

Historical Narratives of King Naresuan the Great: Narrative Techniques and Image Creation¹

Marasri Sothip²

Abstract

This research is an attempt to study the relationship between the narrative techniques of various types of historical narratives about King Naresuan the Great and the image creation of this King in relation to Thai social and cultural contexts. There are a variety of techniques used to present the image of King Naresuan the Great in the narratives. These techniques are the constructing conflicts to present the themes of the stories, the creation of the characters, the creation of the scenes, and the use of points of view.

According to the research, the character of King Naresuan the Great represents an image of a great King in terms of merit, virtue and compassion, with different complementary images according to the social and cultural contexts of the periods of composition. The social and cultural contexts which have effects on the image creation of King Naresuan the Great are the revision of historical chronicles, the nationalist discourse, the conflicts of political

¹ This study is a part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation entitled "Historical Narratives of King Naresuan the Great: Narrative Techniques and Image Creation". The research for this article was partially funded by the Empowering Network for International Thai Studies (ENITS), Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University with support from the Thailand Research Fund (TRF).

² Ph.D. candidate, Department of Thai, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

political ideas in Thai society, the religious attitudes and beliefs, the concepts of heroes and the literary culture

The image of King Naresuan the Great in the historical narratives can be classified as followings: In the royal chronicles, the image of King Naresuan the Great is that of a king with merit, virtue and mercy. In the verse narratives, the images of a virtuous hero who fights against unrighteousness and the hero who creates the nation to be greater than other countries are underlined. In the essays, the image of King Naresuan the Great is highlighted as a hero who saves the nation from crisis; while the narratives in the form of historical fiction emphasize the image of a warrior sacrificing his personal happiness for the happiness of his people. The narratives in the category of cartoons present King Naresuan the Great as a brave and dedicated hero; while his image in the dramas has been used to signify nationalism and to inspire social unity. The narratives in the form of the films construct the images of King Naresuan the Great by integrating his images in the royal chronicles and the historical novels. Thus, it could be maintained that all historical narratives about King Naresuan the Great present him as a great hero who will remain in the hearts of Thai people.

Introduction

King Naresuan the Great has been honored as one of the most important heroes in Thai history. King Naresuan is presented as undertaking the greatest heroic deed that saved the Thai nation from disastrous crisis. The narratives of King Naresuan the Great have continued to be told over and over. His great subject matter has been noted and told for a long time in a variety of forms of literature. In this study the researcher specifically presents only the case of King Naresuan the Great for he has been perpetually the great Thai hero; in particular, the impressive memory that has remained in Thai people's

hearts is of him fighting on the back of an elephant, one of the most important historical events.

The historical narratives about King Naresuan the Great have been transmitted over generations in many ways up to the present. For example, the royal chronicles, the eulogy literatures, essays, historical fiction, dramas. Nowadays, the autobiography of King Naresuan the Great has been created in the form of films and cartoons.

The researcher has chosen the published historical narratives about King Naresuan the Great as the data for this study as follows:

1. The Royal Chronicles

- a) *The Royal Chronicle on the Old Capital City, the Luang Prasertaksornnit Version* (พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงเก่า ฉบับหลวงประเสริฐอักษรนิติ์).
- b) *The Royal Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, the Phanchanthanumat (Choem) Version* (พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพันจันทนุมาศ (เจิม)).
- c) *The Royal Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, the Phra Phonrat or Mor Bradley Version* (พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพระพนรัตน์ หรือฉบับหมอ บริดเจ).
- d) *The story told by the Old Capital Citizens* (คำให้การชาวกรุงเก่า).
- e) *The story told by Khun Luang Hawat* (คำให้การขุนหลวงหาวัด).
- f) *The Royal Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, The King's Letter Version* (พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขา).
- g) *The Royal Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, The Phra Chakkraphatphong (Chat) Version* (พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพระจักรพรรดิพงษ์ (จาด)).

