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Christopher Mark Joll & Srawut Aree

Political Consciousness of Muhammadiyah: Historical Trajectories and Future

Ridho Al-Hamdi

Fostering a Knowledge Culture for Peace, Development, and Integration: Muslim Education in the Philippines

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Christopher Mark Joll & Srawut Aree

Tok Takia's Legacy in Ayutthaya, Thailand: Tracing Qadriyyah Circulations through the Bay of Bengal

Abstract: *This article fills some of the gaps in the secondary literature about the growing Muslim presence in the Siamese capital of Ayutthaya during the mid-sixteenth century. It does so by reconstructing the arrival of Tok Takia, a miracle-working Sufi missionary who arrived from somewhere in the Indian subcontinent. The study begins with a description of the Tok Takia Complex which consists of a mosque that once was a Buddhist temple and a* maqam *where Tok Takia was buried in 1579, before introducing references to the former in Thai primary sources. Although we address details about Qadriyyah presence across the Bay of Bengal, we first reconstruct the geopolitical and commercial developments from the late fifteenth century contributing to the growth of Muslim—and specifically, Kling Muslim—presence in Ayutthaya mentioned in a range of Siamese and Portuguese primary sources. This paper presents reasons for suggesting that Tok Takia's missionary activism was connected to the Nagore-e-Sharif complex in present-day Tamil Nadu.*

Keywords: Qadriyyah, Ayutthaya, Siam, Sixteenth Century, *Kling* Muslims.

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Abstrak: *Artikel ini mengisi kekosongan dalam literatur sekunder mengenai kehadiran Muslim di ibukota Siam, Ayutthaya, selama pertengahan abad ke-16. Kami melakukannya dengan merekonstruksi kedatangan Tok Takia, seorang misionaris sufi yang berasal dari suatu tempat di anak benua India. Kajian dimulai dengan mendeskripsikan kompleks Tok Takia yang terdiri dari sebuah masjid yang sebelumnya adalah kuil Buddha dan sebuah* maqam *tempat Tok Takia dimakamkan pada tahun 1579 sebelum memperkenalkan beberapa referensi kepada pendahulunya dalam sumber-sumber primer Thai. Sebelum membahas hal-hal rinci mengenai kehadiran Qadriyyah di Teluk Benggala, riset ini merekonstruksi perkembangan perkembangan geopolitik dan ekonomi sejak akhir abad ke-15 yang berkontribusi terhadap perkembangan kehadiran Muslim—dan khususnya, Muslim* Kling*— di Ayutthaya yang disebut dalam sumber-sumber primer berbahasa Siam dan Portugis. Artikel ini menyajikan argumentasi yang menyebutkan bahwa aktivisme misionaris Tok Takia terhubung dengan kompleks Nagore-e-Sharif di Tamil Nadu saat ini.*

Kata kunci: Qadriyyah, Ayutthaya, Siam, Abad Ke-16, Muslim *Kling*.

ملخص: تسد هذه المقالة بعض الثغرات في الأدبيات الثانوية حول الوجود الإسلامي المتزايد في العاصمة السيامية أيوثايا خلال منتصف القرن السادس عشر. تقوم بذلك من خلال إعادة بناء وصول توك تاكيا، المبشر الصوفي الذي يعمل معجزة حيث وصل من مكان ما في شبه القارة الهندية. تبدأ الدراسة بوصف مجمع توك تاكيا الذي يتكون من مسجد كان معبدًا بوذيًا في السابق، مقبرة دُفن فيها توك تاكيا عام ١٥٧٩، ثم الإشارات إلى المصادر الأولية التايلاندية. وقبل التعامل مع تفاصيل حول وجود القادرية عبر خليج البنغال، يعيد هذا البحث بناء التطورات الجغرافيا السياسية والتجارية من أواخر القرن الخامس عشر، مما يساهم في نمو المسلمين وعلى وجه التحديد وجود مسلمي كلينج في أيوثايا المذكورة في مجموعة من المصادر الأولية السيامية والبرتغالية. تقدم هذه الورقة أسبابًا لاقتراح أن النشاط التبشيري لتوك تاكيا كان مرتبطًا بمجمع ناجوري الشريف (Nagore-e-Sharif) في تاميل نادو الحالية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: القادرية، أيوثايا، السيامية، القرن السادس عشر، مسلمي كلينج.

The subject of this article is the Tok Takia Shrine that since the mid-sixteenth century has been part of the religious geography of the former Siamese capital of Ayutthaya. We first encountered this important Muslim site while conducting multi-sited fieldwork on Sufi movements scattered between Central and South Thailand between 2012 and 2015. Local Muslims routinely refer to Tok Takia (d. 1579) as a missionary saint possessing miraculous powers (Ar. *karāmah*) that led to the conversion of local Buddhists. He was reputed to have come from somewhere in the Indian subcontinent, sometime during the reign of King Chakkraphat (r. 1548–1569). Although most commonly known as Tok Takia, this "Indian" Sufi saint is also referred to as Sheikh Samat Maimun, and Shah Allah Yar. Later, King Mahathammaracha (r. 1569–1590) posthumously bestowed upon him the title Chao Phra Akhun Takia Yokin (Julispong Chularatana 2017, 48). This is the first substantive reconstruction Tok Takia's sixteenth century worlds on both sides of the Bay of Bengal.[1] This is surprising for a number of reasons. This *maqam* is both the oldest in the former Siamese capital, but also pre-dates the earliest *maqam* in Thailand's Malay Muslim-dominated south, close to the capital of the former Malay Sultanate of Patani that was constructed sometime during the reign of Patani's Rajah Biru (r. 1616–1624).[2]

