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**JOURNEY OF HAJJ PILGRIMS FROM PATANI AND ITS
SOCIAL-ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL IMPACT ON THE PATANI
MALAY SOCIETY (1800-1960S)**

Abstract:

Islam had formally accepted by the Patani people in the mid 15th century while the tenets of Islam were not fully practiced at the early time. In the early period, it has no clear evidence to indicate that there were pilgrims from Patani to reach Mecca for Hajj. However, the names of religious Patani scholars were mentioned about their connection with Mecca in some Malay classical books both directly and indirectly in 16th and 17th century. Journey of Hajj from Patani and had more recorded in the later century after being better transportation especially when the Suez canal in Egypt was opened in 1869 and operating of steamships which carried Malay pilgrims from the Malay Archipelago mainly through Penang and Singapore port. Barriers and various challenges faced by pilgrims throughout on board ship and life in Mecca and its environs gave much impact, especially in terms of social-economy and intellectual structure. Collective memory, spiritual and empirical experience gave a lot of individual impact and made Hajj pilgrims changes their way of life after they returning homeland. For those for stay a period of time for educational purpose after the Hajj season, this also gave profound impact to the Patani Malay society through intellectual pilgrims particularly the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Methods, texts, learning and teaching styles, had been transformed into the society especially the Madrasah system which directly copied from the madrasahs in Mecca. The Hajj journey was also one way to link the Malay region with the Muslim world, and consolidated its contact with the Haramayn in particular.

Keywords:

Hajj Pilgrimage Journey, Social-economic and Intellectual Impact, Patani Malay Society

JEL Classification: N95

Introduction

This paper examines in greater depth the historical development of the journey of Hajj pilgrims from Patani and its social-economic and intellectual impact on the Patani Malay Society beginning from the decade of the 1800s up till 1960s. Such the two major impacts will be mainly traced in this paper. However, to get overall picture of the importance of the *Haramayn* especially Mecca and its peripheries as the center for conducting *Hajj* pilgrimage, it also needs to propose this section. In connecting to the impact of Hajj in term of intellectual perspective this first section also will mention about its importance as the center for acquiring Islamic knowledge and its institutions that then how far they transferred into the Patani Malay society.

The Importance of Hajj Journey

Hajj pilgrimage, one of the five pillars in Islam, is compulsory for every “Mukallaf”¹ under the main conditions; sanity, affording the journey which includes good health, safe journey, enough budget to support his family during his absence and no obstacle preventing the performance of *Hajj*.² As well, the *Hajj* pilgrimage requires to perform *Hajj* only in the Holy land of Mecca, to conduct during the month of *Zulhijjah* (12th month according to the Islamic calendar) and to perform by an individual Muslim himself. Since this pillar must be performed only in Mecca and environs where mainly in *Masjid al-Haram*, pilgrims of different knowledge and experience background have to make a lot of preparation before and during staying in Mecca and visiting Madinah. The *Hajj* pilgrimage itself is far different from other obligations namely praying five times a day, fasting during *Ramadhan* and giving alms (as the charity) to the poor, since it needs few days to complete it and moves from one to another place. As a result, the details of the *Hajj* process itself and other additional activities such as visiting historical locations and instructing how to perform *Hajj* correctly in Mecca and Madinah, could not be settled without accompanying by a certain person or a group of persons that can lead pilgrims or *Hujjaj* to fulfil the whole process, assuring the accomplishment of the *Hajj* pilgrimage. Such a person, in the Malay world is known as *Syeikh Haji*.

Besides, its importance as the obligation city of the *Hajj* pilgrimage, Mecca, and also Madinah, even not the obligated city for the *Hajj* purpose, represents objectively and subjectively for the Muslim worldwide. Historically, Mecca was the birth place the prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him) and of cause the birth of Islam tenets before its spread into other lands even as far as the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. It is located by *Ka’bah*, a cubic building covering by black dress decorated by Arabic calligraphy which is from the verses of the Qur’an. *Ka’bah* functions as a direction, known as *qiblah*, to where Muslims around the world face when they daily pray, and around which they round counterclockwise as parts of their *Hajj* pilgrimage. Madinah was the burial place of the prophet and his mosque as well as

¹ *Mukallaf* is a person who is obliged to act in consistent to Allah’s orders and to perform worshipping. (religiously responsible or accountable) *Mukallaf* is from the term *taklif*, which means the religion of Islam ordering people to obey Allah’s orders and to avoid His prohibitions.

² Ministry of Information. 2001. *At the Service of Allah’s Guests*. Riyadh: Ministry of Information, pp.14-15.

the administrative city during the prophet period before moving to Baghdad, Damascus, and then Istanbul. Madinah and its peripheries were once locations of historic battles during the period of the prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him). Furthermore, such two cities or in a single so called name *Haramayn* was a major location for acquiring Islamic knowledge for those who came from the Malay-Indonesian archipelago including from Patani.

Journey of *Hajj* is, as described above, not only a single journey for the purpose of *Hajj* pilgrimage but also it means a lot to the comers who might wait for the opportunity to journey only a time of their lifetime. This becomes more special for those who even never been to the oversea and makes it as the most valuable experience of their lifetime. Moreover, they will receive a special name title to put in front of their name after returning from the *Hajj* journey. Importance of *Hajj* journey or in some writing noted as “journey of faith” is clearly mentioned by Nor-Afidah Abdul Rahman as the following;

“Making the journey to Mecca to fulfill the obligation of the Haj is a long and cherished ambition for most Muslims. In heeding the call of the Ka’bah (House of God) in Mecca, where all Muslims turned to their prayers, the Hajj is not for the faint-hearted or the ill prepared. In Haj, the pursuit of spiritual upliftment transcends worldly wants and often requires stoicism in the face of hardships. Travelling in strange Arab lands and in close company of multitudes of strangers, hardships are newer few. As an obligation, in fact, the Haj is not demanded on those who cannot canvass the strength and earning to leave their routines and family dependants behind in order to complete the intense Hajj rituals.”³

The journey to the heartland of Islam for the purpose of *Hajj*, seen from the present situation, looks like the simple way to reach Mecca and its vicinity as they get served from the *Hajj* service agency to settle everything before, during, up till they return back their homeland. However, things are not as easy as speaking or what they are told by *Hajj* brokers. The *Hajj* pilgrims would receive a lot of lessons, trouble, barriers and obstruction during the journey of *Hajj* that needs much patience and inspiration to receive what Islam terms “Hajj Mabruur”, the completed *Hajj*. Those who could control their emotion and all challenges could impact and lead them into new characters after returning homeland as found in many cases worldwide.

PATANI MALAY-MUSLIMS: CONTACT WITH THE *HARAMAYN*

There is no clear evidence to show who the first individual or group from Patani was to have travelled to the *Haramayn*, Mecca and Madinah of the present Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Generally, apart from the purpose of education the trip to the *Haramayn* was undertaken in order to perform the *Hajj*. Among the Malays from the Malay peninsula Syeikh Abdul Malik Abdullah of Terengganu (1650-1736) was regarded as having been the first individual to have reached the Mecca.⁴ Linkages between Patani and the *Haramayn* appear to have begun following Patani’s conversion to Islam around the middle of the fifteenth century. The

³ Nor-Afidah Abdul Rahman. “Journey of the Faith” *Feature*. Singapore National Library: Singapore, p 4-11.

⁴ Mohammad Redzuan Othman, “The Role of Makka-Educated Malays in the Development of Early Islamic Scholarship and Education in Malaya”, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9: 2 (1998): 147.

coming of Islam had a considerable impact on Patani's intellectual development as Islam began to penetrate the daily lives of the lay persons to create a new Muslim community. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas compares the coming of Islam to the Malay-Indonesian world with the impact of Islam upon Europe, when the advent of Islam and the consequent culture of knowledge it fostered pushed the Europeans into the "Modern Era."⁵

Numerous sources point to the early significance of Patani as a prominent place of learning in the Malay-Indonesian world. For example, the *Sejarah Melayu* describes a Malay noble from Patani who had instructed Sri Lanang to write that classical book.

The person who supported me to write the *Sejarah Melayu* is Raja Dewa Said Nara Wangsa whose name is Tun Bambang, a son of the King of Patani, who was the most honourable man with a high-ranking status compared to others in an assembly of nobles....⁶

Patani's intellectual prestige in the eighteenth century is also well-described in the *Hikayat Patani*:

Some time later Alung Yunus became King in Air Lilih for a period of eleven months. While he was reigning King he was called Yang Dipertuan by the people. He was the man who built the mosque in the port, and this mosque was originally the palace which Raja Dajang constructed in the town. Alung Yunus had it pulled down and transferred to the port where it was rebuilt as a mosque. It was at that time that Sayyid Abdullah came to Patani from Trengganu. Sayyid Abdullah was a descendent of the prophet of God, and he originally came from Jerusalem; and Haji Yunus was a Malay from Patani. Sheikh Abdul Kadir was a man from Pasai and Haji Abdurrahman a Javanese; on his way back from a pilgrimage to Mecca he took a wife here in Patani, Fakih Abdul Mannan was a Minangkabau who came from Kedah and took a wife in Pujut. All these wise men took counsel on the sufferings of the people of Patani in accordance with the law of God as it is to be found in holy book of God. So the people in the port of Patani were very contented and tranquil at that time. And the name of the king was famous in the countries in both east and west.⁷

A succession of Patani scholars from the latter half of the eighteenth century shows a strong linkage between Patani and the *Haramayn*. Like a number of others from the Malay-Indonesian region several well-known 'ulamas of Patani origin became renowned scholars – the most prominent among them being Syekh Daud Abdullah al-Fatani. These 'ulamas had accumulated considerable knowledge after many years of living and studying in the *Haramayn*. Later their knowledge and experience were adapted and developed into a unique style of religious instruction in Southeast Asia. The *Halaqah* method gradually became

⁵ Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: UKM Press, 1972), pp. 18-19.

