

## **ISLAM IN SOUTHERN THAILAND: EDUCATION AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

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### **Abstract**

*This article discusses the history and development of Islam in Southern Thailand. It is not known exactly when Islam entered to Southern Thailand. Islam entered Southern Thailand around the 10th or 11th century through trade routes because Pattani was allegedly an advanced region and quite strategic for a stopover. Muslims, at that time, not only controlled trade access across the peninsula but also had a central role in the administrative aspects of almost the entire Sukhotai kingdom. Political factors gave a new influence on the acceptance of Islam in Pattani, some people from the coast guard and aristocratic families made Islam as a political tool to strengthen their power. Another opinion revealed that Islam entered the southern region of Thailand long before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Based on this, Islam could be accepted in the area through medical media. It is reported that the King was treated by a great Islamic scholar, Shaykh Sa'id, or Shaykh Sa'fiyyuddin from Pasai.*

### **Introduction**

Thailand is one country in the Southeast Asia region. Laos and Cambodia border east Thailand. Meanwhile, the western part is bordered with Myanmar and the Andaman Sea. In addition, the south is bordered by Malaysia and the Gulf of Siam. Thailand is a country that did not experience colonization from Europe. Thailand's government took the form of a kingdom both from the start of its declaration as a state to the present. The Thai kingdom or often called "Thailand," the English term, or "Mueang Thai," which means "Thai

State." The name "Mueang Thai" is taken from one of the Thai tribes and is popularly known as the white elephant country (Mania, 2019, p. 85). Another meaning of Thailand is free, independence, or freedom (Nuereng, 2016, p. 299). Initially, the Thai state was associated with the Sukhotai kingdom, which was born in the 12th century or around 1238 and ended in 1437. This is considered to be the beginning of the concept of the monarchy (kingdom) in Thailand with a paternalistic system meaning that the King has absolute power. Eight kings ruled in Sukhotai. During the reign of the third King of Sukhotai, King Ramkamhaeng experienced a golden age in the fields of art, culture, and commerce. One of the advances was the creation of Thai characters in 1283. The Ayutthaya kingdom then continued this kingdom in 1437 or around the 14th century with a wider area than Sukhotai. The Ayutthaya Kingdom was formed from 2 dynasties, namely Lawo-Ayutthaya and Suphananphum, which is located in the Chao Phraya valley. This is known as the beginning of Thailand's era of diplomacy and international trade. The development of the government system in this period adopted a centralized network by dividing the civilian government and the military clearly. Ayuthaya Port is a new trading center from Central Asia, East Asia, and Malay (Indonesia) (Tim, 2020, p. 12).

In general, Thai culture is heavily influenced by Chinese and Indian culture. The beginning of the 16th century began to build relations with European countries and resulted in various changes in the 19th century. In 1932 there was a change in the form of the state from a kingdom to a constitutional monarchy (Al-Aydrus, 1996, p. 46). Earlier in the 18th century, King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) had changed the organizational structure of the central, regional, and regional governments. Imitating western countries, in 1892 the Thailand government appointed 14 Ministers. The rapid flow of modernization has a good impact on the Thai state to strengthen the modern government system (Tim, 2020, p. 13).

Geographically, Thailand has an area of 513,120 km<sup>2</sup> or roughly the size of the island of Sumatra (Indonesia). Thailand is the third-largest country after Indonesia and Myanmar in Southeast Asia. Thailand's border length is 8,031 km, covering land and sea borders or coastlines next to the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman seaside. Thailand has the same time zone as Western Indonesian Time (GMT + 7). Thailand region consists of 77 provinces, including Bangkok Metropolitan. Bangkok Metropolitan is a distinctive regional government headed by a governor who is directly elected by the people.

Meanwhile, governors in other provinces are career officials from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Monarchy and democracy in Thailand have their peculiarities, which are sometimes difficult for outsiders to understand. Royal institutions continue to be respected and regarded as "the unifying element and pillars of Thailand's spirituality and stability" (Tim, 2020, pp. 17-18).

