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**Patani Through Foreign Eyes: Sixteenth And
Seventeenth Centuries (Edited By Daniel Perret &
Jorge Santos Alves)**

Introduction

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Introduction

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1. The objectives of this publication

The history of the kingdom of Patani, on the eastern coast of the Thai peninsula along the South China Sea, has attracted scholarly interest for nearly two centuries. While the timing and circumstances surrounding its emergence remain unclear, the important economic role played by this kingdom in Asian trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the production of contemporary foreign written sources that unfortunately remain difficult to access. It is clear that these sources mainly provide information on the activity of foreign merchants. Furthermore, the impact of foreigners in Patani cannot be measured by the quantity of available sources.

Nevertheless, analyzed with scrutiny, they also provide valuable information on the history of the kingdom itself that complement indigenous sources and broaden our knowledge about this economic, religious and cultural crossroads.

The first objective of this book is to provide the original texts of a number of Iberian and Dutch sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with their translations into English. Some of them are supplemented by old translations into French or German. This book also includes an important Dutch account from the beginning of the seventeenth century, of which only an English translation seems to remain. The majority of these sources are first-hand accounts of the kingdom of Patani. A third of the Iberian sources

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presented here are unpublished and only a handful of the 25 documents have ever been published in English translation. Only one of the six Dutch sources published in this volume has been recently translated into English.

The second objective is to provide an overview of research on these two centuries of the Patani kingdom since Thomas John Newbold wrote the first lineaments of this history in his *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca* published in London in 1839.

The third objective is to offer the first real synthesis on Patani's place in the Luso-Asian networks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The fourth objective is to use the various corpora of foreign and indigenous sources published to date to try to shed new light on Patani's political, social and cultural history during this period.

2. Presentation of the sources published in this volume

a) Iberian Sources

This section begins by presenting the already published Portuguese and Spanish sources, or those written in Spanish, with some edited on various different occasions and, sometimes, even translated into English. They all constitute part of, whether in their entirety or as excerpts, the documents published in this volume.

The first is the *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto (?-1583). Mendes Pinto's book is one of the first and most fascinating guides to Asia put together by a European in the pre-modern era. The *Peregrinação* is a compilation of the legacy of information and experiences built up by Portuguese, Luso-Asians and as well as Asians across a large swathe of maritime Asia available in the mid-16th century. The depth and scope of this legacy of information and experience is further compounded by the subsequent validation of the bulk of its contents by European and Asian sources. This legacy also emerges in the letters written by Mendes Pinto from various different parts of Asia, including his passage through Patani. The first edition of the *Peregrinação* was released in Lisbon (1614) and with a complete and annotated English translation of the text produced by Rebecca Catz (Pinto - Catz, ed. & transl. 1989). From the *Peregrinação*, we include here the translation of chapter 35, relative to the events of 1539 and from Mendes Pinto himself, there is an excerpt from a letter dated to 1555 and located in Macau.

In the list of Portuguese sources already translated into English, there follows a guide to the conquest of Patani by Portuguese and Spanish forces, informed by four Portuguese traders or officials, and compiled by Dom João Ribeiro Gaio (? -1601), Bishop of Malacca (1578-1601). A senior ecclesiastic dignitary, Ribeiro Gaio was a major enthusiast regarding the union of the military powers brought about by the Dual Monarchy (Portugal and Spain) within the context of the Asian geo-strategic scenario, in particular for East

Asia. In 1584 Ribeiro Gaio composed a series of plans to conquer states of the region, including Patani. The manuscript of the *Relacion que hizo don Joan Ribero Goya [sic] obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez Enrrique Mendez Francisco de las Nieuves Joan Serrano de las cosas de Patane y poblaçon del Aceh y Panarican* makes up part of that referred to as the Boxer Codex, deposited in the Lilly Library (Indiana University).¹ This was itself for the first time translated and published in English in 2016 (Souza & Turley, eds., 2016).

Within this same documental typology, there are the reports and information gathered in the field, in Asia, but in this case never translated into English, spanning a range of different Portuguese and Spanish sources that we present here in chronological order. The first, dated to 1534, is a letter written by the Portuguese Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo whilst in Guangzhou. Vieira and Calvo were companions during a long period of captivity in Guangzhou, during a time of highly tense relations between the Portuguese and the Chinese authorities that broke out in 1521. This tension started following the death of the Emperor Zhengde (1505-1521) and would only come to a close in the 1530s, probably in 1533, with the re-establishing of trading relations.

There follows an account of the voyage of Ruy López de Villalobos, departing from Mexico in 1541 with the objective of establishing a permanent Spanish presence in Southeast Asia, in particular in the islands that he baptised as the Philippines. Villalobos was never to complete this voyage, having been taken prisoner by the Portuguese in Ambon (1544) where he was to die in captivity. This travel log was written by García de Escalante Alvarado, the expedition overseer and would have been completed following his arrival in Lisbon in 1548. There is, however, no complete or partial translation of this work into English.

In this category, we also have the *Relacion de algunas cosas particulares que vimos y entendimos en el reyno de china especial de la ciudad de Canton y de otras particulares*, produced by the Spanish soldier Francisco de Dueñas and dated to 1580. Francisco de Dueñas was one of the military figures accompanying the first missionary expedition undertaken by the Spanish Franciscans to China in 1579. It was on this occasion that he wrote this report that we transcribe the excerpt related to Patani (see document no. 18). Francisco de Dueñas survived this expedition and returned to Manila, where he remained until at least 1583.²

In another group of sources, we encounter some sixteenth and seventeenth century Portuguese chroniclers of Asia. We may begin with those who lived in Asia. In particular, Gaspar Correia (1492?-1563), having arrived in India in 1512, he was secretary to Governor Afonso de Albuquerque (1512-1515)

1. We would here express our most sincere thanks to Jurgis Elisonas for the provision of a photographic copy of this manuscript in 2001.

2. Ollé 2000: 96, 118.

and later occupied various administrative positions in the *Estado da Índia*, above all on the West Indian Ocean. His *Lendas da Índia*, in all likelihood written between 1551 and 1561, provides a chronicle of the main events under the Portuguese governors and viceroys through to 1550. This text particularly reveals the great capacity of Correia to observe, inquire (including of Asian informants) and describe many different Asian societies and not only the Portuguese presence in Asia. The first full edition of *Lendas da Índia* dates to 1858 and has thus far had no more than very partial translation of only a few excerpts into English.

The other overseas Portuguese chronicler that we publish an excerpt from is João de Barros (c.1496-1570) and his work *Asia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente*, which became better known under the title of *Décadas* (Decades). João de Barros was a senior figure in the Portuguese royal administration and a tireless collector of information, objects and books (some of which were in Asian languages) about Asia that he never had the opportunity to visit. Barros was a thinker and an advocate proclaiming the “Portugality” and the expansion of the Christian faith and empire. The publication of his *Ásia* began in 1552 and was only concluded after his death by João Baptista Lavanha, who published it in Madrid (1615). This work has never been fully translated into English and here we publish the translation of one part of *Década* IV, book IX, chapter XV.

More broadly divulger of the Portuguese presence in Asia, the work of Manuel de Faria e Sousa (1590-1649), *Ásia Portuguesa*, received its first publication in Lisbon (between 1663 and 1674) and has never been translated into English. From this work, we translated a short passage covering the only contents of direct and immediate interest to the history of the Sultanate of Patani and its relations with the Portuguese.

In order to complete the framework of the Portuguese overseas chroniclers, we have the religious viewpoint from the Jesuit of Brazilian origin Francisco de Sousa (1630-1713). Sousa was born in Bahia and went to study in Goa and joining the Company of Jesus. He remained in India through to his death and his *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo*, published in Lisbon in 1710, is a compilation of a great deal of the information gathered and collated by the Jesuit network spanning Asia in the seventeenth century as well as a great deal of data built up through correspondence among the priests from around the mid-16th century. There is no full or even partial translation of this work into English.

As regards the archive documents, the overwhelming majority have never before been published either in Portuguese or Spanish and never mind any translation into English. These documents are held by the Torre do Tombo National Archive and the Ajuda Library, both in Lisbon. Those already subject to publication came out in documental series published in Goa still during the Portuguese colonial period between the closing decades of the nineteenth

century and the mid-20th century under the supervision of the archive specialists Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809-1879) and Panduronga Pissurlencar (1894-1969). We refer to the *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* and the *Assentos do Conselho de Estado* respectively. As regards the remainder of the archive documents, now translated and published in English,³ they are the letters from soldiers, high ranking officers, governors or viceroys dispatched to the kings of Portugal or to other senior dignitaries in the *Estado da Índia*. Finally, we have a highly interesting copy of a letter from King Filipe III of Portugal to the Sultanah of Patani, written in 1637.

b) Dutch sources

Six seventeenth century Dutch sources are presented with their translation into English. The seventh Dutch source is particular in that the original text seems to have been lost. There is only one old translation into English that has already been published, which we are taking up here because of its great interest. These seven texts cover the period 1601-1632.

