

The Cultural Influence of Sipsong Panna on Thailand Since the 1980s: The Case of the Lue Literary Work *Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua*⁵⁵

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Abstract

This paper studies Sipsong Panna's cultural influence on Thailand, especially Northern Thailand, since the 1980s, taking the reception of the Lue literary work *Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua* as an example. After being revised on plot and language, this text, a localized poetic variation of the Indian epic *Ramayana*, is published in 1981 and 1983 in two volumes. The 1980s witnessed the reopening of Sipsong Panna to the outside world. Since then, Thai writings on Sipsong Panna reemerged. Books published in China are introduced to Thailand, among which is this literary text. This paper discusses the reception of this text from three dimensions. The first is academic reception and misreading, especially the comparison with Ramakien, and Charoen Malarochana (Mala Khamchan)'s research on the New Tai Lue script and the language in the text. The second is its influence on Mala Khamchan's novel *Chao Chan Phom Hom, Nirat Phra That Inkhwaen*, on the aspects of inter-textuality and language. The third is its adaptation into the drama *Lanka Sip Ho*, being discussed from the aspects of deconstruction and ethnic identity. Conclusions of this study are listed as follows: Firstly, international circumstance of the 1980s and its content of *Ramayana* resulted in the circulation of this text in Thailand. Secondly, the receptions of Sipsong Panna's texts and cultures in Thailand mostly depend on books published in China and on information provided by Chinese informants, so the misreadings in the Chinese context are easily transmitted into Thailand. Last but not least, the literature and culture of Sipsong Panna have been playing a significant role in the cultural revival and reconstruction of Northern Thailand, as well as in the cultural identity construction of the Lue people in Thailand, since the 1980s.

Keywords: *Ramayana*, literature reception, Lue, cultural construction, misreading

There is a long history of interaction between Sipsong Panna⁵⁶ and Thailand. Having diminished for decades during the mid-20th century, the interaction revives after 1975, the year the diplomatic relationship between the People's Republic of China and Thailand was established. Much has been discussed concerning the impact of Thailand on Sipsong Panna both in ancient times and in the contemporary period. But the influence of Sipsong Panna on Thailand, especially the contemporary period, lacks scholarly attention. This paper aims to discuss the influence of Sipsong Panna on Thailand since the 1980s, taking the reception of

⁵⁵ This paper is translated and revised from my Master thesis.

⁵⁶ Sipsong Panna, or "Xishuangbanna" according to the Chinese pronunciation, is now in the southern part of Yunnan Province of the People's Republic of China.

the Lue⁵⁷ literary work *Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua* (KKLSH) as an example. The circulation of Sipsong Panna Lue literature, especially in Thailand, is a topic lacking academic attention. It is not the reception of Chinese literature, the main literature in China, but ethnic minority literature of China, a rare phenomenon in the literary communication of China.

For historical reasons, for a long period, the texts received by Thailand have been books published in China. The revisions by editors during editing and publication have deeply influenced the reception of Thailand. In addition, the circulation of Sipsong Panna texts in Thailand is not merely text transmission, but circulation closely connected with cultural change and ethnic consciousness. Therefore, this paper will not only discuss the textual reception, but also the regional context. Without the context, it is difficult to understand the significance of the reception of KKLSH.

I. Background

This paper will discuss the reception of KKLSH from three dimensions: Firstly, literature researchers' studies; Secondly, the influence on Mala Khamchan's novel *Chao Chan Phom Hom, Nirat Phra That Inkhwaen* (CCPH); Thirdly, the adaptation of *Lanka Sip Ho* (LSH) by the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. These three dimensions correspond to three aspects of cultural influence of Sipsong Panna on Thailand. Before discussing, it is necessary to review the backgrounds which contributes to the reception, that is, the publication of this text in China, and the changes in the international relationship between China and Thailand since 1975.

1.1 The Compilation and Publication of *Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua*

The published version of KKLSH is not the original folk literature text, but a text being revised by the compilers. Since these revisions will be reflected in and affect the reception, it is necessary to make a brief review of how this text was compiled and revised.

