The Demise and Rise of Singora's Sultan Sulaiman Lineage

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Abstract—This article presents research findings from a project seeking to plug gaps in accounts of Muslim actors in Siam between the early 17th and the mid-19th century, between the reigns of King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656) and King Rama III (r. 1824-1851). We limit ourselves to the legacy of the descendants of Sultan Sulaiman (r. 1620–1676), which—for comparative purposes—we juxtapose with Sheikh Ahmad Qomi. We begin by contextualising both of these by documenting Siam's administrative structure and culture. This is followed by the succession, rebellion and rehabilitation of Sultan Sulaiman's eldest son, Mustapha (between 1676 and 1692), before considering the administrative and military careers of Hussein (d. 1693) and Hasan (d. 1691), and the range of contributions by the descendants of Mustapha, Hussein and Hasan. These reveal hitherto overlooked connections between South and Central Thailand, similarities between these Muslim lineages, their mixed fortunes, the contributions of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage to the military, the side forms that co-option by Ayutthaya and Bangkok took, that led some to forsake the religion of these lineages for Buddhism.

Introduction

This article presents research findings from a project plugging the (many) gaps in accounts by historians mentioning Muslim minorities in Siam between the reign of King Narai (r. 1656–1688), and King Rama III (r. 1824–1851). In a previous study, mention was made of Arabs, Persians/Indo-Persians and South Asian Muslims appearing in Persian and Chinese sources (in the 15th century) and Portuguese sources (from the early-16th century).[1] Nevertheless, most histories sharing our interest in the relationship between Muslim subjects and Siamese monarchs begin with arrival of the Persian brothers, Sheikh Ahmad Qomi and Muhammad Said, in the early 17th century. Interest in Persian influence during the 17th century is explained by the abundance of primary sources material produced by Persian, French, English and Dutch visitors to Ayutthaya. Nevertheless, *before* these brothers arrived in Ayutthaya, another trader/adventurer by the name of Datuk Mogul (d. 1620)—that hagiographies also claim was a Persian—became the first Muslim ruler of the southern port city of Singora (present-day Songkhla). Datuk

[1] See Christopher Mark Joll and Srawut Aree, "Kling Muslims in Sixteenth-Century Ayutthaya: Towards Aggregating the Fragments," *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 10, no. 1 (2022).

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Mogul, Sultan Sulaiman (r. 1620–1676) and Sultan Mustapha (r. 1676–1680)—were the subjects of a previous article.[2] This article picks up this story with Sultan Mustapha (d. 1692), who succeeded Sultan Sulaiman in 1676, before documenting the careers of his brothers, Hussein (d. 1693) and Hasan (d. 1691)—as well as their descendants—between the late 17th century and the mid-19th century.

Given that our analysis of the demise and rise of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage will be read by more than fellow Thai Studies specialists, we begin with a scene-setting description of wider context in which these developments occurred. For comparative purposes, we summarise the careers of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi and Muhammad Said, who—to reiterate—arrived *after* Datuk Mogul of Singora. We provide a longer account of the administrative structure and positions held by foreigners, and the importance of Siamese noble families between the early 17th, and the mid-19th century. We also introduce cartographic material, revealing that traders, administrators and armies were able to sail safely between Singora, Phatthalung and Ligor (Nakhon Sri Thammarat) prior to dramatic changes to the physical geography of the Thai-Malay Peninsula, from the mid-19th century. Having dealt with the context, we revisit Sultan Mustapha's endorsement (by Narai), rebellion (against Narai), and Singora's defeat between 1676 and 1680. Our discussion of the military and administrative careers of Mustapha, Hussein and Hasan begins with the role of Hasan in the final defeat of Singora's three Muslim Sultans.[3] This is followed by details about how the direct descendants of Hussein and Hasan served Siamese sovereigns during the Ayutthaya Period, the Thonburi interregnum (1767–1782) led by King Taksin, and the early Bangkok Period. We conclude with a fifth-generation descendant of Hasan bearing a son, who became the third king of the Chakri dynasty, Rama III (r. 1824–1851).

Before proceeding, a brief note on sources and our research methodology are in order. The presence of an empirically rich range of English and Dutch sources might have provided many details about commerce and the contours of conflict in Singora pre-1680, but Singora's destruction was extremely disruptive to the European trading companies creating them. In addition to members of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage appearing in the wider scholarly literature, our reconstruction is also based on Thai sources, the most important of which are official chronicles, local hagiographies, and interviews with key informants in Songkhla Province.[4] Our interviews revealed the impact of locally produced and distributed hagiographic accounts on the data we personally collected. Moreover, some dates do not match those on the plaques of the graves we have visited. Over and above discrepancies about dates, we note that the vast majority of sources cite the official title bestowed on members of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage—not their proper

[2] See Graham H. Dalrymple and Christopher Mark Joll, "The Muslim Sultans of Singora in the 17th Century," *Journal of the Siam Society* 109, no. 1 (2021). For more on Singora, see Apiradee Jansaeng, "Local Autonomy: Chinese Community in Songkhla During Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (Australian National University, 2010); Pimpraphai Bisalputra and Jeffery Sng, "The Hokkien Rayas of Songkhla," *Journal of the Siam Society* 108 (2019).

[3] See Dalrymple and Joll, "The Muslim Sultans of Singora in the 17th Century."

[4] We conducted six semi-structured interviews with three key informants in Songkhla, between 16 October 2019 and 27 January 2021.

names. By interacting with the secondary literature, we have both verified some of these dates and identified the members of this Muslim noble lineage. Finally, we confess scepticism at claims that descendants of Sultan Sulaiman never held low ranks in *Krom Asa Cham* (a regiment of Cham and Malay volunteers soldiers), but all of them were its commander, known as Phraya Racha Wangsan.[5]

Contextualising the Sultan Sulaiman lineage

During the 17th century, the Persian brothers, Sheikh Ahmad Qomi and Muhammad Said, and their descendants were incrementally co-opted by successive Siamese courts.[6] Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit have summarised their contributions to reorganising the Phrakhlang ministry that maximised Siam's trade (through its network of ports and portages to the Bay of Bengal) by splitting this between its eastern and western trade. Although Muhammad Said eventually left Ayutthaya, his brother remained. By 1612, he served in the king's personal guard that defended the crown against Japanese mercenaries. In 1629, he assisted the ascension of King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656), contributing to his promotion in both the Phrakhlang (Thai: treasury), and Mahatthai (Thai: ministry of the interior). Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's son was bestowed the title, "Chaophraya Aphai Raja," but became the head of the Mahatthai. A further element of his incremental co-option by the crown, was that Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's daughter became a consort of Prasat Thong.[7] As trade across the Bay of Bengal developed, Persians became

[5] In both Thai and English sources, the commander of the *Krom Asa Cham* is spelt as either "Phraya Racha Wangsan", and "Phraya Racha Bangsan."

[6] The most recent and authoritative treatments of Indo-Persian Muslim in Ayutthaya have been provided by Julispong Chularatana, "Indo-Persian Influence on Late Ayutthaya Art, Architecture, and Design," *Journal of the Siam Society* 105 (2017); "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)," in *The Monarchy and Muslims in Thailand*, ed. Stephen Lorriman and Adisra Katib (Bangkok: Internal Security Operations Command, 2017); "The Shiʿite Muslims in Thailand from Ayutthaya Period to the Present," *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 16, no. 37–58 (2008); "Muslim Community During Ayutthaya Period," *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 10, no. 89–107 (2007); "Aqa Muhammad Astarabadi: The Iranian Vizier in the King Narai Court," *ศิลปวัฒนธรรม (Art & Culture Magazine)* 20, no. 4 (1999).; and Christoph Marcinkowski, *From Isfahan to Ayutthaya. Contacts between Iran and Siam in the 17th Century* Contemporary Islamic Scholars Series (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional Pte Ltd, 2004); "Selected Historical Facets of the Presence of Shiʿism in Southeast Asia" *The Muslim World* 99, no. 2 (2009); "The Safavid Presence in the Indian Ocean: A Reappraisal of the Ship of Solayman, a Seventeenth-Century Travel Account to Siam," *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* 2 (2012); *Persians and Shiʿites in Thailand: From the Ayutthaya Period to the Present*, vol. 15, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper (Singapore: Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre, 2014); "Persian Historical Writing under the Safavids (1501–1722/36)," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800*, ed. J. Rabasa, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014); "Shiʿism in Thailand: From the Ayutthaya Period to the Present," in *Shiʿism in South East Asia: ʿAlid Piety and Sectarian Constructions*, ed. C. Formichi and M. Feener (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[7] We point out that, according to Stefan Amirell, about the same time *Hikayat Patani* mentions Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III of Johor having asked Rajah Ungu (r. 1624–1635) for the hand of her daughter—who became Raja Rajah Kuning (r. 1635–1651)—in marriage. This was eventually granted, in 1632. See A. Teeuw and David K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Indonesica, (The Hague,: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), 179–80, 239–40; See also H. Terpstra, *De Factorij Der Oostindische Compagnie Te Patani* (Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff,

increasing well established in Masulipatam, which connected Ayutthaya with the Indo-Persian Shiʿite-dominated Kingdom of Golconda. In other words, this Persian network transitioned from acting as traders to "administrators, envoys, and political agents." By the 1640s, Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's nephew, Aqa Muhammed Astarabadi, become acquainted with the future King Narai. Despite the local Persians numbering "around a hundred", he organised both these and "other mainly Muslim groups" for the succession battle in 1656, which placed Narai on the throne.[8] Sometime in the mid-1670s, for reasons that are unclear—but like other foreigners co-opted by Narai—Aqa Muhammed Astarabadi fell from favour. He was eventually executed in 1678/9 by "having his lips sewn up." Moreover, two of his sons were also executed after being implicated in a plot against Narai. Nevertheless, others in his lineage "were ennobled", and one eventually became head of the right division of the Phrakhlang.[9]

In the 1970s, Michael Vickery developed some of the seminal contributions by David K. Wyatt, who documented elite families controlling the most important ministries in Bangkok during the 19th century.[10] Vickery makes the important point that "since the available sources are incomplete", and in most cases were "not compiled for the purpose of providing historical information", coverage of "all the provinces of Thailand has been impossible".[11] He summarises the "different types of territorial administration", types of "elite groups at the provincial and local levels", and the "changes in their status" developing in the wake of a range of administrative reforms.[12] Vickery describes how some distinctions between (a) "vassal states and provinces", and (b) "major provinces and minor provinces", were "real and was reflected […] in the treatment of their elites". During the Early Bangkok Period (1782–1851), administration of Bangkok's provinces was divided among the following three ministries: The *Mahatthai* (Ministry of the North), and *Kalahom* (Ministry of the South). The latter controlled "Kanchanaburi and all the provinces of the peninsula from Phetburi southward." Theoretically, first-class provinces were "entitled to a full set of ministries" that duplicated "those of the capital". Second- and third-class provinces possessed the "same number of ministries but fewer

1938), 105. Amirell adds that this caused "further difficulties in Patani's relations with Siam "on account of her being married at the time to "king of Bordelong (Phatthalung)." *Hikayat Patani* refers to his as a "Thai official by the name of Okphaya Déca". Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*, 181–82. At the behest of Okphaya Déca, King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656) attacked Patani, Stefan Amirell, "The Blessings and Perils of Female Rule: New Perspectives on the Reigning Queens of Patani, C. 1584–1718," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 42, no. 2 (2011): 314.

