# The Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi of Thailand and the Tamil Traditions of Mārkaḻi[1]

Nathan McGovern
University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

Abstract—The Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is a fifteen-day ceremony celebrated annually in December and January by the Thai royal court Brahmans. In this article, I explicate the links between the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi ceremony and the customs of the month of Mārkaḻi in Tamil Nadu. I begin with a discussion of the details of the ceremony that tie it to Tamil *bhakti*, compare it to the festivals and traditions celebrated in the month of Mārkaḻi by devotees of Śiva and of Viṣṇu in Tamil Nadu, and analyze the available historical evidence for the way the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi was celebrated in the past. I then present a model for the way in which the festival changed over the course of its history in Siam. Finally, I argue that the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi provides evidence for the invention of tradition and for the need to understand South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Hinduism in their broader Southern Asian context.

Visitors to Bangkok are likely to be familiar with the "Giant Swing" (เสาชิงช้า) which stands in front of the Buddhist temple Wat Suthat, just across the street from City Hall. It features frequently in municipal iconography and has become symbolic of the city in much the same way as the Eiffel Tower has for Paris or the Statue of Liberty has for New York. Although the Giant Swing no longer serves any purpose, it once was the site of an annual royal ceremony and festival. Ernest Young, a British employee of the Education Department under King Chulalongkorn in the late 19th century, witnessed these ceremonies and gave a full account of them in his *Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*:

> The harvest-festival ceremonies are of Brahminical origin and are known to the people under the name of 'Lo Ching Cha'. The first word 'Lo' means 'to pull'—'ching cha' is a swing. …
>
> The swing itself is like any ordinary child's swing except for its enormous size. The side pillars are about ninety feet high, and the seat of the swing is about half-way between the ornamented cross-bar and the ground. A few feet in front of the seat, on the side towards the Palace, a long bamboo-stem is fixed in the ground, and from the top is suspended a small bag of silver coins. The men who

[1] I would like to thank Vasudha Narayanan and Paul Younger for useful advice while I was writing this article, as well as three anonymous reviewers for their critical comments and advice.

> take part in the games are usually Brahmins. They are dressed in white, and wear conical hats. They swing towards the bag of money and endeavour to catch it with their teeth. … When the winners have received their rewards they pass amongst the crowd, sprinkling the spectators with consecrated water contained in bullocks' horns. Soon afterwards the Minister returns to his home, the crowd disperses, and thus the very ancient ceremony is brought to a close.[2]

Aside from some minor inaccuracies in Young's account,[3] it was in this form that the ceremony continued to be performed until 1934, when the high-level swinging that Young describes here was discontinued among the changes after the Revolution of 1932 that ended the absolute monarchy.[4]

There is in fact much more to this royal Thai ceremony, however, the swinging being only a small part of a fifteen-day ceremony known as the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, most of which consists of the recitation of texts and worship of Hindu gods by the Thai court Brahmans in their temple, Thēwa Sathān (เทวสถาน), which is located not far from the Great Swing. These ceremonies, minus the dangerous swinging that used to lend a true festive quality to the occasion, continue to be performed every year in the second lunar month of the Thai calendar, which corresponds to late December and early January in the Gregorian calendar.[5] They have been described in detail, in the late 19th century by King Chulalongkorn,[6] just prior to the abolition of the swinging component by H.G. Quaritch Wales,[7] and more recently by Priyawat Kuanpoonpol.[8] I myself attended all the major components of the fifteen-day festival when it was celebrated in December 2014 and January 2015. Wales reported that the ceremonies in the Brahman temple were sparsely attended even in his day, when the swing festival was still being celebrated, and, needless to say, the loss of that component and the festive pomp that attended it has driven the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi into a position of relative obscurity within the

---

[2] Ernest Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe: Being Sketches of the Domestic and Religious Rites and Ceremonies of the Siamese,* quoted in Michael Smithies, ed., *Descriptions of Old Siam* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995), 249-252.

[3] Although the Brahmans are involved in the ceremony, they themselves are not swingers. In addition, at the end the swingers sprinkle water on each other, not the crowd. See H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies: Their History and Function* (Richmond, Eng.: Curzon Press, 1992), 240-242.

[4] *เทวสถาน (โบสถ์พราหมณ์)-เสาชิงช้า โครงการจัดทำหนังสือสองศตวรรษวัดสุทัศนเทพวรารามและหนังสือเทวสถาน(โบสถ์พราหมณ์)-เสาชิงช้า เพื่อเฉลิมพระเกียรติพระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว เนื่องในวโรกาสงานฉลองสิริราชสมบัติครบ 60 ปี* [Thēwa Sathān (Bōt Phrām)-Great Swing Program Prepares a Book for Two Centuries of Wat Suthatsanathēpworārām and a Book for Thēwa Sathān (Bōt Phrām)-Great Swing to Celebrate the Greatness of His Royal Highness on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of His Ascension to the Throne] (กรุงเทพฯ: ผังเมือง, 2549 [2013]), 77.

[5] For an explanation of the Thai lunar calendar, see J.C. Eade, *The Calendrical Systems of Mainland South-East Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 28-29. The system used in modern Thailand is that listed in the table on p. 29 under "Sukhohthai."

[6] พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน* [The Royal Ceremonies of the Twelve Months] (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์แสงดาว, 2556 [2013]), 106-128.

[7] Wales, Ch. 20, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 238-255.

[8] Priyawat Kuanpoonpol, "Court Brahmans of Thailand and the Celebration of the Brahmanic New Year," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 33 (1990): 21-51.

Thai religious calendar. Nevertheless, an increased interest in "Hinduism" among Thai people in recent decades, as well as support for the Brahman temple from the royal family, has brought increased interest in the Brahmans' ceremonies, and I found the most important ceremonies in the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi to be well attended when I observed them in 2014-2015.

Figure 1. Thēwa Sathān, Bangkok (photo by the author)

Regardless of the ebb and flow of its popularity in modern Thailand, the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is of great historical interest because it evinces a mostly forgotten link between the ritual culture of Siam (now Thailand) and Tamil Nadu. This is clear from the name of the Thai ceremony itself. *Trīyampawāi* is a corruption of *Tiruvempāvai*, a collection of *bhakti* hymns by the Śaiva Tamil *bhakti* saint Māṇikkavācakar, and *Trīppawāi* is a corruption of *Tiruppāvai*, a collection of *bhakti* hymns by the Vaiṣṇava Tamil *bhakti* saint Āṇṭāḷ. Wales mentioned in his book *Siamese State Ceremonies* that one of the Brahmanical texts he examined in the National Library in Bangkok was composed in Tamil, but he was not aware of the contents of that text.[9] Then, in 1955, Xavier S. Thani Nayagam discovered that one of the verses used in the Thai coronation ceremony and in the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is actually taken from the original Tamil of Māṇikkavācakar's *Tiruvempāvai*.[10] Subsequent studies of the Thai Brahmans' recitations

[9] Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 55.

[10] S. Singaravelu, "Some Aspects of South Indian Cultural Contacts with Thailand: Historical Background,"

Figure 2. The Great Swing, Bangkok (photo by the author)

as well as their texts showed that in addition to various Sanskrit texts, the Thai Brahmans are in possession of the *Tiruvempāvai*, the *Tiruppāvai*, and other Tamil *bhakti* texts, and they make use of them in the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi.[11] As I have demonstrated in a previous publication,[12] the lineages from which the Thai court Brahmans are derived, or at least a substantial portion of them, probably emigrated from Tamil Nadu to Siam several centuries ago. While the Thai Brahmans are able to pronounce their texts for the purposes of their ceremonies, they have become fully acculturated in Thailand and no longer speak Tamil or any other Indian languages; therefore, the full significance of their links to the religious culture of Tamil Nadu was not fully realized until rediscovered by modern scholarship.

In this article, I will explicate the specific links between the Thai Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi ceremony and the customs of the corresponding month of Mārkaḻi in Tamil Nadu. I will argue that the differences seen between the modern Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi and Tamil traditions evince the process by which Brahmans, although they originally came from South Asia, adapted their traditions and rituals to the unique social and religious culture of their new home in Southeast Asia. Early scholarship on Southeast Asia was dominated by George Coedès' theory of "Indianization," whereby the presence in Southeast Asia of Hindu gods, Brahmans, Buddhist monks, Sanskrit, Pali, and other cultural forms associated with India were explained as the result of a process in which Southeast Asian cultures were "Indianized."[13] Numerous scholars have since criticized this model as denying Southeast Asians agency and have sought to advance alternative models based on "localization."[14] This article focuses on the particular case of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi ceremony to show that, in much the same way as has been documented in India itself,[15] Brahmans in Southeast Asia have been creative in adapting their traditions to ever-changing local circumstances, thus situating them in the broader context of Southern Asia.

*Proceedings of the First International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies,* Kuala Lumpur, April 1966, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Rajiv Printers, 1968), 21.

[11] Recordings of the recitations have been studied by S. Singaravelu, "Some Aspects of South Indian Cultural Contacts with Thailand." The script found in the Brahmans' texts has been studied by J.R. Marr, "Some Manuscripts in Grantha Script in Bangkok," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 32, no. 2 (1969): 281-322. The contents of the texts have been studied by Neelakanta Sarma, *Textes Sanskrits et Tamouls de Thaïlande* (Pondichery: Institut Francais d'Indologie, 1972).

[12] Nathan McGovern, "Balancing the foreign and the familiar in the articulation of kingship: The royal court Brahmans of Thailand," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 48, no. 2 (June 2017): 283-303.

[13] George Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, ed. Walter F. Vella, trans. Susan Brown Cowing (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968).