The earliest text is Admiral Jacob van Neck's diary, written by himself⁴ during the fourth Dutch maritime expedition to Southeast Asia. Leaving in June 1600 with six ships, the second fleet of this expedition, led by the Admiral, visited several ports in Southeast Asia. This is the first time that Dutch people have visited Patani (1601). They know that it is an important market place, where precious stones, camphor and various species of woods are available.⁵ Jacob van Neck arrived in Patani in November 1601 and left in August 1602. This manuscript is kept at the National Archives of the Netherlands in Den Haag.⁶

A German translation of this diary was published in 1606 by the De Bry brothers in a compilation of travel accounts accompanied by a volume of illustrations including four images illustrating the stopover at Patani.⁷ The following year, the same publisher released a Latin version by the same translator, Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig. A summary in English appeared in 1617, in one of the volumes of *Relations of the World* published by Samuel Purchas (p. 561-562). It was not until 1980 that the original text of Jacob van

3. With the exception of documents no. 4 and 10, published only in their original Portuguese version (Alves 1999: 253-258, 264-270), and no. 12, 13, 14, published in Thomaz 1998: 143-147, 165-171, 172-174.

4. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 93.

5. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 6, 100.

6. Den Haag archives: 1.04.01: 115. *Reisverhaal, gesteld door admiraal Jacob van Neck voor Bewindhebberen. 1600 juni 28 - 1603 juli 15 1 deel* (<http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/ead/index/eadid/1.04.01/node/c01%3A0.c02%3A1.c03%3A4.c04%3A1.c05%3A5.c06%3A1/open/c01%3A2.#c01:0.c02:1.c03:3>). The diary is written in Van Neck's hand until he arrives in Java. Then, including during his stay in Patani, he dictated the text to a secretary (Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 165).

7. Tiele 1867: 165.

Neck's journal was published.⁸ A partial translation into English by Anthony Reid of the Patani section was published in 2013. A new partial English translation of this section is offered in this volume simultaneously with the German translation by Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig.

During the same expedition, a second diary was written by the *ziekentrooster* (chaplain) Roelof Roelofsz.⁹ This text was first published in 1644 by Jan Jansz. in volume 1 of the VOC travel accounts collection compiled by Isaac Commelin, entitled *Begin ende Voortgang Vande Vereenigde Neederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*.¹⁰ In this edition, Roelofsz's account of Patani is supplemented by notes from the translation of Van Neck's diary by Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig,¹¹ as well as notes by Victor Sprinckel. Sent to Patani by Matelief in 1607, Sprinckel was posted there as head of trade for the VOC until 1611.¹² *Begin ende Voortgang* mentions a plate representing a view of Patana, a plate whose publication unfortunately seems to have been omitted¹³ for an unknown reason. This diary, without the additions, was published in 1980 by Van Foreest & De Booy, who pointed out that the manuscript is long lost. Compared to the Commelin edition, this one has several spelling differences.

A French translation was published by René-Auguste-Constantin de Renneville in 1703 in Volume Two of his collection of VOC travels accounts. This translation is generally faithful to the text published in *Begin ende Voortgang*, except for the omission of an insertion and the passage on male sexual ornamentation which is shortened. The first English translation of the section of this diary relating to Patani, based on the version initially published by Commelin, is offered here. This publication also includes the French translation of the same section published by Renneville in 1703.

8. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 167-233.

9. Van Foreest & De Booy, eds., 1980: 74.

10. A second edition was published in Amsterdam around 1663 by Gillis Joosten Saeghman (*Journael van de tweede reys, gedaen by den heer Admiraal Jacob van Neck, naer Oost-Indien, met ses schepen in den jare 1600*). A number of insertions are abbreviated or even omitted (Tiele 1867: 10-11, 162-166).

11. Curiously, probably unaware that the author is none other than Jacob Van Neck, the publisher Isaac Commelin only mentions the translator of this diary. It seems that the existence of two separate diaries remained unknown until their publication by Van Foreest & De Booy (1980).

12. Tiele 1867: 165; Terpstra 1938: 31.

13. Tiele (1867: 162) mentioned that this plate is missing in all the copies he consulted. In addition, a view of Patani is also mentioned in the German and Latin translations of Van Neck's diary (Tiele 1867: 166). It is also missing, which suggests that this illustration is identical to the one mentioned in the edition of the Roelof Roelofsz's diary.

The third source is an excerpt from the account of the VOC expedition led by Admiral Wybrandt van Waerwijck. This was the first trip to Southeast Asia under the banner of the VOC, a company founded in 1602. The ships of the fleet commanded by Van Waerwijck left the Netherlands in June of that year. A fleet of the expedition reached Patani in November 1603, just over a year after Jacob van Neck's departure, and left in February 1604. Wybrandt van Waerwijck returned to Patani between May 1604 and October 1605.

The account of the expedition is in fact a gathering of several diaries.¹⁴ As early as 1606, the Bry's brothers published a German translation by Gothardt Arthus von Dantzig. A Latin version produced by the same translator was published the following year. Both translations only include Van Waerwijck's first stay in Patani. The Dutch text was first published in 1644 in Volume One of the collection of VOC travels accounts compiled by Commelin mentioned above. A French translation was published by René-Auguste-Constantin de Renneville in 1703 in Volume Two of his collection of VOC travels accounts. This translation is generally accurate. However, it omits the mention of the marriage of the King of Siak with the niece of the Queen of Patani. There are also three minor mistakes: one concerning the Persian of Banten, about which the original specifies that he was considered as a quasi-doctor by the *nation* (communities) of Patani, Jambi and Banten, whereas the translation by Renneville indicates that he was considered so by the Chinese; one concerning the quantity of white sugar in the cargo of the Portuguese ship *Santo António*, and a third one about the value of the Patani junk confiscated in Malacca.

This volume provides the first English translation of the section relating to Patani, based on the version originally published by Commelin. The French translation, published by de Renneville, is also included here for comparison purpose.

The fourth source is an information and instruction note given to Admiral Steven van der Hagen, who led the VOC's second expedition to Southeast Asia. The fleet left the Netherlands in December 1603. One of the ships in this fleet, the *Medenblick*, called at Patani at the end of 1605 and reported the news of the capture of the Portuguese ship *Santo António* by Admiral van Waerwijck in the city's port in June of the same year.¹⁵ This text was first published in 1865 by J.K.J. de Jonge in one of the eleven volumes of the series *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië*. The excerpt from this note on Patani is included in this volume with an English translation.

14. Tiele 1867: 168.

15. Diary of Paulus van Solt (1646, vol. II, p. 42). See also Renneville, *Recueil...*, III, 1725: 4, 85-6.

The fifth source is a mostly commercial report dated February 1626 and signed by Pieter de Carpentier (1586-1659),¹⁶ Jacques Specx (ca. 1585-?),¹⁷ Dr. Pieter Vlack and Antonio van Diemen (1593-1645).¹⁸ Intended for the company's directors in the Netherlands, this report was published in 1960, in volume One of the series *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Ostindische compagnie*. A section of this report concerns the commercial situation in Patani. It is included in this volume with an English translation.

The sixth source is the report of a mission carried out by Antonie Caen, a VOC agent,¹⁹ in Patani and Siam between July and November 1632. Caen had been sent to Patani to resolve tensions related to Patani's capture of two Siamese merchant ships en route to Batavia, and to encourage Patani to renew relations with Ayutthaya.²⁰ The section about Patani is included in this volume with an English translation.

This volume also includes excerpts from an English translation from another contemporary important source in Dutch for the history of Patani in early seventeenth century. This is the account of the Dutchman Peter Floris, whose real name was Pieter Willemsz. van Elbinck.²¹ Working for the East India Company (EIC),²² he made a stopover at Patani between June 1612 and October 1613. Floris thus stayed in Patani a little more than six years after the departure of ships from Admiral Wybrandt van Waerwijck's expedition. He left less than twenty years before Antonie Caen called at Patani. The original text in Dutch of Peter Floris' diary seems to have been lost. The British Library holds the manuscript of the original English translation made after his return

16. He sailed for Asia in 1616 as an *opperkoopman*. Appointed Raad extra-ordinaris van Indië and Director General three years later, he became Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1623, a position he held until 1627 (<http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/personalia/decarpentier.html>).

17. After a stay in Johor, he joined the VOC in 1606 for Hirado (Japan), where he became the factory chief three years later. In 1622, he became President van Schepenen in Batavia, then Raad extra-ordinaris van Indië (<http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/personalia/specx.html>).

18. Recruited as an employee of the VOC in 1619, he became *opperkoopman* in 1623 and then Raad van Indië in 1626 (<http://www.vocsite.nl/geschiedenis/personalia/vandiemmen.html>).

19. He appears in the sources under various names: Anthonio Caan, Antonie Caen, Antoni Caan. Anthonij Caen was Governor of Ternate from 1640 to 1642. Anthonio Caan was acting governor of Ambon in 1642 (https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/12311/Appendices_Bibliography.pdf?sequence=7).

