life) by al- Ranīrī, both of which were available in Mecca and which the copyists bore back to the peninsula where they spread the teachings.[213]

The decline of Trengganu students joining the Patani circle in Mecca is significant—by the 1850s and 1860s, the generation of refugees who had fled south during the 1831-2 war from Patani had opened schools in their new homes which were satisfactory-enough for even the most ambitious students there. The feeling of displacement and social chaos which consumed Patani, however, continued to drive people towards a new, shared social destiny. Kelantan's continued

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[208] MKI 20: 55; PNM 152: 233r; PNM 270: 161v; PNM 553: 443r.

[209] 'Abd al-Shukūr, as he was known in Mecca, first worked as a servant in the home of Sayyid Muḥammad Shattā, whose three daughters he married, and who also taught him his earliest Islamic sciences. He later became a prominent figure, particularly among the Javanese diaspora in the holy city. Hurgronje wrote, "no Javanese speaks finer or more correct Arabic than he." He also became learned in "Arabic grammar, logic, poetry ... *fiqh* and dogma," all of which he later taught at *masjid al-haram*. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 283-5.

[210] PNM 21A, 356r; PNM 21B, 370v; PNM 547A, 14r.

[211] Hereafter referred to as *Luqtat al-'Ajlān*. Arabic: لقتة العجلان في بيان الحيض و الإستحضة و النفاس للنسوان

[212] Arabic: معل الحياتيّ

[213] MKI 237: 23; PNM 547B, 25v; PNM 2342: 20r.

significance can be seen, though as will be seen in chapter five, Patani's most proximate

southern neighbor was soon to attain a more central place in the network of scholars in the final

decades of the nineteenth century. The Semarang scholar is the earliest known instance of

someone from Java studying with the Patani scholars in Mecca, a relationship that would grow

gradually in strength around the turn of the twentieth century.

The Continued Vitality of Satellite Learning Centers

Scholars involved in the Patani scholarly network continued to revitalize existing satellite

learning centers while they linked new disparate communities together across vast distances.

During the period 1260-85/1844-69, the network attained its broadest reach, the edges of which

soon tattered under the strains of colonial interference. By the time of the opening of the Suez

Canal, the scholars had strengthened the core of the network at Mecca, Medina, Patani, Kelantan,

Kedah, and Trengganu, while forging links with Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, and Malay-speakers

in what is now South Africa.

Learning Centers in Patani

The greatest concentration of learning centers unsurprisingly appeared in or near Patani,

which also produced the greatest number and most ambitious students after the death of Shaykh

Dā'ūd Faṭānī. The city of Patani drew a modest number of students, chief of which was

Muḥammad bin Encik Putih.[214] In this period, Patani city was known primarily as a center for

the study of *fiqh*, the most popular text being *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, which was a concise survey of

a number of aspects of social practice, including fasting, hajj, marriage, purifications before

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[214] PNM 456: 48r.

prayer, *wasiat, zakāt,* and other issues.[215] These all pertained to daily life and thus were of great importance to the scholars who wished to bring what they viewed as essential reforms back to Patani as it struggled to rebuild after over 50 years of intermittent warfare.

Patani's regional centers were even more active. Canak, today in Songkhla Province, for example, was among the most active in the period. It appeared as a center for scholarship as early as 1261/1845 and maintained a high level of manuscript production throughout the 1850s and 1860s up to the rise in print. Hārūn al-Faṭānī (fl. 1261/1845), for example, studied al-Ranīrī's well-known *Sīrat al-Mustaqīm*[216] (Biography of the Righteous) there, an explicitly reformist text that delineated orthodox belief, though from a seventeenth-century perspective.[217] Combined with links to Aceh that we discussed in the earlier nineteenth century above, it is safe to assume that most of the chief works of the great Acehnese scholars were available in Patani by this time and formed an important part of the curriculum. We can also see a more decisively reformist flavor appearing at this time that harkened back to al-Ranīrī as well as scholars from the wider Islamic world. Common prayer manuals, like those produced by Shaykh Muḥammad Saʿīd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī mentioned above, also appeared in Canak, particularly at Kampung Tamperak, spread by a scholar named simply ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, who could be one of several influential Patani scholars if more of his name could be deduced.[218] Furthermore, there is evidence that centers such as Canak sent their own students to neighboring schools to gather texts not available locally and return with them to add to the available storehouse of knowledge. ʿAbd al-Rāshid Canak, for example, went to Kelantan to study *fiqh* and returned

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[215] Ibid.

[216] Arabic: سيرة المستقيم

[217] PNM 2410: 150v.

[218] MKI 303A, 8; MKI 303B, 11; MKI 303C; MKI 303D; PNM 816A, 5v; PNM 816B, 8v; PNM 816C, 27v-27r; PNM 3362A; PNM 3362B, 5r-6v.

later to spread the teachings near his birthplace.[219] Other local students focused on similar

issues, employing Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's text *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* as the main source for their studies as

well as other, unidentified writings.[220]

An equally important, though less-active center to emerge during the period was at

Kelaba. Alternative prayer manuals to those mentioned above appeared there by 1264/1848,

which had been produced in Mecca three years previously.[221] These included *Kitāb Sembahyang*

Jum'a and Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's lesser-known *Qawā'id al-Islam*, with an emphasis on the

Friday prayer.[222] By 1286/1869, non-Patani works appeared in Kelaba, too, including *Sharḥ al-*

'Awāmil al-Mi'ah[223] (Explanation of the Factors of One-Hundred), a work by Shaykh 'Abd al-

Qāhir bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī bin Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, translated by 'Abd Allāh bin Hajji

Sa'īd bin Wan Jalālī.[224] Al-Jurjānī was a 5th/11th century Persian scholar of the Arabic language,

renowned as a literary theorist and grammarian, and the appearance of his work in Kelaba shows

that there was a rising interest not only in teaching Arabic language, but delving into the deeper

body of literature available on related issues.[225] The interest in or necessity of learning Arabic

for Muslims in the region was nothing new, but the increasingly sophisticated manner by which

scholars taught Arabic, while drawing upon the great Islamic scholars of ages past, shows that by

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[219] MKI Uncat.

[220] MKI 612: 84. Ahmad bin Lebar, for example, wrote a book titled *Kitab muhimmah* while studying in Kampung Temperak, in Canak, but the sources of this work is unknown. PNM 2008: 105.

[221] 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin 'Abd al-Manaf, known popularly as Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad Kelaba, made copies of this text in Kelaba, dated 10 Jamadilawal 1264; MKI 156B.

[222] MKI 156A; MKI 156B.

[223] Arabic: شرح العوامل المة

[224] MKI 343: 17.

[225] Al-Jurjani was widely regarded as the leading literary figure of his day, attracting students from across the Middle East who came to study with him and who dubbed him "the *imam* of Arabic." K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's Theory of Poetic Imagery*, Approaches to Arabic Literature, no. 1, ed. Kamal Abu Deeb (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1979): 18; Margaret Larkin, "Al-Jurjani's Theory of Discourse," *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 2 (Spring 1982): 76-7; Margaret Larkin, *The Theology of Meaning: 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's Theory of Discourse*, American Oriental Series, v. 79, ed. Edwin Gerow (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1995): 1.

the 1860s, the slow accretion of texts back to the peninsula facilitated a complex education for gifted local students in a variety of subjects.

The third new learning center to emerge in the Patani area, Kampung Bajih, in today's Yala Province, was slightly less active than either Canak or Kelaba according to surviving primary sources. The teachers at this *pondok* employed Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Durr al-Thamīn* as the main text for study, which discussed the *Ashā'riyya i'tiqād* among other issues.[226] The most prominent student to emerge from this center, Hajji Muḥammad Ṭāhir Trengganu, soon became an influential teacher and began writing his own works.[227] Unlike Canak, which had emerged as a major center for *fiqh*, Kampung Bajih was known as a center for the study of *taṣawwuf*. Furthermore, there is no evidence of the common prayer manuals spreading to this center, though the students that studied there may have gone elsewhere to engage with that form of religious literature. In the contest between centers to draw the best students, the leading teachers chose to specialize in one particular field or science, thus encouraging students to circulate between centers, which further enriched their education as they interacted with a wide array of students and teachers in the social milieu.

Of the existing centers in the Patani area, Kampung Pusing retained great esteem during the period, led by the prolific Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Trengganu (see above). He employed the comprehensive *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya* as the introductory text for his students to acquaint themselves with the three Islamic sciences of *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *taṣawwuf*, thus providing a well-balanced education.[228] Some students, like his protégé, Aḥmad bin Hajji 'Abū Bakr, even reproduced the text and carried it back to their home villages where they spread the teachings

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[226] PNM 1967A, 162.

[227] His most well-known work to survive is *Petikan Kitāb Tawḥīd dan Fiqh*, completed 9 Muharram 1285/4 June 1865. PNM 1599: 75r.

[228] PNM 1439: 190v.

further.[229] Hajji Maḥmūd even made a sojourn to Temangan, in Kelantan, in 1261/1845, where

he acquired a large number of texts, including copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Bahja al-*

Marḍiyya and *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, as well as a translation of al-Ghazālī's well-known *Bidāyat al-*

Hidāyah.[230] On the same sabbatical he acquired *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya* and *Ward al-Ẓawāhir*,

either in Kelantan or elsewhere.[231] The former text was a popular neo-Sufi work of the network,

the latter book, an extensive survey of *uṣūl al-dīn*. Combining these texts with those he acquired

in Mecca, as discussed above, Kampung Pusing became a peerless Islamic learning center on the

peninsula, making it the final stopping point for local students who showed promise before

embarking for more extensive study in Mecca. Hajji Maḥmūd was a master of all the major

Islamic sciences, thus overshadowing other regional centers that concentrated on only one or a

few of such disciplines. The other early centers that had emerged during Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

lifetime, Kampung Pauh Bok and Kampung Bendang Daya, do not appear to have been active

manuscript production centers in the period 1260-85/1844-69, but likely remained centers for

teaching and study, evidenced by their resurgence after 1286/1870.

Other Southeast Asian Learning Centers Connected to the Patani Scholarly Network

On the peninsula, Kelantan became the third most active Islamic learning center, though

manuscript production declined during the period. Aside from occasionally being the source of

texts for ambitious Patani scholars who traveled through the region, scholars working in

Kelantan had the benefit of receiving royal patronage. Hajji Aḥmad bin Hajji Yūsuf bin 'Abd al-

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[229] PNM MKI x640: 327.

[230] It is not clear whether his translated version of al-Ghazālī's text was the one completed by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, or an earlier Malay-language version which is known to have been in circulation in the late eighteenth century. MKI 299A; MKI 299B, 7; MKI 724A; MKI 724B; MKI 724C, 8.

[231] MKI x244: 140; PNM 1136: 173r.

Ḥalīm al-Kalantānī, for example, translated his copy of *Dar al-Ḥasan*[232] (House of Ḥasan) in 1282/1866 while being sponsored by Sultan Muḥammad II.[233] This is the earliest sign of royal patronage of Patani-network-affiliated scholars in Kelantan and a mark that would become more and more important in the sultanate's gradual rise as an Islamic center around the turn of the twentieth century, in contrast to Patani which continued to flounder in political degradation and the resultant social insecurity for its scholars.

Scholars in Melaka maintained links with the Patani network through the period, particularly at Tanjung Kaling, where a new *pondok* emerged. Works on *fiqh* were most popular among the scholars active in the region, especially Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, which was a concise survey of a number of important issues relating to proper social practice for Muslims. Scholars were reproducing copies of the text by 1266/1850, when 'Abd al-Muhit bin Aḥmad bin Rahidin Melaka is known to have penned such a work.[234]

Singapore remained important to the scholars of the network both as a transit point for travelers and gradually as a learning center of its own. Copies of *Masā'il al-Muhtadī*, first popularized by Muḥammad Saʿīd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī in Mecca around the same time, as discussed above, were brought to Kampung Gelam, in Singapore.[235] By 1281/1864, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, a scholar from Siam, had arrived and was reproducing the text, which he later spread elsewhere in the region. Kampung Gelam was the center of the Islamic community in Singapore and Patani's scholars helped fuel scholarly debates among the learned of the community there and sparked reform through its networks.

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[232] Arabic: در الحسن

[233] PNM 2584: 32r. Abdullah seems to mistakenly identify him as Aḥmad bin ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kalantānī, who was a different, but less active scholar in the same period, mentioned below. Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Sultan Minta Beliau Karang Kitab Darul Hassan: Tuan Guru Haji Ahmad al Kalantani," *Dakwah* 13 (Oct 1989): 17.

[234] LUL KL. 22: 174.

[235] PNM 540: 15v.

On Sumatra, anonymous scholars carried copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's texts to Barus in southern Aceh where they were copied and disseminated by 1269/1853.[236] Here, like many other communities within the network, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's treatise on Shāfiʿī marriage law, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, was most popular. In the decades that followed, these teachings may well have been carried into the Batak highlands or spread further down the coast, though we are limited in our understanding by paucity of further evidence. The texts no doubt were a continued part of Islamic reform in the region, which had experienced tremendous changes brought on by the Padri movement in the period 1217-34/1803-19 and after.[237]

Scholars of the network continued to maintain links with Muslims in Cambodia. For example, Shaykh Ismāʿīl bin Ḥusayn, known popularly as Tok Ngok, came from Kampung Bunut, near Pasir Putih, in Kelantan. After studying for a number of years in the region, he followed in the footsteps of Ong Ḥasan and went to Cambodia around 1276/1860 and like his predecessor, settled at Kampot, on the coast.[238] He taught for many years there before moving to Luong, near Phnom Penh, where he died.

Connections with Cape Muslims

Around mid-century, the Patani scholarly network reached its furthest westward and southward extent by forging links with communities at the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Muslims were mostly of "Malay" or "Indonesian" origin, brought as prisoners to the Dutch penal colony

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[236] LUL KL. 3200B, 153.

[237] Christine Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 3 (1974): 319-45; Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, no. 47 (London: Curzon Press, 1983): 128-41.

[238] Abdullah bin Mohamed, "Guru-guru Agama Kelantan yang Berdakwah di Kemboja," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulamaʿ Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 628-9.

at various stages since 1062/1652. In 1194/1780, Imam 'Abd Allāh bin Qāẓī 'Abd al-Salām, an

exiled prince from Tidore, was exiled to the Cape. Known as Tuan Guru, he founded the

intellectual tradition within the Malay-speaking Muslim community there, spreading copies of

the *Qur'ān* and opening the first madrasah. Mosques and schools gradually emerged in the area

through the following six decades.[239]

In 1260/1844, an anonymous hajji or scholar, most likely of Cape origin, copied two of

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's manuscripts in Mecca, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* and *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, which he

brought back to Cape Town soon after.[240] These texts arrived at a critical moment for the Cape

Muslim community which was expanding rapidly with four new mosques appearing in Cape

Town alone in the period 1260-75/1844-59.[241] In 1257/1842, Muslims composed more than one-

third of Cape Town's population, a substantial increase from the early 1820s when they formed

just a small fraction of the city's residents.[242] Scholars were constructing an Islamic discourse of

unprecedented proportions at that time as well, with the first Afrikaans writing in Arabic script,

Al-Qawl al-Matīn[243] (The Solid Saying), appearing in 1272/1856.[244] Furthermore, a new type of

Islamic school had appeared by the 1840s that was well-organized and rivaled the Christian

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[239] John Mayson, who visited the region in 1861, mentioned two schools in Cape Town that taught the Qur'ān and both Arabic and Malay languages. John Schofield Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town* (Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press, 1963): 23.

[240] CCD 4[A], 126; CCD 4[B]. Mayson noted that many Muslims in Cape Town embarked upon the hajj each year. Mayson, *Malays of Cape Town*, 21.

[241] Mogamat Gamien Harris, *British Policy Towards the Malays at the Cape of Good Hope 1795-1850* (M.A. Thesis, Western Washington University, 1977): 177-90; Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology* (Durban: Arabic Study Circle, 1993): 19-21.

[242] Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994): 356-7.

[243] Arabic: القول المتين

[244] Ibid., 20-1; Achmat Davids, "*Imam* Achmat Sadik Achmat (1813-1879): *Imam*, Soldier, Politician and Educator," in *Pages from Cape Muslim History*, eds. Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1994): 74.

missionary schools in the region.[245] Thus Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works entered a vibrant

intellectual milieu and were quickly passed between members of the scholarly community.

More importantly for our understanding of the reception of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's texts,

however, was the opening of a dispute in the 1860s between the mostly Shāfiʿī worshippers of

the community and Abū Bakr Afandī, who had been sent from Constantinople to spread Hanafi

doctrines in Cape Town.[246] By 1282/1866, Shāfiʿī adherents had brought the latter figure to

court for his attempts at spreading Hanafi teachings under the guise of a Shāfiʿī school and for

opening a new mosque with a Hanafi-influenced imam. Thus the proliferation of Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī's treatise on Shāfiʿī marriage law after 1280/1863 among scholarly circles was certainly

done in opposition to the perceived Hanafi threat and served to bolster the Shāfiʿī cause within

the Cape community.[247]

The connection between the Patani scholars and Malay-speakers at the Cape was tenuous

and does not appear to have survived beyond the 1870s. Malay-language books were on the

decline in popularity as Afrikaans continued to gain ground in the Muslim community in the

region. Authorities in Constantinople continued in their attempts at dictating an official Islamic

discourse.[248] Still, the cosmopolitan nature and multi-lingual skills of learned members of the

community show that language was certainly not a barrier for the transmission of ideas in the

1840s-60s. The Shāfiʿī community in Cape Town continued to maintain links with Mecca as the

number of hajjis increased and the remaining Malay speakers traveled to Mecca to study in the

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[245] Ibid.

[246] Achmat Davids, "The Origins of the *Hanafi-Shafiʿi* Dispute and the Impact of Abu Bakr Effendi (1835-1880)," in *Pages from Cape Muslim History*, eds. Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1994): 82.

[247] CMLI 8; CMLI 10: 117.

[248] S. A. Rochlin, "Early Arabic Printing at the Cape of Good Hope," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 7, no. 1 (1933): 53-4.

two decades following, when the Patani scholarly network reached its apex. As Snouck

Hurgronje noted during his tenure in Mecca in 1301-2/1884-5:

> A class of Jāwah who dwell outside the geographical boundaries but who in late years have made regular pilgrimages to Mekka are people from the Cape of Good Hope ... Separated from intercourse with other Moslims they would scarcely have had the moral strength to hold to their religion, had not eager co-religionists come to them from abroad. When and whence these came is not known to me; however this may be, the mosques in Cape Colony have been more fervently supported in the last twenty years than ever before, more trouble is taken in teaching religion and every year some of the *Ahl Kāf* [Cape Muslims] fare on pilgrimage to the Holy City.[249]

Texts and Ideas in the Network, 1844-69

The texts that were copied in the period after Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's death continued to

reflect the social tensions of the times. Scholars focused their energies most acutely on those

subjects that brought cohesion to the community, ordered it according to one or a number of

moral or legal codes, and set at ease the social anxieties that continued to plague the community.

Like the earlier period, the texts *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* and *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, concise legal treatises on

marriage and inheritance law, respectively, continued to be popular among scholars throughout

the network.[250] The former text, from its initial spread from Mecca to Patani, Kelantan, and

Trengganu, appeared now in Cape Town by the late 1840s where it was recopied through the

1860s.[251] On the peninsula it appeared for the first time at Melaka after 1264/1848, in Singapore

by 1277/1860, and maintained its popularity in a number of learning centers in the Patani region

as well as Kelantan, where the texts had appeared much earlier.[252] It also spread into Sumatra at

Barus, by 1269/1853, where it was likely transmitted into networks in both north Sumatra and

Minangkabau.[253] The greatest number of reproductions of the text occurred in Mecca, where

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[249] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning; The Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, tr. J. H. Monahan (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1931): 215-6.

[250] Unplaced manuscript copies of the period: LUL Cod. 3287: 75r; PNM 1546: 85.

[251] CCD 4[A], 126; CMLI 10: 117.

[252] MKI 356C, 16; MKI 612: 84; MNT 86.47: 63r; PNM 530: 60v; PNM 815: 25r.

[253] LUL Cod. 3200[B]: 153

people sought "pure" sources of the text by consulting original copies or first or second-generation texts owned by the principle teachers.[254] The latter text mentioned above, after disappearing from the network in the 1840s, gained a resurgence of interest in the 1850s, when scholars re-injected it into the Patani network.[255] A broader survey of various Shāfiʿī legal concepts, *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, which had exploded onto the scene as a popular text immediately after Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī finished it in 1252/1836, continued to enjoy a wider readership in the scholarly network throughout the period from its center in Mecca, reaching Melaka by 1266/1850, Patani by 1267/1851, and likely spread into neighboring regions around the same time.[256]

One of the most popular new developments in the network was the appearance of prayer "manuals" from 1259/1843 onwards. These followed a number of formats, but generally included at least one, if not two or more of the following: *Bulūgh al-Marām*, *Kitāb Sembahyang Jumʿa*, and *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*, though some included other texts such as *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya*, or *Qawāʾid al-Islam*.[257] Though some were initially produced in Mecca, they were most popular on the peninsula, especially in the east coast region stretching from Patani in the north to Trengganu in the south.[258] Unlike many of the texts produced by the network that were either intended as points of intellectual debate or legal proscription, these

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[254] PNM 470: 93r; PNM 696: 70r; PNM 2642: 71r.

[255] MKI 391: 42; PNM 1966: 54; PNM 2338: 18r.

[256] In Mecca: PNM 1205: 49r. In Patani: PNM 456: 43r. In Melaka: LUL KL. 22: 174. Unplaced manuscript copies from the period: MNT 84.244: 53r; PNM 2369: 54v.

[257] Unplaced manuscript copies from the period: MKI 19A, 6; MKI 19B, 7; MKI 152A, 26; MKI 152B; MKI 152C, 8; MKI p156B; MKI 210A, 12; MKI 374; MKI x681(1); PNM 694: 30r; PNM 803B, 6v; PNM 1049: 33v; PNM 2574A, 8v; PNM 2574B, 4r; RAS Maxwell 80: 32.

[258] In Mecca: MKI 126: 33; MKI 151A, 12; MKI 151B, 10; MKI 151C, 16; MKI 359A, 34; MKI 359C, 37; MKI 721B, 13; PNM 130: 18v; PNM 306: 18v; PNM 593: 16v; PNM 648A, 5v; PNM 648B, 7r; PNM 1202: 24v; In Patani: MKI 156A; MKI 156B; MKI 303A, 11; MKI 303B, 8; MKI 303C; MKI 303D; PNM 2670: 10v; PNM 3362A, 6v; PNM 3362B; In Trengganu: MKI x244: 140; MKI 299A; MKI 299B, 7; MKI 724B; MKI 724C, 8; PNM 2768A, 19v.

smaller, concise prayer "manuals" were intended to direct the functions, intentions, preparations, and practice of basic Islamic prayers. Thus they were, in turn, disseminated to new students or those outside of the broader scholarly milieu who had no interest, time, or the resources necessary to pursue a more extensive Islamic education. These prayer manuals may well be among those referred to by Bird, who mentioned, "a collection of prayers," as among the most common Islamic texts during her brief visit to British Malaya in 1296/1879.[259] Access to the knowledge of basic prayers attracted local adherents who sought to live a more pious life according to their interpretation of the rising Islamic moral order, one which suited or addressed many of their social concerns. With these texts, the scholars of the network reached deepest into their home communities by prescribing the proper and authoritative beliefs and practices for their home communities, if even tempered by addressing local concerns. The sudden appearance of the aforementioned *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a* in the period 1260-77/1844-60, a text that also addressed the problem of when it was justified to build a second mosque in a town already possessing one, further suggests that Islamic practice was on the rise in many of the east coast communities, that existing mosques and surau were becoming overcrowded, and that additional structures were being built in the area according to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's guidelines set forth in the text.

Contrasting the mass-appeal of prayer manuals, the Patani scholarly network's most ambitious members turned their attention to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most extensive works. *Furū' al-Masā'il*, a veritable encyclopedic work on Shāfi'ī law and theology, was studied and reproduced by scholars in the 1850s at an incredible rate, especially when considering its length of approximately 700 pages, depending on the copying style. Scholars made the earliest copies

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[259] Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, 20.

in Mecca and spread them back to Kelantan by 1271/1854 and Patani by 1274/1857.[260] Scholars also copied another of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's definitive legal texts, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, during this period. This text had received almost no previous attention, but like the preceding text, appeared suddenly and in high volume after 1270/1853.[261] These were not texts for casual study, but rather comprehensive collections of information reserved for jurists who sought to establish courts or for legal scholars who continued to spread such teachings. It is unclear whether they succeeded in establishing any judicial bodies in this period, but we can see that debates regarding such issues reached an unprecedented level in the 1850s and 1860s. Scholars also regularly reproduced Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's third extensive legal volume, *Nahj al-Rāghibīn*, during the period. From Mecca, they brought the text back to Patani by the late 1850s and continued to teach and spread the text into neighboring regions.[262]

Interest in eschatology and speculative theology among scholars in the network reached its highest level in the 1850s. All five of the extant dated copies of *Kashf al-Ghummah* can be traced to this period, the earliest from 1274/1857, all of which appeared in Mecca and were brought back to the peninsula in the years that followed.[263] The last copy is dated 1278/1862, which shows us that scholars fueled furious debates concerning particular issues that were not sustained over time. While some texts retained their importance for many decades, others—and presumably the scholars who focused on them—faded from the discourse of the network. None of the scholars who studied *Kashf al-Ghummah* went on to become major figures—their brief time at the locus of debate of the community passed quickly. Thus, when taken as intellectual investments and social strategies, scholars' choice of which of the myriad Islamic sciences

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[260] PNM 553: 443r; PNM 1688: 346; PNM 1911: 558; PNM 2222: 222v.
[261] MKI x407: 654; PNM 270: 161v; PNM 2225: 507.
[262] KASZA MSP 3; PNM 2221: 181; PNM 2626: 113r.
[263] MKI 375: 25; PNM 723: 160v; PNM 2142: 192v; PNM 2223: 435; PNM 2298(1): 32r.

embodied in the texts of the network they were to study was crucial—a decision with potentially fatal consequences for a scholar's prestige within the network which underscored their ability to draw students, rely upon their peers for financial support in erecting a school, or in obtaining a teaching position at an existing school.

A popular, comprehensive, and "safe" text of the period was *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's introductory text for students with an interest in a broad survey of Islamic sciences. More than any other text, this volume was well-suited for the proliferating *pondok* that appeared on the peninsula. Often used as a lecture source for leading teachers, the text, which bears no evidence of being disseminated through the network in previous times, appeared suddenly and in great volume from 1268/1852 onwards.[264] Aside from being used by Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Trengganu at Kampung Pusing, as discussed above, the text circulated widely within the Patani circle in Mecca and was found widely throughout Patani and Kelantan.[265]

Texts on *taṣawwuf* gained momentum in the period, during which time some of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's most important Sufi translations became popular and were disseminated through the Patani scholarly network. Chief among these were copies of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, which appeared with regularity in the period 1257-82/1841-65. These originated from Mecca, but appeared most prominently in Trengganu by mid-century.[266] Strangely, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, by which he identified himself with the Sufis and neo-Sufis of his day, disappeared from the network after 1247/1832. This text enjoyed a sudden resurgence from

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[264] Unplaced manuscript copies of the period: MKI x484: 129; PNM 323: 244r; PNM 2764: 66v; PNM 3119: 203r-204v.

[265] In Mecca: MKI 20: 55; PNM 152: 233r; In Patani: MKI x640: 327; PNM 1439: 190v.

[266] PNM 215: 136v; PNM 1794: 185; PNM 2310: 229.

1278/1862, after which it appeared with increasing regularity towards the end of the century.[267] The text gained its greatest prominence at the burgeoning learning center at Kampung Bajih, in southern Patani.[268] Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's critical neo-Sufi work, *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, which afforded practical Sufi advice and reminders for the various holy days of the year, appeared for the first time in the network. It was carried from Mecca to Kelantan sometime after 1281/1864 and it also appeared in abridged versions addressing just one of the months when included in compilations with other texts.[269]

Other *taṣawwuf* texts, such as *Fatḥ al-Mannān* and *Mudhākarat al-Ikhwān*, which were included in a single compilation, only appeared briefly in the late 1840s, and scholars carried them to the peninsula or the north coast of Java.[270] Similarly, *Ward al-Ẓawāhir*, which never enjoyed a wide readership as the most extensive Sufi work ever penned by Shaykh Dawid Faṭānī, appeared briefly in the late 1840s, when Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Trengganu taught the text at Kampung Pusing in southern Patani.[271] Another work by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, which was to become his most popular Sufi work during the final three decades of the nineteenth century, saw only limited readership, being copied in Mecca in 1269/1852 and then carried back to Patani soon after.[272] *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*, which contained the Shaṭṭāriyya *dhikr*, and which was often contained in the margins of *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, also appeared in solo versions, but only briefly in the late 1860s due to its parent-text regaining popularity.[273] The presence of Sufi texts is important beyond the intellectual ebbs and flows that they naturally indicate. Sufi Orders, including Shaṭṭāriyya, Sammāniyya, and Naqshbandiyya all provided

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[267] PNM 153: 95r; PNM 1967A, 162.
[268] Ibid.
[269] MKI 351: 280; MKI 395A, 7; MKI 395C, 5.
[270] PNM 21A, 356r; PNM 21B, 370r.
[271] PNM 1136: 173r.
[272] PNM 547A, 14r.
[273] PNM 669: 20v.

financial assistance to its members, provided an accompanying network to that of the scholars, and remained a supportive community for students traveling vast distances into seemingly unknown places where establishing social ties was certainly, at times, challenging. Thus Sufi brotherhoods facilitated intellectual exchange, communal living, and financial stability for many of the scholars involved in the Patani scholarly network.

Some of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other less important works appeared briefly throughout the period, evidence that students, particularly those who gathered in Mecca, had the opportunity to explore ideas, doctrines, and practices that were not the central debates of their day. Some in the Patani circle in Mecca turned to *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, which contained essential teachings regarding the Prophet Muḥammad's journey to Jerusalem and thence to heaven, though this text does not appear to have inspired much debate at the time.[274] Others briefly studied *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn* in the early 1850s, for instance, but this text did not gain wider circulation until the 1870s onwards.[275]

The only non-Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī text to gain great popularity in the network in the period was *Umm al-Barāhīn*. This text was originally written by Shaykh Muḥammad bin Yūsuf al-Sānusī (839-95/1435-90), of Tlemcen, which was then the capital of the Berber Zenata kingdom of North Africa, now a city in northwestern Algeria. The text was a distilled treatise on Sunni Muslim *i'tiqād* based on the writings of al-Asha'rī (d. 323/935) and Imām Abū Mansūr Māturīdī (d. 332/944). Al-Sānusī's work was almost always accompanied by a commentary that had been written by his disciple, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Malālī that further elaborated upon the

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[274] MKI 582A, 44.
[275] PNM 1160: 29v.

teachings. The text had become very popular in West Africa, as well as in Morocco and Egypt, where it served as a basic textbook on *'aqīdah*.[276]

Umm al-Barāhīn also found its way into the Patani scholarly network, probably via the links discussed in chapter four that connected the diaspora to Malay-speaking Muslims in South Africa. Shaykh Tuan Guru Qāḍī 'Abd Allāh (d. 1222/1807), an exile in the Cape community who traced his origins to the royal family of Ternate, in eastern Indonesia, is known to have first penned a Malay translation at some time during his internment at Robben Island, 1195-1207/1781-93. Muslims embarking on the *hajj* likely then transmitted the text to Patani scholars, for it suddenly appears during the period of greatest contact between the two cities, around 1277/1860.[277] Some recent archivists have claimed that the translation of the commentary was carried out by Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, suggesting that he either composed his own version or perhaps refashioned the language in accordance with the central Malay dialect.[278] One other "new" text by a Patani author, Shaykh Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, who had preceded Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's arrival in the Ḥaramayn, appeared only briefly in the late 1860s, though it experienced a moderate readership until the early decades of the twentieth century.[279]

There is continued evidence that members of the Patani scholarly network also drew texts from Southeast Asian learning centers as well as Mecca, namely Aceh and Banjar. From the former, scholars retrieved *Ma'al Hayatiyi*, dealing with the concept of heresy, by the esteemed seventeenth-century scholar 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīli.[280] Though this was not one of his most

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[276] Awais Rafudeen, *The 'Aqīdah of Tuan Guru*. South Africa: unpublished, 1428 [2007]: 5.

[277] PNM 1226: 20r; Rafudeen, *'Aqidah*, 3.

[278] *Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: Satu Katalog Ringkas: Tambahan Ketiga*. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1997: 19. A further, comparative study of this text is required to clarify its origins.

[279] MKI 185: 42. An unidentified and untitled work copied by Muḥammad Nūr bin Maḥmūd al-Faṭānī, dated 1274/1857 also appeared, but gained very little circulation. PNM 1932: 1.

[280] PNM 547B, 25v.

well-known works, it shows that scholars of the network were continuing to probe the region for more sources of knowledge that they might teach and spread throughout the region. Furthermore, it can be seen as a reformist text that complimented the neo-Sufi movement of the time that had seen increasing popularity since the 1840s. Others sought out Banjari texts, which were available in Borneo as well as in Mecca, including al-Banjārī's work, *Luqtat al-ʿAjlān*, which appeared in Patani by the late 1840s and maintained its popularity throughout the rest of the century.[281] Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī's *Durr al-Nafis* also appeared in the region around this time or slightly later.[282] These continued links between Patani, Aceh, and Banjar revitalized the social and intellectual milieu, afforded scholars additional sources for study, and contributed significantly to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the transient community of scholars.

Conclusion

By 1285/1869, the Patani-Malay-Islamic scholars had built a functioning long-distance network that stretched from Mecca and Medina back to the Malay-Thai Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, and Cambodia. They also linked into African Islamic networks via Cape Town that ultimately reached as far as Morocco. This massive structure, reinvigorated by the constant influx of new students and propelled by the ambition of its members, knitted together a new social cosmos built upon a rising Islamic moral order. The community was mobile, with regular movement of people between the various learning centers, and its membership was in constant flux as older members withdrew or died and new members proved themselves to be masters of particular subjects, doctrines, or practices.

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[281] MKI 237: 23; MKI 687; PNM 803A, 10r.
[282] PNM 1634, 49v.

The moral order promoted by members of the Patani scholarly network became the new guiding social force for Patani and for other regions where political authority was being gradually or suddenly undermined in the nineteenth century. While most of the other learning centers had functioning, if compromised, political systems during the period, Patani's political defeats of the period 1199-1253/1785-1838 brought a permanent change to the social landscape. No longer were the rajas the most powerful social forces in the region, even though their symbolic and occasionally exercised power endured. The shaykhs and other Islamic teachers positioned themselves atop the local social hierarchies as the new progenitors and shepherds of Patani's moral center and gained great prestige through the course of their actions, teachings, and practices. As the century wore on, the shaykhs were able to further secure their position in Patani, as will be seen in our discussion of the proliferation of schools in the region, in chapter five.

The moral order of the Patani scholarly community was a point of constant contestation, with the manuscripts they produced as the field of those conflicts. The ideas they reproduced, all of which reinforced an Islamic moral order if at the same time transforming and evolving it, were open subjects of debate and contest. Though some texts were just copies of existing teachings, many were "active" texts with vibrant commentaries entered in the margins as students or teachers elaborated, explained, or expounded upon issues of interest or disagreement. An exquisite example of this can be seen in a surviving copy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Fath al-Mannān*, which bears at least six discernibly different commentaries on the same text.[283] The oldest were likely composed by the copyist and the newest—scrawled in blue ballpoint pen—prove that some texts inspired debates and dialogues that lasted many decades. Active texts, circulated around the community or passed down through the generations, continued to be focal

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[283] PNM 2147.

points for intellectual inquiry, debate, and conflict as the learned members of the community struggled to establish, maintain, and perfect the moral center of the community.

Each surviving text also represents one or more teacher-student relationship. Thus texts were both written and oral documents as they were dictated by teachers to the students gathered around them in study circles. Such documents formed the beginning of a conversation that often spanned generations and composed a piece of the broader moral system stitched together by the 'ulama. As a social and cultural object, a text served as a crux between power and authority, change and stasis. When taken together in a sum, the deep impact of the Patani network becomes evident. Unlike the scholarly networks between Southeast Asia and the Middle East in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, which linked together a relatively small number of scholars, the Patani networks of the nineteenth century drew together great Arab-speaking and Malay-speaking scholars from both sides of the ocean together with a growing number of teachers, students, writers, translators, scribes, and pious believers. The community gained momentum through the first six decades of the century and after 1285/1869 turned into a mass-movement in Patani, Kelantan, Trengganu and other regions linked to the scholarly community.

The scholarly community was naturally very cosmopolitan since it drew students from across a wide expanse. Much of one's success when entering into the community, one's intellectual abilities aside, often depended upon existing social networks. Coming with the recommendation of a well-known teacher could quickly elevate a student in the eyes of his new teacher as long as he continued to prove himself to be a capable pupil. Thus students from the east coast region of Patani to Trengganu benefited from the myriad local social networks that worked in their favor in comparison to students who came from further afield.

Identities were transient for members of the Patani scholarly network in the nineteenth century. Aside from loyalty to a local raja, in the pre-national identity atmosphere that existed at the time, one generally adhered only loosely to some landed community. As we have seen, many of the Trengganu scholars came from Patani refugee families, though they chose, when arriving in Mecca, to use the *nisba*[284] "Trengganu" or the Arabicized "al-Tarkānū" indicating their origin in Trengganu. Others, such as Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Trengganu, even chose to return to the Patani region once he had built his reputation, and opened a school there to promote his teachings. In Patani, the power of the raja was in severe decline by the 1840s and thus the Patani scholars found solace in establishing new relations with a broad range of intellectuals in distant Mecca, which was safe from the political dangers that plagued them on the peninsula.

The channels opened by the Patani scholarly network between Mecca and Southeast Asia possessed no parallel in the nineteenth century. The role of the Patani scholars in opening up channels between Southeast Asia and the Middle East was vital and to have longstanding impact on communities on both sides of the Indian Ocean. Though, as Azra has shown, trans-Indian Ocean scholarly networks had existed since at least the seventeenth century which provided a base for later scholars, the networks of the nineteenth century were far more active, connected Muslim communities within Southeast Asia as well as with the Middle East, and gained in influence and activity as the decades passed.[285] The centrality of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's thought

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[284] Arabic: نسبة

[285] Azyumardi Azra, *The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1992); Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII; Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1994); Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Asian Studies Association of Australia, Southeast Asia Publications Series.

to the discourse of Malay-speaking scholars at the time was unprecedented, a legacy that later scholars from the same region carried on well after his death. The networks reaching even to Cape Town by mid-century show that the texts disseminated by the network were malleable and appealing to a number of disparate communities, were available to any who could read Malay, and contained relevant discourses with cultural affinities far beyond those of Patani-born scholars.

With the influx of a high volume of "new" written Islamic resources, the religion spread and intensified in the practice of many Muslims throughout the archipelago. In some places such as Aceh and, to a lesser extent, Banjar, the learning centers had well-developed intellectual traditions where the Patani scholars' main contribution was to link them together with broader networks in an unprecedented way. It was through the course of the century that Malay became one of the great languages of Islamic discourse, never supplanting, but fully complementing Arabic. This was made possible by networking between the various Malay-speaking centers where it formed the *lingua franca* of Southeast Asian Muslims.[286] Malay had become indispensible for Southeast Asian Muslims dwelling in Mecca and beyond, that coupled with Islamic religious practice, formed the most powerful cultural unities in the period. Even as the colonial shadow cast itself across increasing portions of the region, Islamic scholars intensified their efforts and even strengthened their far-flung networks.

The scholars of the 1850s and 1860s proved that they were capable of carrying the standard forward after the death of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. Their tribulations continued to bridge together communities from across the Indian Ocean and even reach its widest extent in the 1860s, stretching from Cape Town to Cambodia. Throughout these communities there was a

Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2006).
[286] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 229, 245.

shared cultural grammar that allowed Islamic teachers to gain ascendance. There was no doubt resistance among some established elites who felt threatened by the rising social force of the shaykhs which has gone unrecorded. Despite such obstacles, the scholars of the Patani network made great inroads into their home communities and those abroad, centered around a Malay-speaking Muslim cultural core that facilitated their remarkable success.

Chapter 5
Patani at the Pinnacle:
The Triumph of the *Pondok* in a Shattered Social Space, 1869-1909

Introduction

Jacob Vredenbregt, in his study of Indonesian hajjis, noted that the advent of steam

power in the Indian Ocean combined with increased European maritime traffic to Southeast Asia

after the building of the Suez Canal led to an increase in the annual number of Indonesian

Muslim pilgrims going to Arabia by approximately 250% between the 1850s and 1890s.[1]

Hurgronje, writing in 1302/1885, noted that:

> Formerly the Malays must trust themselves to Arab sailing captains who overcrowded their ships at Achèh
> (Acheen), Singapore etc. ... Now they travel by Dutch or English steamers from Batavia, Padang, or
> Singapore either direct to Jeddah or to the quarantine islands.[2]

For Patani, and neighboring regions, particularly on the east coast of the Malay-Thai Peninsula,

greater access and affordability of the hajj had immediate consequences for the scholarly

networks. First of all, more students began entering *pondok* schools from throughout the

peninsula, western Borneo, and in selected places in Sumatra and Cambodia. We also see a

corresponding increase in manuscript production almost identical to the increase in hajjis in the

period.[3]

Secondly, the rising sentiments of religiosity expressed by returning hajjis and the

aspirations of local Muslims who felt displaced by political or social tensions led many to seek

an Islamic education in the Patani *pondok*. Bendang Daya, Kampung Pusing, Canak, and other

esteemed schools in the Patani region became the final destination for any serious Malay-

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[1] Jacob Vredenbregt, "The Haddj: Some of its Features and Functions in Indonesia." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 118 (1962): 91-154. Hurgronje also observed the rise in the number of hajjis, "Although the period in which Jāwah pilgrims could be counted annually in thousands may be very recent, a very active traffic has certainly endured over two centuries." Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 219-20.
[2] Ibid., 217-8.
[3] See Table.

speaking students who intended to pursue further study in the Middle East. Then once their teachers deemed the most advanced students to have made sufficient progress so as to go to Mecca, the latter embarked for the holy city. In Mecca, the chief Malay-speaking students learned from a wide variety of teachers, the most influential among them being Patani-born or Patani-educated scholars who were tied together into one complex and cosmopolitan social milieu. After 1285/1869, the process which had been gaining momentum throughout the course of the century accelerated to an unprecedented level of intellectual activity.

A second factor in Patani's rise was the invasion of Aceh by Dutch forces in 1290/1873. Though Aceh may not have yet possessed the scholarly reputation it had had in the seventeenth century, it was still an important learning center, especially as a source of texts, as we previously discussed in chapter four. With most of north Sumatra far too dangerous for students to visit during the final three decades of the nineteenth century, Patani became an even more common destination for prospective students, especially those who came from the western and southern-most parts of the peninsula, Sumatra, or Borneo. While we have already discussed how Patani drew substantial numbers of students from the east coast of the peninsula and western and southern Borneo by mid-century, students from the west coast of the peninsula came in large numbers by the late 1870s and fewer, but significant numbers of students came from further south. We may presume that such students may have otherwise gone to Aceh, but due to the near-constant warfare in the period 1290-1321/1873-1904, ambitious students made the journey to Patani instead to pursue an Islamic education. The present chapter concentrates on the growth of Patani's learning centers, while the chapter following analyzes Patani's influence upon the wider region.

Patani's Satellite Learning Centers

By the 1870s, a number of new Islamic learning centers had emerged within the Patani region that complemented the existing centers. The city of Patani was a modest meeting ground for scholars, but the outlying regions appear much more active. The largest concentration of *pondok* was in and around Yaring, a town positioned to the south of modern-day Pattani. The primary sources reveal at least seven learning centers in the region that drew texts from the wider network via the principle teachers in Yaring. We also see evidence of the upwelling of local forms of knowledge that were also committed to text during this period. In Yala there was another concentration of early *pondok*, where at least six centers drew students from the local area and from the wider Malay-speaking parts of the peninsula. In addition, there were a number of additional *pondok* scattered throughout the region.

In this chapter, I discuss the rising centrality of the *pondok* in the social world of Patani and how these learning centers transformed the socio-moral order of the region. As in previous decades, this was a constant process of contestation, renewal, and reform as scholars introduced new texts or ideas either conceived locally or abroad, or as the learned interpreted old texts in new ways. In Part I, I again focus upon the role of the Patani scholars in Mecca who continued to be the main knowledge producers, even as a new generation of young, ambitious, and gifted scholars emerged there in the 1870s and 1880s. Then, in Parts II and III, I analyze the rise of the Patani *pondok* which became the premier Islamic learning centers on the peninsula that drew students from neighboring regions of Malay-speaking Southeast Asia. As the Patani schools proliferated, the dissemination of texts became more widespread, and scholars founded many new schools in the region that were the last stopping point for serious students before embarking to Mecca to study with the great Patani scholars there. Finally in Part IV, I illustrate the major

texts and ideas circulated by the *pondok* during the period in question, while turning attention to broad trends, debates, and conflicts that occurred within the scholarly community. I also note regional variation and flow of texts from within and between learning centers.

Part I: The Patani Scholars in Mecca

If the 1850s and 1860s had mainly been a period of knowledge reproduction and dissemination through the Patani scholarly network, by the 1870s the stature of the Mecca-based Patani scholars was again on the rise. By the mid-1870s, new significant intellectuals in Mecca had gained the confidence and the voice to begin producing new works that they spread through the scholarly community in the years that followed while continuing to reproduce the works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. This trend coincided with a massive rise in the number of Malay-speaking hajjis that came to Mecca in the 1870s to 1890s that served to elevate the impact of the Patani scholarly network as it continued to produce ever-greater numbers of students throughout the period. Though no firm estimate of the total number of such students may be ascertained from the primary sources, we can gauge proportional growth to be between two and three times the number that had made the journey in the 1850s and 1860s.[4] In contrast to the earlier periods when most students came from elite families by necessity of the journey's expense, the students and hajjis who came after 1285/1869 represented a more diverse social stratum than in previous years.[5] There was an even greater rise in the number of students attending *pondok* on the Malay-Thai Peninsula, a matter to which we will return in Part II of this chapter and again in chapter six.

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[4] See table on manuscript production.
[5] Ibid., 221.

The Established Generation

The scholars of the Patani network in Mecca continued to enjoy high regard among visiting hajjis, potential students, and benefactors from their home communities. Hurgronje, always keen to note the influence of Mecca-based scholars, wrote generally about the relationship between Mecca and Southeast Asia:

> In lands where the population is already islamised, the mystic and scientific authorities represent, in highest instance, the spiritual life and ideals of the Jāwah. The spiritual nourishment however, they draw through those intermediaries, by long or short paths, almost exclusively from Mekka, and modern means of communication have considerably facilitated the import of the article. There live in Mekka the choice few who have thrown themselves into the very source of the stream of the international life of Islam to be purified and strengthened in its waves. Continually brisker communications of these colonists against new students furthers the participation of the country-people who have remained at home in the acquirements of their distant leaders.[6]

The chief teachers at the beginning of the period were those who had emerged as the most gifted students in the 1850s and 1860s who had displayed their intellectual talents within the Patani circle in Mecca. The most influential teacher was Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ismāʿīl Dāʾūd al-Fatānī (1260-1333/1844-1915), known as Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani, mentioned in chapter three as the grandnephew and adopted son of Shaykh Dāʾūd Fatānī.[7] His parents had fled the Patani region as a result of the conflicts there in the 1830s or earlier, and his granduncle brought him from his birthplace in Trengganu to Mecca when still an infant.[8] His pedigree alone provided him an unparalleled stature in the years after the death of Shaykh Dāʾūd Fatānī which he built upon by composing at least nine of his own works and attracting no fewer than eighteen students, many of whom became the leading intellectuals of the succeeding generation. Shaykh

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[6] Ibid., 258.

[7] His mother, Tok Wan Zaynab, herself a teacher of the Qurʾān, was the daughter of Shaykh ʿIdrīs, the younger brother of Shaykh Dawud Fatani. Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani (1844-1915)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 190. Muhd. Najib Abdul Kadir, "Shaykh Muhammad bin Ismail Daudi al-Fatani (Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik): Peranan dan Sumbangannya dalam Dakwah Islamiah," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara I: Peranan dan Sumbangan Ulama Patani; Ulama Pencetus Budaya Ilmu.* (Pattani, May 19-20, 2001): 1-8.

[8] Hurgronje notes similar cases and argues that those who were raised in Mecca enjoyed an elevated status compared with newcomers and often excelled in Arabic language skills compared to hajjis who arrived in the holy city as adults. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 250.

Nik Mat Kecik Patani wrote extensively on *fiqh*, *īmān*, *taṣawwuf*, and *tawḥīd*, as well as other Islamic sciences, but unfortunately manuscript copies of his works have not been found that could tell us more about their spread within the network. Nevertheless, published editions of his most prominent works appeared first in Mecca in the 1880s, due to the efforts of his son Shaykh 'Abd Allāh and were regularly printed elsewhere in Jeddah, Cairo, Singapore, and Ipoh in Perak throughout the twentieth century, and readily available in Patani bookshops today. His known works include, *al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya fī Fawā'id al-Ukhrāwiyya*[9] (Satisfactory Joy in the Benefits of Otherness), *Kawākib al-Durr al-Nūr al-Muhammadī*[10] (Planets of Pearls in Muhammadian Light), *al-Firqadayn wa Jawāhir al-'Iqdayn*[11] (The Two Stars and the Jewels of the Two Necklaces), *Wishāh al-'Afrāḥ wa 'Iṣbāḥ al-Falāḥ*[12] (The Sign of Joyful Times and the Morrow's Work), *Ṣawt al-Barqi pada Menyatakan Sembahyang Qaṣr dan Jāmi'*[13] (The Sound of Lightning in Discussing the Prayers in the Palace and Mosque), *al-Baḥr al-Wāfī wa al-Nahr al-Ṣāfī*[14] (The Overflowing Sea and the Pure River), *al-Durr al-Maẓnūn wa Jawāhir al-Maknūn*[15] (Organized Pearls and Hidden Jewels), and *Fatwa tentang Menyuburkan Bumi*[16] (Fatwa about the Fertilization of the World).

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[9] He completed this work Shaaban 2, 1296/July 22, 1879, in Mecca. Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar Kitab al Bahrul Wafi Syeikh Muhammad bin Ismail Daud al Fatani." *Jurnal Dewan Bahasa* (May 1991): 448; Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 195, 201. Arabic: البهجة المرضيّة في الفواعد الأخراويّة

[10] He finished this work Shaaban 15, 1304/May 9, 1887, in Mecca. Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar," 449; Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 194-5. Hereafter, *Kawākib al-Durri*. Arabic: كواكب الدرّ النور المحمّدي

[11] He completed this work Shawwal 13, 1311/April 19, 1894, in Mecca. Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar," 449; Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 197-8. Arabic: الفرقدين و جواهر العقدين

[12] This is his second-most well-known work, which he finished Zulkaedah 22, 1311/May 27, 1894, in Mecca. Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar," 449; Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 197. Arabic: وشاه الأفراح و إصباح الفلاح

[13] He completed this work Jamadilawal 25, 1323/July 28, 1905, in Mecca. Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar," 449; Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 197. Arabic/Jawi: صوت البرق مڤياتكن سمبهيغ قصر دان جام

[14] He finished this work Rejab 18, 1331/June 23, 1913, in Mecca. Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar," 440-1; Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 199. Arabic: البحر الوافي و النهر الصافي

[15] Ibid. Arabic: الدرّ المظنون و جواهر المكنون

[16] Ibid. Jawi: فاتو تنتاغ مثوبوكن بومي

Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani carried on a regular correspondence with some of the premier teachers of the peninsula, primarily Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn bin ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, who I address below.[17] Via these channels, he attracted a large number of students who came to study with him in Mecca. Fifteen of his students hailed from Kelantan or chose to return there to teach after their tenure in Mecca. At least ten of these opened new *pondok*, mostly in or near Kota Bharu, including Bacok, Banggol Setol, Cabang Tiga Bator, Kampung Cap, Kubang Kerian, Simpang Tiga Pendek, Sungai Keladi, Kampung Surau Badang, and Tumpat.[18]

There is clear evidence that Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani also benefited from royal patronage from both the Kelantan and Trengganu courts. Indeed, he taught two princes of the Kelantan royal family, Long Yūsuf bin Sultan Aḥmad, who was known as Tengku Besar Indera Raja Kelantan (his father ruled 1303-7/1886-90), as well as Tengku Cik ʿAbd Allāh bin Sultan Aḥmad, the former's brother, who later served as *bendahara* of the east coast polity.[19] Likewise, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani also taught the Trengganu prince who later became Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn III (r. 1298-1336/1881-1918). Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani's close relationship with powerful political figures on the east coast of the peninsula may well have allowed his many ambitious students to gain their favor as well, which would have been pivotal in the proliferation of the *pondok*, particularly in Kelantan.

Even more influential than the political elites, however, were two of Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani's students, Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī[20] (1272-1325/1856-1908) and Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Aḥmad (1284-1351/1868-1933).[21] The former, who began writing in Cairo and Mecca from 1292/1875, quickly displayed intellectual

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[17] Abdullah, "Mengkaji Karya Besar," 449-50.
[18] Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 192-3; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 76.
[19] Dayd, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 192-3; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 76.
[20] Hereafter referred to as Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī.
[21] Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani," 192-3; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 76.

talents not matched since the time of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. The latter, an unparalleled teacher,

returned to the peninsula and became the single-most powerful figure behind Kelantan's

supplanting Patani as the most influential peninsular learning center in the early decades of the

twentieth century. We will return to both of these figures later in this and succeeding chapters

after we have fully illustrated the remainder of the teaching milieu in Mecca and the rise of the

Patani *pondok* on the peninsula.

The other prominent teacher in Mecca during the period was Wan Muḥammad 'Alī bin

'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Kalantānī (1253-1331/1837-1913), who we introduced in

chapter four as Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan.[22] He had risen to prominence within the Patani circle and

by the 1860s taught regularly at *masjid al-haram*. He was not a prolific writer, but he composed

at least four works in the period 1306-20/1888-1903, concerning *tawḥīd* and other issues,

including *Matn Jawhar al-Mawhūb*[23] (The Core of the Talented), *Zahrat al-Murīd fi 'Aqā'id al-*

Tawḥīd[24] (The Flower of the Seeker in the Beliefs of Monotheism), *Lam'at al-'Awrād*[25] (The

Radiance of Flowers), and *Majmū' al-Qaṣā'id*[26] (Collection of Poems).

Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan's influence was felt more strongly through his gifted students,

sixteen of whom can be identified. They figured prominently in the rise of the Kelantan *pondok*

at Bacok, Jerulong, Kemuning, Pulau Ubi, and most prominently in Kota Bharu itself.[27] He also

taught several students from Patani who later became prominent teachers in the region and

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[22] Ismail Awang, "Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan (1837-1913)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 177.

[23] He completed this work, Rabiulawal 2, 1306/November 6, 1888, in Mecca. Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Wan Ali bin Abdur Rahman al Kalantani." *Dakwah* 13, no. 150 (Sep 1989): 35; Awang, "Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan," 179-80. Arabic: متن جوهر الموهوب

[24] This was his most well-known work, which he finished in 1310/1892, in Mecca. Ibid., 181-2. Hereafter, *Zahrat al-Murīd fi 'Aqā'id*. Arabic: زهرة المريد في عقائد التوحيد

[25] He completed this work Jamadilawal 4, 1311/November 13, 1893, in Mecca. Ibid., 183. Arabic: لمعت الأوراد

[26] He finished this work in 1320/1903, in Mecca. Ibid., 185; Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan di Rantau Orang," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan): 521. Arabic: مجمع القصائد

[27] Ibid., 521-2.

Shaykh Muḥammad Saʾīd bin Hajji Jamāl al-Dīn al-Linqī who became a prominent figure in the development of Islam in Negeri Sembilan and whose activities will be discussed in chapter six.[28] Finally, one of his students, Hajji Ibrāhīm Tok Raja became a prominent teacher in Cambodia, where he translated a number of Malay teachings into Cham to make them more readily accessible to Muslim students there.[29]

One prominent student, Wan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Wan ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Faṭānī came to study in Mecca in the 1870s and likely studied with Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani, Tok Wan ʿAlī Kutan, and other teachers of the Patani circle. He focused his attention most heavily upon Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's teachings on *sīra*, especially *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, and also studied *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*.[30] His interests in Sufism suggests that he studied most prominently with the latter teacher mentioned above, who was an expert in that science and a member of at least two Sufi *ṭarīqa*. He later returned to Patani, where he taught and spread these teachings, though the location of his work is unknown.

A contemporary of Wan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān above, was Shaykh Hajji ʿAbd al-Raʿūf bin Hajji Wan Ḥusayn Yaring, another Patani-born student of the network. He arrived by the mid-1870s and by 1295/1878 was copying the works of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī. He expressed an exclusive interest in *fiqh*, especially Shafiʿi law concerning inheritance and myriad social practices, and brought copies of *Sullam al-Mubtadī* and *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* back to Patani.[31] Clearly this displays the enduring relevance of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's concise works on Islamic law that continued to gain a readership both in Mecca and back on the peninsula. Shaykh Hajji

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[28] Ibid., 522.
[29] Ibid., 506.
[30] PNM 484: 50v; PNM 622: 9v.
[31] PNM 207A, 30r; PNM 207B; PNM 229: 21v.

'Abd al-Ra'ūf later returned and taught these texts and other teachings at an unidentified *pondok* in the Patani region.