[14] See, for example, Michael Vickery, *Society, economics, and politics in pre-Angkor Cambodia: The 7th–8th centuries* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco; Toyo Bunko, 1998), p. 59; Ian W. Mabbett, "The 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the historical sources," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 8, 1 (1977): 143–61; O.W. Wolters, "Khmer 'Hinduism' in the seventh century," in Ralph B. Smith and William Watson, ed., *Early South East Asia: Essays in archaeology, history and historical geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 427–43; and O.W. Wolters, *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: SEAP, Cornell University, 1999), 63.

[15] For example, see Kunal Chakrabarti, *Religious Process: The* Purāṇa*s and the Making of a Regional Tradition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

## The *bhakti t*raditions of the Tamil month of Mārkaḻi

As we have seen, several pieces of evidence—the name of the festival itself, the content of the Thai Brahmans' hymns, and historical accounts of the Thai Brahmans—all point to the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi having roots in traditions derived from Tamil country in South India. To my knowledge, however, there are no Tamil or other South Asian sources that refer to the transfer of Tamil traditions or ritual personnel to the court of Siam. Thus, in order to trace this history, we must rely on Thai sources, which are themselves quite limited, especially for times prior to the mid-19th century. The earliest Thai source that describes the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi in any great detail is Chulalongkorn's *Royal Ceremonies of the Twelve Months*, which was published in 1888 and thus reflects the ceremony in a modern form quite close to the way it is celebrated today. As I have shown, however, the history of Siam written by Jeremias van Vliet in 1638 seems to indicate that the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi was brought to Siam by South Indian Brahmans around the year 1500.[16] This leaves nearly 400 years for the ceremony to develop independently in Siam prior to King Chulalongkorn's description of it in the late 19th century.

Unfortunately, most sources are so sparse on details that they do little more than confirm that the ceremony existed and was once celebrated in the first Thai lunar month (corresponding to November-December). Many of them, moreover, date from the early Bangkok period, not long before Chulalongkorn wrote his book. This includes the *Testimony of the People of the Old City* (*คำให้การชาวกรุงเก่า*), recorded by the Burmese from the testimony of their Siamese war captives after the sack of Ayutthayā in 1767; the "Palatine Law" (กฎมณเฑียรบาล) of the *Three Seals Law* (*กฎหมายตราสามดวง*), compiled during the reign of Rama I; the historical novel *Nāng Nopphamāt* (*นางนพมาศ*), probably written in the reign of Rama II (1809-1824) or Rama III (1824-1851); the *Manual of Old Royal Ceremonies* (*พระราชพิธีเก่า*), written at an unknown time in the early Bangkok period; and the versions of the *Chronicle of Ayutthayā* (*พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา*) composed in the early Bangkok period.[17] Ayutthaya-era sources are even more sparse.

---

[16] McGovern, "Balancing the foreign and the familiar," 295.

[17] The *Testimony of the People of the Old City* describes the Swing Festival but does not refer to it as the "Trīyampawāi" and (almost certainly by mistake) places it in the third lunar month—*ประชุมคำให้การกรุงศรีอยุธยา รวม ๓ เรื่อง* [Anthology of Three Testimonies about Krung Sī Ayutthayā] (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์แสงดาว, 2553 [2010]), 204. The "Palatine Law" lists the Trīyampawāi in the first lunar month and gives an extremely short description of it—วินัย พงศ์ศรีเพียร, ed., *กฎมณเฑียรบาล ฉบับเฉลิมพระเกียรติ* [Palatine Law, Royal Anniversary Edition] (Bangkok: Thailand Research Fund, 2548 [2005]), 143, 165; Baker, Chris, and Pasuk Phongpaichit, trans., *The Palace Law of Ayutthaya and the Thammasat* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 2016), 111, 123. The *Nāng Nopphamāt* gives a short description of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi as taking place in the first lunar month—*พระราชกรัณยานุสร พระราชนิพนธ์ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และเรื่องนางนพมาศ* [*Phra Rājakaṇyānusara* by His Royal Highness King Chulalongkorn and *Nāng Nopphamāt*] (กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์คลังวิทยา, n.d.), 316. On the dating of this historical novel to some time between 1817 and 1835, see Nidhi Eoseewong, *Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok*, ed. Chris Baker and Ben Anderson (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 230. The *Manual of Old Royal Ceremonies* describes the Swing Festival, refers to it as the Trīyampawāi, and places it in the first lunar month—*ตำราพระราชพิธีเก่า และตำราทวาทศพิธี* [*Manual of Old Royal Ceremonies* and *Manual of the Dvādaśa Ceremonies*] (กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร กระทรวงวัฒนธรรม, 2548 [2005]), 14. Finally, the early Bangkok-era versions of the *Chronicle of Ayutthayā* simply refer to an

Aside from van Vliet's account, which only refers to the Trīyampawāi obliquely by saying that South Indian Brahmans brought traditions of swinging with them to Siam,[18] there is a similarly oblique reference to the Trīyampawāi in the *Dvādaśamāsa* (*ทวาทศมาส*).[19] The one remaining Ayutthaya-era source is the *Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt* (*ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช*), which was probably compiled in 1735.[20] It is the best source for the Trīyampawāi and Trīppawāi prior to Chulalongkorn's 1888 account, although it is not nearly as detailed as one might hope.

The Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi ceremony is today celebrated in the *second* lunar month of the Thai calendar, which corresponds to December-January. By a fortuitous accident, this corresponds to the Tamil month of Mārkaḻi, the traditions from which the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, I will show, clearly derive. Chulalongkorn reports that originally the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi was held in the first Thai lunar month, which corresponds to November-December—one month before the Tamil month of Mārkaḻi. According to Chulalongkorn, his father King Mongkut said that the change in month had already been made in the "old city" (Ayutthaya),[21] which would mean prior to 1767.

There is, to my knowledge, no independent evidence to back up this latter assertion. The two major Ayutthaya-era sources that discuss the Trīyampawāi—the *Dvādaśamāsa* and the *Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt*—both place it in the first lunar month.[22] It is of course possible that the festival was moved *after* both these sources were written, although the latter already brings us fairly close to the fall of Ayutthaya with a likely date of composition of about 1735. The best source for practice at the very end of the Ayutthaya era would be the *Testimony of the People of the Old City*, but unfortunately this text places a description of the Swing Festival in the third lunar month, which is almost certainly a mistake.[23] The "Palatine Law" of the *Three Seals Law* places the Trīyampawāi during the first lunar month.[24] Likewise, the *Manual of Old Royal Ceremonies*, which was probably written in the early Bangkok period (i.e. after 1782),[25] also places the Trīyampawāi in the first lunar month.[26] To my knowledge, the earliest written source that places the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi in the second lunar

---

assassination attempt on King Nārāi that took place at the time of the Trīyampawāi—Richard D. Cushman, trans., *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*, ed. David K. Wyatt (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2006), 236. (Note that this episode is not mentioned in the Luang Prasoet version of the chronicle, which was composed in the Ayutthaya period.)

[18] Chris Baker et al., eds., *Van Vliet's Siam* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 212.

[19] ตรงใจ หุตางกูร, ed., *อุปาทวาทศมาสโคลงดั้น: วรรณารรมเพชรน้ำเอกแห่งกรุงพระนครศรีอโยธยา พร้อมบทถอดความภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษ* [*Upādvādaśamāsa Khlongdan*: A Jewel of the Literature of Krung Phra Nakhòn Sī Ayothayā, Together with Interpretation in Thai and English] (กรุงเทพฯ: ศูนย์มานุษยวิทยาสิรินธร, 2560 [2017]), 260-264.

[20] *ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช* [Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt] (นครศรีธรรมราช: ศูนย์วัฒนธรรมภาคใต้ วิทยาลัยครูนครศรีธรรมราช, 2525 [1982]).

[21] พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, 30.

[22] ตรงใจ หุตางกูร, *อุปาทวาทศมาสโคลงดั้น*, 260; *ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช.*

[23] *ประชุมคำให้การกรุงศรีอยุธยา รวม ๓ เรื่อง*, 204.

[24] วินัย, *กฎมณเฑียรบาล*, 143; Baker and Pasuk, *The Palace Law and the Thammasat*, 111.

[25] บาหยัน อิ่มสำราญ, *วรรณคดี พระราชพิธี* [The Literature of Royal Ceremonies] (นครปฐม: คณะอักษรศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร, 2559 [2016]), 286.

[26] *ตำราพระราชพิธีเก่า*, 14.

month is in fact Chulalongkorn's own book. This would suggest that the festival was moved from the first to the second month early in the Bangkok period, probably quite early, given that it was a distant enough memory even to Chulalongkorn's father that he thought it had happened in Ayutthaya. Even if Rama IV was right that the change happened in Ayutthaya, it must have happened not long before the fall of the city in 1767. In either case, we are talking about a mid-18th century to early-19th century date for the change, centuries after the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi traditions were brought to Ayutthaya, which probably occurred no later than the early 16th century.[27]

Why, then, would the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi correspond to traditions of the Tamil month of Mārkaḻi if it originally was celebrated a month earlier? The reason seems to be that the Tamil months were "locked" to the solar calendar differently than in other calendrical systems of the region.[28] This can be seen by comparing the months of the Tamil calendar to those of the North Indian system. The Tamil month Cittirai (against the Gregorian calendar) comes a month after Caitra, Kārttikai comes a month after Kārttika, Mārkaḻi comes a month after Mārgaśīrṣa, etc. This discrepancy is caused by the fact that in the northern calendars, a solar month takes its name from the first lunar month to *begin* within it, while in the Tamil calendar, a solar month takes its name from the lunar month that is *current* when it begins.[29] The Thai lunar months, on the other hand, appear to have been locked to the solar calendar in the same manner as in the North Indian system. The Ayutthaya-era Thai poem *Dvādaśamāsa* refers to the twelve lunar months using both the Thai numerical system and the Sanskrit names, and these correspond in the same way as they do today.[30] Thus, the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi was originally celebrated in the first (Thai) lunar month, which continues to this day to correspond to Mārgaśīrṣa. This *should* (as in name it does) correspond to the Tamil month of Mārkaḻi, except that all of the Tamil months were locked to the solar calendar a month later than in other systems. When the Siamese monarchy decided to delay the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi by a month in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, they inadvertently ensured that it would continue to fall in the similarly delayed Tamil month of Mārkaḻi today.