Kham khap, means song, and *lanka sip hua* refers to the character Phommachak, who is the king of Lanka Island and has ten heads (*sip hua*), known as Ravana in *Ramayana* and Thosakan in *Ramakien*. *Lanka Sip Hua* is a name covers different variations of the story of Ramayana, circulated in the areas of Lue and Shan. The text discussed here, KKLSH, a variation of *Lanka Sip Hua*, probably is adapted from the Buddhist literary work *Phrommachak Jataka* circulated in the Upper Mekong region.

Lanka Sip Hua was first reviewed by Bunchuai Srisawat as early as the 1950s. However before 1958, there is no record of *Lanka Sip Hua* in the Chinese world. It is in 1958 that this story was for the first time introduced into the Chinese world. Since 1981, there are several *Lanka Sip Hua* variations being translated into Chinese⁵⁸. The New Tai Lue script version, KKLSH, was published in two volumes, respectively in 1981

⁵⁷ Lue is the group of Tai people in Sipsong Panna and neighboring areas. They call themselves as "Lue" relative to the Tai people from other places, and as "Tai" relative to non-Tai people. Now the Lue, together with other Tai peoples in China, are officially categorised as Dai. However, in order to stress regional identity, this paper uses the word "Lue".

⁵⁸ *Lanka Sip Hua* was firstly found by the investigation team of Yunnan national folk literature (Sipsong Panna), organized by the Department of Chinese, Yunnan University. On July 17, 1958, *quanguo minjian wenxue gongzuozhe dahui* (national conference of folk literature researchers) was held at Beijing, in which the resolution to compile minority literature histories or overviews was passed (Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan Shaoshu Minzu Wenxue Yanjiusuo, 1984, p. 1). Then, teams of investigation were set up at different areas to conduct surveys on minority folk literature. The journal *Wenxue pinglun* (Literature review), Volume 6, 1959, released an article on *Lanka Sip Hua*, written by the investigation team of Yunnan national folk literature (Sipsong Panna) (1959). In the beginning of 1959, Dao Xingping finished the translation of a version of *Lanka Sip Hua*, while it was not published. After 1978, the compilation and editing of folk literature, which had been suspended for a decade during the Great Cultural

and 1983.

The investigation and compilation of folk literature initiated by the government in the second half of the twentieth century, is not only exploring cultural heritage, but is also a method of political propaganda and cultural integration, to integrate the different ethnic cultural heritages inside the territory of China into the socialist cultural system. In the 1970s, revision and recreation of folk literature was thought to be correct by folk literature compilers, and was "the necessity of the development of folk literature" (Zhang Hong, 1978, p. 234). They did not conceal the political function of it. "Well-liked lyrics in Dai areas, like *He xin fang* [*khuen huean mai* in Tai] and others, through the effort of both professional and amateur literature compilers, were recreated into a long poem [sic] of exalting socialism, president Mao and the brilliant leadership of Chinese Communist Party. It [sic] plays an important role in assisting the central work of the Party and occupying the cultural battlefield in rural areas." (Wang Song, 1978, p. 34)

Though KKLSH was published at the early 1980s, it is a text being censored as well. Depictions and plots being incompatible with the official ethnicity policy, religion policy or literary taste were changed or deleted. The editors of KKLSH do not mention their revision in the preface. Three of the compilers have passed away, I interviewed with the last compiler Dao Wenxue in 2015. Since the compilation happened years ago, the compiler could not recollect the details of revision, while he mentioned that they revised the text according to the command from the superior (personal interview, March 1, 2015). Unfortunately, the manuscript(s) they based was lost. While a Chinese translated version, written by Sudawan, which seems to be based on the same manuscript with KKLSH, can be relied on to discuss the revisions in KKLSH. This translation is included in the collection *Yunnan shaoshu minzu wenxue ziliao* (Anthology of minority literature of Yunnan Province) and published in 1981. As the preface of it says that, "for being faithful to the original translation, except few incorrect characters and sentences, it is printed according to the translation" (Sudawan, Vol. 4, 1981), it can be employed as a reference book to analyze the revision of KKLSH. Another Chinese translated version also can be referred to discuss the compilation, for in the afterword, the translators and compilers of the 1981 Chinese version of Lanka Sip Hua mention the reasons of revision and cite some examples of the revision, some of which are identical to the revisions in KKLSH. It is helpful to review the afterword to explain the revision of KKLSH. As mentioned by the compilers, for the reason of ethnic policy, they used Phommachak to replace Prince Sulaman, who waited in a mountain to rob Sida who was on her way back to Thataratha city with Lamma:

Once more, is the necessary revision and simplification of some characters and plots. There are many characters in Lanka Sip Hua, and the major characters are vividly depicted. The majority of the characters in the manuscript is retained in the revision version. But in order

Revolution, were resumed. From 1978 to 1979, Gao Zhideng and Shang Zhonghao revised the translation of Dao Xingping. In 1980, Yan Wenbiang (Ai Unphaeng) and Wujun translated *Lanka Sip Hua* and published it in 1981 by Yunnan People's Publishing House (Dao Xingping et al., 1981, p.234). In 1981, the Institute of Yunnan Ethnic Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Institute of Ethnic Folk Literature of Yunnan Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, and the China Society for the Study of Folk Literature and Art (Branch of Yunnan) printed four versions of Lanka Sip Hua. One version included is translated from the manuscript written by Sudawan. The scribe is Pho Phra In from Ban Chang Liang, Mueang Chae., who finished the transcription on the sixth day, in the tenth month, CE 1312. This translated version was probably based on the same original manuscript(s) as KKLSH, for these two versions are considerably identical. A variation *Shi'er tou mowang* (The twelf-headed demon) or Lanka Sipsong Hua, translated by Yan Wen (Ai Un), Yan Feng (Ai Fong) and Wang Song, was published by Zhongguo Minjian Wenyi Chubanshe in 1990.

to maintain the *sixiang xing*⁵⁹, and to concentrate on the major characters, we revised few characters and plots. For example, there was a prince from mountain, Chao Sulaman, who robbed the bride, in the original manuscript. It contains the disdain for ethnic minorities in the mountainous areas. Besides, Chao Sulaman only appeared once and then never went on the stage. After repeated consideration, we retained this plot, but replaced the character by the Ten-headed King, who was not resigned to let Nang Sida get marry with the other one and wait for robbing her on their way back. This action completely conforms to the development of Phommachak's character, and this change more centrally depicts the Ten-headed King's arrogance and greed. (Dao Xingping et al, 1981, p. 236)

After being compared with the Sudawan version and the French translated version *Phommachak* (Lafont, 2003), it is safe to say that their reason for replacing Sulaman is untenable, for there is no evidence of disdain, implying that Sulaman comes from a hill tribe. This revision corresponds to the plot in KKLSH (Dao Jinxiang, Dao Xinping, Dao Zhida, & Dao Wenxue, 1981, pp. 208-212). Though variation is one of the characteristics of folk literature, it is hard to ascribe the disappearance of Sulaman in KKLSH to the natural change during literature communication. Besides, the trace of revision can also be confirmed by checking the rhyme, for the reason that *khap lue*⁶⁰ is poetry and the change of rhyming word can be detected. The last syllable in the first verse of "*ku ni pen chao thon thao ngao yai lang ka, hua chai han kham tao khom kla*" (I the noble originated king Lanka, endures the bold heart can endure the sharp edge of the hardened sword, Dao Jinxiang et al., 1981, p. 209) should have been *man* to rhyme with *han*, the third syllable of the second verse. Since *sulaman* was displaced by *langka*, these two verses become unrhyming. The similarity in this plot can be explained as the result of the shared considerations of the editors of these two works. Another aspect undergoing change is word form, caused by using the new Tai Lue script created in the 1950s. Excepting elementary school textbooks, the publications before the 1980s are mostly governmental papers⁶¹, propaganda materials⁶², translations of Seventeen-Year Literature⁶³, and political mobilization literature⁶⁴. For collecting and integrating folk literature, and for popularize the newly created script, an abundant of folk literary works and historical books are published since 1979. Creation of a new script is a part of the work of language standardization. But lacking knowledge of Tai language, the script reform

⁵⁹ *Sixiang xing* is a term used in Chinese literature criticism, meaning "thoughtful".

