

KELANTAN THE LITTLE MECCA: ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ARCHIPELAGO'S 15th- 19th CENTURY ISLAMIC CIVILISATION TO THE PRESENT DAY

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DOI: 10.31291/jlka.v21.i1.1110

Accepted: February, 10, 2023; Revised: June, 23 2023;

Published: June, 30 2023

ABSTRACT

Kelantan has a historic role as the gateway to Islamic enlightenment in the archipelago. Kelantan has transformed into an area that has become a center of Islamic learning. Together with Aceh and Patani, Kelantan is also called the 'Little Mecca'. The arrival of Islam raised Kelantan's status to be reckoned with in the world of Nusantara's Islamic cultural treasures and as a representative of the Muslim state in contemporary Malaysia. This paper aims to explore the role of Kelantan as the gateway of Islam of the archipelago in the 15th-19th centuries, and its significance in the development of contemporary Islam in Malaysia. The study employed the historical research, with the data collected through literature study. Data analysis was carried out simultaneously with the process of source criticism. This was done interactively from the beginning of the research to the final stage of drawing conclusions. The results showed that the arrival of Islam brought many changes and impressions to the way of thinking and socio-culture of the Kelantan Malay community. Kelantan Malay emerged as a civilization that developed the Islamic intellectuality of the archipelago in the 15th-19th centuries. Kelantan also played an active role in the Islamic struggle against Western colonialism. Contemporary Kelantanese society has not lost its identity as an Islamic country under the secularism brought by the British. Kelantan has presented a positive image that Islamic law can be well

accepted in a multicultural country and under the secular government, such as the Federation of Malaysia.

Keywords: Islam in Archipelago, Kelantan, Little Mecca, Malay.

ABSTRAK

Kelantan memiliki peran historis sebagai pintu masuknya pencerahan Islam ke tanah Nusantara. Kelantan bertransformasi menjadi suatu kawasan yang menjadi pusat pembelajaran agama Islam di Nusantara. Bersama Aceh dan Patani, ia adalah 'Mekkah Kecil' Nusantara. Kedatangan Islam menaikkan derajat Kelantan sebagai kekuatan yang patut diperhitungkan dalam dunia khazanah peradaban Islam Nusantara, dan representatif Negeri Muslim di Malaysia Kontemporer. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan peran besar Kelantan sebagai 'Serambi Mekkah' Nusantara pada abad ke-15-19, dan signifikansinya bagi perkembangan Islam kontemporer di Malaysia. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode penelitian sejarah, dengan teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah studi pustaka. Proses analisa data penelitian dilakukan serentak dengan proses kritik sumber. Hal ini dilakukan secara interaktif sejak awal penelitian hingga tahap terakhir pengambilan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kedatangan Islam telah banyak membawa perubahan dan kesan kepada corak berpikir serta sosio-budaya masyarakat Melayu Kelantan. Melayu Kelantan tampil sebagai peradaban yang mengembangkan keintelektualan Islami Nusantara pada abad ke-15-19. Kelantan juga berperan aktif dalam perjuangan jihad Islam melawan penjajahan Barat. Masyarakat Kelantan kontemporer tidak kehilangan jati diri mereka sebagai negeri Islam di semenanjung di bawah gempuran sekulerisme yang dibawa Inggris. Kelantan menunjukkan citra positif bahwa hukum Islam dapat diterima dengan baik dalam negeri yang multikultural, serta menjadi representasi negeri berhukum Islam kaffah di bawah pemerintahan Federasi Malaysia yang sekuler.

Kata kunci: Islam di Nusantara, Kelantan, Mekkah Kecil, Melayu, Serambi Mekkah.

INTRODUCTION

The name 'Kelantan' comes from the word 'Kilatan' or 'earthened pond'. The early history of civilisation in Kelantan was not very clear, but archaeological findings indicate the presence of prehistoric human life in the Kelantan area. It is known that the political history of the Sultanate of Kelantan is closely related to

that of the Sultanate of Pattani (Thailand), as the Sultanates of Kelantan and Pattani are geographically very close. The state of Kelantan has a geopolitical condition of 'crossover', resulting in a unique cultural mix in its society that includes Malay, Islamic, Chinese, Cham and Siamese elements.¹

The occurrence of cultural mixing in Kelantan is due to the strategic geopolitical and natural wealth of Kelantan, which in the past attracted Kelantan as one of the centres of trade and Islamic scientific studies in the archipelago. Kelantan became a trading centre for the exchange of goods in the form of spices such as cloves and other commodities dominated by Arab, Indian and Chinese traders. The inclusion of the 'Golden Peninsula' in the Malay Peninsula itself is due to the wealth of gold in the soil of Kelantan. Not surprisingly, Kelantan became a bone of contention between the great Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms and Islamic sultanates in the classical era of the archipelago. As a result, some historians believe that Islam entered the Malay Peninsula via the Kelantan land route.²

There are several theories as to when Islam came to Kelantan. The author's first theory is that Islam existed when the Kelantan region was still controlled by the Sriwijaya kingdom. Although Srivijaya controlled the Straits of Malacca at that time, Srivijaya did not place any special restrictions on Muslim traders to preach or establish communities in its territory, including Kelantan. Kelantan

¹ During its time under Siamese control, the Kelantan region was a stopover for traders from Funan, Khmer, Cham and Srivijaya before finally being liberated by Raja Kumar in 1411 (Iskandar Syah). Maruwiah Ahmat, *Kenali Negeri Kita Kelantan Darul Naim*, (Shah Alam: Karisma Publications Sdn BHD, 2008), 12-13; Mohamad Nazri Ahmad, Hanapi Dollah, Baharin Ilias & Mohamad Anwar Omar Din, "Repertoire Cerita menora: Dokumentasi berasaskan cerita lisan masyarakat Siam di Bukit Yong Kelantan", *Jurnal Melayu* (5)2010: 127-146.

² Haziyah Hussin, "Orang Melayu Kelantan dari Sudut Budaya dan Perspektif Sejarah Lampau", *JEBAT*, Vol. 31 (2004), 29-31; Farrah Wahida Mustafar, "Penyebaran Islam dalam Ketamadunan Melayu: Satu Tinjauan Awal ke atas Masyarakat Melayu di Kelantan", *Jurnal Tuah*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2021), 18-33.

and Terengganu are considered to be the first two states in the Malay Peninsula to recognise and interact with Islam.³

Subsequently, Islam was brought to Kelantan by the people of the Pattani Sultanate. This was based on the close cultural background of the Kelantan, Terengganu Malays with the Thai Malays⁴, and archaeological evidence in the form of Kelantan's oldest dinar currency.⁵ This dinar coin was found in the remains of the palace city of Kubang Labu in 1914.⁶ Another theory is that it existed as early as the 17th century around the coastal areas of Terengganu and Kelantan, which were actively trading with Arab traders.⁷ In addition to this theory, the discovery of the dinar currency also points to the role of Arab politicians and traders in the process of Islamisation of Kelantan, as the people of Kelantan were already adherents of the Shafi'i fiqh madhhab, and their recitation of the Qur'an did not differ much from the style of reading the Qur'an in Arabic.⁸

³ Nik Mohamed bin Nik Mohd Salleh, *Warisan Kelantan V*, (Kota Bharu: Perbezaan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, 1986), 77.