The Emergence of a New Generation of Patani Shaykhs in Mecca

In the 1880s a fourth generation of scholars emerged who revitalized the Patani circle in Mecca and infused the intellectual currents with fresh strains of thought, belief, and action. The elders who remembered the bitter wars between Siam and Patani in the 1830s had now passed into memory, but the continued concern for Patani's fate played out in the discussions of how to live moral and proper lives within the community. There was a shifting focus towards legalistic writings and manuals dictating proper social practices, but nevertheless Sufi metaphysical writings continued to attain a secondary popularity.

This new generation of scholars was faced with new challenges and responded with renewed debates and dialogues. Colonialism had set in across much of the Islamic world, from the Dutch East Indies to West Africa. The political threat, social disruption, and moral decay that many Islamic intellectuals observed called them to reconsider their beliefs and practices and what new apparatuses they might employ to reform their home communities. While much of the Muslim world contended with European imperial powers, the Patani scholars continued their struggle against Siam. The latter force even compelled some of them to pursue "protection" from the British in Malaya as a counterbalance, which they carried out with varying degrees of success. Underlying all of these threats and obstacles were enduring socio-moral questions that faced the scholars and students of the Patani network. Some continued to delve into Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings in search of answers while others began to compose their own works or look further afield at new scholarship from Egypt, Turkey, or beyond.

One of the influential teachers of the new generation was Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr bin

Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (1290-1363/1873-1944), son of Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani and

Sharifah Āminah binti Sayyid Farrāj, who was from Egypt.[32] He married Salifah, the daughter

of his father's closest colleague, Wan 'Alī Kutan, and studied and taught his entire life in Mecca.

He wrote *Kifayat al-muhtadi* which gained a moderate level of distribution after the rise of

publishing facilities, but was not disseminated in manuscript form.[33] He also attracted a number

of students to study with him in Mecca who came from Patani, Kelantan, Pulau Pinang, and

Jambi (on Sumatra).[34] His most illustrious student, Datuk Hajji Muḥammad Nūr bin Ibrāhīm

later became mufti of Kelantan.[35]

The Bendang Daya Shaykhs[36]

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, mentioned above as one of Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani's most

gifted students, quickly rose to prominence within the Patani circle in Mecca in the 1880s. He

was the grandson and nephew of the two Tok Bendang Dayas and earned a peerless position in

his day as the leader of the Malay-speaking community in Arabia. Indeed, as Hasan Madmarn

argues, within the Pattani popular memory of recent times, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī is considered

second only to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in his influence upon the development of Patani as an

Islamic learning center.[37] He was born on Friday evening, Shaaban 5, 1272/April 11, 1856, in

Kampung Jambu, then in the principality of Yaring, one of the seven descendant provinces of old

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[32] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam & Silsilah Ulama: Sejagat Dunia Melayu*, vol. 10 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazaniah Fathaniyah, 1999): 36; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 268-9.
[33] Ibid., 269.
[34] Ibid., 268-9.
[35] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 268-9.
[36] For a genealogical account of this family, see the Appendix, section B.
[37] Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani*, Monograph Series of Malay World and Civilisation, ed. Wan Hashim Wan Teh (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 22-3.

Patani and a region that was soon to rise as a major *pondok* center.[38] His father, who appears to

have been a peripheral teacher in Mecca, took his son there around the age of four, in 1276/1860,

where the latter was to remain for the rest of his relatively short, but productive life.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, aided by his family's premier position within the Patani circle,

received a thorough education in Mecca and elsewhere in the Middle East. Within the

community, he studied with the premier teachers discussed in the previous section, Shaykh Nik

Mat Kecik Patani, Wan 'Alī Kutan, as well as Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, before the last of these

returned to Patani.[39] He also studied with some of the most well-known Arab-speaking teachers

of his day, even when still a teenager, beginning with Shaykh 'Umar al-Shāmi al-Baqa'ī (1245-

1313/1829-96), who provided his introduction to many Islamic sciences such as *uṣūl al-dīn*,

tafsīr, ḥadīth, fiqh, ma'ānī[40] (branch of rhetoric dealing with verbal expression), *bayān, 'arūḍ*[41]

(poetic meter), and others, as well as teaching him Arabic.[42] In a biography written by his

grandson, the author claims that Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's talent in writing mystical poetry in

Arabic came from his early studies with this Shaykh 'Umar al-Shāmi al-Baqa'ī.[43]

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī also studied with Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Habshi, who supposedly gave

him his first exposure to the famous *ḥadīth* collection known as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*[44] (Correct

Account of Bukhāri), originally compiled by Imam Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm bin al-

Mughīra bin Bardizbah Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī (194-256/810-70) in the 3rd/9th

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[38] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Al 'Allamah Syeikh Ahmad al Fathani Ahli Fikir Islam dan Dunia Melayu: Guru kepada Hampir Semua Ulama dan Tokoh Asia Tenggara Abad ke 19-20*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992): 12.

[39] Ismail Che Daud, "Syeikh Wan Ahmad Patani (1856-1908)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 140.

[40] Arabic: معاني

[41] Arabic: عروظ

[42] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Ahmad al-Fathani: Pemikir Agung Melayu dan Islam*, vols. 1-2 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2005): 60.

[43] Ibid., 60-1.

[44] Arabic: صحيح البخاري

century.[45] This collection of traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad, are widely considered to be the most authoritative and authentic within the Sunni Islamic world, even today. Al-Bukhārī arranged his collection into ninety-seven books, with 3,450 chapters containing a total of 7,397 traditions.[46] *Ṣaḥīḥ* is most important for the development of *fiqh*, but also contains information regarding the creation of the world, heaven and hell, the prophets and especially the Prophet Muḥmmad, Qur'ānic commentary, and other issues.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī supposedly also studied briefly with Sayyid Abu Bakri Shatha (d. 1310/1893) before going to study with the more well-known Sayyid Aḥmad bin Zayni Dahlān, who we discussed briefly in chapter four as one of the main proponents of anti-*Salafī* polemics in late nineteenth-century Mecca. Dahlān also criticized Sulaymān Afandī, one of the two rival Turkish shaykhs of the Naqshibandī *ṭarīqa* who was then competing for leadership of that order in Indonesia.[47] Dahlan had studied with a number of scholars who traced their influence back to al-Sharqāwī, one of the teachers of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, and therefore bore some of the same intellectuals strains as many of the Patani scholars in Mecca.[48] He also remained closely connected to the wider Jāwah community, many of whom he taught and who were drawn to his *Matn al-Ājrūmiyya*, particularly from the 1880s onwards.[49]

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī also studied with four other teachers in Mecca, namely Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, Shaykh Muḥammad Haqqi al-Nazili, Shaykh

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[45] According to tradition, al-Bukhārī spent sixteen years compiling this massive collection, drawing from the many learned shaykhs he encountered during his travels from Khurasan to Egypt. He faced political opposition in Naysābūr, which caused him to flee to Bukhara and thence to Khartank, near Samarkand, where he died. J. Robson, "al-Bukhārī," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 1, eds. H. A. R. Gibb, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960): 1296-7.

[46] If repetitions are eliminated, the total is 2,762. Ibid., 1296.

[47] J. Schacht, "Dahlān," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 2, eds. B. Lewis, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965): 91.

[48] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Ahmad al-Fathani: Pemikir Agung Melayu dan Islam*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2005): 69-70.

[49] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 283.

Ibrāhīm al-Rāshidī (d. 1291/1874), and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī (d. 1327/1909).[50] The first we introduced in chapter four, as a teacher of a number of scholars in the Patani network. Al-Nazili was an expert in *ḥadīth*, further extending Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's already broad knowledge of that science. The latter two figures mentioned above were associated with the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa*, and likely inducted Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī into that Sufi order. Like some of his other teachers, the connection to the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa* evidences South Asian influence upon Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's education and intellectual development, in contrast to the earlier Patani shaykhs who studied almost exclusively with teachers who traced their origins to Arabia or Egypt.[51] The founder of the order, Mirza Ghulam Aḥmad, had recently completed his *magnum opus, Barāhīn-i-Aḥmadiyya*[52], in 1880, aimed at rejuvenating Islamic practice not only in British India, but throughout the Islamic world.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī also studied medicine under a Central Asian physician, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Kabūlī, before going to Jerusalem to further his studies.[53] After studying for a few years there, he finished his studies at al-Azhar University in Cairo, where he studied with Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Afifi, and also came under the influence of the well-known reformists and pan-Islamists al-Sayyid Muḥammad bin Ṣafdar Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1254-1314/1839-97) and Muḥammad 'Abduh (1265-1323/1849-1905).[54] The ideas of the latter two figures, which called for reform within Islamic communities and the implementation of modern educational reforms, were to have a lasting impact upon Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, a full account of which will be returned to in chapter seven. After finishing his studies in Cairo, he returned and taught at *masjid al-haram* in Mecca for the remainder of his life, while also writing prolifically.

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[50] Daud, "Syeikh Wan Ahmad Patani," 140; Abdullah, *Syeikh Ahmad al-Fathani*, 70-3, 77-8.
[51] For an account of the Aḥmadiyya order, see Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiyah Movement: A History and Perspective* (Delhi: Manhoar Book Service, 1974).
[52] Persian: براهيني احمدياه
[53] Ibid., 83.
[54] Abdullah, *Syeikh Ahmad al-Fathani*, 95.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī never concluded his studies and even in his mid-40s, he continued

to seek new teachers to deepen his knowledge of various Islamic disciplines. He spent

considerable time in Medina around 1318/1901, for example, where he studied with three

prominent teachers, namely Sayyid Muḥammad Amīn al-Ridhwān, Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī bin

Sayyid Zahir al-Watrī[55], and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Shiblī al-Tharablusi. The first is an

obscure figure, but the latter two were masters of *ḥadīth*, again displaying that Shaykh Aḥmad

Faṭānī had no shortage of learned teachers who helped him master that science. Shaykh Aḥmad

Faṭānī's opportunity to study with the premier Malay- and Arab-speaking teachers, along with

regular exposure to Arabic language from an early age, propelled him to the pinnacle of Malay-

speaking *ʿulama* in Mecca.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī matched even Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's volume of intellectual

production, and in even a shorter lifespan. He completed sixty-five known works in his lifetime

in both Malay and Arabic and was the first of the Patani shaykhs in Mecca to compose

prolifically in the latter language. Of his many writings, however, only *Matn Madkhal fi ʿIlm al-*

Ṣarf[56] (Introduction to Morphology) was ever disseminated widely in manuscript form, some

dating to as late as 1353/1934.[57] Most of his writings spread quickly after the founding of the

Ottoman printing press in Mecca, where he was put in charge of the Malay-language

publications, one of the principle topics of the final chapter of the present study.

A second prominent member of the Bendang Daya family to go to Mecca was Shaykh

Hajji Ismāʿīl bin Wan ʿAbd al-Qādir bin Wan Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī (1300-84/1882-1965), known

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[55] Al-Watri's grandson, Maulana ʿAbul Kalam Muhiyuddin Ahmed (1306-77/1888-1958), known popularly as
Maulana Azad, was a Muslim scholar and political leader of the Indian independence movement, as well as a strong
and vocal supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity.
[56] Hereafter, *Matn al-Madkhal*. Arabic: متن مدخل في علم الصرف
[57] There are only two dated manuscript copies: MKI 73: 37 and MKI 74: 49. Three other manuscripts with undated
colophons exist, namely MKI 307: 13; MKI 341: 48; and MKI 735:13. In addition, there are four undated versions:
MKI 357; MKI 595; MKI 646A; MKI 732.

popularly as Pa Da 'El Patani. He was the son of Tok Bendang Daya Muda and studied extensively with his father before traveling to Mecca to study with the principle teachers there, among them his cousin Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī.[58] His father taught him primarily *farā'iḍ*, but in Mecca he turned towards writings on proper Islamic practice rather than metaphysical or legal doctrines.[59] In Mecca he studied *tajwīd*, but was most well-known for written accounts of his *khuṭba*[60] (sermon), some given on Fridays, others on annual holidays such as *'Īdu l-'Aḍḥā*[61] (festival of sacrifice) and *'Īdu l-Fiṭr*[62] (commemoration of the end of Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting).[63] By the time of his young adulthood, 1314-7/1897-1900, he turned to studying Arabic grammar. He soon after began popularizing *Mutammimah li Masā'il al-Ājrūmiyya*[64] and *Qaṭr al-Nadā wa Ball al-Ṣadā*[65], the latter of which was written by the famous grammarian Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥmmad 'Abd Allāh bin Yūsuf bin Aḥmad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Naḥwī (708-61/1310-60), better known as Ibn Hishām. This is the first evidence of these teachings appearing in Malay-speaking circles, which are still used in *pondok* in east coast Malaysia today as the primary introduction to Arabic language for young students.[66] He was also the first to spread his cousin Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's works in manuscript form, primarily *Matn al-Madkhal* and *Abniyat al-'Asmā' wa al-'Af'āl*[67] (The Forms of Nouns and Verbs).[68] He

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[58] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 171.

[59] PNM 621: 15.

[60] Arabic: خطبة

[61] Arabic: عيد لأضحى

[62] Arabic: عيد لفطر

[63] MKI 738: 13; PNM 1096: 4v-4r; PNM 1510A, 11.

[64] This was a commentary upon the widely known work on grammar, *al-Ājrūmiyya*, written by Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd al-Ṣinhājī, who was better known as Ibn Ājrūm (672-723/1273-1323). Arabic: متمّمة ل مساءل الاجروميّة

[65] This title includes the names of two figures from Arabic oral tradition. Arabic: قطر الندا و بلّ الصدا

[66] MKI 730: 43; MKI 736: 84. *Qaṭr al-nadā wa ball a-ṣadā* focuses especially upon syntax. Ibn Hishām was a Shāfi'ī *faqīh* and teacher of *tafsīr* who later shifted to Ḥanbalī teachings. Ibn Khaldun considered him one of the most accomplished Arabic grammarians to ever have written on the subject. H. Fleisch, "Ibn Hishām," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 3, eds. B. Lewis, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971): 801.

[67] Hereafter, *Abniyat al-'Asmā'*. Arabic: أبنية الأسماع و الأفعال

[68] Arabic: أبنية الأسماع و الأفعال

later wrote two of his own works, titled *Bakūrat al-'Amānī*[69] (Primordial Hopes) and *Tabṣirat al-'Amānī*[70] (Envisioning Hopes), but neither of these experienced wide distribution.[71] He became, by the 1920s, one of the main teachers within the Patani community in Mecca and remained there until his death. His more than fifty documented students returned to the archipelago and worked most commonly as teachers in southern Siam and throughout British Malaya, though their influence is beyond the scope of the present study.[72]

A third member of the Bendang Daya family who became prominent in Mecca in the final decade of the nineteenth century was Shaykh Wan Dā'ūd bin Wan Muṣṭafā bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (1283-1354/1866-1936), known popularly as Pak Cik Wan Dā'ūd. He was a brother of Tok Bendang Daya Muda and an uncle to Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, but born of a younger wife of his father's thus succeeding even his nephew in birth. He studied first with his father, then his elder brother, then his nephew and other Patani teachers in Mecca including Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, Shaykh 'Alī Kutan, Shaykh Muḥammad Nawawī al-Bantānī[73], Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, and Shaykh Sa'īd al-Yamānī.[74] After finishing his studies, during which time he established himself as an expert in *fiqh*, he remained in the city the rest of his life as a teacher. He attracted at least sixteen students, including many of the next generation of Patani shaykhs in Mecca (and many who returned to Southeast Asia) who carried on the scholarly tradition until well after World War II.

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[69] Arabic: بكورة الأماني
[70] Arabic: تبصرة الأماني
[71] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 177-8.
[72] Ibid., 174-5.
[73] His career is discussed at length in Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 268-73.
[74] Ibid., 263.

The Bendang Badang Shaykhs

Members of other well-established Patani *'ulama* families came to Mecca during the period. For example, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (d. 1309/1892), the son of Tuan Minal mentioned in chapter four, arrived as early as the 1870s. He came from Kuala Bangkat, near Patani, studied with his father extensively at Bendang Badang, and then went to Mecca to complete his studies. A full account of his studies cannot be ascertained from the primary sources, but he did focus upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, a work on the life on the Prophet Muḥammad. He eventually composed two of his own works mainly writing on *tajwīd*, as in *Sirāj al-Qāri' pada Bicara Ḥukm Tajwīd Kalām Allāh al-Bārī*[75] (Reader's Guide that Discusses the Rule of Recitation of the Words of God the Creator) and *Tajwīd Mafātīh Hurūf al-Qur'ān* (The Key to Qur'ānic Recitation).[76] The latter of these two works received moderate levels of distribution through the Patani scholarly network. He died while still in middle age. Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's brother also became a scholar, Shaykh 'Umar bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who wrote *Asbāb yang Jadi Murtad*[77] (Reasons for Becoming an Apostate), but was otherwise less active. The family remained very active in Patani-Pattani affairs and perhaps most famous was the former's grandson, Haji Muḥammad Sulong bin Hajji 'Abd al-Qādir (1312-73/1895-1954), known popularly as Haji Sulong, who was involved in the post-World War II political organizing in southern Thailand and together with his son disappeared after being taken captives by Thai police on August 13, 1954.

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[75] Hereafter, *Sirāj al-Qāri*. Arabic: سراج القارء فد بيچارا حكم تجويد كلام الله الباري

[76] Arabic: تجويد مفاتيه هروف القران

[77] Arabic/Jawi: أسباب يغ جادي مرتد

Other Scholars in Mecca

Many other important scholars flocked to Mecca during the period. 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad 'Alī bin Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī (d. 1333/1915), known popularly as Tok Gudang, studied in Kelantan, Patani, and then Mecca. He expressed an interest primarily in *tajwīd* and made several copies of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī's text, *Tajwīd Mafātīḥ Hurūf al-Qur'ān* that he continued to spread among scholarly circles as a teacher in Mecca.[78] By the 1890s, he began writing and composed four of his own works: *Nūr al-Ẓalām fī Ma'rifatillāh wa Rusulih al-Kirām*[79] (Illumination in Darkness in Knowing God and His Revered Messengers), *al-Futūḥat al-'Ilāhiyya*[80] (Divine Conquest), and *Nūr al-'Abṣār*[81] (Light of Sight), all of which later gained distribution via publishing networks.

Two other major teachers built a reputation within the Patani circle in Mecca around the same time. Shaykh 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Qāsim al-Fiqhi al-Sanqūrī (c. 1266-1349/1850-1930), known popularly as Tok Senggora because he was born at Kampung Perik (now Ban Perik), in what is now Thailand's Songkhla province.[82] He was taken to Mecca by his grandmother when still very young and studied with a few of the Patani teachers, such as Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn bin Wan Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, the father of Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, but otherwise trained extensively with Arab teachers.[83] Among these, he spent the most time with Shaykh Hasan Bādir al-Muqri, Muḥammad al-Dairi al-Tahaami, Shaykh Aḥmad Ridhā Salmunah, Shaykh Sulaymān al-Barbari, Sayyid Ṣāliḥ al-Rajaji, Sayyid 'Alī al-Badri, and Shaykh Ibrāhīm Sa'ād al-Maṣri al-Makkī. After completing his studies, he composed *Murīd al-Ẓam'ān fīmā*

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[78] MIM 416: 11; PNM 1768: 10.

[79] Arabic: نور الظلام في معرفتلّاه و رسله الكرام

[80] Arabic: الفتوحة الإلاهيّة

[81] Arabic: نور الأبصار

[82] Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, "Tok Senggora (1850-an-1930)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 241-2.

[83] Ibid., 242-4.

Yata'allaq bi Tajwīd al-Qur'ān[84] (The Goal of the Thirsty in Pertaining to the Recitation of the Qur'ān). He spent the entire rest of his life teaching in Mecca and his twenty-eight documented students returned to teach Islamic subjects in southern Thailand, throughout British Malaya, and Cambodia, and is the first of the Patani shaykhs in Mecca known to also teach native Arab-speaking students.[85]

One prominent scholar from Kelantan joined the Patani circle of scholars in Mecca, 'Abd al-Mutallib bin Tuan Hajji Faqīh 'Abd Allāh al-Kalantānī (d. c. 1328/1910). He came from a small village on Sungai Kelantan, perhaps Kampung Surau Kota, and taught Islamic subjects in the region before going to Mecca together with one of his students to further his studies.[86] His primary intellectual interest was in *fiqh* and chose to direct his attention most prominently to Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's concise compilation of Shafi'i law, *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, which dealt with aspects of social and cultural practice and their relation to religious doctrine.[87] He also turned his attention to a book by Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥusayn bin Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs, entitled *al-Fawa'id fī al-Salah wa-al-'Awa'id*[88] (The Benefits and Rewards of Righteousness). The latter's father had studied with Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and thus should be counted among the Patani scholar network despite his Hadrami ancestral origins. He also studied an untitled work on *fiqh* and *tawḥīd* by Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman bin Hajji Wan Talib as well as other unidentified writings.[89] He wrote at least three of his own works that have survived, including *Fidya Sembahyang dan Puasa atas Madhhab Hanafi*[90] (Sacrificial Offering and Fasting according to

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[84] Arabic: مريد الظمعان فيما يتعلّق بتجويد القرءان

[85] Ibid., 245-8.

[86] Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan di Rantau Orang," 519-20.

[87] PNM 2427A, 29r.

[88] MKI 198B, 52. Arabic: الفواعد في الصلاح والعواعد

[89] The original work was dated 1290/1873. He finished his copy in 1307/1889, most likely in Mecca. MKI x49: 140; MKI 198A, 4.

[90] Arabic/Jawi: فدية سمبهيغ دان فواسا اتس مذهب حنفي

the Ḥanafī school), *Risālat al-Ṣaghīr*[91] (The Junior Epistle), and an untitled work concerning

'Ahkām al-'Asqāt (Rules on Miscarriages).[92]

Several minor figures also joined the Patani scholars in Mecca during the period. Hajji

Wan Kencik bin Hajji Paklah, for example, came from Bendang Jum, in Yaring, and studied in

Mecca during the 1880s. By 1303/1886, he had completed his study of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

extensive *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, which was a broad survey of Islamic sciences intended for

beginning students.[93] After completing his studies, he returned to the Patani region and spread

the text there. Another figure, 'Abd al-Majīd bin Haji Ibrāhīm Johol, focused primarily upon *Fal

al-Qur'ān* and a work by Tuan Minal, *Tahqīq al-Kalām fī Bayān Ibtida' al-Siyam*[94] (The

Clarification of Rules on the Beginning of Fasting) in the early 1890s.[95] The ink in the only

remaining copy of the former text has bled through the pages so badly rendering it unreadable,

but an extand copy of the latter text is in good condition. It is interesting to note that by the time

of 'Abd al-Majīd's arrival in Mecca, Tuan Minal had returned to teach in Patani, but nevertheless

he must have left copies of his writings behind in storehouses in the holy city where later

students had access to them. 'Abd al-Majīd's contemporary, Hajji Muḥammad Mina bin Encik

Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, studied Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works *Munyat al-Muṣallī* and *Al-Bahja al-

Marḍiyya*, which still retained, as they had in previous periods, great popularity within the Patani

scholarly network.[96]

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[91] Arabic: رسالة الصغير
[92] The *risalah* was dated 1301/1883, while the other two writings were dated 1307/1889. Arabic: أهكام الأسقاة
[93] PNM 2431: 176v.
[94] Arabic: تحقيق الكلام في بيان إبتداع الصيام
[95] PNM 167: 13r.
[96] PNM 637(1)A, 21v; PNM 637(1)B.

Part II: Patani and the Rise of the *Pondok*

With the rise in the number of hajjis and the maturing of the scholarly networks, Patani became the most active center for Islamic learning in Malay-speaking parts of Southeast Asia in the final three decades of the nineteenth century. The core of the Patani region contained more scholars than any of the other centers connected to the network, even eclipsing Mecca's position as the most intellectually active place for the exchange of texts and ideas for Malay-speaking Muslim scholars. In this section, I will survey the key personalities and illustrate the network of teachers, authors, students, scribes, and others affiliated with the development of Islamic discourses.

Premier among the scholars of Patani was Shaykh Wan 'Abd al-Qādir bin Hajji Wan Muṣṭafā bin Wan Muḥammad Faqīh al-Faṭānī (1234-1312/1818-95), who we previously introduced in chapter four as Tok Bendang Daya Muda. He came from a highly respected lineage and succeeded his father as chief teacher at the esteemed Pondok Bendang Daya. After finishing his studies in Mecca, where he also taught for a time, he returned to Patani to carry on his family's work. His *pondok* became the final destination for the elite students of the peninsula before embarking for Mecca to fulfill their religious duties and for further study with scholars who operated there. In addition to teaching his own writings on *taṣawwuf* and *tawḥīd*, he employed Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's popular Sufi primer *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* on *martabat tujuh* as well as his survey of *fiqh*, *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, and al-Banjārī's *Luqtat al-'Ajlān*.[97] There is limited evidence that like his predecessors, he possessed a close relationship with the Raja of Patani, Tuan Besar, whose kin he accompanied to Mecca in 1312/1894.[98] In addition, it is highly

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[97] MKI 17: 23; MKI 729: 21; MKI x733A, 27; PNM 181: 32v; PNM 687; PNM 1495A, 11r; PNM 1495B, 14r; PNM 1495C, 14r.

[98] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Bendang Daya II: Pondok Teramai di Asia Tenggara." *Dakwah* 15, no. 193 (May 1993): 52; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 256.

probable that he procured some manner of royal patronage that allowed his *pondok* to prosper during the final decades of the nineteenth century.

Tok Bendang Daya Muda insisted upon a regular schedule at the school, gathering his students to pray in the morning during the Fajr prayer, followed with a period of studying in *ẓuhr*.[99] After the *'Aṣr* prayer, he assigned each of the students a physical task such as farming, cleaning, building new structures, breeding animals, and so forth through the afternoon. After gathering once again for the Maghrib prayer, the students engaged in a second period of studying until 'Ishā', after which they continued studying and praying until shortly before midnight. The regular schedule implemented by Tok Bendang Daya Muda is important for a number of reasons. First, it shows that the daily lives of students at such a school revolved completely around an Islamic schedule, regimented by the five prayer times. Secondly, it offers us a brief glimpse at the sort of community that resulted. The *pondok* at this time were largely constructed around a system of communal living, a scholarly community with the teacher at the apex, in which physical labor served the purposes of promoting learning and expanding the means of the school to accept additional students. Finally, we may assume that the other *pondok* that appeared throughout the peninsula at the same time followed a similar sort of schedule. Together the ordering of time and the system of communal living exhibits the sort of community that a teacher might build as part of the new moral order based upon the scholarly aesthetic that the Patani network spread through the course of the century.

Since Tok Bendang Daya Muda lived a long life, much of his influence was most firmly felt towards the end of the century when he taught many of the principal scholars of the region for a later generation, the most prominent of whom constituted the principal religious and social figures in Patani until World War II. Among them were individuals such as Hajji Muḥammad

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[99] Abdullah, "Tok Bendang Daya II," 50.

Ḥusayn bin ʿAbd al-Laṭīf bin ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Faṭānī (1280-1367/1863-1948) who was a highly reputed teacher at Pondok Kelaba, Hajji ʿAbd al-Samad bin Muḥammad Saman al-Faṭānī (c. 1286-1363/1870-1944) who founded the well-known Pondok Jakar, Hajji Muḥammad Dahhan bin Dāʾūd (1280s-1376/1860s-1956) who was a prominent scholar and teacher in the region, Hajji ʿAbd Allāh bin Muḥammad Aqib bin Dinar (d. 1340/1921) who taught at Caok, Hajji ʿAbd al-Rāshid (d. 1357/1938) who founded Pondok Kampung Bandar, Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ who founded Pondok Bendang Gucil[100], Hajji ʿIdrīs bin Hajji ʿAbd al-Karīm bin Muḥammad Dahhan[101] (d. 1354/1935) who founded Pondok Raja Hajji in Jambu, and a number of lesser known teachers and scholars.[102] Each of these students played a key role in carrying on the scholarly tradition begun by Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī and continued to mold the socio-moral order of their society via the schools at which they taught.

A second figure of great importance was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Wan ʿUthmān bin Wan Sū (c. 1245-1315/1829-98), whom we introduced in chapter four as Shaykh Nik Dir Patani. He was a prominent author of Islamic texts in the 1850s and 1860s as we discussed in chapter four, and while still in Mecca taught Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, who we discussed above and to whom we will return in chapter seven. By the 1870s, Shaykh Nik Dir Patani returned to Patani, where he taught a diverse array of students from Patani, Kelantan, Aceh, Pontianak, and elsewhere on the peninsula.[103] The most prominent of these was Hajji Ismāʿīl bin Hajji Senik (c. 1303-52/1885-1934), known popularly as Tok Kemuning, who taught at Bacok in Kelantan, and

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[100] After his death, Hajji ʿAbd Allāh continued his work at Bendang Gucil. Mohamad Mahmud, "Patani: Ulama, Pondok dan Kitab Jawi," in *Nadwah Ulama Nusantara I: Peranan dan Sumbangan Ulama Patani; Ulama Pencetus Budaya Ilmu* (Pattani, May 19-20, 2001): 8-9.

[101] He was known popularly as Pak Cu Yeh Tok Raja Haji.

[102] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 255, 289; Abdullah, "Tok Bendang Daya II," 52.

[103] Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Nik Dir Patani (1829-1898)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 129; Abdullah, *Penyebaran*, vol. 14: 51; Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdul Qadir bin Abdur Rahman al Fatani." *Dakwah* 13, no. 152 (Nov 1989): 25.

later became one of the earliest known Islamic teachers of the central region of the same state.[104]

At least forty-two of Tok Kemuning's students became *pondok* teachers in Kelantan, thus

playing a major role in the rise of that state as a major Islamic learning center.

A third prominent figure, Tuan Minal, who we introduced in chapter four, returned after

studying in Mecca for a number of years with the prominent teachers, and founded Pondok

Bendang Badang, on the banks of Sungai Patani.[105] He was one of the first Patani teachers to

draw significant numbers of students from the west coast of the peninsula in addition to

numerous students from the east coast, perhaps drawing upon connections with communities that

he had forged while in Mecca. We have already mentioned some of his students who also

studied with Tok Bendang Daya Muda above, such as Hajji 'Abd al-Rāshid of Pondok Kampung

Bandar and Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Pondok Bendang Gucil.[106] He also taught two influential

shaykhs of Kedah, Hajji Wan Muḥammad 'Idrīs bin Hajji Wan Jamāl (1266-1329/1849-1911),

who was originally from Patani, and Hajji Wan Ismā'īl bin Wan Muṣṭafā bin Wan Mūsā al-

Sumlawi (1290-1367/1873-1948), both of whom will be discussed in chapter six. Tuan Minal

also instructed Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd bin Hajji Jamāl al-Dīn bin Hajji 'Idrīs al-Linqī (1292-

1345/1875-1926), a great-grandnephew of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, who later became Mufti of

Negeri Sembilan and whose work will be discussed in further detail in chapter six.

The Fourth Generation Scholars

The most prominent member of the new generation of scholars to emerge in Patani

during this period was Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn bin 'Abd al-Laṭīf bin 'Abd al-Mu'min al-

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[104] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Kemuning (1885-1934)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 270, 274, 277, 281-3.

[105] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 62-4, 68.

[106] Ibid., 64-5.

Faṭānī (1280-1367/1863-1948), known popularly as Tok Kelaba. His paternal ancestors had originally come from Khurasan (today in Central Asia), lived for a time in Java, Minangkabau, and then went to Kampung Laut in Kelantan, before finally settling in Patani at some point in the eighteenth century.[107] His maternal grandfather had been one of the slave war captives taken by Siam in 1832, the events of which we previously discussed in chapter two. Even at an early age, Tok Kelaba expressed an interest in studying Islam, first doing so in his home of Kelaba, where he was mentored by an uncle, a cousin, and several other teachers such as Hajji 'Abd al-Laṭīf Garak, who was known as Imam Raja Patani. Having learned all that he could in his hometown, he went to Semela, near Patani, as early as 1292/1875, where he studied Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Sullam al-Mubtadī* and first encountered the writings of the eighteenth-century Trengganu scholar, Shaykh 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Abd Allāh who was known as Tok Pulau Manis.[108]

Tok Kelaba then went to study at Patani's premier *pondok*, Bendang Daya, two years later, where he accelerated the pace of his studies.[109] He also made frequent journeys to neighboring schools where he gathered texts and interacted with other scholars and students, especially at Kampung Beris, near Kelaba, and Sena Jancar, near Patani. Tok Kelaba was clearly a charismatic figure and a community-builder who drew people together from throughout the region. As a student, he showed a continued interest in *fiqh* and began his study at the new school by focusing on Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, a survey of inheritance law.[110] He followed this with a foray into Sufi teachings, most notably the massive *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim*, which contains maxims for mystics on the path to God, as well as the writings of

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[107] Ibid., 95.
[108] Fatani claims he did not arrive in Semela until 1296/1878, but primary sources indicate that Tok Kelaba completed his copy of *Sullam al-Mubtadī* there, dated Jamadilawal 1292/1875. MKI 675: 110; PNM 517: 59v.
[109] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Kelaba al Fatani: Haji Abdul Husein Abdul Latif; Penyalin Manuskrip Melayu Terbesar di Asia Tenggara," *Dakwah* 13 (Feb 1991): 38; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 96-8.
[110] PNM 2481: 23r.

Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī.[111] He then spent several years studying *'aqīda* and related topics, primarily the teachings contained in a little-studied work by the network's founder, *Fatḥ al-Mannān*.[112] Having gained the confidence of his teachers, he began composing his own works as early as 1305/1887, and his first books generally addressed Sufi concerns such as the attributes of God for beginning students, one of which was titled *Muqaddimat al-'Aṭfāl fī Ṣifāt Allāh dhī al-Jalāl*[113] (Children's Introduction to the Attributes of God, Lord of Glory). He concluded his education at the school by studying the works of Shaykh al-Falimbānī and some lesser known works.[114] After a period of fourteen years of study with Tok Bendang Daya Muda, he went to Mecca in 1312/1894, accompanying his famed teacher when the latter stewarded several members of Patani's royal family to the holy city.

While in Mecca, Tok Kelaba studied with the premier teachers there, including Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Makki, mentioned above. He does not appear to have remained long, however, and soon returned to his home of Kelaba to spread the impressive array of teachings he had gathered. Nevertheless, he carried on a correspondence with Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik throughout the rest of the latter's life and maintained friendships with other Meccan shaykhs such as Pak Cik Wan Dā'ūd that further facilitated the flow of knowledge and students.[115] The surviving manuscripts that were once owned by Tok Kelaba show us that he had accumulated an impressive library of Islamic texts thus propelling his *pondok* at Kelaba to the forefront of Patani's learning centers.[116] Among his

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[111] MKI 687: 22; PNM 2146: 400.

[112] PNM 2147: 601.

[113] He completed this work on Tuesday, Rabiulawal 8, 1305/November 24, 1887, in Patani. Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 102-3. Hereafter, *Muqaddimah al-Atfal*. Arabic: مقدّمة الأطفال في صفات الله ذي الجلال

[114] MKI 180: 22; MKI 700: 23.

[115] Abdullah, "Tok Kelaba al Fatani," 39; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 95-6.

[116] MKI 343: 17; MKI 346: 7; MKI 377: 15; MKI 386: 22; MKI x460: 56; PNM 1294: 17r. One scholar has claimed that Tok Kelaba once possessed thirty of Shaykh Dawud Fatani's works in his personal collection. Mohd. Zain bin

many students, he trained Hajji ʿAbd al-Latif Garak, the Imam Raja Patani, thus suggesting that Tok Kelaba may have benefited from the royal patronage of Patani's last rajas before they were finally ousted in 1320/1902.[117] Tok Kelaba continued to write additional works as well, though these are beyond the focus of the present study.[118] If we consider his influence as a writer, scribe, and teacher, he was the premier Patani scholar of the fourth generation, and one of the most powerful and enduring voices that carried on the scholarly tradition in Patani after the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1327/1909 and the rise of Kelantan as the premier Islamic learning center on the peninsula.[119] His son, Muḥammad Yūsuf, carried on his father's work in both Kelaba and Mecca.[120]

A second figure of importance in the fourth generation of Patani scholars was Hajji Muḥammad Ṭāhir bin Muḥammad Dahhan bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1267-1366/1851-1947), known as Tok Duku, who went to Mecca after completing his studies in Patani. Upon arrival, he studied with Tok Senggora, mentioned above, Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn of Sumbawa, and several other scholars.[121] With his well-toned voice and keen ear for detail, he soon became regarded as an expert in Qur'ānic recitation.[122] After studying for a number of years in Mecca, he returned to Patani and opened a *pondok* in Kampung Duku, which was very near to his birthplace at

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Abd. Rahman, *Annotated Translation and Transliteration of* Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz ahl al-Ṣūfī *of Shaykh Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī* (M.A. Thesis, Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 2000): 14, n11.

[117] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 290.

[118] His known written works include *Muqaddimah al-Atfal fi Sifat Allah zi al-Jalal*, completed Rabiulawal 8, 1305/November 24, 1887, in Patani, *Risalah taṣawwuf*, completed 1307/1889, *Jamʿ al-risalah fi daqa'iq al-jawabat wa al-Suʿalat*, completed 1315/1897, *Faedah*, completed 1322/1904, *Mulayanah al-Qulub ila al-Tazakkur li ʿAllamah al-Ghuyub*, completed Muharram 8, 1341/August 31, 1922 (a work in Arabic), *Dala'il al-Niat fi al-Salat wa Gha'iriha wa Mahalliha*, completed 1352/1933, *Hada'iq al-Salawat fil Khalawat wa al-Jalawat*, *Hidayah al-Saʿil fi Bayan al-Masa'il*, *Terjemah Qasidah Rijal al-Gha'ib*, and an untitled and undated collection of prayers (*doa-doa*). Abdullah, "Tok Kelaba al Fatani," 40-1; Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 102-3.

[119] He drew students from Patani, Kelantan, and elsewhere. MKI 460: 56.

[120] MKI 96: 85.

[121] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 272-3.

[122] Ibid., 273.

Kampung Teluk Manok, today in the vicinity of Pekbun, in Narathiwat Province, where he attracted many students.

A third important member of the fourth generation to emerge at this time was Hajji ʻAbd Allāh bin Muḥammad Aqib bin Dinar (d. 1340/1921), known as Tok Caok, who came from Kampung Aur, Nad Tanjung, near Jambu, Patani.[123] He studied with Tok Bendang Daya Muda and possibly with Tuan Minal as well, before going to Mecca for further instruction from Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī. Upon his return, he taught at a *pondok* in Caok, which had supposedly existed as a small school for many decades but only rose to prominence after his arrival. Tok Caok quickly enlarged the school and drew many dozens of students there who became important figures for a subsequent generation, though are beyond the scope of the present study.[124] Still, we can see from Tok Caok's work, the further development of Islamic institutions in the region which produced influential political figures on both sides of the new imperial border between Siam and British Malaya.

A fourth student of Bendang Daya, Hajji Muḥammad Dahhan bin Dāʼūd (c. 1280s-1376/1860s-1956), was known popularly as Tok Yaman. He also studied at Pondok Semela around the same time of Tok Kelaba, studied with Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ at Bendang Gucil, and

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[123] Ibid., 260-1.

[124] His son, Hajji ʻAbd al-Majid bin Hajji ʻAbd Allah (1315-72/1898-1953), known popularly as Hajji ʻAbd al-Majid Embong, was a close friend of Patani's well-known reformer and popular leader Haji Sulong, and was an important figure in the formation of the GEMPAR movement. Hajji Hussein bin Ismail bin Mustafa (1321-86/1904-67), son of Hajji Ismāʻīl Cik Dol discussed in chapter six and known popularly as Tuan Guru Hajji Cik Dol, for example, came from a Patani diaspora family that had moved to Kampung Gajah Mati, Kedah. After four years of study and marrying Tok Caok's daughter, he returned to Kedah and in the late 1940s became involved in the early formation of the Persatuan Islam Sa-Malaya (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party; PAS), the country's main Islamic party that has had renewed electoral success in recent Malaysian elections since 1999. Another of his students, Hajji ʻAbd Allah Tembesu (d. December 1941), founded Pondok Kampung Comel, near Teluban, Patani, but was killed during the Japanese invasion of the region. Another student of Tok Caok, Noh bin Salih (1299-1374/1882-1955), became a teacher in at Kampung Jedok, in Tanah Merah, Kelantan, where he taught many students who later opened *pondok* in the region reaching as far as Kedai Buluh on the Kelantan-Trengganu border. Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 112, 290; Abdul Razak Mahmud, "Haji Husain Che Dol (1904-1967)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 84-5, 98; Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' Muhajirin di Kelantan," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 537-82 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 564-5.

probably studied with Tuan Minal at some point before embarking for Mecca.[125] He spent five years learning from Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and Shaykh Nik Dir Patani before accompanying his friends Hajji 'Abd Allāh Bendang Gucil and Hajji Ibrāhīm Mūsā Bendang Gucil, both sons of his former teacher, to Yemen. He thus gained his common name there, while studying with Shaykh Yūsuf al-Yamānī for five years, before returning for a time to Mecca, and thence to Patani. Tok Yaman was regarded as an expert in *aqīda* and *fiqh* and attracted many students from Patani and beyond, the most influential of which were undoubtedly Hajji 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Muḥammad Saman al-Fatani, known as Tok Jakar and Hajji Wan Aḥmad bin Wan 'Idrīs, known as Tok Bermin, who were critically influential teachers in the Patani area in the early decades of the twentieth century.[126] Tok Bermin alone produced at least thirty-one *pondok*-teachers who later taught in various places throughout the Pattani area, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Trengganu.[127] Tok Yaman's son, Hajji 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ṣaghīr, known as Tok Beruas, also became a well-known teacher.[128]

Part III: *The Spread of the* Pondok

The most important development in Patani after 1285/1869 was the gradual rise of *pondok* education that reached an unprecedented level of activity by the 1880s. Most of these students were locals, but many also came from Kelantan and Kedah most prominently, and from other Malay-speaking areas on the peninsula, Borneo, and Sumatra. To analyze this critical transformation, I will survey a number of poignant examples from which I draw a number of general conclusions. The rise in the number of pilgrims going to Mecca, combined with the

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[125] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 276-7.
[126] Ibid., 151, 277.
[127] Ibid., 160-1.
[128] Ibid., 291.

functional structure of the scholarly network, pushed Patani collectively to the apex of Islamic learning centers in the Malay-speaking parts of Southeast Asia. The pattern of scholars in the network that we observed in the earlier decades flourished and the number of Islamic schools that opened throughout the Malay-Thai borderland regions further accelerated.

Established Centers

The well-established *pondok* in Patani saw the greatest amount of intellectual activity from the 1870s onwards. At Pondok Bendang Daya, for example, a number of students came to study in addition to those already mentioned above.[129] Muḥammad al-Dīn arrived by the early 1880s and expressed an interest primarily in *fiqh* by concentrating on Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*.[130] Around the same time, Muḥammad Kadak bin Ismā'īl, who came from Kampung Dala, near Yaring, Patani, came to study at the same school.[131] Two local students, Wan Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad Dih bin Hajji Muqim, also chose to study with Tok Bendang Daya Muda. The former studied his teacher's work on *tawḥīd*, producing one of the only known copies of that text.[132] The latter primarily studied the various Muslim sects, as described in Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn*, which must have been increasingly relevant at a time when greater access to long-distance travel resulted in an increased level of interaction between Muslims from many different traditions. Pondok Bendang Daya continued to draw students even

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[129] Pondok Bendang Daya has generally been recognized as the greatest and most influential of the Patani *pondok*. Mahmud, "Patani: Ulama, Pondok dan Kitab Jawi," 1-18.
[130] He finished a copy of the above text, dated Rabiulawal 1301/January 1884. PNM 1142: 28v.
[131] MKI 220: 18.
[132] MKI 667: 38.

after Tok Bendang Daya Muda's death in 1312/1895 as other teachers took up the mantle of instruction.[133]

Pondok Kelaba, as discussed above, continued to rise as a major center for Islamic learning in the period, mainly due to the efforts of Tok Kelaba. It is worth noting that this gifted scholar propelled the school to great renown while still in his twenties and even before embarking for Mecca to further his studies. Tok Kelaba also seems to have promoted the aesthetic of handwritten manuscripts long after the publishing centers in the Middle East and Southeast Asia made texts more readily available. As late as 1333/1915, such manuscripts were still being produced in the *pondok*, in the form of Pa Da 'El Patani's holiday sermons mentioned above.[134] Contemporaries of Tok Kelaba also appear to have been active at Kelaba, where one student translated portions of a work written by Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī, taken from a book owned by Hajji Awam Pauh.[135]

A third center that maintained a relatively high level of intellectual activity during the period was Bendang Badang. Two scholars were of particular note, the first of which was Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn bin Aḥmad Raman (fl. 1299/1882) who, as his name indicates, came from Raman, in southern Patani. He arrived at the *pondok* in the late 1870s where he focused his studies upon *tawḥīd*, which also compelled him to study writings on the various *firaq* of Muslims with growing concern about the many disputes that kept the Islamic world divided.[136] He was influenced by the ideas of pan-Islam that were just then erupting out of Egypt from the teachings of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his protégé Muḥammad Abduh. Raman made copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī's *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn*, which he later brought back to his home, where he continued

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[133] Hajji 'Abd al-Majid bin Hajji 'Abd Allah (1315-72/1898-1953), known as Hajji 'Abd al-Majid Embong, was a close friend of Hajji Sulong and an important figure in the GEMPAR movement. He received some of his early instruction at the school. Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 112.
[134] PNM 1294: 17r.
[135] MKI 386: 22.
[136] PNM 511: 9r.

to teach students there.[137] Another scholar, Hajji Kahar Balap al-Faṭānī, studied at Bendang

Badang around the same time but had different interests. He focused especially upon works on

tajwīd and the popular *Masā'il al-Muhtadī*.[138] He presumably later departed from the school to

teach these texts elsewhere in the region.

Other established centers continued to draw students in the period. For example,

Kampung Pauh Bok, which had declined in activity in the middle period after the death of

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, experienced a resurgence in the 1870s as a center for the study of

taṣawwuf. The *pondok*'s main teacher in the late nineteenth-century was Shaykh 'Abd al-

Raḥmān bin Shaykh Imam 'Abd al-Mubīn, who descended from the illustrious family that had

founded the school in the eighteenth century. His principle text for instruction was Shaykh

Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, designed as an introduction to many Sufi concepts, especially

martabat tujuh.[139] The most successful student to emerge from Kampung Pauh Bok around this

time was its own native son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Awan (fl. 1295/1878). He was particularly

interested in *ḥaqīqa*[140] (a stage in Sufi consciousness and training that allows one to perceive

transcendental truth), *ma'rifa*[141] (knowledge one may only obtain in God's presence in one of the

most advanced stages of a Sufi's journey), *muḥāsaba*[142] (self reflection), *sakarat al-mawt*[143]

(moments just prior to death), and *salāt* and wrote a treatise expounding upon these issues.[144] It

is unclear whether he remained as a teacher at the school or taught in a neighboring *kampung*

after finishing his studies.

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[137] PNM 506: 21v-22v.
[138] PNM 1109A, 11r; PNM 1109B, 15v.
[139] MKI 697: 61; PNM 693: 16v.
[140] This is an advanced stage in Sufi mysticism whereby a person is living life in according to God's will. Arabic: حقيق
[141] This is the destination for many Sufi practitioners, the ultimate objective of existence. Arabic: المعرفة
[142] Arabic: محاسبة
[143] Arabic: سكرة الموت
[144] MKI 47: 31.

The teachers at Kampung Pauh Bok also taught *fiqh*. A figure known simply as Wan Ngah (fl. 1313/1895), reproduced copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, a popular treatise on inheritance law.[145] Another teacher, Aḥmad bin 'Abū Bakr, who had formerly studied untitled works on *fiqh* with Tok Kelaba, also came to the region around 1309/1891 to spread teachings.[146] Others, such as Muḥammad Saman bin Hajji 'Abd Allāh Pauh Bok and Wan Muḥammad Dā'ūd Pauh Bok, both locals who came to the school, circulated other texts, especially collections of *ḥadīth*.[147] In the former case, we see evidence of manuscripts originally produced in the 1850s still changing hands, which shows that for some, their study of Islam was more of a passing interest than a lifelong focus and once they had garnered all they wanted from a particular book, they sold or lent it to their friends or relatives so that others could continue to benefit from it. Others passed Islamic texts onto younger generations via inheritance, thus opening additional channels for knowledge production and dissemination.

Pondok Canak, which had been so active in the 1840s-60s, diminished in the period as a result of the proliferation of other regional *pondok*. Only in the early 1870s is there evidence of intellectual activity at the school, which still had a reputation as a *pondok* that specialized in *fiqh*. For example, an anonymous scholar studied the subject there in the late 1860s and early 1870s, which eventually culminated in his writing of *Matn al-Manhaj*[148] (The Guide). Another scholar, Muḥammad Amīn bin Muḥammad, who came from Kampung Teranan, near Yaring, also studied there around the same time. He exhibited an interest primarily in Islamic law and focused primarily upon one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's massive legal volumes, *Nahj al-Rāghibīn*, that

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[145] PNM 220:
[146] MKI 377: 15.
[147] MKI 432: 27; PNM 2670: 8v.
[148] MKI 204: 389. Arabic: متن المنهج

outlined the proper rules for trade and transaction.[149] Canak did not disappear entirely, however, for as Hasan Madmarn has convincingly shown, teachers at the school reasserted its prestigious position by the 1920s.[150]

Proliferation of New Pondok *after 1295/1878*

Dozens of new learning centers appeared in Patani from 1295/1878 onwards as a result of the strengthening of the connection between Patani and Mecca brought on by increasing numbers of hajjis going to the Middle East. These returning pilgrims bore additional texts and a revitalized vigor to intensify the practice of their faith, while spreading the teachings they had garnered abroad. Hajjis also enjoyed increased social prestige having fulfilled one of the important rites of their faith that the vast majority of Southeast Asian Muslims could not do due to logistical and financial strictures. The spread of Islamic teachings from this period onward was no longer purely the work of great scholars, but involved innumerable lesser known figures who together composed the engine for Islamic renewal and reform. In the following section, I detail the individuals and centers of greatest influence.

The Pondok *in Patani City*

The *pondok* in the city of Patani do not appear quite as active as in Yaring and Yala, which follow, but we must begin our analysis with Patani to understand developments throughout the region. Tok Kelaba, who notoriously moved throughout the region collecting and studying whatever texts he could find, spent some time in the city around 1305/1887, when he

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[149] MKI x480: 202; PNM 2804: 102v-102r.
[150] Hurgronje mentions that Southeast Asian pilgrims in Mecca were, by necessity, wealthy. He also notes the elevated status of returning hajjis and the role of their newly adopted cultural practices, such as dress. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 220, 224. Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah in Patani*, 33.

composed *Muqaddimah al-Atfal*.[151] At the same time, some scholars came to Patani to study *al-Qur'ān* with the leading teachers, where they composed some of their own works.[152] Other scholars chose to study mystical poetry, including poems concerning the Prophet Muḥammad, that they spread in the region around 1311/1893.[153] There is also some evidence of the manuscript tradition surviving in the region as late as 1346/1927, around which time texts on the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa* were being produced alongside Ibn Ājrūm's *al-Ājrūmiyya*.[154]

A scholar named Faqīr 'Abd al-Rashīd founded a *pondok* in Kampung Cabang Tiga, near Kuala Bakat, which is located near to Patani city, around 1301/1883.[155] He spread copies of the well-known piece of Malay-language literature, *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, as the chief part of his teachings. By 1318/1900, the area had become a common place for crowds to gather to listen to annual holiday sermons on *'Īdu l-'Aḍḥā* and *'Īdu l-Fiṭr*, during which the most studious present recorded the words of the imam in small blue-lined notebooks.[156]

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's texts are noticeably absent from the local intellectual traditions of the time and the activity of study seems much reduced since the period 1242-89/1827-72 when scholarly activity was at its peak in Patani city. Evidently the chief teachers of the Patani region felt more comfortable locating their schools a bit removed from what was gradually becoming the beachhead for greater Siamese political involvement in the area. After the conclusion of World War II, accompanying the general rising nationalist consciousness in the region, Patani became an important publishing center for the writings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and other authors, a matter to which I will return in chapter seven.

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[151] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Kelaba al Fatani: Haji Abdul Husein Abdul Latif; Penyalin Manuskrip Melayu Terbesar di Asia Tenggara," *Dakwah* 13 (Feb 1991): 40-1. Arabic:
[152] PNM 2651: 80v.
[153] See DBP uncatalogued manuscript titled *Syair Nabi Muhammad*, 50.
[154] MKI 680: 21; PNM 1724: 3v.
[155] DBP Uncat., *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*,
[156] PNM 2964: 11v; PNM 2965: 12v.

The Yaring Pondok

Yaring, positioned just south of Patani, was the most active center of learning during the period and was the primary dissemination point for scholars, students, and texts destined for one of the many *pondok* that existed in neighboring *kampung*. Wan Ibrāhīm bin ʿAbd Allāh (fl. 1302/1884) studied Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's *Munyat al-Muṣallī* there, a text that had maintained its popularity steadily since its original composition in 1242/1827.[157] The interest in this text in the 1880s seems to coincide with the general rising interest within the Patani diaspora, as well as the wider Malay-speaking parts of the peninsula, in prescriptions of cultural practice. In other centers, this took the form of adherence to particular rites of holy days, wedding ceremonies, or funerals. In another instance in Yaring around the same time, two scholars Wan Ngah[158] and Wan Bersamah, of Kampung Kalai, collaborated in producing a copy of the popular *Masāʾil al-Muhtadī*.[159]

Of Yaring's neighboring *pondok*, Kampung Pauh Manis was by far the most active. Indeed, there is evidence of intellectual activity in the region as early as 1235/1820, as we mentioned briefly in chapter four.[160] Around 1300/1883, activity renewed at the school, mainly due to one particularly active scholar, Abū Bakr bin Muḥammad Jamāl (fl. 1300-1/1883-4). He studied a variety of doctrines, including teachings on *taṣawwuf* and *fiqh*, especially Shafiʿi law concerning *ḥalāl* dietary proscriptions and hunting and slaughtering rites like those outlined in Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabāʾi*, as well as other texts.[161] He then left to teach these doctrines elsewhere, though the location of his own school has not been identified. A

[157] PNM 3151: 21r.
[158] He may be the same as another scholar with this name mentioned above, though we cannot be certain due to his father's name being omitted from his own in the records.
[159] MKI 465: 16.
[160] MKI 767: 116.
[161] MKI 128A, 24; MKI 128B, 18; MKI 128C, 14.

second scholar, Muḥammad Yūsuf, who grew up in Kampung Pauh Manis, also studied at the *pondok* there. Like his contemporary, he had an interest in *fiqh*, but focused primarily upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, eventually producing one of the more artistically elaborate and detailed renderings of the manuscript.[162] It is not clear whether he continued on as a teacher at the school or opened another such *pondok* in a neighboring *kampung*.

Many neighboring *pondok* existed in the vicinity of Yaring. Many of these likely consisted of one teacher and perhaps only a few dozen students, but these schools were nevertheless very important to the genesis of Islamic learning in the region. Such schools represented the furthest reach of the Patani scholarly network into the rural areas and into regions where Islamic belief and practice had long existed alongside many local animist and other syncretic traditions. In many ways, these new waves of Islamic orthodoxy were to have their most profound effects in such places as people revolutionized their relationship with the Divine and with wider Patani society in the form of informal scholarly networks, situated on the very cusp of modernity. These transformations were points of constant contestation and personal, familial, or societal levels of filtering, rejection, and acceptance of new practices, beliefs, and doctrines.

The principle scholar at Kampung Lubang Baqa, near Yaring, Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān, employed Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's account of the Prophet Muḥammad's journey by night to Jerusalem and thence to Heaven as the core of his teachings.[163] The influx of such a centrally important and vibrant tale must have made accompanying Islamic teachings of the period seem all the more personal and riveting. At Cha'aq, Wan 'Abd al-Malik al-Faṭānī taught

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[162] PNM 2412: 47v.
[163] PNM 684: 17r.

taṣawwuf, employing the introductory Sufi text *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* for the purpose.[164] The teachings of this text had come under criticism in more Wahhābiyya-influenced circles elsewhere, but appears to have been quite comfortable in the *pondok* education of Patani.[165]

We should not assume that the more remote *pondok* were somehow lagging behind their neighbors, however. At the nearby *kampung*, Dala Tepi Sungai, ʻAbd Allāh bin Hajji Faṭānī taught Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's *al-Risālah al-Mutaʻalliqa bi al-'Isti'āra*[166] (Epistle Pertaining to Metaphors). This occurrence is important for two reasons. First, we can see that a rural *pondok* such as this gained access to a text composed in Mecca in 1312/1894 fairly quickly after its original composition, which suggests that the Patani scholarly network by the close of the century was functioning at its highest volume and most reliable levels yet. The appearance of a text so far from its source is convincing evidence that the intellectual community had attained a position without equal as cultural producers in Patani society. They were now transporting new works and disseminating them with relative ease across the diasporic stretch of the network. Secondly, the above work was written in Arabic and never translated. Therefore, we must assume that Arabic-language education, which we noted in chapter four, had been on the rise in Patani since at least the 1820s, now afforded even rural students the opportunity to study Islam's sacred language.

Other small *pondok* opened around Yaring. At Kampung Tengah Padang, for example, a figure known simply as Aḥmad (fl. 1295/1878), who had come from nearby Kampung Haling, is known to have taught several unidentified texts concerning the proper conduct of prayers and the

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[164] PNM 1088: 11r.