As already noted above, the Thai Brahmans are in possession of texts that include Tamil *bhakti* hymns, and they chant these hymns during the rituals of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi. The name *Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi* itself is derived from the names *Tiruvempāvai* and *Tiruppāvai*. Although coming from different sectarian traditions, these two *bhakti* hymns are linked in Tamil consciousness and known collectively as the *pāvaippāṭṭu*. Both poems take as their theme the *mārkaḻi nōṉpu*, or "Mārkaḻi vow," in which young women bathe early in the morning to ensure success in love and fertility.

[27] On the history of the Thai Brahmans, see McGovern, "Balancing the foreign and the familiar," 290-294.

[28] I thank Kristina Buhrman for making this suggestion to me.

[29] I thank Marco Franceschini for explaining this to me, and I thank Emanuel Francis for putting me into contact with him.

[30] See, for example, verse 141, in which the first lunar month is referred to as the month of the "jumping deer" (มฤคจรด), a clear reference to Mārgaśīrṣa (วินัย, *อุปาทวาทศมาศ*, 247). Today, Mārgaśīrṣa and the first Thai lunar month continue to correspond, with both falling in November-December.

Norman Cutler has argued that this was a very ancient practice attested as far back as the Sangam literature, although originally it was undertaken one month later, during the month of Tai.[31] Given their thematic association with the month of Mārkaḻi, the *Tiruvempāvai* or the *Tiruppāvai* is sung in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, respectively, during that month in Tamil Nadu to this day.

In addition, both Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas in Tamil Nadu have important festival traditions during the month of Mārkaḻi. For Śaivas, there is the Tiruvātirai, a ten-day festival celebrated most spectacularly at Citamparam, but also at other Śaiva temples in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka.[32] Even today, the Tiruvātirai is celebrated on exactly the same ten days that the Trīyampawāi (the initial ten days of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, which are dedicated to Iśvara/Śiva) is celebrated in Thailand. During the ten days of the Tamil festival, the *Tiruvempāvai* of Māṇikkavācakar is recited in the temple every evening.[33] Śaiva images are paraded daily, and on the evening of the ninth day, the main image of the Naṭarāja is paraded in a chariot. This is followed by a ritual bath of the image on the tenth day.[34] The corresponding festival for Tamil Vaiṣṇavas is the Adhyayana Utsava, a twenty-one day festival celebrated in Śrī Raṅgam and other Śrīvaiṣṇava temples in Tamil Nadu.[35] The focus of this festival is the daily morning recitation of verses composed by the *āḻvār*s, the twelve *bhakti* saints venerated by Tamil Vaiṣṇavas. The festival begins on the day of the new moon, and over the course of the first ten days, 2,000 verses from a variety of the *āḻvār*s are recited.[36] On the eleventh day, the northern doors of Śrī Raṅgam, known as the "Gates of Heaven" (*vaikuṇṭha vācal*) are opened. Over the next ten days, the 1,102 verses of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* of Nammāḻvār are recited, and the festival image of Viṣṇu is brought through the Gates of Heaven and paraded.[37]

While the Śaiva Tiruvātirai festival is structured specifically around the *Tiruvempāvai*, the Vaiṣṇava Adhyayana Utsava is not structured around the corresponding *Tiruppāvai*; instead, it focuses on the *Tiruvāymoḻi*. Moreover, the author of the *Tiruppāvai*, Āṇṭāḷ, is sidelined during the Adhyayana Utsava; being a woman, she is the only one of the *āḻvār*s whose image is not brought out to hear the recitation of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*.[38] Nevertheless, given its theme, the *Tiruppāvai* plays an important role in the more general practices of Tamil Vaiṣṇavas during Mārkaḻi. Its thirty verses are recited daily in Śrīvaiṣṇava temples during that month. In addition, each verse is associated with one particular day of the month and is commented upon on that day. While the traditional Tamil dish *pongal* is prepared by Tamil households on every day of Mārkaḻi (leading up to the Pongal festival

[31] Norman Cutler, *Consider our Vow: An English Translation of the* Tiruppāvai *and* Tiruvempāvai (Madurai: Muttu Patippakam, 1979), 1-11.

[32] This festival has been studied most extensively by Paul Younger in *The Home of Dancing Śivaṉ: The Traditions of the Hindu Temple in Citamparam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 54-67.

[33] Ibid., 58.

[34] Ibid., 60-63.

[35] This festival has been studied most extensively by Vasudha Narayanan in *The Vernacular Veda: Revelation, Recitation, and Ritual* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 131.

[36] Ibid., 116.

[37] Ibid., 118-119.

[38] Ibid., 123.

at the end of the month), on many days of the month Śrīvaiṣṇavas also prepare dishes that are connected in some way with the *Tiruppāvai*.[39]

## Tracing the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi in Siam

Unfortunately, tracing the precise development of the Siamese Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi and its original connection to the Tamil traditions of Mārkaḻi is made difficult by a relative lack of sources. Nevertheless, even with the limited sources at our disposal, we can discern the rough course by which the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi developed in Siam. Working backwards, there is one particular change that was made in recent memory that I would argue is illustrative of how changes would have been made to the festival incrementally over time. This is the addition of a "sending off" with the swinging of the golden *haṃsa* for Brahmā on the third day of the waning moon, in the middle of the Trīppawāi portion of the festival. This ceremony for Brahmā does not really make sense in the context of the festival as a whole. The Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is clearly divided into a Śaiva portion and Vaiṣṇava portion—the ten-day Trīyampawāi and the five-day Trīppawāi, respectively. Each begins with inviting the respective god to Earth and ends with sending him back to heaven by swinging the golden *haṃsa*. There is no corresponding portion of the festival dedicated to Brahmā for the *haṃsa*-swinging ceremony now practiced. This ceremony was simply added in imitation of the *haṃsa*-swinging performed for Iśvara and Nārāyaṇa, so as to give Brahmā a role, however small, in the festival.

The reason for this addition is clear when viewed in the context of recent developments in Thai religion. In spite of his relative lack of importance in India since the Purāṇic period, Brahmā has become one of the most popular Hindu gods in Thailand since the mid-20th century. A shrine to Brahmā that was built outside the Erawan Hotel in Bangkok in the 1950s gained a reputation for granting boons, and since then shrines to Brahmā have become ubiquitous in Thailand.[40] Given the incredible popularity of this Hindu god, the royal court Brahmans were led to incorporate him into their repertoire in a more visible role. In addition to giving him a "sending off" ceremony in the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, they also erected a shrine to Brahmā in front of the Iśvara temple, displacing a model of Mt. Kailāśa that once stood there and making Brahmā the first god one sees upon entering the Brahmans' temple, known as Thēwa Sathān (เทวสถาน).[41]

Extrapolating from the logic of this known addition of a sending-off ceremony for

[39] Vasudha Narayanan, "Śrī Vaiṣṇava Festivals and Festivals Celebrated by Śrī Vaiṣṇavas: Distinctive and Cosmopolitan Identities," *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 6-7 (1998-1999), 181-182.

[40] On the Erawan Shrine and the worship of Brahmā in Thailand, see Nathan McGovern, "A Buddhist Cult of Brahmā: Thick Description and Micro-Histories in the Study of Religion," *History of Religions* 55, no. 3 (Feb. 2016): 329-360.

[41] According to Kanjana Suwanwong, who has written the most extensive study of the Thai Brahmans in Thai, both the shrine to Brahmā was built and the ceremony for sending him off was added to the Trīppawāi during the reign of Rama IX, i.e., during the 20th century. See Kanjana Suwanwong, 'Ways of life, rituals and cultural identity of court Brahmins in Thai society: A case study of Bangkok Devasthan Botsbrahmana' (MA Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2539 [1996]), 87.