⁴ Malay in the regions of Pattani, Narathiwat, Yala, Phattalung and Nakhon Si Thammarat. Pattani Malay is closely related to Kelantanese Malay. Kelantanese Malay is very different from the standard Malay spoken in other Malaysian states. Adi Yasran Abdul Aziz & Zaharani Ahmad, "Kelegapan fonologi dalam rima suku kata tertutup dialek kelantan: Satu Analisis Teori Simpati", *Jurnal Bahasa*, Volume 6, No. 1 (2006), 76-96.

⁵ Noorsafuan Che Noh, Hanif Md Lateh, Wan Kamal Mujani, Ezad Azraai Jamsari & Izziah Suryani Mat Resad, "Dinar Emas Negeri Kelantan Zaman Silam dan Moden: Satu Pengamatan Sejarah", *Prosiding Seminar Antarabangsa Penjanaaan Ekonomi Melalui Transaksi Wan Dinar*, (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Pengajian Arab dan Tamadun Islam, FPI, UKM, 2009), 95-108; Ali Hasymy, *Sejarah masuk dan berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia: kumpulan prasaran pada seminar di Aceh*, (Bandung: Alma'arif, 1989), 329.

⁶ Muhammad Hussein Khali'i Haji Awang, *Kelantan dari Zaman ke Zaman*, (Kota Bharu: Percetakan Sharikat Dian Berhad, 1970), 7.

⁷ Uqbah Iqbal, Nordin Hussin, Ahmad Ali Seman, "Sejarah Perkembangan Ekonomi Semenanjung Tanah Melayu dan Sifat Ekonomi Masyarakat Melayu Era Pra-Kolonial", *Jurnal Antarabangsa Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (Iman)*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2015), 100-103.

⁸ Ismail Awang, *Pengajian dan Tafsir al-Qur'an*, (Kota Bharu: Dian Darulnaim, 1978), 73.

Another view put forward by the author is that Islam was brought to Kelantan by Chinese traders who stopped in Kelantan either by land or sea. These Chinese Muslim traders then settled and intermarried with the Malay community. This mixing resulted in the unique architecture of Kelantan's mosques, which have pagoda-like tops.⁹

After its independence from Siam in 1411 by Raja Kumar, Islamic influence began to take hold in Kelantan, making it one of the most important trading centres in the archipelago in the late 15th century, after it came under the rule of the Sultanate of Melaka in 1499. After the fall of Melaka in 1511, the Kelantan region was ruled by small tribes until the early 17th century, when it was overrun by Pattani and the Srivijaya Empire.¹⁰ In 1760, Kelantan was recaptured by a Pattani warlord called Long Yunus, who was also the son-in-law of Ku Tanang Wangsa, a regent of Terengganu. This led to increased interaction between Kelantan and Champa. Kelantan has had a long relationship with the Champa region even before Islam arrived in Kelantan.¹¹ In fact, some theories about the arrival of Islam in the land of Champa suggest that Malays, particularly from Kelantan, had travelled there in the 9th century to trade and preach in Champa.¹² This was reinforced by the rise to

⁹ Rizem Aizid, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam Terlengkap, Periode Klasik, Pertengahan, dan Modern*, (Yogyakarta: DIVA Press, 2021), 473.

¹⁰ Ahmat, *Kenali Negeri Kita Kelantan*, 12; Swaran Ludher, *They Came to Malaya*, (Bloomington, Indiana: XLIBRIS, 2015), subbab 18.3.

¹¹ Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, *Terengganu: dahulu dan sekarang*, (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Muzium Malaysia Muzium Negara, 1984), 3; More specifically, the Malay presence in Cambodia dates back several centuries, when the Malays and Khmers gradually established various forms of contact. According to Khmer sources, the 'Chvea' or Malays conquered most of Khmer territory in the seventh century. The Vat Samran inscription mentions that Jayavarman II (802-50 AD), the founder of the Angkor Empire, held a ceremony when Cambodia was liberated from the Javanese Empire. Before Jayavarman II came to power, he took refuge in the Malay kingdom due to internal conflicts in his kingdom. He was later helped by the Malays to regain his rightful position. Mohamad Zain Musa, "History of Education among the Cambodian Muslims", *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics, & Strategic Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2011), 84-85.

¹² Mohamad Zain Musa, "Perkembangan Islam di Asia Tenggara: Kajian Kemoja", *SALAM Jurnal Studi Masyarakat Islam*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Desember 2012), 216.

power of Long Yunus in Kelantan, who himself was believed by the Hikayat Kelantan to be of Champa blood. From the time of Long Yunus, the relationship between Kelantan and Champa entered a more intense level.

Long Yunus was succeeded in 1795 by his son-in-law, Tengku Muhammad of Terengganu. This appointment was opposed by Long Yunus's sons, sparking a conflict between Kelantan and Terengganu, the civil war was won by Kelantan, led by Long Yunus's eldest son, Long Muhammad, who later proclaimed himself Sultan of Kelantan under the name Sultan Muhammad I.¹³ Under the leadership of Sultan Muhammad I, Kelantan re-established political relations and religious education with their brothers in Pattani. Indeed, since the 14th century, Kelantan had played an important role in efforts to spread and strengthen the position of Islam in the Malay region, the Champa region (Cambodia and southern Vietnam), southern Thailand and Sumatra (Aceh and Minangkabau). People from these regions flocked to Kelantan to study the religion in the various huts that had been set up, especially at its peak in the 19th century, leading to Kelantan being referred to as 'Little Mecca' or 'Mecca's Porch'.¹⁴

However, following the entry of British colonialism into the Malay Peninsula and Siam's invasion of Pattani, the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909 saw Siam cede its claims to Kedah, Perlis, Terengganu and Kelantan to the British.¹⁵ Kelantan, as Pattani's brother, was unable to assist Patani in the Siamese-British political game and the Thai cultural assimilation project for the Pattani Malay community. The separation of the two brothers completely severed the political ties between the two regions¹⁶. But not in terms of the historical, emotional and social memory of its people. This is based on the results of the author's interviews with Pattani students studying at the UIN Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi, how

¹³ Ludher, *They Came*. Subbab 18.3.

¹⁴ Ahmad Jaelani Halimi, *Sejarah dan Tamadun Bangsa Melayu*, (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn Bhd, 2008), 205.

¹⁵ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Sosial Muslim Minoritas di Kawasan Asia*, (Bandung: UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2022), 22.

¹⁶ Usman Husein, *Aceh Serambi Mekkah*, (Banda Aceh: Pemerintah Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, 2008), 99.

they explain the relationship between the two communities from two regions, separated in different countries, that is still well established today.¹⁷

As a theoretical basis for building the analysis of this paper, the author proposes Kelantan as the cradle of Malay culture and the gateway of Islam to the Malay Peninsula. As explained by Azyumardi Azra in "**Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global dan Lokal**"¹⁸, coastal areas with maritime culture such as Kelantan have an open nature with the formation of culture and the entry of Islam into the land of the Malay Peninsula. This is also reinforced by the fact that Kelantan, according to Malaysian historians, is the starting point for the birth of the pre-historic culture of the indigenous people of the Malay Peninsula to become the initial area for ethnic Malays to Islamise themselves and their culture as a whole.¹⁹ Thus, Kelantan can be said to be the "cradle of culture and the cradle of Islamisation" in the land of the Malay Peninsula.