[8] Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 126; Muhammad Rabi ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, trans. John O'Kane, Persian Heritage Series (London: Routledge, 1979), 95–97.

[9] Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World*, 129.

[10] David K. Wyatt, "Family Politics in Nineteenth Century Thailand," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9, no. 2 (1968); "Family Politics in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Siam," in *Papers from a Conference on Thai Studies in Honor of William J. Gedney* (Ann Arbor: 1968).

[11] Michael Vickery, "Thai Regional Elites and the Reforms of King Chulalongkorn," *Journal of Asian Studies* 29, no. 4 (1970): 866.

[12] Ibid., 865.

official positions." All these were locally appointed by governors, with the exception of *Yokrabat* (described below), who were sent from the capital. Finally, first-, second-, and third-class provinces directly administered other (subordinate) minor provinces.[13]

These fourth-class provinces possessed no "local official ranks", and—at least theoretically—were "directly controlled by the ministries in the capital with governors appointed for three-year terms".[14] Thai political theory in Siam recognised that hereditary patterns of rule only existed in fourth-class vassal states. Governors close to Bangkok—not along the Thai-Malay Peninsula—were appointed by Bangkok every three years.[15] The most important southern province was Nakhon Sri Thammarat (that we also refer to below by its Malay toponym, Ligor). Ligor rebelled against King Phra Phetracha (r. 1688–1703) in 1691, and during the (short) reign of King Taksin, which led to Rama I (r. 1782–1809) demoting it to a direct vassal of Bangkok. Notwithstanding governorships of Phatthalung were "not held exclusively by a single family", we will show that a number of local elites from the Sultan Sulaiman lineage were appointed by Ayutthaya, Thonburi and Bangkok.[16]

Amongst the many seminal arguments made by Baker and Phongpaichit are that during the 18th century, Siamese nobles—including the Sultan Sulaiman lineage—became "richer and more assertive".[17] Moreover, the following factors had contributed to this development. First, the growth of trade with China led to a period of economic prosperity, and the relaxation of royal monopolies. Second, the nobility controlled more people following changes in the organisation of manpower, which swelled both their income and status. Third, noble families in Ayutthaya also benefited from increasingly centralised control over the provinces (described by Vickery). In both "Siam proper" (present-day Central Thailand), and along what we refer to as the Thai-Malay Peninsula, governors were increasingly appointed from among the Ayutthaya nobility. In 1740, Ayutthaya decreed senior officials, such as city governors, must come from "established noble lineages." We note that these included those established by Sheikh Ahmad Qomi, and Datuk Mogul. These elites were sent by the court in Ayutthaya to provincial centres, such as *Yokkrabat,* who functioned as much as spies on local elites as envoys from the court. Eventually, these positions were transformed into politically powerful and financially lucrative provincial chief magistracies.[18]

Sometime in the early 18th century, provincial towns along the Thai-Malay Peninsula were placed under the military branch of government (Thai: *Kalahom*). Territorial sub-states "developed in its wake that increased local patronage in the "hands of their senior officials." Over the 18th century, Siam's "great noble households"

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 866.

[15] Between Patani and Narathiwat, a number of what Vickery refers to as "hereditary rulers" conserved their political positions until the late-1940s" under the "special Monthon status" established in this portion of the Thai-Malay Peninsula, before the Second World War, ibid., 871.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World*; *A History of Thailand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[18] *A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World*, 229.

accumulated wealth across generations." Many have described the rise of direct descendants of Sheikh Ahmed Qomi in *Mahatthai* and *Phrakhlang*. Wyatt has analysed ways that this lineage resembled the success of many Chinese and those descended from families linked to Brahmins, such as the Siriwatthana lineage, who served under Prasat Thong.[19] Among other developments during the reign of King Borommakot (r. 1733–1758) was that the great-grandson of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi, who at the time held the title of Phraya Phetphichai in the royal guard, adopted Buddhism.[20] This occurred on the eighth month of the tenth waning moon in the year of the Tiger (early 1734, 1746, or 1758 in the Gregorian calendar), though Julispong Chularatana claims that this occurred in 1750.[21] Baker and Phongpaichit point out that Phraya Phetphichai was "promptly rewarded" in a number of ways. He was not only promoted to the (higher) rank of *Chaophraya*, but he also was "given control over the Cham and Japanese units in officialdom." Furthermore, his daughter married the *Kalahom*, and his son succeeded him. The Buddhist branch of the Sheikh Ahmad Qomi dynasty were referred to as the Bunnag dynasty, whose influence amongst the nobility from the late-Ayutthaya Period has been widely documented.[22]

In addition to the role of noble lineages, another important—and hitherto overlooked—piece of context about the Thai-Malay Peninsula during the late 17th century, is that between Ligor and Singora, its physical geography meant that close connections existed between this network of southern ports. Craig Reynolds has argued that the peninsula changed dramatically following the deforestation of a heavily wooded mountain range that silted up the channel between it and the island of Tantalam/Tantelam, or Pulau Papier (see Figures 1 and 3).[23] This island and the easily navigable channel appear in European maps, dictionaries and navigation guides.[24] To our knowledge, the latest account of Europeans sailing south between old

[19] See Wyatt, "Family Politics in Nineteenth Century Thailand."; "Family Politics in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Siam."

[20] See Oudaya Bhanuwongse, "Bunnag Family Lineage Club," http://www.bunnag.in.th/english/index.html; John Smith, "State, Community, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Thailand, 1351-1767" (University of Michigan, 2019), 229–30.

[21] Julispong Chularatana, "The Shiʿite Muslims in Thailand from Ayutthaya Period to the Present," 50.

[22] Wyatt, "Family Politics in Nineteenth Century Thailand," 212, 14, 16–22; Edward van Roy, "Bangkok's Bunnag Lineage from Feudalism to Constitutionalism," *The Journal of the Siam Society* 108, no. 2 (2020); Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World*, 230.

[23] Craig J Reynolds, "Rural Male Leadership, Religion and the Environment in Thailand's Mid-South, 1920s–1960s," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 42, no. 01 (2011): 48.

[24] James Horsburgh, *India Directory, or Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland, Cape of Good Hope, Brazil and the Interjacent Ports. 3. Ed* (Kingsburg, 1827), 319; Alexander George Findlay, *A Directory for the Navigation of the Indian Archipelago, China, and Japan, from the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, and the Passages East of Java: To Canton, Shanghai, the Yellow Sea, and Japan, with Descriptions of the Winds, Monsoons, and Currents, and General Instructions for the Various Channels, Harbours, Etc* (London: RH Laurie, 1878), 409–10; Samuel Dunn, *A New Directory for the East-Indies* (London: Meffs Glibert and Wright, 1791), 360.

Ligor and present-day Songkhla is a sketch included in Neale's 1840s travelogue.[25]

The capital of Phatthalung (Bourdelong) was once located on the Rindang River (see Figure 1) before being moved to the eastern coast of the inland sea (see Figure 2). John Arrowsmith's cartographic contributions (1832) appear to be based in the work of James Low (d. 1852) and John Walker (d. 1873)—an associate of John Crawfurd (d. 1868)—which have been most thoroughly analysed by Larry Sternstein.[26] Another detail, included by Arrowsmith's contributions to the cartography of the Thai-Malay

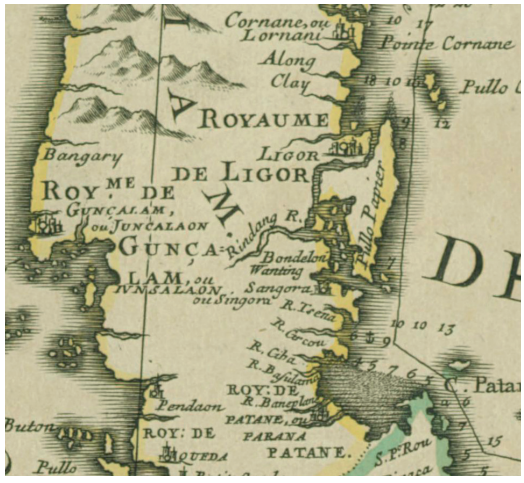

Figure 1. "Cartographe. Royaume de Siam avec les royaumes qui lui sont tributaires et les isles de Sumatra, Andemaon", by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1687).

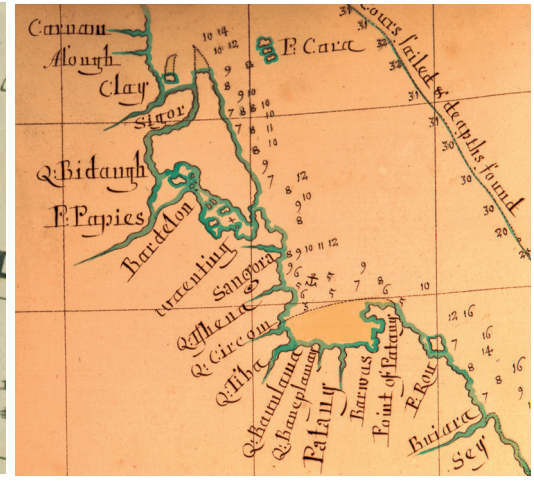

Figure 2. "Siam", In *A Description of the Southeast Asia coast...in the East Indies* by W. Hacke (1690).

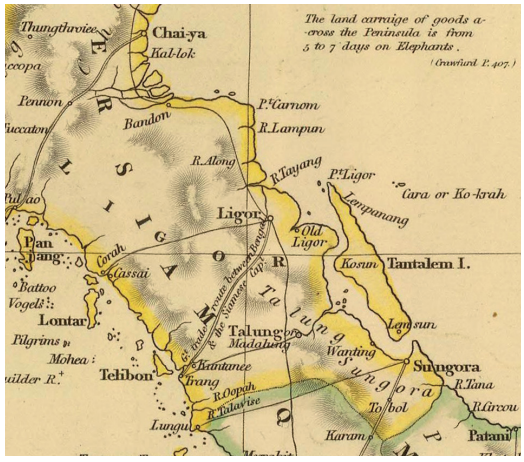

Figure 3. Portion of "Burmah, Siam, Cochin China" by John Arrowsmith (1832)

Peninsula, is that the capital was shifted inland, presumably after ships were no longer able to sail safely between Phatthalung and Ligor. This explains the sons of Sultan Sulaiman and their families, having been divided into two groups and relocated between Ayutthaya and Chaiya, so as to prevent future uprisings.[27]

This section has set the scene for the material that we incrementally introduce below. For comparative purposes, we have pointed out that Datuk Mogul arrived in Singora in the early-17th

[25] Frederick Arthur Neale, *Narrative of a Residence at the Capital of the Kingdom of Siam; with a Description of the Manners, Customs, and Laws of the Modern Siamese* (London.: Office of the National illustrated library, 1852), 122.

