

The Cultural Invention of Thai Royal Cuisine in a Creative-Economy Context

Supawat Namkham^{1*} and Sisikka Wannajun²

^{1*,2} Faculty of Fine-Applied Arts and Cultural Science, Mahasarakham University

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Abstract

This article focuses on the cultural invention of Thai royal cuisine in a creative-economy context. Employed qualitative research under the inventive and creative-economy conceptual framework. Data collection was conducted by interviewing 37 people via purposive sampling along with data from the documents. Descriptive analysis was carried out to interpret and present the results. The research findings indicate that cultural invention of Thai royal cuisine in a creative-economy context drew on the existing cultural heritage of food wisdom and added value involving selected items. Consequently, certain characteristics of such cooking were adhered to less strictly because of the changing economic and socio-cultural conditions.

Keywords: 1) cultural invention 2) Thai royal cuisine 3) creative economy

^{1*} Ph.D. candidate in Cultural Science; E-mail: supawatt@hotmail.com

² Assistant Professor, Department of Cultural and Design



Introduction

Local residents bring together the available ingredients to make food. Over many generations, this develops into their food culture and then the national cuisine (Rojanaphaiboon, 2005, p. 17). Thai royal cuisine is regarded as embodying the high standards of Thai food wisdom, an important national culture that reflects the exquisite and delicate way of eating among Thai people. This has been cultivated at the Grand Palace and palaces throughout the country. The royal court created recipes for the lords in each palace. As a result, royal dishes tasted and looked differently according to their palace masters' preferences (Eiamprapai, 2010, pp. 88-89; Panthura, 2007, pp. 109-112).

Thai royal cuisine originated from lords and noble women who worked as royal cooks. It began at the Grand Palace in Bangkok and was diffused to the lords' palaces and to the noble houses of high-ranking officials close to the palace. An important aim was to meet the needs of their masters, from the highest level of the king and the royal family. The recipes from palaces were similar, due to the centralization of the Grand Palace. And the expansion of royal residences resulted in variations of recipes unique to the tastes of individual locales. Royal cooks, cooking techniques, and secret recipes from each palace, as well as the expansion of royal cooking to noble officials' residences closely tied to the palace, have made some palaces famous for their recipes (Arsawai, 2011a, pp. 86-88).

However, changes in the royal cuisine culture became apparent after the Siam Revolution of 1932, when the center of

power moved from the Grand Palace to a more democratic government. The anti-monarchist movement negatively affected the Thai royal cuisine culture, as the lords gradually moved and stayed outside the Grand Palace. Palace culture deteriorated. At the same time, they maintained and blended the high food culture into middle-class food culture (Arsawai, 2011b, pp. 146-148). The status of royal cuisine was transformed into commercialized products or income-earning and for compensating the lords whose budgets were drastically cut and who could not continue to inherit assets. Thus, the royal cuisine culture spread to the commoners who passed it on to their heirs (Peesalee, 2015, pp. 72-89). Changes in consumption behavior, diminished natural resources, and lack of systematic data-storage have resulted in some risks to the royal cuisine, such as the extinction or distortion of the food culture; many recipes have already disappeared from Thai society (Nitiworakarn, 2014, p. 178).

Economic and social changes have been largely triggered by technological advances that aimed at enhancing people's economic prosperity or at least stability in the rapidly changing conditions. This involves upgrading competitive-advantage balances and sustaining production structures by adding value to products and services. A body of knowledge and innovation, together with cultural diversity and natural resources, are used to enhance economic competitiveness (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board and Thailand Creative & Design Center, 2009, pp. 1-2). This is consistent with the creative-economy concept in which an economy is driven by social, cultural, and intellectual capital in order to create

value-added goods and services. In the Thai creative economy, Thai food has been classified as a natural and cultural heritage (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board and Thailand Creative & Design Center, 2009, pp. 20-22). This shows how important the food culture is in driving Thailand's creative economy.

This study focuses on a body of knowledge on the cultural invention of royal cuisine in the creative-economy context so as to affirm the long-lasting value of this cuisine. This can be used as a case study on the application of local food as a cultural capital resource for other areas.

Objective

To study the cultural invention of Thai royal cuisine in a creative-economy context.

