

Contending Identities: Islam and Ethnicity in Old Bangkok

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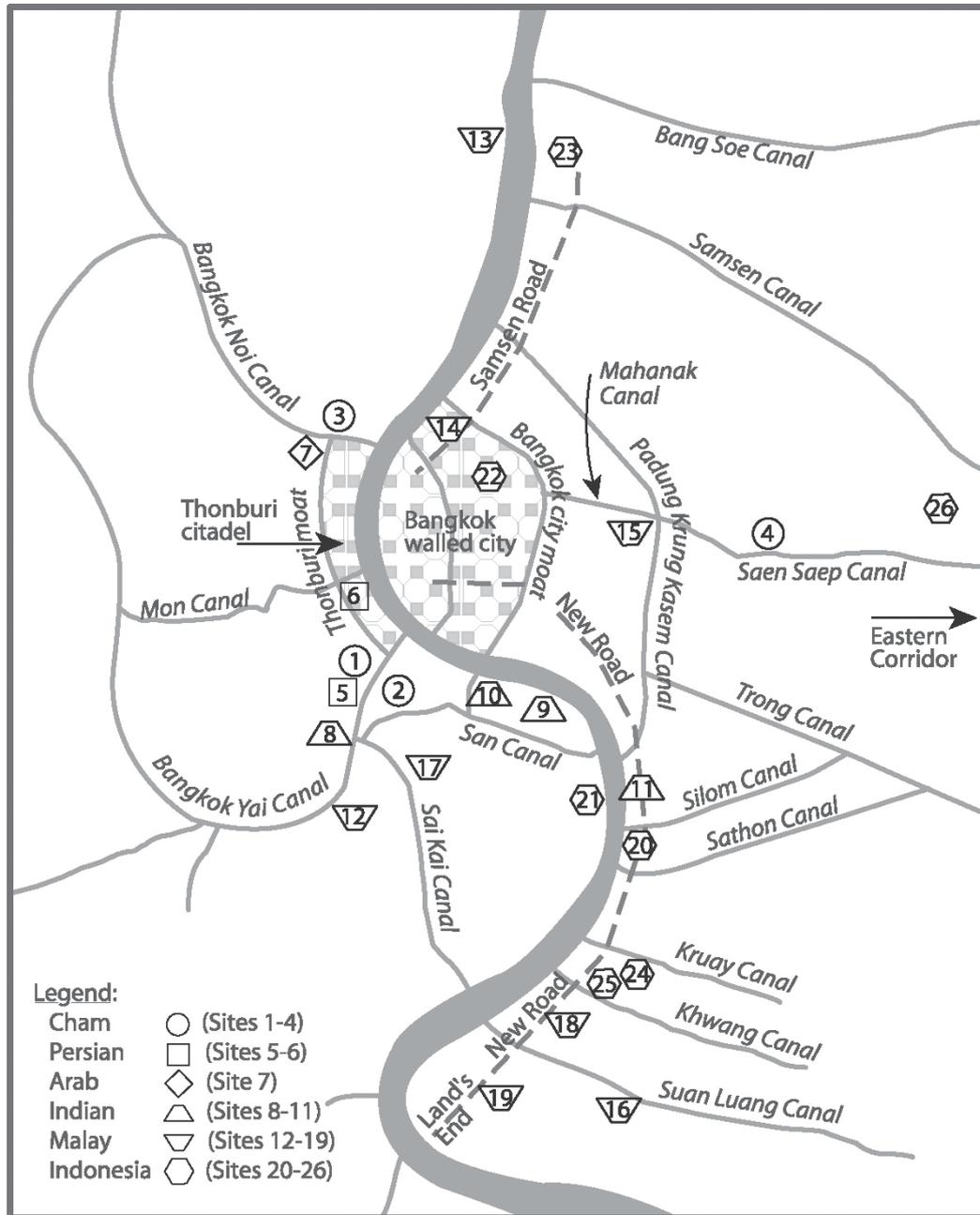
Abstract

Over the century-and-a-half history of “Old Bangkok” (1767-1910), a number of villages representing six Muslim ethnic groups – Persian, Arab, Indian, Cham, Malay, and Indonesian – were established in the Thai capital’s peripheral precincts. The biographies of twenty-six of those settlements are briefly reviewed here to reveal their place in Bangkok’s urban development. The status and location of those ethnic minorities along the urban perimeter were governed primarily by the political conditions of their arrival. The occupations they took up filled specialized niches in the city’s economy. Their social isolation persisted largely due to their cultural inversion under Siam’s benign policy regime. Though overtaken by later developments, particularly the rise of Thai nationalism and the global Islamic resurgence, the role formerly played by those villages in Old Bangkok can be more fully appreciated, in retrospect, in terms of their varied ethnicity than simply with regard to their shared religion.

In former centuries, Siam’s Muslim inhabitants may have accounted for well over a tenth of the kingdom’s total population, depending on how far down the Malay Peninsula the Siamese realm is calculated to have extended; one knowledgeable Western resident in the mid-19th century calculated Siam’s “Malay” population at one million, about 17 percent of the kingdom’s total estimated population (Pallegoix, 2000 [1854]: 2). The kingdom’s retracted southern border following the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909 caused its Muslim population to shrink appreciably; as a result, their number is today believed to account for less than a tenth of the total citizenry. In the absence of official census data by religion, a 1988 estimate of the kingdom’s Muslim population multiplied the country’s total of 2,600 mosques by a rule-of-thumb figure of 2,000 people per mosque to arrive at a national Muslim population of 5.2 million, or around nine percent of the kingdom’s total citizenry. For the Bangkok Metropolis, the equivalent figures were 155 mosques and 310,000 Muslims, accounting for six percent of the capital’s residents (Thailand: n.d. [1988?]). By 2011, those figures had risen to 174 mosques and 348,000 Muslims, or an estimated 6.1 percent of the capital’s total population (Thailand, n.d. [2011?]).

Among the Thai populace, the Muslim minority is commonly referred to collectively – sometimes pejoratively – as *khaek isalam*, literally meaning “Muslim guests” or “strangers” (Scupin, 1998: 148; Keyes, 2008-2009: 21, 27; Winyu, 2014: 3, 16), a term that carries subtle exclusionary connotations implicit in a sense of

Figure 1: 26 Muslim villages of Old Bangkok, by ethnic group, 1910



Note: The numbered sites and ethnic designations here correspond with the 26 village names and mosques listed in Fig. 2.

Figure 2. Muslim villages and mosques of Old Bangkok

<i>Village sites^a</i>	<i>Traditional village names</i>	<i>Formal mosque names^b</i>	<i>Ethnic groups</i>
1	Kudi Yai, Kudi Kao, Ton Son	Ton Son Mosque	Cham
2	Kudi Mai, Kudi Luang, Kudi Khaw	Kudi Khaw	Cham
3	Kudi Asa Cham (abandoned, 1910s?)	- - - (unknown)	Cham
4	Ban Khaek Khrua, Ban Khrua		
	Ban Khrua Klang	Yami ul-Koiriya Mosque	Cham
	Ban Khrua Nai	Suluk ul-Mattakin Mosque	Cham
	Ban Khrua Nok	Darul Falah Mosque	Cham
5	Kudi Nok, Kudi Klang, Kudi Charoenphat	<i>Phadungtham Islam Mosque</i>	Persian
6	Kudi Chao Sen	<i>Kudi Luang Chao Sen</i> (demolished 1947)	Persian
7	Ban Khaek Bangkok Noi	<i>Ansarit Sunnah Mosque</i> (destroyed 1945)	Arab
8	Kudi Nok, Kudi Lang	<i>Dinfallah Mosque</i>	Indian
9	Toek Khaw	<i>Sefi Mosque</i>	Indian
10	Toek Daeng	<i>Kuwatil Islam Mosque</i>	Indian
11	Ban Khaek Bang Rak, Ban Khaek	Muang Khae Harun Mosque	Indian
12	Ban Suan Phlu	Suan Phlu Mosque	Malay
13	Bang O	Ihachan Mosque	Malay
14	Bang Lamphu	Chakraphong Mosque	Malay
15	Ban Tani	Mahanak Mosque	Malay
16	Ban Suan Luang	al-Athik Mosque	Malay
17	Ban Khaek Sai Kai, Ban Khaek Ban Somdet	Nurul Mubin Mosque	Malay
18	Bang Uthit	Bang Uthit Mosque	Malay
19	Ban Trok Mo	as-Salafiya Mosque	Malay
20	Ban U	Ban U Mosque	Indonesian
21	Ban Khaek Lang, Ban Suwanaphum	Suwanaphumi Mosque	Indonesian
22	Ban Toek Din	Toek Din Mosque	Indonesian
23	Ban Khaek Kraboe	Nurul Islam Mosque	Indonesian
24	Ban Kruay, Ban Trok Chan	Darul Abidin Mosque	Indonesian
25	Ban Khwang	Bayan Mosque	Indonesian
26	Ban Makkasan	Niamatul Islam Mosque	Indonesian

Notes: ^a Village sites follow the numbered site sequence in the text.

^b Mosque names registered with the Thai government (since 1947). Mosques referred to in *italics* denote Shia denomination. All other mosques are Sunni denomination.

“otherness” (Thongchai, 2000). Perhaps that “otherness” may arise from the fact that the great majority of the kingdom’s Muslims have historically been domiciled in the South, with only a secondary presence concentrated in and around Bangkok. It has even been suggested that the name “Bangkok” (formerly Ban Kok) may derive from a centuries-old designation, “Ban Khaek” (Bajunid, 1992: 25), referring to an early intrusion of those Muslim “strangers” into the Thai heartland. In telling confirmation of the distinction between the Muslims of the South and Center, those of Central Thailand are commonly termed “Thai Islam” (*thai islam*) in contrast to the “Malay Muslims” (*musalim malayu*) of the South. In secular terms, the “Thai Islam” have accommodated to the dominant Thai cultural ethos far more readily than have the “Malay Muslims” of the South. In that process, their traditional ethnicity has faded, if language facility, dress, and work preferences can serve as a gauge (Chokchai, 2011: 435-438). Nevertheless, they have managed to retain their traditional religious convictions and practices to a remarkable extent. The Muslims of the Center and those of the South today thus “converge as adherents of the same religion, but diverge when it comes to giving prominence to ethnicity and language over other forms of identity” (Yusuf, 2010: 43); trust and empathy within the group, and conversely suspicion and rejection of outsiders, have gravitated from ethnicity to religion.

The Siamese capital’s ethnographically complex Muslim landscape had its origins well back in Ayutthaya times (pre-1767). Ayutthaya’s diverse Muslim community was long composed of two distinct elements. One – Persian, Arab, Indian – consisted of “sojourners”: long-distance voyagers visiting the Thai capital as emissaries and merchants from distant lands. The other – Malay, Cham, Indonesian – comprised “subjects”: war captives, mercenaries, and refugees from nearby lands of Southeast Asia. The former were predominantly of the Shia persuasion; the latter were invariably Sunni. The two groups differed not only in regional origin and religious denomination but also in socio-political status and economic pursuits, and they were accordingly allotted separate settlement sites at Ayutthaya: The West and South Asian “sojourners” were provided residential quarters within the walled city while the Southeast Asian “subjects” were relegated to the capital’s extramural precincts. At Thonburi and then Bangkok, following the fall of Ayutthaya, the Muslim community came to be distributed in a more restrictive spatial pattern, almost entirely outside the walled city (see Fig. 1).

