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The Expansion of Islam in Pattani, South Thailand: A Historical Analysis

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Abstract

This qualitative study discusses the dissemination process of Islam in Pattani, South Thailand, starting from the period of Hindu-Buddhist kingdom to the current state by focusing on the influence of Acehnese Muslims in the progress. The data were gathered by consulting related documents and conducting six-moth observation of Pattanians behavior. The intertwined connection between Aceh and Pattani was informed by the existence of tombstones similar to those from Aceh on the Pattanian kings' tombs, the Story of Pattani and the Pasai village. Also, two Muslim scholars contributed to the development of Islam in Pattani. An Acehnese pious scholar, Sheikh Said, and an eminent Pattanian scholar, Sheikh Daud al-Fatani, played a substantial role in modelling Islam in the Pattani Kingdom and to its civilians. However, after the kingdom fell, it was incorporated into the Siam Kingdom. And today, Muslims only make up a minority group under the Buddhist Thai authority.

Keywords: Pattani, Aceh, the expansion of Islam, Muslim ambassadors, Islam in Thailand

Background of Study

The introduction of Islam in Pattani, South Thailand, has triggered critical discussion and debate among experts regarding three topics: the origin place, people who introduced Islam, and the exact time of introduction. Various theories emerge; each of them is supported by data, which make the discussion complicated. A famous theory stated that Islam came to Pattani during 10th century. It was brought to Pattani and Pahang before spreading in Malacca. The spread of Islam occurred during 1400s to 1500s, along with the development of commerce within these areas.[1] The strategic location along with the dense population of Pattani people made this area significant for Thailand; the existence of Islam as the majority religion in this area also became a consideration for the Kingdom of Thailand.

Historically, Pattani had its own sultanate with the domination of Muslim Malay as the citizen. Thus, these people speak in Malay and practiced Malay culture instead of Buddhism culture like the majority of Thai people. Split between those identifying as Thais and Muslim Malays in southern part of Thailand today is intimately linked to the history of nation making. While the former is associated with loyalty to the king and devotion of Buddhism, the latter is somewhat regarded as threat to Thai nationalism.[2] This society preceded the establishment of the Sukhothai Kingdom that reigned around 1200s. At that time, Pattani was one of the safe and prosperous countries in Southeast Asia.[3] Interestingly, it was originally not a part of Thailand government, but a self-ruling kingdom whose reign encompassed territories of southern areas of Thailand and the area of Malay Kingdom such as Kelantan and Terengganu. Bangnara depicted an oral tale that the Pattani Kingdom was originated from an ancient Malay Kingdom located in the remote area within Thailand; in this tale it was told that this area was hard for merchants to access.[4] Its king then moved his royal center to a fishing village that was finally named Pattani due to its geographical location. Thus, Pattani became the pedestal for the Eastern and Western merchants to stay and trade.

After the fall of the Malacca Kingdom into the hands of Portuguese in 1511, Pattani thrived as an important trading center around 1600s and 1700s, particularly as a maritime trading port in Southeast

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[1] Azyumardi Azra (2013), *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, Jakarta: Pustaka Nasional, p. 2.
[2] Saroja Devi Dorairajoo (2002), ""No Fish in the Sea": Thai Malay Tactics of Negotiation in the Time of Scarcity," Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. pp. 362-363.
[3] Ayah Bangnara (1976), *Pattani Dahulu dan Sekarang*, Bangkok: Penal Penyelidik Angkatan al-Pattani, p. 7
[4] Ibid., p. 10

Asia.[5] Its historical role was well-known because of three factors – natural resources, access to the west peninsular coasts and the geographical location of Pattani cape.[6] For the merchants, it was an entrance to the South China region. The influence of Pattani extends to the Peninsula region such as Kedah Perlis, Kelantan, and Terengganu.[7] A strategic trade relationship with all Southeast Asian countries enabled Pattani to be an important economic force within the area of Malay Peninsula and maintained a stable political climate. This made Pattani as a region to be reckoned with for the neighboring countries such as the Malay Kingdom, Pahang, Johor Bahru, and Ayutthaya Kingdom in the north. The fine international relations secured Pattani from potential colonizers like the kingdom of Siam, England, and France.[8] Pattani's commercial activities even expanded to Indonesia, Palembang, Batam, Batavia (Jakarta), Makassar, Ternate, and of course, Aceh.[9]