The author uses the standard proposed by Ibn Khaldun for the assessment of the wealth of a society and of a state, namely: 1) a diverse and noble society; 2) a society that works together and tolerates each other in building community and state life; 3) a fair government in the welfare of the people, not distinguishing people for their ethnicity and religion²⁰. These three indicators are used to analyse the prosperity and peace of Kelantan, known as a state that fully implements Sharia law, in a plural society in contemporary Malaysia.

¹⁷ It was told by two students of the Islamic Education Study Programme of UIN Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi from southern Thailand, Haseemah Mama and Arefeen Wae-Useng. They are used to visiting each other's cousins' homes in Kelantan and the Kelantan culture, which is similar to the Malay culture in southern Thailand.

¹⁸ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global dan Lokal*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 20

¹⁹ Hussin, "Orang Melayu Kelantan...", 15-38.

²⁰ Mahayudin Yahaya, "Umran dan aplikasinya di Alam Melayu (The concept of 'Umran and its application in the Malay Archipelago)", *Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu*, 6(1) (2013): 1-33

There is research on the development of Islam in Kelantan in the 15th-18th centuries by Abidin and Hamzah (2018)²¹ which explained that Kelantan was a developed trading centre with close political relations with Pattani and Siam. Similarly, Kelantan was also in some historical research on Cham-Malay relations (Ken 2013)²². The novelty of this paper is to explain Kelantan's relationship with other regions, such as Pattani, Siam, other Malay sultanates, to the Champa region. This relationship is not only limited to trade, but also includes education, da'wah to the 'historical' emotional relationship between ethnic Cham and Malay Kelantan. This paper also explains Kelantan's position as a 'Shari'i' region of the Malay Peninsula in the contemporary era.

This paper aims to explain the great role of Kelantan as the 'Porch of Mecca' of the archipelago in the context of the treasures of Islamic education and politics of Ukhuwah Islamiyyah Nusantara from the 15th to the 19th century, and its significance for the development of Islam in the present day. Qualitative research was employed with analytical descriptive reporting. Social history research used a multidisciplinary approach to analyse the socio-cultural aspects of society.²³ This research was based on a method of historical research with following steps²⁴

First, heuristics, is an effort, technique or method of finding, investigating, collecting historical sources or research²⁵. The sources were gathered through a literature review. The primary sources for this research are books and journals on Kelantan's network with

²¹ Mohd Zahirwan Halim Zainal Abidin & Norhayati Haji Hamzah, "Perkembangan Islam Di Kelantan: Analisis Terhadap Manuskrip Sejarah Negeri Kelantan (The Development of Islam in Kelantan: Analysis on the Manuscript of Sejarah Negeri Kelantan)", *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 13 No. 2 (2018), 133–147.

²² Danny Wong Tze Ken, "The Cham arrivals in Malaysia: Distant memories and rekindled links", *Archipel* 85.1 (2013): 151-165

²³ Sartono Kartodirjo, *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial dalam Metodologi Sejarah*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1993), 50.

²⁴ Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah*, (Translated by Nugroho Notosusanto), (Jakarta, UI Press: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia (UI-Press), 1975), 35.

²⁵ Dudung Abdurrahman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*, (Ciputat: PT Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), 105.

other Islamic civilisations in the archipelago, such as the writings of Philipp Bruckmayr, Abdullah bin Mohamed and Danny Wong Tze Ken, which focus on the historical links between the Malay and Cham ethnicities. This is followed by other sources that explain the implementation of Islamic law and the responses of non-Muslim minority groups; **Second**, source criticism aims to select sources according to their strengths²⁶. **Third**, the interpretation or analysis stage, where the data analysis process is carried out simultaneously from the beginning of the source collection, or called the interactive analysis model. The data obtained is then compared interactively and then reduced in terms of its strength, what is deemed unnecessary is not used²⁷. **Fourth**, is the process of drawing conclusions.

Specifically, the analysis technique used a socio-historical approach by firstly getting an overview of how the history of the development of Islamic civilisation in Kelantan from the 15th to the 19th century so that it was known as 'Little Mecca'; as well as the impact of the development of Islamic civilization in classical Kelantan on Islamic civilisation in Malaysia specifically in the contemporary era. After descriptive analysis, the next technique was interpretive, where the author interpreted the results of the review of the sources obtained (Vlekke, Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia 2008).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kelantan is a strategic region because of its location on the coast. The coastal area has a large space in the development of cosmopolitan civilisation and became the starting point for the development of Islam in the archipelago.²⁸ The discussion of the influence of the Islamic civilisation in Kelantan on the Islamic civilisation in the archipelago will be explained through three stages of the development of Islamic civilisation in the archipelago.

²⁶ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*, (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Benteng Budaya, 1995), 94.

²⁷ H. B. Sutopo, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Dasar Teori dan Penerapannya Dalam Penelitian*, (Surakarta: UNS Press, 2006), 120.

²⁸ Azra, *Islam Nusantara*, 20.

Azyumardi Azra divides these three stages into:²⁹ 1) **The first stage**, the arrival of Islam and the decline of Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in the archipelago in the 14th-15th centuries. This stage is characterised by the development of Muslim communities in the coastal areas, beginning with trade³⁰, then the development of education, and culminating in the political realm of top-down royal Islamisation; 2) **The second stage**, the arrival of Western colonialists in the early 19th century; 3) **The third stage**, began in the early 20th century with the liberalisation of colonial policies.

Kelantan in the Passion of Islamic Education in Nusantara in the 15th and 19th Centuries

The position of the Malay people in the development of Nusantara Islamic civilisation is important. Apart from being the host of maritime trading ports, the Malay language is also used as a lingua franca in political matters, trade to the process of teaching and learning Islam in the archipelago. This was then reinforced by the acculturation of Malay with the Arabic script, resulting in the "Jawi or Malay Arabic script".³¹ If you look at the 'prerequisites' needed to become the centre of the development of Islamic civilisation in the archipelago, Kelantan already has it all: it is on the coast, it is a trading city and Malay is its mother tongue.

By the mid-19th century, Pattani and Kelantan were already considered the main destinations for Muslims to obtain higher Islamic education in the Southeast Asian region, so much so that Champa Muslims, especially those in Cambodia, sent many of their children to study religious sciences in Pattani or Kelantan, even

²⁹ Azyumardi Azra, *Renaissans Islam Asia Tenggara sejarah wacana kekuasaan*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2006), 34-35.

³⁰ The spread of Islam in the archipelago was strongly driven by the spice trade, and it can be said that Islamisation in Kelantan also began with the economic interests of both parties. Bernard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2008), 92-93.