⁶⁰ *Khap lue* means Lue song. In this paper, *khap lue*, in most cases, refers to narrative folk song (*kham phai*).

⁶¹ Some of these books are: Dao, Jinxiang, & Dao Shide (Trans.). (1959). *Guanyu renmin gongshe ruogan wenti de jueyi: zhonggong gongchandang di ba jie zhongyang weiyuanhui di liu ci quanti huiyi tongguo, yi jiu wu ba nian shi'er yue shi ri* [Resolution to the problems of the People's commune]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe. Yunnansheng Xishuangbanna Daiwen Fanyizu (Trans.). (1975). *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo di si jie quanguo renmin daibiao dahui di yi ci huiyi wenjian* [Documents of the first conference of the 14th National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe.

⁶² Some of these books are: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe Bianjibu (Ed.). (1954). *Zhongguo gongchandang sanshi nian huace* [Illustrated book of the thirty years of the Chinese Communist Party]. Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe. Yunnansheng Xishuangbanna Daiwen Fanyizu (Trans.). (1975). *Makesi, Engesi, liening lun wuchan jieji zhuanzheng* [Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Lenin on dictatorship]. Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe. Yunnan Minzu Xueyuan Minu Yuwen Ban (Trans.). (1976). *Weida de lingxiu he daoshi mao zezong zhuxi yongchui buxiu* [Eternal glory to Chairman Mao, the great leader and tutor]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe.

⁶³ One of these books is: Miao, Ge (1958). *Lu* [Road]. Lin Chuan, & Dao Jinxiang (Trans.). Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe.

⁶⁴ Some of these books are: Bo, Yuwen (Pho l'un) (1964). *Wucai yun* [Colorful cloud]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 1964. Kanglang, Zhuai (Khanan Choi), & Dao Xinping (1979). *Yubang jiashi* [Family history of I Pang]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe.

work group, under the lead of Fu Maoji, partly twisted the word form and the pronunciation of the Lue dialect. The new script is considered by some researchers as more conform to the local pronunciation than Tham script (Sonkanok, 1990, p. 20). However, it does not meet the reality. The changes caused by the introduction of the new script will affect the text reception. The Pali originated words underwent a great change, both in word form and pronunciation.

Some consonants being majorly used in Sanskrit/Pali words, are deleted, and words being spelt by these consonants are replaced by the consonants having the same phoneme. The name of the king Thataratha *thataratha* is changed into *thatalatha*, the last two consonants are replaced. The name of Phommachak's first wife Suwanni *suwanni* is changed into *suwannī*, the consonant "n" is replaced by another one. Initial two-consonant clusters are reduced into single consonants, for instance, the antagonist of KKLSH, Phommachak, is written as *phummachak*, while in Tham script his name is *phommachak* or more standardly *phrohmachakka* (Brahmacakka), in which *phr* is replaced by *ph*. The final consonant in a syllable, which is followed by an initial consonant of the next syllable, is deleted in the new script. This change makes closed syllable become open syllable. The first "t" of the name of the princess of Lanka *kutti thidā* is deleted and changed into *kuti thidā*. The name of the monkey kingdom of *kissā* is written as *kīsā*, the name of the third wife of Thataratha *sumitta* is changed into *sumītā*. Sanskrit/Pali originated words, which have no tone mark when written in Tham script, are added with tone mark, which is equal to *mai tho* in Thai, and short vowels are changed into long vowels. For instance, *ēkarāt* (supreme monarch) is changed into *ēkalāt* (a tone mark is added to *ē*), and *thidā* (daughter) is changed into *thīdā* (*i* is changed into *ī*, and a tone mark is added to it).

