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Patani in the Beginning of the XVII^e Century

Introduction

The 15th and 16th centuries witnessed the rise and proliferation of coastal, Muslim states based on trade in peninsular Malaysia and the Indonesian archipelago. Examples were Aceh, Malacca, Johor, Patani, Banten, Demak, and Makassar.

This paper will focus on only one of these states, Patani, located on the Malay Peninsula in what is today modern Thailand.

The paper seeks to describe the form that Patani took, how it physically manifested itself, in the early 1600's during Raja Ijau's reign when the city was most prosperous and powerful. It describes the various districts, edifices, and monuments that made up the city and explains where they were located in relation to each other. In a sense this article is a guide to a 17th century Malay city.

The paper begins with a brief summary of Patani's early history down to 1785 when the city was destroyed by Bangkok. This history is followed by a general description of the city in the early 1600's. Principal areas in the town and their locations relative to one another are identified. Next a detailed district by district description of the town is provided. The palace, the citadel, the town proper and merchants quarters, and the harbor along with other sites are described.

The description of 17th century Patani contained in this paper is based on the following literary sources :

- Eighteenth and nineteenth century Chinese accounts of the Malay Peninsula.
- Early European (Dutch and English) accounts of the Patani.

– Local histories like the *Hikayat Patani*, *Tarikh Patani* and *Tawarikh Raja Kota*.

Two extensive field surveys were also carried out in January and May 1988 by Mr. Rahim Bitheng, a research assistant from East Java, students from the College of Islamic Studies, Prince of Songkhla University, Patani, and myself. During the surveys oral histories and folk tales pertaining to sites were collected; place names were also collected and analyzed. These oral histories played a key role in locating places mentioned in historical literature.

Patani town has not yet been excavated. It is hoped that this paper will encourage excavation of the site. Such archaeological work will corroborate, perhaps in instances even call into question, and most definitely help complete the picture of Patani drawn here.

Brief history of Patani

By the 5th century A.D. a number of small, Indianized mini-states had developed in Southern Thailand. The most prominent mini-state to eventually emerge in the Patani region was «Langka Suka». Langka Suka is first mentioned in the History of Liang Dynasty (502-556 AD). «It was then an important trading port for Asian sailors, particularly when mariners began to sail directly across the Gulf of Siam from the southernmost tip of Vietnam to the Malay Peninsula, which often brought them to landfall in the region of Patani» (Wyatt, 1970 : I, 3).

The transition from Langka Suka to Patani is not clear. The *Hikayat Patani* mentions «Kota Ma(h)ligai» as Patani's immediate predecessor. Syukri suggests that a small coastal fishing village gradually arose at the expense of an earlier inland kingdom in the region and developed into a bustling port, to which the ruler of the inland town – Kota Mahligai – eventually moved his *kraton* or palace, thus founding Patani (Wyatt, 1970 : I, 3).

It is not known for certain when the move from Kota Mahligai to Patani occurred. Wyatt suggests a late date and believes the city was founded sometime between 1350-1450 at a time of expanding trade, increasing Thai interest in the peninsula, and the spread of Islam (Wyatt, 1970 : I, 3).

Little is known of Patani's history prior to 1500. Three themes, however, emerge during this formative period : Patani's incorporation into the Thai sphere of influence on the peninsula, its conversion to Islam, and its economic rise.

Patani was initially dominated by the Thai state of Nakorn Sri Thammarat but later became a vassal of Ayuthya. Connections with Ayuthya at times benefited the small kingdom. During the 15th century, for instance, as Malacca came to dominate much of the lower Malay Peninsula, Patani

was protected by Ayuthya and was able to retain its independence. As a vassal, Patani, however, was obliged to provide levees of troops for Ayuthya's costly wars with Burma and Cambodia. Such demands for manpower could be and were quite onerous for a small state like Patani.

Patani most probably converted to Islam sometime during the middle or second half of the 15th century. One ancient manuscript states that Patani's king converted in 1470 A.D..

It was the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, that catapulted Patani to economic prominence in the 1500's. By the fifteenth century the most important commercial zone in Southeast Asia centered on the Straits of Malacca. Malacca dominated this zone. The appearance of the Portuguese and their capture of Malacca in 1511 shattered this zone and disrupted the flow of international trade. Portuguese exactions and extortion there made trade unprofitable (Wyatt, 1970 : I, 7). Muslim merchants sought alternate ports and routes to continue their trade while avoiding Malacca. They eventually chose Aceh, Johor and Patani.

The Chinese also favored Patani, making it the doorway to East Asia. Chinese merchants preferred foreign ports nearer to China. Risks and expenses for short voyages were smaller and thus profits were larger. Profits at Patani, for example, were one third more again than in Banten (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962 : 265).

Sixteenth century Dutch records reveal the importance and influence of Chinese traders in Patani :

« By far the most important as importers here (Patani) were the Chinese, supplying silk and other articles on their annual journeys... The Malays main occupation was farming and fishing. But hardwork and overseas trade was left to the Chinese part of the population. The Chinese excelled in this activity and also in intrigues. They did not spare themselves any trouble, labor, neither treachery, theft, or any vile thing to earn money. Therefore in Patani they were the richest and stood in high favor with the queen.» (Terpstra, 1938)

Patani's expanding role in Southeast Asian trade during the 16th century is also evidenced by the fact that Europeans newly arrived on the scene made straight for Patani. By 1540 three hundred independent Portuguese traders, for example, had settled in Patani (Syukri, 1985 : 19). The Dutch arrived later in 1602 and the English in 1612.

Patani reached the height of its prosperity during Raja Ijau's reign (1584-1616) but this prosperity was short-lived and lasted approximately 100 years (1584-1688). Commerce during this period focused on pepper collected from surrounding regions to be traded by Chinese merchants in return for silk and porcelain (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962 : 76). Indian textiles were also brought to Patani and exchanged again for pepper, and gold and