Brahmā, one can speculate that some similar process led to the bifurcated structure of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi as a whole. The Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is so called because it consists of two portions: the ten-day Trīyampawāi dedicated to Iśvara (Śiva) and the five-day Trīppawāi dedicated to Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). Of these two, the Trīyampawāi is clearly dominant and is palely copied by the Trīppawāi, which essentially repeats the same rituals that had been performed for Iśvara again, this time for Nārāyaṇa, but in a shorter and simplified format. In addition, as we saw, the ten days of the Trīyampawāi coincide exactly with the ten days of the Tamil Tiruvātirai festival celebrated at Citamparam and other Śaiva temples in Tamil Nadu. Given that the Tiruvātirai and Trīyampawāi

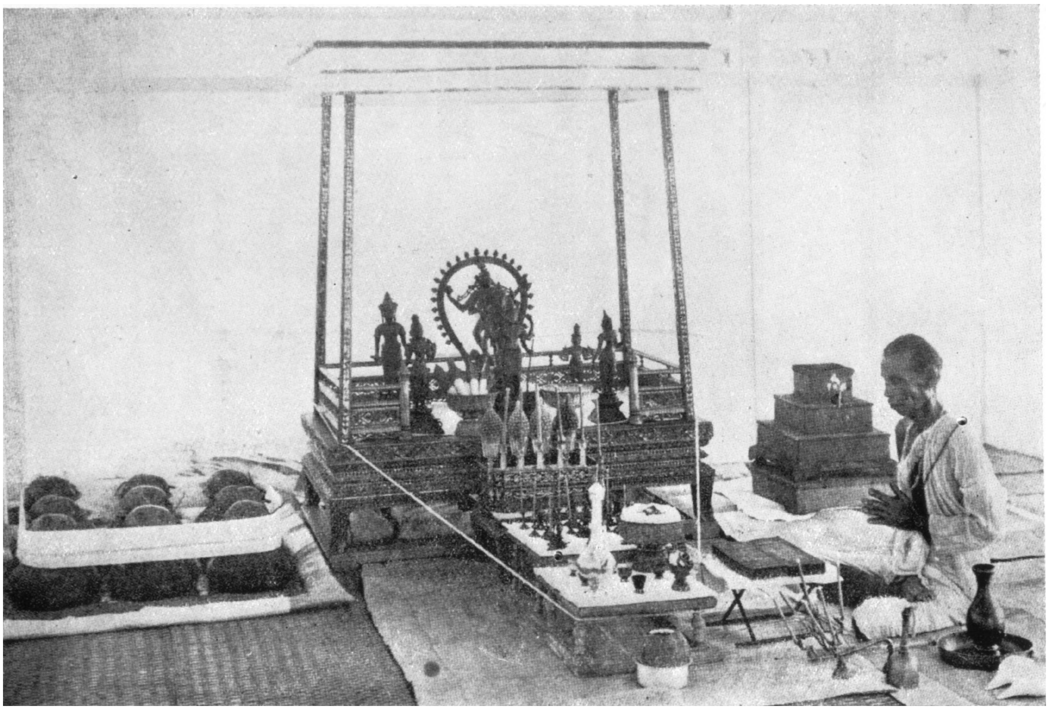
Figure 3. Royal Court Brahman performing ritual at the Thēwa Sathān (from Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies,* Plate V)

are celebrated over the same ten days of the year and both involve recitation of Māṇikkavācakar's *Tiruvempāvai*, it is clear that the Thai Trīyampawāi festival is directly derived from the Tamil Tiruvātirai. The Trīppawāi that follows the Trīyampawāi, on the other hand, bears little resemblance to the corresponding Tamil Vaiṣṇava festival, the Adhyayana Utsava. It is not celebrated on the same dates, is not even close to the same length, and is dedicated to Āṇṭāḷ's *Tiruppāvai* rather than Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*. Is it possible, then, that the Trīppawāi was simply added to the Trīyampawāi at some point in Siam to give it a Vaiṣṇava component, in much the same way as more recently a gratuitous sending-off ceremony was added on the third day of the waning moon to give a role to the newly popular Brahmā?

The evidence provided by the *Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt*, our only even quasi-detailed description of these rituals that predates Chulalongkorn's book, in some ways confirms, but also complicates, this supposition. The *Record of* *the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt*, as the name suggests, does not offer direct evidence of Brahmanical practices in Ayutthaya. Instead, it is a letter, within which are compiled several older documents, that was sent by the Phra Garū Vijeṣṭha Horatācārya, a Brahman official in Ayutthaya, to several local officials and the Brahman community residing in Nakhon Sri Thammarat, Ayutthaya's most important dependent city on the Malay Peninsula. The letter begins with a story, quite similar to that told by van Vliet in his history of Siam, of how Brahmans first came to Siam from India,[42] and the bulk of it is taken up by royal edicts pertaining to Brahmans, clearly compiled from multiple sources. At the end of the letter, the Ayutthaya official explains that he is sending it because he has heard that the Brahman community and their ceremonies in Nakhon Sri Thammarat have declined, and he urges their rehabilitation. Although the letter is addressed to the situation in Nakhon Sri Thammarat, the Phra Garū Vijeṣṭha Horatācārya explicitly states that it is his hope that the southern Brahmans conduct themselves like those in the capital,[43] so presumably the practices recorded in the letter at least reflect those that were found in Ayutthaya itself.

What is interesting about this document is that it refers to both the Trīyampawāi (spelled เตรียมปา) and the Trīppawāi (spelled ตรีปาไวย) as two distinct and completely separate ceremonies. Neither one quite corresponds to the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi as it is practiced today or as it is described by Chulalongkorn. The Trīyampawāi comes closest, although there are some odd differences. According to the *Record*, the Trīyampawāi is celebrated in the first lunar month, it lasts fourteen days, and it consists of the Brahmans reciting texts and making offerings to a divine image. The bulk of the instructions are dedicated to specifying which official will be responsible for donating the offerings on each day, as well as what offerings should be made. The basic details of the ceremony—the month when it is celebrated, the length, and the content—thus correspond well to the modern Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi. Today, the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is celebrated in the second lunar month, but we know that that is a change from the first lunar month, as the *Record* specifies. The length of the modern ceremony is fifteen days, a discrepancy of only one day from the fourteen specified in the *Record*. This may be explained by the fact that Nārāyaṇa is actually sent back to heaven on the *fourteenth* day of the modern ceremony; the fifteenth day is actually a separate ceremony in which the Brahmans perform the tonsure of children,[44] most likely a late addition. Finally, the

---

[42] *ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช*, 1-4. For a synopsis of the story in English, see David K. Wyatt, trans., *The Crystal Sands: The Chronicles of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja* (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, 1975), 53-54.

[43] *ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช*, 32: "ให้พราหมณ์ทั้งปวงถือกิจตาจาคิตวาริชพราหมณ์ ให้อยู่แก่สังแก่ศีลพรตกันให้มั่นคงเหมือนอย่างในกรุงฯ."

[44] The tonsure ceremony is derived from one of the classical Hindu *saṃskāra*s, in which one or more tufts of hair are left to grow on a child's head until they are shorn off at a certain age. It used to be a common practice among Thais, but it fell out of vogue in the early 20th century. For a description of the royal tonsure ceremony, see Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 126-136. For a discussion of the tonsure ceremony in a village context, see Penny van Esterik and John van Esterik, "Royal Style in Village Context: Translation and Interpretation of a Thai Tonsure Text," *Asian Folklore Studies* 39, no. 1 (1980): 63-78. For an account of the tonsure ceremony after the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi as it is practiced today, see Amarjiva Lochan, "The *Brahmana's* in Thai Society: A Sociocultural Study of the Indian Legacy," paper presented to 2nd Annual Asian Fellows Conference, Bangkok, July 1-2, 2002, http://www.asianscholarship.org/?p=con_papers&head=A_F_C_P&pp=Second.

modern ceremony, like that described in the *Record*, consists on a daily basis of the recitation of texts and offerings to divine images. Indeed, many of the offerings listed in the *Record* are the same as those I observed in 2014-2015: popped rice, coconuts, bananas, sugarcane, etc.

There are some serious discrepancies, however. First, the *Record* specifies that the Trīyampawāi should be celebrated beginning on the first day of the waning moon of the first lunar month. At fourteen days, this means that the entire ceremony takes place during the waning moon. This is different from the modern ceremony, which begins during the night of the sixth day of the *waxing* moon and makes the transition from the Trīyampawāi to the Trīppawāi with the full moon. The description in the *Record* not only does not accord with the modern timing of the ritual, but also ruins its correspondence with the Tamil Tiruvātirai. In addition, the *Record* states that the offerings in the Trīyampawāi are made to Nārāyaṇa, not Iśvara. This is consistent with the story at the beginning of the document, which states that the king of Rāmarāja, a kingdom in India, sent Brahmans, together with ritual implements and an image of Nārāyaṇa, to Siam because he had discovered that the king in Ayutthaya, like himself, was an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa. The foundational story of the Siamese Brahmans thus has a Vaiṣṇava cast to it, and the Trīyampawāi is presented as the foremost ritual for the care of the Nārāyaṇa statue that is sent as a gesture of friendship. Unfortunately, the story does not make much sense. The Thai Brahmans today clearly are Śaiva in orientation. Their temple gives foremost importance to Iśvara, whose sanctuary is the first you see when you enter the gate and much larger than the one for Nārāyaṇa, and the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi focuses far more attention on Iśvara than on Nārāyaṇa. In addition, the very name *Trīyampawāi*, whose contents are supposedly described at this point of the *Record*, undoubtedly comes from the *Tiruvempāvai*, a Śaiva text.

It is unfortunately impossible to fully explain these discrepancies on the basis of existing evidence. One possibility, at least for the sectarian confusion, is that the *Record* was produced by splicing together different sources awkwardly. The story at its beginning has a strongly Vaiṣṇava theme and accordingly refers only to an image of Nārāyaṇa being sent from India to Siam. Later on in the text, however, reference is made to an image of and temple for Iśvara, with no clear explanation of how they came about. It is likely that the story at the beginning of the letter, which is clearly partly legendary in any case, obscures a more complex history involving both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva influences. Perhaps the redactor chose to smooth the transition from the story at the beginning of the letter to the description of the Trīyampawāi that immediately follows it by making the latter a festival dedicated to Nārāyaṇa. That would imply that even a high-ranking Brahman in Ayutthaya in the early 18th century had little understanding of—or perhaps more precisely concern for—the original significance of the Trīyampawāi. This is not necessarily surprising, if we recognize that the Siamese court Brahmans were probably already well acculturated by that point and most attuned to indigenous concerns, rather than those found in the Tamil homeland of their ancestors.[45]

*The Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt* describes the Trīppawāi

[45] See McGovern, "Balancing the foreign and the familiar," 297-303.

completely separately, in a different part of the text found several pages later in the modern edition. The relevant passage describes taking images of the gods Nārāyaṇa and Iśvara to the palace and performing a ceremony there that involves the Brahmans reciting from their texts and hanging a *haṃsa* from a swing. The text does not specify precisely what is done with the *haṃsa* on the swing, but there is a reference to sending the image of Nārāyaṇa to the sea of milk (แลพราหมณ์สี่ตนอำนิสงนารายน์เทวารูปโสเกษียรสมุท).[46] The Trīppawāi here described is thus closely related to the "sending off" ceremonies for Iśvara at the end of the modern Trīyampawāi and for Nārāyaṇa at the end of the modern Trīppawāi (as well as, more recently, the extraneous sending off ceremony for Brahmā). However, according to the text, this ceremony is not a component repeated at intervals in the long festival celebrated in the first lunar month; instead, it is a one-off event whose timing is determined by the sun.