20. Van Vliet 2005: 129; na Pombejra 2011: 151.

21. Moreland 1934: xii, xxxvi.

22. Floris left documents other than this account, showing that he had a real interest in local cultures (cf. Robson 2000).

to England in 1615.²³ According to J. Farrington (2001: 153), the translator was presumably a Dutchman with an imperfect knowledge of English, which would make the discovery of the original text all the more valuable.

Extracts from the English translation of Floris' account were published as early as 1625 by Samuel Purchas in the first volume of his compilation of travel accounts, *Purchas his pilgrimes*, or *Hakluytus Posthumus*.²⁴ William Harrison Moreland produced the first scientific edition of the English translation manuscript, which was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1934, an edition republished at least three times since then. A French translation, based on the publication of Purchas, was published (with some cuts) in 1663 by M. Thévenot in the first volume of his compilation entitled *Relations de divers voyages curieux*. This French translation and the original one published by Moreland are presented here for comparison purposes.

3. Other sources for the history of the Sultanate of Patani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The sources useful for the history of the Sultanate of Patani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not limited to the two corpora presented above. First, there is the corpus of Malay-language texts produced in Patani and neighbouring regions of Southeast Asia, whose manuscripts are generally identified by titles beginning with *Hikayat* or *Sejarah*. Other corpora of Asian sources relating to Patani have been identified and published at least partly: Chinese sources, Japanese sources and Ryukyu Archipelago sources in Chinese (Atsushi & Mitsugu 1969).

In addition to the European sources mentioned above, shall be added in particular the archives of the Dutch merchant companies (VOC and others), the archives of the East India Company (EIC), the accounts of agents of these companies posted or sailing in the region, such as Jeremias van Vliet in Ayutthaya or Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge, as well as the accounts of missionaries like Nicholas Gervaise.

a) Southeast Asian sources

Like most of the major coastal political entities in Maritime Southeast Asia at the time, the researcher interested in Patani's history may use local written sources that are generally grouped under the category "Malay traditional literature." These are texts in *jawi*²⁵ written before the beginning of the twentieth century by local learned people, often at the request of the rulers.

23. *India Office records*: L/MAR/A/XIII [Translation of Floris' journal, 5 Jan. 1611 – 17 Feb. 1615], cf. Farrington 2001: 153.

24. A summary appeared in 1617, in one of the volumes of *Relations of the World* published by the same Samuel Purchas (p. 562-563).

25. Malay written using Arabic characters.

Although the intellectual framework of their production differs from that of Western historical texts, they nevertheless offer local insights into various aspects of the kingdom's history.

For the period of interest here, the most famous of these texts is the *Hikayat Patani*. Composed between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, it offers a version of Patani's foundation, of the ruler's conversion to Islam, of the chronology of rulers with sometimes events or anecdotes that marked their reign, as well as various political events related to other Southeast Asia polities. Several manuscripts have been more or less documented:

– Thomas John Newbold (1807-1850)²⁶ had a manuscript in Malay in the 1830s, of which he gave the title “*Hikayat Patani*” (Newbold 1838). Entrusted to the Madras Literary Society, this manuscript has yet to be found. However, in the 1960s, a typescript Thai history of Patani was found in the possession of a retired Thai government official in Songkhla, South Thailand. The first part of this text relates the history of Patani until the end of the eighteenth century. According to David K. Wyatt, this is definitely a “translation and/or an abridgement of a Malay manuscript,” which without being identical to that used by Newbold, is sufficiently close to Newbold's version to suggest a link between both texts. Wyatt published a translation of this initial part of the text in 1967. Teeuw and Wyatt refer to this manuscript in their philological and historical study (1970).

– A Malay manuscript found in the 1960s at the Library of Congress by Andries Teeuw. This manuscript was copied in Singapore by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir for Alfred North, a Christian missionary, probably from a manuscript he collected in Kelantan and dated 1839.²⁷ This manuscript was the subject of the first real philological and historical study of the *Hikayat Patani* text. Published in 1970, it is the only one of its kind to date on a text of ancient Malay literature focused on Patani. A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, the authors of the study, consider the Library of Congress manuscript as a collection of several texts written by different authors from the early eighteenth century onwards.²⁸ The whole, organized chronologically, deals

26. A British officer in the Indian Army, he was stationed in the Straits Settlements from 1832 until 1835 and made scholarly contributions to Malay studies (Jones 1984: 134).

27. Jawi 13, Library of Congress, Washington DC. (A. Teeuw. Malay manuscripts in the Library of Congress. *BKI* 123, 1967: 519; Malay Concordance Project, <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/>). The Pusat Manuskrip Melayu in Kuala Lumpur (1993b: 38-40), mentions that the text is also known as *Undang-Undang Patani*. Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 51) mentions a different inventory number (Orient So. Asia 2). In addition, the same author (2006: 50) reports the existence of a manuscript of the *Hikayat Patani*, also copied by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (Abdullah Munsyi) in 1839, kept in the library of the University of Malaya.

28. *HP T & W*: 66.

mainly with the origin of the Patani rulers, the foundation of the city and its Islamisation, the origin of the great canon, symbol of the glory of Patani, the genealogy of its rulers, details and events concerning the administration of the sultanate, internal politics, the relations of the sultanate with the neighbouring region of Saiburi, with Siam, Johor and Palembang. The text of this manuscript was also published by Siti Hawa Haji Salleh (1992).

– A Malay manuscript from the Skeat collection, held at the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford University, most certainly copied on the occasion of W.W. Skeat's stay in Patani in 1899. It is entitled *Salasilah Negeri Patani* and contains 67 pages (Skeat collection, Sk. Ms. 15. *HP T & W*: 31; Ricklefs *et al.* 2014: 128).²⁹ Teeuw and Wyatt also refer to this manuscript for their philological and historical study. The KITLV in Leiden keeps what appears to be a copy (inv. no. OR.413) of the same text (Ali Hj. Wan Mamat 1985: 13).

– A Malay manuscript on 28 bamboo plates entitled *Hikayat Patani*, which was allegedly copied in 1252 H. (1836 CE). It is held with inv. no. MS20 in the Akademi Islam collections of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993c: 2). According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50), this text describes in particular the Patani rulers dynasty.

– A Thai translation of the *Hikayat Patani* in manuscript form, dated 2471 BE (1928), was published as *Prawat Muang Pattani* in the series *Prachum Phongsawadan*, Samnakphim Kaona, vol. II, Bangkok, 1964: 1-29 (Muhammad Yusoff Hashim 1988: 281; Mohd Zamberi A. Malek 2006: 51, 54).

– Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50) mentions a manuscript entitled *Tarikh Fatani*, copied by Syeikh Haji Wan Mustafa bin Muhammad al-Fatani around 1198 H (ca. 1783 CE), whose content would be similar to the *Hikayat Patani*. The location of this manuscript is not specified.³⁰

– The same author (2006: 15) mentions a manuscript entitled *Sejarah Patani*, by a certain Tengku Abdul Kadir Petra, supposed to predate Ibrahim Syukri's text described below.

– *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani* is a text published in *jawi* by Ibrahim Syukri in Kelantan in the late 1950s or early 1960s, probably in 1958.³¹

29. It should be noted that the same collection includes a 37-page manuscript, which is a pencil romanization of a Malay text containing a *Salasilah daripada Patani sampai ke Kelantan* (Skeat Manuscripts Box A; cf. Ricklefs *et al.* 2014: 128-9).

30. This could be the manuscript in the possession of Haji Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, a collector in Kuala Lumpur. The latter published a first romanized version in 1991. It concerns pre-Islamic Patani (cf. Perret 2004a: 10). This text has been republished recently (Mohd Shaghir Abdullah 2019: 1-29).

31. Hasrom bin Haron and Mohd Zamberi A. Malek 2002: 10. Ibrahim Syukri would be a pseudonym used by a group of nationalists (Walker 2009: 329, 331; 2013: 190).

In the mid-1990s, Pierre Le Roux (1997: 328-329) was able to collect what would be the first handwritten version of this text in Pattani. Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 51) points to the existence in a private collection of a manuscript entitled *Cetera Negeri Patani*, which would also be the basic text of *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*. In addition, the Museum of Kuala Terengganu in Malaysia keeps an incomplete manuscript on twenty wooden plates (inv. no. 89.836) which would be a version of the same text.³² Dealing with Pattani's history from its beginnings to the 1950s, the author uses a version of the *Hikayat Patani* whose manuscript does not seem to have been preserved. The original edition was republished in 2002 by Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, with a Romanized version (Ibrahim Syukri 2002),³³ while C. Bailey and J. Miksic published an English translation in 1985.

– *Sejarah negeri Patoni*, a scroll of 86 folios, which was observed by Pierre Le Roux in 1993 and 1995 in the Pattani region. This document may be in Brunei today.³⁴

– *Tawarikh Raja Kota* is a text focused on a settlement located on the east bank of the Saiburi River. Although the original manuscript, compiled by Haji Abdul Rauf Bin Muhammad Dagang Agung (d. 1906), was destroyed in 1963, notes based on the text were prepared by his grandson and then translated into English by Wayne Bougas (2004: 263). The nine typewritten pages, a collection of short notes, contain several short sections relating to Patani.³⁵

Several manuscripts of a text entitled *Sejarah Patani* are listed in three institutions in Malaysia:

*** National Library of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur:**

– MS 1072A, [*Sejarah Patani*], a 40-page manuscript that seems to have been copied in 1198 H. (1783 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993a: 4; 1993c: 82).