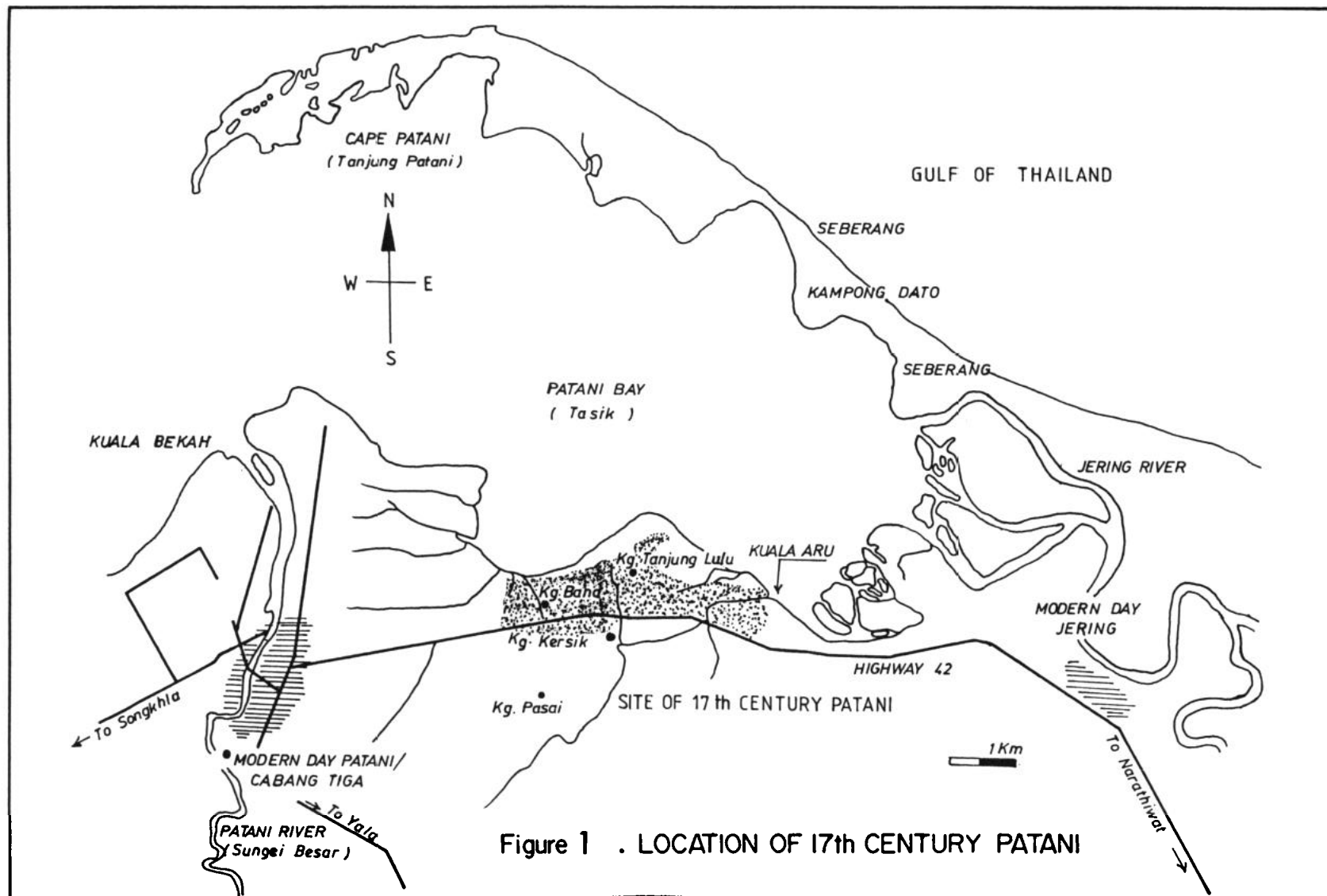


Figure 1 . LOCATION OF 17th CENTURY PATANI

food stuffs. Both the Chinese goods and the Indian textiles were presumably marketed by Malay merchants of Patani in Thailand and through the Indonesian archipelago to the north coast ports of Java, Makassar, and Sumatra (Meilink-Roelofs, 1962 : 169-170).

Patani sought to assert its independence after the fall of Ayuthya to the Burmese in 1767. The Thais retaliated and destroyed the city in 1786. The destruction was so complete that the site was abandoned and a new city eventually founded on the banks of the main channel (Sungai Besar) of the Patani River where it has remained to this day.

Site of the old City

The *Hikayat Patani*, early European sources, and oral tradition locate ancient Patani near present day Kampong Kersik (Thai : Ban Kru Se), a small Malay village located six kilometers east of modern Patani on Highway 42 (fig. 1).

Archaeological evidence supports this location as that of the former capital. Several physical features of the site agree with description of Patani in the *Hikayat Patani*. Aerial photographs reveal the outline of a 10 hectare rectangular area surrounded by moats just east of Ban Kru Se. This area may have comprised the central citadel and the residence of the royal family, while much of the population probably lived and conducted trading activities outside the walls, where concentrations of potsherds are found over an area of about 90 hectares. The density of sherds here is far greater than can be found anywhere else in the Patani basin. Ayuthya period earthen wares are common. Stoneware and porcelain, mostly of Chinese origin, appear to date from the middle Ming (1368-1643 A.D.) through late Qing (1644-1911 A.D.) dynasties and provide clear evidence of the importance of international trade at this site (Welch and McNeil, 1987 : 368).

The city was built on a series of ancient sand dunes paralleling the coast of Patani Bay. These were formed by the action of ocean currents on silt deposited by Patani River along the coast. Patani's location on sand dunes near the coast was not unique. Alternating beach ridges and lowlands are characteristic of the east coast of Peninsular Thailand. Other ancient sites most notably Chaiya, Nakorn Sri Thammarat, and Satingphra in the Songkhla lake region were also constructed on beach ridges.

Settlement on beach ridges along the east coast allowed people to be near the coast, where they could fish or trade, but still be above the flood plain. Coconut and fruit trees could also be grown on the sandy soil of the ridges, while the lower, fertile land between the ridges could be planted with wet rice (Miksic, 1977 : 161).

The ridge on which Patani was situated ultimately determined the town's basic shape. The old city, like the ridge on which it rested, was much lon-