Some sources mentioned that Islam firstly penetrated into Indonesia via Aceh around 8th century; this was marked by the establishment of the first Islamic kingdom in this country, Peureulak, during the date. For the next centuries, the strategic location of Aceh, particularly its ports, had turned this area to be a target of seizure for the European intruders like the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Japanese.[10] Nevertheless, both Pattani and Aceh are identified with comparable characteristics. Not only were both independent trading states, both also the Islamic studying centers, which hence made the majority of their residents Muslims.[11]

Nowadays, Pattani is inhabited by Malay ethnic minorities who contend with significant obstacles. One of the problems is the human right violation by the Thai government since Pattani was colonized by Siam in 1785.[12] Ever since, the Pattani Malays were treated unfairly and even constitutionally against human rights[13] as if they show disruptive behavior against the Thai government. Several allegations were accused upon them. The community was regarded as immigrants and foreigners. They must speak Thai and are prohibited to speak Malay because anyone identifies non-Thai identity would be suspected as a terrorist.[14] Additionally, they are perceived and tyrannized by the Thai army although they cannot be proven guilty. After having experienced too much injustice from their own government, the Malay Pattani community finally demanded the fulfillment of their rights. They also demanded a full autonomy or independence rights. The disatisfaction in due course brought about the establishment of Pattani Liberation Organization, which now becomes a local political organization.[15]

Literature Review

Several literatures discussed the existence of Islam in Pattani, South Thailand. Nurdin revealed that Muslims had ever experienced oppression during the era of Pattani Islamic Empire before it repeated again after Pattani became a part of Thailand; hence, to obtain a lasting peace has been desired since long time.[16] Zamberi and Malek expose history and politics of Pattanians containing the reign of Kelantan king in Pattani, the end of Malay Siam governance, Islamic nationalism, integration to Thailand, fight for independence, sensitive issue of the minority, and the role of Malaysia concerning the Pattani's attempt to gain independence.[17] In another study, Malek and Zamberi also elaborate the position of Pattani as a significant Islamic empire for the Malays, a former center for Islamic studies, a heart of culture in the Malay Peninsula, and a place for contemporary culture of Pattanians.[18]

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[5] David J. Welch & Judith R. McNeill (1989), "Archaeological Investigations of Pattani History," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, pp. 27-41.
[6] Ibid., pp. 27-41.
[7] Saifullah (2010), *Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam di Asia Tenggara*, Pustaka Pelajar: Yogyakarta, p. 85.
[8] Ahmad Fathy Al-Fathoni (1994), *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, Alor Setar: Pustaka Darussalam, p. 12.
[9] David K. Wyatt (2004), *Thailand A Short History*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, p. 23.
[10] Askandar Kamarulzaman (2007), "The Aceh Conflict and the Roles of Civil Society," in Swain (ed.), *Islam and Violent Separatism*, London: Routledge, pp. 65-88.
[11] Masduki (2009), Between Pattani and Aceh: Differences, Similarities and Media Roles in Both Conflict Areas," Paperwork, The International Conference of the Phantasm in Southern Thailand: Historical Writings on Pattani and the Islamic World, Chulalongkorn University, pp. 630-640.
[12] Al-Fathoni (1994), *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, p. 197.
[13] Herry Nurdin (2010), *Perjuangan Muslim Patani: Antara Sejarah Penindasan dan Cita-cita Perdamaian di Patani Darussalam*, Jakarta: Sabili Publishing, p. 155.
[14] Arismunandar, Afriantoni & Asmuni (2019), "Melayu Pattani Thailand: Muslim Minority Religion Expression in the Middle of Non-Muslim Majority," *Journal of Malay Islamic Study*, Vol. 3, pp. 2-4.
[15] Bayu Mitra Adhyatma Kusuma & Theresia Octastefani (2016), "Pattani Liberation Organization: From Jihad to Local Politics Movement," *The Indonesian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 36-38.
[16] Herry Nurdin (2010), *Perjuangan Muslim Patani*, p. 16.
[17] Mohd Zamberi & A. Malek (1993), *Umat Islam Patani: Sejarah dan Politik*, Shah Alam: Hizbi, p. 32.
[18] A. Malik & Mohd Zamberi (1994), *Patani dalam Tamadun Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. 66.