³¹ Azyumardi Azra, *Indonesia Dalam Arus Sejarah: Kedatangan dan Perkembangan Peradaban Islam*, (Jakarta: Ikhtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2012), 2.

referring to the two areas as 'Little Mecca'.³² According to French researcher Marcel Ner, the Malay composition of the Champa region during this period was dominated by Malays from Minangkabau, Pattani and Kelantan.³³ In addition to trade, the educational interactions channelled through these Malay parties helped to strengthen the Islamic values of the Champa people.³⁴

This confirms that the Islamic kingdoms on the coast have a great opportunity to control the economy as a city, and with the strengthening of the economy, the reputation of the coastal areas of the kingdom will increase and the number of foreign traders coming, including Muslim traders, will increase. The intensity of trade was accompanied by Islamic preaching and education. Kelantan, like Aceh, experienced this process, emerging as two trading stops and the spread of a strong Islamic culture that permeated the lives of the people, hence the term 'Serambi Mekkah'. Kelantan and Aceh show the same pattern: a trading city or country can become a centre of Islamic education.

For the Malays, especially after the introduction of Islam into their lives, the place of study and education in society became an important issue. Islam came as the originator of the scientific revolution in the Malay Empire and encouraged the Malay youth to become experts in the religious sciences, where for the Malay community, their children who were clever and experts in the religious sciences would be people of high standing in society.³⁵ Before the birth of the pondok system later during the reign of Sultan Muhammad I, the initial Islamic learning process in Kelantan was carried out by Arab and Indian traders as well as Kelantanese who

³² Philipp Bruckmayr, "The Cham Muslims of Cambodia: From Forgotten Minority to Focal Point of Islamic Internationalism", *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Volume 23, Issue 3, 2006: 1-23.

³³ Philipp Bruckmayr, *Cambodia's Muslims and the Malay World: Malay Language, Jawi Script, and Islamic Factionalism from the 19th Century to the Present*, (Leiden: BRILL, 2019), 115; Anthony Milner, *The Malays*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

³⁴ Robert W. Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 176.

³⁵ Farrah Wahida Mustafar, "Penyebaran Islam dalam Ketamadunan Melayu: Satu Tinjauan Awal ke atas Masyarakat Melayu di Kelantan", *Jurnal Tuah*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2021), 28.

had studied in Mecca. This learning itself began in the royal environment through oral lectures, as not many religious textbooks were printed or written at that time. Then, slowly, the system of learning in small madrasahs and mosques, with learning methods that were still oral lectures, began to take hold.³⁶

During this period, the intellectual tradition in the archipelago became more solid. Particularly in the field of Islamic knowledge, the process of intellectual improvement of the Muslim community was caused by the increase in the activities of the *rihlah ilmiyyah* to Mecca. On their return, they went back to their respective hometowns to work or to establish their own religious educational institutions.³⁷ This scholarly pilgrimage passed through the "porch of Mecca" of the archipelago, such as Aceh, Kelantan and Pattani.

The glories of Kota Bharu (Kelantan) and Pattani are well known throughout the archipelago as destinations for higher level religious study.³⁸ Just like the students from Kedah who are going to study in Mecca, they need to stop and study in Kelantan to build their knowledge base before consolidating it later in Mecca.³⁹ Kelantan's speciality, with its strong Islamic image, has persisted in contemporary Malaysia, and it seems that Islam itself is deeply rooted in Kelantan's Muslim and Malay communities.⁴⁰ Since time immemorial, the people of Kelantan have been in the habit of sending their children to Mecca, Egypt, India and also to their brothers and sisters in 'Little Mecca-Serambi Mekkah' to learn religious knowledge: Pattani and Aceh. On their return, they became great

³⁶ Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, Ahmad Zaki Berahim Ibrahim, Abdullah Yusof, Muhamad Fauzi Zakaria & Mhd Faizal Mhd Ramli, "Early History of Islamic Education and its Expansion in the State of Kelantan, Malaysia", *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, Vol. 11, No. 8 (2012), 1158-1159.

³⁷ Azra, *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah*, 3.

³⁸ Vadim Atnashev, "The Cham of Cambodia as a Devided People: From Refugee to Genocide", *Proceedings of Topical Issues in International Political Geography*, (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Geography, 2023), 454

³⁹ Halimi, *Sejarah dan Tamadun*, 206.

⁴⁰ Tempo, *Serambi Mekah di Semenanjung*, Vol. 33, Masalah 1-6, (Badan Usaha Jaya Press Jajasan Jaya Raya, 2004), 68.

Malay scholars and established centres of Islamic learning in Kelantan and in the places where they migrated and preached.⁴¹

This historical fact suggests that Kelantan has become a transit city for trade, education and da'wah. Before Muslims from the Malay Peninsula or Champa went on Hajj or to study in Mecca, they had to settle in Kelantan. On their return, they became new da'wah agents, the product of their studies in 'Little Mecca' and 'Grand Mecca'. Making Kelantan the centre of their da'wah and education, they continued their mission of da'wah and Islamic education in the Malay Peninsula and other parts of the archipelago as graduates of the Santri Pondok in Kelantan.

During the heyday of Islam in Kelantan, there was one Malay figure who was highly respected in the world of Islamic education in Kelantan, and the impact of his work was felt quite widely in the empowerment of Peninsular Muslims and Champa Muslims, and that was Sheikh Haji Abdul Halim. His life story continues as the adopted son of Sultan Long Yunus (1726-1794) and advisor to Sultan Muhammad I (1818-1837). The classical Islamic education system promoted in Kelantan was the Pondok system introduced by Tok Pulai Condong, or whose real name was Haji Abdul Samad bin Faqih Haji Abdullah (1792-1873) in 1820. Kelantan is known as the country in Peninsular Malaya that first introduced the Pondok education system in this country. Starting from the pondok education, the method of developing Islamic education in Kelantan also developed outside the pondok, mainly through the works (such as kitab) produced. The density of Islamic education learning activities in Kelantan at that time was well known throughout the archipelago.⁴²

The education system in Kelantan is based on the principles of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah (Sunni). The religious sciences studied in the huts established in Kelantan are Fiqh with the Shafi'i Mazhab, Nahwu, as well as lessons in Qur'an interpretation and Hadith. The learning process is conducted using the Halaqah

⁴¹ Mustaffa bin Abdullah & Mohd. Asmadi bin Yakob, "Pengajian Tafsir di Kelantan: Satu Tinjauan Sejarah", *Jurnal Usuluddin*, Vol. 17 (2003), 107-122.