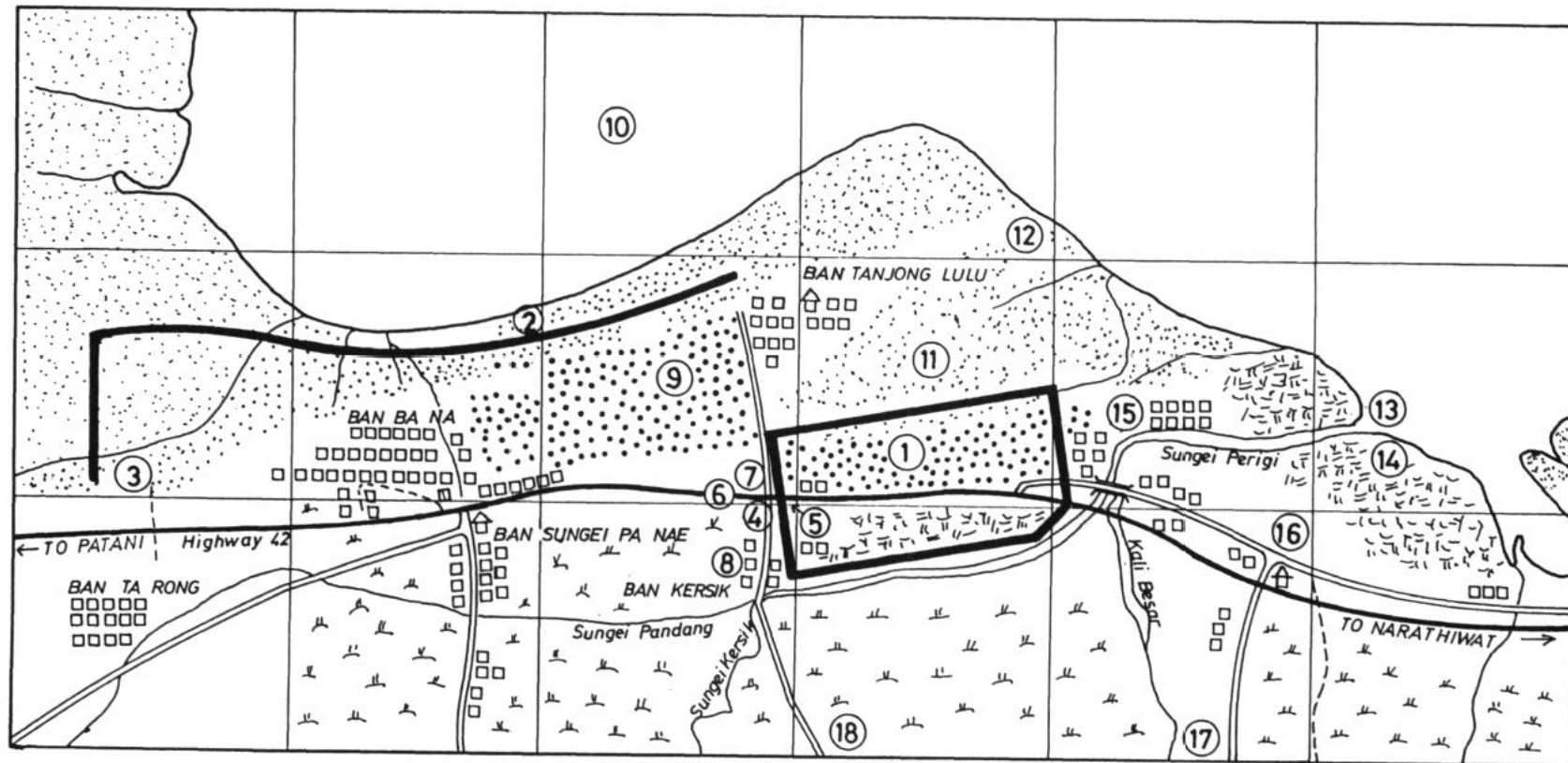


Figure 2 . CITY OVERVIEW :
ANCIENT SITES AND MODERN LANDMARKS

ger than it was wide. Early 17th century Dutch accounts of Patani confirm the city's characteristic narrowness : «the town of Patani was a very long city, as long as old Amsterdam but not very wide» (Ijzerman, 1926 : 88).

Patani's location may have also been determined in part by the fact that the site was bounded on east and west by two channels of the Patani River. The river most probably emptied into the Bay via Sungai Perigi and Kuala Aru at the time the city was founded. By the 16th century, however, the main channel had shifted westward to its present course (Sungai Besar) and emptied into the bay via «Kuala Bekah». Both channels were connected by a series of smaller rivers and canals most notably Sungai Kersik and Sungai Pandang. It was once possible to circumnavigate old Patani via this system of rivers and canals. Some of these waterways actually remained navigatable until the turn of the last century.

Benefits derived from settlement between the two principal channels of the Patani River were many. Patani was able to control and extract revenue from any commerce moving up as well as down the river. The city was also strategically protected both on its western and eastern flanks by «Sungai Besar» and «Sungai Perigi» respectively. Finally, the system of rivers, canals and moats that encompassed Patani not only facilitated communications but also served as the principal means of transportation for people and goods.

City overview (fig. 2)

The citadel ⁽¹⁾ or *kota raja* as it was known in Patani, was a walled and moated collection of buildings located at the symbolic center of the kingdom where the king, his family and the aristocracy lived. In Java this complex is commonly called the *kraton*.

The *bandar* or city proper, was located directly west of the citadel. It was protected on its seaward, western and southern sides by earthen walls ⁽²⁾ known locally as *kubu* which were said by local villagers to have once been six to eight feet thick in places. The town gate ⁽³⁾ or *Pintu Besar* was located in the western wall facing the direction of Sungai Besar. The heart of the *bandar* was the town square ⁽⁴⁾ or *padang* which was situated directly opposite the citadel's main gate known as «Pintu Gerbang» ⁽⁵⁾. Patani's oldest mosque ⁽⁶⁾ may have been located on the western side of this square, and Patani's first market ⁽⁷⁾ or *kedai* may have been situated on its northern side. The Merchants Cemetery or «Kubo Dagang» ⁽⁸⁾ was south of the *padang*. The harbor area and merchant quarters ⁽⁹⁾ were located seaward and westward of the *padang*. Ships were anchored about a half mile off the *bandar* in the shallow waters of Patani Bay ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Salt-pans ⁽¹¹⁾ where salt was produced were situated directly north of

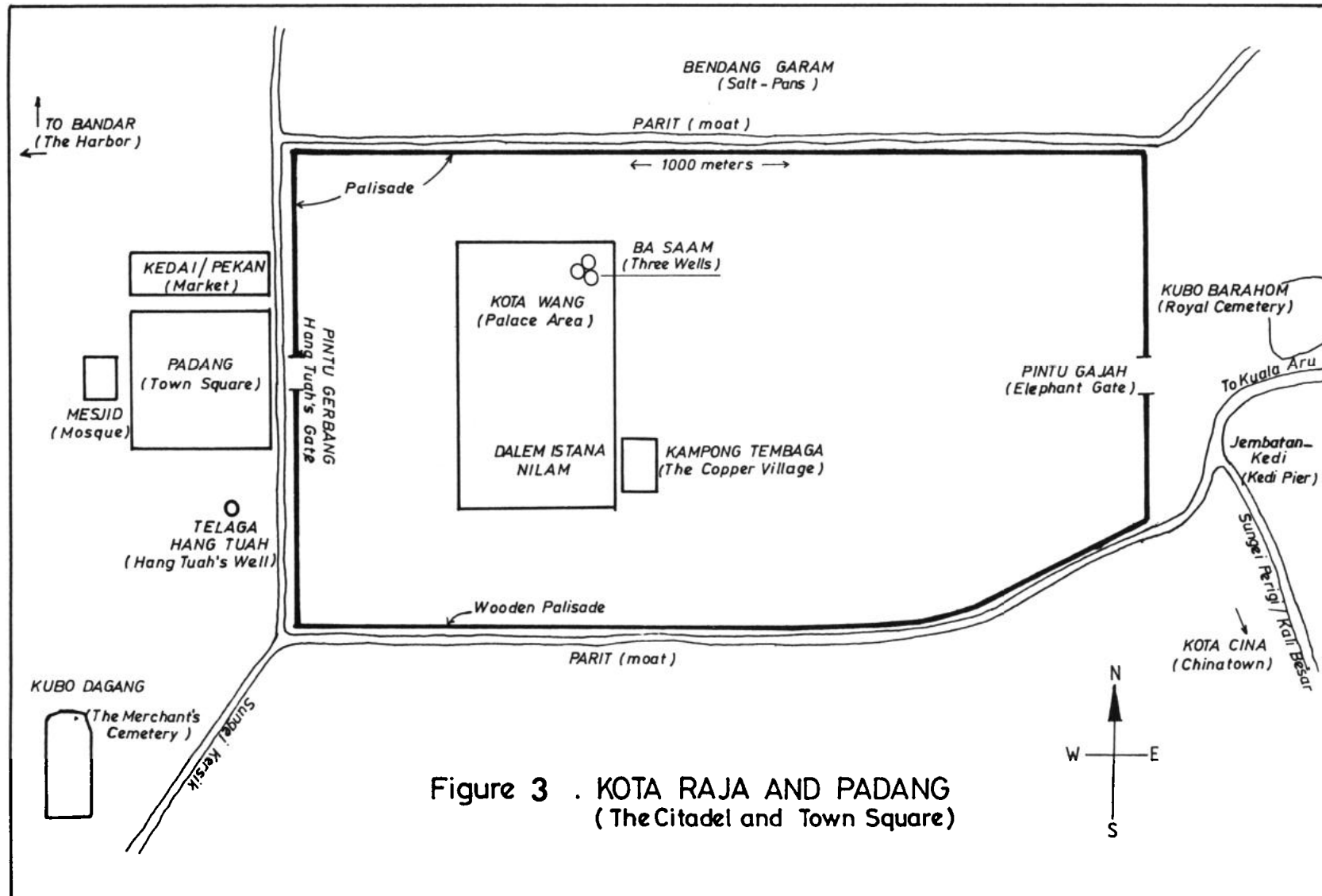


Figure 3 . KOTA RAJA AND PADANG
(The Citadel and Town Square)

the citadel. Further north just along the bay is an area formerly known as «Kubo Bukit Cina» ⁽¹²⁾ where one of the oldest Chinese cemeteries in Southeast Asia is located. The cape across the bay was a desolate area normally used for hunting, although a royal cemetery, «Kubo Tok Panjang», had already been established there as early as the 16th century.