Alexander Wain has recently claimed that Islam arrived in Ayutthaya in 1540 (Wain 2017, 420). Whilst Tok Takia is not specifically mentioned by Wain, this date roughly coincides with local accounts of his arrival in the former Siamese capital. Having stated the subject and significance of this article, what are our objectives? The first is to provide a description of local traditions about Tok Takia's legacy, and the mention of the Tok Takia Complex in primary sources. The second is to reconstruct geopolitical and commercial developments before the mid-sixteenth century contributing to growing Muslim—and specifically *Kling* Muslim—presence in Ayutthaya. This is an exonym employed in both Siam and the Malay world when referring to Muslims from the south-eastern littoral of the Indian subcontinent. Our third objective is to present proposals about where Tok Takia might have come from, and the nature of Qadiriyya presence there, which most of the Muslim community around the Tok Takia Complex are affiliated to. Like all articles of this length, it as limits. We build upon themes in our reconstruction of the geopolitical and commercial developments in the

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sixteenth century that led to *Kling* Muslims diversifying the ethnic and religious aspects of what we have referred to as Siamese cosmopolitanism (See Joll and Srawut Aree 2022).[3] We also limit ourselves to the sixteenth century. As such, we do can no more than mention Sheikh Abdullah bin Ibrahim, locally referred to as Sheikh ʻAbdullah Soon (Th. ʻAbdullah the teacher), who will be the subject of a forthcoming publication. He returned to Ayutthaya in the late nineteenth century revitalizing Ayutthaya's Qadiriyya community with an *ijāzah* from the founding Sheikh of the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib al-Shambasi (1802–1879).[4] Methodologically, our sober reconstruction of Tok Takia in sixteenth century Ayutthaya limits itself to primary sources from this period mentioning the growing presence of Muslims—including *Kling*. In addition to secondary literature bringing into focus Ayutthaya's connections across the Bay of Bengal pre- and post-1511, we interact with Thai Studies specialists who have argued emphasizing Ayutthaya was a maritime port city whose economic prosperity and political power was built on trade and manufacturing (Baker 2003, Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017c, 2017b).

Description of the Tok Takia Complex from the Mid-Sixteenth Century

The following details of Tok Takia's encounter with the abbot of a local Buddhist Temple (by the name of Diwan Chao) based on interviews conducted by Thailand's Fine Arts Department with members of the local Qadiriyya community are provided in signboard erected by them in front of the Tok Takia Shrine, in 2010. This begins with Diwan Chao paddling to collect his "daily food offerings." On his way back to the temple, he was paddling along the "eastern side of the Chao Phraya River."

> Upon arriving opposite the temple where he lived, he met a foreigner standing dressed in white cloth and with a white scarf covering his head similar to an Indian. He was waving his hand, calling him in the hope that he would send him to the temple, but the boat he was paddling was too small, so he asked the foreigner to wait. He would call his disciples to come pick him up in a bigger boat.

He arrived at the temple (located on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River) only to find this Indian foreigner "standing ahead of him." Having miraculously crossed such a wide river, he assumed that

this visitor was a "pious and knowledgeable person." The abbot then invited him into his monastery. After discussing several matters, they "challenged each other to a miraculous competition, each other to a miraculous competition, with the condition that the loser must become the victor's disciple".[5] Having lost this duel, Diwan Chao converted to Islam—as promised. The temple that he had been abbot of, became a mosque, referred to as Masjid Takia Yokin. Other important details included by the Thailand's Fine Arts Department is that Tok Takia's house was constructed in 1554, during the reign of King Chakkraphat (r. 1548–1569). After his death in 1579, in the (Muslim) month of "Jamadul Awwal, in the year of the Cock", his house was converted into a shrine (Ar. *maqam*). This was during the reign of the aforementioned King Mahathammaracha.

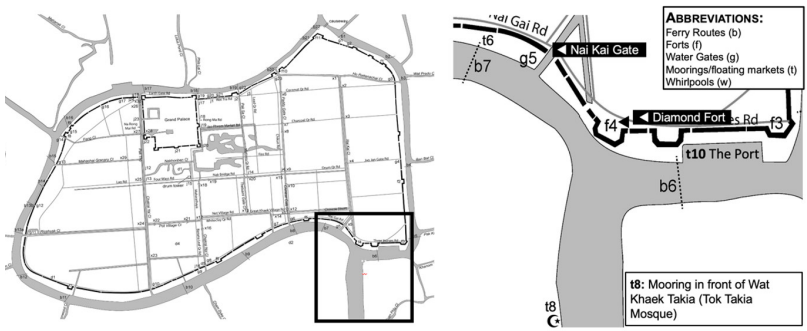

Figure 1: Annotated portion of Baker's reproduction of Phraya Boran Rachathanin's *Athibai phaen thi phranakhon si ayutthaya* [*Description of Map of Ayutthaya*] that includes the location of a mooring (site t8) in front of "Wat Khaek Takia", south of Ayutthaya's main port (site t10). Prepared by the authors (based on Baker 2014, 186)