Literature Review

Thai food culture

The food-culture characteristics in each locality may be different from and similar to those of other areas. Practices that have long been followed become the culture of a family, group, or society. For example, (1) the "preparation of ingredients" in most Thai dishes is similar. First, they must be cleaned before being cut into pieces that are easy to eat. Meats are cut or chopped and vegetables are cut into smaller sizes for cooking according to the recipe. Every culture has its own seasoning that may or may not include spices and herbs. In Thai culture, pounded coriander root, garlic, and pepper or "Sam Klur" are commonly mixed with other seasonings to marinate meat so it absorbs the seasonings to help reduce the meat's odor before cooking.

In savory dishes in the central region, people usually add a little sugar. And in some sweet recipes, a small amount of salt can help enhance the mellow taste of food. (2) The "cooking method" for savory dishes often involves boiling, curry, stir-frying, steaming, grilling, and roasting as primary methods. The cooking method is related to the location and climate. Thailand is a tropical country, so open-air kitchens for better air circulation and quick elimination of odors are common because savory dishes add strong-smelling spices, herbs, and seasonings. Recipes for sweet dishes, on the other hand, only use flour, sugar, coconut, or coconut milk as the main ingredients involved in over ten cooking methods. (3) "Serving and eating" is common with most food after the dish is reduced to smaller portions during the ingredients-preparation process, and only a few utensils are used, such as spoons, forks, or bare hands, to eat dry food and soup. The notable aspect in Thai culture is that all dishes are served as a set. Dinners have their own plate of rice. Each dish has a serving spoon for scooping. By eating each dish one by one, eaters can savor the real taste of the food. Each and every plate can be tried again to their liking (Saiwichian, 2004, pp. 66-80).

Elements of Thai royal cuisine

Kanokpongchai, et al. (2003, p. 96) stated that royal cuisine culture originated inside the palace, with recipes invented by the royal cooks who combined various food cultures from regions and countries through trade, education, and politics. The royal cuisine reflected the relationship between the monarchy and the people. In addition, Eiamprapai (2008, pp. 113-114) stressed that, in the past, only royalty and courtiers



had the chance to taste royal food. Because Suan Sunandha Palace once housed the royal family, it was a major source of royal-cuisine knowledge. Courtiers of HRH Princess Saisawali Bhirom Krom Phra Sutta Sininat Piyamaharat Padiwada were especially well-trained in creating both savory and sweet dishes.

However, once they married, the courtiers moved out of the palace. They brought their cooking knowledge from the palace and shared it with outsiders. Discussion of royal cuisine appeared in many contexts. Prominently, Eiamprapai (2010, pp. 88-89) noted that palace food more often than not has the same characteristics as food eaten by the local people. The differences are in the details - i.e., the raw ingredients and cooking methods. (1) Royal cuisine highlights the distinctness of each food and takes into account the primary taste. (2) This cuisine also focuses on plate decoration, especially the carving of vegetables, fruits, and side dishes which are often included in each meal because of the lords' demand for fresh vegetables and high-quality dipping sauces.

Arsawai (2011a, pp. 86-88) asserted that this royal cuisine distinctively features ample and fresh ingredients. Intricate and sophisticated cooking processes required a lot of time and manpower. Diversity, fineness, and mild flavor (not too spicy) made the food taste mellow. The art of food-making is good for the palate and the eyes.

Another aspect of royal cuisine emphasized by Panthura (2007, pp. 109-112) is that (1) brand was an important aspect of the food's identity, which reflected the origin of the seasonings, colors, and tastes. (2) Flavors were unique - mellow, sour, salty,

sweet, spicy, and bitter or astringent, which comes from herbs and spices, contributing to the distinctive tastes and aromas. (3) A unique style of meticulous cooking using high-quality fresh ingredients became standard. Cooks needed both the science and art of cooking a variety of foods with free customizing. (4) Decoration became key for royal food. All dishes were decorated with fresh herbs. Beauty was added to the food by carving or slicing the ingredients. Beyond beauty, this created convenience for eating since most people liked decorated vegetables as side dishes and ate them with dipping sauces. For special occasions, carvings became even more intricate. Concerning the "benefits of royal food", Panthura (2007, pp. 109-112) stressed that Thai royal cuisine was attractive, with its pungent aroma and the spicy flavor of spices and herbs. Having food arranged in this style made it possible to eat many foods together as part of a traditional culture that came complete with nutritional values. Panthura (2007, pp. 109-112) also emphasized the "value of royal food," meaning its aesthetically pleasing qualities. Cultural value was added via seasonal styles of eating and by using beautiful containers.