«Sungai Perigi» emptied into Patani Bay east of the citadel at «Kuala Aru» ⁽¹³⁾. Native ships or *perahu* may have once anchored here. A customs house ⁽¹⁴⁾ may also once have been erected at Kuala Aru to collect duties on shipping entering or leaving the river. The royal cemetery ⁽¹⁵⁾, Kubo Barahom, was situated on the eastern side of the citadel. Elephant corrals were also located here just across the river at «Kampong Kedi» ⁽¹⁶⁾. One of the three Thai Buddhist temples, or *wats*, described by the Dutch in 1648 may also have been located in this village.

A Chinese quarter known as «Kota Cina» ⁽¹⁷⁾ was situated approximately 1,5 kilometers up Sungai Perigi or Kali Besar, southeast of the citadel, at «Kampong Pengkalang Besar». A large Chinese mart known as «Kedai Cina» was also located here.

The citadel, in fact, the entire city of Patani were bordered on the south by bogs and rice *padi* ⁽¹⁸⁾.

District by District Description of the City

This section of the paper will describe in detail how Patani may have appeared in the early seventeenth century. The citadel will be described first, then the *padang*, *bandar*, and eastern sector of the town. The peripheral areas to the north and south will be dealt with last. Where possible and appropriate the paper tries to link historical events and important people in Patani's past with the sites described.

1. The Citadel (Kota Raja)

The citadel (fig.3) was a fortified area where the royal family and *orang kaya* lived. Craftsmen and artisans such as copper and goldsmiths and wood carvers also probably lived in the citadel. Besides serving as a residence the citadel also functioned as a standing garrison. Almost every noble had a band of followers or retainers living in the citadel who could be armed and called upon to protect the city in time of emergency. The citadel was also spacious enough to serve as a refuge for the residents of the *bandar* if the port were attacked.

a) Fortifications

The citadel area was rectangular in shape and aligned to the cardinal directions. It was approximately 1000 meters long and 500 meters wide and covered an area of approximately 10 hectares.

The citadel was originally fortified. In 1602 the Dutch described these fortifications as follows :

« The place where the palace of the queen is and where the most powerful people of the town live is surrounded by a palisade... of big square wooden beams, placed tightly together and powerfully driven into the ground; these beams tower so high above the ground that they seem like the masts of a ship.» (Ijzerman, 1933 : 88)

The Portuguese d'Eredia writing in Malacca in 1613 sheds additional light on Malay citadel defences. In describing traditional Malay fortifications, he notes that fortresses were usually structures of earth placed between upright planks (Mill, 1930 : 33). Perhaps the beams which the Dutch described at Patani were simply the outer wooden shell of an earthen wall that encompassed the citadel.

The citadel's walls were protected with light arms. The *Hikayat Patani* notes that when the Javanese from Palembang attacked Patani in 1563, they did not succeed in approaching the foot of the wall, as there were too many guns (Malay : *bedil*) on top of it, all around the walls at intervals of only a fathom (Malay : *depa*) (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 164).

The citadel was also surrounded by a moat, which Syukri says, was created by digging a trench connecting the Kersik and Perigi rivers on the inland side of the citadel. Moats were also characteristic of traditional Malay fortifications. D'Eredia again writes that in addition to their fortifications, «they (the Malays) dig deep pits in front of their wooden fences; these pits contain traps and pointed sticks treated with poison» (Mill, 1930 : 33).

There is evidence that the moat on the inland side of the citadel may once have been located within the walls and actually flowed through the *kota* providing its inhabitants with fresh water for drinking and bathing.

The citadel had two gates, large enough for elephants to pass through, one in its western wall, the other at its eastern end. The western gate was called «Pintu Gerbang». *Gerbang* means gate in Javanese. It was also traditionally known as «Hang Tuah's Gate». The eastern gate was known as «Pintu Gajah» or the Elephant Gate. It may have derived its name from the fact that the king's elephants were at one time corraled outside the citadel east of this gate. The Dutch in 1602 noted that this gate was heavily defended : «... from an eastern point of view, it is very fine but strong town, fortified with cannon. There is amongst others a cannon at the gate much bigger than the biggest in Amsterdam...» (Ijzerman, 1933 : 38).

Informants in Patani say that the city's twin gates are described in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. They add that this description depicts the gates as adorned with *nagas* or serpents. Their function most probably was to keep watch over those who entered the citadel and protect it from both mortal

and other worldly enemies.

Nothing remains of Patani's fortifications today except the moat. It is now planted with rice and is easily identified from aerial photos.

b) *The Palace (Kota Wang)*

The most prominent and important building in the citadel was the royal palace known as «Kota Wang» or «Mahligai Kota». *Wang* is a Thai word meaning palace and *mahligai* is a Malay word of Tamil origin that also means palace.

It is extremely difficult to describe what a 17th century palace in Patani looked like. None have survived and descriptions that have survived are fragmentary and incomplete. The reconstruction offered here is based on passages from the *Tawarikh Raja Kota* and the *Hikayat Patani*, 17th century Dutch accounts, and oral traditions. Other palaces in Patani, Malaysia and Indonesia, as well as traditional East Coast Malay house forms help to complete the picture.

Oral traditions place the palace in the western half of the citadel at a spot popularly known today in Thai as «Ba Saam» or the Three Wells. Patani's queens are said to have once bathed here. The outline of three ancient brick wells, now almost completely filled in, can still be seen. Villagers interviewed say that the palace extended south across modern Highway 42 and included the area where Setri Patanak Seksa Girls School is now located. High concentrations of Chinese sherds and shattered Ayuthyan earthenware in this area support these traditions and attest to the importance of the site.

The palace was surrounded by a wooden wall most likely square or rectangular in shape. The wall seems to have had one gate, called «Pintu Wang», big enough for an elephant to pass. The gate was guarded day and night and opened every morning at the sound of the mosque drum calling people to prayer (Wyatt, II : 1970 : 172).

The palace was probably a rectangular building raised high up off the ground on pillars of Chengal wood (*Tawarikh Raja Kota*). Its floor was so high that a man may have been able to walk under it. It may have had as many as a hundred supporting pillars.

Its walls were also made of planks of Chengal wood. The Dutch wrote in 1602 that the walls of the palace were decorated with gold panels and wood carvings (Ijzerman, 1933 : 87). The Dutch may have been referring to the carved grills traditionally found over windows and doorways in Malay houses.