Masjid Takia Yokin is referred to as *Wat Khaek Takia*—a Thai Toponym which roughly translates as the Muslim (*Khaek*) "temple" of (Tok) Takia—in Phraya Boran Rachathanin's *Athibai phaen thi phranakhon si ayutthaya* [*Description of Map of Ayutthaya*] (hereafter *APA*) (Phraya Boran Rachathanin 2007 [1929]). Julispong Chularatana refers to him as the "Lord Lieutenant of Ayutthaya's district" during the reign of Rama V (r. 1868–1910) (Julispong Chularatana 2007, 100). The map which is source describes is his *Phaen Thi Krung Sri Ayutthaya* [*Map of Ayutthaya*] (Phraya Boran Rachathanin 1926) has been made available by the Ayutthaya-based historian Patrick Dumon on his excellent "History of Ayutthaya" website (Dumon 2010).[6] *APA*

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has been meticulously translated and analysed by Bangkok-based Thai Studies specialist Chris Baker in a series of articles[7] Baker reconstruction of details about Ayutthaya's infrastructure (Baker 2014) and location of Ayutthaya's many markets, cites of manufacturing (Baker 2011) in *APA* provides some priceless new perspectives about Muslim agency and the location of Muslim sites—both inside, and south of Ayutthaya's walled city.[8] This includes site t8, one of the many moorings used by local merchants along the Chao Phraya River (see figure 1).

Baker's translation of *APA* includes that this was where, "many traders' rafts are moored on the western side of the [Chao Phraya] river in rows all along from the mouth of Ironwood Canal to the frontage of Wat Khaek Takia and beyond to the boundary of Wat Kut Bang Kaja opposite Wat Jao phanangchoeng." *APA* also refers to mooring for boats and rafts that served as "residences and shops." On both banks of the Chao Phraya River two to three kilometres from the "southern half of the island," there were approximately twenty thousand of rafts that were "several rows deep" (Baker 2011, 58). During the monsoon season, the diverse traders and vessels arriving in Ayutthaya's port (site t10) included "Chinese junk traders, *Khaek* sloop merchants, *farang* clipper traders, Gujarati *Khaek* traders, Surat *Khaek*, *Khaek* from Java and Malayu, *Khaek Thet*, French, Farang Losong, Dutch, Spanish, English, black farang, Langkuni Farang, and island *Khaek*, merchants in charge of junks, sloops, and clippers." After dropping anchor at the end of the canal, they "they carry goods up to deposit in buildings that they have bought or rented inside the walls of Ayutthaya, and open shops to sell goods according to type and language" (Baker 2011, 58).

The only specific reference to Masjid Takia Yokin in the secondary literature, is by Larry Sternstein in his analysis of James Low's "The Me Nam Thai from its embouchure to the Antient Capital See-a-yoot-tha-ya." This was penned by Low in 1824, who refers to it as "Ta-kea" that he refers to as a "Malayan Mosque" on the Chao Phraya River (Sternstein 1990, 18, Baker 2011, 45). Figure 2 is the earliest image of Masjid Takia Yokin and Tok Takia Mosque, from a local publication produced by Ayutthaya's Qadiriyya community. As it is taken from the bank of the Chao Phraya River to the east, the *maqam* is on the left. This was taken before the construction of a grey corrugated iron roof over the five *maqam* (described below), to the west of the main shrine (see figure 3, below).

Figure 2: Facsimile of the picture of Tok Takia Shrine (left) and Mosque (right) taken from the Chao Phraya River in local Qadiriyya publication, [author's personal collection, obtained 28 November 2013]. The date of original unknown, but was taken before five adjacent *maqam* were covered by a corrugated iron roof (see figure 4 below)

Figure 3 locates Masjid Takia Yokin, in present-day Ayutthaya, while figure 4 provides more details about the Tok Takia complex.

Figure 3: The location Masjid Takia Yokin (Takia Yokin Mosque) in present-day Ayutthaya (prepared by the authors).

The Tok Takia Shrine is located south of the mosque. The grave of Tok Takia is in the inner *maqam*, while the grave of Diwan Chao (aka Siwaan Chao) is located in the outer *maqam*. To the west of the main *maqam* are five graves that in recent decades has been covered

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by a grey corrugated iron roof. The most important of these is the aforementioned Sheikh 'Abdullah Soon.[9] Immediately south of these *maqam* is the mosque's grave, and the car park used by Muslims performing their *ziyārah* to these *maqam*—the most important of which is Tok Takia's. The size of the car park suggests the importance to provide infrastructure capable of accommodating large numbers of Muslims in Thailand who arrive by both boats, as well as car, and tour buses.

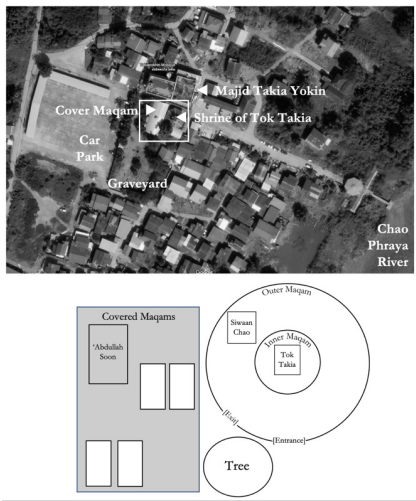

Figure 4: Details about the Tok Takia complex in present-day Ayutthaya, including proximity to the Chao Phraya River, and Masjid Takia Yokin (prepared by the authors)

Reconstructing Growing Muslim and *Kling* Presence in Sixteenth Century Ayutthaya

The previous section summarized details provided in local hagiographies of Tok Takia's arrival in sixteenth century Ayutthaya. I have also introduced a mixture of primary and secondary sources mentioning the presence of this particular mosque on the western banks of the Chao Phraya River, south of Ayutthaya principal port that was visited by a diverse mercantile community. The layout of the Tok Takia complex—where Diwan Chao and 'Abdullah Soon are also buried—have also been provided. Below, our focus shifts to Thai and Portuguese primary sources from which a sober reconstruction of growing Muslim—and specifically *Kling* Muslim—presence in the former Siamese capital during this period can be presented. We

also provide details about geopolitical and commercial developments explaining the arrival of these *Kling* Muslims across the Bay of Bengal.

Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit have recounted commercial and geopolitical competition between Melaka and Ayutthaya. This began in the late thirteenth century, but the Siamese were constrained by the Ming Dynasty's support of Melaka (Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017c, 48, 50). By 1490, Siamese campaigns against the Burmese adversaries led to their control of ports and portage routes connecting its capital to the Bay of Bengal (Baker 2003, 48, Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017a, 117, 2017c, 87–88). During the reign of Ramathibodi II (r.1491–1529), Ayutthaya expanded its trade to southern India as traders seeking to avoided Melaka could be reached the entrepôt in between 10 and 20 days—a development that drastically increased its westward trade. Edward Van Roy's discussion of Portuguese presence in Siam before Alfonso d' Albuquerque's invasion of Melaka in 1511 begins establishing an operational base in Goa. In 1510, his diplomatic, military and commercial initiatives in Siam began with the deployment of an envoy charged with informing its ruler of his plans, who raised "no objections". This envoy returned via the aforementioned overland route. He therefore returned with an up-to-date description of the Siamese-controlled ports on the Bay of Bengal and their "friendly intentions". Almost immediately after the capture of Melaka, another Portuguese mission (that included Tomé Pires) left Goa for Ayutthaya. They remained there for two years, before returning (via Melaka) (van Roy 2017, 42). John Villiers has commented upon the inadequacies of Spanish or Portuguese accounts of Siam penned by mercenaries, merchants, and missionaries during the sixteenth century. Many of these might be replete with both "prejudices, intolerance and ignorance", and tendencies to "distort, exaggerate and even invent" statistics. Nevertheless, none of these preclude historians being rewarded with "many valuable insights" (Villiers 1998, 119). Geoff Wade regards Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* (Pires 1944) as "unparalleled" (Wade 2019, 118), whilst Sanjay Subrahmanyam refers to Pires as frequently "cryptic" (Subrahmanyam 2011, 141).[10] In his well-known description of Ayutthaya in his *Suma Oriental*, Tomé Pires states that there are "very few Moors ", which the Siamese "do not like." Nevertheless, he mentioned the presence of "Arabs, Persians, Bengalees, many Kling," along with "Chinese and other nationalities" (Pires 1944, 104).

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Siamese attitudes towards Muslim merchants in subsequent decades might explain Duarte Barbosa's observation during the same decade that local Muslims were not permitted by the Siamese to bear arms (Barbosa 2010, 188). Later in the 1550s, Fernao Mendes Pinto—who Michael Pearson refers to as "adventurer-turned-religious"—claimed that Turkish and Arab missionaries were active in Siam (Pearson 1990, 59, 68–69) Furthermore, fellow Jesuits informed him that local Muslims were "doing very well." In Ayutthaya, there were "already […] seven mosques"—one of which was the Masjid Takia Yokin—that served an estimated 30,000 local Muslims that were led by foreign religious leaders—including Tok Takia. Muslim proselytization was "proceeded apace." This development was attributed, in part, to the hands-off attitude of the Siamese monarch—who at the time was King Chairacha (r. 1534–46) who permitted "everyone do what they want." He was, after all, king of "nothing more than their bodies" (da Silva Rego 1947, Vol. V 372).

Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Subrahmanyam 2011, 141), and Torsten Tschacher (Tschacher 2007, 25) have explained that in the Malay World, the exonym *Kling* referring to "Tamil speakers from the Coromandel coast of southeastern India", and that this is etymologically related to the toponym "Kalinga". In Portuguese and (later) Dutch sources, Muslims from the Southeast coast of the Indian subcontinent are also referred to with the more generic exonym "Moor" which might also of Arab, Persian, or Indo-Persian Muslims. Pires' references to *Kling* appear in sections describing ports and polities which Melaka traded with (Subrahmanyam 2019, 90). In his treatment of southeastern India, Pires comments that "These Malabares make up their company" in "Choromamdell and Paleacate", and that they "come [to Melaka] in companies". His description of Choromamdell mentions " Caile [Kayal] and Calicate [Kilakkarai], Adarampatanam [Atiramapattinam], Naor [Naguru], Turjmalapatam [Tirumalapattinam], Carecall [Karaikkal], Teregampari [Tarangambadi], Tirjmalacha [Tirumullaivasal], Calaparaoo [?], Conimiri [Kunjimedu], Paleacate" (Pires 1944, 103). For Subrahmanyam, most of these are "identifiable", indicating that trade between these Tamil regions and Melaka "centred on the port of Pulicat ("Paleacate", or Palaverkadu, north of Madras)" (Subrahmanyam 2011, 142) (see Figure 5).