⁶ W. G. Shellabear, *Sejarah Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd, 1979), p. 2

⁷ A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: the Story of Patani* (The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff, 1970), pp.199-200.

dominant and developed into a new form of institution of religious education known as *pondok* in Patani and Malaysia and *pesantren* in Java.⁸

Syeikh Daud al-Fatani was synonymous with Patani which subsequently became one of main locations in Southeast Asia for the study of Islam. Through his initiative many '*ulamas* from Patani rose to prominence in the *Haramayn* and in Patani. His contribution in terms of writings and teaching in many disciplines made him well-known among the intellectual community in the *Haramayn* and Southeast Asia. Syeikh Daud began his studies under his family members, especially his uncle Syeikh Safiyuddin.⁹ He then travelled to Aceh where he spent two years, 1780-1781, under the instruction of the famous Acehnese '*ulama*, Syeikh Muhammad Zayn al-Asyi.¹⁰ Based on Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani's calculation he left for Mecca in 1787 at the age of 18, journeying directly from Patani to Mecca.¹¹

Although Syeikh Daud was not the first person from Patani to have reached the *Haramayn* – a number of Patani '*ulamas* and students had been there before him – he was the first to achieve great renown. In Mecca he mixed with a group of Southeast Asian students, many of whom later became famous '*ulamas*, including Muhammad Shalih 'Abdul al-Rahman al-Fatani, 'Ali Ishaq al-Fatani al-Falimbani, Muhammad Arsyad, Abdul al-Wahab al-Bugisi, 'Abdul Rahman al-Batawi and Muhammad al-Nafis.¹² They were both senior friends and his teachers. Syeikh Daud was often referred to as the youngest student from Southeast Asia in Mecca.¹³ In *Haramayn* Syeikh Daud studied for many years under many well-known scholars from the Middle East (especially Egypt) and from "Jawah." It was commonly accepted that he resided in Mecca for 30 years and in Madinah 5 years.¹⁴ Syeikh Daud studied the *Hadith* with 'Isa Ibn Ahmad al-Barrawi (died 1768), al-Syarqawi (1737-1812) and Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Syanwani (died 1818) who became the Rector of al-Azhar University after al-Syarqawi.¹⁵ The knowledge obtained from myriad '*ulamas* transformed Syeikh Daud into one of the most prominent '*ulamas* from Southeast Asia during this period. His forte is impressive as seen from the breadth of his published works totalling 57 Arabic-and-Malay treatises covering a range of fields of religious subjects.¹⁶

⁸ Abdul Latif Hamidong, "Institusi Pondok Dalam Tradisi Budaya Ilmu," *Kertas kerja Persidangan Antarabangsa Mengenai Tamadun Melayu*, Anjuran Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, Malaysia 11-13 Nov., Kuala Lumpur, 1986. p. 2.

⁹ Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Press, 2002), p. 26.

¹⁰ A. Hasjmi, *Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1990), p. 230.

¹¹ Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Press, 2002), pp. 26-27.

¹² Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fathani: 'Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur: Hizbi, 1990), pp. 32-33.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, p. 33.

¹⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), pp. 262-263.

¹⁶ Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition," *JMBRAS* (61) 1988: pp. 21-26.

Patani had experienced much political turmoil from the eighteenth century until the twentieth century including the Patani-Siam wars of 1791, 1832 and 1838, which had a considerably affect upon local intellectuals.¹⁷ Based on their permanent settlement the Patani Malay-Muslim intellectuals were classified into three major groups namely, (i) those who had migrated to the neighbouring Malay States of Kelantan, Terangganu, Perak, Kedah, and Penang; (ii) those who had migrated or decided to stay longer or permanently in the *Haramayn*, especially Mecca; and (iii) those who had returned or stayed in their homeland, Patani. For all three groups the *Haramayn* remain the center for the pursuit of knowledge and almost all of them had experienced a study sojourn in the *Haramayn* for a certain period. The career of Syeikh Daud al-Fatani encouraged other Patani Malay-Muslims to seek Islamic knowledge in the *Haramayn*. It had become the centre for the study of Islam with the presence of a large number of local or overseas ‘*ulamas*, especially the “‘*ulama Jawi*.” As a result, the number of Patani students began to increase annually. Their success in the *Haramayn* was crucial in sustaining the *pondok* system in Patani and the northern Malay states, while those who did not return contributed to intellectual life in the *Haramayn* itself, for instance, Syeikh Nik Mat Kechik al-Fatani (1844-1915), Syeikh Nik Dir al-Fatani (+1829-1898) and Syeikh Wan Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain al-Fatani (1856-1908).

ROLE OF PATANI ‘ULAMAS IN THE HARAMAYN

By the early nineteenth century Patani ‘*ulamas* had become involved in a range of activities that deepened relations between Patani and the *Haramayn*. They provided services relating to the pilgrimage (*Hajj*); taught in the precinct of the *Masjid al-Haram* and other educational institutions in the *Haramayn*; became involved in setting up printing presses and publishing the “*kitab jawi*”, and, finally, they composed their own *kitab*s to be used as textbooks for religious studies both in the *Haramayn* and Southeast Asia.

The role of Patani ‘*ulamas* as pilgrimage (*Hajj*) volunteers began with Syeikh Daud Abdullah al-Fatani, who may have been one of the first individuals from the Malay peninsula to have done so. They were known as “Syeikh Haji Melayu.” The services include familiarizing the pilgrims with *Hajj* procedures, introducing them to important places relating to the *Hajj*, organizing accommodation, and various other services. Syeikh Daud bought a house in Madinah for the use of pilgrims from the Malay peninsula, especially Patani. In 1824 his house became a centre for *Hajj* pilgrims under his supervision. Syeikh Daud was assisted by his relative, Syeikh Wan Musa, who became the Syeikh Haji Melayu after his death.¹⁸ After Syeikh Wan Musa returned home in the 1860s the position was taken over by a son of Syeikh Idris, Tok Wan Zainab. Syeikh Idris was one of Syeikh Daud’s nephews. Tok Wan Zainab was later succeeded by his son Syeikh Nik Mat Kechik, a well-known Patani ‘*ulama* based in Mecca.¹⁹ The position of Syeikh Haji was a significant one, and was usually filled by those considered to be highly accomplished in Islamic knowledge and who were based in Mecca.

¹⁷ A. Bangnara, *Patani Dahulu dan Sekarang* (Pattani: Penal Penyelidikan Angkatan al-Fatani, 1977), pp. 34-39.

¹⁸ Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, p. 36.

¹⁹ Ibid.

The Syeikh Haji Melayu required assistants as their services covered both Mecca and Madinah. For example, Syeikh Nik Mat Kechik was helped by his sons in Mecca, while in Madinah his son-in-law, Syeikh Daud bin Idris, provided assistance there. The services of the Syeikh Haji Melayu were offered to all Malay-Muslim pilgrims. Syeikh Nik Mat Kechik himself had to serve Sultan Zainal Abidin III of Terengganu, who went on the *Hajj* in 1913.²⁰

Over the years the position of Syeikh Haji Melayu underwent a transformation. By the first half of the twentieth century the growing number of pilgrims led to an increase in the number of Syeikh Haji Melayu. The original voluntary nature of the task was gradually transformed into a permanent vocation that promised a substantial financial reward. Undertaking to organize the pilgrimage now became a business venture, notably with the increasing participation of the Saudi Arabia government. Records of the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs show an annual increase in the number of Syeikh Haji. In 1957 there were 20, who dealt with only Thai Muslims from all over Thailand. In that year the record shows that 1,686 Thai pilgrims went on the Hajj, with most of them from the south – the region of the former Patani sultanate.²¹

With regard to their contribution to the transmission of Islamic knowledge Patani *'ulamas* were equally prominent. Quite often they had a large followings of students. Syeikh Daud Abdullah al-Fatani began active teaching during the early nineteenth century. Many of his pupils became well-known and influential *'ulamas* not only in Patani but also in Malaysia and Indonesia. The list includes Syeikh Hasan bin Ishak (Besut, Terengganu), Syeikh Wan Musa (Kelantan), Syeikh Zainuddin (Aceh), Syeikh Ismail bin Abdullah (Minangkabau), Syeikh Muhammad Zainudin bin Muhammad Badawi (Sumbawa) and Sultan Muhammad Safiyudin (Sambas).²²

In the pursuit of their studies in the *Haramayn* the student did not study under only one teacher or just one subject. The pre-eminent study location was in the precinct of the *Masjid al-Haram*, Mecca, and the nearby areas. Students could follow as many classes as possible from early morning until midnight.²³ Due to their poor linguistic skills new students would learn basic subjects with *Jawah 'Ulama* before taking classes in the Arabic language with either *Jawah* or Arab *'ulamas*. The basic knowledge included *Nahw* (Arabic Grammar), *Sarf* (Arabic Words), *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Tawhid* (Islamic Doctrine, Faith) and *Tasawwuf* (Islamic Ethics) while the higher level covered the same subjects in more depth besides new ones like *Tafsir* (Qur'anic Interpretation), *Hadith* (Prophetic Tradition), *Mantiq*

²⁰ Ibid.; Mohd. Saleh bin Haji Awang, Dato' Haji, *Haji di Semenanjung Malaysia: Sejarah dan Perkembangannya Sejak Tahun 1300-1405H. (1896-1985)* (Kuala Terengganu: Syarikat Percetakan Yayasan Islam Terengganu Sdn. Bhd., 1986), p. 139.