2. Thai Verses

- a) *Lilit Taleng Phai* [ลิลิตตะเลงพ่าย], written by Poramanuchitchinoros, Somdet Phra Maha Somanachoa, B.E. 2374.
- b) *Khlong Phap in The Royal Chronicles* (โคลงภาพพระราชพงศาวดาร), written by King Rama V and others, the first edition composed for pictures of the Royal Chronicle for

decoration at the Royal Coffin at the State Field (Sanam Luang).

- c) *Lilit Naresuan* [ลิลิตนเรศวร], written by Chumporn Saen-Sena in B.E. 2496 and first published for his funeral in B.E. 2517.
- d) *King Naresuan the Great in Rescue of the Thai Nation* (สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราชกู้ชาติไทย), written by Phra Thep Rattana Kawi (Ko Thummaworn), first published in the memory of Bicentennial Bangkok B.E. 2525.

3. Essays

- a) “*Thai Rop Phama*” (ไทย รบ พม่า), written by Somdet Krom Phraya Damrongrajanuphap, B.E. 2471.
- b) “*King Naresuan the Great’s Biography*” (พระประวัติ สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช), written by Somdet Krom Phraya Damrongrajanuphap, B.E. 2493.
- c) “*Kritsadaphinihan An Botbang Midai*” (กฤษณากินิหารอัน บดบังมิได้), written by M.L. Kukrit Pramoj around B.E. 2518-2519.

4. Historical Fiction

- a) “*Maharat Sot*” (มหาราชโศก), written by Pracha Poonwiwat in B.E. 2514.
- b) “*Athiracha*” (อิทธิราชา), written by Thommayanti published in “Sakul Thai” magazine in B.E. 2546.

5. Cartoons

- a) “*King Naresuan the Great*” (สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช), published by E.Q. Plus Publishing in B.E. 2547.
- b) “*Maha Kap Ku Phaendin*” (มหากาพย์กู่แผ่นดิน), published by Kleenative Publishing in B.E. 2549.

6. Dramas

- a) “*Phra Naresuan Prakat Issaraphap*” (พระนเรศวรประกาศอิสสรภาพ), written by Luang Vijitvardakarn in B.E. 2477.
- b) “*Somdet Phra Naresuan Maharat*” (สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช), written by Somphop Jandharaprapa in B.E. 2515.

- c) “*Somdet Phra Naresuan Maharat*” (สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช), produced by Prin Wattanawee and Aana Rattanaphan in the form of a CD Rom by APS Intermusic in B.E. 2547.

7. Films

- a) “*Maharat Dam*” (มหาราชดํ), produced by Toranong Srichuea in B.E. 2520.
- b) “*The Legend of King Naresuan the Great*” (ตำนานสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช), produced by M.C. Chatreechalerm Yukon in B.E. 2549.

The initial study reveals that the image of King Naresuan the Great that has appeared in different forms of the historical narratives and in different time settings still retains the main image of a great king with merit and virtue. Thus, the studies of narrative techniques and social and cultural contexts are closely related to the creation of the image King Naresuan the Great.

This research points out the importance of the narrative techniques used to create the image of King Naresuan the Great in the historical narratives. Clearly, the image of King Naresuan the Great is closely related to Thai social and cultural contexts.

Narrative Techniques Used in the Historical Chronicles of King Naresuan the Great

The historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great, no matter in which forms they are presented, can be identified as ‘text’ which creates meaning. The meaning can be ‘traditional’ or ‘new’, depending on the aims and the narrative techniques used in that story. This is supported by V.K. Chari, who stated, “The difference between history and poetry is that, in the latter they are shown to be affecting someone’s feelings.”³

The historical narratives of King Naresuan that have appeared in different forms have varied in terms of historical facts used in the

³ V.K. Chari, *Sanskrit Criticism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990) 40.

story. Some are mainly based on historical facts, but some on historical facts together with the narrators' imagination.

