

**‘CIVILIZED AND COSMOPOLITAN’:
THE ROYAL CUISINE AND CULINARY CULTURE
IN THE COURT OF KING RAMA THE FIFTH**

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**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Thai Studies
Faculty of Arts
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2013
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บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)
เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

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อารยะและหลากหลายวัฒนธรรม : อาหารชาววังและวัฒนธรรมอาหารราชสำนัก
ในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว

นางลฎาภา พูลโพธิ์ทอง

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรดุษฎีบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา
คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
ปีการศึกษา 2556
ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title ‘CIVILIZED AND COSMOPOLITAN’: THE
ROYAL CUISINE AND CULINARY CULTURE
IN THE COURT OF KING RAMA THE FIFTH

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ลฎาภา พูลโพธิ์ทอง : อารยะและหลากหลายวัฒนธรรม : อาหารชาววังและวัฒนธรรมอาหารราชสำนักในรัชสมัย พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ('Civilized and Cosmopolitan': The Royal Cuisine and Culinary Culture in the Court of King Rama the Fifth) อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก : รศ.ดร. สุเนตร ชุตินทรานนท์ อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม : รศ.ดร. สุจิตรา จงสถิตวัฒนา, 177 หน้า.

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้มุ่งศึกษาเรื่องอาหารชาววังและวัฒนธรรมการบริโภคอาหารในราชสำนักของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวรัชกาลที่ 5 (พ.ศ. 2411 – 2453) โดยมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาลักษณะเฉพาะที่เป็นอัตลักษณ์ของอาหารราชสำนักและวัฒนธรรมการบริโภคอาหารในสมัยนั้น ทั้งข้อมูลสำคัญทางประวัติศาสตร์และสังคมที่มีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องกับอิทธิพลของวัฒนธรรมอาหารแบบตะวันตกซึ่งทำให้เกิดอาหารราชสำนักในรูปแบบทันสมัยรวมทั้งวัฒนธรรมการบริโภคอาหารตามอย่างตะวันตกในสังคมชนชั้นสูงชาวสยาม

ผลจากการศึกษาพบว่าสิ่งที่สำคัญที่ทำให้การรับเอาวัฒนธรรมอาหารต่างชาติเข้ามาผสมผสานกับวัฒนธรรมอาหารไทยในรัชสมัยนี้มีความโดดเด่นและแตกต่างจากรัชสมัยก่อนหน้านั้น คือความพยายามของชนชั้นสูงชาวสยามในการที่จะปรับเปลี่ยนวิถีการบริโภคอาหารที่มีความคุ้นเคยมาช้านาน จากการใช้มือเปิบข้าวมาเป็นการใช้อุปกรณ์การรับประทานรวมทั้งธรรมเนียมการนั่งโต๊ะรับประทานอาหารแบบตะวันตกในโอกาสของการจัดเลี้ยงอาหารที่เป็นทางการภายในราชสำนัก ซึ่งอาจกล่าวได้ว่าในการปรับเปลี่ยนนั้นเป็นไปด้วยความยากลำบากและชนชั้นสูงเองก็ไม่ได้มีความพยายามที่จะเปลี่ยนตามแบบธรรมเนียมตะวันตกโดยสิ้นเชิง โดยในการเปลี่ยนแปลงนั้นเป็นเพียงการปรับเปลี่ยนแบบผสมผสานวัฒนธรรมตะวันตกเข้ากับวัฒนธรรมไทยนั่นเอง การปรับเปลี่ยนวัฒนธรรมการบริโภคนี้เป็นเพียงวิธีหนึ่งที่รัชกาลที่ 5 และชนชั้นสูงชาวสยามต้องการยกระดับมาตรฐานการกินในสังคมราชสำนักเพื่อสร้างการยอมรับจากชาติตะวันตกว่าชนชั้นนำไทยนั้นเปรียบเสมือนตัวแทนของชาวไทยที่แสดงออกถึงความทัดเทียมกับชาติตะวันตกในแง่ของความคิดวิไลซ์, ทันสมัยและมีความรู้อย่างผู้ที่เจริญแล้ว ตัวอย่างที่แสดงถึงความอารยะและหลากหลายวัฒนธรรมในราชสำนักยุคนี้ ได้แก่ รัชกาลที่ 5 ทรงโปรดให้จัดเสิร์ฟอาหารตะวันตก อาหารไทยและอาหารจีนพร้อมกันบนโต๊ะในคราวเดียว, ห้องพระราชทานจัดเลี้ยงถูกจัดขึ้นแบบธรรมเนียมตะวันตกแต่ตกแต่งด้วยดอกไม้แขวนแบบไทย จัดบรรเลงเพลงมโหรีแบบไทยในขณะที่จัดเสิร์ฟอาหารแบบตะวันตก ด้วยอุปกรณ์การกินที่สั่งทำเป็นลวดลายแบบไทย เป็นต้น การแสดงออกเหล่านี้นับว่าเป็นความสำเร็จของรัชกาลที่ 5 ในการเลือกรับและปรับใช้วัฒนธรรมตะวันตกเข้ามาผสมผสานกับวัฒนธรรมไทยโดยยังคงรักษาเอกลักษณ์ที่โดดเด่นซึ่งแสดงออกถึงความเป็นไทยไว้ได้

สาขาวิชา.....ไทยศึกษา.....	ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....
ปีการศึกษา.....2556.....	ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....
	ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม.....

5180523522: MAJOR THAI STUDIES

KEYWORD: CIVILIZED / COSMOPOLITAN / ROYAL CUISINE / CULINARY CULTURE

LADAPHA PULLPHOTHONG: ‘CIVILIZED AND COSMOPOLITAN’: THE ROYAL CUISINE AND CULINARY CULTURE IN THE COURT OF KING RAMA THE FIFTH. ADVISOR: ASSOC.PROF.SUNAIT CHUTINTARANOND, Ph.D., CO-ADVISOR: ASSOC.PROF.SUCHITRA CHONGSTITVATANA, Ph.D., 177 pp.

This dissertation emphasized on the royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Rama the fifth. (1868 – 1910) and identify the characteristics and elements of the royal cuisine and culinary culture in relations to the history and social context in the reign of king Chulalongkorn in which the Western culture had influenced to the emergence of the modern royal cuisine and culinary culture of the elites.

The research found the prominent points that when the king and court elites attempted to develop the eating level of Thai court society as to become civilized and reach the standard of the Western, the manner transformation to consume like the Western people was absolutely not easy and complete. This transformation was the tool to represent the West that Thais were not barbaric but civilized and educated. This change was the way to gain the acceptance from the Western people in term of how Thai eat and live similar to the civilized countries. The king and court elites could have made this change in eating manners prominently remained strong in Thai identity due to this change was not completely followed the Western style of cuisine and culinary. The prominent evidence represented the civilized and cosmopolitan is the king’s dining table where the Western food had been served all at once with Thai and Chinese dishes, the royal banquet room had been set in Western style but decorated with Thai traditional style of flowers arrangement, serving western food accompanied by Thai style musical serenade, the royal glassware and utensils which had been made like Western style utility but all items had been ordered to produce in Thai patterns identity. This can be illustrated how successful the king and court elite compromisingly integral Thai traditional culture with Western culture by maintaining the core content of Thai identity.

Field of Study: Thai Studies..... Student’s Signature.....

Academic Year: 2013.....Advisor’s Signature.....

Co-advisor’s Signature.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, associate professor Dr. Sunait Chutintaranond for the continuous support of my Ph.D. study and research, for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this dissertation. Also the good advice, support and friendship of my co-advisor, associate professor Dr. Suchitra Chongstitvatana, she has been invaluable on both an academic and a personal level, for which I am extremely grateful. My research would not have been possible without their helps. I also thank the Department of Thai Studies for their support and assistance since the start of my study in 2008, especially the head of department, Professor Siraporn Nathalang.

I would never have been able to finish my dissertation without the guidance of my advisor and co-advisor, help from friends, and support from my family and husband. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my mother, mother and father in laws, for their kindness, caring, patience, and helping me taking care of my little son (Jom) with love when I had to leave home for doing research.

I would also like to thank my family, the older sister and brother, the younger sister and brother, and my cousins in Thailand, Philippines and USA. They were always encouraging me with their best wishes. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Colonel Khajornsak Pullphothong for his personal support and great patience at all times. He was always there cheering me up and stood by me through the good times and bad. Last but not least, I would like to thank my little son, who was always company me during my last semester, gave me a hug and big smile when we were together in front of the computer almost every day.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The studies of the influence and impact of Western culture on Thai society have covered various aspects and elements. Thus, it would be quite complicated to analyze all areas of such culture transformation in one research project. Accordingly, this dissertation aims to focus on the royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Rama V (1868 – 1910) and identify the characteristics and elements of royal cuisine and culinary culture in relation to history and the social context in the reign of King Chulalongkorn in which Western culture influenced the emergence of a modern royal cuisine and a culinary culture of the elites.

The reason why this study focuses on this period is that this was the time when imperialism came to South East Asia. With the expansion of imperialism in the mid nineteenth century to all areas of the world, Asian countries, including Thailand, needed to adapt and learn to understand Western culture which represented modernization as civilized countries. In South East Asia, the old form of social life changed after Western rule arrived, resulting both in changes to the structural rule of the country and the people's sentiment.¹ The impact of Western culture on South East Asia prominently occurred in 1869, during the reign of King Rama V, when the Suez Canal was formerly opened to the world – and much shortened the time connecting Europe and Asia and linked European products directly with South East Asian markets.

The increase in ambassadors, merchants, foreigners and other business individuals resulted from trade contracts and modernization. This led Thai people to learn Western culture in various aspects from these foreigners which involved cultural

¹ วิไลเลขา ถาวรธนสาร, ชนชั้นนำไทยกับการรับวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก, (กรุงเทพฯ : เมืองโบราณ, ด้านสุทธาคารพิมพ์, 2545), หน้า 15-16.

changes and adaptation. As a result, new food and new consumption patterns reached Thailand. Even though political reformation did not directly affect consumption behavior, it indirectly affected Thai people's lifestyle. As Bangkok was reformed to be the political, business, cultural and transportation center of Thailand, Bangkok had more consumption diversity resulting from a more rapid and developed transportation of goods. Afterwards, Siam, or Bangkok, was commercially connected to the world market. The influx of Westernization on the Asian continent was widespread. During King Chulalongkorn's long reign, Western culture flourished and influenced the emergence of a modern royal cuisine and new Thai culinary culture.

The influence of Western culture occurred by way of the leader of the country, with the Siamese elites absorbing "civilized" culture, taking an interest in everything from Western countries. An ideal model of civilization was taken as the measurement for developing Thai society to be civilized after the Western fashion. Thai people's opinions of Westerners changed; they began to admire, rather than disparage them.² In the period of King Rama V, the way the upper-classes lived in terms of consumption was driven by Western impulses. This period also saw more changes in social, political and economic structures and advances in both technology and education. Bangkok became an international centre because of its level of progress, facilities, well developed communications and the growing infrastructure, the expansion of business, the growth in investment and the rise of the middle class.

At that time, the international trade system made Bangkok one of the important port cities in Asia by exchanging products with the world market, similar to Batavia, Rangoon, and Saigon. Thus, the economic districts in the capital city such as Bangkok were built up in Western characteristic style. In fact, Bangkok in the early part of the Rattanakosin era had already become a cosmopolitan city as national and culture diversity emerged at that time and place in much the same way that it emerged since the Ayutthaya period -- through contacts between peoples of different cultures and lifestyles.

² เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 26-27

In this case, the contacts came mainly from trade. Traders from the various countries interacted with each other and also with Thai people who lived in the land they visited. This allowed cultural traits to be shared between people from different countries. Foreign food influences were found in the royal menus and can be seen in Thai dishes, ingredients and in the culinary arts of the present time.

During the reign of King Rama V, Bangkok became a center of economics and trade at the regional and global levels, and an important connecting point between the East and the West. Foreigners (foreign traders and missionaries) served in the employ of the government and also lived in the city as private individuals. However, Western influence during this period generally impacted Thai culinary culture, but did not affect the overall aspect of the Thai social structure. It can be said that, the more the Westerners moved to live in Bangkok, the more the city became a cosmopolitan place in terms of nationality and culture diversity. Bangkok became a vibrant cosmopolitan city in accordance with Western standards and values. Amidst the menace of imperialism upon Thai territory, the ruler and the royal family realized the advantages of learning and understanding Western culture in various aspects, particularly as a way to protect the sovereignty of the country.³

The influence of Western culture played a vital role in the society of the Thai elite. After Thailand had trade agreements with the West and reformed the country to be modernized, the quantity of imported Western ingredients and food products substantial increased.⁴ In this period, a Western style of eating was practiced within the court and the royal mansions only on formal occasions and royal ceremonies. This is one of the vital pieces of evidence that King Chulalongkorn had reformed the country to be as modern as civilized nations. The transformation of the culinary culture among Siamese elites during this era could have presented to Westerners that Thai people were civilized

³ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 89

⁴ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 108

and educated. Those elites were encouraged to perceive various new things which sometimes affected their usual style of living.⁵

In order to become a civilized nation, Thailand needed to reform the country to become modernized like the West. The king and the royal family chose to adopt a modern cuisine and culinary culture to practice in the court and mansions on royal occasions so as to promote that Thailand had a civilization. It could be seen that this attempt was launched from the reign of King Chulalongkorn and passed to the royal elites and continued to the lower level of Thai social classes in the next generations.

This study will analyze the main issue of why Western culture practiced among the elites within the royal court and mansions of King Rama V expanded in Thai society much more than before. When considering the historical context of the country in this period, Thailand experienced a critical time, threatened by imperialism and its impact upon the sovereignty of the country. The king unavoidably encountered a serious political situation and was concerned with the benefits of being modernized. Thus, adoption of civilization from the West occurred in this period.

The royal visits to other countries by King Chulalongkorn and the royal family may have made the Western style eating tradition more clearly apparent in court society. After his return from the royal trips, there was an influx of Western customs into Siam, including royal court banquets. Thus, it can be said that the new age of culinary traditions began in King Rama V's reign. Interestingly, the king's personal preference for Western food consuming much affected the royal family and court elites - the royal family started using dining-tables and dining in the European manner and many of the king's children and courtiers were admitted to study in European colleges.⁶

⁵ สุนันท์ ไชยเมธ, “สภาพทางเศรษฐกิจและสังคมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท สาขาวิชาประวัติศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ, 2531), หน้า 18-20

⁶ เสมียนทิพย์ ศิริจารุกุล, “ศึกษาการเปลี่ยนแปลงการบริโภคอาหารของคนไทยในเขตเมืองหลวงระหว่าง พ.ศ. 2394-2534,” (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท สาขาวิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ, 2548), หน้า 31

This dissertation aims to contribute to an understanding of the changes in the eating customs of the Siamese elite during the reign of King Rama V. This study focuses on the social and cultural factors which established an eating etiquette in the Siamese aristocracy which differed from other social classes and which became a part of the process of identity formation among the upper class. What follows is a consideration of the studies related to food culture and history, objectives, research questions, and scope of this study.

1.1 Studies related to food culture and social context

1.1.1 Research related to food culture and food beliefs

Four requisites important for human comfort are provisions, clothing, shelter, and medicine. However, when considering the primary needs of life for both humans and other living beings, food is obviously a first priority. Humans and animals need to eat for their survival; therefore they are not different in this respect. However, in her book *'The ritual of dinner: The origin, evolution, eccentricities and meaning of manners'*, Margaret Visser gives reasons why humans differ from animals: firstly, humans learned to adapt and change their way of life from hunting and gathering food to producing food by farming, agriculture, and husbandry. Thus, humans could control certain products, increase the quantity of food and also keep it longer. Secondly, humans learned to share food or prey with others and did not immediately eat prey after hunting, but brought it to their dwelling places and shared the food among family members.⁷

Interestingly, this learning process did not merely separate humans from animals, but also humans from humans. Environmental and ecological factors caused humans to adjust to the world around them; this process is known as geographic

⁷ Margaret Visser, The Ritual of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities and Meaning of Manners, (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), page 1.

determinism. Humans learned to develop ways of gathering and obtaining food and also learned to develop different cooking techniques in different regions.

Other important factors are social and cultural factors, as well as communication between groups through trade and travel. Humans learned to adapt and respond to social, economic and psychological demands. Also, geographical factors cannot be disregarded, for instance, people who lived in the mountains or other remote areas far from trading routes, would have not been influenced by the same social and cultural groups as people living along the trading routes. These external factors are very important to the development of a food culture among a group of people.

An obvious example is Ayutthaya, the capital city of Siam and an important pier and the centre of trade by sea in the past. Ayutthaya opened its doors granting foreign social and cultural access much more than other cities in South East Asia. This allowed Ayutthaya the opportunities and advantages over the other cities to adopt and assimilate new knowledge and techniques.

The technique of using eggs to make desserts is believed to be an influence from Portugal. Before foreign influence, Thai desserts consisted of flour, sugar and coconut cream. Later, these were adapted and new flavors and techniques were adopted by following Western styles, examples are *thong yib*, *thong yod*, and *foi thong*. The new desserts became symbolic of precious foods because of the yellow color of the desserts which was compared with gold. Thus, they were identified with monks, the royal families, and were limited to consumption only by the upper class.

Many eating customs and traditional practices have evolved and been transferred to and from various cultural groups around the world. Food is not only the main factor for life, but also has a role in social and cultural formation and is a boundary line between social classes, geographical areas, ethnology, nations, gender, age and

religions.⁸ At the same time, food also has a role in human emotional satisfaction and self-consciousness.

The number of studies about Thai cuisine in the area of social and culture influences are much less when compared to dietary studies. The following are the books related to food and consuming culture in Thai society. The studies related to food and consuming culture in Thai society normally provide data to illustrate social and cultural changes relating to food and eating customs of Thai society in the past. The research provides historical fragments of food culture and collected data on food beliefs, habits, behavior, customs, festivals, life-style, etc., thus they are useful for this dissertation as a data base and primary source of information.

An example is '*Krungthep Mearwanee*' ('กรุงเทพเมื่อวานนี้') which gives data of Bangkok food in the reign of King Rama V to Rama VI.⁹

Krayaniyai is a book of collected information on food and eating from other documents, books, and the experiences of the author, such as the origin of fast food called *kao-kang*¹⁰ (rice with curry) which the author discovered from the Ayutthaya records.

Krue Thai or Thai kitchen gives information on kitchen utensils, tools, and equipment used for cooking and eating, such as the various types of ancient food containers used by Thai people in the past.¹¹

The book *Kanom Mae-ear*, is collected data on the history of the variety of Thai desserts and the methods and techniques of making Thai and Chinese desserts, including desserts served at festivals and rituals.¹²

⁸ Judith Goode, *Food in Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook*, Edited by Richard Bauman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), page 223.

⁹ กาญจนาคพันธุ์ [สง่า กาญจนาคพันธุ์], *กรุงเทพ เมื่อวานนี้* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สารคดี, 2543), หน้า 209-223.

¹⁰ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, [ส.พลาายน้อย], *กระยานิยาย*, (กรุงเทพฯ: มติชน, 2541), หน้า 44, 101-102.

¹¹ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, [ส.พลาายน้อย], *ครัวไทย*, (กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัทค้นอ้อ 1999 จำกัด, 2542), หน้า 63-66.

The book *Tumra Mae-krue Huapaa* is the first cook book in Thailand, published in the reign of King Rama V and provides information on Thai menus and general knowledge of cooking tips at the time.¹³

From my point of view, the information from the books mentioned above introduce various viewpoints of social and culture matters because they provide direct information on ingredients, cooking methods, chefs, consumers, food sensation, etc. Thai people in the past did not normally write books relating to food because food was something very close to everyone's daily life. People ate everyday and were familiar with their own customs and way of life so not many books were written about food in Thai history. This dissertation begins from the idea of the importance of primary data on food culture and aims to illustrate food culture of Thai society in the past to the reader.

1.1.2 Studies related to Thai cuisine and culinary culture

In my primary search to gather information for this dissertation, I have discovered various case studies that relate to Thai cuisine in terms of historical, social and cultural factors which influenced food culture in Thai society.

An interesting book is “From Marco Polo to McDonald’s: Thai Cuisine in Transition” written by Penny Van Esterik. The author analyzed the characteristic of typical Thai food in the past up to the present time. She also tried to find the meaning and identity of food beyond Thai cuisine from the past to the present day. She found the oldest evidence was written in a Marco Polo memorandum about the Yunnan people who consumed raw minced meat and liver with a condiment consisting of salt, hot water, garlic, and various spices. This dish is similar to *larb*, a dish of Laos, Chan, Thai, Bali, and Timor. Other evidence from a later period indicates the development of Thai cuisine in the Ayutthaya period which was the first time Thai cuisine became hierarchical and

¹² สมบัติ พลายน้อย, [ส.พลาายน้อย], *ขนมแม่เอี้ย*, (กรุงเทพฯ: บัณฑิตการพิมพ์, 2527), หน้า 7-9.

¹³ ท่านผู้หญิงเปลื้อง ภาสกรวงศ์, *ตำราแม่ครัวหัวป่าก์*, (กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์ศิริเจริญ, ร.ศ.127), หน้า 2.

classified as either the ‘high cuisine’ of palace food (*aahaan chaaw wang*) or ‘low cuisine’ of village food (*aahaan chaw baan*). In the reign of King Narai in the Ayutthaya period, Thai food, such as curry and desserts, were influenced by India and Cambodia and techniques for making desserts by France and Portugal.

The delicate and decorative dishes prepared for the king and the royal family is known as อาหารชาววัง (*aahaan chaaw wang*), whereas อาหารชาวบ้าน (*aahaan chaaw baan*) are dishes that are easily prepared and cooked using local seasonal ingredients. The difference between these two types of cuisine lies in the different amount of cooking time, the quality of food, exotic ingredients, and the skill and craftsmanship (i.e., carving skills) to produce each dish. Additionally, อาหารชาววัง (*aahaan chaaw wang*) is never eaten in its raw or natural form without being transformed into a decorative dish which usually balances different flavors in a harmonious blend and is made rather sweet, whereas อาหารชาวบ้าน (*aahaan chaaw baan*) usually consists of a small number of main dishes consumed with a large amount of rice.

Basic Thai cuisine consists of rice (steamed rice and sticky rice), dried or fresh fish, and local fresh vegetables, such as garlic, shallot, herbs, spices, etc. Only a few cooking utensils are used, and more time is spent preparing dishes than cooking them. According to Esterik, most Thai food has always been cooked by steaming and frying rather than grilling and boiling. Therefore, her research focused on the ingredients chosen to cook อาหารชาวบ้าน (*aahaan chaaw baan*) and อาหารชาววัง (*aahaan chaaw wang*), particularly herbs and ingredients which have medicinal qualities. The oldest Thai medical science, influenced by India, mentions that the best way to cook healthy food is by using less time to maintain the herbs flavors and medicinal properties. Thai cuisine is based on the harmonious flavors of herbs and various kinds of spices rather than the flavors from cooking techniques using chicken stock or meat juices, as in Western cuisines.

Esterik’s point of view is concurred by modern trends in Thai cuisine which are symbols of healthy food consisting of various kinds of vegetables and herbs

rather than meat. These natural ingredients are always cooked fresh and cooked extremely quickly – the ingredients retain both their freshness and their nutrients. Even though the author focused on food identity and structure, she promoted many Thai dishes as national dishes independent of the influence of foreign cuisines. Examples are คัมยำกุ้ง *tom-yum kung*, มัสมันน์ *mussaman*, ห่อหมก *ho-mok*, หมี่กรอบ *mee-krob*, ยำเนื้อ *yum noer*, น้ำพริก *nam-prik*, ส้มขะยา *sungkaya*, and ทองหยิบ *thong yib*. She also stated that the attempt to create an ‘authentic’ Thai cuisine by Prime Minister Jompon Por Piboonsongkram in 1937 caused a decrease in local food varieties.¹⁴

Another interesting study concerns ปลาทุ *Pla-too* (Thai mackerel) by Thanyarat Samutthiya. The study explored the journey of *Pla-too* from the sea until served on the dining table. Moreover, the study gave information on the vital role of *Pla-too* in Thai society. In the late Ayutthaya period the consumption of *Pla-too* rapidly increased in from the reigns of King Rama IV to King Rama VII because of the development of land and water transportation. The fish *Pla-too* was numerous, cheap, and very tasty and was undoubtedly popular for every social class, especially ปลาทุทอด *Pla-too todd* (deep fried mackerel), which was a favorite dish for King Rama IV and King Rama V.

¹⁴ Penny Van Esterik, “From Marco Polo to McDonald’s: Thai Cuisine in Transition,” *Food and Foodway* 5, 2 (1991), page 1-17.

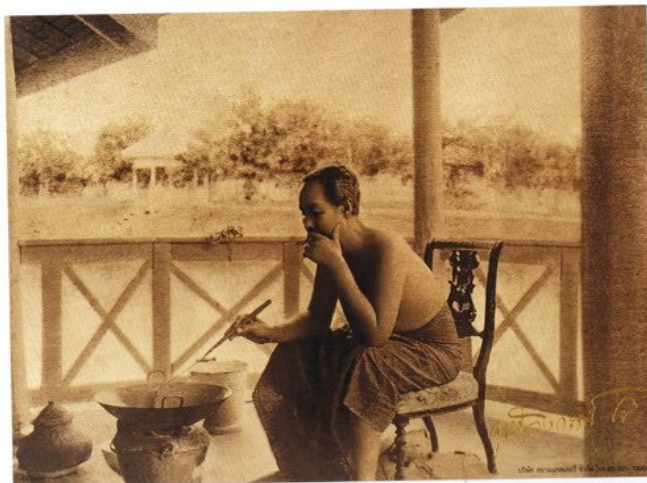


Figure 1: King Rama V in a private time cooking Pla-too-todd¹⁵

The research also described how to cook and consume *pla-too* in the original styles, such as grilling, roasting, drying, and preserving. When the Chinese first migrated to Thailand in the Thonburi era, they brought a new cooking technique called deep-frying. This technique was adopted into Thai kitchens and is still used up to the present. There is evidence that deep-fried *pla-too* served with *nam-prik* (shrimp paste dip sauce) was popular in the reigns of King Rama VI and King Rama VII, even though *nam-prik* has been a universal dish in every Thai household long before the Rattanakosin era. Additionally, the perfect blend of food and culture between *pla-too todd* and *nam-prik* made the dish a national food of Thailand.

This research also describes *pla-too* dishes which are still popular and those which are on the wane by considering old and new recipes. In the reign of King Rama V, *pla-too* was cooked in different ways; *pla-too* curry, fresh *pla-too* with tamarind soup, *ชื้อี่ปลาทุสด choo-chee pla-too sod* (fresh *pla-too* with red curry). The latter dish has been developed since then by altering the cooking process, such as using deep-fried *pla-*

¹⁵ เวนิสา เสนิงวงศ์, กัณฑ์ข้าวเจ้านาย: เกร็ดเรื่องพระกระยาหารโปรดของพระเจ้าแผ่นดินและเจ้านายในราชวงศ์, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์บางกอกบุ๊ก, 2541), หน้า 22.

too instead of fresh fish and using boiled coconut juice for a fragrant smell. There were also two other popular boiled *pla-too* dishes, ปลาทุ้มเค็ม *pla-too tom kem* (sweet and salt fish), and ต้มส้มปลา *tom-som pla-too* (sweet and sour soup). Prayoon Uluchata states that *pla-too* replaced ปลาช่อน *pla-chon* after World War II and *pla-too todd* (deep-fried *pla-too*) was developed into many new dishes, such as ปลาทุทอดสอดไส้ *pla-too todd sod zai* (stuffed deep-fried *pla-too*), ปลาทุทอบแป้งทอด *pla-too choob pang todd* (tempura *pla-too*), and ทอดมันปลา *todd-mun pla-too* (*pla-too* fish cake). Additionally, the Siamese also consumed steamed *pla-too* with fresh and pickled vegetables (a cooking style influenced by Cambodia) and also *grilled pla-too* known as ปลาทุทงอบ *ngob pla-too*.

Some later cook books have included น้ำพริกปลา *nam-prik pla-too* (*pla-too* with chili sauce) either by pounding *pla-too* mixed with chili sauce, or deep-fried *pla-too* served with chili sauce as a side dish. Furthermore, *pla-too* can be cooked and served as a snack called เมี่ยงปลา *meang pla-too* (*pla-too* with fermented leaves of tea-plants for chewing).¹⁶

Last, but not least, is the research of high Chinese cuisine written by Thanetre Wongyannawa in *the Transitory of High Chinese Cuisine in Bangkok: A Journey to a Democratic Food?* The study states that high Chinese cuisine in the reign of King Rama V was called เกาหลา *kao-lao* which was normally composed of many dishes. However, in the reign of King Rama VI, the meaning of *kao-lao* was changed to Chinese soup and was not food for the upper class anymore because it was available everywhere as street food. Examples are ผัดเปรี้ยวหวาน *phat-preaw-wan* (sweet and sour vegetable), ปีกไก่เหล้าแดง *peek-kai lao-daeng* (red wine chicken wings), ลูกชิ้นกึ่งผัดกึ่งทอด *lukchin-kung phat phaksopon* (stir-fried bok choy with shrimp dumpling), เป็ดย่างไฟแดง *ped-yang fai-daeng* (stir-fried roast duck).