32. Manuscript examined by Daniel Perret and Henri Chambert-Loir in August 1995. Henri Chambert-Loir (pers. com.) for the identification of the contents.

33. For a recent state of knowledge on the author and the text, see the preface by Hasrom bin Haron and Mohd Zamberi A. Malek in this new edition.

34. On the description of this manuscript, see Le Roux 1997: 323-331.

35. A *Tawarikh Raja Kota* has also been published recently by Mohd Shaghir Abdullah (2019: 41-51). It should be kept in mind that there is another text entitled *Tawarikh*. It is the *Tawarikh Patani* which offers an account on the period before the one we are interested in here (cf. Faqih Ali & Daud al-Fathani 2012; Ismail C. Denudon 2015: 19-29). The *Tarikh Petani* or *Tarikh Fathani* provides an other version (Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah 1991).

- MS 809, *Sejarah Patani*, a 66-folio manuscript with illuminations dated 1202 H. (1787 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1990: 39; 1993c: 73; Jelani Harun 2015: 59). According to Badariah binti Ahmad (2002/2003: 4), this manuscript is incomplete. According to Jelani Harun (2015: 59), the text shows many similarities and differences with the *Hikayat Patani*. According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50), the content of this manuscript focuses on the reign of Raja Biru, in particular the improvement of the irrigation system linked to the Kerisik River.
- MS 927(A), *Sejarah Patani*, a 29-folio manuscript, including some folios written on both sides, supposed to have been copied in 1230 H. (1814 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1990: 51; 1993c: 79). According to Mohd Zamberi A. Malek (2006: 50), this manuscript recounts the story of the kingdom of Patani from its foundation to its annexation by Siam.
- MS 1468A, [*Sejarah Patani*], an 8-folio manuscript (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993: 40; 1993b: 108).
- MS 2632(D), *Sejarah Patani*, a 13-folio manuscript (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 2002: 28).

*** Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur:**

- MS 181, *Sejarah Patani*, a 136-folio manuscript, some folios showing illuminations. Undated, it would be a text copied by al-Fakir Tengku Putra Almarhum Abdul Mutalib (Raja Masittah 1999: 55).
- MS 182, *Syair Negeri Patani*. It is undated according to Raja Masittah (1999: 47), while Jelani Harun (2015) mentions that it is dated 1351H (1933 CE). Copied in Patani by al-Fakir Wan Ismail, it includes 41 folios written in *jawi*. According to Jelani Harun, the content shows many similarities with the *Hikayat Patani* while being different regarding the account of a number of events, and it emphasises the conflicts with Siam.

*** Kelantan State Museum, Kota Bahru:**

- MZ (KN). 7:90, *Sejarah Patani*, a 39-folio manuscript, a copy supposed to have been made in 1250 H. (1834 CE) (Pusat Manuskrip Melayu 1993c: 13). This manuscript was transliterated by Badariah Binti Ahmas (2002/2003), who observed that the text looks very similar to those of manuscripts MS 1072A and MS 809 mentioned above. This is a relatively confusing text insofar as the folios are clearly disorganised. There are common episodes with the *Hikayat Patani*, often more detailed in *Sejarah Patani*. Some sections are absent in the *Hikayat Patani*. Its composition is to be compared to that of *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani* insofar as *Sejarah Patani* refers, accurately or inaccurately, to Western sources (mention of Mahāyāna Buddhism (p. 33, 35, 40, 62), of Alfonso d'Albuquerque and

Mendes Pinto (p. 49); mention of the year 1561 as marking the arrival of Europeans in East Asia (p. 47); of the year 1592: Japanese official delegation in Patani (p. 58) followed by the sending of two Patani delegations to Japan seven years later and in 1606 (p. 59); mention of migrations from Sumatra to Madagascar and the Pacific (p. 62); reference to Campā mentioned in history books on Indochinese ethnic groups (p. 64); section on Śrīvijaya and Majapahit (p. 66-69), or the account of a Frenchman on the death of Raja Kuning in 1674). *Sejarah Patani* is therefore the work of several learned people, whose additions made after the date of the copy mentioned in the manuscript (1250 H = 1834 CE) make its use very problematic for the period of interest here.

In addition, the library of the Leiden University (The Netherlands) keeps a copy of the Patani version of the *Undang-Undang Melaka* (Cod. Or. 3199-3) containing 32 folios (Wieringa, ed., 2007: 26).

The same institution has a manuscript entitled *Syair Perang Johor* (Cod. Or. 1761), which contains two texts, including a 34-folio document partly dealing with the relations between Johor and Patani in the seventeenth century (Mohd Yusof Md Nor 1997).

During his anthropological research in Pattani in 1956, Thomas M. Fraser collected a story from a certain Haji Wan Jussof, teacher in the Pattani area, a fragmentary souvenir based on a manuscript destroyed shortly before (Fraser 1960: 20-29).

Other Malay texts produced outside the Pattani region provide information on Patani's history for the period of interest here, such as *Sulalat-us-Salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu*).

b) Other Asiatic Sources

For the period of interest here, English translations of nine Chinese sources providing information on Patani have been published by Geoff Wade (2004: 56-59, 67-74). These are *Da Ming today-dian* (1503), *Xi-yang chao-gong dian-lu* (1520), *Si-yi-guan-kao* (late sixteenth century), *Tsang-wu zong-du jun-men-zhi* (1581), the sailing guidebook *Shun-feng xiang-song* (sixteenth century), *Wu-bei-zhi* (early seventeenth century), *Dong-xi-yang kao* (1618), *Ming Shen-zong Shi-lu* (1630), and *Hou-jian-lu* (second half of seventeenth century). The corpus is certainly larger.³⁶

The *Tōsen* reports are Japanese sources, which provide interesting information about Patani at the end of the seventeenth century. English translations of sections related to Patani were published by Yoneo Ishii (1998 and 2004).

36. See also Wade 2013.

As early as the 1430s, the Ryukyu archipelago, which extends between Taiwan and Kyushu Island, took advantage of its tributary relations with China to bypass restrictions on international trade. People from this region operated in the South China Sea as important trade intermediaries between China, Japan and Southeast Asia. Documents from this archipelago preserve traces of this activity, especially trade missions to Patani between 1490 and 1540. These documents were translated into English and published by Atsushi Kobata and Mitsugu Matsuda (1969).

c) Other Western Sources

Other Western sources include of course Iberian, VOC and East India Company (EIC) records, part of which has been published,³⁷ but they remain to be systematically exploited as far as the history of Patani is concerned. Some examples are given below.

In August 1602, as Jacob van Neck was about to leave Patani, two ships from Van Heemskerck's fleet, that had left the Netherlands in 1601, arrived in Patani. A document published by Tiele in 1883 provides some additional details about Patani recorded during this stopover.

As an admiral in the service of the VOC, Cornelis Matelieff de Jonge (ca. 1570-1632) spent more than three years in Asia between May 1605 and September 1608. Trade instructions issued by the VOC directors include striking up business agreements in various places, including Patani. Matelieff conducted dealings at the Johor royal court in Batu Sawar in September-October 1606. He went to the Strait of Malacca, to Johor, Banten, the Mollucas, the Philippines, the coast of China, and the coast of Campā (October 1607). From there, he despatched the *Mauritius* with Victor Sprinckel (already mentioned above) to Patani. He himself planned to call at Patani but weather forced him to call at Pekan, the port of Pahang.³⁸ Unfortunately, Sprinckel's account on his stopover at Patani is limited to a few lines on the commercial

37. Especially, as regards the VOC, the 21 volumes of the Batavia's *Daghregisters* (Cf. J.A. van der Chijs *et al.*, ed., 1887-1928), the six volumes of *Generale missiven* concerning the seventeenth century (Cf. W.Ph. Coolhaas, ed., 1960-76), or the seven volumes of records related to Jan Pietersz. Coen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies during the periods 1618-23 and 1627-29 (Colenbrander, ed., 1919-34; Coolhaas, ed., 1952), the six volumes of correspondence of the East India Company published by F.C. Danvers and W. Foster at the turn of the twentieth century (1896-1902), the letters related to the English factory in Siam, 1612-1685 (Farrington & na Pombejra, ed., 2007, 2 vols); other seventeenth century records related to the East Indies published by W.N. Sainsbury (*Calendar of State papers. Colonial series. East Indies....*(1513-1634), - 1870-1892, 5 vols.), as well as E.B. Sainsbury, ed., *A calendar of the court minutes, etc., of the East India Company* (1635-1679), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907-1938, 11 vols., etc.

38. Matelieff 2015: 73, 79, 91-92, 95.

situation in Patani in the diary of Matelieff's expedition.³⁹ But Matelieff's reports related to this expedition, recently published in English translation by Peter Borschberg (2015), reveal other valuable information, especially on the relationship between Patani and Johor.