The Bangkok-Thonburi hub and its deltaic hinterlands – a region today comprising roughly the 1,569 square kilometer Bangkok Metropolis – constituted a distinct Muslim catchment zone. Yet, it probably never accounted for more than seven or eight percent of the kingdom’s total Muslim population. The preponderance of those people are descendants of the Malay war captives who were assigned to the eastern reaches of the Chaophraya Delta during the 1830s. Other, smaller Muslim settlements of varied ethnicity emerged in earlier reigns to ring the royal city. While those dispersed villages were progressively engulfed over the course of the 20th century by the sprawling density of the city’s commercial neighborhoods, the basic lineaments of the 19th century Muslim settlement pattern continue to be readily observable in the distribution of mosques (*masjit* or *masyit*, or alternatively *surao*; or archaically *kudi*; or for the Shia denomination, *imambara*) across the area.

The histories of each of the six Muslim ethnic groups at the successive Siamese capitals are briefly reviewed below as background to a series of capsule biographies of twenty-six noteworthy Muslim villages of “Old Bangkok” (1782-1910). The locations of those settlements as of 1910 are mapped in Figure 1, and the corresponding village and mosque names are listed in Figure 2. Those biographies help clarify Old Bangkok’s complex ethnic landscape. Some of the lessons evident in the light of later developments are noted in the Afterword, with the main one being that Old Bangkok’s Muslim community can be better appreciated in terms of its ethnic multiplicity than with regard solely to its religious uniformity.

Cham militias

The ancient realm of Champa, centered along what is today the southern Vietnamese littoral, was as long as a millennium ago renowned as one of Southeast Asia’s premier maritime powers. During the centuries of their dominance over the lower Mekong basin the Cham perfected the art of naval warfare, and that skill was to become one of their defining qualities. Like many of the island kingdoms of the Southeast Asian archipelago, they were influenced by a continuing stream of South and West Asian traders and clerics to abandon their ancestral cults in favor of, first, Hinduism and, later, Islam. Over the course of the 14th-16th centuries Champa came under unrelenting pressure from the southward-spreading Vietnamese, compelling a Cham exodus up the Mekong watershed into Cambodia, with others dispersing across the sea to the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian archipelago. Some of those who settled inland were captured by Siamese raiders as early as the 15th century. Others joined Siamese military campaigns as mercenaries in the early 17th century. They continued to play an important naval role in Siam over the ensuing generations, extending into the 19th century and beyond (Sorayut, 2007: 112-113; Scupin, 1998: 240-242).

At Ayutthaya, the Cham warriors were provided a settlement site along the outer bank of the Chaophraya River south of the walled city, bounded by Khu Cham (the Cham Moat) and Khlong Takhian (the Ironwood Canal). The Cham militias (*krom asa cham*) gained acclaim for their prowess in boatbuilding and both freshwater and saltwater naval warfare (Ishii, 2012: 241-242). In ceremonial processions along Ayutthaya’s rivers, Cham sailors were accorded the distinction of paddling the royal barges, a function they continued to perform at Bangkok into the 20th century (Sujaritlak, 1983: 95-102). The chief of the Cham community and commander of the Cham militia at Ayutthaya customarily carried the title of Phraya Racha Wangsan (alternatively Bangsan), and that title – plus many others for his subordinates – was reinstated and elaborated in the Bangkok era (Sorayut, 2001: 11-25; Ishii, 2012: 243; Sisak, 1996).

Some seventy kilometers down the Chaophraya River from Ayutthaya, at the mouth of the Bangkok Yai Canal, behind the well-fortified Thonburi trade depot and customs station, Siam had since the 1600s posted a Cham military garrison (Cushman, 2000: 307-308; Sorayut, 2001: 5-8). Over the course of the Burmese invaders’ final, fatal strike against Ayutthaya in early 1767, that military outpost was assaulted and destroyed, with its Cham defenders killed, captured, or reduced to headlong flight (Cushman, 2000:

496, 498-499; Sorayut, 2001: 15-17, 19-20, 28-29). Around the same time, hundreds of Ayutthaya's Muslim households – Persian, Arab, and Malay as well as Cham – anticipating the capital's imminent fall to Burmese assault, outfitted rafts on which they stealthily drifted off, bribing the besieging forces along the way to allow their safe passage. Many made their way downstream to Thonburi, where their rafts sheltered along the Bangkok Yai Canal. Once the political situation had stabilized following the departure of the Burmese forces and the investiture of Phraya Taksin as ruler of a reborn Siamese kingdom centered at Thonburi, the Muslim raft dwellers were assigned more permanent village sites ashore, along the new capital's outskirts. The humble beginnings of the Thonburi Reign as a cluster of refugee settlements surrounding King Taksin's nascent citadel marked the start of a remarkable resurrection of the Siamese polity, with the powerful memory of Ayutthaya as its guide. Thonburi's Cham community played no small part in that renaissance by providing naval battalions for Taksin's many military exploits. Later generations of Cham settlers at Bangkok, whether war captives, mercenaries, or asylum seekers, continued to benefit from that legacy.

Site 1. Kudi Yai (Village on the Bangkok Yai Canal), later Kudi Kao (Old Village), presently Ton Son (Pine Tree Village)

The Cham presence at Thonburi, dating well back into the Ayutthaya period, centered on a military cantonment situated along the lower reaches of the Bangkok Yai Canal directly behind the fortifications guarding that strategic point on the Chaophraya River. Known as Kudi Yai (after the canal name), that Cham village came to an abrupt end in early 1767 with the destruction of the Thonburi fort at the hands of the Burmese invaders. The site was soon repopulated by Cham survivors of the Ayutthaya holocaust. Over the following years, with the construction of the Thonburi Grand Palace on the site of the former fort, Kudi Yai came to occupy a privileged position, with the Cham reverting to their distinctive naval tradition (Sisak, 1996: 123; Sorayut, 2001: 19-25). In affirmation of that role, the royal shipyards and barge sheds were established directly across from the Cham settlement along the outer bank of the Bangkok Yai Canal (that stretch of the waterway now called the Bang Luang Canal, or "Royal Settlement Canal"). In the Third Reign, however, it was decided to relocate the royal barge sheds to a more prominent site along the opposite shore of the Chaophraya River, at Wat Phra Chetuphon, while the royal shipyards were moved a kilometer up the Bangkok Yai Canal to a new naval base at the confluence of the Sai Kai Canal. Many of the Cham shipwrights and sailors of Kudi Yai followed, and the military importance of the old Cham settlement consequently declined. As if to reassure the Cham villagers of his continued favor, the king extended to them his patronage in the reconstruction of their mosque at Kudi Yai, including the gift of a stand of tropical pine trees (*ton son*) to grace its forecourt (Phathara, 2007: 129). The name of the village and mosque in popular usage was consequently revised to Ton Son, and so it remains to this day, though the pine trees themselves have long since disappeared. Like the settlement's abandonment of its traditional naval function, its changed name has done much to obscure its role in Old Bangkok's history. At the same time, the village has taken on renewed importance in Bangkok's Muslim community through its adherence to the traditional, liberal school

of Southeast Asian Muslim thought and practice in the lively local debate over Islamic reform (Winyu, 2014: 16-20).

Site 2. Kudi Mai (New Village), or Kudi Luang (Village on the Bang Luang Canal), later Kudi Khaw (White Mosque Village)

Some of the Cham refugees who had nestled their rafhouses along the Bang Luang Canal in the wake of Ayutthaya's collapse eventually moved to dry-land homesteads on the less crowded canal shoreline opposite Kudi Yai. There they established Kudi Mai (the New Village), leaving Kudi Yai to be re-dubbed Kudi Kao (the Old Village), and they built there the Bang Luang Mosque, otherwise known as Kudi Luang (Penchan, 2008; Saowani, 2001: 96). At Kudi Mai the Cham settlers found ready employment as shipwrights and sailors at the royal shipyard and barge sheds lining the canal bank. For several generations the village prospered in its naval employment, until the Third Reign removal of the barge sheds to the riverfront at Wat Phra Chetuphon and the shipyard up the Bangkok Yai Canal to the Sai Kai Canal. Thereafter, Kudi Mai, like its cross-canal counterpart Kudi Yai, fell into decline as many of its households moved away and those that remained abandoned their naval calling. Coincident with that cultural dilution, the Bang Luang Mosque was rebuilt in a style emulative of a Thai Buddhist temple, featuring white-plastered brick walls, decorative gables, and tiled roof. In recognition of its gleaming white facade it came to be called Kudi Khaw (the White Mosque), with the village name being revised accordingly. Over the subsequent generations the former close association between Kudi Khaw and Ton Son faded, and today the two much-reduced villages are quite distinct.

Site 3. Kudi Asa Cham (Cham Militia Village)

The 1779/80 passage of a Thai army through Cambodia, led by Chaophraya Surasi (Bunma, the future First Reign viceroy), conscripted large numbers of local troops (Thiphakorawong, 1990, vol. 1: 25). Among those recruits were Cham naval squadrons, several companies of which accompanied the Siamese forces back to Thonburi. After Bunma was installed as Siam's viceroy in 1782, those Cham troops were bivouacked along the Bangkok Noi Canal, directly across the river from the Front Palace, the viceroy's stronghold. There they set up the viceroy's shipyard and barge sheds alongside their cantonment, mirroring the king's Cham naval garrison on the Bang Luang Canal at Kudi Yai (Site 1). The Bangkok Noi Canal settlement endured under the patronage of successive viceroys despite recurrent periods of neglect and attrition. Under Phra Pin Klao (Chutamani), the Fourth Reign viceroy, its sailors served on anti-piracy gunboat cruises along Siam's seaboard provinces (Suporn, 1998: 134, 136-137). During the Fifth Reign, however, they languished as the viceroy's power waned. The situation came to a head around 1880 with King Chulalongkorn's decision to consolidate the administratively splintered Grand Palace and Front Palace naval forces into a single Royal Navy with its headquarters positioned directly across the river from the Grand Palace. The new facility was formally commissioned in 1883, and with the death of the Fifth Reign viceroy in 1885 and the subsequent abolition of his title and military functions, all the remaining Front Palace naval elements were dissolved, culminating in a fully integrated Royal

Navy Department in 1887 (Chaen, 1966). With that reorganization, the Cham sailors were transferred from Kudi Asa Cham to the new Royal Navy Headquarters, with some being assigned to the naval fortifications far downstream at Prapadaeng. Remnants of the old Cham settlement along the Bangkok Noi Canal lingered on for several decades into the early 20th century. Today the site of the former Front Palace naval cantonment, shipyard, and barge sheds is recalled in the shoreline facilities of the Royal Navy Water Procession Transport Department and the neighboring Royal Barge National Museum, sheltered in the shadow of the Arun-Amarin Bridge.