The roof of the palace was probably made of sago palms tied together with rotan. It may have been tiered. Palaces in Malaysia and Indonesia traditionally had tiered roofs. The roof may have resembled the tiered roof

on Patani's oldest wooden mosque located at Kampong Teluk Manok in Narathiwat Province.

The palace may have been divided into at least three parts : 1) an outer audience hall or *balai* where the queen received guests and 2) an inner hall where she conducted affairs of state and 3) an *istana* where the royal family lived.

The *Hikayat Patani* suggests that the palace had only two sections. It mentions a single, inner *balai* known as the «Balairung» or «Balai Gading» (Ivory Hall) where the queen met with her ministers and the *istana* proper where she lived. The assumption that the palace may have had a third outer *balai* is based on the fact that other palaces in Patani, Malaysia and Indonesia had a tripartite design consisting of an outer *balai*, an inner *balai* or connecting roof, and an *istana*.

It would only seem natural that the palace followed the citadel's east-west alignment and that its main entrance, the «Pintu Wang», and outer *balai* faced «Pintu Gerbang» and the *padang*. Villagers all agree, however, that the palace was laid out along a predominantly north south axis extending from Ba Saam in the north to Setri Patanak Seksa Girls School in the south. The area south of the highway near the school, according to villagers interviewed, is still known today as «Dalam Istana Nilam» (the Interior of the Sapphire Palace).

c) *The Pleasure Gardens (Baa Saam)*

The *Hikayat Patani* mentions a pleasure garden *kebun* within the citadel (Wyatt, II :1930 :188). It may have resembled similar gardens found in Aceh, Malacca and Java. Descriptions of these indicate that «Royal gardens exhibited certain unusual features that distinguished them from common parks in the modern sense. Besides the expected complement of flowering and fruit bearing plants, royal gardens usually had some sort of water works and an artificial hill symbolizing Mount Meru» (Behrend, 1984 : 38).

The place known as «Baa Saam» or «Three wells» in the citadel area where villagers say the queens bathed probably marks the site of the royal pleasure gardens. The ruined brick structures now partially buried may have been part of the water works.

d) *The Mosque*

A small mosque may also have been located in the citadel. The *Hikayat Patani* suggests that this mosque was located somewhere between the palace and «Pintu Gerbang» :

« After the preacher Abduljabar was stabbed to death, Raja Ijau ordered her

attendants to drag his body away to the main gate (Pintu Gerbang). Then the preacher's body was dragged through the market by the people. When they arrived opposite the mosque the muezzin happened to be making the Friday prayer call from the pulpit. Then the body would move no more, even though people pulled at it. And when the people who were dragging the body increased their efforts the rope which had been tied to the neck of the body broke, so that they had to put a new rope on the body. At that moment the muezzin just finished his call. Only then did the body move again when people dragged it; and they threw the body outside the main gate. A few days later the body was secretly buried at a signal from the Queen.» (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 177)

e) *Houses of the «Orang Kaya»*

The aristocracy also lived within the citadel. No description of their homes has survived. Dutch and Portuguese sources, however, report that their residences mirrored the king's but on a smaller scale. It would therefore seem that they too lived in walled compounds. Each compound probably contained a house raised on chengal wood pillars and perhaps covered with a tiered roof and a *balai* for receiving guests.

f) *Craft Kampongs*

Crafts that were essential to the kingdom's defense were located within the citadel. Oral traditions maintain, for example, that Patani's famous cannons were produced within the *kota* at «Kampong Tembaga» (The Copper Village). During the field survey villagers also pointed out another site where they said kris and other arms were produced.

Peter Floris' Description of the Citadel

The citadel was destroyed by a fire set by Javanese slaves in 1613. Peter Floris' account of the disaster provides an eye witness description of the citadel in the early 17th century :

« Being the fryste daye of Lente in the Moorishe style (Ramadhan), about 8 of the clocke in the morning, there rose a mightye fyre in the towne, or rather forte and courte, of Patania... the Javanians playde amock... they slewe all that came in their way, and presently sette the howses on fyre, gathering together some 100 persons. They ranne to the great gate called Puntu Gorbangh (Pintu Gerbang), setting all on fyre on bothe sydes as they went, so that the whole town (kota raja), except some few as the Queen's courte (Kota Wang), Orancaro Sirnora, Dato Bandara, and the *Mesquita* (mosque), was burned...» (Moreland, 1934 : 94)

2. The Town Square (Padang)

The *padang* or town square was an open plain situated directly west of the citadel opposite the main gate. It was probably either square or rec-

tangular in shape and aligned to the cardinal points. This plain linked the *bandar* or port with the *kota* area. Traditionally it was a public place where the common people, either in ceremonial or practical affairs, came into contact with the queen and nobility.

a) *The Mosque (Mesjid Agung)*

Patani's central mosque may have been built on the western side of this *padang*. This assumption is based on the fact that 1) in Indonesia, particularly Java, mosques were traditionally constructed on the western side of the *alun-alun* or town square. West was the direction of Mecca and prayer and therefore the most sacred direction for Muslims living in Southeast Asia, and on the fact that 2) the ruins of a nineteenth century mosque, constructed by Tuan Sulong (r. 1817) are located there today, perhaps marking the spot where earlier mosques may have been.

The *Hikayat Patani* says this mosque was built during the reign of Sultan Mudhaffar Syah (d. 1564) and tells how it came to be constructed :

« ...there came another man, called Sheikh Safiuddin, from Pasai. He built a house on the field (*padang*) outside the main gate. Then the king (Mudhaffar Syah) sent for Sheikh Safiuddin asking him about the precepts of Islam. Sheikh Safiuddin replied respectfully : «In a Muslim country there should be a mosque where all the people go to worship God Most High as a visible sign of Islam. But if there is no mosque, then there is no visible sign of Islam there». Then Sultan Mudhaffar Syah ordered the prime minister to have two mosques built one in the «*negeri*» (*kota*) and one by the *bandar* (harbor) as proposed by Sheikh Safiuddin.» (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 154)

In 1603 the Dutch described a mosque that may have been the one constructed on the *padang* at Sheikh Safiuddin's request :

« The Mohametan church or «*Meskita*» as it is called is a stately edifice of red brickwood built by the Chinese, gilt very richly within and adorned with pillars curiously wrought with figures. Inside close to the wall is the pulpit (*mimbar*), carved and gilt all over, unto which the priests are only permitted to ascend by four large steps.» (Sheehan, 1934 : 83)

The Chinese who built this mosque may have been Muslim. Local legends suggest that a Muslim Chinese community, perhaps of Yunnan descent, once lived in Patani and may have played a significant role in Patani's conversion to Islam. Non-Muslim Chinese may also have been asked to build the mosque simply because of their brickwork and carving skills. Chinese are known to have built mosques elsewhere. The royal mosque at Banten, West Java, for example, is thought to have been constructed by Chinese. The «*Malays Annals of Semarang and Cerbon*» maintains that non-Muslim, Chinese shipbuilders of Semarang participated in the building of Java's

oldest mosque at Demak (de Graaf and Pigeaud, 1984 : 28).

b) *The Market (Kedai)*

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

c) *The Merchants' Cemetery (Kubo Dagang)*

The June field survey discovered that a cemetery for merchants known as «Kubo Dagang» was once located south of the *padang*, just west of modern Kampong Kersik. It was also known as «Kubo Cerang». *Cerang* means high ground and describes the type of terrain the cemetery occupies. According to villagers, merchants from other parts who passed away in Patani while trading there were buried at Kubo Dagang. There are no tombstones of any sort in the cemetery. In fact one would not know the area was a graveyard if local villagers did not offer the information.