The Dutch Jeremias van Vliet (ca. 1602-1663) is the author of the earliest detailed and most comprehensive first hand accounts of Ayutthaya and Siam, written between 1636 and 1640. Van Vliet enlisted with the VOC and arrived at Batavia in 1629. He was quickly ordered to the trading post at Hirado, Japan, where he became familiar with the Japan-Taiwan-Siam trade. After a four-year stay at Hirado, he was called back to Batavia and immediately left for Ayutthaya in order to build a permanent trading post there. He remained in the capital of Siam until 1642 before being appointed the same year as Governor of Malacca, a position he held until 1646, the year of his return to the Netherlands.⁴⁰ Van Vliet visited Patani at least once, in February-March 1642.⁴¹ But his writings, in particular *Description of the Kingdom of Siam* (1638) and *The short history of the kings of Siam* (1640), provide information about Patani as seen from the Siamese capital. The English translations of Van Vliet's four accounts have recently been gathered and annotated into one volume (Van Vliet 2005).

Born in Paris around 1662 or 1663, Nicholas Gervaise joined the Missions Etrangères de Paris (Paris Foreign Missions) and arrived in Siam in early 1681. He studied theology at the *Collège général* in Ayutthaya and learned the Siamese language. He returned to France in 1685, accompanied by two sons of the king of Makassar.⁴² His book on the kingdom of Siam was published three years later. Gervaise has never been to Patani, but devotes two pages to it, most probably based on information gleaned in Ayutthaya.

Before to end this section on Western sources, it is worth reminding that four texts are sometimes wrongly considered as providing first-hand information on the history of the Sultanate of Patani in the seventeenth century.

The first text is the compilation of Johan Nieuhof's travel notes.⁴³ Born in 1618 in Germany, near the border with the Netherlands, Johan Nieuhof enlisted for the VOC in 1653, arrived in Batavia the following year and accompanied an embassy to the court of China in 1655-7. After a short stay in the Netherlands, he left for the archipelago again and arrived in Batavia in 1659. As an *onderkoopman* (assistant-merchant), he went to Palembang,

39. *B & V*, II, 1646: 127.

40. A biographical note on Van Vliet and a presentation of the historical context during his stay in Ayutthaya is published in Van Vliet 2005 (p. 1-32).

41. *Dagh-Register* 1641-2: 120, 135, 153-6.

42. <http://archives.mepasie.org/fr/notices/notices-biographiques/gervaise>.

43. For a recent edition, see Nieuhof 1988.

Jambi, the Mollucas, Formosa, Melaka, Coromandel, Malabar and finally to Batavia before heading back to the Netherlands in 1671. His brother, Hendrik Nieuhof, added secondary material to his notes before publication, especially the section on Patani (pp. 182-184) (Reid 1988a). In fact, this section is a rather free combination of Jacob van Neck (1601-2), Roelof Roelofs (1601-2), and Peter Floris (1612-13) accounts offered in this volume.

The second text is the travel account of Jean Albert de Mandelslo. Born in Germany in 1616, he followed an embassy of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in Persia as a squire in 1633. In 1638, he continued his journey to India, from Surat to the Court of the Great Mogul, where he stayed for a few months before returning to Europe on an English ship.⁴⁴ All the sections regarding the regions to the east of India are therefore additions based on previous accounts. The four pages describing Patani (1727, vol. 1: 338-342) are taken from Dutch sources dated to the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially from Jacob Van Neck's account.⁴⁵

The third document is a very curious text. It is presented as the account of the life and travels in Southeast Asia, and in particular to Patani, of a certain John Smith at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. We are told that a merchant fleet commanded by "James Neccy," merchant and adventurer living in Haarlem, Holland, having obtained a charter from the States General to trade in the East, left Haarlem in February 1600 and arrived at Patani in early 1603. James Neccy left his assistant, John Smith, who would have lived there and travelled in the hinterland for some two years before his death in Patani. John Smith is described as holding the official position of Dato' Dagang, the link between the Court and foreigners, and to have been sent on a diplomatic mission to the hinterland by the Queen in order to "reconquer" the principality of Raman. The introduction of the book states that this account was delivered to his halfbrothers in England by a sea captain. Presented in the third person, the account focuses on describing the life at the Patani Court at the time, as well as the situation in the hinterland, where John Smith reportedly spent several months.⁴⁶ Upon its release, the book was received "as a pure romance of adventure [...] If only one or two rather warm passages were excised, this work could be issued as a book for boys [...] it reminds me throughout of Daniel Defoe and his *Adventures of Captain Singleton*?"⁴⁷ Some sections on Patani's customs remind of Jacob van Neck's account, including James Neccy, the name of the fleet commander. However, everything about the hinterland is not based on any other known contemporary account. The author, who obviously

44. Chauffepié 1753: 27-28.

45. A similar example is provided by Thomas Herbert's account published in 1638. See p. 315-316 regarding Patani.

46. Hale, ed., 1909.

47. Irvine 1910. See also the review of the book in *The Spectator*, July 10, 1909: 28.

knew the northern part of the Malay Peninsula well, drew inspiration from Van Neck's account on the one hand, and from information about the hinterland in the nineteenth century on the other, to offer a deceptive historical fiction.

The fourth document includes an episode taking place in Patani that is just as fictional as the previous story. Kept in a library in Salzburg, this document is described as a copy of C.M. Fernberger von Egenberg's account (2012: 119-127) of a journey around the world between 1621 and 1628. The author is supposed to have stayed in Patani from December 1624 until February 1625. During his stay, he allegedly commanded, at the Queen's request, a troop of slaves and Christians to repel a Siamese attack. The author does not provide any original details suggesting that he actually went to Patani and the account of his easy contacts with the queen is completely unlikely when compared with previous accounts by Van Neck and Floris.

4. Historiography of Patani

At the end of nearly two centuries of research, a brief overview of the accumulation of knowledge about the history of Patani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems useful here. Organized chronologically, it deals mostly with studies published in Latin characters.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Thomas John Newbold (1839, II: 68-71) was the first to report the existence of indigenous literature related to the history of the kingdom of Patani. He gave a brief summary of the content of a manuscript in his possession, in particular a list of rulers, and mentioned a series of events concerning Patani based on various Western sources. He also pointed to the account of Walter Henry Medhurst who, during his visit to Patani in 1830, noted the existence of "one old town a mile or two from the mouth of the river, formerly occupied by the Dutch."⁴⁸

In his *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* published in 1890, John Anderson⁴⁹ devoted several pages to the history of the factory of the East India Company in Patani (1612-1622), based on records preserved

48. Medhurst joined the London Missionary Society with the intention of working among the Chinese. He arrived in Malacca in 1817, then settled in Penang and Batavia before leaving for Shanghai in 1843 (Cf. J.J. Bonk, "Walter Henry Medhurst, 1796-1857" in <http://www.bdconline.net/en/stories/m/medhurst-walter-henry.php>). His account on Patani is probably to be found in "Journal of a Voyage up the East Coast of the Malayan Peninsula," a text published in the *Quarterly Chronicle of Transactions of the London Missionary Society* of July 1830, which we did not have access to.

49. Born in Edinburgh in 1833, John Anderson was appointed Professor of Natural Science there. He resigned the office in 1864 and was appointed Superintendent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the following year. He accompanied or led several expeditions between 1868 and 1881 (twice Western China through Burma and the Mergui Archipelago). Author of numerous papers on zoology, Fellow of many learned societies, he died in 1890 (*The British Medical Journal*, Sept. 8, 1900: 699).

in the India Office. Most of these passages focus on trade, but Anderson also provides information about the city of Patani and its rulers.⁵⁰

Visiting Patani in 1899 as part of a Cambridge University expedition, Walter William Skeat (1866-1953)⁵¹ was led unknowingly to the site of the former capital reported by Medhurst seventy years earlier. Nevertheless, he noted traditions relating to the graves of a certain To' Panjang and a gun maker named Che Long.⁵² These individuals appear in episodes of the *Hikayat Patani* that may have taken place during the period under consideration here. Skeat contributed in another way to local history studies by buying two old gold coins near Pattani.⁵³

Thanks to this initiative, it is probably Girolamo-Emilio Gerini's (1860-1913) note,⁵⁴ published in 1903, which represents the starting point of the studies on the ancient material culture of the Sultanate of Patani. This is a numismatic note concerning these two gold coins found among many others, around 1880, in the ground of a Siamese Buddhist monastery (*wat*) in the Jaring region (present Yaring, east of Pattani).⁵⁵ Gerini compared these coins with old South Indian coins known as *fanams*, the main difference being the presence of an inscription in Arabic characters on the Yaring coins.

In 1912, Phya Vijiengiri authored a chapter in Part III of the collection of Histories published by the Royal Historical Research Society of Siam dealing with the history of Pattani, including an account of the casting there of three large cannons later translated and published by C.A. Seymour Sewell (1922).

Following Sewell's publication, John Bowen, of the Royal Department of Mines at Pattani, visited the site of the old town in search of the old cannon foundry mentioned by Phya Vijiengiri and provided interesting details about its remains, while noting the discovery of coins inscribed with Chinese or Arabic characters (Bowen 1922).