[165] Take for example, the criticisms of the teachings of *martabat tujuh* by Shaykh Dā'ūd of Sunur (West Sumatra). Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shaṭṭāriyya Ṣūfī Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 3 (2001): 62.

[166] MKI 124: 9. Arabic: الرسالة المتعلّقة ب الإستءارة

attributes of God.[167] At Kampung Bangkok, another neighboring village in the region, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd bin Tok Imam 'Abd al-Raḥīm taught an unidentified *fiqh* text, while at Kampung Tandang, 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Haji Muḥammad taught Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, an affirmation of the teachings of al-Ghazālī and the *Ashā'riyya i'tiqād*.[168] The usage of this text shows that *taṣawwuf* continued to have great relevance in the region.

Yaring maintained one of the most enduring manuscript traditions of any of the learning centers in the Patani region and even long after the printing press eroded the practice in many other places, some scholars in the region still compelled their students to reproduce texts by hand. As late as 1343/1925, at nearby Kampung Bukit Manguh, students were still reproducing copies of Pak Da 'El Patani's sermon on *hari raya*[169], some of which contained teachings on *martabat tujuh*.[170] The enduring legacy of such teachings tell us that Wahhābiyya (by then termed *Salafī*) influence in the region was very slow in coming. But more importantly, we can see that the practice of Islamic education—which had for a century relied upon handwritten texts reproduced by the students who studied them—was slow to die out. In fact, a great deal of social and cultural value was attached to the tradition, whether as the myriad local traditions of calligraphy or Qur'ānic art, or the seemingly greater authenticity that such a text possessed over published editions. The legacy of such texts can be seen clearly in that they were cared for much more so than their mass-produced kin. Even though thousands of published texts soon flooded the region from the 1880s onwards, relatively few remain today in archives or private collections in Malaysia or southern Thailand in comparison to the impressive stores of handwritten manuscripts.

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[167] MKI 83A, 6; MKI 83B, 4.

[168] PNM 2034: 142; PNM 2134: 88.

[169] Jawi:

[170] PNM 1514A, 33; PNM 1514B, 25. In the same year at Keresik, near Yaring, Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Hajji 'Abd al-Raḥīm Jambu completed his translation of *Matn alfiyya*, a text concerning nahu written by Muḥammad bin Malik that was commonly studied by students of Tok Bermin.

From our discussion here, we may draw a number of conclusions. First, a regional center such as Yaring possessed a local scholarly network of its own. Within this system, the major *pondok* of Kampung Pauh Manis served as the central distribution point for at least seven other known *pondok*. The flow of knowledge, in the form of handwritten texts may have been going from the urban centers to the rural villages, but local people still were engaging with such reformist teachings on their own terms. As we discussed in chapter three, we may assume that resistance to religious and social change was always present in such scenarios but has gone unmentioned in the primary sources because they were all written by the reformist Islamic scholars. Local people, especially leaders, were braced with the decision of whether to adhere to existing objects of symbolic social and cultural power or whether to co-opt these new forms. Nevertheless, as this process was going on, the elites of the urban areas were clearly at an advantage vis-à-vis the more isolated rural settlements because the directionality of these changes propelled them to become the progenitors of more enduring and powerful forms of symbolic power and knowledge, namely the written word of the Islamic texts they produced and disseminated via their students.

Despite the influx of great quantities of books into Patani, there was always a corresponding outflow of knowledge as well. A few of the Islamic learning centers in the region show signs of an upwelling of information as local intellectuals took advantage of the opportunities afforded them. At Kampung Dusun Panjang, for example, we see evidence of Islamic texts as well as popular literature coexisting and cross-pollinating. Hajji Aḥmad bin Hajji ʿAbd Allāh, for example, composed a text in the *kampung* in 1308/1891 that included tales about the death and other events in the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and local stories that

existed concurrently in the local oral tradition.[171] During the same period, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, another local scholar, was reproducing copies of Shaykh al-Falimbānī's well-known *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Guidance for Travelers on the Righteous Path).[172] A third scholar, known simply as 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, is known to have possessed a copy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, which also largely traced some key events in the life of the Prophet Muḥammad that formed an important part of Islamic belief and practice.[173] This text may well have been employed in opposition to the local oral traditions about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad mentioned above, as a way of advancing an "official" narrative, or may have merely complemented existing knowledge on the subject. A fourth scholar, Onn bin Muḥammad also operated in the region, mainly teaching Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's famous affirmation of al-Ghazālī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*.[174] The emphasis on *taṣawwuf* at this *pondok* is clearly evident, and thus the reformist tendencies do not seem as strong there as in other places. Furthermore, we can see how various texts comingled and complemented one another in a wider intellectual milieu, whether part of the broader Patani scholarly network or locally produced. In either case, knowledge was being produced and disseminated multi-directionally. Kampung Dusun Panjang is a clear example of the *pondok* as a meeting place of the varieties of knowledge that existed in such a place and likely serves as an example of a wider trend. The process of writing the oral tradition was a key component to the fusing of local culture with the broader revivalist and reformist trends that were then ongoing. The first figure

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[171] PNM 2111A, 17; PNM 2111B, 5; PNM 2111C, 11; PNM 2111D, 7.

[172] PNM 240: 53r. Shaykh al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Surabaya, 1933): 3. This was a translation with considerable elaboration of al-Ghazālī's famous *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* and deals primarily with the application of *sharī'a* to Sufi practices. Arabic: هداية السالكين في سلوک مسلک المتّقين

[173] PNM 2958: 11r. As was often the case, certain elite families came to dominate knowledge dissemination and production. Here the case is not clear. The first three scholars mentioned above could well be related, that is, Ahmad and 'Abd al-Rahman could both be the sons of the third, but given the common names they possess, this is a supposition only. If this indeed was the case, it would further illuminate how texts of various origins circulated within one family.

[174] PNM 490: 94r, 95r.

mentioned above, Hajji Aḥmad, had adopted writing as a medium for communication, most likely either at the local *pondok* or during his hajj and after returning, he employed this tool for the reproduction of local knowledges as well as those he acquired abroad.

The Yala Pondok

The second greatest concentration of *pondok* in the Patani region was in what is now Thailand's Yala Province, but in the late nineteenth-century was one of the seven small principalities bearing the same name. The city of Yala had been an early site of Islamic learning, with evidence of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's texts being studied there as early as 1237/1821, which we mentioned briefly in chapter four.[175] The intellectual tradition in Yala was fueled most prominently by Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Haji ʿAbd al-Qādir Trengganu, whose work we have already discussed at length. By the 1870s, he was in the twilight of his career, but appears to still have drawn students to his *pondok* at Kampung Pusing until at least 1291/1874.[176] By that time, Hajji Maḥmūd had taken a Sufi-turn in his interests, especially Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kanz al-Mannān*, a translation and commentary upon *al-Hikam*, written by the 6th/12th century Andalusian mystic Abū Madyan Shuʿayb bin al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī, which he employed as one of his main sources for teaching. Hajji Maḥmūd had spent more than five decades building one of the most respected *pondok* in the region and we can see evidence of his influence even after his death or retirement perhaps at sometime in the late 1870s.

In Kampung Pusing itself, we can see evidence of a number of active students in the decades following. Of these, Muḥammad Yaʿqūb bin Encik Lebai Muḥammad Safar, who came from Pulau Pinang, appears the most active and may well have been chosen to succeed Hajji

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[175] PNM 2419: 18v.
[176] PNM 1240: 75v.

Maḥmūd Trengganu as the chief teacher. Muḥammad Yaʻqūb, like his predecessor, had a broad interest in Islamic teachings. Among a number of texts he is known to have taught, Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī's *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* appears most prominently.[177] He also employed several other texts, one by al-Banjārī that had been translated by an unidentified Patani scholar, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Faṭānī, titled, *Bidāyāt al-Mubtadi' wa 'Umdat al-'Awladī*[178] (The Beginning of the Beginners and Pillars for the Recently Converted). These texts were probably now produced locally since there is no evidence of a continued open line of communication between the Patani scholars and those in Banjar. A student at the school, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Ja'ib, studied the same text, which he presumably took with him after he departed from the *pondok* and spread elsewhere in the region after 1298/1881.[179] A second student, Wan 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Tuan Hajji Ismāʻīl, who came from Kampung Pusing and remained their for his studies, focused upon Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī's concise treatises on *fiqh*, including *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* and *Sullam al-Mubtadī*.[180] He may also have been the "'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Ismāʻīl" who appeared around the same time and continued popularizing the "prayer manuals" we discussed in chapter four that included Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī's *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya*, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, and *Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*.[181] He eventually became a teacher elsewhere in the region and used these texts as the basis for his instruction.

Much like the example of Kampung Dusun Panjang, above, we again see the *pondok* as places where the upwelling of local knowledge also played a role in developing local discourses. At Kampung Pusing, one student who identified himself as Wan Dāʼūd al-Jāwī of Yala, composed a short text that detailed local traditions of talisman crafting and other medicinal

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[177] PNM 1152: 17v.
[178] PNM 601A, 21v. Hereafter referred to as *Bidāyāt al-Mubtadi'*. Arabic: بداية المبتدء و عمدة الأولدي
[179] MKI 468: 38.
[180] PNM 2733A, 54v; PNM 2733B, 18r.
[181] PNM 627A, 6v; PNM 627B, 6v; PNM 627C, 9r.

lore.[182] From what we know of Hajji Maḥmūd Trengganu's earlier intellectual interests, Wan

Dā'ūd may well have studied with him or one of his successors who taught such subjects

alongside explicitly Islamic texts. Thus the early *pondok* of the region were sites of the fusing of

various sources of power and cultural practice that informed the continued construction and

evolution of the socio-moral order in the region. Much like the Yaring *pondok*, Kampung Pusing

maintained a handwritten manuscript tradition well into the twentieth century, with evidence of

texts being produced by hand as late as 1360/1941.[183]

The city of Yala was another active center of learning in the region. Muḥammad Man

Jaran bin Jamir, who was from Kampung Redang Setar, which may indicate an origin of Pulau

Redang off the coast of Kuala Trengganu, was the most active scholar during the period. He

mainly focused his studies on Shaykh Tuan Guru 'Abd Allāh's translation of *'Umm al-Barāhīn*,

which was a commonly copied text of the early *pondok*, particularly in Yala.[184] The prayer

manuals discussed in chapter four that had become popular in the 1840s were evidently still

commonly available. Those in Yala comprised Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's texts *Al-Bahja al-*

Marḍiyya and *Bulūgh al-Marām*.[185] Like in Yaring, the manuscript tradition survived quite late

in Yala as well, with evidence of texts on *farā'iḍ* and an obscure Islamic text from Palembang

being copied there as late as 1336/1917.[186] Yala also became an active publishing center of

Patani and other works later in the twentieth century, a matter which will be discussed briefly in

chapter seven.

In addition to the Yala *pondok* already discussed, there were at least four smaller centers

of learning. At Kampung Bajih, as we previously mentioned in chapter four, students studied

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[182] PNM 2691: 19v-20r.
[183] MKI 219B, 2.
[184] There is evidence of the text also being taught at Kampung Pusing. MKI 219C.
[185] PNM 726A, 7v; PNM 726B, 12r-13r.
[186] MKI 72A, 5; MKI 72B, 4.

primarily Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's work on the Asharite creed, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*.[187] At neighboring Kampung Batu Putih, a student named Ismā'īl bin Hajji Muḥammad Hāshim, focused his studies on a work recently written by 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, titled *Kifayah al-'awwam*.[188] Meanwhile, at Sungai Yala, the main subject studied was *tawḥīd*.[189] Lastly, at Kampung Teluk Lur, students generally studied introductory *fiqh* texts, such as Shaykh Salim bin Samir's *Safīnat al-Najā fī 'Ilm al-fiqh*[190] (The Lifeboat in the Service of Jurisprudence), written primarily in Arabic.[191]

The Kampung Sena Jajar Pondok

The last of the active *pondok* I will discuss here was at Kampung Sena Jajar.[192] Tok Kelaba came to learn from the teachers at this school in 1301/1883, when he studied *taṣawwuf*, particularly focusing upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's collection of Sufi maxims contained in *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim*.[193] That text was apparently quite popular at the school, as another student, known simply as Muḥammad Zayn, also studied the text at the school three years later.[194] Apparently teachers also employed *fiqh* texts at the school, especially *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, which were studied by two students, Wan 'Alī bin Wan Ibrāhīm and Wan 'Alī bin Hajji Wan Ḥamīd, the second of whom came from a local family.[195] In the latter case, there is evidence that the source of the text may be traced back to an unnamed student who had studied directly with

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[187] PNM 1967A, 162.

[188] PNM 1977: 20v.

[189] PNM 1153: 15r.

[190] Arabic: سفينة النجا في علم الفقه

[191] PNM 608: 1v.

[192] Alternatively, in Jawi, it also appears as Sena Jancar, Sena Janjar, and Satahacar, some perhaps due to copyist error. Add sources.

[193] PNM 2146: 400.

[194] PNM 2145: 431.

[195] Wan 'Ali bin Wan Ibrāhīm's name also appears as Wan 'Alī bin Wan Hīm, the latter portion being a common shortened version of Ibrāhīm in the region. MKI x731: 97; PNM 2566: 1v, 48r-49v.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī in Mecca in 1244/1828.[196] It also appears that Tok Bendang Daya Muda either taught at the school or lent texts to other teachers who worked there, for the purpose of copying them, including al-Banjārī's *Luqtat al-'Ajlān.*[197]

Other Pondok *in Patani*

A number of smaller *pondok* also appear in the primary sources. Kampung Bendang Jum, which was likely connected to either Bendang Daya or Bendang Badang, was a small school, where a scholar claiming Mandailing descent, Hāshim bin Hajji Mūsā bin 'Abd al-Majīd, studied.[198] This ethnic group had been dislodged from its ancestral homeland in west Sumatra during the Padri War (1231-48/1816-33) and had come to the peninsula, via Melaka, and settled near what today is Seremban, in Negri Sembilan. Once there, they played a supporting role in the Rawa War of 1264/1848, the resulting refugees of which went to work in the Pahang gold mines where they became embroiled in the Pahang War (1283-90/1867-73) and also worked in the Selangor tin mines where they became involved in the Klang War (1283-90/1867-73). Having suffered defeats in both theatres, the Mandailings moved to Perak, where they fought for the British in the Perak War (1292-3/1875-6). Many of the Mandailings settled permanently in Perak and Selangor after the war. What the exact role was of the ancestors of Hāshim bin Hajji Mūsā in these events is unclear, but our discussion here is warranted for two reasons. First, we see how other refugee diasporas linked together with the Patani scholarly networks, encountered a unity, if a contested one, in the study of Islamic doctrines and practices. The rebuilding of their socio-moral foundations was not a unique process to the people of Patani and the Patani

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[196] Ibid., 48r-49v.
[197] Tok Bendang Daya Muda's name appears in these texts as Tuan Guru Hajji Wan 'Abd al-Qadīr bin Hajji Wan Muṣṭafā bin Wan Muḥammad. MKI p687; MKI 687.
[198] He is known to have studied Ibn Ājrūm's *Matn Ājrūmiyya.* PNM 1129: 16v-16r.

diaspora, there was a shared cultural grammar that allowed similar cultural values to take root in other Malay-speaking diasporic groups and those who felt the increasing effects of the social chaos brought on by dislocation or British imperialism in the peninsula that threatened long-standing practices of local authority and symbolic power. And secondly, we see further how the Patani *pondok* continued to be cosmopolitan and diverse through the decades as they drew students from many groups on the peninsula and beyond. To speak of the people of Patani, like the residents of neighboring peninsular polities, is not to speak of a group that shared common descent or origin, but rather a people whose common destination led them to Patani, whether from local *kampung*, other nearby political centers, or more distant polities or diasporic groups. The ability to speak Malay, despite the various accents and dialects that existed, provided a common medium for these interactions and integrated histories. Within this cosmopolitanism, Islam flourished.

There were two other small *pondok* in the same area as Kampung Bendang Jum. One was Kampung Teguh Badang Tengah, where a student named Aḥmad from Kampung Haling, in Yaring, came to study briefly.[199] The unidentified teachers at the school taught several texts, including Sufi teachings on the attributes of God and another that outlined proper prayers. Teachers at another school in the region, known as Tengah Bendang, taught a combination of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works and other texts. For example, one student, Awan bin Hajji Muqim, who came from Kampung Hulu, near the city of Melaka, studied both the treatise on inheritance law, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* as well as some unidentified tracts on prayer.[200] This provides yet another link between Patani and an esteemed center of Islam on the peninsula. Kampung Hulu became a famous haven for Muslims after the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 916/1511

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[199] MKI 83A, 6; MKI 83B, 4.
[200] MKI 121A; MKI 121B, 5.

and was the center of the resurgent Islamic practice in the area after the Dutch adopted a more lenient attitude towards the local population from the 1650s onwards.[201] The mosque in Kampung Hulu, which was constructed in 1140/1728, is the oldest functioning mosque in all of Malaysia today.

There were a number of other small *pondok* in Patani during the period. At Kampung Besarang Besar, for example, a teacher named Wan Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Wan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān taught Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's treatise on the Shaṭṭāriyya *dhikr*, *Ḍiyāʾ al-Murīd*.[202] At another *pondok*, Kampung Bira, which may have been located in what is now Thailand's Narathiwat Province, a teacher named Tuan Nahu Bira Hajji Wan Muḥammad bin Hajji Wan ʿAbd al-Ghafūr[203] taught al-Banjārī's *Luqtat al-ʿAjlān* in 1306/1888, a text that he had previously studied with Tok Bendang Daya Muda, perhaps at some point in the 1870s.[204]

Kampung Dagang was a small center for *fiqh* scholarship, where a teacher named Hajji ʿAbd Allāh bin Hajji Ḥasan taught a number of students, including Abū Bakr al-Faṭānī, who focused primarily upon Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's treatise on Shafiʿi marriage law, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*.[205] At another *pondok* in the region in Kampung Jembuni, students studied an unidentified text, *Niẓām Kashf al-ʾIḥrām*[206] (Unveiling of the Pilgrimage). At a third *pondok* in the region in Kampung Pauh Kepala Gajah, located near to Kampung Pauh Bok, a scholar known as Tuan Lebai ʿAbd al-Muʾmin taught texts on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *fiqh* by the Acehnese scholar, Tuan Faqih

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[201] S. Vlatseas, *A History of Malaysian Architecture* (Singapore: Longman Singapore Publishers, 1990): 44-5; Martin Frishman and Hassan-Uddin Khan, eds. *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994): 237-8; Abdul Halim Nasir, *Mosque Architecture in the Malay World*, tr. Omar Salahuddin Abdullah (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2004): 63, 150, 159, 163, 166-7.

[202] MKI 668: 40.

[203] He was known popularly as Tok Nahu.

[204] MKI 687.

[205] MKI 597: 79.

[206] PNM 1537: 4v. Arabic: نظام كشف الأحرام

Muḥammad al-Dīn bin Tuan Faqih Jalal al-Dīn, as well as the popular *Masā'il al-Muhtadī*.[207] Again, we see the crosspollination of Acehnese texts in the Patani intellectual milieu.

At two old political centers, we also see *pondok* appear in the period. At Kok Kandok, near Sai (today Saiburi), a scholar named Hajji Sibawaeh bin Muḥammad Zayn, studied the unidentified text, *'Awwal al-Dīn fī Ma'rifah Allāh*[208] (The Beginning of Faith is Knowing God), in 1324/1906.[209] In Raman, at Kampung Seputar, there is evidence of a late manuscript tradition, with Muḥammad Dā'ūd bin Maḥmūd making copies of Pa Da 'El Patani's sermons given on the holidays of hari raya, aidhil adha, and aidhil fitri, in 1355/1936.[210] Much like the city of Patani discussed above, these two marginal political centers do not appear to have been major centers of learning or knowledge production, but nevertheless possessed small centers of learning accessible to local residents.

Finally, there are two *pondok* that have yet to be located, but were connected to the Patani scholarly network and pending further evidence, for now may be assumed to have been in the Patani region. The first is Kampung Baqid, which mainly taught *fiqh*. One student, 'Abd al-Qadid bin 'Abd al-Muqnu, is known to have studied Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* there.[211] At the similarly unidentified Kampung Seridik Salmah, Wan 'Abd al-Majīd bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī studied and produced the only known manuscript copy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Farā'iḍ Fawā'id*.[212] Further study may help to situate these centers into their proper place in the Patani scholarly network.

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[207] PNM 2444A, 14v; PNM 2444B, 16r; PNM 2444C, 19v.
[208] Arabic: أوّل الدين في معرفة الله
[209] PNM 548: 7r, 11r.
[210] PNM 615: 17r.
[211] PNM 835: 22r.
[212] PNM 652: 1v, 12v, 13v.

Part IV: Texts and Ideas in the Patani Scholarly Network, 1869-1909

As in previous decades, intellectual trends reflected the prevailing social tensions of the time. After 1869 a number of new strains of thought emerged, old texts gained renewed popularity, and for the first time, large numbers of new writings appeared in regular or low-volume circulation. The members of the Patani scholarly network continued to transmit ideas via handwritten manuscripts, even as printed texts experienced wide circulation as early as 1870 and at an accelerated rate after 1884. In the 1890s, and more so after 1900, we finally see the sharp decline in the numbers of handwritten documents produced by scholars in the network due to more readily available mass-produced versions.

One clear trend was the rise of concise, teachable texts as opposed to the larger, more extensive writings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. For example, no manuscript copies of the widely known *Furū' al-Masā'il* were made during the period. Both teachers and students seemed more interested in texts more conducive to settings of institutionalized learning than arduous, solitary contemplation. The demand for smaller, relevant, and abridged surveys of *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, and other Islamic sciences dictated the trends of manuscript production within the Patani scholarly network as students attended *pondok* in unprecedented numbers.

Islam and Cultural Practice

The most popular text in the period was Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, which appeared regularly from 1291-1320/1874-1902, reaching its highest levels of production in the network 1293-98/1876-81.[213] This text provided Malay-readers with a concise guide on how to be good Muslims according the established Sunni traditions. As a text that combined *fiqh*

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[213] There are at least eleven known manuscript copies from the period. MKI 675: 110; PNM 14: 46v; PNM 27: 64r; PNM 181: 32v; PNM 207A, 30v; PNM 229: 21v; PNM 647: 45v; PNM 768: 56v; PNM 2354: 39v; PNM 2359: 69v-70v; PNM 2733A, 54v.

with *kalām* and *tawḥīd*, it was the most conducive and relevant of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works to accompany the shift towards "mass" education and cultural practice in the Patani scholarly network after 1869. By addressing many of the proper customs to which Muslims should adhere, his work gained a wide readership in the late nineteenth century as Malay-speaking Muslims were turning increasingly to daily practiced rituals that marked an increased awareness of Islam as the most important social mediator in societies influenced by the network.[214] Results may have played out in various temporal scales—the text encouraged daily actions such as purification before prayers, but also annual communal events such as the giving of *zakāt* or fasting during the month of Ramadan, and even rarer events such as administering inheritance. Though we cannot estimate the degree to which these practices were implemented, it is abundantly clear that they were quickly becoming some of the most important social signifiers to prominent scholars within the network which they spread and reproduced through the *pondok* that they founded throughout the peninsula and beyond. Scholars copied the work regularly in Mecca during the period, particularly 1295-7/1878-80, as well as in Patani around 1294/1877.[215] As we discussed in chapter four, both of these places had witnessed the text in earlier years, but did so after 1869 in much higher volume. Scholars also carried the text down the peninsula or via maritime links, especially on the west coast, as far south as Melaka by 1291/1874, where it was a core text in local *pondok* teaching at Kampung Serkam and elsewhere.[216]

Other texts that addressed various aspects of social and moral practice even more explicitly than *Sullam al-Mubtadī* rose in popularity in the Patani scholarly network during the same period. There is evidence of scholars reproducing and distributing copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd

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[214] Some texts make reference to the concept of *tahara* (طهارة), ritual purification using clean water often conducted before prayers and the handling of the *Qur'ān*. PNM 601B.

[215] For Mecca, see PNM 207A, 30r and PNM 229: 21v. For Patani, see MKI 675: 110. One other unplaced, date copy is MKI 49, which includes three other works.

[216] The connections between the Patani scholarly network and *pondok* in Melaka is a matter more fully addressed in chapter 6. PNM 27: 64r.

Faṭānī's *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabā'i*, for example, which served as a treatise on the proper methods by which to slaughter animals for consumption and also the sort of foods to eat if one was to maintain a *halāl* diet. This work had never experienced any popularity in the earlier decades, but suddenly appeared in the network around 1296/1878 and maintained popularity through the following decade.[217] The earliest copies of the text originate in Mecca, where it also appeared most prolifically, but spread quickly to the Patani region where it was employed in the *pondok* of Yaring and Canak.[218] From Patani, other scholars of the network spread the text down the east coast at least as far as Kelantan.[219] Additionally, some Patani scholars circulated untitled works that also detailed the proper rituals for the annual fast during the month of Ramadan.[220]

Teachable Texts

As mentioned above, concise, teachable texts became predominant in the period after 1869. For example, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's introductory work on the Sufi concept of *martabat tujuh*, which had seen light distribution in the network in the period 1246-69/1831-52, experienced a resurgence in popularity after 1289/1872. This text served as a primer to many basic Sufi doctrines of the time and included a short "glossary" of terms for students who were first embarking upon the mystical path. The work appeared prominently until 1301/1884, declined briefly, and then experienced regular distribution in handwritten form from 1311/1894 until at least 1330/1912.[221] Scholars studied the text most commonly in Mecca and at

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[217] MKI 306: 49; PNM 221A, 44v; PNM 1918: 30.
[218] MKI 128A, 24; PNM 698: 20v; PNM 816C, 19r.
[219] PNM 2668: 29v.
[220] MKI 289: 27.
[221] This work was commonly included in compilations with the otherwise unidentified work, *Tibyan al-Ma'rifah fi Tahqiq Martabat al-Uluhiyya wa al-Kananiyya*. The latter text also appeared solo in at least one instance, taught by Tok Kelaba in his well-known *pondok*. MKI 17: 23; MKI 128B; MKI 603: 23; MKI 697: 61; PNM 147A, PNM 188B, 10r; PNM 232: 11v; PNM 622: 8r; PNM 649A, 13r; PNM 693: 1v, 16v; PNM 1495A, 11r; PNM 2734: 12r-13r.

the well-known Pondok Bendang Daya, where the famous shaykh of that school taught it as one of his principle texts.[222]

A much more substantial, but still teachable text was Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*. As we discussed in chapters three and four, this text was meant as a broad introduction to *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *taṣawwuf*. The author even indicated explicitly that he intended the work for use by new students of the Islamic sciences in question. The text had been in regular circulation in the network since 1268/1852, since which time it had already been employed regularly in *pondok* education. The trend continued in our present period, most visibly among Patani scholars studying with the chief teachers in Mecca, until as late as 1330/1912.[223]

'Umm al-Barāhīn, which we introduced in chapter four as a text with Cape origins, continued to play an integral role in the development of education in the *pondok*. Scholars spread the text in the *pondok* during the late nineteenth century as a definitive exposition on Orthodox Muslim beliefs. Having previously appeared most prominently in Kedah, by 1289/1872 scholars were employing the text in *pondok* in Kelantan.[224] Other teachers in the Patani region began utilizing the text at Pondok Bendang Daya, Kampung Keting, and in various *pondok* in Yala around the same time.[225]

Fiqh

The short *fiqh* treatises that had gained such popularity in the two decades after Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's death, continued to experience regular distribution in the Patani scholarly network after 1869, though not equaling their earlier pace. For example, the oft-studied *Īḍāḥ al-*

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[222] MKI 17: 23; PNM 1495A, 11r.
[223] MNT 83.173; PNM 211: 13r; PNM 494: 185r; PNM 537: 148r; PNM 820: 177v; PNM 1239: 204v; PNM 2321: 105v; PNM 2431: 176v; PNM 2438: 176r; PNM 2609: 175v.
[224] PNM 782: 14r.
[225] MKI 219C, 8; MKI 667: 38; PNM 732: 13v.

Bāb, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's treatise on Shafiʻi marriage and divorce law, continued to be distributed by scholars of the network through the 1870s and 1880s.[226] It was a particularly important text for education at the well-known Pondok Bendang Daya and also experienced serious attention within scholarly circles in Mecca. The central place that this text had played in the forging of a new moral order in Patani and elsewhere in the first half of the century, when families had been dismembered and displaced by war, had now evolved into institutionalized concepts of social order that were taught and reproduced through the *pondok*. No manuscript copies exist from after 1301/1884, though, due to the availability of published versions from Mecca and elsewhere, a matter to which we shall return in the concluding chapter of the present work.

The other key *fiqh* text of the period, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, which had gained great popularity in the 1820s-50s, experienced a renewed readership after 1869. Scholars distributed copies of the text regularly in Mecca in the 1870s, but the text saw its peak reproduction in manuscript form in various *pondok* in the Patani area, such as Kampung Beris, Kampung Pauh Bok, Kampung Pusing, and Kampung Tengah Bendang, in the period 1300-19/1883-1902.[227] Like *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, this text, which had informed the process of reconstructing the moral order of Patani and neighboring regions during the first half of the century, now appears to have been also institutionalized via the *pondok* where scholars taught it to increasing numbers of students.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's comprehensive compilation of *ʻibada*, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, received lighter attention than in the middle period.[228] This text never was the object of widespread readership since it was directed to the network's most gifted scholars or legal experts

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[226] PNM 123: 42v; PNM 1142: 28r; PNM 2452: 42v; PNM 2959: 23v-23r.
[227] One manuscript mentions the unidentified *pondok* of Kampung Baqid, which may be located in Patani or in what is now Malaysia. MKI 65: 22; MKI 121A; PNM 207B; PNM 220: 23v; PNM 1152: 17v; PNM 2481: 16r; PNM 2733B, 18r.
[228] Two manuscript copies date to the period. PNM 635(2): 8r; PNM 1912: 465.

rather than *pondok* students. The decline in copying the text may also be due to the fact that the copies of the 1850s-60s had saturated the need of the Islamic law courts and other legal advisors to various royal personalities. Given the ambitious scribal talents required for its production, existing copies could have been guarded more carefully than other writings and these were certainly passed down through the generations to ensure the survival of the volumes.

In addition to the well-established *fiqh* writings described above, five new texts also appeared in the Patani scholarly network, though only one of them gained wide circulation in manuscript form. The most influential of these writings was *Qunū' li-man Tu'ṭaf*[229] written by Shaykh 'Abbās al-Ashī Kutakarang, an Acehnese scholar who had studied and taught in Mecca in the 1840s. Scholars in Mecca turned their attention to this work suddenly in the 1870s, some of whom studied at *rumah Patani*, which was a shared residence where visiting scholars from Patani stayed at time when they were in Mecca.[230] By the 1880s, students at the esteemed Pondok Bendang Daya were studying the text there and distributed copies elsewhere in the Patani area.[231]

The other five "new" *fiqh* texts that entered the Patani scholarly network at this time did not experience much circulation. These texts were first written or first appeared in scholarly circles in the 1870s-90s. For example, scholars employed *Matn al-Manhaj* in *pondok* in Canak in the early 1870s.[232] Shortly after Tuan Hajji 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Fatani, known popularly as Tuan Tabal[233], finished his *Minḥat al-Qarīb*[234] (The

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[229] Arabic: قنوع لمن تعطف

[230] MKI 513: 19; PNM 221B, 10v-10r. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 255.

[231] MKI 220: 18.

[232] The only known manuscript copy of this text is dated Muharam 16, 1288/March 23, 1871, in Canak. MKI 304: 389.

[233] For more information regarding this scholar, see Nik Abdul Aziz bin Haji Nik Hassan, "Lima Orang Tokoh Ulama di Negeri Kelantan (1860-1940)," in *Islam di Kelantan*, ed. Nik Abdul Aziz bin Haji Nik Hassan (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1983): 22-5; Muhammad 'Uthman el-Muhammady, "Ajaran Tasawwuf Tuan Tabal dalam Jala al-Qulub," in ibid., 66-82.

Relative's Gift) in 1300/1883, students in Kota Bharu and elsewhere in Kelantan studied the text.[235] This text expounded upon not only *fiqh*, but also *tawhīd* and *tasawwuf*, drawing from the *Qur'ān*, al-Ghazzālī, and other major Islamic scholars of the Middle East. Like other texts mentioned above, this book dealt most clearly with *'ibada*, or various aspects of the day-to-day practice of Muslims, including the proper way to carry out business transactions, prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, marriage, divorce, and other practices. These sorts of visible cultural and social objects had an increased importance as religious actions taken by the teachers and students involved in the Patani scholarly network and they reproduced these values via the *pondok*.

In Singapore, a scholar of Trengganu origins studied an untitled *fiqh* composition concerning the rites of the *ṣalāt* prayer.[236] Meanwhile, in Kelantan, scholars associated with the network studied untitled texts that focused on both *fiqh* and *tawhīd*.[237] Finally, at a *pondok* in Kelaba, there is evidence of students studying untitled works on *fiqh* in the early 1890s that scholars had brought from the well-known Kampung Pauh Bok, which they continued to spread in neighboring villages.[238] The existence of untitled or informal works is interesting, as these seem to represent a new category of writings—notes and ponderings by scholars on issues of importance that they, in turn, circulated with their colleagues and peers to supplement more well-established writings.

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[234] Arabic: منحة القريب

[235] PNM 2638A.

[236] The manuscript was copied by Yusuf bin 'Ibrahim Trengganu, Jamadilawal 6, 1289/July 12, 1872, at Kampung Masjid Baru al-Qadi Shaykh Ma'ruf, Singapore. This work was compiled together with Shaykh al-Falimbānī's *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*. MKI 277B.

[237] MKI x49, 140.

[238] Ahmad bin Abu Bakr copied the work, dated Rajab 1309/1892, in Kampung Kelaba, from another copy owned by Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani, of Kampung Pauh Bok. The original work was completed, Rabiulawal 1298/February 1881. MKI 377: 15.

Prayer "Manuals"

There was a noticeable decline in the number of prayer "manuals" that appeared in the network. These compilations often included two or more of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Bahja al-Marḍiyya, Bulūgh al-Marām, Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, or *Munyat al-Muṣallī*. These texts still experienced circulation in the Patani scholarly network, but at volumes less than half of those of the 1840s-60s. We should not conclude that the shift towards emphasis on social practice rather than basic prayer was any indication of a shift in the level of religiosity, but rather that these sort of elementary prayer "manuals" were no longer needed. Such practices had become institutionalized and the intellectual training of students had reached a more sophisticated level of focus upon Islamic law, Sufism, and the origins of thought contemporary to Malay-speaking societies of the late nineteenth century. Those prayer "manuals" that did exist were generally produced by Patani teachers in Raman, in Canak at Tamperak, and in Yala.[239] Other scholars carried the texts down the west coast of the peninsula as far south as Kedah.[240]

The one noteworthy exception to the decline of texts on prayer was the book *Munyat al-Muṣallī*. Scholars turned to this text, which was more substantial than the other three mentioned above, at nearly twice that of the mid-century rate. *Munyat al-Muṣallī* provided the interested faithful with a thorough analysis of the *salāt* prayer, including physical actions, ritual purifications, and mental preparations. Scholars copied and distributed the text in Mecca and Patani, especially in *pondok* in the area of Yaring, with regularity in the period 1289-1309/1872-92, before it eventually gave way to published versions of the text.[241]

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[239] MKI 303B, 8; PNM 274A, 3v; PNM 504A, 5r; PNM 504B, 4r; PNM 637(1)B, 4r; PNM 726A, 7v; PNM 726B, 6r-7r; PNM 816A, 5v; PNM 816B, 4v; PNM 929A, 7v; PNM 1141B; PNM 2574B, 4r; PNM 2768C, 5r; PNM 2773A, 5v.
[240] DBP 131: 52.
[241] MKI 130: 61; MKI 152B; MKI 302: 14; MKI 393: 27; PNM 637(1)A, 21v; PNM 720: 27r; PNM 1141A, 24r; PNM 2605: 27r-28v; PNM 2768B; PNM 3151: 21r.

Taṣawwuf

Sufi texts, though always less popular than works on *fiqh*, experienced a relative rise in production and readership in proportion to the general upsurge after 1869. *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's compendium of Sufi maxims for travelers on the mystical path, had only experienced light attention in the early 1830s. In the 1870s and 1880s, however, the general rise in textual production afforded this work an elevated position in the Sufi corpus. The book appeared first in Meccan scholarly circles around 1295/1878, but other scholars spread it to Patani by 1301/1883, where it gained popularity particularly in the *pondok* of Sena Jancar throughout the decade, and was one of the significant early influences upon the development of Tok Kelaba as a scholar, discussed above.[242]

Following a similar pattern, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kanz al-Mannān*, which had never circulated in the network, suddenly gained the attention of scholars in the 1870s. It did not gain a wide readership, but the chief teacher at the well-established *pondok* of Kampung Pusing employed it as part of his curriculum by 1291/1874.[243] The same text appeared in other Patani *pondok* around the same time, but scholars do not appear to have held a sustained interest in this translation of the Sufi maxims of Andalusian origin. Another of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Sufi works, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*, which had only just received attention by scholars in the mid-1860s, maintained its brief popularity until at least the 1870s in Kelantan and perhaps elsewhere.[244] Finally, one other of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Sufi works, *Fatḥ al-Mannān*, drew the attention of the young Tok Kelaba in the 1880s, but does not seem to have otherwise been widely circulated in the region during the late nineteenth century.[245]

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[242] MKI 49D, 97; MKI x382B, 31; PNM 2145: 431; PNM 2146: 399-400.
[243] PNM 748: 88v; PNM 1240: 75v.
[244] PNM 2047: 189; PNM 2523(3): 18v.
[245] PNM 2147: 601.

Other Sufi texts also gained circulation in the period. For example, copies of al-Ghazzālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* appeared, though it is unclear whether they were copies of the translation supposedly done by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, Shaykh al-Falimbānī, or Shaykh Muḥammad Zayn bin Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ashī.[246] Scholars spread copies of the work to Patani, where they employed it in the *pondok* by at least 1289/1872.[247] Al-Ashī's version was available in Mecca, where Tok Kelaba is known to have studied the work in 1331/1913.[248]

Two of Shaykh al-Falimbānī's texts suddenly appeared, both having received little attention by Patani scholars in previous decades. The first was his work, *Hidayat al-salikin fi suluk maslak al-muttaqin*, which a scholar of Trengganu origin obtained in Singapore in 1289/1872.[249] This suggests that earlier scholars in the network had brought the text from Mecca, where its author had spent all of his later life. Copies of the same text also appeared in Patani around the same time, employed in the *pondok* at Dusun Panjang and likely elsewhere in the same region.[250] Students at Pondok Kelaba and in neighboring regions of Patani also studied *Zahrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*[251] (The Flower of the Seeker in the Explanation of Monotheism) by the same author in the 1890s.[252]

Al-Banjari's works maintained a presence in the region, especially in relation to the study of *taṣawwuf*. These texts were probably now produced locally since the connections between Banjar, Patani, and other peninsular Islamic centers had become increasingly tenuous through the coure of the century. Of all his works, *Bidāyāt al-Mubtadi'* appeared most regularly, gaining prominence in the 1880s in the Yala *pondok*, where at least one scholar carried the text back to

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[246] Further research is needed on the variant translated versions of this text. No manuscript copy of Shaykh Dawud Fatani's version has yet been verified, so analysis is as yet, impossible.
[247] PNM 1544: 80.
[248] MKI 96: 85.
[249] MKI 277A, 21.
[250] PNM 240: 53r.
[251] Arabic: زهرة المريد في بيان كلمة التوحيد
[252] MKI 180: 22.

his home in Pulau Pinang.[253] Tok Kelaba and other students of the fourth generation also studied *Luqtat al-'Ajlān* in *pondok* throughout Patani.[254]

The rise of familiar *taṣawwuf* texts in the late nineteenth century led to the appearance of a number of "new" texts around the turn of the twentieth century. For example, students are known to have studied untitled works on *taṣawwuf* in various *pondok* in Patani in the period.[255] Another untitled and informal text circulated that was supposedly based upon the teachings of Shaykh 'Abd Allah, the son of Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, in Mecca and Patani around 1336/1918.[256] The Sufi orders retained their importance in Patani, where scholars tracked *salasilah* or spread core texts of the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa* and other orders as late as 1342/1923.[257]

Ashar'iyya *I'tiqād*

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Durr al-Thamīn* maintained popularity among scholars of the network, though the text had declined in the corpus since its initial high acclaim in the period 1232-47/1817-32. Scholars of Meccan circles were particularly interested in the work and taught it there in the 1880s.[258] Similarly, some of the chief teachers of the Yaring *pondok*, at Dusun Panjang and Kampung Tandang, taught the text.[259] Scholars also taught the text in *pondok* as far south as Trengganu, where one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's prominent students had introduced the text around 1234/1818 and where it appears to have maintained its popularity.[260]

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[253] PNM 601A, 21r.
[254] MKI 687.
[255] PNM 458A.
[256] MKI 682: 13.
[257] PNM 1724: 4.
[258] PNM 827(2): 67r, 69v; PNM 1326(2): 88r; PNM 1916: 99.
[259] PNM 490: 94r, 95r; PNM 2034: 142.
[260] P1: 103r.

The Rise of *Tawḥīd*

From the 1890s onwards, there is ample evidence of the rise of *tawḥīd* as a major Islamic science studied by scholars of the Patani network. *Tawḥīd* is the Islamic belief in uncompromising monotheism, or rather a unique and indivisible God who is independent of the rest of existence. This doctrine possessed a rising importance at the time as a core concept for the reformation of the varieties of Islamic practice and a tool for the implementation of competing concepts of "orthodoxy." The earliest examples of this sort of teaching are Tok Bendang Daya's untitled work on *tawḥīd* that he used as a teaching guide at his highly-regarded *pondok* in the 1880s.[261] Next, Tok Wan 'Ali Kutan's *Zahrat al-Murīd fī 'Aqā'id* appeared, which he completed in 1310/1892, and which spread quickly through the network, reaching rural *pondok* in Patani by 1315/1898.[262] By 1317/1900, other Patani authors were adding their voices to the growing discourse, such as Shaykh Dā'ūd Khaṭīb, who wrote *'Umdat al-Murīd fī 'Aqā'id al-Tawḥīd*[263] (Reliance of the Seeker on the Beliefs of Monotheism), and who spread the text through his network of students and as Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's chief assistant at the Ottoman press in Mecca. Other untitled or less formal studies of *tawḥīd* also circulated in Pondok Bendang Badang, Kelaba, Yala, and other *pondok* in the Patani region throughout the period 1295-1323/1878-1906, adding significant explanations to many of the difficult or contested ideas of the time.[264] Similar texts appeared in the *pondok* in Kelantan around the same time, though in lesser volume.[265]

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[261] MKI 667: 38; MKI x733A, 27.
[262] MKI 399: 43.
[263] Arabic: عمدة المريد في عقائد التوحيد
[264] MKI 83; MKI 346: 7; MKI 427: 14; PNM 458B, 10r; PNM 511: 8r; PNM 1153: 15r; PNM 1435: 13r; PNM 1695: 5.
[265] MKI 623A, 52.

Grammar and *Tajwīd*

Arabic language instruction remained a critical part of the curricula throughout the

pondok attached to the Patani scholarly network. Knowledge of Islam's sacred language was

essential to every aspiring student. Much of this knowledge transmission was done orally, so the

textual evidence is limited, but nevertheless we find some references to Arabic instruction.

Hurgronje described the process in detail:

> In Mekka, the Malay or Javanese tongue always serves as means to introduce students to Arabic,
> particularly the grammar, so that they can pass over this bridge to the thorough study of Arabic books of
> Law, Doctrine etc. continuously using the native language in the interpretation of the language of the text
> until the *copia verborum* thus gained makes this superfluous ... One notes the endless trouble and
> endurance which the Javanese must spend in Mekka, first to *understand* the Arabic tables of declensions,
> then to absorb the contents of a grammatical work drop by drop, and at last through long-continued
> grammatical analysis to use what has been learnt to understand a *fiqh* book. The boy writes to every form
> of declension the Arabic termini, and the most detailed translation into Javanese (or Malay).[266]

The process of learning Arabic was one that took most students many months. As we noted

above, those scholars who grew up in Mecca, such as Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik and Shaykh Aḥmad

Faṭānī had a distinct advantage because they mastered Islam's sacred language early in life. To

this subject, Hurgronje continued:

> The vocabulary [a student] must learn gradually through much reading and under the lead of a teacher; in
> this students settled in Mekka have great advantages over those at home even if the latter have a teacher
> who thoroughly knows Arabic, or is an Arab. Acquaintance with the colloquial tongue cannot be
> substituted by anything else.[267]

In some cases, even great scholars who had lived in Mecca many years still struggled with

Arabic pronunciation, while those who had lived there since birth found that speaking came far

more naturally.[268]

In turning to the textual sources, we see some of the sources of Arabic instruction that

scholars employed in the archipelago. For example, scholars often turned to the work of Ibn

Hishām, the famous grammarian of Cairo. Among his three well-known works, scholars

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[266] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 265.
[267] Ibid., 266.
[268] Ibid., 269.

employed his *Qaṭr al-Nadā*[269] most readily in Patani scholarly circles, especially around the turn of the twentieth century.[270] Other scholars stressed *tajwīd* in Mecca and at Southeast Asia *pondok*. Qur'ānic recitation and pronunciation more generally was a central part of any students' training, especially for aspiring imams or teachers of the *Qur'ān*. One of the most commonly employed texts for this purpose was Shaykh Nik Dir Patani's translation of Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Shaykh As'ad al-Dahhān's *al-Mawāhib al-Makkiyya* (The Meccan Talents).[271] It appeared first in Patani circles in Mecca around 1290/1873, but quickly found its way to Southeast Asia.[272] By 1304/1887, scholars connected to the network in Kelantan had employed the text at Kampung Belukar and probably elsewhere in the Kota Bharu area.[273] Scholars and students also circulated untitled guides to *tajwīd* at Pondok Bendang Badang, Kampung Tandang, and other *pondok* in the region in the period 1296-1336/1878-1918.[274] At times scribes included these works in compilations with Sufi writings such as *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim* and others.[275]

Eschatology

Scholars displayed a resurgent interest in works on eschatology in the period. One such work was Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*. Though not explicitly addressing eschatology, this story of the Prophet Muḥammad to Jerusalem and thence to heaven is an important and vibrant discussion of the inhabitants of paradise and hell which continued to reinforce the moral message of the scholars of the network. They had previously shown interest in the text in the 1840s, but turned increasingly to the text from 1289/1872, making and

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[269] The title refers to a princess who appears in Arabic oral tradition. Arabic: قطر الندا
[270] His other influential works include *Mughni 'l-labīb* and *Shudhur al-dhahab*. MKI 730: 43.
[271] Arabic: المواهب المكّيّة
[272] MKI 738; PNM 462: 19r; PNM 2343: 22r.
[273] PNM 2753: 19v.
[274] PNM 173: 7v; PNM 177: 28v; PNM 1109A, 11r.
[275] MKI x382B.

distributing copies regularly until as late as 1322/1904.[276] The book was most prominent in Meccan scholarly circles, but scholars also employed it in Patani, particularly in Kampung Pusing and in the Yaring *pondok*, as a significant part of the corpus.[277] The importance of the text is also evident in the time-consuming art that accompanied some versions of the work.[278]

Another work on eschatology to gain a readership was *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*. It is unclear whether the version employed by scholars at this time were based upon the translation of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī or his predecessor, Haji ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAbd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī. Whatever the case, scholars taught the work at Kampung Pauh Manis and other Yaring *pondok* in the 1880s and continued to teach and spread the text as late as 1313/1895 elsewhere in the region.[279] Additionally, scholars employed one version by the latter translator mentioned above as late as 1319/1901.[280] Others turned to Tuan Minal's *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya fī 'Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyāma*[281] (Unveiling of the Conditions on the Day of Resurrection), which the latter completed in 1301/1883, concerned with *hari kiamat*[282] (day of resurrection), when all creatures would be annihilated, souls resurrected, and all sentient beings judged by God.[283] The text enjoyed immediate popularity in the Patani scholarly network, especially after 1305/1888.[284]

Hajj Guides

It is appropriate that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's guide to the hajj, *Ghāyat al-Marām*, gained its first appearance in the intellectual milieu of the Patani scholarly network during the period.

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[276] MKI 588: 73; P1: 20; PNM 473: 8r; PNM 484: 50r; PNM 928: 26r, 28v; PNM 2786: 18v.
[277] PNM 684: 17r; PNM 1498: 19r; PNM 2786: 18v.
[278] PNM 484 and PNM 928 bear particularly colorful renditions of the text.
[279] PNM 2607: 23v; PNM 3086: 6r.
[280] MKI 422: 51.
[281] Hereafter, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya*. Arabic: كشف الغيبيّة في أحوال يوم القيامة
[282] Jawi: هاري قيامة
[283] The above Malay term derives from the Arabic: *yawm al-qiyāmah. Syair Hari Kiamat*, DBP Uncat., 124.
[284] PNM 1743B, 228.

The earliest evidence of the text in handwritten form dates to 1297/1879, but was regularly published for wider circulation in the decades following.[285] The book provided the new wave of hajjis ample information regarding the practices they would perform and some additional practical information for a journey that took the vast majority of pilgrims further from their homes than ever before. Other untitled or less formal guides to the hajj existed as well, composed by Patani authors upon their return from the pilgrimage, after which they spread them in the region.[286]

Mystical Poetry

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī dabbled in poetical works, but the tradition flourished with Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and other late nineteenth-century scholars. Students evidently also produced their own compositions or reproduced the work of others even by the beginning of the period. By 1287/1870, there is evidence of Patani-born scholars producing such works in the network.[287] These poetical writings address a number of serious theological or intellectual issues, such as *hari kiamat*, already discussed above. The belief in this event was a central tenent of the faith for Muslims and a concept often discussed through the centuries by many of the well-known Islamic scholars from al-Bukhārī and al-Ghazzālī to Ibn Kathīr and others.

Other Writings by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī

Scholars also circulated copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's other writings during the period in low volume. For example, teachers employed *Nahj al-Rāghibīn* at Kampung Temperak and other Canak *pondok* around 1290/1873 and may have continued teaching the text in succeeding

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[285] PNM 2838: 37v.
[286] PNM 2669B, 14r.
[287] PNM 764: 20v-20r.

years.[288] Other teachers turned to *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān*, to explain the increasingly globalized Islamic world to their students who had limited access or knowledge to the traditions outside of Malay-speaking regions. Such actions bolstered local traditions while reforming them along "orthodox" lines defined by the learned elite. Teachers taught this text at Kampung Pernu, in Melaka, in the 1870s, and at Pondok Bendang Badang in the 1880s.[289] Some teachers also employed *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's compilation of the various holy days of Islam together with corresponding points of Sufi wisdom. It is clear that the calendar was of greatest interest to both teachers and students and some copies bear only one or two months that were of particular importance to the reader. Scholars circulated copies of the book in the network in the 1870s and 1880s, especially in Mecca, though it gained wider circulation after the rise of print literature.[290]

Local Knowledge

As we discussed earlier in this chapter, the *pondok* often became the meeting place between texts transmitted by members of the network and oral forms of literature, medicinal lore, and poetry. Quite often, scholars of the network played a role as the mediators of these various forms of knowledge and included local compositions in their manuscript collections and in their teachings. Local knowledge had been passed down orally for many generations but scholars and students committed many of such works to writing for the first time during this period. One massive volume of local medicinal and shamanic lore, for example, appeared in Kelantan, commissioned by the raja of the state for royal use.[291] Some poets recounted the life of the

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[288] PNM 2804: 102v-102r.
[289] PNM 5: 1v, 42v-42r; PNM 506: 23v-24v.
[290] MNJ Uncat., 381; MKI 395A; MKI 395C.
[291] DBP 33: 491.

Prophet Muḥammad in verse in which they drew heavily from local oral tradition.[292] Others

working in Kampung Padang, in Patani, detailed local figures renowned for their Islamic piety,

such as in *Syair Siti Zubaidah*[293], which told a tale of the legendary queen of Champa.[294] A

number of locally flavored stories of the Prophet Muḥammad or other Islamic personalities also

surfaced throughout Patani and Kelantan in the period 1301-08/1883-90.[295] These arose at a

time when such traditions were becoming increasingly challenged by "official" narratives that

scholars generated in Mecca and disseminated throughout the network.[296]

Conclusion

Patani possessed the first and most substantial *pondok* on the Malay-Thai Peninsula

which later served as models for Islamic educational institutions throughout British Malaya.[297]

The chief teachers at these schools connected even rural or isolated centers to the major *pondok*

in Southeast Asia or the great scholars of Mecca. The network provided continuous

revivification of the intellectual milieu in the form of new texts and ideas that transformed local

Islamic discourses. These social pathways allowed for the regular flow of knowledge between

centers, and allowed for multi-directional traffic of ideas within the community. Mecca

remained the major site of knowledge production, and Patani scholars who lived there were the

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[292] *Syair Nabi Muhammad*, DBP Uncat., 50.

[293] Jawi:

[294] DBP 173: 272.

[295] *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, DBP Uncat., 60; MKI 49A, 20; PNM 2111A, 17; PNM 2111B, 5; PNM 2111C, 11; PNM 2111D, 7.

[296] PNM 1743A, 20; PNM 2775: 1r.

[297] Robert Winzeler speculates this in his study, but provides no evidence. Robert L. Winzeler, "The Social Organization of Islam in Kelantan," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff, 259-71 (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 260, 266; William R. Roff, "The Origin and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff, 101-52 (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 107.

main cultural producers for the network, though they clearly bore influence from the thinkers of the wider Islamic world and often addressed concerns voiced by Southeast Asian Muslims.

The proliferation of the *pondok* during the final decades of the nineteenth century illustrates the institutionalization of the social and cultural power of the *'ulama* in Malay-speaking regions of Southeast Asia. The *pondok* were corporate social bodies that drew together various strata of Patani and wider Malay society in increasingly powerful bonds as they endured political threat and colonial interference. Disruptions to the social and cultural fabric of Patani and its neighbors further solidified the position of Islamic teachers as the champions of a social order that kept the society from disintegrating. While the symbolic power wielded by the *'ulama* can be seen in a number of Malay-speaking communities, it was strongest in Patani because there were no other social actors of equal puissance. The Patani *'ulama* and other scholars of the *pondok* also possessed a superior position to Islamic teachers elsewhere because their social connections gave them greater access to texts, their schools were of greatest repute in the region, and they reproduced the system of social authority successfully through their students.

As scholars disseminated texts back into Southeast Asia, they attained great authority in transforming the local social milieu. One text could form the locus of a small *pondok*, but the most successful teachers collected sophisticated libraries of material that they used to build the reputation of their school. In the major centers, teachers generally taught a number of Islamic sciences, especially *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*, but also increasingly important subjects such as *tawḥīd*, *ḥadīth*, and specific rites for holy days. Teachers at smaller *pondok* garnered reputations by specializing in one particular science or by traveling through the region to gather students and spread the news about their school.

The success of certain scholars in the realm of cultural production, and crafting a new socio-moral order centered on Islamic teachings, propelled particular families and their lineages to premier positions within Patani society and other places connected to the network. This process of social stratification was the result of social strategies coming to fruition among elite and mid-level social actors. A detailed analysis of the elite families' genealogies can be found in the Appendix. In cultural terms, the rise of these elite scholarly families through the course of the nineteenth century made them the most powerful social figures with the greatest ability to transform local understandings of symbolic value and meaning.

Literacy was on the rise in Patani and neighboring regions connected to the scholarly network from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Though no firm estimates may be made as to the actual number of even the proportion of individuals who then learned to read and write, we may make an approximation of the relative increase from earlier in the century, based on manuscript production. Scholars, students, and scribes (and mainly the latter two groups) produced most of the manuscripts during the period, responding to the demand for written forms of Islamic knowledge by the expanding intellectual class. If literacy was at 2% at mid-century, then it may have been as high as 5% by the 1880s on the eve of mass-production. This was a small, but significant increase in the numbers of intellectuals who were then becoming some of the most influential cultural producers on the peninsula and beyond. With the vast increase of texts available from mass-production by the 1890s, as we shall discuss in chapter seven, the rates of literacy made a sharp increase in the years that followed.

Furthermore, the shift from oral tradition and royal authority to Islamic authority preserved in written form was to have profound effects upon Patani and other Malay-speaking societies. This process propelled Islamic leaders—as the progenitors and guardians of sacred

texts—to the forefront of indeces of social prestige since the latter had a near-monopoly on this knowledge and the authority it imbued. They also bore a cultural weapon against locals who either lacked the means or the interest in obtaining "purified" Islamic knowledge in Mecca or other authoritative centers abroad, tipping the scales increasingly against existing oral traditions throughout the nineteenth century. Amin Sweeney has observed across much of the Malay-speaking world how writing, especially when first introduced into regions, was associated with magical and sacred power. The mystical power of texts seems also to have played a role in the rising position of the Patani *'ulama* as they spread reformist Islamic doctrines not only in their home villages, but in a wide variety of Malay-speaking areas.[298]

Despite the massive influx of "new" knowledge in Patani, various local forms of knowledge also prevailed and tempered the manner by which local people consumed or reproduced the texts. As we have seen in both the Yaring and Yala cases, local literature and indigenous Islamic practices and beliefs were clearly present in the intellectual debates of the time. Though reformist texts were most widely disseminated, local knowledges were clearly present and contextualized peoples' relationship with these new social and religious discourses. And by using the term "resistance" it is not necessarily intended to suggest open conflict, but rather the filters that people possessed when embracing or rejecting particular doctrines, beliefs, or practices in the late nineteenth century. The period was one of incredible change and reform, but such transformations always reflected local color in various facets throughout Patani and beyond. Despite whatever local "resistance" existed, the elite scholarly families experienced considerable success in "Islamizing" the local population, with a focus especially upon social practice, against the backdrop of continued "external" political interference by Bangkok.