⁴² Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah, *Pemikiran Islam di Malaysia: sejarah dan aliran*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1997), 34-35.

method.⁴³ The personalities who became teachers at the Pondok Recitation Institution and who had studied in Mecca were Sheikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani, Sayid Abdul Rahman (Tokku Paloh), Muhammad Yusoff bin Ahmad (Tok Kenali), Tuan Tabal, Tok Selehor and Tok Kemuning.⁴⁴ Pattani and Kelantan together produced Nusantara scholars skilled in Islamic scholarship and historical writing who played an important role in Islamic education in Nusantara from the 14th century to before the 20th century.⁴⁵

At the beginning of the era of 'heated' debates on Sufism in the Malay Peninsula in the 19th century, there were various problems among the Malay kings regarding the control of Sufi orthodoxy. In this context, Mekka Ahmad Al-Fatani (1856-1908) received a letter from Sultan Muhammad IV of Kelantan requesting a solution to the problem. It is known that Kelantan was under the influence of Siam at that time. Sultan Muhammad IV asked Mecca Ahmad Al-Fatani for his opinion on the Sufi group that had developed in the Kelantan region through the revival of a Minangkabau Sufi from the peninsula, Muhammad Sa'id bin Jamal al-Din al-Linggi (1875-1926), who propagated the Ahmadiyya Tariqah. Al-Fatani admits that he had 'entered' the order in the past, but this is different from how the Sultan describes it. The fatwa they produced together was not intended to condemn the order, but to scrutinise its teachings as they were learnt.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Halaqah* is a circular system of recitation, which was the method used in the centres of Islamic studies, including the city of Mecca, namely the Grand Mosque and the Prophet's Mosque in the past. There are also halaqahs where the teacher is in the centre, surrounded by students.

⁴⁴ Mustafar, "Penyebaran Islam...", 28-29.

⁴⁵ Sudirman Shomary, "Sejarah Tamadun Melayu Dan Jawa: Perbandingan Sastra Sejarah", *International Seminar of Southeast Asia Malay Arts Festival, "Rediscovering The Treasures of Malay Culture"*, (Padang Panjang: ISI Padang Panjang Press, 2012), 170.

⁴⁶ The Sultan of Kelantan's concern was due to the prevalence of peninsular Malay youths at the time who were being sucked into self-consciousness because they were 'amazed', 'mesmerised' and 'intoxicated' by the divine presence offered by Ahmadiyya. In the end, however, Al-Fatani informed the Sultan of Kelantan that Ahmadiyya was valid because its teachings were linked to those of Sidi Muhammad Salih and Ahmad Al-Dandarawi. These two figures were considered by Al-Fatani to teach Sufi orthodoxy, and Al-Fatani suggested to the

Kelantan's fame also reached the Indochina region, such as the Champa region. Kelantan's relationship with the Champa region goes back long before Islam came to the Malay Peninsula.⁴⁷ Based on the belief of the people of Kelantan, who are descended from Hikayat Kelantan, that the ancestors of the founder of the Sultanate of Kelantan, Long Yunus himself, came from Kembayat Negara, believed to be Champa.⁴⁸ Even after embracing Islam, the sultans of Kelantan maintained good political relations with the kings of Champa before it was invaded by the Vietnamese. Many Malays, especially those from Kelantan, were given important positions in the Champa palace as scribes and teachers of Islam. From the early 16th century, with its reputation as one of the centres of Islamic learning in the archipelago, along with Pattani, many Cham Muslim parents sent their children to study religion in Kelantan, including one of the forerunners of the Champa kings, Po Roma, who studied Islam in Kelantan. Other Champa leaders such as Katip Sumat also studied religion in Kelantan. Young Champa Muslims like Sumat, after studying religion, returned to their villages as religious teachers and became leaders of the 'jihad' movement against the Vietnamese who occupied Champa in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁴⁹

The psychological side that shapes the Kelantan-Cham relationship is a primordial legacy of the two ethnicities, where they feel connected and close because they share a cultural closeness to believe that they share a line of descent from one ancestor. Emotional factors such as these play a major role, both on an individual level and on a group level, to foster a sense of togetherness between the interacting parties. Like brothers, if your brother is being attacked by another group, you will help your brother. In addition,

Sultan of Kelantan that we should consider tariqah as a 'modern' science of the world. So that with this combination of learning, Muslims could 'maintain and enhance the sovereignty of Islam'. Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam di Nusantara*, (Translated by Indi Aunullah & Rini Nurul Badariah, (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Bentang, 2015), 204.

⁴⁷ Ghazali, *Terengganu*, 3.

⁴⁸ Tze-Ken, "Vietnam-Champa Relations and the Malay-Islam Regional Network in the 17th–19th Centuries", *Islam in Southeast Asia (Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia)*, no. 5 (March 2004).

⁴⁹ Musa, "Perkembangan Islam...", 2019.

Kelantan itself has played a role in establishing political and da'wah links with Cham.

Kelantan-Champa socio-political relations

Borrowing Schrieke's concept of 'race and competition', cited by Azyumardi Azra, the network of Islamic expansion in the archipelago was also based on a sense of competition.⁵⁰ If Schrieke describes a competition between Christianity and Islam in the archipelago, the author sees that in the economic, political and Islamic expansion of Kelantan, the dynamics of competition are not only against the Christians, but also against Siam, which tried to annex Pattani, and Vietnam, which wanted to conquer Champa, where Pattani and Champa have emotional ties with the Kelantan Malay community. Both religiously, culturally and in terms of ethnic lineage.

Azyumardi Azra also mentioned that Islam also has an important role to play in creating unity between groups that are supra-identity, where Islam does not limit relationships due to differences in tribes, nations, ethnic sentiments, geographical boundaries, customs or other local wisdom values.⁵¹

Kelantanese Malays strongly supported Champa's fighting spirit to continue defending themselves from Vietnamese attacks under Nguyen. It is possible that this favourable political relationship allowed the Cham-Malay nobles to gain important positions in their counterparts' kingdoms, as well as providing each other with military assistance. On several occasions in Champa's struggle against the Vietnamese, some Cham and Malay-Kelantan nobles and Islamic religious leaders led the people and troops of the Champa kingdom to rebel against the Vietnamese, although they were generally defeated by the strength of the Vietnamese military.⁵²

As with the Cham rebellion of 1832 by Cham groups in Binh Thuan, they were suppressed for supporting the viceroy Le Van Duyet in Gia Dinh in the south. When Le Van Duyet died in 1832,

⁵⁰ Azra, *Islam Nusantara*, 15.

⁵¹ Azra, *Indonesia Dalam Arus Sejarah*, 2.

⁵² Tze-Ken, "Vietnam-Champa".

he was succeeded by his adopted son, Le Van Khoi, who continued to oppose the Nguyen royal court. Cham forces led by a Malay named Katip (Khatib) Sumat, who had migrated to Kelantan many years earlier, fought the Nguyen forces led by Ming Mang. He immediately returned to his hometown after hearing that it was being oppressed by the Nguyens. He returned with an escort of Malay and Cham troops from the Kelantan area. As the war continued until 1834, reinforcements from Cham continued to be brought in by Sultan Muhamad I of Kelantan. According to Po Dharma, the reason for this support was that the Kelantan sultans were not only religious brothers, but also believed that they and the Champa people came from the same Po Roma lineage.⁵³

This is due to the good relations between Kelantan and Champa, where one of the famous Champa nobles named Po Rome (1627-1651) married a Malay princess from Kelantan, immortalised in the Chronicle of Kelantan written in the family tree of Tengku Petra, one of the Sultans of Kelantan.⁵⁴ Po Roma's known connection with Islam and Malay culture is mentioned in Babad Kelantan (History of Kelantan), where it is reported that a Cham prince arrived in Kelantan in the 17th century, known as Nik Mustafa. After living in Kelantan for a few years, he later returned to Champa and was made king with the title of Sultan Abdul Hamid.⁵⁵ His sons later took the title 'Paduka Seri Sultan' and retained Islam as their royal religion.⁵⁶

⁵³ Po Dharma, "Peranan Kelantan dalam Pergerakan Islam di Campa 1833-1834", *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989: 85-86.