No data can confirm the origin of the Thai people. Various references to Thai history explain that the Thai people came from the Southwest region of China who migrated to the Thai area. However, there is another version, according to some historians, which reveals that the Thai people have been living in Southeast Asia for a long time, and the people from China, Laos, and several other regions have migrated to Thailand. The Thai nation is a nation from various tribes such as Thai, Mon, Khmer, and other ethnic groups who have similar languages. Buddhist teachings entered Thailand in the 8th century, then followed by Hinduism brought by the Mon people. Since then, Buddhism has become the official religion of the Mon and Khmer Nations (Tim, 2020, p. 11).

There are five main religions recognized by the Thai government, namely Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism, Sikh, and Hinduism. Thai people, approximately 89% adhere to Buddhism from the Theravada sect, then Islam is the second-largest religion with around 10% adherents, and Catholicism is

0.7%. There is also a small, influential group of people who adhere to Sikh and Hindu teachings; most of them work as traders. All community groups live in harmony. They are free to embrace and practice their respective religions and beliefs as guaranteed in the Thai Constitution (Tim, 2020, p. 24).

Harun Nasution divided the five phases of history and development of Islam; *the first* classical (650-1250); *the second* disintegration (1000-1250); *the third* middle (1250-1800); *the fourth*, three major kingdoms (1500-1800); *the fifth* modern (1800-present). When several major Islamic empires (Safawi, Mughal, and Ottoman) experienced a decline around the 18th and 19th centuries, Western Europe experienced very rapid progress in various fields. The Safawi empire collapsed in the early 18th century, and the Mughal empire was destroyed in the early second half of the 19th century by the British took power over the Indian subcontinent. Then the remaining great Islamic empire that was respected by its enemies at that time was the Ottoman Empire. However, this kingdom began to weaken and experience a decline, so it was popularly known as "The Sick Man of Europe." The collapse of several Islamic empires had an impact on the European domination and occupation of Western nations against Islamic countries. For example, Britain controlled India and Egypt, the Russians controlled the central Asian region and passed the Caucasus region, which is an area between the Black and Caspian Seas, the highest peak of the Caucasus is Mount Elbrus, and is the highest mountain in Europe. The French conquer the territory of North Africa. With these incidents, there was a migration movement that was large enough for the population to leave the country to seek a better livelihood. Most Muslims have moved to other countries. Therefore, at present, there are Muslim immigrants in several countries such as the UK, America, Germany, Italy, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, France, the Philippines, and Thailand. Some of these countries are countries that have minority Muslims.

The discussion about Islam in Thailand is quite interesting to reveal because the stigma that develops is that when people mention Thailand, the population is identified with Buddhism, but the fact is that there are people who are Muslim and become the majority religion in the Southern Thailand region. This article focuses on the history and development of Islam in Southern Thailand. However, basically, Muslims in Thailand are scattered in several regions. Most Muslims live in Southern Thailand, namely Pattani, Yala, Satun, Songkhla, and Narathiwat. The five provinces are bordered by the Malaysian peninsula so that the majority of the population is Malay and has an impact on the dynamics of Muslim development in Southern Thailand.

Past events in human life are history, as is the chronology of the entry of Islam in Southern Thailand, including part of history. The urgency of a person to study history is none other than to make it a reflection and to know the traces of the journey of previous people how to respond to a phenomenon. People who do not care about history are seen as people who are not responsible for their own identities. Learning to remember historical events and take lessons from these events will form a person who always thinks before making decisions. There is an expression that "the present is a consequence of the past," humans will not understand the present if they do not understand the past, so human historicity is a human characteristic of other creatures (Wahyudhi, 2014, p. 3). Kuntowijoyo interpreted history as the science of humans, the knowledge of time, and the knowledge that has social meaning. Account has intrinsic and extrinsic benefits. The inherent benefits of history include history as a science, history as a way of knowing the past, history as a statement of opinion, and history as a profession. In extrinsic terms, history has educational meanings, including moral education, reasoning, politics, policy, change, the future, beauty, and assistive science (Kuntowijoyo, 1995, pp. 15-20). There are five stages in historical research, namely: the stage of topic selection, source

collection, factual verification or criticism and source validity, interpretation (analysis and synthesis), and the compilation or writing of history (Kuntowijoyo, 1995, p. 69).