[26] Larry Sternstein, "Low's Description of the Siamese Empire in 1824," *Journal of the Siam Society* 78, no. 1 (1990); "The London Company's Envoys Plot Siam," *Journal of the Siam Society* 81, no. 2 (1993).

[27] Ampan Na Pattalung, *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman B.E. 2145–2531 [the Lineage of Sultan Sulaiman A.D. 1602–1988]* (Bangkok: Amarin Printing Group, 1988), 61.

century when Persian Muslim traders and adventurers in Ayutthaya begin appearing. Nevertheless, this was before their incremental co-option by successive Siamese courts. We have also dealt with details about both the physical geography of the "Upper South" or "Mid-South", and the administrative structure of Siam during the careers of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage. The changing fortunes of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's noble families in Ayutthaya mirror those of Sultan Sulaiman's sons and descendants between Ayutthaya, Chaiya, Ligor/Nakhon Sri Thammarat and Singora/Songkhla. The Sheikh Ahmad Qomi lineage was involved in the trading, finance, and administrative branches of government. By contrast, although the Sultan Sulaiman lineage held a range of senior administrative posts, their most important services were in Siam's navy. As we describe below, daughters of these Muslim elites in Ayutthaya and Singora were royal concubines, and some eventually abandoned Islam for Buddhism during the 18th century.

The succession, rebellion, and rehabilitation of Mustapha (1676–1692)

We have previously argued that Sultan Mustapha succeeded Sultan Sulaiman in 1676.[28] However, his brothers contested his succession, leading him—and perhaps his brothers—to sail to Ayutthaya to seek King Narai's endorsement. This was given to Mustapha. According to Bhawan Ruangsilp, Narai was "very pleased". He was given the title "Oja Sasultan", and "many presents".[29] In the early years of Sultan Mustapha's reign, Singora achieved a military victory over Patani, challenging its southern neighbour's reputation as the "major eastern port on the Gulf".[30] Singora further undermined Patani's position by pursuing alliances with the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) and English East India Company (EIC)—both of which were encouraged to construct warehouses and promised operational freedom. The EIC also constructed more earthworks around Singora's Khaw Daeng Complex.[31]

Soon afterwards in 1677, renewed strife between Narai and his southern vassals was sparked by Kedah's refusal to pay tribute. Narai was fully cognisant of both the commercial importance of the ports of Singora and Patani, and the threat they posed to nearby Ligor. Upon receiving rumours that Patani and Johor (its southern ally) were preparing to attack Ligor, Ayutthaya sent an invasion force to both Singora and Patani. Dhiravat na Pombejra relates that after Narai's forces had quelled a rebellion in Patani in 1673, a local Malay by the name of Raja Mansur was brought to Ayutthaya. He was appointed the governor (Thai: *Phraya*) of Phatthalung, in the hope that he could achieve a "firmer hold" on Singora from Phatthalung. This represents one of the earliest examples of Siamese campaigns against rebellious Muslim vassals being led by Muslims loyal to the Siamese court. Dutch sources from February 1679 mention that both the Siamese

[28] Dalrymple and Joll, "The Muslim Sultans of Singora in the 17th Century," 55.

[29] Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya*, ed. Leonard Blussé, Tanap Monographs on the History of the Asian-European Interaction (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 63.

[30] Jansaeng, "Local Autonomy: Chinese Community in Songkhla During Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 27.

[31] Ibid., 28.

commander-in-chief, Raja Mansur, and his second-in-command had been poisoned, leading Phatthalung to realign itself with Singora. Siamese casualties were heavy, with others dying from a combination of "hunger and hardship".[32]

Eight months later (in early October 1679), a Siamese general, appointed to the position of Okphra Chaiya, captured two of Singora's fortresses while one of Singora's commanders had sailed to Phatthalung to fetch fresh supplies for his troops. Dhiravat na Pombejra claims that this was the brother of Sultan Mustapha, who was Hasan. As the Siamese forces now controlled the trading route between Singora and Phatthalung (described above), he was unable to return. Motivated by the hope of Okphra Chaiya capturing Singora, Ayutthaya's garrison in Patani were transported there in forty galleys. Singora appeared ready to fall, as they were "outnumbered, besieged, blockaded, and bereft of its military commander's services", and its inhabitants were "dying of hunger because food had run out".[33] Some accounts of the demise of Sultan Mustapha's short reign claims that in 1680, after a six-month siege, troops defending Singora's fort had been persuaded to betray him. According to Simon de La Loubère, Siamese troops and a French mercenary managed to enter the fortified city.[34] The author of the Patani Malay nationalist manifesto, penned by KijangMas Perkasa (presumably a pseudonym), does not specifically mention Hasan, but relates that Sultan Mustapha was presented to the Siamese general leading the siege after his abduction. We note that this was the first incidence of Muslim brothers betraying their siblings in the service of Ayutthaya's Siamese court.[35] After Siamese troops entered Singora town, "its palace, fortifications, gates, towers, and dwellings were ransacked and burned".[36] The Khao Deng area was destroyed beyond repair, leading to its being abandoned.[37]

Interviews with key informants in the districts of Chana, Had Yai, and Singhanakhon related oral traditions that refugees fled smouldering Singora in a number of directions. Some travelled along the coast north of Khao Deng (in present-day Singhanakhon district). Others crossed the channel between Khao Daeng and the Thai-Malay Peninsula in boats. Common destinations included Phatthalung (in the north), Kedah in the west (via the Rindang River), and Chana (in the south). While some navigated the channel and open seas, others reached their destination via local rivers and canals.[38] Although none

[32] Dhiravat na Pombejra, "A Political History of Siam under the Prasatthong Dynasty 1629–1688" (SOAS, 1984), 338.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Simon de La Loubère, *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam by Monsieur De La Loubere Envoy Extraordinary from the French King, to the King of Siam, in the Years 1687 and 1688. Wherein a Full and Curious Account Is Given of the Chinese Way of Arithmetick, and Mathematick Learning. In Two Tomes. Illustrated with Sculptures*, trans. A. P. Gen R.S.S. (London: Francis Leach, 1693).

[35] KijangMas Perkasa, *Patani: Behind the Accidental Border: The Search for Elusive Peace* (Kuala Lumpur: Orion Solutions Sdn Bhd, 2010), 14.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Bisalputra and Sng, "The Hokkien Rayas of Songkhla," 44–45; Srisuporn Choungsakul, "The Role of Chinese Traders on the Growth of Songkhla, 1775–1912," *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 9, no. 2 (2006): 45.

[38] Interview with Bang Don, conducted in Khuan Lang sub-district, Hat Yai on 16 October 2019.

identified Okphra Chaiya as Hasan, a number of informants cited that this siege had been led by a certain Phraya Ram Decho, who was acquainted with the traditional rulers of both Singora and Ligor. Phraya Ram Decho petitioned King Narai for leniency. Despite Mustapha's recent indiscretion, he reasoned that it had been the late Sultan Sulaiman who had rebelled. Dhiravat na Pombejra's recent translation of the eulogy to King Narai by Lunag Sri Mahosot documents the contempt with which Sultan Sulaiman was held in Ayutthaya. Its 14th and 15th stanza refers to Singora's "tributary lord" as an "evil man", who conspired "since the time of his predecessor" (Datuk Mogul). This rogue governor "dared to rebel and contest his royal power", even though he was "but a hyena." Troops were sent to "seize and subdue," whom the "traitorous rebels" were unable to resist, who were "captured and presented to the king".[39] The absence of independent sources placing Hasan in Singora in 1680 prevents making definitive claims about either his role in this siege, or mediation on behalf of his brothers. Nevertheless, instead of executing the rogue sultan, King Narai chose to co-opt the sons of the "hyena" Sultan Sulaiman—as Hasan might have been in 1676. As we describe below, this both supports Anthony Reid's "low-casualty" thesis and challenges Francis Bradley's critique.

Bisalputra and Sng's reconstruction of Chinese control of Songkhla begins with the arrival of Hao Yiang in 1750, and his negotiations with Taksin.[40] From 1685, Songkhla appears to have been abandoned following France declining Narai's offer of this southern port in a commercial treaty, on 11 December 1685.[41] After 1680, Hussein and Mustapha—together with their families and entourages—were resettled approximately 300 kilometres from Singora to a coastal settlement in what is now the sub-district (Thai: *tambon*) of Phom Riang, in Chaiya (a district of present-day Surat Thani province) (see Figure 3). Local informants cite that perhaps on account of their upbringing and experience in Singora, these brothers were widely regarded as able rulers. That said, they were forced to acquire agricultural skills, as they were now farmers on the 5,000 *rai* (800 hectares) of land that they had been gifted.[42] We note that the significance of 5,000 *rai* is that this was commensurate with their rank in Siam's *sakdina* system. According to Yoneo Ishii's analysis of the *Krom Asa Cham,* this was higher than that of its top commander (Phraya Racha Wangsan).[43] Many of the settlements in Chaiya, established

[39] Dhiravat na Pombejra, "The Eulogy of King Narai," *The Journal of the Siam Society* 107, no. 2 (2019): 4–5.

[40] Bisalputra and Sng, "The Hokkien Rayas of Songkhla," 46.

[41] Stefan Halikowski-Smith, ed. *Two Missionary Accounts of Southeast Asia in the Late Seventeenth Century: A Translation and Critical Edition of Guy Tachard's Relation De Voyage Aux Indes (1690–99) and Nicola Cima's Relatione Distinta Delli Regni Di Siam, China, Tunchino, E Cocincina (1697–1706)* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 214. Chaumont left Ayutthaya for France in December 1685, but Chevalier de Forbin and (the engineer) de la Mare remained. The former was made "governor and garrison commander of Bangkok, and admiral of the Siamese fleet", and commissioned to construct fortifications in Bangkok, Songkhla and Ligor. Dhiravat na Pombejra, "A Political History of Siam under the Prasatthong Dynasty 1629–1688," 358. These might explain the provenance of the following French map of Singora (available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Songkhla-1687-french-map.jpg, accessed 25 February 2015) that included the location of its former fortifications.

[42] Interview with Imam Hanafi, conducted in Singhanakhon district, Songkhla on 27 January 2021.