²¹ National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Interior 3.1.4.19/52. "Kan chuai leua thai islam pai prakorp satsanakit na muang mecca, Dec. 21, B.E. 2498-Aug. 11, B.E. 2503" [Assistance to Islamic Thais Going to Perform the Pilgrimage in Mecca, Dec. 21- Aug. 11, 1955-1960].

²² Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, pp. 35-36.

²³ Interview Haji Abdul Rahman Jehsae, President of Islamic Council of Yala Province at his office on April 29, 2007.

(Rhetoric), *Adab* (Arabic Literature) and *Falak* (Astrology).²⁴ The learning style was dependent on each individual *'ulama*, while the study timetable coincided with the times of the daily prayers with lessons starting after each prayer. It is likely that students did have their preferred or main instructor. Teaching and learning in the *Haramayn* relied considerably on the credibility of each individual *'ulama*, with students congregating around knowledgeable and charismatic teachers. To achieve the status of a learned individual through the *Haramayn* experience was dependent on (i) their efforts to memorize and understand the lessons and the texts; (ii) understanding of the basic Islamic knowledge (*Nahw*, *Sarf*, *Adab*, *Usul al-Fiqh*, and *Usul al-Hadith*); (iii) in-depth discussions with *'ulamas* and fellow students; and (iv) expertise in Islamic subjects and the ability to related the various fields of knowledge to one another. Each *Haramayn 'ulama* had his own timetable with adequate time allocated for teaching, worship, rest, family life and for writing.²⁵ Writing was meant to enlighten and train students, to simplify and to explain.

Educated Patani Malay-Muslims played another significant role in the print media. The printing technology arrived in Istanbul and Cairo prior to Mecca. Arabic printing was introduced in Istanbul in 1729 while in Cairo the first presses were established in 1822. In Mecca, there is no obvious evidence when the printing technology was first used but Snouck Hurgronje, who visited Mecca in 1885, mentions that Syeikh Nawawi al-Bantani sent his works both in Arabic and *Jawi* to the press in Cairo.²⁶ The most productive period for Malay printing in Mecca coincides with the career of the scholar Syeikh Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Zain al-Fatani. Born in Patani in 1856, Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani was one of the most famous Southeast Asian scholars during the 1870s-1900s. Due to his exceptional understanding of religious knowledge and proficiency in the Malay language he was appointed by the Ottoman Caliphate as supervisor and "Malay Manuscript" editor of the newly established government press in Mecca in 1884.²⁷

Besides editing *Jawi* Malay works Syeikh Ahmad was also entrusted to edit Arabic materials.²⁸ Some of his edited Arabic scripts included *I'anatut Thalibin* by Sayyid Abu Bakar Syatha, *al-Ajrumiyah* by Imam Shanhaji, *Nuz-hatun Nazhirin* by Sayyid Ja'afar Ibn Ismail al-Barzanji, *al-Kharidatul Bahaiyah* by Syeikh Abdullah Ibn Usman Makki, *Kitab Dara-ilul Khairat* by Syeikh Sulaiman al-Jazuli, *Tafsir al-Qur'an Juz Amma* by Syeikh Muhammad Amin Bugis and *Ibirizud Dari fi Maulidis Saiyidi Adnanni* by Syeikh Nawawi. Such Arabic treatises became important textbooks studied by Southeast Asian students in the

²⁴ This is based on Babo Yeh's experience in Mecca during 1949-1968. His experience for 19 years indicates learning circumstance in Mecca and he studied almost all religious disciplines under *Jawah* and Arab scholars. See for more detail in Abdul Ramae Sulong, "Botbart Khong Tok Khru: Korani Serksa Hayi Wan Idris bin Wan Ali (Role of Tok Guru: A Case Study of Haji Wan Idris bin Haji Wan Ali)" *M.A. Thesis*, Prince of Songkla University, 2000, pp. 45-46.

²⁵ See for instance Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, p. 75.

²⁶ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 271.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 286.

²⁸ The term "*tash-hih*" (edit/edition) was widely used by the 1880s; Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fathani*, p. 48.

Haramayn and in Islamic education in Southeast Asia. His *Jawi* editions including works written by Syeikh Abdur Rauf Ibn Ali al-Fansuri, Syeikh Naruddin ar-Raniri, Syeikh Muhammad Nafis Ibn Idris al-Banjari, Syeikh Abdus Shamad al-Falimbani, Syeikh Daud Ibn Abdullah al-Fatani, Syeikh Muhamad Zaib Ibn Faqih Jalaluddin Aceh, Syeikh Muhammad Arshad Ibn Abdullah al-Banjari, Syeikh Muhammad Ibn Ismail Daud al-Fatani, and Syeikh Wan Ali Ibn Abdur Rahman Kutani al-Kelantani.²⁹ These scholars were among the most knowledgeable and productive Southeast Asian scholars of Islam. In 1884 alone Syeikh Ahmad managed to edit 30 treatises in Arabic and 20 in *Jawi*. His initiative in editing manuscripts encouraged other *Jawi* ‘*ulamas* to produce and publish their own works in the Middle East, especially Mecca.³⁰

Syeikh Ahmad also established the *Maktabah Fataniyyah* (“Patani Store”), whose aim was the promotion, storage, and distribution of the *kitab jawi*. One of the largest branches of the store was located in *Qhashah*, Mecca. Until the end of the nineteenth century it played an important role in the distribution of the *Kitab Jawi*. It is most likely that the institution also operated as a publisher. Many of the books listed in several of its advertisements were printed by the *Matba‘ah al-Miri‘ah*.³¹

Following the death of Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani in 1908 at Mina, Saudi Arabia, it was not clear who succeeded him at the printing press. However the *Maktabah al-Fataniyyah* continued to be the leading Malay publisher in Mecca until the early twentieth century. With the proliferation of publishers and printers in Malaya in the 1930s the Middle Eastern publishers for *Kitab Jawi* became less important. Although the publishing houses of the *Halabi* brothers still exist to this day and continue to be a significant publisher of Arabic books, its Malay department has lost its importance. New editions of Malay titles rarely appear while many Malay students, particularly those based in Cairo, are no longer interested in writing.³²

The publication of religious treatises in Malaya was a continuation of the earlier activities that had taken place in the Middle East inspired by Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani. Indeed, several establishments like the *Matbaah Riawwiyah* in Sumatra and the *Matbaah al-Ahmadiyyah* in Singapore, were an extension of the *Maktabah al-Fataniyyah*.³³ According to Hasan Madmarn most of the *kitab jawi* written by the leading *ulamas* of Patani were initially printed

²⁹ All *Kitab* in Malay or Jawi Literature that had been published in Mecca, Egypt and Turkey during 1877 -1889 period were edited by Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani. *Kitab* that were published after 1889 included two kinds, namely, his original works and works edited by his two outstanding students, Syeikh Daud bin Ismail al-Fatani and Syeikh Idris bin Husein al-Kelantani; See Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fathani*, pp. 50-52.

³⁰ Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *al-‘Allamah Syeikh Ahmad al-Fathani: Ahli Fikir Islam dan Guru kepada Hampir Semua Ulama dan Tokoh Asia Tenggara Abad ke 19-20* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992), pp.40-41.

³¹ Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East* (Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya Press, 2000), p. 61.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³³ *Ibid.*

either in Mecca or Cairo besides Bombay and Istanbul.³⁴ Subsequent printings were produced by the printing presses of *Sulaiman Mar'i* in Singapore and the *Maktabah Dar al-Ma'rif* of Penang.³⁵ The printing press in Patani was initiated in the 1910s while its most active period was in the 1940s and the 1950s. The 1950s in Patani was a period of strong support for the *pondoks* although it was also a period of economic hardship for the Malay-Muslims of Patani.³⁶

The final major role of the Patani 'ulamas was to produce treatises in the various fields of Islamic knowledge. Comparing those who settled in Patani and those who had stayed permanently or for long periods in the *Haramayn*, the latter were more productive as they had more time and a superior intellectual and religious environment, while the former spent most of their time with the community and on their teaching duties. The *Haramayn* also provided more opportunity for publication. Patani 'ulamas domiciled mostly in Mecca conducted their teaching within the precinct of the *Masjid al-Haram* or in their house. Patani settlements in Mecca were mainly located in *Shu'ib 'Ali, Ma'la, Misfalah, Jiyad, Sukalil* and *Yaruwal*.³⁷ Malay-Muslims from the South also resided outside Mecca including in *Taif, Riyadh* and *Madinah*. The most learned men, however, preferred Mecca.