⁵⁴ Henri Chambert-Loir, Hasan Muarif Ambary, *Panggung sejarah: persembahan kepada Prof. Dr. Denys Lombard*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1999), 167.

⁵⁵ Abdullah bin Mohamed (Nakula), "Keturunan Melayu di Kemboja dan Vietnam: Hubungannya dengan Semenanjung dengan Tumpuan Khas kepada Negeri Kelantan", *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989: 24-27.

⁵⁶ Po Roma's son, Po Saut (1660-1692), the last independent ruler of Champa, also converted to Islam. In his time, the Muslim king of Champa began to use the title 'Paduka Seri Sultan', like the Malay sultans. But uniquely in their religious dynamics, these kings are said not to have completely abandoned Hinduism. This has to do with a deity called Po Allah, who belongs to the pantheon of Cham deities. There are many versions of the answer to the question "Why did this happen?"; some say that Po Roma's original purpose in Kelantan

The 1876 uprising was led by a Malay nobleman named Tuan Phaow, who was believed to be from Kelantan, although other versions say he was from Mecca (where Kelantan has another name, Mecca, for the Cham people). Tuan Phaow led a rebel force against the Vietnamese government, his followers coming from the Cham tribe in the Binh Thuan region, as well as a group of Malays. Tuan Phaow's rebel mission against the Vietnamese was also religious in nature, as he claimed to be a man sent by God to help the Cham people against Vietnamese oppression. This group of rebels fought Nguyen Anh (Gia Long, founder of the Nguyen dynasty) for two years, which ended in victory for the Nguyen side after collaboration with pro-Nguyen Cham leaders. It is rumoured that Tuan Phaow fled to Mecca after this defeat. It is not known whether he fled to the real Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula or the 'Mecca' in Kelantan.⁵⁷

The reciprocal relationship of political asylum between Kelantan and Cham continued with their participation in helping the kingdoms of the archipelago against the onslaught of the West, which wanted to control the trade routes and conquer the Islamic sultanates with the spirit of Christianisation.⁵⁸ This reciprocal relationship illustrates an important signal in the issue of Muslim unity, that this war is no longer a war between ethnicities, but this war is the obligation of Muslims to help each other to help their oppressed fellow Muslims, so that this concept changes from an ethnic or national struggle to a religious struggle.

After Champa was invaded by the Vietnamese in the mid-19th century, this isolated Champa from their Malay kin, resulting in a massive migration of Cham Muslims to Malay areas, especially Kelantan. The 'closure' of this classical chapter does not signal the end of the relationship between the two peoples. It has continued

was to learn about Malay culture, including the notoriously powerful Malay magic, as well as Islam as a new religion in the region. Tze-Ken, "Vietnam-Champa Relations...", 114.

⁵⁷ Danny Wong Tze Ken, "The Cham Arrivals in Malaysia: Distant Memories and Rekindled Links", *Archipel*, volume 85, 2013: 151-165.

⁵⁸ Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase 1550-1650", dalam *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, by Anthony Reid, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 316-317.

over time in accordance with the dynamics of the cultural and religious struggles of each era.

'Serambi Mekkah': Kelantan in the late 19th and 20th centuries

The relevance of Schrieke's 'race and competition' theory, presented earlier, can be used to explain the dynamics of the continuation of the da'wah relationship between Malay Kelantan and Champa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and today.⁵⁹ While the Kelantanese were preoccupied with maintaining their Islamic identity politically and culturally after the partition of Pattani by the Siamese-British, the Kelantanese also worked hard to reconnect and maintain Islamic proselytising efforts in the Champa community, which had been occupied by the Vietnamese and then the French. Based on this, the sense of honour to maintain the existence as *Daarul Islam* (State of Islam) then combined with the interests of Islamic Da'wah in the contemporary era is an advanced form of Malay Kelantan's socio-political competition with its rivals such as Siamised Pattani, colonialised Champa and the contemporary Malay Peninsula weakened by British heritage secularism.

At the end of the French-Vietnam War (1858-1861), after France had captured the Champa region from Vietnamese hands, Champa ethnicity tries to see positives in French victory⁶⁰, to re-establish its international relations with Kelantan. In the late 19th century, some Malay scholars from Kelantan began to revisit the former Champa lands, preaching, marrying local women and re-

⁵⁹ See Azra, *Islam Nusantara*, 15.

⁶⁰ The French colonisation of Indochina at least had a positive impact on the eradication of the Cham cultural identity by the Nguyen, thus reviving the ancient Cham people's aspirations to regain their Cham identity. Indirectly, the research activities on Cham history and culture conducted by French scholars and academics during the colonisation of Indochina had a major impact on the rediscovery of the Cham identity that had been almost 'erased' by the Nguyen culture. Danny Wong Tze-Ken, "Historical Relations between the Chams and the Malays: Sustaining Common Identity, Culture and Ethnicity through Two Millennia of Relations", *Southeast Asia: History and Culture*, Issue 37, 2008: 127-128. It is therefore interesting to note that while the Dutch and British stole ancient manuscripts in Indonesia to take back to their home countries, French colonialism conducted research that helped the Cham people regain their identity rather than lose their ancestral identity and heritage.

establishing communities scattered throughout the former Champa region.⁶¹ Malay Muslims, dominated by Kelantanese Muslims in the 19th century, played a major role in 'returning' the Champa Muslims to the right path of Islamic faith and worship.⁶² Malay scholars were instrumental in delivering Friday sermons and teaching religion in the mosques and madrasas they established. Many religious teachers and Islamic preachers have travelled back and forth from Kelantan to Champa over the years, solely for the purpose of da'wah and strengthening Islamic education for Champa Muslims. Champa Muslims have also responded actively by sending their children to Kelantan to learn Islam.⁶³ The interaction between Champa and Kelantan Muslims has also led to cultural acculturation in the lives of Kelantan Muslims living in the Pangkalan Chepa and Kampung Chepa areas.⁶⁴

Kelantan remains one of the educational centres of Malay civilisation, especially after the fall of political power from Pattani to Siam during the heyday of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia. In the 1920s to 1940s, Kelantan survived with the halaqah system in mosques and lodges, which were still attended by the Malay community for religious study. However, increasing British intervention weakened the halaqah and pondok systems in

⁶¹ Tze Ken, "The Cham Arrivals.

⁶² This view is based on the fact that the Champa's dark history was 'Vietnamised' during the Vietnamese occupation. They had great difficulty in maintaining their cultural identity and religious practices. This was further exacerbated during the French era, which did not provide space for Islamic religious empowerment. During these two periods, Cham Muslims experienced a downgrading in terms of worshipping according to the Shari'a. This was exacerbated by the cruelty of the Khmer Rouge regime under Pol Pot. All ethnic groups other than the Khmer who did not conform to communist rules were harassed, massacred, even religious believers such as Muslims were forbidden to pray or fast, the Koran was burned and they were forced to eat pigs.