Furthermore, Fathoni describes the conditions of Islam in Pattani in several periods: the period of the empire, the period under Thailand governance, and period where five significant historical sites became as the central cultures of the empire.[19] He also finds some sorrow facts in Pattani today, namely the decadence of Malay culture, the migration of Muslims, and Pattani as the country of peace.[20] On similar notion, Fitsuwan mentions six time frames of Pattani history, into several periods, namely the origin of rebellion in Pattani (1902-1922), the participation of the rebels in politics and cultural autonomy (1922-1945), the legalized regulations for Muslims (1945), the upheaval of the rebels (1945-1957), the integration of Pattani into Thailand governance (1957-1973), and the fight of Pattanians (1973-1982). The last time frame shares similarities with the Acehnese war against the Dutch colonization (1873-1903).[21] Slightly similar, Syukri categorizes the history of the Pattani Islamic Empirein into the periods of its establishment, its fall and resurrection which is marked by the rebellion of Muslims in Pattani striving for freedom.[22]

The notable issue was the suspected contiguity between Islam and the local conflict occurring in Pattani. The assumption of the connection was based on the fact that the three most southern provinces, Yala, Naratthiwat, and Pattani, were majorly inhabited by Muslim.[23] Here, it was obvious that although Islam is a minority, it played a significant role in the Thailand political dynamics. This was confirmed by the fact that religion was one of four factors triggering the local conflict in southern areas. [24]

In recent years, conflict within the Kingdom of Thailand had copped the attention from the people around the world. One factor causing this local conflict was the process of '*Thaification'*; some cultural policies were believed to promote the nationalism toward the Kingdom of Thailand at the expense of eroding the identity of Pattani Malays. [25] The policies were imposed due to the vast development of this minority. At fact, the Muslim minority in Pattani is the second most developing Muslim minority in the world after that in China. [26] The development of this minority seems to have inconvenienced the government of Thailand. This is so because of the distinctive disparity between the cultures of Pattani Malays and Thais. The fact that the later is the majority embracing Buddhism exacerbates the tension. As known, in South Asia and South East Asia, coexistence of Muslims and Buddhists has been associated with conflicts like those recently occurring in Myanmar. Thus, unsurprisingly the tension between the adherents of both faiths in Thailand is prone to conflict, too.

Since the conflict was induced by the religious issue, it was important to study the historical root of Muslims as the minority. The early source of references upon the Islamization was Hikayat Patani. [27] The existence of this *hikayat* (ancient folklore) told the history of conversion of a Buddhist King of Patani, Tu Naqpa to Islam. His conversion is closely linked to the role of an Islamic scholar from Pasai (Aceh) Syekh Sa'id. The king converted to Islam because the Syekh successfully healed him from his long-suffering from a weird illness. The role of Acehnese scholar in the Islamization of Patani Kingdom was proven by the discovery of certain kind of tombstone with Islamic ornaments called Batu Acheh in Patani.[28]

Batu Acheh revealed the fact that Aceh had significant role in the Islamization process of several areas in South East Asia. The type of this tombstone actually is found across South East Asia. The tombstone's typical ornament and epigraph information indicates its Aceh's origin, precisely suggesting the transition period from Hindu-Buddha to Islam. The attribution of the Batu Aceh to the Aceh

[19] Al-Fathoni (1994), *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, p. 136.
[20] Ibid., p. 166.
[21] Surin Pitsuwan (1989), *Islam di Muangthai, Nasionalisme Melayu Masyarakat Patani*, Jakarta: LP3ES, p. 46.
[22] Ibrahim Syukri (2002), *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, p. 61.
[23] Aurel Croissant (2016), "Muslim Insurgency, Political Violence, and Democracy in Thailand," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 1-18.
[24] Ilham Nuereng (2016), "Dinamika Bernegara Masyarakat Muslim Thailand," *Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azasi Manusia*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 299-351.
[25] Arismunandar et al. (2019), "Melayu Pattani in Thailand: Muslim Minority Religion Expression in the Middle of Non-Muslim majority," *Journal of Malay Islamic Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.1-12.
[26] Dian Ekawati (2019), "Migrasi dan Problematika Minoritas Muslim Thailand," *Hikmah*, Vol. 15, No.1, pp. 51-79.
[27] Teeuw, A & Wyatt, D. (2019), *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, Koninklijk Instituut.
[28] Wayne A. Bougas (1986), "Some Early Islamic Tombstones in Patani," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 59, No.1, pp. 85-112

Sultanate became the standardized Islamic material culture in the region of South East Asia. This was an accurate evidence of the existence of Islamic society in the area.[29]

In addition, Aceh's traces in the Islamization process of Kingdom of Patani are also apparent in the city layout during the era of Islamic era in Southern Thailand. The layout, as depicted in the Hikayat Patani, shares similarities with the layout of Acehnese Kingdom's capital city.[30] Both the districts of Patani's old city and Kuta Raja, the capital city of Darussalam Kingdom in Aceh, had citadel, fortification, palace, pleasure garden, town square and mosque. Similarity in such spatial arrangements might occur because Islamic tenet also regulates the environmental aspects, including building, road, sanitation and so on.[31] Another similarity is visible in the naming of places which mostly use Malay words and phrases. These resemblances are quite obvious, so making the relationship between the two was irrefutable.