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[298] Amin Sweeney, *A Full Hearing: Orality and Literacy in the Malay World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987): 108-9.

Manuscript production was a central feature in the social and cultural practice of Patani in the nineteenth century. Texts were the result of centripetal socio-cultural forces involving teacher-student, father-son, and mother-daughter relationships of social power and cultural meaning and value. As people developed and spread forms of literate Islamic knowledge, they contended for a share of the moral value inherent in such writings. The tradition of concluding a text with a colophon thus imprinted a student's mark upon history. The survival of the manuscript tradition for a number of decades after printed materials were available is further evidence that handwritten texts bore additional social value that mass-produced books could never attain.

The *pondok* were critical in transforming the social and cultural consciousness of the people of Patani which revolved around a Malay-speaking, Islamic axis. Islam had clearly been territorialized in Patani, but came under constant threat from political forces in the region. The prevailing frustration for the Patani *‘ulama* was due to the fact that they were highly successful in spreading their ideas via texts and schools, but political solutions continued to evade them. Malay was the vernacular language of the region and formed the vehicle for cultural interaction and diffusion. The participants in the social discourse constructed their vision for their society in the form of Islamic teachings, practices, and beliefs. Debates surrounded issues important to the community, but were conducted via handwritten manuscripts that from the mid-1880s gave way to an active print culture, a matter which will be fully illustrated in chapter seven. People from Patani encountered, whether in the local *pondok* which drew a diverse array of Malay-speaking students, or in Mecca, the most vibrant place for interaction between the world's Muslims, a common Malay-Islamic cultural core that afforded them great prestige, social security, and

cultural unities and place. Positioning themselves at the pinnacle of Malay-Islamic cultural production, the Patani scholars exerted great influence both at home and abroad.

By the time of the 1327/1909 Anglo-Siamese Treaty that set the border between Siam and British Malaya, Patani had established itself as an unparalleled center for Islamic learning on the peninsula and its reputation allowed it to draw students from elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Yet, the treaty was to have debilitating effects upon the learning centers of Patani. As early as 1319/1902, when King Chulalongkorn's government in Bangkok ousted Patani's last sultan, 'Abd al-Qādir, for exile in Phitsanulok (and later Kelantan), a number of *ulama* and other scholarly elites also fled.[299] According to historian William R. Roff, this was part of a process that had started in the final two or three decades of the nineteenth century, due to the increased Siamese political presence in the region.[300] The teachers who remained in Patani were resilient and continued to teach large numbers of students in an increasingly vital enterprise for the maintenance of local cultural and social practices and values.

Kota Bharu and nearby Pasir Mas, in Kelantan, increasingly appeared to be safe havens for those who sought to continue their work in Islamic education without undue external interference or perceived threat. The collapse of the last vestiges of royal power were a direct threat to Islamic law courts, of which there is some evidence that they were on the rise in the late nineteenth century. Kelantan became the heir to Patani's legacy, though a shared one that continued to hold dialogue with the learned elite of Patani, Kedah, Trengganu, and other neighboring regions. It is to this subject that I now turn to in chapter six.

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[299] David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982): 213.
[300] Roff, "Origins and Early Years," 107.

Chapter 6
Displacement, Diaspora, and Malay-Islamic Cultural Unities
in Southeast Asia, 1869-1909

Introduction

As we have seen from our discussion of the Patani scholarly network in chapters three to five, key members of the Patani diaspora attained great moral authority in Mecca who, in turn, reshaped their homeland via students and schools. But these transformations of cultural, religious, and social practice and space were not manifest in Patani alone—they also reached communities distant from the Malay-Thai borderland. The nuclei for these changes existed in other centers on the peninsula, the greater Malay-speaking regions of Southeast Asia and southern Africa, similar diasporas in the Middle East, and mobile communities moving within and between these areas. From the very beginning of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teaching in Mecca, he attracted students from outside of the Patani diaspora. The interactions between these groups in Mecca and in Southeast Asia both transformed and reinforced the integrated cultural unities of Patani, while drawing them into a complex cultural matrix that included many neighboring Malay-speaking regions.

As discussed in previous chapters, the people of Patani dispersed wherever technology and familial ties facilitated resettlement. The main recipients of Patani refugees were Kedah, Kelantan, Perak, and Trengganu. However, it was the elite refugees who could afford the trans-oceanic voyage to Mecca. Once there, they managed to accumulate great moral authority via interactions with Islamic scholars that they, in turn, employed to reform their home communities. This mobile Mecca-based Patani elite then transcended both vast distance and imperial territorial

claims to establish themselves as transformative players in the construction of cultural and social power nexuses in Southeast Asia.

Memories of homeland have often been cited as one of the major forces for the development and maintenance of self-conscious diasporas.[1] What memory of a Patani homeland remained among the scattered refugees after 1200/1786 and how was it maintained and produced? It is now impossible to trace what oral traditions existed after the fall of Patani to Siam that must have sustained some wider consciousness of the community in the years that followed. Written sources, however, indicate that there was a resurgent memory of a gilded past, especially after the wars of the 1830s. The oldest extant versions of the *Hikayat Patani* date to that time, which relate the deeds of the rulers of Patani, with greatest focus upon the period of prosperity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] It is interesting to note that 'Abd Allāh Munsyi obtained the source text for his 1254/1839 recension from members of the Patani diaspora in Kelantan two years previous, suggesting that it was not difficult to find and had been carried there by members of the Patani diaspora.[3] Such stories provided a unity for the conquered and dispersed Patani people who sought to reconstruct their society around new ordering principles. Unlike in previous years when the royal chronicle was kept safely behind the palace walls, it now was disseminated among the people of Patani who became its guardians. With their sultans and rajas as an idealized memory, a turn to Islam provided a new authority around which to orient the community.

In the wider Malay-speaking world, the Patani diaspora encountered integrated cultural unities that reinforced and transformed their cultural, religious, and social practices. This

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[1] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (1991): 83-99; Kim D. Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse." *Diaspora* 10, no. 1 (2001): 195.

[2] Seventy-four of the manuscript's eighty-eight pages are dedicated to these stories. LC 1839: 1-74.

[3] A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, v. 5 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970): 30.

occurred along two lines, first as refugees within broader Malay-speaking communities where Islam became the common cultural grammar by which they interacted and communicated. But in the Islamic world of Mecca, they also discovered a number of shared values, a scholarly tradition with vibrant, reformist ideas, and a haven from which to reassert themselves in their fractured homeland. The Patani diaspora also experienced prejudice from their Arab hosts, who viewed the Jāwah to be less sophisticated or unorthodox in their practices.[4] The combination of cultural unities and exclusions, in their myriad manifestations, resulted in the institutionalization of a number of cultural and social attitudes within the Patani diaspora, most notably the focus upon the outward cultural and social practice of Islam we discussed in chapter five. The display of religiosity and the rise of religious discourse conducted in Malay (and increasingly in Arabic) during the final decades of the nineteenth century elevated a number of cultural values that gave unity to the Patani diaspora as a part of the greater Malay-Islamic world.

The Patani diaspora was not the only of such communities to find solace in the *pondok*. These Islamic schools became the meeting place of many others such as Bugis, Hadhramis, Mandailings, and Minangs (from Minangkabau). Members from each of these mobile, displaced, or exiled groups played significant roles in the development of the *pondok* on the peninsula. They benefited from their mobility that allowed them to forge connections across vast distances between people who shared a growing interest in reformist Islamic belief and practice and found value and place in these new found cultural unities.

The *pondok* were also meeting places between landed communities and the diasporas and mobile networks that sustained the schools. Though the diasporan populations were the key

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[4] Prejudice and exploitation were two of Hurgronje's major themes when portraying the Jāwah community's relationship with Arabs in Mecca, though he likely exaggerated this due to his own colonialist interests in subduing Pan-Islam as a threat to Dutch political authority in Aceh and other parts of the Dutch East Indies. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 215-92.

players, increasing numbers of scholars and students played significant roles in the expansion of the scholarly networks between *pondok*, especially as these schools spread into interior regions on the peninsula and beyond. Thus the *pondok* were transformative spaces of social and cultural fusion, interaction, and conflict where teachers, scholars, and students forged the rising Malay-Islamic cultural unities.

The Patani scholars, teachers, students, scribes, and others who returned to Patani in the nineteenth century set in motion a process of transformation, cultural rejuvenation, and social practice that continues to the present day. The powerful members of the diaspora exerted their greatest energy in bringing moralistic and religious reforms to Patani, which was becoming an increasingly idealized, if threatened, homeland for those living abroad. As political realities set in that separated Patani from neighboring regions with cultural affinities, the Patani shaykhs nevertheless struggled to perfect the practice of Islam and fight for cultural autonomy. The *pondok* were the focal points of their work, with enduring legacies to the present day as sites of cultural production, identity formation, and social unity, if contested on all fronts.

Some Patani scholars chose to conduct their reforms in other Malay-speaking areas where they encountered less resistance from authorities, and still enjoyed a good degree of cultural acceptance. Unsurprisingly, their influence can be seen most readily in places of closest geographic proximity—the northern Malay states of Kedah and Kelantan. Further south, the Patani scholars were fewer in number, but often attained positions of high esteem in the royal courts or as state-sanctioned mufti or *qāḍī*, advantaged by the general high regard for Patani scholars of Islam with a résumé that included training in Mecca, teaching experience at *masjid al-ḥarām* or in regional *pondok*, and often a list of written works relating to the most relevant

issues of the day in the realms of *fiqh*, *tawḥīd*, or other doctrines.[5] Thus the Patani shaykhs possessed means for mobile authority and power in an increasingly globalized world.

By the 1870s, a number of important Islamic learning centers appeared in Southeast Asia on the Malay-Thai Peninsula, western Borneo, Cambodia, and central Siam that were closely connected to the Patani scholarly network. Kelantan was the most important of these centers and continued its long nineteenth-century ascendance as a critically influential center for the emergence of Islamic scholarship in Southeast Asia. Kelantan was often the last destination for students before going to Patani and by the first decade of the twentieth century began to usurp Patani's position as the premier center for Islamic learning on the peninsula. Another active center emerged in Kedah, which experienced two-way traffic: Patani- or Kelantan-born scholars who went there to teach, and Kedah-born students who went to either of the former centers to study with the leading scholars who taught there, afterward often returning to Kedah to spread texts and teachings. In addition, scholars maintained or developed learning centers elsewhere in the Malay-Thai Peninsula, such as in Melaka, Perlis, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Selangor, Singapore, and Trengganu. Elsewhere, the Patani scholars forged links with Mempawah, Pontianak, and Sambas on Borneo, with Malay- or Cham-speakers in Cambodia, and with scholars in more isolated learning centers in central Siam.

Part I: Kelantan

As we have discussed in chapters three to five, Kelantan possessed a subsidiary position to the Patani *pondok* through much of the nineteenth century, but it steadily emerged as an

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[5] The rising power of *qāḍī* and *sharīʿa* courts in Southeast Asia grew out of a similar process that had been going on in the Middle East since the seventeenth century. Scholars who trained in Mecca or elsewhere in the Middle East returned with knowledge of these institutions and some chose to try to implement them with varied success on the peninsula and beyond. Such efforts were met with greatest success in Kelantan, though perhaps predated by similar, if momentary equivalents, in Patani. Haim Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994): 58-78.

increasingly influential Islamic learning center after 1285/1869. A growing number of *pondok* attracted scholars and students alike, who found the region appealing when compared to the continued political uncertainties that existed in Patani. Kelantan's ultimate political fate had yet to be determined, but the east coast polity's political apparatuses remained intact, which served as a buffer against what many viewed as aggression and threat from the Siamese state and increasing British interference.

Tok Konok

The most influential of Kelantan's early teachers was Hajji Nik Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Nik Ismā'īl bin Nik 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1245-1310/1830-93), who we introduced in chapter four as Tok Konok. He was originally from Kota Bharu, but went to Mecca to study with some of the leading teachers before returning to his home city to teach the *Qur'ān, uṣūl al-dīn, falak*[6] (celestial sphere), and other Islamic sciences.[7] He taught over fifty students who later left to open their own schools in the region, thus clearly playing an unprecedented role in the proliferation of *pondok* in Kelantan. Two of his own sons, Nik Maḥmūd and Nik Dā'ūd, carried on his work even after his death.

Most of Tok Konok's students who became teachers, did so in Kelantan, though some traveled elsewhere to spread teachings. Kota Bharu, not surprisingly, was the center of activity in Kelantan throughout the period.[8] Hajji Awang Padang bin Hajji Mat Saleh taught at Kemumin, Tok Khaṭīb Sulaymān bin Omar, Tok Khaṭīb Wan Deraman bin Wan 'Abd al-Salām, and Haji Awang bin Cik Mūsā at Tanjung Cat, Hajji Mamat bin 'Abd al-Qādir at Padang

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[6] Arabic: فلك

[7] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Konok (1830-an-1893)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 81-98 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 85.

[8] Ibid., 86-8.

Bongor, Lebai 'Umar bin Aḥmad at Buluh Peleting Pintu Pong/Penambang, Lebai Mamat bin Awang Kecik at Kampung Tapang, Hajji Sulong bin Ismā'īl at Kampung Kota, Nik Dā'ūd bin Nik Jamāl at Kampung Langgar, Hajji Ismā'īl bin Cik at Kampung Banggol, Hajji Aḥmad bin Muḥammad at Kampung Cekeli, Hajji 'Alī bin Tuan Muḥammad at Padang Bongor, two brothers, Hajji Jusuh bin Hajji Senik and Hajji Dā'ūd bin Hajji Senik at Kampung Lati, and Hajji Wan Mūsā bin Hajji Wan Ḥasan, known as Datuk Lundang, who taught in that village. Several of Tok Konok's students also attained positions as imams throughout the Kota Bharu area, such as 'Abd Allāh bin Ibrāhīm at Tanjung Cat, Hajji Wan Ismā'īl bin Wan Qāsim at Parit, Hajji Wan 'Abd al-Majid bin Hajji Wan Kamāl at Paya, and Hajji Nik Maḥmūd bin Wan 'Abd al-Qādir, at Masjid Muḥammadi.

A number of Tok Konok's students opened or joined schools in the area of Pasir Mas, which was just then rising as one of Kelantan's most well-known cluster of *pondok*.[9] In that area, Lebai Qāsim bin Ḥasan and two brothers, both of whom served as imams there, Haji Ibrāhīm bin Hajji Abū Bakr and Hajji 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Hajji Abū Bakr, taught at Kelar, for example, and Haji Aḥmad bin Muḥammad taught at Bemban/Binjai, while Lebai Qāsim bin Ismā'īl taught at Pangkalan Rambutan, Hajji Ibrāhīm bin Hajji Awang became imam of Kangkong, and Hajji Mamat bin Dolah taught at Kampung Pauh.

A third Kelantanese center opened at Tumpat, a third important center for Islamic learning in Kelantan, where many of Tok Konok's students opened or joined *pondok*.[10] For example, Hajji Nik Dir bin Hajji Nik Wan taught at Geting, Hajji Yūsuf bin Cik Karīm and Hajji Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Wan Muḥammad at Sungai Pinang, Hajji Cik Din bin Cik Bakar at Kok Pasir, Hajji Ṭayyib bin Hajji 'Abd al-Salām at the well-known Kampung Laut, Hajji Wan Mūsā

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

bin Wan Dīn at Kampung Surau Kutan, Hajji Wan ʿAbd Allāh bin Wan ʿAbd al-Qādir at Kampung Dusun Kutan, Hajji Wan Mamat Kecik bin Hajji Wan ʿAlī at Pasir Pekan, Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin ʿIdrīs at Bunut Sarang Burong, Hajji Sulong bin Mamat at Kubor Datok, and Wan Ṣāliḥ bin Wan ʿAbd Allāh at Hutan Jambu, near Sungai Pinang. Several of Tok Konok's students also attained the position of imams in or near Tumpat, such as Hajji Wan Sulaymān bin Wan Hamat at Kampung Surau Kutan and Hajji Ibrāhīm bin Haji ʿAbd Allāh at Morak. Other centers in Kelantan bearing heavy influence of Tok Konok's students were Bacok, Palekbang, Pengkalan Cepa, and Peringat. Two of his students even moved north into Patani, teaching in Salor/Kok Merbau.

Several things become apparent when surveying Tok Konok's students. First, we can see that almost all of the people who studied with him were from Kelantan. Despite the large number of students, it appears his explicit goal was to elevate the level of Islamic knowledge in Kelantan specifically rather than attempt to draw in a more diverse array of students from a broader area, as some others did during the period. We can also see that at least 64% of his students embarked upon the hajj at some point during their careers. Considering the difficulty and expense of the journey, it is clear that the Islamic pilgrimage was a key component to developing ones credentials as scholars of Islam, even if one received ones entire formal education on the peninsula. Still, teachers such as Tok Konok drew considerable non-hajji students as well, meaning that students from lower economic means were beginning to gain access to education that formed part of an increased movement towards specific Islamic teachings, beliefs, and practices on the peninsula after 1285/1869. Through the process of esteemed scholars teaching local students, education and Islamic learning became avenues for

social mobility and the *pondok* were the primary spaces for the acquisition of social and cultural capital in the region in the late nineteenth century.

Tuan Tabal

A number of other teachers played prominent roles in the transformation of Kelantan as a major center for Islamic learning on the peninsula. Tuan Tabal, who we introduced briefly in chapter five, was born in Kampung Tabal Tempoyak, which is just across the river from Sungai Golok, today one of the major border towns between Patani and Kelantan.[11] He studied with his father and other teachers at unidentified *pondok* in Patani from the age of fourteen, before later going to Mecca, where he concluded his education.[12] He came under the influence of Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, his chief teacher, who inducted him into the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa*. He also studied with Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin al-Qāḍī Ṣāliḥ al-Rashid (1228-91/1813-74), from Sudan, who inducted him into the Rashidiyya order. The latter teacher had studied directly with Shaykh Aḥmad bin ʿIdrīs Maghribī (d. 1253/1837), the founder of the aforementioned Aḥmadiyya order. His other teachers included Shaykh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl bin Muḥammad al-Nuwwab and Sidi Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī.

Tuan Tabal returned to the peninsula and settled in Kelantan around 1285/1868 and immediately began writing many of his own works. The titles of at least nine of his writings have survived, though only one manuscript copy of any of the originals has been found. He wrote at least nine works, the most well-known of which, *Kifāyat al-ʿAwwam*, completed in

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[11] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdus Samad bin Muhammad Salih (Tuan Tabal) Penyebar Tariqat Ahmadiyah Pertama di Asia Tenggara," *Dakwah* 15 (Jan 1992): 46.

[12] Ibid., 47, 49; Ismail Che Daud, "Tuan Tabal (1840-1894)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 99-121 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 102-3.

1295/1878, dealt primarily with *uṣūl al-dīn*, *fiqh*, and *taṣawwuf*.[13] The text gained popularity in the scholarly network by 1300/1883, around which time Tuan Tabal's students spread the text north into Patani, where teachers employed the text at Kampung Batu Putih in Yala.[14]

Tuan Tabal was also an active teacher, opening a *pondok* in Kota Bharu soon after his return from Mecca, where he drew students from throughout the east coast of the peninsula.[15] Much like Tok Konok, his students remained in the local area, at least twenty-three of whom became teachers of Islamic subjects at *pondok* mainly in or near the well-known centers of Kota Bharu, Pasir Mas, Tumpat, Bacok, and Salor, as well as lesser-known areas such as Pantai Dasar and Kedai Lalat. Undoubtedly his most important student was Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Aḥmad (1284-1352/1868-1933), later known as Tok Kenali, who became an unparalleled teacher in Kelantan.

Tok Kenali

Tok Kenali, as his name indicates, came from a poor family in Kampung Kenali, Kubang Kerian, just four miles south of Kota Bharu.[16] His father, a peasant farmer, died when he was just five years old, and he came under the care of his maternal grandfather, Cik Ṣāliḥ, known as Tok Leh, who first taught him how to recite the *Qur'ān* and how to read and write Jawi script. Quickly, however, Tok Kenali exhibited unusual ability as a student and went first to study in Kota Bharu and thence to Mecca in 1303/1886, financed by the charity of his friends and colleagues in Kota Bharu and his mother's modest savings. Even in Mecca, he encountered

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[13] PNM 1144: 27r.
[14] PNM 308: 21v; PNM 1977: 20v.
[15] Daud, "Tuan Tabal," 103.
[16] Abdullah al-Qari b. Haji Salleh, "To' Kenali: His Life and Influence," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 88-90.

great hardship, supposedly spending his first seven months in the holy city without a proper

place to live, often sleeping in the cloisters of *masjid al- ḥarām* and eating very little.

Nevertheless, it did not take long for Tok Kenali to impress even the most highly-

regarded Malay-speaking teachers in Mecca. Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, discussed at length in

chapters five and seven, soon took Tok Kenali under his guidance and considered the latter to be

his star student.[17] Tok Kenali even followed his teacher to Cairo in 1320/1903, where they

together studied at al-Azhar and other institutions, and where they both came under the

considerable influence of Muḥammad Abduh's modernist views concerning Islamic education.

Tok Kenali returned to Kelantan in 1326/1908, after the death of his revered teacher, and quickly

set about reorganizing educational facilities there, much of which is beyond the scope of the

present study. He also fostered a number of influential students who later opened schools

elsewhere in Kelantan and organized some of the most important Malay-language Islamic

writings to appear in print.[18] His four sons and his long-time assistant, Shaykh 'Uthmān Jalāl al-

Dīn bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad (1297-1371/1880-1952), also carried on his work long

after his death.[19]

Tok Kenali's leadership in the founding and development of the critically influential

Majlis Ugama will be further discussed in chapter seven.[20] Most important for our discussion

here, is to show that he was intimately linked together with the networks of Patani scholars and

played a central role in the rise of Kelantan in the early twentieth century as the successor to

Patani as the major center of learning on the peninsula. Furthermore, the work of Tok Kenali

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[17] Ibid., 91-2.

[18] Take, for example, Hajji Ahmad bin Ismā'īl (1316-88/1899-1969), who was the chief editor of *al-Hidayah* and *al-Hikmah*, and many other writers who composed their own treatises. Ibid., 95-7.

[19] Ismail Awang, "Syaikh 'Uthman Jalaluddin (1880-1952)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 503-19 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 503, 506.

[20] William R. Roff, "The Origins and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 101-52.

displays that revival and reform was a process that bore many steps and that each generation of new scholars reacted to those who preceded them, redefining belief and practice within their given contexts, some later becoming conservative forces, and training the following generation of scholars who brought on successive changes.

Mufti Hajji Wan Mūsā

A fourth major figure in the Kelantan *pondok* was Mūsā bin ʿAbd al-Ṣamad bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Kalantānī (1289-1357/1873-1939), known popularly as Mufti Hajji Wan Mūsā. He was taken by his father to Mecca at the age of seven and soon joined the circle of students studying with Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī that also included Tok Kenali.[21] He also studied with Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, who inducted him into the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa*. He thereafter returned to Kelantan around the same time as Tok Kenali, where he taught at Kampung Laut, Kampung Kuala Melawi, and Padang Pak Amat, Pasir Putih, and was soon after appointed third mufti of the state in 1327/1909 by Sultan Muḥammad IV. He retained his office until 1334/1916, when he chose to embark for Cambodia, where he worked as a teacher for a number of years. He completed at least two undated works, one of which was *ʿAqd al-Durr al-Nafis*.[22]

While in Kelantan, Mufti Hajji Wan Mūsā drew students from around the peninsula.[23] He employed a large number of texts that included Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*, which discusses the different Muslim *firaq* with an emphasis on *fiqh*,

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[21] Ismail Awang, "Mufti Haji Wan Musa (1875-1939)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 385-97 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 386. Also see Hassan, "Lima Orang," 29-34.
[22] This text was later published in Kelantan. See chapter seven. Ibid., 395-6.
[23] Ibid., 386, 388, 392.

and is also known to have been a prominent teacher of *tawḥīd*.[24] At least fourteen of his students became teachers elsewhere in the peninsula, most visibly in or near some of the major Kelantan *pondok* clusters such as Kampung Laut, Kedai Lalat, Pasir Pekan, Pasir Putih, Semerak, and Tanah Merah. Others went further afield, establishing or joining schools in Perak, at Gajah Mati in Kedah, and at Sungai Udang, in Melaka. Similar to the composition of the student body in the Patani *pondok* that we discussed in chapter five, a number of Mandailings studied with him as well as Malay-speakers claiming other ancestry. Less is known about his Cham students in Cambodia, but at least one, Hajji Ayub, carried on his work after Mufti Hajji Wan Mūsā retired back to Kelantan.

Other Influential Scholars and Teachers

The elder, but less influential son of Tuan Tabal, Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Ṣamad bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Kalantānī (1287-1339/1870-1920), was known as Tok Imam Hajji Wan Mamat. At the age of eleven, he went to Mecca with his father and younger brother to study, where he studied with Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, among others.[25] He returned to the peninsula after a few years, but made the arduous journey to Arabia twice more during his relatively short life. After marrying into another established *ʿulamāʾ* family, he became *imām muda* at *masjid kayu* (alternatively, *masjid besar*), in Kota Bharu, eventually attaining the senior position. He also worked as a teacher, carrying on his father's work at Pondok Tuan Tabal in Lorong Tok Semian, Kota Bharu. He eventually succeeded his younger brother as fourth mufti of Kelantan in 1334/1916, a position that he held until his untimely death.

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[24] There is clear evidence that he taught these texts in Kampung Kuala Melawi, but likely spread these teachings to the other *pondok* where he worked. MKI 623A, 52; MKI 623B, 43.

[25] Abdullah, "Syeikh Abdus Samad," 48; Daud, "Tuan Tabal," 117.

Another influential figure in the Kelantan *pondok* was Muḥammad Saʿīd bin Muḥammad (1285-1358/1868-1939), known popularly as Tok Jerulong. After pursuing preliminary studies in his birthplace of Salor, he went to Pondok Sungai Pinang, then to a school at Jalan Atas Paloh, in Kota Bharu, before embarking for Mecca in 1304/1886.[26] While in the Ḥaramayn, he studied with the leading Malay-speaking teachers, including Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, Tok Wan ʿAlī Kutan, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, Tok Gudang, Tok Senggora, Pak Cik Wan Dāʾūd, and several Arab-speaking scholars such as Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, the progenitor of the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa* for so many Southeast Asian Muslims at the time. He did not return to Kelantan until 1330/1912 and thus his teaching activities are beyond the scope of the present study, but it may suffice to say that he taught at least nineteen students who went elsewhere and opened or joined *pondok* of their own. Thus Tok Jerulong's training in our period is important to note as an example of the wider trend of "fourth generation" scholars that emerged in Kelantan at the time.[27]

Hajji Wan Aḥmad bin Hajji ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (1277-1352/1861-1934), known alternatively as Tok Padang Jelapang or Tok Golok, came from Kampung Palekbang, near Sungai Pinang, Kelantan. He went first to Patani to study at Pondok Caok and thence to Mecca, where he studied with some of the most highly regarded teachers, including Tok Wan ʿAlī Kutan and Pak Cik Wan Dāʾūd.[28] While in Mecca, he composed his only known work, *Dilalah al-ʿAwwam*.[29] He later returned to Kelantan and founded a *pondok* in his birthplace, but left after a few years to teach at Padang Jelapang, near Pasir Mas, and eventually to Golok, in what is now Thailand's

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[26] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Jerulong (1868-1939)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 399-412 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 399-404.
[27] See chapter 5 for more discussion and characterization of the "fourth generation" scholars.
[28] Ismail Awang, "Tok Padang Jelapang (1872-1935)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 325-35 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 326-7.
[29] Published in Singapore in 1924. Ibid., 333.

Narathiwat Province, around 1350/1932.[30] He left at least eight prominent students who taught

in or near Pasir Mas, Kota Bharu, Tumpat, and in Rantau Panjang, the last of which is located

just across today's Malaysian-Thai border from Golok.

Hajji Senik bin Lebai Ṣāliḥ bin Tok Doyan (d. c. 1348/1930), another native Kelantan

'ulamā' to appear in this period, studied in both Mecca and Cairo for a total of twenty years, with

Tok Senggora and an unidentified Shaykh Saruji.[31] He distinguished himself as a master of

Qur'ānic science and eventually returned to his peninsular home where he began training

students with his expertise. He supposedly drew students not only from Kelantan, but also from

Perak and Trengganu, many of whom returned to their homes to further spread these teachings.

We can see from the composition of his students that Kelantan was quickly rising as a center and

drew students from its southern and western neighbors.

Hajji 'Uthmān bin Hajji Muḥammad bin Hajji 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1284-1372/1868-1953),

known popularly as Tok Bacok, came from Kampung Tok Burong, situated just to the west of

Bacok. He was first taken by his father to Kota Bharu where he began his study of Islamic

sciences.[32] Having proven his skill to his teachers, they sent him to Pondok Kuala Bekah, in

Patani, where he pursued additional study for six years before going to Mecca to conclude his

training. Upon his return, he opened a pondok in Bacok that supposedly drew students from

around Southeast Asia.[33] He was most well-known for his knowledge of *fiqh* and a number of

his students became *qāḍī* or Islamic teachers in Bacok, Kampung Belukar, and Bukit Marak in

Kelantan, Penanti in Pulau Pinang, Tanjong Hilir in Perak, and elsewhere.

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[30] Ibid., 334-5.
[31] Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' Muhajirin di Kelantan," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 537-82 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 553.
[32] Ismail Awang, "Tok Bachok (1868-1953)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 521-30 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 521-2.
[33] Ibid., 523-4.

The last major figure to appear in the period, Hajji Ibrāhīm bin Hajji Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin 'Isa bin Zakariyā' bin Tok Surau Banggol (1288-1374/1871-1955), known popularly Hajji Ibrāhīm Tok Raja, came from Kampung Banggol, near Kota Bharu. He claimed descent from the royal family of Minangkabau, but his ancestors had emigrated to Patani, and subsequently fled as refugees during one of the late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century wars in the region, and had settled at Kampung Banggol, where his father taught the *Qur'ān*.[34] Thus Hajji Tok Ibrāhīm Raja grew up in the characteristic cosmopolitan atmosphere of the *pondok*, supposedly interacting with students at his father's school who came from Kedai Buloh, Kuala Semut Api, and other nearby coastal areas.

Hajji Ibrāhīm Tok Raja went first to Sungai Pinang, where he studied with Hajji 'Abd al-Malik bin Ḥasan, before going to Mecca in 1309/1891 to further his studies with many of the chief figures of the Patani diasporic community there.[35] For example, he studied with Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani, Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan, Tok Senggora, and perhaps Tok Gudang, as well as a number of other Malay-speaking and Arabic-speaking teachers, such as the Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, who spread the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa*, and a diverse array of scholars from Bogor, Kedah, Lingga, Minangkabau, Sumbawa, and elsewhere. His career alone illustrates the sort of interactions taking place in Mecca in the final decades of the nineteenth century, where Islamic scholars engaged with people and ideas that traced their origins across much of the eastern hemisphere. He returned to Kelantan around 1317/1900, but continued to travel incessantly between Islamic centers in his native land, Cambodia, and Mecca. He ultimately returned to Kelantan and taught

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[34] Ismail Che Daud, "Haji Ibrahim Tok Raja (1871-1955)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 557-77 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 558-9.

[35] Ibid., 559-61.

at al-Madrasa al-Muḥammadiyya al-Kalantaniyya, beginning in 1335/1917, where he attracted

hundreds of students in succeeding years, though these are beyond the scope of the present

study.[36] He also continued his work in Cambodia and became fluent in the Cham language to

further enable his work there. After more than a decade of teaching, he was appointed the sixth

mufti of Kelantan. He left two known written works, though this may be an incomplete record

of his contributions to Islamic sciences. He completed *Al-Fawā'id al-Duniawiyya wa al-*

Ukhrāwiyya fī Ba'dhi Fadhā'il al-Suwar wa al-Ayat al-Qur'āniyya, during a return journey to

Mecca in 1320/1903, and finished a second work, *Jiwa Amalan*, in 1343/1925.[37]

At least five additional figures important to the transformation of Kelantan as an Islamic

center received their earliest training in the late nineteenth century, but made their impact after

the period in focus of the present study. I address these scholars briefly here to illustrate the

enduring legacy of the Kelantan scholars. Hajji 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Hajji 'Uthmān bin Senik

(1287-1353/1871-1935), known as Tok Selehor, studied in Patani at Pondok Kuala Bekah and

then for an extended period in Mecca with Pak Cik Wan Dā'ūd and others.[38] He did not return to

Kelantan until around 1340/1921 when he opened a *pondok* at Selehor, where he trained students

who later taught in villages near Kota Bharu, Pasir Mas, Pasir Putih, Tumpat, and elsewhere in

Kelantan.

In other cases, we can see that members of the Patani diaspora continued to play an

important role in the construction of Islamic discourses. Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin Hajji Yūsuf (c.

1292-1384/1876-1964), known as Hajji Awang Faqīr, came from an elite family that had fled

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[36] Ibid., 562-6.

[37] Ibid., 575. The first work listed above was published by Matbaah al-Miriah, Mecca, in 1321/1904 and the second by Matbaah al-Kamaliah, Kota Bharu, in 1344/1926. See chapter seven.

[38] Ismail Awang, "Tok Kelehong (1871-1935)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 293-301 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 294-8.

from Patani in 1248/1832 and married into an established *'ulamā'* family near Kota Bharu.[39]

Hajji Awang Faqīr chose to return to Patani and studied at Canak before going to Mecca. After coming back to Kelantan around 1329/1911, he began teaching at Seberang and later at Sungai Petai, near Pasir Putih, and finally at Kampung Lembu. He drew students from Kelantan as well as Kedah and Trengganu, many of whom returned to their places of origin and further spread the teachings they had garnered from him.

A third figure to gain his initial training in the period was Hajji Muḥammad Samʿān bin Awang Senik (c. 1298-1354/1881-1935), known as Tok Seridik, who was a prolific teacher. After studying in Patani and then in Mecca with many of the Patani diaspora scholars, he returned to Kelantan and opened a school in his birthplace.[40] He taught at least fifty students who have thus far been identified who later went elsewhere to open their own schools throughout Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu.

Hajji Ismāʿīl bin Hajji Senik (c. 1303-52/1885-1934), known as Tok Kemuning, went to Mecca with his elder brother around 1313/1895, where he studied with the premier Patani diasporic scholars of his day, including Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, Pak Cik Wan Dāʾūd, and many others.[41] He returned to Kelantan in 1331/1913, first teaching at Bacok, but later became one of the first major teachers to move into the central Kelantan interior. He ultimately trained at least forty-two students who afterward opened or joined *pondok* of their own, to continue the spread of Islamic teachings.

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[39] Ismail Che Daud, "Haji Awang Fakir (1876-1964)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 75-82 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 75-6, 78-80.

[40] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Seridik (1881-1935)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 337-56 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 341-4, 347-8, 353-6.

[41] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Kemuning (1885-1934)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 267-83 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 271-2, 275-8, 281-3.

Finally, the last figure to gain his training in this period was Ḥajji Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Ismā'īl (d. 1371/1952), known as Tok Guru Kok Geting, came from Kampung Banggol, near Raman, in southern Patani, where his mother supposedly had ties to the Raman royal family.[42] After going to Mecca and studying with the premier Patani diasporic teachers there, such as Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan, and others, he further solidified his position by marrying into an established *'ulamā'* family in Kampung Geting, where he continued to teach at Madrasa Meheliah, and influential and innovative school in the region.[43]

Minor Figures

In addition to the major figures discussed above, there were many more less-well-known scholars in Kelantan who, if taken cumulatively, played critical roles in the development of the *pondok* via scholarly networks. One such scholar was Ḥajji 'Abd al-Malik Sungai Pinang (d. 1928), who was born into a poor family of Bugis origins in Kampung Sungai Pinang.[44] After a dispute between his father and uncle, the former had settled at Pulau Celagi, today called Pulau Panjang, near Pengkalan Cepa, Kelantan. Despite his humble origins, Haji 'Abd al-Malik distinguished himself as a capable student from a young age and went to Patani to study, before concluding his education in Mecca. He then returned to his birthplace and founded a *pondok* and spread the teachings and texts he had collected during his travels.

A second minor figure was Ḥajji 'Abd al-Ṣamad bin 'Abd al-Salām, who studied in Kelantan with an unidentified teacher whose main text for instruction was Shaykh Nik Dir

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[42] Daud, "Ulama' Muhajirin di Kelantan," 562.

[43] Ibid., 562-3.

[44] Ismail Awang, "Haji Abdul Malek Sungai Pinang (1834-1934)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 285-92 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 286.

Patani's *Umm al-Barāhīn*, which the former later spread elsewhere after finishing his studies around 1289/1872.[45] Another minor scholar of the period was Hajji Wan Ismāʿīl bin Wan Aḥmad (fl. 1890s), who was known as Tuan Pangkalan Tangga, who came from Kota Bharu, studied with local teachers, and eventually established two *pondok* in Kelantan, one at Kampung Jelor near Pasir Putih, and the other at Kampung Lembah, near Semerak.[46] At least three of his students went to other locations to open *pondok* near Pasir Putih, and elsewhere.[47] A third minor figure was Hajji Kamʾu bin Sulaymān al-Kalantānī who, having visited Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, remained and studied Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's introduction to the Islamic sciences, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*.[48] He later returned to Kelantan and spread the text through the students he taught.

An otherwise unknown scholar, Alwi bin Yūsuf, studied untitled works on *tawḥīd* in Kampung Bayam, near Kota Bharu, which he later spread through his own teachings.[49] Interestingly, he also studied Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, perhaps for points of refutation as the concepts of *martabat tujuh* had come under considerable attack in some reformist circles in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.[50] An otherwise unidentified ʿAbd al-Raḥmān continued to popularize the writings of the seventeenth-century reformer of the Aceh court, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Raniri.[51] The same scholar, or perhaps another figure with the same name spread copies of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabāʾi*, an increasingly important *fiqh* text that regulated proper eating and slaughtering habits for Muslims in the region.[52] The

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[45] PNM 782: 14v.
[46] Daud, "Ulamaʾ Muhajirin di Kelantan," 549.
[47] Ibid., 551.
[48] PNM 1239: 204v.
[49] MKI 742: 20.
[50] MKI 697: 61. Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shaṭṭāriyyah Ṣūfī Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 3 (2001): 84-5.
[51] PNM 781(1): 57r.
[52] PNM 2668: 29v.

similarly named, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd Allāh, was active in Kelantan around the same time, studying Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*, which he later spread through networks of students.[53]

Finally, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Aḥmad Panjang, a native of Kelantan, copied a book on local medicinal lore for a *datuk* in the region named Raja Besar in 1288/1871.[54] Much like similar texts in Patani around the same time that we discussed in chapter five, we again see evidence for an upwelling of knowledge that took the form of handwritten manuscripts for the first time. These texts are proof that local forms of information had considerable value to scholars, even students of the Islamic sciences, and local people felt compelled to commit them to written form. The textualization of these forms of knowledge may reflect a disruption to the established social order that had long preserved existing oral traditions, as I observed elsewhere in the region in earlier times, or might instead show that locals found the new way of preserving knowledge useful given the movement of people and the political, cultural, and social reorganization that swept through the peninsula in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[55]

Part II: Kedah and Perlis

Kedah and Perlis were second only to Kelantan in the number of scholars and *pondok* that appeared as a result of the influx of learned figures from Patani or the return of students who trained there. Other than the isolated settlements and connections mentioned in chapter four in Melaka and Pulau Pinang, the west coast of the Malay-Thai Peninsula had experienced much less scholarly activity in previous years. By the 1870s, however, a number of key figures

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[53] PNM 2047: 189.
[54] DBP 33: 491.
[55] Francis R. Bradley, "Moral Order in a Time of Damnation: The *Hikayat Patani* in Historical Context." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2009): 267-93.

emerged in the region who spread scholarship, built schools, and attracted students from Kedah, Perlis, and neighboring regions of the west coast and the adjacent interior.

Hajji Wan Muḥammad ʿIdrīs bin Hajji Wan Jamāl (1266-1329/1849-1911), known popularly as Tok Shaykh Jarum, was the first major scholar in Kedah in the nineteenth century who played a major role in developing the *pondok* there. He was born in Kampung Bendang Badang, in Yala, where he studied extensively with Tuan Minal in the 1860s before going to Mecca to further his education.[56] While in the holy city, he concentrated primarily upon Arabic language as well as *uṣūl al-dīn*, *tafsīr*, and *fiqh*. After studying a number of years, he returned to his home and taught at his former teacher's *pondok*.

After Tuan Minal's death, Tok Shaykh Jarum embarked for Mecca again in 1312/1895, this time accompanied by his three wives and his two most promising students, Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin ʿIdrīs and Hajji Muḥammad Ṭayyib.[57] Upon his return to the peninsula a year or two later, he settled in Kedah, first at Kampung Kubang Siam, but later at Derga, which became one of the most influential early *pondok* in Kedah. He drew students from the local area, particularly from Kota Setar, Kubang Pasu, and Kubang Siam. This was the beginning of a strong learned tradition in Kubang Pasu that has flourished in recent decades, today known colloquially as "education valley" because it is now home to six major universities. Tok Shaykh Jarum also drew students from Perak, especially the northern commercial center of Parit Buntar and the fishing center of Bagan Datuk, situated southwest of Ipoh. He also drew a few students from Negeri Sembilan. At least a dozen of his students returned to their home communities, opening

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[56] Shamsudin Mohd. Yusof, "Tok Sheikh Jarum (1849-1911)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 165-76 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 165, 167, 171-2.

[57] Ibid., 169-70.

local *pondok*, serving as imams at newly constructed or well-established mosques, or working as *qāḍī* in those regions throughout the twentieth century up to the time of Malaysian independence.

Muḥammad Yāsīn bin Muḥammad Saʿid (d. 1328/1910), who is most well-known for spreading texts and schools in western Borneo, also played a role in developing Kedah's *pondok*. He was born in Kedah, but went to study briefly in Mecca in 1306/1889, gaining the respect of two key scholars, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik and Tuan Guru Hajji ʿAbd al-Razzāq.[58] He also studied with Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas, who inducted him into the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*.[59] He then returned to Southeast Asia, when he became known as Tok Hajji Mat Yāsīn, and went to spread teachings in Pontianak and Mempawah, both in western Borneo, the details of which are noted below. He eventually returned to Kedah and opened a *pondok* at Bukit Pinang by 1321/1904, where he taught *tawḥīd*, among other Islamic sciences, until his death.[60]

A third figure of prominence in Kedah was Hajji Wan ʿIsmāʿīl bin Wan Muṣṭafā bin Wan Mūsā al-Samlawī (1290-1367/1873-1948), known popularly as Hajji ʿIsmāʿīl Cik Dol. He was born at Kampung Manjung, a small village in Perak.[61] While still young, he went to study with Tok Bendang Daya Muda, during the latter's final years as chief teacher of the peninsula's most esteemed *pondok*.[62] He also studied with Tuan Minal, who was also in the final years of his career, and supposedly assisted his latter teacher in the opening of Pondok Sungai Dua, in Seberang Perai. After the deaths of his two great intellectual masters, he embarked for Mecca, where he studied with the premier scholar of his day, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī.

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[58] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Yasin Kedah: Pengasas Pengajian Pondok Pertama Kalimantan Barat," *Dakwah* 14, no. 199 (Jun 1991): 41; Ismail Che Daud, "Syaikh Nik Mat Kechik Patani (1844-1915)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 189-204 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 193; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 76.

[59] Abdullah, "Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Yasin Kedah," 41.

[60] PNM 1435: 13r.

[61] Manjung is located today in a district of the same name which was previously known as Dinding.

[62] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 274-5.

Upon Hajji 'Ismā'īl Cik Dol's return to the peninsula, he settled in Kedah, where he taught at Pondok Tualang.[63] He was later joined by his son-in-law, Tuan Guru Hajji Awang, who assisted him as a teacher at the *pondok*. The elder of the two then left for the better-known Kampung Gajah Mati, where he opened his own school that supposedly drew students from throughout the peninsula and even Sumatra. His students were most prominent in establishing *pondok* in Kedah, at places such as Pokok Sena, but some also returned to Trengganu to teach and spread writings. His son, who we introduced in chapter five as Tuan Guru Hajji Cik Dol, opened a school at Guar Cempedak, named *Madrasa al-Akhlak al-Islamiyya*, before becoming very active in politics. Hajji 'Ismā'īl Cik Dol's own work in Kampung Gajah Mati was carried on by another son-in-law, Hajji Wan Ibrāhīm, who was known as Pak Cu Him Gajah Mati.

Three other early scholars played a role in the development of Islamic scholarship in Kedah in the 1870s. The first of these was Hajji 'Abd al-Ghani bin Hajji 'Abd al-Rāshid al-Mandura, who bore a loose connection to many of the Patani *'ulamā'* as a member of the Sammaniyya *tarīqa*. He appeared in the region in the 1870s spreading the teachings of the order and inducting local adherents into the fold.[64] A second figure, Hajji Samsudis bin Lebai Dīn Kedah appeared in the latter part of the same decade, bearing copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī's *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj*, which tells the vibrant story of the Prophet Muhammad's journey by night from Mecca to Jerusalem and thence to heaven. A third figure, Imam Wan Muhammad, went to study in Kota Bharu, and afterward returned with copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī's *Īdāh al-Bāb*, which he afterward spread through networks of his students in Gajah Mati.[65] Both of these scholars served to introduce beginning students to some of the important teachings of the time and inspired some to further their education at the *pondok* in Kedah and elsewhere.

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[63] Ibid., 275-6.
[64] DBP 118: 111.
[65] MKI 194: 118.

A major figure to emerge in the last two decades of the nineteenth century was 'Abd Allāh bin Shams al-Dīn (c.1860-c.1922), known popularly as Tok Perlis. He was born in Kampung Surau Kuala Badang, Kedah, to a local father and a mother from Kelantan.[66] He studied first with local teachers and then went to Sungai Pinang, Kelantan, before embarking for Mecca to further his education. While in the holy city, he studied closest with Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan, and Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī.

When he returned to the peninsula, probably at some point in the 1890s, he settled in the small east coast Malay polity of Perlis, where he became the earliest Islamic teacher of any significance.[67] In addition to the students he taught from his new-found home, he also drew aspiring young scholars from Kedah, especially from his birthplace, and from Kelantan at Kota Bharu, Pasir Mas, Kedai Buloh, Kuala Kerai, and Tumpat, perhaps relying upon his familial connections to further his reputation there. Kuala Kerai was emerging then as an important agricultural center, the site of numerous rubber plantations, and by the 1920s, linked to the west coast of the peninsula by the railroads. At least twenty of Tok Perlis's students returned to their homes, where they opened *pondok* and spread teachings. Much like the work of Tok Shaykh Jarum, we again see evidence of the early Islamic schools in northern British Malaya appearing by the early twentieth century in important economic centers. Furthermore, Tok Perlis's work opened the way for other scholars contemporary to him, such as Hajji Jamāl bin 'Abd al-Khāliq bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm bin 'Abd al-Laṭīf bin Muḥammad Hāshim bin 'Abd al-Mannān bin 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Faṭānī (1278-1355/1862-1936), a later Patani-born, Mecca-trained teacher who afterward came to Perlis to spread Islamic teachings.[68]

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[66] Ismail Che Daud, "Tok Perlis (1860-an-1922)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 215-27 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 215-6, 224.

[67] Ibid., 222-3.

[68] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 289.

A third important figure in the development of an Islamic scholarly tradition in Kedah was Ḥusayn bin Hajji Muḥammad Nāṣir bin Hajji Muḥammad Ṭayyib bin Hajji Masʿud (1280-1354/1863-1936), known popularly as Tuan Ḥusayn Kedah. He was born into an established *ʿulamāʾ* family at Kampung Titi Gajah, near Alor Setar, Kedah, and pursued his early studies in Kelantan and Patani, but rather than following many others to Mecca, instead continued his education in Trengganu, Singapore, and Melaka, before going to Medan, in north Sumatra, where he spent five years before finally embarking for Islam's holy city.[69] He quickly established himself within the Patani circle, studying with Tok Wan ʿAlī Kutan and the well-known exponent of the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa*, Shaykh Muḥammad bin Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh al-Makkī, and many other scholars of the time.

Tuan Ḥusayn Kedah eventually returned to the Malay-Thai Peninsula, where he taught first in his birthplace, but later at Alor Kapor and Kuala Merbok, situated in Lembah Bujang (Dragon Valley), but did not settle permanently in these locations.[70] He seemed continually determined to move and open new schools, first at Pokok Sena, and then at Kepala Batas and Seberang Perai. The last of these villages possessed only a small school at his arrival, but by 1352/1934 attracted as many as sixty students annually. Tuan Ḥusayn Kedah was most well-known as a writer, however, and composed at least twelve works on Islamic subjects, including treatises on Shāfiʿī law, including *Uṣūl al-Tawḥīd*.[71]

Hajji Arshad bin Muḥammad Tahir (c. 1286-1361/1870-1942), known as Tok Ayah Kedah, was another important Islamic scholar to emerge in Kedah in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was born in Guar Petai, Seberang Perai (Province Wellesley) and

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[69] Ismail Awang, "Tuan Husain Kedah (1863-1936)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulamaʾ Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 357-70 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 359-60.
[70] Ibid., 360-1.
[71] Ibid., 363-9. Many of his works were published in Pulau Pinang or Kelantan, see chapter seven.

went to study with Tok Shaykh Jarum and other local teachers at an early age.[72] Having suitably impressed his teachers, they sent him to study with scholars in Patani, including Tok Caok and Hajji ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pauh Bok. He afterward went to Kelantan, where he studied with Tok Kenali and Tok Bacok, which is one of the first instances of a reversal of the south to north movement of students. In this case, he concluded his studies in Kelantan, showing that with the emergence of Tok Kenali as the premier scholar in Kelantan and the increasing political marginalization of Patani, the former state was becoming the final destination for students before embarking for Mecca.

Tok Ayah Kedah returned to Kedah where he taught local students as well as those claiming more distant peninsular origins.[73] At least nine of his students returned to their home environs to open additional schools in places such as Temesu and other villages in Kedah. Though most of his students hailed from the local area, some came from further afield such as Kadok and Pantai Senok, in Kelantan, Sabak, in Selangor and Pancor, in Johor. This is the first instance of the Patani-inspired scholarly networks reaching into those regions, probably by the 1920s or 1930s.

Another figure that emerged in the late nineteenth century was Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Isḥāq (d. 1347/1929), known popularly as Tuan Mat Saleh Kelonghoi. He came from Kampung Laut, near Tumpat, Kelantan, and followed the familiar trend of studying first in his home region, then in Patani, and finally in Mecca.[74] Upon his return, he settled at Kampung Kelonghoi, near Kuala Kedah, where he taught Islamic sciences until his death.

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[72] Daud, "Ulama' Muhajirin di Kelantan," 560-1.

[73] Ibid., 561.

[74] Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan di Rantau Orang," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 487-8 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 487-8.

The last teacher to emerge in Kedah during the period that bore influences from the Patani scholarly network was Hajji Wan Ismāʿīl bin Wan Mustafa bin Wan Mūsā al-Samlawi (1289-1367/1873-1948). He was born in Kampung Menajung, near Tanjung Datuk, and went to study first with Tok Bendang Daya Muda, and later with Tuan Minal, while still in his teenage years.[75] He then went to Mecca where he studied with Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī before returning to Kedah. He first taught at Pondok Tualang, but later was granted a position at Kampung Gajah Mati, which was then emerging as the most reputed *pondok* in the state.[76] He drew students from Kedah and Trengganu as well as from Cegar in Pahang. His son-in-law, Hajji Wan Ibrāhīm, known as Pak Cu Him Gajah Mati, later carried on his work at the school after his death.

One final figure to rise to prominence in Kedah in the twentieth century was Tuan Guru Hajji ʿAbd Allāh bin Ibrāhīm bin Ṭāhir (c. 1285-1380/c. 1869-1948). He came from a Patani diaspora family in Mecca, where his father taught the *Qurʾān* to a diverse array of Malay-speaking students.[77] Tuan Guru Hajji ʿAbd Allāh did not return to the peninsula until around 1340/1921, later became involved in the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), and was also appointed Mufti of Kedah.

From our discussion of the Kedah-Perlis *pondok*, we can make several observations. The Patani diaspora, though more active in Mecca and Kelantan, also played a role in the development of Islamic education via scholarly networks in Kedah-Perlis, even as late as the 1920s and 1930s. The symbolic authority that they readily acquired both on the peninsula and in Mecca, allowed them to vault themselves into prestigious positions as teachers, jurists, and government officials in Kedah as they did elsewhere.

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[75] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 274-5.
[76] Ibid., 275-6.
[77] Ismail Awang, "Haji Abdullah Pak Him (1869-1961), in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 33-42 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 33-6.

Kedah and Perlis were second only to Kelantan as an emerging cluster of *pondok* that claimed a significant piece of the Malay-Islamic cultural sphere in which Patani had played such a vital role in the late nineteenth century. Kedah and Perlis naturally benefited from their close geographic proximity to Patani. Both had received refugee families in the nineteenth century as well as teachers who came to escape the political and cultural insecurities that plagued Malay Muslims in southern Siam. By the close of our period, we see successful scholars opening schools based upon those in Patani, revitalized by texts and teachings spread by the Patani scholarly network.

Part III: Other Peninsular Scholarly Centers

On the east coast, the Patani scholarly network reached beyond Kelantan, even into Trengganu and Pahang, though with less influence then with its immediate east-coast neighbor. For example, Lebai Aḥmad bin ʻAbd al-Shukūr, the son-in-law of Hajji Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Trengganu, who we introduced in chapter four as one of the most influential students of Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī, was active in the region in the mid-1880s, spreading Sufi texts and teachings, some of which he must have drawn from Kampung Pusing, in what is today's Yala Province of southern Thailand.[78] Lebai Aḥmad's texts and teachings mostly dealt with the advanced stages of a Sufi disciples quest for oneness with God, addressing concepts of *ḥaqīqa* and *maʻrifa*.[79] He also taught texts on the attributes of God, a common Sufi interest of the time, and may have drawn from Shaykh Dāʼūd Faṭānī's *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh*, for his teachings on these subjects.[80] He also employed texts such as Shaykh Nik Dir Patani's *Umm al-Barāhīn*,

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[78] MKI 219B, 2.
[79] MKI 219A, 1; MKI 219B, 2.
[80] MKI 219D, 1-25; MKI 219E, 1-11.

which we previously discussed in chapter five as a common Islamic text of the early *pondok*.[81]

We can again see that Sufi teachings were still very popular on the east coast of the peninsula in

the late nineteenth century.

A second influential teacher in Trengganu was Muḥammad Shāfiʿī bin Hajji Muḥammad

Amīn bin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Shaykh Aḥmad Zabīdī al-Yamanī (1279/1862-?), known as Hajji

Mat Shāfiʿī. He was born in Kedah to a family of Hadhrami origins. His great-grandfather was

a famous *ʿulamāʾ* from Hadramaut and his father was a well-known teacher known as Tok

Subuh.[82] He followed his siblings to Kuala Trengganu, where he began his study in various

Islamic sciences at a *pondok* in nearby Kampung Losong, before opening his own school at

Kampung Nyior Kembar. He soon embarked for Mecca, however, where he studied primarily

with Tok Ku Paloh.

After returning to the peninsula, Hajji Mat Shāfiʿī he founded his own *pondok* in

Kampung Losong in 1309/1891, where he was assisted by his Meccan teacher's younger

brother.[83] He supposedly drew students from Aceh, Kedah, Kelantan, and Patani. He was most

influential, however, as one who developed and institutionalized methods and models for Islamic

education in the state.

A third active teacher in Trengganu who bore links to the Patani scholarly network was

Hajji ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Hajji ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd bin ʿAbd al-Qādir (c. 1284/1868-?), known

popularly as Hajji ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Limbong. He studied first at Pondok Paya Bunga, which we

discussed in chapter four as one of the most important early Islamic learning centers in the state,

founded by Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī's student, Tuan Bukit Bayas.[84] He afterward taught in a

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[81] MKI 219C, 1-8.
[82] Muhammad Abu Bakar, *Ulama Trengganu: Suatu Sorotan* (Kuala Trengganu: Utusan Publications, 1991): 75.
[83] His assistant was named Tuan Dalam (Sayyid Mustafa). Ibid., 75-82.
[84] Ibid., 191.

surau[85] (small Islamic prayer hall) in Jonggok Tong, a position he obtained from one of his former teachers, Tok Ku Paloh, who was then in his final years of teaching there. Afterward, he went to Kuala Trengganu and taught at the more prestigious Surau Sayyid al-Sagof, where he became the mentor for a number of students who came from elite political families. Hajji 'Abd al-Raḥmān Limbong's career shows how men who displayed their talents as Islamic scholars and who connected with the members of the Patani scholarly network garnered valuable cultural and social capital that they could turn into a means for social mobility. These social fruits relied upon a shared cultural value in Islamic teachings that had been on the rise in the region since the expulsion of Patani refugees following the 1248/1832 war. Schools such as Pondok Bukit Bayas and Pondok Paya Bunga were centers for prestige acquisition in Trengganu and continued to mold the local socio-cultural nexus of power and value well into the twentieth century.