### **Method**

This study uses historical research methods, including 1) heuristics, 2) criticism, 3) interpretation, and 4) historiography (Gootscahlk, 1986, p. 32). In the heuristic stage, the researcher looks for and collects historical sources related to the history and development of Islam in Southern Thailand. The criticism stage is carried out internally and externally. The interpretation stage is an effort to arrange historical facts that are related to one another and then interpret. In the historiography stage, the author compiles historical stories. The form of this historical story will be written chronologically and systematically with a precise topic so that it will be easy to understand with the aim that readers can easily understand (Sumardi, 2017, p. 68).

### **Result and Discussion**

#### **History of Islam in Southern Thailand**

According to Azyumardi Azra, the entry of Islam to Thailand is estimated to have been in the 10th or 11th century in Southern Thailand, precisely in the Pattani area. Islamic teachings were spread through the trade routes brought by Arabs and Indians because Pattani was allegedly strategic enough for a stopover. There are two meanings of the word "Pattani" with Patani, which are known today; first, *Pattani*, which means *Pattani Raya* or *Pattani Darussalam*, which is the Pattani kingdom; second is *Patani* which means a region in Southern Thailand (Capakia, 2002, p. 29). The majority of the population in the Patani region are Malays, who are identical to ethnic Malays in several countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam. Although politically, they are part of Thailand, in terms of culture and language, they

are Malay, which is different from the ethnic Siamese, which is the majority ethnic group in Thailand.

Patani's history is inseparable from the early history of the Pattani Malay kingdom, which is not yet known when it was founded. Auliahadi said "it cannot be ascertained about the origin or actual date of when the Malay Patani kingdom was founded" (Auliahadi, 2017, p. 2) The position of the Patani region is quite strategic from a geographical aspect so that the area has become a destination for foreign traders from both west and east. In a short period of time, Patani emerged as an important kingdom and developing region in the fields of economy, politics, and government. Based on this, it does not say with certainty about when the Patani population embraced Islam. In contrast to Azyumardi Azra's investigation, who said that Islam entered Thailand around the 10th or 11th century through trade routes, according to Manuel Godinho d'Eredia that Patani converted to Islam before 10<sup>th</sup> century and was known as "Darussalam" or "a place of peace." Another opinion mentioned by G.W.J. Drewes related to his research on the arrival of Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia, he found that Islam entered in the area of Trengganu (Malaysia) which is close to Patani in 1386-1387 (Pitsuwan, 1989, pp. 36-37) Patani's initial relationship with Islam occurred as a result of economic trade interactions between Arabs, India, and China. Arab and Indian traders occupied several trading centers in the Patani region around the end of the 12th century, they married residents and formed the early Islamic community in the Patani region. Then, more than three centuries after that, Islam began to spread in the area and influenced the royal family to embrace Islam (Auliahadi, 2017, p. 2).

In addition, the adoption of Islam by the Patani royal family has similarities with the process of Islamization of kingdoms in Indonesia. The King of the Patani kingdom embraced Islam because of the healing factor from illness. It is one of the ways of spreading Islam because, usually, the disease is always associated with spiritual causes. A new religion

will not be able to develop unless religion can heal disease. Based on the history, King Patani was treated by an Islamic scholar, namely Syeikh Sa'id or Syeikh Safiyyuddin from Pasai and succeeded in getting the King to convert to Islam. Another factor that influenced the entry of Islam in Patani was political and economic motives because Islam was a medium or means of being able to establish trade relations with traders from Arabia, Turkey, Gujarat, and Persia in the early 14th and 15th centuries AD. The economic factor was considered a powerful reason for why the Patani kingdom accepted Islamic teachings. It also based on the growing stigma that Southeast Asian people saw Muslims from Arabia, Gujarat, Turkey as wealthy merchants (Azra, 2006, p. 63).

Based on historical records, it is known that Ayutthaya was the King of Sukhothai in the 13th century AD. He concerned with the trade route to expand the kingdom's economy network. This path was considered the dominant motive for bringing Islam closer to Ayutthaya. Many Muslim merchants had close relations with the palace; some of them even became ministers (Thohir, 2004, p. 270). It can be understood that when Islam came to Thailand, Muslims not only controlled access to trade across the peninsula, but they had a central role in the administrative aspect of almost the entire Sukhotai kingdom. This was utilized optimally for the development of the preaching of Islamic teachings so that, in turn, Islam was able to penetrate the southern part of Thailand, *Patani Raya*. Patani is one of the Malay Islamic kingdoms, which was under the rule of the Siamese kings Sukhothai and Ayutthaya until the 17th century or around 1767 AD. It was this political factor that gave a new influence on the acceptance of Islam in Patani. Some people from the coast guard and the aristocratic family made Islam as a political tool to strengthen their power. According to Syed Husin Al-Attas, that Islam has a unique identity so that the people of Patani are interested in the new values offered by Islamic teachings (Azra, 2006, p. 63).