[43] Yoneo Ishii, "A Note on the Cham Diaspora in the Ayutthayan Kingdom," in *Anthony Reid and*

by these members of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage, were named after places in Singora (such as Koh Yo and Bo Yang), where there is also a village called Baan Songkhla (the Songkhla Village), where Hussein was buried (see Figures 6 and 7).[44] Compared with the burdens of ruling and defending Singora, Mustapha's responsibilities in Chaiya, which included collecting taxes to be sent to Ayutthaya, were lighter.[45] Mustapha's daughter married Sultan Mukda of Kedah (that the Siamese referred to as Saiburi). His son (Ta Fai) succeeded him as governor of Chaiya, receiving the title Luang Kosawat Ratcha Bangsan. After Ta Fai, Wan Muda became the ruler of Chaiya, who was followed by his two sons, Ruk and Bunchu.[46]

Before considering the careers of Hussein's descendants, we return to the important figure of Hasan. Given that his official title during the Siamese siege of Singora was Okphra Chaiya, it is possible that Narai had sent him to Chaiya sometime after 1676. Perhaps he had spent some time in Ayutthaya after (the then Sultan) Mustapha returned to Singora. We have noted that Dhiravat na Pombejra's account of Ayutthaya's capture of Singora cites Dutch sources specifically mentioning Okphra Chaiya. While Hasan does not appear in KijangMas Perkasa's account of 1680, Hasan might have been the Muslim involved in Ayutthaya's campaign against Ligor (in 1691), that claims Ligor's rebellious governor was a Malay whose official title was Phraya Ram Dejo.[47] Baker and Phongpaichit refer to a "local lord", who had risen to the rank of governor and was "possibly a Malay". That said, the significance of this event was twofold. This was a new form of revolt against Ayutthaya that developed in the wake of the violent coup, which ousted King Narai in 1688. Second, Nakhon Sri Thammarat was a "first-class town", and "acknowledged sub-headquarters of their regions." None of these prevented its governor from refusing to drink the water of allegiance in Ayutthaya. We add that this represents a further example of Ayutthaya's co-option of Muslim proxies during this period. Ayutthaya responded by sending 10,000 men and a naval fleet.[48] Woods provides an account of the "long and troublesome" siege of Nakhon Sri Thammarat that followed:

> The Governor, P'ya Ram Dejo, a Malay, was a man of great determination. His fleet was destroyed and his army was defeated again and again, but he refused to surrender. At last all his supplies were finished and his people dying of starvation. He then killed his wife and family, and escaped by boat, with fifty followers, by

the Study of the Southeast Asian Past, ed. Geoffrey Phillip Wade and Tana Li (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012), 243. For a description of the *sakdina* system, see Tamara Lynn Loos, *Subject Siam: Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 35.

[44] Interview with Ajarn Aree, conducted in Singhanakhon district, Songkhla on 7 November 2019.

[45] Ampan Na Pattalung, *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman B.E. 2145–2531 [the Lineage of Sultan Sulaiman A.D. 1602–1988]*, 289.

[46] Ampan Na Pattalung's book records the genealogy (in Thai) of Mustapha's family in Chaiya, ibid., 286.

[47] KijangMas Perkasa, *Patani: Behind the Accidental Border: The Search for Elusive Peace*, 14.

[48] Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World*, 224–25.

the connivance of the Siamese Admiral, P'ya Rajabangsan. This Admiral, also a Malay, was an old friend and companion in arms of the rebel Governor. P'ya Rajabangsan gave his life for his friend, and his severed head was set over the gate of the vanquished city.[49]

Figure 4. The graves of Hasan (left) and Sultan Sulaiman (right), Hua Khaw Daeng (Songkhla province). Photo by Graham H. Dalrymple, 29 July 2020.

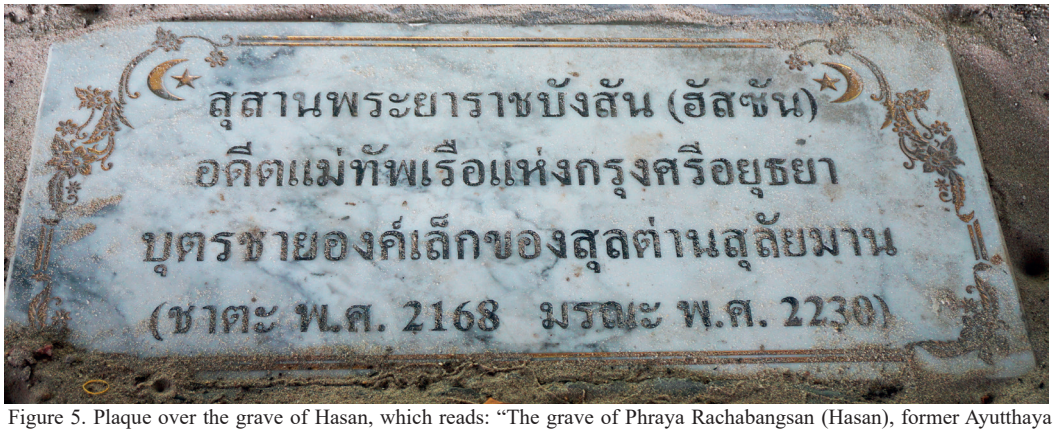

Figure 5. Plaque over the grave of Hasan, which reads: "The grave of Phraya Rachabangsan (Hasan), former Ayutthaya admiral, youngest son of Sultan Sulaiman (1625–1687)." Photo by Graham H. Dalrymple, 29 July 2020.

This is corroborated in other sources. During the reign of King Phetracha (r. 1688–1703), Hasan had been sent—from either Ayutthaya or Chaiya—to attack Ligor, but he allowed its governor to escape. Reasons for doing so range from Hasan's close familial

[49] William Alfred Rae Wood, *A History of Siam*, Rev. ed. (Bangkok: The Siam Barnakich press, 1933), 221. Cited in KijangMas Perkasa, *Patani: Behind the Accidental Border: The Search for Elusive Peace*, 14.

ties, personal friendship, religious solidarity, and assistance to his extended family. Nevertheless, Hasan was executed for his disobedience by King Phetracha. Upon his extended family members in Phatthalung receiving news of Hasan's execution in Ligor, his body was collected, brought to Singora, and buried beside his father, Sultan Suleiman (See Figures 4 and 5). The plaque over his grave states that he was Sultan Sulaiman's youngest son and that he died in 1687 (not 1691), and the plaques in front of Sultan Sulaiman's mausoleum, and on his grave, claim that he died in 1668—not 1676.

The head of the *Krom Asa Cham* was bestowed the title of Phraya Racha Bangsan (or Phraya Racha Wangsan). Julispong Chularatana points out that the *Kotmai tra sam duang [Three Seals Code]* describes the *Krom Asa Cham* as a division of the *Kalahom* (Ministry of Defence) made up of Muslim volunteers of "Cham and Malay descent".[50] Neither the Thai sources with which we have interacted, nor the local informants interviewed, specify whether Hasan had been co-opted by the Siamese court into the *Krom Asa Cham* (in 1676 or 1680). As we describe below, the descendants of Sultan Sulaiman would have a long association with the *Krom Asa Cham.* Like the Treasury department (Thai: *Phraklang*), this was divided into "right", and "left" departments. Each possessed their own commander, deputy commander, director, deputy director, secretary, and volunteers), respective titles (*Phra*, *Luang* and *Khun*), and *sakdina* rank (ranging from 2,000 for its commander, to 200 for its volunteers). However sceptical we may be of claims that none of Sultan Sulaiman's descendants were appointed as lower officials in the *Krom Asa Cham*, playing fast and loose with some facts is one characteristic of hagiographic sources.

The administrative and military careers of Hussein (d. 1693) and Hasan (d. 1691)

Let us return to Hussein—the member of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage on whom we have the least data.[51] Sometime after 1680, Hussein was sent to Chaiya to assist (the former Sultan) Mustapha. He was appointed the *Palat* (deputy chief) of Chaiya and given the title of Phra Si Ratcha Songram. In 1686, Hussein was promoted to the governorship of Phatthalung, which he held until his death (that Ampan Na Pattalung dates) in 1699.[52] Ampan Na Pattalung's hagiography includes some exhaustive genealogy data, which is one of the sources on which Figures 7 and 9 are based.[53] The plaque over Hussein's grave in Chaiya (see Figure 6) cites 1693. Hussein's predecessor in Phatthalung was Luang Sri

[50] *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang: Lem 1 [Three Seals Code: Vol. 1]*, (Bangkok: Khurusabha, 1962), 308. Cited in Julispong Chularatana, "Muslim Community During Ayutthaya Period," 98. For more on the *Krom Asa Cham*, see Ishii, "A Note on the Cham Diaspora in the Ayutthayan Kingdom."; Raymond Scupin, "Islam in Thailand before the Bangkok Period," *Journal of the Siam Society* 68, no. 1 (1980); Edward van Roy, "Contending Identities: Islam and Ethnicity in Old Bangkok," ibid.104 (2016): 173, 75–76; *Siamese Melting Pot: Ethnic Minorities in the Making of Bangkok* (Singapore/Chiang Mai: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute/Silkworm Press, 2017), 136–40.

[51] Interview with Ajarn Aree, conducted in Singhanakhon district, Songkhla on 27 January 2021.

[52] Ampan Na Pattalung, *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman B.E. 2145–2531 [the Lineage of Sultan Sulaiman A.D. 1602–1988]*, 61, 289.

[53] Ibid., 10, 58, 238, 67, 86.

Sakhon (r. 1682–1686), who replaced the younger brother of Sultan Sulaiman, Phraya Farisi (r. 1680–1682). In 1669, Sultan Sulaiman sent Farisi to Chaiburi (in Phatthalung) to build defences against Siamese attacks. After Singora's subjugation in 1680, when he was seventy-eight years old, he asked King Narai to appoint him as governor of Phatthalung. In 1682, Farisi received orders from Ayutthaya to attack Kedah. However, he died en route and was buried in Tambon Charat, in Phatthalung's Kong Ra district.[54]

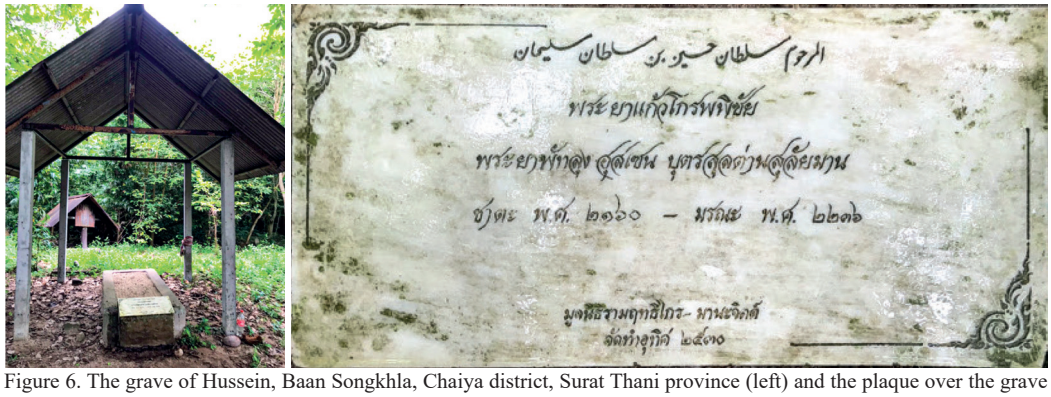

Figure 6. The grave of Hussein, Baan Songkhla, Chaiya district, Surat Thani province (left) and the plaque over the grave of Hussein (right), which reads "Phraya Phatthalung Hussein, son of Sultan Sulaiman (1617– 1693)" (photos provided by Thanin Salam).