Considering the facts mentioned above, it is imperative to deeper discuss the process of the dissemination of Islam in Pattani with regard to the role of the Aceh Kingdom. Thus, the rest of the article elucidates more about the role of Aceh in the penetration of Islam into Pattani.

Method

The research applied qualitative approach by means of descriptive analysis. The data was gathered through documents related to the development of Islam in Pattani and six-month observation (October 2021 to March 2021) of archeological site and remaining within this area[32]. This research aims to describe the influence of Acehnese in the spread of Islam around the Pasai village, Pattani, South Thailand. Due the extensive area, the initial survey was also conducted to determine representative data. The representative data refers to the data proving that Aceh had influences on the spread of Islam within this area. Those were then processed with the pattern of qualitative analysis to portray phenomena related to the spread of Islam in Pasai village, Pattani. Practically, the data collected in the forms of sentences recorded in a sheet of field note were clustered in accordance with the existing criteria in research problem.

The Rise and Fall of Pattani Kingdom

During the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah, the kingdom encouraged his people to study anything related to Islam. The mosque he built served not only as a worship place, but also a center for teaching Islam.[33] This allowed the religion to spread to numerous regions including Pattani, Campa and the insular Southeast Asia. Many boarding schools (*pondok*) appeared in Pattani which received domestic and international students who spoke Malay in everyday life.[34] The *pondok* was the place where students were equipped with skills needed to communicate Islam to the commoners.[35] For the society, the education institution has been holding its influential position despite the fall of the Pattani Kingdom.

In 1600s, the Pattani was pretty prosperous thanks to its fast-trading center. Concurrently, Ayutthaya or known as Siam Kingdom (the current Thailand Government) could not equal the progress of Pattani. In due course, this prompted the former's intention to conquer the latter. The Kingdom of Ayutthaya attempted several attacks toward Pattani, yet it was not success. The victory of Pattani was due to its strong defense. However, in 1785, the Siamese from the Chakri Dynasty could successfully defeat Pattani and then govern it. Ever since Pattani became a part of Siam Kingdom until now.[36] Towards the end of 1700s, Pattani experienced its declining age. The King Kuning who led the kingdom between

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[29] R. Michael Feneer et al. (2021), "Islamisation and the Formation of Vernacular Muslim Material Culture in 15th Century Northern Sumatera," *Indonesia and Malay World*, Vol. 49, No. 143, pp. 1-41.
[30] Wayne A. Bougas (1990), "Patani in the Beginning of XVII Century," *Archipel*, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 113-138.
[31] Ziad M. M. Shehada (2020), "The Islamic Influence on Built Environment in Ancient Islamic Cities: A Descriptive-Analytic Study," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp.81-94.
[32] Lexy J. Moleong (2007), *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Bandung: P.T. Remaja Rosdakarya, p. 72.
[33] A. Malik & Mohd Zamberi (1994), *Patani dalam Tamadun Melayu*, pp. 13-14. See also Sher Banu A. L. Khan (2013), "Men of Prowess and Women of Piety: A Case Study of Aceh Dar al-Salam in the Seventeen Century," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 204-225.
[34] Haji Abdul Halim Bashah (1994), *Raja Campa dan Dinasti Jembal dalam Patani Besar, Patani, Kelantan dan Terengganu*, Kelantan: Pustaka Reka, pp. 67-69.
[35] Ṣafī Kārā (2010), "Al-da'wah ilā Allāh fī Janūb Tailand wāqi'uhā wa musykilātuhā," Unpublished Master Thesis, Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud University, Riyadh, p.3.
[36] Ahmad Umar Capakia (2000), *Politik dan Perjuangan Masyarakat Islam Selatan Thailand 1902-2002*, Selangor: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, p. 35.