Political events in the Arabian peninsula in the early decades of the twentieth century resulted in significant changes in administration and teaching in the *Haramayn*.³⁸ It was a time of war between the Wahabiyyah forces led by Ibn Saud and those of Syarif Husain, the protector of the *Haramayn*, who was appointed by the Ottoman government. Ibn Saud's victory by 1925 saw the end of the long history of the *Syarif* descendants (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.) in the *Haramayn*. Subsequent major changes imposed by the new ruler began to affect the organization of teaching in the *Masjid al-Haram*. The new government allowed only registered teachers who had obtained the official permission of the Saudi government to teach in the *Masjid al-Haram*. They were also required to teach all four major Islamic schools (*mazdhab*), the *Maliki, Hanafi, Syafi'i* and *Hambali*, although the leader for daily prayers was to be only from one *mazdhab*, which is *Hambali* since this school is formally adhered by the Saudi government.³⁹

Patani scholars who were from the *Syafi'ie* school began to use their own houses for teaching purposes. Although the location of instruction had changed they still applied the old method of teaching. By 1966 the number of Thai Muslims who were involved in education in Saudi

³⁴ Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani*, p. 52.

³⁵ Ibid.; Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani", p. 53.

³⁶ Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani", p. 54.

³⁷ National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 43.2/82. "Ngop ngoen kha chai jai nai kan dulae nak rian thai nai saudi arabia, B.E. 2505- B.E. 2509" [Budget of Expenditure for Organizing Thai Students in Saudi Arabia, 1966-1966].

³⁸ For details see Hamka, *Ayahku* (Jakarta: Umminda, 1992), pp. 153-155; see also William R. Roff. "Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction amongst the Malay", in *Reading on Islam in Southeast Asia*, edited by Ahmad Ibrahim *et. al.* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), p. 124.

³⁹ Mohd. Sarem Haji Mustajab, "Gerakan Islah Islamiyah di Tanah Melayu 1906-1948", in *Sejarah dan Proses Pembangunan* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1979), p. 161.

Arabia had increased tremendously. Of the total number it appears that more than eighty percent came from the former region of Patani, judging by their homeland origin recorded in the document. The Thai Consulate in Jeddah identified at least three groups of Thais, including these Patani Muslims, who were involved in religious education in the *Haramayn*, namely the students, teachers who were attached to *madrasah*, and teachers based in their private residences. Of a total of 598 Thais, two were teaching in the *Masjid al-Haram* area, one at the *Madrasah Indonesia*, one at the *Madrasah Sulaimaniyyah*, one at the *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum*, and 192 in their own residences. The rest were students scattered at different locations.⁴⁰

With the growing popularity of the *madrasah* system⁴¹ and increasing official control the role of the individual *'ulama* in the *Haramayn* also increased. A number were given Saudi citizenship, especially those who had remained in the *Haramayn* for a long period of time, such as Syeikh Tok Gudang al-Fatani, Syeikh Nik Mat Kecik al-Fatani and Syeikh Nik Dir al-Fatani. From this time the *madrasah* became known by the names of famous individual scholars attached to like Muhammad Yasin Haji Isa al-Pandani, from Sumatra, and Tunku Abdul Jalil, from Java. The *Isnad* method of learning and the *halaqah* teaching style were gradually reduced. The modernization of education was also signalled by the establishment in 1957 of the first university in Saudi Arabia.⁴² It was the start of a new era in the propagation of Islamic knowledge in Saudi Arabia, since the system of education began to integrate technical skills and other academic subjects designed to help students adjust to the modern world.

STUDY PATTERNS OF THE PATANI MALAY-MUSLIMS IN THE HARAMAYN AND THEIR IMPACT

The “circle” pattern of learning, or *halaqah*, had long been the most practical form of instruction used in the major religious institutions in the *Haramayn*. The *halaqah* instructional approach placed the teacher at the centre surrounded by pupils. Instruction began with the reading of an opening *doa* while the texts used were set by the teacher or upon request of the pupils. The instruction went into a certain depth (*tahqiq*) page by page until the students comprehended the subject matter. Textual explanation was quite detailed with the teacher providing additional explanation on certain issues. To fully understand students had to have sufficient knowledge of Arabic grammar, Arabic literature, Arabic word system, reading (*Qira'at*), the prophetic tradition, the Qur'an and its interpretation. Following the completion of one book or one subject the lesson moved on to another book, either on the same subject or a subject at a higher level. In the *halaqah* instructional model pupils accorded great respect to their teachers who practiced a conservative system of teaching known as *Isnad*. The *Isnad* system gave emphasis to the narration of transmitted knowledge. The

⁴⁰ National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 43.2/82. *op.cit.*

⁴¹ *Madrasah* generally means “a place where learning and studying are done”. However, here refers as hierarchically structured education and sequential learning generally attuned with the formal education system.

⁴² The first university, known as King Saud University, was founded in Riyadh in 1957.

sciences of *Qur'anic* recitation, *Hadith* (prophetic tradition), Islamic history, Arabic language, and Islamic jurisprudence, are all based on narration. This generation of teachers were linked to their teachers before them and so on back in an unbroken chain to the Prophet Muhammad and the *Qur'anic* verses. The quality of the student in the *halaqah* system depended much on the individual teachers, rather than the institution. Besides acquiring as much knowledge as possible from the teachers they chose to study under students would obtain a certificate of transmission called *Ijazah*. Students needed to study with as many teachers as possible to acquire the maximum knowledge. These teachers would give their classes either in the area of the *Masjid al-Haram* or at their residence. Pupils could set their schedule of daily study and were free to attend the *halaqah*. The amount of knowledge that the student gained depended on their diligence in attending the various *halaqah*, proper revision, memorizing the core of each subject, as well as the length of the period of study since there was no formal time limit. The *halaqah* as practiced in the *Haramayn* was applied to the Malay-Muslim educational institutions in Patani which already has its own religious educational institution, the *pondok*. The *halaqah* method was used in the *pondok* with instruction conducted in the prayer hall (*balai* or *surau*) daily, and survives in *pondok* until today.

The *halaqah* style of instruction persisted until the introduction of the new mode of education, known today as the *madrasah*, towards the end of the nineteenth century. *Madrasahs* received a positive response from students and later became the predominant form of instruction. The new style of education was first introduced by Indian Muslims through the *Madrasah Shaulatiyyah*, which was built in Mecca in 1874 by an Indian woman, Shaulah al-Nisa. Its management was led by Rahmatullah Ibn Khalil al-'Uthmani, a well-known Indian *'ulama* and leading anti-British Muslim cleric in India, who had migrated to Mecca after the failure of efforts to resist British rule in India.⁴³

A major problem faced by the Malay-Indonesian students in the *Madrasah Shaulatiyyah* was language. Students at *Shaulatiyyah* were required to use only Arabic, including in their living quarters, which caused considerable difficulty for the Malay-Indonesians. Due to their large number they were likely to communicate with each other in their own language. This caused discomfort to some teachers and others, even resulting in clashes between Malay-Indonesian students and their teachers. Finally, almost all the Malay-Indonesians from *Shaulatiyyah* decided to leave and establish a new *madrasah* based on their own resources and management.⁴⁴ It is recorded that more than one hundred students moved out from *Shaulatiyyah* at this time.⁴⁵ The new *madrasah* was called *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum al-Diniyyah* and became the new destination for many Malay-Indonesian students, including Malays from Patani. It was established in 1934 by Haji Majid Zainuddin, the Malay Pilgrimage Officer in Jeddah, in association with some leading Indonesian scholars. It was located at *Shu'ib Ali*, not far from the *Masjid al-Haram*. The building was donated by Toh

⁴³ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan 1995), p. 35.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.37.

Puan Sharifah, the wife of Dato' Panglima Kinta.⁴⁶ The first *madrasah* principal (*mudir*) was Sheikh Zubir bin Ahmad, a graduate of the *Madrasah al-Mashhor* of Penang. He was later succeeded by Muhammad Yasin Haji Isa al-Pandani of Sumatra at the end of the World War II.⁴⁷

Classes in the *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum* were divided into four levels, namely, elementary (*tahdiri*), primary (*ibtidai'*), secondary (*thanawi*) and upper secondary (*'aliy*), with each level lasting for three years. An important difference with other *madrasah* was that besides Arabic the Malay language was also used as a medium of instruction, particularly in the elementary classes. Under the leadership of Syeikh Zubir the *madrasah* managed to gain considerable support from Malay students who came to the *Haramayn* to further their education. Many of the graduates of *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum* later established *madrasahs* of their own after they returned back to their homelands.⁴⁸

Besides *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum* Patani Malay-Muslim students also studied at other *madrasah* institutions, both private and public, in the *Haramayn* and its nearby. Such *madrasahs* included *Madrasah al-Falah*, *Ma'had al-'Ilmi al-Saudi*, *Madrasah al-Lailiyyah*, *Madrasah Jeddah*, *Madrasah Asasiyyah*, *Madrasah Rahmaniyyah*, *Kulliyyah Syar'iyah*, *Madrasah al-Sahir al-Mutawassitah*, *Madrasah Khalid Ibn Waleed* and *Madrasah al-Sa'ah (al-Sa'ab)*.⁴⁹ These *madrasahs* were mostly located around the areas where Patani Malay-Muslim communities settled or at least it had a good connection with them through senior generation.