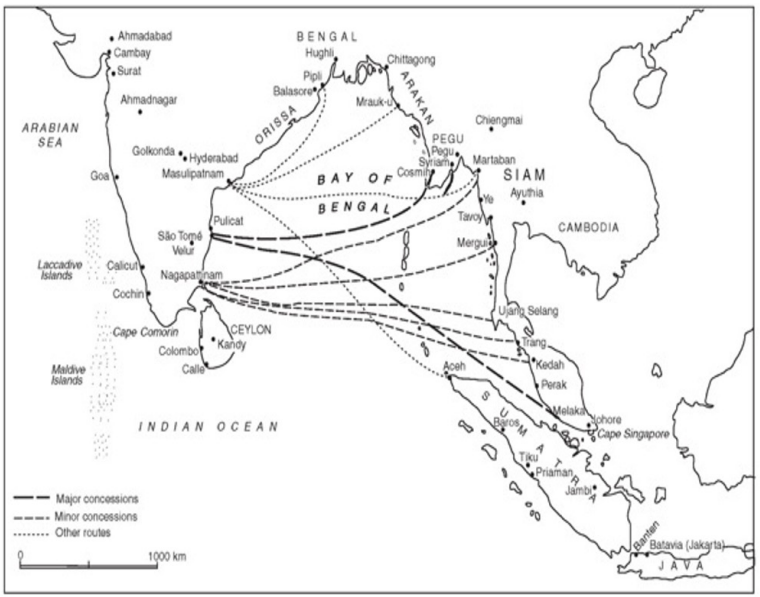

Figure 5: Concessionary routes across the Bay of Bengal
(Source: Subrahmanyam 1990, 331)

Trade between ports in south-eastern India and Melaka, might have functioned as some sort of "funnel", but during the sixteenth century details of long-distance trading networks are "obscured" by the "paucity of data" (Subrahmanyam 1990, 95–96). Coromandel ports possessed direct links with the southern parts of the Siamese-Malay Peninsula and northern Sumatra, through which textiles produced along the Coromandel Coast were exported. Although the principal port in this network was Melaka, this did not rule out other connections between ports in Coromandel Coast, Perak, Kedah, and Pasai. Pires' reference to Pasai suggests that Northern Sumatra was another corner of the Bay of Bengal where *Kling* may have formed commercial alliances with Siamese traders. He mentions that post-1511, this "rich kingdom" where there were "many inhabitants and much trade. Following the Portuguese punishment of Melaka, Pasai prospered due to the presence of "many merchants from different Moorish and Kling nations".

Subrahmanyam's description of *Kling* trading networks post-1511, includes the fascinating case study of the commercial activities of Setu Nayinar, who between 1513 and 1514 sent two junks to Siam through his "partnership with the Portuguese Crown"—specifically a certain Rui de Araújo (Subrahmanyam 2011, 142, 43, 46). Moreover, Setu

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Nayinar "concentrated largely (albeit not exclusively) on the textile and rice trade of the littoral ports and regions of the Bay of Bengal." In addition to the Coromandel Coast, this also included "both Bengal and Pegu" (Subrahmanyam 2011, 143). We will revisit the significance of connections with the upper reaches of the Bay of Bengal when reconstructing Qadiriyya connections, in the following section. Before 1511, "Tamils and Gujaratis" dominated both "numerically and in terms of economic and political power." Furthermore, the Portuguese narrative was that upon their conquest of Melaka, "Gujarati merchants fled the port in large numbers." By contrast, the Tamils "largely remained". Subrahmanyam suggests that Tamils such as Setu Nayinar may have supported the Iberian invasion, meaning that they were "well-placed to take advantage of the situation" (Subrahmanyam 2011, 146). Nevertheless, "If the great Keling merchants such as Setu Nayinar had imagined in late 1511 that the new regime would share power in a reasonable arrangement with them, they were soon disabused of this idea", once the Iberians had "grasped some of the tricks of the trade" (Subrahmanyam 2019, 96).

The geopolitical and commercial developments during the sixteenth century described above explain *Kling* traders coming in greater numbers to Ayutthaya. Over and above Pires' mention of *Kling* in Ayutthaya immediately after 1511, a range of Thai sources also suggest their numerical significance. Christoph Marcinkowski has lamented that historians sharing our interest in reconstructing Muslim presence in Ayutthaya needing to work with fragmentary references to the Siamese exonym *Khaek,* denoting non-Siamese from Southeast Asia, the Middle East, or Indian subcontinent."[11] These *Khaek* were a mixture of Siamese subjects, foreign residents, or visitors. Moreover, some of these *Khaek* were Hindus—not Muslims (Marcinkowski 2015, 38). Thongchai Winichakul has referred to *Khaek* as an example of Siamese concerns with "ill-defined" ethnic and religious otherness motivated by nothing more than identifying who were *not* Siamese (Winichakul 1994, 5). John Smith has recently cited a Siamese edict issued in 1599 listing ethnic groups recognized by the court. He argues that this resembled an "expanded list" from a Thai source from the fifteenth century referred to as the *Palace Law* that specified ethnic minorities prohibited from Ayutthaya's rear palace. In addition to the aforementioned *Khaek,* this portion of the *Palace Law* mentioned "Lao, Burmese, Cham, Javanese,

Mon, Khmer and Chinese" (Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2016, 86). Smith points out that this 1599 edict made no mention of Javanese, but that the ethnonym *Khula* (Tamils) is added (Smith 2019, 114).[12] According to Baker and Phongpaichit, *Khula* (or *Kula*) is an archaic generic Thai term for strangers, adding that (along with *Khaek* and *Malayu*) *Khula* was one of the ways that people of the archipelago were locally referred to (Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit 2017c, 208–09). Matthew Reeder cites a Thai source from the late-seventeenth century referring to both *Khula*, and *Thamin*. The latter is a Thai ethnonym (of Pali origins) denoting Tamils. These *Khaek Khula* possessed "small bodies and dark skin," similar to "people [used as] sailors". That these were not Buddhists is clear by the mention that these Khaek were "enemies of the religion." (Reeder 2019, 189).[13] We remind readers that we have previously mentioned the Baker's analysis of *APA* includes a reference to *Khaek Thet*, denoting Muslims from the Indian subcontinent (Baker 2011, 45).