Creative economy based on culture

"Creative economy" has many definitions. From the Thai perspective, Toemphityaphaisit (2011, p. 10) defined it as "economic development that's based on the creation and application of a body of knowledge, creativity, and intellectual property in connection with the cultural background, socialization, and technology and innovation in the production of new goods and services for added economic value."

Creative economy is comprised of an industry segmented on the basis of two broad notions: (1) the type of products or services and (2) the type of manufacturing activities and the chain of production (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board and Thailand Creative & Design Center, 2009, pp. 20-22). The creative approach to food products may arise from the using the costs of creativity in one key area. Or it could be a combination of the costs of creativity in many areas, depending on the creative thought that brought surrounding factors into the conception (The Office of Industrial Economics, 2012, pp. 70-71).

Thailand's creative economy has been classified into four main groups - i.e., cultural heritage and nature; arts; media; and creativity and design. These can be divided into 15 subgroups, such as handicrafts, traditional medicine, food, cultural tourism, biodiversity, performing arts, visual arts, film and video, typography, broadcasting, music, design, fashion, architecture, advertising, and software. Thai food is a subgroup of "cultural heritage and nature" that reflects its importance in driving this country's cultural-based creative economy (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board and Thailand Creative & Design Center, 2009, pp. 20-22).

The creative-economy concept focuses on arts and culture. It is considered a creative work, a cultural art by villages and the government. Local traditions, rituals, handicrafts, food, and clothing are all culturally created and passed on from generation to generation, naturally changing and evolving over time. As Nathalang (2016, p. 41) has pointed out, creativity is comprised of

collection, reiteration, modification, reinvention, rethinking, and redefining. All of this is for the benefit of the people, the community, and society at large. Change is the nature of culture. The creative-economy concept has been driven by applying abstract creativity in the pursuit of the right direction in adding more value based on environmental conditions and other factors.

In the cultural dimension, however, socio-cultural ways are constantly changing. Cultural education is thus not the pursuit of "primitive" or 'authentic' culture, but, rather, an "invented culture" that conceptualizes cultural representation in contexts such as trade, consumption, and tourism. As shown by Hobsbawm (1983, pp. 1-9 as cited in Nathalang, 2016, pp. 47-49), invented tradition has always existed and been passed down, along with recently formed practices. Most modern inventions come from the policies of the nation state in the form of officially invented traditions such as public holidays and politics. These inventions are responsible for establishing social unity in order to support the "legitimacy" of political institutions. Most local inventions appear in the form of the creative economy.

Related research

Key research related to this study was gathered and examined as follows:

A study by Phuanpoh (2018, pp. 312-314) found that most restaurants in Ayutthaya were sole proprietorships or small businesses. Some of them were family inheritances. That study resulted in a division of the types and sizes of restaurants into three groups: (1) Traditional, medium-sized restaurants can accommodate large groups of customers in unique settings



and are mostly popular in the evening. (2) Contemporary, medium-sized restaurants feature services for single customers or small groups. They specialize in unique quickly fixed meals and contemporary menus and are more popular during lunch time. (3) Small-sized restaurants focus on fast food, with a limited selection. They are famous for certain dishes. Customers spend less time eating in such places, and these places are most popular in the daytime.

Kitwikran (2014, pp. 12-28) studied foreign tourists in Thailand and found that they had a high level of overall image of Thai food on quality, the atmosphere of Thai restaurants, value for money, novelty, impression, and components. Foreign tourists perceived the quality of Thai food at high level on differentiation, aesthetics, and essence.

Adultithipatchara (2014, pp. 126-131) revealed in a study that almost all Thai restaurant operators in Bangkok offered their featured dishes. They also provided their wisdom in the Thai restaurant business with regard to operator's attributes and Thai restaurant services.