Experience in the *Haramayn* gave direct impact to the Patani Malay society. Both halaqah and *madrasah* system had come to be part of the Patani society soon after graduates from such two institutions returned back to their homeland. There were 2 early generations of *madrasahs* in Patani. The first generation was started between the 1930s to the 1940s and followed by the second generation during the 1950s-1960s. *Madrasah Dar al-Ma'arif al-Wataniyyah* was established in 1933 by the well-known scholar Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir while in the subsequent decade a few *madrasahs* were established. Since the *madrasah* system was a new kind of institution it drew poor response from both the government and locals. As a result, the first generation *madrasahs* failed to maintain its status; they were also considered by the government to negate national integration besides being a seed bed for political movement. Hence their operation, such as the *Madrasah Dar al-Ma'arif al-Wataniyyah*, *Madrasah Dar al-Anwar* and *Madrasah al-Islah al-Diniyyah* was terminated.

⁴⁶ Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East*, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 33, 42.

⁴⁸ Some of the *madrasahs* built in Malaysia and Thailand that were influenced by the *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum* are *Madrasah al-Khairiyyah al-Islamiyyah*, Pokok Sena in Perak, *Madrasah al-Ulum al-Syari'ah*, Batu 20, Bagan Datoh, *Ma'had al-Tarbiyyah*, Bandar, Pattani, and *Ma'had al-Ba'that al-Diniyyah*, Yala.

⁴⁹ "Ngop ngoen kha chai jai nai kan dulae nak rian thai nai saudi arabia, B.E. 2505- B.E. 2509"; National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 43.31/4. "Kan khuapkhum nakrian thai nai prathet Saudi Arabia, B.E.2502- B.E.2505" [Control of Thai Students in Saudi Arabia, 1959-1962].

However, *madrasahs* established in the late 1960s up to the 1970s were well responded from both Malay Muslim people and the government. In the meantime a major change had come about in the first half of the 1970s when *madrasah* were transformed into a new educational institutions under government initiative by introducing academic subjects and Thai language into the *madrasah* curriculum. This resulted in those which had transformed into Islamic Private School to gradually lose the more original characteristics of the *madrasah* system which was influenced directly from the *Haramayn*.

The number of Muslim students from Thailand in the *Haramayn* increased annually, especially after the World War II. In 1949 the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a representative, Ari Wongsan, to monitor Thai Muslims residing in Saudi Arabia. He later recommended that the Thai government set up a Thai consulate to service Thai citizens. Following the establishment of the consulate in Jeddah in the early 1950s data on Thai citizens in the country began to be collected. In 1956 it was recorded that a total of 679 Thais were currently living in Saudi Arabia, all classified as “students” by profession, of which an estimated ninety percent came from Patani.⁵⁰ The number of Thai nationals involved in education in Saudi Arabia in 1966 was reported to be 466 students and 17 teachers.⁵¹ The list indicates that Thai students, especially those from the three southern Thai provinces (i.e. the former region of Patani), were attending both formal instruction in the *madrasah* scattered throughout Saudi Arabia, and informal modes of study, the latter including the residences of individual ‘*ulamas*, mosques, and the teaching areas around the *Masjid al-Haram*.

The *Masjid al-Haram* has always attracted Muslims from around the world. Here Malay-Muslims from Patani undertook religious instruction in the *Masjid al-Haram* by attending classes given by well-known Arab or Asian religious scholars. Apart from following religious scholars in the mosques many also attended instruction at public (ie. those supported by the Saudi Arabian government) and private *madrasah*. The two most popular *madrasahs* were *Madrasah Dar al-‘Ulum al-Diniyyah* and *Madrasah Indonesia*, both located in Mecca. They had 75 and 70 Thai students respectively. The rest were scattered at the *Madrasah Shaulatiyah*, *Ma‘had al-‘Ilmi al-Saudi*, *Madrasah Rahmaniyyah*, *Madrasah al-Lailiyyah*, *Madrasah ‘Assasiyyah*, *Madrasah al-Falah*, *Madrasah Jeddah* and *Madrasah Madinah*.⁵²

⁵⁰ This estimate is made on the basis of the names listed in the record. The names of students from Patani and southern Thailand are likely to show original Muslim name and Malay-or-Muslim surnames, while the names of the Muslims from other regions are either in Thai, or slightly-distorted Malay or Thai slang, or both first and last name. National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Interior 3.1.4.19/52. “Kan chuai luea thai islam pai prakorb satsanakit na muang mecca, Dec. 21, B.E.2498-Aug. 11, B.E.2503” [Assistance to Thai Islam Going to Perform the Pilgrimage in Mecca, Dec. 21, 1955-Aug.11, 1960]. It is likely that the category “students” covered other groups. It was reported in 1949 that there were three different groups of Thais residing in Saudi Arabia, namely, (i) those who had come for the *Hajj* and who would return home after the pilgrimage; (ii) those who stayed to study religious knowledge; and (iii) those who were working there; National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 94.4/1. “Kan jat kan hai chao thai islam doenthang pai prakorp satsanakit na makka, B.E.2504” [Arranging for Islamic Thais to Make the Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1961].

⁵¹ “Kan chuai luea thai islam pai prakorb satsanakit na muang mecca”.

⁵² “Kan khuapkhum nakrian thai nai prathet Saudi Arabia, B.E.2502- B.E.2505”. Of the number of Thai students who studied at *Madrasah Dar al-‘Ulum al-Diniyyah* and *Madrasah Indonesia*, judging by their names almost all were from the former region of Patani. Thai students from other regions who were not familiar with the Malay

The Saudi Arabia government was reluctant to support private education since public *madrasahs* had already been built with governmental support. The *Madrasah Madinah* had been established by the Saudi government. Those who wished to attend a government *madrasah* had to obtain official approval through a competitive entrance examination. It became more difficult for Malay-Indonesian students to enter these schools since the examination was open to both Arab and non-Arab students. Yet some Patani students continued to do well. During the 1950s Haji Abdul Rahman bin Ahmad, founder of the *Madrasah Mu'assasah al-Islamiyyah* in Panare district, Pattani province, was the only student from Southeast Asia to place in the top 500, out of 10,000 applicants.⁵³ The *madrasahs* provided students with a secondary education certificate which enabled them to continue their studies to bachelor and postgraduate level in Arab countries, notably in Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, Jordan and Libya, as well as at European and American universities.

The curriculum for secondary education provided by the Saudi Arabia government in the 1960s was a mixture of religious and academic subjects, namely religion, Arabic language, mathematics and general knowledge (GK), including Health Science, Skill/ Craftsmanship, Physical Education, History and Geography. This classification ran through from primary until upper secondary level. Private *madrasahs* had to follow the requirements of the Saudi educational curriculum in order to receive government approval. In 1960, 10 primary schools (*madrasah*) and 5 secondary schools (*madrasah*) had been approved by the Thai government based on a report prepared by the Thai Foreign Ministry and acknowledged to Saudi government.⁵⁴ At the tertiary level only one university in the Saudi capital Riyadh provided instruction in Islamic Studies and some fields of Humanities.⁵⁵ Students from Patani could sit for the entrance examination to further their studies in this university or in institutions in other Arab countries, or else simply study according to the traditional *halaqah* system in the *Masjid Haram* or its precincts.⁵⁶

Following the 1925 surrender of Syarif Hussein to Ibn Saud and the ascendancy of the *Wahabiyyah* there were significant changes to the mode of instruction in religious education. The *Wahabiyyah* focussed on purity of belief and faith in God, with religious practice based strictly on the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* (the way of the Prophet Muhammad), rather than the teachings of the 'ulamas who came after the Prophet. *Tawhid* (Faith in God) received considerable attention while the thought of Muhammad Abdul Wahab, the founder of the *Wahabiyyah*, were also emphasised. This resulted in a degree of official control over the teaching of *Tawhid* and other religious disciplines by scholars within the precincts of the

language tended to study in *madrasahs* where the medium of instruction was Arabic; Interview, Dr. Hasan Madmarn, 2009.

⁵³ Interview, Haji Abdul Rahman Jehsae, on April 29, 2007.

⁵⁴ National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 43.31/4. "Kan khuapkhum nakrian thai nai prathet saudi arabia, B.E.2502-B.E.2505" [Control of Thai Students in Saudi Arabia, 1959-1962].

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Interview Haji Abdul Rahman bin Ahmad (Tok Guru Pombing), founder of Mu'assasah al-Saqafah al-Islamiyyah, at Pondok Darussalam, Kuala Ibai, Terengganu, dated April 23, 2007.

⁵⁶ Interview Haji Abdul Rahman Jehsae, on April 29, 2007.