This section has reconstructed the careers and contributions of Mustapha, Hussein and Hasan in Ayutthaya, Chaiya, Ligor, Phatthalung and Patani between the death of Sultan Sulaiman (in 1676), and the early 1690s. We have documented their mixed fortunes, beginning with Mustapha's succession (endorsed by Narai), commercial, political,and military manoeuvrings (between 1676 and 1680) before Singora's final subjugation. Instead of being executed by Narai, Mustapha was rehabilitated (between 1676 and 1692) following the mediation of the Muslims recruited—which we argue included his youngest brother, Hasan. Both Mustapha and Hussein were relocated by Narai to Chaiya, where they respectively served in a range of (mainly administrative) roles, before eventually passing away. The details of the Siamese siege of Singora in 1680 are important for a number of reasons. Like Raja Mansur (the Malay from Patani), Narai's deployment of Hasan illustrated that potentially problematic Muslim vassals were managed by trusted Muslim elites. Ironically, Hasan's demise preceded those of both his (older) brothers. Despite his rise between 1676 and 1691, and role in Mustapha escaping execution, Hasan died before his brother for assisting Ligor's governor escape from the siege of this important first-class province by King Phra Phetracha. Like Aqa Muhammed Astarabadi, the rise, and demise, of Hasan demonstrates the mixed fortunes of Muslims serving Siamese courts during the Ayutthaya Period. As we have demonstrated above—and shall see below—whilst Ayutthaya's Persian elites were associated with the commercial and administrative branches of government, the Sultan Sulaiman lineage were co-opted into its military branch (*Kalahom*). The rift between Mustapha, Hussein and Sultan Sulaiman's youngest son is memorialised in Hasan's

[54] Ibid., 60.

burial next to his father in Singora. Let us now turn to the range of contributions made by the descendants of Hasan and Hussein (summarised in Figures 7 and 9).

The contributions of Hasan and Hussein's descendants

A range of (self-reinforcing) hagiographic accounts cite descendants of Sultan Sulaiman being sufficiently shocked by Hasan's execution that members of his network in Ayutthaya went into hiding.[55] Once more, in ways resembling Aqa Muhammed Astarabadi's descendants, Bun Yang (the son of the disgraced Hasan) was appointed as an admiral (Thai: *Khun Laksha Mana*) in the Siamese navy during the reign of King Ekkathat (r. 1758–1767), the last ruler of Ayutthaya before the city was sacked by the Burmese in 1767. Under Ekkathat, Bun Yang's son, Mahmud (referred to in Thai sources as Mud), was appointed to the entry-level position of royal page in Ayutthaya. Bhawan Ruangsilp comments on this period that officials with long careers serving King Borommakot were eliminated. According to Dutch sources, four to five new royal pages (Thai: *mahatlek*) were "elevated from the lowest background" to some of the "highest ranks" in Ayutthaya. Two of these pages were the older brothers of two of Ekathat's royal concubines (Thai: *chao chom*). Bhawan Ruangsilp cites this as "excellent examples" of social mobility in the Ayutthaya court. Specifically, the status of women could be "elevated via marriage or concubinage with court members." The *mahatlek* corps was one of the ways for men to "be trained in the administration of the kingdom, especially the royal court, and to rise in its hierarchy".[56]

Mahmud was promoted from royal page to collecting taxes in provinces east of Ayutthaya.[57] As such, he was not in Ayutthaya when the Burmese siege of the capital began. Following 1767, he volunteered in the army raised by King Taksin (r. 1776–1782). Julispong Chularatana claims that the direct descendant of Sultan Sulaiman was the "first Muslim minister under the Thonburi Dynasty." He was commonly referred to as "Chao Phraya Chakri Khaek".[58] Like other southern Muslims, referred to at the time as "Malays", Mahmud served in Taksin's navy. Taksin appointed him as the general of the 5,000 strong army, which attacked Ligor/Nakhon Sri Thammarat (in 1769).[59] Like the rebellion of the "Malay" governor of Ligor in 1691, this was Ligor's punishment

[55] Interview with Imam Hanafi, conducted in Singhanakhon district, Songkhla on 29 July 2020.

[56] Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya*, 204. The role of royal pages is mentioned by Bisalputra and Sng, "The Hokkien Rayas of Songkhla," 46; Jansaeng, "Local Autonomy: Chinese Community in Songkhla During Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 53–55, 77, 80, 146, 93.

[57] Paret Athawiphat, "พระเจ้าตาก กับบทบาทของนายหมุด (จักรีแขก) "ทหาร" มุสลิมคู่พระทัย [Lord Tak and the Role of Nai Pueng (Chakri Khaek) "Soldier", a Loving Muslim]." *Silapawatthanatham [Arts and Culture]* 38, no. May (2017), https://www.silpa-mag.com/history/article_20986.

[58] Julispong Chularatana, "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)," 39.

[59] Edward van Roy explains that in Siam's military, generals (Thai: *Chaophraya*) led 10,000+ troops, Brigadiers (Thai: *Phraya*) led 3,000-5,000 troops), Colonels (Thai: *Phra*) led 1,000 troops, and Major-captains (Thai: *Luang*) were responsible for 50-100 troops van Roy, "Bangkok's Bunnag Lineage from Feudalism to Constitutionalism," 19.

for failing to defend Ayutthaya and resisting his reconsolidation of power in Thonburi. Phraya Chakri Khaek is mentioned by Bisalputra and Sng, and in Apiradee Jansaeng's account of Taksin's 1769 southern campaign. Apiradee describes Taksin placing Phraya Chakri Khaek, Phraya Yommarat, Phraya Siphiphat, and Phraya Phetchaburi leading 5,000 men.[60] Upon receiving news of the impending invasion, the governor of Ligor prepared to face them at "Ban Don Camp in Chaiya", as Chaiya was Ayutthaya's "gateway to the South." Phraya Phetchaburi and Phraya Siphiphat died on the battlefield, and the governor managed to kidnap Phraya Chakri Khaek's son—presumably in Chaiya—which forced Mahmud to retreat. King Taksin led the (much larger) campaign comprised of "10,000 marines, and another 10,000 oarsmen", in addition to 5,000 soldiers, who travelled by land (that Taksin also personally led).

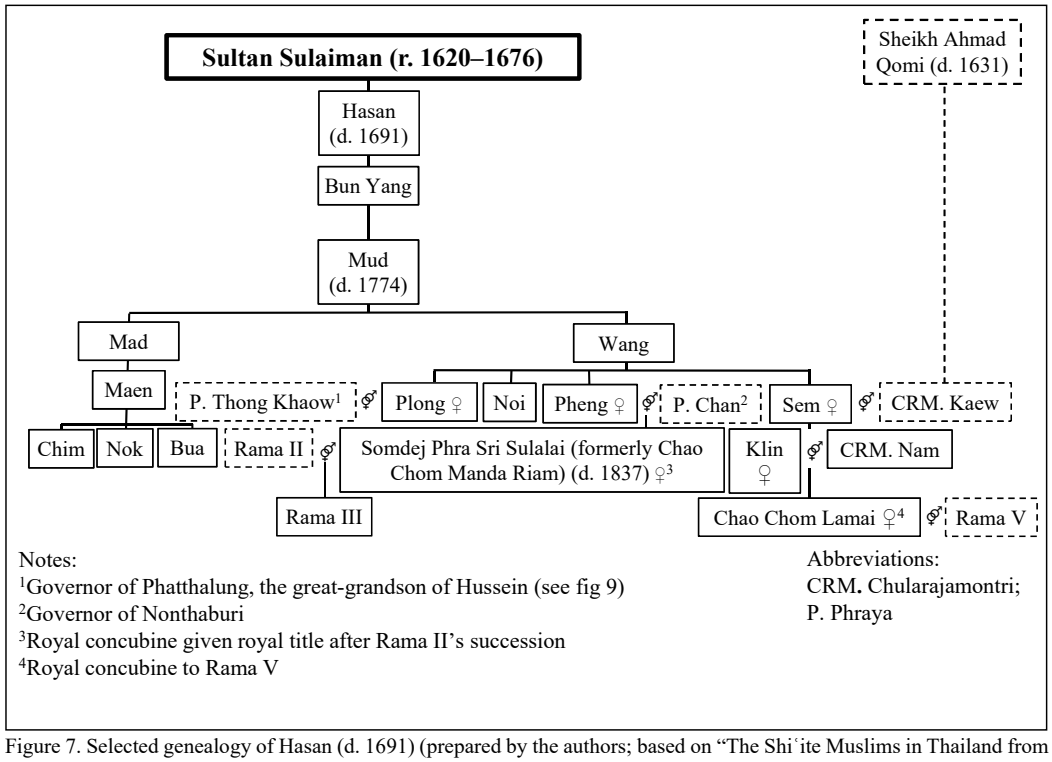

Figure 7. Selected genealogy of Hasan (d. 1691) (prepared by the authors; based on "The Shiʿite Muslims in Thailand from Ayutthaya Period to the Present," 52; "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)," 40; Akin Rabibhadana, "The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period" (Ph.D, Cornell University, 1969), 231–32.).

Given the convenience with which Siamese forces could circulate to and from Ligor, via either Phatthalung or the open sea, Taksin made Songkhla his operational base. Apiradee Jansaeng claims that the "Siamese ruler of Songkhla fled", and the governors of Ligor and Phatthalung fled to Patani. King Taksin sent a letter to the Raja of Patani demanding that these fugitives be returned to Songkhla to face punishment.[61]

[60] Bisalputra and Sng, "The Hokkien Rayas of Songkhla," 46.

[61] Jansaeng, "Local Autonomy: Chinese Community in Songkhla During Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 48–49.

Alternative accounts, which we encountered, include the governor of Ligor fleeing to Patani following his defeat, but he was captured there by the Siamese forces commanded by Mahmud, whose conduct against Ligor led to him being appointed by Taksin as the naval admiral responsible for his campaigns against the Khmer in 1771. He was also promoted to the position of "Phraya Yommarat", before becoming "Phraya Chakri Si Ongkharak", the first head chancellor of Thonburi.[62]

Phraya Chakri Si Ongkharak (Mahmud) died in 1774. King Taksin joined his funeral conducted at the Ton Son Mosque (also referred to as Masjid Kudi Yai or Masjid Kudi Kao).[63] Penchan Phoborisut points out that in Masjid Ton Son's graveyard, there are at least "nine prominent political figures" buried. These include "Phraya Raja Bangsan Chim" (described below), who led the *Krom Asa Cham* during the reign of Rama III, and Muslim women who became royal consorts (Thai: *chao chom*) to Rama I, Rama II and Rama V (r. 1868–1910).[64] This mosque is located in one of Bangkok's ethnic enclaves associated with Cham Muslims—after which the *Krom Asa Cham* were named. According to Justin McDaniel, Masjid Ton Son Mosque was founded by Cham in approximately 1688. Although not specifically mentioning Mahmud, McDaniel mentions that the great grandfather of the Queen Somdej Phra Sri Sulalai (described below) had been an "important Muslim

Figure 8. Masjid Ton Son before being demolished and reconstructed (Source Julispong Chularatana, "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era," 32.)

[62] Justin Thomas McDaniel, "Ethnicity and the Galactic Polity: Ideas and Actualities in the History of Bangkok," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 49, no. 1 (2018): 134.