1635 and 1686 prioritized his domestic efforts by establishing the Pattani Trade Directive and had a well-maintained relationship with the Johor Sultanate. Unfortunately, by the end of his reign, the glory of the Malay Muslims started to decline. Of the factors contributing to the decline were internal political turmoil in the court and a dispute with Siam Kingdom. Burdened by his decrepit age, the king decided to retreat and took refuge in the Jimbal city. His position was soon occupied by a descendant of the Kelantan Dynasty, Long Betong. So, the unknown condition of the missing King Kuning was deemed as a power shift to Kelantan Dynasty.[37]

The Kelantan Dynasty-led by King Bakar, King Mas Kelantan, and King Mas Jayam respectively-reigned the Pattani Kingdom for several years. Because the last-mentioned king did not leave an heir to the throne, a consensus was reached to appoint Sultan Muhammad to lead the kingdom. In the early days of the three Kelantan kings, the kingdom was tranquil and secure since it did not have to confront any attacks from enemies, specifically from Siam Kingdom. However, Pattani Kingdom experienced a commercial decline when the Port House Series in Pattani was dominated by merchants from Europe, China, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and India.[38] Perhaps, the peaceful condition during the three kings could hold because of the Burma's siege of Siam Kingdom (1767-1776). After the war, the King of Siam intended to send a messenger to Pattani, but Sultan Muhammad had prepared himself to reject it. The rejection triggered a direct warfare between both kingdoms. Being unwell-prepared in terms of military equipment and human resources, the Pattani Kingdom under Sultan Muhammad failed to contain the Siam attack. This loss forced the Pattani Kingdom to succumb to the Siam Kingdom, thereby getting its king replaced with Sultan Lamidin.

Nevertheless, Sultan Lamidin who was a local man appointed by Siam Kingdom still had a high sense of nationalism over Pattani, his fatherland that had been colonized by the Siamese until 1789. He wrote to a Muslim king from Annam (now Vietnam) requesting for a cooperation to struggle against Siam Kingdom. Yet the letter sent by his messenger arrived at the hands of the King of Siam which triggered a big attack over Pattani Kingdom. Pattani's defense was backed up by the King Annam, Okphaya Cho and Shaikh Abdul Kamal (an *ulama* from Mecca) yet did not succeed and fell in 1791.[39] Thereafter, the Siam Kingdom appointed a Pattani Malay, Datuk Pangkalan to lead the defeated kingdom. He repeated the defection and challenged the rules set by Siam Kingdom. This subversive movement brought about the end to Malay leadership over Pattani Kingdom, as suggested by names coming afterwards leading Pattani, such as Nai Khuan Sai.[40]

In further developments, to distract Malays unity of, the Pattani Kingdom was divided into six authoritative regions. Leaders in charge for the regions are as the following:

a. Sulong al-Fathani was appointed as the King Pattani and placed in Griseik.
b. Nik was appointed as the King Nongcik and placed in Nongchik.
c. Mansur was appointed as the King Reman and placed in Kota Baharu.
d. Jalur was appointed as the King Path and placed in Nets.
e. Nik Dah was appointed as the King Legeh and placed in Legeh.
f. Nik Dih was appointed as the King Sai and placed in Jerenga.

Sulong al-Fathani, the son of King Kelantan Long Jenal,[41] was later removed because of his involvement of the anti-Siam revival in 1831. The movement encouraged the kingdom to make efforts to switch the kings and Pattani figures keeping the Pattani kingdom in a chaotic atmosphere. In fact, he turned as a negotiator with the Siam Kingdom to fight for the Pattanian minority.[42] As a result, it weakened the anti-Siam centrifugal forces in order not to move freely.

Furthermore, the situation of Pattani became increasingly marginalized due to an agreement between the United Kingdom and the Siam Kingdom in terms of territorial division. The Siam Kingdom had to restructure its territories to anticipate political interest of imperialists-mostly Europeans-seeking to take control of the Malay Peninsula regions. Meanwhile, areas like Kelantan, Kedah, Terengganu, and, of

[37] Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto (2005), "Integrasi Muslim Patani: Reidentitias Sosial atas Dominasi 'Nasional' Thailand," *Hermenia, Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 151-170.
[38] Ibrahim (2002), *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, p. 67.
[39] Yuniarto (2005), "Integrasi Muslim Patani," pp. 151-170.
[40] Ibrahim (2002), *Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani*, p. 81.
[41] Mohd Zamberi & A. Malek (1993), *Umat Islam Patani*, p.199.
[42] Arismunandar, Afriantoni & Asmuni (2019), "Melayu Pattani Thailand," pp. 63-74.