¹⁶ ชาญญารัตน์ สามัคคิยะ, “ปลาทุทกับวัฒนธรรมการบริโภคในสังคมไทย,” *จุลสารไทยคดีศึกษา* 19, 2 (พฤศจิกายน 2545 – มกราคม 2546), หน้า 7-28

In the old days, lard was the main ingredient for stir-fried and deep-fried dishes. In 1957, vegetable oil replaced lard in Thai kitchens as it was considered healthier. Lard can make food look more appetizing and fragrant; however Thai consumers were alerted to consider their nutrition and health even though vegetable oil was more expensive. The development of refrigeration helped the freshness of meat; before, meat, such as chicken and pork, was kept in wooden box shelving on ice tubes so they were kept fresh, but not frozen as now. The industrial revolution caused an increase in food production, such as chicken farms, and, even though these chickens had less quality than before, they were widely eaten. In Thailand, it was hard for customers to obtain fresh sea fish in the restaurants until the beginning of 1980 when the *Tien* Chinese restaurant used a new marketing strategy by allowing customers to choose fresh sea fish from a big glass tank that was then cooked in the restaurant kitchen. The custom of eating fresh sea fish to order at high Chinese class restaurants is still popular in Thailand.

People have different tastes so it is inevitable that any dish can be adjusted or changed to suit all palates. Unlike many Chinese restaurants in Thailand, Thai chefs have a strong rule to cook every dish in the old style as they believe that changing the flavor means the food is not delicious and that it is the only way to maintain their cooking traditions. However, in Bangkok nowadays, the situation has changed and all businesses believe the customer is king. While Thai food is becoming more widely known around the world for its unique taste, foreign foods, such as Western fast food, European, Japanese and Korean food, are an expanding food choice of Thais creating new and exciting dining. For example, some of the popular fast foods like KFC, Pizza Hut, and Chester Grill in Thailand have created new menus in response to new food trends and customer needs. Examples are *tom-yum* pizza, sticky rice and fried chicken burger, hot and spicy fried chicken. The author concludes that while food choice and variety have

retrenched the number of conservative chefs, consumers have greater freedom and choice.¹⁷

This study will focus on the formal and informal eating activities among the court and royal dining table. Choosing Thai royal palaces and court mansions as the area of study will enable the researcher to understand the cultural transformation toward royal consumption and culinary culture, its origins, its development and its growth patterns.

The number of relevant pieces of research and studies about Western culture adoption and transformation that influenced the royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Rama V in the area of social and culture influences are much less when compared to the recipe books and nutritional studies. According to this research, there are a considerable number of works related to this study. These documents can be grouped into two categories as follows.

The first group is primary historical documents. This group consists of government files, newspapers, personal diaries of foreigners and photos. Based on historical methodology, these documents are the most reliable evidence because they were recorded at the period of the events and by those related to that event. For example, the files of the governmental departments, the letters, the announcements and laws, the royal books, and the chronicles which were produced relevant to the reign of King Chulalongkorn are included in this group. Most of them are collected in the National Archive, in Thai libraries and royal museums. Next, newspapers printed both in Bangkok and other countries are included in this group. For example, *Darunovat* “*ครุโฆวาท*” and *Court* “*ข่าวราชการ*” which reported the events that happened in Bangkok and the royal court of King Chulalongkorn, and *The London News* that published King Chulalongkorn’s pictures during his visits at the royal grand parties in Russia and Europe.

¹⁷ ชเนศ วงศ์ยานนาวา, “ความเป็นอนิจจังของอาหารจีนชั้นสูงในกรุงเทพฯ: การเดินทางสู่เส้นทางของอาหาร “ประหาริปไตย”, *จุลสารไทยคดีศึกษา* 19, 2 (พฤศจิกายน 2545 – มกราคม 2546), หน้า 42-51

King Chulalongkorn wrote many books to give his opinions about the information related to modernizing Bangkok. He also translated a French cook book into Thai for the royal family and consorts. The last ones are memoirs and dairies of Thai aristocracies and foreigners who came to or lived in Bangkok during the mid nineteenth century. Their records mostly give a picture of the Siamese elite, their life style, housing, living life, food and customs. Significantly, Thai elites in this period already recognized the importance of photographs, so the photos taken in this period are one of the historical pieces of evidence to show a picture of the royal court and mansions.

The second group is secondary documents consisting of theses, research, and books. There are some M.A. theses related to this research, for example, Attachak Sattayanurak, *The transformation of historical consciousness and the changes in Thai society from the Reign of King Mongkut to 1932 A.D.*; Samuentip Sirijarukul, *A study of the changing of the Thai dietary in Bangkok during 1851 – 1991*; and Wannaporn Boonyasatit, *The reaction of the inside ladies to the transformation by western culture*. Moreover, other royal diaries and academic books provide the historical background of the royal cuisine and culinary culture among the elites in the reign of King Rama V.

1.2 Research Question, Major argument and Scope

This research aims to investigate and identify the characteristics and elements of the royal cuisine and culinary culture in relation to history and the social context in the court of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910). The study will enable the researcher to create an in-depth knowledge of the royal cuisine and culinary culture which will contribute to an understanding of the social context of Thai society in the reign of King Rama V. The reason for choosing this period is because at this time Siam had formally opened its doors and welcomed Western influence and adopted new eating customs, ingredients and cooking techniques to Thai society amongst the upper class.

This was also the first time that Thai society published books, so there are some chronicles and historical fragments available which were useful for this dissertation.

The research considered the transformation process that Siamese elites attempted to learn and adjust their eating behaviors and manners in formal occasions to become civilized and meet the international standard like Western people. Therefore, the research questions are:

1.2.1 How adoption of Western culinary culture and the transformation of culinary culture in the court of King Chulalongkorn's long reign had a different impact than in prior times?

1.2.2 How the Siamese elites adjusted their consuming behaviors and manners in formal occasions to meet a Western standard? and

1.2.3 How the transformation of cuisine and culinary court culture in the court of King Chulalongkorn represented a civilized and cosmopolitan society?

The scope of the dissertation will emphasize the transformation of the royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Chulalongkorn including: 1) the adoption of a new trend for the royal cuisine; 2) the knowledge of Western etiquette using knives, spoons and forks, including Western style table manners, table settings with Western cutlery, Western style banquets, interior decoration of the dining-room and banquet venues, utensils and food containers, and food items served for the royal guests; 3) the rise of new concepts to produce standard recipes for cooking; 4) the emergence of food publications such as a food periodical and cookbooks; and 5) royal banquet management which considered the significant role of key person who with expertise for planning, setting and controlling the functions of the royal banquet venue.

The argument of this study is to prove that Western culture adoption as implemented among the elites within the royal court and mansions of King Rama V was greatly expanded and became much more prominent in Thai society than before. The transformation of royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Chulalongkorn

prominently appeared since the impact of Western culture on South East Asia in 1869. Siam or Bangkok became commercially connected to the world market and the influx of Westernization on the Asia continent was widespread. Indeed, Western culture had great influence on Siamese elites who absorbed “civilized” culture and took an interest in everything from Western countries. An ideal model of civilization was taken as the measurement for developing Thai society to be modern after the Western fashion. The international trade system of this period led Bangkok to be one of the important port cities in Asia. The more Westerners moved to live in Bangkok, the more the city became a cosmopolitan place in terms of nationality and culture diversity. Bangkok became a vibrant cosmopolitan city in accordance with Western standards and values.

1.3 Objectives

This dissertation aims to achieve the following objectives:

3.1 To investigate the royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Rama V.

3.2 To identify the characteristics and elements of the royal cuisine and culinary culture in relation to history and the social context in the reign of King Rama V.

1.4 Research Methodology and Sources

For this dissertation, I have decided to use the historical development methodology as the method to find the process of identity formation of the Siamese elite during the reign of King Rama V through the practice of eating culture, especially the transformation of royal cuisine and culinary culture.

This research investigates the influence of adoption of Western culture in the court of King Rama V to illustrate that the transformation of culinary culture among

the elites of this period was greatly expanded and became more prominent than in the prior time in Thai history. The research methodology is qualitative research and applies an historical methodology and documentary analysis approach to primary and secondary sources on the topic. For example, the group of primary sources consists of archival documents, chronicles, royal records and government activities, royal letters, royal gazettes, announcements, newspapers, annual reports, photos, memorial books, personal records (memoirs, dairies, traveler' records), photographic collections, and literature. Other secondary sources are pictorial books, journals and periodicals, research and monographs, dissertations, theses, and books. The other relevant documentation will be critically examined.

These documents can be found in many sites including Chulalongkorn University Library and other university libraries, Thai Studies Centre, the National Archive of Thailand, and the royal museums. Moreover, the study covers field research; especially the dietary and eating activities of Siamese elites, including Thai-foreign recipes that have emerged in Thai society. This survey aims to find the evidence of changes in the royal palaces and consort mansions of Siamese elite which were adopted similar to Westerners, for example, Vimanmek Mansion, Bangkunprom and Parusakawan Palaces.

This study deals with the content of the royal cuisine and culinary culture through the context of civilized and cosmopolitan society among the Siamese elite in the era of modernization, much emphasized in the reign of King Rama V, in which we can see how the period of modernization paved the way for change and assimilation in the culinary culture in the royal courts and mansions. Since the elements of the court cuisine and culinary culture are most apparent in highly developed areas, this study will focus on the formal and informal eating activities among the court and the royal dining table. Choosing the royal palaces and court mansions as the area of study will enable the researcher to understand the cultural transformation toward royal consumption, its origins, its development and its growth patterns.

1.5 Research Terminologies

1.5.1 Civilization refers to a high state of culture and development, both social and technological, marked by refinement in taste and manners, showing polite, reasonable behavior, and well-organized socially with a very developed culture and way of life.

1.5.2 Cosmopolitan refers to a city, place, person or element that embraces its multicultural demographics, characterized by worldly sophistication. It also means a glamorous character associated with a mixture of cultures.

1.5.3 Royal Cuisine refers to a specific set of traditional food and practices associated with the Siamese court culture. The royal cuisine means a delicate and magnificent set of food prepared and served for the king and court elites.

1.5.4 Culinary Culture refers to the consuming culture in the Siamese court in the area pertaining to cooking traditions, consuming practices and table manners.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN CULTURE ON ROYAL THAI CUISINE

Thailand is a place that includes many people from different nations and cultures; the country has long been connected with foreigners in international trade and diplomatic embassies. For this reason, the capital city of Bangkok is one of the most cosmopolitan places in terms of languages and cultural diversity in Asia. From the old days up to the present, Thai society has always been open to other cultures and flexible to accepting alien cultures by blending them with the old form of traditional Thai culture. Thais have recognized and gradually absorbed alien food cultures into their ways of living, then harmoniously applied them to practice as their usual way of life.

However, when trying to imagine Thai society and culture in the old days through a changeable scheme of food consumption, eating culture, variety of dishes, and cooking methods, one sees a moving picture of aristocratic culture and social living. The adoption and assimilation of new culture from the early Rattanakosin period onwards led to a new era creation and innovation of palace cuisine.

A uniqueness of recipe development and a variety of ingredients used on different occasions and seasons represents the abundance of the country “Siam”. Palace cuisine has certainly influenced the cuisine of Thailand. There is some research that looked at the significant social and cultural meaning of palace cuisine in the period that Siam opened its door to welcome foreign cultures, especially Western. There is obvious evidence from various royal documents, such as poems, royal books and testimonies, court news, also royal memorandum and diaries that can tell us the background of palace cuisine.

Studying Thai history and the social context in each period of the Rattanakosin era is one tool we can employ to understand the significant meaning of

court cuisine in Thai society. Owing to the long span of time of the Rattanakosin era, I have focused on the period of Kings Rama I – III, as considered from the prominent published testimonies. My analysis has been made using evidence from several documentary sources, and taking particular note of the summary from varying rare books. It is hoped that this may lead to a better understanding of this aspect of Siamese court cuisine.

This chapter will be devoted to two main topics: 1) foreign food in Thai culture and the characteristics of the Thai court cuisine of the ruling class in the era of social establishment (1782-1851), or the early Rattanakosin period (Kings Rama I-III), and 2) a background of palace cuisine which started with the introduction of these terminologies - cuisine, culinary, cookery, gastronomy - to the features of Siamese court cuisine.

2.1 The historical and social context which affected and influenced the characteristics of Thai court cuisine

2.1.1 Foreign Food in Thai culture

From the old days up to the present, Thai society has always been open to other cultures and been flexible to accepting alien cultures by blending them with the old form of traditional Thai culture. Thai society, as an open society, has regularly borrowed cultures from other countries because foreigners have often come to live in Thailand. The country has interacted with foreigners in terms of commerce and diplomacy. As a result, the capital city of Thailand has been the center of variety in terms of people, languages and cultures. Accordingly, Thai people have learned and borrowed cultures and lifestyles from foreigners which they have harmoniously applied to their lives.

When considering the historical context of the country before entering the period of King Rama the Fifth's reign, the prior kings had ever adopted other food cultures to practice within the court; for example, Portuguese food and desserts, Chinese

food and cooking techniques, Indian curries, Western and Mon dishes.¹ Interestingly, this happened without any political pressure from such culture's owners. Thai kings in the prior time had freedom and more flexible whether or not to adopt any culinary culture to practice within the royal court. Foreign food cultures were also applied to suit Thai society by harmoniously blending them with traditional Thai culinary culture. Therefore, Thai cuisine is essentially a marriage of centuries-old Eastern and Western influences, harmoniously combined into something uniquely Thai.

Various kinds of foreign foods and desserts have been adopted and applied to use within the courts and mansions of the Siamese elites. The instances of Thai cuisine derived from the influenced of the other food cultures include the Thai style desserts applied from the Portuguese which use rich egg-based recipes made of egg yolks and sugar syrup.²

¹ รัตน์ ฌ สงขลา. "บันทึกความหิว" ผลงานจากพระราชหัตถเลขา ฉบับที่ 42 เมื่อครั้งเสด็จพระราชดำเนินประพาสยุโรปเมื่อ พ.ศ. 2440 ของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (รัชกาลที่ 5) (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สามเสน, 2531), หน้า 11

² ขวัญใจ เอมใจ, "ขนมไทย: ความหมายได้ปรากฏการณ์ความหวาน," สารคดี 6(70), (ธันวาคม 2533), หน้า 107



Figure 2 : Thai Desserts: Thong-Yib³



Figure 3: Thai Desserts: Thong-Yod⁴

³ ขนมไทย: ทองหยิบ [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554. แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

⁴ ขนมไทย: ทองหยอด [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554. แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

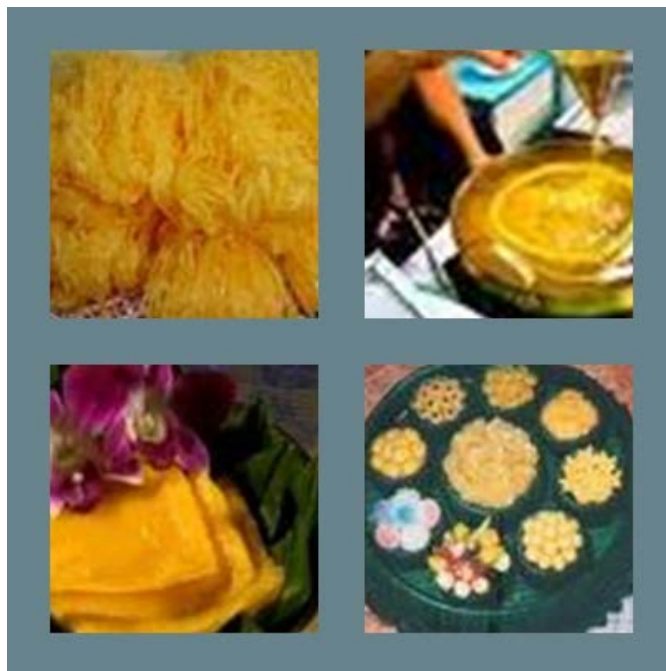


Figure 4: Thai Desserts: Foi-Thong⁵

These desserts are in the popular family of desserts consisting of "Thong" (meaning "Gold") in all of the names: Thong-yib (pinched gold), Thong-yod (golden drops), and Foi-thong (golden threads). These golden desserts are an ancient Thai dessert served for auspicious ceremonies. Thong-yib, Thong-yod, and Foi-thong all mean to wish everyone with gold, much money and treasure, and to spend forever.

Another example is Thai style curries. Thais have been very adept at using foreign cooking methods and substituting ingredients. The ghee used in Indian cooking was replaced by coconut oil, and coconut milk substituted for other dairy products. This can indicate that Thais have always been open to new things and can flexibly apply other cultures to blend with the old form of Thai traditions. When those other cultures or the

⁵ ขนมไทย: ฝอยทอง [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554. แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

new things were considered as good and suitable for Thais, then they would be adopted to practice within Thai society.⁶



Figure 5: Thai Curry Dishes⁷

⁶ สุกิจ นิมมานเหมินท์, “โตโยทากิมาร์ แม่ศรีของหวาน,” ใน รวมเรื่องพูดและเขียน, (มิถุนายน 2519), หน้า 48

⁷ แกงไทย [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image



Figure 6: The Cooking Method of Thai Curries⁸

2.1.2 Thai Court Cuisine

There are some references to Thai food culture from the Ayutthaya period when French diplomatic representative, Simon De La Loubere, came to Siam. In the reign of King Narai the Great, there were a lot of people who came to be government officials in Siam. Some were from the Middle East and their family names are Bunnag and Chek Ahmad. The word “Chek” was derived from “Sheikh.” Then, it became Chek Ahmad. Bunnag was a big family and this family brought “Rice and Chicken Biryani”.

From the Ayutthaya era onwards, the adoption of Western culture and civilized manners and eating utensils into Siamese society occurred when Siam traded and associated with the other countries, like Portugal, England, France, and Holland, etc.

⁸ แกลงไทย: วิธีทำแกลงไทย [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

After King Taksin's death, the former general of Thonburi, Chao Phraya Chakri, ascended to the throne, claiming himself, King Rama I, the first king of Chakri Dynasty of the Rattanakosin period. King Rama I transferred his capital from Thonburi across the Chao Phraya River to the present site of Bangkok, and gave it a name of "Krung Thep" or the "City of Angels". The kingdom, with its re-established capital and its boundary secured from warfare, paved the way for arts, architecture, and culture to flourish again. The Grand Palace, magnificent temples and many other constructions were a result of the attempt of King Rama I to revive the splendor of Ayutthaya in his new capital. The succeeding kings also led Siam to a prosperity of religion, arts and international trade. The Siamese elites in the prior reign of the Chakri dynasty were the first group to associate with Westerners and adopt Western culture in their daily lives. Examples are, the grand palace being built and decorated in Western style. In early Bangkok, an increase in international trade in Siam from the reign of King Rama I onwards caused economic changes and Siam became a prosperous capital city. The Chinese immigrated to the land of Siam in the early Rattanakosin era and were divided into several different groups: The group of Chinese who had the opportunity to work for the Thai government as taxation officers, Chinese merchants, and Chinese coolies. Besides the wealthy royal families and Siamese elite who traded with foreigners, Chinese living in Siam raised their social status to be equal to the Siamese elite. Therefore, the power of money and the economic status of people in Siamese society in the early Rattanakosin era can be used to classify the difference between the elite and the commoners; wealth was thought to be as important as a fine lineage and social prestige.

In the reign of King Rama III, the kingdom gradually expanded and prospered. Meanwhile, the streaming into Southeast Asia and Thailand of Western civilization on the one hand, and the diversity of population on the other, resulted in society gradually adjusting and changing its general outlook on life. After the victory of Great Britain over China and Burma, Thai people's opinions of Westerners changed: they began to admire, rather than disparage them. The cultural and conceptual changes in Thai society occurred alongside the conflicts and compromises amidst a period of social and

economic change in the Rattanakosin era. This can be attributed to an understanding and perception in Siamese society that there were other people who lived in other places of the world.

The guru of Thai traditional food, M.R. Thanadsri Sawasdiwat, stated that in the past the food was separated into native Thai food and foreign food. Then, all were combined into the uniquely Thai food. He also gave a brief explanation about Thai food history:

“In Rama II Reign, Somdet Phra Sri Suriyen was known as a cuisine expert. In the poem of King Rama II, there were many foods in Thai and Western menus”

“...According to De La Loubere, Thai food was said to be grilled and roasted food with drying food preservation. During that period, no one knew about using coconuts in meat dish menus. The one who knew about this issue was the Bunnag Family. A Middle-East menu with yoghurt was Rice and Chicken Biryani. Before it had arrived in Thailand, no one ate big animals or milk. However, Middle-East immigrants did not have milk so they used coconut milk instead of cow milk. So, the Bunnag Family was known as the pioneer for using coconut milk...”

In my opinion, coconut based curries were influenced by Indian food and change from the use of cow's milk and yogurt in the Indian food to coconut milk because coconuts can be easily found in Thailand. Also the taste, smell, texture and the appearance features of such Thai curry dishes using coconut milk can be completely substituted by the use of Indian ingredients like ghee and yoghurt. This shows that Thai society was open, as well as Thai people were flexible and free to borrow foreign cultures if the cultures were considered by the majority of the people as good ones that would not damage traditional Thai culture. Moreover, M.R. Thanadsri Sawasdiwat mentioned the use of the main ingredients of Thai food in the old days:

“Originally, Thai food was mainly fish because Thai people did not eat big animals. Thai people believed that eating chickens was a sin, but eating fish was not. During the period, Simon De La Loubere stated that fish could be kept for a long time and food preservation needed salt. Also, seasoning needed shrimp paste. Still, there was a big problem as Ayutthaya and Lopburi could not find any salt. In the case of sea food, they were from Mae Klong (แม่กลอง), formerly known as Bang Chang (บางช้าง). Many merchants bought salt from Mae Klong and sold it at Phanan Choeng Temple (วัดพนัญเชิง). So, Thai people knew about fish fermentation.”

“When La Loubere went back to France, he was given fermented fish or pickled fish. The trip to France took four months. He said that the pickled fish had all become water. According to this, we can learn what Thai people ate during the reign of King Narai the Great.”

However, the book “พรรณนาภูมิสถานพระนครศรีอยุธยา: เอกสารจากหอหลวง (ฉบับสมบูรณ์)” written by Dr. Winai Pongsripien, mentioned that in the Ayutthaya period, there was a local market namely บ้านศาลาเกวียน *Baan-Sala-Kwain*, which was a center of international products from its neighbors, such as Mon and Khmer. One of the interesting products selling in this area was a side of dried beef and other parts of beef, like skin and tendons.⁹ Even though this reference did not mention whether or not Thai were customers buying beef products or a merchant selling those beef products, this somehow could be argued against the explanation given by M.R. Thanadsri Sawasdiwat that the Thai did not eat big animals.

There were conflicts of cultural practice and religion, such as conflicts between Buddhism and Christianity, in the reign of King Rama IV. However, the

⁹ ดร.วินัย พงศ์ศรีเพียร. มรดกแห่งความทรงจำแห่งพระนครศรีอยุธยา เล่ม 1: พรรณนาภูมิสถานพระนครศรีอยุธยา เอกสารจากหอหลวง (ฉบับความสมบูรณ์), (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์อูษาคเนย์, 2551), หน้า 89.

acceptance of the foreign cultures occurred alongside these conflicts. As a result, the Siamese elite began to define themselves as being as civilized as the Westerners, while their faith in Buddhism still remained strong. Therefore, the process of identity formation through the development of eating culture in Siamese society was influenced by both the etiquette standards of Western society and the behavioral practices of Buddhism.

Because of Thailand's strategic location, making it an essential link in international trade, especially the traditional maritime trade in the past, Thailand, or Siam as it was once called, was able to maintain active and diverse relations with various countries, near and far, covering diplomacy, religion, and even war. Such ties led to the acceptance of other food cultures, which the people then blended with their own. Thai culinary art was transformed. From simple dishes based on food items available in the immediate surroundings emerged sophisticated recipes that resulted from adaptation. Leading the way was the royal palace, where the art of living was perfected and emulated among the population, in recipes, eating manner, and the art of food decoration and arrangement.¹⁰

In early Bangkok, fish, meat, vegetables and fruit were important sources of food in Thailand, apart from rice. In ancient times, Thai people did not normally consume the meat of large animals. The main dishes were *namphrik* (น้ำพริก), fresh vegetables and fish. Large animals were slaughtered only on special occasions, such as festivals commemorating meritorious deeds and feasts for ordainment. It is a sin to kill, according to Buddhist teaching. The popularity of eating the meat of large animals came with the use of spices. The habit of eating pork, chicken and duck meat came from China.

Vegetables and fruit are easy to find in Thailand because of the abundance of the land. One dish that had to be on the royal table everyday was *namphrik*, a sauce for dipping fish and vegetables. It is assumed that this *namphrik* was made from peppers, rather than chilies, since peppers were of Thai origin, whereas chilies were imported into

¹⁰ กอบแก้ว นางพินิจ, “โอชารสพฐพีที่สวนดุสิต,” *ความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรมอาหารไทยในยุคโลกาภิวัตน์*, (2550), หน้า

Thailand in the Ayutthaya era by foreign merchants.¹¹ The food that created sayings such as น้ำพริกผักต้ม “*namphrik phaktom*” and กินข้าวกินปลา “*kinkhao kin pla*” was simple. In those days natural resources were plentiful. There was fish in the water and rice in the fields. Vegetables were easy to find and there were many ways of cooking them.

During the period of reconstruction, the society needed labor. The shortage of labor led to a policy of inviting immigrants into Siam, especially Chinese.¹² There is a saying that Siam has benefited from Chinese labor in city construction and development from that time right up to the present day. Many Thai people nowadays have Chinese ancestors and have adopted Chinese values. The Chinese brought their own customs and traditions with them when they came to Thailand. One of them was Chinese cuisine. Chinese food culture had already been in Thailand for quite some time, but it gained significance in the Siamese royal kitchen in the reign of King Rama III. Many Chinese communities were established and trade with the Chinese grew. Chinese people gave chickens and ducks to the king. His Majesty fed them to monks during the Chinese New Year.¹³

The grand palace kitchen accumulated knowledge and experience through training and teaching in the palace over a long period. Palace style food was considered high class; it highlighted the relationship difference between the royal family and common people, and lent an air of sanctity and auspiciousness to royal ceremonies. The popularity of having three kitchens preparing Thai, Western, and dessert dishes in aristocratic families increased the number of elite Thais consuming Western dishes in

¹¹ มรว.คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช, “น้ำพริก,” *หนังสือพิมพ์สยามรัฐ*, (กรุงเทพฯ: 2546), หน้า 7, 72

¹² นานาคำ, “อาหารพื้นบ้านแม่บ้านน้อย,” *ความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรมอาหารไทยในยุคโลกาภิวัตน์*, (2550), หน้า 57

¹³ สมบัติ พลายน้อย, [ส.พลายน้อย], *ครัวไทย*, หน้า 63-66

their daily lives, especially government officers and royal families, who employed Chinese chefs to cook both Western dishes and Chinese desserts at their palaces.¹⁴

When people expressed their admiration for the artistic qualities of the royal kitchen, it was not only for the beautiful presentation before their eyes, but also for the taste and aroma of the elaborate dishes. Traditional Siamese society highly valued those arts and considered them “a true lady’s decoration”. Many mansions in the Grand Palace were regarded as classic finishing schools that well-born ladies desired to attend in order to learn traditional skills, which ranged from Thai *cordons bleu* cooking, carving of fruits and vegetables, arranging flowers and banana leaves, classical dancing, dress-making, perfume brewing, to good manners.

In this era, food prepared for the Siamese elite was mostly similar to food in the Thonburi period. One kind of dish called “snack” emerged in Siamese elite society, which before just had only a meal set of main dishes and desserts.¹⁵ Siamese court cuisine which was influenced by Chinese, Western, Mon, and Islamic food culture, attempted to adapt the use of local ingredients with the adjustment of flavors to finally become a signature of Thai cuisine.¹⁶

Examples of foreign food culture which had an impact on Thai royal cuisine can be found in *khanom tom daeng* (ขนมต้มแดง), *khanom tom khao* (ขนมต้มขาว), a dessert served at a sacred ceremony for angels, and *krayasat* (กระยาสารท), also a dessert, served at the royal celebration of the 10th month:- *Phrarajaphitee-douen-sib* พระราชพิธีเดือน

¹⁴ พิมพ์เป็นที่ระลึกในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ ท่านผู้หญิงเยี่ยม จรรย์สนิทวงศ์ (ม.ล.เยี่ยม สนิทวงศ์) (ม.ป.ท., 2541. พิมพ์เป็นที่ระลึกในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ ท่านผู้หญิงเยี่ยม จรรย์สนิทวงศ์ (ม.ล.เยี่ยม สนิทวงศ์) ณ เมรุวัดเทพศิรินทราวาส 14 พฤศจิกายน 2540), หน้า 59.

¹⁵ กอบแก้ว นางพินิจ, *อาหารไทยยุครัตนโกสินทร์*, (2551), หน้า 28

¹⁶ ม.ร.ว. ถนัดศรี สวัสดิวัตน์, “วัฒนธรรมอาหารในสังคมไทย”, *เปิดตำรับสำหรับสาธิต ภาค 1: วัฒนธรรมความอร่อยในสาธิต*, (สาขาวิชาภาษาไทย คณะศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล, 2553), หน้า 24-25

สืบ.¹⁷ King Rama V believed that King Rama I first introduced *khao thip* ข้าวทิพย์ into this ceremony. From this we can assume that the royal ceremony of making *khao thip* had been around since the Ayutthaya period.¹⁸

A royal memorandum letter written by Kromluang Narintaratevee (กรมหลวงนรินทรเทวี) mentioned that food prepared and served for monks at the court celebration ceremony of Praputthamaneemahapatimakorn (พระพุทธรมณีนมหาราภิมากร - พระแก้วมรกต) had a variety of dishes, such as parboiled vegetables, spicy dip sauce, dried fish, and fried bamboo shoots, food cooked by using spices in Islamic style, as well as Chinese dishes, mainly cooked with pork.¹⁹

In the Rattanakosin or Bangkok Period, a Thai meal was comprised of more and more foreign elements - Chinese, Mon, Lao, Burmese, Khmer, Indian, and Japanese - starting in the royal kitchen and spreading widely throughout the Kingdom. This trend is evidenced in the lyrics for boat-rowing songs called *Kaab Hae Rue Chom Kroung Kao Waan* (กาพย์เห่เรือชมเครื่องคาวหวาน) composed by the second monarch of the Chakri Dynasty, King Rama II, a supreme artist in his own right. He described the dishes and food arrangements as compared with the foods prepared and cooked by his queen, Prasrisuriyentra. The poems are in praise of dishes, fruit arrangements, desserts, and significant occasions marked by the royal barge processions.