Site 4. Ban Khaek Khrua (Muslim Households Village), or simply Ban Khrua

At the Bangkok end of the Saen Saep Canal, no more than half a kilometer east of its juncture with the Mahanak Canal, was located in the late 19th century a group of three linked Cham settlements known collectively as Ban Khaek Khrua – consisting of Ban Khrua Nai (Inner), Klang (Middle), and Nok (Outer) (Aruwan and Baffie, 1992; Sorayut, 2007: 123). The division of that locality into three villages, each with its own mosque and graveyard, suggests separate village origins and establishment dates, with each village initially comprising an independent social unit. The earliest of those villages, Ban Khrua Klang, or Ban Kao (the Old Village), is conventionally believed to have been settled by Cham war captives carried off from Cambodia by King Rama I around 1782. They were settled along the Nang Hong Canal, a natural eastward extension of the Banglamphu Canal meandering into the Phya Thai scrublands, which they were directed to clear for rice cultivation. They may well have been conscripted in 1783 – before the arrival of the Malay war captives who later populated the area – to help dig the 2.3 kilometer segment of the Banglamphu/Nang Hong Canal which was later named the Mahanak Canal. In 1837 the residual Nang Hong Canal was greatly expanded and extended eastward from its juncture with the Mahanak Canal to become the inner segment of the Saen Saep/Bang Khanak Canal, a major military transport route serving Siam’s volatile Cambodian front in the Vietnamese hostilities that preoccupied much of the remainder of the Third Reign. Thus was established Bangkok’s so-called “Eastern Corridor,” guarded by the Cham militia stationed at Ban Khrua. As the military conflict along the eastern front intensified in the 1840s, an additional contingent of Cham war captives was carried off to Bangkok and settled alongside Ban Khrua Kao, to become Ban Khrua Nai. A third contingent arrived subsequently to form the village of Ban Khrua Nok. Those Cham outposts fulfilled military functions quite distinct from those performed by the Grand Palace and Front Palace Cham militias at Kudi Yai (Site 1) and Kudi Asa Cham (Site 3). Over the ensuing decades of uninterrupted peace along Siam’s eastern front that community’s military tradition lapsed; it was eventually replaced by a commercial specialization in silk weaving for, first, the local luxury market and, later, the burgeoning tourist trade.

Persian courtiers

Court-sponsored merchant emissaries from the great Muslim emporiums of Persia and India had for centuries been risking the difficult and dangerous but potentially

highly lucrative voyage to Siam. During those times, Ayutthaya's commercial and cultural links with the Safavi (Persian) and Mughal (Indian) empires to the west were as celebrated as were those with China and Japan to the east. As royal guests representing powerful overseas interests, the Persian state-traders, in particular, were received with lofty protocol. They brought with them such luxury wares as printed and embroidered textiles, carpets, gemstones, wines, pigments and glazes, and horses, and they returned home with such equally precious goods as ivory, tin, rare woods, aromatics, spices, medicinal herbs, and elephants. The more enterprising among them set up their own docking, warehousing, and processing facilities at Ayutthaya, cultivated advantageous local connections, married local women, entered government service, and rose to high noble rank. Their standing in 17th century Ayutthaya was reflected in their centrally situated settlement, mosque, and graveyard within the city wall. Through their dominance of Ayutthaya's Indian Ocean trade they gained continuing control of the Western Trade Department (*krom tha khwa*), with their chief carrying the rank and title of Phraya Chula Rachamontri (Breazeale, 1999: 9-15; Julisphong, 2003: 88-108). As that noble represented the commercial interests of Ayutthaya's South and West Asian Muslims at court, it is commonly asserted (in the absence of documentary evidence) that he held titular custody over the kingdom's other Muslim communities as well (Julisphong, 2008: 46-47).

To facilitate their long-distance trading ventures, the Persian merchants set up transshipment and production facilities along India's Gujarati and Malabar Coasts. From there they travelled to Ayutthaya via the Andaman ports of Martaban, Tavoy, Ye, and Mergui. During the 17th and 18th centuries several rose to the governorship of first one, then another of those key transit points. The collapse of Persia's Safavi dynasty in the 1730s, followed by Siam's loss of the Andaman ports to Burmese armies during the 1750s-1760s, had a ruinous impact on the Persian traders' position in Siam. Ayutthaya's fall in 1767 spelled their ultimate commercial collapse. The surviving remnants of Ayutthaya's Persian community were left impoverished and rudderless. Cut off from their ethnic roots, left to their own devices in salvaging what they could of their cultural heritage, aristocratic pedigree, and former wealth, their subsequent generations at Bangkok could best be called "indigenized Persians."

A straggle of Persian survivors of the Ayutthaya catastrophe were among the bevy of refugees who found their way to Thonburi in the wake of Phraya Taksin's liberation of that downriver stronghold. They moored their rafhouses along the Bangkok Yai Canal directly upstream from the Cham community at Kudi Yai (Site 1). In due course, they were absorbed into the new capital's emerging design with the assignment of a dry-land site on which to erect their mosque, graveyard, and residences. Over the course of Taksin's reign, they played no active military role, nor were they able to revive Siam's Indian Ocean trade links. Consequently, in marked contrast to the Cham, they were accorded no great distinction by the warrior king. Their leader, Konkaew, son of Ayutthaya's last Phraya Chula Rachamontri, managed to rise no higher in the nobility than the relatively modest rank of Luang Nawarat until fifteen years into the First Reign, when, through his supporters' intensive lobbying, he was instated as head of the Western Trade Department and awarded his father's former rank and title, with his younger

brother, Akayi (or Aga Yi, “Second in Command”) succeeding to that position after his death. Bangkok’s Persian community thus regained its former administrative command of the Western Trade Department, over which it retained jurisdiction for another century (Julisphong, 2003: 88-108).

Site 5. Kudi Nok (Outer Village), later Kudi Klang (Middle Village), presently Kudi Charoenphat (after a nearby bridge of that name)

Finding little favor with King Taksin due to their lack of military prowess, the Persian asylum seekers at Thonburi bided their time on their rathouses lining the Bangkok Yai Canal until, most likely soon after the start of the First Reign, they were assigned a dry-land village site upstream from Kudi Yai. Their new village and mosque (or *imambara*, following Shia terminology) at the Thonburi outskirts came to be known as Kudi Nok. There they continued to reside until, around 1797, the Persian community’s fortunes were reshaped with the elevation of their leader to the rank, title, and administrative functions of Phraya Chula Rachamontri, accompanied by his relocation to a prominent riverside residence (Site 6) directly across from the Bangkok Grand Palace. Kudi Nok was left under the direction of Aga Yi, who was eventually appointed Bangkok’s second Phraya Chula Rachamontri. During the Second or early Third Reign, after the establishment of another Shia village (Site 8) further up the Bangkok Yai Canal, Kudi Nok was re-termed Kudi Klang. A century later its name was changed yet again to Kudi Charoenphat, which derives from the name of a major nearby bridge built in 1913, the first to span the Bangkok Yai Canal.

Site 6. Kudi Chao Sen (Village of Imam Hussein)

The dramatic rise in 1797 of Konkaew, the Persian community’s leader, to the directorship of the Western Trade Department, carrying the rank of *phraya* in the Siamese nobility, was accompanied by the award of a choice residential site along the Thonburi riverbank. Some 400 retainers are said to have accompanied him in founding there the village of Kudi Chao Sen (Imanaga, 2000: 249). The *imambara* that was built there became the epicenter of Shia worship at Bangkok for the next 150 years. However, the narrowly bounded residential tract necessitated that the village dead would continue to be buried in the Kudi Nok graveyard (Site 5), over a kilometer distant. At Kudi Chao Sen, eight successive direct descendants of Konkaew and his brother, Aga Yi, came to hold the title of Phraya Chula Rachamontri, retaining control of the kingdom’s Western Trade Department to the 1890s and exercising titular command of Siam’s Muslims to the 1940s (though the last two incumbents carried the reduced rank of *phra*). The community’s privileged status entered into an irreversible decline in 1892 with the comprehensive government reorganization that eliminated the Western Trade Department. Perhaps in partial atonement for that slight, King Rama V in 1897/98, on the occasion of the settlement’s centennial celebrations, sponsored a thorough renovation of its *imambara* and redubbed it Kudi Luang Chao Sen. A generation later, having already lost his noble perquisites with the end of the absolute monarchy in 1932, the Shia leader’s role as titular head of the kingdom’s Muslim community ended in the turbulent years after the Second World War with the election of a Malay Sunni leader to that position. At the same time

(1947), the Kudi Chao Sen village site, including its *imambara*, was dismantled and merged into the neighboring Royal Navy Headquarters. The residents were relocated to a new village site on Pran-nok Road, along Thonburi's rustic periphery. In memory of its illustrious past, the new settlement and its mosque were named Kudi Luang.

Arab voyagers

The commerce-led eastward spread of not only Shia (Persian) but also Sunni (Ottoman and Arab) Islam across Asia intensified over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. In that venture, the Arabs generally bypassed the Shia way-stations of the Gujarat region, preferring to round Cape Comorin to India's Coromandel coast before voyaging on to the Southeast Asian trading emporiums. That mutual distancing exemplified the prevailing West Asian imperial hostilities and trade rivalries between Islam's Shia and Sunni denominations. The political-commercial-doctrinal conflict extended to Ayutthaya, where the Arabs were marginalized in the presence of the well-established Persian community (Andaya, 1999: 136). Lacking the powerful local connections of the Persian traders and bringing cargos often less valuable and varied than those of the well-heeled Persian fleets, the yearly Arab arrival in the wake of the Indian Ocean's western monsoon excited milder levels of interest. Accordingly, the Arabs were left to play a relatively minor role at Ayutthaya. Nothing remains of their modest settlement along the walled city's southern perimeter, established in the shadow of the notable Persian settlement. Nor does any record survive of their trading activities, and virtually nothing of their other interactions with local society. Most likely, they never established much of a permanent presence, most of them undertaking the round-trip journey to Ayutthaya annually or biennially as itinerant merchants.

In the throes of the Ayutthaya catastrophe of 1767, the Arab-Persian – Sunni-Shia rivalry was set aside. A small number of surviving Arab stragglers – recollected by their descendants today as having originated in the Hadramaut (the Yemen-Oman quarter of Arabia) – joined the conglomeration of Muslim and other asylum seekers drifting downriver to the Thonburi haven. In recognition of the traditional enmity between the Arab and Persian traders, however, King Taksin assigned the Arabs a village site at the far-removed northern end of Thonburi, along the Bangkok Noi Canal, rather than along the more centrally located Bangkok Yai Canal to the south. Unlike the several settlements into which the Shia community eventually divided, the limited number of surviving Arab traders determined that only one Arab village endured at Bangkok.