50. Anderson reports for example that in early seventeenth century, English merchants learned in Japan that Patani and Hirado were sister ports (Anderson 1890: 53).

51. Posted as Assistant District Officer, then District Officer, in Selangor (1891-1897), W.W. Skeat is best known for his ethnographic work on Malays and "*orang asli*" of the Malay Peninsula (for a biographical note and his bibliography, see J.M. Gullick 1988).

52. Skeat 1901: 52-56, 1953: 26-30.

53. Skeat 1953: 73.

54. Born in Italy, G.E. Gerini arrived in Siam in 1881 and held various jobs. He was one of the founders of the Siam Society in 1904. He is known for his scholarly work on the ancient history of Siam and on the historical geography of Asia (for a biographical note, see L. Finot, "G.E. Gerini," *BEFEO* 14, 1914: 97-98).

55. In his 1871 synthesis, Millies (1871: 150) describes only one Patani coin. It is a tin coin from mid- nineteenth century.

Further numismatic discoveries in the northeastern part of the peninsula led to the publication of two new studies in the 1920s and 1930s (J.A.S. Bucknill⁵⁶ 1923; W.A. Linehan⁵⁷ 1934), which notably compare some of these finds with the Yaring coins published by Gerini.

In 1926, Jan Willem IJzerman (1851-1932)⁵⁸ published the first study on Patani based on VOC records, a very particular aspect as it focused on Dutch images trade in Patani at the very beginning of the seventeenth century.

The first scientific monograph on the history of the Sultanate of Patani was authored by Heert Terpstra (1884-1964)⁵⁹ who, in 1938, published a detailed study on the history of the VOC factory in Patani during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. To a chronological section devoted to the major events related to the history of this factory, the author adds several thematic studies, mainly on the economic context (the Chinese trade in Patani, the pepper trade, the role of the Patani factory in the VOC network, the Portuguese and the British). This study is based exclusively on Western sources, mainly VOC archives and Dutch publications. Abundantly documented, it remains a valuable study for the history of the VOC in the South China Sea.

56. John Alexander Strachey Bucknill (1873-1926) became Chief Justice in the Straits Settlements in 1914 and stayed there until 1920 when he moved to India. A keen ornithologist and lepidopterist, he became also president of the Numismatic Society of India (see <http://www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/BucknillTT.html>).

57. William A. Linehan (1892-1955) joined the Malaya Civil Service in 1916 and served in various states of the Peninsula where he stayed until 1955. He published a number of articles on local history, especially on the Pahang Sultanate (Jones 1984: 143-144).

58. A Lieutenant-engineer in the army (engineering), IJzerman took part in 1874 in an expedition on the west coast of Sumatra to identify the best route for a railway line destined for the transportation to the coast of coal recently discovered in the interior. He later held various positions in the Railway Service in Java before being appointed as director of the Railway Service in West Sumatra from 1887 until 1896. He returned to the Netherlands the following year where he started studies on the VOC, especially during the seventeenth century. Concurrently with his job of railway engineer, IJzerman played an important role in the archaeology of Java. He is the author of numerous studies published between 1886 and 1931 (for a biographical note focused on his activities in the Dutch East Indies, see F.D.K. Bosch (1932), <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn2/ijzerman>; for a more comprehensive biography and a bibliography, see F.C. Wieder 1934).

59. After completing his Ph.D. in Dutch literature in 1911, Terpstra taught history at the gymnasium in Hilversum until 1944, was then engaged as an historian at the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam until 1949. He published a number of studies on the history of VOC and Westerners in Asia, including one on the Dutch and the Coromandel coast in 1911 (for a list of his publications, see <https://www.dutchstudies-satsea.nl/deelnemers/terpstra-heert/>).

In 1939, Anker Rentse (1896-1950)⁶⁰ was the first to publish a typology of ancient gold coins from the northeast of the Malay Peninsula. It describes seven types, two of which are represented by coins found at Kerisik, the site of the former capital of Patani.⁶¹ He published an additional numismatic note on this corpus eight years later.

The second monograph on Patani was published in 1946 by Hsu Yun Tsiao (许云樵; Xu Yunqiao)(1908-1981).⁶² Based on publications in Thai, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages, this study in Chinese entitled *Beida nianshi* (A history of Patani) notably includes short biographical notes on pirates / merchants during the Ming dynasty.⁶³

Probably published in the late 1950s, *Sejarah Kerajaan Malayu Patani*, already mentioned above, deals with Pattani's history from its beginnings to the 1950s. The author uses various Western and Asian sources, especially Malay sources. This text is interesting not only for the variants and additions in comparison to the *Hikayat Patani* published some twenty years later by Teeuw and Wyatt, but also as a local and modern perception of Pattani's history.⁶⁴ At the same time, Akira Nagazumi (1959, 1960) published two studies in Japanese on the royal dynasty and the ruling class of Patani in the seventeenth century.⁶⁵

It is necessary to mention here, of course, the *History of Patani* authored by A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, published in 1970, which, in addition to a philological study including the Romanized Malay text and an English translation, provides a rich historical commentary on many of the issues raised by the text relating

60. Born in Denmark, Rentse arrived in Malaya in 1924 and worked initially in plantation estates. He then became an officer of the Kelantan Government until the Japanese invasion when he left for Singapore and later Australia. After the capitulation of the Japanese, Anker Rentse returned to Malaya with the British Military Administration and became a civil affairs officer in Kelantan. He published a number of ethnographical and historical studies on the Kelantan region (for a biographical note, see M.W.F. Tweedie 1951).

61. Rentse 1939: 89-90. On the same site, finds of gold coins bearing the effigy of a deer (*kijang*) and inscribed in Arabic characters were reported until at least the 1980s (Welch & McNeill 1989: 38).

62. Born in China, he arrived in Singapore in 1931 where he became a teacher. In 1933, he moved to Pattani where he taught until 1938. There, he learned the Thai language and became particularly interested in the history of Pattani and the history of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia on whom he published numerous studies (for a biographical note, see Claudine Salmon 1983).

63. An excerpt from the chapter on Lin Dao-qian has been translated into English by G. Wade (2004).

64. On Syukri's place in Patani's historiography, see especially Walker (2009: 329-332; 2013: 191-195, 207-208).

65. We were not able to consult these two studies. On Akira Nagazumi, see Lombard (1988), Carey (1988).

to the period of interest here. Their historical interpretation, based on Western historical studies, as well as Malay and Thai sources, shows that the text contains many historical facts useful for understanding the history of the sultanate. Teeuw and Wyatt (1970: 289-297) consider that this text is not a royal chronicle but, on the one hand, a dynastic myth of the kingdom intended to preserve and proclaim the memory of the sultanate's prestigious origin and past and, on the other hand, a normative guide for leaders and subjects.

As regards Portuguese and even Spanish historiography it is somewhat paradoxical that there is no study focused on local history, at least on official (or unofficial) relations between the Iberian states and the sultanate of Patani. All the more so since, as we will see in the chapter "Patani and the Luso-Asian Networks (1516-1642)," the contacts between the Portuguese (official and private), as well as Luso-Asians, and the sultanate of Patani are very early (1516), regular, intense and full of interesting changes during the period covered by this book. We will therefore have to make do with a brief presentation of books, articles or theses that more or less directly refer to Patani and its relations with Portuguese, Luso-Asians and Spanish. In some cases, these are just studies that provide (in a documental appendix) Portuguese and/or Spanish archive documents partially related to Patani and which have remained unpublished until now.

As is often the case in the historiography of the Portuguese presence in Asia, and particularly in Southeast Asia, a study by Luís Filipe Thomaz is pioneering. In this case, regarding Patani, his bachelor thesis (Thomaz 1964) deserves to be mentioned, not only for the various references to the relationship between Malacca and Patani (until 1580), but also for the various Portuguese archive documents (mostly from the Torre do Tombo National Archives) that he published in his volume 2.

The monograph of L.Y. Andaya (1975) on the history of the kingdom of Johor between the mid-seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, based particularly on VOC records, provides new information on relations between Patani and Johor.

In his study on the Dutch in Siam during the seventeenth century, George Vinal Smith (1977) mentions Patani several times, based on Dutch sources, especially with regard to its relations with Siam at the time.

That same year, another monograph on Patani was published, this time in *jawi*, entitled *Patani Dahulu dan Sekarang*, authored by A. Bangnara.⁶⁶ The period of interest here is mainly based on the study by Teeuw and Wyatt, on Syukri and on Thai historians' studies. The *Sejarah Melayu dan Patani*,

66. It is a translation of a book in Thai published in 1976 (Pattani: Adeet-Pachuban / Bangkok, Comrom Saengthian Press, 1976). Bangnara is supposed to be a pseudonym for a group of local authors (Walker 2009: 335, 337, 346; 2013: 199). Matheson & Hooker (1988: note 69 p. 11) also observe that Banganara is a place name, the modern name for Rangae or Legih (near Narathiwat). On the place of this work in Patani's nationalist historiography, see Walker (2013: 199-200, 208-209).

written by M.L. Manij Chumsai, published in Bangkok (Chaloemni) in 1974, is mentioned in Bangnara's book. We have not consulted this publication.