The royal composition of King Rama II, *กาพย์เห่เรือชมเครื่องคาวหวาน*, mentioned various kinds of main dishes, desserts, and fruits, which obviously reflect a clear picture of Thai court cuisine at that time. The king described a specific characteristic of palace cuisine with some exotic ingredients, seasonings, and decoration. An example of main dishes mentioned in this work are Thai curries, dipping sauces, and spicy salads, while

¹⁷ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ศิลปบรรณาการ, 2552), หน้า 424

¹⁸ แสงอรุณ กนกพงศ์ชัย และคณะ, *อาหาร : ทรัพย์และศิลป์แผ่นดินไทย*, (กรุงเทพฯ: แพลนโมทิฟ, 2547), หน้า 98

¹⁹ กอบแก้ว นางพินิจ, *อาหารไทยยุครัตนโกสินทร์*, หน้า 31

savory snacks are indicated by the dishes named Moo-naam (หมูแนม), La-teang (ล่าเตียง), Loum (หลุ่ม), and Rung-Nok (รังนก). The king also mentioning Thai desserts made of flour and eggs, such as a crispy baked dessert in Western style – kanom Phing (ขนมผิง), Kanom Lumjeak (ขนมลำเจียก), and other desserts served with coconut milk and syrup, such as Sa-lim (ซ่าหลิม), and Bua-loy (บัวลอย).²⁰

Other items mentioned in the poems are Indian foods, such as Massaman curry, saffron rice, condiments, and fried spiced chicken. It can be said that Thai culinary art reached a new height in the reign of King Rama II; the food items mentioned in the poems were a product of culture blending derived from various food cultures. Those main dishes, such as the assorted Indian curries, Chinese snacks, and Portugal desserts, were immortalized by the poems composed by the artist king, as quoted below:

มัสมั่นแกงแก้วตา หอมยี่ห่วยรสร้อนแรง

ชายใดได้กลิ่นแกง แรงอยากให้ได้ค้นหา

*The Moslem curry she cooked, Heartily spiced and so hot;
Whoever tastes it once, Will look for it all his life.* (แกงมัสมั่น)

²⁰ ชลดา เรืองรักย์ลิขิต, กาพย์เห่ชมเครื่องคาวหวาน กาพย์เห่ขันนาคสมรสสร้าง, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2552), พิมพ์ครั้งแรก, หน้า 112

เทพื้นเนื้อท้อง เป็นมันย่องล่องลอยมัน

นำชครศครามกรัน ของสวรรค์เสวยรมย์

*Fish soup with a piece of stomach Floating rich and fragrant,
Inviting me to take spoonfuls Of that heavenly dish. (แกงเทพ)*

ขนมจีบเจ้าจีบห่อ งามสมต่อประพิมพ์ประพาย

นี่ก็น้องนุ่งนีกทวาย ชายพกจีบกليبแนบเนียน

*Pleated dumpling you have dressed, Being fairly reminiscent
Of yourself and pleated outfits, With a carefully folded knot. (ขนมจีบไทย)*



Figure 7: ขนมจีบไทย (Kha-nom-jeeb-Thai: Thai Dumplings)²¹

²¹ ขนมจีบไทย [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

ทับทิมพริ้มตาครุ ใส่จางดูจุมเม็ดพลอย

สุกแสงแดงจักย้อย อย่างแหวนก้อยแก้วตาชาย

*Pomegranate, just for the thought of it Pomegranate seeds glitter brightly,
Like precious stones on a dish, Some are fully red, And inviting as your little ring (ผล
ทับทิม)*



Figure 8: ผลทับทิม (Pol-Tub-Tim: Pomegranate)²²

ทองหยอดทอดสนิท ทองม้วนมิดคิดความหลัง

สองปีสองปีคบ้ง แต่ลำพังสองต่อสอง

*O my love was like Golden Drop, Fully wrapped in Golden Roll;
For two years we kept a secret, Known to just the two of us. (ทองหยอด - ทองม้วน)*

²² ทับทิม [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

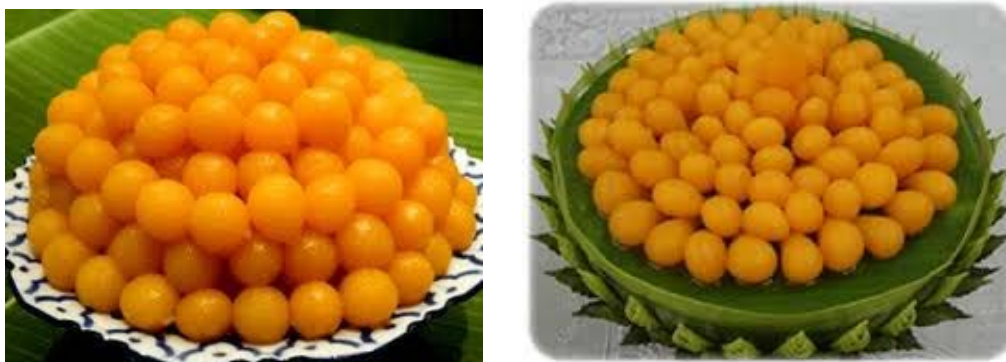


Figure 9: ทองหยอด (Thong-Yod: Golden Drops)²³



Figure 10: ทองม้วน (Thong-Moun: Crispy Golden Curl)²⁴

งามจริงจ่ามงกุฎ ใส่ชื่อจมงกุฎทอง

เรียนร่ำคำนี้ป้อง สะอึ้งน่องนั้นเคยยล

How beautiful is Crown Cake

Wearing its name like a gold crown;

I muse with longing; For the chain worn over your shoulder. (จ่ามงกุฎ)

²³ ทองหยอด [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

²⁴ ทองม้วน [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image



Figure 11: จ๋ามงกุฎ (Ja-Mongkut: A Crown-like Golden Sweetmeat)²⁵

ช่อม่วงเหมาะมีรส หอมปรากฏกล โทศุม

กิดสีสไบคลุม หุ้มท่ม่วงดวงพุดตาน

*Sprig of purple has a lovely smell, Spreading around like a lotus,
I see your breast cloth Resting purple on the flowers. (ช่อม่วง)*



Figure 12: ช่อม่วง (Chor-Moung: Stuffed Flower-shaped Dumplings)²⁶

²⁵ จ๋ามงกุฎ [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

²⁶ ช่อม่วง [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

ฝอยทองเป็นของใย เหมือนเส้นไหมไข่ของหวาน

คิดความยามเยาวมาลัย เย็บชุนใช้ไหมทองจีน

*Golden Rain falls in shiny threads, like your silk woven out of egg.
I remember my beloved, sewing with such golden Chinese silk. (ฝอยทอง)²⁷*



Figure 13: ฝอยทอง (Foi-Thong: Golden Threads)²⁸

The examples of food items stated in the poem of King Rama II *ภาพย์เห่เรือชมเครื่องคาวหวาน* can be categorized into several types of food: savory dishes (เครื่องคาว), snacks (เครื่องว่าง), sweet dishes (เครื่องหวาน), and fruits (ผลไม้). The king attempted to represent all kinds of those civilized dishes and food items in his palace to the readers in term of the luxury name of dishes, including the taste, the odor, the appearance, and the texture of food, by indicating the various kinds of exotic ingredients, cooking techniques, and food decoration. In my opinion, the poem's description in this sense can represent the civilized and cosmopolitan nature of the palace cuisine in that era.

²⁷ ชลดดา เรื่องรักย์ลิลิต, ภาพย์เห่ชมเครื่องคาวหวาน ภาพย์เห็นราศแรมรสร้าง, หน้า 40-43

²⁸ ฝอยทอง [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

These are examples of the poem's descriptions that narrate the taste, the appearance of food items and the exotic ingredients that were used to blend with Thai traditional dishes:

มัสมั่นแกงแก้วดา หอมยี่ห่ารสร้อนแรง

The Moslem curry she cooked, Heartily spiced and so hot; (แกงมัสมั่น)

เทพื้นเนื้อท้อง เป็นมันย่องล่องลอยมัน

Fish soup with a piece of stomach Floating rich and fragrant, (แกงเทพ)

ทับทิมพริ้มตาครู ใส่จานดูจุดเมล็ดพลอย

สุกแสงแดงจก้อย อย่างแหวนก้อยแก้วดาชาย

*Pomegranate, just for the thought of it Pomegranate seeds glitter brightly,
Like precious stones on a dish, Some are fully red, And inviting as your little ring (ผล
ทับทิม)*

ช่อม่วงเหมาะะมีรส หอมปรากฏกล โทสุม

กิดสีสไบคลุม หุ่มท่ม่วงควงพุดตาน

*Sprig of purple has a lovely smell, Spreading around like a lotus,
I see your breast cloth Resting purple on the flowers. (ช่อม่วง)*

ฝอยทองเป็นของใย เหมือนเส้นไหมไข่ของหวาน

คิดความยามเยาวมาลัย เย็บชุดใช้ไหมทองจีน

Golden Rain falls in shiny threads, like your silk woven out of egg.
I remember my beloved, sewing with such golden Chinese silk. (ฝอยทอง)

Thai elites began to absorb “civilized” culture, taking an interest in everything from Western countries. At the same time, people were in fear of the Western menace of colonization in Asian countries. An illustration of this fear can be seen from the last words of King Rama III urging a safeguard against the *farang* (ฝรั่ง): the words on his death bed:

*“...There will be no more wars with the Burmese and the Vietnamese. There will be trouble only with the farang (Europeans). Take good care; do not fall into their traps. Whatever they have invented, or done, which we should know of and do, we can imitate and learn from them, but do not wholeheartedly trust them.”*²⁹

Also in the reign of King Rama III, the Siamese elite attempted to understand Western manners and learn to be more civilized by, for example, changing from sitting on the floor to sitting on chairs, changing from placing food trays on a mat to placing food on the table, and changing from eating with their hands to using knives, spoons and forks instead. However, these new eating utensils and eating techniques had

²⁹ ม.ร.ว.อคิน รพีพัฒน์, *สังคมไทยในสมัยต้นรัตนโกสินทร์ พ.ศ. 2325-2416*, แปลโดย ม.ร.ว. ประกายทอง สิริสุข และพรณี สรุงบุญมี (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิโครงการตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์, 2518), หน้า 125.

to be learned and practiced, thus, royal banquets were held frequently for Westerners who lived in Siam at that time.³⁰

The Thai tradition of sitting on the floor and eating with one's hands (*perb-kaeo*) was a common practice for both the king and the commoners, only the food quality, quantity, and the sets of dishes including food containers and utensils were different. The evolution of the eating style in Thai society in the early Bangkok period using knives, spoons and forks, especially at the royal banquets to which the foreigners were invited, primarily occurred in the late part of the reign of King Rama III.

In the reign of King Rama III, spoons made from pearl shells were not only used by monks, but were generally used by every social class in Siam. This did not indicate that the monks had diminished in significance or that the Siamese had lost faith in religion, but that *chon-hoi-mook* was not as valuable as in the past and were readily available. The Siamese and Chinese living in Siam only used *chon-hoi-mook* to eat soup like a 'dish spoon' by pouring the soup directly into their mouth.³¹

However, this was not a total change in Thai eating culture because the Siamese elite still practiced the table manners of the Buddhist monks, such as not eating too much, taking large mouthfuls, eating messily, or making noises. Additionally, a book of gentlemanly conduct known as สมบัติผู้ดี 'Sombut-Phudee' was written by a member of the Siamese elite aimed at instructing and guiding those who wanted to act like gentlemen.

³⁰ Feltus, Hall, and George, *Dr. Renold House: Moh Farang Sam Rutchakam*, 2nd edition (Bangkok: Suriyabun Publishing, 1982), page 24-25.

³¹ มงเซญูร์ ปาลเลกั้วซ์, *เล่าเรื่องกรุงสยาม*, แปลโดย สันต์ ท. โกมลบุตร, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ศรีปัญญา, 2549), หน้า

2.2 Palace cuisine: Concept, Terminologies and Practice

A significant meaning of Thai court cuisine, as stated in many books and papers as representative of originally Thai cuisine, was a delicate and magnificent set of food prepared and served for the king and court elites. Others author have mentioned the factors in the change of eating habits and reforms of eating etiquette standardization among Siamese elite in the period of modernization, especially in the reign of King Rama V being for political purposes and Western culture assimilation.³² I feel that while there are some circumstances where Thai court cuisine was mean to be a link between Siamese elite and court culture within royal palaces, there are other times there is inadequate research to affirm this proposition.

Generally, it is difficult to depict images from the past from verbal or historical accounts. Narrative pictures created from stories told hundreds of years ago, passed from generation to generation, are more unreliable. What remains to be seen would be imperfect. Some court gazettes, such as *Court ข่าวราชการ* and royal memoirs, that mention Thai court cuisine give extensive information on royal banquets and eating activities which involved the variety of royal food served, daily practical rules and regulations for *Ma-hat-lek* or royal pages-in-waiting to set the royal table, eating etiquette and table manners like Western customs. I firmly believe that this is valuable, and worthy for research.

As the problem of the lack adequate research associated with Thai court cuisine is significant, I believe that it is necessary to conduct a thorough study on the historical development of Thai court cuisine in the period of modernization in the hope that this will enhance our knowledge and understanding of the root problems.

³² นนทพร อยู่มั่งมี, “รัชกาลที่ 5 กับความศิวิไลซ์บนโต๊ะอาหาร” ใน ศิลปวัฒนธรรม ปีที่ 31 ฉบับที่ 3, (มกราคม 2553), หน้า

Thai cooking has four major regional variations, plus the highly refined "royal" cuisine. The latter is sometimes translated into English as *Palace Cuisine*, this being a heritage from the days of absolute monarchy when only the best was served at the royal table. Every dish had to be pleasing both to the eye and the palate. Not only did the ingredients need to be carefully selected and the cooking techniques as perfect as possible, but the presentation had to also be creative.

Royal culinary art successfully retained its timeless value through the delicate elaboration and innovative ingenuity of the court ladies, who created and bequeathed sophisticated court recipes for later generations. The dishes they created pleased not only the consumers' taste buds, but also the eyes of any beholders. Such qualities were achieved through their superb presentations. The culinary art of the royal court was considered the highest standard that all chefs wanted to achieve. The art has been nurtured through generations of royal *cordon bleu* chefs, who systematized it into a culinary science unparalleled elsewhere.

When people expressed their admiration for the artistic qualities of the royal kitchen, it was not only for the beautiful presentation before their eyes, but also for the taste and aroma of the elaborate dishes. Traditional Siamese society highly valued those arts and considered them "a true lady's decoration". Many mansions in the Grand Palace were regarded as classic finishing schools for well-born ladies who desired to attend in order to learn traditional skills, ranging from Thai *cordon bleu* cooking, carving of fruits and vegetables, arranging flowers and banana leaves, classical dancing, dress-making, perfume brewing, to good manners.



Figure 14: อาหารชาววัง (aahaan chaaw wang: Palace Cuisine)³³

The grand palace kitchen accumulated knowledge and experience through training and teaching in the palace over a long period. Palace style food was considered high class, highlighting the relationship between the royal family and the auspiciousness of the royal ceremonies.³⁴ Although some ethnic dishes were adopted into the palatial main menu, the royal chefs managed to blend them in with traditional dishes to create results which were unarguably Thai. The royal recipes, in accordance with social changes over time, still reflect the harmonious relationship and affectionate interaction between the royalty and commoners. On ceremonial occasions, they signify people's solemnity and reverence for the Thai monarchical system.

The “inside” was misunderstood by many outsiders, particularly foreign missionaries, who viewed it as the most obvious manifestation of polygamy, an institution of which they strongly disapproved. Even a few outsiders who were granted entry, such as Anna Leonowens, insisted on referring to it as “the harem”, and its inhabitants as quasi-prisoners.³⁵ This view had a lot more to do with Western fantasies than with fact. In fact, the inner palace was more likely an ultra-exclusive finishing

³³ อาหารชาววัง [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

³⁴ อาหาร : ทรัพย์และศิลป์แผ่นดินไทย, หน้า 96

³⁵ วิบูล วิจิตรวาทการ, สตรีสยามในอดีต (กรุงเทพฯ: สร้างสรรค์บุ๊คส์, 2542), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3, หน้า 19.

school, where all the ladies from royal and aristocratic family had to participate. The daughter of a nobleman who had spent all or part of her youth in this rarefied atmosphere was regarded as highly desirable by any future husband, for she would surely be adept at supervising an elegant household of her own in the outside world.

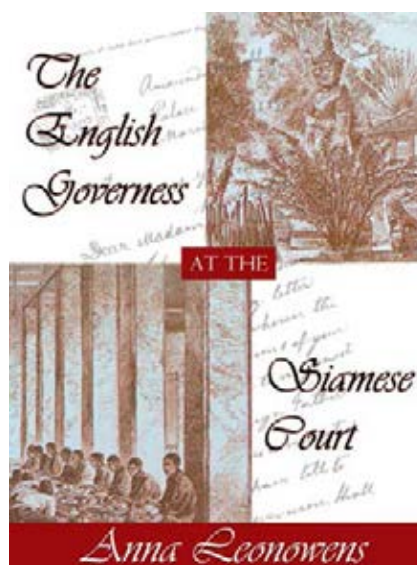


Figure 15: The book “The English Governess at the Siamese Court

Written by Anna Leonowens³⁶

In Thailand, palace cuisine was set as the standard of the art of eating, which reflected elegance, refinement and innovation. As noted by La Loubere:

*“Ayutthaya court held reception with more than 30 beautiful, well-prepared Chinese dishes, such as some garnished with pineapples painted as dragons”.*³⁷

³⁶ Emusic, **The English Governess at the Siamese Court** [ออนไลน์], 27 กรกฎาคม 2554, แหล่งที่มา <http://www.emusic.com/book/anna-leonowens/the-english-governess-at-the-siamese-court/10000231/>

According to Esterik,³⁸ the delicate and decorative dishes prepared for the king and the royal family is known as อาหารชาววัง (aahaan chaaw wang), whereas อาหารชาวบ้าน (aahaan chaaw baan) are dishes that are easily prepared and cooked using local seasonal ingredients. The difference between these two types of cuisine lies in the different amount of cooking time, the quality of the food, the exotic ingredients, and the skill and craftsmanship (i.e., carving skills) to produce each dish. Additionally, อาหารชาววัง (aahaan chaaw wang) is never eaten in its raw or natural form without being transformed into a decorative dish which usually balances different flavors in a harmonious blend and is made in rather small sizes for one bite, whereas อาหารชาวบ้าน (aahaan chaaw baan) usually consists of a small number of main dishes consumed with a large amount of rice. Tanatsri Sawasdiwat, a well-known culinarian who once lived part of his life within the palace, pointed out that the characteristic of palace cuisine consisted of three things: firstly no shells, secondly no fish bones, and lastly no bones.³⁹

Masterpieces of sophisticated palatial art include carving *ma-prang* มะพร้าวรีว, making *kha-nom beuang* ขนมเบื้อง, preparing betel chews and wrapping wantons, all of which needed practice and attentiveness to excel. But the highlight of palatial art and crafts has remained the carving of fruits and vegetables where ordinary natural produce like guava, cucumbers, crab apples or pumpkins, are transformed into life-size flowers and miniatures of all sorts.⁴⁰

³⁷ ลาตุแบร์, Export-Import Bank of Thailand, อ้างถึงใน อาหาร: ทรัพย์และสินแผ่นดินไทย, 2548, หน้า 100

³⁸ Penny Van Esterik, *From Marco Polo to McDonald's: Thai Cuisine in Transition in Food and Foodway*, page. 1-7

³⁹ ถนัดศรี สวัสดิวัฒน์, “วัฒนธรรมอาหารในสังคมไทย”, เปิดตำรับตำรับสาละยา ภาค 1: วัฒนธรรมความอร่อยในสาละยา, หน้า 26

⁴⁰ ชลดา เรืองรัถย์ลิขิต, ภาพย์แห่งชมเครื่องควหาหวาน ภาพย์เห็นราศแรมรสร้าง, หน้า 122

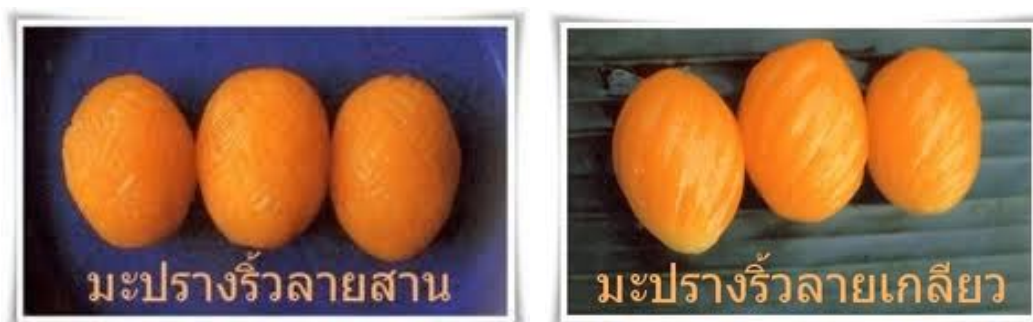


Figure 16: มะปรางรีว (Ma-Prang-Reaw: Carving Marian plum)⁴¹

Thus, the food of the Siamese palace is focused on the meaning of “palace cuisine” rather than just “palace food or cookery”. Palace cuisine is a specific set of cooking traditions and practices which is associated with Siamese court culture. It is named after the place which is within the king’s palace and court mansions where its underlining culture is present. Siamese palace cuisine in the past was primarily influenced by the ingredients that were available locally or through trade. In addition, it generally covered the cooking, culinary arts, and the kitchen.

⁴¹ มะปราง: การปอกมะปรางรีว [ออนไลน์], 6 มิถุนายน 2554, แหล่งที่มา www.google.co.th/image

CHAPTER III

THE FACTORS INFLUENCING EATING BEHAVIORS

AMONG SIAMESE ELITES

This chapter focuses on the middle Rattanakosin period (1852-1910) and aims to explain the eating culture and consuming behaviors of different Siamese classes, especially the factors that influenced eating etiquette and types of dining among the elite. The Buddhist concept which partially influences the eating behavior of the Siamese will be included.

3.1 The Factors Influencing the Eating Behavior of the Siamese Elite

It has been said that to eat greedily, hurriedly, filthily, to eat a lot, to eat when walking, or not to eat at the dining table are bad behaviors for the Siamese upper class. Besides this, the behavior of eating too much not only indicates bad manners, but also the behavior of an indigent who is short of food. This can be shown in literary compositions, such as the Chinese novel ‘Siyingouy’, which has been translated into Thai, and describes the main character ‘Siyingouy’ as a poor farmer who always ate too much. Another example is the character from the famous Thai literary work ‘Choo-Choke’, he was a poor old Brahmin who had been given lots of food from the king, but he died because of eating too much until his stomach exploded.¹ Although, readers may realize that eating too much indicates bad behavior and the poverty of the lower class, these characters are still impressive and convince the reader to read until the end.

¹ มหาเวสสันดรชาดก ฉบับ 13 กัณฑ์, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 12 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การค้ำของคุรุสภา, 2531), หน้า 306

The image of etiquette from the behavior of eating a little and slowly became the table manners for the Siamese aristocracy. The Siamese upper class has never experienced starvation and always has had excessive food available, so the idea of refraining from eating meat in the early Rattanakosin period was to dedicate merit for all animals and to share the merit with others. Furthermore, the behavior of not eating too much was also thought to be one way of selecting the best food in order of quality, type, and quality of health. *Tanpuying Plien Passakornwong*, married to a nobleman who served King Rama V, wrote the first cookbook of Siam. Lady Plien's cookbook contains the contents of domestic home care, cooking techniques, household management and royal recipes in the early 20th century. The book mentioned:

*“...although I really want the cooks to know the variety of Thai food, the most important thing is to know how to cook the best dishes by considering the food quality and appropriate amount of each ingredient...”*²

This indicates that the lack of available food was never a problem for the Siamese elite, but that an overabundance of food was a problem. This led to the selection of food for quality through new cooking techniques to make delicious and luxurious food.

Additionally, the number of meals consumed per day by people of different classes was different. In the past, the only people who had three-meals a day were the elite or the Chinese merchants; whereas the commoners or farmers only ate two meals per day. It was common that Thai farmers would ploughed the paddy field in early morning and in the late morning his wife would bring him a lunch box which was the first meal for the day. The last meal was dinner when he came back home after finishing work. It was not only farmers who ate only two meals per day, but also the Siamese

² ประดิทินบัตร แลจดหมายเหตุ 1,2 (1 พฤศจิกายน ร.ศ.108), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ต้นฉบับ, 2540), หน้า 62

sailors who had a strict rule to eat only two times a day, at 8 am in the morning and 4 pm in the afternoon.³

In contrast, the ‘inside’ women, who gave allegiance as royal servants working inside the king’s palace, were given a salary, clothes, and study materials for those who wanted to study. Beside this, the palace also provided luxurious meals four or more times a day.⁴

3.2 The Dinning Places

To answer questions about the Thai lifestyle in the last century, such as “Where did Thais eating?”, or “What was the characteristic of the Thai dining room?”, depends on the class status of the individuals. Undoubtedly, the dining rooms of the Thai kings were not only places for eating, but were also sacred and other people were not permitted to enter. The dining room for commoners was not sacred and most Thais used a vacant space in their houses, such as an uncovered porch or verandah as the dining place. However, in Thai society, it can be said that the room or kitchen used for preparing and cooking food was more important than the dining place. This was explained in a royal letter of Somdej Kromphaya Dumrongrachanupab in which he offered the assumption that a gathering of household members having food together, cooked from the same household kitchen, is the origin of the relationship called family:

“...Humans normally live with others as ‘family’, living in the same area and eating food together in one area, there could be one house or many depending on

³ นาวาเอกสวัสดิ์ จันทน์, นิทานชาวไร่ เล่ม 9 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การค้ำของครูสภา, 2509), หน้า 88-90 และ เล่ม 11 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การค้ำของครูสภา, 2509), หน้า 433-434

⁴ ม.ล. เนือง นิลรัตน์, “ชีวิตที่อยู่ร่วมกันในวังสุนันทา,” ศิลปวัฒนธรรม 7, 3 (มกราคม 2529), หน้า 52

the number of household members, but there had to be only one kitchen, this was a tradition since before history.”⁵

The atmosphere of the dining room of King Rama III was mentioned in the book ‘A Story of Siam’, written by Pallegou:

“...the eating time for the king was so quiet even though there were about 10-20 people at the same table, thus they just spent only 15 minutes to finish a meal, noticeably nobody drank water before or during the meal except after the meal only.”⁶

However, a quiet time for eating was not a fixed rule for every situation and event, such as the royal banquets for foreigners. Thai traditional music or a brass band played during the meal ⁷ to create a pleasant atmosphere and to entertain the royal guests as if they were part of a traditional Western banquet. In other situations, such as when the elite ate at home alone, they needed to eat in quiet and privacy, while the lower class enjoyed having food with other family members. Due to limited information, the descriptions above can only be analyzed as a general assumption and cannot answer the question why the Siamese elite and middle class needed more quiet time for eating than the lower class. In my opinion, the fact that the commoner households never had a formal dining room and their dining rooms could be any vacant spaces in their house, plus the necessity of the lower class to work hard and probably eat at their workplaces with irregular meal times, meant the lower class were not able to assign eating rules or create

⁵“ลายพระหัตถ์สมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ ฉบับวันที่ 16 มกราคม 2478,”ใน สารานุกรมไทย เล่ม 8 พ.ศ. 2478 (ตุลาคม-มีนาคม) (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิสมเด็จพระเจ้า เจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยานริศรานุวัดติวงศ์ มูลนิธิสมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ และองค์การค้ำของครูสภา, 2541, พิมพ์ฉลองอายุสมเด็จพระเทพรัตนราชสุดา สยามบรมราชกุมารี ครบ 3 รอบ พุทธศักราช 2534), หน้า 191

⁶ มงเซญูร์ ปาลเลกัวซ์, *เล่าเรื่องกรุงสยาม*, หน้า 198

⁷ Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and people of Siam Vol. 2*, 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1977 [1857]), page 328.

an atmosphere for their dining places. Thus, the lower class were always considered uncivilized because they did not display etiquette and manners.

Unlike the lower class, the Siamese elite had the possibility of creating an atmosphere and peacefulness for their dining places; however, dining times for them was not the time to create ideas. Any ideas which occurred during eating were believed to be superficial and cursory. An example of this is found in a royal letter King Rama IV wrote to Somdej Kromphaya Dumrongrachanupab:

*“A lyric ‘Kaowaman’ mentioned in this book was probably a verse in rhyme...but it was not fun anymore...in fact I think this probably was composed when the author was eating...”*⁸

3.3 Dining Out

A royal prophecy written by King Rama IV compared unfortunate people in the situation of eating food in a market with a dog.⁹ This comparison reflects the negative view that eating food in a market was considered inappropriate behavior, even though the market was an important and necessary place for every class from the elite to commoners. Negative meanings are also shown in many idiomatic expressions, such as ปากตลาด ‘pak-talad’ (sharp-tongued) or แม่ค้าปากตลาด ‘mae-kha pak-talad’ (a lower class, who always scold, speak too loud, and too fast). The upper class used this as a standard difference dividing the elite and the vulgar. Thus, the image of a market was not only as an outside area where people buy and sell goods, but also as a gathering place for the lower class.