A study by Najpinij (2011, pp. 165-173) showed that each Thai restaurant in a five-star hotel selected different elements as embodying Thai food and Thainess. Food production and consumption are associated with the expectations, values, and standards agreed upon by operators and customers. In the production process, the system and rules for such production must take into account international standards, along with Thainess. Moreover, the creation of meaning and Thainess is highly dynamic in the age of globalization. Thainess in the science of

Thai food making has been influenced by international values for centuries.

Definition of Terms

Cultural invention means a study of the characteristics of goods and services, from the creation of cultural capital for royal cuisine to adding economic value. In this study, the researcher was interested in studying components such as cooking ingredients, methods of cooking, types of food, food containers, utensils, types of service, service recipients, and the creation of atmosphere in restaurants.

Royal cuisine refers to food and the ways of eating that were taught and cultivated in the royal court.

Creative economy denotes concepts of goods and services-creation, from the cultural capital of royal cuisine to adding economic value.

Practical Applications

1. Seek a body of knowledge on the cultural invention of royal cuisine in the creative-economy context which can be used in the appropriate planning and management of cultural capital resources, from royal cuisine to promoting tourism for food education.

2. Interested public agencies and the private sector, such as the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Tourism and Sports, and restaurant operators, can use this body of knowledge in the creative-economy context.

Methods

In this qualitative research, compiled, analyzed, and synthesized data to find answers

to the questions outlined in the objectives section. Descriptive analysis was presented through interpretations and then conclusions based on the studied issues, which were classified by the characteristics of the location and successor groups in the case-study areas. A study of the situations of royal cuisine culture in the sample case-study areas was also conducted.

Population and Samples

The population in this study consisted of respondents to questions regarding the cultural invention of royal cuisine in creative-economy context. They were academics and other kinds of experts in food culture, along with entrepreneurs, cooks, and related persons. The scope of the study areas was set in Bangkok.

A total of 37 samples selected by purposive sampling were as follows:

- 1) Five experts, including academics and other experts in food culture
- 2) Eleven people, such as entrepreneurs and cooks at seven restaurants in the case-study areas; in some restaurants, the owner was also the main cook.
- 3) Twenty-one other people who were customers, domestic or foreign, at those seven restaurants.

Scope of the Study Areas

The criteria for selecting the seven restaurants were as follows:

- 1) Goods and services must be created from royal-cuisine cultural capital to add economic value in the area.
- 2) There must be traces of the food culture and ways of eating that had been cultivated in the royal palaces in Bangkok.
- 3) The sources of royal cuisine culture

must be confirmed in the area, either by publications or an otherwise- documented and clear history of origin.

The characterization of the places and groups of successors in the case- study areas into three groups was as follows.

1) The cultural invention of royal cuisine in the original areas of study included two locations: Chakrabongse Villas and Kanlapaphruek Restaurant.

2) The cultural invention of royal cuisine outside the original areas of study run by royal heirs included two locations: Thanying Restaurant and Krua Chumsai Restaurant.

3) The cultural invention of royal cuisine outside the original areas of the study which are run by courtiers' heirs included three locations: Krua Chow Wang Bann Mom Luang Nueng Restaurant, Photsaphakan Restaurant, and Rairos Restaurant.

Data-Collection Tools

1) Observation

1.1) Participant observation was used in the observing, questioning, and note-taking processes.

1.2) Non-participant observation was used in collecting information in order to avoid disturbing the participants. Notes were taken for further analysis.

The observations were intended for entrepreneurs and cooks in the study areas to use in collecting field data regarding cooking ingredients, methods of cooking, types of food, food containers, types of service, the service recipients, and the atmosphere of the eatery.

2) The interviews followed the guidelines on interview type classified by Chantavanich (2002, p. 74) as follows.

2.1) Unstructured interviews included



broad questions.

2.2) Structured or formal interviews followed the same definite set of questions.

The interviews used to collect data consisted of the following:

1) Interviews of academics and other experts aimed to collect field data on the history and changes in royal cuisine.

2) The interviews of entrepreneurs and cooks in the study areas aimed to collect field data on the cultural invention of royal cuisine in the creative-economy context.

3) Interviews of Thai customers and non-Thai tourists in the study areas to collect field data on the production of food and the quality of service

Through observation and interviews, the data- collection tools were examined, improved, and suggested by the advisors and various experts so as to better meet the research objectives.