course, Pattani, offered good economic prospects and provided fleet bases for the United Kingdom. The Siam Kingdom won the sovereignty over Pattani through the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909 facilitated by the United Kingdom as a negotiator. This is why the Siam Kingdom gave the negotiator a control over those areas.[43] To avoid a long-term dispute, through the Siamese British treaty of 1902, the Siam Kingdom and the UK agreed to incorporate Pattani into the Siam Kingdom's authority. Such an incorporation later paved the path for the Thai authority to impose policies intended to modernize and transform the Malay Muslims into 'Thai Muslims' e.g. by persuading the schools to use secular curriculum besides the religious one. Many Muslims perceived the attempt as a gradual 'Siamification' of the Malays.[44]

The Religions within Pattani Prior to Expansion of Islam

During the initial reign of Pattani Kingdom, it established a close relationship with Samudra Pasai Kingdom in Aceh. This is confirmed by the similarities of some tombstones found in the former territories of both Islamic empires. This fact reasonates with some popular tales in Pattani about the origin of Pattani Islamic Empire.[45] When Pattani was still in its Hindu-Buddhist period, a miraculous happening occurred when King Phaya Tu Antara was sick and found none able to heal him.[46] He then held a contest to search for healer. The prize he offered was to make the winner one of the royal family members by marrying his two sons or one daughter.[47] The news reached the ears of an Acehnese from Pasai, Sheikh Said, who claimed ability to remedy the illness provided only the king could meet one condition, that is, to convert to Islam. Since the king consented to do so, Sheikh Sai'd cured him. However, because the king reneged on his promise, the illness relapsed. The king asked again for the remedy. At first the sheikh rejected him because of his betrayal but then accepted after the king convinced him of his commitment to becoming a Muslim. But, the betrayal repeated as did the illness. For the third time, the king could coax the sheikh again by stating the same promise. Finally he restored his health and took his *syahada*, followed by most of his subjects. Ever since, Islam became the official religion. The king then also changed his name to be Ismail Syah Zillullah fil-Alam. All his children also converted to Islam and changed their names. The first son's name changed to Sultan Mudzaffar Syah, his daughter's name to Siti Aisyah, and the last son's name to Sultan Mansur Syah. Sheikh Sai'd was then trusted a land which was named after his homeland, Pasai. This village still exists until today and is a memorial sign of the coming of Islam in Pattani.

Before the arrival of Islam, Pattani people were Buddhists and Hindus. The existence of Hindus is proven by the records of some travelers who found some Brahmins from India who lived in the king's palace known as Bhaga Datta. This evidence shows that Hindu had already existed there since circa 450.[48] After having enjoyed years of coexistence, the Siamese power prevailed over the Hindus. For some following years, the Siamese dominated and reigned the land of Malay. The monasteries they built marked the end of Srivijaya influence from Sumatra. Previously, the Buddhist Srivijaya conquered Nakorn Sri Thamarat in 775 and then expanded its territory to Pattani. Later on, the Hindus converted to Buddhism, proven by the discovery of a Buddhist idol in a site called Wat Na Tham (a temple in front of a cave) in Yala. Meanwhile, Langkasuka Kingdom reached its golden age of Buddhism when the kingdom of Srivijaya united with the Shailendra Kingdom in Java. Both formed a very great power and run the kingdom without using military and bureaucratic power but by securing hold over important seaports in order to control commercial routes.[49]

In the meantime, the debates on the arrival of Islam in Indonesia revolve over three main issues: the place of origin of Islam, its preachers, and its arrival date. Multiple studies are conducted aiming to provide clear answers for the three issues. Some are intended to support certain already existing theories which exclusively orientate more towards unilateral side of them.[50] Of the examples are confined discussions about Islam in Aceh, Indonesia and Pattani.

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[43] Masduki (2009), "Between Pattani and Aceh," pp. 630-640.
[44] Nathan Porath (2014), "Muslim Schools (*Pondok*) in the South of Thailand," *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 307-308.
[45] Yuniarto (2005), "Integrasi Muslim Patani," pp. 151-170.
[46] Werner Kraus (1984), "Islam in Thailand: Notes on the History of Muslim Provinces Thai Islamic Modernism and the Separatism Movement in the South," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 410-425.
[47] Mohd Zamberi & A. Malek (1993), *Umat Islam Patani*, p. 25.
[48] Dida Nuraida (2015), "Kemajuan Ekonomi dan Politik Kerajaan Melayu Patani pada Masa Pemerintahan Raja Ungu (Tahun 1624-1635)," *Buletin Al-Turas*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 105-126.
[49] Al-Fathoni (1994), *Pengantar Sejarah Patani*, pp. 4-8
[50] Azyumardi Azra (2013), *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, p. 2.