Further south on the east coast in Pahang, one teacher linked to the Patani scholarly network spread texts and teachings, namely Hajji 'Uthmān bin Hajji Senik bin Hajji Ibrāhīm bin Hajji Sālim bin Hajji Kamāl al-Dīn (c. 1253-1329/c. 1838-1911). He was born in Kampung Gaung, near Kota Bharu, Kelantan, to a Bugis family.[86] His great-grandfather, Hajji Sālim had left Sulawesi with many others at that time, and had settled in Patani and Singapore. His grandfather, Hajji Ibrāhīm had fled to Kelantan during the period of warfare in the region discussed in chapter two, where they managed to establish themselves as Islamic teachers. Hajji 'Uthmān retraced his ancestor's steps, going first to Pondok Bendang Daya, where he studied with Patani's most esteemed teachers.[87] Once he had proven himself as a gifted students, he

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[85] Jawi: سوراو
[86] Ismail Che Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan yang Jadi Mufti di Luar Kelantan," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 643-80 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 644-5, 651.
[87] Ibid., 645-6.

went to Mecca, where he studied with the greatest teachers of the Patani circle, including Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, and Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan.

Upon his return to the peninsula, he went to Pahang and settled first at Kampung Burau, on Pulau Tawar, which is near Jerantut, in the northern part of the state, bordering Kelantan and Trengganu.[88] He later moved to Tanjung Langgar and Kampung Ketapang Tengah, where he opened *pondok*, and also taught at Surau Habib Ḥasan. Among a number of illustrious students, he taught Sultan Aḥmad of Pahang, and other *orangkaya*. His teachings focused primarily upon *fiqh* and a number of his students became *qāḍī* in Kelantan, Pahang, and other neighboring regions. While the influence was considerably less in Pahang compared to the northern peninsular regions, the Patani scholarly network managed to connect with Islamic scholars in the area who attained prestigious positions of influence in the royal court and in the increasingly sophisticated Islamic legal system.

On the west coast, members of the Patani scholarly network also established footholds in Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Melaka. For example, in Perak, Hajji Wan Muḥammad bin Wan Ḥusayn (1268-1348/1852-1929), known popularly as Tok Ayah Perak, was very influential. He was born in Kampung Saring, near Pasir Putih, Kelantan and conducted his early studies in his native state, first with Tuan Ḥasan Besut, a student of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's who we introduced in chapter four, and Tuan Pangkalan Tangga, a teacher of Patani descent discussed above as a teacher in Kelantan.[89] He afterward journeyed to Mecca, where he studied with Hajji 'Uthmān bin Hajji Senik bin Hajji Ibrāhīm bin Hajji Salim bin Hajji Kamal al-Dīn, mentioned above as an early Islamic scholar of Pahang. Tok Ayah Perak then returned to the peninsula, settling ultimately in Perak, where he opened several *pondok* at Sayung and neighboring villages,

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[88] Ibid., 647-8.
[89] Ibid., 652-4, 657.

near Seberang Kuala Kangsar.[90] He gained such notoriety that Sultan ʿIdrīs of Perak appointed

him mufti of the state, a position that he held until the sultan's death in 1334/1916.

Further south in Selangor, we see traces of influence from the Patani scholarly network.

Tengku Maḥmūd Zuhdī bin Tengku ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī (1293-1375/1876-1956), a

descendant of Patani slaves captured during one of the wars in the period 1199-1254/1785-1838,

he was born in Ban Sam Diep, near Bangkok and first studied there with a missionary from the

south named Shaykh Wan ʿAbd al-Laṭīf bin Wan Mustafa al-Faṭānī.[91] He was then sent by his

father to Mecca, where he was adopted by his chief teacher, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī. He focused

his studies upon the Arabic language and accompanied his teacher to Egypt in 1320/1903, where

he studied *falak*.

As early as 1317/1899, Tengku Maḥmūd Zuhdī was teaching at Madrasah Saulatiyya in

Mecca, where he remained until 1342/1923, when he fled due to the war between Sharif Ḥusayn

and the Wahhābiyya.[92] He went first to Singapore in 1343/1924, but then to Jambi, Sumatra,

where he taught until 1347/1929, when he settled at Klang, the capital of Selangor, today one of

the world's busiest ports. He soon opened *pondok* there, where he taught for many years before

eventually moving back to Mecca in 1372/1953, where he taught at *masjid al-ḥarām* until his

death. In addition to his work as a teacher, he wrote at least eight works that appear in the

historical record, including *Junyat al-Thimār*[93] (Harvesting Fruits) and *Tadrīj al-Ṣibyān*[94]

(Initiating Boys), which he finished while in Mecca, and *Kitab Pelajaran Bersuci*[95] (Book of

Pure Lessons), *Sembahyang Fardu yang Lima*[96] (Five Obligatory Prayers), *Sharḥ Matn*

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[90] Ibid., 653-4.
[91] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 278-80.
[92] Ibid., 279.
[93] Arabic: جنية الثمار
[94] Arabic: تدريج الصبيان
[95] Jawi: كتاب فلاجرن برسوچي
[96] Jawi: سمبهيڠ فرض يڠ ليم

Ājrūmiyya[97] (Explanation of *Matn Ājrūmiyya*), *Tazkyat al-'Anẓār wa Taṣfyat al-'Afkār*[98] (Improving the Perspective and the Purification of Ideas), and *Thimār al-Khitāb*[99] (Fruits of Speech), all of which he composed while in Selangor and some of which were later published in Singapore.[100]

In Negeri Sembilan, one prominent scholar with ties to the Patani scholarly network emerged around the turn of the twentieth century. Muḥammad Saʿīd bin Hajji Jamāl al-Dīn bin Hajji ʿIdrīs al-Linqī al-Sambilānī al-Jāwī (1292-1345/1875-1926), known popularly as Hajji Encik ʿId, was born in Mecca, where his father taught at *masjid al-ḥarām*. His paternal grandfather supposedly descended from an *orangkaya* Minangkabau family with Hadhrami connections that had settled in Negeri Sembilan as part of the mass migration in the eighteenth century.[101] Hajji Encik ʿId's mother, Ḥajja Ṣafiyya, was the grandniece of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī. His parents took him to Patani in 1299/1882, where he studied with Tuan Minal for five years before returning to Mecca in 1309/1892.

While in Islam's holy city, Hajji Encik ʿId experienced quite a cosmopolitan education. Among his dozen teachers, he studied with Shaykh ʿUmar Bakarat, the mufti of Mecca, other teachers from Daghestan (today an ethnically Turkic province of Russia), Yemen, Sumbawa, British India, and two of the most highly-regarded Patani scholars, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and Tok Wan ʿAlī Kutan.[102] He also went to Cairo, where he studied at al-Azhar and came under considerable influence of the ideas of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad Abduh, discussed in chapters five and seven of the present work. He also studied with Shaykh Aḥmad

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[97] Arabic: شرح متن الاجرومیّة
[98] Arabic: تزكية الأنظار و تصفية
[99] Arabic: ثمار الختاب
[100] Fatani, 279-80.
[101] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Muhammad Sa'id Negeri Sembilan" Mursyid Tarikat Ahmadiyah Idrisiyah," *Dakwah* 14, no. 166 (Mar 1991): 46.
[102] Ibid.

al-Rifaʿi al-Mālikī, an important *ʿulamāʾ* of the Mālikī *madhhab*. Upon return to Mecca in 1318/1901, he joined the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa*, which was quickly becoming the most common Sufi order among the Jāwah community in Mecca. Thus by the time of his return, he bore intellectual influences from a diverse array of origins stretching across much of the eastern hemisphere.

He returned to the Malay-Thai Peninsula in 1319/1902, lived for a time in Singapore, and eventually settled in Negeri Sembilan, where he spread texts and teachings.[103] He spent most of his time writing, however, and produced at least six works that have survived, including *ʾAḥzāb al-ʿIrfāniyya wa al-ʾAwrād al-Nūraniyya*[104] (Provisional Parties and Illuminating Accounts), *Sharḥ Kunūz al-Jawāhir al-Nūraniyya fī Qawāʾid al-Ṭarīqa al-Shadhiliyya*[105] (Explanation of the Illuminating Treasures of the Shadhiliyya Order), *Kashf al-Ghayba fī Ḥaqīqat al-Ribā*[106] (Clarification of the Unknown in the Truth of Usury), *Risālat Fatḥ*[107] (Opening Epistle), and *Sullam al-Taʿrīf ila ʿIlm al-Taṣrīf*[108] (Ladder of Defining the Science of Philology). His writings focused upon *sarf* among other issues. He gained great notoriety through his work in Negeri Sembilan and was later appointed mufti of the state.

Scholars in Melaka had maintained ties with the Patani scholarly network since Tokku Melaka, a student of Shaykh Dāʾūd Faṭānī, had returned from Mecca in the 1830s. There is evidence of renewed activity in the region in the 1870s, led by two prominent students. The first, Hajji Aḥmad bin Hajji Muḥammad, may have studied directly with his aforementioned predecessor in his final years as a teacher there, or perhaps with one of the latter's former

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[103] Ibid., 48-9.

[104] He completed the first two works listed above in Rabiulawal 1323/1905, when he was living in Singapore, perhaps before permanently settling in Negeri Sembilan. Arabic: أحزاب العفانيّة و الأوراد النورنيّة

[105] Arabic: شرح كنوز الجواهر النورنيّة في قواعد الطريقة الشذليّة

[106] Arabic: كشف الغيب في حقيقة الربا

[107] Arabic: رسالة فتح

[108] Arabic: سلّم التعريف إل علم التصريف

students at the small coastal fishing town of Kampung Serkam. He was most interested in *fiqh* and concentrated most heavily upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatanī's *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, a collection of Shāfi'ī writings concerning myriad aspects of social practice, such as fasting, hajj, and marriage, as well as criminal punishments.[109] As discussed in chapter five, this was the single most-popular text in the Patani scholarly network in the period 1869-1909, and played a prominent role in the transformation of Islamic discourses in Melaka as it had elsewhere.

A second prominent student to emerge from the Melaka *pondok* at this time was Hajji Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh. He studied in Kampung Pernu, an interior village in Melaka, where he focused primarily upon Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatanī's *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān*, which described the various Muslim *firaq*.[110] At a time when Islam was becoming increasingly global, such a text was vitally important, not only to inform local audiences to the varieties of Islamic belief and practice that existed in the wider world, but also to reinforce the Sunni and Shāfi'ī traditions that might otherwise become corrupted if adherents began to blur the boundaries. Melaka, which was still a common docking point in the period, if losing out steadily to Singapore, saw a great deal of international traffic and thus the text here seems a poignant means of strengthening existing local traditions against possible infringement by global forces.

At the southern end of the Malay-Thai Peninsula, Johor and Singapore remained loosely connected to the Patani scholarly network after 1285/1869. For example, Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin Mūsā (1279-1325/1863-1907), known as Datuk Hajji 'Abd Allāh, was born in Pasir Pekan, near Tumpat, Kelantan, and studied with Tok Bendang Daya Muda at the latter's famous *pondok* in Patani.[111] He afterward embarked for Mecca, where he studied with the elite members of the

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[109] PNM 27: 64r.
[110] PNM 5: 1v.
[111] Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan yang Jadi Mufti," 657-9, 663-4.

Patani circle, including Shaykh Nik Dir Patani, Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, Tok Wan ʿAlī Kutan, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, and others.

Having impressed his teachers, he returned to Kelantan, where he taught Tok Kenali, while the latter was still very young, but soon left for Johor and Singapore, where he opened schools and taught in both places. He also worked as a lawyer (*peguam*), having trained in Islamic law both in Patani and Mecca. Having spent a decade and a half building his reputation as an authority on Shāfiʿī law, he was appointed second mufti of Johor by Sultan ʿIbrāhīm in 1316/1899. He soon after became a member of the *Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan Johor*, the religious council that advises the sultan and the government which survives to the present day. He held both positions until his early death.

Also in Singapore, a scholar named Yūsuf bin ʿIbrāhīm Trengganu (fl. 1289/1874) spread texts and teachings that suggest a connection to the Patani scholarly network. As his name indicates, he was originally from Trengganu, where he first studied Islam, probably at Pondok Bukit Bayas or Pondok Paya Bunga.[112] He later traveled down the east coast of the peninsula, gathering texts and teachings, eventually coming to Kampung Masjid Baru, in Singapore, where he studied with Qāḍī Shaykh Ma'ruf.[113] His scholarly interests compelled him to focus upon both *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*, and especially, in the latter case, to Shaykh al-Falimbānī, who we discussed as one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's teachers in chapter three. He made copies of the former's well-known *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, and an unidentified *fiqh* text which he further spread in Singapore and surrounding areas.[114] There is also evidence of members of the Patani scholarly

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[112] For the background of these two important scholarly centers, see chapter four.
[113] MKI 277A, 21.
[114] Ibid.; MKI 277B, 7.

network bringing copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Al-Durr al-Thamīn* to Kampung Gelam, in Singapore, which suggests a continued interest in *taṣawwuf* in the region.[115]

Though the influence of the Patani scholarly network lessened in the southern parts of the peninsula, the emergence of *pondok* and Islamic scholars in the regions played a role in transforming the region's cultural and intellectual discourses. In the royal courts and in major points of economic activity, Islamic teachers were crucial in instilling the centrality of Islam into the cultural practices and beliefs of diverse Malay-speaking communities. The prestige of the Patani scholars is evident in the ease by which many of them obtained high offices throughout British Malaya, whether as mufti, *qāḍī*, teachers, or writers.

Part IV: The Wider "Malay" World

The Patani scholarly network also reached into the wider "Malay" world of Southeast Asia, though its geography shifted during the final three decades of the nineteenth century. The Aceh War that enveloped much of north Sumatra after 1289/1873 severed the bonds the members of the network had constructed with Aceh, Barus, and other Islamic centers on the island in previous times. Furthermore, there is no evidence of any continued links with Palembang or Java either, though further research may reveal that the southernmost reach of the network survived. Scholars maintained connections with a number of centers in western Borneo, however, as well as Cambodia, which appeared as vital and vibrant as they had earlier in the century. They also forged links with Patani diaspora and other Malay-speaking diasporic communities in Bangkok, the heart of Siam.

One figure in particular was influential in the maintenance and rejuvenation of Islamic learning in western Borneo, Tok Hajji Mat Yāsīn, who we introduced above as an important

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[115] PNM 2445: 80v.

teacher and scholar from Kedah. Of his Meccan teachers, Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas seems most influential, both as his master in the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*, but also as one who may have directed his later work to western Borneo. Upon his return to Southeast Asia, Tok Hajji Mat Yāsīn settled first in Pontianak at the southwestern extreme of Borneo, where he taught in the palace (*istana*) of Sultan Sharif Yūsuf bin Sharif ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Qadri (r. 1289-1312/1872-95).[116] The sultanate itself had been founded by Hadhrami adventurers in 1185/1771 and had maintained links with Arabia throughout the century following. It appears that Tok Hajji Mat Yāsīn mainly taught Sufi teachings in Pontianak during the approximately five years of his residence there. He thereafter went north to Mempawah, where he also served the sultan, but later traveled to Sambas, where he taught in the court of Sultan Muḥammad Shāfiʿī al-Dīn (r. 1282-1342/1866-1924).[117] In addition to teaching *taṣawwuf,* he also spread texts concerning *tawḥīd, iman,* and the attributes of God, especially late in his career.[118] Another teacher in the region, Tuan Guru Hajji Ismāʿīl Kelantan, who claims Tok Hajji Mat Yāsīn as his source of both the Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa,* later carried on his work in Sungai Itik, in Pontianak.[119] Aḥmad Fathy al-Faṭānī claims another scholar of Patani origins, named Shaykh ʿAlī bin Faqih al-Faṭānī, served as mufti of Mempawah at some point in the nineteenth century.[120]

The connections between the Patani scholarly network and Cambodia were more active than those of Borneo. For example, Hajji Wan Aḥmad bin Hajji Muḥammad Zayn (d. c. 1334/1916), known as Pak Da Mat Kemboja, and not to be confused with his more famous Mecca-based teacher, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, supposedly went to Cambodia and taught there.

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[116] Abdullah, "Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Yasin Kedah," 42-3.
[117] Ibid., 42-3.
[118] PNM 1435: 13r.
[119] Ibid., 42-3.
[120] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani,* 289.

The details of his work remain unknown, however, except that he spent several decades in the region.[121] His son, Hajji Ḥasan (d. 1352/1934), known as Tok Guru Kemboja, who also studied with his father's teacher in Mecca, carried on the work of spreading texts and teachings in the region.[122] Two other teachers, Mufti Hajji Wan Mūsā and Hajji 'Ibrāhīm Tok Raja, discussed above as active in Kelantan also contributed to work in the region in the period 1334-39/1916-21.[123]

One of the most interesting developments in terms of communication within the Patani diaspora, is the forging of links between the scholarly network and descendants or survivors of the war captives taken in 1200/1786, 1248/1832, and other conflicts, who dwelled in Bangkok. The earliest evidence of connections appear in 1290/1873, when Tuan Kundu Laroq al-Faṭānī traveled in the region, spreading copies of *Masā'il al-Muhtadī* and his own untitled work that outlined the rules and expectations for hajjis embarking on the pilgrimage.[124] Given the rising importance and access by Southeast Asian Muslims to the hajj, which we discussed in chapter five, it is not surprising that a traveling scholar would encourage local Muslims, particularly those who had been forcibly removed from their home communities to reconnect with their faith and their broader culture.

A second scholar, Hajji 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Sam'ān (fl. 1315/1898), himself a Bangkok native of Patani ancestry, followed his predecessor's advice and embarked for Mecca, where he studied with Tok Wan 'Alī Kutan and other members of the Patani circle in the holy city. He was particularly interested in *tawḥīd* and made copies of his teacher's work, *Zahrat al-Murīd fi 'Aqā'id*, which he later brought back to Bangkok and spread among the Malay-speakers

[121] Daud, "Ulama' Kelantan di Rantau Orang," 499, 501.

[122] Ibid., 501.

[123] Ismail Awang, "Mufti Haji Wan Musa (1875-1939)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 385-97 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 388; Daud, "Haji Ibrahim Tok Raja," 562-3.

[124] PNM 2669A, 7r; PNM 2669B, 15v.

there. The links forged by Muslims such as Hajji 'Abd Allāh were essential in continuing to maintain a consciousness of the wider Patani diaspora, especially among the descendants of the slave war captives who had maintained their culture entirely through oral tradition after their forced resettlement in the Siamese capital. With the influx of teachers and texts during the final three decades of the nineteenth century, scholars and students revitalized existing Islamic discourses, reinforced various forms of Islamic social and religious practice, and rejuvenated the use of Malay language through education.

Conclusion

The influence of scholars of the Patani network and diaspora on the broader Malay world was profound and formed the basis for numerous Islamic reformist, anti-colonial, and other political movements in the years that followed. Perhaps most noteworthy was the involvement of a number of Patani-trained scholars in Tok Janggut's rebellion in Kelantan in 1333/1915.[125] Others joined UMNO in its early years of political organizing against the British or were key players in the formation of the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS).

Beneath the surface, however, the greatest influence of the Patani scholars was the proliferation and Islamization of the *pondok*. While it is clear that a small number of *pondok* predated the flowering of the Patani scholarly network after 1285/1869, the spread of these schools began in earnest during the final three decades of the nineteenth century. Whereas earlier schools likely relied heavily upon oral tradition and local literature, the rich resources of the Patani network allowed new waves of Islamic thought to reach students on the peninsula within a year of an original composition or making of a manuscript copy, facilitated Arabic- as

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[125] Cheah Boon Kheng, *To' Janggut (Old Long Beard): Legends, Histories and Perceptions of the 1915 Rebellion in Kelantan* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006).

well as Malay-language instruction, and lay the foundation for many of the cultural institutions of Malay Muslims that still exist today.

The geography of Islamic authority in modern Malaysia also owes much to the work of the Patani scholars. Kelantan, still today viewed as the premier center for Islamic learning on the peninsula and a center of Islamic religiosity, first charted its ascendance around the turn of the twentieth century. The process discussed in this chapter will be further analyzed in the one that follows, where we see the rise of Islamic institutions such as the *Majlis Ugama*, which became a model for similar organizations in other Malay states.

Members of the Patani diaspora were the central players in Islamic revivalist and reformist networks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the chief communicators among and between disparate settlements of Patani refugees and other Malay speakers. From Mecca and Cairo to Patani, Malaya, Bangkok, Borneo, and Cambodia, these scholars produced cultural unities, if contested ones, to which members of the diaspora and host-lands found some meaning, value, and place. Despite the great distances between these places and the limits of steam-powered travel, scholars still managed to sustain a network that facilitated the flow of information, reinforced a common cultural grammar, and reinvigorated a system of social power.

Print technology simultaneously enacted great changes to the way the network functioned. The rise of the printing press in Mecca not only allowed the flow of information to increase on an unprecedented scale, but undermined the personal authority that shaykhs had with their students. Information and moral authority had suddenly become even more mobile and the need for personal relationships with gifted scholars lessened. It is to this topic that we now turn in chapter seven.

Chapter 7
Producing Islamic Modernity:
Educational Reforms, Print Culture, and Pan-Islam, 1870-1960

Introduction

Modernity and imperialism brought great changes to the Patani scholarly network. This sweeping metamorphosis of the community's structure manifested itself in various forms that altered the shared systems of cultural value and social power that had provided cohesion for the far-flung diasporan intellectual network throughout the nineteenth century. Pan-Islamic thought, educational reforms, the construction of imperial borders, and the shift from handwritten literature to an active print culture all played a role in critical changes for the Patani scholars and the wider Malay world in the succeeding century. While these forces eventually served to undermine Patani's position as the premier center for the production of Islamic knowledge on the Malay-Thai Peninsula, the cultural traditions established during the previous century endured on both sides of the border that now separates the nation states of Malaysia and Thailand.

In Parts I and II, I analyze the broad implications of Pan-Islamic thought and the forging of an "Islamic modernity." Key Arab and Malay thinkers grappled with the escalating problem of European empires dominating Islamic colonies. Though these encounters played out in many arenas, it was often the cultural degradation that offended Islamic intellectuals most of all and it was in the rousing of cultural pride that they saw their opportunity to turn the tide in their favor with the aim of attaining political power. In the case of Patani, diasporan leaders actually turned to European allies against Siam, in an attempt to position their contested homeland south of the border that was coalescing around the turn of the century. Their failure and the creation of the border between Malaysia and Thailand in 1327/1909 that persists to the present day, has served as a rallying cry for Patani political movements throughout the century since that time.

In Parts III to V, I look at how Patani diaspora scholars established an active print culture in many of the old centers of the network as well as co-opting new media outlets. This process bore the marks of modernist thinking: mass-produced educational materials intended to be consumed by the bulk of society, with the further aim of infusing the individual with commonly shared cultural values and respect for systems of established social power. Whereas Benedict Anderson viewed print culture as a critical component of nationalism, I argue here that print culture expanded to unprecedented proportions what handwritten and oral transmission had been doing during the previous century—producing and reproducing systems of cultural and social power, value, and place based upon the contested space of the book or lecture. The important difference is that via mass-production the consumption of Islamic knowledge became less and less of an elite enterprise, if at the same time directed by people who held great intellectual esteem. Mass-production via the printing press, *rather than via spoken word*, actually served to undermine Patani's position as the main dissemination point of Islamic knowledge on the peninsula. This knowledge became more mobile, the product of printers rather than teachers, and became subsumed into the cultural matrix of wider Malay-society, where the vast majority of such books were used in schools.

Back in Patani, the influential cultural traditions spread via the scholarly network in the nineteenth century have endured up to the present time. But increasingly as the twentieth century proceeded, the cultural insecurity of being a minority population set in and local educational institutions did not gain government funding like those across the border. This has resulted in the continuing "brain-drain" of students into Malaysia and beyond. Nevertheless, the publishing networks have formed the backbone of the traditions throughout southern Thailand,

where the *pondok* remain the cornerstone of cultural reproduction and cohesion, if ever a contested one.

Part I: Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Islamic Modernity

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1254-1314/1839-97) and Pan-Islam

Afghānī, who we first introduced in chapter five, was one of the founders of the Pan-Islamic school of thought which developed in response to growing European political and economic interference throughout the Islamic world. As one early observer noted, "Pan-Islam is a movement to weld together Moslems throughout the world regardless of nationality."[1] To Afghānī, the Islamic world was faced with the present and ever-increasing danger of European imperialism, to which he sought "national" unity to resist European imperialism as well as a broad unity of Islamic peoples that transcended such borders.[2] Scholars have alternatively viewed this movement as "religious anti-imperialism," "Pan-Islamic nationalism," or merely "proto-nationalism."[3] Jacob Landau argues that Pan-Islamic thought emerged from earlier strains of Ottomanism—the idea of equality among subjects of the empire regardless of ethnic origin or religion to ensure their loyalty.[4] By the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1293-1327/1876-1909), Islamism was quickly replacing the earlier movements, primarily due to the work of Afghānī.

Afghānī taught in Cairo, 1287-96/1871-79, was deported to India, and then went to Paris, where, in 1301/1884, he formed, with his protégé Muḥammad 'Abduh, a secret society that

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[1] G. Wyman Bury, *Pan-Islam* (London: Macmillan, 1919): 12.
[2] Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962): 109.
[3] H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947): 119; B. Johansen, *Islam und Staat: Abhängige Entwicklung, Verwaltung des Elends und Religiöser Antiimperialismus* (Berlin: Argument-Verlag, 1982), cited in Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990): 9; N. R. Keddie, "Pan-Islam as Proto-nationalism," *Journal of Modern History* 41, no. 1 (1969): 17.
[4] Landau, *Politics of Pan-Islam*, 9-10.

sought to unify and reform Islam. The organization published a series of periodicals in Arabic titled *Al-'Urwa al-wuthqa*.[5] Devoting his energies to the analysis of the European powers in the Islamic world, he focused on Britain's involvement in Egypt and Sudan in the 1880s. The central problem with which he grappled was the defense of Islamic countries threatened by European expansion, while combating tyrannical rule at home.[6] He believed that Muslims must develop a profound understanding of their own faith and that strict adherence to its teachings would give them the strength to repel European encroachment. If they did so, "their countries would of necessity be strong."[7]

Afghānī concluded that Great Britain was the main "enemy of the Muslims."[8] The British "sowed division and weakened the resistance of their victims by weakening their beliefs."[9] There was a dangerous *wahm*[10] (illusion) that the British were superior and that this formed the basis of the fear that many people harbored. But for Afghānī, the successes of the *mahdī* in Sudan showed what potential Muslims had if only they were rallied to a common purpose.[11] Furthermore, Muslims continued to be weak when faced with British imperialism because they were "disunited, ignorant, and lacking in public virtues."[12] Egypt and India had only succumbed to British power because they had not yet been awakened. He argued further, "Christians are strong because they are not really Christian; Muslims are *weak* because they are

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[5] C. C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh* (London: Russell and Russell, 1933): 9. Arabic:

[6] N. H. Aruri, "Nationalism and Religion in the Arab World: Allies or Enemies," *Muslim World* 67, no. 4 (1977): 266-7.

[7] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 112-13.

[8] *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa* 2: 68, cited in Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 112.

[9] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 113.

[10] Arabic: وهم

[11] Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, "Le Mahdi," *L'Intransigeant*, 8 Dec 1883, in Elie Kedouri, *Afghani and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London: Frank Cass, 1966): 74-9; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, "Le Mahdi," *L'Intransigeant*, 11 Dec 1883, in Elie Kedouri, *Afghani and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London: Frank Cass, 1966): 79-83; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, "Le Mahdi," *L'Intransigeant*, 17 Dec 1883, in Elie Kedouri, *Afghani and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London: Frank Cass, 1966): 83-6.

[12] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 114

not really Muslim."[13] He advocated open resistance to European intrusions, urging his followers

to seek pragmatic means, such as acquisition of arms, to defend their lands.[14]

Afghānī was aware of the successes Europeans had enjoyed in the industrial and

technological revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But to Afghānī, these

successes were due to the proper application of knowledge and the corresponding weakness of

Islamic states was due to ignorance.[15] He advocated that Muslims take from Europe what they

could employ for their own purposes, but rather than do so by blind imitation, they should base

their learning upon Islamic tradition coupled with the sciences fostered by the West. As Hourani

relates it, "Islam was in harmony with the principles discovered by scientific reason [and] Islam

was indeed the religion demanded by reason."[16]

The appeal for unity was the underlying theme in all of Afghānī's writing but he went far

beyond the cooperation of political and religious leaders. He encouraged the solidarity of the

umma[17] (Islamic community) and "the sense of responsibility which each member of it should

have towards the others and the whole, the desire to live together in the community and work

together for its welfare."[18] Afghānī inspired an entire generation of students, such as Shaykh

Aḥmad Faṭānī, to take his ideas further into the realm of education and it is to his most well-

known student, Muḥammad 'Abduh, another of Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's teachers, whom we now

turn.

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[13] Ibid., 129.

[14] Marcel Colombe, "Islam et Nationalisme Arabe à la Vielle de la Première Guerre Mondiale," *Revue Historique* 223 (1960): 88-9.

[15] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 114.

[16] Ibid., 123.

[17] Arabic:

[18] Ibid., 117.

Muḥammad Abduh (1265-1323/1849-1905)

Muḥammad 'Abduh studied with Afghānī in Cairo in the 1870s and for the rest of his teacher's life was a close friend and collaborator. From the mid-1880s, he rose to prominence in Egypt, eventually attained the position of grand mufti. Like Afghānī, the starting point for 'Abduh's thought was the problem of inner decay in Islamic society and the need for revival.[19] 'Abduh was conscious of the increasing division caused by secularization which split society into two spheres. Hourani characterized it as "one sphere always diminishing in which laws and moral principles of Islam ruled; and another always growing, in which principles derived by human reason from considerations of worldly unity held sway."[20] 'Abduh rejected the idea of secularization because the process could never be fully realized and that the result was "a chasm that revealed itself in every aspect of life."[21] 'Abduh noted two types of schools then in use in Egypt. First, there were the traditional religious schools among which Al-Azhar University was the most prestigious. The second type included schools based upon a European model which were the product of missionaries or the colonial government. The religious schools suffered from stagnation of ideas and the practice of *taqlīd* which, over many centuries, had become corrupted. Furthermore, these schools did not teach the sciences "that were necessary for living in the modern world."[22] The new state schools, on the other hand, were merely imitations of foreign schools and since they did not teach Muslim religion they lacked a base for social or political morality. Out of these schools emerged two classes of people: traditional Muslims resisting all change and a younger generation that accepted all changes proffered by modern Europe. In his writing and teaching, 'Abduh sought to breach this division.

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[19] Majid Fakhry, "The Theocratic Idea of the Islamic State in Recent Controversies," *International Affairs* 30, no. 4 (1954): 454; Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East and the West* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964): 103-4.
[20] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 136.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 137.

To show that Islam could be reconciled with modernity was one of 'Abduh's main objects. As Hourani understands it, "In asserting that Islam could be the moral basis of a modern and progressive society, 'Abduh did not of course intend to imply that Islam would approve of everything that was done in the name of progress."[23] Furthermore, in 'Abduh's own words, he had two main purposes:

> First, to liberate thought from the shackles of *taqlid*, and understand religion as it was understood by the elders of the community before dissension appeared; to return, in the acquisition of religious knowledge, to its first sources, and to weigh them in the scales of human reason, which God has created in order to prevent excess or adulteration of religion, so that God's wisdom may be fulfilled and the order of the human world preserved; and to prove that, seen in this light, religion must be accounted a friend to science, pushing man to investigate the secrets of existence, summoning him to respect established truths, and to depend on them in his moral life and conduct.[24]

And secondly:

> There is another matter of which I have been an advocate. People in general are blind to it and far from understanding it, although it is a pillar of their social life, and weakness and humiliation would not have come upon them had they not neglected it. This is, the distinction between the obedience which the people owe the government, and the just dealing which the government owes the people .... The ruler, even if [the nation] owes him obedience, is still human, liable to err and to be overcome by passion, and nothing can divert him from error or resist the domination of his passions except the advice of the people in word and deed.[25]

'Abduh called upon Muslims to use reason when interpreting their religious beliefs but not to create a division between learning and religion. Then, by placing equal responsibility upon the rulers and the ruled, he presented his vision for a stronger *umma* that would both embrace and alter the modern world. Based upon a system of education, 'Abduh set the course for an Islamic modernity.[26]

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[23] Ibid., 140.

[24] Rashid Rida, *Ta'rikh al-Ustadh al-Imam al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh*, 1, 11, cited in Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 141.

[25] Ibid.

[26] For more discussion of his ideas, see P. J. Vatikiotis, "Muhammad 'Abduh and the Quest for a Muslim Humanism." *Arabica Revue d'Études Arabes* 4 (1957): 58-9.

Part II: Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, Tok Kenali, and the Forging of Islamic Modernity

The Ottomans, British "Protection", and Patani

Naturally, other figures came to apply Afghānī and 'Abduh's ideas to related contexts, such as Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, who was most interested in finding some acceptable political solution for Patani, which was still locked in a political struggle against Siam. He went to Egypt around 1292/1875, where he first encountered the ideas of Afghānī, and may have directly attended his lectures at al-Azhar.[27] Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's continued visits to the school, where he often brought his most talented students, including Tok Kenali, to learn from 'Abduh, suggests a life-long interest in Pan-Islamic thought and a clear indication of the profound influence Afghānī and 'Abduh had upon his own reckoning. Ironically, it was Afghānī's opposition to foreign intervention that eventually compelled Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī to appeal to Constantinople for assistance in obtaining British "protection" for Kelantan and Patani, which were both, by the 1890s, entering a new phase of Siamese interference into local politics.[28]

It is not clear what Ottoman political channels were open to Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, if any at all, or whether the latter's requests had any impact, but it was a calculated risk that pitted one meddlesome imperial power, Great Britain, against another that was more immediately threatening: Siam. Great Britain had secretly already been attempting to draw more territory on the Malay-Thai Peninsula into its imperial orbit. In a secret memorandum sent to the British Foreign Office from the Colonial Office Undersecretary of State, dated June 20, 1885, a debate opened about the possibility of annexing the entire peninsula so as to connect British imperial

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[27] His earliest writings confirm that he was in Egypt in the mid- to late 1870s. Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Ahmad al-Fathani: Pemikir Agung Melayu dan Islam*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara and Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2005): 95.

[28] Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition," *JMBRAS* 61, no. 1 (1988): 28.

possessions in Malaya with those in Burma.[29] The main concern for the British was the possibility of the French establishing a protectorate over the entirety of Siam, and thus the official proposed extending influence over the peninsula as a step towards annexing Siam into the British Empire. Later these plans were abandoned for more subtle intrusions into Siamese affairs, but show that British interest in the peninsula was growing in the 1880s and 1890s.

Ultimately, British intrigue in the region was to result in the 1327/1909 Anglo-Siamese Treaty that established the modern-day boundary between today's nation-states of Malaysia and Thailand. Despite the central role of the Patani diaspora in Malay cultural and religious transformations over the previous and concurrent decades discussed at length in chapter six, the political fate of Patani was always left to the whim of imperial forces which bartered it to the benefit of grander schemes. Though the British readily recognized "Malay" cultural affinities as far north as Nakhon, which they articulated in "racial" terms, they never found its natural resources lucrative to justify expending a great amount of capital as to establish political suzerainty over it. As one official complained, the peninsular population was too sparse and "beyond its tin deposits possess[ed] no resources of importance."[30] In the case of Patani, its effective political apparatuses had been destroyed in 1200/1786 and had not recovered enough to afford the British a focal point for political "protection."

Intrigue in Kelantan

The political fate of Kelantan was ultimately far different, though no less uncertain in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Discussion of political, religious, and educational reforms is warranted here to contrast the stagnation or relative decline of the same institutions

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[29] CO 537/46: 41v-41r.
[30] Ibid., 49r.

across the slowly coalescing border in Patani. In the 1870s Kelantan implemented the *tok kweng* system of headmen based on a Siamese model.[31] This allowed for secular control of taxation by the *tok kweng* who, alongside the Imams of the rural areas, were the state's principal means of governing the areas distant from the political center. By the end of the nineteenth century it was well known in Kota Bharu, the capital of Kelantan, that the British had successfully imposed their rule in Western Malaya and Pahang with a marked reduction in Malay authority as well as the Malay character of the states and there was a real danger of the British doing the same in Kelantan.[32] Likewise, Siamese rule of the neighboring regions along the east coast of the peninsula—the areas that together with Kelantan and Trengganu made up the old kingdom of Patani—was notoriously unsympathetic to Malay sovereignty and infused a sense of cultural insecurity among elite Muslim actors.[33] The fate of Kelantan was sealed in the Anglo-Siamese Declaration of 1319/1902 which forced the sultan of Kelantan to accept a Siamese advisor with power much greater than earlier commissioners.[34]

The "Siamese advisor" was in fact a British man, W. A. Graham, who made annual reports to Bangkok in the period 1321-6/1904-9.[35] During his tenure, he implemented two major policies. First, he built a much stronger secular, centrally controlled administration at the village level, thus in the growing tension between *tok kweng* and the Imams, he sided with the former.[36] Second, despite the prohibition of interference in religious matters, he attempted to limit the

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[31] William R. Roff, "The Origin and Early Years of the *Majlis Ugama*," *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 107.
[32] Ibid., 110.
[33] CO 273/343; R. D. Davies, *Siam in the Malay Peninsula: A Short Account of the Position of Siam in the States of Kelantan, Patani, Legeh and Siam* (Singapore: Fraser and Neave, 1902): 11, 23, 28.
[34] The Anglo-Siamese Declaration of 1902 was modeled on earlier British treaties of "protection" requiring the approval of the adviser in all matters of administration except those relating to 'religion and Malay custom.' William George Maxwell and William Sumner Gibson, eds., *Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States and Borneo* (London: James Truscott and Sons, 1924): 85-88.
[35] W. A. Graham. *Kelantan, a State on the Malay Peninsula: A Handbook of Information*. Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1908.
[36] Roff, "Origin and Early Years", 111.

power and authority of the *sharī'a* court regulations by strengthening, in legislative terms, the authority of the state, and to some extent that of the *mufti*, over religion in the state. The legal courts were formed into a clear hierarchy: High Court, Central Court, and Court of Small Causes.[37] However, his attempts to induce the Imams to include more secular aspects into the curriculum of the *pondok* failed.[38] In effect, what he accomplished was the bureaucratization of the Imams, with little actual effect on the opinions they concluded concerning *sharī'a* law. Both of these policies were bureaucratic reforms, forming the base for a centrally controlled administration of the entire state.

The underlying goal of British reform was to implement efficient taxation in the rural environs—and the Friday Prayer Notice of December 9, 1907, set down by the High Court, required all adult males to attend Friday prayers at which time *zakāt* was paid.[39] Graham's goal was to divert this tax for secular use, giving the Imams the authority to fine defaulters. In exchange for the increased revenues gained by the Imams, the British expected them to use their share of the *zakāt* to maintain *surau*. Indeed, as Graham indicates, the reason why the Imams were willing to collaborate in this process was a simple one: the notice also required all adult males to attend visits made by the state's official traveling teacher of religion so that they might learn the basic tenets of their faith. Failure to do this was also reported to the *sharī'a* court for appropriate action.

Though, as Roff argues, Graham's political control of public affairs in Kelantan won him many enemies among the royal family and the traditional elite, the chief beneficiary of effective centralization and bureaucratization was the young Sultan Muḥammad IV.[40] Though the sultan's

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[37] Ibid., 112-3.
[38] Ibid., 112.
[39] Graham, *Kelantan*, 32.
[40] Roff, "Origin and Early Years," 118.

resource concessions were to cripple the Kelantanese economy for a generation, he sought to reassert his popular authority over Islam, the one area he was not obliged to seek or accept the Advisor's approval.[41] In addition, religion was an area which promised considerable control over the populace at large, by way of the institutions of imams, *surau*, and *sharī'a* law.

Despite losing secular authority to the *tok kweng* and to the secular administration associated with the sultan, the Imams remained closely connected to society at the village level, "in terms of relationships springing from kinship and land, in their intimate concern with an important segment of popular systems of belief, and in the ritual functions they performed, functions central to peasant life."[42] No matter the political ambitions of individual *tok kweng*, the Imam was central to local custom, performing a function that none other could supplant. Thus, by the end of Graham's time as advisor, the "centralizing tendencies within Islamic institutions were already providing a counterweight to a secular state apparatus increasingly alien in content, personnel, and ideology."[43]

In 1327/1909 treaty formalized the relationship between Kelantan and the British colonial authorities. In reality this merely established by law what was already going on in practice, in terms of the role of the British advisor and the growing economic intrusion by British capitalists into Kelantanese affairs. The agreement placed the political boundary between the modern nation-states of Malaysia and Thailand that exists to the present day. Now official reports were sent by British advisors to the broader British colonial administration instead of to Bangkok, and once again the sultan was obliged to consult the advisor on all matters except those relating to religion and Malay custom.

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[41] The mining concession made to R. W. Duff covering one-third of Kelantan in 1900 is one example of the type of disastrous economic policies that were implemented by the sultan. Ibid., 111.
[42] Ibid., 118.
[43] Ibid., 119.

Roff insinuates that the small political field in which Kelantan's political forces were forced to maneuver set the state on a course towards Islamic-based education and political vision, one that might have been very different if greater political control had been allowed in wider areas of governance. Therefore, employing the centralized bureaucracy for his own purposes, Sultan Muḥammad IV, under the influence of religious and political elites who had studied in the wider Islamic world, set forth nothing less than the building blocks of a social revolution. Kelantan thrust itself to the very pinnacle of Islamic learning centers on the peninsula via a number of religious and educational reforms, led most prominently by Tok Kenali, which the latter based upon the thought of 'Abduh.

Tok Kenali returned to Kelantan in 1326/1908 after spending twenty-two years in the Middle East. After becoming one of the most respected teachers in Kota Bharu, he was appointed *mufti* in Kelantan with responsibility for overseeing Islamic education in the state, and entrusted to set up a reliable network of schools.[44] He joined with Nik Maḥmūd bin Nik Wan Ismā'īl, his colleague in Mecca, who had by now risen to the position of assistant to the chief minister of Kelantan.[45] Heavily influenced by Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and the thought of 'Abduh, they gave birth to the *Majlis Ugama*, which Roff describes as:

> At once a means of restating the ruler's authority over his people and their welfare, principally by way of Islam; an assertion that Islam itself was not to be relegated to the subsidiary role envisaged for it by the British; and a vehicle for modernization—indeed transformation—of the state as a whole.[46]

The influence of 'Abduh in the goals of the *Majlis Ugama* is striking. In effect, the institution incorporated much of what he seemed to have proposed—the centrality of Islam to the process of modernization, the potential for a better society based primarily on cultural rather than political

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[44] A. H. Johns, "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with Some References to Quranic Exegesism," in *Islam in Asia*, Volume 2: *Southeast and East Asia*, eds. Raphael Israeli and Anthony H. Johns (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984): 135.
[45] Roff, "Origin and Early Years," 125.
[46] Ibid., 126.

strength, and the need for reconciliation between Western science and Islamic teachings. Through the process of reform set out by the *Majlis Ugama*, education was the vehicle by which the members of the council intended on molding their vision of a greater society.

There had been, especially after 1328/1910, a growing anxiety about the effects of foreign intrusion into Kelantan, notably the power of the British administration, but also the growing immigration of Chinese laborers into the area. Numerous laws in the period 1328-33/1910-15 appeared in Kelantan regulating everything from prostitution, consumption of opium and alcohol, and the practice of gambling.[47] The enactors of these laws often responded to the influx of non-Muslim Chinese immigrants as well as the nascent role of the British colonial authorities in facilitating this movement.

Tok Kenali and the Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan

Tok Kenali was a leading member of a new generation of *'ulamā'* who, as stated earlier, was influenced considerably by thought contemporary to other parts of the Islamic World. No longer seeing Islam as a means for reasserting the past, it now was believed to be a mode for determining the future. As stated in his first public pronouncement on the *Majlis Ugama*, the sultan declared that the institution's purpose was to raise Kelantan "to a status consonant with other advanced states."[48] This vision appears to come out of the vein of 'Abduh's thought that for an Islamic society to emerge from its inner decay, it must employ education as its main tool in reconstructing a moral and unified society.

The membership of the organization set it apart from similar organizations that appeared elsewhere in Malaya. Rather than an extension of the power of the old elite, the *Majlis Ugama*

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[47] Ibid., 129-30.
[48] Ibid., 131.

was set up with a strong presence of intellectual and religious elite. Four *'ulamā'* were appointed, one of which was Tok Kenali, who was then said to be the preeminent *'alīm* in Kelantan. Two *khaṭīb* of the Kota Bharu mosque were also members, who were heavily influenced by the teachings of Tok Kenali – and indirectly 'Abduh – and together with the *'ulamā'* composed nearly half of the council. In addition to the specifically religious members, five civil servants, two members of middle-rank old elite families, and one member of the royal family (the younger brother of the sultan) completed its membership. No equivalent organization existed in Malaya. Others that were set up with a similar goal were either controlled by the sultan or the traditional oligarchy. Its membership was to determine profoundly its activities after 1333/1915.

The *Majlis Ugama* took over all legal matters relating to marriage, divorce, *khalwat* (breach of the fast during the month of Ramadan), absence at Friday prayers, erroneous teachings, and other offenses to *sharī'a* law.[49] The *sharī'a* court was consequently reduced to dealing with matters of inheritance only. Furthermore, the *Majlis Ugama* had authority to promote or dismiss all officials in mosques and *surau* throughout the country. Imams were issued statements defining their duties and responsibilities both to the *Majlis Ugama* and the people in their respective districts. And finally, the *Majlis Ugama* retained authority over all *fatawa* that Imams issued, thus bureaucratizing the religious leaders of the state for the first time. In employing this top-down approach to reforming Kelantan society, the *Majlis Ugama* based its principles primarily upon the thought of 'Abduh and benefited from the structure of the British administration that had been established during the years of Graham's tenure.

The focus of the *Majlis Ugama* was to build a society based on good moral behavior and the proper practice of Islam, but the reach of the institution went far beyond such matters.

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[49] Ibid., 139.

Religious teachers were appointed to the police force and to the jails where it was believed education in the proper practices of Islam could reverse the effects of the ignorance that had led people to perform immoral and illegal acts.[50] Criminals represented not merely the result of the breakdown of morality, but also the social decay do which 'Abduh referred. Therefore, by reforming society's lowest members, it was believed a stronger nation would emerge in Kelantan that could resist the pressures of British imperialism.

Kelantan was the first of the Malay states to conform regular working hours to allow for Islamic prayer.[51] All offices were closed on Fridays and religious holidays. Paid leave was granted to officers once in the course of service so that they could perform the hajj to Mecca and Muslim workers were granted holidays on important religious days, including the Prophet's birthday. All of these laws were actively encouraged by the *Majlis Ugama* as a means of creating a society firmly based upon Islamic principles.

The *Majlis Ugama*'s most successful and forward-looking policies were in education. It engaged actively in funding endeavors to translate and publish books on Islamic doctrine, but even more importantly, to establish a body of works concerned with administration and the conduct of the affairs of state.[52] Such works were intended to set the state along a course of proper Islamic governance. Furthermore, a school was established in Kota Bharu to engage the youth of the state. The school concerned itself with all fields of education – the sciences, history, politics, and religious practice.

One of the main goals of the school was the production of Imams and other learned officials. Subjects studied included English language and Western law so that within half a

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[50] Ibid., 140-41.
[51] Moshe Yegar, *Islam and Islamic Institutions in British Malaya: Policies and Implementation*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979: 74-75.
[52] Roff, "Origin and Early Years", 142.

decade or so, the government would be able to draw the bulk of its recruits from the school.[53]

The school had three main departments: Malay vernacular school, English school, and a traditional Arabic religious school. Students were expected to study in all three areas, developing a balanced education based on a wide array of subjects. The school in Kota Bharu had 310 students by 1335/1917 and 500 by 1338/1920, enjoying success from the very beginning.[54]

Tok Kenali's influence may be seen most explicitly in the area of educational reform. He introduced graded textbooks in religious knowledge and over the years developed a system for teaching Arabic etymology and grammar.[55] Although a prolific writer during his many years as a teacher, the products of his most ambitious students also attest to the quality of the education they received. A plethora of Malay-Arabic dictionaries appeared not only in Kelantan, but also in Mecca and Cairo, all the product of pupils of Tok Kenali.[56] Other students translated works on Islamic jurisprudence.[57] The *Majlis Ugama* oversaw two major periodicals. Tok Kenali was the editor of *Pengasoh*,[58] a journal beginning in 1336/1918 that included a question-and-answer section in which readers were allowed to pose questions regarding Islamic thought and practice.[59] The other journal was *Al-Hidayah*[60] which discussed:

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[53] Ibid., 143-4.

[54] It should be noted that Tok Kenali attracted students from all over Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (especially Sumatra), Patani, and Cambodia. Abdullah al-Qari b. Haji Salleh, "To' Kenali: His Life and Influence," in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 92.

[55] Johns, "Islam in the Malay World," 135.

[56] Shaykh 'Uthmān Jalāl al-Dīn published a book on Arabic verb forms in 1358/1939. Shaykh Muḥammad Idris al-Marbawi published several dictionaries that appeared in Cairo and Singapore after 1346/1927. Ibid.; Salleh, "To' Kenali," 96.

[57] Tok Kenali's students As'ad bin Dā'ūd (1886-1941) and 'Alī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn bin Awang (1888-1968) translated *al-Umm*, a text that was influential on the development of religious education in Kelantan. Ibid.

[58] *Pengasoh* was published regularly from 1336/July 1918 with brief interruptions during World War II. Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, "Notes Towards a History of Malay Periodicals in Kelantan", in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. William R. Roff (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974): 173-74.

[59] Johns, "Islam in the Malay World", 135; Roff, "Origin and Early Years", 141, 145-46, 148.

[60] This monthly publication was produced regularly from 1341/June 1923.

All manner of things from household affairs, private obligations and public duties, matters of opinion such as those raised by the daily press, scientific questions, and the art of organization, to original tales, detective stories such as those about the American 'Nicholas Carter', and serialized novels like *Jogan Setia* that told of the national struggle of the Turks, in addition to the news and views concerning Kelantan.[61]

The journals published by the *Majlis Ugama* "gave voice to the religious revival then taking place in the Middle East."[62]

Based on the model set forth by Tok Kenali's school in Kota Bharu, a large number of other schools appeared throughout Kelantan and beyond, founded by his students. The most well-known of these were Pondok Aḥmadiyya, at Bunut Payong, Kota Bharu, opened in 1350/1931 by 'Abd Allāh Ṭāhir bin Aḥmad, Madrasah Manabi' al-'Ulum wa Matali' al-Nujum, at Bukit Mertajam, Seberang Prai, Province Wellesley, opened in 1353/1934 by Shaykh Othman Jalāl al-Dīn al-Kalantānī, and Madrasah al-Falah, at Pulau Pisang, near Kota Bharu, opened by 'Alī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn bin Awang.[63] Thus one can see that within a generation of establishing the school in Kota Bharu, the model for education had spread throughout Kelantan and other Malay states, following many of the existing geographic trajectories outlined in chapter six.

Part III: Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and the Rise of Malay Print Culture in Mecca

Tok Kenali's reforms in Kelantan are not the only examples of the effects of Islamic-modernist thought upon the manner in which members of the Patani scholarly network began to change the way that they interacted with and transmitted Islamic knowledge. The ideas of Afghānī and 'Abduh were to have a critical impact upon Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, as well, after he left Cairo. When he returned to Mecca he became, in addition to his role as a teacher and writer discussed in chapter five, master of the Malay publications produced by the Ottoman printing

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[61] Al-Ahmadi, "Notes Towards a History of Malay Periodicals", 175.
[62] Salleh, "To' Kenali", 87.
[63] Ibid., 96-97.

press in 1301/1884. The press had been founded under patronage from Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II.

All of these printed editions appeared in Jawi script, easily modified from Arabic, including two

Persian characters, and three unique letters. Texts were generally bilingual, including sections of

voweled Arabic to assist the readers who were more familiar with written Malay.

Texts were printed using lithography, a technique that first came into regular use with

Arabic and Turkish texts because the connections between the letters caused European-style

movable type to be viewed as inappropriate when producing sacred texts, especially the Qu'ran.

Whereas lithography had become popular in Europe as an illustrator's tool, in the Middle East,

its ability to reproduce calligraphy caused it to gain immediate popularity.[64] This, in turn,

"preserve[d] [calligraphy's] cultural and ritual functions" in the form of mass-produced texts.[65]

The shift from handwritten manuscripts to mass-produced publications was to have a

profound effect upon the social dynamics of the Patani diaspora, though these changes took

about ten years to be fully felt. The cultural value placed upon calligraphy and handwritten

copies taken from a teacher's lectures was slow to dissipate. Nevertheless, by around

1312/1895, we see a sharp decline in the production of personalized copies of the great works of

the Patani scholarly network.

Hurgronje turned an attentive eye to the Meccan press because of its implications for the

growth of Islamic education in Southeast Asia. He wrote:

> The considerable number of Malay books printed from 1884 till now [1886] in Mekka bears witness to the
> importance of the Jāwah element in the Holy City. The Turkish government has entrusted a certain Ahmed
> ibn Muhammed Zein from Patani with the supervision of the Malay press.[66]

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[64] Ian Proudfoot, "Mass Producing Houri's Moles; or Aesthetics and Choice of Technology in Early Muslim Book Printing," in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society: A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*, eds. Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street. Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science: Texts and Studies series, vol. 28, eds. H. Daiber and D. Pingree (Leiden: Brill, 1997): 172.

[65] Ibid., 174-7.

[66] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning; The Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931): 286.

Though Hurgronje was well-aware of the present social milieu of the Jāwah community, he clearly lacked knowledge of the central place Patani scholars had played in earlier years, as argued in the present work. He further elaborated:

> To this is probably due the fact that the works of divines from Patani are most numerously represented in the Mekkan editions. This Ahmed is a savant of merit. In 1883 a grammatical work was published by him in Cairo, and the fourth volume of the I'ānah of Sājjid Bēkrī contains a poem written by Ahmed in praise of the author. It is probably due to Ahmed's patriotism that the following works of older Patani scholars (i.e. Malays from Patani) have been printed: An Anthology of traditions concerning the Hereafter by Zein ul-'Ābidīn Patani, an entire series of works of Dā'ūd ibn Abdullah Patani, who wrote his best known books between the years 1815-1840 and whose name is often met with in the Catalogue of Malay manuscripts of the Batavia collection.[67]

The appointment of Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī as overseer of the Malay publications at the press is evidence of the reputation of the Patani scholars in Mecca, in addition to his own personal accomplishments as a new, powerful voice within the Jāwah community.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī began by publishing what he regarded as the most important teachings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. Approximately 75% of the works published at the press from 1301/1884 until the former's death in 1325/1908 were those written by the latter. During Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's lifetime, the press experienced two major phases: the initial period when he published many of the most popular works of the time, 1301-14/1884-96, and a second phase when, after returning from a period of writing and studying abroad, he reprinted the most successful works and took on new publishing projects, 1319-25/1902-8.

The First Phase of the Ottoman Press in Mecca, 1301-14/1884-96

During the first phase, Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī selected the popular *Al-Durr al-Thamīn* as his inaugural publication in 1301/1884, guaranteed to sell by its widespread use and thus to draw

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[67] Ibid., 286-7.

funds for future projects.[68] The following year, he arranged the publishing of Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī's *magnum opus* on Shāfi'ī law, *Furū' al-Masā'il* which further drew revenue to allow the

Malay wing of the press to retain solvency.[69] Indeed, Hurgronje mentions this text as a "great

work on Law and Dogma ... much used in the East-Indies."[70] The early success of these

publications is evident in their repeated print runs through the following two decades. *Al-Durr*

al-Thamīn was printed at least three times in the period 1305-23/1888-1905 and *Furū' al-*

Masā'il also appeared in three additional print runs in the period 1304-32/1887-1914.[71] It is also

likely that published versions of *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb* and *Nahj al-Rāghibīn*, both mentioned in

secondary sources, date to the early period because of their similarity to the two above texts.[72]

Recovery of extant copies would help to clarify this issue.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī followed the early publications with other popular works by

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. For example, in 1303/1885, he published *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, which had just

recently regained popularity in manuscript form, as we discussed in chapter five.[73] In the same

year, he also published *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya*, which was a basic text that likely garnered a wide

readership among the Jāwah community.[74] He also published *Kashf al-Ghummah*, peculiarly

since there is no evidence of this text experiencing any popularity in the network since the early

1860s, though there had been a continued interest in eschatology among many students

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[68] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1301 A.H. [1884]): 1.

[69] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1302 A.H. [1885]): 1.

[70] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[71] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1323 [1905]): 1. Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[72] Mohd. Zain bin Abd. Rahman, *Annotated Translation and Transliteration of* Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz ahl al-Ṣūfī *of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī* (M.A. Thesis, Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 2000): 30, 38; Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman, "New Lights on the Life and Works of Shaikh Dā'ūd al-Fattani," *Studia Islamika* 90, no. 3 (2002): 96, 102.