Research Procedures

1. Documents were reviewed in order to obtain basic information on the subject, including the appropriate conceptual framework and related research, as well as field-study guidelines.

2. Information extracted from documents was analyzed by critic and interpretation. Critical analysis involved consideration of the content of the documents in order to evaluate its credibility by emphasizing the accuracy and value of the information. Data interpretation concerned the transcriptions recorded in the documents so as to understand the purpose and meaning of the recorder.

3. A conceptual framework for the research was established as study guidelines

by considering the suitability of the information obtained. The approach to this research was to articulate the problems in order to define the scope and direction of the study of information related to the research objectives and to draw sensible conclusions from the evidence.

4. Interview guidelines were established to obtain information consistent with the research objectives. This involved asking questions and encouraging the respondents to express their opinions freely.

5. In-depth interviews with samples were conducted.

6. Data-arrangement and analysis were carried out after obtaining the facts via a verification process. Data synthesis was employed to find the connections, which logically answered research questions.

7. The research findings were presented in a report covering data analysis and synthesis. The results were explained using descriptive analysis in accordance with the research objectives.

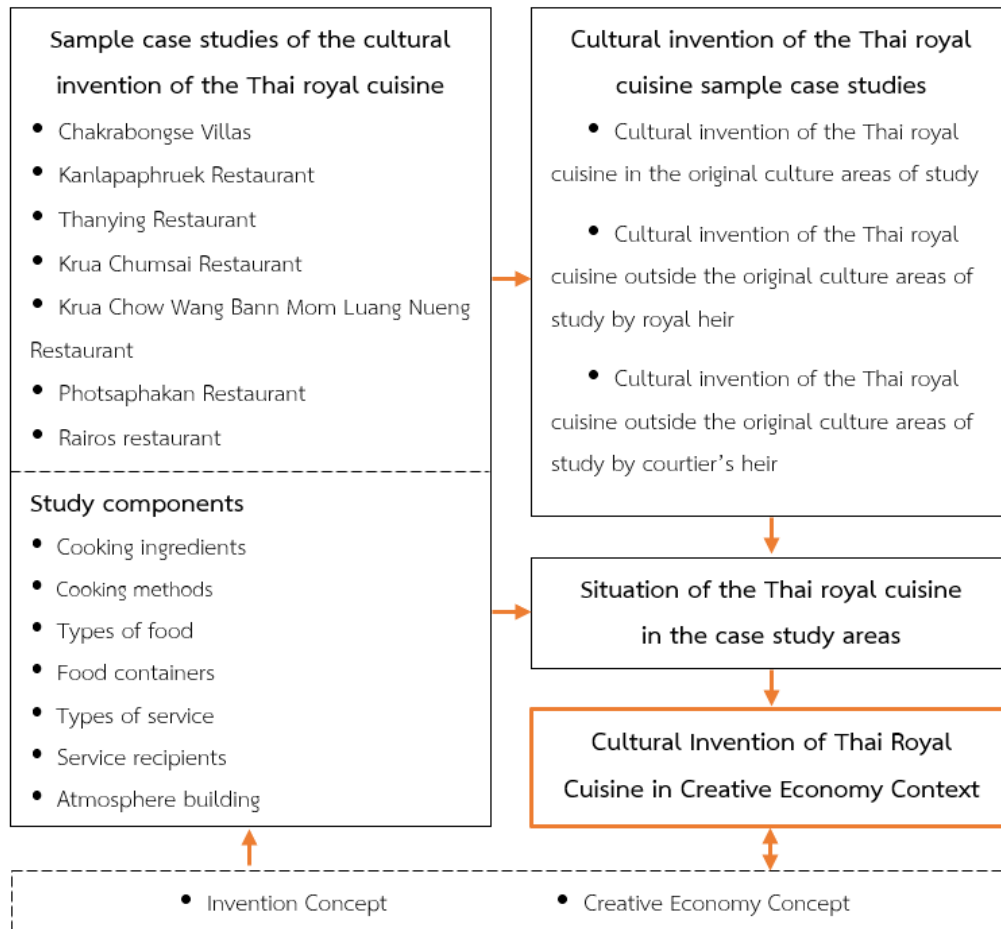
Data Analysis

Descriptive analysis was employed to interpret and formulate the outcomes based on the studied problems. Data obtained from documents and field studies were analyzed using Chantavanich's methods (2004, p. 131).