Qadiriyya Connections across the Bay of Bengal

Building upon our account of Ayutthaya's Tok Takia Complex on the western banks of the Chao Phraya River, the preceding section described Ayutthaya's growing connections with the Bay of Bengal through its acquisition of ports and portage routes previously controlled by the Burmese. We reconstructed military and commercial developments on both sides of 1511 that led to Muslims—and specifically *Kling* Muslims—appearing in Portuguese and Siamese primary sources. Below, we present proposals about where Tok Takia might have come from, and the nature of Qadiriyya presence that the Muslim community around the Tok Takia Complex have long been affiliated with. We propose that Tok Takia might have had connections with a port city on the south-eastern littoral of the Indian subcontinent associated with Syed Sahul Hamid Nagore Andavar (hereafter Sahul Hamid) (d. 1570), who was based there from 1543 (Bayly 1986, 40). He was a thirteenth generation Sayyid, and fifth generation descendent Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani (Saheb 1998, 56).[14] Secondly, we explore the utility of recent revisionist historiographies of South and Southeast Asian Sufism in clarifying whether—and on what basis—credible claims can be made about Qadiriyya connections across the Bay of Bengal.[15]

Sahul Hamid is widely acknowledged as South India's most celebrated Muslim saint. After reaching present-day Tamil Nadu (see figure 6, below), he converted a Hindu king after rescuing him from an evil spell. The grateful monarch gifted the land on which his *maqam* (or *dargah*) in Nagore is constructed that is widely known as Nagore-e-Sharif (Ricci 2011, 195). We note that the date provided by Christopher Bayley is approximately ten years before Tok Takia's house was constructed (in 1554), which became his *maqam*, in 1579.

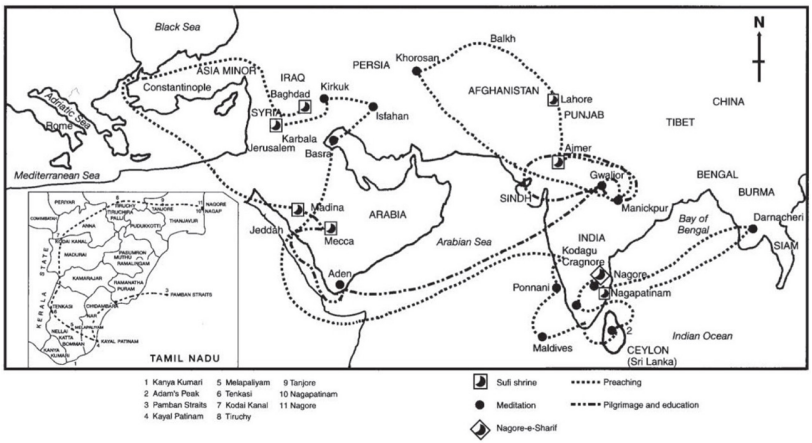

Figure 6: Travels of Sahul Hameed Nagore Andavar, included preaching missions across the Bay of Bengal (Saheb 1998, 59).

Ronit Ricci has commented upon common tropes in hagiographies of holy men such as Shahul Hamid. In addition to travelling long distances to preach Islam, there contain claims about miraculous conceptions, births, and that they performed miracles while still a child. In addition to curing the sick at a young age, he also recited the entire Qur'an by the age of eight. As he grew, he studied with great masters—some of whom we mention below. It was prophesized that Shahul Hamid was destined to spread *'ilm taṣawwuf* (mysticism) and *'ilm tawḥīd* beyond the Indian subcontinent to "adjoining countries". The most interesting aspects of Shaik Abdul Azeez Saheb's reconstruction in figure 6 are it's similarities to figure 5, and that Shahul Hamid travelled as far east as present-day Burma. This suggests that Buddhist-majority mainland Southeast Asia was on the radar of this Muslim missionary saint.

Others have commented upon the presence of satellite maqam of Nagore-e-Sharif in Sri Lanka, and Singapore, and Malaysia since the

nineteenth century.[16] Although these reference architectural tropes from in Tamil Nadu, this is not the case in Ayutthaya. This is not surprising given that they appeared on opposite sides of the Bay of Bengal approximately a decade apart, in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the raising of flags central to all festivals (*ʿursh*) in Tamil Nadu, are also central to those held in these satellite *maqam.* We note that all the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya festivals attended by the authors in Ayutthaya (between 2013 and 2015) begin with elaborately embroiled green flags containing the names of Abd al-Qādir al-Jilāni and local saints being raised.[17] That said, none of our informants could clarify whether this aspect of local Sufi materiality was present at the Tok Takia Shrine, *before* the arrival of Sheikh ʿAbdullah Soon, in the late nineteenth century.

Carl Ernst has commented upon complications to conceptualizing the development of Sufi orders (Ernst and Lawrence 2002, 11). Torsten Tschacher is suspicious about simplistic answers to questions such as what it meant to be a "member of specific Sufi order", what "institutional forms these took", and the role they played in "local Muslim society." This is due to the local "centrality of *ṭarīqah*" having been both more "apparent than real", and the product of "historiographical preferences in terms of themes and sources." He laments that despite the ubiquity of Sufi orders in local historiographies, there is a scarcity of solid research about the social history of these ṭarīqahs specifically between southeastern India and present-day Sri Lanka before the nineteenth century. Tschacher emphasizes that reconstructions of Sufi orders between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries—corresponding to the arrival of Tok Takia and return of the Sheikh ʿAbdullah Soon in Ayutthaya—must examine the "actual evidence" in local sources.