Site 7. Ban Khaek Bangkok Noi (Muslim Village on the Bangkok Noi Canal)

At Thonburi, the Arab refugees from Ayutthaya were granted a residential site along the inner bank of the Bangkok Noi Canal, immediately upstream from the Thonburi city wall and moat (Saowani, 2001: 97). In its positioning, that settlement twinned with the Cham village at Kudi Yai (Site 1), along the inner bank of the Bangkok Yai Canal just outside the city wall and moat. During the First Reign, the small community of dispossessed Arab merchants found a patron in Prince Anurak Thewet (Thong-in), a

leading royal trading magnate whose residence, the so-called Rear Palace, neighbored the Arab village directly across the city moat and wall. Following Thong-in's death in 1806, followed by the deaths of his three senior sons early in the Third Reign, employment opportunities with the Rear Palace trading ventures evaporated, and the Arab village fell into decline. To make ends meet over the ensuing decades, the village turned to a variety of specialized handicrafts, including the production of rope, rattan and split-bamboo wares, and sleeping mats and kapok mattresses, which the village women sold at the popular nearby Bangkok Noi floating market. The Arab community's lifestyle was again disrupted around 1900 with the government's appropriation of much of the village land as part of a large tract to establish the Bangkok terminus of Siam's Southern Railway (Thailand, n.d. [1903?]). To make amends for the dispossession of their land and dismantling of their mosque, the king sponsored the construction of a new village mosque directly on the canal bank. However, the diminished village and its rebuilt mosque were again devastated in 1945, this time by Second World War Allied bombing intended for the neighboring Japanese-occupied Bangkok Noi rail yards. In compensation, the Arab settlement was relocated after the war to the opposite shore of the Bangkok Noi Canal, where its present, imposing Ansarit Sunnah Mosque was built, again under royal patronage. With that record of repeated disaster and destruction, much of the old village history was lost, though the community continues to cling proudly to its Arab heritage and today stands as a leader among Bangkok's reformist Muslims in its advocacy of Arabic fundamentalism (*wahhabiya*).

Indian merchants

The Indian emporiums of Surat and Ahmedabad for centuries served as the home ports of Gujarati entrepreneurs seeking to extend their business interests to Southeast Asia. Often sharing the risks attendant to their maritime ventures in collaboration with Persian interests, unified with the Persians in their Shia beliefs and practices, melded with them through intermarriage – and thus sometimes spoken of as “Indo-Iranian” – the Gujarati business establishment formed a potent trading connection with Ayutthaya. By the mid-18th century, that Indo-Siamese commercial alignment was coming under rising pressure, not only due to the changing power balance between India's west and east coast business communities with the collapse of Persia's Safavi empire, but more immediately from mounting Burmese aggression along Siam's Andaman coast. Well apprised of the approaching Burmese peril, most of the itinerant Indian traders at Ayutthaya and its Andaman ports weighed anchor and sailed off to safer havens in good time. No perceptible Indian element was thus evident in the convergence of Ayutthaya survivors at Thonburi in the early Taksin years, nor was any Indian participation recorded in the recovery of Siam's overseas trade during the first two reigns of the Bangkok period. Only with the pacification of the Indian Ocean transport system after the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815), the founding of Singapore as a secure maritime entrepôt (1819), the enthronement of Siam's vigorously trade-oriented King Rama III (1824), and the promulgation of the trade-enhancing Bowring Treaty (1855) did a vigorous Indian mercantile presence reassert itself in Siam. Once the conditions had been laid,

the participation of Indian Muslims in Bangkok's expanding economy passed quickly through three expansionary phases.

First phase: Along the Bang Luang Canal

As of 1844, Bangkok was hosting at least four notable Indian trading ventures, three functioning as branches of Bombay-based "native houses" and the fourth represented by a "native merchant" from Madras (Moore, 1914-1915: 29). The Bombay (Shia) merchants set up shop along the Bang Luang Canal (Site 8), near Bangkok's principal Persian settlement (Site 5). The Madras (Sunni) trader, lacking influential local connections, probably operated directly from his ship or from a rafterhouse moored along the riverbank well downstream from the walled city. All the Indian merchants fell under the immediate supervision of the Western Trade Department, administered by Bangkok's locally intermarried and culturally assimilated Persian nobility. That ensured a degree of favoritism towards the Gujarati (Shia) trading ventures. In their efforts to gain access to Siam's state-controlled export commodities under favorable terms, they sought the patronage of Phraya Si Phiphat (That), director of the Merchandise Warehouse Department (*krom phra khlung sinkha*) and himself the scion of an Ayutthaya-era Shia lineage (long-since converted to Buddhism). That effort succeeded in the 1840s with the establishment of a cluster of Indian trading ventures along the Khlong San district riverfront in the shadow of That's estate (Piyarat, 1988: 247-248).

The Indian merchants initially specialized in the importation of calico and chintz fabrics, with imported gemstones adding a lucrative sideline. Brisk competition in the local luxury textiles market, catering to the discriminating tastes of the Thai aristocracy, soon turned the Indian merchants to dyeing, printing, and embroidering raw imported muslins at their Bangkok facilities. Those textile-processing operations relied on skilled labor, which the merchants acquired through the overseas recruitment of indentured Indian workers, most of whom returned to India upon the termination of their contracts. The transport economics of the long-distance textile trade also required a reciprocal export side. Leather, particularly the delicate and plentiful Siamese deer hide, offered a viable option, though that product involved the odious processing tasks of scraping, tanning, dyeing, cutting, and drying. With local (Buddhist) workers refusing to take on those tasks, the merchants again turned to imported (Muslim) Indian labor, a procedure that over time discreetly increased the scale of Bangkok's Indian populace (Scupin, 1998: 243-246; Inthira, 2004; Praphatson, 2007).

Site 8. Kudi Nok (Outer Village), or Kudi Lang (Rear Village)

Adam Ali, an Indian Shia merchant-adventurer originally from Lucknow, undertook repeated voyages from Surat to Bangkok during the Second and Third Reigns with cargos of high-quality Indian textiles. Through Bangkok's "indigenous Persian" nobility he gained access to the Thai aristocracy, who frequented his displays of shipboard stores with enthusiasm. The profitability of his textile-trading venture convinced him of the value of investing in a permanent Bangkok presence. Permission was eventually received to erect a dock and godowns along the Bang Luang Canal at Thonburi's western outskirts. There, he established a textile dyeing and printing manufactory staffed

by Indian artisans brought in on his annual voyages. The new village and mosque that he founded there for his Indian Shia work force came to be known as Kudi Nok (Outer Village, Outer Mosque), leaving the old Persian village of Kudi Nok (Site 5) to be redubbed Kudi Klang (Middle Village). His innovative venture, specializing in the local import-export processing of high-value goods with ethnically compatible skilled labor, set the standard for Bangkok's later resident Indian merchants.

Second phase: The Khlong San district

In his capacity as director of the Merchandise Warehouse Department, administering the royal monopoly trade, Phraya Si Phiphat (That) during the Third Reign built lines of royal godowns and docks fronting his estate along the Khlong San district riverfront. Some of those solid brick structures were plastered and whitewashed (and thus came to be known as *toek khaw*, or “white brick buildings”) while others retained their raw brick facades (and thus were referred to as *toek daeng*, or “red brick buildings”). Late in the Third Reign the royal monopoly trade, based on a cumbersome system of in-kind tax and tribute collections, was abandoned in favor of an income “outsourcing” system under which that major state revenue-gathering task was delegated to Chinese and other trading magnates functioning as tax farmers (Vella, 1955: 22-23, 127; Hong, 1984: 38-74). As the royal monopoly trade was phased out, the royal godowns were emptied of their inventories. Phraya Si Phiphat then turned to the ingenious expedient of renting the vacant godowns to Indian traders, and thereby he created new Indian merchant settlements (Sites 9 and 10) along the Khlong San district waterfront.

Site 9. Toek Khaw (the White Brick Buildings)

Late in the Third Reign, several Gujarati Shia merchants received permission to establish their business premises in the recently vacated government godowns along the Khlong San district riverfront directly downstream from the estate of Phraya Si Phiphat. One of the first of those merchants was A.T.E. Maskati, a textile dealer from Ahmedabad. Earlier in the Third Reign he had set up a Bangkok branch of his firm at Kudi Klang (Site 5), the Shia center along the Bang Luang Canal. Recognizing the favorable economic prospects augured by the Bowring Treaty, he expanded his operations in 1856 with a textile dyeing and printing factory at Toek Khaw, employing at its peak around 600 Muslim workers (Mani, 1993: 913). There he was joined by other recently arrived Indian Shia merchants in building a prayer shelter, eventually rebuilt as the Toek Khaw Mosque, later renamed the Sefi Mosque. They also built there in later years several additional godowns for expanded inventory storage, factory operations, and workers' quarters. To avoid the language and other cultural difficulties attendant to recruiting local workers for the dyeing of textiles and tanning of leather, they imported much of their own Indian labor force, the origin of the present-day Shia settlements lining that riverfront.

Site 10. Toek Daeng (the Red Brick Buildings)

In the aftermath of the signing of the Bowring Treaty, this small settlement was developed by a group of newly arrived Gujarati merchants at a prime commercial site

on the riverbank less than half a kilometer upstream from Toek Khaw (Saowani, 2001: 98). It occupied an old line of royal godowns at the mouth of the Khanon Canal (later known as the Talat Somdet Chaophraya Canal), alongside the residential compound of Phraya Si Phiphat (That), who had recently been elevated to Chaophraya Phichaiyat. In 1859, the heirs of the recently deceased Chaophraya Phichaiyat (That) donated to that group of Indian merchants a half-acre plot at that site to build the Toek Daeng Mosque, later renamed the Kuwatil Islam Mosque. The merchants at Toek Daeng were led by Ali Asmail Nana, a Shia (Dawoodie Bohra sect) trader from Surat who received the title of Phra Phichet Sanphanit in the Fourth Reign as an interpreter for the Western Trade Department, married a woman of Siam, and speculated in rice and sugar in collaboration with Chaophraya Phichaiyat; under his son, Jusuf Ali Bey Nana, the family firm transferred its offices crossriver to the Sampheng district's Rachawong Road and prospered in property development.

Third phase: Crossriver and downriver

During the boom years bridging the turn of the 20th century, many of the Shia firms of the Khlong San district relocated their trading headquarters across the river to the Sampheng district's Rachawong neighborhood, while many of the Sunni firms made a parallel crossriver move to the Bang Rak district. The more enterprising and prosperous among them branched out along such promising lines as commission agents, bankers, insurance brokers, auctioneers, export-goods processors, consumer-goods manufacturers, freight forwarders, shipowners, and property speculators. Despite that distinct move up Bangkok's commercial ladder, most of them retained their residences and mosques, as well as their principal docking, warehousing, and production facilities, at their established bases along the west bank of the river. Through that spatial buffer, they sought to preserve their families' and communities' cultural integrity and religious orthodoxy in the face of their professional immersion in Bangkok's increasingly cosmopolitan world.