1. Used analytic induction by interpreting and making conclusions about the concrete data and/or visible phenomena.

2. Also did typological analysis by classifying data into different types, according to consecutive events.

The reliability of the data obtained from the documents and field studies was tested by methodological triangulation.



Picture No. 1 Research Conceptual Framework

Reference: Developed by the researcher in this study

Results

1. Sample case studies of the cultural invention of royal cuisine were considered based on the summarized selection criteria as follows:

1.1 The cultural invention of royal cuisine in the original areas of study indicated that Kanlapaphruek Restaurant, a cultural invention in the Pramuan Palace case-study area, was once a house of HRH Prince Ratchanee Chaemcharat Krom Muen Pittayalongkorn, the

founder of the Ratchanee royal family name and son of HRH Prince Bovorn Wichaichan. Originally, Prince Ratchanee Chaemcharat Krom Muen Pittayalongkorn lived at the palace on the bank of Bang Luang canal in Thonburi. Then, after being awarded a parcel of land on Pramuan Road in Bangkok, he moved to a new palace named after Pramuan Road: Pramuan Palace. Part of the palace was used as a restaurant called Kanlapaphruek by the royal heirs.



Picture No. 2 Kanlapaphruek Restaurant

Reference: Field data, by Namkham (September 2017)

1.2 A cultural invention of royal cuisine outside the original areas of study, Thanying Restaurant was established by a royal heir and was a case-study area of Sukhothai Palace once lived in by HM Queen Rambhai Barni, the Queen of HM King Prajadhipok. The queen's half-sister, Princess Sulabawanleng Wisut, was HM Queen's courtier. After HM

Queen Rambhai Barni passed away, all her courtiers moved out of Sukhothai Palace. The youngest son of Princess Sulabawanleng, Mom Rajawongse Sorat Wisut, opened Thanying Restaurant on Pramuan Road. So, the elders had a career, inheriting and using the recipes created by Princess Sulabawanleng.



Picture No. 3 Thanying Restaurant

Reference: Field data, by Namkham (September 2017)

1.3 A cultural invention of royal cuisine outside the original cultural areas of study, Rairos Restaurant established by a courtier's heir was a case-study area of Lawo

Palace (its previous location prior to moving the palace to Sukhumvit 30/1). Originally, the palace was the home of Prince Anusorn Mongkhonkarn, the son of Prince

Yukonthikhamphon Krom Luang Lopburi Ramet and HRH Princess Chalermkhet Mongkol. At present, Lawo Palace still houses heirs to the Yukon royal family. Prince Anusorn Mongkhonkarn married two ladies, Mom Fong Chan and Mom Ubon Yukon Na Ayutthaya.

The recipes from Lawo Palace were inherited through Mom Ubon and passed on to Mom Ubon's sister, Mrs. Urai Kasemsuwan, the mother of the current owner of Rairos Restaurant.



Picture No. 4 Rairos Restaurant

Reference: Field data, by Namkham (September 2017)

2. Sample case studies of the cultural invention of royal cuisine revealed similarities, with some variances. The study results were categorized and summed up according to the study components as follows:

2.1 A wide variety of cooking ingredients from fresh plants and animals were bought daily, as suggested by all the case- study areas, while dry ingredients were purchased from time to time as needed around the neighborhood.

2.2 Cooking methods in all case-study areas used heat-based cooking such as boiling, stir-frying, curry, and frying.

2.3 Food containers in all the case-study areas included a variety of utensils, depending on the types of food served; they were mainly porcelain utensils.

2.4 The types of food in all the case-study areas involved meals made to order - both savory dishes and appetizers - while some places did not serve sweet items.

2.5 The types of service in all case-study areas included full service for lunch and dinner. Some restaurants, however, offered all-day dinning, too. Advance reservations for certain meals that required special preparation were offered, as well.

2.6 Service recipients in all the case-study areas included Thais and foreigners of all ages who came as couples and families. And some restaurants could conveniently serve at operating hours.