[63] For more on Masjid Ton Son, readers should refer to the following: Adis Idris Raksamani, "Multicultural Aspects of the Mosques in Bangkok," *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 16 (2008): 116; Penchan Phoborisut, "Understanding the Identity of the Thai Muslim Community of Kudi Khao in Thonburi, Bangkok," 73; van Roy, "Contending Identities: Islam and Ethnicity in Old Bangkok," 174–75; van Roy, *Siamese Melting Pot: Ethnic Minorities in the Making of Bangkok*, 137–38.

[64] Tamara Loos describes King Chulalongkorn (Rama V, r. 1868–1910) having become a father at fifteen, and that during his long forty-two year reign, he had no less than 150 women presented to him as minor wives. That number, which did not include "female royal family members, female officials, servants and slaves" residing in the Inner Palace, was over three times as many as his predecessor. Loos, *Subject Siam: Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand*, 115.

official under Taksin".[65] In 1827, this mosque was rebuilt in a style "similar to the Dusit Grand Palace" (see Figure 8), but was completely rebuilt in 1952 with "more classical Muslim minaret(s)", which erased the "physical memory of its royal sponsorship". Julispong Chularatana adds that, after the funeral, Taksin also bestowed "additional land to expand the mausoleum".[66] After Mahmud died, the title Chao Phraya Chakri was given to Phraya Yommarat, who (in 1782) became the first ruler of the Chakri dynasty, most commonly referred to as Rama I (r. 1782–1809).[67]

Phraya Chakri Mahmud had two sons (Mad and Wang). The former (also known as Jui) was appointed the commander of the *Krom Asa Cham* by Rama I. Jui later rose to the high rank of Phraya Yommarat (described above). His only son (Maen) followed his father by becoming the Phraya Ratcha Bangsan. Maen had three children, and one of his sons (Chim) also held this position in the *Krom Asa Cham*—as did his two sons (Nok and Bua).[68] Craig Reynolds has commented that details about Rama III's campaigns in the south, during the 1830s, have been preserved by Luang Udomsombat.[69] In the age "before typewriters, to say nothing of digital records," Reynold points out that "court officials were blessed with remarkable memories." Luang Udomsombat's diarist made a meticulous record of "every detail" overheard at court during five months of deliberations, as Rama III demanded answers from his subordinates."[70]

The many valuable insights, that this fascinating Thai source reveal, include the role played by the head of the *Krom Asa Cham* during these campaigns. Rama III was emphatic that Malay prisoners of war (Thai: *chalei*) from Patani and Kedah were to be handed over to "Phraya Racha Wangsan." Although Reynolds mentions that he was a member of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage, our reconstruction of scholarly literature mentioning Hasan's descendants has revealed that this was Phraya Ratcha Bangsan Chim (buried in the graveyard next to Masjid Ton Son). On a number of occasions, this ruthlessly efficient Siamese military ruler reiterated that there was no one else in Bangkok to whom these Malays could be entrusted.[71]

Mahmud's second son (Wang) was a high-ranking Siamese official, who served as the governor of Mueng Chonburi, but also had excellent naval skills. King Taksin

[65] McDaniel, "Ethnicity and the Galactic Polity: Ideas and Actualities in the History of Bangkok," 133.

[66] Julispong Chularatana, "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)," 39.

[67] Paret Athawiphat, "พระเจ้าตาก กับบทบาทของนายหมุด (จักรีแขก) "ทหาร" มุสลิมคู่พระทัย [Lord Tak and the Role of Nai Pueng (Chakri Khaek) "Soldier", a Loving Muslim].".

[68] See https://web.archive.org/web/20140102193616/http://www.navy.mi.th/navic/document/840806a.html (accessed 2 February 2021)

[69] Cyril Skinner and Justin J. Corfield, eds., *Rama III and the Siamese Expedition to Kedah in 1839: The Dispatches of Luang Udomsombat*, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, (Clayton, Vic.: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1993).

[70] Craig J. Reynolds, *Power, Protection and Magic in Thailand: The Cosmos of a Southern Policeman*, vol. 12, Asian Studies Series Monograph (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2019), 81–82.

[71] Skinner and Corfield, *Rama III and the Siamese Expedition to Kedah in 1839: The Dispatches of Luang Udomsombat*, 134, 83, 260, 61.

appointed him as a ruler with the title Phra Samut Buranurak. During the reign of Rama I, Wang was promoted to the rank of Phraya Ratcha Bangsan. Wang had several children—all of whom joined the Siamese nobility. His second son (Noi) followed the family tradition by becoming the commander of the *Krom Asa Cham.* His daughter, Sem, married Chularajamontri Kon Kaew, descended from Sheikh Ahmad Qomi.[72] Another of Wang's daughters (Plong) married Thong Khaow, the governor of Phatthalung. Arguably the most important marriage between Wang's children and the wider Siamese nobility was the eldest daughter (Pheng) marrying Phraya Chan of Nonthaburi.[73]

Justin McDaniel's discussion of the roles played by "prominent Muslim families, mosques, and family members", who became part of the "Chakri royal family", includes some important details overlooked in Edward van Roy's recent seminal study on Siamese cosmopolitanism.[74] Rama III was both the greatest "sponsor of temples and palaces" and military leader in Bangkok's history. Nevertheless, van Roy fails to mention that his mother was a Muslim.[75] Her name was "Chao Chom Mandariam" (from the Arabic Mariam). McDaniel describes her as the daughter of "Phra Chonnipheng" (or Pheng), who was "descended from Hasan and the wife of Phra Chongajan", the governor Nonthaburi (located approximately forty kilometres upriver from Bangkok's capital). She was "one of the wives of King Rama II." In 1824, this son, born from the union between Rama II and Chao Chom Mandariam, succeeded his father—instead of Mongkut, the son of Rama II's first queen, who eventually succeeded Rama III in 1851.

McDaniel argues that Rama III not only refused to "deny or hide his mother's religion or ethnicity", but "promoted it openly." Before any "military or building plans", his first act following his consecration was to "elevate his mother", by bestowing on her the royal title of Somdej Phra Sri Sulalai—making her the "highest-ranking Muslim in Thai royal history". His second was to construct Masjid Bang Luang (close to the aforementioned Masjid Ton Son) in her honour.[76] Masjid Bang Luang is unique, as it referenced architectural tropes included in Thai Buddhist monasteries constructed by Rama III. In addition to the Muslim heritage of Somdej Phra Sri Sulalai being celebrated during her life, she received a "full royal funeral" at the "Dusit Throne Hall of the Grand Palace" in 1837. Her ashes were placed in a "Golden Urn (*Phra Got*) like those of her husband." In other words—and however controversial this might have been at the time—despite having "never 'converted' to Buddhism", she was "given a Buddhist funeral and cremation." Moreover, a major monastery was constructed in (her hometown of) Nonthaburi to honour her Muslim parents. In sum, Somdej Phra Sri Sulalai was a

[72] Songsiri Putthongchai, "What Is It Like to Be Muslim in Thailand? A Case Study of Thailand through Muslim Professionals' Perspectives" (University of Exeter 2013), 81–82.

[73] Akin Rabibhadana provides an exhaustive documentation of the consorts and concubines during the Early Bangkok Period. See Rabibhadana, "The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period," 99–100, 96–233.

[74] van Roy, *Siamese Melting Pot: Ethnic Minorities in the Making of Bangkok*.

[75] McDaniel, "Ethnicity and the Galactic Polity: Ideas and Actualities in the History of Bangkok," 135.

[76] This mosque has been dealt with by van Roy, *Siamese Melting Pot: Ethnic Minorities in the Making of Bangkok*, 139–39; Adis Idris Raksamani, "Multicultural Aspects of the Mosques in Bangkok," 122–23.

"Muslim queen who was treated as a Buddhist after her death but honoured for her heritage by her son during her lifetime." As already mentioned, many of her relatives were also buried in the graveyard next to Masjid Ton Son. Amongst the many influential members of this branch of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage is Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, the commander-in-chief of the Royal Thai Army, who briefly served as prime minister between 1996 and 1997.[77]

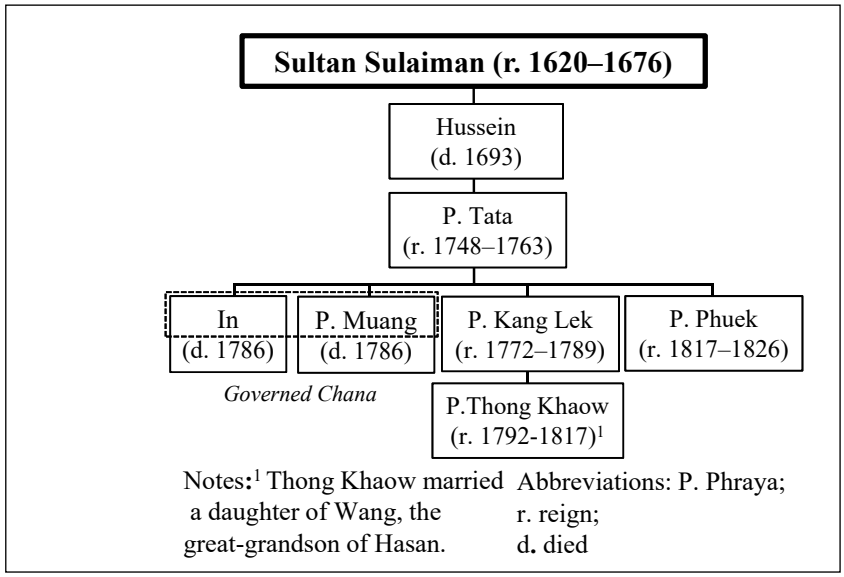

Figure 9. Selected genealogy of Hussein (prepared by the authors). Based on Julispong Chularatana, "The Shiʿite Muslims in Thailand from Ayutthaya Period to the Present," 52; "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)," 40; Rabibhadana, "The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period," 231–32.

Hussein had four children. Like Hasan's progeny, all became Siamese nobles. Tata was Hussein's eldest son, who succeeded him as governor in Phatthalung. He had been a navy officer during the reign of King Thaisa (r. 1708–1732), who appointed him to the post of the *Krom Asa Cham.* Once more, these Thai hagiographic sources claim that he was its commander, whose full title was Phraya Ratcha Bangsan Mahanstasuriya. He was also the naval commander-in-chief during the reign of King Borommakot.[78] Ampan Na Pattalung claims that another of Hussein's sons (which Thai sources do not name) also held the post of Phraya Ratcha Bangsan during the reign of King Ekkathat—confirming the importance of the *Krom Asa Cham* for Siamese courts co-opting successive generations of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage.[79]

Tata appears in *Phongsawadan Mueang Phatthalung* [*The Chronicle of*

[77] McDaniel, "Ethnicity and the Galactic Polity: Ideas and Actualities in the History of Bangkok," 135.

[78] According to naval records, it appears that Tata was initially given the title Luang Ratch Bangsan Mahantasuriya before later being promoted to the rank of Phraya Ratcha Bangsan Mahantasuriya. See Ampan Na Pattalung, *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman B.E. 2145–2531 [the Lineage of Sultan Sulaiman A.D. 1602–1988]*.