At the same time, the Singapore packet steamer traffic brought in a steady trickle of Indian immigrants – Hindus and Sikhs as well as Muslims – in search of new economic opportunities, many of them accompanied by their dependents. As British subjects, they were (from 1855 to the 1920s) protected by the extraterritoriality provisions of the Bowring Treaty. Their widespread presence is recorded as early as 1883 in the city's first postal register (Thailand, 1883; Wilson, 1989). Most of them took residence in the Pahurat, Saphan Han, Rachawong, Talat Noi, and Bang Rak commercial neighborhoods along Charoenkrung Road (more conveniently referred to by its English name, New Road) and also in the less crowded districts along the Sai Kai Canal on the west bank and the newly burgeoning Bang Ko Laem (Peninsular Village) east-bank port district occupying a sharp river bend some ten kilometers downstream from the city center. There they took up such petty bourgeois trades as stall-keepers and shop-owners, tailors, launderers, syces, butchers, ferrymen, watchmen, postmen, clerks, compradors, and the like. Far outdistanced by Bangkok's fast-growing polyglot population as the 20th century proceeded, those newly arrived Muslims came to form a relatively inconspicuous element of the city's flourishing and rapidly diversifying mercantile economy.

Site 11. Ban Khaek Bang Rak (Muslim Village at Bang Rak), also known as Ban Khaek Muang Khae (Muslim Village neighboring Wat Muang Khae)

A unique alliance of two intrepid Singapore-based Tamil entrepreneurs – Vaiti Padayatchi and Mhd. Thamby Saibu Maraikayar – played a vital role in stimulating Bangkok’s Indian immigration flow following the Bowring Treaty of 1855. Padayatchi, a Hindu import-export trader, and Maraikayar, a Sunni Muslim livestock dealer, entered into a joint venture in the 1860s to raise cattle at Bangkok and export their carcasses to the Singapore market on a regular schedule (Mani, 1993: 912-913, 918, 923, 941). To staff that scheme they negotiated an arrangement with the Siamese authorities to bring in a party of Tamil workmen – Hindu cattle herders and drovers to ply their trade in an extensive grazing tract lining the Bang Rak Canal, and Muslim knackers, flensers, butchers, and laders to man the cattle stockyards along a Bang Rak river frontage stretching from Wat Muang Khae to the French legation. The beef export enterprise, with its Muslim workmen’s settlement nestled directly behind the waterfront cattle pens, started up around 1867. However, the incessantly noisome slaughtering operations raised such fierce complaints from the nearby Western legations and business firms that the government was eventually obliged to act. Some time before 1880 the stockyard was condemned, and the workers’ quarters were moved back from the riverbank to leave a cleared ships’ landing. Soon thereafter there was erected on the vacated site an imposing Customs House, which opened its doors in 1884. No longer permitted to use the site for beef processing, the Padayatchi-Maraikayar export venture relocated to a new riverfront site near the Muslim village of Ban U (Site 20), half a kilometer downstream; in 1899 the slaughteryard was moved again, this time to Bangkok’s furthest downriver anchorage, at Land’s End (Thanon Tok, the lower end of New Road), to be re-established as a government-supervised abattoir from which butchered beef could be transported daily to the city in refrigerated tram cars. Though some of Bang Rak’s Muslim cattlemen accompanied that move, the riverside Tamil village, its graveyard, and its Harun Mosque endured, occupying a prime tract directly behind the new Customs House to become a lasting Bang Rak landmark.

Malay captives

The fiercely independent Malay sultanates bestriding the Malay Peninsula along Siam’s southern reaches came under the steadily mounting pressure of Thai expansionism from the 17th century onward. They consequently developed an abiding adversarial relationship with the Siamese state. Repeated Thai military expeditions to subjugate the South carried off much booty, including large numbers of war captives, but they failed to coerce the sultanates into lasting submission. Even the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, which resulted in Siam’s formal annexation of Patani (subsequently known as Pattani) while ceding Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Trengganu to Britain, failed to resolve the longstanding Southern political predicament (Ornanong, 2012: 58-61). One lasting effect that Siam did achieve over its successive centuries of Southern hegemonism was the recurrent deportation of contingents of Malay aristocrats and artisans to Ayutthaya’s and then Bangkok’s immediate outskirts, along with the consignment of thousands of

Malay peasants to the Center's deltaic hinterlands, where they tamed the wide-ranging wetlands while eking out a meager subsistence. A reign-by-reign chronology of the sparsely documented history of those forced migrations and their aftermath over the 18th-19th centuries is indispensable to an appreciation of the scope and character of Bangkok's evolving Muslim presence.

The Thonburi Reign

Over the course of the late Ayutthaya period, thousands of captive Malay households were transported from Patani and the adjacent sultanates fringing the Southern Siamese frontier to the extensive flatlands stretching south and southwest of Ayutthaya, where they were assigned to fill the capital's rice granaries with the yield of their forced labor. Following the depredations and subsequent departure of the Burmese in 1767, some of those households managed to flee back to their ancestral Southern homelands, while others who had managed to evade Burmese capture and deportation resumed their disrupted lives in the vicinity of the old capital. A lesser number accepted King Taksin's invitation to relocate to the newly established stronghold at Thonburi, apparently with the promise that they would thereby be relieved of their war slave status. On the evidence of later developments, it is presumed that most of them were assigned to the open tracts stretching eastward from the river up the old Banglamphu Canal into the Thung Kraboe (Buffalo Fields) district. At the start of the First Reign the digging of the Bangkok city moat, which incorporated the lower segment of the Banglamphu Canal, and then the excavation of the Banglamphu Canal's eastward extension, which came to be known as the Mahanak Canal, set the stage for further Malay settlement of that outlying quarter (Sansani, 1994: 121; Chokchai, 2011: 414). While nothing remains of the Muslim settlements of Thung Kraboe other than Ban Tani (Site 15), several related Malay villages dating back to the Thonburi Reign survive along other sectors of the Bangkok periphery.

Site 12. Ban Suan Phlu (Betel-Vine Garden Village)

In the wake of the Ayutthaya disaster a small party of uprooted Malay households joined the contingent of Cham and Persian Muslim refugee raft-dwellers moored along the Bangkok Yai Canal under the protection of the Thonburi fortifications. Of low status as (former) war slaves, they were assigned a relatively remote village site some three kilometers up the Bangkok Yai Canal from the Thonburi citadel (Saowani, 2001: 98), not far from the old Mon settlement of Bang Yi-roea Mon. There they founded Ban Suan Phlu, cultivating orchards of areca palms and piper-betel vines serving the ubiquitous Siamese betel-chewing market. Nothing further is known of that secluded Malay village until an influx of Chinese market gardeners and traders into the area in the closing decades of the 19th century borrowed the village name by titling their canal-side marketplace Talat Phlu (Betel-Vine Market). Not long thereafter the area was further invaded by a railway line running directly past the Malay village and its mosque, linking Bangkok with the western seaboard provinces, with a stop at Talat Phlu. The line started operation in 1904, and following that "opening up" the settlement was enlivened by the addition of a number of Indian Muslim petty traders hived off from the not-far-

distant Ban Khaek Ban Somdet locale (Site 17). Despite those evolving demographics and the mounting encroachment of urban infrastructure, commercialization, and ethnic diversity, Ban Suan Phlu today retains a good deal of its old Malay cultural character.

Site 13. Bang O (Marsh Grass Village)

This village and its namesake mosque are located on the western riverbank some five kilometers upstream from the Thonburi citadel. Like Ban Suan Phlu (Site 14) and several other Malay villages further upstream (beyond the scope of this study), Bang O was reputedly founded by Malay survivors of the destruction of Ayutthaya (Saowani, 2001: 96-97). The village leader during the First Reign was raised to Phraya Yotha Samut (Director of Maritime Construction), suggesting his official duties as a senior admiralty functionary, evidently a supplier of ships' timbers and planking for the viceroy's naval base on the Bangkok Noi Canal (Site 3). Like its contemporary counterpart, Ban Suan Phlu (Site 12), nothing is known of the further history of Bang O until the late 19th century, when the village is said to have received an influx of Malays from Songkhla led by Mohammat Phet-thongkham, an enterprising merchant who modernized the settlement's old hand-operated sawmill to steam-power, gained access to an upcountry teak concession, and built a thriving timber export business. As leader of the local community, he sponsored the reconstruction of the Bang O Mosque in 1903. Two decades later, in 1924, the community's economy was disrupted by the construction of a barrage across the Pa Sak (Teak Forest) River that interfered with the rafting of timber downstream to Bangkok, and in 1957 by an additional barrage across the Chaophraya River at Chainat. A subsequent turn to timber and rice exports to the Middle East brought an influx of Arab influence and with it a surge of Muslim fundamentalism, which remains a conspicuous feature in the village today (Bajunid, 1992: 45).

The First and Second Reigns

A resurgent Siam bent on replenishing its manpower base in the aftermath of the Ayutthaya disaster turned once again to the South. Demands for the revival of the old tributary relationship with the Malay sultanates were introduced soon after the start of the First Reign but were persistently resisted. Such defiance prompted repeated military campaigns – 1785-1786, 1789-1791, 1808, 1821, 1832, 1838, 1848 – mounted from the Siamese capital and its major Southern surrogates – Nakhon Si Thammarat, Songkhla, Phthalung – resulting in the recurring transport of convoys of war captives to Bangkok (Thiphakorawong, 1990, vol. 1: 115-118, 167-168; Damrong, 1993: 2-3; Chokchai, 2011: 405-418). The first two of those captive contingents, from Patani in 1786 and 1791, were settled along the capital's northeastern perimeter; a later convoy, from Kedah in 1808, was consigned to several sites far downriver. The distancing between those initial Patani and Kedah captive cohorts at opposite ends of the capital's purlieu was likely a preventive measure against their possible collaboration in fomenting insurrection.

The later years of the Second Reign saw a resurgence of the South's resistance to Siamese hegemony. In 1818, Kedah was ordered to force the recalcitrant sultan of Perak to acquiesce to Siamese suzerainty, and when Kedah resisted that command Siam in 1821

mobilized a punitive expedition. Entire villages of the Kedah populace were rounded up and trundled off to Bangkok (Damrong, 1993: 8). Most were settled in the undeveloped scrublands of Thung Kraboe (Sansani, 1994: 121; Wat Sunthon, 1990: 12-13), along the northern bank of the Mahanak Canal well beyond the city wall. Nothing further is known of those settlements, most likely because the transformation of the entire district with the digging of the Padung Krung Kasem Canal in 1851-1852, followed by the introduction of a welter of Lao, Mon, Vietnamese, and Chinese settlements, prompted the Muslim villages' relocation to the newly established Malay districts further east along the Saen Saep Canal. The remaining vestiges of Muslim settlement were eradicated by the subsequent comprehensive redevelopment of the district around the turn of the 20th century to accommodate a cluster of princely palaces and noblemen's villas, served by Lan Luang Road. While the Malay presence in the former Thung Kraboe district has been obliterated, several closely related settlements dating from the First and Second Reigns have survived.