Masjid al-Haram. Those without formal permission to teach had to use their private residences for teaching purposes. Thus *Tawhid* came to be instructed by qualified professionals who mostly Saudi citizens. In other subjects the Saudi authorities still depended on foreign instructors because there were not enough teachers to meet the needs of the increasing student numbers.⁵⁷

Depending on their ability and diligence a student might follow separate classes. Some might study in certain classes of the *madrasahs* while others followed only informal education in the *Masjid al-Haram*. The majority of students, however, attended both types of instruction. After graduating from the *madrasah* some Patani students would remain in the *Haramayn* for further studies with the various *halaqah*. After the opening of universities in Arab countries many of these students left the *Haramayn* and transferred to these universities to take degrees in various disciplines such as Arabic language, Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic, Business, History, Literature, Political Science and other disciplines.

The *halaqah*-led *'ulamas* remained in existence through the first half of the twentieth century. Southeast Asian Muslim students who took this form of education would attend those *halaqah* led by *'ulamas* from Patani, Malaya, and Indonesia, as well as those led by Arabs. There was a considerable number of *'ulamas* from Patani and southern Thailand teaching in Mecca during this time, including Pok Doe Ae (1882-1965), Syeikh Wan Daud bin Wan Mustafa al-Fatani (1866-1936), Syeikh Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad al-Fatani (1873-1944) and Tok Senggora (1850s-1930).⁵⁸ Other well-known Malaya-Indonesian *'ulamas* included Syeikh Abdul Kadir bin Abdul Mutthalib al-Mandili, Syeikh Muhammad Yasin bin Isa al-Pandani (born 1916), Syed Abdul Karim Baryar, Muhsin bin Ali Musawwa (the first principal of *Madrasah Dar al-'Ulum* in Mecca, died 1935) and Ali Banjar (died 1951).⁵⁹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE MALAY-MUSIMS AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE HAJJ PILGRIMAGE

The location of Patani is blessed with similar climatic conditions and physical features as the northern Malay states of Malaysia. Agriculture was the main source of income of the people. The socio-economic status of the Malay-Muslims is not so far different from Malays south of the Thai-Malaysia border.

The socio-economic status during from the early 19th to the early 20th century needs to be looked out from the view of the political situation. Patani, prior to be a part of Siam (later Thailand) once was the Malay Kingdom under a few dynasties began from the mid of 15th

⁵⁷ Interview Haji Abdul Rahman bin Ahmad, at Pondok Darussalam, Kuala Ibai, Terengganu, dated April 23, 2007; Interview Haji Abdul Latif bin Haji Wan Muhammad (Babo Teh Cerangbatu), member of the Islamic Committee of Pattani Province, April 25, 2007.

⁵⁸ Abdul Ramae Sulong, "Botbat khong tok khru: korani sueksa hayi wan idris bin wan ali" [Role of Tok Guru: A Case Study of Haji Wan Idris bin Haji Wan Ali] *M.A. Thesis*, pp. 45-46; van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 39; Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani*, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*.

century and later on Patani was taken control by Siam after his lost in the battle between Siam-Patani in 1876. Patani then was divided into 7 small size provinces with each own a king who directly approved by Siam before coming to the throne. However, Patani had gradually developed to be totally a part of Thailand since 1909 when Britain and Thailand agreed on a common border. At the time Bangkok (meaning capital of Thailand) had already implemented the provincial administration in which the provinces were amalgamated into circle or *Monthon* which is headed by a resident or head of the circle appointed by the central government. This ended the authority of the Malay nobles and aristocrats. However, their socio-economic status was not much affected despite their changed political status.

Social status can be viewed from two perspectives namely through the Malay-Muslims themselves and the other, relationship with other social components in South Thailand notably the three provinces of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat. For the Malays there are at least two different types namely the urban and rural communities. The nobles and aristocrats who lived mostly in the urban area were influential at the beginning of the 20th century even though their authority was abrogated by the provincial system and later abolished in 1933 with the implementation of the constitutional monarchy. On the other hand religious scholars had considerable influence on the peoples' lives as they always interacted with the common people. The traditional *pondok* had a strong connection with the community and these institutions were scattered widely throughout the three provinces. The majority of Malay-Muslims were the common people who lived in the rural area. According to scholars the term "Malay society" is almost synonymous with "rural society" when used in the context of South Thailand.⁶⁰

The coup d'état of 1932 was led by "a group of the people" (Khana Rasadon) which combined various Thai elites from the military, academia and local elites. A few Muslims were also involved in this incident. The major personalities were Pridi Phanomyong and General Phibun Songkram. After the constitution was established they formed a political party known as the People's Party and took part in general election in the following year. This provided a good opportunity for the Malay-Muslims to struggle for their right through the parliamentary system. However, with the coming of the new government these Malay-Muslim representatives found that they had no significant roles.

With the change of the political system the role of the nobles and aristocrats were no longer important. Instead religious scholars began to assume important social roles from the 1930s to the beginning of the 1960s.⁶¹ The more important their roles to society, the more valuable they become to the majority of the people. The increasing importance of the religious scholars is an indication of the social status they command within Malay-Muslim society.

⁶⁰ Surin Pitsuwan. *op.cit*, p. 22.

⁶¹ Numan Hayimasae. *op.cit*, p. 107. One of them was Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir (1895-1954), who had played an important role during that period notably his seven demands to the government on the autonomy of the three provinces. See Numan Hayimasae. "Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir (1895-1954): Perjuangan dan Sumbangan Beliau dalam Masyarakat Melayu Patani." *M.A. Thesis*, Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2002).

Islam is a major part in the life of the Malay-Muslims along with *adat* or traditional cultural practices. In fact, the latter supports the former. Pitsuwan describes such linkage quite well when he notes,

Finally, the religious factor is both the strongest element of the Malay-Muslims' identity and the one which isolates them from the mainstream of the population most decisively.

The most preferred character trait among the Malay-Muslims is religious piety. For this reason, religious leaders enjoy honour and respect from the people. The Imams and the Hajjis (men or women who have been on pilgrimage to Mecca) are held in high regard and act as spiritual advisors to the villagers.⁶²

Through long historical development, the Malay-Muslims held their own practical and spiritual identity. Besides, Islam as the code of life, the Malay language and culture also identify them to be different from other Thais. The phenomenon is still manifest to the present. Thus history, religion, culture and language always become crucial element of the Malay-Muslim separatist movements in detaching these three provinces from the modern Thai state.

According to Omar Farouk Bajunid, the Malay-Muslims in Patani have been able to preserve their identity due to various factors namely (1) the continued common use of the language among the Muslims in these provinces, (2) geographical continuity with the northern Malay states of Kedah, Perak, and Kelantan, which has created a cultural permeability between the two regions, (3) the availability of religious literature in Malay and its constant source of supply from Malaysia and Indonesia, (4) the high concentration of religious schools which still exclusively use the Malay language as an instructional medium, and (5) the existence of a large pool of foreign educated local religious scholars from established Islamic institutions in Malaysia, Indonesia, the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent.⁶³

The Malay-Muslim identity functions effectively to differentiate the world-views of the majority Buddhist Thais and the Malay-Muslims of South Thailand. It also means the Malay-Muslim society is isolated from the majority people of Thailand. Its social, religious and cultural characteristics tend to affirm that isolation.⁶⁴ The Buddhists called the Muslims "Puak Khaek" (outsiders or guests) and the Muslims call the Buddhists "Orang Siam" (the ones who convert to Buddhism). Both terms are meant to distinguish one from the other; both are considered "derogatory."⁶⁵

⁶² Surin Pitsuwan. *op.cit.*, p. 24-25.

⁶³ Omar Farouk Bajunid. "Islam, Nationalism, and the Thai State.", in (*Dynamic Diversity in Southern Thailand*, Wattana Sugunnasil (ed). Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 2005), p. 9.

⁶⁴ Surin Pitsuwan. *op.cit.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵ Suria Saniwa bin Wan Mahmood. 1998. "De-Radicalization of Minority Dissent – A Case Study of the Malay-Muslim Movement in Southern Thailand" *M.A. Thesis*, Universiti Sains Malaysia, p. 69.

Table 1: Total population of *Monthon Patani* in 1916.

Ethnic group	Total	Percentage
Malay	208,076	85.96
Thai	30,597	12.64
Chinese	3,332	1.38
Total	242,052	100

Source: Ministry of Interior. 1919. *Thesaphibarn (Provincial Administration)*. Vol. 1, Page 2, Issued on 1st May; Ministry of Interior. 1922. *Thesaphiban (Provincial Administration)*. Vol. 7, p. 38, issued on 1st May.

As mentioned above, the Malay-Muslims were merely confined to the subsistence agricultural sector and their economic status depended considerably on seasonal changes. Most of them concentrated in the rural area while the urban area had been predominantly Thai-Buddhist, closely connected to the state bureaucracy and the prepondering presence of Chinese traders and shopkeepers. The rural Malays come into contact with the non-Malays of the urban areas only for official business and commercial transactions.

The differences on socio-economic status between Malay-Muslims and Chinese along with Thai Buddhists as a whole can be seen from the following quotes written by Suhrke and Noble.

The ethnic boundaries of the Southern Muslims are both clear and parallel. The Muslims profess a religion that sets them apart from the Theravada Buddhist majority; they are of the Malay race, while the Thai people originated in Northern China...