⁸ ลาวัญย์ โชติามระ, *ย้อนรอยราชตระกูล* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์โชคชัยเทเวศร์, 2530), หน้า 110

⁹ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, “ตำราเศษพระจอมเกล้าฯ,” ใน *ตำราพรหมชาติ ฉบับสมบูรณ* (กรุงเทพฯ: อำนวยการพิมพ์, 2535), หน้า 197.

Additionally, in the early Rattanakosin era, there was an increase in the number of the Westerners living in Siam, so King Rama IV released a government gazette about the issue:

“... Official foreign visitors will complain that the streets in the palace were so dirty and nobody took care of them...”¹⁰

Another example from the reign of King Rama V is Somdejchaophaya Borommaha Srisuriyawong who wrote in the ‘*Siam annual record*’:

“...the foreigners see Siamese people buy and sell goods and food which is so dirty and smelly everywhere especially on the street side, thus, the government released a regulation do not trade any goods on the street sides except in the markets...”¹¹

Therefore, the market, which here meant the streets, had been defined as a back stage of Siam prosperity. In the past, eating in public areas was a degrading practice for the aristocracy,¹² thus buying food from a market was also insulting. The following record written by Somdej Kromphaya Dumrongrachanupab is about how King Rama V wanted to travel for pleasure to somewhere in Siam via train and come back by royal boat without bringing anything except money:

“...the king commanded me to travel with him, but I think it’s weird because if a commoner it will not be a problem to buy food from the markets or ask for

¹⁰ “ประกาศให้พวกที่อยู่แถวทิมในพระราชวังทำความสะอาด,” ใน ประชุมประกาศรัชกาลที่ 4 พ.ศ. 2408-2411 (กรุงเทพฯ: องค์การการค้าของกรุงสกา, 2504), หน้า 57

¹¹ “ว่าด้วยตลาดขายของกิน,” จดหมายเหตุสยามไสมย เล่ม 3 แผ่น 28 (วันพุธ เดือนสี่ แรมสี่ค่ำ ปีกอก จอศก 1246), หน้า 431-432

¹² ลาวัญย์ โชติามระ [อัมพร หาญนภา], “เรื่องของข้าวแกง,” ใน ประกายพริก (พระนคร: คลังวิทยา, 2506), หน้า 141

food from someone else, but He is a king who disgusts to eat foods sold from the street sides or the markets and He also dislikes filthy places..”¹³

However, the two royal journeys of King Rama V were not the only occasions that the king ate in markets and public areas and also at commoners' houses. During the first royal journey, the king stopped in many provinces, such as Rajburi, Samutsongkram, Petchaburi, Samutsakorn, Nakornpatom, and Supunburi, and spent 25 days traveling (from July 14, 2448 B.E. to August 7, 2448 B.E.). A royal record stated that the king ate at commoners houses three times. First, was at the house of an old lady called ยายผึ่ง Yai-poung and the food provided for the king was fried cabbage with pork, salted fish, and nam prik or chili dip sauce. The second time was at the house of เจ้าคุณสุนทรเทศา Chaokun Soonthorntesa and the king had chicken curry with rice for dinner. The last time was at the house of นายช่าง Nai-chang and ยายปลับ Yai-plub, but there is no record of the menu except a detail that Yai-plub cooked together with the king's chefs.¹⁴

¹³ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และสมเด็จพระ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, เสด็จประพาสต้นในรัชกาลที่ 5 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์อภัยรเจริญทัศน์, 2534), หน้า 7

¹⁴ สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, “จดหมายนายทรงอานูภาพ,” ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และสมเด็จพระ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, เสด็จประพาสต้นในรัชกาลที่ 5, (กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์อภัยรเจริญทัศน์, 2534), หน้า 4, 16 และ 19-20



Figure 17: King Rama V dining as commoner during his journey¹⁵

For the second royal journey of King Rama V about two years later, the king journeyed through many provincial cities including Kumpaengpeth and spent 34 days on the trip (July 27, 2450 B.E. to August 29, 2450 B.E.), having meals with commoners three times. First, the king had vermicelli and fried rice noodles at Bangpra-in palace, second at Yai-plub and her daughter's house and the menu was minced pork soup and chicken curry with rice, third was at a government official's house at Kumpaengpeth province where lots of dishes were prepared for the king.¹⁶ However, the royal journeys of King Rama V were a special case for the upper class, such as the king and the aristocracy; also it was the first time in Thai history that the king closely associated with commoners.

¹⁵ Gotoknow, [เมื่อพระพุทธเจ้าหลวงเสด็จประพาสต้น](http://www.gotoknow.org/posts/91257) [ออนไลน์], 5 ตุลาคม 2555, แหล่งที่มา <http://www.gotoknow.org/posts/91257>

¹⁶ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, [เสด็จประพาสต้นในรัชกาลที่ 5](#), หน้า 27, 28 และ หน้า 45-46



Figure 18: King Rama V having lunch with his royal family as commoners¹⁷



Figure 19: King Rama V in private time during his journey¹⁸

¹⁷ ม่านบูรพา ดวงใจแห่งตะวันออก, พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวเสด็จประพาสต้น [ออนไลน์], 20 พฤศจิกายน 2555, แหล่งที่มา <http://www.chainatday.com/mamburapha/papaston.html>

Conversely, buying food from markets was a normal thing for the lower class since the reign of King Rama III, as noted by a foreigner who lived in Siam in 1840-1841:

“...there are Chinese merchants who sell cooked pork, and fried fish... women sell various kinds of dessert such as bread and a dessert which is made of flour and coconut milk, besides there are many raw goods such as sea fish and fresh-water fish, goat meat, chicken, duck, fruit and some miscellaneous goods needed for daily life..”¹⁹

3.4 Working and Dining Out

An evolution of the Thai government occurred in the reign of King Rama V who altered the government system to consist of twelve ministries. Official sites were separated from the homes or the palaces of government officials and working hours were adjusted from 10 am - 4 pm to 8 am - 2 pm. As a result, most official workers were not able to arrive at their workplaces on time to start work at 8 am. Traditionally, Thai people had always cooked and eaten in the morning before going to work and a lot of time was taken for cooking and eating in the morning.²⁰ Also, Thais usually ate every meal at home because eating outside cost a lot more than cooking and eating at home.

¹⁸ Gotoknow, [เมื่อพระพุทธรเจ้าหลวงเสด็จประพาสต้น](http://www.gotoknow.org/posts/91257) [ออนไลน์], 5 ตุลาคม 2555, แหล่งที่มา <http://www.gotoknow.org/posts/91257>

¹⁹ เฟรเดอริก อาร์เธอร์ นิล, *ชีวิตความเป็นอยู่ในกรุงสยามในทัศนะของชาวต่างประเทศ ระหว่าง พ.ศ. 2383-2384 (ค.ศ. 1840-1841)*, แปลและเรียบเรียงโดย ร้อยเอกหญิงลินจง สุวรรณโกคิน *Narrative of a Residence in Siam* (ลอนดอน: สำนักงานห้องสมุดภาพแห่งชาติ, 1852), (กรุงเทพฯ: กองวรรณคดีและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร, 2525), หน้า 34

²⁰ “ลายพระหัตถ์สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาธรรมาธิราชานุศาสน์กิจวิมลใน สำนัสมเด็จเจ้าฟ้าฯ กรมพระยาเดชาดิศร 3 พ.ศ. 2475 (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิสมเด็จพระเจ้าพี่นางเธอเจ้าฟ้ากัลยาณิวัฒนา กรมหลวงนราธิวาสราชนครินทร์ มูลนิธิสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาธรรมาธิราชานุศาสน์กิจวิมล และองค์การค้ำของกูรูสภา, 2536, พิมพ์ฉลองอายุสมเด็จพระเทพรัตนราชสุดาฯ สยามบรมราชกุมารี ครบ 3 รอบ พุทธศักราช 2534), หน้า 145-146

However, it was now necessary for people to live far from their workplaces and it was inconvenient to return home for lunch. As a result, restaurants and food stalls were established on the street providing food and snacks for those who could afford to eat outside. According to an official register of the number of restaurants and food stalls serving customers in Bangkok, 57 food stalls sold rice with various kinds of Thai curry, 14 sold stir-fried rice noodles, 10 were noodle shops, 3 sold vermicelli with Thai curry, 2 sold rice congee and 29 places sold various kinds of dessert.²¹

Beside this, restaurants in the reign of King Rama V selling rice with curry (*kao-raad-kaeng*) were open until late at night. Rice congee, served all day and night, was popular for the Chinese coolies, with the restaurants mostly located close to gambling places.²² In the reign of King Rama VI, the popularity of going out for ‘dinner’ increased, especially for Western food, especially when Thai students finished their studies in Europe and returned home. The most famous and luxurious places were the Oriental Hotel and Tokadero Hotel.²³

3.5 Recreation and Dining Out

In the reign of King Rama V, there were many centres for entertainment and relaxation for Thai people, such as gambling houses, theatres, Japanese Cinema, lotto houses, theatrical performance houses known as โรงยี่เก ‘Roung-Yee-kae’. Food stalls and eateries emerged to accommodate customers, such as food stalls selling rice-with-curry or ข้าวแกง ‘kao-kaeng’ and rice congee. According to Mr. Chai Rounsilp, a Thai historian, in

²¹ สารบัญชี่ ส่วนที่ 2 คือ รายการในจังหวัด ถนน แลตรอก จ.ศ. 1245 เล่มที่ 2 สำหรับเจ้าพนักงานกรมไปรษณีย์ กรุงเทพมหานคร, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สันฉบับ, 2541)

²² พรรณี บัวเล็ก, *กุ๊ลากรถกับประวัติศาสตร์แรงงานไทย* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สารคดี, 2542), หน้า 87

²³ รัชย์ อัครราช, “มหาเสวกโท พระยาศาตราบดีสิหราชบาลเมือง,” ในที่ระลึกในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ พลตำรวจตรี พระยาศตราบดีสิหราชบาลเมือง (เทียบ อัครรัชย์) ณ เมรุหน้าพลับพลาอิสริยาภรณ์ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส วันอาทิตย์ที่ 1 มิถุนายน พ.ศ. 2512 (พระนคร: โรงพิมพ์บำรุงนุกุลกิจ, 2512), หน้า 34-35

the reign of King Rama V, 403 places were established for gambling, such as dice games, bean and cowrie games, and lotteries, but latter in 1887, 1889, and 1891 the Thai government abrogated all small gambling places decreasing the number to just 14 in Bangkok and 2 in Nontaburi.²⁴ Crowds of people roamed through these gambling places and many food stalls sold food for the gamblers, such as rice with curry, vermicelli, rice congee, at about three satang per dish (100 satang = 1 baht).²⁵

Another place which was open in the daytime to serve customers, particularly the Chinese coolies, was the opium house. Hot and sweet desserts, like red beans with sugar syrup, or a Chinese sweetmeat made of ingredients such as peanuts, sesame, enriched rice, were popular with the coolies after they smoked opium and became thirsty.²⁶ Chinese tea-houses were another popular place for the Chinese to rest and relax after work in the afternoon.²⁷ They normally drank tea with a Chinese dessert called จันอับ ‘Chan-up’ (a dessert also served at wedding rituals) along with various kinds of Thai desserts.²⁸ Additionally, in this period, hot tea was a popular drink at home for the Siamese elite, the middle class, and the Buddhist monks. A large amount of tea leaves and fragrant teas were imported from China every year.²⁹ Also, the tradition of serving afternoon tea for honored guests at the royal palace or the palace of the aristocracy was normally accompanied with various kinds of snack, such as cakes, and the Thai crispy

²⁴ ชัย เรื่องศิลป์, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัย 2353-2453 ตอนที่ 1 ด้านสังคม, หน้า 320-321

²⁵ จมื่นอมรรตุนารักษ์ (แจ่ม สุนทรเวช), “เรื่องรัชกาลที่ 6 โปรดเกล้าให้เลิกหวย ก.จ.,” ใน พระราชกรณียกิจสำคัญในพระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว เล่ม 6 (กรุงเทพฯ: กุรุสภา), หน้า 108

²⁶ พรณี บัวเล็ก, กุฎิลากรถกับประวัติศาสตร์แรงงานไทย, หน้า 82

²⁷ สง่า กาญจนาคพันธุ์ [กาญจนาคพันธุ์], กรุงเทพเมื่อวานนี้ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สารคดี, 2543), หน้า 209-210

²⁸ สุวิชา [นามแฝง], วันวารที่ผ่านมา (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ดวงกมล, 2539), หน้า 65

²⁹ ม.ร.ว. เจ้าจอมสดับ และ ม.ร.ว.แสงสุรีย์ ลดาวัลย์, สุรदानุสรณ์ (กรุงเทพฯ: อมรินทร์การพิมพ์, 2526, พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดชฯ สยามินทราธิราช บรมนาถบพิตร ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้พิมพ์พระราชทานในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ เจ้าจอมหม่อมราชวงศ์สดับในรัชกาลที่ 5 ณ เมรุหลวงหน้าพลับพลาอิศริยาภรณ์ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส วันที่ 24 ธันวาคม พุทธศักราช 2526) หน้า 147

cake called ขนมฝรั่งกุฎีจีน ‘kanom farang kudee chine’.³⁰ Besides this, tea with sugar and milk was also served with cakes for foreigners.

Another exotic drink in the reign of King Rama V was coffee (ข้าวแฟ ‘kao-fae’) for which various kinds of coffee beans were imported. Good quality coffee was served only in the foreign hotels located in Bangkok, like the Oriental Hotel and Tokadero. Coffee shops for the Siamese lower class emerged in the late reign of King Rama V at a price of 5 satang per cup. A luxurious coffee shop called นรสิงห์ ‘norasigha’, serving the elite and wealthy Chinese merchants, was established in 1922 located close to the equestrian stables of King Rama V. The tables were set with white cloth on the lawn, and a small car park provided for 3-4 cars every evening.³¹ Later, the first modern theatre in Thailand and Asia with air-conditioning called เฉลิมกรุง ‘Chalerm-krung’ was established in 1932. A Chinese person from Canton called Taechew who lived in Bangkok at the time, opened a peculiar coffee shop serving coffee in Indian style by mixing coffee with boiled cow’s milk.³² There were a few coffee shops opened later surrounding the theatre and the number of Thais who drank coffee gradually increased along with watching movies at the theatre and other activities.

From the late part of the reign of King Rama VI onwards, watching movies at the theatre rapidly became the Thais favorite recreation, together with having dinner or supper at Rajchawong Street after the movie had finished.³³ Therefore, restaurants such as *Hoitienlao* and *Pae-itt tienglao* which were situated near the theatres in Rajchawong and Yaowaraj Street were the central meeting places for people of all kinds, such as journalists, writers, and Chinese merchants.³⁴

³⁰ สุวิชา [นามแฝง], *วันวารที่ผ่านมา*, หน้า 13, 15

³¹ ยศ วัชรเสถียร [ยุธิยเจียร], *เกร็ดจากอดีต* (พระนคร: รวมสาสน์, 2513), หน้า 328

³² เทพชู ทับทอง, *เล่าเรื่องไทยๆ เล่ม 1* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สองแคว, 2535), หน้า 24

³³ สุวิชา [นามแฝง], *วันวารที่ผ่านมา*, หน้า 45

³⁴ ยศ วัชรเสถียร [ยุธิยเจียร], *เกร็ดจากอดีต*, หน้า 361

While dining out at restaurants was part of the recreation and entertainment of the Siamese elite and middle class, the elderly and senior government officials preferred to stay at home. The popularity of having three kitchens preparing Thai, Western, and dessert dishes in aristocratic families increased the number of elite Thais consuming Western dishes in their daily lives, especially government officers and the royal family, who employed Chinese chefs to cook both Western dishes and Chinese desserts at their palaces.³⁵

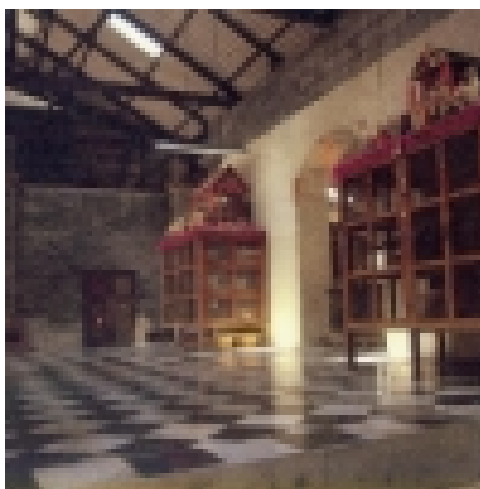


Figure 20: The kitchen of Pravimadather Krompra Suddhasininart³⁶

³⁵ พิมพ์เป็นที่ระลึกในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ ท่านผู้หญิงเยี่ยม จรัสสินทวงศ์ (ม.ล.เยี่ยม สนิทวงศ์) (ม.ป.ท., 2541, พิมพ์เป็นที่ระลึกในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ ท่านผู้หญิงเยี่ยม จรัสสินทวงศ์ (ม.ล. เยี่ยม สนิทวงศ์) ณ เมรุวัดเทพศิรินทราวาส 14 พฤศจิกายน 2540), หน้า 59

³⁶ Wok my life: All about my food through my sight, พระวิมาดาเชอกรมพระสุทธาสินีนาฎปิยมหาราชปวิร์ดา (พระองค์เจ้าสายสวลีภิรมย์) คำรับกับข้าวไทยของสำนักพระวิมาดา [ออนไลน์], 8 ธันวาคม 2555, แหล่งที่มา <http://wokmylife.wordpress.com/page/10/>



Figure 21: The Western Style kitchen of Pravimadather Krompra Suddhasininart³⁷



Figure 22: The Dining Room at Parutsakawan Mansion วังปารุสกวัน³⁸

³⁷ Wok my life: All about my food through my sight, พระวิมาดาเชษฐภคินีนาถปิยมหาราชปดิวิโรดา (พระองค์เจ้าสายสวลีภิรมย์)ตำรับกับข้าวไทยของสำนักพระวิมาดา [ออนไลน์], 8 ธันวาคม 2555, แหล่งที่มา <http://wokmylife.wordpress.com/page/10/>



Figure 23: The Dining Room at Voraditsa Mansion *วังวรดิศ*³⁹

³⁸ พระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าจุลจักรพงษ์, *เกิดวังปารุสก์: สมัยบูรณาญาสิทธิราชย์ และ สมัยประชาธิปไตย* (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ริเวอร์ บุ๊คส์ จำกัด, 2552), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 13, หน้า 40

³⁹ My first brain.com, *เที่ยวทั่วกรุง: วังวรดิศ [ออนไลน์]*, 20 ธันวาคม 2555, แหล่งที่มา http://www.myfirstbrain.com/main_view.aspx?ID=62710

CHAPTER IV

THE ‘CIVILIZING’ OF THE SIAMESE COURT: THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN CULINARY CULTURE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIAMESE COURT CULTURE

An ideal model of civilization was taken as the measurement for developing Thai society to be civilized after the Western fashion; the way the upper-classes lived in terms of consumption was driven by Western impulses. The influence of Western culture played a vital role in elite Thai society. In order to give the reader a better understanding of what manners of Western culture influenced the change of the royal cuisine and culinary culture in this period, I will first classified the development of the consuming culture in Western society, then I will explain my analysis related to this topic divided into several categories.

4.1 The Development of Eating Utensils in Western Society

Generally, the evolution of eating utensils in Western society developed gradually from the Middle Ages. The 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries were periods of rapid formulation of principles used to control the behavior of people in society, including eating, which later developed into standardized table etiquette.

In the Middle Ages of Western Europe, people ate food with their hands and fingers. The king and queen and farmers or laborers all used their hands to pick up

and eat food from shared containers. This is illustrated in many paintings from the 15th century revealing gatherings of family members eating food together.¹ The paintings illustrate the manner in which people ate, such as picking up a piece of food from a large plate and put it into the mouth, picking up food and giving it to another person, sipping soup from a large bowl used by everyone at the table. The utensils were shared with other diners; also there were only a few pieces on the dining table. Thus, it is not necessary to classify the types of food containers. The food itself can be categorized into two types: dried food for which one's hands were used to pick up and eat, and swill or watery food which were normally put into a big bowl and shared between the diners.

The utensils in the Middle Ages were similar to the utensils used in the last century, such as platters, plates, dishes, *quadra* (a square wooden board used to cut meat known as *tranchoir* in French cuisine), *tailloirs* and knives. To eat soup or sauce, diners generally had to lift a bowl close to their lips then sip or use a shared ladle and pour the soup or sauce into their mouth. The use of the fork, which had been invented in the 11th century,² was not used as an eating utensil until the 17th century when it was incorporated as a table utensil in Western society.³ Erasmus of Rotterdam depicted a dining table in the Middle Ages that only had bread on the left, and a knife and a glass on the right.

¹ Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations, translated by Edmund Jephcott, with some notes and corrections by the author, revised edition, edited by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers), page 58.

² Visser, Margaret. The Rituals of Dinner: the Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities and Meaning of Table Manners, (New York: Penguin Books), page 57.

³ Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations, page 91.

The table manners that separated the elite from the lower-class were washing the hands with rose water before eating, using only one hand to pick up food, and to pick up food using only three fingers.⁴ The 17th century was the first time Westerners began to use an individual spoon for pouring food to eat, but the spoon at the time was rather flat and round with the same size as a ladle, so diners had to open their mouths wide when eating.⁵ However, the eating of soup or sauce from a big bowl shared by every diner ceased in the 17th century, including the additional rule of cleaning the spoon on an apron before pouring soup or other food. Eating etiquette gradually rose to a peak when individual diners were provided with a spoon, a fork, a knife, and a soup bowl as a standard. Diners were often confused over how to use such civilized utensils, such as which food could be used with a spoon or fork, or how to use the various knives for different purposes, thus in the middle of the 17th century the rise of the study of table etiquette and manners began.

This modern period was a prosperous time for trade and commerce, and wealthy merchants were raised to the status of noblemen. Erasmus stated in his essay that these new wealthy men attempted to separate themselves from the lower class, disguise their past, call themselves ‘civility’ and look down on people from other classes as ‘antiquity’ and boorish.⁶ Moreover, the new elite learned by reading and copied the

⁴ การใช้นิ้ว 3 นิ้ว คือนิ้วโป้ง นิ้วชี้ และนิ้วกลางในการเปิบข้าว เป็นการเปิบข้าวแบบไทยซึ่งเป็นมารยาทการรับประทานอาหารด้วยมือของชนชั้นสูงชาวสยามในสมัยก่อน

⁵ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, page 59

⁶ *Ibid.*, page 66-67.

behavioral practices of the ‘gentlemen’ and regulated the behavior of their society, such as eating etiquette and the principles of good conduct.⁷

The purpose of this behavioral regulation in the modern period affected Westerners in two ways. Firstly, it helped to control the behavioral practices of people in society and secondly, it helped to distinguish the elite from the lower-class. These social practices become a social standard known as ‘civilization’. In the modern period, Western civilization had just begun.⁸ Throughout many centuries, the eating etiquette in Western society had been defined by more than just eating or pouring food into the mouth.⁹ The Siamese elite began to use knives, spoons and forks, instead of their hands, in the reigns of Kings Rama IV and Rama V, and just a century later these manners had spread to every class in Siamese society. Although ‘civilization’ easily found its way into modern Thai society, traditional Thai manners have still remained.

4.2 The Utensils and Table Manners of Siamese Society

During the early Rattanakosin era, Siamese elites still used the old form of eating food using their hands or เป็บข้าวด้วยมือ *Perb-kao* which is the traditional Thai table manner of eating food with the hands. Despite, the adoption of a Western style of eating among the Siamese elite, the life style of the Siamese women who lived ‘inside’ the

⁷ Ibid., page 68-69.

⁸ Ibid., page 71

⁹ Ibid., page 92

palace was still to use their hands when eating.¹⁰ The evolution of eating style in Thai society during the early Bangkok period using knives, spoons and forks, especially at the royal banquets to which the foreigners were invited, primarily occurred in the late part of the reign of King Rama III. Spoons made from pearl shell were not only used by the monks, but were generally used by every social class in Siam.

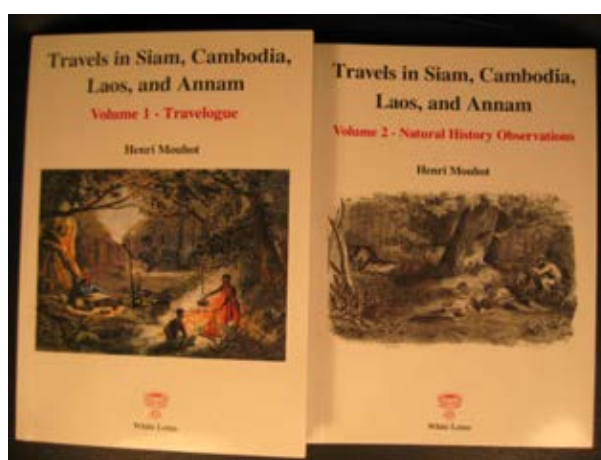


Figure 24: The Book “Travels in Siam, Cambodia, Laos, and Annam”

Written by Henri Mouhot¹¹

¹⁰ ม.ร.ว. เจ้าจอมสดับ และ ม.ร.ว.แสงสุริย์ ดดาวัลย์, *ศรัทธาสุริย์*, หน้า 146

¹¹ DCO Book from Thailand, *Travels In Siam, Cambodia, Laos and Annam Vol. 1* [ออนไลน์], 6 มีนาคม 2555. แหล่งที่มา http://www.dco.co.th/product_info.php?products_id=1496



Figure 25: The Painting of Siamese Ladies “perb-kaoy” at dinner by Henri Mouhot¹²

In Thai society, eating utensils and manners have been symbolic of civilization and have helped to classify the status of people in society as mentioned in the Thai ancient precept of ธรรมเนียม ‘*thor-ra-nee-sarn*’.¹³ This book compiles prohibited practices collected from the experiences of the elderly; some are still used now, some have disappeared, such as the prohibition of eating food with *ta-luum* (a food container sealed with vermilion) and *chon-hoi-mook* (a spoon made from pearl shell).¹⁴

¹²สตรีชาวสยาม: *Travels In Siam, Cambodia and Laos 1858-1860* by Henri Mouhot, London, John Murray, 1864, volume 2, reprinted Bangkok, (White Lotus, 1986; reprinted Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1989 and 1992)

¹³ “ธรรมเนียม,” ภาคผนวกใน ประชุม อุตุชาฎะ [พจนานุกรม], คติความเชื่อและประเพณีเกี่ยวกับการสร้างเรือน (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์มหานาค, 2526)

¹⁴ “ธรรมเนียม,” ภาคผนวกใน ประชุม อุตุชาฎะ [พจนานุกรม], คติความเชื่อและประเพณีเกี่ยวกับการสร้างเรือน , หน้า 111



Figure 26: ช้อนหอยมุก (*chon-hoi-mook*)¹⁵

In the early Rattanakosin era, D. B. Bradley, a physician at the time, defined *ta-luum* as a food container made of rattan; *toe* or *toke* was similar to *ta-luum* but made of brass, silver, and gold.¹⁶ Current dictionaries define *ta-luum* as a container, but not used to contain food anymore.¹⁷ Additionally, Bradley defined various kinds of dishes and bowls used in the early period of the Rattanakosin era as follows:

*“Plate is a flat container used for fish and vegetable, made of clay, painted color pictures. Big Plate is used for containing rice and desserts. Water Plate is to put water into the rice and eat like porridge, is used for liquid food”*¹⁸

¹⁵Romsookantiques, ช้อน หอยมุก [ออนไลน์], 5 กันยายน 2555. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.thaiscooter.com/forums/showthread.php?t=642588&page=21>

¹⁶ดี.บี.บริดเจย์, หนังสืออักษราภิธานศรรังค์ พ.ศ. 2416 (กรุงเทพฯ: อรุณสภา, 2514), หน้า 239 และ 242

¹⁷ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, พจนานุกรมฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน พ.ศ. 2525, หน้า 335

¹⁸ดี.บี.บริดเจย์, หนังสืออักษราภิธานศรรังค์ พ.ศ. 2416, หน้า 78



Figure 27: ตะลุ่ม (*Ta-luum*)¹⁹



Figure 28: โต๊ะ / โตก (*Toh or Toke*)²⁰

¹⁹ แสดงเดือนโคมด้านนา ตะลุ่มหวาย [ออนไลน์], 20 มิถุนายน 2555. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.khomsangduen.com/index.asp?contentID=1000021&procatid=44>

In the early Rattanakosin period, plates and bowls were usually made of clay imported from China and Europe, although some were produced in Thailand. Dishes and pottery used in Siam in the late Ayutthaya era were imported from Italy and Holland; however they had a problem with humidity which caused the growth of fungus. Additionally, Siam traded with Chinese merchants by importing products, such as bowls, jars, cups, but excluding dishes.²¹

From the evidence, bowls of various types were used in Siam, but it can be assumed that bowls without lids, made of clay or coconut shells, without color pictures such as *cham-kala*, were the lowest quality and were normally used by the lower-class; whereas the elite used bowls with covers and painted with color pictures, such as *cham-lai-norasigha* and *cham-lai-tepanom*.²² Another delicate pottery was *cham-benja-rong*, which was made of ceramic, painted with color pictures. Interestingly, ‘benja’ in Thai means ‘five’, but the evidence shows that *cham-benja-rong* had 3, 5, and even 8 colors. The primary colors were red, yellow, white, black, green, and blue, other colors used were pink, purple, brown, and gold.