[73] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1303 A.H. [1885]): 1; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[74] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1303 [1885]): 1.

throughout the late nineteenth century as discussed in chapter five.[75] This text may have been

the first disappointment for Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's press, though Hurgronje's reference to the

book suggests that the text experienced a resurgence in the 1880s that has gone otherwise

unnoticed.[76]

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī soon turned to publishing Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's smaller treatises

on specific issues of Shāfi'ī law, such as *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, in 1305/1887.[77] The latter's popular

book on marriage law, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, followed soon after in 1306/1889, often appearing under its

popular title of *Bāb al-Nikāḥ*.[78] His delay in publishing these very popular books may be that

they had already appeared in other publishing centers such as Constantinople and Singapore, and

therefore had already captured a good portion of the market. Having these readily available for

the students of Mecca in the 1880s was nevertheless necessary to supply the increased number of

hajjis who were arriving from the peninsula and other parts of Malay-speaking Southeast Asia.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī also published two other popular writings by Shaykh Dā'ūd

Faṭānī. In 1310/1893, he published a copy of *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, a foundational work relating to

the *salāt* prayer, which was assured a wide readership among the students in Mecca.[79] Like

some previous texts, publication of this work may have been delayed by its earlier appearance in

Singapore, but its popularity brought great demand in Mecca by increasing numbers of hajjis and

students. The last of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works to appear at the press during its early phase

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[75] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Mīriyyat al-Kayna, 1303 A.H. [1886]): 1.

[76] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[77] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Mīriyyat al-Kayna, 1305 A.H. [1887]): 1.

[78] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Mīriyyat al-Kayna, 1307 A.H. [1889]): 1.

[79] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Mīriyyat al-Kayna, 1310 A.H. [1893]): 1.

was *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim*, which, as we discussed in chapter five, had experienced a resurgence in interest in the 1870s and 1880s. This text first appeared at the press in 1312/1894.[80]

In addition to works by Patani's most esteemed shaykh, the Malay wing of the Meccan press also published works by other noted scholars of the Patani scholarly network. Tok Nik Dir Patani's *al-Mawāhib al-Makkiyya*, which had experienced great popularity since the 1870s, appeared for the first time in published form in 1304/1887.[81] The same scholar's *al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam* also appeared in 1312/1895, just six months after it had first been written.[82] The popularity of this text led to a subsequent reprinting in 1321/1903.[83]

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī also took advantage of his position to publish some of his own works, explaining why this highly regarded scholar never witnessed his writings circulating in manuscript form. In 1307/1889, *Ḥadīqat al-'Azhār wa al-Rayāḥīn*[84] (The Garden of Flowers and Basil) first appeared in printed form and was followed by a reprinted edition in 1321/1903.[85] He followed in 1311/1893 by publishing his *Bahja al-Mubtadīn wa Farḥat al-Mujtaddīn*[86] (Great Joy for the New Convert).[87] He also published his treatise on creed, *Farīdat al-Farā'iḍ fī 'Ilm al-'Aqā'id*[88] (The Pillars in the Science of Dogma), in 1314/1896.[89] Finally, there is evidence

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[80] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1312 A.H. [1894]): 1.

[81] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam & Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu*, vol. 13, Pengenalan Siri ke-14 (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara and Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000): 46.

[82] Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 48-9.

[83] 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Faṭānī, *al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam fī Bayān Nasab al-Nabī al-Mu'aẓẓam* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1321 A.H. [1903]): 1.

[84] Hereafter, *Ḥadīqat al-'Azhār*. Arabic: حديقة الأزهار و الرياحين

[85] Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Al'Allamah Syeikh Ahmad al Fathani Ahli Fikir Islam dan Dunia Melayu: Guru kepada hampir semua Ulama dan Tokoh Asia Tenggara Abad ke 19-20*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992): 50; Ismail Che Daud, "Syeikh Wan Aḥmad Patani (1856-1908)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 152.

[86] Arabic: بهجة المبتدين و فرحة المجتدّين

[87] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Bahja al-Mubtadīn wa Farḥat al-Mujtaddīn* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1311 A.H. [1893]): 1.

[88] Hereafter, *Farīdat al-Farā'iḍ*. Arabic: فريدة الفراءض في علم العقائد

[89] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Farīdat al-Farā'iḍ fī 'Ilm al-'Aqā'id* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1314 A.H. [1896]): 1.

that his successors at the press printed a third edition of his book, *Luqtat al-'Ajlān fīmā Tamassu ilayhi Ḥājat al-'Insān*[90] (The Catch of the One in a Hurry in What Touches on Human Needs), in 1330/1912, suggesting that earlier versions must have appeared during the first phase of Malay publishing at the Ottoman press in Mecca.[91]

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī strategically selected the early publications for the Ottoman press in Mecca. Building upon the initial commercial success that his work brought the press, he was able to continue adding new books to its catalogue. After 1314/1896, however, he took a hiatus from publishing to pursue his scholarly interests, which included writing extensively, studying with new teachers, and the taking on of additional students, matters which we already addressed in chapter five. He also traveled to Cairo around 1321/1903 to engage with scholars at al-Azhar, before returning to diligently continue his work at the press until his early death.

The Second Phase of the Ottoman Press in Mecca, 1319-25/1902-8

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī entered a second phase of publishing just before his Cairo trip and continued after his return, until his death in 1325/1908. He only produced one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works, other than the reprints mentioned above of *Durr al-Thamīn, Furū' al-Masā'il*, and Shaykh Nik Dir Patani's *al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam*. In 1322/1904 the press first printed *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, clearly responding to the rising interest in texts that addressed key aspects of social and cultural practice that the Patani scholarly network had exhibited since the 1870s, as we discussed in chapter five.[92]

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[90] Hereafter, *Luqtat al-'Ajlān fīmā Tamassu*. Arabic: لقتة العجلان فيما تمسّ إليه حاجة الإنسان

[91] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Luqtat al-'Ajlān fīmā Tamassu ilayhi Ḥājat al-'Insān*, 3rd ed. (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1330 A.H. [1912]): 1.

[92] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1322 A.H. [1904]): 1.

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī also produced two other works by other authors. In 1322/1904, the press published its second work by Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, *Al-Kawākib al-Durri*.[93] In the same year, the press also published *Muhimmāt pada Ilmu Hadith Nabī s.a.w. pada Bicarakan Kelebihan dan Kepujian atas Perbuatan Isteri bagi Suaminya*[94] (Important Hadith of the Prophet (Peace Be upon Him) that Discuss the Bountiful and Commendable Duties of a Wife to Her Husband), which was written by Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh bin Tuan Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Faṭānī.[95] This was a recently composed work on *hadīth* concerning the duties a wife owes her husband that was later reprinted in several Southeast Asian publishing centers.

With the exception of the last publication mentioned above, all of the works published by the Malay wing of the Ottoman press in Mecca were writings by major figures of the Patani scholarly network. While Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī was determined to use mass production to fuel Islamic education among Malay-speakers, the transference from handwritten forms to print resulted in an increasingly elite dialogue, if ever more far-reaching in its scope. In previous years, as we have seen, manuscripts circulated with great regularity. Though the elite scholars dominated the resulting discourses, lesser known students and scholars attained voices within this debate. With the rise of print culture, a set of core texts flooded both the Meccan circles of students and Southeast Asian *pondok* as returning hajjis bore these texts back home. By the turn of the century, reproduction of handwritten manuscripts was in steep decline.

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[93] Muḥammad bin Ismāʿīl Dāʾūdy al-Faṭānī, *Al-Kawakib al-Durri fi Nūr al-Muḥammadi* (Mecca: Maṭbaʿah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1322 A.H. [1904]): 1.

[94] Arabic/Jawi: مهمّاة فد علمو حديث نبي سلام عليكم و سلام فد بچاركن كلبيهن دان كفوجين اتس فربواتن ايستري باك سوامث

[95] ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Faṭānī, *Muhimmāt pada Ilmu Hadith Nabī s.a.w. pada Bicarakan Kelebihan dan Kepujian atas Perbuatan Isteri bagi Suaminya* (Mecca: Maṭbaʿah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1322 A.H. [1904]): 1.

Malay-Language Publications in Mecca after Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, 1328-45/1910-26

After Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's death, his chief assistant Shaykh Dā'ūd Khaṭīb, who we

first introduced in chapter five, and three relatives of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh,

Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr, and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Faṭānī took over the press with the aim of

producing a larger number of works. The Malay wing of the press had indeed seen less volume

of work since the first phase of its production and these young, ambitious scholars directed its

course with reinvigorated purpose. They chose one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's Sufi texts, *Kanz*

al-Mannān, as their inaugural publication in 1328/1910.[96] Like their predecessor's early

publications, they chose one that had experienced popularity among scholars and students in the

network since the 1870s that assured them the success needed to finance future projects. Still, it

is curious to note that they also chose to publish one of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's lesser-known

works, *Qiṣṣat al-Nabī Yūsuf*, which had never been distributed in manuscript form within the

Patani scholarly network. This seems to indicate that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's relatives who now

ran the press were taking it upon themselves to ensure his legacy remain and that his rarer

writings also appeared in print for the benefit of the Malay-speaking students and hajjis who

frequented the holy city.

The following year, the press entered its most productive time to date, taking on six new

publishing projects. Unsurprisingly, five of the works were taken from Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

corpus. These included three mystical works, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*, *Fatḥ al-Mannān*, and *Mudhākarat*

al-Ikhwān.[97] The first two of these had seen light distribution in the 1860s-80s in manuscript

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[96] Dā'ūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kanz al-Mannān ʿala Ḥikam Abī Madyan* (Mecca: Maṭbaʿah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1328 A.H. [1910]): 1.

[97] Dā'ūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Maʿrifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Mecca: Maṭbaʿah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1330 A.H. [1911]): 1; Dā'ūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Fatḥ al-Mannān li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad* (Mecca: Maṭbaʿah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1330 A.H. [1911]): 1; M. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama' dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Shah Alam: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990): 65; Rahman, "New Lights," 101.

form, but also appear to have maintained an interest with scholars of the network into the early

decades of the twentieth century. The third work generally accompanied *Fath al-Mannān* in

published editions.

In the same year, the press also published Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's ever-popular story of

the Prophet Muḥammad's night journey to Jerusalem and then to heaven, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*.[98]

As we discussed in chapter five, this text had become one of the most studied texts in the Patani

scholarly network from the 1870s onwards and its appearance in print is clearly a response to a

demand for the book, though Mecca was preceded by published editions in Mumbai (formerly

Bombay)[99] and Cairo. The demand also remained for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's concise treatises

on *fiqh*, leading the publishers to reprint *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*.[100] The only work by a different

author to appear in 1330/1911 was Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik's *al-Firqadayn wa Jawāhir al-*

'Iqdayn.[101]

The following three years, the press continued a high level of production, still focusing

mostly upon the works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. In 1331/1912, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya* and *Bulūgh*

al-Marām first appeared, alongside one work on *tawḥīd* by Tuan Minal, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm*

al-Tawḥīd[102] (The Key to the Seeker of the Science of Monotheism).[103] The first of these had

been in considerable demand and was a reprint of the earlier edition produced by Shaykh Aḥmad

Faṭānī. The following year, the press reprinted *Jam' al-Fawā'id* and printed Shaykh Dā'ūd

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[98] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1330 A.H. [1911]): 1.

[99] This west coast Indian port city was formerly known as Bombay.

[100] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1330 A.H. [1911]): 1.

[101] Muḥammad bin 'Ismā'īl Dā'ūdy al-Faṭānī, *al-Firqadayn wa Jawāhir al-'Iqdayn* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1330 A.H. [1911]): 1.

[102] Hereafter, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd*. Arabic: مفتاح المريد في علم التوحيد

[103] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1331 A.H. [1911]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrat al-Iḥrām* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1331 A.H. [1912]): 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1331 A.H. [1912]): 1.

Faṭānī's relatively unknown mystical work *Ward al-Zawāhir*.[104] Finally, in 1333/1914, the press

reprinted Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's well-known treatise on marriage law, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, and also

published a book by Tuan Minal's son, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī,

titled simply *Kitāb Tajwīd*.[105] The latter book became the authoritative work on the subject for

Malay-speakers, and was published in many subsequent editions at other publishing centers. In

addition to the above works, there are two published editions of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings

mentioned in secondary sources, including the latter's increasingly in demand guide to the hajj

Ghāyat al-Marām, and the lesser-known, *Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān* that may date to this

period.[106]

World War I disrupted the flow of hajjis to Mecca due to the decline of standard

European shipping lines in the Indian Ocean. With the Ottoman Empire fighting for its very

survival, funding for the press also diminished or was eliminated entirely for the duration of the

conflict. Further disruptions came when Sharif Ḥusayn bin 'Alī declared an independent Hejaz,

encouraged by the British High Commissioner of Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, in 1334/1916.

Due to the defeat of the Ottomans in 1336/1918, the latter never recovered control of Arabia and

Malay-language publishing appears to have languished after the war entirely. Only one

publication appeared by a new press—a reprint of *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, in 1345/1926.[107] The main

centers for Malay-language publications shifted to Cairo, in the Middle East, and Singapore, and

later Pulau Pinang, in Southeast Asia.

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[104] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1332 A.H. [1912]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ward al-Zawāhir li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1332 A.H. [1912]): 1.

[105] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bab li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1333 [1914]): 1; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Kitāb Tajwīd* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah al-Miriyyat al-Kayna, 1333 [1914]): 1.

[106] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 32, 35; Rahman, "New Lights," 97, 100.

[107] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb* (Mecca: Maṭba'ah Attaqaddumul Ilmiyah al-Muja'warah lis Sahah al-Azhariyah, 1345 A.H. [1926]): 1.

Part IV: Other Early Malay-Language Publishing Centers Outside of Southeast Asia

Malay Publishing in Constantinople, 1304-7/1886-9

Mecca was not the only publishing center for Malay-language materials with connections to the Patani scholarly network. At Constantinople, in the heart of the Ottoman Empire, unidentified individuals worked to mass produce copies of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings. It is not clear what press produced these works, but it is likely that the project relied upon some form of royal patronage from Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. The earliest editions of *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* to appear in the Middle East were published there under the popular title of *Bāb al-Nikāḥ* in 1304/1886.[108] Hurgronje almost certainly references this edition when writes, "I … believe [Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī] to be the author of a hand-book of the marriage-law anonymously published in Constantinople."[109] The following year, an otherwise unknown publisher, *Maṭba'ah al-Ḥāj Muḥammad Afandī*, produced copies of *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, perhaps based upon an earlier Mumbai edition.[110] Then, in 1307/1889, an anonymous publisher printed copies of *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya*, perhaps drawing from Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's earlier Mecca edition.[111]

In addition to the known dated editions above, secondary sources also mention at least five other works by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, including *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, *Ghāyat al-Marām*, *Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān*, *Nahj al-Rāghibīn*, and *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i* that we may assume appeared in Constantinople around the same time.[112] There is less coherence to the printing of Constantinople than that of Mecca mentioned above, but appear to merely have been popular

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[108] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Constantinople, 1304 A.H. [1886]): 1.

[109] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[110] Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 36; Rahman, "New Lights," 101.

[111] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Bahja al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya* (Constantinople, 1307 A.H. [1889]): 1.

[112] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 58, 63, 72; Rahman, *Annotated Translation*, 32, 38; Rahman, "New Lights," 97, 102.

texts in demand among the Malay-speaking population. Aside from the small numbers of Malay-speakers in the Ottoman capital serving in some official capacity, the published works of the city appear to have been mainly exported to Mecca. With the rise of the press there, Malay printing appears to diminish in Constantinople. The near-exclusive appearance of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works at the Constantinople presses may further suggest a connection to his family, as I already noted in the Mecca case.

Malay Publishing in Mumbai, 1298-1318/1880-1900

Mumbai was another significant early center for Malay-language publications, emerging even before Constantinople and Mecca. The city had been on the rise as a major port city since the beginning of British civil-engineering projects in 1196/1782, and emerged as a major cotton export center during the United States' civil war (1277-81/1861-5). The opening of the Suez Canal in 1285/1869 further propelled the port to among the busiest in maritime Asia, naturally experiencing a great deal of transit passengers between Southeast Asia, Arabia, and those making the return journey. Though some of the printed texts were purchased locally for reading during the long sea voyage, Hurgronje also notes that some of the Mumbai publications were available in Mecca in the mid-1880s.[113] Like Constantinople, the Malay-language publications were almost exclusively restricted to those written by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. His *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj* first appeared in print there in 1298/1880 and was available soon after in Mecca.[114]

Soon after, an untitled edition of the great shaykh's *Munyat al-Muṣallī* also appeared, to which Hurgronje noted, "On the book market in Mekka there was to be found since 1880 a series

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[113] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.
[114] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (Bombay, 1298 A.H. [1880]): 1; Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

of tracts written by [Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī] and lithographed in Bombay on the salāt ..."[115] This

text is very likely the edition dated 1299/1881, that bears no indication of publisher or place.[116]

Several other better-identified editions appeared soon after, such as *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*, in

1303/1885, and the only work by another author from the period, *Al-Mawāhib al-Makkiyya* by

Tok Dik Dir Patani, in 1308/1891.[117]

A number of other unplaced publications date to the same period that may, like the

example of *Munyat al-Muṣallī* above, trace their origins to Mumbai. Unplaced editions of *Kitāb*

Ṣifāt Dua Puluh date to 1300/1882 and 1309/1892, as well as a 1318/1900 edition by the

publisher al-Muḥammadi al-Bandar that can be confirmed in Bombay.[118] The second of the

above unplaced editions of this text also indicates a connection to Singapore, and may have been

based upon the earlier 1301/1884 edition produced in that Southeast Asian city. Other unplaced

editions that were possibly produced in Mumbai are *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, in 1302/1884,

Minhāj al-'Ābidīn, in 1304/1886, and *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, in 1308/1890.[119] Additionally,

secondary sources mention editions of the ever popular *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, and the lesser-known

Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān, being published, most likely in the 1880s when Malay publishing

was at its highest volume in the city.[120]

From the list of known Mumbai publications provided above, we can see that no

ideological bias propelled the works, and that they included a wide range of materials from a

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[115] Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 287.

[116] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (1299 A.H. [1881]): 1.

[117] The latter publication was produced by the publisher, *Al-Maṭba'ah Fat-hil Karim al-Islamiyya al-Kayna*. Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Bombay, 1303 A.H. [1885]): 1; Abdullah, *Penyebaran*, vol. 14: 46.

[118] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh* (1300 A.H. [1882]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh* (1309 A.H. [1892]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kitāb Ṣifāt Dua Puluh* (Bombay: al-Muḥammadi al-Bandar, 1318 A.H. [1900]): 1.

[119] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyya wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyya wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyya* (1302 A.H. [1884]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* (Sharikat al-Khariah, 1304 A.H. [1886]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi* (1308 A.H. [1890]): 1.

[120] Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 63, 72.

variety of Islamic sciences. Nevertheless, we again see that, for the most part, publishing houses produced the books that had been most popular in manuscript form in previous decades. It seems likely that with the upsurge of print culture in Mecca under Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī discussed above, Mumbai, like Constantinople, lost out steadily to the more centrally located and well-connected Ottoman press in Islam's sacred center.

Early Malay Publishing in Cairo, 1276-1334/1859-1915

Cairo was another important early center for Malay-language publications for the Patani scholarly network. Some sources claim that Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's great survey of *fiqh, Furū' al-Masā'il*, was published by the press Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, in 1276/1859, but no known copies of this edition exist to confirm the claim. Regardless of its substance, there is little other evidence to suggest Cairo was emerging as an early center for publishing until the second decade of the twentieth century. The only other known version to appear prior to that was another work by the same author, *Kashf al-Ghummah*, in 1310/1892, which accompanied the upsurge of interest in eschatology among the Malay-speaking scholarly community in the Middle East.[121] Later, a different publisher, Maktabat al-Imam, produced undated editions of the same text.[122]

Only a very light level of Malay-language publishing occurred in Cairo prior to World War I. Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya[123] was the main publisher of these texts. In 1330/1912, it published copies of *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, evidence that the controversial text still retained its

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[121] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah* (Cairo, 1310 A.H. [1892]): 1.

[122] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah* (Cairo: n.d.): 1.

[123] Arabic:

esteemed position within the Patani and wider Malay-speaking scholarly communities.[124] In the

midst of the war, the same publisher also printed an edition of *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, the popular treatise

on marriage law that had seen regular circulation since the early days of the Patani scholarly

network.[125] Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya also published an undated edition of *Al-Jawāhir al-*

Saniyya, probably around the same time.[126]

In addition to the above works, secondary sources claim several additional works also

published by the same printing house. Scholars claim that a number of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

works appeared, including *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, and *Sullam*

al-Mubtadī.[127] Similarly, scholars claim copies of a number of other authors also appeared,

including *Irshad al-'Ibad*, by Tuan Minal, *Bidāyat al-Hidāya Sharḥ Matn Umm al-Barāhīn*, by

Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, and the lesser-known *Matn al-Fiyya*, by Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Hajji

'Abd al-Raḥīm Jambu.[128] If additional evidence of these surfaces, it may indicate that Malay

publishing in Cairo was already on the rise prior to the war. Nevertheless, the other three centers

discussed above were all more major publishing centers than Cairo prior to World War I. But

unlike Constantinople and Mumbai, both of which lacked major learning centers to accompany

the emerging print culture in the 1880s, Cairo drew students from the Patani scholarly network to

al-Azhar from the 1870s onwards. Thereafter, Cairo benefited from the shift away from Mecca

in the 1920s.

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[124] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Cairo: Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, 1330 A.H. [1912]): 1.

[125] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Cairo: Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, 1334 A.H. [1915]): 1.

[126] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyya wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyya wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyya* (Cairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, n.d.): 1.

[127] "New Lights", 98, 100-1, 103.

[128] Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Irshad al-'Ibad* (Cairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, n.d.): 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Bidayat al-Hidaya Sharh Matn Umm al-Barahin* (Cairo, n.d.): 1.

The Rise and Decline of Malay Publishing in Cairo, 1341-73/1922-53

After the conclusion of the war, scholarly activity in Cairo accelerated. As William Roff noted in his seminal study of Southeast Asian Muslims in the Middle East, Cairo became the meeting point for such scholars and students in the region in the 1920s.[129] The shift to British Egypt occurred due to two main reasons. First, the imperial reorganization of the region coupled with the seizure of Mecca by Ibn Sa'ūd in 1342/1924 caused many to flee for matters of safety. Second, Al-Azhar had the reputation as a great learning institution and was the natural beneficiary when students sought to relocate. As one participant in these events also noted, "In Mecca one could study religion only; in Cairo, politics as well."[130] As Roff demonstrates, many students from British Malaya and the Dutch Indies first found political voice in Cairo via corporate student associations and publications such as *Seruan Azhar* and *Pilihan Timur*, even if such movements were short-lived.[131] It was into this increasingly politicized and anti-colonialist atmosphere that many Patani publications appeared. Religious teachings, even from approximately a century previous in the case of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings, still found relevance in the minds of these readers and reinforced enduring cultural traditions. We can also see that such treatises were easily adapted to an entirely new context in which a broader Malay audience might also approach them with related feelings of displacement, a desire to reconstruct the underlying moral order of society, and rejuvenate political movements by basing them upon established religious teachings.

The first publications appeared in 1341/1922, coinciding with the formation of the student organization, *al-Jam'iyya al-Khayriyya al-Ṭālibiyya al-Azhariyya al-Jāwiyya*[132] (The al-

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[129] William R. Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's." *Indonesia* 9 (1970): 73.

[130] William R. Roff, "The Life and Times of Haji Othman Abdullah." *Peninjau Sejarah* 1, no. 2 (1966): 63.

[131] Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo," 73-87.

[132] Arabic: الجمعيّة الخيريّة الطالبية الأذهريّة الجاويّة

Azhar University Jawah Students Welfare Association). There is no indication that there was

any direct connection between the commercial publishers that began to produce these books and

the student organization, but clearly publishers recognized the demand for such works and

responded by making regular print runs of many key texts. This new wave of publishing was

spurred on by two brothers, 'Īsā and Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī. The latter, who was the more

active of the two, printed copies of the hajji guide, *Ghāyat al-Marām*, and the Sufi work, *Minhāj*

al-'Ābidīn, as his inaugural publications.[133] The latter text was so popular that another printing

appeared just three years later.[134]

The following year an unidentified publisher produced a copy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

treatise on prayer, *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copies of which are known to have been brought back to

Southeast Asia, where it was employed at schools on Penyengat island in Riau.[135] This text,

which has often been seen as a political text, appears to have fit well with student interests in the

1920s, especially as one faction of the Cairo students eventually radicalized to the point of

splitting away from the main body and forming a new organization that published the

aforementioned *Pilihan Timur*. In the same year, the first edition of the oft-published *Wishāḥ al-*

'Afrāḥ wa 'Iṣbāḥ al-Falāḥ[136] (The Veil of Joys and the Morrow of Hard Work) appeared from

Muṣṭafā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī's press.[137] This text had been written by 'Abd al-Ghānī bin

Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, the son of Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik and became a commonly printed text

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[133] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat 'Adā' al-Ḥajj fī-l-'Islām* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Issa al-baby al-Halaby, 1341 A.H. [1922]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1341 A.H. [1922]): 1.

[134] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* (Cairo, 1344 A.H. [1925]): 1.

[135] Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani," 25.

[136] Hereafter, *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ*. Arabic: وشاح الأفراح و إصباح الفلاح

[137] 'Abd al-Ghani bin Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Dā'ūdy al-Faṭānī, *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ wa 'Iṣbāḥ al-Falāḥ* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1342 [1923]): 1.

both in Cairo and back in Southeast Asia, especially at Singapore.[138] By 1344/1925, 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī was publishing editions of *Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān*, an influential work about the proper etiquette to adopt when handling a copy of the *Qur'ān*, that had been previously printed in Constantinople, Mecca, and Mumbai.[139]

In 1346/1927, the brothers continued producing similar texts. They printed copies of the popular *fiqh* treatise, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, as well as another work by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, which had been a popular guide to rituals and holy days since the 1860s.[140] In the same year, a book titled, *Kitāb Tajwīd*, by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, son of Tuan Minal, which we previously noted at the Ottoman Press in Mecca, first appeared in Cairo.[141]

The 1930s ushered in a few new texts as well as some familiar works. In the latter case, the brothers published a copy of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's short *fiqh* treatise, *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, in 1354/1935.[142] Most other texts were new texts by other authors. For example, the press printed a copy of *'Aqidat al-Nājīn fī 'Ilm 'Uṣūl al-Dīn*[143] (The Faith of the Survivors in the Science of Dogmatic Theology), by Tuan Minal, claiming it to be the fourth edition.[144] As late as 1363/1944, a revived Dar al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, or a new publisher under the old name,

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[138] 'Abd al-Ghani bin Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Dā'ūdy al-Faṭānī, *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ wa 'Iṣbāḥ al-Falāḥ* (Cairo, 1344 [1925]): 1.

[139] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kayfiyyat Khitām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1344 A.H. [1925]): 1.

[140] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Cairo: 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1346 A.H. [1925]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1346 A.H. [1927]): 1.

[141] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Kitāb Tajwīd* (Cairo, 1346 A.H. [1927]): 1.

[142] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1354 A.H. [1935]): 1.

[143] Hereafter, *'Aqidat al-Nājīn*. Arabic: عقدة الناجين في علم أصول الدين

[144] Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *'Aqidat al-Nājīn fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Dīn*, 4th ed. (Cairo, 1349 A.H. [1930]): 1.

produced copies of the same text.[145] Another text by the same author, *Majmū' Yashtamil 'alā*

'Arba' Rasā'il[146] (A Sum that Includes Four Epistles), followed in 1353/1934.[147] Tuan Minal's

son, mentioned previously, had his *Sirāj al-Qāri*, printed by the brothers' press in 1349/1930.[148]

By the late 1930s, the main publishing centers for Malay-language materials shifted to Pulau

Pinang and Singapore, which appear to have undercut the Cairo publishers to the point of

eliminating them entirely. The only post-World War II publication known in Cairo is one copy

of the hajj guide, *Ghāyat al-Marām*, which was produced jointly by Dar al-Kutub al-Arabiyya

and 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, in 1373/1953.[149]

In addition to the above works, the brothers' publishing house also produced a number of

undated works, including Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, *Al-*

Jawāhir al-Saniyya, and *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, and one of Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's works, *Taḥṣīl*

nayl al-'Amānī fī Sharḥ 'Awāmil al-Gurgānī[150] (The Final Account in Fulfilling Hopes in the

Explanation of Aspects of al-Gurgānī).[151] A number of secondary sources also mention a

number of otherwise unknown published editions of Patani scholarly works in Cairo, which most

likely appeared during the period of greatest output in the 1920s or early 1930s. Such

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[145] Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *'Aqidat al-Nājīn fī 'Ilm Usūl al-Dīn* (Cairo: Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, 1363 A.H. [1944]): 1.

[146] Arabic: مجموع يشتمل علا أربء رسائل

[147] Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Majmū' Yashtamil 'alā 'Arba' Rasā'il* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1353 A.H. [1934]): 1.

[148] Muḥammad Sāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Sirāj al-Qāri* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1349 A.H. [1930]): 1.

[149] "New Lights", 97.

[150] Hereafter, *Taḥṣīl nayl al-'Amānī*. Arabic: تحصيل نيل الأماني في شرح عوامل الگرگاني

[151] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Taḥṣīl nayl al-'Amānī fī Sharḥ 'Awāmil al-Gurgānī* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Cairo, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyya wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyya wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyya*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maṭba'ah 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah 'Īsā al-Al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī): 1.

publications include, *Nahj al-Rāghibīn* and *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*.[152] A rival publisher, Maktabat al-Imam, noted above, also is known to have published *Kashf al-Ghummah*, probably at some point in the 1920s.[153]

Part V: The Patani Scholarly Network and Malay Publishing in Southeast Asia

Early Patani-Malay-Islamic Publishing in Singapore, 1287-1332/1870-1913

The earliest Malay-language Islamic print culture actually emerged in Southeast Asia at publishing houses in Singapore by 1860 under the watchful eye of the British, who employed an official censor to oversee these productions.[154] These texts, much like their counterparts in publishing centers in the Middle East and South Asia, were lithographed texts in Jawi script with occasional passages of voweled Arabic. And like the other centers, the earliest publishing concentrated entirely upon the works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī.

The first known edition of such texts was an edition of the treatise on marriage law, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, appearing under its popular name, *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, in 1287/1870.[155] The early appearance of this text accounts for its premature decline in handwritten form in comparison to many other texts of the network, many of which reached their peak of reproduction in the 1880s. A second edition appeared in 1291/1874, published by Hajji Muḥammad Sa'īd bin Hajji Arshad, who was from Semarang, Java, and printed by an otherwise unidentied Hajji 'Abd al-Karīm.[156] It is likely that the former either studied with a member of the Patani scholarly network while on his pilgrimage in Arabia or obtained the text upon his return to Southeast Asia. Singapore had

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[152] Rahman, "New Lights," 102; Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani*, 58.
[153] Rahman, "New Lights," 97.
[154] Ian Proudfoot, "The Decline of the Manuscript Tradition," in *Illuminations: The Writing Traditions of Indonesia*, eds. Ann Kumar and John H. McGlynn (Jakarta: Lontar Foundation, 1996): 254.
[155] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Singapore, 1870): 1.
[156] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Singapore: Hajji Muḥammad Sa'id bin Hajji Arshad, 1291 A.H. [1874]): 1.

become, increasingly through the nineteenth century, a cosmopolitan point of interaction between Malay-speaking Muslims and here shows that some connection between scholars from Java and Patani remained even by the 1870s. This popular text again appeared in another Singapore press at some point before 1304/1887 under its formal title.[157] Another edition, which was at least the fourth to appear in Singapore alone, was printed by Maṭbaʿah Hajji Muḥammad ʿAmīn, and printed in Kampung Gelam, in 1310/1893.[158] From the repeated print runs of this text, it is clear that this was the most popular and influential Islamic text for Muslims of the city. It was also quickly disseminated into neighboring regions via returning hajjis, merchants, and other travelers who passed through the burgeoning Southeast Asian port city that was by then, experiencing a massive escalation in maritime traffic as the hub of British and local commerce in the region.

The other text to appear in the same decade was *Furūʿ al-Masāʾil*, produced by Tengku Yūsuf bin Tengku Trengganu, and printed in Kampung Gelam at Masjid Sultan ʿAlī Iskāndar Shāh, in 1291/1874.[159] The involvement of a figure with some connection to the sultans of Trengganu is further evidence of royal patronage as a force behind the sponsoring of religious publications and education in general. Political elites had a vested interest in this comprehensive legal text and its promotion is not surprising, given the evidence of the rising power of Muslim law courts in other east coast polities, such as Kelantan, around the same time or later. Nevertheless, this also suggests that the connections between Islamic learning in Trengganu, which had often had a northern-oriented axis adjunct to Kelantan and Patani, may have had

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[157] Dāʾūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Singapore, n.d.): 1; Proudfoot, 135.
[158] Dāʾūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Singapore: Maṭbaʿah Hajji Muḥammad ʿAmin, 1310 A.H. [1893]): 1.
[159] Dāʾūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Furūʿ al-Masāʾil wa Uṣūl al-Wasāʾil* (Singapore: Tengku Yūsuf bin Tengku Trengganu, 1291 A.H. [1874]): 1.

southern-facing links as well. Furthermore, this shows that the source for this publisher may have come from the east coast, rather than directly from Mecca.

Other core *fiqh* texts of the Patani scholarly network appeared in Singapore publishing houses around the same time. The study of jurisprudence, which had been on the rise since the 1830s, gave rise to publications of that sort in the presses. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's extensive survey of ritual, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*, appeared for the first time in the early 1890s, being one of the first instances of it being printed anywhere.[160] The more concise topical *fiqh* treatises also circulated, including *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* and *Sullam al-Mubtadī*, in 1305/1887 and 1313/1895, respectively.[161] The latter text, was produced by Hajji Muḥammad Taib, who appears to have been the premier publisher of Patani-influenced texts at the time. The print run of *Sullam al-Mubtadī* included 600 copies, which appears to have been a pretty standard volume at the time, given the few remaining statistics available on such matters. The price at $0.25 also suggests that people of modest means, especially those who could afford to travel to Singapore from other parts of the Southeast Asian Islamic world, were able to purchase these texts in the city.

Publishing of Malay-language Islamic texts linked to the Patani scholarly network in Singapore accelerated in the 1880s. A number of key Sufi texts appeared, such as *Kashf al-Ghummah*, Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's treatise on the eschatology, inhabitants of the heavens, and life after death.[162] This book was published at the Ottoman press in Mecca around the same time, and thus the two together are evidence of a resurgence of this text in the intellectual milieu of the scholars and students of the Patani network who had previously only paid vivid attention to the work in the 1850s and 1860s. Another popular Sufi text was Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's

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[160] I. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books: A Provisional Account of Materials Published in the Singapore-Malaysia Area up to 1920, Noting Holdings in Major Public Collections* (Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Malay Studies and the Library, University of Malaya, 1993): 185.
[161] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi* (Singapore: Hajji Muḥammad Taib, 1313 A.H. [1895]): 1; Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, 240, 483-4.
[162] Ibid., 301.

affirmation of the *Ashā'riyya i'tiqād*, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*. Publishers first produced the work in

the mid-1880s and again in 1332/1913.[163] The same company printed the first, but undated,

Singapore editions of *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj*, probably around the same time.[164]

A third key Sufi text, *Kitāb Sifāt Dua Puluh*, which discussed the attributes of God,

appeared in three separate print runs in the period 1301-12/1884-94.[165] The first of these editions

was the work of Hajji Muhammad Sālih Jāwī Rembānī, who is otherwise unknown, but the later

editions bear no mention of their guided hand. Nevertheless, we can see from the regular

appearance of this text that it had become a staple of scholarly circles, the participants of which

circulated the teachings at a rate unprecedented in the preceding manuscript culture. Finally,

publishers printed one other of Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī's Sufi writings, *Diyā' al-Murīd*, in

1332/1913.[166] The wide circulation of a relatively focused study such as this, containing the

Shattāriyya *dhikr*, suggests that the order had grown to substantial enough numbers as to prompt

a print run of the text.

Singapore publishing centers also produced works on dogmatic practices such as prayer,

especially Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī's extensive treating of *salāt* in *Munyat al-Musallī* and its related

text, *Al-Bahja al-Mardiyya*. The former text first appeared in print in the mid-1880s and again in

1326/1908.[167] Few details remain of the first edition, of which there are no known extant copies,

but the second, published by Sayyid Hasan bin Sahab, and printed by the well-known al-Imam

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[163] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Singapore: Matba'ah Dar al-Tibaat al-Misriyya, 1332 A.H. [1913]): 1; Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, 224.

[164] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (Singapore: Matba'ah Dar al-Thabaah al-Misriyya, n.d.), 1.

[165] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Kitāb Sifāt Dua Puluh* (Singapore: Hajji Muhammad Sālih Jawi Rembani, 1301 A.H. [1884]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Kitāb Sifāt Dua Puluh* (Singapore, 1309 A.H. [1892]): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Kitāb Sifāt Dua Puluh* (Singapore: 1312 A.H. [1894]): 1.

[166] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Diyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawhīd* (Singapore: Matba'ah Dar al-Tibaat al-Misriyya, 1332 A.H. [1913]): 1.

[167] Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, 359; Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani," 25.

Press, ran in a print run of 2000 copies.[168] Publishers first produced copies of the latter text in 1302/1884, which they sold for $0.30, making it relatively affordable for readers of modest means. A subsequent print run in 1312/1894, by Hajji Muḥammad Ṭayyib, produced 600 copies of the work, which sold for $0.10 a piece. Whereas before scholarly circles had to rely upon handwritten oral transcriptions of Islamic texts, now via commercial production, scholars of the Patani network were able to disseminate their teachings much faster and reach greater numbers than previously possible at fairly affordable rates. Mass production of Islamic knowledge thus crested the wave of Islamic revival and reform that was sweeping across much of Southeast Asia around the turn of the twentieth century.

The printing of Patani-inspired texts in Singapore was the result of a more organic process than at any of the Middle Eastern or South Asian publishing centers. Rather than one main publisher producing all of the works during a given time period, in Singapore a number of different individuals produced the works in a boom-and-bust commercial environment. Some bore direct links to the network, while others hailed from locales with only a peripheral place in the scholarly network, such as Java. Other publishers acted on behalf of royal or other elite patronage in the production of texts.

The Publishing of Patani Texts in Singapore during the Later Period, 1344-60/1925-c. 1942

The 1920s witnessed a renewal of Singapore publishers producing Malay texts of the Patani scholarly network after more than a decade of lapse. Production levels never matched those of Cairo during the same time period, but nevertheless attained regional importance as the main supplier to Southeast Asians who could not afford to embark on the hajj or to pursue an

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[168] For more information regarding this press, see William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967): 56.

education in Egypt. As before, the writings of Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī predominated, but those by other Patani authors also began to appear. As the peninsular *pondok* continued to grow in numbers of students, these educational institutions drew written texts mainly from Singapore until the rise of publishing in Pulau Pinang in the 1930s.

Publishers produced at least four of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's texts during the period. The newly founded Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī became the most prolific of the printers, emitting *Furū' al-Masā'il* as its inaugural work in 1347/1928.[169] This followed soon after with an edition of the Sufi text, *Kashf al-Ghummah*, in the same year.[170] The owner's early financial success allowed him to sponsor additional projects in the years to come.

In the following year, a rival publisher, Maṭba'ah Dar al-Mirza, printed *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj*, but this contender does not appear to have survived long as another source of texts from the Patani scholarly network.[171] This short-lived enterprise may have fallen victim to the worldwide economic trouble of the 1930s that only allowed more well-established publishers to survive in the city. Similarly, another publisher appears only briefly in the record, Maṭba'ah al-Muḥammadiyya, which produced copies of *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, around the same time. Soon after Sulaymān Mar'ī reasserted control of the market for works of the Patani scholarly network, publishing editions of *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, in the early 1940s.[172] He also published copies of *Jam' al-Fawā'id* around the same time.[173]

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[169] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, 1347 A.H. [1928]): 1.

[170] Rahman, "New Lights," 99.

[171] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Dar al-Mirza, 1348 A.H. [1929]): 1.

[172] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1.

[173] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1.

A number of writings by other scholars of the Patani network also appeared in the 1920s and 1930s in Singapore, almost entirely due to the work of Sulaymān Mar'ī. Tuan Minal's treatise on dogma, *'Aqidat al-Nājīn*, his more well-known discussion about the day of resurrection, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya*, and his *Miftāḥ al-Murīd*, all first appeared around that time in undated editions.[174] The same publisher also printed copies of Tuan Minal's son Muḥammad Sāliḥ's plainly titled work, *Kitāb Tajwīd* in similarly undated runs.[175] Sulaymān Mar'ī also produced the first Singapore edition of Shaykh Nik Dir Patani's well-known, *Umm al-Barāhīn* around the same time.[176] The lesser known, *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ*, by 'Abd al-Ghānī, son of Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik, which had been previously published in Cairo in the 1920s, was produced by the same publisher in Singapore in 1356/1937.[177]

The Japanese invasion of the Malay parts of the peninsula ultimately brought an end to one era of publishing in Singapore, which had already begun to shift to Pulau Pinang. Singapore, together with Cairo, sitting at opposite ends of the Indian Ocean, had served as the two poles of the Malay-language publishing world from which Islamic knowledge was channeled, reproduced, and disseminated. Myriad *pondok* discussed in earlier chapters, as well as hundreds of additional schools throughout the region, drew upon these texts as the core of their curricula, which was becoming, through the years, more firmly knitted together as an established set of values and principles around which the Malay-Islamic cultural nexus revolved.

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[174] Sulaymān Mar'ī's copy of *Miftāḥ al-Murīd* was preceded by another publisher, Maṭba'ah al-Thabaah al-Misriyya's 1344/1925 edition, the last of such publications by the latter. Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *'Aqidat al-Nājīn fī 'Ilm Usūl al-Dīn* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya fī 'Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyāma* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah al-Thabaah al-Misriyya, 1344 A.H. [1925]): 1.

[175] Muḥammad bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Kitāb Tajwīd* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1.

[176] 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Faṭānī, *Matn Umm al-Barāhīn* (Singapore: Maṭba'ah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.), 1.

[177] 'Abd al-Ghani bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ wa 'Iṣbāḥ al-Falāḥ* (Singapore: Sulaymān Mar'ī, 1356 A.H. [1927]): 1.

Publishing Patani Texts in Pulau Pinang after 1356/1937

Pulau Pinang, located nearer to the most active *pondok* in northern British Malaya while possessing an active port, was an ideal place for the mass production of Islamic knowledge for consumption by local residents. The earliest known appearance of such texts in Pulau Pinang was at Maṭbaʿah Persama, which published Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj* in 1356/1937.[178] Others soon followed. The same press published *Bakūrat al-'Amānī*, a new text by Pa Da 'El Patani that the latter had composed in Mecca, in 1358/1939.[179] Around the same time, the press produced a copy of Tuan Minal's *Miftāḥ al-Murīd*.[180] A rival Pulau Pinang press, Maṭbaʿah al-Zayniyya, published another of his works, *Īḍāḥ al-Marām bagi al-ʿUlamā'*[181] (Explanation of the Target for the *'Ulamā'*), the following year.[182] Sulaymān Mar'ī, the ambitious Singapore publisher of the 1920s and 1930s also produced a few works in the city, perhaps indicating that he had attempted to shift his base of operations there. His edition of *Jamʿ al-Fawā'id*, jointly produced in both locations, appeared in the early 1940s just prior to the Japanese invasion.[183]

The most active publisher, however, was Maktabah Dar al-Maʿarif, which appeared around the same time. It was named similarly to a well-known publisher of Cairo and probably bore official connections to the latter, since it claimed many of its productions to be based upon preceding Egyptian editions. The exact chronology of its productions is unclear, however,

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[178] Dā'ūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrā' wa al-Miʿrāj* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭbaʿah Persama, 1937): 1.

[179] Ismāʿīl bin ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, *Bakūrat al-'Amānī* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭbaʿah Persama, 1939): 1.

[180] Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭbaʿah Persama): 1.

[181] Arabic: إيضاح ال مرام باک العلماء

[182] Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Marām bagi al-ʿUlamā'* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭbaʿah al-Zayniyya, 1940): 1.

[183] Dā'ūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Jamʿ al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭbaʿah Sulaymān Mar'ī, n.d.): 1.

because the press almost exclusively produced undated volumes. Though its early operations were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II and the Japanese military occupation of the peninsula, the press experienced its most active period after the war. There is firm evidence that the press produced more than a dozen of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works as well as many by Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī, and other authors and scholars associated with the Patani scholarly network.

Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif specialized in *fiqh* texts. Editions of the extensive *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb* and *Furū' al-Masā'il* appeared as comprehensive surveys of Shāfi'ī law.[184] The press also produced the more accessible and focused surveys of jurisprudence such as *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb*, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb*, and *Sullam al-Mubtadī*.[185] The press also produced the classical Sufi texts *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, *Kashf al-Ghummah*, and *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, as well as other core teachings by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī, such as *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, *Munyat al-Muṣallī*, and others.[186]

Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif was the first press to publish greater numbers of works by authors other than Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī. This shows that the latter's premier position within the *pondok* curricula was finally giving way to other sources of thought in a substantial way only about a century after the shaykh's death. The publishing house produced at least six of Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's works, including *Abniyat al-'Asmā'*, *Bahja al-Mubtadīn*, *Farīdat al-Farā'iḍ*,

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[184] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Wasā'il* (Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1.

[185] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, 1980): 1.

[186] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.): 1.

Luqtat al-'Ajlān fīmā Tamassu, and *Taḥṣīl nayl al-'Amānī*.[187] The aforementioned, Maṭba'ah

Persama, produced two editions of the same author's *Ḥadīqat al-'Azhār* in 1354/1935 and

1377/1958.[188] This made Pulau Pinang the most substantial producer of the latter's works since

the days of the Ottoman press in Mecca, and infused his legally-focused writings into the

intellectual milieu of the region.

Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif also produced a number of works by other authors of the Patani

scholarly network. The printed editions of 'Abd al-Ghānī's *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ*, Tuan Minal's

'Aqidat al-Nājīn and *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya*, the latter's son Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's *Kitāb Tajwīd*, all

of which we have discussed previously in other publishing houses.[189] The rival Maṭba'ah

Persama also published Tuan Minal's *Miftāḥ al-Murīd* and 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-

Faṭānī's *Muhimma*.[190] The production of these texts in Pulau Pinang made them all more

accessible to the *pondok* in the northern part of British Malaya (and Malaysia after

independence) as well as for Malay-speaking Muslims in southern Thailand.

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[187] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Abniyat al-asma' wa al-af'al* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Bahja al-Mubtadīn wa Farḥat al-Mujtaddīn* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Farīdat al-Farā'id fī 'Ilm al-'Aqā'id* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Luqtat al-'Ajlān fīmā Tamassu ilayhi Ḥājat al-'Insān* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Taḥṣīl nayl al-'Amānī* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1.

[188] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Ḥadīqat al-'Azhār wa al-Rayāḥīn* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭba'ah Persama, 1354 A.H. [1935]): 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Ḥadīqat al-'Azhār wa al-Rayāḥīn* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭba'ah Persama, 1377 A.H. [1958]): 1.

[189] 'Abd al-Ghani bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Wishāḥ al-'Afrāḥ wa 'Iṣbāḥ al-Falāḥ* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ bin Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Kitāb Tajwīd* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *'Aqidat al-Nājīn fī 'Ilm Usūl al-Dīn* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya fī 'Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyāma* (Pulau Pinang: Maktabah Dar al-Ma'arif, n.d.), 1.

[190] 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Faṭānī, *Muhimma* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭba'ah Persama, n.d.), 1; Zayn al-'Ābidīn bin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (Pulau Pinang: Maṭba'ah Persama, n.d.), 1.

Publishing in Pattani since 1357/1938

Pattani imported many of the published texts discussed above prior to the first local publishing houses appearing in the 1930s. The establishment of publishing houses in the Middle East and Southeast Asia undercut the prestige of Patani as a learning center. This process coincided with the establishment of the Malay-Thai border in 1327/1909, which further isolated Patani's Malay-speaking Muslims from the global discourse in which they had played a significant role over the previous century. The imperial border could not break lines of communication, for people on both sides continued to hold dialogue with one another, to study together, and chart common destinies for their respective societies. However, the rise of publishing caused, for the first time in the Southeast Asian context, a reversal of the flow of knowledge production. Around the dawn of the twentieth century Patani began to import texts—even those written by their native born—rather than serve as the production center of such knowledge. Many Malay-speakers south of the border also now turned to Kelantan as a more convenient and safe environment in which to study Islamic subjects, as we discussed in chapter six.

By the late 1930s, publishers first appeared in Patani and likely produced a number of common Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī texts that have not otherwise survived. The lack of textual evidence is mainly due to three problems, the first and last of which persist, in varied forms, to the present day. First, such texts were consumed locally and fell prey to the environmental conditions common throughout the region. Secondly, no government-sponsored apparatus such as a university library or other institution existed in southern Siam at the time where the texts might have otherwise been collected. And finally, the persisting animosity between the central Thai state and Malay-speaking Muslims of the border provinces has made it difficult for local

cultural institutions to obtain government financing, especially for something as controversial and contested as a library or museum dedicated to Patani's gilded Islamic past.

Despite these obstacles, evidence of the sort of texts produced in Pattani still remains. The earliest published text known is of a rather obscure book, *Al-Nūr al-Mubīn*, by Sharif Alwi bin Abu Bakr bin Sharif Husayn, translated by Wan Ngah Jalānī, in 1357/1938.[191] Comparing this to the other presses discussed above suggests that the same press or a rival would have already produced a number of other works in much higher demand, such as the writings of Shaykh Dā'ūd Fatānī, Shaykh Ahmad Fatānī, and others, which Hassan Madmarn has shown to have been used frequently in *pondok* education throughout the region even in later decades.[192] One press produced undated copies of *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb* and another, Matba'ah Taman Pustaka, later produced copies of *Munyat al-Muṣallī*.[193]

The early publishing operations were no doubt interrupted by the Japanese invasion of British Malaya—which began with the landing of troops near Patani and proceeding south. During the initial arrival of troops, at least one prominent teacher, 'Abd Allāh Tembesu (d. 1360/1941), the founder of Pondok Kampung Comel, was killed defending the area.[194] Another teacher, Hajji 'Abd al-Rahmān bin Hajji 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 1375/1955), known as Pa Da Hajji Che Man, who had served at Pondok Lubik Kawah for thirteen years prior to the Japanese invasion, permanently moved his school to Kampung Berhala Gantang. Despite these disruptions, the post-war political organizing of Hajji Sulong and others gave rise to an unprecedented period of publishing in Pattani.

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[191] Ngah Jalani, *Al-Nūr al-Mubīn* (Patani: Matba'ah Patani, 1357 A.H. [1938]): 1.
[192] Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 23-32.
[193] Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb* (Patani, n.d.): 1; Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Fatānī, *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (Patani: Matba'ah Taman Pustaka, n.d.), 1.
[194] Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, 290.

An unidentified publisher printed an edition of *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* in 1375/1955.[195] Other texts soon followed. For example, Maṭbaʿah Saudara, published Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī's *Badr al-Tamām wa al-Nujūm al-Thawāqib*[196] (The Full Moon and the Penetrating Stars) in 1377/1957, and Maṭbaʿah Patani published the latter's *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭānīyya* in the same year, the latter book appearing in a run of 3,000 copies.[197] The collection of *fatāwā* was particularly important, as it contained the most extensive collection of legal opinions ever assembled in direct reference to Islamic practice in Pattani and other Malay-speaking parts of the peninsula. The book was not unknown in the region, however, having been previously published across the border in Kota Bharu in 1333/1915 and concurrently in 1377/1957.[198] The appearance of several editions in the region at the time of Malayan independence coincided with the rising place of Islam in political discourse, especially in Kelantan which had the strongest Islamist leanings.

Maintaining the Tradition

In recent decades, the works of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and other scholars of the Patani scholarly network have continued to inform local and regional Islamic discourses on a variety of issues and remain within the curriculum of *pondok* education in Malaysia, as well as the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Indonesia. Kuala Lumpur, Pulau Pinang, and Surabaya are the main production centers for these texts in their respective countries.[199] In Thailand, the most visible publisher is Muhammad Nahdi, in Bangkok, who appears even to export texts to

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[195] Dā'ūd bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Taʿṣīb* (Patani, 1375 A.H. [1955]): 1.

[196] Arabic: بدر التمام و النجوم الثواقب

[197] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Badr al-Tamām wa al-Nujūm al-Thawāqib* (Patani: Maṭbaʿah Saudara, 1377 A.H. [1957]): 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Al-Fatāwā al-Faṭānīyya* (Patani: Maṭbaʿah Patani, 1377 A.H. [1957]): 1.

[198] Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Al-Fatāwā al-Faṭānīyya*, 3rd ed. (Kota Bharu, 1333 A.H. [1915]): 1; Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Al-Fatāwā al-Faṭānīyya* (Kota Bharu: Maṭbaʿah al-Kamaliyya, 1377 A.H. [1957]):1.

[199] Works by the Patani scholars also have appeared in small-scale productions in Saudi Arabia at Jeddah and in Malaysia at Johor Bharu and Kota Bharu since 1980.

Malaysian schools and libraries.[200] A vibrant publishing industry also persists in Patani, as well, where I easily obtained copies of all of the important works of the great scholars at bookshops. The imprints indicate that these texts are produced locally at several different presses and play a major role in sustaining the scholarly tradition in local schools. As we have witnessed during the rise of violence in the three southern Thai provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat since 1424/2004, schools have become one of the most hotly contested social spaces in the region. At the locus of the *pondok* remain the writings of the great shaykhs of Patani dating back two centuries that continue to sustain and rejuvenate local cultural practice and religious belief.

Conclusion

Patani, via its diaspora, experienced a number of encounters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that made the border settlement difficult to accept. On a global scale, Patani had forged connections with the wider Muslim world and its leading intellectuals had adopted some aspects of pan-Islamic thought in an attempt to "liberate" their homeland. This broad unity of struggle gave focus to the challenges and obstacles the community had faced since the fall of Patani to Siam in 1200/1786. Shaykh Aḥmad Faṭānī and others recognized Patani's struggle against Siam as similar to much of the rest of the Islamic world against the British, French, and other imperial powers, and sought a political solution that ultimately eluded them.

The Patani diaspora also had encountered a cultural unity with the wider Malay-speaking world in Mecca during the latter part of the nineteenth century, as I have argued in chapters five and six, and these cultural bonds continued to resonate well into the twentieth century. In this relationship, Patani had become an influential cultural producer—the transmission of texts was

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[200] I have observed at least a dozen titles of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's works in this publisher's catalogue since the 1980s, all of which exist in publicly available collections in Malaysia and elsewhere.

mostly a one-way affair from Patani or Patani diaspora in Mecca and elsewhere to Malay-speakers from other regions. While this never coalesced into a nationalist movement in Patani until after World War II, the cultural links had been established as early as a century previous, as the result of a gradual cultural sedimentation.

On a regional scale, Patani had been in the premier position within a scholarly triangle that intersected with Kelantan and Kedah. The latter two Malay states drew great amounts of knowledge from Patani in the form of both books and teachers. A large proportion of the early teachers in those districts came from Patani and spread and opened schools throughout the regions to the south. Other links brought teachers and texts further south into Trengganu, Pahang, Melaka, Singapore, and other areas on the peninsula and western Borneo.

The rise of publishing networks produced new channels of communication, strengthened some existing trajectories, and diminished others. Most of the new links were along major shipping and pilgrimage routes. Patani's knowledge was no longer its alone—the vehicle of mass production afforded greater mobility in communicating ideas, texts, and objects and industrious people in key centers of human interaction—whether economic or religious—to facilitate an unprecedented level of knowledge dissemination. With the spread of knowledge, also came the nexus of social, cultural, and moral values instilled within the texts that we discussed in earlier chapters. The *pondok* were the sites of these exchanges, communications, and relationships.

Mecca was the most important early center for Malay publications for the Patani network, though it was preceded by Constantinople and Mumbai. The appointment of a Patani scholar as head of the Malay branch of the Ottoman press in the holy city was the result of the great reputation those scholars had built over the previous century. From there, returning hajjis carried

with them texts by Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī and others that they spread in their local communities. Thus the global, regional, and local interacted with great regularity, each contributing to the myriad social and cultural nexuses of value, prestige, power, and place.

From Mecca, the main center of mass production moved to Cairo at a critical moment in the 1920s when Malay-speaking students came to Al-Azhar University in greater numbers than ever before. Again via informal and mobile networks of teachers, scholars, and students these texts returned to Southeast Asia where they continued to be spread among interested Muslims in regions throughout the peninsula and beyond. For the first time, these texts came to form a key component in the early nationalist thinking of Malay and Indonesian intellectuals who founded periodical publications of their own.

Finally by the 1930s, publishing of Malay texts shifted irrevocably to Southeast Asia. Singapore had been a center for publishing Patani and other Malay texts as early as 1870, but these increased greatly in quantity in the 1920s and 1930s. By the latter decade, the most active center became Pulau Pinang, where several publishers produced regular print runs of all of the key Patani texts that they sold to students throughout British Malaya, most likely in Kedah, Kota Bharu, and to Malay-speaking Muslims in southern Thailand. These networks eventually coalesced with publishing centers appearing in Patani, most active from the 1950s, and in Bangkok, Kota Bharu, Surabaya, and other cities in recent decades. Since World War II, these publishing centers have been critical in maintaining the scholarly tradition, continuing the process of reproducing cultural and religious values, and reinforcing the memory of Pattani's gilded Islamic past.

Conclusion

Through the course of three centuries, Patani transitioned from a prosperous port trading state to a major center for Islamic scholarship. The prevailing forms of social and cultural capital possessed by the society's social actors drove this process. Situated within the three major centers of activity where we began this study—the palace, marketplace, and the mosque—elites contended with one another for prestige and power in a raja-centered community. But economic fallout by 1060/1650 shook the foundation upon which royal power had based itself and the sultanate found it increasingly difficult to fend off other rival powers set upon destroying its political power and autonomy.