These ethnic boundaries are reinforced by other cleavages. The economic structure of the Muslim provinces is dominated by Thai Buddhist government officials and Thai Chinese capitalists (merchants and rubber plantation owners). Although it is easy to demonstrate that, on a nationwide scale, there are Thai Buddhists who are as poor as the Southern Muslims, the focus of the latter is more narrow, usually confined to the border provinces. In the universe, the Muslim is generally a rubber tapper, a fisherman, or a vendor, while the Thais, Chinese and the Thai Buddhists occupy the higher socio-economic strata.⁶⁶

The economic activities in *Monthon Patani* at the turn of 20th century were mostly run by the non-Malay-Muslims including Westerners as shown in a report by British Consul, Wood in 1909.

There are 345 elephants, 171 horses, 155,629 cattle, and 35,714 buffaloes in the *Monthon*. There are also very considerable numbers of goats and sheep. The latter are of two kinds, one

⁶⁶ Astri Suhrke and Lela Noble. "Muslims in the Philippines and in Southern Thailand.", in *Ethnic Conflict in International Relations*, Astri Suhrke and Lela Noble (eds.). New York: Praeger, 1977), pp. 196-197.

has very small ears, and being, I am told, peculiar to Kelantan and Patani. Experiments have been made by the French Colonial authorities in breeding these sheep in French Indo China. Very few are exported, but I believe, that a profitable business might be done in breeding sheep in Patani for the Singapore market, which already obtains a great part of its beef supply from this *Monthon*.

The only foreign-owned rubber plantation in Patani is near Bangnara. It is owned by an Englishman, and was started about four years ago. Reports with regards to it are favorable. I venture to call the attention of the persons interested in rubber to the possibilities of Patani as a rubber-producing country.⁶⁷

Table 2: The population of *Monthon* Patani in 1911 according to major occupations.

Professionals	Professional types	Total	Total
Agricultures	Paddy farm labourers	99,215	166,294
	Plantation labourers	36,934	
	Crop farming labourers	30,145	
Handicrafts	Weaver	21,447	32,388
	Wickerwork	8,592	
	Carpenter	1,115	
	Blacksmith	483	
	Goldsmith	442	
	Shipbuilder	309	
Commerce	Selling salt product	461	16,792
	Selling jungle product	121	
	Selling wild animal	187	
	Selling rattan	2,054	
	Selling sugar palm	4,201	
	Selling oleo-resin	1,201	
	Selling wood	551	
	Fishery	6,345	
	Miner	1,671	

⁶⁷ This report was published in The Perak Pioneer and Malay States Adviser, on 15 October 1909. The quote is from Khoo Kay Kim (ed). "Patani During the Turn of 20th Century: A Malayan Perception." (*JMBRAS*. Vol. 61, Part 1, No. 254, 1988), p.115.

Others	Animal husbandry	9,092	13,948
	Employee	4,450	
	Bureaucrat	406	
		Total	276,695

Source: Ministry of Interior. 1924. "Yord Sammano Khuar Karn Leauk Sheep Lae Karn Serksa, B.E. 2454" (Total Population Survey with particular Reference on Occupations and Education, 1911).

The record indicates some economic activities although it did not show directly the involvement of the Malay-Muslims in such ventures. It also shows that the natural resources in South Thailand were sufficient to support the economic activities for the people. The same phenomenon was also noted by Prince Damrong who was Minister of Interior when he reported in 1896 that,

The settlement of the seven Malay states where I had seen and investigated, have reminded me to understand that they are fertile with fishes that we can find throughout these states but we cannot make comparison to each other. There are four states located near the seaside while Nongchik owns the best paddy-fields where the others can not compete. Rice is the major product. Pattani has the best salt farm in the Malay Peninsula. Salt from Patani can sell at higher price up to 16 pounds per cartload (kwian),⁶⁸ to Singaporean and Penang market. The main economic source of Yaring is fish while Sai (Saiburi), even if the local people are bad, owns a good river bay being easy for boats to transport goods. The other three states including Yala, Raman and Rangae, are full with mine and valuable jungle items that are able to produce very good products. If good management is settled, it will be really useful and be better than other Malay states in the Malay Peninsula.⁶⁹

The fertile land of the Malay-Muslim areas did not indicate a markedly improved standard of living since the owners of these lands were mainly Chinese merchants. More than half of the population who were Malay-Muslims were involved in agricultural activities while the rest were employed in several other occupations (the previous table 2 shows detail of the occupations in *Monthon* Patani).

Economic conditions in *Monthon* Patani before World War I (1915-1919) when compared with the upper southern provinces on the east coast, found that the people in Patani were still in poverty while the others economic situation had expanded after the government of Thailand decided to construct the southern railway from Bangkok at Pethchaburi Station and from Had Yai Junction that would meet the railway from the British Malaya after World War I.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Cartload or Kwian in Thai is a unit of capacity for paddy or rice. One standard cartload equals 2,000 liters.

⁶⁹ Department of National Archives of Thailand, Kromsilphakorn. Rama V's Document, Mor 2. 14/ 74. Matter "Ministry of Interior Official Visit to Southern Thai Territories." Issued on December 7, 1896 (Ror Sor 115).

⁷⁰ Phuwadol Songprasert. "Chronic Conflict in the Three Southern Border Provinces of Thailand", in (*Knowledge and Conflict Resolution: The Crisis of the Border Region of Southern Thailand*, Uthai Dulyakasem and Lertchai Sirichai (eds.). Nakhon Si Thammarat: School of Liberal Arts, Walailak University, 2005), p.143.

Not many years after World War I, oversea Chinese who had just emigrated from British Malaya, could own rubber plantations in many locations on both sides of the railways and feeding roads in *Monthon* Patani. However, economic status and overall condition of Malay-Muslims stagnated in poverty as in the past. They resided in rural areas or *kampong*, which were quite far away from market, main roads and communities in which are located permanent shops and residence of oversea Chinese and native Thais.⁷¹

The economic condition worsened in the early 1930s with the world economic crisis, the problem of poverty affected more Malay-Muslims with some of them indebted to Chinese merchants who loaned money and goods with a high interest rate. Those who could not pay back had no way out except to sell their properties and lands.

Moreover, the government policy of the Phibun government, which implemented the social assimilation policy in 1939 considerably affected Malay-Muslims. This policy had forced all Thais of whatever ethnicity or religious beliefs to share the consciousness of Thai-ness according to official agenda stating all had to behave according to the state leader resulting in social conformity. The establishment of the Cultural Council in 1942, had prohibited the Malay-Muslims to dress like Malays, speak Malay dialect in their daily life, use *Jawi* literature and Arabic name and terminated the Islamic Law. This difficult situation led Malay-Muslims to carry out protests and the most influential '*ulama* to lead them was Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir (1895-1954).

The survey on the economic status of the Malay-Muslims at the beginning of the 20th century can be summarized as follow, (1) the majority of the Malay-Muslims were producers of agricultural products that depended on seasonal changes and they were also incapable of producing any surplus, (2) Former nobles and aristocrats were much better off due to direct or indirect economic ventures with rich Chinese merchants who reside in the urban areas, and (3) the situation remained until the first half of the 20th century but the plight of the Malay-Muslims worsened due to the economic depression of 1928-1935 and the subsequent impact of the Second World War.

In relation to the above socio-economic situation of the Malay Muslim in Patani, the journey for conducting *Hajj* in Mecca was very hard for most of them. Many of them, who had high commitment to the *Hajj* journey, they might need to sell out their land and properties and then faced a lot of obstruction a long their journey which prior to the 19th century, the Malay from Patani had to through Penang or Singapore port. Patani Malay Muslims in Patani had faced at least 3 main challenges to get an opportunity to travel for *Hajj*. One of which is that because of their poverty and having no well connection with the people in the northern Malay states (since Patani Muslims had to go passing these states before departing to Mecca). Second point is that due to incidents and instable situation happen in Patani itself since it was integrated into the Thai state at the early part of the 20th century. Thai government had no any system prepared just for those who wanted to go for the *Hajj* mission. Finally, there had no official unit or any kind of Muslim association to take responsibility to take them to Mecca or

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.145.

working co-operatedly with Bangkok. Such limitations and challenges made the numbers of the Malay Muslims in Patani went to Mecca for *Hajj* was so small in number.

The personal pressure because of the continuing and gradual political turmoil in Patani that then made many people lived under the situation of unstable in terms of their economic income. Income that just earned from yearly harvest of crops was, of cause, not enough budgets for the purpose of *Hajj*. AS mentioned earlier they might sell out their lands and properties just for the *Hajj*. They mind was just to finish the *Hajj* and then thinking of how to do. From this situation, many Patani Malay-Muslims continued to stay in the *Haramayn* and found their own challenges whether to go in-depth on their studying or to get job. From this, it came into the development of the settlement of the Patani Malays in the *Haramayn*. Once they had an opportunity to arrive Mecca for the *Hajj* they, had not been suddenly come back as normally happen nowadays. They had chosen to stay further whether to get deep knowledge from various scholars Arabs and Non-Arabs in the *Masjid al-Haram* or to find job or to work by their own especially during the *Hajj* season that they could make a lot of money.