Like others concerned by the conspicuous absence of specific Sufi lineages (Ar. *silsilah*), Tschacher argues that there is "little to suggest" that Sufi orders have historically been an "unchanging elements of Muslim life" (Tschacher 2019, 76). There is scant evidence of "clear-cut *ṭarīqah* identifications among these lineages or institutions" linking them to specific orders—including the Qadiriyya. This is despite the presence of "localized teaching lineages transmitting Sufi thought." Furthermore, from the seventeenth century, the rise of Qadiriyya, Rifaʿiyya, Sadhiliyya, and Shattariyya was related to more "horizontal" than "vertical" lineages, and that these only began to integrate after the mid-eighteenth century (Tschacher 2019, 77).

Between the eleventh and eighteen centuries, the "earliest and most influential Muslim writers and teachers" were connected with the Qadiriyya and Shattariyya orders (Morgan and Reid 2010, 10). Indeed, Tschacher notes that despite Shahul Hamid's association with the Qadiriyya path, he was a "disciple of the Shattari preceptor Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior (d. 1563) (Tschacher 2019, 80). Michael Pearson mentions Ibn Battuta (1304–1369) noting the dominance of the Qadiriyya while visiting the South-western coast of the Indian subcontinent, in the mid-fourteenth century (Pearson 2010, 384). Michael Feener cites earlier sources from the late-thirteenth century about the active involvement of Southeast Asian *'ulamā'* in "cosmopolitan scholarly circles active in the Middle East." These includes an Arabic work of "Sufi historiography containing notices of one Abu ʿAbdillāh Masʿūd ibn Abu Allāh al-Jāwī was a teacher in the Yemeni port of Aden who was highly regarded by his famous Arabian pupil ʿAbdullāh ibn Asʿad al-Yafiʿī (d. 1367)."[18] For Feener, al-Jawi represents a "pivotal figure in the early development of the Qadiriyya" exerting a "lasting impact on the development of South East Asian Islam". Yafi'ī was one of many at the time who demonstrated influences from both ʿAbd al-Qādir Jilānī and the cosmological conceptions of Ibn ʿArābī such as the *wujūdīyah.* As is well known, this doctrine was associated with Hamzah al-Fansuri, which would later become a source of considerable controversy in Aceh (Feener 2010, 471).

Tschacher argues that the Qadiriyya had a far less uniform presence before the nineteenth-century that frustrates attempt to clarity about both its role in local Muslim society, and origins. The Qadiri landscape was dominated by *individual* lineages—some of which were more visible than others. Furthermore, these operated on their own despite claims about some sort of common Qadiri background. The Qadiriyya might be the dominant Sufi order in both Southern India, and present-day Sri Lanka, yet despite its appearance in modern hagiographies, there is little evidence about any "widespread presence of Qadiri networks in the region", before the seventeenth century (Tschacher 2019, 78). Names such as ʿAbd al-Qādir, or Muḥyi al-Dīn—both of which suggest Qadiri devotion—might have been widespread. These appear on local epitaphs in the sixteenth century, yet the two earliest (Islamic) poems in Tamil from the late sixteenth century lack stanza praising ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī. The situation is further complicated by "Qadiri

devotionalism" do not in and of themselves implying the presence of an "institutionalized Qadiri order" (Tschacher 2019, 79).[19] For example, whilst some of Hamzah al-Fansuri's stanzas referred to being "purified when he turned to Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir", who became his "beloved", and "ever-present" teacher, who also he "constantly concealing Himself," Martin van Bruinessen rejects suggestions that Hamzah al-Fansuri was a Qadiriyya leader in Aceh. As mentioned, he was more influenced by Ibn 'Arābī, and none of his spiritual successors made mention of the Qadiriyya's famous founding Sheikh (van Bruinessen 2000, 362).

Conclusion

Although much has been written about Muslim presence in the religiously and ethnically cosmopolitanism Siamese capital in the seventeenth century century when (Shi'a) Persian and Indo-Persian Muslim relocated across the Bay of Bengal, we have limited ourselves to Sufi *Kling* influences, in the sixteenth century. We have documented mention of *Kling* Muslims in both Siamese and Portuguese sources, and reconstructed the geopolitical and commercial development explaining their arrival. Local traditions about Tok Takia from the sixteenth century confirms Wain's dating of the arrival of Islam in Ayutthaya. Given the scarcity of studies of Islamic circulations in Ayutthaya during this period, we have filled one of the most important gaps about the earliest chapter of Muslim presence in early modern Siam. Our findings also call into question claims made by David Morgan and Anthony Reid who have argued that between 1540 and 1640 Asia's religious diversity came about through a combination of "Thai Buddhist, Malabari Hindu, Chinese Confucian or European" port rulers possessing neither the "legitimacy to impose uniformity" on their Muslim subjects—nor any "interest in doing so" (Morgan and Reid 2010, 12–13). We also challenge Reid's contention that in Ayutthaya, most converts to Islam were "almost exclusively" from its diverse *diaspora* communities, and that tight connections between Siamese monarchs and the Buddhist sangha made "conversions out of this mainstream very rare" (Reid 2007, 6).