The *Record* specifies that the Trīppawāi should be celebrated when the sun reaches 21 degrees in the sky.[47] At the end of the description of the ceremony, it then says that the sun will enter Capricorn in the zodiac the next morning (แลครั้นรุ่งพระอาทิตย์สงกรานต์ไปยังมังกรราษี).[48] This event is known in India as *Makara Saṅkrānti*, the entrance of the sun into Capricorn (*makara*). In Tamil Nadu, Makara Saṅkrānti is celebrated as Pongal, the most important festival of the year. It is celebrated from 14 January to 17 January, right at the transition from Mārkaḻi to the following Tamil month of Tai. It is thus the culmination of all the festivities and traditions of Mārkaḻi, and although it is a pan-Tamil holiday, Tamil Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas tend to celebrate it with certain twists according to their sectarian persuasion.

Is it possible, then, that the Trīppawāi as described in the *Record* is derived from Tamil Pongal traditions? The timing would certainly seem to suggest so, but the content does not provide a clear link. The "sending off" ceremonies found in the modern Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, which are likely derived from the Trīppawāi described in the *Record*, involve hanging a golden *haṃsa* from a swing, mounting divine images upon it, and swinging it while chanting a Tamil hymn. I am not aware of any ceremony quite like this found in India. There, one finds the Ḍolā Utsava ceremony, in which images of gods are swung on a swing, and the Brahma Utsava ceremony, in which images of gods are mounted on various *vāhana*s, including a *haṃsa*, and paraded. Neither of these ceremonies, at least in modern times, is associated specifically with Pongal in Tamil Nadu, however, nor with Makara Saṅkrānti more broadly in India.

There is separate evidence, on the other hand, that suggests that Pongal traditions indeed *were* transmitted to Siam, even if they are not clearly described in the *Record*. According to the "Palatine Law," there is a royal ceremony celebrated in the second lunar month called "Circulating the Royal Cow" (เฉวียนพระโค). It is described as involving lavishly decorating, feeding, and parading a cow.[49] According to Chulalongkorn, this

[46] *ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช*, 11. I am reading "อำนิสง" as "อำนวยส่ง," which would be a polite way of saying "send." I thank Nanda Raksakhom for suggesting this reading.

[47] Ibid.: "ให้ออกพระธรรมณรายทำทักษิณาบูชาพิธีตรีปาไวยตามองษาพระอาทิตย์ ครั้นได้ 21 เมื่อใด วันนั้นให้เชิญพระเทวารูปเสด็จโสมณเฑียร."

[48] Ibid.

[49] Baker and Pasuk, *The Palace Law and the Thammasat*, 111, 123; วินัย, *กฎมณเฑียรบาล*, 143, 165.

ceremony had been discontinued long ago, at some point during the Ayutthaya period.[50] The description of the ceremony that survives sounds quite similar to the tradition associated with Māṭṭup-poṅkal ("Bull Pongal"), the third day of the Pongal festival in Tamil Nadu. On this day, cattle are honored by being decorated and fed special food. There is also a plausible argument for calendrical correspondence. Māṭṭup-poṅkal is celebrated in Tamil Nadu on the second day of Tai, the month immediately after Mārkaḻi. As we have seen, the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi was originally celebrated in Siam in the first lunar month, which should have corresponded at one time with Mārkaḻi. That means that the second Thai lunar month should have corresponded at one time with Tai. Unfortunately, there is no information as to when during the second month the Royal Cow ceremony was observed to see whether the correspondence is any more exact.

What, then, does the evidence provided by the *Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt* suggest for our attempted reconstruction of the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi festival? First, it provides strong evidence that the Trīyampawāi and the Trīppawāi were originally a separate festival and ceremony that were merged. The Trīyampawāi provided the basic format of fourteen days of recitations and offerings to the gods, which was then split into two sections: ten days for Iśvara and five days for Nārāyaṇa (with one day overlap). The Trīppawāi, on the other hand, contributed the sending off ceremony that involves swinging a golden *haṃsa*, performed twice, first for Iśvara on the tenth day and then for Nārāyaṇa on the fourteenth. In the process, the meanings of the words *Trīyampawāi* and *Trīppawāi* shifted. *Trīyampawāi* no longer referred to the entire fourteen-day festival, but only the ten-day Śaiva portion. Likewise, *Trīppawāi* no longer referred to the *haṃsa*-swinging ceremony, but rather to the last five days of the erstwhile Trīyampawāi festival, now dedicated to Nārāyaṇa.

Certain questions about this merger still remain. First, when and why did the merger take place? Most likely during the early Bangkok period, i.e. after 1782. If as late as 1735, only three decades before the sack of Ayutthaya, the Trīyampawāi and Trīppawāi were being described as separate, it is unlikely that the change took place in the old city. It is more likely that it happened in Bangkok, when the royal court Brahmans and their ceremonies were being reconstituted. This supposition is supported by the fact that the "Palatine Law," which was compiled on the basis of Ayutthaya sources, refers to the ceremony in the first lunar month simply as the Trīyampawāi, not as the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi. In addition, its brief description gives instructions on who should contribute various offerings, much like that found in the *Record*, without referring to a *haṃsa* or swinging.[51] It is quite possible that when the ceremonies were restarted in Bangkok, the decision was made to simplify them in part by merging the Trīyampawāi and the Trīppawāi. A second question pertains to an earlier period: Is the *Record* correct in stating that the original, pre-merger Trīyampawāi was fourteen days long and celebrated entirely during the waning moon? If so, how does that accord with the fact that the modern Trīyampawāi, which is celebrated beginning on the sixth night of the waxing moon and only lasts ten days, is in far greater accord with the Tamil Tiruvātirai festival?

---

[50] พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, 98.

[51] Baker and Pasuk, *The Palace Law and the Thammasat*, 111, 123; วินัย, *กฎมณเฑียรบาล*, 143, 165.

Unfortunately, given the fragmentary nature of our sources, it is difficult to answer these questions.

## The Swing Festival

I have so far left one question entirely unaddressed: What about the spectacular Swing Festival with which I began this article, arguably the component for which the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is best known? According to both versions of the story of how the Brahmans came to Siam, in van Vliet's history and in the *Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt*, they brought a swing or swing traditions with them.[52] This might seem to imply that the Swing Festival came to Ayutthaya from India. There is, however, no such festival that is celebrated in India today, nor is there any clear evidence that such a festival was ever celebrated. For this reason, some Thai scholars have argued that the Swing Festival component of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi did not come from India at all, but was an indigenous tradition adapted to it. Sujit Wongthes has even argued that there may be a connection to a Karen swinging tradition, on the basis that the Thai name for the Swing Festival (โล้ชิงช้า) bears a resemblance to the Karen name for the first lunar month.[53] Unfortunately, while an indigenous swinging tradition is known, it belongs to the Akha, not the Karen, and it does not involve teams of men attempting to catch a bag of coins with their teeth;[54] it thus bears no greater resemblance to the Swing Festival of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi than do comparable swinging traditions in India.

In my opinion, we should take seriously the claims of the historical sources that swinging traditions were brought by the Brahmans to Siam from India. We should note, however, that (1) these sources do not make clear the precise nature of these swinging traditions and that (2) the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi does not incorporate swinging only in the now defunct Swing Festival described at the beginning of this article. There also is the "sending off" ceremony in which the gods are sent back to heaven by mounting them on a golden *haṃsa* and swinging it while chanting Tamil hymns. As we just saw, that ceremony appears to have originally been central to the Trīppawāi to be performed at the Makara Saṅkrānti, and now it has been incorporated into the unified Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi to separately send off first Iśvara, then Nārāyaṇa, with the recent creative addition of Brahmā in between. Although the specific ritual involving a golden *haṃsa* does not have a known parallel, nor is the specific association with Makara Saṅkrānti attested, the Ḍola Utsava or ceremony in which images of gods are swung is commonplace throughout India, usually performed in the Spring.[55] A Tamil

---

[52] Baker, *Van Vliet's Siam*, 212; *ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช*, 3-4.

[53] สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ, "โล้ชิงช้าในภาษาไทยมาจากคำกะเหรี่ยง-ลาชิงช้า" [*Lōchingchā* in Thai Comes from the Karen Word *Lāchingchā*], in *โล้ชิงช้า: พิธีกรรมดึกดำบรรพ์ของสุวรรณภูมิ ไม่ใช่พิธีพราหมณ์ชมพูทวีป* [*Lōchingchā*: Ancient Ritual of Suvarṇabhūmi, not a Ceremony of Brahmans from Jambudvīpa] (pamphlet accompanying lecture of the same name, Bangkok, Feb. 7, 2550 [2007]).

[54] Chob Kacha-ananda, "The Akha Swinging Ceremony," *Journal of the Siam Society* 59, no. 1 (1971): 119-128.