⁶³ Nakula," *Keturunan Melayu...*, 24-27.

⁶⁴ Even some names of clothing and textile materials in Kelantan have been associated with Champa identity. In addition, a mosque in Kampung Laut is believed by Kelantanese to have been built by Cham seafarers who often visited Kelantan. Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, *Sejarah Masjid Kampung Laut*, (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian kebudayaan Belia dan Sukan, 1978), 112-113. See also Jacques Dumarçay, "La mosquée de Kampung Laut (Kelantan): étude architecturale", *Archipel*, Volume 44, 1992: 115-122.

Kelantan.⁶⁵ To this day, Kelantan is still a representative state in Malaysia that still maintains traditional Islamic education in its lodges, amidst modern Islam, which is also the main reference for Kelantan people in pursuing education. Kelantan's consistency in maintaining its image and history as the land of 'Serambi Mekkah' in Malaysia makes it a reference in the traditional Malay Islamic education system.⁶⁶

Kelantan as a state-based representation of contemporary Malaysian politics and Islamic law

Kelantan has emerged as a region with the development of Islamic civilisation that counts in the archipelago. It seems to be a 'little Mecca' in terms of trade, politics, Da'wah and Islamic education. Kelantan became the umbilical cord for the unity of the Muslim kingdoms and communities in the archipelago, as well as a bulwark against foreign oppression. Until the 19th century, Kelantanese preachers continued to preach to the Champa Muslims to restore them to their true nature. This was a departure from the severed ties of the past. The spirit of Islam, Jihad and Da'wah continues to flow through the history of Malay civilisation in Malaysia to the present day.

It is well known that British colonisation brought a dynamic political character to the Malay community in the peninsula. Those educated in the Western educational system will bring with them Westernism and secularism, which does not mix religion and politics. Meanwhile, those with a stronger Islamic educational background will oppose the first opinion, so that Malaysia's political upheaval after independence will be a battle between secular groups led by UMNO and Islamist groups such as the opposition Al-Islami Se-Malaysia Party (PAS).⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Asiah Ali, "Peranan ulama'dalam bidang pendidikan Islam di negeri Kelantan: suatu kajian khusus di antara tahun 1940 hingga 1990", *Jurnal Tasawwur Islam* 5 (2002): 1-10.

⁶⁶ L. Haji Abdullah, "Latest development of traditional Islamic education in Kelantan", *INTED2011 Proceedings, IATED* (2011): 2193-2198.

⁶⁷ Abdullah Jusuf, *Pengenalan Tamadun Islam di Malaysia*, (Banda Aceh: DBPKPM, 1990), 85.

Malaysia, which is a federation, operates a Western-inspired democratic system with a secular style of political governance. One form of democratic governance is regional autonomy, where the federal government delegates responsibility for the development of their regions to state governments. But PAS, which has long dominated Kelantan politics, is still fighting to impose Sharia law, which is clearly in conflict with the secular federal law.⁶⁸

Kelantan, which has a long history as one of the starting points and pillars of the development of Islamic civilisation in the peninsula, along with Melaka, still appears in contemporary Malaysia as a Malay region that is very conservative on Islamic issues. From 1959 to 1978 and again in 1990, Kelantan was the strongest electoral base for Malaysia's leading Islamic party, the Al-Islam Se-Malaysia Party (PAS). Thus, Kelantan's political power is almost identical to PAS's political power. The success of PAS's strong political hegemony in Kelantan can be seen as a result of Kelantan's history of strong Islamic civilisation with its Islamic culture, so the strength of Islamic political parties such as PAS will certainly be easier to get votes than nationalist and secular parties such as UMNO. PAS is increasingly controlling the executive, legislative and political structure of the Kelantan state government, and this bureaucratic power is firmly maintaining the struggle for the implementation of Islamic law (*jinayah*) in Kelantan.⁶⁹

The implementation of Islamic law in Kelantan began to show a 'green light' after PAS, under the leadership of Menteri Besar Datok Nik Abdul Aziz Nikmat since 1990, worked in synergy with the government to meet the aspirations of Islamic politics in Kelantan. The Kelantan government immediately transferred all accounts from conventional banks to Islamic banks; eradicated places of immorality such as prostitution, gambling and salons or barbershops that were considered deviant, while the sale of liquor was restricted to non-Muslims under local regulations; and banned

⁶⁸ Abd. Ghofur, "Partai Al-Islam Se-Malaysia (Pas) Dan Upaya Menerapkan Syariat Islam di Kelantan", *Nusantara; Journal for Southeast Asian Islamic Studies* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Juni 2018): 20-38.

⁶⁹ Rossem, *20 Tahun Menguk Gelombang*, (Selangor: SAR Publication and Distribution, 2011), 2.

all syncretism practices⁷⁰, In the cultural arts of the people of Kelantan, everything is immediately integrated with all Islamic principles. Because art is something that is very close to people's lives.⁷¹

When Azyumardi Azra says that the acceptance of Islam by the people of the archipelago is adhesion, that is, accepting conversion to Islam without abandoning old religious beliefs and practices⁷², this does not apply to the people of Kelantan or to ethnic Malays as a whole. It can be said that Islam is an ideology that is put forward in the lives of the people of Kelantan, from the point of the family, community arts and culture to the highest level of state politics. Islam does not work as strongly with adat and culture as in Java with a "mystical synthesis" style of Islam, nor does Islam have to adapt to adat as in Gorontalo⁷³. However, Islam must be the primary source for the people of Kelantan. Any culture of the Kelantan Muslim/Malay community that does not conform to the teachings of Islam must be abolished or 'Islamised' in order to be accepted and practised. Just like the pattern of Islam in the Minangkabau, namely '*adat bersendikan syari'at, syari'at bersendikan kitabullah*' (adat based on shari'at, shari'at based on kitabullah).

The strength of the Islamic principle and the political power of PAS made Kelantan the first state in Malaysia to implement the

⁷⁰ Ridun Mohamad Nor, *Tribut Buat Sang Pencerah*, (Kuala Lumpur: Jundi Resource, 2015), 74; Shukeri Mohamad, Mohamad Azrien Mohamed Adnan, Ahmad Najib Abdullah & Nor Hazrul Mohd Salleh, "Sumbangan Tuan Guru Nik Abdul Aziz kepada Pembangunan Pentadbiran Islam di Negeri Kelantan: Satu Tinjauan", *AL-BASIRAH* Volume 10, No 2, (December 2020): 57-76; Muhammad Zaid bin Shamshul Kamar, Mohamad Redha bin Mohamad, Nik Najwa A'dila binti Nizam, "Peranan Tuan Guru Dato' Bentara Setia Haji Nik Abdul Aziz Dalam Perkembangan Islam", *Persidangan Antarabangsa Tokoh Ulama Melayu Nusantara 2019 ke-3*, Hotel Grand Blue Wave Shah Alam, Selangor 22 Oktober 2019.