2.7 The atmosphere of the restaurants in all the case-study areas was clean and beautiful, offering warmth and modest

shade, which is basically attractive in the contemporary Thai style.

Today, the term Thai royal cuisine increasingly appears in restaurants. Some of them may have royal dishes due to widely published recipes. The main aspects of royal cuisine do not differ from place to place. Some details may be different from restaurant to restaurant, depending on the cooks' variations on traditional royal recipes. There is no way to determine what is truly original because those who created the dishes died long ago. In addition, food culture has evolved over time. Dishes in the past may not be enjoyed by people these days. Tastes evolve.

3. The results of the cultural invention of the royal cuisine situation in the case-study areas indicate that the samples of the three case-study groups which invented

Thai royal cuisine in a creative-economy context had these common characteristics:

- 1) Cooking ingredients were diverse, with an emphasis on freshness.
- 2) Heat was mainly used to cook.
- 3) Food containers were mostly porcelain and varied according to the types of food served.

Such characteristics are fundamental to traditional and contemporary dishes that relied on perceptions connected through narratives on being a traditional royal food and focused on taste and quality food offered (examples of royal food in the study areas are shown in Pictures No. 5, 6, and 7.) The type of food and service, the service recipients, and the atmosphere of the restaurant of course depend on the owner and staff.



Picture No. 5 Khao Chae Royal Food in the Study Area
Reference: Field data, by Namkham (September 2017)



Picture No. 6 Mango with Sticky Rice: Royal Food in the Study Area

Reference: Field data, by Namkham (September 2017)



Picture No. 7 Miang Kale Royal Food in the Study Area

Reference: Field data, by Namkham (September 2017)

As mentioned, royal cuisine differed according to the lords' tastes and cooks in each palace. Traditional royal cuisine used diverse cooking ingredients, methods, and food containers and utensils. Meals were organized meticulously for the lords, with attention paid to mellow flavors. The food sets included sour, salty, and sweet flavors.

Discussion

The cultural invention of royal cuisine in a creative-economy context applied

the inherited wisdom of food culture and added value that resulted in less-strict characteristics in order to meet changing economic and socio-cultural conditions. Key developments included:

- 1) the invention and development of recipes to serve the lords in each palace
- 2) the transfer of knowledge and wisdom regarding food inside and outside the palace
- 3) the application of royal food as cultural capital to add economic value
- 4) changes in the status of royal food,



from serving the monarchy only to operating businesses

The invention and development of recipes to serve the lords in each palace

Royal cuisine originated from courtiers in the Grand Palace and other palaces. Palace culture has continuously changed since the founding of the Rattanakosin capital, resulting in the development of royal food over time. Back then, the goal was only to serve the royals' tastes through the invention and development of recipes just for them.

This fact is in line with Kanokpongchai, et al. (2003, p. 96), who showed how royal Thai cuisine culture was cultivated within the palaces for generations both by the courtiers' inventions and the integration of various food cultures from many countries through trade, education, and politics. This royal cuisine reflects the relationship between the monarchy and the people.

Such characteristics of this cuisine are also the focus of studies by Eiamprapai (2010, pp. 88-89) and Panthura (2007, pp. 109-112). They found that the tastes and appearance of such dishes varied according to the preferences of the lords in each palace. The royal cuisine and local people's food were similar in the types of raw ingredients and cooking methods. The royal cuisine was more meticulous, in terms of the quality of ingredients, methods of cooking, and the meal sets including side dishes to enhance the taste and beauty of the food.

The transfer of knowledge and wisdom regarding food both inside and outside the palace

The royal court played a key role in creating the royal cuisine culture. Court rituals

were like training schools for noble ladies. Noble officials with close ties to the palace routinely sent their daughters to study etiquette and practice women's crafts at the royal court. Eiamprapai (2008, pp. 113-114) stressed that, in the past, only royals and courtiers were able to taste the royal food. Since Suan Sunandha Palace was once the lords' residence, it was a kind of school of royal cuisine. Especially, the courtiers of HRH Princess Saisawali Bhirom Krom Phra Sutta Sininat Piyamaharat Padiwada were well-trained in the making of both savory and sweet dishes. However, once those noble ladies married and moved out of the palace, they circulated their knowledge outside the place.