The historical narratives of King Naresuan can be found in the Royal Chronicles, as well as in present-day stories. The narrative techniques used in the historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great can be classified into the following:

Common Narrative Techniques Used in Historical Narratives of King Naresuan the Great

Miraculous phenomena, natural or paranormal, are common narrative techniques used in creating the image of merit and virtue of King Naresuan the Great. These features are found in various forms of the narratives, ranging from the Royal Chronicles to the present-day stories, as the dialogue below shows:

This incident must have been intended to turn the fame and glory of the good deeds of our Great King into a miracle, just like the Great omniscient Buddha. When His Majesty ascended the undefeated throne under the Bodhi Tree of supreme knowledge at sunset, at that time all the Divine Beings from ten thousand universes were assembled in his audience. And the evil Phraya Wassadeemarn moved his evil army of soldiers to attack the King, and if the King had the deities as his followers and attendants and won against the evil Phraya Marn, then it would not be so much of a miracle. In this case, however, all of the deities and divine beings had disappeared, and only His Majesty alone remained and bravely fought against the evil Phraya Marathirat and his evil soldiers and defeated them all.⁴

⁴ *The Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, the Phanchanthanumat (Choem) [พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพันจันทนุมาศ (เจิม)]* (Bangkok: Division Literature and History Department, Fine Arts Department [กรุงเทพมหานคร: กองวรรณกรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร], 2542 B.E. (1974)).

King Naresuan went on to lead his army in the attacks against big and small cities and expanded the Kingdom's territory far and wide. As for the incident where Somdet Phra Wannarat compared King Naresuan's victorious fight on the elephant's back with the Lord Buddha winning over all evils just before the Buddha gained enlightenment, this has the result of creating King Naresuan's image as a King of great virtues just as the Lord Buddha had great virtues.

Different Narrative Techniques Used in Historical Narratives of King Naresuan the Great

Creation of Conflicts – In the historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great, conflicts are created in various forms, i.e. conflicts between Thai and Burma, conflicts among Thai people, conflicts inside King Naresuan the Great – to fight for the country or to stay away. In *Athiracha*, King Naresuan the Great sacrificed his personal happiness for the sake of his nation and country. Even towards the end of his life, he was still concerned about the future of his country, as in the statement:

His consciousness began to deteriorate.

He was conscious sometimes. What the King often reiterated was:

**“Ang Wa.... Ekathotsarot...Go and conquer
Ang Wa. Do not retreat.”**

“Yes, Sire. But we must go together.”

“Of course. Why wouldn't I go? I must definitely go.”

“Please go to sleep, first.”

“Why is it so cold?” Sometimes, the King was trembling.

No matter how much clothing he had on to cover himself, he was still cold. And then at other times:

“Warm....so warm. ...Take the clothes away.”

He was hot...he was cold, alternately. Finally, his jaws.... they began to get stiff. When giving him medication, his brother had to try to open up his jaws.

“Doctor, how am I?”

The Doctor...shook his head and said nothing.

The King's last word that was barely audible:

“Ang Wa.”

Until his last breath, the Great Warrior was still determined to bring victory to his land.⁵

In *Athiracha*, King Naresuan the Great is portrayed as a character with emotions and feelings just like any ordinary human being. Although this historical fiction portrayed King Naresuan, the great hero, as a human being, one thing that remains as the core of the story is the fact that the King sacrificed his personal happiness for the sake of the happiness of all of his people and his country. King Naresuan the Great thought more of his country, the country being the most important and greatest thing to him. With every breath he inhaled or exhaled, he thought of the happiness and peace of his country. **“Ang Wa.... Ekathotsarot...Go and conquer Ang Wa. Do not retreat.”** Even at the last moment of his life, the very last word he uttered was **“Ang Wa.”** With his last breath, he thought of the victory that he could bring to his country: “Until his last breath, the Great Warrior was still determined to bring victory to his land.”

In *Lilit Taleng Phai*, there is no mention of the childhood conflicts between King Naresuan and Phra Maha Upparaja, the Burmese King. This helps create the image of King Naresuan the Great and Phra Maha Upparaja as great kings with merit and virtue. The narratives used in *Lilit Taleng Phai* portray both kings as equal in all aspects. However, when King Naresuan defeated Phra Maha Upparaja, his victory seems to be much greater and more powerful through his strategic technique.