Site 14. Bang Lamphu (Lamphu Tree Village)

Upon the conclusion of Siam's 1785 military offensive to remove the lingering Burmese presence from the Peninsula, the First Reign viceroy led a supplementary campaign to return Patani to Thai suzerainty (Wenk, 1968: 62, 101; Thiphakorawong, 1990, vol. 1: 115-118). As a result, a body of Patani aristocrats and artisans was transported to Bangkok as surety for the sultanate's continued loyalty. They were assigned a settlement site near the mouth of the Banglamphu Canal, within the city wall, under the viceroy's direct supervision (Wenk, 1968: 100-102; Damrong, 1993: 2). That village of war captives within the city wall was a unique (and probably contentious) exception to the convention that war captives be prohibited from *intramuros* residence. Their community center was known as the Bang Lamphu Mosque until around 1900, when Chakraphong Road was laid out alongside, leading to its name change to Chakraphong Mosque. In the 1960s, traditional Malay goldsmiths could still be found plying their trade out of wayside stalls along Bang Lamphu's back alleys, and today the neighborhood continues to boast restaurants and food stalls serving traditional Malay dishes, unperturbed by the cultural dissonance of the area's Buddhist temples, Sino-Thai marketplace, and rowdy tourist traffic.

Site 15. Ban Tani (Patani Village)

Despite Siam's brutal Southern expedition of 1785-1786, Patani soon refused again to submit to Thai suzerainty. Repeated assaults mounted by Bangkok's Southern minions culminated in the transport of a second convoy of Patani war prisoners to Bangkok around 1790/91 (Damrong, 1993: 2; Thiphakorawong, 1990, vol. 1: 167-168). There, hostages drawn from the Patani ruling circle were consigned to Thung Kraboe, where they founded Ban Tani and its Mahanak Mosque along the southern shore of the Mahanak Canal. They were joined by a further contingent of Patani hostages sent to Bangkok in 1792 after the suppression of renewed Southern unrest (Damrong, 1993: 3-4). No further record of Ban Tani's history exists until the digging of the Padung Krung Kasem Canal early in the Fourth Reign. With that development, Ban Tani found

itself situated at the intersection of two major waterways, the Padung Krung Kasem Canal and Mahanak Canal, which prompted the emergence of a lively floating market from which the local Muslim community profited greatly. An influx of Indian textile merchants on the canal's opposite shore during the 20th century added the Bobae Market to the neighborhood and provided Ban Tani with further income opportunities.

Site 16. Ban Suan Luang (Village in the Royal Plantations)

A detachment of war captives arriving at Bangkok from Kedah around 1808 was relegated to a remote tract along the east bank of the river some five kilometers downstream from the walled city. They comprised the elite element of a sizable consignment of captives (Damrong, 1993: 8), deliberately separated from the bulk of their cohort to prevent insurrection. The peasant component of that captive convoy was settled further downstream in the isolated marshlands of Thung Khru (Water Basket Tract, referring to the area's depressed, waterlogged topography), a remote exurb that today boasts a cluster of nine mosques. One of the first actions of the Ban Suan Luang settlers was to link their secluded village site with the river and provide it with a drainage and irrigation base by digging the Suan Luang Canal, reaching more than a kilometer into the deltaic jungle. Second was the construction of the settlement's linchpin mosque, today known as the al-Athik (Old, or Original) Mosque. After several generations of isolation and deprivation, the settlement's prospects were greatly improved in the 1860s with the extension of New Road, Bangkok's first major thoroughfare, downriver to Bang Ko Laem and Land's End. That development brought a stream of new employment opportunities to the local Muslim community with the establishment of square-rigger and tramp steamer docks, a bevy of Western rice and timber export firms (e.g., the Borneo Company, 1856; Clarke and Co., 1882; the East Asiatic Company, 1897), the Siam Electric Company's downriver tram terminus (1894), the Bangkok municipal abattoir (1899), and not long thereafter one of Bangkok's first coal-fired electric generating plants.

The Third Reign

Renewed unrest in the South starting around 1830 was met in 1832 by a robust Siamese military response. Under the impetus of the Third Reign's vigorous development policy, the resultant Malay defeat led to the deportation to Bangkok of some 4,000-5,000 war captives (Vella, 1955: 68-70; Moor, 1968: 201-202), a number that likely refers to households rather than individuals. Again in 1838-1839, mounting disorder in the rebellious South prompted a punitive Thai expedition that led to the forced migration of even greater numbers of Malay households to the Center. Most of the captives were consigned to the hinterlands along the "Eastern Corridor" extending far east from the capital beyond the Mahanak Canal past Bang Kapi and Hua Mak to Minburi and Nong Chok, through a vast waterlogged wilderness that the Malay war prisoners gradually domesticated for paddy cultivation. The 56-kilometer Saen Saep/Bang Khanak Canal, extending from Bangkok to the Bang Pakong River, was dug between 1837 and 1839; the addition of a web of tributary canals to drain the extensive wetlands required a further decade's labor. The project aimed initially to cut the travel time of troops and

supplies to the eastern front during Siam's 1830s-1840s war against Vietnam, but it succeeded ultimately in the far greater achievement of taming and populating a previously inaccessible, pestilential wilderness for paddy farming (Vella, 1955: 71-77; Hanks, 1972: 72-74; Skinner and Corfield, 1993: 181-183). Under the loose supervision of Siam's Ministry of Lands (*krom na*), the Malay captives relegated to that wasteland were left to their own devices so long as they maintained a low political profile while meeting their annual rice tax quotas for the royal granaries. Only after the mid-20th century did the extension of modern land transport and the penetration of modern mass communications introduce any appreciable tendencies to Thai cultural integration in that Malay Muslim hinterland.

Few traces of the Third Reign exodus of Malay war captives from the South to the Center remain evident today within Bangkok proper. Though there is virtually no reference in the historical records to the numbers or dispersal of the hostage elites, nor to any special treatment accorded them, it is well known that the standard procedure was to settle them close to the city while assigning the captive peasant masses to the more distant hinterlands. The only clear-cut case, parallel in many respects to the earlier examples of Bang Lamphu (Site 14) and Ban Tani (Site 15), is the following:

Site 17. Ban Khaek Sai Kai (Muslim Village on the Sai Kai Canal), later known as Ban Khaek Ban Somdet (Muslim Village near the Regent's Residence)

During the Third Reign, Chaophraya Prayurawong (Dit) and his younger brother Phraya Si Phiphat (That, later raised to Chaophraya Phichaiyat) each in turn led a military expedition against the rebellious South, Dit in 1832 and That in 1838. As reward for their services, they each received for their personal retinues a consignment of captive Malay artisans – Patani and Kelantan goldsmiths, silversmiths, silk weavers, and the like (Saowani, 2001: 97; Winyu, 2014: 9). To accommodate them, Ban Khaek Sai Kai with its mosque and graveyard was established shortly after 1832 along the Sai Kai Canal, behind Dit's estate, and a lesser settlement, sometimes referred to as Ban Chang Thong (Goldsmiths' Village), was created around 1840 behind That's estate nearby. Ban Khaek Sai Kai prospered under the patronage of Dit and then his son, Chaophraya Si Suriyawong (Chuang), who rose to the unparalleled rank of Regent of Siam and built himself a princely retreat nearby known as Ban Somdet Chaophraya (the Regent's Residence) – and thus the village name was changed to Ban Khaek Ban Somdet. For obscure reasons, however, the smaller Malay community behind That's estate failed to flourish. It neither built a mosque nor laid out a burial ground, nor did it ever adopt an individuating name, and so it never attained formal village status. Over the following century, the residents of Ban Chang Thong were largely absorbed into Ban Khaek Ban Somdet. At the same time, the addition of considerable numbers of Indian Muslim immigrants – peddlers, shop-owners, handicraft producers, and the like – transformed the character of Ban Khaek Ban Somdet from an isolated Malay village to one of Bangkok's most cosmopolitan Muslim neighborhoods.

The Fourth and Fifth Reigns

Bangkok's increasingly buoyant economy under the free-trade regime introduced

by the Bowring Treaty offered a wealth of new employment opportunities for the city's various Muslim communities. Among the Sunni Muslim settlements of the Khlong San district and lower west bank of the river, the assimilative influence of Malay employment in Indian firms, compounded by their adjacent habitation, shared religious ritual and education, and intermarriage, formed an emerging amalgam of Indian-Malay commercial neighborhoods. For the east-bank Malay villages strung along lower New Road, reaching from Bang Rak to Bang Ko Laem, a new convention of wage labor materialized with the establishment of Western sawmilling, rice milling, and shipping firms, though the local Malay villagers did not adapt easily to the regimentation imposed by day-wage employment (Phanni, 2012). Cheap, swift, and safe tramp steamer transport inspired not only an inflow of Indians via Singapore but also a mounting trickle of Peninsular Malays, who took up a diversity of petty occupations and employments. At the same time, and through the same process, the cultural distancing between the "modernizing" Malays of urban Bangkok and the "conservative" Malays of the eastern hinterlands gained ground. The following two village sites exemplify the process.

Site 18. Bang Uthit (Donated Village)

A 500-meter Yan Nawa riverfront tract extending from the Khwang Canal down to the Suan Luang Canal was in the 1840s ceded by King Rama III to Prince Isaret Rangsan (Chutamani) for the development of a shipyard to support the naval campaigns then underway against Vietnam. The site was dominated by an imposing temple, Wat Phraya Krai, and came to be known by that name throughout its subsequent turbulent history of commercial exploitation (Phanni and Aphinya, 2013). After the close of the Vietnam conflict, the start of the Fourth Reign, and the investiture of Chutamani as Phra Pin Klao, King Mongkut's viceroy, the facility was converted to support royal participation in the lucrative China trade. Initially staffed by a contingent of Chutamani's personal bondsmen, that arrangement fell into abeyance during the troubled tenure of his son and successor, Prince Bowon Wichaichan (Yot-ying-yot), the Fifth Reign viceroy. After Wichaichan's death in 1885, his factotum, Phraya Isaranuphap (Iam), claimed that the tract had been bequeathed to him and attempted to revive the shipyard as his own. To secure a reliable labor force he extended his patronage to the nearby Malay village of Ban Suan Luang (Site 16) by providing a new settlement site at the rear of the tract to accommodate the village households willing to accept his offer of regular employment. In recognition of that endowment the new site was named Bang Uthit (Donated Village). Iam's business venture did not last long, however, as his questionable claim to the tract was soon contested by the crown, and he was required to return the property to the royal purse, though the Malay village of Bang Uthit was allowed to remain. Shortly thereafter, in 1897, the riverside tract was leased by the crown to the East Asiatic Company (E.A.C.), and the Malay workers found ready employment at the newly established E.A.C. dockyard, rice mill, and sawmill. In 1915, Bang Uthit attained formal independence from its parent village of Ban Suan Luang with the founding of its own mosque. It continued to prosper there until 1945, when Allied bombing destroyed the E.A.C. riverfront facilities. Today the former E.A.C. site is occupied by the popular Asiatique shopping and recreation complex, with Bang Uthit enduring nearby.