3. The Port (Bandar)

The *bandar*, or port area, was located on sand dunes in the vicinity of modern day kampong «Ba Na». *Ba Na* is a corruption of *bandar*, the standard Malay word for port. The *bandar* stretched along the bay from modern day Kampong Tanjong Lulu in the east to Ladang Pintu Besar in the west, a distance of almost three kilometers. It was a little over one kilometer wide bounded on the north by the bay and on the south by Sungai Pandang.

a) *Fortifications*

The *bandar* was protected against attack from the sea by walls on this northern and western flanks. These walls consisted of bamboo plants planted six to eight feet deep in places and were known as «kubu buloh». Similar defenses located south of Sungai Pandang protected the southern approach to the city. It is not definitely known that these fortifications date to the early 17th century. They may have been erected at a later period in Patani's history, perhaps during the time of Thai attacks in the 1780's. The city gate, known as «Pintu Besar» was situated in the western wall facing Kuala Bekah.

b) *The Old Road (Jalan Lama)*

A dirt road, known today as «Jalan Telaga Nangka», or simply «Jalan Lama» (The Old Road), once ran the length of the city from Tanjong Lulu in the east to Pintu Besar in the west and continued on through the main

gate to Kuala Bekah. The road survives till this day and is used by farmers to drive cattle.

c) *The Merchants' Quarters*

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

d) *The Dutch and English Warehouses*

The Dutch and English established trading stations with «warehouses» in Patani in 1602 and 1612 respectively. These warehouses were probably located in the *bandar*. The supposition that these factories were located in the *bandar* is based on a legend to an old Dutch map of Patani and passages from Peter Floris' diary. Although the map itself has been lost, its legend survives and seems to place the Dutch lodges between the citadel and Kuala Bekah, that is, in the *bandar* area (Ijzerman, 1926 :89). Peter Floris writing in 1612 notes that the English warehouse was built «hard by» the Dutch lodge, and so places it too in the *bandar*. Peter Floris also locates the English (and by implication the Dutch) warehouses near the coast :

« The Queen with all hir trayne passed along the cittie (bandar), and comming betweene our howse and the shippes, we did salute hir with the shooting of some peeces from the shippe and some muskett shott ashoare. She went to Quala Buca.» (Moreland, 1934 : 63)

Both warehouses obviously had to be near the bay for Floris to see his ship as the queen's entourage passed by his lodge.

The Dutch and English warehouses in Patani were originally made of wood and not stone. Dutch accounts state that in 1602, soon after his arrival in Patani, Admiral Heeskerch....

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

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

The most obvious reason for native suspicion of first Dutch and later English requests to build in permanent materials was the fact the Portuguese had become impregnable since building their forts in Malacca and

Maluku – a lesson driven home a century later when the ruler of Jakarta proved incapable of expelling the Dutch from his territory once they had built a stone fort there (Reid, 1980 : 246).

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

Description of the Port

« The «Tarikh Patani» paints a beautiful picture of the bandar : «Patani became wellknown because of the Chinese, Arabs, Indians, Javenese, and Bugis who came there to trade... At that time ships as many as fifty at a time were coming and going in the harbor at all times day and night. Many items were sold in the markets (pekan) of Patani... The lights of the port at night reflecting in the water were like stars twinkling in the heavens.»

4. The Kuala Bekah Estuary

The Patani River which had once flowed by the *kota*, had by the early 1600's shifted its course westward to Sungai Besar and now emptied into the bay via Kuala Bekah. It is assumed that this shift lead to the increasing commercial development of the Kuala Bekah area and that as the city grew it expanded westward. Chinese had already settled in the Kuala Bekah area as early as the 16th century. Chinese temple records, for example, show that the Ling Che Kung temple was built at Kuala Bekah in 1547 A.D. A small harbor may also have been located there. Peter Floris tells us that when the queen wanted to «picnic» at Sebarang, she first travelled to Kuala Bekah where she boarded a boat to cross to Seberang. After the Javanese slaves burned Patani in 1613, they made straight for Kuala Bekah where they most likely commandeered boats to escape to Songkhla and Ligor. A later eighteenth century Chinese text, the «Hai-ku» also suggests there may have been an anchorage along Sungai Besar. The Hai-ku details the travels of certain Chinese merchant named Sieh Ching-Kao during the fourteen year period from 1782-1795. Hsieh writes that the place where sea junks anchored in Patani was called «Tan Shui Chiang» or Fresh Water Estuary (Cushman, 1979 : 15). Since Patani Bay is saline, he may have been referring to Kuala Bekah.

5. The Road (Labuan)

Dutch sources state that a tall mountain, known as «Goenoeng Nipiki» served as a landmark for ships approaching Patani. This mountain was known locally as «Gunung Indragiri», the Mountain of Indra, or «Negiri».

«Nipiki» may be a Dutch corruption of the later. Today it is simply called «Bukit Besar», the Big Mountain. Bukit Besar is a little over 3 000 feet high and is located approximately 20 kilometers inland and west of the town (Skeat, 1953 : 21-22).

Peter Floris indicates, and Dutch accounts agree, that ships approaching Patani from Banten (Java) could at one time sail across the cape (Seberang) at high tide just south of Kampong Datoe. A local historian, Mr. Wan Marohabut, says that a lookout tower may once have been constructed at Tanjung Lulu in order to identify ships crossing the cape.

Dutch accounts reveal that Patani did not have a harbor because the bay was too shallow. Ships had to anchor in a road, four fathoms deep, less than a mile from the town. Smaller ships or lighters were used to transport cargoes to shore.

Traffic in the road fluctuated depending upon monsoon winds. Dutch records note that the end of April or early May was the best time to sail from Java to Patani, while October was the most appropriate time to return. Most ships stopped sailing from October through January with the advent of the northwest winter monsoon and remained tucked away in the relative safety of the bay until the winds died down in February. Travel during the monsoon was limited not only by dangers of storm at sea or wreck on the leeshore, but also because monsoon waves sealed the river estuaries along the east coast, making entrance and exit dangerous or impossible (Gosling, 1977 : 84).

6. East of the Citadel

a) *Kuala Aru*

Sungai Perigi emptied in Patani Bay approximately half a kilometer east of the citadel. Local craft or *perahu* which could navigate the shallows often anchored off or in Kuala Aru. It seems this anchorage may have been restricted to native craft belonging to the court or to important visitors. The *Hikayat Patani* states, for example, that during the reign of Marhum Kelantan (1690-1707) ships of the chiefs of Kelantan anchored for the first time as far as Kedi Pier, «... the implication being that now because of the close relationship that existed between Kelantan and Patani, Kelantan ships were permitted to enter the Perigi River and anchor right in front of the palace.» (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 197-198)

Villagers say that a customs house (*pabeau*) was once located at Kuala Aru. Nothing survives and it is not known when this structure was built.

b) *Kedi Pier (Jembatan Kedi)*

Life in the eastern sector of town focused on the river and seems to have centered on Kedi Pier located just outside Pintu Gajah. Important guests who had anchored at Kuala Aru were sometimes quartered here :