Islam entered Pattani in the 1000s through Pahang, Malacca, and Kelantan. But, the significant existence of Muslim society in Pattani dated back to around 1100s. This account actually refers to establishment of the Pattani Kingdom in 1500s, but some Pattanians had converted to Islam 300 years earlier.[51] So, the Pattani Kingdom flourished in 1400s and 1500s which went side by side with rapid trade development and the spread of Islam.[52] The cross-border interaction later allowed Pattani to have close contact with Samudra Pasai Kingdom. The latter, as per Story of Pattani, constitutes a highly influential Islamic kingdom that played a salient role in the Islamization of Pattani.

Factors Supporting the Spread of Islam in Pattani

Two important figures are worth deeper discussing when it comes to the spread of Islam in Pattani. One is Sheikh Said and another is Sheikh Abdullah Daud Pattani who studied sharia and Shattari order (*tariqa*) in Aceh and developed them in Pattani. His dissemination of the *tariqa* marked the first introduction of it in Pattani. It is, therefore, essential to zoom in on roles of both figures there.

The Influence of Sheikh Said

As mentioned earlier, Sheikh Said is an Islamic scholar from Samudra Pasai Kingdom in Aceh, Indonesia. He was the one who Islamized the Pattani ruler, Pya Tu Antara. Malek describes his role in the development of Islam in Pattani as follows.

> The development of Islam in Pattani is closely related to the position of Samudra Pasai Kingdom, which became the most important Islamic center. An Islamic scholar from the kingdom called Sheikh Said is said to have persuaded the king of Pattani to convert to Islam. Even though some historical records mention this moment took place in 1457, it could happen earlier because the Samudra Pasai Kingdom had been well-known as an Islamic center since 1300s.[53]

Based on the quotation above, Sheikh Said's attempt to call the Pattani king, Pya Tu Antara, for Islam was regarded as a significant turning point for the religion to be vastly accepted by the hoi polloi. Sheikh Said's approach reflects the top-down theory, that is, a belief accepted by a king will also be accepted by his subjects automatically. So, the Hindu and Buddhist Pattanians converted to Islam following the choice taken by their king.[54]

During the time of preaching Islam in this area, Sheikh Said could accomplish several notable works.[55] One of them is a book entitled *al-Muta'alim wa Umdah al Mualim*. This book discusses topics on *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). This work is considered to have a high quality as the language used was full of metaphors. Then, as a reference in Islamic jurisprudence, the discussion in it is compared to other similar books of Southeast Asian Islamic scholars.

The second evidence of Pasai influence is shown in a tombstone of the first Muslim king of Pattani which resembled the tombstones in Samudra Pasai Kingdom. In Southeast Asia, the type of the tombstone has long been recognized as having originated from Aceh.[56] It can be emphasized that the role of Samudra Pasai Kingdom in the spread and development of Islam in Pattani is quite significant since the gravestones for its king are supplied from Aceh. In addition, other matters, such as teachers, Islamic development facilities, Koran, books, and other guidelines are likely to be brought from Samudra Pasai. In that period, Aceh became a major center of Islamic studies in Southeast Asia having its Islamic education centers in Zawiyah Cot Kala and in Samudra Pasai.

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[51] Bangnara (1976), *Pattani Dahulu dan Sekarang*, pp. 6-7.
[52] Yuniarto (2005), "Integrasi Muslim Patani," pp. 151-170.
[53] A. Malik & Mohd Zamberi (1994), *Patani dalam Tamadun Melayu*, p. 28.
[54] Numan Hayimasae (2013), "The Intellectual Network of The Pattani and The Haramayn," in P. Jory (ed.), *Ghosts of the Past in Southern Thailand: Essay on the History and Historiography of Patani*, Singapore NUS Press, pp.129-147.
[55] Roslan Ab Rahman et al. (2019), "Malay and Arab Worlds in the Manuscript of Hidayah Al-Muta'allim Wa 'Umdah Al-Mu'allim: The Essay of Sheikh Daud Al-Fatani," *International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development*, Vol. 8 No. 4, pp. 525-532.
[56] A. Malik & Mohd Zamberi (1994), *Patani dalam Tamadun Melayu*, p. 28.