[55] For an exhaustive study of these festivals throughout India, including a comparison to the Siamese Swing Festival, see Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Culture and Society in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967), 51-53, 59-82.

*bhakti* hymn by Campantar, which is included among the texts in the possession of the Thai Brahmans,[56] moreover refers to a ceremony involving a golden swing being part of the annual ritual calendar of the Śaiva temple Kapālīccaram.[57] It is very possible that the concept of the Ḍola Utsava was brought to Siam by Tamil Brahmans and then adapted and readapted to local circumstances as Siamese court rituals developed. In that case, the Trīppawāi described in the *Record* would already represent a creative adaptation of an Indian Ḍola Utsava.

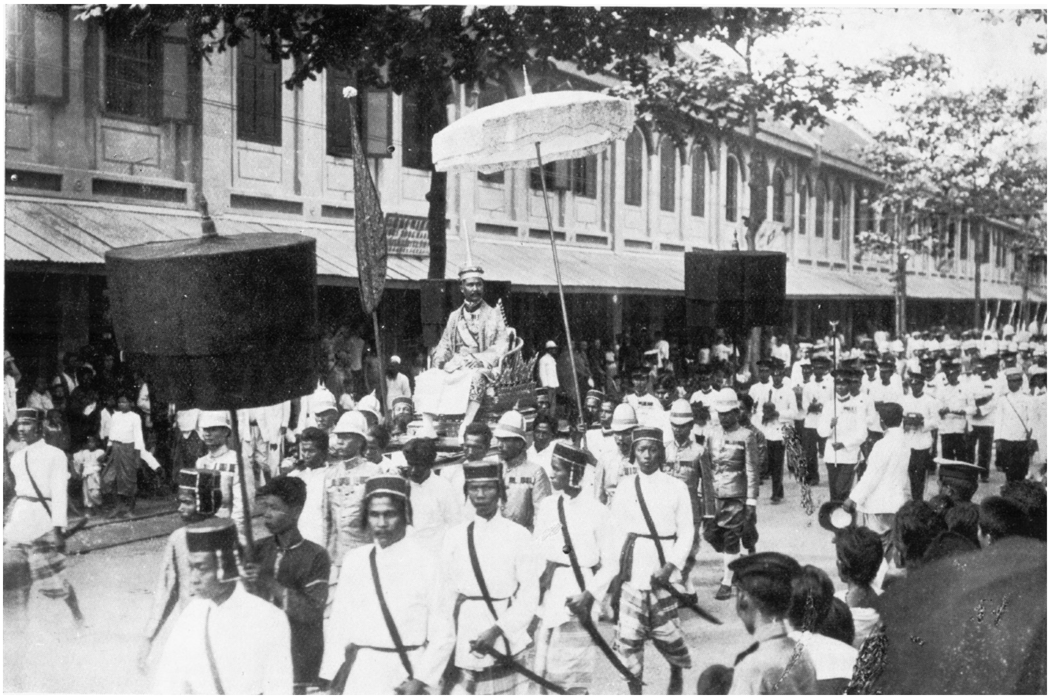

Figure 4. The royal procession during the Swing Festival (from Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies,* Plate XXXV)

The now-defunct Swing Festival in which teams of men attempt to catch bags of coins with their teeth may represent another strand of the creative adaptation of the Ḍola Utsava in Siam. Presumably this festival *qua* coin-catching game was celebrated in the capital by the end of the Ayutthaya period, given that it is described as such in both the *Testimony of the People of the Old City* and the *Manual of Old Royal Ceremonies*.[58] There is reason to believe, however, that this game is an elaboration upon a simpler, more Ḍolotsava-esque ceremony. The modern Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi includes a set of obscure ceremonies surrounding the so-called Nāng Kradān or "Lady Boards". These three boards, representing Gaṅgā, Dharaṇī, and the sun and moon, respectively, are submerged in holes in the ground just before what would have been the second playing of the swinging game on the ninth day of the waxing moon, and then they are

[56] Sarma, *Textes Sanskrits et Tamouls de Thaïlande*, 94-96.

[57] Indira Viswanathan Peterson, *Poems to Śiva: The Hymns of the Tamil Saints* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989), 189. Reference to this hymn is made by Meenakshisundaram, cited in Cutler, *Consider Our Vow*, 28 n. 43.

[58] *ประชุมคำให้การกรุงศรีอยุธยา*, 204; *ตำราพระราชพิธีเก่า*, 14.

ceremonially removed and returned to their place in the Iśvara temple on the twelfth day of the waxing moon. While the holes in which the three boards are submerged today are found within the grounds of Thēwa Sathān, Chulalongkorn reports that in his day they were found in the vicinity of the Giant Swing.[59] Brahmans today and even Chulalongkorn in his day are at a loss to explain the Nāng Kradān, but I would suggest that originally the Swing Festival consisted of a simple Ḍola Utsava in which the Nāng Kradān, and only in the late Ayutthaya period, for reasons now unknown, did the Swing Festival as a game develop.

There are two reasons to support this conclusion. First, there is archaeological evidence for a swing and the Nāng Kradān in Nakhon Sri Thammarat,[60] but there is no evidence that the Swing Festival *qua* coin-catching game was celebrated there. King Chulalongkorn himself reports that in his day in the late 19th century, the Swing Festival in Nakhon Sri Thammarat was celebrated in "condensed" form, with only the swinging of boards.[61] But the *Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt* from the early 18th century does not mention a swinging game either, suggesting that there was in fact never an "uncondensed" Swing Festival in that city. Second, the earliest document that describes the Swing Festival in Ayutthaya, the *Dvādaśamāsa*, refers to Brahmans mounting boards on a swing, but says nothing about teams of men climbing on the boards to play a game.[62] Given that this document is a highly descriptive poem that uses the changing months and their festivals as metaphors for the author's love, it seems unlikely that such a spectacle would be left out if it had existed. This would suggest that the "condensed" ritual involving the mere swinging of boards in Nakhon Sri Thammarat of which Chulalongkorn was aware was actually the original ceremony, which had been embellished with a game at a later date in Ayutthaya.

## Conclusion

Let me now summarize my conclusions about the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi festival in Siam. During the early Ayutthaya period, i.e. prior to the First Burmese-Siamese War (1547-1549), Tamil Brahmans were incorporated into the Siamese royal court. Two sources record a significant gift of Brahmans from a kingdom in South India during the reign of a King Rāmāthibodi of Ayutthaya, most likely King

---

[59] พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, 121; Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 250-251.

[60] I have seen this evidence, including a partly decomposed artifact of a Nāng Kradān, in the National Museum in Nakhon Sri Thammarat.

[61] พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, 106: "เชื้อพราหมณ์ในเมืองนครศรีธรรมราชไม่มีสิ้นสุดจนถึงบัดนี้ มีเทวสถาน ที่เสาชิงช้าซึ่งพราหมณ์ยังคงทำพิธี แต่เป็นอย่างย่อๆ ตามมีตามเกิด เช่น พิธีตรียัมพวายเอาแต่กระดานขึ้นแขวนเป็นสังเขปเป็นต้น."

[62] ตรงใจ, *อุปาทวาทศมาสโคลงดั้น*, 260-264. The editors of this edition date the *Dvādaśamāsa* to between 1463 and 1488 (ibid., 8), i.e. during the reign of Borommatrailōkanāt, shortly prior to the reign of Rāmāthibodi II, when van Vliet says that Brahmans and swinging were imported from Rāmarāja. An anonymous reviewer suggested that if the *Dvādaśamāsa* is indeed this old, then perhaps what van Vliet was referring to was the more elaborate game involving people, which would have replaced the older mere swinging of boards. While this interpretation is possible, and has to recommend it the fact that van Vliet refers to a "game" being imported, I am reluctant to adopt it because of a lack of evidence for such a game in India.

Rāmāthibodi II (1491-1529), although it is likely that the emigration of Tamil Brahmans to Siam and their incorporation into the court was a protracted process rather than a single event. The surviving evidence shows that, as a result of this process, by the late Ayutthaya period Siamese court ritual involved elements derived from Tamil traditions associated with the month of Mārkaḻi. Śaiva traditions were incorporated in the form of the Trīyampawāi, named after the *Tiruvempāvai* and modeled after the Śaiva Tiruvātirai festival during which it is recited. As part of this festival, a Ḍola Utsava was celebrated with boards depicting Gaṅgā, Dharaṇī, and the sun and moon. At some point in the Ayutthaya period, this Ḍola Utsava was modified into an elaborate game in which teams of men mounted the swing and competed to catch a bag of coins with their teeth. Vaiṣṇava traditions, on the other hand, were incorporated in the form of the Trīppawāi, celebrated in the form of a Ḍola Utsava using a small golden *haṃsa* at the time of the Makara Saṅkrānti, along with perhaps other Pongal rituals such as the decoration of cows.

Substantial changes took place in these rituals before King Chulalongkorn wrote his *Royal Ceremonies* in the late 19th century, most of them likely as part of the reconstitution of royal ritual that took place during the foundation of the new capital at Bangkok. Most importantly, the Trīyampawāi and Trīppawāi were combined by duplicating the Trīyampawāi template of daily recitation and offerings—ten days for Iśvara and five for Nārāyaṇa—with each portion now concluded with a swinging of the golden *haṃsa* taken from the old Trīppawāi. This newly formed composite festival, the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, was placed in the second lunar month (December-January) to avoid problems posed by flooding in the first lunar month, which is when the Trīyampawāi had been celebrated in the old city.