²⁰ ศิลปวัฒนธรรม: กีฬา โตก-ขันโตก [ออนไลน์], 27 พฤษภาคม 2555. แหล่งที่มา http://www.myfirstbrain.com/main_view.aspx?ID=88636

²¹ นฤต ชมพูนิช, การศึกษาเครื่องใช้ในครัวแบบดั้งเดิมของคนไทยในชนบทภาคกลาง (กรุงเทพฯ: โอเดียนสโตร์, 2533), หน้า 130

²² เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 134,



Figure 29: จาน-ชามกะลา (*Chan / Cham-kala*)²³



Figure 30: ชามลายนรสิงห์ / ลายเทพพนม (*Cham-lai-norasigha, Cham-lai-tepanom*)²⁴

²³Thai4you.com จานชามกะลามะพร้าว [ออนไลน์], 8 เมษายน 2555. แหล่งที่มา
http://bythai4u.tarad.com/product.detail_78826_th_440932

²⁴ หอจดหมายเหตุ อัครสังฆมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ, ศิลปกรรมสมัยอยุธยา [ออนไลน์], 7 เมษายน 2556. แหล่งที่มา
http://bythai4u.tarad.com/product.detail_78826_th_440932



Figure 31: ขามเบญจรงค์ (Cham-Benja-rong)²⁵

As mentioned above, *chon-hoi-mook* (a spoon made from pearl shell), was later separated into two types, *chon-hoi* and *chon-mook*. Different kinds of spoon were used in Siam:

“*Chon-ngern* (ช้อนเงิน) was a spoon made of silver.

Chon-ta-kua (ช้อนตะกั่ว) was a spoon made of lead.

Chon-thong (ช้อนทอง) was a spoon made of gold.

Chon-touy (ช้อนถ้วย) was a spoon made of ceramic, similar to spoon from China.

Chon-mook (ช้อนมุก) was a spoon adorned with pearl, only used for monks.

Chon-hoi (ช้อนหอย) was a spoon made of shell”²⁶

From the details above, five materials were used to make spoons in the early Rattanakosin era: silver, lead, gold, ceramic, and shell. The first four materials were precious and scarce and used for the upper class, whereas shell was plentiful and cheap.²⁷ Pearl oyster was valuable so people used pearl shell to make spoons for the monks, while other common shells, such as mussel and oyster, were made into shell spoons for commoners.²⁸ It can be assumed that the classification of Siamese utensils in the early Rattanakosin period was used to signify social class; ‘high’ and ‘low’ separated the monks and the elite from the commoners, and reflected the process of identity formation in the Siamese elite. However, it was not only the utensils or the eating manner that reflected class in Siam society, but also others factors, such as dress, residence, tools, equipment, eating behavior, conversation, and speech.

²⁶ ดิ.บี.บรัดเลย์, หนังสืออักษราภิธานศรีย พ.ศ. 2416, หน้า 183-184.

²⁷ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 510

²⁸ นุฎูล ชมพูนุช, การศึกษาเครื่องใช้ในครัวแบบดั้งเดิมของคนไทยในชนบทภาคกลาง, หน้า 136-137.

In, “เล่าเรื่องกรุงสยาม” :- *Lao-rong-krung-Siam*, Pallegua, a missionary in Siam for about 24 years, mentions the use of *chon-hoi-mook* in Siamese society during the reign of King Rama III:

*“The Chinese living in Siam and the natives ate food by sitting on their heels surrounding the set of food (around 7-8 dishes) which were placed on a brass tray, they would hold their bowl in the left hand and chopsticks in the right hand. By lifting up the bowl close to the lips and by using chopsticks they pushed the rice and food from the tray into the mouth. When they ate soup they used Chon-hoi-mook or a spoon made of pearl’s shell which were common for everyone in that time, then drank a big cup of tea followed by a little cup of local rice whisky (เหล้าโรง) and smoking.”*²⁹

In the reign of King Rama III, spoons made from pearl shell were not only used by the monks, but were generally used by the noble class in Siam, while shell spoons made from mussels were used by the commoners. This did not indicate that the monks had diminished in significance or that Siamese had lost faith in religion, but that *chon-hoi-mook* was not as valuable as in the past and were readily available. Siamese and Chinese living in Siam only used *chon-hoi-mook* to eat soup like a ‘dish spoon’ by pouring the soup directly into their mouth.³⁰

²⁹ มงเซญูร์ ปาลเลกัวซ์, เล่าเรื่องกรุงสยาม, หน้า 197

³⁰ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 200

4.3 The Development of Eating Etiquette in Siamese Society

From the Ayutthaya era onwards, Siam opened its doors to trade and associated with other countries with great economic or military power like France, England, Portugal, Holland, China, India, and Japan. There were conflicts of cultural practice and religion, such as conflicts between Buddhism and Christianity, in the reign of King Rama IV. However, the admittance of the foreign cultures occurred alongside these conflicts.³¹

In some cases, the assimilation and admittance of foreign culture to Siamese society was somewhat inconvenient and unsuited to their life style.³² An example of this is the custom of the Siamese elite wearing shoes with long white stockings during the reign of King Rama V. This custom symbolized Siamese ‘civilization’, even though wearing thick clothes in a hot climate like Siam would have been uncomfortable and sticky; it was also inconvenient when walking on asphalted roads.³³

In the reign of King Rama IV, the Siamese elite attempted to understand Western manners and learn to be more civilized by, for example, changing from sitting on the floor to sitting on chairs, changing from placing food trays on a mat to placing food on the table, and changing from eating with their hands to using knives, spoons and

³¹ B.J. Terwiel, *A History of Modern Thailand 1767-1942*, (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), page 168

³² พรสุดา เชื้อชาญพานิชย์, “เครื่องใช้ในครัวของคนไทยสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์บริเวณที่ราบภาคกลางตอนล่าง” (สารนิพนธ์ปริญญาบัณฑิต สาขาโบราณคดี มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2531), หน้า 62-63

³³ Maurizio Peleggi, *Lords of Things: the Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), page 44.

forks. However, these new eating utensils and eating techniques had to be learned and practiced, thus, royal banquets were held frequently for Westerners who lived in Siam at that time.³⁴

In the reign of King Rama IV, the annual King's Birthday Party was held in the palace in a Western style banquet with invited foreign guests who lived in Bangkok. The king did not eat at the same table, but walked around the guest's dining tables talking to the guests individually.³⁵ The tables at banquets of the Siamese elite were customarily separated by social rank and did not allow government officers and merchants to sit at the same table as the royal family and the king. However, most government officers were from the royal families, so they could sit at the royal family tables. The diary of Krom Phaya Tevawongvaropakarn, a high ranking royal government officer, mentions an informal festivity which he had been invited to by a Chinese merchant:

“The Chinese U-nia invited me to celebrating at his new house; I left home at 7 pm and went to his house at Saam-Chine Temple. I saw Chaophaya Pontep, Chaophaya Sripipat, Phaya Teprachun, Phayapaiboon, Pranarinthon were eating at the

³⁴ ขอรจ์ ฮอสต์ เฟลด์ตส์, ดร.ร. โนลด์ เฮาส์ หมอฝรั่งสามรัชกาล, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สุริยบรรณ, 2525), หน้า 24-25

³⁵ อังรี มูโอด, “การเดินทางสู่ประเทศอินโดจีน ตอนประเทศสยาม,” ตัดตอนแปลและเรียบเรียงโดย สุกลรัตน์ ธาราศักดิ์ Alexander Henri Mouhot, Travels in Indo China: Siam, Cambodia, Laos ใน รวมเรื่องแปลหนังสือและเอกสารทางประวัติศาสตร์ ชุดที่ 3 (กรุงเทพฯ: กองวรรณคดีและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร, 2538), หน้า 214-215

*same table as the French ambassador, the interpreter, the noblemen, and the foreigners. This banquet was informal; we served each other and ate like the upper class.”*³⁶

The above instance indicates that only the royal banquets with the king present would have been strictly set by social rank. However, in his diary he did not mention the way food was served, thus two possibilities can be assumed. First, the food was served when the guests arrived, or second, the food had already been served on the table before the guests arrived. Apparently, the latter was the case at royal banquets in the reign of King Rama IV, where the king was at the central dining table and separate tables were organized by social rank.

He stated in his book about King Rama IV:

*“...only invited royal members and the Siamese elite to have Thai dishes, Chinese foods, and Western dishes both savory and desserts were serving on the table everyone had a set of knife, spoon and fork, and chopsticks...”*³⁷

Thus it can be assumed that the dining table had been set with three national cuisines, Thai, Chinese and Western. Additionally, foreign dishes were not served in courses, as is the Western style, but were served as a set of dishes which were served and eaten at the same time in Thai style. Desserts and tea were only served after

³⁶ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาเทวะวงศ์วโรปการ, *ปญญกถา พระประวัติและจดหมายเหตุรายวัน* (ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้พิมพ์พระราชทานในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ หม่อมเจ้าหญิงทิพรัตนประภา เทวกุล ณ เมรุวัดเทพศิรินทราวาส วันที่ 1 มีนาคม 2508), หน้า 75

³⁷ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, หน้า 221

the meal. A full set of eating utensils in Western style were used for the first time in the reign of King Rama V in 1888.³⁸ The royal table provided utensils for savory dishes and desserts in the Western style and the Western dishes were served first, followed by rice and Thai dishes, Chinese foods or *kao-lao*.³⁹

Another interesting aspect is that Thai women were welcome to eat at the same table with the men. In Western culture, it was customary that gentleman would have a lady to join the dining table or tea table. In Siamese culture, women were not allowed to eat at the same time as men. The wife must take care and serve the dishes when the husband was eating, only after would she be allowed to eat.⁴⁰ In the reign of King Rama V, princes were sent to study in Europe and the princesses and other royal members learnt of the Western practice of permitting women to eat at the same table with honored male guests and male foreigners.⁴¹

³⁸ ขวัญแก้ว วัชรโรทัย, *วิวัฒนาการและศิลปะการจัดโต๊ะอาหาร เครื่องดื่มและเมนูอาหาร*, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 4 (กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัทอมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งแอนด์พับลิชชิ่ง จำกัด (มหาชน), 2538), หน้า 40

³⁹ Thanee Wongyannava, "Cooking Modernity: Cooking Thai, Cooking Chinese and 'Yum'-ing them all" (*paper presented at International Symposium on 'Everyday Life Experience of Modernity in Thailand'*, at Suan Bua Thaimi Resort, Chiangmai, Thailand, 13-14 January 2000), 26. (Photocopied), page 26

⁴⁰ เจ้าพระยาพระเสด็จสุเรนทราธิบดี, *คำฉันท์สอนหญิงจากหนังสือวิริยญาณและสมบัติผู้ดี*, หน้า 12

⁴¹ ม.ร.ว. เจ้าจอมสดับ และ ม.ร.ว.แสงสุรีย์ ลดาวัลย์, *ศรदानุสรณ์*, หน้า 12-13

4.4 The Habit of Eating Food with a Knife, Spoon and Fork: The Emblems of Civilization

In the early Rattanakosin era, the use of a knife, spoon and fork were innovations for Siamese society as people used to eat with their hands and sporadically used a shell spoon for soup. Thus, diners used their hands to touch and eat food directly. Perhaps in the beginning for the Siamese elite, a knife, spoon and fork seemed to be troublesome eating tools, but this may not have been such a problem for Chinese groups in Siam who had always used chopsticks when eating.⁴² Additionally, in the reign of King Rama III, the Chinese population in Siam was almost double the Siamese population, thus undoubtedly chopsticks were a familiar utensil to the Siamese elite in the reign of King Rama IV.⁴³

Another problem of using the innovative utensils was misunderstanding in their use and function. This is highlighted in a royal letter by *Krom Phaya Damrong Rachanupab*, a contemporary in the reign of King Rama V:

“I remembered that we used a spoon and fork for eating foods on ‘toke-ngern’ (a silver raised tray on a pedestal); there was always a set of spoon and a two-prong fork placed on ‘toke’. Only chon-hoimook (spoon shell) was used for monks. Spoons might be used for pouring soup, but I do not understand when we should use a fork because those foods can be eaten by the hands. For my opinion, forks might be used

⁴² มงเซญอร์ ปาลเลกัวซ์, เล่าเรื่องกรุงสยาม, หน้า 197

⁴³ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน, หน้า 221

to divide food into small pieces by the left hand holding the fork stabbed into the food and the right hand to pull the food apart. Thus, the fork was used for preventing dirtying the left hand only... ”⁴⁴

The function of the fork in the explanation above shows the way the Siamese elite used the fork in a Western style, even though they did not eat on a table. In fact, a two-prong fork in Western style is normally used with a knife to hold a piece of meat to be cut into smaller pieces, or used to stab a piece of meat and put it directly into the mouth. It was not used to gather food onto a spoon like the three- or four-pronged fork.⁴⁵ Thus, the misunderstood use of a two-prong fork with a spoon indicates that the innovative utensils were used as symbols of civilization in Siam society (eliminating eating by the hands), rather than over concerns of sanitation and hygiene which occurred a century afterward.⁴⁶

From the middle part of the reign of King Rama III, Siam society had unavoidably associated with Westerners. The Siamese court culture was affected by the Western power in the reign of King Rama IV. The king held Western style festivities in the palace on his birthday and other special occasions. Below is a narration of King Rama V in his book, *‘The twelve annual ceremonies’*, which states the reason why the frequent

⁴⁴ “ภายหลังหัตถ์ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ ฉบับวันที่ 7 มิถุนายน 2486,” ใน *สารานุกรมไทย* เล่ม 26, หน้า 70

⁴⁵ ขวัญแก้ว วัชรโรทัย, *วิวัฒนาการและศิลปะการจัดโต๊ะอาหาร เครื่องดื่มและเมนูอาหาร*, หน้า 39

⁴⁶ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, page 45

Western style festivities held in the palace diminished in the late part of the reign of King Rama IV.

“...seemed so boring and very formal when the king (Rama IV) had to light a candle and anointed with moistened fragrant flour as a sign of blessing the Buddhist statue, then the party had just begun and the king will enjoy the party until 11 pm or midnight. Since the first year of current time [in 1868 or the first year reign of king Rama V - researcher] His royal corpse was in the grand palace so the party had to move to Anuntasamakom Palace, the royal families and the aristocracy in that time were so tired and bored to sleep late when joining the party then they asked to cancel those Western style festivities since then...”⁴⁷

⁴⁷ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน, หน้า 221

CHAPTER V

**CIVILIZED AND COSMOPOLITAN:
THE ROYAL CUISINE AND CULINARY CULTURE
IN THE COURT OF KING RAMA V**

In this chapter I will analyze the influence of Western culture that affected the transformation of royal cuisine, such as the adoption of a new trend of royal cuisine in Western style. For the transformation of culinary culture, I will emphasize the adoption of a new trend of Western etiquette, Western style table manners, the table setting with Western cutlery, and Western style banquets, utensils and food containers at the court of King Rama V and his royal family mansions.

Also this chapter will include the rise of new concept to produce standard recipes for cooking, the emergence of food publications, such as the food periodicals and cook books, and royal banquet management which considered the significant role of key persons with expertise for planning, setting and controlling the functions of the royal banquet venue.

5.1 The Influence of Western Culture on Royal Court Cuisine

The influence of Western culture played a vital role in elite Thai society . After Thailand had trade agreements with the West and reformed the country in

accordance with modernization, the quantity of imported Western ingredients and food products substantial increased.¹ In this period, the Western style of eating was practiced within the court and the royal mansions only on formal occasions and royal ceremonies. This was one of the vital pieces of evidence that King Chulalongkorn had reformed the country to be as modern as civilized nations. The transformation of culinary culture among Siamese elites in this era could have presented to the Westerner that Thai people were civilized and educated. Those elites were encouraged to perceive various new things which sometimes affected their usual lifestyles.²

Value change and consumption trends of the elites resulted from modernization, initially presented in the reign of King Rama IV. During the reign of King Rama IV, Western education and lifestyle drove Thai people to keep up with globalization. Formerly, Western food consumption influenced the kings, royalty, elites and exporters as these groups of people directly associated with Westerners.

The true learning of Western dining etiquette resulted from the fact that Thai leader groups realized the importance of adaptation with civilized countries. The reason was to show that Thai people were “civilized” so that civilized countries would not disdain Thai people. Emulating Westerners showed noble status. Some suggest that European dining etiquette was a cultural creation of high-class people as a baseline for

¹ วิไลเลขา อวารธนะสาร, ชนชั้นนำไทยกับการรับวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก, หน้า 108

² สุนันท์ ไชยเมธ, “สภาพทางเศรษฐกิจและสังคมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว,” หน้า 18-20

high-class status in that era. Later, the culture spread to other social classes in Thai society.³

Values and consumption trends of high social classes were partially formed by King Chulalongkorn's expression of interest as he had exposure to a variety of international food and learned both Thai and international cooking. In the work, "*Klai Baan*", with the royal writing of King Chulalongkorn, H.R.H. Nipanoppadol Krom Khun U-Thong Ketkattiyanaaree, presented pressed duck in France and the omelette cooking process.⁴ This royal writing showed his true expression of interest about food as he clearly described cooking processes and tips.

³ กมลทิพย์ จ่างกมล, "อาหาร: การสร้างมาตรฐานการกินกับอัตลักษณ์ทางชนชั้น," (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท สาขาวิชา มานุษยวิทยา มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2545), หน้า 106

⁴ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระราชนิพนธ์เรื่อง ไกลบ้าน เล่ม 1, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 5 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพระราช เลขานุการ, 2537), หน้า 208



Figure 32: The royal writing “Klai Baan” of King Rama V⁵

Moreover, his other royal writings presented many food trip experiences and Western dining tip episodes, such as Italian liquor and types of liquor.⁶ The right macaroni dining etiquette required a fork in the right-hand and a spoon in the left-hand. Then, the macaroni was rolled by the fork. Finally, the macaroni was ready to eat using the spoon.⁷

Joyfulness and happiness were obviously shown in “*Klai Baan*”. According to his royal works, King Chulalongkorn is considered a cultural diplomat in the case of Western food consumption in Thai society. Even though this book was first

⁵ คลังสารสนเทศของสถาบันนิติบัญญัติ, เอกสารที่น่าสนใจ: ไกลบ้าน [ออนไลน์], 3 มกราคม 2556, แหล่งที่มา <http://dl.parliament.go.th/handle/lirt/331168>

⁶ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 115

⁷ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 116

distributed just to the royal family and noble classes, it was published afterwards and widely distributed. His interest in Western food cooking was also expressed in his translated work, “Western Food Cooking Recipes” from English and French versions. His translated works were firstly published in 1936 for the memorial of his 60th birth anniversary.

The habit rapidly spread among his courtiers who wished to follow the royal footsteps. The first Thai version of a Western cook book translated from English and French by the king contained numerous recipes for Western dishes. He tried to follow many recipes using his wives as kitchen hands. Undoubtedly, the royal wives could cook both superb Thai dishes, and Western delicacies.⁸

⁸ พจน์ สัจจะ, “แกะรอยอารยธรรมพริก,” ใน โลกวัฒนธรรมของอาหาร (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์แสงแดด, 2540), หน้า 28



Figure 33: The first Thai version of a Cook Book translated by King Chulalongkorn⁹

Western meat dishes were prominent in the modernization period or in the reigns of King Rama IV and King Rama V (1851 – 1910) and gained diversification in different periods as a result of many factors. In the case of meat dishes in the reign of

⁹ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์อมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งแอนด์พับลิชชิ่ง จำกัด (มหาชน), 2545)

King Rama IV, the evidence shows that there were canned-meats ordered from Europe.¹⁰ Later, in the reign of King Rama V, a foreign food department store appeared for the first time: Kerr & Co., aka, Kerr Company Department Store. There were many kinds of foreign food available, such as ham, milk, margarine, cheese.¹¹ However, Satiengkoset proposed that Thai people in that period did not love dairy products, especially cheese. The people claimed that they looked like expired products.¹² Accordingly, the customers of this department store in its early period were foreigners in Thai society and Thai people who love Western food (those from upper-class families and liberalists). The popular Western menus during the period were canned-meat, ham, butter, and milk.

During the modernization period of Thai society, Western food consumption of Thai high society increased and many seasoning products were imported: olive oil, butter, sauces, etc. In addition, foreigners came to work in Thailand. They worked in both public and private businesses. As a result, Thai people who worked with these foreigners had new knowledge about Western seasonings. Along with the expansion of Western cooking classes in Thai society, Western seasonings became well-known. Popular Western desserts were ice-cream, cake, bread, etc. This food had different backgrounds, developments and popularities among different social classes.

¹⁰ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระราชหัตถเลขาภาษาอังกฤษในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (กรมศิลปากร: ไทยวัฒนาพานิช, 2541, พิมพ์เป็นอนุสรณ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ หลวงประกอบนิตสาร (ประกอบ บุญยัยฐิติ) ป.ช.ท.จ. ณ เมรุหน้าพลับพลาอิศริยาภรณ์ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส วันที่ 5 กุมภาพันธ์ 2514), หน้า 21

¹¹ เสถียร โกเศศ, พื้นความหลัง เล่ม 1 (พระนคร: สำนักพิมพ์ศึกษิตสยาม, 2510), หน้า 314

¹² เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 314.

Ice-cream gained the most popularity in high social classes during the reign of King Rama V. His Royal Highness Prince Chula Chakrabongse related his favorite desserts as follows: “...After I finish my Thai food, I am served with ice-cream and fruit. Some days, I am invited to join the table. I am also allowed to have ice-cream. I love my moment at the dining table a lot...”¹³ Formerly, ice-cream was rare as it was quite new for Thai society, only being available in palaces or top-rank hotels. The top-rank hotels had foreign chefs so they could serve Western ice-cream. This period was the same period as ice importation so that Thailand was able to locally produce ice, and ice-cream became more widespread. In the reign of King Rama VI, manufactured ice-cream was sold by Chinese peddlers, and Thai ordinary people finally had the opportunity to taste ice-cream.

Cakes and breads are other Western desserts which have gained popularity until the present. Initially, imported cakes, biscuits, crackers, puddings and assorted sweets, chocolates¹⁴ were advertised through foreign newspapers. Later, cakes and bread were sold in hotels as seen in the bakery advertisements from the Oriental Bakery.¹⁵ Initially, this was aimed to reach foreigners. Then, the target was expanded to high class people.

¹³ พระเจ้าวรวงศ์เธอพระองค์เจ้าจุลจักรพงษ์, *เกิดวังปารุสก์*, หน้า 45-46

¹⁴ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. *ม.-สยามสมาคม ม้วนที่ 1* (1919). The Bangkok Times, January 4th, 1919, (4 มกราคม 2461). หน้า 2.

¹⁵ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. *ม.-สยามสมาคม ม้วนที่ 2* (1926). The Bangkok Times, April 10th, 1926, (10 เมษายน 2469). หน้า 1.

In case of beverages, initially, Thai people preferred to drink fresh water (rain water). Otherwise, their beverage was herbal, such as ginger ale, lemon grass water and jujube juice, all of which came from folk wisdom. Also, they usually drank what the Chinese drank, such as tea, herbal cooling tea, etc. Later, during the reign of King Rama V, there were new beverages, such as soda, soft drinks, liquor, beer, wine, milk and other iced beverage. The beverage can be classified as follows:

Fruit juice, soda and soft drinks were popularized. Also, imported fruit juice became popular. In the past, it was heavily advertised in many newspapers during the reigns of Kings Rama V and King Rama VI. The advertisements were for pure lime juice and others from Montserrat by Agent: C. Thorne ... Bangkok¹⁶ and grape juice and others.¹⁷ They were very popular among high-class people and foreigners. In addition, there were international companies, such as Singapore Stage Department Store, which sold relatively inexpensive sweet soda, compared to other countries. As a result, this sweet soda gained popularity among Thai people. Another popular soda in that period was “*Ma’ Nade*” (Lemonade).¹⁸

Alcoholic drinks were initially produced for ordinary people. These alcoholic drinks were krachae, rice whisky and Chinese wine. Then, people increasingly

¹⁶ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. ม.-สยามสมาคม ม้วนที่ 1 (1891). The Bangkok Times, February 28th, 1891, (28 กุมภาพันธ์ 2434). หน้า 4.

¹⁷ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. ม.-สยามสมาคม ม้วนที่ 1 (1919). The Bangkok Times, January 3rd, 1919, (3 มกราคม 2461). หน้า 2.

¹⁸ คณะกรรมการบริษัท นายเลิศ จำกัด, 100 ปี พระยาภิรมย์ภักดีบรมเชษฐ (เลิศ เศรษฐบุตร), 2 มิถุนายน 2415-2515. (กรุงเทพฯ: ยูเนี่ยน พับพลิซิ่ง), (ป/3/343), หน้า 23.

became familiarize with Western alcoholic drinks, as seen in newspaper advertisements during the reigns of Kings Rama V and King Rama VI. There were advertisements for Scottish whisky by The Eastern Commercial Company Limited¹⁹ and wine advertisements by Buan Soon Lee & Co.²⁰

Milk in the past was not widely popular among Thai people. Instead, milk gained popularity among some groups of people, such as foreigners and high-class people. For example, Western canned-milk consumption could be seen among the royalty.²¹

For tea and coffee, Western tea and coffee was initially popular among high-class people. In fact, coffee was known among Thai nobles since the Ayutthaya era, but drinking coffee was not popular among the elite because of its bitter taste, like medicine. Coffee became popular as a luxury drink among the elite in the early Rattanakosin era and became known as a social drink for the noble class in the reign of King Rama III. King Nangklao planted a coffee garden in the area of Ratjapradit temple, which is evidence that coffee was a popular drink for the elite at that time.

Later in the reign of King Rama IV, coffee gardens were planting among Thai noble class. One of the coffee gardens that appeared in the record of Sir John

¹⁹ กรมพัฒนาธุรกิจการค้า, ข้อมูลนิติบุคคลยังดำเนินกิจการอยู่ (กรุงเทพมหานคร) ตั้งแต่ตั้งหอ (2455) – ปี 2534 หมวด 6 ขายอาหาร, (กรุงเทพฯ: 2548), หน้า 181-184

²⁰ สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ. ม.-สยามสมาคม ม้วนที่ 2 (1923). The Bangkok Times, April 3rd, 1923, (3 เมษายน 2466). หน้า 8.

²¹ มล. เนื่อง นิลรัตน์, ชีวิตในวัง เล่ม 1 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ศรีสรา, 2539), หน้า 131.

Bowring in 1855 was the coffee garden of Chaopraya Mahaprayoonrawong. Sir John Bowring stated in his record that he once had ever been to the coffee garden of Chaopraya Mahaprayoonrawong which was planting with plenty of the coffee trees. That time Chaopraya Mahaprayoonrawong gave him coffee beans in three sacks to try the taste.

Evidence shows that coffee was used in welcoming Prussia ambassadors during the reign of King Rama IV in 1862.²² During that period, coffee was ordered from abroad. However, Thailand could successfully grow coffee on its own, and locally produced good coffee such as Khao Chong Coffee. In addition, there were some international coffees manufacturers opened in Thailand or had Thai partnerships, such as NesCafe, Moccona etc. The popularity of coffee in Thailand was expressed in coffee importation. Western tea culture was initially popular among high-class people and foreigners, such as afternoon tea of H.S.H. Jongjitthanom Disakul,²³ as this tradition was influenced by European tea culture.

²² เคลาส เวงค์ และ เคลาส โรสเซ็นแบร์ก, “บันทึกของทูตปรุสเซีย เมื่อปี ค.ศ. 1862 (พ.ศ. 2405)”, ใน *เขอร่มมองไทย*, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์เคล็ดไทย, 2520), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 1, หน้า 36.

²³ ศ.ศิริภย์, *สัมภาษณ์ ม.จ. จงจิตรถนอม ดิศกุล*, (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิเสฐียรโกเศศ-นาคะประทีป จัดพิมพ์เนื่องในวันประสูติครบศตวรรษ 3 สิงหาคม 2529, 2529), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 1, หน้า 190

5.1.1 King Rama V's Favorite Food

People are assimilated into new and different things by what they were taught and indoctrinated. King Rama V went to Europe twice and sent many of his children and courtiers to European colleges. After his return from his trips, there was an influx of Western customs into Siam, including the royal court banquets. Thus, it can be said that the new age of culinary traditions began in the reign of King Rama V, the era of Thai and Western cultural combination. In 1870, after he had been to Singapore, King Rama V changed Thai food culture and introduced table dining and using spoons and forks.

Moreover, the king introduced European breakfast. So, the royal family members followed and this led to a new trend for senior government officials, as shown in royal work called *Klai Bann* and others. The information reflects an a la carte menu, snacks, desserts and international food.



Figure 34: The European Breakfast setting table²⁴

Even though, Western food was plentiful in the royal palace, original Thai cooking was still in the palace. Also, there were cooking competitions by palace officials. Whoever was the best would receive the highest honor.

The palace that was the best school for palace officials was Vimada's palace or "Chao Sai's Palace", as she was the one who served food for the king.

²⁴ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3 (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์อมรินทร์พริ้นติ้งแอนด์พับลิชชิ่ง จำกัด (มหาชน), 2545), หน้า 112

Moreover, Krom Phra Nakorn Sawan was a famous palace for cooking. Also, senior royal houses were cooking schools for many people, such as Lady Plien's house.

Many times, the king cooked his own food. Once, he traveled along Mae Klong Bay and purchased shrimp and fish. He loved to boil his own rice with mackerel, shrimp and squid instead of pork. This was the origin of "Three Kings' Boiled Rice." H.H. Krom Phraya Damrong Rajanuphab said that "...Since I was born, I have never had any delicious boiled rice like this before..." Later, this menu was cooked in the palace.