Site 19. Ban Trok Mo (Village on Missionary Alley)

Trok Mo – *mo* here being an abbreviation of *mo sasana*, or “missionary” – likely received its name from John Chandler, an American Baptist missionary who built an imposing riverside residence at the foot of the lane and lived there from 1856 to 1865, not far from the Bang Ko Laem Baptist Chapel. Like Bang Uthit (Site 18), Ban Trok Mo emerged along lower New Road as an offshoot of Ban Suan Luang (Site 16) during the boom years around the turn of the 20th century. It was situated within easy walking distance of the day-labor opportunities offered by the Western business firms and residences that invaded the Bang Ko Laem district with the upgrading of lower New Road and the addition of a tramline linking Land’s End with the inner city. Initially, the Ban Trok Mo households continued to attend prayer sessions in their ancestral village mosque at Ban Suan Luang. With the expanding, increasingly diverse Muslim population drawn to the favorable employment conditions at Land’s End over the early decades of the 20th century, the new settlement soon established its own mosque, giving Ban Trok Mo an independent village identity. Over the course of the 20th century and continuing to the present day, this village’s as-Salafiya Mosque, along with Ban Suan Luang’s nearby al-Athik Mosque, gained a reputation among Bangkok’s Muslim population for its fundamentalist reform teachings.

Indonesian wanderers

It has been estimated – surely underestimated – that as of 1910 as few as a thousand Muslims of “Javanese” origin (*chaw yawa*, Thai vernacular for Indonesians in general) were residing at Bangkok, rising to around 2,000 by 1915 (Thailand, Ministry of Interior, 1910: 142; Samai, 2012: 62). They consisted of four distinct groups: Descendants of seafaring Indonesian fisherfolk who had settled along the Chaophraya riverbank over the course of earlier generations; Javanese gardeners who had been recruited around the turn of the 20th century to landscape Bangkok’s royal precincts; Buginese fugitives from Dutch colonial custody who had arrived at Bangkok shortly thereafter; and a smattering of well-heeled entrepreneurs operating tramp steamer services between Bangkok, Singapore, and the Javanese ports of Batavia and Semarang.

Seafaring fisherfolk

An ancient practice among the seafaring peoples of the Southeast Asian island world, known for their navigational skills and trading prowess no less than for their piratic bent, was to voyage far and wide in search of hospitable anchorages as chance dictated. That wanderlust imprinted a certain cultural uniformity upon the Malay-speaking world stretching from present-day Indonesia and the southern Philippines to the seaboard reaches of the Southeast Asian mainland. During the late Ayutthaya period, the ambit of migration for those voyagers extended to the Gulf of Siam and up the Chaophraya River to the capital itself, a process of maritime dispersal that reappeared in the 19th century. The following two village biographies exemplify the manner in which a scattering of Indonesian fisherfolk are believed to have established themselves at Bangkok as early as the Third Reign, and possibly earlier.

Site 20. Ban U (Boatyard Village)

Local memory has it that the Ban U Mosque, along Bangkok's eastern riverbank directly downstream from Bang Rak, dates back to the Fourth Reign, but it is likely that the settlement originated somewhat earlier. The village was apparently founded by a band of Indonesian fisherfolk who had formerly moored their boats at the Chaophraya River estuary, where the fishing was bountiful (as were opportunities for pilferage and piracy). The boat people of Ban U introduced a regular practice of selling their catches to the ragtag community of Western seamen and merchants settled along the Bang Rak shoreline – a boisterous quarter that grew dramatically in the years following the signing of the Bowring Treaty. During the Fifth Reign, the economic status of Ban U was further enhanced with the establishment of a formal fresh food market – the Luang Nawa Market, later known as the Bang Rak Market – along New Road directly behind the Indonesian settlement. With the men off fishing, the women rented fish vendors' stalls in the marketplace, and incomes rose as the market's popularity soared. Later in the Fifth Reign, the riverside stretch along which this little community was situated came to be known for its many shipyards (*u roea*, from which Ban U took its name), among them the marine workshops of Aaron Westervelt and Charles Allen, Howarth Erskine, Ltd., Captain John Bush's Bangkok Dock Company, and the Chinese-owned Taphao Dockyard. There is no evidence that any of the Ban U fishermen sought or gained employment at those shipyards, but some did take up a new calling as lightermen, handling ship-to-shore cargo for the nearby European shipping firms represented most prominently by Windsor Rose and Company and A. Markwald and Company. Reflecting Ban U's stabilized presence and its shift from an aquatic to an increasingly terrestrial orientation, the village mosque was rebuilt in 1919 on a plot some 100 meters inland from its former waterfront location.

Site 21. Ban Khaek Lang (Muslim Village Downstream), later Ban Suwanaphumi (name derived from the nearby Wat Suwan Ubasit)

A band of Indonesian seafarers from the fishing port of Trat, bordering Cambodia, is said to have established this village along the west bank of the river during the Third Reign (Saowani, 2001: 99). It occupied a sparsely populated stretch of the riverbank about half a kilometer downstream from the mouth of the San Canal, at that time considered to mark the urban center's downstream limit. In Siam's liberalized economic environment after the Bowring Treaty of 1855, the river's right bank, opposite the Western ships' berths stretching from Bang Rak down to Yan Nawa, came to be stippled with the unobtrusive docks, godowns, and premises of Indian Muslim merchants, many of them associated with Singapore-based "native" trading houses. With no religious leader of their own, those merchants attended weekly prayer sessions at Ban Khaek Lang, and several formed marriage bonds with the village. Early in the Fourth Reign they sponsored a reconstruction of the village prayer house, which – at the personal suggestion of King Mongkut, it is said – was renamed the Suwanaphumi Mosque, after the nearby, newly-built Wat Suwan Ubasit. Like the men of Ban U (Site 20), many of the Ban Khaek Lang villagers found work as lightermen, conveying cargo between ship and shore for the crossriver Western shipping companies; others collaborated with the

district's Indian merchants in dealing in the cargoes of the many Western freighters queued along the mid-river anchorage.

Javanese gardeners

In stark contrast to the footloose inclinations of Indonesia's coastal fisherfolk was the powerful hold of the land on Indonesia's – especially Java's – agrarian populace. That was underlined by the Javanese peasantry's cultural focus on intensive wet-rice cultivation, supported by their extraordinary emphasis on village solidarity (*gotong royong* in Indonesian). With their refined sense of communal integration, mutual support, and cloistered settlement, the Javanese villages that appeared in Bangkok around the start of 20th century showed clear traces of that tradition. They displayed a high degree of ethnic insularity and endogamy, thereby maintaining a discreet social distance from neighboring Muslim communities. On the other hand, they adapted easily to Bangkok's labor needs, meeting a ready demand for their horticultural skills and uncomplaining willingness to take up ill-paid itinerant trades and day labor. A residuum of those qualities can still be glimpsed among their descendants today.

Three times during the course of his reign, King Chulalongkorn departed Bangkok with a sizable royal entourage on a voyage to the Netherlands East Indies. The first occasion, in 1871, when he was eighteen years of age, opened his eyes to a wide range of Western technological, administrative, and educational advances, which greatly influenced his subsequent policy reforms. His second and third visits, in 1896 and 1901, both ostensibly "private," were "in search of peace and quiet . . . , and for health reasons" (Brummelhuis, 1987: 88, 90). But even after three decades on the throne, Chulalongkorn continued to rely on his overseas travels as unrivaled opportunities to introduce to Siam the refinements of "higher civilization" (*siwilai*). One relatively minor cultural borrowing arose out of his admiration for the ornate plantings at the Governor-General's estate at Buitenzorg (later Bogor), prompting him to seek a consignment of Javanese horticulturists for Bangkok's royal precincts. Thus, not long after the royal visit of 1896, a party of Javanese gardeners arrived at Bangkok to improve the grounds of the Grand Palace and neighboring royal precincts, and soon after the king's 1901 visit a second group of skilled workers showed up to help landscape the newly laid-out Dusit Palace (initially called the Dusit *Garden* Palace).

Site 22. Ban Toek Din (Powder Mills Village)

This little Muslim neighborhood of Javanese origin, dating from the closing years of the 19th century, occupies a sliver of crown property hemmed in between the multi-story commercial buildings lining Rachadamnoen Avenue (the King's Promenade) and the rear wall of Wat Bowon Niwet, one of Bangkok's most prestigious Buddhist temples. Its unusual name arose from Toek Din (the Powder Mills), formerly the government's main munitions production facility, located on Dinso Road (near the present-day Democracy Monument and Bangkok Municipal Headquarters), less than 200 meters distant from the Javanese village. There is no evidence, however, that the village ever provided any workers to that facility. They were recruited exclusively to tend the royal gardens at the nearby Grand Palace, Saranrom Palace, and Saranrom Garden, as well as the double

rows of newly planted tamarind trees surrounding the expanse of Sanam Luang (the Royal Esplanade) and lining the 3.8-kilometer Rachadamnoen Avenue leading from the Grand Palace to Dusit Palace. Royal interest in grandiose urban development projects gradually waned over the following decades, after the enthronement of King Wachirawut (Rama VI); with the fiscal problems that plagued the Sixth and Seventh Reigns, the government cut back on the Ban Toek Din gardeners' employment, leading many of them to move to the city's southern outskirts and relegating those who remained to such petty employment as food hawkers and domestic servants. This Javanese village thus lingers on as a relic of a former era, though its residents scarcely recall their forefathers' past royal service.

Site 23. Ban Khaek Bang Kraboe (Muslim Village near Bang Kraboe), or simply Ban Khaek Kraboe

Located between the river and Samsen Road about two kilometers north of Dusit Palace, the initial occupants of this unsung Javanese village appeared in Bangkok in the immediate aftermath of King Chulalongkorn's 1901 visit to Java, several years after its better-known counterpart, Ban Toek Din. The village workforce was hired to landscape the grounds of the Dusit Palace (built 1898-1909), the neighboring Sunantha Garden (laid out in 1908), and various other newly-built palaces and villas of the Dusit district. With their discharge as royal gardeners during the Sixth Reign, those members of the Ban Khaek Kraboe workforce who did not depart for a new life along the city's downstream periphery turned for employment to the financially strained Siamese Tramway Company, a royally sponsored trolley line that ran down Samsen Road from a point near Bang Kraboe past the Dusit Palace and across the city moat to the Front Palace ferry landing (Wright and Breakspear, 1908: 192). Though passing through some of the city's wealthiest neighborhoods, that tramline never managed to earn a respectable profit and sought to conserve funds with repeated employment cutbacks, until it finally closed down in the 1930s. Those of the unemployed local Javanese villagers who did not move away took up work as pony cab drivers, food hawkers, and other itinerant jobs. With continued attrition, the village is today little more than a secluded hamlet boasting a small mosque, with many of its remaining men working in nearby motor-vehicle repair shops and as taxi drivers.

Sites 24 and 25. Ban Kruay (Village along the Kruay Canal), and Ban Khwang (Village along the Khwang Canal)

Amid the turmoil of the sweeping civil service and financial cutbacks of the Sixth Reign (Greene, 1999: 55-60, 63-65), most of the Javanese gardeners of Ban Toek Din and Ban Khaek Kraboe were released from royal employment. As a sop toward relieving their distress, they were in 1912 offered a tract of undeveloped crown land along lower New Road reaching from the Kruay Canal to the Khwang Canal, stretching inland behind the Yan Nawa riverfront. There the Javanese gardeners established two independent villages, Ban Kruay and Ban Khwang, each with its own mosque and graveyard, but local informants express no knowledge as to which of the two villages derives from Ban Toek Din and which from Ban Khaek Kraboe. Today the two villages

are separated by Chan Lane (recently upgraded to Chan Road) running inland from New Road; Ban Kruay occupies the upriver side and Ban Khwang stretches downstream. Over the course of the 20th century, segments of both villages hived off to start several new Javanese hamlets (Ban Rong Nam Khaeng, Ban Khaek Yawa, and Ban Indonesia) in Bangkok's Sathon, Silom, and Withayu districts, serving those posh residential neighborhoods as gardeners and domestic servants. Today, with their separate Darul Abidin and Bayan Mosques only about 100 meters apart and sharing a close relationship through their common ethnicity and intermarriage, Ban Kruay and Ban Khwang form a single bustling neighborhood bordering Bangkok's heavily travelled New Road.