The Patani kingdom reached its peak when the government was controlled by female kings or queens, including Green King who ruled from 1584 to 1616, then was replaced by Blue King from 1616 to 1624, then was replaced by the Purple King from 1624 to 1635, and Yellow King from 1635 to 1651. At the end of the Yellow King reign, Patani began to decline due to disputes between the royal families. In this unfavorable political situation, the Siamese kingdom attacked the Patani kingdom because the area was the subject of a struggle for territory between the Siamese kingdom and Burma at that time. In 1785 Patani was defeated by the Siamese kingdom. No less than 4000 people from the Patani Malay were taken prisoner and made slaves in Bangkok. After experiencing this defeat, the Patani kingdom came under the control of Siam (Al-Fatani, 1994, p. 40).

The Patani region changed its status to a colonial kingdom. As a form of submission to the Siamese kingdom, the Sultans of Patani was obliged to send "Golden Flowers," which are ornamental flowers with gold and silver as the base material for tribute and proof of their respect and loyalty to the King of Siam one time within two years (Pitsuwan, 1989, p. 20) The King of Siam anticipated an attempt to rebel from the Patani kingdom, namely by dividing the Patani region into seven countries or "Hua Muang" and appointing the seven rulers of the country as well (Chao Muang). With this policy, the Patani kingdom ended, and the Patani region was only one of the seven countries (Saifullah, 2010, pp. 86-87).

### **Development of Islam in Southern Thailand**

Pattani Province is the southern part of Thailand, which is occupied by a majority of Muslims, approximately 80%. Some of the other Muslims are scattered in Central Thailand and Northern Thailand. Muslims who lived in Southern Thailand is popularly known as Malay Muslims, while Muslims in Central and Northern Thailand is called Thai Muslims. The population of Thai Muslims is more heterogeneous than the

Muslim Malay community. Thai Muslims consist of Muslim descendants from Iran, Champa, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, China, and Malays who reside in areas that are dominated by Thai Buddhists in the regions of Central Thailand and Northern Thailand. Even though they are aware of their distinct ethnic heritage and their religious traditions, the majority of these Muslims communicate using Thai, as well as assimilate with the majority of Thai people (Sanurdi, 2018, p. 383).

Since the Patani kingdom was officially under the rule of the Thai kingdom around 1902, Muslims experienced difficulties in the religious and political fields. Muslims felt persecuted under the pressure of the Thai empire and treated it unpleasantly in the absence of concern for the feelings of Malay nationality and their religious activities. In the political sphere, the Siamese (Thai) government took steps of administrative integration designed to incorporate Muslim areas into the national political system centered in Bangkok. Because Muslims who came from the southern region of Thailand had little experience with this system, they were eventually placed under the Thai Buddhist government officials.

In 1932 the political system of the Siamese kingdom changed from an absolute monarchy to a parliamentary kingdom. As a concrete effort to implement this system in 1933, the first general elections were held in the entire kingdom of Siam. In the General Election, Muslim residents in southern Thailand, namely Patani, Yala, and Narathiwat, did not participate in these activities. However, the people in the Satun area succeeded in choosing Muslims as representatives of the people, namely Tui bin Abdullah or known as Phraya Samantarat Burin (Capakia, 2002, p. 221). The election results reflect the fact that Satun Muslims have the ability to speak Thai so that they can communicate and participate in Thai politics (Pitsuwan, 1989, p. 59). Tui bin Abdullah has an important role in the Siamese parliament in fighting for the interests of Muslims, especially in the Southern Thailand region. One of his successes was to make a special law for Muslims on family

and heirloom as a replacement of the law made by the parliament in 1935. This influenced several Islamic leaders in several regions, such as Patani, Yala, and Narathiwat to take part in the next General Election (Auliahadi, 2017).