During the king's 2nd European tour, he was bored with Western food. He ordered that "...*There is shrimp paste and sugar left. Mix them with lemons and chili. Then, eat with ham and guava...*"

The food recipes for the royalty in the past were sweet menus, especially sweet pork. Royal meals should be soft, not spicy and odorless. Every menu had to be sweet. The favorite menu was soup, crispy cat fish fried with ginger and peppercorn, crispy fried fish with mango salad, gold apple, chilled santol in scented syrup, jelly pudding, donhua, ginger ale, ham, green beans and cakes.

The food that had to be served everyday was thread fish and salted egg. It was said that the most delicious salted eggs were of "Yai Thevakul." Her salted eggs won honors as the best in Siam. The king's favorite menu was fried mackerel and stuffed eggs. Also, he loved fish with fermented garlic. Thai palace food was delicious and reminds us of King Rama V's culinary skills.

In the reign of King Rama V, the favorite royal dishes varied by type of cuisine, i.e., Thai and French. The prominent favorite dishes that appeared at the royal table were: *pla-ku-lao-song-kreung* (ปลาकुเลาทรงเครื่อง), *ka-pi-kua* (กะปิแก้ว), *gaeng-moo-tay-po* (แกงหมูเตโพ), and *pla-rah-lon* (ปลาร้าหลน). For the European dishes: *beet root soup*, *roasted beef with Yorkshire pudding*, *chicken croquettes* and dessert was *caramel custard with coffee*.²⁵



Figure 35: The Favorite Thai and Western Dishes of King Rama the Fifth²⁶

²⁵ วันดี ณ สงขลา. "บันทึกความหิว" ผลงานจากพระราชหัตถเลขา ฉบับที่ 42 เมื่อครั้งเสด็จพระราชดำเนินประพาสยุโรปเมื่อ พ.ศ. 2440 ของพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (รัชกาลที่ 5) (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สามเสน, 2531), หน้า 17-70

²⁶ วิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีศรีวันดี, อาหารทรงโปรด รัชกาลที่ 5 [ออนไลน์], 20 กุมภาพันธ์ 2556, แหล่งที่มา <http://www.wandecollege.com/About-Us/Management/>

These are the prominent Thai Recipes in Thai history:

1. “Mae Krua Hua Pa” from Lady Plien Pasakornwong, supported from Anek Navigmool of the Culture Association. This was published for the sixth time in 2002 by Supawat Kasemsri and Naruenart Rattanachoti Wongkul.

2. “Sai Saowapa” from teachers Yaowapa Pongsanit and Saipanya. This was later distributed in Yaowapa Pongsanit’s funeral ceremony. Then, Prince Rangsit Prayura Sakdi gave the copyright to Krom Phraya Chainatnaventhon (The first principal of Saipanya School).

3. Thai side dishes of Vimada Palace of Phra Wimadathoe Krom Phra Sutthasininart by M.R. Sadap and M.L. Poonsang (Ladawon) Sutabutr.

4. “Recipes” by M.R. Sadap.

5. “Recipes” by M.R. Tieng Sanitwong.

6. “Recipes” by Sutthisirisopa.

7. “Recipes” by H.H. Saisavali Bhirom.

8. “Meat Dish Recipes” by M.L. Pong Malakul.

9. “Recipes” by M.L. Turb Choomsai and Miss Pranithi Vimooktanant.

10. “Western Meat Dishes and Dessert Recipes” by H.S.H. Sippanpansaner Sonakul.

11. “Recipes” by Devavest Palace.

12. “Recipes” by Baan Suriyasai.

Also the tradition of serving afternoon tea for honored guests at the royal palace or the palace of the aristocracy was normally accompanied by various kinds of snacks, such as cakes, and the Thai crispy cake called ขนมฝรั่งกุฎีจีน :-‘*kanom farang kudee chine*’.²⁷ Besides this, tea with sugar and milk was also served with cakes for Westerners.



Figure 36: Thai Crispy Cake: *kanom farang kudee chine*²⁸

²⁷ สุวิชา [นามแฝง], วันวานที่ผ่านมา, หน้า 13, 15

²⁸ Manow, *My diary 10: Someday in my life* [ออนไลน์], 20 กุมภาพันธ์ 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://my.dek-d.com/now-ii/blog/?blog_id=10022941

Another exotic drink in the reign of King Rama V was coffee ('kao-fae') for which various kinds of coffee beans were imported. Good quality coffee was served only in the foreign hotels located in Bangkok, like the Oriental Hotel and the Tokadero. Interestingly, a luxurious coffee shop called 'norasigha', serving the elite and wealthy Chinese merchants, was established in 1922 located close to the equestrian stables of King Rama V. The tables were set with white cloth on the lawn, and a small car park provided for 3-4 cars every evening.²⁹

²⁹ ยศ วัชรเสถียร [ยุธิยเสฐียร], เกร็ดจากอดีต, หน้า 328



Figure 37: At Present Time: A luxurious coffee shop: - *Norasigha*³⁰

³⁰ Eat and Travel Diary, บันทึกการเดินทางของปลาหมึกน้อยกับนายโอเลี้ยง: กาแฟนรสิงห์@วังพญาไท [ออนไลน์], 25 กุมภาพันธ์ 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/mainblog.php?id=littlesquidy&month=17-12-2011&group=7&gblog=37>

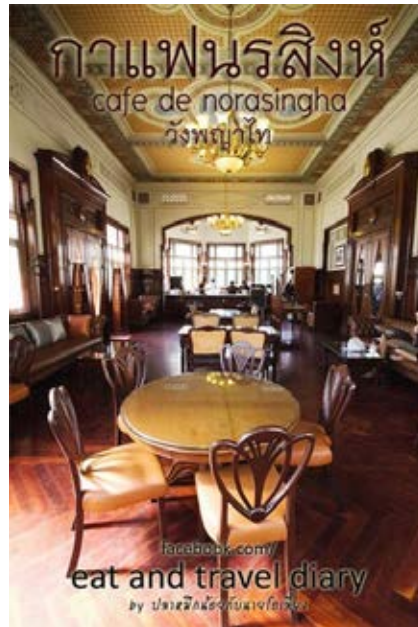


Figure 38: At Present Time: A luxurious coffee shop: - *Norasigha*³¹



Figure 39: At Present Time: A luxurious coffee shop: - *Norasigha*³²

³¹ Eat and Travel Diary, บันทึกการเดินทางของปลาหมึกน้อยกับนายไอเลี้ยง: กาแฟรสิงห์@วังพญาไท [ออนไลน์], 25 กุมภาพันธ์ 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/mainblog.php?id=littlesquidy&month=17-12-2011&group=7&gblog=37>

However, this was not a total change in Thai eating culture. After King Rama V returned from visiting the Western colonized countries is when we can see obvious evidence of the new era of Siamese court culinary culture. After Thailand had trade agreements with the West and reformed the country to be modernized, the quantity of importing Western ingredients and food products substantially increased.³³

The tour abroad by King Rama V was considered as an introduction of Siam in the eyes of foreigners. Since then, Thailand's commercial transactions with civilized countries opened more. After his second tour in India in 1871, many foreigners began to launch various businesses in Thailand. For example, Wakefield Department Store on Bumrungmuang Road was established to present products from the apparel industry. Also, there were Bangkok-Hong Kong steamers for goods shipping and transportation.³⁴ Later, domestic economic expansion was considered as a factor supporting the widespread Western food consumption culture, especially in Bangkok where there were many investors from various businesses; for instance, Bangkokdodge Co, Ltd. (the largest engine and shipyard company),³⁵ Badman Department Store (government official uniforms, European and American goods seller),³⁶ S.A.B.

³² Eat and Travel Diary, บันทึกการเดินทางของปลาหมึกน้อยกับนายโอดี้อย: กาแฟหนังสือ@วังพญาไท [ออนไลน์], 25 กุมภาพันธ์ 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/mainblog.php?id=littlesquidy&month=17-12-2011&group=7&gblog=37>

³³ วิไลเลขา อารธนสาร, ชนชั้นนำไทยกับการรับวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก, หน้า 108

³⁴ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ความทรงจำ (พระนคร: สำนักพิมพ์คลังวิทยา, 2516), หน้า 269.

³⁵ กรมศิลปากร หอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ, สังคมไทยสมัยรัชกาลที่ 5 (กรุงเทพฯ: หอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ กรมศิลปากร, 2539), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2, หน้า 15.

³⁶ อเนก นาวิกมูล, ตำนานห้างร้านสยาม, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ต้นอ้อ แกรมมี่, 2539), หน้า 137.

Department Store (watches, jewelry and normal goods),³⁷ and Kerr Company (Western food department store).³⁸ Western food department stores indicated the number of foreigners working in Thailand and the number of Thai people who favored this kind of food. This means that the Thai government had opened up opportunities for foreign investment. So, Bangkok had become an important business center which led to changes in lifestyle and consumer behavior.

Additionally, in this period, hot tea was a popular drink at home for the Siamese elite, the middle class, and the Buddhist monks. A large amount of tea leaves and fragrant teas were imported from China every year.³⁹ The upper-class were the first group to experience the influence of Western fashion and tastes and imported goods through foreign stores in Bangkok, such as Bad Man and Co. Store, B. Grimm and Company Store, and S.A.B. (Societe Anonyme Belge) Store.⁴⁰

³⁷ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 136

³⁸ เสถียร โกเศศ, ฟื้นความหลัง, หน้า 314

³⁹ ม.ร.ว. เจ้าจอมสดับ และ ม.ร.ว.แสงสุรีย์ ลดาวัลย์, ศรदानุสรณ์, หน้า 147

⁴⁰ ชัย เรื่องศิลป์, ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัย 2353-2453 ตอนที่ 1 ด้านสังคม, หน้า 331



Figure 40: Harry A. Badman and Co. Store⁴¹



Figure 41: Harry A. Badman and Co. Store⁴²

⁴¹ Sailom, ห้างเบดแมนในละครนางทาส[ออนไลน์], 7 กุมภาพันธ์ 2556. แหล่งที่มา
<http://bbznet.pukpik.com/scripts2/view.php?user=indysky&board=2&id=77&c=1&order=numview>

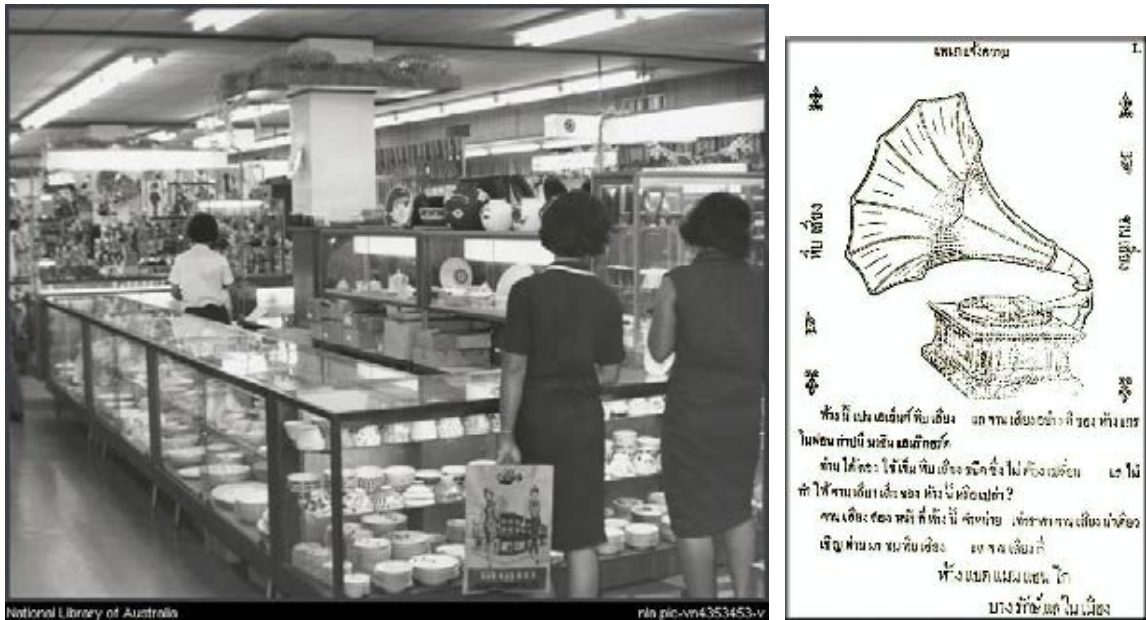


Figure 42: Inside the Harry A. Badman and Co. Store⁴³



Figure 43: S.A.B. Store⁴⁴

⁴² OKnation.net, มาฟื้นความจำกรุงเทพฯ ในอดีต..ยังจำกันได้ไหม [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.oknation.net/blog/print.php?id=590329>

⁴³ Pantip.com มาชมภาพเมืองไทยสมัยก่อนและภาพกรุงเทพมหานครที่หาดูได้ยาก [ออนไลน์], 19 กุมภาพันธ์ 2553, แหล่งที่มา <http://topicstock.pantip.com/siam/topicstock/2010/09/F9710111/F9710111.html>



Figure 44: B. Grimm and Company Store⁴⁵

5.2 The Influence of Western Culture on Siamese Court Culinary Culture

5.2.1 New trend adoption of the Western etiquette and table manners, table setting with Western cutlery, utensils and food containers

When considering the historical context of the country in this period, Thailand experienced a critical time threatening the sovereignty of the country by the imperialist powers. The political pressure by Western powers had a great impact on the king and the royal family's reaction in terms of determining the direction for the

⁴⁴ หอจดหมายเหตุอัครสังฆมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ, บริษัทฝรั่ง 100 กว่าปีในสยาม [ออนไลน์], 22 มีนาคม 2556, อ้างถึงข้อมูลจากหนังสือภาพเก่าในสยาม หน้า 45-47, แหล่งที่มา <http://haab.catholic.or.th/PhotoGallery/photos1/sab/sab.html> ,

⁴⁵ หอจดหมายเหตุอัครสังฆมณฑลกรุงเทพฯ, บริษัทฝรั่ง 100 กว่าปีในสยาม [ออนไลน์], 22 มีนาคม 2556, อ้างถึงข้อมูลจากหนังสือภาพเก่าในสยาม หน้า 45-47, แหล่งที่มา <http://haab.catholic.or.th/PhotoGallery/photos1/sab/sab.html> ,

sovereignty of the country.⁴⁶ The king unavoidably encountered a serious political situation and was concerned with the benefits of being modernized.

The reaction of the king and the royal family to the adoption of Western ideas also led the country to modernize as a civilized nation. Significantly, Western culture had a great impact on the transformation of the culinary culture in the court of King Rama the Fifth, of which the evidence could be found within the royal palace and the consort's mansions. Indeed, this change may have affected the private and social lifestyle of the Siamese elites more than ever before.

In the reigns of Kings Rama IV – V, the costumes of Siamese noblemen, the eating etiquette using knives, spoons and forks, the table setting with silverware, and Western style banquets were adopted for use within the royal palaces. The adoption of Western culture and civilized manners and eating utensils into Siamese society occurred when Siam traded and associated with other countries like Portugal, England, France, and Holland. As a result, the Siamese elite began to define themselves as being as civilized as the Westerners, while their faith in Buddhism still remained strong. Therefore, the process of identity formation through the development of eating culture in Siamese society was influenced by both the etiquette standards of Western society and the behavioral practices of Buddhism.

⁴⁶ วิไลเลขา อารณสาร, *ชนชั้นนำไทยกับการรับวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก*, หน้า 89

The change in dining behavior of high-class people in Siam could be seen from dining patterns, dining places, dining tools, socialization and dining etiquette. Dining patterns are explained as follows.

5.2.1.1. Changing from using fingers to using spoons and forks

Thai people changed the way they ate by imitating Westerners. Dining patterns and dining utensils also changed. For example, Thai people used chopsticks to eat Chinese food after they imitated Chinese dining patterns. In the reign of King Rama IV, Phraya Sri Soonthorn Voharn wrote a letter to Khun Sri Siamkij in order to purchase spoons, forks and knives from abroad.⁴⁷

An ideal model of civilization was taken as the measurement for developing Thai society into being civilized after the Western fashion, unlike in the past when Chinese culture had been seen as the highest point of civilization. Even though the coming of the spoon and fork into the table etiquette in Siam society began in the late part of the reign of King Rama III, it was not a regular practice. From then on, the popularity of foreign culture gradually increased until the use of spoons and forks became a fixed part in formal occasions of elite Thai social life in the reign of King Rama V. Examples are the royal banquets provided for foreigners who lived in Siam at the time, such as on King Rama IV's birthday, and other royal ceremonies.

⁴⁷ หอสมุดแห่งชาติ เลขที่ 116 จดหมายเหตุรัชกาลที่ 4 จ.ศ.1225. อ้างใน สุนันท์ ไชยเมธ. (2524). สภาพทางเศรษฐกิจและสังคมในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. หน้า 205.

Painting of Thai ladies that appeared in the journey books to Siam of Henri Mouhot,⁴⁸ showed a picture of Siamese elites sitting on the floor having food with their fingers instead of using spoons and forks, clearly illustrates the image of Thai consuming culture in the past.⁴⁹



Figure 45: The Painting of Siamese Ladies at Dinner by Henri⁵⁰

Thai people had previously eaten with their hands. Three fingers, the thumb, index and middle fingers were used. Spoons and forks were first used by priests

⁴⁸ Henri Mouhot, *Travels in Siam, Cambodia and Laos 1858-1860*, London, John Murray, 1864, volume 2, reprinted Bangkok, (White Lotus, 1986; reprinted Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1989 and 1992), page 92.

⁴⁹ The picture from book: *In Siam, Cambodia and Laos 1858-1860* by Henri Mouhot, London, John Murray, 1864, volume 2, reprinted Bangkok, (White Lotus, 1986; reprinted Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1989 and 1992)

⁵⁰ Henri Mouhot, *Travels in Siam, Cambodia and Laos 1858-1860*, London, John Murray, 1864, volume 2, reprinted Bangkok, (White Lotus, 1986; reprinted Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1989 and 1992), page 12

and members of the royal family when King Rama V returned from Singapore. Prince Damrong Rachanuphap explained this matter:

“... I noticed, regarding eating a variety of dishes arranged on Toog (โต๊ะ), that a spoon and a two slit fork were always placed on the dish. If the Toog was for priests, a pearl spoon was placed for curry or other liquid dishes. Forks were used to cut the food into pieces.

The fork on the left hand was used to stabilize the food and the one used in the right hand fork was to tear the food. The fork was used in order for the left hand to stay clean. Foreigners only started using forks and knives a short time ago. I recall watching a movie about King Henry VIII, in which they still ate with their hands in England in 1800 B.E.

“In...Thailand, we started using forks and knives after His Majesty King Rama V came back from Singapore. In 1870, His Majesty ordered a dinner at Paisantuksin Hall. Some of the Royal Family used forks in their left hands to stabilize the food and knives in their right hands to cut food into small pieces, which had been referred to in an insulting way as “Phlangorn,” (แฝงศร) from the use of the two-slit fork...”⁵¹

⁵¹สมเด็จพระบรมราชินีนาถราชานุกาพ, “จดหมายนายทรงอานุกาพ,” ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และสมเด็จพระบรมราชินีนาถราชานุกาพ, เสด็จประพาสต้นในรัชกาลที่ 5, หน้า 29

When Thai people first started to learn how to use spoons and forks, especially the royal family, it could be very funny, as remarked in a New Year dinner party poem from 1874, in which Jangwangaek Phrayaburootrattanarajpallop stated:

*“Those who were used to eating with forks and knives did it properly, but those who had never done it before were clumsy with the forks and knives...”*⁵²

While some Western eating tools and equipment have a functional use for eating Thai food, others are nonfunctional and unsuitable for Thai dining table, and others have less instruction to use it in a correct way. Therefore, King Chulalongkorn, in his policies on development, tended to accept Western culture, while at the same time preserving Thai culture. As the king said:

*... It was time to tend to our Kingdom. Activities that should be cut off had to be cut off. Activities that should be added had to be added. No whole kingdom could be transformed in one stroke. And the methods that were used in one kingdom could not be used in the other kingdom without adjusting them. ...*⁵³

Despite, *perb-kao* or eating food with one's hands being the traditional eating manner for every class in Siam society, the difference between the Siamese elite

⁵² พระยานุรักษ์รัตนราชพัลลภ, โคลงเสียดื้อะปีใหม่เมื่อปีจอ พ.ศ. 2417 (พระนคร: โรงพิมพ์โสภณพิพรรฒธนากร พิมพ์แจกในการกฐินพระราชทาน ณ วัดนาคกลาง พระพุทธศักราช 2468, หน้า 4

⁵³ วิไลเลขาถาวรธนสาร, *ชนชั้นนำไทยกับการรับวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก*, หน้า 112

and the commoners, besides the quality and quantity of food and the variety of utensils, was the method of washing the hands after a meal. For example, a royal memorandum by King Rama VI's concubine, *Chaojom Momsadub*, noted the hand cleaning ritual of *Praongchao Saisawaleepirom Kromkhunsutthasineenath*, the chief wife of King Rama VI:

“...after finished a meal she would meticulous clean her hands every time, firstly, by washing both hands with clean water then using soap and rinsing again, secondly, washing her hands with aromatic sodium carbonate then rinsing with clean water again; finally, using a slice of kaffir lime to slightly scrub her hands, then finish the procedure by rinsing her hands with clean water again...”⁵⁴

5.2.1.2 Changing from floor dining to table dining

King Rama IV was the first to introduce new modes of conduct by bringing in Western habits, such as sitting on chairs. In the past people sat on the floor. Yuea Wichaidis mentioned the first use of chairs in an article on the changes in society:

“...At first, when people in the royal court started using chairs, some people did not know how to use them. Women sat on the chairs with folded legs and men with crossed legs. Until King Rama IV had a royal announcement issued on how to use the chairs...”

⁵⁴ ม.ร.ว. เจ้าจอมสดับ และ ม.ร.ว.แสงสุรีย์ ลดาวัลย์, ศรदानุสรณ์, หน้า 146-147

The diary of Krom Phaya Tevawongvaropakarn, a high ranking royal government officer, mentions an informal festivity which he had been invited to by a Chinese merchant:

*“The Chinese invited me to celebrate his new house; I left home at 7 pm and went to his house at Saam-Chine Temple. I saw Chaophaya Pontep, Chaophaya Sripipat, Phaya tepprachun, Phayapaiboon, Pranarinthon were eating at the same table as the French ambassador, the interpreter, the noblemen, and the foreigners. This banquet was informal we served each other and ate like the upper class.”*⁵⁵

This is a kind of change of daily activity. For example, high-class people’s dining had formerly been separated between the family leaders and the others to confirm their membership status in the family. As supported by Princess Ruedeewan’s :

“During dinnertime, my beloved father, who was a member of the Chakri Dynasty, was the most important person in the family. He always had his meals alone and he always sat on a special carpet. All of the ladies and the adolescents must sit squat on the floor during their meals. However, little children were exempted from sitting squat on the floor as they were allowed to sit straight up. My father did not allow anyone to speak while he was having his meals. During meal time, my father always educated

⁵⁵ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาเทวะวงศ์วโรปการ, ปลูกกล้า พระประวัติและจดหมายเหตุรายวัน, หน้า 75

*his sons and his daughters in various fields of study. He always told everyone that general knowledge had been equally important to academic knowledge at schools...*⁵⁶

Individual dining by the family leader could be found in senior government official families.⁵⁷ Later, dining etiquette in high-class families and government official families changed. These families began to adopt table dining instead of floor dining. Princess Ruedeewan shared her story by saying:

*“...Many years later, our palace has begun to adopt table dining instead of floor dining. Everyone had meals together. My father was the most modern man in the era...”*⁵⁸

Furthermore, we can see a paradigm shift in the Thai novel, *Si Pandin* (สี่แผ่นดิน). From the novel, Khun Prem asked Mae Ploy to change her floor dining to table dining. For table dining, everyone had to have their meals together at one time and no one had privileges to eat alone served with their individual plate.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ แก้วสุวรรณ (แปล), บันทึกท่านหญิง-ม.จ.หญิงฤดีวรวรรณ (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ดับเบิลเดย์, 2544), หน้า 13.

⁵⁷ นิธิ เอียวศรีวงศ์, “หัวโต๊ะ-หางโต๊ะ”, มติชนสุดสัปดาห์, 17(850) : หน้า 47.

⁵⁸ แก้วสุวรรณ (แปล), บันทึกท่านหญิง-ม.จ.หญิงฤดีวรวรรณ, หน้า 14

⁵⁹ ม.ร.ว.คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช, สี่แผ่นดิน เล่ม 1, (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์ดอกหญ้า 2000, 2544), หน้า 555.

A full set of eating utensils in the Western style was used for the first time in the reign of King Rama V in 1898.⁶⁰ The royal table banquet setting for Western guests generally provided for utensils for savory dishes and desserts in Western style.

In the reign of King Rama V, palace officials ordered many Western items, such as home décor and gardening. These items included tables, chairs, lamps and ceramic dolls.⁶¹ Ceramic sanitary ware included bathtubs, high-quality tile, crystal glasses, dressing tables, jugs, mouthwash glasses and chamber pots.⁶² Palace interior designs in this period were mostly designed in Western style. For instance, Ampornsatarn Palace is the first building in Thailand that had “elevators” and “toilet bowls”.⁶³ In the case of kitchen ware, plates, soup bowls, knives, spoons, forks and tea sets were brought to royal palaces.⁶⁴

These Western utensils were widely introduced to royal palaces as a consequence of King Rama V’s Europe tour. Some were specifically ordered by the

⁶⁰ ขวัญแก้ว วัชโรทัย, *วิวัฒนาการและศิลปะการจัดโต๊ะอาหาร เครื่องดื่มและเมนูอาหาร*, หน้า 40

⁶¹ พระราชหัตถเลขาพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และลายพระหัตถ์สมเด็จพระปิตุจฉาเจ้า สุขุมมาลมารศรี พระอรรคราชเทวี, หน้า 174, 189, 193 พระราชหัตถเลขาส่วนพระองค์สมเด็จพระรามาธิบดี ศรีสินทรมหาจุฬาลงกรณ์ พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรงมีพระราชทานแด่ สมเด็จพระศรีพัชรินทราบรมราชินีนาถ พระบรมราชชนนีในเวลาที่ทรงสำเร็จราชการแผ่นดินต่างพระองค์ พ.ศ. 2440 (พระนคร : สำนักพิมพ์เกษมบรรณกิจ, โรงพิมพ์เฟื่องนคร, 2504), หน้า 14 และ 219.

⁶² มนฤทัย ไชยวิเศษ, *ประวัติศาสตร์สังคม ว่าด้วยส้วมและเครื่องสุขภัณฑ์ในประเทศไทย* (กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2545) หน้า 160-163.

⁶³ สมภพ จันทระประภา, *สมเด็จพระศรีสวรินทิราบรมราชเทวี พระพันวัสสาอัยยิกาเจ้า*, หน้า 81.

⁶⁴ พระราชหัตถเลขาพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และลายพระหัตถ์สมเด็จพระปิตุจฉาเจ้า สุขุมมาลมารศรี พระอรรคราชเทวี, หน้า 192 และ อุทุมพร, *สมเด็จพระศรีพัชรินทราบรมราชินีนาถ พระบรมราชชนนี พันปีหลวง*, หน้า 237.

palace officials, such as Western dining plates and bowls.⁶⁵ An interesting thing was that the plates and bowls were ordered in Western style, but with Thai design patterns. This reflects the combination between Western and Thai designs through design patterns.

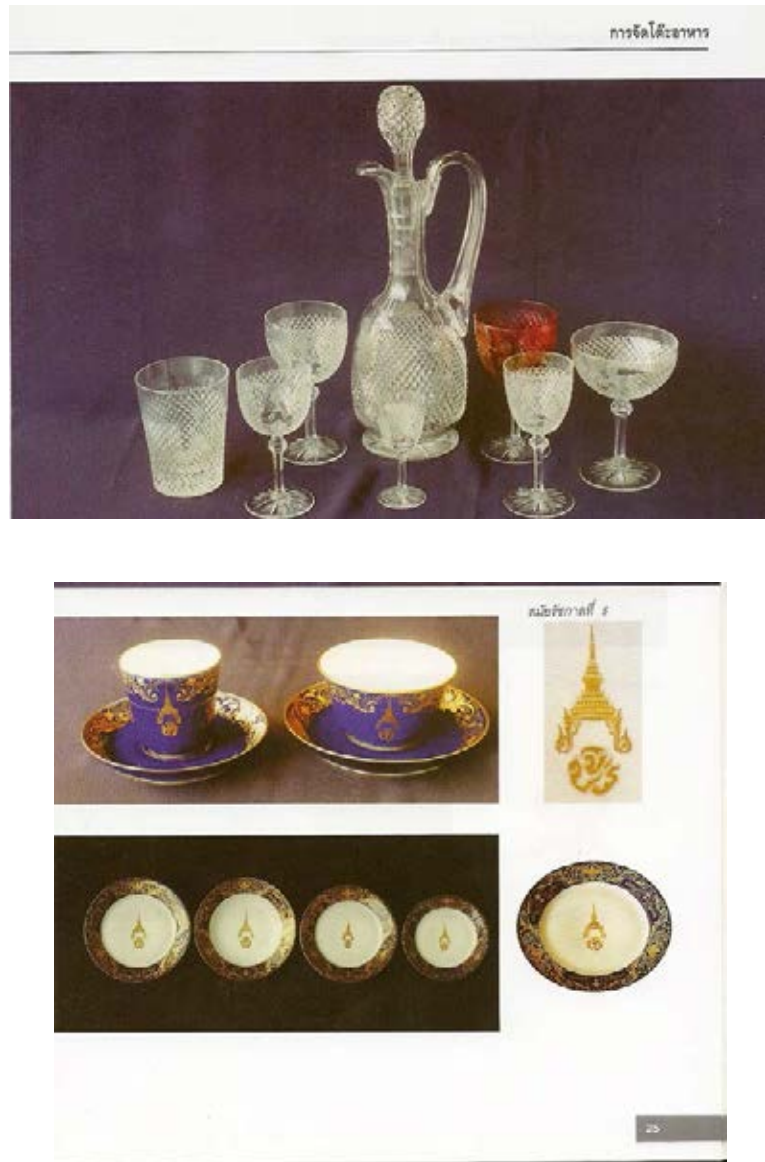


Figure 46: The Royal Glassware in the Court of King Rama the Fifth⁶⁶

⁶⁵ พระราชหัตถเลขาพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และลายพระหัตถ์สมเด็จพระปิตุจฉาเจ้า สุขุมมาลมารศรี พระอรรคราชเทวี, หน้า 169.