Buginese fugitives

The Buginese people, inhabiting the southern reaches of the Indonesian island of Celebes (today Sulawesi) as subjects of the Sultan of Makassar, had a celebrated seafaring tradition and an equally storied history of resistance to Dutch colonial rule. In its persistent defiance of the Dutch forward movement, Makassar suffered repeated defeats, the first ending with the Dutch conquest of 1660-1669, which drove many Buginese warriors into overseas exile. Aside from their diaspora to Malacca, Johor, Sulu, and Mindanao in the mid-1660s, a sizable Makassar émigré community emerged at Ayutthaya. Their Ayutthaya presence proved tumultuous and culminated in 1686 in an armed uprising, which was ruthlessly put down (Turpin, 1997 [1771]: 33-40; Reid, 2000: 37). Nothing further is known of any Buginese presence in Siam until the early 20th century, in the wake of a latter-day revival of the sporadic Makassar resistance to Dutch rule. Upon the defeat of that final armed uprising in 1905 many rebel families were banished to the Riau islands, isolated in the South China Sea. Some managed to escape that internment by sailing off in improvised watercraft to Singapore and neighboring mainland territories. One element of that jury-rigged flotilla somehow found its way to Bangkok.

Site 26. Ban Makkasan (Makassar Village)

Some elders of this sequestered village boast that they are direct descendants of the Buginese settlers of 17th century Ayutthaya; at least one, however, recalls that his immigrant grandparents had been "invited" to Bangkok during the Fifth Reign. On the basis of that recollection, an estimate that the original residents of this village arrived during the first decade of the 20th century coincides neatly with the Dutch suppression of the last Makassar rebellion. Lacking further testimony, it can only be conjectured that an impoverished party of Buginese refugees from the 1905 Makassar defeat, having been accorded an unheralded asylum in Siam, accepted the offer of an inferior residential tract along Bangkok's eastern outskirts only because they were at the end of their tether. Their village occupied for decades a dengue-infested marsh that served as a flood catchment basin between the Samsen and Saen Saep Canals – the so-called Makassar Swamp (Boeng Makkasan) – until in the second half of the 20th century the area was improved with proper drainage, potable water, public sanitation, and a paved road. In their nostalgia for their lost past the refugees named their new settlement after their ancestral homeland, and the name "Makkasan" has continued to be associated

with the area ever since (Sansani, 1994: 265-266). Their assignment to this waterlogged tract was apparently orchestrated by officials of Siam's state railways, at that time under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Works. The Railway Department was under persistent financial pressure, and with the available supply of Chinese coolie labor fully occupied in extending the state railways to the North and Northeast, two new projects – the construction in 1908 of a rail line reaching from the capital's eastern outskirts to Chanthaburi, and at the same time the construction of workshops for the maintenance of the railways' rolling stock (Wright and Breakspear, 1908: 81) – impelled the Railways Department to search for alternative sources of cheap labor. The Buginese refugees were provided their village site directly alongside the planned rail yards and train terminus, evidently with the promise of continuing employment at those labor-intensive facilities. However, the inhospitable locale and the unremitting hardship associated with the arduous and underpaid work, compounded by wage and employment retrenchments in the subsequent austerity years, led to the gradual attrition of the village population through out-migration. Many of those who stayed on became politically radicalized during the turbulent post-Revolution years of the 1930s-1960s and as labor activists were dismissed, ostracized, jailed, and worse (information on file at the Thai Labour Museum, Makkasan, Bangkok). With that, Ban Makkasan faded into obscurity, only to be revitalized in recent decades with new wage work opportunities in the nearby Pratu Nam tourist area. Among the improvements to the village infrastructure allowed by that employment revival is Ban Makkasan's recently rebuilt Niamatul Islam Mosque, its glittering stainless-steel plated domes reminding motorists passing along the nearby urban expressway of Bangkok's vigorous Muslim presence.

Afterword: Islam amidst the ethnic residue

For purposes of administrative expediency, the Siamese feudal state traditionally allowed its principal ethnic minorities a high degree of internal autonomy, or self-governance (Englehart, 2001: 36, 50-53). As I have sketched elsewhere with specific reference to Bangkok's Portuguese, Chinese, Lao, and Mon communities, that political paradigm was particularly pronounced in 19th century Bangkok, before it was progressively discarded in the latter decades of the 19th century and the early 20th century with the centralization of authority and promotion of nationalism under an increasingly absolutist monarchy (Van Roy, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010). Over the course of those transformative decades, a veritable cultural revolution was orchestrated from above with the introduction of a series of far-reaching policy measures to substitute slavery of all stripes with wage labor and universal military conscription, institute secularized mass education, normalize private land ownership, reform the legal system, upgrade public health and sanitation, regularize public administration, and modernize the kingdom's infrastructure (Chaiyan, 1994; Mead, 2004). Each of those initiatives had a demonstrable impact on the assimilation of the kingdom's various ethnic minorities into the Thai national mainstream. In short, with the refashioning of Siam's feudal realm into a nation state, “[the] distinctions of Mon, Lao, Malay, Khmer, and other local identities were submerged within the ideology of a seamless ‘Thai’ people” (Pasuk

and Baker, 2002: 256). For Bangkok's Muslim community, however, that century-long process has not been quite so seamless.

In the aftermath of the fundamental reshaping of the kingdom's collective consciousness under the nationalist impulse, the generality of Bangkok's Muslim citizens are said to have become "outwardly indistinguishable in many ways from their Thai-Buddhist fellow citizens. Indeed, by and large, they accept Thai as their native tongue [, and] in terms of their general educational background, media exposure, food and dress habits, recent social and political experiences and collective historical memory, they tend to differ very little from the other Thais" (Bajunid, 1992:20). With the inner city's ever-increasing population density and commercial tumult, a substantial portion of the old Muslim village population has moved out to the burgeoning tenements, townhouses, condominiums, and housing estates of the Bangkok metropolitan region's rising suburbs and satellite towns. Their dispersal has distanced them from the village mosque and its tight-knit social nexus and thus has loosened for many the routines of Islamic ritual and customary behavior. Cultural assimilation into the Thai national fabric and its corollary of increasing secularism, potentially quantifiable in reduced mosque attendance as well as increased rates of outmigration, intermarriage, and religious conversion, has been a natural consequence.

That is a convincing perception if viewed from "without," from the perspective of the broader metropolitan community; viewed from "within," however, the distinct Muslim village culture has held on resolutely. With the past century's continuing urbanization, many of Bangkok's old Muslim villages have been threatened by an intensifying encroachment of commercially disparate neighborhoods. The casual observer today would be hard-pressed, for instance, to find the Chakraphong and Toek Din mosques within the congested Bang Lamphu market quarter; or the Harun and Ban U mosques along the clamorous backstreets of the thriving Bang Rak district; or the Kudi Khaw, Charoenphat, or Ban Suan Phlu mosques along the secluded byways edging Thonburi's Bang Luang Canal. Yet, nearly all of Old Bangkok's twenty-six Muslim villages have survived, tucked away within the city's new "seamlessly Thai" precincts. Furthermore, Bangkok's urban core has gained an expanded Muslim presence, much of it of South Asian origin, as confirmed by fifteen new mosques spread across the Bang Rak, Pathumwan, Silom-Sathon, and Sukhumvit districts, while the congregations of many of the old inner-city mosques have been replenished by new Muslim arrivals from the provinces as well as from overseas.

The tensions embroiling cultural, national, and religious identity within Bangkok's Muslim community have fomented contending compulsions of ideology and lifestyle. They have contributed to a mixed response to modernization, an ambiguity of "multiple identities" (Winyu, pp. 12-13). The secular tendencies among those who have opted for cultural accommodation, including outmigration, are opposed by those who have chosen to remain in their ancestral villages. In the inner city village, strict adherence to Islamic principle and practice has come to serve as "an escape route for people mired in the negative morass of modernity" (Spira, 2004: 250). Stripped of their former ethnic multiplicity, Bangkok's old Muslim villages have redefined themselves along sectarian lines. Under that impulse, Islamic fervor has been on the rise. A striking visual indicator

is Bangkok's increasingly assertive, sometimes pretentious mosque architecture (Adis, 2008: 121-132). From the former humble wood-plank prayer houses fitting their villages like yolk and egg, many of Bangkok's mosques have been rebuilt as increasingly prominent brick-and-mortar edifices, with their bulging Ottoman-style onion domes, soaring minarets, and impressive newly-minted Arabic names rising as an incongruous presence over their modest village settings.

Application of the sacred precept of Muslim brotherhood (*ikwat*) as a broad, supra-ethnic imperative of Islam has waxed and waned over Islam's fourteen-century history. In Old Bangkok, that integrative ideal struggled against the everyday reality of ethnic diversity. More recently, it has come to be challenged by a dialectic of imported Islamic militancy versus indigenous Islamic traditions of moderation in thought and deed (Scupin, 1980, 1998; Winyu, 2014: 16-20). Mirroring the global Islamic resurgence, the past century has seen an intensification of religious ferment in Bangkok's Muslim community. Eased conditions of overseas travel – on the haj, and for education, employment, business, and tourism – and the rise of mass communications – newsprint, radio, television, and most recently the Internet – have encouraged a popular surge in Muslim sectarian zeal, just as it has contributed to the obverse decline in ethnic insularity (Muzaffar, 1986). Contrasting with the secularization and assimilation pursued by segments of Bangkok's Muslim citizenry, the pan-Islamic movement has generated “a very strong Islamic reformist movement in the metropolis” – “reformist” here referring to the ideological injunctions associated with fundamentalist (*salafi*) thought (Bajunid, 1992:21; Scupin, 1980). As elsewhere, that reformist agenda is in Bangkok largely a reaction against the seductive pull of secularism in a culturally dynamic, economically progressive urban setting. Though it is averred that such liberal-conservative tensions are intensifying, Muslim community elders steadfastly maintain that the character of Islamic fundamentalism in Bangkok remains resolutely apolitical.

Having discarded much of their former ethnicity under the impulse of nationalism, Bangkok's Muslims today continue to grapple with an existential dialectic – the quest for attainment of material aspirations in the “outer,” Thai-Buddhist world versus aspirations for spiritual fulfillment within the “inner,” Muslim village community. Efforts to accommodate both those contending objectives have given rise to the stress of double identity, which remains one of the fundamental realities of everyday life among Bangkok's “Thai Islam” – a term which itself connotes that existential bifurcation. That dichotomy has replaced the former ethnic diversity of Old Bangkok's Muslim community with an array of new theological ideologies.

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