Insertion of Some Specific Scenes – Some specific scenes have been added in the narratives to help create the image of King Naresuan the Great as a great king who can endure all difficulties and hardships in his life, i.e. the lost of his beloved sister, Princess Supankallaya and the insult to his fighting cock by the Burmese. This

⁵ Tommayanti [ทอม ยัน ดี], *Athiracha [อิธิราช]* (Bangkok: na Banwannakam [กรุงเทพมหานคร: ณ บ้านวรรณกรรม], 2547 B.E. (2004)) 685-686.

technique creates the image of King Naresuan the Great as a great king with strong determination to fight against all difficulties happening to him.

Creation of Characters – In historical narratives, characters are created and compared in both their similarities and differences. In *Lilit Taleng Phai*, Phra Maha Upparaja, the Burmese King, is compared to King Naresuan the Great, which creates the image of King Naresuan the Great as a king who is a leader with merit and virtue. Princess Supankallaya is also created to portray the image of King Naresuan the Great as the person who sacrifices his own comfort and happiness for the sake of the country. Princess Supayaaluks, The younger sister of crown Prince Phra Maha Upparaja, was an important character in *Maharat Sot*. The author added a greater role for this character to better demonstrate King Naresuan's firmness and stability and decisiveness to the reader. King Naresuan was a gentleman who was steadfast in his love for one woman. However, his greater love was not his love for a young woman, but his love for the nation. A character like Princess Supayaaluks was created and added to the historical fiction to show that King Naresuan realized that the nation and country and the interest of the whole were more important than his personal interest, as the statement below demonstrates:

"The Ruler of Tong U and the Ruler of Ung-wa together coerced King Hongsawadee to offer the Princess for marriage to the Ruler of Krung Yakai."

"Are they this blatantly arrogant and vain?"

"Yes, Sire...But the Princess refused, and kept weeping and was overwhelmed with tears of blood."

The Ruler of Sri Ayutthaya bit his teeth with anger as he listened to Makinyor tell the story.

"At the same time she was incessantly moaning the absence of Your Majesty.

"Oh! Supayaaluks!"⁶

⁶ Pracha Poonwiwat [ปรีชา พูนวิวัฒน์], *Maharat Sot [มหาราชโศก]* (Bangkok: Dokya [กรุงเทพมหานคร: ดอกหญ้า], 2536 B.E. (1974)) 932.

The narrator chose to create Princess Supayaaluks as a princess deprived of love who eventually committed suicide. This was because the love between Princess Supayaaluks and King Naresuan was a forbidden love—and the two could not be together. King Naresuan was an enemy of Crown Prince Phra Maha Upparaja, her elder brother and he even killed Crown Prince Phra Maha Upparaja by chopping off Phra Maha Upparaja's head on the back of his elephant. And so the Princess's death was a dignified death, a sacrifice for the great love that she had for King Naresuan.

Narrative View Points – Different forms of historical narratives present different view points on King Naresuan the Great. The Royal Chronicles and Thai verses portray King Naresuan the Great as a king with merit and virtue, while some of the Thai verses, essays, and cartoons create the image of King Naresuan the Great as the warrior king. As for dramas, the image of King Naresuan is created as the symbol of unity. Regarding historical fictions, dramas and films, King Naresuan the Great is portrayed as the selfless king, as the dialogue below showed:

Naresuan: “My fellow soldiers and citizens, we have carried out a great task, successfully regaining our independence... Although in the future we may blunder or err or be defeated here and there, there will be Thais who are brave and bold who will find ways to make our country free, and the Thais will prosper and will be victorious because of the power of patriotism. I ask Thais to look to Naresuan the Great who has rescued freedom for the country this time. Thais must sacrifice their bodies and their lives. I ask all Thais to be brave enough to paint the land with their blood, execute all the enemies, and glorify the Thai nation so that it continues to grow and prosper and shine for ever and ever.”⁷

⁷ Vijitvardakarn, Luang [วิจิตรวาทการ, หลวง], “Phra Naresuan Prakat Issaraphap [บทละครเรื่องพระนเรศวรประกาศอิสรภาพ],” *Silapakorn Journal [วารสารศิลปากร]* Year 1, Vol. 1 (June 2480 (1937)): 27.