« When the queen, Raja Ungu (d. 1635), had finished entertaining the King of Johor with all his ministers and officers, the king asked leave to return to his vessel. But the queen did not allow him to stay in the vessel and made him stay at a house at the foot of the Pier of Kedi. So the King of Johor did not return to his ship again, and all his warriors gathered near the pier.» (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 181)

c) *The Royal Cemetery (Kubo Barahom and Kubo Na Chaiye)*

A royal cemetery was also located on the eastern side of the town. According to oral tradition one section of the cemetery known today as «Kubo Barahom» contains the grave of Sultan Ismail Shah, the first king to convert to Islam. The *Hikayat Patani* says that Sultan Patik Siam (r. 1572-73) and Sultan Bahdur (r. 1573-84) were also buried there. A second section of the cemetery known as «Kubo Na Chaiye» is believed to contain the graves of three of Patani's four queens : Raja Ijau (r. 1584-1616), Raja Biru (r. 1616-1624) and Raja Ungu (r. 1624-1635).

d) *Kampong Kedi*

Kampong Kedi is a very old village located approximately three quarters of a kilometer east of the citadel. According to the *Hikayat Patani*, Sultan Muzafar Shah (d. 1564) settled 60 Burmese prisoners of war there (Wyatt, 1970 : 157). Syukri adds that because these people were still of the Buddhist religion, a monastery was built within their village which was named *Kedi* meaning a monk's house. Because of this the Malays of Patani named the village Kampung Kedi, and so it has remained until this day (Syukri, 1985 : 20).

Perhaps one of the Buddhist temples that the Dutch describe in 1602 was the monastery built as Kampong Kedi.

« Patani also has several temples dedicated to their Pagan idols, among them three excel the rest. The Dutch in 1602 saw in one of those temples belonging to the subjects of the king of Siam, a gilt statue resembling a man but of the bigness of a horse, with one hand pointing 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 to heaven. The same they saw in the second, with this difference only that half of it was only gilt, the other painted red. In the third was one in the same posture, with a gilt streak cross the chest; and behind the altar of the great idol, was another lesser statue resembling a man with a large horn in the forehead.» (Sheehan, 1934 : 82)

The large statue with one hand raised, the other lowered, is obviously either a standing or sitting Buddha image. The figure with a large horn in its forehead is probably a statue of one of the giants commonly found guarding the gates of Thai temples. The horn is actually a traditional, conical-shaped hat normally worn by these giants.

e) *The Royal Elephant Stables*

The king's elephants were stabled at Kampong Kedi. The *Hikayat Patani* states that soon after their arrival in Patani, the prisoners from Pegu were ordered to take care of the Royal elephants which his majesty rode (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 157). It seems to be a general rule in Patani that elephants stocks were normally located at back of royal compounds. Skeat writing in 1899 describes an elephant corral at Kota Bharu, Rhaman District, Patani. Those at Kampong Kedi were probably similar :

«... after passing through the Royal Compound (Kampong Raja) to Kampong Sebrang Charok (about two hundred yards back from the road) we came to the back wall of the Kota Bharu Fort. This wall consisted of an earthwork or dyke, forming part, apparently of a square. Crossing it, we came to Rhaman's elephant stocks (renak) which as at Jalor, consisted of two stout masts strongly propped in the centre, under a high thached roof. There was also a substantial platform of planks, just big enough for an elephant to stand on. An elephant so confined was provided with a number of bamboo water-vessels, one of which was suspended above his head, so that water might fall continuously on him. The Mahouts invariably insisted that without this precaution an elephant confined in the stocks would die.» (Skeat, 1953 : 84-85)

7. North of the Citadel

a) *The Salt-Pans (Bendang Garam)*

Salt-pans (*bendang garam*) were, and still are, located north of the citadel at the mouth of Sungai Perigi near Kuala Aru. They are first mentioned in connection with the digging of the Tembangan Canal during Raja Ijau's reign :

« Water from Sungai Kersik had become useless because it was too salty, since it was no longer connected to the main river. The salt made the water unsuitable for drinking and also did much damage to the nearby rice fields. For these reasons Raja Ijau ordered the people to dig a canal from Kersik inland to the main river at Tambang... When the canal known as «Sungei Tambangan» was completed, the river water flowed down through it to the sea for the people in the city and better rice harvests... Unfortunately this diversion had its disadvantages. The swift flowing water undermined the walls of the citadel and it caused the salt pans at the mouth of the river in the town to stop producing salt, this loss offset the increase in the rice yields, and the canal was ultimately damned by Raja Ijau's successor.» (Wyatt, 1970 : II, 246)

Salt was used to preserve fish. Fresh fish rotted within a few hours if not preserved by salting or drying. Salting fish produced along the coast in Patani could be traded for inland products, or it could be stored at home for use during the monsoon period when fresh fish was not available (Gosling, 1977 : 76). The salt produced at Patani was not only used to preserve

fish locally, but was also an export commodity traded as far as Trengganu.

b) *The Chinese Cemetery (Kubo Bukit Cina)*

The oldest Chinese cemetery in Patani is located on a beach ridge north of the salt flats at a place called «Kubo Bukit Cina». The Chinese community living in the *bandar* probably buried its dead at Kubo Cina. The second oldest Chinese tombstone (1592 A.D.) in Southeast Asia was discovered here. The grave of Lim Toh Khiam is also said to be located at Kubo Bukit Cina. Lim Toh Khiam is a legendary figure associated with the casting of Patani's first cannon, the building of its first mosque and the foundation of its most famous Chinese temple :

« Raja Biru met with her ministers to decide how to obtain firearms in order to protect the independence of Patani... Her Majesty proposed the construction of a large cannon... The craftman who agreed to make them was a person of Chinese descent who had accepted the Islamic faith, named Tok Kayan. Before embracing Islam he was named Lim Toh Khiam and came from China hoping to make a living in Patani. At that time he was living in the house of a chief of the Raja and voluntarily embraced the Islamic faith. Because of his good character he was elevated to become the supervisor of import-export duties at the harbor... At that time his younger sister also arrived in Patani. Her name was Lim Kun Yew and she came to persuade her elder brother to return to China. When she learned that he had adopted Islam and did not want to return, and that he had turned from the religion of his forefathers, with a broken heart she hanged herself from a *janggus* tree. The Chinese of Patani took her corpse and buried it according to the customs of their religion... Lim Kun Yew was known as a woman of firm resolve who did not wish to turn her back on the religion of her ancestors and she killed herself because her elder brother had dishonored this religion. All of the Chinese strongly agreed with her, and her death is eternally remembered as a holy sacrifice. They took the *janggus* tree and made an image of Lim Kun Yew which was then prayed to as a respected holy idol. The Malays of Patani called the statue of Lim Kun Yew «Tok Pe Kong Mek» and the image has been kept in the Tok Pe Kong temple in Patani until this very day.» (Syukri, 1935 : 31)

The Tok Pe Kong temple was originally located in the *bandar*. After Patani's destruction in 1786, the image was moved to its present site at the Ling Che Kong, temple in modern Patani where it can still be seen.