วิวัฒนาการและศิลปะการจัดโต๊ะอาหาร เครื่องดัดม และเมนูอาหาร



สมัยรัชกาลที่ 5



ระหว่างพ.ศ. 2411 ถึง พ.ศ. 2453 ค.ศ. 1910-1911

Figure 47: Royal Utensils in the Court of King Rama the Fifth⁶⁷

⁶⁶ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง, หน้า 30-33

⁶⁷ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง, หน้า 28-29

At such a critical time, Siamese food culture evolved in accordance with political pressures. Food became a Siamese ploy to display their civilized culture being as equal to that of the influential Westerners. Western silverware was used on the dining table. The first Thai version of a cook book was translated from English and French by King Chulalongkorn, containing numerous recipes for Western dishes. He tried to follow many recipes using his wives as kitchen hands. Undoubtedly, the royal consorts could cook both superb Thai dishes, and Western delicacies.⁶⁸

5.2.2 The royal banquet management

In order to become a civilized nation, Thailand needed to reform the country to be modernized like the West. The king and the royal family chose to adopt modern cuisine and culinary culture to practice in the court and mansions on royal occasions so as to promote that Thailand had become civilized. It could be seen that this attempt was launched from the reign of King Chulalongkorn and passed to the royal elites and continued to the lower level of Thai social classes in the next generations.

Perhaps, the Grand Visits to Europe of King Chulalongkorn and the royal family may have made Western style eating tradition more clearly pronounced in court society. After returning from the royal trips, there was an influx of Western customs into Siam, including royal court banquets. Thus, it can be said that the new age of culinary

⁶⁸ พงษ์ สายใจ, “แกะรอยอารยธรรมพริก” ใน โลกวัฒนธรรมของอาหาร, หน้า 28

traditions began in King Rama the Fifth's reign (1868 – 1910). Interestingly, the king's personal favorite for consuming Western food had a great effect on the royal family and court elites - the royal family started using dining-tables and dining in the European manner and many of his children and courtiers were admitted to study in European colleges.⁶⁹



Figure 48: The Grand Visits to England of King Chulalongkorn⁷⁰

⁶⁹ เสมียนทิพย์ ศิริจารุกุล, “ศึกษาการเปลี่ยนแปลงการบริโภคอาหารของคนไทยในเขตเมืองหลวงระหว่าง พ.ศ. 2394-2534”, (วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท สาขาวิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ, 2548) หน้า 31.

⁷⁰ Schau Thai นิตยสารชาวไทย, ภาพจากสื่อต่างประเทศ เกี่ยวกับการเสด็จประพาสยุโรปของ ร.5 [ออนไลน์], 14 มิถุนายน 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://schau-thai.blogspot.com/2012/07/blog-post_4796.html

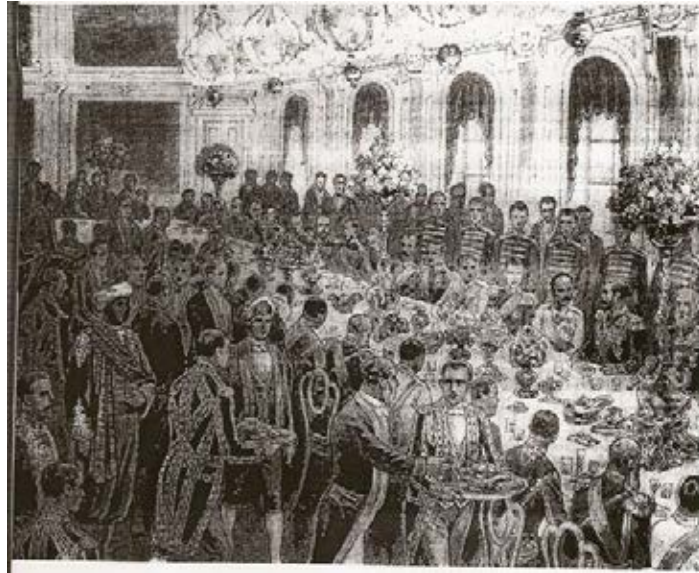


Figure 49: The Grand Visits to Russia of King Chulalongkorn⁷¹

King Chulalongkorn's visit to Europe was not only to gain an insight into the advancement of other countries, but was also symbolic of his seeking acceptance from such powerful nations. It was an effort to elevate Siam's level of civilization to that of Western countries. One means to that end was in learning to dress, act and adopt the manners of Westerners. However, Thai people at that time had difficulty in blending modern values with the existing traditions and beliefs. In a speech by King Rama V we hear:

⁷¹ Schau Thai นิตยสารชาวไทย, ภาพจากสื่อต่างประเทศ เกี่ยวกับการเสด็จประพาสยุโรปของ ร.5 [ออนไลน์], 14 มิถุนายน 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://schau-thai.blogspot.com/2012/07/blog-post_4796.html

“... It was not right to use the European ideas of government in governing Siam. The fundamental methods were not the same. It is the same as copying European wheat planting methods for planting rice in Thailand. It did not work because the foundations of the government work were different...”⁷²

King Chulalongkorn, in his policies on development, tended to accept Western culture, while at the same time preserve Thai culture. As His Majesty said:

“... It was time tended to our Kingdom. Activities that should be cut off had to be cut off. Activities that should be added had to be added. No whole kingdom could be transformed in one stroke. And the methods that were used in one kingdom could not be used in the other kingdom without adjusting them. ...”⁷³

These changes of banquet manner of King Rama V were recognized when the king traveled to Singapore and Batavia. After visiting these two countries, the king expanded the eating manner, banquets, and royal court toilet. King Rama V put a partition dividing the room at Paisantuksin throne hall into three rooms. At the west side, he put Western style furniture, a set of table and chairs as a living room. At the center

⁷² วิไลเลขา อารณสาร, *ชนชั้นนำไทยกับการรับวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก*, หน้า 122

⁷³ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 68

was a hallway, and at the east side, he changed the room to be a fully furnish Western style dining room with a 20 seats.⁷⁴



Figure 50: The Royal Dining Room at Paisantaksin and Ampornsatarn palaces⁷⁵

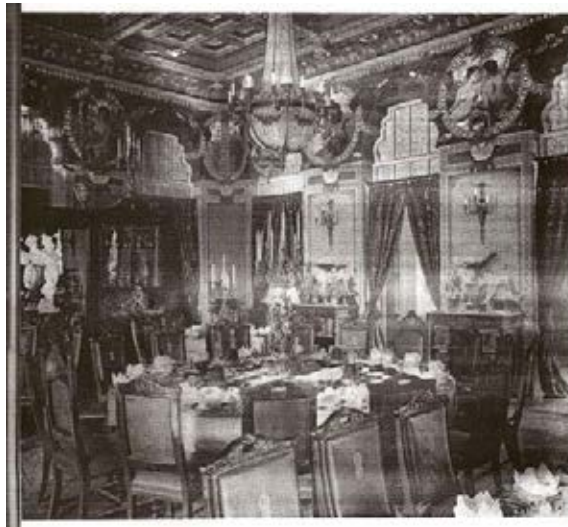


Figure 51: The Royal Dining Room at Ampornsatarn mansion, Dusit Royal Palace⁷⁶

⁷⁴ เจ้าพระยาเทเวศรวงศวิวัฒน์, นายจ่าเรศ และหลวงสารประเสริฐ, ข้าราชการในกรมมหาดเล็ก (พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ พระยาเทเวศรวงศวิวัฒน์, 2500), หน้า 41-43.

⁷⁵ Phachara, พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท [ออนไลน์], 7 พฤษภาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://architectural50.blogspot.com/2009_09_01_archive.html



Figure 52: The Royal Court Banquet⁷⁷

These eating traditions and banquets were very unusual for the government officers. The workers in the royal court had to learn the new traditions in order to place the cutlery correctly, such as Western dishes, bowls, spoons and forks, on the dining tables. They also had to know Western cuisine, eating traditions and manners because the cuisine was brought to the royal courts as King Rama V desired.⁷⁸ After he visited Europe, more Western royal families came to Thailand. Accordingly, Western food had to be provided for the guests. Welcoming banquets also had to be organized and

⁷⁶ Phachara, พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท [ออนไลน์], 7 พฤษภาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://architectural50.blogspot.com/2009_09_01_archive.html

⁷⁷ รักสยามหนังสือเก่า, แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ ต้นตำรับตำราแม่ครัวสยาม [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/viewblog.php?id=lovesiamoldbook&date=10-10-2010&group=1&gblog=8>

⁷⁸ วรรณพร บุญญาสถิต, จอมนางแห่งสยามในสมัยรัชกาลที่ 4 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 6 กับกระแสวัฒนธรรมตะวันตก, (พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2, กรุงเทพฯ : บจก.สร้างสรรค์บุ๊คส์, 2552), หน้า 96-131.

controlled because Western banquets represented the development and civilization of the Thai high society. Additionally, the Westerns were generally unfamiliar with the food of other countries. Thus, Thai food was not regularly and officially provided at banquets. Possibly, the taste and smells of the food may have been unfamiliar for them because of some of the ingredients, such as shrimp paste, fish source and pickled fish, or even smelly herbs or spices.

The writings of H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanupab mentioned stories in his childhood as he joined banquets with the elder members of the royal family and enjoyed eating ice cream. That period was the first time that the ice maker was introduced in the royal court.⁷⁹ Therefore, the people were very interested in this machine. Dining locations and cutlery preparation in the reign of King Rama V gradually changed as shown in the government document, *the Customs for Royal Pages* (แบบแผนข้าราชการกรมมหาดเล็ก⁸⁰), which was collected in 1898. Interestingly, Chao Phraya Thewetwongwiwat (Mom Ratchawong Lan Kunchon) mentioned the changes in dining tables in the reign of King Rama V. He stated that the procedures of cutlery preparations before 1888 still were the traditional ones. Put differently, royal pages had to prepare food for eating with fingers as he referred to the preparations of hand cleaners and hand towels. Later, Western culture had obvious influence on the royal courts in the reign of King Rama V. The practices of royal pages of the dining room were Westernized as the cutlery

⁷⁹ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ความทรงจำ พระนิพนธ์สมเด็จพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพที่ทรงค้างไว้ ๕ ตอน, (สำนักพิมพ์บรรณาคาร เวียงนครเกษม พระนคร, 2514), หน้า 273.

⁸⁰ เจ้าพระยาเทเวศรวงศวิวัฒน์, นายจ่าเรศ และหลวงสารประเสริฐ, *ข้าราชการในกรมมหาดเล็ก*, หน้า 41-42.

preparations in 1888 stated in the same government document. In other words, tablecloths were laid on the king's dining table. Spoons, forks, knives, ices and dishes were provided on the table. Hand towels were placed on the dishes. Food was also placed all at the same time. That is, Thai food was placed on the right hand side of the king; Chinese food was on the left hand side, while Western food was at the middle of the table.

The custom for serving food was Westernized as ordered by King Rama V. The royal pages had to refill the water and ices in glasses all the time. They had to serve food in order. Put differently, Western food had to be served first. Then, rice for eating together with Thai and Chinese dishes was served. After the king ate the meat dishes, the cutlery had to be replaced and the meat dishes were taken out from the dining table. Next, desserts were served with relevant dishes, knives, spoons and folks, as well as a cup of tea and cigarettes. A royal page had to fan the king even if he ate on the floor or a chair. Finally, he left the dining room after he smoked.⁸¹

In 1871 was the first time in Thai history that a king of Siam traveled to another country, Singapore. After the king returned from visiting Singapore, Western style parties were held at the พระที่นั่งมุลสถานบรมอาสน์ *Moolasatarn Boromma-art* Palace, or as also called “ห้องโต๊ะ” *Hong-Toh* situated within the Chakri Mahaprasat Palace, using

⁸¹ นนทพร อยู่มั่งมี, “รัชกาลที่ ๕ กับความศิวิไลซ์บนโต๊ะอาหาร” ใน ศิลปวัฒนธรรม ปีที่ 31 ฉบับที่ 3, (มกราคม 2553), หน้า

knives, spoons and forks.⁸² It can be said that a new age of culinary tradition began in King Rama V's reign. The king went to Europe twice and sent many of his children and courtiers to European colleges. The court also employed many Westerners. There was an influx of Western customs into Siam amidst the maelstrom of Western colonization.



Figure 53: พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท (Chakri Mahaprasat Palace)⁸³

At such a critical time, Siamese food culture evolved in accordance with political pressures. Food became a Siamese ploy to display their civilized culture being as equal to that of the influential Westerners. Western silverware was used on the dining table. The king also adopted Western-style breakfast. The royal dining table consisted of the king's chair and 20 chairs for others, and included waiters wearing uniforms in

⁸² “ลายพระหัตถ์สมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ ฉบับวันที่ 16 กุมภาพันธ์ 2475,”ใน *สาส์นสมเด็จพระ เล่ม 3 พ.ศ. 2475* (กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิสมเด็จพระเจ้า เจ้าฟ้ากรมพระยานริศรานุวัดติวงศ์ มูลนิธิสมเด็จพระเจ้า กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ และองค์การการค้าของคุรุสภา, 2536, พิมพ์ฉลองอายุสมเด็จพระเทพรัตนราชสุดา สยามบรมราชกุมารี ครบ 3 รอบ พุทธศักราช 2534), หน้า 70-71.

⁸³ Phachara, *พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท* [ออนไลน์], 7 พฤษภาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://architectural50.blogspot.com/2009_09_01_archive.html

Western style and serving the honored guests.⁸⁴ Even though a new banquet culture was adopted, Siam did not adopt all aspects of Western culture.

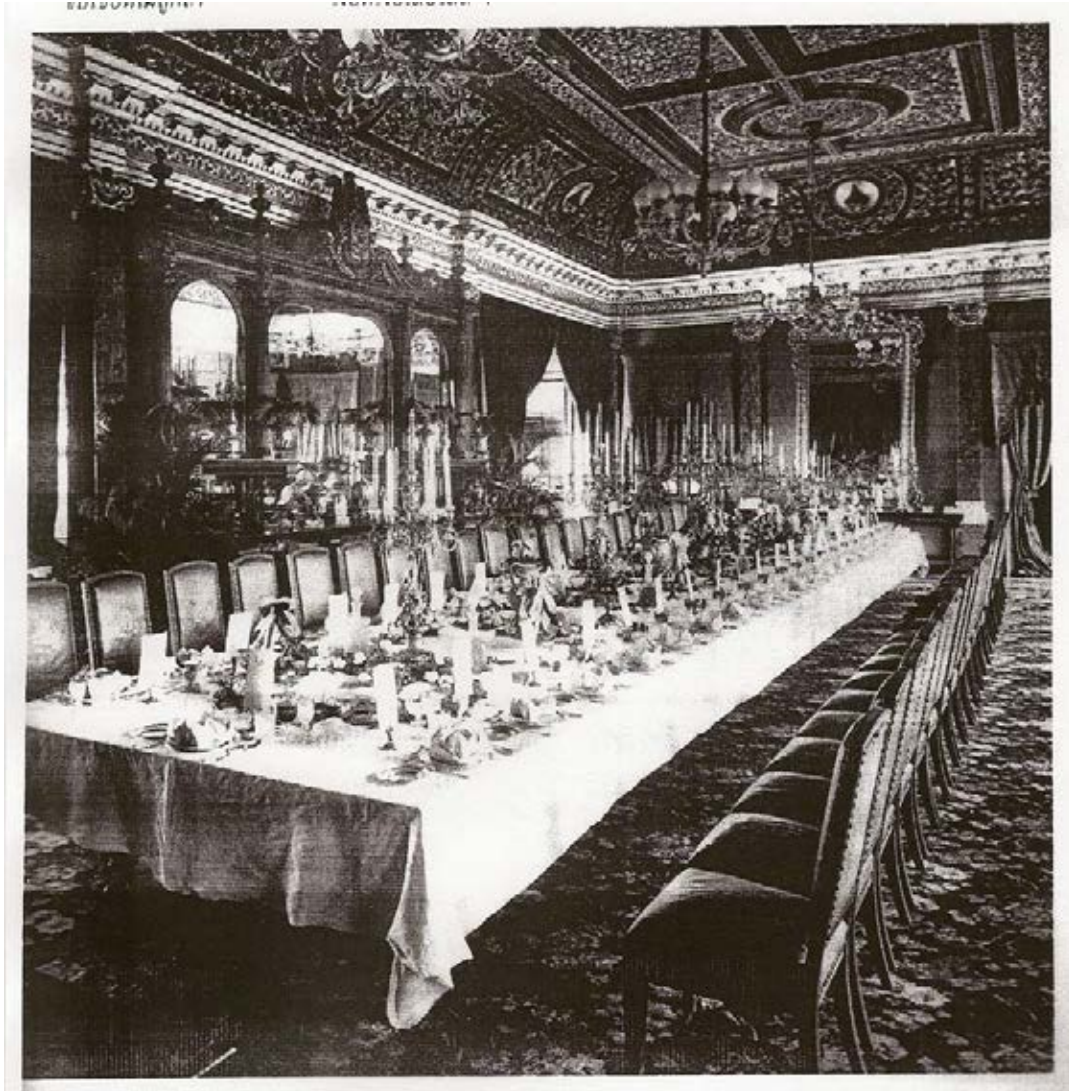


Figure 54: ห้องพระราชทานเลี้ยงภายในพระที่นั่งมุลสถานบรมอาสน์

*(The Royal Banquet Room within the Moolasatarn Boromma-art Palace)*⁸⁵

⁸⁴ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, ความทรงจำ พระนิพนธ์สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพที่ทรงค้างไว้ ๕ ตอน, หน้า 258-259

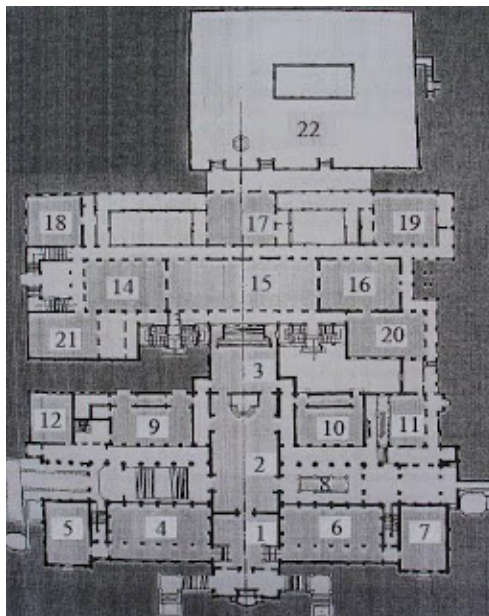


Figure 55: แผนผังหมู่พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท หมายเลข 9 แสดงภาพห้องพระราชทานเลี้ยง⁸⁶

(The Map of Function Rooms within Chakri Mahaprasat Palace and room number 9 represents the royal banquet room)

The civilization from West to Thai society occurred long before 1868 which was the start of the reign of King Rama V, and had affected the knowledge and adaptation of the Siam's aristocracy. But, King Rama V learnt a different kind of Western culture and custom, one of which was eating culture and banquet culture.

⁸⁵ Phachara, พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท [ออนไลน์], 7 พฤษภาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา http://architectural50.blogspot.com/2009_09_01_archive.html

⁸⁶ OkNation.net ประวัติของพระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาทและหมู่พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท [ออนไลน์], 24 พฤษภาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.oknation.net/blog/print.php?id=288594>

Commerce with the Western countries made Siam change in terms of culture in various ways. One of those was “a banquet culture” or “Leang Toh” established by the king within the royal court and royal mansions. The royal banquets were usually given for a purpose, such as a charitable gathering, a royal ceremony, or a celebration. This was established from European countries by which Siamese elites tried to adopt Thai culinary traditions. This banquet also was used as a tool to build internal political relationship with foreigners.

Another Western social value adopted among high-class people was birthday parties, a Western tradition, in the reign of King Rama V. For international parties, there were missionaries and consuls to celebrate Krom Luang Wong Sa Ti Rat Sanit’s 58th birthday party.⁸⁷ Since the reign of King Rama IV, banquets were widely popular. Banquets were regularly held in royal palaces and senior government officials’ places. As Western culture was borrowed, the Thai upper class had to study and learn Western culture, including English, because this was a tool for communicating, as well as a way to understanding the Westerners thoroughly and deeply. Although the Western culture of organizing banquets was considered the culture of civilized people, it was unusual for the Thai upper class as they had to learn the culture, as well as correctly and efficiently organize banquets in order to use this method in specific and official occasions in the royal courts and the palaces of the Thai upper class. Thus, this Western culture was

⁸⁷ บางกอกรีคอเดอร์ 22 กรกฎาคม 2408 (July 22, 1865) Vol. 1. เล่ม 1. หน้า 72.

considered an official culture in the royal court and palaces because banquets were only organized on important occasions and ceremonies, such as welcoming and farewell banquets, birthday banquets, Chinese New Year's, Songkran day or Thai New Year's and international New Year's. The events included advancement and tonsure ceremonies when Western banquets were usually organized in the royal court and palaces.

In the reign of King Rama V, the period of Western influence on Thai society, the royal family and noblemen required that they adopt Western dining etiquette. An important issue was that the banquet managers were required to have skills and experience, such as food menus, food procurement, food and Western kitchen ware preparation and invitation card production to make a perfect banquet.

Generally, food preparation and cooking for the kings was the task of the palace officials. During the reign of King Rama V, the manager for this role was H.H. Saisavali Bhirom. However, for Western banquets, only Western culture experts were given this role, as aforementioned.

The study and realization of Western cultures by palace officials not only occurred with respect to English and Western etiquette lessons, but also in studying environments, as the teachers were foreigners and all the media were from Western media vehicles. The evidence for this is shipping orders and order receipts of Queen Saowapa Pongsri (20/12/124): To M. Kots; Subject: The order for *Alamnak Di Gota*, Year 1906, (her request was to deliver her the book thrice a year). Also, other evidence is a book, dated (20/12/126), To: Sport and Salon; Subject: Payment draft to Sport and

Salon Year 127.⁸⁸ According to this evidence, we can see that palace officials continuously received Western news and issues. Also, some palace royalty had the opportunity to meet foreigners during King Rama V's tours in many foreign countries, such as Singapore, Java and Malayu, as described follows:

Following the King in 1888 were Queen Sawang Wattana, Queen Saowapa Pongsri and H.H. Saisavali Bhirom, Her Royal Highness Princess Chandra Saradavara, Chao Jom Manda Sae, Chao Jom Manda Choom and Chao Jom Manda Iem and other palace followers (35 followers in total).⁸⁹

Following the King in 1890 were Queen Sawang Wattana, Queen Saowapa Pongsri and H.H. Saisavali Bhirom, Chao Jom Manda Sae, Chao Jom Manda Choom and Chao Jom Manda Iem and other palace followers (35 followers in total).⁹⁰

Following the King in 1896 were Queen Sawang Wattana and Chao Jom Manda Choom.⁹¹ During this trip, the followers had the opportunity to wear Western lady costumes.⁹² In 1901, there were a lot of followers⁹³ and they had opportunity to welcome foreign guests.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ เวนิสา เสนีย์วงศ์, สมเด็จพระหญิงน้อย (กรุงเทพฯ : บางกอกบุ๊ค, 2541), หน้า 20.

⁸⁹ จุลลดา ภักดีภูมินทร์, เลาะวัง เล่ม 5 (กรุงเทพฯ : บริษัท สำนักพิมพ์ โชคชัยเทเวศร์ (1988) จำกัด, 2436), หน้า 50-51.

⁹⁰ สาระ มีผลกิจ, สตรีในราชสำนักสยามตั้งแต่รัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวถึงรัชกาลพระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว พ.ศ. 2394-2468, หน้า 188.

⁹¹ สมภพ จันทระประภา, สมเด็จพระศรีสวรินทิราบรมราชเทวี พระพันวัสสาอัยยิกาเจ้า, หน้า 61.

⁹² ประชุมสมุดภาพสำคัญในประวัติศาสตร์ เล่ม 2 (กรุงเทพฯ : คณะกรรมการพิจารณาและจัดพิมพ์เอกสารทางประวัติศาสตร์, 2520).

In the reign of King Rama V, banquets for official events were generally organized for male guests. King Rama V not only organized banquets for foreign diplomats and missionaries, but he also regularly provided banquets for the members of the royal family in order to build relationships and harmony between the relatives.⁹⁵ Banquets become traditions in the royal court. Four banquets were annually organized in the royal palace: 1) New Year's on 1st April, 2) the birthday banquet, 3) Chinese New Year's and 4) Songkran with rice in ice water. In each banquet, the main guests were members of the royal family.⁹⁶ He also organized banquets for other important occasions, such as birthday celebrations and advancement ceremonies. He provided appreciation banquets for loyal government officers that he wanted his relatives to follow. He even organized banquets for tonsure ceremonies in the palaces of the tonsured princes and he was the speaker congratulating and giving souvenirs to the princes.⁹⁷

Traditionally, the eating practices of Siamese elite had a hierarchy. At every meal, food was served to the husband first, after he had finished his meal, the wife

⁹⁵ ภายหลังที่ พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหลวงทิพยรัตนกิริฎกุลินี ถวายสมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ากรมพระนครสวรรค์วรพินิต และบันทึก รายงานตามเสด็จพระราชดำเนินประพาสเกาะชวา ครั้งที่ 2 ร.ศ. 120 ของสมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้าสุทธาทิพยรัตนฯ กรมหลวงศรีรัตนโกสินทร, พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงพระศพ พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอพระองค์เจ้าภาณุประดิษฯ กรมหลวงทิพยรัตนกิริฎกุลินี ณ พระเมรุ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส วันที่ 26 ตุลาคม พระพุทธศักราช 2501, หน้า 1-2.

⁹⁴ จดหมายเหตุรายวันของสมเด็จพระบรมราชาปีติลาธิบดี เจ้าฟ้ามหาวชิษฐนทิส, พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3 (กรุงเทพฯ: มหาวิทยาลัยสุโขทัยธรรมาธิราช, 2543), หน้า 187, 196 และ 232 และ ศันสนีย์ วีระศิลป์ชัย, *ลูกแก้วเม็ขวัญ*, หน้า 100.

⁹⁵ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 127-129.

⁹⁶ เจ้าพระยาเทเวศรวงศวิวัฒน์, นายจ่าเรศ และหลวงสารประเสริฐ, *ข้อราชการในกรมมหาดเล็ก*, หน้า 263-265.

⁹⁷ หนังสือ COURT ข้าราชการ เจ้านาย 11 พระองค์ทรงช่วยกันแต่ง เล่ม 1, ทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าฯ ให้พิมพ์พระราชทานในงานพระราชทานพิธีถวายพระเพลิงพระบรมศพ สมเด็จพระศรีนครินทร์ราชมราชชนนี ณ พระเมรุมาศท้องสนามหลวง วันอาทิตย์ที่ 10 มีนาคม 2539 (พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 2, 2539), หน้า 360

and other family members could eat, followed by the servants. Thus, priority was not only given by gender, but also by social class and status. After the arrival of Western style banquets to Siam, women were allowed to participate, especially at the royal festivities to which the foreigners were invited. Siamese women became more important at the dining table and wives and daughters had more opportunity to communicate and associate with foreigners.

The royal court organized many important banquets for the Westerners. Accordingly, the roles of the government officers in the royal courts changed in order to be responsible for planning, preparing and managing the banquets on different significant occasions. The officers had to adapt themselves, as well as thoroughly learn and practice Western eating traditions in order to serve Western guests correctly and actively, while preparing and managing banquets. For instance, they combined Thai decorations (e.g., food carvings) with Western preparations (e.g., flower arrangements and interior decoration with traditional single or double plant hangers like Thai decorations) in the dining rooms.⁹⁸ Impressively, they prepared food and served Western food in correct order because they had completely learned and understood these traditions as mentioned by H.S.H. Sibphanphan Sonakul. She referred to serving food for guests from different countries (e.g., Great Britain, European countries and the United States) and meals (e.g., breakfast, lunch and dinner) in different orders.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 223.

⁹⁹ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 224.

Banquets were regularly held in the royal palace and other palaces. Accordingly, Western kitchenware and cutlery was brought to the royal court, included dishes, soup bowls, knives, spoons, forks and tea/coffee cups and pots.¹⁰⁰ Some cutlery was made in the country as ordered by the officers in the royal court, for example, dishes and bowls for Western food, with Thai patterns painted on them in order to present that the Thai high society highly valued Thai identity and prevented Western identity from replacing the Thai identity by only putting Thai identity on Western basic structures.

Moreover, the traditional Thai manner of women being attentive and serving the men changed to the Western manner of women being welcome to sit with the men and being served equally. Importantly, this allowed women to communicate freely and give opinions to the other dining members.¹⁰¹ Despite the tradition of eating with one's hands being considered the eating practice of the commoners, the king and the Siamese elite would sometimes still eat with their hands in private when having a meal with the family.

¹⁰⁰ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 97.