According to the first part of the dramas, in which the importance of freedom is demonstrated, King Naresuan was determined to regain freedom for the country. These clearly show that the King loved his country more than his own life. In regaining the freedom for the country, King Naresuan had to have the cooperation and moral support from his generals and commanders and assistance from all sides. When he eventually was able to regain freedom for the country, he pointed out the importance of harmony and patriotism in the last part of the dramas.

Besides these examples, the text also impacts the narratives techniques and the creation of the image of King Naresuan the Great. The Royal Chronicles has a traditional way to narrate the story and emphasizes the god-like status and the holiness of the king. With the king as the heart of the story, the use of miraculous phenomena as well as description of King Naresuan the Great as a king with merit and virtue is used in narrating his stories. Narrators' imagination is also used together with historical facts in historical fictions or films. In this case, some specific scenes or characters are created to make the narratives much more entertaining and livelier. Therefore, the stories of King Naresuan the Great turn out to be historical narratives rather than historical facts.

The historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great are about the king and his wars. The wars in this sense mean the outside war with neighboring countries, the inside war among Thai people, and the war inside King Naresuan himself. No matter what types of war he was fighting, he always remains a courageous and noble virtuous king.

Table 1: Correlations between narrative techniques and the creation of the image of King Naresuan in historical narratives

Text Form	Narrative Techniques	Creation of Image
The Royal Chronicles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Use of miraculous phenomena 2. Use of simile and metaphor, such as the Lord Buddha 	A King with merit and virtue

Text Form	Narrative Techniques	Creation of Image
	3. Creation of some specific scenes	
Films	1. Creation of conflicts - Conflicts between Thai and Burma - Conflicts among Thai people - Conflicts inside King Naresuan the Great 2. Creation of characters such as soldier monk people 3. Creation of some specific scenes	A King with merit and virtue A King who fights against unrighteousness A King with mercy A King who sacrifices for the country

The Image of King Naresuan the Great in Relation to Social and Cultural Contexts

It can be said that the creation of the image of King Naresuan the Great is closely related to the social and cultural contexts during the time when the historical narratives were created. The social and cultural contexts can be classified as follows:

Social Contexts Related to Politics

The social contexts related to politics affecting the creation of the image of King Naresuan the Great can be seen from the rectification of the Royal Chronicles taken place in the early Bangkok Era. All the country's philosophies during that time were reflected in the historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great. Prince Damrongrajanuphap himself wrote the story about King Naresuan the Great in the Bangkok Era aiming to signal some significant political issues, such as western colonization. In so doing, Prince Damrong created the historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great to convey the ideas of nationalism and how to protect the country from being colonized.

Cultural Contexts Related to Religious Belief and Literature Culture

The cultural contexts related to religious belief and literature culture also affect the creation of the image of King Naresuan the Great in the following aspects. Regarding religious belief, the image of King Naresuan the Great is closely related to the Lord Buddha in terms of merit and virtue, and this can be seen in various forms of the historical narratives, i.e. *Maha Kap Ku Phaendin* (cartoon version).

The ideas of heroes in Thai society have changed from time to time. Previously, heroes meant great persons with merit and virtue. However, in Prince Damrong's "King Naresuan the Great Biography", heroes mean the great persons who can overcome hardships and liberate the country.

Regarding literature culture, the creation of historical narratives in various forms is to eulogize King Naresuan the Great as the role model for Thai people and young generation. Beside this, the historical narratives should be emotionally touching as in *Lilit Taleng Phai* which creates the feelings of love and sorrow through other characters rather than King Naresuan the Great himself. In historical fiction and films, narrators have created stories to portray the image of King Naresuan the Great as a person who was confronted with both love and sorrow. King Naresuan the Great can overcome these emotions and finally liberate the nation from Burma.