Also in 1977, Leonard Blussé used Dutch and Chinese sources to try to reconstruct the biography of Inpo, a Patani Chinese recruited as an intermediary by Van Warwijck to facilitate the VOC trade with China at the very beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷

Although not focused on the history of Patani, Dhiravat na Pombejra's Ph.D. thesis (1984) on the political history of Siam in the seventeenth century, notably from Dutch, French and British archives, bring new insights into the history of the relations between Patani and Ayutthaya.

In Patani, the first epigraphic studies were focused on Chinese graves. Thus, in the mid-1980s, W. Franke (1984) revealed, among others, the existence of an inscribed tombstone dated 1592 CE.⁶⁸ Still regarding the Chinese community of Patani, Wee Khoo Kock (1987: 223-25) refers to Kelantan traditions, some of which are said to go back to the end of the sixteenth century.

Patani and its surroundings also shelter old Muslim graves related to the history of the sultanate. These monuments are best known since Wayne Bougas' surveys in the 1980s.⁶⁹ In 1986, he published a study on two graves in the graveyard of Kubo' Barahom, then considered as the oldest Muslim cemetery in Patani. This cemetery is located in Ban Kru Se (Kerisik), on the site of the ancient capital of the Sultanate of Patani. The first attempts to decipher the inscriptions in Arabic were done by Othman bin Mohd Yatim and Hasan Muarif Ambary. Bougas argues that one of the grave belongs to the first king of Patani to convert to Islam. Two years later, the same author published a monograph on Muslim tombs in the Pattani region describing the various types of materials and styles up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The site of Ban Kru Se or Kerisik, the former capital of the Sultanate of Patani, is located by the sea, along the bay, about eight kilometres east of the present city of Pattani. Considering Medhurst's account at the beginning of the nineteenth century mentioned above, it can be deduced that the importance of this historical site has been preserved over the generations.⁷⁰ However, the first research only began in the mid-1980s, with surveys conducted by Sawang Lertrit,⁷¹ which revealed in particular the remains of old kilns.

67. See the account of Wybrandt van Waerwijck's stay in Patani in this volume.

68. For a recent reappraisal of the historical importance of this tombstone, see Salmon (2006: 163-166. 2018: 303).

69. The first known report of old Muslim graves in Pattani is probably to W.W. Skeat's credit in 1899 (1953: 25-29).

70. See also Ibrahim Syukri's book (1985: 20), which shows that the site is still correctly identified by the locals in the 1950s.

71. At the time a researcher at the Institute for Cultural Studies, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani.

Further surveys were carried out in Kerisik in 1986 and 1987 by an American-Thai team led by D.J. Welch and J.R. McNeill with the participation of Sawang Lertrit. They highlight the traces of a citadel, which can be identified as a trapezoidal area of about ten hectares surrounded by a moat, as well as concentrations of shards of imported stonewares and porcelains over an area of about 90 hectares. The Chinese ceramics collected on the surface were dated between the middle of the Ming and the end of the Qing dynasties, Tang and Song dynasties ceramics being absent.⁷²

In 1990, Wayne Bougas, on the basis of his own surveys and the recording of oral traditions carried out on the site in 1988, to which he added information taken from Chinese sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from published Dutch and British sources, as well as from three local texts in Malay, published a study on the site of the sultanate's ancient capital in Kerisik. He offered, in particular, a first schematic plan of the city.

In his synthesis on Malay historiography, Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (1988: 274-319; 1992: 263-304) carries out a comparative philological study of the *Hikayat Patani* based on the manuscripts in the Library of Congress and in Oxford University, on the Thai translation published in 1964, as well as on sections from one or several other manuscripts used by Ibrahim Syukri. He also questions the historical value of the text by analyzing several episodes.

In 1993, Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek published an essay offering a historical reconstruction. For the period of interest here, he produces a factual chronological narrative combining information published at the time (Portuguese sources, British, Malay texts and studies) with opinions of various local learned individuals.⁷³

The following year, Wayne Bougas offered a synthesis of the history of the Sultanate of Patani from Langkasuka, his supposed predecessor, to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Based on previously published field data, it also relies on local sources, especially the *Hikayat Patani*, from which the chronology is derived, as well as on the main foreign sources published at the time. Bougas reflects on the Islamisation of the region, the role of foreign merchants, the political history, as well as the external relations of the sultanate (Siam and Johor). Also in 1994, the old pottery kilns located in Ban Di, southeast of the Kerisik site, were reinvestigated.⁷⁴

The same year, Pierre Le Roux (1994) completed his PhD. thesis, which brings together oral traditions that shed new light on events that probably took place during the period of interest to us here.⁷⁵

72. Welch & McNeill 1989.

73. On the place of Mohd Zamberi A. Malek's publications in Patani's nationalist historiography, cf. Walker (2013: 191, 198, 201-202).

74. Sombatyanuchit *et al.* 2004.

75. Cf. also Le Roux 1998.

It was also in 1994 that Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani published his *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*. For the period of interest here, the author claims in particular the existence of sources in Kelantan that offer another version of Patani's history from the middle of the seventeenth century.

Strangely enough, we had to wait until the 1980s and early 1990s to have Patani back, even if indirectly, on the horizon of research produced in Portugal. We are talking about a set of master's theses from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, all or almost all of which were carried out under the supervision of Luís Filipe Thomaz. They are monographs on the contacts of the Portuguese with states or regions of Southeast Asia (Siam, Maluku, Strait of Malacca) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, built on archival materials predominantly unpublished and deposited in Portuguese archives, and in which, in one way or another, allusions to Patani appear. Of course, the one in which Patani is most quoted is that of Maria da Conceição Flores (Flores 1995), since it is focused on the historical relations between Portugal and Siam in the sixteenth century. This study is a chronological and descriptive view, with a strong empirical bias, including some sections in which Patani is mentioned, although never in an autonomous way. This work by Flores has a parallel on the Spanish side in the study of Florentino Rodao, namely the one focused on the Spanish presence in Siam (Rodao 1997).

In the same cycle of Flores' historiography, although with another analytical depth, we have the works of Paulo Jorge Pinto (2012) and Manuel Lobato (1999). These works focus on the interactions, whether cooperation or conflict, between the *Estado da Índia*, some private Portuguese operators in Southeast Asia and powers, states and economic agents in this region. Both studies are predominantly based on Portuguese (and some European, mainly Spanish) documents and include brief references to Patani.

Already in 1996, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (1996), another researcher of the *nouvelle vague* of the History of Portuguese Expansion (also very much linked to Thomaz), although more focused on Japan, had published documentary materials, few but relevant, that focused on the first phase of Portugal's trade and diplomacy with the Chinese empire (1508-1531), and of which Patani was part.

In this same "generation" of then young historians of Portuguese expansion in Asia, but seeking a more local perspective, Jorge Santos Alves (always supervised by Thomaz, but strongly influenced by Denys Lombard) published his master's thesis (Alves 1991, 1999) on the relations between the sultanates of Pasai and Aceh and the Portuguese (1509-1580). This is a monographic study based on Malay (and other Asian) and Portuguese (and other European) sources, in which some elements of analysis and documentation related to Patani emerge.

In 1998, Yoneo Ishii published a corpus of fragments from Japanese sources (*Tôsen* reports) in English translation, which provide information on the history of the kingdom of Patani at the end of the seventeenth century.

These accounts from Chinese sailors who called at Nagasaki reveal notably that the system of female rule lasted at least until the end of the century, the severe inconvenience of its port, and shed light on long-distance commercial activities at the time.

A new intensive pedestrian survey of the site of the former capital of the kingdom at Kerisik (Ban Kru Se) was carried out in 1997 by Daniel Perret with the main objective of gathering a large quantity of imported stoneware and porcelain shards in order to get a more precise idea of the topographical extension and chronology of the site.⁷⁶ Between 1997 and 2000, he undertook archaeological research at several fortified sites in the hinterland, as well as a new survey of old Muslim tombstones, supplemented by a systematic study of Arabic inscriptions by Ludvik Kalus. Combined with information from various local and foreign sources, this research resulted in the publication in 2004 of a collective volume edited by D. Perret, A. Srisuchat and S. Thanasuk.

Daniel Perret (2004b) focuses on external factors in the form of regional dynamics at work in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which may have led to the emergence of the Sultanate of Patani. He suggests that it was on the initiative of a Chinese-Japanese-Malay core that Patani developed as an emporium where Chinese products were exchanged for products from the Archipelago.

Geoff Wade's contribution (2004) includes translations in English of a number of Chinese sources useful to elucidate aspects of the past in the coastal region on the eastern side of the peninsula, extending from Chaiya to Pahang.