While this much is a historical reconstruction, the most recent changes to the Siamese rituals derived from the Tamil traditions of Mārgaḻi are well documented in historical evidence. Chulalongkorn himself reports that his father King Mongkut, as part of a reform agenda, added merit-making ceremonies to the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi in the mid-19th century to make it more "Buddhist."[63] The elaborate Swing Festival was discontinued in 1934 in the wake of the Revolution, leaving only the vestiges of the "Lady Board" ceremonial, the daily recitations and offerings, and the two ceremonial swingings of the golden *haṃsa*, all of which were confined to the temples and grounds of Thēwa Sathān. The rapidly spreading popularity of Brahmā in the late 20th century then led to the construction of a Brahmā shrine in the front courtyard of Thēwa Sathān and the addition of a third *haṃsa*-swinging ceremony for Brahmā the day after the swinging for Iśvara. And thus was formed the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi as it is celebrated to this day. Further changes can be expected in the coming decades, especially as a wave of philo-Hinduism, made possible by the Western discourse on religion, increased globalization, and the spark provided by the popularity of the Ērāwan Shrine to Brahmā, continues to sweep Thai society.

There are two major observations I would like to make about the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi in Thai court ritual. The first is that it very clearly illustrates the invention and reinvention of tradition. Even though there are abundant clues to indicate

[63] พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน*, 127-128.

that the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi has roots in Tamil traditions, the precise links can be difficult to discern because it and its antecedents are not and, as far as I can tell, were never celebrated in exactly the same way as in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Brahmans were inventive in their adaptation of rituals to the Siamese context from their very first emigration to that country, and their descendants who serve the Thai court in the present day continue to be creative in adapting their traditions to changing circumstances. A particularly obvious example of this is the addition in recent decades of a *haṃsa*-swinging ceremony to send Brahmā back to heaven—an addition that does not really fit the logic of the existing Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi, but which does meet the needs of a Thai populace among whom Brahmā has become arguably the most popular "Brahmanical" god. At times royal intervention has played a role in the transformation of the Brahmans' traditions, as when Rama IV added a merit-making component to the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi as part of his Buddhist reform agenda. Often, however, the biggest changes have come as the result of mundane practical concerns. The originally independent Trīyampawāi and Trīppawāi rituals were likely merged into a single composite ceremony at the beginning of the Bangkok period to simplify the ritual calendar as the royal court Brahmans were reconstituted; at or around the same time, this reformulated festival was moved from the first to the second month due to logistical concerns about flooding. Likewise, in 1934 after the Revolution, the Swing Festival was discontinued as an expensive and dangerous extravagance.

The second lesson to be learned from the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi is the importance of not allowing modern geographical categories to blind us to the fact that South and Southeast Asia have in many ways operated as a single geographical region throughout much of history. We can see localization clearly at work in the history of the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi. Yes, certain Tamil traditions associated with the month of Mārkaḻi were transmitted to Siam when Tamil Brahmans emigrated there and were integrated into the royal court. But they were the *only* South Asian actors involved in the process from then on, and their influence *as such* was quite minimal. They were constrained in their activities by the demands of the Siamese monarchy and more generally by Siamese custom and culture, which was quite different from that of Tamil country. The fact that the Thai court Brahmans have lost the ability to understand Tamil and Sanskrit and have become fully acculturated to Thai society is a testament to the overwhelming pressure of localization. Likewise, the unique way in which the Trīyampawāi, Trīppawāi, and their more recent composite have been celebrated demonstrates that from the beginning these Brahmans and their descendants were effectively local actors, reacting and adapting to local circumstances and their vicissitudes.

The debate over Indianization that has taken place in Southeast Asian studies is in fact mostly an artifact of the geographical divide in the modern academy between South Asian Studies and Southeast Asian Studies. When framed within the context of the larger geographical unit of Southern Asia, as has been advocated by Feener and Blackburn,[64]

[64] R. Michael Feener and Anne M. Blackburn, eds., *Buddhist and Islamic Orders in Southern Asia: Comparative Perspectives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 8-9.

there is nothing fundamentally different—except perhaps in degree—between the process by which the Thai Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi was created and recreated over the past five centuries and the process by which Brahman lineages spread first from Kuru country eastward into the Gangetic plain and then southward into the Deccan, all the while creatively adapting older traditions to new and changing circumstances. The variegated traditions created in this process have become collectively known in modern times as Hinduism, but it is only a set of historical accidents—the dominance of a Pali Buddhist mini-cosmopolis in mainland Southeast Asia in the 2nd millennium, as well as the fact that neither the British nor any of their predecessors ruled over South and Southeast Asia as a single unit—that has led to "Hinduism" being seen as properly South Asian as opposed to Southeast Asian.

There remains therefore an urgent need for comparative projects involving Hinduism in South and Southeast Asia such as is represented by the Thai Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi festival and the Tamil traditions of Mārkaḻi. As Peter van der Veer has argued, however, "comparison should be conceived not primarily in terms of comparing societies or events, or institutional arrangements across societies, although this is important, but as a reflection on our conceptual framework as well as on the history of interactions that have constituted our object of study."[65] The framework of Southern Asia is not merely geographical, but conceptual, allowing us to "compare" the Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi and Tamil traditions of Mārkaḻi not as such, as discrete entities, but as a single process in a broader context of similar processes. In an academy siloed as it is by Cold War categories, there are lessons for specialists both of South Asia and of Southeast Asia to be learned. For specialists of Southeast Asia, it is that that region, especially in its religious aspects, must be understood in the broader geographical context of Southern Asia. Localization does not set Southeast Asia apart from South Asia but situates it alongside South Asia in a larger continuity. For specialists of South Asian religions, it is that Southeast Asia is important to understanding the history of Hinduism, not just as an addendum or afterthought, but as an extension of the same processes present in the history of South Asian Hinduism.

[65] Peter van der Veer, *The Value of Comparison* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 28, cited in ibid., 2.

Comparative Table of Trīyampawāi-Trīppawāi

| *Day* | *Late Ayutthaya (from the* Record*, 1735)* | *Early Bangkok (from the* Royal Ceremonies*, 1888)* | *Today* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Month | First (Nov.-Dec.) | Second (Dec.-Jan.) | Second (Dec.-Jan.) |
| Waxing 1 | | | |
| Waxing 2 | | | |
| Waxing 3 | | | |
| Waxing 4 | | | |
| Waxing 5 | | | |
| Waxing 6 | | | |
| Waxing 7 | | Trīyampawāi 1st Day: Initial vows, Opening the Door of Heaven for Iśvara, Offerings and Recitations, Parade and Swinging Games, King Donates Food to Buddhist Monks*, Monks Pray at Wat Phra Kaew* | Trīyampawāi 1st Day: Initial vows, Opening the Door of Heaven for Iśvara, Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 8 | | Trīyampawāi 2nd Day: Offerings and Recitations, Monks Pray at Wat Phra Kaew* | Trīyampawāi 2nd Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 9 | | Trīyampawāi 3rd Day: Boards Ceremony (placing in holes), Offerings and Recitations, Parade and Swinging Games, Monks Pray at Wat Phra Kaew* | Trīyampawāi 3rd Day: Boards Ceremony (placing in holes), Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 10 | | Trīyampawāi 4th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 4th Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 11 | | Trīyampawāi 5th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 5th Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 12 | | Trīyampawāi 6th Day: Boards Ceremony (removing from holes), Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 6th Day: Boards Ceremony (removing from holes), Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 13 | | Trīyampawāi 7th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 7th Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 14 | | Trīyampawāi 8th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 8th Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waxing 15 | | Trīyampawāi 9th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 9th Day: Offerings and Recitations |

| *Day* | *Late Ayutthaya (from the* Record, *1735)* | *Early Bangkok (from the* Royal Ceremonies*, 1888)* | *Today* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waning 1 | Trīyampawāi 1st Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 10th Day: Offerings and Recitations, Parade to Deliver Śaiva Images from the Palace, Haṃsa-Swinging Ceremony to Send Off Iśvara, Closing the Door of Heaven for Iśvara Trīppawāi 1st Day: Opening the Door of Heaven for Nārāyaṇa, Offerings and Recitations | Trīyampawāi 10th Day: Offerings and Recitations, Reception of Śaiva Images from the Palace, Haṃsa-Swinging Ceremony to Send Off Iśvara, Closing the Door of Heaven for Iśvara Trīppawāi 1st Day: Opening the Door of Heaven for Nārāyaṇa, Offerings and Recitations |
| Waning 2 | Trīyampawāi 2nd Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 2nd Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 2nd Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waning 3 | Trīyampawāi 3rd Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 3rd Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 3rd Day: Offerings and Recitations Reception of Brahmā Images from Palace, Haṃsa-Swinging Ceremony to Send Off Brahmā |
| Waning 4 | Trīyampawāi 4th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 4th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 4th Day: Offerings and Recitations |
| Waning 5 | Trīyampawāi 5th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Trīppawāi 5th Day: Offerings and Recitations, Buddhist Monks Give Evening Prayers, Parade to Deliver Vaiṣṇava Images from Palace, Haṃsa-Swinging Ceremony to Send Off Nārāyaṇa, Closing the Door of Heaven for Nārāyaṇa | Trīppawāi 5th Day: Offerings and Recitations, Buddhist Monks Give Evening Prayers, Reception of Vaiṣṇava Images from Palace, Haṃsa-Swinging Ceremony to Send Off Nārāyaṇa, Closing the Door of Heaven for Nārāyaṇa |
| Waning 6 | Trīyampawāi 6th Day: Offerings and Recitations | Tonsure Ceremony for Children, Merit-making Ceremony (Feeding Monks)* | Tonsure Ceremony for Children, Merit-making Ceremony (Feeding Monks) |
| Waning 7 | Trīyampawāi 7th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 8 | Trīyampawāi 8th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 9 | Trīyampawāi 9th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |

| *Day* | *Late Ayutthaya (from the* Record, *1735)* | *Early Bangkok (from the* Royal Ceremonies*, 1888)* | *Today* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waning 10 | Trīyampawāi 10th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 11 | Trīyampawāi 11th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 12 | Trīyampawāi 12th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 13 | Trīyampawāi 13th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 14 | Trīyampawāi 14th Day: Offerings and Recitations | | |
| Waning 15 | | | |
| Makara Saṅkrānti (Jan. 14 or 15) | Trīppawāi: Haṃsa-Swinging Ceremony | | |

## Bibliography

Baker, Chris. 2011. "Notes on the *Testimonies* and the *Description of Ayutthaya*." *Journal of the Siam Society* 99: 72-80.