[79] Ibid.

Phatthalung].[80] Our email correspondence with Craig Reynolds (an acknowledged authority on this important Thai source) confirm that, notwithstanding the Muslim background of people during this period not always being disclosed, this source states that he was a Muslim. Ampan Na Pattalung claims that, upon Tata's promotion to governor in Phatthalung (in 1748) which he held until 1763, he was given the title Phraya Kaew Kroppichai Phakdi Bodinthorn Dechochai and gifted 5,000 *rai* of land as had others in the Sultan Sulaiman lineage.[81] The Phatthalung Chronicles relate that Tata established his capital at Chaiburi, also referred to as *Khao Mueang,* where he oversaw the construction of a wall against this mountain, and other defences (including two guns) around this city. It also contains a number of references to donations of *kanlapana* (the granting and endowment by Ayuthaya of land and people to monasteries) by the Ayutthaya court. For Reynolds, this suggests Ayutthaya having plans to establish Phatthalung as a major centre.[82] Phatthalung's status was that of a *prathetsarat* (tributary or vassal state), required to send gold and silver trees as tribute to Ayutthaya. Phatthalung was responsible for the four subordinate *mueang* of Pralian, Chana, Thepha and Songkhla (see Figure 3) between 1748 and when Ayutthaya fell to the Burmese in 1767.

The Lineage of Sultan Sulaiman, and *Phongsawadan Mueang Phatthalung* corroborate some details, but diverge in others. For instance, the latter claims that the son of Tata's elder brother, who was given the title of Phra Phakdisena (suggesting that he was a military officer), ruled for five years, from 1763 until his death in 1767. Ampan Na Pattalung's *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman* documents that Tata had four sons: Khun, Phuek, In (aka Chin) and Muang. Contrary to the claims of *Phongsawadan Mueang Phatthalung,* Khun and Phuek succeeded their father, Tata, as governors of Phatthalung. His other two sons (In and Muang) ruled the subordinate *mueang* of Chana, receiving the title "Phraya Mahanuphapbrap Songkram". As news spread of the Burmese victories in southern Siam between 1785 and 1786, In and Muang attacked Songkhla, for which they were convicted of treason and executed by their brother, Khun, the Phraya of Phatthalung.[83] *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman* claims that Phraya Khun's son, Khun Kang Lek (d. 1789), became governor of Phatthalung after Phuek, who was the first to have been given the title "Na Phatthalung".[84]

This member of the third generation from Sultan Sulaiman's descendants is best known as the first Muslim elite in South Thailand to have converted to Buddhism, in 1772. That this development occurred approximately two decades after the apostacy (in

[80] Luang Siworawat, *Phongsawadan Mueang Phatthalung [the Chronicle of Phatthalung]*, vol. Book 12, vol. 15, Prachum Phongsawadan [Collected Chronicles] (Bangkok: Khurusapha, 1964).

[81] Ampan Na Pattalung, *Sai-Sakul Sulatan Sulaiman B.E. 2145–2531 [the Lineage of Sultan Sulaiman A.D. 1602–1988]*, 62.

[82] Email correspondence with Craig Reynolds, 2 June 2021.

[83] See Bisalputra and Sng, "The Hokkien Rayas of Songkhla," 52–53.

[84] Vickery, "Thai Regional Elites and the Reforms of King Chulalongkorn," 871. Michael Vickery notes that whilst the governors of Phatthalung were "not held exclusively by a single family", this was "shared among hereditary official families" between 1791 and 1909, except for a "very brief period in 1905." These families were the "Na Phathalung, Na Nakhon, Na Ranong, Na Thlang, Na Songkhla", who were all southern elites claiming descent from an old Ayutthaya official family.

Ayutthaya) of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's great grandson (mentioned above) is corroborated in a number of sources. Simmonds' analysis, of the "Thalang Letters" between Francis Light (in Penang) and Lady Chan, states that although most famous for leading the defence of Junk Ceylon (present-day Phuket) against the Burmese, her mother was a Malay from Kedah, who had married the Siamese governor of Phuket.[85] Furthermore, in 1772, the "local lords of nearby Phatthalung rejected Islam in favour of Buddhism".[86] In 1825, Henry Burney relates that the "The late Pya of Merdelong" had been a "Mahometan", who was replaced by an "illegitimate son of the Governor of Ligore".[87]

Thong Khaow was the great-grandson of Hussein, who succeeded his father as the ruler of Phatthalung and notably married Khun Plong, the second daughter of Wang, the Phraya Ratcha Bangsan (the great-grandson of Hasan). Thong Khaw and Plong's daughter, Sap, was a concubine of Rama III, and their great-granddaughter, Klin, married Nam, the Phraya Chularajmontri. These descendants would continue to be closely linked to the Royal (Rama III and V) and Chularajmontri families through marriage.[88] Lineage documents record that after the four brothers died, the family names were changed; these include Na Phatthalung, Sukonthapirom, Krutanon and Siriton.[89]

Conclusion

An authoritative history of the role played by Muslims in Thai history between the 17th and the 19th century has yet to be written, although some have attempted this important undertaking.[90] We have limited ourselves to introducing and contextualising

[85] For more on Lady Chan, see D. K. Bassett, "Anglo-Malay Relations, 1786–1795," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1965): 187–88; Khoo Salma Nasution, "Once Upon a Time in Phuket: Changing Identities among the Baba Chinese and Thai Muslims in a Tourist Paradise " in *Reflections on the Human Condition: Change, Conflict and Modernity [The Work of the 2004/2005 API Fellows]* (API, 2007), 24–26; E. H. S. Simmonds, "Francis Light and the Ladies of Thalang," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1965): 217–18.

[86] "The Thalang Letters, 1773–94: Political Aspects and the Trade in Arms," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26, no. 03 (1963): 613.

[87] Henry Burney, *The Burney Papers*, V vols., vol. II (January to June 1825) (Bangkok: Vajiranna National Library, 1911), 18.

[88] Julispong Chularatana, "Muslim Community During Ayutthaya Period," 250.

[89] Vickery, "Thai Regional Elites and the Reforms of King Chulalongkorn," 867.

[90] These include Thanet Aphornsuvan, "History and Politics of the Muslims in Thailand," (2003); Andrew D. W. Forbes, ed. *The Muslims in Thailand. Volume 1. Historical and Cultural Studies* (Bihar: Centre for South East Asian Studies, 1988); Omar Farouk Bajunid, "The Muslims in Thailand: A Review," *Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 2 (1999); Michel Gilquin, *The Muslims of Thailand*, trans. Michael Smithies (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002); Nasra Mulor, "A Study of Islamic Institutions in Thailand and Their Contribution to Islamic Learning" (Aligarh Muslim University, 2018), 1-51; Songsiri Putthongchai, "What Is It Like to Be Muslim in Thailand? A Case Study of Thailand through Muslim Professionals' Perspectives."; Raymond Scupin and Mark Woodward, "Muslims in Thailand and Burma," in *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, ed. Ronald Lukens-Bull and Mark Woodward (Cham: Springer, 2021), 596–603; Raymond Scupin and Christopher Mark Joll, "Buddhist–Muslim Dynamics in Siam/Thailand," in *Buddhist-Muslim Relations in a Theravada World*, ed. Iselin Frydenlund and Michael Jerryson (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillian, 2020), 101–09; Imtiyaz Yusuf, "Democracy and Muslim Minority in

the empirical material we have collected, as we have sought to plug some of the many gaps in the scholarly literature dealing with Muslim presence in Siam between early-17th century and the mid-19th century. We have demonstrated that the importance of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage requires that fellow Thai and Muslim Studies specialists do more than merely mention them, as many have.[91]

Thailand," in *Religion and Democracy in Thailand*, ed. Imtiyaz Yusuf and Canan Atiligan (Bangkok: Konrad-Adenauner-Stiftung, 2008), 246–48; "Religious Diversity in a Buddhist Majority Country: The Case of Islam in Thailand," *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 3, no. September (2003): 135–37. Some have surveyed developments in North Thailand: Feng Yu and Suchart Setthamalinee, "The Diversity of Chinese Muslim Identities: A Special Hui in Yunnan," in *Hui Muslims in China*, ed. Gui Rong, Hacer Zekiye Gönül, and Zhang Xiaoyan (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016); Andrew D. W. Forbes, "The Yunnanese ("Ho") Muslims of North Thailand," in *The Muslims of Thailand. Volume 1. Historical and Cultural Studies*, ed. Andrew D. W. Forbes (Bihar: Centre for South East Asian Studies, 1988); "The "Cin-Ho"(Yunnanese Chinese) Caravan Trade with North Thailand During the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 21, no. 1 (1987); "The Cin-Ho (Yunanese Chinese) Muslims of North Thailand," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 7, no. January (1982); Raymond Scupin, "The Socio-Economics Status of Muslims in Central and North Thailand," ibid.4, no. 2 July (1981); Suchart Setthamalinee, "The Transformation of Chinese Muslim Identities in Northern Thailand," *Journal of Social Sciences of Chiang Mai University* 19, no. 2 (2008); Suthep Soonthornpasuch, "Islamic Identity in Chiengmai City: A Historical and Structural Comparison of Two Communities" (University of California, Berkeley, 1977); Michael K. J. Vatikiotis, "Ethnic Pluralism in the Northern Thai City of Chiang Mai" (Oxford University, 1984). Others have concentrated on Central Thailand's ethnically and confessionally Muslim community: Julispong Chularatana, "Muslim Community During Ayutthaya Period."; "The Shiʿite Muslims in Thailand from Ayutthaya Period to the Present."; "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)."; "Indo-Persian Influence on Late Ayutthaya Art, Architecture, and Design."; Christoph Marcinkowski, "The Iranian-Siamese Connection: An Iranian Community in the Thai Kingdom of Ayutthaya," *Iranian Studies* 35, no. 1-3 (2002); *From Isfahan to Ayutthaya. Contacts between Iran and Siam in the 17th Century* ; "Shiʿism in Thailand: From the Ayutthaya Period to the Present."; Mallika Masudi et al., "The Monarchy and Muslims in Thailand During Siam's Transition to Modernity," in *The Monarchy and Muslims in Thailand*, ed. Stephen Lorriman and Adisra Katib (Bangkok: Internal Security Operations Command, 2017); Scupin, "Islam in Thailand before the Bangkok Period."; "Thai Muslims in Bangkok: Islam and Modernization in a Buddhist Society" (University of California, 1978). On the history of the Malay far-south, see Francis R. Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Da'ud Bin 'Abd Allah Al-Fatani in Mecca and Southeast Asia*, ed. David Chandler and Rita Smith Kipp, Southeast Asia: Politics, Meaning, and Memory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016); Christopher Mark Joll, *Muslim Merit-Making in Thailand's Far-South*, ed. Gabriele Marranci and Bryan S. Turner, Muslims in Global Societies (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 25–60; Patrick Jory, ed. *The Ghosts of the Past in Southern Thailand: Essays on the History and Historiography of Patani* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2012); Wayne A. Bougas, "Patani in the Beginning of the Xvii Century," *Archipel* 39 (1990); *The Kingdom of Patani. Between Thai and Malay Mandalas* (Bangi: Institute of the Malay World and Civilization, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1994).; Teeuw and Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*; Ibrahim Syukri, *History of the Malay Kingdom of Pattani*, trans. Trans. by, C. Bailey, and J. Miksic (Athens, OH.: Center for International Studies, Ohio University., 1985)., and archaeological work: Wayne A. Bougas, *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* (Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Historical Society, 1988); "Some Early Islamic Tombstones in Patani," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 59, no. 1 (1986).