In the second General Election, held in 1937, Muslim leaders from the royal Malay participated in political contestation and won in three regions (Patani, Yala, Narathiwat). They succeeded in becoming people's representatives in the General Election (Mohammed, 1998, p. 22). However, this victory did not last long, because since the Siamese kingdom was under Army Commander Phibul Songgram, the spirit of Siamese nationalism began to be revived. Pibul announced *the Seven Dikri* in the form of a law in 1939. The *seven Dikri* contained ways to foster a spirit of love for the state among Thai people, and since then, the name *Siam* has changed to *Muang Thai* (Thailand), which means an independent state (Soebantardjo, 1906, p. 104). More than that, Pibul Songgram took firm steps against cultural assimilation of minorities by carrying out the cultural coercion program or known as "*Rathaniyom*" (means Thai for the Thai race), which is strongly suspected of being a racist policy. This condition creates feelings of displeasure for the ethnic Malay population and disapproval of the government's desire to homogenize the religion of the population to become Buddhists (Mahmud, 2006, p. 57).

This policy has implications for the life of the Muslims in southern Thailand. The Patani Muslims are prohibited from using Malay names, dressed in Malay, speaking in Malay, and are prohibited from studying Islam. In addition, the special law for Thai Muslims was abolished. As a result, this can be a factor in the anger of Muslims (Mahmud, 2006, p. 57). Malay Muslims must use a Thai name if they want to enter government schools or apply for jobs in government agencies. The Muslim minority is viewed negatively as *Khaek* people, meaning "guests". This term is a term for foreign guests or immigrants. "*Khaek*" is addressed to Muslims in Southern Thailand

with the connotation of contempt for Muslims. In addition, they are referred to as "Thai Muslims" in an attempt to obscure their identity (Thohir, 2004, p. 272). In 1944, the *Kadhi* Bureau was abolished, and problems related to marriage and inheritance were regulated by civil law, not by syari'at (Saifullah, 2010, p. 91). The Patani Muslims opposed this policy and demanded regional autonomy spearheaded by Haji Sulong bin Abdul Kadir bin Muhammad al-Fatani. He finally formed the Patani People's Movement (GRP) in 1947-1948 (Thohir, 2004, p. 357). Haji Sulong founded Madrasah *al-Mu'aruf al-Wataniah*, but the madrasa did not last long after the Siamese government closed the madrasa. Then Haji Sulong began teaching at the Patani mosque in the fields of *ushuludin* and *tafsir*. Realizing that the religious and cultural identity of the Patani people had been opposed by Pibul Songgram, Islamic leaders led by Haji Sulong formed a religious institution, namely *He'et al-Napadh al-Lahkanal Shariat*, an institution to defend the Sharia law (Thohir, 2004, p. 357). Haji Sulong was among those who opposed the government to interfere in religious affairs for the Muslim population of southern Thailand (Mahmud, 2006, p. 58).

As a result of all this, Malay Muslims fought back and thus founded the *Pattani United Liberation Organization* (PULO) on January 22, 1968, which was spearheaded by Tengku Bira Kotanila (Kabir Abdul Rahman). This organization strives to fight for the southern region of Thailand for autonomy (Shiddique, 1989, p. 275). The Thai government took anticipatory action to suppress the Malay Muslim separatist movement and their desire to have regional autonomy. The Thai government provided sufficient space for Muslims to be able to carry out religious teachings and invited the Malay Muslim community to play an active role in developing the country of Thailand. The Thai government allocates funds for religious activities. Muslims are allowed to do da'wah, form organizations, and manage the publication of religious literature;

however, in internal Patani Muslims, it cannot be separated from the potential of division (Sanurdi, 2018, p. 386).

Several groups are claiming to represent the Muslim community, *first*, *Chularatmontri*, an institution that manages the Islamic religious bureaucracy and deals with all mosques in Thailand. The Thai government founds this institution for Patani Muslims. And it is responsible for the Thai government. *Second*, the orthodox group that published the *Rabitah*. *Third*, traditional Malay Muslim groups who are opposed to Chularatmontri but refuse to be called opponents of *al-Jihad al-Rabitah* (Thohir, 2004, p. 274).