Baker, Chris, and Pasuk Phongpaichit, trans. 2016. *The Palace Law of Ayutthaya and the Thammasat*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University.

Baker, Chris, et al., eds. 2005. *Van Vliet's Siam*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Bose, Nirmal Kumar. 1967. *Culture and Society in India.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Chakrabarti, Kunal. 2001. *Religious Process: The* Purāṇa*s and the Making of a Regional Tradition*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Chob Kacha-ananda. 1971. "The Akha Swinging Ceremony." *Journal of the Siam Society* 59, no. 1: 119-128.

Coedès, George. 1968. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Ed. Walter F. Vella. Trans. Susan Brown Cowing. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.

Crawfurd, John. 1967. *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Cushman, Richard D., trans. 2006. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*. Ed. David K. Wyatt. Bangkok: The Siam Society.

Cutler, Norman. 1979. *Consider our Vow: An English Translation of the* Tiruppāvai *and* Tiruvempāvai. Madurai: Muttu Patippakam.

Eade, J.C. 1995. *The Calendrical Systems of Mainland South-East Asia*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Feener, R. Michael, and Anne M. Blackburn, eds. 2019. *Buddhist and Islamic Orders in Southern Asia: Comparative Perspectives*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Kanjana Suwanwong. 2539 [1996]. "วิถีชีวิต พิธีกรรมและการดำรงเอกลักษณ์ทางวัฒนธรรมของกลุ่มพราหมณ์ราชสำนักในสังคมไทย: ศึกษากรณี เทวสถานโบสถ์พราหมณ์พระนคร" [Ways of life, rituals and cultural identity of court Brahmins in Thai society: A case study of Bangkok Devasthan Botsbrahmana]. MA Thesis, Chulalongkorn University.

Lochan, Amarjiva. "The *Brahmana's* in Thai Society: A Sociocultural Study of the Indian Legacy." Paper presented to 2nd Annual Asian Fellows Conference, Bangkok, July 1-2, 2002. http://www.asianscholarship.org/?p=con_papers&head=A_F_C_P&pp=Second.

Mabbett, Ian W. 1977. "The 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the historical sources," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 8, 1: 143–61.

Marr, J.R. 1969. "Some Manuscripts in Grantha Script in Bangkok." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 32, no. 2: 281-322.

McGovern, Nathan. 2016. "A Buddhist Cult of Brahmā: Thick Description and Micro-Histories in the Study of Religion." *History of Religions* 55, no. 3 (Feb.): 329-360.

McGovern, Nathan. 2017. "Balancing the foreign and the familiar in the articulation of kingship: The royal court Brahmans of Thailand." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 48, no. 2 (June): 283-303.

Narayanan, Vasudha. 1994. *The Vernacular Veda: Revelation, Recitation, and Ritual*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Narayanan, Vasudha. 1998-1999. "Śrī Vaiṣṇava Festivals and Festivals Celebrated by Śrī Vaiṣṇavas: Distinctive and Cosmopolitan Identities." *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 6-7: 175-194.

Nidhi Eoseewong. 2005. *Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok*. Eds. Chris Baker and Ben Anderson. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Peterson, Indira Viswanathan. 1989. *Poems to Śiva: The Hymns of the Tamil Saints*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Priyawat Kuanpoonpol. 1990. "Court Brahmans of Thailand and the Celebration of the Brahmanic New Year." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 33: 21-51.

Sarma, Neelakanta. 1972. *Textes Sanskrits et Tamouls de Thaïlande*. Pondichery: Institut Francais d'Indologie.

Singaravelu, S. 1968. "Some Aspects of South Indian Cultural Contacts with Thailand: Historical Background." *Proceedings of the First International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, April 1966*. Vol. 1. Kuala Lumpur: Rajiv Printers.

Van der Veer, Peter. 2016. *The Value of Comparison.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Van Esterik, Penny, and John van Esterik. 1980. "Royal Style in Village Context: Translation and Interpretation of a Thai Tonsure Text." *Asian Folklore Studies* 39, no. 1: 63-78.

Vickery, Michael. 1998. *Society, economics, and politics in pre-Angkor Cambodia: The 7th–8th centuries*. Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco; Toyo Bunko.

Wales, H.G. Quaritch. 1992. *Siamese State Ceremonies: Their History and Function*. Richmond, Eng.: Curzon Press.

Wolters, O.W. 1979. "Khmer 'Hinduism' in the seventh century." In Ralph B. Smith and William Watson, ed., *Early South East Asia: Essays in archaeology, history and historical geography*, 427-443. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wolters, O.W. 1999. *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives*. Rev. ed. Ithaca, NY: SEAP, Cornell University.

Wyatt, David K., trans. 1975. *The Crystal Sands: The Chronicles of Nagara Śrī Dharrmarāja*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University.

Young, Ernest. 1995. *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe: Being Sketches of the Domestic and Religious Rites and Ceremonies of the Siamese.* Quoted in Michael Smithies, ed. *Descriptions of Old Siam*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Younger, Paul. 1995. *The Home of Dancing Śivaṉ: The Traditions of the Hindu Temple in Citamparam*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*ตำนานพราหมณ์เมืองนครศรีธรรมราช* [Record of the Brahmans of Nakhòn Sī Thammarāt]. 2525 [1982]. นครศรีธรรมราช: ศูนย์วัฒนธรรมภาคใต้ วิทยาลัยครูนครศรีธรรมราช.

*ตำราพระราชพิธีเก่า และตำราทวาทศพิธี* [*Manual of Old Royal Ceremonies* and *Manual of the Dvādaśa Ceremonies*]. 2548 [2005]. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร กระทรวงวัฒนธรรม.

ตรงใจ หุตางกูร, ed. 2560 [2017]. *อุปาทวาทศมาสโคลงดั้น: วรรณารรมเพชรน้ำเอกแห่งกรุงพระนครศรีอโยธยา พร้อมบทถอดความภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษ* [*Upādvādaśamāsa Khlongdan*: A Jewel of the Literature of Krung Phra Nakhòn Sī Ayothayā, Together with Interpretation in Thai and English]. กรุงเทพฯ: ศูนย์มานุษยวิทยาสิรินธร.

*เทวสถาน (โบสถ์พราหมณ์)-เสาชิงช้า โครงการจัดทำหนังสือสองศตวรรษวัดสุทัศนเทพวรารามและหนังสือเทวสถาน(โบสถ์พราหมณ์)-เสาชิงช้า เนื่อเฉลิมพระเกียรติพระบาทสมเด็จ พระเจ้า อยู่หัว เนื่องในวโรกาสงานฉลองสิริราชสมบัติครบ 60 ปี* [Thēwa Sathān (Bōt Phrām)-Great Swing Program Prepares a Book for Two Centuries of Wat Suthatsanathēpworārām and a Book for Thēwa Sathān (Bōt Phrām)-Great Swing to Celebrate the Greatness of His Royal Highness on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of His Ascension to the Throne]. 2549 [2013]. กรุงเทพฯ: ผังเมือง.

บาหยัน อิ่มสำราญ, *วรรณคดี พระราชพิธี* [The Literature of Royal Ceremonies]. 2559 [2016]. นครปฐม: คณะอักษรศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร.

*ประชุมคำให้การกรุงศรีอยุธยา รวม ๓ เรื่อง* [Anthology of Three Testimonies about Krung Sī Ayutthayā]. 2553 [2010]. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์แสงดาว.

พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระบาทสมเด็จ. 2556 [2013]. *พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน* [The Royal Ceremonies of the Twelve Months] กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์แสงดาว.

สมมตอมรพันธ์, พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ. *ประกาศการพระราชพิธี* [Edicts Concerning Royal Ceremonies]. 2550 [2007]. กรุงเทพฯ: กรมศิลปากร.

*พระราชกรัณยานุสร พระราชนิพนธ์ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว และเรื่องนางนพมาศ* [*Phra Rājakaṇyānusara* by His Royal Highness King Chulalongkorn and *Nāng Nopphamāt*] N.d. กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์คลังวิทยา.

วินัย พงศ์ศรีเพียร, ed. 2548 [2005]. *กฎมณเฑียรบาล ฉบับเฉลิมพระเกียรติ* [Palatine Law, Royal Anniversary Edition]. Bangkok: Thailand Research Fund.

สุจิตต์ วงษ์เทศ. 2550 [2007]. "โล้ชิงช้าในภาษาไทยมาจากคำกะเหรี่ยง-ลาชิงช้า" [*Lōchingchā* in Thai Comes from the Karen Word *Lāchingchā*]. In *โล้ชิงช้า: พิธีกรรมดึกดำบรรพ์ของสุวรรณภูมิ ไม่ใช่พิธีพราหมณ์ชมพูทวีป* [*Lōchingchā*: Ancient Ritual of Suvarṇabhūmi, not a Ceremony of Brahmans from Jambudvīpa]. Pamphlet accompanying lecture of the same name, Bangkok, Feb. 7.