Economic decline ultimately undermined political power. In a series of five wars, Siam defeated Patani, 1199-1253/1785-1838, with the aim of killing, capturing, or co-opting the sultanate's remaining political elites while decimating its population via slave-raiding, massacre, and expulsion. This process gave rise to the Patani diaspora. Refugees from the five wars settled throughout the neighboring states of Kedah, Kelantan, Perak, and Trengganu—today comprising a band of the northernmost states of Malaysia. Others, however, went to Mecca, and it was there that one, Shaykh Dā'ūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, discovered what was to form a new cultural unity for the diaspora and many of their newfound neighbors in the hostlands: Islamic revivalist and reformist scholarship.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī was the most influential figure in post-1199/1785 Patani while spending most of his life in Mecca. He wrote as many as sixty-three works that dealt with many aspects of Islamic belief and practice. Some have considered him to be a "neo-Sufi" thinker, dedicated to the furtherance of Sufism—particularly the Sammāniyya and Shaṭṭariyya orders—while bringing the fringes more in line with legalistic interpretations of ritual, scripture, and

tradition. He also wrote extensively upon a number of legal matters and it was the latter category of texts that was particularly popular among his students and later generations of scholars, teachers, and scribes. Most of his writings were, however, new to Patani society, which had converted as early as the fourteenth century, but for which there is no evidence of a previously active scholarly tradition beyond the *Qur'an* and *hadith*. For many residents of Patani and the diaspora, his writings dictated proper beliefs, delineated the bounds of scholarly debates, and set the course for future lines of inquiry. Only a century after his death do we see strong evidence of other voices finally acquiring similar fluency in the intellectual milieu.

The thought of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī found reception in Patani society—and to a lesser degree, the wider Malay-speaking world—because he provided the building blocks for reconstructing the socio-moral order of his shattered homeland. He envisioned a future Patani, inhabited by people who ascribed to specific Islamic values, respected certain forms of Islamic leadership, and who fostered a scholarly discourse intent upon perfecting the myriad social and religious practices attached to the tradition. Many of his writings addressed specific concerns such as marriage rites—one of the critical interactions between the sacred and the intimate—that demarcated the boundaries of critically important social practices. Similar debates arose concerning the allocation of inheritance, various dietary proscriptions, ritual purity, financial transactions between Muslims and non-Muslims, and a number of other social and cultural objects whose value and meaning had been thrown into disarray during the preceding period of political devastation. Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings thus provided Patani with a moral guide by which to reconstitute itself, implemented by a new generation of educated and ambitious individuals.

The spread of Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's writings was a gradual affair. From his position in Mecca, he taught small numbers of students who became influential in spreading his writings upon returning to Southeast Asia. A slight majority of his students came from Patani or were counted among its diaspora. About one-quarter came from the northern Malay states of Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu, as well as other Malay-speaking parts of Siam as far north as Nakhon. The remainder came from the wider Malay world's Islamic reformist center of Minangkabau, the port of transit, Melaka, and several states of western Borneo. Thus we can see that while his main audience was his compatriots from Patani, his teachings had a resonance in the shared cultural grammar of a broader Malay-speaking region, where the virility of the old raja-centered world was also in decline.

Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's students returned to Southeast Asia as experts on a variety of Islamic topics and most of them soon after opened schools known as *pondok* in their home communities or elsewhere in the region. Together these individuals formed the Patani scholarly network, an informal association of gifted Islamist thinkers, many of whom carried on communication even after returning from Mecca. The schools they founded became poignant sites of cultural production for Shaykh Dā'ūd Faṭānī's moral vision throughout the region. Each scholar stressed different aspects of their mentor's teachings and some even added their own books to the intellectual milieu of their schools. Together these formed a chorus of voices, though not without disagreement and conflict, that promoted Islamic learning in various regions of Southeast Asia. Many *pondok* also experienced an upwelling of local knowledge, whether dealing with Islamic topics, local medicinal lore, or the first written forms of oral literature. Thus the *pondok* were spaces for the encounter between global, regional, and local cultural

traditions that exchanged, evolved, and contested existing forms of social and cultural capital that took shape in Patani and other Malay-speaking areas.

In regions with the highest concentration of schools, which before 1285/1869 was a band from Songkhla in the north to Trengganu in the south, students often circulated between schools. Movement between learning centers resulted in the cross-pollination of the scholarly discourse. The network at its greatest extent connected most of the coastal population centers on the peninsula with central and northern Sumatra, southern and western Borneo, Cham Muslims in Cambodia, and diasporic and mobile communities within and between these regions, that all looked to Mecca for texts and teachings. The Patani network also linked together with other similar scholarly communities, including those in Aceh, Banjar, Java, and Malay-speakers in Cape Town (today in South Africa).

The building of the Suez Canal in 1285/1869 simultaneously increased the number of pilgrims able to visit Mecca because of the general upsurge of British and Dutch shipping in the Indian Ocean, and indirectly stimulated Islamic scholarly activities throughout the regions linked together by the network. Between the 1870s and 1327/1909, Islamic learning flourished in Patani as never before, witnessing an unprecedented level of *pondok* proliferation on the peninsula. Patani became the last stop for all serious students before going to Mecca to study with the great teachers, many of whom also hailed from Patani or its diaspora. Adjacent to Patani, Kelantan also experienced considerable growth of its *pondok* during the period, and set itself to become Patani's successor after the latter experienced another wave of political problems in the twentieth century. *Pondok* soon spread into many other parts of what are now Malaysia as well, based upon the schools of Patani and those promoted by its scholars. As in earlier decades, the popularity of specific teachings waxed and waned throughout the period,

reflecting local social anxieties as well as waves of thought contemporary to the wider Islamic world.

As early as 1286/1870 and increasingly from 1301/1884, published versions of the texts written by the Patani scholars and their affiliates came to replace handwritten forms of knowledge production. This was a gradual process, but by 1312/1895, reproduction by hand was in steep decline. The volume and mobility of texts brought on by mass production accelerated the spread and influence of the Patani scholars throughout the Malay-speaking world, while simultaneously undercutting Patani's significance as a scholarly center. The border settlement between Great Britain and Siam in 1327/1909 further augmented Patani's insecure position. Students no longer needed to go to Patani to gain knowledge directly from teachers via oral recitation and could purchase copies of key texts at affordable rates. Meanwhile, Kelantan appeared far more appealing as a learning center with steady patronage from its sultan and without trepidation of Siamese political interference (or merely the cultural anxieties of minority status). Publishing centers throughout the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia all continued disseminating Patani texts into Malay consciousness, and kept alive the scholarly tradition in Patani.

The revivalist and reformist Islamic movements in maritime Asia in which the Patani diaspora scholars played such a critical role drew together the disparate, loosely connected Islamic centers of the Southeast Asian archipelago into a cohesive discourse. The leaders naturally claimed a universalist approach to understanding their faith and wielded the social prestige necessary to gather a significant enough following to fundamentally alter the way Muslims practiced their faith throughout those regions. Their impact was greatest in the areas nearest to their homeland—the region stretching down the east coast of the Malay-Thai

Peninsula from Songkhla to Trengganu, with prevailing lines of communication that continued to reach down the west coast and into interior parts of the peninsula, as well as to western Borneo, Sumatra, Cambodia, and beyond. The dawning of Islamic education—which over the course of the century grew from small, disparate centers to complex networks of teachers, students, and texts—was to have lasting effects on Malay Islam in what is now southern Thailand, through Malaysia to western Indonesia. Much of the history of Islam in these regions in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been a continued evolution of these educational institutions via succeeding waves of reform.

The complex relationship between social capital and religious doctrine, belief, and practice has continued to play a central role in transforming Islamic societies in Southeast Asia up to the present day. This study has shown that these critical processes began in the nineteenth century, when the learned themselves began to claim social authority and distinction on an unprecedented level. Even though twentieth-century anti-colonial movements produced independent governments throughout Southeast Asia, many have continued to struggle for legitimacy, especially in regions with well-established traditions of Islamic leadership, such as southern Thailand, southern Philippines, and Aceh.

The intellectual history of Southeast Asian Islam has often suffered from the paucity of primary source materials. But as I have shown in the Patani case, a rich body of works from the period after 1224/1809 allows us to reconstruct the scholarly debates that occurred during the time analyzed in this dissertation. In many ways, however, I have only begun to scratch the surface in terms of understanding these doctrines. Whereas I have provided a clear chronology and geography of the dissemination of these texts, future studies may begin to compare these doctrines to those from other parts of the Islamic world, detailing the uniqueness of the tradition

as well as the appearance of more universal trends in scholarship. The debates and conflicts between rival reformers might also be studied in greater depth as additional sources surface. More detailed studies of individual scholars, texts, or schools discussed here also have the potential to further elaborate upon the development of the intellectual tradition in Patani and the wider Malay-speaking world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this rare instance, we are faced with a very limited number of secondary writings on a rich set of primary sources.

Glossary

adab (Arabic: أدب) knowledge and social etiquette, generally in reference to non-religious matters including literature, bureaucracy, and politeness.

adat (Jawi: عداة) "traditional" law or custom, often depicted in contrast to Islamic revivalist legal reforms or *sharī'a* (q.v.).

'aqīda (Arabic: عقيد) creed, doctrine, dogma, or article of faith; pl. *aqā'id.*

'arūḍ (Arabic: عروض) poetic meter, the science of rhyme.

bandar (Jawi: بندر) city proper, often in reference to the marketplace, place of commerce.

bayān (Arabic: بيان) explanation, clarity of expression.

bendahara (Jawi: بندهار) prime minister, treasurer, high steward, one of the principle officers of state.

bunga emas (Jawi: بوغا امس) gold flowers given as customary tribute by some peninsular polities to the Siamese royal court

datuk besar (Jawi: داتق بسر) great lord, one of the chief political figures of Malay courts

daulat (Jawi: دولة) "soul force" believed to be possessed by powerful leaders, often displaying itself in material forms such as prosperity, wealth, good fortune, happiness, or skill in battle.

dhikr (Arabic: ذكر) literally reminding oneself, a Sufi method of chanting repetitively as a form of religious devotion.

faqīh (Arabic: فقيه) a jurist, expert in Islamic law, often synonymous with *'alīm* (q.v.); pl. *fuqahā'.*

faqīr (Arabic: فقير) literally one who lives for God alone, an aesthetic, someone who is an expert in mystical practices.

falak (Arabic: فلک) celestial sphere.

farā'id (Arabic: فراءد) rules

fatwā (Arabic: فتوا) an opinion concerning any aspect of civil or religious matters.

fiqh (Arabic: فقه) jurisprudence, the science of Islamic law.

ḥadīth (Arabic: حديث) the traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad, most often in reference to civil or religious law, or social practice.

ḥajj (Arabic: حج) annual, global Islamic pilgrimage undertaken in the final month of the Islamic year, Dhu'l-ḥijja. It is considered the obligation of all able-bodied Muslims who can afford the expenses of the journey.

ḥalāl (Arabic: حلال) that which is allowed, permitted, or permissible (most often in relation to diet).

ḥaqīqa (Arabic: حقيق) a stage in Sufi consciousness and training whereby a person is living life according to God's will which allows one to see beyond the physical existence into what is transcendentally true or real.

Ḥaramayn (Arabic: حرمين) the two sanctuaries, referring to Mecca and Medina.

hari kiamat (Jawi: هاري قيامة) day of resurrection.

hari raya (Jawi: هاري راي) the day of breaking fast during the month of Ramadan.

Hikayat Patani (Jawi: حكاية فطاني) the story of Patani, the court chronicle of the sultanate.

hulubalang (Jawi: هلبالغ) commander, champion, sultan or raja's bodyguard, great warrior, military officer.

'ibada (Arabic: عبدة) ritual

'ilm al-kalām (Arabic: علم الكلام) theological discourse, often in reference to *'aqīda* (q.v.) and other contested issues central to Islamic belief and practice.

īmān (Arabic: إيمان) belief or faith (in God).

istana (Jawi: ايستان) palace.

i'tiqād (Arabic: اعتقاد) deep religious conviction pertaining to points considered to be fundamental to religious faith.

jihād (Arabic: جهاد) holy war with the purpose of defending or expanding Islamic territory. The exact role of this act is under considerable dispute. Both al-Falimānī and al-Faṭānī considered there to be two forms of *jihād*, first the one performed in response to the invasion of Islamic territory by a non-Muslim aggressor that was considered the obligation of all Muslims, and a second type carried out to expand the frontier of Islam that might be performed by some individuals on the behalf of the entire community.

kampung (Jawi: كامڤوڠ) village.

keris (Jawi: كرس or كريس) a short sword employed in combat that also possessed symbolic power.

khuṭba (Arabic: خطبة) sermon.

laksamana (Jawi: لقسمان) admiral, commander-in-chief, one of the great officers of state in Malay courts.

Langkasuka (Jawi: لڠكاسوك), a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom that had been centered about fifteen kilometers south of present-day Pattani, reaching its peak of power in the late sixth century as a transit port for merchants traveling between India and China, but declined after the ninth century.

madhhab (Arabic: مذهب) one of the four schools of Islamic Sunni law.

maharajalela (Jawi: مهاراجليلا) chief security officer in a Malay court in charge of protecting the sultan or raja and maintaining order.

malā'ika (Arabic: ملائكة) angels.

mahdī (Arabic: مهدي) the rightly-guided one, referring to the restorer of religion and justice, who Muslims believe will rule before the end of the world. History provides many examples of claimants to this position.

ma'rifa (Arabic: معرفة) knowledge a mystic might only obtain in God's presence in one of the most advanced stages of a Sufi's journey. This is the destination for many Sufi practitioners, the ultimate objective of existence.

martabāt tujuh (Arabic: مرتبات توجوه) (*martabat*, which is now an Arabic loan word in

Malay, is written in contemporary Jawi as مرتبة) seven degrees of existence through which Sufis travel in pursuit of oneness with God, higher consciousness, and deeper understanding of the physical world and the Hereafter.

masjid al-ḥarām (Arabic: مسجد الحرام) the holy mosque of Mecca that contains the *Ka'aba* which is the locus of the annual *ḥajj* (q.v.).

menteri (Jawi: منتري) court officer, counselor to a sultan or raja, minister of state.

muḥāsaba (Arabic: محاسبة) self reflection, often in relation to one's moral standing with God. This practice owes much to the writing of al-Ghazālī.

muḥaddith (Arabic: محدّث) an expert on *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

niyya (Arabic: نيّة) intention, the declaration of an action prior to its performance. In the religious context, this pertains most often to prayer, but also to washing, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, sacrifice, and other rituals.

nobat (Jawi: نوبت) royal drums that served as symbols of office, originally invested by the sultan of Melaka to many other Malay courts, imbued with great spiritual and sacred significance when employed in a large number of court ceremonies.

orangkaya (Jawi: اورغ كاي) a rich person, member of the social elite.

panglima (Jawi: فغليم) commander of forces, governor, superintendent of a district or province.

penghulu (Jawi: فغهولو) leader, master, headman, overseer, commanding officer.

pondok (Jawi: فوندوق) Islamic school generally centered around one chief teacher with assistants and run self-sufficiently.

qāḍī (Arabic: قادي) a judge, or one who has been granted the authority by a ruler to make legal judgment.

ṣalāt (Arabic: صلات) Islamic ritual prayer.

shahbandar (Jawi: شاهباندر) harbormaster, one of the chief economic ministers in Malay courts, often of foreign origins because of the need to be fluent in numerous languages, including Malay, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Tamil, Portuguese, and others in the early modern era.

sharī'a (Arabic: شريعة) the rules and regulations governing the lives of Muslims, based upon the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

sharīf (Arabic: شريف) The *sharīf* was the leading political figure in Mecca, considered the guardian of the *Ḥaramayn*, and imbued with his office by the Ottoman sultan.

shaykh (Arabic: شيخ) the title given to any Muslims scholar who has gained enough respect by his teachers or peers.

sīra (Arabic: سيرة) biography, often referring to the early oral and written accounts of the Prophet Muḥammad's life.

sūra (Arabic: سورة) each of the 114 parts of the *Qur'ān*.

tafsīr (Arabic: تفسير) exegesis; interpretation or commentary on the *Qur'ān*. Examples of this form of scholarship range from covering the entire text to individual *sūra* (q.v.) or topical selections.

tajallī (Arabic: تجلّي) theophany, divine manifestation.

taqlīd (Arabic: تقليد) imitation, often with negative connotations; this became one of Abduh's objects of reform, the practice of blind imitation having corrupted Islamic belief and practice through the course of many generations, in his view.

tarāwīḥ (Arabic: تراويح) a specific form of non-obligatory *salāt* prayer performed at night during the month of Ramadan; sing. *tarwīḥa*.

ṭarīqa (Arabic: طريقة) way or path; Sufi order.

taṣawwuf (Arabic: تصوّف) Sufism or Islamic mysticism.

tawḥīd (Arabic: توحيد) the act of believing and affirming that God is one and unique; monotheism.

'ulamā' (Arabic: علماء) scholars of Islamic sciences, the guardians, interpreters, and transmitters of doctrine, law, and other religious knowledge; sing. *'alīm*.

umma (Arabic:) people or community; in late nineteenth and twentieth century contexts used to refer to Islamic peoples from across the globe.

'umra (Arabic: عمرة) lesser pilgrimage, either performed in conjunction with the *ḥajj* or individually.

uṣūl al-dīn (Arabic: أُصول الدين) dogmatic theology, the basic principles of Islam.

Wahhābiyya (Arabic: وهّابيّة) term used to denote the doctrine and followers of the reformer, Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb, though often in a derogatory sense by suggesting his doctrine to be mere personal opinion. Later, some adherents preferred the term *Salafiyya* (q.v.).

wahm (Arabic: وهم) false notion, delusion, illusion.

waqf (Arabic: وقف) Islamic charitable endowment.

waṣiyya (Arabic: وصيّة) bequest, last will and testament; employed for the passage of inheritance and the guardianship of minor children.

zakāt (Arabic: زكاة) obligatory tax or payment given by Muslims for the benefit of the poor.

zina (Jawi: زينا) unlawful sexual intercourse between a man and woman who are not married.

Appendix: Genealogies of Patani *'Ulamā'* Families[1]
Family A: The Keresik *'Ulamā'* and Shaykh Da'ud bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī[2]
Generation One
A. Shaykh 'Abd Allah bin Idris al-Fatani
Like his father, he taught at Pondok Keresik. Shaykh 'Abd Allah married Fatima.

> Children:
> 1. *Shaykh Da'ud bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani*, born 1183/1769, Kerisik, Patani, died Rajab 22, 1263/July 6, 1847, Mecca; he is the chief figure discussed in this dissertation, see particularly chapter three. He never married, but he did adopt his grandnephew, Muhammad bin Ismail Da'udy al-Fatani (A4-2-1; see below), who he brought back to Mecca in 1262/1846.
> 2. +'Abd al-Qadir
> 3. 'Abd al-Rashid
> 4. +Idris
> 5. Umar
> 6. a daughter

Generation Two
A2. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani
> Children:
> 1. +Muhammad Salih

A4. Shaykh Idris bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani
He assisted his brother, Shaykh Da'ud Fatani, in teaching Malay-speaking students at *masjid al-haram* in Mecca. He most likely preceded his brother in death, prior to the latter's adoption of his grandson, Muhammad bin Ismail Da'udy al-Fatani (A4-2-1; see below), via his daughter Zaynab.

> Children:
> 1. +Fatima
> 2. +Zaynab

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[1] Because the genealogical data included here has been drawn from sources written in Romanized Malay, I have not included transliteration of names, but the information should still be quite familiar to the reader. Some spellings have been standardized, however.

[2] The sources for this genealogy include: Mohd. Saghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Wan Ali bin Abdul Rahman al Kalantani," *Dakwah* 13 (Sep 1989): 35; Perayot Rahimmula, *The Patani Fatāwā: A Case Study of the* Kitāb al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyyah *of Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zain bin Muṣṭafa al-Faṭāni* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kent, 1992): 201; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam & Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu*, vol. 2, Pengenalan Siri 3 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999): 40-41; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000): 29-39; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 14 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000): 52.

Generation Three

A2-1. Shaykh Muhammad Salih bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani
    Children:
1. Shaykh Ibrahim, founded a pondok near Patani.
2. a daughter

A4-1. Fatima binti Idris al-Fatani
She married Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman bin Uthman.
    Children:
1. Sheikh Muhammad al-Fatani, he was the teacher of the well-known Sheikh Ahmad al-Fatani. He also was active in the scholarly networks of Mecca and Constantinople.
2. +'Abd al-Qadir

A4-2. Zaynab binti Idris al-Fatani
She married Nik Wan Isma'il bin Nik Wan Ahmad.
    Children:
1. +Muhammad
2. Hajjah Nik Wan Hitam
3. Nik Wan Siti
4. Nik Wan Aishah
5. +Hajjah Nik Wan Maryam
6. +'Isa

Generation Four

A2-1-1. Shaykh Ibrahim bin Muhammad Salih al-Fatani
    Children:
1. Shaykh Shams al-Din, an *'alim* of Mecca

A4-1-2. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fatani
He was known popularly as Shaykh Nik Dir Patani. He was born in 1244/1829, according to Ismail Che Daud, but Abdullah cites Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani who claimed that he was approximately five years older than the latter's father, i.e. born in 1227/1812. Another source states that he was older than Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani (Imam Nawawi Tsani), i.e. born before 1814. He died in 1315/1898, in Mecca.
    Children:
1. +Da'ud
2. Sheikh Wan Muhammad, known commonly as Muhammad Da'ud. He was a student of Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani for whom he later worked at the Ottoman press in Mecca, striving to publish the works of Shaykh Da'ud Fatani.

A4-2-1. Shaykh Muhammad bin Isma'il Da'udy al-Fatani

He was the grandnephew of Sheikh Dawud bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani who adopted him when just an infant, in 1261/1845. He added the name "Da'udy" to his own name in reference to his step-father. He was born the previous year and was taken to Mecca by his granduncle in 1262/1846. He married first to Aminah Faraj-Faiyum, an Egyptian woman, and secondly to Cik Mas, who was from Kota Bharu, Kelantan. He may have also married Maryam, daughter of 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Ghafur al-Kalantani, though they had no children.

Children (1st marriage):

1. 'Abd Allah, born 1289/1872, died 1327/1909, Keresik, Patani. He was granted a plot of land by Sultan Zayn al-'Abidin III of Terengganu, in Kuala Terengganu. He supposedly also played a role in creating a system for the study of Sheikh Da'ud bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani's writings. He married Maryam binti Sheikh Wan 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Rahman Kutan al-Kelantani, but they did not have any children. He supposedly had children by another wife, but they are unknown.
2. +Muhammad Nur
3. Muhammad 'Amin, born 1296/1878, died 1326/1910.
4. +Fatima
5. Hajah Kaltsum, born 1301/1883, died 1318/1900.
6. +Khadiyah
7. Da'ud, born 1308/1890, in Mecca, died 1384/1964, in Kota Bharu, Kelantan; had two sons.

Children (2nd marriage):

8. 'Abd al-Rashid, born 1329/1911, died 1376/1956.

A4-2-5. Maryam binti Isma'il

She married Shaykh Wan 'Abd Allah bin Shaykh Wan Yusuf, who was known popularly as Jangguh Putih (White Beard).

Children:

1. Siti Sa'udah, married Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani (see Bendang Daya 'ulamā'; B1-1).
2. 2 others who are otherwise unknown

Generation Five

A4-1-2-1. Shaykh Da'ud bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani

He taught at *masjid al-haram* in Mecca.

Children:

1. Sheikh Ibrahim al-Fatani, born 1320/1902, in Mecca, taught at *masjid al-haram* in Mecca, and wrote several works in Arabic.
2. Sheikh Husayn al-Fatani, was the Saudi Arabian *Duta Besar* (chief ambassador) to Malaysia and later Pakistan.

A4-2-1-2. Shaykh Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad al-Fatani

He was born 1290/1873, in Mecca. He married to Shafiyah binti 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Ghafur al-Kalantani, who was the sister of his brother 'Abd Allah's wife. She was also the cousin of Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani (B1-1), because her mother Aishah was the sister of Cik, who was Ahmad's mother.

> Children:
> 1. Sheikh Hasan, who wrote *Tuhfat al-Marḍiyya*.
> 2. others who are otherwise unknown

A4-2-1-4. Fatima binti Muhammad al-Fatani

She married Sheikh Da'ud bin Idris al-Fatani, who was commonly known as Sheikh Dawud Kabir al-Fatani.

> Children:
> 1. 'Abd al-Rahman bin Da'ud al-Makki, born 1317/1900, in Mecca, died Muharram 13, 1402/November 11, 1981, in Kota Bharu, Kelantan; he had two sons, both of whom became prominent political figures in Malaysia.
> 2. Hajji Nik Ishaq Tikat

A4-2-1-6. Khadiyah binti Muhammad al-Fatani

She married Wan Muhammad Salih al-Fatani

> Children:
> 1. Mahmud, born in Kota Bharu, Kelantan, became a teacher in Kelantan and also traveled in Saudi Arabia, where he worked.

Family B: The Bendang Daya *'Ulamā*[3]

Generation One

B. Shaykh Hajji Mustafa bin Muhammad Faqih al-Fatani

He served the raja of Patani as a *hulubalang* or *panglima* (commander) during the 1831-2 Kedah-led war against Siam, in which he supposedly had a victory in Yala. He was known as Datuk Panglima Kaya Patani, Hulubalang Wan Pa, Tok Seniyen, Tok Kerani, Tok Wan Pa, and Tok Bendang Daya Tua. He married twice, first to a relative of the raja of Patani who is said to have had thick, long hair that hung down to her heels.

   Children:
   1. +Muhammad Zayn
   2. +'Abd al-Qadir
   3. +'Abd al-Latif
   4. +Da'ud

Generation Two

B1. Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa al-Fatani

He was born 1233/1817, in Patani, and died Zulhijah 22, 1325/January 26, 1908, in Mecca. He married Wan Cik binti Hajji Muhammad Salih al-Fatani.

   Children:
   1. +Ahmad

B2. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani

He was born 1234/1818, in Patani, and died Zulhijah 16, 1312/June 10, 1895, in Mecca. He married first to Ruqaiyah binti Haji 'Abd al-Latif Sena, who was known as Wan Cik. He married secondly to Bunga.

   Children:
   1. Aishah, married Idris bin 'Abd al-Karim (C2-1; see below).
   2. +Isma'il
   3. +Aminah
   4. +Yusuf
   5. +Ibrahim

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[3] The sources for this genealogy include: Abdullah, "Syeikh Daud bin Ismail al Fatani: Pentasyhih Kitab Melayu/Jawi yang Pertama," *Dakwah* 15 (Feb 1992): 46; Rahimmula, *Patani Fatāwā*, 201; Abdullah, "Tok Bendang Daya II: Pondok Teramai di Asia Tenggara," *Dakwah* 15 (May 1993): 52; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 3 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazaniah Fathaniyah, 1999): 4-9, 11-19; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000): 1-13; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002): 178, 285; Ismail Awang, "Pak Cu Him Gajah Mati (1894-1968)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 107-16 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2007): 110.

B3. Shaykh 'Abd al-Latif bin Mustafa al-Fatani

He worked as an Islamic teacher in Bangkok and the surrounding area, especially in Kampung Thait. He left many descendants in the region.

Children:
1. +Ishaq
2. +Muhammad Nur
3. +Isma'il
4. +Ahmad
5. 'Abd al-Rahman, left descendants in Bangkok.
6. Mustafa
7. Zaynab
8. Ummi Kaltsum

B4. Shaykh Da'ud bin Mustafa al-Fatani

He was known as Tok Cik Wan Da'ud al-Fatani. He was born 1282/1866, in Kampung Sena Jajar, and died 1354/March 1936 CE, in Mecca. He was an influential *'alim* in Mecca, particularly in the field of Shāfi'ī *fiqh*, and taught many students who later became prominent figures. He married Hajjah Maryam binti Tuan Guru Haji 'Abd al-Majid al-Fatani, daughter of Tok Seridik Muda.

Children:
1. Maimunah, m. Sheikh Isma'il (Pak De 'El) al-Fatani, her cousin and a student of her father's.
2. +Ahmad

Generation Three
B1-1. Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani

He was born Shaaban 5, 1272/April 11, 1856, in Patani, and died Zulhijah 11, 1325/ January 15, 1908, in Mecca. He married first to Wan Kaltsum binti Tuan Guru Hajji Isma'il al-Fatani. She was known as Tok Jong and died Rabiulawal 17, 1318/July 15, 1900, in Mecca. He married secondly to Hajjah Siti Saudah, daughter of Sheikh 'Abd Allah and Hajjah Maryam binti Isma'il al-Fatani, who died in Sekudai, Johor (A4-2-5).

Children (1st marriage):
1. +Isma'il
2. Fatima, married to Hajji Muhammad Nur bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani, her cousin (B3-2).

Children (2nd marriage):
3. +Zaynab, born 1311/1893, in Mecca, died Ramadan 24, 1401/July 26, 1981, in Pulau Midai, Riau, Indonesia, and was buried in Pekuburan Suak Besar, Pulau Midai. She married Hajji 'Abd Allah bin Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman Pulau Bunguran (Natuna), Riau,

Indonesia. They had twelve children, one of whom, Muhammad Saghir, wrote prolifically on the Patani shaykhs

4. 3 other children are otherwise unknown

B2-2. Shaykh Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani

He was known as Pak Da 'El Patani. He was born 1300/1882 in Bendang Daya, Patani, and died Rajab 9, 1385/November 3, 1965, in Mecca. He lived in Mecca from 1895 until his death. He wrote several works but was most influential as a teacher of many dozens of prominent students. He married his cousin, Hajjah Maimunah, daughter of Sheikh Da'ud bin Mustafa al-Fatani.

Children:
1. Fatima, married Hajji Muhammad Nur; two of their sons studied in Medina and later taught at schools in Pattani and Malaysia.
2. Aishah, married Tuan Guru Hajji Zakarya bin Tuan Guru Hajji 'Abd al-Mubin Lasak Tendong, who taught in Mecca, where they left descendants. He was the grandson of Shaykh Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani (known as Tok Kelaba), on his mother's side.
3. Kaltsum, married Tuan Guru Hajji Ahmad Belaga at Pondok Pujuk; their children returned to Kelantan.
4. Hajah Safiyah, married Ibrahim, son of Tok Guru Jakar.
5. Aminah, married Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman Pauh; they left descendants in Mecca.
6. Hajji Da'ud, married Ruqaiyah binti Yusuf Seridik, a relative of Tok Seridik Muda.
7. Maryam, married Tuan Guru Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman Pombing, a teacher in Trengganu.
8. Muhammad Sa'id

B2-3. Hajjah Aminah binti 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani

She married twice, first to Hajji Isma'il Sena (Imam Masjid Sena) and secondly to Tuan Guru Hajji Ahmad (Wan Setang) bin Idris, who founded Pondok Burmin, and was brother to Hajji Muhammad bin Idris, who was known as Tok Guru Burmin.

Children (1st marriage):
1. 'Abd al-Qadir bin Isma'il al-Sanawi, taught at Pondok Sena Jajar. He later opened Pondok Nad Tok Embong at Nibong Baru, Yala, and wrote several works in Arabic and Malay. He married twice, first to Hajjah Zaynab and secondly to Hajjah Halimah binti Hajji Ahmad (B3-4-3). One of their daughters became a teacher of *Qur'an* and two sons studied Islam in Sudan and subsequently became teachers in southern Thailand.

Children (2nd marriage):
2. Hajjah Maryam, left descendants in Mecca and Patani.
3. Kalthum, lived in Mecca.

B2-4. Hajji Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani

Children:

1. Tuan Guru Hajji Muhammad, opened Pondok Beseng, in Yala; two of his sons studied at al-Azhar University in Cairo, one of whom later taught at a university in India.

B2-5. Ibrahim bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani

He was known as Pak Cu Him. He was born 1309/1891, in Bendang Daya, Patani, and died Shawwal 11, 1388/January 1, 1968, in Kedah. He taught at Pondok Gajah Mati, a well-known and influential school in Kedah, which was founded by Hajji Isma'il bin Mustafa (known as Cik Dol). He married the latter's daughter, Wan Zaynab, in 1344/1926. Many of Sheikh Ibrahim's students became *'ulamā'*.

Children:

1. Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir, left no descendants.
2. Mustafa, like his father, taught at Gajah Mati, and other schools in Kedah.
3. Cik, married twice, first to Tuan Guru Hajji 'Abd Allah, the chief teacher at Gajah Mati, and secondly to Tuan Guru Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman bin Salih Sik, Kedah; a son by the second marriage studied in Egypt and later taught in Kajang.
4. Nafisah, married Tuan Guru Hajji Mahmud bin Yusuf Juani; one son became a teacher of Islam in Perlis.
5. Salihah, married twice, first to 'Abd al-Mukti bin Tuan Guru Hajji Muhammad Rabab, and secondly to Tuan Guru Hajji Ahmad bin Muhammad Nur in Pondok Padang Nyor, Padang Terap, Kuala Nerang, Kedah; one son studied philosophy at al-Azhar University in Cairo, and later pursued education in the United States and United Kingdom before returning to teach at a university in Malaysia.
6. Hajjah Basirah, married Tuan Guru Haji Ashari bin Haji Ishaq
7. Muhammad 'Izz al-Din, studied first at a *pondok*, then in India, Mecca, and finally at al-Azhar University in Cairo.
8. Ahmad Baha al-Din
9. Muhammad Salih al-Din
10. Ahmad Safi al-Din, taught Islam at a government school in Kedah.
11. Faridah, died at age 8.
12. Muhammad/Ahmad Farid al-Din

B3-1. Hajji Ishaq bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani

He founded Pondok Telaga Sembilan.

Children:

1. Shams al-Din, continued the work of his father.
2. Maryam, married 'Abd al-Hamid bin Idris al-Fatani (C2-1-2).

B3-2. Hajji Muhammad Nur bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani

He married twice, first to Hajjah Fatima binti Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani (B1-1), who died in Bangkok, and secondly to an unidentified woman.

Children (1st marriage):

1. Hajah Nafisah, married Tuan Guru Hajji Ahmad bin Hajji 'Abd al-Majid, who taught at Pondok Seridik, succeeding his father, who had been known as Tok Seridik Muda. Their children, and their spouses, worked as Islamic teachers on both sides of the Malay-Thai border.

Children (2nd marriage):

1. Hasbullah
2. Hajah Mik Safiyah

B3-3. Hajji Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani

He continued the work of his father and taught Malay culture in Thait and other parts of Bangkok. He was a student of his cousin Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani (B1-1).

Children:

1. Yahya bin Isma'il al-Latifi, died Rajab 27, 1410/February 23, 1990, in Bangkok, Thailand; he was a well-known *'alim.*
2. Tuan Guru Haji 'Abd Allah
3. Tuan Guru Haji Sulayman
4. Tuan Guru Haji Taj al-Din

B3-4. Hajji Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani

He studied with his cousin Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani (B1-1) and afterward went to Kelantan to teach at Pondok Pulai Condong. He married twice, first to an Indonesian woman while he was still living in Mecca, and secondly to a woman from Kelantan.

Children (1st marriage):

1. Hajjah Hamidah
2. Hajjah Habibah

Children (2nd marriage)

3. Hajjah Halimah, married Tuan Guru Haji 'Abd al-Qadir bin Isma'il al-Sanawi (B2-3-1).
4. Hajji 'Abd Allah
5. Hajjah Salamah
6. Hajji Da'ud

B4-2. Hajji Ahmad bin Da'ud al-Fatani

He was known as Pak De Mat and left descendants in Mecca.

Children:

1. Sheikh Da'ud, known as Tok Cik Wan Da'ud, graduated from Al-Azhar University in Cairo. He married an Arab woman from Egypt.

Generation Four

B1-1-1. Hajji Isma'il bin Ahmad al-Fatani

He became a qāḍī in Jambu, near Patani, and wrote several books. He died in 1376/1957, and was buried behind Masjid Jamik Raudhatul Jannah, in Yala, Thailand.

Children (1st wife):

1. Hajjah Nik Maryam, married Hajji Isma'il bin Hajji Yusuf, known as Datuk Qāḍī Wan Isma'il bin Hawan; he died Zulhijah 29, 1418/April 27, 1998, in Yala.
2. Hajjah Nik Asiah, married Hajji Isma'il (her sister Maryam's husband after her sister passed away, see #1).
3. Hajjah Nik Kaltsum, married Hajji Husayn, a salt trader of Patani.
4. Nik Nafisah, married 'Abd Allah bin 'Abd al-Qadir.
5. Hajjah Nik Zaynab, Hajji Husayn, a teacher in Nad Tok Embong which was founded by his brother-in-law Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir bin Isma'il Senawi.
6. Hajjah Nik Rashidah, m. Hajji Muhammad Saghir (Imam Masjid Kampung Membala/Bala).
7. Mustafa
8. Farid
9. 'Abd al-Rashid

Children (2nd wife):

10. Nik Faridah
11. Nik Fauziyah

Family C: Descendants of Muhammad Dahhan, including Tuan Minal[4]

Generation One

C. Muhammad Dahhan

Little is known about him, but his sons and their descendants became prominent *'ulamā'* in Patani and Kelantan, and some became involved in politics.

Children:
1. +Muhammad
2. +'Abd al-Karim
3. +'Abd al-Latif

Generation Two

C1. Muhammad bin Muhammad Dahhan

Children:
1. +Muhammad Zayn al-'Abidin al-Fatani

C2. Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim bin Muhammad Dahhan

Children:
1. +Idris

C3. 'Abd al-Latif bin Muhammad Dahan

He was known as Pak Tok Duku and Telok Manok.

Children:
1. +'Abd al-Rahman

Generation Three

C1-1. Muhammad Zayn al-'Abidin bin Muhammad al-Fatani

He was known as Tuan Minal.

Children:
1. Hajji Da'ud
2. +'Abd al-Qadir
3. Sheikh Muhammad Salih
4. Sheikh Umar, a member of the Shaṭṭariyya Order.
5. Sheikh Hassan
6. Fatima

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[4] The sources for this genealogy include: Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 2 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999): 42, 44-46; Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 3 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999): 1, 9-11; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, "Tuan Guru Haji Sulong Patani (1895-1954)," in *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., ed. Ismail Che Daud, 531-55 (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2001): 531, 549; Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 129, 139.

C2-1. Hajji Idris bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Fatani

He was known as Pak Cu Yih and also as Tok Raja Haji because he opened Pondok Tok Raja Hajji in Jambu, near Patani, where he taught until his death Shawwal 1, 1354/December 27, 1935. Married twice, first to Hajjah Mah, sister of Tok Beramoh, and cousin of Sheikh Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani (B2-2). He married secondly to Maryam and thirdly to Hajjah Aishah binti Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani (B2-1).

> Children (3rd marriage):
> 1. 'Abd al-Qadir, he had eleven children, some of whom continued to be prominent teachers in Bangkok and Mecca; one of his daughters married Tengku Bira, the founder of the Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO).
> 2. 'Abd al-Hamid, known as Pak Cu Mid, taught at Pondok Telaga Sembilan, which had been founded by Hajji Ishaq bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani (B3-1). He married Maryam, granddaughter of the aforementioned founder of that school (B3-1-2).
> 3. Zaynab, m. Hajji Da'ud bin Hajji Yusuf bin Hajji Awan Tarat al-Fatani.
> 4. Safiyah, m. Hajji Da'ud bin Hajji Yusuf bin Hajji Awan Tarat al-Fatani (her sister Zaynab's widower).
> 5. Taj al-Din

C3-1. Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Latif

He was a *pondok* teacher.

> Children:
> 1. +Yunus

Generation Four

C1-1-2. Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir bin Muhammad Zayn al-'Abidin al-Fatani

He married twice, first to a woman from Kelantan. He married secondly to Safiyah, known as Mik Muar, from Muar, Johor.

> Children (1st marriage):
> 1. +Muhammad Sulong
> 2. Hajji 'Abd al-Rahim
>
> Children (2nd marriage):
> 3. Zaynab
> 4. Maryam
> 5. 'Abd Allah, married Nafisah binti Isma'il (B1-1-1-4).
> 6. Mahmud Nur
> 7. Khadijah
> 8. Mahmud
> 9. Fatima

C3-1-1. Yunus bin 'Abd al-Rahman

He was a *pondok* teacher.

    Children:
1. +'Abd al-Qadir

Generation Five

C1-1-2-1. Muhammad Sulong bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani

He was known as Hajji Sulong. He was involved with the GEMPAR movement in southern Thailand in the late 1940s and early 1950s which eventually led to his arrest, Zulhijah 13, 1373/August 13, 1954, after which he "disappeared." Local stories tell that the Thai police put him and his eldest living son into barrels and cast them into the sea.

    Children:
1. Mahmud, born in Mecca, died before 1344/1926 (while still young), in Mecca.
2. Ahmad, "disappeared" together with his father, after being arrested by the Thai police, Zulhijah 13, 1373/August 13, 1954.
3. Hajji Muhammad 'Amin, became a politician.
4. Rugayah
5. Zayn al-'Abidin, became a politician in the 1980s and has since held office in other capacities.
6. Azizah
7. Zaynab
8. Zakiah
9. Muhammad Kamil
10. Muhammad Yusuf

C3-1-1-1. 'Abd al-Qadir bin Yunus

He was a prominent *pondok* teacher known as Tok Duku.

    Children:
1. 'Abd al-Hamid, a *pondok* teacher known as Pak De Duku.

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Scott Lower Left 7—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

Center for Research Libraries—Chicago, United States

Matn al-Ajrumiyya, from Kelantan, Malaysia, 19th century [microfilm].

Collection of Cassiem D'arcy—Cape Town, South Africa

CCD4 [A]—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied 1260 [1844].

CCD4 [B]—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

Collection of Hajji Muhammad Lutfie Ibrahim—Cape Town, South Africa

CMLI 8—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

CMLI 10—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied Jamadilawal 128[0] [1863], in Mecca.

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka—Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

33—*Kitab Ilmu Perubatan*, copied by Muhammad Salih bin Ahmad Panjang, Shawwal 1288 [1871/2], in Kelantan.

42—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

54—*Kitāb Mawlid al-Nabī Ṣallā Allāh 'Alayh wa Sallam*, inc.

59—*Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, inc.

106—*Kitab Sabil al-Muhtadin*, copied by Hajji Sulayman, Ramadan 15, 1242 [1827], in Patani.

118—*Salasilah al-Tariqa al-Sammaniyyah*, copied Jamadilakhir 16, 1294 [1877], in Kedah.

131—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, inc., copied by Muhammad Saman bin Ibrahim Kedah.

132—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*

140—*Kitab Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu*, written by Abu Muhammad Adnan Hajji 'Abd Allah, in 1335 [1916], in Kampung Bharu, Pulau Penyengat, Riau.

173—*Syair Siti Zubaidah*, arranged by Ahmad of Kampung Padang, Patani, 1300 [1882], in Kampung Padang, Patani.

Uncat.—*Hikayat Nur Muhammad*, copied Ramadan 1301 [1884], in Cabang Tiga, Patani.

Uncat.—*Surah Yasin Tafsir*, copied by 'Abd Allah bin Hawang Besar Fatani, Monday, Rabiulawal 7, 1314 [1896].

Uncat.—*Syair Hari Kiamat*, copied by Da'ud bin Faisal Fatani, Thursday, 1296 [1878].

Uncat.—*Syair Hari Kiamat*, written by 'Abd Allah bin Hawang, Rabiulawal 12, 1300 [1883].

Uncat.—*Syair Nabi Muhammad*, written Rabiulawal 7, 1311 [1893], in Patani.

Islamic Arts Museum/Muzium Kesenia Islam [MKI]—Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

15—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*

17—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by 'Abd al-Qadir Fatani, Rajab 13, 1311 [1894].

19A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, inc., copied by Hajji 'Abd al-Ghani, Shaaban 6, 1259.

19B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

20—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied by 'Uthman Kelantan bin Salih, Rabiulawal 17, 1270 [1853], in Mecca.

x30—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, inc.

34—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

36—[kitab fiqh], inc.

39—[Kitab tasawwuf]

43—*Mulayyinat al-qulub ila al-tazakkur li 'alam al-ghuyub*, written by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif Kelaba Fatani, Muharam 8, 1341 [1922].

45—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

47—[Kitab tawawwuf], written by 'Abd al-Rahman bin Awang, Saturday, Safar 1295 [1878], in

Kampung Pauh, Patani.

48—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*

x49—[Kitab fiqh dan tawhid], inc., copied by ʿAbd al-Mutallib bin Tuan Faqih ʿAbd Allah Kelantan, 1307 [1889].

49A—*Hikayat Nabi Yusuf*

49B— *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabāʾi*, inc.

49C—*Qunuʾ li-man Tuʾtaf*

49D—*Hidāyat al-Mutaʿallim wa ʿUmdat al-Muʿallim*, inc., copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Samad, Rabiulakhir 1295 [1878], in Mecca.

52—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, inc.

53—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʾminīn*, inc., copied by Lebai Wan Su bin Wan Muhammad.

62—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

65—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, copied by Ismaʿil, in Mecca.

68A—[Fath al-ʿarifin], copied by [ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Samad al-Fatani].

68B—[Kitab taqwim], copied by [ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Samad al-Fatani].

68C—[Kitab fiqh], inc., copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Samad al-Fatani, Thursday, Rabiulawal 1255 [1839], in Mecca.

68D—[Kitab tasawwuf], copied by [ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd al-Samad al-Fatani].

69—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʾminīn*, inc., copied by Lebai Wan Su bin Wan Muhammad, 1232, in Mecca. Resembles MKI 69, one likely being the copy of the other.

x72—*Furūʿ al-Masāʿil wa Uṣūl al-Masāʿil*, inc.

72A—*al-Durus al-Madrasiyya al-Khairiyya fī Kayfiyya al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya Mutarjaman bi Lugha al-Malayuwiyya Falimbaniyya*, copied by ʿIbrahim bin al-Mukarram Hajji Wan Nik bin al-marhum Hajji Muhammad Din, Friday Rabiulawal 7, 1336 [1917], in Kampung Yala, Patani.

72B—[Kitab faraid], copied by [ʿIbrahim bin al-Mukarram Hajji Wan Nik bin al-marhum Hajji Muhammad Din].

73—*Matn Madkhal fī 'Ilm Sarf*, copied 1353 [1954].

74—*Matn Madkhal fī 'Ilm Sarf*, copied Friday, Zulkaedah 25, 1335 [1917].

75A—*al-Yawaqit wa-al-jawahir fī 'uqubat ahl al-kaba'ir*, written by Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Rashid bin 'Abd Allah al-Qadi al-Sumbawi, Zulkaedah 15, 1266 [1850], in Mecca.

75B—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied by Lebai Amano of Kota Bharu, Rabiulakhir 6, 1224 [1809], in [Mecca].

81—[Kayfiyyah Khatām al-Qur'ān], inc.

83A—[Kitab sifat dua puluh], copied by Ahmad of Kampung Haling, Yaring, 1295 [1878], in Kampung Teguh Badang Tengah.

83B—*Do'a Sembahyang*, copied by Ahmad of Kampung Haling, Yaring, in Kampung Teguh Badang Tengah.

84—*Ward al-Zawahīr li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir*, inc.

x85—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb]

88—*Qawa'id al-Islam*, inc.

91—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

93—[Kitab tasawwuf], copied by Muhammad Salih.

95—*Musawwaddah*, inc.

96—*Bidayat al-Hidayah*, copied by Muhammad Yusuf bin Muhammad Husayn Beris, 1331 [1913], in Mecca.

114—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

115—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

117—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

121A—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Awang bin Hajji Mukim Kampung Hulu, Safar 22, 1302 [1884], in Kampung Tengah Bendang, Patani.

121B—[Kitab lalai sembahyang], copied by Awang bin Hajji Mukim Kampung Hulu, Jamadilawal 19, 1302 [1885], in [Kampung Tengah Bendang, Patani.

123—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc., copied Ramadan 8, 1258 [1842].

124—*Risalah al-muta'alliqat bi al-isti'arah*, copied by 'Abd Allah bin Hajji Fatani, in Dala Tepi Sungai, Yaring.

126—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*, copied by Shaykh Muhammad Shihab al-Din anak Shaykh Muhammad Arshad.

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128B—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], copied by [Abu Bakr bin Muhammad Jamal, c. 1300-1 [1882-3].

128C—*Risalah fī bayan hukm al-bay' wa-al-riba*, copied by Abu Bakr bin Muhammad Jamal, Monday Rabiuawal 9, 1301 [1884], in Kampung Pauh Manis, Yaring.

130—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc., copied in Mecca.

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132—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

133—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

134—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

136A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

136B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*

136C—*Jawharat al-Manzumah*, Saturday, Shaaban 1321 [1903].

137B—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

137C—*Kitab Fiqh*, inc.

138A—*Masa'il al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman of Kampung Bangjaruwa, Siam.

138B—*Targhib al-Sibyan fī Hifz 'aqa'id al-Iman*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman of Kampung Bangjaruwa, Siam.

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141—*Fauz al-Kabir*, copied by Zayn al-Din Idris of Kubang Kerian, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.

142—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, inc.

x143—*Sharh al-Tasrif*, copied by Muhammad Sa'id bin Hajji ʿAbd Allah al-Fatani, Monday, Rabiulawal 1272 [1855].

144A—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by [ʿAbd al-Raʿuf bin al-Usuri].

144B—*Hal al-Zill*, copied by ʿAbd al-Ra'uf bin al-ʿUsuri

145A—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, inc.

145B—[Kitab fiqh]

145C—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc.

146—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*

147—*Furūʿ al-Masāʾil wa Uṣūl al-Masāʾil*, inc.

148—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Taʿṣīb*

149A—[Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah], inc., copied by [Hajji Ibrahim bin Ismaʿil].

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151B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Īmām*, copied by Muhammad Saʿid bin ʿAbd Allah al-Fatani, 1276, in Mecca.

151C—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jumʿa*, copied by Muhammad Saʿid bin ʿAbd Allah al-Fatani, Rabiulawal 17, 1277 [1860], in Mecca.

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152B—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copied by [Shaykh Muhammad Shihab al-Din anak Muhammad Arshad], in [Mecca].

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x153—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

154—*Musawwaddah*

156A—*Qawa'id al-Islam*, copied by Muhammad Salih bin 'Abd al-Karim, Jamadilawal 7, 1264 [1848], year of the goat (*kambing*).

156B—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, copied by 'Abd al-Samad bin 'Abd al-Manaf, Jamadilawal 1264 [1848], in Kampung Kelaba.

158—*'Aqidat al-awwam min wajibat fi al-din bil-tamam*, copied by Muhammad Zayn, 1261 [1845], from a book owned by Muhammad Zayn Kelaba.

165—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

x169—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

173—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

174—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

175—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

176—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

177—*al-Mafrah al-khala'iq wa-marbah al-hada'iq*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani, Friday, Ramadan 25, 1340 [1922].

180—*Zahrat al-murid fi bayan kalimat al-tawhid*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif al-Fatani, Tuesday, Jamadilawal 3, 1309 [1891], in Kelaba.

182—*Musawwaddah*

183—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

184A—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

184B—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

185—*Tanbih al-Ghafilin*, copied by Ahmad bin Malim Panjawan, Saturday, Rabiulakhir 3, 1284 [1867].

186A—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

186B—[Kitab hukum puasa], inc.

189A—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabā'i*, inc.

189B—[Kitab tasawwuf]

191A—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

191B—[Kitab rukun sembahyang]

191C—[Kitab pada menyatakan perempuan yang tiada beranak itu adalah atas empat sebab]

193—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

194—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

195—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, inc.

198A—[Kitab ratib al-hadad berserta wiridnya yang kecil]

198B—*al-Fawa'id al-salah wa-al-'awa'id*, copied by 'Abd al-Mutallib bin 'Abd Allah al-Fatani, in Mecca.

202—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

204—*Matn al-Manhaj*, copied Muharram 16, 1288 [1871], in Canak.

205—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

210A—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, inc., copied Muharam 1260 [1844].

210B—[Risalah fasal pada menyatakan memberi nama kanak-kanak]

210C—[Kitab tasawwuf]

x210—*Hadith Muhimmah*

213—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

214A—*Bidayat al-mubtadi wa 'umdat al-awladi*, copied by Anang bin Biqusayni bin Kama al-Din Kampung Sapul Tujuh Ilir, Palembang.

214B—[Kitab agama], copied by [Anang bin Biqusayni bin Kama al-Din Kampung Sapul Tujuh Ilir, Palembang.

214C—*Kayfiyyat Mengambilkan Wirid Tariqat Abi Hasan al-Shadhili*, [copied by Anang bin Biqusaini bin Kamal al-Din of Kampung Sapul Tujuh Ilir, Palembang].

214D—[Kitab tawhid], copied by [Anang bin Biqusaini bin Kamal al-Din of Kampung Sapul Ilir, Palembang].

215A—[Kitab fi hukm nikah]

215B—[Kitab pada menyatakan agama]

215C—[Sya'ir orang takbur]

216—*Risalah al-muta'alliqat bi al-isti'arah*

218A—*Sharh manzumah al-raj'iyah fi 'ilm al-fara'id*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jawi Terengganu, Monday, Rajab 9, 1277 [1861].

218B—*Al-Mukhtasar al-Shafi'i 'ala matn al-kafi*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jawi, Wednesday, Jamadilawal 17, 1278 [1861], in Mecca.

219A—[Fasal menyatakan haqiqat ketuhanan]

219B—[Kitab mar'ifat berdasarkan kitab Masa'il al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi], written by Lebai Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Shukur, son-in-law of Tuan Hajji Mahmud, 1360 [1941], in Kampung Pusing, Yala.

219C—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

219D—[Kitab sifat dua puluh]

219E—[Kitab sifat dua puluh]

220—*Qunu' li-man Tu'taf*, copied by Muhammad Kada bin Isma'il of Kampung Dala, Yaring, in Bendang Daya.

221A—*Bab al-jimak*

221B—[Kitab fasal menyatakan perintah orang beristeri yang sempurna lagi mengikut kelakuan rasulullah s.a.w.]

221C—[Kitab memberi nama anak baru lahir mengikut 'ulama]

224—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

226—[Kitab kifayah]

x227—*Kayfiyyah Khatām al-Qur'ān*, inc.

x231—*Wird al-juyub fi al-salat 'ala al-habib*, written by Salaam bin Wan Nik, 1257 [1841].

237—*Luqtat al-'ajlan fi bayan al-hayd wa al-istihadah wa al-nifas al-niswan*, copied by Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Ma'ali Fatani, Jamadilawal 13, 1263 [1847], in Kampung Zaqaqal-Hajar, Mecca.

238—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc., copied Shawwal 1243 [1828].

241—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

242—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, inc.

246— *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

247—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

256—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*

258—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Ahkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

260—*Jawharat al-Tawhid*, inc.

262—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc.

264A—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

264B—[Kitab tajwid]

264C—*Kashf al-Kiram*

264D—[Kitab tajwid]

272—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

277A—*Hidayat al-salikin*, inc., copied by Yusuf bin 'Ibrahim Tarkanu, Jamadilawal 6, 1289 [1874].

277B—[Kitab fiqh], inc., copied by [Yusuf bin 'Ibrahim Tarkanu].

279—*Qawa'id al-Islam*, inc.

287—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

289—[Kitab fidyah puasa dan sembahyang], copied by Tuan Hajji Wan Bahar Fatani, Sunday, Jamadilawal 6, 1307 [1889].

290—*Tajwid mafatih huruf al-quran*

295—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*

299A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

299B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, inc., copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf al-Jawi Tarkanu, Jamadilakhir 1261, in Temangan.

302—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc., copied in Patani.

303A—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, copied Jamadilawal 1280.

303B—[Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām], copied in Pulau Kampung Tamperak, Canak.

303C—[Risalah Kelebihan Basmalah]

303D—[Risalah Kelebihan Hamdalah]

306— *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc., copied by Muhammad Salih bin Jaib, Rajab 3, 1299 [1882].

307—*Matn Madkhal fī 'Ilm Sarf*

x314—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*

318—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*, inc.

324—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

325—*Dammun al-Madkhal*, written by Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa al-Fatani, in [Mecca].

327—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

328—*Iḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

329—*Musawwaddah*

330—*Bidayat al-mubtadi wa 'umdat al-awladi*, inc.

335—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a], inc.

338— *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman bin Muhammad Salih Fatani.

341—*Matn Madkhal fī ʿIlm Sarf*

343—*Sharh al-ʿAwamil*, translated by ʿAbd Allah bin Hajji Saʾid bin Wan Jalali, Friday, Rabiulawal 1286 [1869], in Kelaba.

346—[Kitab tawhid]

348—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

350—[Jamʿ al-Fawāʿid wa Jawāhir al-Qalāʿid], inc.

351—*Jamʿ al-Fawāʿid wa Jawāhir al-Qalāʿid*, inc., copied by Muhammad Yusuf bin ʿAbd Allah bin al-marhum Muhammad Salih Darul Paloh Kota Bharu, Rajab 26, 1281 [1864], in Mecca.

354—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

356A—*Kitab Fiqh*, inc., copied by [Ahmad ʿAbd al-Karim Kelantan].

356B—[Kitab hukum berjualbeli], inc., copied by [Ahmad ʿAbd al-Karim Kelantan].

356C—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied by Ahmad ʿAbd al-Karim Kelantan, Muharam 24, 1274 [1857].