[91] Sultan Sulaiman has been mentioned by Winyu Ardrugsa, "'Stranger' / 'Home-Land': Muslim Practice and Spatial Negotiation in Contemporary Bangkok" (The Open University, 2012), 58, 63–64; Chaiwat Meesantan, "Minoriti Melayu Di Bangkok Dan Kawasan Sekitarnya: Antara

What fresh insights into Siam's Muslim minorities during the 17th century—about which so much has been written—have we achieved? Like the descendants of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi (between Ayutthaya and Patani) from the reign of King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656) and Rama III, members of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage were co-opted by successive Siamese courts during a period in which it was common for (non-Buddhist) foreigners to be routinely ennobled. This was our main reason for paying adequate attention to contextualising their rise, and occasional demise. Juxtaposing these Muslim lineages has brought into focus the mixed fortunes of both. We have identified family resemblances in the changing fortunes of these noble lineages. Hasan and Aqa Muhammed Astarabadi were executed for their indiscretion, and more clear-cut treason. Sultan Mustapha was forgiven, rehabilitated, and (along with Hussein) reassigned to administrative roles in Chaiya and Phatthalung. How might the co-option, rehabilitation, and assimilation of Sultan Sulaiman's sons be explained? Can Narai's leniency towards Mustapha and Hussein be attributed to his Persian courtiers? Whilst tantalising, there is no evidence to support such a position. That Hasan earned Narai's trust is demonstrated by his involvement in Siam's siege of Singora. Eleven years later in 1691, Hasan's conduct, following the siege of Nakhon Sri Thammarat ordered by King Phra Phetracha in 1691, led to him (literally) losing his head. Like the sons of Aqa Muhammed Astarabadi, Hasan's sons went on to serve the successors of the Siamese monarchs who had executed their father.

Over and above our analysis of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage revealing a range of connections between South and Central Thailand, we argue that our incremental introduction and analysis, of primary and secondary sources mentioning both these Muslim networks have brought into focus that, whilst Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's lineage was involved in the trading, finance and administrative branches of government, Mustapha, Hussein and their descendants were governors (between Chaiya, and Chana). The former was buried in Baan Songkhla, before his son, Hussein, who served Ayutthaya as his assistant became the governor of Phatthalung. By contrast, Hasan's legacy was his contribution to Siam's military—specifically the *Krom Asa Cham*. Although Sultan Mustapha received King Narai's support for replacing Sultan Sulaiman before rebelling, we have curated European and Muslim sources from between 1676 and 1680 mentioning Hasan's involvement in Mustapha's capture and rehabilitation. We also argued that Hasan was both the "Okphra Chaiya" (mentioned by Dhiravat na Pombejra) and the "Phraya Ram Decho/Dejo" (referred to by KijangMas Perkasa and Wood). This was before the appointment of Raja Mansur as governor of Phatthalung, which illustrates that Muslims betrayed (religious and biological) brothers in the service

Survival Dan Kejayaan [the Malay Minority in Bangkok and the Surrounding Area: Between Survival and Success]" (University of Malaya, 2017), 86–87, 97, 117; Julispong Chularatana, "The Monarchy and Thai Muslims During the Traditional Era (from the Ayutthaya to the Rattanakosin Era)," 25, 39, 48, 53–54; "The Shiʿite Muslims in Thailand from Ayutthaya Period to the Present," 52; Alexander Horstmann, "Pilgrimage and the Making of Identities in the South of Thailand," in *Thai South and Malay North: Ethnic Interactions on a Plural Peninsula*, ed. Michael J. Montesano and Patrick Jory (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2008), 282–83; Songsiri Putthongchai, "What Is It Like to Be Muslim in Thailand? A Case Study of Thailand through Muslim Professionals' Perspectives," 98–99.

of successive Siamese courts. Although Hasan served King Narai (before the coup of 1688), his assistance of the (Muslim) governor of Ligor led to his execution in 1691. The rift between Sultan Sulaiman's sons is demonstrated by Hasan's burial next to the grave of Sultan Sulaiman.

More than any others, Hung-Guk Cho and Francis Bradley have documented the many military campaigns during the 16th, and 19th centuries.[92] Bradley refers to the "first Ayutthaya-Patani War" (1563–1564), before sixty years of "intermittent" conflict (1634–1694).[93] Three decades before Ayutthaya's military subjugation of Singora in 1680, Bradley describes Patani's "political and commercial success in the seventeenth century," entering a "long period of decline." This came to a "definitive end" through the five wars that Bangkok waged against Patani in 1786,[94] 1789, 1792,[95] 1808,[96] between 1831 and 1832,[97] and in 1838.[98] Having documented the role of "massacre, slave-raiding, environmental warfare, and the expulsion of refugees" in Bangkok breaking the "power of the Patani sultanate once and for all", Bradley has critiqued Anthony Reid's "low-casualty" thesis of warfare, who argued that after 1740 in mainland Southeast Asia, warfare was a "relatively non-lethal affair".[99] Low-casualty warfare was necessitated by the scarcity of "large, stable workforces in the region".[100]

At this juncture, the following important points need to be made. We have limited ourselves to the legacy of Singora's Muslim Sultans in Singora—not Patani—between the reigns of King Prasat Thong, and Rama III, whereas Bradley concentrated on Bangkok's reprehensibly brutal treatment of the Malays in Patani during the early Bangkok Period. Although we have cited some abortive attempts to co-opt Patani Malay elites, such as Raja Mansur and the young Rajah Kuning, we have documented its success with Sultan Sulaiman's descendants. Arguably, the most important legacy of Siamese co-option of Sultan Sulaiman's descendants was Mahmud's service to the last monarchs of the late-Ayutthaya Period and King Thaksin.

Related to this, another gap in the scholarly literature about the contributions of Muslim elites that this article has filled, are that between King Prasat Thong, and Rama III Muslim subjects were co-opted by Siamese monarchs in a number of ways.

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[92] Hung-Guk Cho, "Thai-Malay Conflicts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *International Area Studies Review* 2, no. 2 (1999); Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Da'ud Bin 'Abd Allah Al-Fatani in Mecca and Southeast Asia*; "Siam's Conquest of Patani and the End of Mandala Relations, 1786–1838," in *The Ghosts of the Past in Southern Thailand: Essays on the History and Historiography of Patani*, ed. Patrick Jory (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2012).

[93] *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Da'ud Bin 'Abd Allah Al-Fatani in Mecca and Southeast Asia*, 24-25.

[94] Ibid., 8, 12, 18, 44–49, 52, 57, 60–62, 75, 84, 104, 08, 13, 15.

[95] Ibid., 49–51.

[96] Ibid., 51–53, 130.

[97] Ibid., 54–56, 97, 106, 08, 13, 30.

[98] Ibid., 60–61.

[99] Anthony M. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680. Volume Two: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 219–33.

[100] Bradley, "Siam's Conquest of Patani and the End of Mandala Relations, 1786–1838," 149.

Descendants of both Datuk Mogol (d. 1620), and Sheikh Ahmad Qomi (d. 1631) were offered more than economically lucrative and politically powerful positions in its administrative and military branches. Alliances between both these Muslim networks and Siamese courts between the Ayutthaya and early-Bangkok periods were also formed by Muslim daughters becoming royal consorts and concubines. Before marrying the Sultan of Johor during the reign of Rajah Ungu, the future Rajah Kunig had been married to the (un-named) "Siamese" governor of Phatthalung around the same time as the daughter of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi became one of Prasat Thong's concubines. We have curated sources citing that a direct descendant of Hasan bore the son of Rama II, and that this became the third ruler of the (present) Chakri dynasty. At this juncture, it is worth noting Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian's documentation of Bangkok's attempts also to create "blood relations" with Kedah. This included "Somdet Chao Phraya," giving his (adopted) daughter in marriage to Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin II (r. 1854–1879). One of the children born from this union was Sultan Abdul Hamid, who succeeded him in 1879. Sultan Abdul Hamid continued this trend by marrying "another Siamese lady of *khunnang* family," which "further cemented" blood relations. Furthermore, both Rama VI (r. 1910–1925) and Rama VII (r. 1925–1934) adopted some of Sultan Abdul Hamid's children. Although Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian argued that that Kedah was the "only Malay tributary" possessing a "close family relationship" with Bangkok, we can now contest her claims.[101] In other words, she appears oblivious to the many overlooked—but nevertheless fascinating—developments between Phatthalung and Kedah connected by portages between Pulau Talibong and Phatthalung's port through which Siamese administrators and armies travelled.

Justin McDaniel has argued against the royal mother of Rama III having become a Muslim apostate or Buddhist convert. That said, we have provided the paper trails pointing out that, during the late-Ayutthaya Period, Phraya Phetphichai (in Ayutthaya, perhaps in 1750), and Khun Kang Lek (in Phatthalung sometime in 1772) demonstrate the increasingly close ties between some Muslim administrators and the Siamese courts in Ayutthaya that led to some members of both the Sheikh Ahmad Qomi and Sultan Sulaiman lineages forsaking the religion of their extended families. In addition to both these religious defectors being members of Siam's most influential Muslim elites between the early 17th, and the mid-19th century, other connections between them include female descendants of Sultan Sulaiman having married male members of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi's descendants, who represented Siam's Muslim minority in the court as the Chularajamontri. A number of scholars, contributing to both Thai Studies and corners of Muslim Studies sharing our interests in Thailand, have pointed out that notwithstanding these having been members of its Shiʿite community before 1945, since then the (royally appointed) Chularajamontri has been a Sunni.[102] Anyone possessing an

[101] Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, *Thai-Malay Relations: Traditional Intra-Regional Relations from the Seventeenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Wang Gungwu, East Asian Historical Monographs (Singapore: Oxford University Press., 1988), 95.

[102] Imtiyaz Yusuf, "The Role of the Chularajamontri (Shaykh Al-Islam) in Resolving Ethno-Religious Conflict in Southern Thailand," *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 27, no. 1 (2010): 37–40.

even rudimentary knowledge of early Islamic history will have noted that two of Datuk Mogul's sons were named after the grandsons of Muhammad. Can this be attributed to these first-generation immigrants to Singora having been Shiʿites? Perhaps this reveals the local importance in Southeast Asia to the wider importance of household of the Prophet (Arabic: *Ahl al-Bayt*), which some have recently referred to as 'Alid piety.[103] Whatever the reasons—and however fascinating—such conundrums will have to be dealt with in subsequent publications, throwing a wider conceptual framework on the contemporary relevance of the Sultan Sulaiman lineage.

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