Table 2: Social and Cultural Contexts Related to the Creation of the Image of King Naresuan the Great

Social and cultural contexts	Image creation	Forms of historical narratives
Social contexts related to politics		
Rectification of the Royal Chronicles	1. A King with merit and virtue, a warrior, an ideal ruler	The Rectified Royal Chronicled in the Early Bangkok Era
Discourse of nationalism	1. A King who creates the nation to be greater than other countries are underlined	Khlong Phap in the Royal Chronicles

Social and cultural contexts	Image creation	Forms of historical narratives
	2. A King who is loyal to his country and create unity for his country	Drama entitled “Phra Naresuan Prakat Issaraphap”
Political conflicts in Thai society	1. A King who is loyal to his country and create unity for his country	Drama entitled “Somdet Phra Naresuan Maharat
Cultural contexts related to religious belief and literary culture		
Religious belief	1. A King with great merit 2. A King with virtue 3. Dharmaraja (A Virtuous King)	All forms of narratives All forms of narratives All forms of narratives
Concepts of heroes: 1. The Great hero as divine being	1. A King with merit and virtue, brave warrior king	King Naresuan the Great’s Biography
2. The Great hero as human being	1. A King who sacrifices for the country	Cartoons, historical fictions and films
Literature culture: 1. Creation of the eulogy literature King Naresuan the Great	1. A King with merit and virtue, brave warrior king 2. A King who sacrifices for the country 3. A King who is loyal to his country and create unity for his country	All forms of narratives All forms of narratives All forms of narratives

Social and cultural contexts	Image creation	Forms of historical narratives
2. Creation of touching emotions: a. Wonder b. Heroic and fear c. Pity	1. A King with merit and virtue 2. A King with merit and virtue, brave warrior king 3. A King who sacrifices for the country	Historical fictions and films

Discussion

Historical Narratives of King Naresuan the Great and the Creation of Literature

Just as in the creation of literature, religious belief also inspires the creation of historical narratives. The image of King Naresuan the Great has been created in the same way as the image of the Lord Buddha, a person who frees people from sufferings. In contemporary historical narratives, such as films and dramas, the image of King Naresuan the Great is created to be a hero who sacrifices his comfort and happiness to free the nation and bring back peace and religious glory to the nation. The image of the Lord Buddha is glorified and so is the image of King Naresuan the Great through historical narratives. This is supported by Vladimir Braginsky who points out that “the aesthetic field of culture appeared as the all-embracing entirety of existing things endowed with beauty and perfection.”⁸ With this glorified image of King Naresuan the Great, readers are deeply impressed with his heroic deed.

⁸ Vladimir Braginsky, *The Comparative Study of Traditional Asian Literatures* (Great Britain: Curzon Press, 2001) 29.

Historical Narratives of King Naresuan the Great and the Eulogy Literature

To eulogize King Naresuan the Great, historical narratives have created his image as a king with merit and virtue, as well as a warrior king. What makes his narratives different from that of other kings is that King Naresuan the Great and his deeds have been connected to nationality. As long as the Thai Kingdom exists, King Naresuan's story will be retold continuously and become an ever lasting story. King Naresuan the Great, himself, also becomes a symbol signifying a hero who liberates, unites and sacrifices himself for the nation.

Creation of the Image of King Naresuan the Great as a Hero

Historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great have created the image of the Heroic King who freed the nation through his brave fight with the Burmese. However, in this study, his image as the king with merit and virtue becomes more prominent. His stories have been continuously retold depending on social and cultural contexts. The impact of these historical narratives is enormous; they result in the loyalty of the Thai people to the Monarchy.

Creation of the Image of King Naresuan the Great

The creation of the image of King Naresuan the Great is closely related to narrative techniques. If the narrator wants to create the King's image as a selfless king, conflicts inside King Naresuan will be created. King Naresuan then has to choose between his own comfort and the peace of the nation. But if the narrator wants to create the image of the warrior king, conflicts between Thai and Burma will be created to portray his bravery. Thus, it can be said that the creation of the image of King Naresuan the Great has been varied according to different narrative techniques used.