In April 2004, when Thailand was led by Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, there was a bloody incident that killed 30 Muslim youths at the Kru Se mosque. The incident happened again in October 2004 with the death of 175 Muslim Takbai prisoners who were forcibly loaded onto a truck by the Thai military with their hands tied behind their backs. This unfavorable condition lasted from 2004 to the end of 2008 with the death toll not less than 2000 people. The desire to find a new Prime Minister who can resolve the southern Thai conflict is highly desirable (Mania, 2019, p. 88).

Peace and reconciliation efforts in the southern region of Thailand followed the peace style of Aceh, Indonesia. The identity of the people of Southern Thailand is accommodated by the Thai government. Southern Thai Muslims personally prefer to use Malay. The closeness of the relationship between Southern Thailand or the Malay kingdom and Aceh has been around for a long time, some of the traders from Indonesia have settled and lived in Thailand or just temporarily added supplies on the way to carrying out pilgrimage (haji) and gaining religious knowledge. It is not surprising that in several cities in Thailand, especially Bangkok, there are names of places that actually originate from Indonesia, for example, *Makkasan* (from Makassar) and *Bayan* (from Bawean). In these areas, Bugis and Bawean sailors settled, so that some people from

Makassar and Bawean were appointed to be quite brave bodyguards of the King (Tim, 2020, p. 32).

One of the Kings of Siam, Raja Rama V, once employed a group of Javanese people from Kendal, Central Java, to help build roads and palace gardens under the command of Allenbus, an engineer from the Netherlands. The results of their hard work can still be enjoyed today, such as the Lumpini Park, several tamarind trees planted along Rachadamnoen Street, and around the Sanam Luang field. Indonesians who were brought to Thailand are known as honest, diligent, and good at farming. This Javanese community group then formed *Kampung Jawa* in Bangkok and built a mosque with Javanese architecture. The mosque was founded on the land of Haji Mohammad Saleh, who was donated in 1894. The uniqueness of this mosque is the presence of a drum (*bedug*) and its Javanese architecture. Across the mosque is a burial place for Muslims; most of them are Javanese or Indonesian descent. The Grand Imam of the Javanese Mosque has undergone several changes over time, and not all of them are of Javanese descent (Tim, 2020, p. 33).

There are several mosques in Bangkok, including *the Bayan* mosque, which was founded in 1911, *the Darul Abidin* Mosque in 1945, *the Harun* mosque in 1947, the Indonesian mosque in 1949. Besides the Javanese, who played a role in the spread of Islam, the Bugis and Minangkabau people also played a role in the spread of Islam in Thailand, for example, the Makasan mosque and Islamic da'wah by religious groups of Minangkabau. One of the influential Islamic boarding schools in Satun, Southern Thailand, Darul Ma'arif, was founded by Minangkabau clerics and has been established until now. Several mosques in Bangkok have also received influence from Minangkabau clerics, such as the *Al-Atiq* Mosque on Charoenkrung Road (Tim, 2020, p. 34).

Based on data from the Department of Provincial Administration, Ministry of Internal Affairs, January 2020, there are 4,000 mosques registered throughout Thailand spread

across 72 provinces. The number of mosques in Bangkok is 185 mosques. While data from the same source in March 2018, there were 3,943 mosques across Thailand in 71 provinces, and in Bangkok, there were 183 mosques. The most significant number of mosques in the Southern Thailand region is 3,340 mosques. Concerning religious activities in a predominantly Buddhist country, it seems that Muslims in Thailand, especially in Bangkok, including residents of Kampung Jawa, do not face any obstacles. They get freedom constitutionally to carry out worship without any pressure. The attitude of solidarity and mutual assistance can also be seen from other religious groups in supporting activities carried out by the Muslim community around the mosque (Tim, 2020, p. 34).

### **Conclusion**

Islam entered the territory of Southern Thailand through several factors; trade economy factors, medical factors for the King of the Malay kingdom, and political factors. There is an opinion stating that Islam entered Thailand around the 10th or 11th century AD, although it is not known precisely when Islam was accepted in the region. Another opinion is that Islam began to enter when the King of the Malay Kingdom was treated by Sheikhs or great scholars from Pasai. Finally, Islam developed in the southern region of Thailand until now. It can be seen from several mosques.

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