⁷¹ Mohd Asri Che Ibrahim & Shukeri Mohamad, "Pelaksanaan Dasar Kesenian di Negeri Kelantan dari Tahun 1990 hingga 2015: Analisis Menurut Siasah Syar'iyah", *Jurnal Islam dan Masyarakat Kontemporari* 17 (1), (2018): 87-102.

⁷² Azra, *Islam Nusantara*, 20.

⁷³ Donald Qomaidiansyah Tungkagi, "Varian Islam Nusantara: Jawa, Minangkabau dan Gorontalo", *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 15(2), (2017): 273-294.

Jinayah Law in 1993. This struggle is a form of commitment to implement Islamic law in Malaysia, where Malaysian law previously used the legal style inherited from the British. However, its implementation was blocked and rejected by the federal government in Kuala Lumpur, as it was considered contrary to the Federal Constitution and the Syariah Court Act of 1984.⁷⁴ If PAS wants to see the full implementation of the Jinayah Law in Kelantan, it will have to overcome the difficulty of amending the 1984 Constitution. PAS's ambition in Kelantan, as Hooker mentions, is symbolic of PAS's commitment to reviving the role of the ulama, long drowned out by the secular federal government.⁷⁵ Indirectly, the author sees this as a form of effort to entice the Malay community to unite in order to restore the principles of Islam that had previously been implemented.

Enakmen Kanun Jenayah Syariah (II) 1993 Negeri Kelantan, passed by the Dewan Undangan Negeri on 25 November 1993, relates to hudud punishment based on the Syafi'i madhhab. This law only applies to Muslims in Kelantan and non-Muslims are not burdened by this law.⁷⁶ This shows the common consciousness of both the government and the people of Kelantan in fighting for Islamic PAS and the ratification of Islamic law in Kelantan. Kelantan should take advantage of what regional autonomy is as a place to highlight the image of Islamic Malay and emphasise that throughout time, from ancient times to the present day, Kelantan has not faded against the influence of secularism and prioritised Islamic aspects in the social life of the state.

The implementation of Sharia law in areas with a strong Islamic culture has received mixed reactions, especially from the media and human rights activists, as has happened in Aceh.⁷⁷ In contrast to Aceh, Kelantan received the opposite response. In fact,

⁷⁴ Tim Penyelidik, *Program PAS Negeri Kelantan 1990*, (Kota Bharu: Badan Perlindungan Kelantan, 2000), 13; Zainah Anwar, *Kebangkitan Islam di Malaysia*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 2.

⁷⁵ M. Barry Hooker, "Southeast Asian Sharī 'ahs", *Studia Islamika* Vol. 20, No. 2 (2013): 209.

⁷⁶ Ghofur, "Partai Al-Islam Se-Malaysia...", 35.

⁷⁷ Hasna Azmi Fadhilah & Fitri Mahara, "The sharia on non-muslims: should they follow?", *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 15(2), (2017): 334-344.

the implementation of the hudud law in Kelantan was fully supported by the community.⁷⁸ This is in contrast to other states in the Malaysian Federation where there have been demonstrations over the implementation of Islamic law, which is seen as not supportive of pluralism.⁷⁹ Punishments such as stoning, hand amputation and qisas are not seriously debated in the community because of the willingness to implement the kaffah hudud law. The culture of the people of Kelantan, which has been religiously embedded since the past, has made a community that is prevented from immoral acts, immorality and almost no wrongful convictions to the community because of the orderly and conducive society after this law was enacted in 1993. The Hindu community in Kelantan itself also supports the implementation of the hudud law in Kelantan because it has been proven to prevent immorality and crime. In addition, from a Hindu perspective, there are similarities between the hudud law and the manudidi sattem, where people who kill are punished by being trampled by an elephant.⁸⁰

Non-Muslims, especially those of Chinese ethnicity, also support the implementation of the hudud law and the closure of places that have the potential to invite immorality; they are grateful that their husbands are spared the services of prostitutes and do not come home drunk at night. Kelantan is also often used as a comparative study site by other states in Malaysia, particularly in relation to the implementation of Islamic Sharia law in Kelantan, which has succeeded in minimising immorality. Tourists are also amazed by the strong Malay-Islamic culture in Kelantan, but it has managed to maintain harmony with other religious communities.⁸¹ Through

⁷⁸ Wan Hasni Wan Ahmad, “Penerimaan masyarakat Kelantan terhadap pelaksanaan Dasar Membangun Bersama Islam: 1990-2004”, *Doctoral thesis*, Universiti Malaysia Kelantan (2019).

⁷⁹ Fikri Surya Pratama, “Perkembangan dan Implikasi Implementasi Kebijakan Politik Islam dalam Kehidupan Pluralisme Malaysia”, *Majalah Ilmiah Tabuah: Ta’limat, Budaya, Agama Dan Humaniora*, Volume 26, No. 2 (2022): 56–66.

⁸⁰ Khamami, *Pemberlakuan Hukum Jinayah di Aceh dan Kelantan*, (Jakarta: LSIP, 2014), 187 & 191.

⁸¹ Ghofur, “Partai Al-Islam Se-Malaysia...”, 36.

mutual cooperation, solidarity and consultation, a society of good religious tolerance can be achieved.⁸²

Thus, Kelantan has a historical role as the cradle of Malay culture and the cradle of Nusantara Islamisation. As a region that runs through the maritime trade of the archipelago, Kelantan plays an important role as a base for the development of the Malay civilisation of the archipelago in synergy with Islam. Using its status as a trading city as a force for the propagation of Nusantara Islam through education as well as political influence. Islamisation, accepted as a whole in all aspects of community life, makes Kelantan consistent in the application of Islamic law before and after the birth of the Federation of Malaysia. Kelantan became a model for the implementation of Islamic law to reduce the number of moral offences and was accepted by non-Muslim groups.

CONCLUSION

Kelantan played an important role in the development of Nusantara's Islamic civilisation in the 15th-19th centuries. Not only as a trading centre, but after a strong Islamic sultanate political foundation in the 15th century, Kelantan emerged to be a centre of Islamic education for Malays or Muslims in the archipelago. Kelantan also played an important role in strengthening the bonds of Ukhuwah Islamiyyah Muslim Nusantara to fight all forms of oppression and subjugation. Separated from its sibling Pattani by Siamese and British colonial policies, Kelantan, which was 'lucky' enough to join the Malay Peninsula group, used this situation to preserve its Islamic identity. Unlike Pattani, which lost its power under Siamese control.

Kelantan has become a representative of advanced Islamic civilization and has great significance in terms of exemplary states practising Islamic law in the contemporary era. Kelantan has become a model for other Malaysian states in the implementation of good Islamic law and has been accepted by non-Muslim citizens.

⁸² Abdurrazak, Sukron Azhari, Putra Wanda, Lalu Suparman Ambakti & Humamurizqi, "Religious Tolerance Based On Local Wisdom: Social Perspective Of Lombok Community", *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 20.1 (2022): 203-226.

Kelantan's consistency with Islamic values to the present day shows that Islam is *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, that Islamic values can bring peace to the life of a pluralistic society without having to follow the secular style. Further studies can explore the contemporary Kelantan roles through qualitative study such as case study or narrative inquiry.

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