The application of royal food as cultural capital to add economic value

Value added to the royal cuisine culture capital was partly due to the extension of the original knowledge and wisdom to define products and services meeting the needs of service recipients. Economic value-added income to the restaurant business by creating an awareness, linking products and services with the royal cuisine culture. However, the invention of royal cuisine presented food connection serving to the place (palaces) in the original location and by recipes being passed from generation to generation. The name of the place or the owner of the recipes played a part in promoting the interests of service recipients.

The creation of products and services through the cultural invention of royal cuisine in the creative-economy context was a reproduction that relied on the interpretation of a new and different state of affairs that still

appeared to be connected to the cultural heritage of wisdom as an important idea. This fact is consistent with the creative-economy concept as articulated by Nathalang (2016, p. 41): creativity amounted to the collection, reiteration, modification, reinvention, rethinking, and redefining. This process has been beneficial to much of Thai society. Gradual and sometimes sudden change is essential to all societies. Creative economies develop through abstract creativity leading to proper value-added course of action on environmental conditions and other supporting factors.

Changes in the status of royal food, from serving the monarchy only to operating businesses

Royal cuisine culture today preserves the diversity of the raw ingredients, cooking methods, selection of food containers and utensils, and the balance of mellow flavors, even though its presentation in restaurants is much simpler. Also see with modernization that Thai cuisine can compete with that of the West and that Western attributes have influenced Thai food culture. Such adoption of foreign culture has raised the national cultural status to that of First World countries. Hobsbawm (1983, pp. 1-9 as cited in Nathalang, 2016, pp. 47-49) explained that invented culture was conceived and conveyed to the society at large a long time ago as well as recently created ones. The majority of recent innovations have come from the nation state. For example, officially invented traditions such as public holidays and politics. Such inventions can account to social unity establishment that supports political institutions legality.

The cultural invention of royal cuisine in the creative-economy context resulted in a relaxing of many of the culinary standards.

(1) The types of food became much less restricted, no longer favoring savory dishes, desserts, and snacks. And customers could switch between dishes as they pleased.

(2) The types of dishes did not adhere to set meals only.

(3) The people enjoying the food became the general public.

(4) The eating environment became commercialized. Studies by Kitwikran (2014, pp. 12-28), Adultithipatchara (2014, pp. 126-131) and Najpinij (2011, pp. 165-173) have shown that Thai restaurant owners often promote menus featuring the distinctiveness of their food and site. Food and related components were presented alongside by their recognition from service operators and service recipients to create meaning and Thainess, as well as an identity reflecting globalization. The quality of the food and atmosphere of the restaurant are crucial to the appeal and success of the operation.

In contrast, traditional royal cuisine aimed at serving the highest level of consumers, from the king and royal family from the Grand Palace and other palaces to nobles and high-ranking officials with close ties to the palace. This later developed into products and services from the cultural capital to added economic value that departed from the traditional value of serving the monarchy to achieving creative-economy development. The balance of preserving authenticity and adding value via commercialization has been a vital factor. Products and services must not conflict with current and future social norms,



and they have to earn consumers' trust regarding the sources and quality of the food and service. This may further develop and maintain the royal cuisine culture.

Conclusion

The research demonstrates that royal cuisine culture has consistently been modified and that refining the characteristics of this culture to be contemporary and widely available has significantly enhanced the Thai economy. The standards for this cuisine have been relaxed over time, and this has led to added economic value across the country by phasing out the exclusively traditional value of serving the monarchy.

Suggestion

Applications of study results

1) These results can be applied by local communities, organizations, and related government agencies and the private sector. A

body of knowledge on the cultural invention of royal cuisine in the creative-economy context can greatly promote respect and preservation of the country's national heritage among the younger generations and the society at large.

2) A body of knowledge on this cuisine culture's development confirms the centrality of food in the life of the culture. This can be used as a case study on the application of local cultural capital resources that suit both the academic and commercial contexts in other areas.

Future study

Historical research on the cultural invention of royal Thai cuisine in the creative-economy context should follow the protocols of historical methodology. At some stages in the research, in making data more reliable, phenomena caused by people's behaviors and thoughts in the past can only be proved by traces of evidence.

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