¹⁰¹ เจ้าพระยาพระเสด็จสุเรนทราธิบดี, คำฉันท์สอนหญิงจากหนังสือวิริญาณและสมบัติผู้ดี, หน้า 3



Figure 56: The King at the Dining Table with His Royal Family at Private Time¹⁰²

In the reign of King Rama IV, palace officials and young royalty had privileges to be involved in formal socialization. However, this permission was not widely accepted because it contradicted the Thai tradition that palace ladies should not be allowed to participate in any banquets.¹⁰³ In the reign of King Rama V, Western festivals or parties were initially introduced. Palace personnel were not allowed to engage with guests in public. However, they could participate in all activities behind the scenes. Prince Chula Chakrabongse wrote that “...during the early periods of Western banquets, Queen Saowapa Pongsri was the one who managed the dining by sitting behind the scenes. At the time, this kind of socialization was called as ‘*Banquet*’ and used only

¹⁰² Postjung เจ้าจอมเอิบ ผู้ถ่ายภาพในหลวงรัชกาลที่ 5 ทรงกับข้าว (ฉบับปรับปรุงใหม่) [ออนไลน์], 3 มีนาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://board.postjung.com/638757.html>

¹⁰³ เพชรสุภา ทิศนพันธ์, แนวความคิดเรื่อง “การเข้าสมาคม” และผลกระทบต่อสตรีไทย พ.ศ. 2461 – 2475 (กรุงเทพฯ: จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2542), หน้า 24.

among male guests....”¹⁰⁴ High-class ladies (ambassador wives) were considered those who had knowledge about Western culture, Western language and Western society. The reason was that they had the opportunity to follow their husbands to other foreign countries. Moreover, these ladies had roles as banquet consultants; for example, Lady Mahiban (the wife of the ambassador at Saint Petersburg, Russia).¹⁰⁵

Thus, the role of palace officials during that period was behind the scenes. They were the managers for banquets and took care of every step of the banquet. Their roles were so important and detailed so that any mistakes did not negatively affect ambassadors, especially those who were from European countries.¹⁰⁶

During the reign of King Rama V, Thailand had significant contact with foreign countries, especially after King Rama V had his Europe tour. His Europe tour led to an increase in visits from royal families in Western countries, such as Prince Oskar of Sweden in 1884, Ash Duke Leowpol of Austria in 1888, Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia in 1891 and 1909, Duke Johann Albrakt of McLanBergh in 1883 and 1909. So, welcoming guests was required in Western style. Still, the problem for Thailand was that the guests preferred to have their meals with their native menu and etiquette only.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ พระองค์เจ้าจุลจักรพงษ์, เจ้าชีวิต, หน้า 466.

¹⁰⁵ หม่อมศรีพรหมา กฤดากร, อัตชีวประวัติ หม่อมศรีพรหมา กฤดากร (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สารคดี, 2522), หน้า 137.

¹⁰⁶ มัลคอล์ม สมิธ, ราชสำนักสยามในทัศนะของหมอสมิธ, หน้า 100.

¹⁰⁷ เรื่องเดียวกัน, หน้า 102

In the early period of welcoming guests, the banquets normally were held only in private places (private drawing rooms or throne halls).¹⁰⁸ Ultimately, palace officials had more opportunity to be fully involved in banquets. The first time was the banquet to welcome Duke Johann Albrakt and Duchess Elizabeth Stolberg of McLanBergh in 1909. Perhaps, the reason that palace officials could join the banquet was the Duchess. Thus, King Rama V permitted palace officials to welcome foreign guests with Western etiquette and show the prosperity and modernity of Thailand to Westerners.

During that time, the king's officials were to take care of the Duchess and palace officials were to take care of the Duke, who arrived on January 26, 1909. Princess Poonpisamai Disakul told the story about the moment as follows:

“The Queen welcomed the Duke at the East grandstand hall. The King, then, led the Duke and the Duchess to have a private meeting in Phra Thinang Chakri Mahaprasat. There were government officials at the meeting place to closely take care them. After the King had left the room, he introduced his government official followers to me. He and his wife took a ride to Phra Thinang Thatmarut. The King was in the car with Phraya Sura Saena as his bodyguard. In the second car were the Queen and the Duke with Lady Liem (Chao Phraya Surasak’s wife) and Lady Oon (Phraya Mahiban’s wife) at the front...The Queen accompanied the Duke to U-don (the Duke’s temporary official residence)...and around half past twelve, the Queen invited the Duke and the

¹⁰⁸ จดหมายเหตุรายวันของสมเด็จพระบรมราชปิตุลาธิบดีเจ้าฟ้ามหาวชิรมหิศ, หน้า 189, 196, 232.

followers to a banquet at Phra Thinang Ampornsatharn with the royal family...During the banquet, the King held the Duchess's wrist, the Duke held the Queen's wrist, H.R.H. Narisaravong held H.S.H. Prasongsom, H.R.H. Nakornsawan Worapinit held my wrist and my father held H.S.H. Pichitjirapa... ”¹⁰⁹



Figure 57: A Royal Banquet Menu held at Buraphapirom Palace (วังบูรพาภิรมย์).¹¹⁰

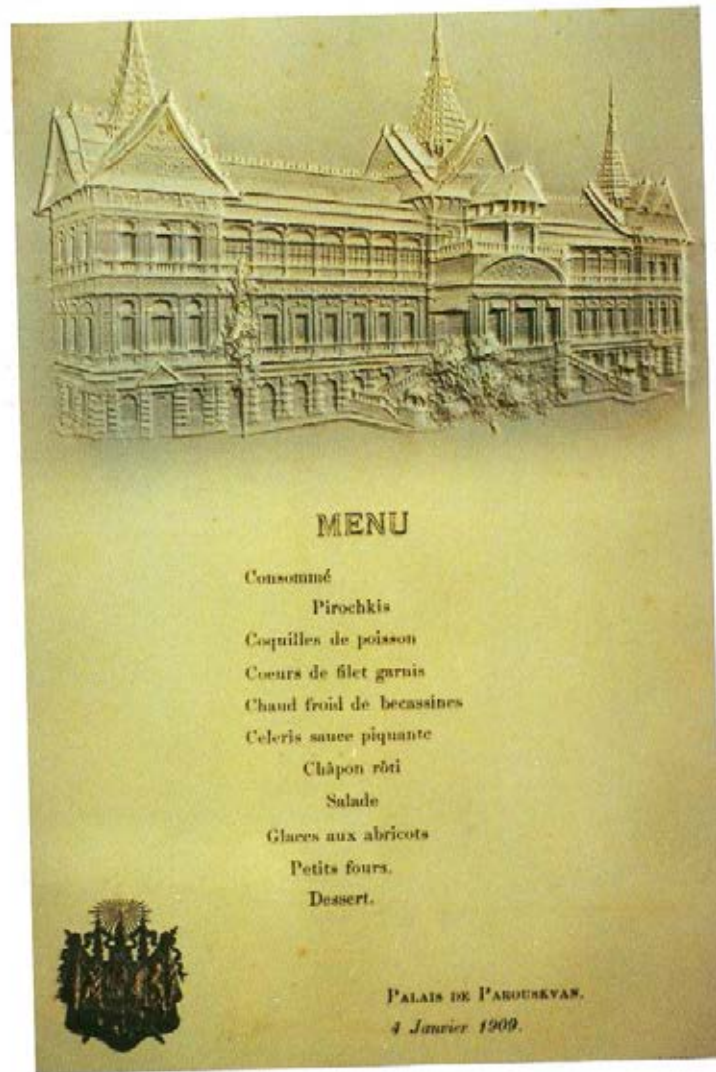
¹⁰⁹ คณะกรรมการสำนักงานเสริมสร้างเอกลักษณ์ของชาติ สำนักเลขาธิการนายกรัฐมนตรี, เฉลิมพระเกียรติพระราชมงคลที่ ๕ เล่ม 4, หน้า 95-96.

¹¹⁰ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง, หน้า 20



Figure 58: A Royal Banquet Menu held at the Russia Embassy¹¹¹

¹¹¹ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง, หน้า 19



ค.ศ. 1909 พ.ศ. 2452
 รัชกาลที่ 5 วังปารุสกวัน

523

Figure 59: A Royal Banquet Menu head at Parutsakawan Palace (วังปารุสกวัน)¹¹²

¹¹² พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง, หน้า 17



Figure 60: A Royal Menu in the Court of King Rama the Fifth¹¹³



Figure 61: A Music Program in the Royal Banquet¹¹⁴

¹¹³ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, ดำรงตำแหน่งกับชาวฝรั่งเศส, หน้า 16

Palace lady officials were to take care of the Duke and the Duchess in the welcoming, such as a big banquet at the Central Throne Room at Suan Dusit Palace, Benjamabophit Tour, model battle at Phayathai Field, Bangkok parade and a royal drama show at Preedalai.¹¹⁵

The permission given that palace lady officials should welcome foreign guests was the intention of King Rama V since he had seen Western ladies could do anything in front of the scenes. Since then, palace lady officials were required to change their role from managers behind the scenes to be in front of the scene. However, they were still required to take care of all welcoming preparation. This role adaptation led the palace lady officials to learn and appropriately adopt Western culture. For example, they needed to combine Thai and Western styles perfectly, as seen in the dining bouquets and ancient flower hanging.

The change in dining culture was initially adopted in royal courts. Then, it reached ordinary people through ladies who were allowed to work in palaces. When they left the palaces, they brought the knowledge with them. For instance, Mae Ploy in Si Pandin “*สี่แผ่นดิน*” brought cuisine knowledge that she learned when she was in the palace. She introduced her father to many Western foods.¹¹⁶ This reflects the spread of dining culture from royal courts to ordinary people.

¹¹⁴ พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *ตำราทำกับข้าวฝรั่ง*, หน้า 18

¹¹⁵ เป็นละครของพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระนราธิปประพันธ์พงศ์

¹¹⁶ ม.ร.ว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช, *สี่แผ่นดิน*, หน้า 247.

5.2.3 The emergence of food publications and cook books

In the reign of King Rama V, education reform took place and ordinary people had the opportunity to learn at schools. This was different from before as Thai people used to learn at temples, houses and palaces.¹¹⁷ Initially, this system existed among high-class people and government officials' families. Nonetheless, this new system increased the number of legible people so Thai people could approach oversight reading. They could learn and read recipes, etiquette and Western socialization. As a result, Thai people were more influenced by Western values and could learn more about Western lifestyles.

Education reform and printing technique development supported concepts of learning by noble ladies in houses or in palaces to learn through food recipes. Popular food recipes in the early period were the recipes from Lady Plien Pasakornwong. These recipes were first printed in the reign of King Rama V and were considered new to Thai society, especially to educated people. Important works were monthly magazines and archives in 1889 and Mae Krua Hua Pa in 1908. The first volume was published as a monthly magazine. However, it was closed after the sixth month of publication. Mae Krua Hua Pa was published in series version with five books per series. The first page of the inner cover identified that "...Mae Krau Hua Pa are food recipes for both Thai and Western menus from Lady Plien Pasakornwong. Her daughter is the compiler and her

¹¹⁷ วุฒิชัย มูลศิลป์, การปรับตัวของไทยและจีนในสมัยจักรวรรดินิยมใหม่ (กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัทต้นอ้อ 1999, 2542), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 3, หน้า 120.

husband is the board auditor....”¹¹⁸ From the inner cover, this book was about Thai and foreign menus. The book revealed many recipes in detail.

Among the elite of Siam, *Tanpuying Plien Passakornwong* married a nobleman who served King Rama V, and wrote the first cookbook of Siam in order to follow the concept ideas she had gained from the English books written by Isabel Beeton.



Figure 62: The English books Written by Isabel Beeton¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ เป็ลี่ยน ภาสกรวงศึ, แม็คริ้วหัวป้ากึ เต็ม 1 (กรุงเทพฯ: สมาคมกิจวัฒนธรรม, 2545), พิมพ์ครั้งที่ 6, หน้าปกใน.

¹¹⁹ Wikipedia, **Isabel Beeton** [ออนไลน์], 28 มีนาคม 2556, แหล่งที่มา http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella_Beeton



Figure: 63 The English books Written by Isabel Beeton¹²⁰

Clarissa Dickson Wright, one of famous TV hosts of the “Too Fat Lady” Programme, said that “English food is plain and boring etc. English food is considered as the worst food of Western Europe.” The bad taste of English food began in the Victorian Era. The lady who destroyed the taste of English food was Elizabeth Beeton.

Beeton introduced her book named “The Book of Household Management” in 1861 with 60,000 copies. The total number sold was 2 million copies in seven years. This was a modern book with measurements and weights for cooking. Her objective was to please men so they did not want to eat outside. Moreover, she also wrote books about household issues.

¹²⁰ Wikipedia, Isabel Beeton [ออนไลน์], 28 มีนาคม 2556, แหล่งที่มา http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabella_Beeton

Nowadays, Beeton's book is widely available. Lady Plien's book was believed to have been modeled after Beeton. However, Lady Plien's book did not reach middleclass people because the Lady's book was too expensive and targeted high-class people.

Lady Plien's cookbook contains issues of domestic home care, cooking techniques, household management and royal recipes in the early 20th century.



Figure 64: The First Thai Cookbook Written by *Tanpuying Plien Passakornwong*¹²¹

¹²¹ รักษยามหนังสือเก่า, แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ ต้นตำรับตำราแม่ครัวสยาม [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/viewblog.php?id=lovesiamoldbook&date=10-10-2010&group=1&gblog=8>

The first recipe book using standard measurements was written by Chao Praya Bhasakaravansa's wife, Lady Plian. She mentioned that, “Siamese cooking is an art in itself, but it should be standardized so that the art can evolve into a science with a proper syllabus for posterity”.¹²²



Figure 65: Lady Plian Bhasakaravansa¹²³

¹²² สันสนีย์ วีระศิลป์ชัย, “พระวิมาดาเธอฯ กรมพระสุทธาสินีนาฏปิยมหาราช ปดิวรัดา : สุดยอดทางการครัว ทั้งท้าว-หวาน สมัยรัชกาลที่ 5,” ใน *ศิลปวัฒนธรรม* 12, 8 (มิ.ย. 2534), หน้า 99

¹²³ รักสยามหนังสือเก่า, แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ ต้นตำรับตำราแม่ครัวสยาม [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/viewblog.php?id=lovesiamoldbook&date=10-10-2010&group=1&gblog=8>



Figure 66: The first recipe book: แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ Mae-krou Hua-pa¹²⁴



Figure 67: Inside the Cookbook Mae-krou Hua-pa¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Gotoknow, แม่ครัวหัวป่า หรือ แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ เรื่องราวที่ทรงคุณค่า [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2555. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.gotoknow.org/posts/308106>

Lady Plien Pasakornwong was the one who published food recipes for the first time in 1908, given the name “*Mae Krua Hua Pa.*” Before this book was published, there were no proper food recipe books. So, this book was considered the first food recipe of Thai people. The series of Mae Krua Hua Pa had five books and each had eight chapters: general, boil, curry, dishes, side dishes, dessert, fruit and snacks.

Lady Plien Pasakornwong was the first person who tried weights and measurement by comparing with Western food. As a result, her food had constant taste. In the past, people did not use weights or measurements in cooking. Instead they learned by experience and practice. So, Lady’s Plien weights and measurement in cooking annoyed some conservative chefs. Still, the Lady insisted that “*Weights and measurements are a concern for cooking, especially for beginners.*”

¹²⁵ Gotoknow, แม่ครัวหัวป่า หรือ แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ เรื่องราวที่ทรงคุณค่า [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2555. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.gotoknow.org/posts/308106>



Figure 68: The Kitchen at Lady Plien's mansion¹²⁶

Mae Krua Hua Pa was another important document from the reign of King Rama V and also covered fruit and fresh markets. As well, the book described environments in Thai society during that period, such as good rambutans were from Bang Yi Khan, langsat were from Thong Klong Sarn Temple, and good durians were from Bang Bon (Bang Khun Non at present, even though there are no durians in Bang Khun Non anymore). Durians from Bang Bon were more crispy than sweet. In contrary, durians from Bang Lang are sweet. There were 25 mango species in that period. Good Marian plums were from Tha It, Nonthaburi. Good tangerines were from Bang Mod.

¹²⁶ รักสยามหนังสือเก่า, แม่ครัวหัวป่าก์ ต้นตำรับตำราแม่ครัวสยาม [ออนไลน์], 7 มีนาคม 2556. แหล่งที่มา <http://www.bloggang.com/viewblog.php?id=lovesiamoldbook&date=10-10-2010&group=1&gblog=8>

They had sweet taste. However, they gradually vanished as people switched to salt fields (nowadays, Bang Mod oranges are gone). Besides, the book recorded the citizens' lifestyles by explaining various scenarios, such as food and their fresh markets. The markets were Sampheang Market, Noi Market, Bang Rak Market, Ta Tien Market, Yod Market, Plu Market, Khlong Mon Market and Sao Chingcha Market. In case of fresh food, the book provided cooking knowledge and tips to the reader. For example, it said that Pho fish was fed in ponds. Ta Pien fish had two types: white ones (Silver Ta Pien) and yellow ones (Golden Ta Pien). There was a cliché that during the Ayutthaya period, King Tai Sra loved to eat Ta Pien fish and he prohibited others from eating Ta Pien fish. Anyone who broke the rules was required to pay 5 tam lueng (20 baht).

Mae Krua Hua Pa was first published at the time Lady Plien celebrated her 61st birthday anniversary and her 40th wedding anniversary on May 4, 1908. She provided this book as souvenirs for 400 copies. It was popular so she republished in 1908 – 1909.

In 1927, Hang Sa Moot Press in Sampheang allowed the second publication for five books per one volume. There were many copies so the requestors asked for distribution in funerals, such as Phra Satthapongpiratchpak (Tuay Satthapong) which was printed in Lady Amornphiman (Soon Issarasak Na Ayudhaya) in 1927 and the Pleng Vanich Family in 1943.

In 1952, Padung Suksa Press at Nakornkasem was permitted the third publication and all books were included in one. This version cut off ancient weights and

measurements. Puang Boonnak (Lady Damrong Ratchapollakhun) wrote the introduction and categorized curry, side dishes, desserts and fruit.

In 1958, Klangwittaya Press was permitted to print this book as the fourth publication for 2,000 copies. The publisher eliminated ancient weights and measurements and added modern weights and measurements which were cups, teaspoons, table spoons, dessert spoons, and followed the contents as in the first and second versions by separating chapters and printed in one copy consisting of 635 pages.

In 1971, Mae Krua Hua Pa was published at Chao Jom Pit's funeral ceremony, the daughter of Lady Plien Pasakornwong, by printing as the fifth publication. This version was a wider book and had new content. The book was categorized into chapters of three groups: 5 side dishes, 25 desserts, 2 snacks, per one set. Also, the book included modern weights and measurements. Many menus were not in the first version. They are Sampanee, Yam Kratueorn and Yam Kai Worapong. The book also included poems for housewives.

In 2002, the Culture Association by Anek Navigmool published Mae Krua Hua Pa for the sixth time, deriving the original version from the one from Supawat Kasemsri and Naruenart Rattanachotiwing and was supported by the Government Lottery Office.

Mae Krua Hua Pa can be considered a precious cultural heritage, especially the ancient consumption culture. This culture was a mix between Thai and

Western. Even though, Western consumption culture was widely popular, many used Mae Krua Hua Pa to learn about their ancestors.

The summary of each book is described as follows:

Book 1 – Begins with Soontornpoo’s poems “Steamed ducks..Chopped pigs..Hot curry..Roasted shrimp.” Then, it explains oblation, rice cooking, curries and other menus, such as Thai minced and pouched roasted pork, sausages, deep-fried minced shrimp cake, vegetable side dishes. The book has a total of 186 pages.

Book 2 – describes curries and boiled menus, such as sea perch, British rice cooking, American grill, Khmer Tom Yam, bird nests’ soup, pumpkin dessert, Taghiad dessert, cold rice in jasmine-scented water. The book has a total of 159 pages.

Book 3 – describes weights, measurements and cooking methods of several menus, such as cold rice in jasmine-scented water, fried rice, curries and desserts. The book has a total of 153 pages.

Book 4 – writes about cleaning and hygienic issues. Also, this presents many recipes, such as crab fried rice, Thai pork salad, palm candy, sugar palm, Thai spicy salad etc. The book has a total of 143 pages.

Book 5 – writes about cuisine shopping and cooking methods for fried rice, Thai salads, and desserts and fruit menus. The book has a total of 309 pages (continue counting from Book 4).

Mae Krua Hua Pa's introduction of the original publishers has additional information about the printing record of "Mae Krua Hua Pa."

...Formerly, the Lady intended to publish her book by "...separating each into four chapters...Chapter 1: Book and Thai dishes...Chapter 2: Foreign side dishes...Chapter 3: Beverages...Chapter 4: First-Aid tips for households..." However, the publication had only the first chapter. In the introduction of Book 2, she added that "If continue from Book 6, Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. For Book 5, it writes about Thai side dishes and continues until Book 11" So, there are 5 books for Mae Krua Hua Pa.

Lady Plien was a clever lady and there was no one like her. She was a kind of mother-husband wife. Her nephew, Chupas Chuto, provided some details to Lady Thongkorn Chanthawimol that Lady Plien was an expert for meat dishes and desserts, knitting and decoration. She was a pioneer who made "*look choob*" to look like real fruit and she made them in flower pot designs too. Her tiger knitting was awarded by King Rama IV and won a global competition in the United States of America. She gained many thousands of dollars from this competition. In addition, she was the founder of The Thai Red Cross Society in 1893. She died on December 11, 2454 when she was 65 years old.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND CONTRIBUTION

This dissertation has emphasized history and the social context in relation to the royal cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Rama V. The research considered the process that Siamese elites attempted to learn in order to transform their eating behaviors and manners in formal occasions to become civilized and meet the international standard of Western people. Since the elements of the court cuisine and culinary culture were most apparent in highly developed areas, this study focused on the formal and informal eating activities among the court and royal dining table. Choosing the royal palaces and court mansions as the area of study enabled the researcher to understand the cultural transformation of royal consumption, its origins, its development and its growth patterns.

The argument of this study was to prove that the adoption of Western culture among the elites within the royal court and mansions of King Rama V was greatly expanded and became prominent in Thai society, more than before. The research methodology used the qualitative method and applied an historical methodology and documentary analysis approach to primary and secondary sources on the topic.

From this study, the researcher found that Thai royal cuisine developed along with the prosperity of the palaces in every era of Thai history. The abundance of food and exotic ingredients is evidence indicating prosperous times for Thai palace cuisine from the Ayutthaya period up to the Rattanakosin era. This was a significant period in which Thai cuisine was combined with various foreign food cultures. Noticeably, the palace cuisine and culinary culture in the court of King Rama V was much more civilized and cosmopolitan in significant characteristics different from the prior periods.

This research found important points in relation to the culinary culture transformation of the Siamese court in the reign of King Chulalongkorn. The significant reaction of the king and the royal family to Western food culture resulted from two conditions: firstly, the Western powers intimidating the sovereignty of the country, and secondly, the reformation of the country to become modernized. Accordingly, Western culinary civilization was readily adopted by elite Siamese society in this period. The great impact of Western imperialism led to political and economics changes which occurred in this period and brought about a transformation in the palace cuisine and culinary cultural practice among Thai nobles and elites in order to meet the Western standard in terms of civilized cuisine and manners.

A civilized and cosmopolitan nature was the prominent characteristic of court cuisine, especially in the reign of King Chulalongkorn. However, even though, the king pleased the Westerners by using the formal banquet as a tool to promote the civilized aspect of the Siamese court, and the fact that Western cuisine was served along with Western manners of eating with knives, spoons, and forks, there still remained a Thai identity in almost every elements of the banquet venues. Examples of this are that Thai style curry (curry a la Siamese), or sometimes a set of Thai traditional cuisine, was served along with Western dishes as shown in the royal banquet menus; the banquet room was set in Western style architecture, but decorated with Thai traditional flower hanging arrangements on the windows and bush-like fireworks on the banquet tables; and glassware and utensils was used on the dining table in Western style, but was produced with Thai designs and was adjusted to suit eating Thai food. For private dining, the king had Western food, but it was accompanied by various kind of food from different cultures. As well, it can be seen that on the king's dining table, Western food was served at the same time as the Thai and Chinese dishes. This illustrates how successfully the king and court elite were able to integrate Thai traditional culture with Western culture and maintain a core content of Thai identity.

The king used Western style banquets for various occasions, such as birthday parties and Thai and international New Year, as a medium for binding relationship among his relatives and courtiers. The king attempted to select the beneficial parts of Western culinary culture in terms of function and the facility of Western utensils and glassware, as well as banquet management, which represented the state as being civilized and modernized. In addition, the Western manner of eating with knives, spoons, and forks was adopted in order to avoid Western disdain of the eating manners of Siamese elites and out of a concern for cleanliness and to prevent food contamination from being touched with fingers, even though the Thai traditional style of eating food with one's fingers was the manner used for a long time.

When the king and court elites attempted to develop the eating level of Thai court society so as to become civilized and reach the standard of the West, the manner of transformation to consume like Western people was not easy and complete. This transformation was a tool to represent to the West that Thais were not barbaric, but civilized and educated. This change also could have been the way to gain acceptance from the West in terms of how Thais ate and lived as being similar to the civilized countries. However, the king and the court elites were able to effect this change in eating manners, and still retain a strong Thai identity. In other words, these changes did not completely follow the Western style of cuisine and culinary habits.

From the king's writings, such as his diaries and letters written during his travels to upcountry and other countries such as Singapore and Europe, there is plenty of evidence indicating that the king showed a preference for tasting food, cooking food, creating new food items, and experiencing new food culture. For my point of view, this reflects the remarkable aptitude of King Chulalongkorn for food such that it can be said that the king was a gourmet. This also could be the reason why the king was able to succeed in integrating Western culinary culture with Thai tradition, while retaining a core competent of Thai identity.

The Westernization of the food cultures of the upper class in the reign of King Rama V involved various changes, for instance, eating traditions, banquet locations, kitchenware and menus. These changes also had a conceptual and cultural influence on Thai society. People in the royal courts were the first group of people who experienced Western concepts and culture in Thailand. However, to learn and understand the self-adaptation to Western modernized culture, which was significantly different from the upper class's ways of living, the adaptation took time, as well as required practice and familiarity, with training provided by experienced persons, in order to generate an understanding of the essence of the Western practices, as well as to be able to follow the practices actively and confidently.

This study used historical evidence and the conceptual framework of people in the period of King Rama V to explain how Western culture influenced the royal Thai cuisine and the eating traditions of the upper class during that period. From the evidence present, it can be concluded that the changes of the country's structures and major institutions were based on a thorough understanding of Western culture in different aspects in order to accept the aspects that were considered by the upper class as valuable and appropriate, which were then borrowed and blended with the traditional elements of Thai society.

6.1 Contribution

The causes of the change in the royal cuisine and culinary culture were the result of the territorial expansions of the great Western powers in Thailand and the trend of the country and cultural reformation or modernization in the reign of King Rama V. As a result, there were practices in the royal courts that borrowed Western customs, traditions and cultures. These practices led to tangible changes in various terms, including politics, communication, transportation, commerce, education and culture. The Westernized practices were used as the official models for the officers in the royal court.

After these practices were embedded in the Thai upper class, then the practices were transferred to the lower classes.

There is significant research and many studies that have attempted to examine the area of the impact of Western powers as linked to the transformation in Thai politics and economic changes in the reign of King Rama V. The reason why this topic has been emphasized is because this period was the time when Thailand encountered imperialism which had come to South East Asia. Amidst the menace of imperialism upon Thai territory, the ruler and the royal family realized the advantages of learning and understanding Western culture in various aspects as a way to protect the sovereignty of the country. In order to become a civilized nation, Thailand needed to reform the country to be modernized like the West. Western influence in this period generally impacted Thai politics, economics, laws, the education system, society and culture. Thus, undoubtedly, there have been many studies focusing more on the content of these topics.

This dissertation targeted the assimilation of Western culinary culture which impacted the transformation of Thai royal cuisine and culinary court culture in the reign of King Rama V. This study has been an attempt to open the study area of Thai food culture in the long span of Thai history, as well as to raise ideas and interesting points about the transformation in Thai court cuisine and culinary culture in the reign of King Rama V through a study of royal recipes, court banquets, royal utensils and consuming manners. The historical information that appears in this dissertation indicates how Siam and Thai court society became civilized and cosmopolitan. The information collected from various sources has emphasized the areas of court cuisine, the process management of royal cuisine and culinary culture transformation, the participants in the court of King Rama V in relation to the royal cuisine and culinary culture, and fact that royal cuisine and culinary culture had a vital role in the court of King Rama V.

6.2 Suggestion for Further Research

When consider the major issues regarding the borrowings of Western culinary cultures affecting the changes of eating customs, traditions and cultures in Thai society, different periods of time could have be chosen. It was not necessary to study this issue only in the reign of King Rama V because there is no change without origin and Thailand has been an open country in terms of culture. However, by carefully considering the issues in the reign of King Rama V, the author found noteworthy and interesting issues. Western customs, traditions and cultures that were brought into Thailand in this period and adopted by Thai society become more pronounced and distinctive than in other periods.

It can be seen that royal cuisine in Thai history has adopted and assimilated many kinds of food from various cultures. Such food has continued to be consumed among Thai people nowadays. Further research would be of benefit to the next generations if devoted to the areas of the following:

6.2.1 A study of the process by which royal court cuisine in the past transformed the characteristics and was passed to the royal elites and then became normal dishes among the lower level of Thai social classes of the next generations.

6.2.2 The influence of Western culture on Thai court culture has a wide array to focus for the further study, for example the influence of Western culture on Siamese costumes, housing, and vehicles.

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