These people were gradually familiar with the nature of the Arab culture and its climate and could find suitable direction to survive or even to make money at the particular occasions. Many of them later became millionaire since they occupied some lands around Mecca (that before people never looked as valuable landscape) or run some kinds of business. For those who concentrated on education whether through the *halaqah* or *madrasah* system, they became prominent scholars after they returned their homeland or decided to stayed in Mecca just like the case of Syeikh Pak Do Al al-Fatani, Syeikh Ahmad Muhammad Zain al-Fatani, Syeikh Ibrahim al-Fatani and Syeikh Abdul Aziz al-Fatani.

Increasing in monitoring the residents of Mecca and Madinah after the Kingdom of Ibnu Saud was formed in the late 1920s made Muslims from various countries would get much monitor to enter Saudi Arabia meanwhile those who stayed in Saudi Arabia for a particular period were allowed to become the permanent citizens. Including this category as well, they were from Patani. Others who did not conclude into this category were gradually been back homeland where at the same time Patani was quite stable in term of the political situation and they have better living standard compared to the period prior to the WWII.

Patani people who had experience in the *Haramayn* for a period of time when they came back home they mostly receive much appreciated and prestigious from their neighbors and common people. They automatically was called “Haji” or as a title of their name (Haji Nuruddin for Nuruddin for instance). Instead they were in a good manner and behave contentedly, calmly, and honorably. Familiar with the live in the *Haramayn*, they were influenced by the dress, food or even their daily life. These people when they came back home in term of occupation they could classify into 2 main kinds of professional, as *Syeikh Haji*, *Hajj* service (and/or *Hajj* service company) and run own business.

Syeikh Haji is an important key man for *Hajj* performance among the Malay Muslims. Since many *Hajj* pilgrims were among uneducated and having no experienced outside world as well as conducting *Hajj* only once on their life so as the position of *Syeikh Haji* was crucial in accompanying and leading them to assure the complete process of *Hajj*. Records of the

journey to Mecca are found in some classical texts namely *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, *Tuhfatut Nafis*, *Abdullah Mushi's Journey to Mecca*, and *Pelayaran ke Mekkah* (Indonesia). In fact, in such texts especially *Hikayat Hang Tuah* mentioned Syeikh Jamaluddin, who served voluntarily *Hang Tuah* during staying in Madinah as translated by Virginia Matheson Hooker and Anthony Milner as the following;

In Medina, Hang Tuah receives another favour. After twelve days and nights of travelling across the featureless desert, where only earth and sky exist, the Laksamana (refers to Hang Tuah) and Maharaja Setia reach Medina and go to pay their respect to the grave of the Prophet. After visiting the graves of the Prophet's Companions at Baqi and Uhud, they return to the Prophet's mosque, where they are permitted to see the Qur.,an compiled by the third caliph Uthman. They present themselves to Sheikh Jamaluddin, guardian of the Prophet's grave and offer him gifts of fragrant eagle-wood, sandalwood, and benzoin. The Laksamana spends twelve days and nights in the mosque with the Sheikh. When he asks leave to go, the sheikh embraces and kisses him saying, "Laksamana, my son I ask Allah Almighty to preserve you from the dangers of the next world and bring you safely back." He says prayers for Laksamana, who prostrates himself at the sheikh's feet. They clasp hands and the Laksamana and his party return to Jeddah, from where they set sail for Rum (refers to Ottoman Empire), tearfully farewelled by the Syahbandar and Malik R.s.t.l.⁷²

Table 3: Syeikh Hajis and the number of Thai pilgrims (*Hujjaj*) under each Syeikh

Haji (1957).

No.	Names of Syeikh Haji	Pilgrims under the Syeikh's Supervision	Pilgrims' Regional Origin
1	Syeikh Abdullah Toha Terengganu	56	Muslims from the South
2	Syeikh Mahdi Siddiq	150	Muslims from the South
3	Syeikh Hasan Yabir	20	Muslims from the South
4	Syeikh Abdullah Fatani	29	Muslims from the South
5	Syeikh Hasan Saqqah	208	Muslims from the South
6	Syeikh Ahmad Nor Fatani	60	Muslims from the South
7	Syeikh Muhammad Daud Fatani	145	Muslims from the South
8	Syeikh Abdul Rashid Pattaro	13	Muslims from the South
9	Syeikh Abdul Rahman Siam	104	80 Muslims from the South, 34 Muslims

⁷² Virginia Matheson, Virginia Matheson Hooker, Anthony Milner. "Perceptions of the Haj: Five Malay Texts" (*Research Notes and Discussions Paper No.46*. Singapore: ISEAS, 1984), pp.8-9.

			from Bangkok
10	Syeikh Aisyah Lampong	167	Muslims from the South
11	Syeikh Husain Sangkabumi	32	Muslims from the South
12	Syeikh Ibrahim Babir	8	Muslims from the South
13	Syeikh As-Asmuziffah	4	Muslims from Bangkok
14	Syeikh Abdullah Sanbawa	121	Muslims from the South
15	Syeikh 'Alim Mahdali	15	Muslims from the South
16	Syeikh Muhammad Husain Sangkabumi	29	Muslims from the South
17	Syeikh Abdul Rahman Adhari	16	Muslims from the South
18	Syeikh Umar Nujum Siam	168	68 Muslims from the South, 100 Muslims from Bangkok
19	Syeikh Daud Fatani	247	Muslims from the South
20	Syeikh Sulaiman Damanduri	94	Muslims from the South
	Total	1,686	

Source: National Archives of Thailand, Ministry of Interior 3.1.4.19/52. "Karn Caui Laeu Thai Islam Pai Prakorb Sasanakij Na Muang Mecca, Dec. 21, B.E. 2498-Aug. 11, B.E. 2503 (Assistance of Thai Islam Going to Perform Pilgrimage in Mecca, Dec. 21-Aug. 11, 1955-1960)."

For those who work in business sector, there were many kinds of business that could not mention at all. However, it relates to whatever concerned to the *Hajj* and *Umrah* mission. From air ticket, dress, food, transportation and communication service, medicine, decoration, money changer, gold and jewelry, watch and men dress, to books and treaties. All these service and selling such these materials were really needed those who owning experience in Mecca and Madinah in particular and being able to well communicate in Arabic. Patani people who had been in Mecca and nearby locations since their childhood (so called 'muwala') hold special advantage to access them. From these kinds of business as having not much competition among Malay Muslims themselves and of cause Chinese traders, they later became middle class of the Patani Malay society with quite big house with decoration and be able to get close to upper ranking status persons in Patani Malay society or even to involve in political arena locally or nationally. This was for instance, Haji Senik from Pattani province.

However, Patani people who live in Mecca for a few generation. They mostly prefer to speak Arabic than to speak Malay-Patani dialect since they are not confident with their proper Malays. The problem of language usage is one of main problems faced by Patani Malay resided in Mecca not deciding to return back homeland rather they proper to live in

neighboring country of Malaysia especially those who got education in Malaysia. Beside, fluent Arabic as their base they then are also able to use English as a medium of communication which highly requirement in Malaysia and it is the medium language internationally. So as, from such the basic they can go further in various sectors of their live and work meanwhile Malaysian government offers good opportunity for those who qualified for their jobs.

CONCLUSION

The significance of the *Haramayn* as the centre for *Hajj* pilgrimage which is one of five pillars as a Muslim is the vital factor make emergence of Patani-*Haramayn* relation. As the place where Muslim people all around the world including the Malay-Indonesian archipelago gather every year make them construct its own community where they are involved not only in terms of pilgrimage matters but also in the intellectual arena. The Malay Muslims from Patani themselves were part of that process and appear as one of a network among the people of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

As the unstable situation of the homeland with the easier approach to the prominent scholars (*ulama*) both *Jawah* and Arabs besides its special environment of the holy places of Islam, had attracted many students from the Malay-Indonesian archipelago to acquire knowledge there. For those from Patani the names of major scholars began to appear in the seventeenth century and in the *Haramayn* especially in Mecca Patani Malays had play some major roles namely in teaching, composing religious treatises in both *Jawi* and Arabic, organizing the printing and publication of religious works, and providing services for the increasing numbers of Muslims undertaking the *Hajj* pilgrimage. To serve the *Hajj* pilgrims it is not only to lead them to the locations fixed by the conditions of the *Hajj* pilgrims but also to teach and acknowledge them every stage of the whole *Hajj* pilgrimage.

The restriction of Saudi Arabia for those who visiting the country for any purposes particularly for the *Hajj* pilgrimage, and for other purposes including for studying, decreased the number of Patani Malay Muslims. While other Arab countries began to accept overseas students, especially those from minority groups like the Patani Malays in southern Thailand and the Moros in southern Philippines. However, intellectual experience in the *Haramayn* had directly later, for those who return back Patani brought back and apply to the Patani community. The cumulative result of these changes was that by the early 1980s the *Haramayn* had lost its time-honoured place for Patani students as the most attractive centre for a religious education – although it retained its importance as the place of the *Hajj* pilgrimage.

In term of socio-economic impact, Patani Malay got a lot of impact especially those who located in the *Haramayn* for few generations. Once they had to return back to their homeland just because of the restriction of the government of Saudi Arabia, they faced a new challenge that many of them could settle inconsistent with the global situation.

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