Our interaction with the secondary literature sharing our interests with both Ayutthaya's connections across the Bay of Bengal and Qadiriyya presence in present-day Tamil Nadu suggest that Tok Takia could conceivably been connected—or have been aware of—the

missionary activism of Nagore-e-Sharif's miracle-working founding Sheikh. Although trade between Ayutthaya and southern India was conducted via a series of Siamese-controlled ports and portages west of the capital began in the late-fifteenth century this intensified following the fall of Melaka, in 1511. Furthermore, these trade routes facilitated the arrival of Qadiriyya influence in Ayutthaya. Michael Feener has proposed that unintended consequences followed the interventions of the Portuguese in 1511 included stimulated diasporas and the "emergence of new Muslim communities across the region" that "expanded and accelerated Islamization" across island Southeast Asia (Feener 2019, 5). The arrival of South Asian Sufism contributed to changes in the form of Siamese cosmopolitanism that followed the rise of Ayutthaya as a maritime city-state built on trade (Baker 2003).

Reconstructed the geopolitical, commercial, and religious contexts across the Bay of Bengal has been relatively straightforward compared to the equally important task of reconstruction of nature of Qadiriyya presence during this period. Taking a leaf out of Tschacher's cautious conceptual framework means that we have presented proposals about possible connections between the Nagoree-Sharif and Tok Takia Complexes—both of which appeared in the mid-sixteenth century. We have also avoiding making claims earlier chapters of Qadiriyya influence based on what developed in the wake of the arrival of the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, in the late-nineteenth century.

Endnotes

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1. Tok Takia has been mentioned by the following (Chaiwat Meesantan 2017, 126, Joll 2017, 321–22, Julispong Chularatana 2017, 49, Pathan, et al. 2018, 78). Mark Sedgwick's reconstruction of the establishment of the Ahmadiyya-Idrisiyya in both Minburi (East Bangkok), and Ayutthaya by Muhammad Sa'id al-Linggi (1874–1926) (Sedgwick 2005) cites this Sheikh's awareness that in these parts of Central Thailand Islam was "soundly established." Evidence that the latter was an "important Islamic center" was testified by its Qadiriyya community, and "several well-known *maqam*" (Sedgwick 2005, 137–38). Although these specific sites are not mentioned by Sedgwick, this included the Tok Takia shrine. For more on the Ahmadiyya-Idrisiyya in Ayutthaya, see Sedgwick (2005, 173–76).
2. A Minangkabau trader by the name of Sheikh Gombak, referred to as *Tok Panyae* (SM. *Tok Panjang*) was buried in the village of Datu, located on the northern shore of Patani's principal port. *Tok Panyae* is mentioned by the following (Teeuw and Wyatt 1970, 153, Bougas 1990, 134, Kathirithamby-Wells 1993, 143, Muhammad Arafat bin Mohamad 2005, 14–15).
3. See also our treatment of Javanese influence, specifically, the Thai adaption in the Javanese *Panji* epic referred to as *Inao* (Joll and Srawut Aree 2020).
4. For more on this founding Sheikh see the following (van Bruinessen 1994, 1995, 2000, Mulyati 2002, 37–45, Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 278, 87, 96, Laffan 2011, 54, 56, 61, 136, 45, Syarif Syarif 2020).
5. Author's translation of plaque located in front of the Tok Takia *Maqam.*
6. Available at https://www.ayutthaya-history.com/Temples_Ruins_IAM_PBR.html
7. Baker explains that this was a detailed Siamese description of the city of Ayutthaya was one of the manuscripts bequeathed to the Wachirayan Library by prince Naret Worarit (the seventeenth son of King Mongkut) that was discovered in 1925. Furthermore, in 1927 Phraya Boran prepared a map based on this manuscript and other evidence, which was updated and extended by Sumet Jumsai in 1967 (Baker 2011, 39)
8. Baker also describes the relationship of *APA* to other Thai sources (See Baker 2012).
9. For more on this founding Sheikh see the following van Bruinessen (1994, 1995, 2000), Mulyati (2002, 37–45), Snouck Hurgronje (2007, 278, 87, 96), Laffan (2011, 54, 56, 61, 136, 45), and Syarif (2020).
10. Subrahmanyam reminds his readers that notwithstanding Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* representing the "standard source" for understanding the place of *Kling* in early-sixteenth century, this should be read letters by Rui de Brito Patalim, Jorge Cabral, and Pêro Barriga (in the 1520s) analyzed by Meilink-Roelofsz (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962)
11. For a short summary of Thai sources, see (Wade 2014). For most recent translation and re-publication of *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya,* see (Cushman and Wyatt 2000).
12. Others in this 1599 edict were (*thai yai*), Brahmans (*pram*), Japanese (*yipun*), Vietnamese (*yuan*), Portuguese (*farang*), English (*ankrit*) and Dutch (*wilanda*) (Smith 2019, 114).

13. See also Reeder (2017, 2020).
14. For more on Sahul Hameed, see Bayly (1986), Saheb (1998), Schomburg (2003), Narayanan (2006a, 2006b), and Vadlamudi (2016).
15. These include the following: Feener and Laffan (2005), Laffan (2011, 2014), Blackburn and Feener (2019), Tschacher (2019), and van Bruinessen (2019).
16. See Amrith (2009), Asher (2009), and Khoo Salma Nasution (2014).
17. We note that Qadiriyya flags are also mentioned by Andrew Peacock's treatment of this tariqa between Mauritius and Aceh, later in the seventeenth century (Peacock 2018).
18. For a more thorough treatment of these 13th century personalities, see Feener and Laffan (2005).
19. Torsten Tschacher notes that some of Shadhiliyya hagiographies from the nineteenth century begins with a chapter devoted to the life of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani. As such, even the presence of al-Jilani in the *silsilah* of Sufi orders represents "weak evidence for the presence of an institutionalized Qadiri order" (Tschacher 2019, 79).

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3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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