Conclusion

From the study of historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great, focusing on narrative techniques and image creation, the findings reveal that various forms of historical narratives have used

different narrative techniques depending on the aims of the writing and the meaning of the message to be conveyed to the readers. In addition, the historical narratives of King Naresuan the Great have been adjusted according to the writing traditions as well as social and cultural contexts. The prominent image of King Naresuan the Great is a king with merit, virtue and mercy. Thus, it could be maintained that all historical narratives about King Naresuan the Great present him as a great hero who will remain in the hearts of Thai people.

References

Thai

- Chumporn Saen-Sena [ชุมพร แสนเสนา]. *Lilit Naresuan [ลิลิตนเรศวร]*. Phranakorn: Suan Sunantha Teachers Training College Printing Press : [พระนคร: แผนกการพิมพ์วิทยาลัยครูสวนสุนันทา], 2517 B.E.(1974).
- Damrongrajanuphab, Somdet Krom Phraya [ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระบรมราชา]. *Thai Rop Phama [ไทยรบพม่า]*. Bangkok: Matichon [กรุงเทพมหานคร: มติชน], 2545 B.E. (2002).
- Damrongrajanubhab, Somdet Krom Phraya [ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระบรมราชา]. *Royal Biography of King Naresuan the Great [พระประวัติสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช]*. Bangkok: Silapa Wattanatham [กรุงเทพมหานคร: ศิลปวัฒนธรรม], 2547 B.E. (2004).
- Kukrit Pramoj, M.L. [คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช, ม.ร.ว.]. *Kritsadaphinihan An Botbang Midai [กฤษฎากินิหารอันบดบังมิได้]*. Bangkok: Siamrath [กรุงเทพมหานคร: สยามรัฐ], 2533 B.E. (1990).
- King Naresuan the Great [การ์ตูนเรื่องสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช]*. Bangkok: E.Q. Plus [กรุงเทพมหานคร: อี.คิว.พลัส], 2547 B.E. (2004).
- King Rama the Fifth [จุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, พระบาทสมเด็จพระ]. *Khlong Phap in The Royal Chronicle [โคลงภาพพระราชพงศาวดาร]*. Bangkok: Amarin [กรุงเทพมหานคร: อมรินทร์], 2526 B.E. (1983).

- Chatreechalerm Yukon, M.C. [ชาตรีเฉลิม ยุคล, ม.จ.]. *Tamnan Somdej Phra Naresuan* [ตำนานสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช]. Bangkok: K.Phul [กรุงเทพมหานคร: ก.พล], 2550 B.E. (2007).
- Maha Kap Ku Phaendin* [มหากาพย์กู้แผ่นดิน]. Bangkok: Cleative Press [กรุงเทพมหานคร: สำนักพิมพ์เคลีเนทีฟ], 2549 B.E. (2006).
- Maharaj Dam* [ภาพยนตร์เรื่อง มหาราชดำ]. CD-Rom. Bangkok: Solar marketing [กรุงเทพมหานคร: โซลาร์ มาร์เก็ตติ้ง], 2542 B.E. (1999).
- Pracha Poonwiwat [ประชา พูนวิวัฒน์]. *Maharat Sot* [มหาราชโสด]. Bangkok: Dokya [กรุงเทพมหานคร: ดอกหญ้า], 2536 B.E. (1993).
- Phra Thep Rattana Kawi [พระเทพรัตนกวี]. *King Naresuan the Great in Rescue of the Thai Nation* [สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราชกู้ชาติไทย]. Surat Thani: Rattana Mi Si [สุราษฎร์ธานี: รัตนมีศรี], 2525 B.E. (1982).
- Poramanuchitchinoros, Somdet Phra Maha Somanachoa [ปรมา นุชิต ชีโนรส, สมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระ]. *Lilit Taleng Phai* [ลิลิตตะเลงพ่าย]. Phranakorn: Banakarn [พระนคร: บรรณาการ], 2505 B.E. (1962).
- Prin Wattanawee and Aana Rattanaphan. [ปริญญ์ วัฒนวีร์และอาณา รัตนพันธ์] *Somdet Phra Naresuan Maharat*. [สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช]. CD-Rom. Bangkok: APS Intermusic [กรุงเทพมหานคร: เอ พี เอส อินเตอร์มิวสิค], 2547 B.E. (2003).
- Tamnan Somdet Phra Naresuan Episode 1* [ภาพยนตร์เรื่อง ตำนานสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช ภาค 1 องค์ประกันหงสา]. CD-Rom. Bangkok: Happy Home [กรุงเทพมหานคร: แฮปปี้โฮม], 2550 B.E. (2004).
- Tamnan Somdet Phra Naresuan Episode 2* [ภาพยนตร์เรื่อง ตำนานสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช ภาค 2 ประกาศอิสรภาพ]. CD-Rom. Bangkok: Happy Home [กรุงเทพมหานคร: แฮปปี้โฮม], 2550 B.E. (2004).
- The Chronicle on the Old Capital City, the Luang Prasertaksornnit Version* [พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงเก่า ฉบับหลวงประเสริฐอักษรนิติ์]. Nonthaburi: Sukothaithammathiraj [นนทบุรี: มหาวิทยาลัยสุโขทัยธรรมราชา], 2547 B.E. (2004).

The Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, The Phra Chakkraphatphong (Chat) version [พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพระจักรพรรดิพงศ์ (จาด)]. Phranakorn: Klangwittaya [พระนคร: คลังวิทยา], 2507 B.E. (1964).

The Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, the Phanchanthanumat (Choem) [พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพันจันทนุมาศ (เจิม)]. Bangkok: Division Literature and History Department, Fine Arts Department [กรุงเทพมหานคร: กองวรรณกรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร], 2542 B.E. (1999).

The Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, The King's Letter Version [พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับพระราชหัตถเลขา]. Bangkok: Division Literature and History Department, Fine Arts Department [กองวรรณคดีและประวัติศาสตร์ กรมศิลปากร], 2534 B.E. (1991).

The Chronicle on the Capital City Ayutthaya, the Mor Bradley Version [พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงศรีอยุธยา ฉบับหมอบรัดเล]. Bangkok: Kosit [กรุงเทพมหานคร: โคมิต, ม.ป.ท.]

The Story Told by Old Capital Citizens [คำให้การชาวกรุงเก่า]. Phranakorn: Klangwittaya [พระนคร: คลังวิทยา], 2515 B.E. (1972).

The Story Told by Khun Luang Hawat [คำให้การขุนหลวงหาวัด]. Phranakorn: Khlangwittaya [พระนคร: คลังวิทยา], 2515 B.E. (1972).

Tommayanti [ทมยันตี]. *Atiracha* [อิริราชา]. Bangkok: N Banwannakam [กรุงเทพมหานคร: ณ บ้านวรรณกรรม], 2547 B.E. (2004).

Somphop Jandharaprapa [สมภพ จันทระประภา]. *Somdet Phra Naresuan Maharat* [บทละครเรื่อง สมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช]. Phranakorn: Anksornsiam Printing [พระนคร: อักษรสยามการพิมพ์], 2515 B.E. (1972).

Vijitvardakarn, Luang [วิจิตรวาทการ, หลวง]. "Phra Naresuan Prakat Issaraphap [บทละครเรื่องพระนเรศวรประกาศอิสสรภาพ]." *Silapakorn Journal* [วารสารศิลปากร]. Year 1, Vol. 1, June [1 มิ.ย. 2480]: 2480 B.E.(1937): 1-27.

English

- Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Baldick, Chris. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Braginsky, Vladimir I. *The Comparative Study of Traditional Asian Literatures*. Great Britain: Curzon Press, 2001.
- Chatman, Seymour. *Story and Discourse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Chari, V.K. *Sanskrit Criticism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990.
- Harmon, William and Holman Hugh. *A Handbook to Literature*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003.
- Prince, Gerald. *A Dictionary of Narratology*, revised ed. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.