Some believe that Lim Tok Khiam was actually a historical figure, Lin Tao-Ch'ien, a famous Teochiu pirate active off the Chinese coast and South China Sea from 1566, who went to settle in Patani after 1578 (Wyatt, 1970 :II,225).

c) *Cape Patani (Seberang)*

Seberang means across and refers to the sandy isthmus that lay across the bay from Patani. It was a wilderness area where royalty went to picnic and hunt :

« The Queene (Raja Ijau) being accompanied with a greate traine of prauwes (Malay «perahu», ship or boat), above 600 in number, went to sporte hirselfe, going att fyrste to lye att Sabrangh, where they assembled themselves... She had not bene foorth oute of hir howse in 7 yeares, and nowe shee woulde go on hunting of wilde buffes (i.e. buffaloes) and bulls, where of there is greete abundance there.» (Moreland, 1934 : 62-63)

One of Patani's oldest Islamic cemeteries, Kubo Tok Panjang is also located at Seberang. This cemetery has been in continuous use for almost four hundred years. It grew up around the grave of a certain Sheik Gombak, better known as «Tok Panjang» or «The Long Gentleman».

According to the *Hikayat Patani*, Sheik Gombak was a merchant sentenced to death by one of Patani's early kings for selling copper against royal edict (Wyatt, II :1970 :152). Villagers today say he was executed at the foot of Pintu Gajah and his body thrown into the moat near Kedi Pier. Legend has it that his head and foot stones miraculously spread further apart, hence the name – «The Grave of the Long Gentleman».

Kubo Tok Panjang is briefly described in Dutch records published in 1646 : «On that island (*Seberang*) are some walled gardens where kings are buried» (Ijzerman, 1926 :89). Royal cemeteries were traditionally walled. In life the king and his nobles lived within the citadel, so too in death they were buried in walled graveyards. The «gardens» the Dutch refer to were probably «flowering kemboja trees». These plants are still found in graveyards today. In the broadest sense, these trees symbolized the cosmos, the regenerative powers of the universe, and ultimately rebirth.

A number of beautifully carved tombstones dating to the early 1600's can still be seen at «Kubo Tok Panjang» today.

8. South of the Citadel

Seventeenth century Dutch accounts state that Patani was bordered on its back or southern side by a small riverlet (Sheehan, 1934 :83). These accounts were probably referring to Sungai Pandang and Sungai Kersik. These same sources also describe the city as surrounded by bogs on its landward side.

Three areas of interest are located in this southern sector : a) Kampong Pasai, b) Kota Cina and c) Kampong Pangkalang Besar.

a) *Kampong Pasai*

According to the *Hikayat Patani* there was once a village in Patani known as «Kampong Pasai». People from the kingdom of Pasai in North Sumatra had come to Patani and settled there. A member of this community, a holy man, named Sheik Said is said to have converted Patani's king to Islam. It is not surprising that Patani's conversion should be associated with Pasai. Pasai was one of the first states in Southeast Asia to convert

to Islam, probably about 1300 A.D. It also played an important role in converting other states most notably Malacca.

Kampong Pasai has not survived. Villagers interviewed during the field survey, however, were able to identify the location of the village. The site is located in the vicinity of modern day Ban Paka (fig.1). High concentrations of pottery sherds and an ancient well support villagers' claims that a settlement was once located here. Foundations of what was once an earthen bamboo wall (*kubu buloh*) that enclosed the *kampong* can also still be seen.

A small unattended graveyard, believed to contain the grave of Sheik Said, is located approximately 100 meters north of the site. The graveyard is known as «Kubo Tok Baza»: the Grave of the Gentleman from Pasai. *Baza* is thought to be a corruption of Pasai. The grave of Sheik Said is marked by a brick and mortar structure built in the late 19th century. Other graves are marked by quartz rocks and are impossible to date.

Fortifications (*kubu buloh*) were constructed east from Kampong Pasai to another abandoned village, known as Bango Cina, located on Sungai Kersik. *Bango* is a Patani Malay term indicating a patch of high ground. It would seem that at one time in the past a group of Chinese had settled on high ground overlooking the Kersik River. High concentrations of pottery sherds also mark the site. It is not known when these fortifications were built nor when «Bango Cina» was settled.

b) *Kota Cina (Chinese Quarters)*

According to villagers a large Chinese settlement, known as «Kota Cina», was once located approximately 1,5 kilometers upstream from the citadel on the banks of «Kali Besar».

Kota Cina seems to have been a man-made island produced by cutting a shallow channel across a bend in the old river. Four sites are located on the island: the foundations of three brick kilns and a raised area where a Chinese settlement is said to have been. An area known as «Kedai Cina» or The Chinese Market is located north of the island. An old well known as «Telaga Cina» can also be found near the market. A settlement may have been located here as well. Both sites have been abandoned and are planted with rice. It is not known whether or not these sites were occupied in the 17th century.

c) *Kampong Pangkalang Besar*

Kampong Pangkalang Besar was once located on the banks of the «Kali Besar» near «Kota Cina». This site was abandoned and the village moved 100 meters east to its present location to provide better access to a dirt road connecting to Highway 42. *Pangkalang Besar* in Malay means Big Har

bor. Villagers told the survey team that Kali Besar was once much wider and ships were able at one time to anchor in the river at Kampong Pangkalang Besar. Villagers also said that elephant caravans transporting goods to and from the interior started and terminated at Kampong Pangkalang Besar. These traditions seem to conflict with Dutch accounts that describe Patani Bay as too shallow for shipping and with the *Hikayat Patani* which suggests that Sungai Kersik and Kali Besar were both dead rivers by the early 1600's. Perhaps these oral traditions may be describing an earlier period in Patani's history or the anchorage at Pangkalang Besar may have been in use in the 17th century but restricted to shallow draft, native vessels.

Summary

A small, Indianized mini state, perhaps Laka Suka, existed in the Patani region as early as the 6th century A.D. Although very little is known of Patani's early history, it seems likely that the city evolved from this earlier inland kingdom.

Patani was never a large state. There simply was not enough land suited to wet rice production in the Patani region to support a large population. The small city-state was therefore forced to play a delicate balancing act between stronger neighbors to the north and south in order to survive.

Changing patterns of world trade in the 1300's set the stage for Patani's rise. The fall of Malacca in 1511 made Patani a port favored by both Chinese and Moslem merchants. It was Patani's ability to combine or harness these two traditions – Chinese and Islamic – that enabled city to prosper in the 1600's.

Patani town was located on a high narrow sand dune paralleling the coast. This location not only allowed access to the sea and trade, but also provided protection from flooding. The city was also built on the banks of the Kersik River. By the early 1600's this river had silted up and commercial activities were already beginning to shift westward to Sungai Besar. It seems highly likely that the city could have eventually moved to the western river channel even without the disastrous events on 1786.

Patani consisted of three principal areas : the citadel (*kota*) where the queen lived, the town square (*padang*) with its mosque and market, and the port (*bandar*) where the merchants lived and traded. This pattern is not unique and is also found in other 17th century cities like Aceh, Banten and Cirebon.

The portrait of 17th century Patani presented in this paper is incomplete and only provides glimpses and clues of what the ancient town may have been like and how it evolved. It is fervently hoped that someday the site will be excavated providing us with a clearer and more accurate picture of this once great city.

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For more details about the role of the Chinese at the beginning of the 17th century, see Leonard Blussé, «Inpo, Chinese Merchant in Patani : A Study in Early Dutch-Chinese Relations», in *Proceedings of the Seventh IAHA Conference. Held in Bangkok, 22-26 August 1977*, Bangkok. Chulalongkorn University Press, 1979, 1728 p., vol. 1, pp. 290-309.