357—*Matn Madkhal fī ʿIlm Sarf*

358—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

359A—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-ʿAqāʿid al-Saniyya*, inc., copied by Hajji Muhammad Yusuf bin ʿAbd Allah bin al-marhum Muhammad Salih, Muharram 1283 [1866], in Mecca.

359B—[kitab zakat], inc.

359C—[kitab Muqaranah Takbirat al-Ihram], inc.

363—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

365—[Hadith]

371—[Kitab bahasa], written by ʿAbd al-Hadi Fatani bin Muhammad Asam Fatani, Zulhijah 17, 1259 [1844], in Mecca.

372—[Kitab bahasa], inc.

373—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

374—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, inc., copied Rabiulawal 28, 1261 [1845].

375—[Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah], inc., copied Jamadilawal 1274 [1857/8], in Mecca.

377—[Kitab sejarah dan fiqh], copied by Ahmad bin Abu Bakr, 1309 [1891], in Kampung Kelaba.

x382A—[Kitab tajwid], written or copied 1296 [1878].

x382B—*Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, inc.

386—*Bab Hajji*, translated from a book owned by Hajji Awam Pauh, Kampung Kelaba.

387—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

388— *Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabā'i*

390—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

391—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Muhammad Salih, Rabiulakhir 12, 1269 [1853], in Mecca.

392A—[Risalah yang Sampan pada menyatakan Ta'liq Qudrat dan Iradat dan Sama' dan Basar dan Ilm dan Kalam]

392B—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

393—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc., copied Muharram 19, 1297 [1880].

394—*Musawwaddah*, inc.

395A—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

395B—[Kitab zindiq dan mulhiq], copied 1287 [1870].

395C—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

395D—[Kitab member nama menurut hari kelahiran]

396A—*Risalah al-muta'alliqat bi al-isti'arah*, copied 1315 [1897], in Mecca.

399—*Zahrat al-murid 'aqa'id al-tawhid*, copied by Hajji 'Abd Allah bin Muhammad Saman of

Kampung Paklat, Bangkok, Zulkaedah 8, 1315 [1898].

400—*al-Irshad al-Shafi 'ala Matn al-Kafi fi Ilm al-'urudh al-Qawafi*, written by Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani.

405—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

x406—*Ward al-Zawahīr li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir*

x407—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied by Muhammad Salib, Safar 10, 1275.

410—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

414—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfi*, inc.

416—*Tajwid mafatih huruf al-quran*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman Gudang Fatani.

420—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fi Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

422—*Tanbih al-Ghafilin*, copied 1319 [1901].

424—*Tanbih al-Ghafilin*

425—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

427—[Kitab tawhid]

429A—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

429B—[Kitab bahasa], inc.

430—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

432—[Kitab agama], inc.

441—*Shawahid qatr al-nada*

x442—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

443—[Tahdhib al-iman wa targhib al-ahibbah wa al-ikhwan], written by Da'ud bin Isma'il Fatani.

446—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn], inc.

448—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc.

449—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

x460—*Peri Kejadian Nur Muhammad*

460—[Kitab do'a], copied by Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Wahid, inc.

463—[Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah], inc.

464—*Matn al-Fataniyya*, copied Muharram 23, 1345 [1926].

465—*Masa'il al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by Wan Ngah and Wan Bersamah, in Kampung Kulai.

467—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

468—*Bidayat al-mubtadi wa 'umdat al-awladi*, inc., copied by Muhammad Salih bin Jayb, Wednesday Zulhijah 17, 1298 [1881].

469—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

475—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc., copied Zulhijah 19, 1252 [1837], in [Mecca].

476—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

x477—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

x478—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*

481—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

482A—*Kifayat al-Tilawah*

482B—*Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, inc.

487B—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*

503—[Kitab agama], inc.

504—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

507—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

512—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

513—*Qunu' li-man Tu'taf*, copied 1296 [1878], in "rumah Patani" [Patani house], Mecca.

517—*Luqtat al-'ajlan fi ma Tamassu ilayhi Hajat al-insan*, written by Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani.

524—[Kitab do'a], inc., written by 'Abd Allah bin Muhammad Salih al-Jawi al-Fatani.

539—*Kayfiyyah Khatām al-Qur'ān*, inc.

560—[Kayfiyyah Khatām al-Qur'ān], inc.

563—[Kitab fiqh], inc.

582A—[Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc., copied by Muhammad Salih bin al-marhum Wan Abu Samah of Patani, 1264 [1847], in Mecca,

582B—[Kitab ibarat yang bergantung beberapa perkataan atas malam nisfu daripada bulan Shaaban yang Mubarak], copied by Muhammad Salih Fatani, Jamadilawal [1264; 1847], in Mecca.

582C—[Kitab fidyah sembahyang atas mazhab hanafi], copied by [Muhammad Salih bin Wan Abu Samah Fatani].

583—[Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

584—[Munyat al-Musallī], inc.

585—[Munyat al-Musallī], inc.

586—[Īdāh al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāh bi-l-Sawāb], inc., copied by Muhammad Saman Fatani.

587—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'sīb*, inc.

588—[Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc., copied by Muhammad Salih bin 'Abd al-Samad.

x589—*Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, copied by Mustafa Hajji Muhammad Hassan bin Tuan 'Abd al-Rahman Gandani.

x591A—[Kashf al-Ghummah fī Ahwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah], inc.

x591B—*Fath al-Mannān li-Safwat al-Zubad*, inc.

592—[Kitab fiqh], inc., written by Shaykh 'Abd Allah bin Tuan Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahim Fatani.

594—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Tarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

595—[Matn Madkhal fi 'Ilm Sarf]

597—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc., copied by Abu Bakr Fatani.

598—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

603—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc., copied Shaaban 19, 1330 [1912].

608—*Tanbih al-Ghafilin*

612—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied 1286, in Canak.

613—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

615A—*Kitab Majmu'*, inc.

615B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, inc.

622A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

622C—[Kitab tajwid]

622B—[Kitab tawhid]

622D—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

622E—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, inc.

622F—*Zahrat al-murid fi bayan kalimat al-tawhid*

623A—[Kitab tawhid], copied by [Muhammad Jama[l] Kalantani of Kampung Laut, in Kelantan].

623B—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*, inc., copied by Muhammad Jama[l] Kelantan of [Kampung Laut, Kelantan, in Kampung Melawi].

629B—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

630—*Bidayat al-mubtadi fi fadilat al-mahdi*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif bin 'Abd al-Mu'min, in Kelaba Beris, Patani.

632A—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

632B—[Kitab salawat]

637—*Jam' al-risalat fi Daqa'iq al-Jawabat wa al-Su'alat*

x640—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*, inc., copied by Ahmad bin Abu Bakr, Safar 15, 1282 [1865], in Kampung Pusing, Yala.

646A—*Matn Madkhal fi 'Ilm Sarf*

646B—[Kitab agama]

649A—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fi Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*

x649—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

x650—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fi Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

651—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fi al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

x660—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*, inc.

661A—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

662—*Risalat al-Saghir*, written by 'Abd al-Mutallib bin Tuan Faqih 'Abd Allah Kalantani, 1301 [1883], in Mecca.

667——*Matn Umm al-Barahin*, copied by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fatani.

668—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fi Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, inc.

669—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

670A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

670B—*Qunu' li-man Tu'taf*

674—[Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

675—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fi Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif bin al-Mu'min bin 'Abd al-Samad Kelaba, Jamadilawal 1294 [1877], in Patani.

677—*Matn al-Fiyya*, written by Muhammad Yusuf bin Hajji 'Abd al-Rahim Jambu, Tuesday, Rajab 9, 1343 [1925], in Keresik, Yaring, Patani.

680—*Matn Ajurrumiyya*, copied 1346 [1927].

x681(1)—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jumʿa], inc., copied 1260 [1844].

682—[Kitab tasawwuf], copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman bin Daʾud al-Fatani, Rajab 29, 1336 [1918].

683B—*Masaʾil al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by Shaykh ʿAbd Allah bin Nik Mat Daʾud Muhammad bin Ismaʾil Daudy.

687—*Luqtat al-ʿajlan fi bayan al-hayd wa al-istihadah wa al-nifas al-niswan*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin ʿAbd al-Latif bin ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, Thursday evening, year "Dal", 1302 [1884], in Kampung Beris, Kelaba.

688—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

694—*Rawd al-jawahir fi bayan khawas al-jawahir*, written by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qadir bin ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Fatani.

696—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj], inc.

697—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc., copied by Muhammad Salih bin Muhammad Amin, 1315 [1897].

700—*Tibyan al-maʾrifah fi tahqiq martabat al-uluhiyah wa al-kananiyah*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin ʿAbd al-Latif, Friday, Jamadilakhir 8, 1309 [1892], in [Kampung] Beris, Patani.

709—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, inc.

718—[Musawwaddah], inc.

721B—[Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām], inc., copied by ʿAbd al-Malik bin Abu Samah Fatani, 1276, in Mecca.

724A—*Bidayat al-Hidayah*

724B—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

724C—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf al-Jawi Tarkanu, Jamadilakhir 5, 1261, in Temangan. Resembles MKI 299B above, one likely being a copy of the other.

724D—[Syair Raja]

x725—*Dar al-hasan*

727—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

729—[Kitab tasawwuf], written by 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani.

730—*Qatr al-Nada*, copied by Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani, 1317 [1899].

x731—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

732—*Matn Madkhal fi 'Ilm Sarf*

x733A—[Kitab tawhid], written by 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani

734B—*Manzumah al-Shabrawi al-Shafi'i*, copied Shaykh Ismail bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani.

734C—*Abniyat al-asma' wa al-af'al*, copied by [Shaykh Ismail bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani].

735—*Matn Madkhal fi 'Ilm Sarf*

736—*Mutammimah li Masa'il al-Ajrumiyyah*, copied by Isma'il bin Wan 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani, Friday, Zulkaedah 21 1314 [1897], probably in Patani.

738—[Kitab tajwid], written by Ismail bin 'Abd al-Qadir vin Mustafa al-Fatani.

x739—*Matn Maqsud*, copied by Shaykh Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani.

742—[Kitab 'ilm tawhid]

743—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

746—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fi al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

747—*Qawa'id al-Islam*

764—*Matn Ajurrumiyya*

767—*Sabil al-muhtadin lil-Tafaqquh fi Amr al-Din*, copied Jamadilawal 16, 1235 [1820], in Kampung Pauh Manis, Yaring.

769—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

775—*Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, inc.

776—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

779—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fi 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

791—*Hidayat al-Sa'il fi Bayan Musa'il*

794—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, inc.

KASZA—????

MSP 3—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, copied by Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Uthman Fatani, 1273 [1856], in Mecca.

MSP 6—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*

MSP 11—*Sirat al-Mustaqim*, copied by Lebai 'Uthman bin Baharum Canak.

Library of Congress—Washington, DC, United States

History of Patani: A Kingdom on the East Coast of the Peninsula of Malacca, near the Siam Boundary [*Hikayat Patani*]. Singapore: Copied by Abdullah ben Abdulkadir, 1839.

Muzium Negeri Kelantan—Kota Bharu, Malaysia

136:86—[Kitab mawlid], copied by 'Abd al-Latif bin Hajji 'Abd al-Rahman Condong, in Patani.

Muzium Negeri Terengganu—Kuala Terengganu, Malaysia

83.173—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharh al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Ahkām al-Fiqh al-Mardiyyah wa Tarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*, copied by Muhammad Yusuf, 1298 [1880].

84.2—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Usūl al-Masā'il*

84.244—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Tarīqat al-Muhtadi*, Jamadilakhir 26, 1267 [1851].

84.260—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Usūl al-Masā'il*

86.47—*Īdāh al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāh bi-l-Sawāb*, copied by Hajji Muhammad Arshad of Melaka, Zulkaedah 26, 1264 [1848].

D44—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Ihrām*

D53—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Usūl al-Masā'il]

D80—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, copied Shawwal 14, 1257 [1841], in Mecca.

D89—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Tarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc.

D105—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'sīb*

Muzium Sastera Melaka—Melaka, Malaysia

MSM 6—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʾid al-Muʾminīn*

MSM 8—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʾ wa al-Miʿrāj*

National Museum of Indonesia/Museum Nasional Indonesia [MNI]—Jakarta, Indonesia

Cat. ML 224 [VI 117]—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʾid al-Muʾminīn*

Cat. ML 773 [VI 38]—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

Cat. ML 775 [XI 53]—*Minhāj al-ʿĀbidīn*, inc.

Cat. ML 779 [VI 60]—*Furūʿ al-Masāʾil wa Uṣūl al-Masāʾil*

Cat. ML 793 [VI 118]—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʾid al-Muʾminīn*

Uncat.—*Ghayat al-Tullab al-Muriduna Maʿrifat al-Ahkam bi-al-Sawab*

Uncat.—*Jamʿ al-Fawāʾid wa Jawāhir al-Qalāʾid*, copied 1303 [1885].

Uncat.—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-ʿAqāʾid al-Saniyya*

National Library of Malaysia/Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia [PNM]—Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

4—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*

5—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Muʾminīn*, copied by Hajji Muhammad bin ʿAbd Allah, Zulhijah 11, 1292 [1875], in Kampung Pernu, Melaka.

9—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabāʾi*, inc.

10—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

11—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

14—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc., copied Jamadilawal 23, 1293 [1876].

21A—*Fatḥ al-Mannān li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad*, copied by ʿAbd al-Shukor bin ʿAbd al-Qadir bin ʿAbd al-Samad al-Jawi al-Samarani, Jamadilakhir 3, 1264, in Mecca.

21B—*Mudhākharah al-Ikhwān*, copied by ʿAbd al-Shukor bin ʿAbd al-Qadir, Jamadilakhir 8, 1264 [1848], in [Mecca].

24—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

27—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Hajji Ahmad bin Hajji
    Muhammad, Safar 1291 [1874], in Kampung Serkam, Melaka.

35—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

64—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, copied by Ahmad Jawi Kedah, Shaaban 14,
    1247.

108—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

111—[Kitab sembahyang], translated by Zayn al-'Abidin Fatani.

112—*Tahqiq al-kalam fi bayan ibtida' al-siyam*, written by Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidin Fatani.

113—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

115—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabā'i*, inc.

116—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc.

123—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied Shaaban 1299 [1882], in Mecca.

124—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*

127—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah
    wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*

129—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

130—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*, copied by Shaykh Muhammad
    Shihab al-Din bin Shaykh Muhammad Arshad, Zulhijah 1258 [1843].

147A—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied 1292 [1875].

147B—*Tibyan al-ma'rifah fī tahqiq martabat al-uluhiyah wa al-kananiyah*, copied Tuesday,
    Jamadilakhir 1, 1295 [1878], in Mecca.

152—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah
    wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*, copied by Ibrahim Fatani, Rajab 1, 1277, in
    Mecca.

153—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc., copied by Ibrahim, Shawwal 11 1278.

154—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*

156—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*

157—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

158—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

161—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by ʿAbd al-Malik Tarkanu, 1239 [1823], in Medina.

164—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, inc.

167—*Tahqiq al-kalam fī bayan ibtida' al-siyam*, copied by ʿAbd al-Majid bin Ibrahim Johol, 1309 [1891], near Kampung Muluh Ali, Mecca.

172—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*

173—*Kitab Tajwid*, written by Muhammad Salih bin Zayn al-ʿAbidin bin Muhammad Fatani, Rabiulakhir 1336 [1918].

174—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

176—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj], inc.

177—[Kitab tajwid], copied by Hajji Muhammad Rashid bin ʿAbd al-Latif Fatani of Kampung Tandang.

178—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

179—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jumʿa]

181—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by ʿAbd al-Qadir bin Hajji Mustafa al-Fatani, 1296 [1878].

185—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

187—*Kitāb Ṣifat Dua Puluh*

188A—*Tibyan al-maʾrifah fī tahqiq martabat al-uluhiyah wa al-kananiyah*

188B—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc., copied Rabiulakhir 1289 [1872].

195—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

196—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

199—[Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabā'i], inc.

202—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn], inc.

203—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc.

205—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

207A—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc., copied by Hajji 'Abd al-Ra'uf bin Hajji Wan Husayn, Shawwal 3, 1295 [1878], in Mecca.

207B—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc., copied by [Haji 'Abd al-Ra'uf bin Hajji Wan Husayn], in [Mecca].

208—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

209A—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn], inc.

209B—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

211—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied 1290 [1873], in Mecca.

212—[Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb], inc.

215—*Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, copied by Arshad bin 'Abd Allah al-Jawi Terengganu, 1257 [1841], in Mecca.

220—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Wan Ngah, 1313 [1895], in Kampung Pauh Baka, Yaring.

221A—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabā'i*, copied in [Mecca].

221B—*Qunu' li-man Tu'taf*, copied Tuesday, Shaaban 1296 [1879], in Mecca.

224—*Fidayat Sembahyang dan Puasa Atas Mazhab Hanafi*

226—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

227—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

228—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, copied by Muhammad 'Arif bin Angah.

229—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'uf bin Hajji Wan Husayn Yaring, Safar 2, 1297 [1880], in Mecca.

230—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*

231—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied Ramadan 1296 [1879], in Mecca.

232—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Samad, 1295 [1878], in Mecca.

236—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied Zulhijah 5, 1258 [1843].

240—*Hidayat al-Salikin fī Suluk Maslak al-Muttaqin*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd Allah Fatani, in Dusun Panjang.

241—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

249—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

253—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

255—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

257—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Muhammad Lah bin 'Abd al-Samad, in Mecca.

262—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

263A—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

265—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

270—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc., copied by Muhammad Nur bin Tuan Hajji Muhammad Salih., Zulkaedah 25, 1280, in Mecca.

274A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, copied by

Muhammad Saʿid bin ʿAbd Allah Fatani. Resembles MKI 151B above, one likely being a copy of the other.

274B—*Masaʾil al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by Muhammad Saʾid bin ʿAbd Allah Fatani.

275—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

276—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, inc.

277—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

278—[Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb], inc.

294—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

296—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

298—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

299—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

303—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

304—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

306—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-ʿAqāʾid al-Saniyya*, copied by ʿAbd al-Malik bin Muhammad Amin Fatani, 1258 [1842], in Mecca.

308—*Kifayat al-ʿAwwam*, copied Monday, Jamadilawal 1300 [1883].

310—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

316—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

319—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*, copied by ʿAbd al-Rahim.

323—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied 1281 [1864].

332—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, inc.

347—*Al-Jawahir al-Yawaqit*, copied by Muhammad bin Tok Lebai Buyung of Kampung Hupat, Songkhla [Siam].

455—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Muʿminīn*, inc.

456—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc., copied by Muhammad bin Encik Putih, Ramadan 20, 1267 [1851], in Patani.

458A—[Kitab tasawwuf], copied by [Muhammad Salih bin Wan Su Fatani]

458B—[Kitab tawhid], copied by Muhammad Salih bin Wan Su Fatani, Wednesday, Zulhijah 5, 1323 [1906].

460—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*

462—*Kitab Tajwid*, copied by ʿAbd al-Qadir bin ʿAbd al-Rahman Fatani, Muharam 16, 1296 [1879].

470—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Ibrahim bin Hassan Fatani, Zulhijah 21, 1260 [1844], in Mecca.

472A—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

472B—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*

473—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj], inc., copied by Ibrahim, 1289 [1872].

484—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*, copied by Wan ʿAbd al-Rahman bin Wan ʿAbd al-Ghafur Fatani, Rabiulakhir 5, 1291 [1874], in Mecca.

485—*Hidāyat al-Mutaʿallim wa ʿUmdat al-Muʿallim*

490—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʿminīn*, copied by Onn bin Muhammad, in Dusun Panjang Asmin.

494—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied by Muhammad Zayn bin Saibi Billah al-Fatani.

496—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

504A—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-ʾIḥrām*, copied by Ahmad bin ʿAbd Allah bin Zulhijah Raman, 1300.

504B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām*, copied by Ahmad bin ʿAbd Allah bin Zulhijah Raman, 1300.

506—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Muʿminīn*, copied by Ahmad [Zayn al-Din] bin al-marhum Ahmad Raman, Rabiulakhir 8, 1299 [1882], in Kampung Bendang Badang, Patani.

511—[Kitab tawhid], copied by Ahmad Zayn al-Din bin Ahmad Raman, in Kampung Bendang Badang, Patani.

512—*Kashf al-Ghaʾibiyya fī Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyamah*

514—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*, inc.

515(2)—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*

516—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabāʾi*

517—*Kifayah*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin ʿAbd al-Latif bin ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, Zulkaedah 13, 1297 [1880], in Kampung Beris, Kelaba.

519—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*

520—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

521—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

522—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, copied Rabiulakhir 8, 1242 [1826].

523—*Kitāb Ṣifat Dua Puluh*

524—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Ahmad bin ʿAbd al-Karim Kelantan, in Patani.

529—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*

530—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Dawud bin Muhammad Kelantan, Rabiulakhir 22, 1281 [1864], in Mecca.

531—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

533—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*

534—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Muhammad Hassan bin ʿAbd al-Rahman Handang.

537—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, copied by Muhammad Amin bin Encik Ahmad Fatani, in Mecca.

539—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

540—*Masa'il al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by 'Abd al-Wahhab of Siam, 1281 [1864], in Kampung Gelam, Singapore.

546—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

547A—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by Encik 'Abd al-Karim bin Encik 'Abd Allah Fatani, Rabiulawal 8, 1269 [1853], in Mecca.

547B—[Kitab tasawwuf], copied by Encik 'Abd al-Karim bin Encik 'Abd Allah Fatani, Friday, Rajab 20, 1269 [1853], in Mecca.

548—*Awal al-din ma'rifah Allah*, copied by Hajji Sibawaeh bin Muhammad Zayn, Monday Safar 8, 1324 [1906], in Kok Kandok, Sai [Patani].

553—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, inc., copied by Hajji Muhammad Awang bin Wan Kelantan, 1271, in Mecca.

557A—*Jala' al-Qulub bi Zikri 'iLah*

557B—[Khasiat segala batu permata]

558(1)—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

558(3) —*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

568—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

569—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

571—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

574A—*'Umdat al-murid fī 'aqa'id al-tawhid*, copied by [Lebai Muhammad Yusuf].

574B—[Faedah Ilmu Tawhid], copied by [Lebai Muhammad Yusuf].

574C—[Azimat dan doa], copied by Lebai Muhammad Yusuf.

574D—[Sakarat al-mawt], copied by Lebai Muhammad Yusuf.

577(1)—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

577(2)—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

579—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

589—*Waṣāyā al-Abrār wa Mawā'iẓ al-Akhyār*

590—[Kitab jimak], copied by 'Abd Allah of Kelantan.

591—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

593—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*, inc., copied by 'Abd al-Malik bin Muhammad Amin Fatani, 1259 [1843], in [Mecca].

595—[Hadith Empat Puluh], copied by Lebai Din of Yala.

599—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

600—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

601A—*Bidayat al-mubtadi wa 'umdat al-awladi*, copied by Muhammad Yaakub bin al-marhum Encik Lebai Muhammad Safar of Pulau Pinang, Friday, Muharram 8, 1302 [1884], in Kampung Pusing, Yala.

601B—[Kitab taharah], copied by Muhammad Yaakub bin Encik Lebai Muhammad Safar of Pulau Pinang.

601C—*Asrar al-qulub*, copied by Muhammad Yaakub bin Encik Lebai Muhammad Safar of Pulau Pinang.

603—[Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn], inc.

606—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

608—*Safinat al-naja fī 'ilmi al-fiqhi*, copied in Kampung Teluk Lur, Yala.

615—[Khutbah hari raya aidil adha dan aidil fitri], copied by Muhammad Da'ud bin Mahmud, 1355 [1936], in Kampung Seputar, Raman.

619—[Jawapan Persoalan Hukum Islam di Terengganu]

620—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

621—[Kitab faraid], written by Ismail, in Bendang Daya.

622—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by Wan 'Abd al-Rahman bin Wan

'Abd al-Ghafur Fatani, in Mecca.

625(1)—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

625(3)—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

625(4)—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

626(1)A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

626(1)B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Īmām*, inc.

627A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Īmām*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin Ismail.

627B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, copied by Hajji Muhammad Diah.

627C—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a]

629(1)—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*

629(2)—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc.

631—[Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id]

635(1)—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

635(2)—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc., dated Zulkaedah 6, 1296.

637(1)A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc., copied by Hajji Muhammad Mina bin Encik Ahmad Fatani, Rajab 16, 1309 [1892], in Mecca.

637(1)B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Īmām*, inc., copied by Haji Muhammad Mina bin Encik Ahmad Fatani.

639—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

643—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

647—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Abu Bakr bin 'Uthman, Zulhijah 6, 1302 [1885].

648A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, inc., dated Ramadan 22, 1259, in Mecca.

648B—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*

649A—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by Muhammad Rashid bin al-marhum Tuan Khatib Sulayman Jaibi, in Mecca.

649B—*Tibyan al-ma'rifah fī tahqiq martabat al-uluhiyah wa al-kananiyah*, copied by ['Abd al-Majid bin 'Abd al-Qadir Fatani].

652—*Farā'id Fawā'id al-Fikrī fī al-Imām al-Mahdī*, inc., copied by 'Abd al-Majid bin 'Abd al-Qadir Fatani in Kampung Seridik Salmah.

653—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

654—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

656—[Kitab hikam Melayu], inc.

663—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

664—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

666A—[Syair Saudagar Yahya]

666B—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, inc.

667—*Kitāb Ṣifat Dua Puluh*

669—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, copied 1283.

671—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

672—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

675—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

684—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc., copied by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Rahman, in Kampung Lubang Baqa, Yaring.

693—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Mubin, in Patani.

694—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copied Rabiulawal 17, 1269 [1852].

696—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Hajji 'Abd al-Samad bin Hajji 'Abd al-Rahim, Ramadan 17, 1263 [1847], in Mecca.

697—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

698—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, copied in Mecca.

709—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

711—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

712—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc.

713(1)—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

717—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Tuan Lebai 'Abd al-Qadir, Shaaban 16, 1258 [1842].

718—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*

720—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copied Rajab 1, 1289 [1872].

721—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

722—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, inc.

723—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, copied 1274, in Mecca.

724—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

725—[Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id], inc.

726A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, copied by Muhammad Man Kampung Redang Setar.

726B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, copied by Muhammad Man Kampung Redang Setar, in Yala.

728(1)—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*, inc.

728(2)A—[Faedah malam nisfu Syaaban]

728(2)B—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*

730(1)—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

730(2)—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

732—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*, copied by Muhammad Man Jaran bin Jamir, in Yala.

734A—*Tahqiq al-kalam fi bayan ibtida' al-siyam*

734B—[Amalan pada hari asyura], copied by Shaykh Zayn al-ʿAbidin Fatani.

740—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

748—*Kanz al-Mannān ʿala Ḥikam Abī Madyan*, copied by Hajji Muhammad Lad anak Kassim Fatani.

750—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabāʾi*, inc.

764—[Nazam nur la nama], copied by "anak Patani" [child of Patani], Wednesday, Shaaban 15, 1287 [1870].

767—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

768—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Hajji Abu Bakr bin Hajji Muhammad Amin, Jamadilakhir 14, 1298 [1881].

779—*ʿAqidat al-furqah al-najiyyah*

781(1)—*Khalaq al-Samawati wa al-Ard*, copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman, in Kelantan.

782—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*, copied by Hajji ʿAbd al-Samad bin Hajji ʿAbd al-Salaam, Tuesday, Shaaban 15, 1289 [1872], in Kelantan.

797—*Kitab Faraʾid*, inc.

803A—*Luqtat al-ʿajlan fi bayan al-hayd wa al-istihadah wa al-nifas al-niswan*, copied 1282 [1865].

803B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-ʾIḥrām*, copied 1282.

815—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Hajji Dawud, Jamadilawal 1, 1277 [1860], in Singapore [?].

816A—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd Allah, in Kampung Temperak, Canak.

816B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd Allah, in Kampung Temperak, Canak.

816C—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd Allah, in Kampung Temperak, Canak.

820—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, copied 1299 [1881].

826—[Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id], inc.

827(1)—[Kitab hikam Melayu], inc.

827(2)—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc., copied by Hajji Muhammad Salih bin al-marhum Manap al-Fatani, in Mecca.

827(3)—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

833—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*

834—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*

835—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by 'Abd al-Qadid bin 'Abd al-Maqnu, in Kampung Baqid.

836(1)—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*

836(3)—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

837(2)—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*

837(3)—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

886—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

892—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

896—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*

899—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

901—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah

wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

902—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

904—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

907(2)—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*, inc.

911—*Irshad al-'Ibad ila Sabil al-Rashad*

915—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

917—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

918—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

919—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn], inc.

921—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

928—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, copied by Muhammad Salih bin Zayn al-'Abidin, of Kuala Bangkat, Patani, Shawwal 8, 1297 [1880].

929A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, copied by Muhammad Salih, Muharam 30, 1297.

929B—[Wasiat nabi], copied Wednesday, 1300 [1882].

929C—*Fasal pada menyatakan mengenal diri*, copied 1301 [1883].

1049—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copied Zulkaedah 3, 1262 [1846].

1071—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, inc.

1088—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc., copied by Wan 'Abd al-Malik Fatani, in Cha'aq [?], Yaring.

1089—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

1090A—[Wirid Tariqa Ahmadiyya], written by Hajji Muhammad Kalantani.

1090B—*Salasilah Tariqa Ahmadiyya*, written by Hajji Muhammad Kalantani.

1096—[Khutbah hari raya aidil fitri], written by Shaykh Ismail bin 'Abd al-Qadir Patani.

1109A—[Kitab tajwid], written by Hajji Kahar Balap Fatani, in Kampung Bendang Badang.

1109B—*Masa'il al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by [Hajji Kahar Balap Fatani].

1111—[Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i], inc.

1113A—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*

1113B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, inc.

1129—*Matn Ajurrumiyya*, copied by Hashim bin Hajji Musa bin 'Abd al-Majid, a Mandailing, Muharam 1, 1314 [1896], in [Kampung Bendang Jum, Patani].

1130—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

1133—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

1136—*Ward al-Zawahīr li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir*, inc., copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir, Shawwal 13, 1262 [1846], in Yala.

1138—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

1141A—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc., copied by Isma'il bin Husayn, in Patani.

1141B—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a], inc., copied by [Isma'il bin Husayn], in [Patani].

1142—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied by Muhammad Adin, Rabiulawal 1301 [1884], in Kampung Bendang Daya, Patani.

1144—*Kifayat al-'Awwam*

1146—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*

1147—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Muhammad Saman Fatani, Zulhijah 9, 1289 [1873], in Mecca.

1152—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc., copied by Muhammad Yaakub bin al-marhum Lebai Muhammad Safar of Pulau Pinang, in Kampung Pusing, Yala.

1153—[Kitab tawhid], written by Ahmad bin Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Karim, in Sungai Yala, Patani.

1158—[Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i], inc.

1159—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc.

1160—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn*, inc., copied by Muhammad Nur

bin Hajji 'Abd al-Ghafur, Zulkaedah 2, 1267 [1851].

1166—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

1168—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

1170—[Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb], inc.

1197—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

1201—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

1202—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*, copied Rabiulakhir 2, 1259 [1843], in Mecca.

1204—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

1205—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc., copied by Hajji Muhammad Saman Fatani, Rajab 1, 1280 [1863], in Mecca.

1206—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, inc.

1209(2)—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

1211(1)—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

1211(3)—[Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i], inc.

1211(4)—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*

1212—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

1214—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

1218(1)—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*, inc.

1218(2)—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

1221—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

1222—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a*

1226—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*, copied by Muhammad Yusuf Kedah bin Tuan Hajji Isma'il, Muharram 6, 1277 [1860].

1236—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʿminīn], inc.

1238—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*, inc.

1239—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied by Hajji Kamʿu bin Sulayman Kelantan, in Mecca.

1240—*Kanz al-Mannān ʿala Ḥikam Abī Madyan*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin ʿAbd al-Qadir, Shawwal 1, 1291 [1874], in Kampung Pusing, Yala.

1248—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabāʾi*, inc.

1250—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

1255—[Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

1256—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied in Mecca.

1258—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

1261—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

1264A—[Furūʿ al-Masāʿil wa Uṣūl al-Masāʿil], inc.

1264B—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʿminīn*, inc.

1271—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

1272—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

1282—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*

1283—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

1290—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām*, inc.

1291—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

1292—[Kitab tib], copied by Hajji Mahmud al-Jawi of Terengganu, Rabiulawal 6, 1235 [1819], year "B", near Sungai Tok Gali, Patani.

1294—*Khutbah hari raya aidil fitri*, written by Tuan Qadi Muhammad Sa'ut, Saturday, Zulhijah 10, 1333 [1915], in Kampung Kelaba Besar.

1295—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

1296—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

1297—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn],inc.

1299—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

1326(1)—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

1326(2)—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc., copied Rajab 15, 1297, in Mecca.

1330—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

1333—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*

1335—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

1345—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Shams al-Din.

1362—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

1368A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, inc., copied by 'Isa bin Muhammad Saman.

1368B—[Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām]

1368C—[Sharh al-ikhwan]

1368D—[Fadilat istighfar]

1368E—[Kitab sembahyang]

1369(1)—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

1383—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

1386—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, inc.

1392—*Musawwaddah*, inc.

1414—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

1431—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

1435—[Kitab tawhid], copied by Muhammad Yasin bin Muhammad Sa'id, Saturday Zulkaedah 25, 1321 [1904], in Bukit Pinang, Kedah.

1439—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir, Safar 15, 1270 [1853], in Kampung Pusing, Yala.

1449—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, inc.

1462—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

1470—[Takbir mimpi, kitab tib], written by 'Abd al-Rahman Fatani, Tuesday, Rabiulawal 1247 [1831].

1474—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

1478—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

1495A—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by 'Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani al-Jambon, in Mecca.

1495B—[Kitab sifat dua puluh], copied by ['Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani al-Jambon].

1495C—[Kayfiyyah membaca selawat Nabi Muhammad], copied by ['Abd al-Qadir bin Mustafa al-Fatani al-Jambon].

1498—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, copied by 'Idris al-Fatani, in Mecca.

1499—[Kitab mengenai kematian], written by Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa al-Fatani, Sunday, Rajab 9, 1306 [1889], in [Mecca].

1500—*Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, inc.

1502—*Ghayat al-afrah li man Yatawalla al-Ankah*

1503—*Fatwa Binatang Hidup Dua Alam*

1508—*Bahjat al-mubtadin wa farhah al-mujtadin*, written by Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa al-Fatani, Friday, Rabiulakhir 13, 1310 [1892].

1510A—[Khutbah Jumaat], written by Ismail bin 'Abd al-Qadir, in Bendang Daya, Patani.

1510B—[Doa]

1514A—[Khutbah hari raya], written by 'Abd al-Hamid, Ramadan 5, 1343 [1925], in Kampung Bukit Manguh, Yaring.

1514B—[Martabat tujuh]

1525—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

1526—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

1537—*Nazam Kashf al-Kiran*, written in Kampung Jembuni, Patani.

1540—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

1542—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*

1543—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

1544— *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, inc., copied by 'Abd al-Rahman, 1289, in Patani.

1546—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Lebai Muhammad Talib bin Muhammad Ali, 1279 [1862].

1547—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

1565—*Kashf al-Gha'ibiyya fī Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyamah*

1593A—[Mengenai memakai emas kitab nikah]

1593B—[Kitab nikah]

1599— *Petikan kitab tawhid dan fiqh*, written by Haji Muhammad Tahir Terengganu, Saturday, Muharram 9, 1282 [1865].

1603A—[Ketika]

1603B—[Kitab tasawwuf]

1603C—[Fatwa memakan binatang hidup dua alam]

1618—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, inc.

1620—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabā'i*, inc.

1623—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah]

1626—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc.

1628—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

1629—*Nazam Mawlana*, written by "anak Patani" [child of Patani]

1634A—*Durr al-Nafis*, copied by 'Ibrahim bin 'Abd al-Muhit Fatani of Kelantan, in Mecca.

1634B—*Hadith Empat Puluh*

1637B—[Pelbagai Catatan], written by Hajji Wan Husayn bin Shaykh Tuan Ishaq Fatani, Friday, Muharram 1240 [1824].

1657—*Kashf al-Gha'ibiyya fi Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyamah*

1660A—[Pelbagai petua dan kitab]

1660B—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

1660C—*Fasal pada menyatakan lapar dan beberapa kebinasaan*

1660D—[Kitab fiqh, petua binatang buas]

1660E—[Tariqa Naqshabandiyya]

1660F—*Adap Seloka*

1660G—*Jalan kepada Allah*

1669—*Faridat al-Faraid fi 'ilm al-'aqa'id*, written by Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa bin Muhammad Fatani, Monday, Rabiulawal 12, 1313 [1895], in [Mecca].

1670A—[Tariqa Qadiriyya dan Naqshabandiyya], written by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Samad Kalantani.

1670B—[Tariqa Shattariyya], written by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Samad Kalantani.

1673—*Hadiqat al-azhar wa al rayahin*, written by Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa.

1688—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Samad, 1268.

1690—[Tarjuman al-Mustafid], copied by Hajji Ibrahim bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fatani, Rabiulakhir 29, 1235 [1820].

1695—[Kitab tawhid], written by ibni 'Abd al-Samad bin Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf bin 'Abd al-Qadir.

1696—*Matn Umm al-Barahin*, copied in Mecca.

1724—*Tariqa Shattariyya*, copied by Hajji Ahmad La[ng]sat 1342 [1923], in Patani.

1743A—*Al-Kawakib al-Durri fi Nur al-Muhammadi*

1743B—*Kashf al-Gha'ibiyya fi Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyamah*, copied by 'Abd al-Samad, 15 Rajab 1305 [1888].

1744A—[Kayfiyyah Khatām al-Qur'ān], inc.

1744B—[Doa]

1744C—*Kayfiyyat Sembahyang Mayat*

1744D—[Tariqa Naqshabandiyya]

1747—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fi al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf, 1237 [1821].

1757—*Sejarah Negeri Kelantan*, written by Hajji 'Abd Allah bin Hajji Wansa Patani, Sunday, Rabiulawal 11, 1359 [1940].

1768—*Tajwid mafatih huruf al-quran*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman Gudang Fatani.

1774—*Fidayat Sembahyang dan Puasa Atas Mazhab Hanafi*

1781—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

1794—*Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, copied Rajab 1, 1282 [1865].

1798A—[Sirat al-Mustaqim]

1798B—[Wasiat nabi]

1798C—*Qawa'id al-Islam*

1798D—*Pengertian Shahabat*, copied by Muhammad Jab Terengganu

1798E—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*

1798F—*Kashf al-Kiram*

1798G—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*

1840—*Ward al-Zawahīr li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir*

1874—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

1886—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*

1889—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*

1911—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, copied by Muhammad Fatani, 1274.

1912—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, dated 1298.

1913—*Kashf al-Gha'ibiyya fī Ahwal Yawm al-Qiyamah*

1916—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, copied by Ahmad Tahir bin Hajji Khalil, 1306.

1917—*Qawa'id al-Islam*

1918—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, copied by Muhammad Rashid bin Sulayman Fatani.

1924—[Syair Saudagar Yahya], copied by Muhammad Kasir bin Lebai Daka'in, Monday, [Shaaban] 30, 1259 [1843], in [Patani].

1932—[Tertib sembahyang tarawih], copied 1274 [1857].

1945—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

1961A—[Syair Peperangan Rom], copied by Lebai Muhammad Kasir bin Lebai Dakaith, Monday, Shaaban 30, 1259 [1843], in Patani.

1961B—[Doa]

1966—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied Rabiulawal 5,1275 [1858].

1967A—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, copied by Lebai Muhammad Tahir, Safar 2, 1285, in Kampung Bajih, Yala.

1967B—*Al-Nur al-Mubin*, copied by [Lebai Muhammad Tahir].

1967C—*Makna dua Kalimah Syahada*, copied by [Lebai Muhammad Tahir].

1974A—[Kitab salawat]

1974B—*Syair Saudagar Yahya*

1975—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*, inc.

1976—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*

1977—*Kifayat al-ʿAwwam*, copied by Ismail bin Hajji Muhammad Hashim, Friday, in Kampung Batu Putih, Yala.

1979—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Taʿṣīb*

1984—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj], inc.

2000—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, inc.

2004—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

2008—*Kitab Muhimmah*, copied by Ahmad bin Lebar, in Kampung Tamperak, Canak.

2009—[Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʿminīn], inc.

2010—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*

2011—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

2014—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Hajji Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf Tarkanu., Rabiulakhir 27, 1236 [1821], in Kampung Lengkandi, Patani.

2015—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*

2021(1)—[Catatan mengenai penyelewengan akidah dan pemalsuan nama Sheikh Daud bin Abdullah Fatani]

2024—*ʿIqdu al-Juman fī Bayan ʿAqa'id al-Iman*

2025—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj], inc.

2034—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʿminīn*, copied by ʿAbd al-Samad bin Hajji Muhammad, in Kampung Tandang, Yaring.

2037—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

2038—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied 1250 [1834].

2041—*Furū ' al-Masā 'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā 'il*

2043—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied by Tuan Hajji ʿAbd al-Qadir Bandaya Muhammad Deris.

2045(1)—*Furū ' al-Masā 'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā 'il*, inc.

2046—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

2047—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fī Maʿrifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿAbd Allah Fatani, in Kelantan.

2048—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2061—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2094—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

2110—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrā ' wa al-Miʿrāj*, inc.

2111A—*Hidayat Bulan Berbelah*, copied by Hajji Ahmad bin Hajji ʿAbd Allah, 1308 [1890], in Dusun Panjang, Patani.

2111B—[Hikayat Nabi Bercukur], copied by Hajji Ahmad bin Hajji ʿAbd Allah, 1308 [1890], in Dusun Panjang, Patani.

2111C—*Hikayat Nabi Wafat*, copied by Hajji Ahmad bin Hajji ʿAbd Allah, 1308 [1890], in Dusun Panjang, Patani.

2111D—[Sakarat al-mawt], copied by Hajji Ahmad bin Hajji ʿAbd Allah, 1308 [1890], in Kampung Dusun Panjang, Patani.

2134—[Hukum Kanun]

2137—*Fatḥ al-Mannān li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad*, inc.

2142—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, inc., copied Rajab 7, 1278 [1862], in Mecca.

2143(1)—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqā 'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

2143(2)—*Kitāb Sembahyang Jum ʿa*, inc.

2145—*Hidāyat al-Mutaʿallim wa ʿUmdat al-Muʿallim*, copied by Muhammad Zayn, Rabiulawal

9, 1304 [1886], in Kampung Sena, Patani.

2146—*Hidāyat al-Muta'allim wa 'Umdat al-Mu'allim*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif of Kampung Beris, Kelaba, Safar 17, 1301, in Kampung Sena Jancar, Patani.

2147—*Fatḥ al-Mannān li-Ṣafwat al-Zubad*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif bin 'Abd al-Mu'min, Shawwal 22, 1303.

2150—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

2213A—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, inc., copied by 'Abd al-Rahim Melaka, Jamadilakhir 17, 1253 [1837].

2213B—*Kashf al-Kiram*, [copied by 'Abd al-Rahim Melaka].

2221—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, inc., copied Jamadilakhir 10, 1281 [1865].

2222—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, inc., copied Rajab 15, 1270, in Mecca.

2223—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, copied Rabiulakhir 8, 1274 [1857], in Mecca.

2225— *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied in Mecca.

2260(1)—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2260(2)—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc., copied 1246 [1830], in Patani.

2270A—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf, Rajab 28, 1246 [1831].

2270B—*Durr al-fara'id bi syarh al-aqa'id*, copied by Hajji Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf Terengganu, Friday Shaaban 1, 1257 [1841].

2270C—[Tafsir ulama mengenai Syair Sidang Faqir karya Hamzah Fansuri]

2271—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabā'i*

2273—*Bishārat al-Ikhwān bi-'Asbāb al-Mawt 'ala al-'Īmān*

2274—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*

2275—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a]

2276—*Risalah pada menyatakan hukum jual beli dan menyatakan pula hukum riba*, copied by

Hajji Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf, Monday, Zulhijah 19, 1236 [1821], in Terengganu.

2293A—[Kitab fiqh]

2293B—*Kitab Nikah*

2293C—[Kitab nikah]

2297—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

2298(1)—*Kashf al-Ghummah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtā fī al-Barzakh wa al-Qiyāmah*, inc., copied Jamadilawal 1274 [1857/8], in Mecca.

2298(2)—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

2299—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

2300—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc.

2305—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, inc.

2309A—*Kashf al-Kiram*

2309B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

2310—*Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, copied 1272 [1857].

2311—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*

2313—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

2315—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

2318—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

2319A—[Jawahir al-'ulum], copied Zulhijah 1257 [1842].

2319B—[Risalah masalah fiqh]

2321—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied Muharam 6, 1289 [1872], in Mecca.

2322—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

2323—[Kitab fiqh], written by Shaykh ʿAbd Allah bin Tuan Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahim Fatani.

2326(1)—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*

2329—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

2330—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2338—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, copied Muharam 1268 [1851], in Mecca.

2340—[Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi], inc., copied Jamadilakhir 1254 [1838].

2342—*Mirat al-Quran*, copied by Muhammad ʿAli bin Shahab al-Din Fatani, last Sunday of Rabiulakhir 1279 [1862], in Mecca.

2343—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*, copied Sunday, Rajab 3, 1290 [1873], in Mecca.

2348—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2353—*Muhimmah*, written by Shaykh ʿAbd Allah bin ʿAbd al-Rahim Fatani.

2354—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied Muharam 4, 1296 [1878].

2359—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Tuan Lebai Din bin Hajji ʿAbd al-Qadir, Shawwal 11, 1294 [1877].

2362—*Muqaddimat al-Mubtadin*, copied ʿAbd Allah, in Patani.

2369—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied Jamadilawal 6, 1278 [1861].

2371—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

2373—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʾ wa al-Miʿrāj*

2375—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

2376—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2380—*Minhāj al-ʿĀbidīn*, inc., copied by ʿAbd al-Ghafur bin Shams al-Din, Jamadilawal 30, 1242 [1826].

2384—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, inc.

2386A—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām*, inc.

2386B—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

2386C—[Kitab jimak]

2386D—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

2395—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

2398—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

2400A—*Muqaddimat al-Mubtadin*, copied by Muhammad 'Amin bin Lebai Ishaq Fatani, Shaaban 30, 1245 [1830].

2400B—[Kitab nikah], copied by [Muhammad 'Amin bin Lebai Ishaq Fatani].

2404(1)—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

2410—*Sirat al-Mustaqim*, copied by Harun Fatani, Shaaban 13, 1261 [1845], in Canak.

2412—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2413—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

2414—*Muqaddimat al-Mubtadin*, copied by Wan 'Abd Allah of Kampung Peringat, Patani.

2418—[Munyat al-Muṣallī], inc.

2419—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Ahmad bin Abu Bakr, Muharam 2, 1237, in Yala.

2420(1)—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

2425—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*

2426—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

2427A—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by ['Abd al-Mutallib bin Tuan Fakir 'Abd Allah Kalantani], in [Mecca].

2427B—[Kitab pada menyatakan ahkam al-asqat], written by 'Abd al-Mutallib bin Fakir 'Abd Allah Kalantani.

2428—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, inc.

2429—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

2431—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., Hajji Wan Kencik bin Wan Paklah of Bendang Jum, Yaring, Zulhijah 3, 1303 [1886], in Mecca.

2433—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*

2435(1)—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc.

2435(2)—[Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj], inc.

2436—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2438—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, copied by Muhammad Zayn bin Saib of Jaring, Patani, in Mecca.

2442—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2444A—[Kitab usul al-din], copied by Tuan Lebai 'Abd al-Mu'min, in Kampung Pauh Kepala Gajah, Patani.

2444B—[Kitab fiqh], inc., copied by [Tuan Lebai 'Abd al-Mu'min].

2444C—*Masa'il al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by [Tuan Lebai 'Abd al-Mu'min].

2445—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, inc., copied by Wan 'Abd al-Rahim.

2446(1)—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

2449—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

2452—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied by Sulayman bin Alung Piji Insa, Rajab 9, 1299 [1882].

2453—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

2454—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Abu Bakr bin Salam, Safar 9, 1400 [1979], in Kampung Pamar, Caya.

2481—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, copied by Muhammad Husayn bin 'Abd al-Latif, Shaaban 7, 1300 [1883], in Kampung Beris, Kelaba.

2486A—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẓabā'i*

2486B—[Syair Saudagar Yahya]

2486C—*Al-Fatawa al-Fataniyya*

2496A—*Al-Fatawa al-Fataniyya*

2496B—[Kitab bahasa Arab], copied in [Singapore].

2496C—[Kitab hukum nikah], copied in [Singapore].

2516—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc., copied Shawwal 14, 1257 [1841], in Mecca.

2523(1)—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*

2523(2)—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

2523(3)—*Ḍiyā al-Murīd fī Ma'rifat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*, copied Muharam 25, 1295.

2539— *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Ibrahim bin Wan Su Fatani, Jamadilawal 15, 1243.

2541—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc., copied by Muhammad Min bin Encik Hamid Fatani, in Mecca.

2545—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied by Imam 'Abd al-Samad, 1236 [1820], in Kampung Laut, Satun.

2546—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

2548—*Bughyat al-Ṭullāb li-Murīd Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2550—*Ward al-Zawahīr li-Ḥall Alfāẓ 'Iqd al-Jawāhir*, inc.

2552—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

2557—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

2560—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc.

2561A—[Kitab faraid], written by Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Mu'min Fatani.

2561B—*Fidayat Sembahyang dan Puasa Atas Mazhab Hanafi*

2562—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*

2566—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, copied Shaaban 30, 1244 [1828], in Mecca.

2569—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*

2574A—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jum'a], copied Jamadilakhir 19, 1270 [1854].

2574B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Īmām*, inc.

2574C—[Kitab korban]

2584—*Dar al-hasan*

2590—*Syair Laksana Kita*, arranged by "anak Patani" [child of Patani].

2600—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

2602—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

2605—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copied Rabiulakhir 3, 1297 [1880].

2607—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, copied by Abu Bakr bin al-marhum Muhammad Jama[l] of Kampung Pauh Manis, Yaring, Rabiulakhir 15, 1301 [1884].

2608—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

2609—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*, inc., copied by Wan Telubung bin 'Abd al-Rahman of Kampung Atas, Rajab 18, 1330 [1912], in Mecca.

2615(1)—[Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī], inc.

2626 *Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, inc., copied by 'Abd al-Ghafur bin Sham al-Din, Shawwal 8, 1271 [1855].

2627—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*

2629—*Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il*, inc.

2638A—*Minhat al-qarib al-mujib wa mughni al-raghibin fi al-taqrib*, written by 'Abd al-Samad bin Muhammad Salih al-Kalantani, Zulhijah 10, 1300 [1883].

2638B—*Kitab pada menyatakan taubat*, written by 'Abd al-Samad bin Muhammad Salih al-Kalantani, Zulhijah 10, 1300 [1883].

2639—[Furūʿ al-Masāʾil wa Uṣūl al-Masāʾil], inc.

2642—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc., copied Zulhijah 7, 1262 [1846], in Mecca.

2649(1)—[Jamʿ al-Fawāʾid wa Jawāhir al-Qalāʿid], inc.

2651—[Fadilat dan khasiat Bismillah dan beberapa ayat al-Quran], copied by Hajji ʿIsmaʾil, Rajab 30, 1305 [1888], in Patani.

2661—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*

2667—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

2668—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Zabāʾi*, copied by Hajji ʿAbd al-Rahman, in Kelantan.

2669A—*Masaʾil al-muhtadi li ikhwan al-mubtadi*, copied by [Tuan Kundu Laroq Fatani].

2669B—[Kitab hokum mengerjakan haji], written by Tuan Kundu Laroq Fatani, Jamadilakhir 4, 1290 [1873], in Siam.

2670—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-ʾIḥrām*, copied by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Rahman, Zulkaedah 9, 1271.

2672—[Jamʿ al-Fawāʿid wa Jawāhir al-Qalāʿid], inc.

2676—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ʿAqāʿid al-Muʿminīn*, copied by Hajji Sulayman bin Ahmad Shah, Rajab 1234, in Mecca.

2679—*Aturan mas kahwin*, copied by ʿAbd al-Hamid Lingga bin ʿIsa al-Kalantani, Jamadilawal 20, 1323 [1905].

2691—[Azimat, Kitab tib, petua ayat 15]

2719—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*

2723A—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2723B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām*, inc.

2733A—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, copied by Wan ʿAbd al-Rahman bin Tuan Hajji Iman Ismaʿil of Kampung Pusing, Jamadilakhir 5, 1320 [1902].

2733B—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-ʾIrth wa al-Taʿṣīb*, copied by Wan [ʿAbd al-Rahman bin Tuan Hajji] Iman [Ismaʿil] of Kampung Pusing, Yala, Zulhijah 21, 1319 [1902].

2734—*Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, copied by Hajji ʿAbd al-Latif bin al-marhum Hassan Karwil, in Mecca.

2751—*Hidāyat al-Mutaʿallim wa ʿUmdat al-Muʿallim*, inc.

2753—*Al-Mawakib al-Makkiyya*, copied by Ahmad bin Mahmud al-Din al-Fatani, Zulhijah 1304 [1887].

2756—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah.*

2764—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʿid al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, inc., copied by Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani, 1270 [1853], in Mecca.

2766—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*

2768A—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-ʿAqāʿid al-Saniyya*, copied by Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf al-Jawi Tarkanu, Rabiulakhir 4, 1261 [1845].

2768B—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, in [Mecca].

2768C—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām*, copied in Mecca.

2768D—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-ʿAqāʿid al-Saniyya*

2768E—[Syair nasihat]

2770—*Hidāyat al-Mutaʿallim wa ʿUmdat al-Muʿallim*, inc., copied by Muhammad Hassan bin Tuan Hajji ʿAbd al-Rahman Cendanai.

2773A—[Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī ʿUdhr Takhalluf al-Maʿmūm ʿan al-Imām], dated Shawwal 1, 1298.

2773B—[Kitāb Sembahyang Jumʿa]

2773C—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-ʾIḥrām*, inc.

2775—*Al-Kawakib al-Durri fī Nur al-Muhammadi*, inc.

2786—*Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj fī al-ʿIsrāʿ wa al-Miʿrāj*, copied by Wan ibn Tuan Hajji Ismaʿil of [Kampung] Pusing, Shawwal 14, 1322 [1904].

2788A—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*

2788B—[Soal-jawab agama]

2788C—[Panduan menamakan anak]

2793A—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

2793B—[Ketika, nahas, rejang]

2795—[Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah], inc.

2804—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, copied by Muhammad Amin bin Muhammad of Kampung Ternan, Yaring, 1290 [1873], in Kampung Tamperak, Canak.

2814—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

2818—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*, inc.

2838—*Ghāyat al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Adā' al-Ḥajj al-Islām*, copied 1297.

2839—*Risalah pada menyatakan beberapa masalah ilmu fiqh*, written by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Abd al-Rahman Fatani.

2880—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, inc.

2881(2)—*Nahj al-Rāghibīn wa Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, inc., copied Rabiulawal 21, 1229 [1814].

2890—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

2897—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

2899—*Al-Bahjat al-Saniyya fī al-'Aqā'id al-Saniyya*

2943—[Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabā'i], inc.

2944A—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*

2944B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*, inc.

2948—*Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id*, inc.

2949—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

2952—*Al-Ṣayd wa al-Ẕabā'i*, inc.

2958—*Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī al-'Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj*, inc.

2959—[Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb], inc., copied by Muhammad Sani Fatani, in Mecca.

2964—*Khutbah hari raya aidil adha*, copied Rabiulawal 20, 1318 [1900], in Cabang Tiga, Patani.

2965—[Khutbah Jumaat dan hari raya aidil fitri], copied Rajab 11, 1318 [1900], in Kuala Bakat, Kampung Cabang Tiga, Patani.

3037A—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

3037B—*Firasat dan Azimat*

3040—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*, inc.

3057—*Īḍāḥ al-Bāb li-Murīd al-Nikāḥ bi-l-Ṣawāb*, inc.

3058—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

3071—*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*, copied Rajab 11, 1245, in Mecca.

3086—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, copied Muharram 23, 1313 [1895].

3118—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

3119—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyyah*, copied Jamadilawal 21, 1268 [1852].

3151—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*, copied by Wan [Ibra]him bin 'Abd Allah Yaring, Rabiulawal 7, 1302 [1884], in Yaring.

3156—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*

3180—*Kayfiyyah Khatām al-Qur'ān*

3213A—*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*

3213B—*Asrar al-suluk ila malik al-muluk*

3213C—[Kitab tasawwuf]

3213D—[Bustan al-salikin], copied by Tengku Faqih 'Abd al-Karim.

3213E—[Kitab sembahyang]

3347—[Furū' al-Masā'il wa Uṣūl al-Masā'il], inc.

3354—*Ghāyat al-Taqrīb fī al-'Irth wa al-Ta'ṣīb*, inc.

3355—*Al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyyah wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyyah wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muhammadiyyah*, inc.

3356—*Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Muttaqīn*, inc.

3359—*Munyat al-Muṣallī*

3362A—*Bulūgh al-Marām fī Kayfiyyat Muqāranāt Takbīrāt al-'Iḥrām*, copied by 'Abd al-Rahman, 1286, in Canak.

3362B—*Al-Bahjat al-Marḍiyyah fī 'Udhr Takhalluf al-Ma'mūm 'an al-Imām*

3364—*Sullam al-Mubtadī fī Bayān Ṭarīqat al-Muhtadi*

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