The identification of more than 3,500 stoneware and porcelain shards collected during the 1997 survey on the site of the old capital at Kerisik (Ban Kru Se) reveals that they are not older than the second half of the fifteenth century and highlights a great period of importation – and thus of prosperity – between the turn of the sixteenth century, the main period of Chinese imports in Patani, and the end of the seventeenth century (Dupoizat 2004a). Results of this survey also allow to suggest a new schematic reconstitution of the plan of the capital of the sultanate by the beginning of the seventeenth century (Perret *et al.* 2004). Further archaeological research conducted in the six best-preserved fortified sites in the Pattani area between 1997 and 2000 did not reveal evidence to support the idea that the coastal site of Kerisik (Ban Kru Se) is the direct heir to a site in the hinterland of Pattani.⁷⁷

The same volume includes a study on the remains of several old pottery kilns at the eastern edge of Ban Kru Se (Sombatyanuchit *et al.*, 2004), a comprehensive and detailed catalogue of old Muslim tombstones supplemented with an essay on the possible routes for the early Islamisation of Patani, including Chinese, Middle-Eastern or Indian, and Southeast Asian networks

76. It should be noted that all the shards collected by the American-Thai team were no longer available for study in 1997.

77. Perret *et al.* 2004; Dupoizat 2004b.

(Perret 2004c), a study of Arabic inscriptions on old tombstones from four cemeteries, including one belonging to a king (Kalus 2004). The volume ends with an essay on the role of Patani in the long-distance trade networks of the seventeenth century (Perret 2004d), and a study of the early history of Sai (or Saiburi), a small independent kingdom located to the southeast of Patani, that was later absorbed by Patani (Bougas 2004).

In 2002, Peter Borschberg published a study about the context of one of the episodes of the Luso-Dutch hostilities in Southeast Asia, precisely the capture of the ship *Santo António* at Patani in February 1605.⁷⁸ According to Borschberg, this event marked an important shift in Patani's relations with the Portuguese and paved the way for better relations with the Dutch.

The violent conflict that has been raging in the Pattani region since the mid-2000s also has an impact on historical research. Fieldwork has become very difficult and even impossible in a number of areas. For the period of interest here, since then studies are mainly focused on Malay texts, both in terms of their content and the context of their production, as well as on the history of ethnic identities. Historiography is also enriched by new data revealed by studies on other regions in the Far East.

In 2006, Mohd Zamberi A. Malek published a state of knowledge on the texts *Tarikh Patani* and *Hikayat Patani*. The first concerns a period preceding the one of interest here. The author compares several manuscripts of the *Hikayat Patani* with each other (that of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, that collected by Skeat, two Thai manuscripts), as well as with *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani* of Ibrahim Syukri. He also reflects on the authors of the *Hikayat Patani*, the authenticity of facts mentioned in the text, the relations between Patani and the Siam's rulers, the relations between Patani and Johor in the seventeenth century, as well as Malay elements in the court's culture.

It is from the moment that Jorge Santos Alves began to study and publish about the international port of Macau, in South China, that Patani entered the radar of his publications, given the close relations between the sultanate and the Luso-Asian port at least since the beginning of the sixteenth century. His doctoral thesis (Alves 2003), comparing the political, social and economic dimensions of three pivotal sultanates of the Strait of Malacca (Pasai, Aceh and Malacca-Johor) has some inevitable references to Patani. But it is his studies on Macau (especially Alves 2007, 2010, 2018) that highlight strong connections with the history of the sultanate, both from the point of view of thematic and geographical connections, as well as archival materials. The common denominator of these studies is the commercial partnership of Portuguese and Portuguese-Asian businessmen with Asians, mainly overseas Chinese, many of them established in the ports of the Strait of Malacca, as well as in Patani.

78. See the account of Wybrandt van Waerwijck's stay in Patani in this volume.

A collective volume published in 2008 (Montesano & Jory, eds.) highlights new research directions, including studies on the history of ethnic identity, in particular Malay identity (Reid 2008), as well as the political context of production of the *Hikayat Patani* (Virunha 2008).

It is also in 2008 that, based on numerous published sources and studies, Francis R. Bradley published a study on the roots of the sultanate's economic development in the sixteenth century. The author discerns three phases dominated successively by relations with the Ruykyu archipelago, the Patani-Fujian-Portuguese trade networks, and then the role of the "pirates" group led by Lin Dao-Qian. In a study published the following year, Bradley suggested a new hypothesis on the social context of the putting together of the *Hikayat Patani*: the serious political and economic crisis at the beginning of the eighteenth century prompted members of the sultanate's elite to produce a text combining oral tradition and narrative of contemporary events.

In a study presented at a conference held in Bangkok in 2009 (published in 2013) Anthony Reid emphasizes the diversity of origins of the Patani's leading figures and population from the beginning of the sultanate. He claims that this complexity is accentuated by the emergence of hybrid communities far from the stereotypes dominant from the twentieth century. The same year, Barbara Watson Andaya suggested reading in the *Hikayat Patani* the expression of remembrance sites as identity markers of the sultanate (study published in 2013).

In 2011, Nathan Porath suggested keys to the interpretation of the *Hikayat Patani* with regard to the relations between Patani and Ayutthaya on the one hand, and Patani and Johor on the other. The same year, based on numerous published sources and studies, Stefan Amirell compared the reigns of the Patani queens, concluding that the first three had real authority based on economic autonomy and ability to amass a large private fortune through foreign trade.

Among André Murteira's studies, more focused on the rivalry between Portugal and the Netherlands in Southeast Asia, stands out his doctoral thesis, which has since been published (Murteira 2012). It contains several allusions to Patani, as one of the poles of the Luso-Dutch conflict.

In 2015, Jelani Harun offered the first study on the content of the manuscript entitled *Syair Negeri Petani* kept in the library of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur. Like the *Hikayat Patani*, part of the manuscript concerns the period of interest here, in particular the reigns of the queens. The same year, Ismail C. Denudon published a historical monograph on Patani from the pre-Islamic period to the 2000s. For the period under consideration here, the text combines elements from the *Hikayat Patani* with data from foreign sources already published.

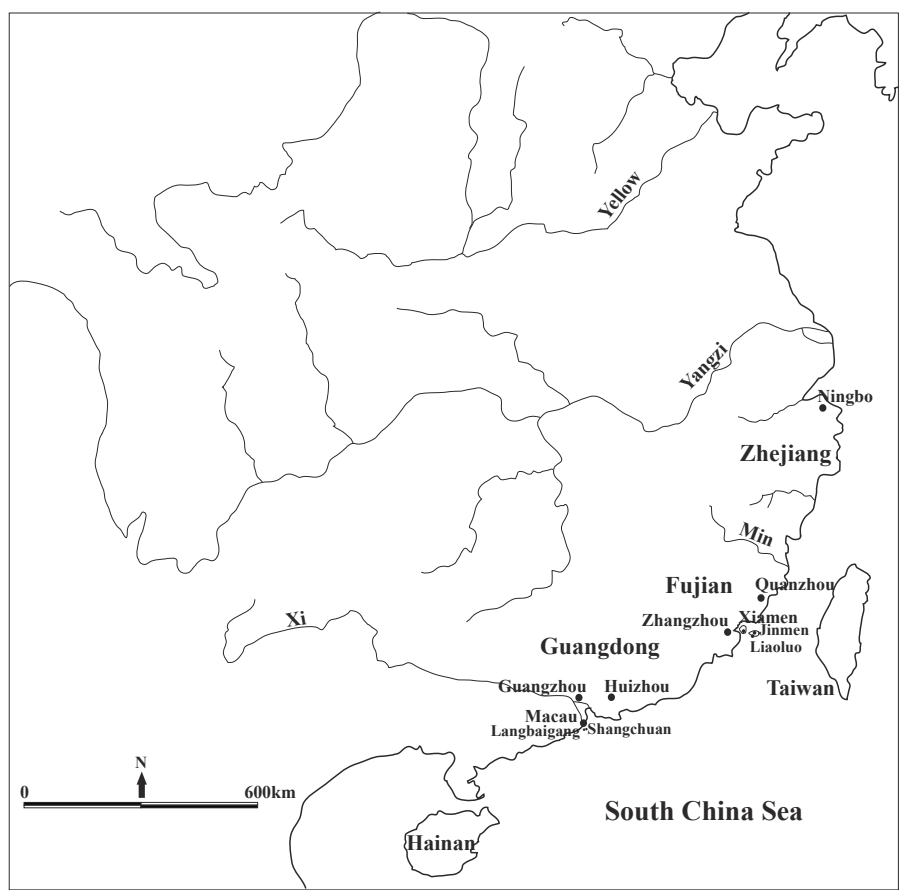
In 2018, Raja Iskandar Bin Raja Halid highlighted the function and importance of the royal musical ensemble (*nobat*) in the political culture of the sultanate.

Finally, recent studies on the history of the China coast in particular and the South China Sea in general provide new information on "pirates" who

called at Patani during the sixteenth century (Calanca 2001; Chin 2007). Piyada Chonlaworn's (2017) most recent study thus provides a synthesis of the various sources relating to Lin Dao-Qian.



Map 1 – Main Southeast Asian place names mentioned in this volume.



Map 2 – Main place names in China mentioned in this volume