Another evidence of the influence of Aceh in the early history and Islamic development in Pattani is the existence of a village named Pasai and a grave of Tok Pasai in Pattani which is believed to be the tomb of Sheikh Said, the first Islam spreader in Pattani.[57] Some sources mention that the Pasai village is called so because it was the residence of Muslims coming from Pasai. Again, this is informed by the Story of Pattani but is subject to criticism due to its unconfirmed factual accuracy.[58]

Additionally, both Muslims in Pattani and Samudra Pasai subscribe to the same Fiqh School, Shafi'i. This better confirms the relation and the exchange of sharia knowledge between the two regions. The Fiqh School is evidently compatible with the social dynamics in both regions.

Influence of Sheikh Daud b. Abdullah b. Idris al-Fatani

Sheikh Daud b. Abdullah b. Idris al-Fatani (1769-1847) was known as a pious scholar who studied in Samudra Pasai Kingdom, Aceh. He was later renowned as the most prolific scholar in who authored more than 28 books, in Arabic and Malay, such as Warduz Zawaahir, Kifayat al-Muhtaj, Nahjatur-Raghibin, Kanzul Minan, Fathul Mannan, and al-Jawahir al-Saniyah. According to the history, he studied in Aceh for two years with Abdul Rahman Abdul Mubin[59] and Sheikh Muhammad Zayn bin Faqih Jalal al-Din al-Ashi, a prominent Acehnese *alim* during the reign of Sultan 'Ala'al-Din Mahmud Syah (1760-1781).[60] He accomplished his first work in Mecca in 1809, allowing him to bear an Islamic, prestigious title given by the Ottoman Kingdom.[61] In fact, Sheikh Daud got involved in commenting on Islamic discourses circulating in the Middle East and Southeast Asian countries.[62] In Aceh, he learned about Shattari Tariqa from Abdur Rauf al-Singkili, a famous Acehnese Islamic scholar.[63] Not only did Sheikh Daud study the *tariqa*, but he also was obliged to develop it. This made him the developer of the Shattari Tariqa in Pattani and its surroundings. His teaching of this order received attracted disciples whose number grew by the time.

The growth of the Shattari Tariqa in Pattani Kingdom, thus, becomes an evidence that Acehnese Muslims partook in the spread of Islam. Sheikh Abdullah Daud Pattani is a tier of the Shattariyya Tariqa between Aceh and Pattani. Some of his works reflects his own understanding of Islam while the rest, such as Manhal as-Sufi and Sullam al-Mubtadi, present the insights of the other *ulama* of Shattari Tariqa,

For him, studying in Aceh for a long period assured him to adopt the education system to be implemented in Pattani. He copied the Acehnese tradition of granting financial support to students who travel abroad for studying Islam. He also adopted the curriculum, the learning method and instructional materials used in Aceh. Therefore, a little influence of the tradition of Islamic education in Aceh can be found in Pattani.

Conclusion

The Islamization process of Pattani is closely linked to the position of Samudra Pasai as the first Islamic Kingdom in Southeast Asia. It started with the conversion of the Pattani king and his people to Islam. This explains the significant influence of Sheikh Said in the history of Islam's development in Pattani and surroundings. Further, the archaeological evidence-such as the existence of Pasai village and the tombstone of Tok Said-and Islamic education aspects-such as the Shafi'i Fiqh School, the Shattari Tariqa, and the instructional methods used-confirm a strong relation between Aceh and Pattani by. However, the Pattani Kingdom's power later dissipated, could not contain the Siam Kingdom annexation, and even was ruled by the Siam Kingdom; this last moment marked the fall of the Pattani Kingdom. Thus, when looking at the armed conflicts happening recently in Pattani one ought to understand that Pattani was once ruling itself before it had to accept the defeat. This explains the Pattani Muslims' dissatisfaction today towards the Buddhist Thailand central government.

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[57] Ibid., p. 28.
[58] Mohd Zamberi & A. Malek (1993), *Umat Islam Patani*, p. 23.
[59] A. Malik & Mohd Zamberi (1994), *Patani dalam Tamadun Melayu*, p. 112.
[60] Christopher M. Joll (2009), "Patani's Creole Ambassadors," *Asian Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, p. 281.
[61] Perayot Rahimmula (1990), "The Patani Fatawa: A Case Study of the Kitab Al-Fatawa Al-Fataniyyah of Shaykh Ahmed bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa Al-Fatani," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Kent, p. 202.
[62] Azyumardi Azra (2004), *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 124-126.
[63] Joll (2009), "Patani's Creole Ambassadors," p. 281.

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