1.2 Thailand's Rediscovery of Sipsong Panna

Before 1953, Sipsong Panna has a long history of extensive interaction with Southeast Asia. From 1953 to 1975, this relation is diminished⁶⁵. After the year 1975, when the diplomatic relationship between the People's Republic of China and Thailand was established, Sipsong Panna is reopened to Thailand. After the Chinese Economic Reform of 1978, China encourages the development of international tourism. In 1982, Sipsong Panna was listed in the First Batch of the National-level Scenic and Historic Interest Area, and in 1984, Thailand encourages Sino-Thai tourism (Wang Heying, 1987, p. 121). From then on, Sipsong Panna is more accessible for Thai visitors, which comprise Thai royal members, politicians, scholars and ordinary people (Xiaoyuan, 1986, p. 33; Chen Lüfan, 2005, pp. 256-278; Xishuangbanna Daizu Zizhizhou Difang Zhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui, 2002, p. 937; Xu Zugen, 1986, p. 36; Xiaoyuan, 1986, p. 33; Bao Yiming, 1986, pp. 93-94; Ganlayana Watana gongzhu, 1990, p. 3; Yunnan Nianjian, 1996, p. 76; Ran Rong, 1985, p. 68; Ran Rong, 1991, p. 41), and many travel memoirs are published⁶⁶. At first, the Thai interest in Sipsong Panna centered on the origin of Thai people and the Nanzhao problem. For this reason, Dali is also a destination for Thai royal members and researchers in the 1980s. For a long time, it is believed that Thai people migrated from China and the Tai in Yunnan Province is the evidence of the migration. In pace with the

⁶⁵ According to *Xishuangbanna daizu zizhizhou difangzhi* (Gazetteers of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture), a group of Thai journalists visited Sipsong Panna on April, 1957 (Xishuangbanna Daizu Zizhizhou Difang Zhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui 2002, p.937).

⁶⁶ Some of these articles are: Pitiphat, Sumitr (1983). *Khon thai nai sipsongpanna* [Thai people of Sipsongpanna]. *Warsan Thammasat* 12(1), 123-137. Vallibhotama, Srisakara (1989). *Watthanatham sipsongpanna* [Sipsong Panna culture]. *Silapa Watthanatham* 15(3), 27-42. Nartchamnong, Thongthaem (1989). *Thinthan khong chao tai nai Sipsongpanna* [The Land of the Tais(Dai) in Sipsong Panna]. *Silapa Watthanatham* 15(3), 50-65. No Na Paknam (1989). *Thong daen Sipsongpanna, thin Thai thang tai khong chin* [A tour of Sipsong Panna, Land of the Tais in Southern China]. *Silapa Watthanatham* 15(3), 102-108.

deepening of visit, articles, books and documentaries on Sipsong Panna were published⁶⁷. Manuscripts of Sipsong Panna were edited and published⁶⁸. Lue literary and historical books published in China were either transcribed or translated into Thai⁶⁹, and even some Chinese translated versions of Lue literature work and Chinese books on Dai people are translated⁷⁰.

Almost at the same time, Thai academic horizon was extended to other Tai areas outside Thailand, such as Yunnan Province of China, Eastern India, Shan State of Myanmar, Laos, and Northern Vietnam. The comparative study of the cultures of different Tai peoples increasingly gains popularity. Most of the research on the literature of Sipsong Panna also belongs to comparative study, such as Chutamas Sonkanok's "A comparative study of the Lanna, Sipsong Panna and Kengtung versions of the folktale: *Phra Suthon-Nang Mamora*"(1990), and Kasorn Swangwong's "A comparative study of a Lanna Thai, a Northeastern Thai and a Thai Lue versions of the *Nang Phom Hom*"(2005).

The 1980s is also an important period for the cultural revival in Northern Thailand. Many northern-based scholars released research works on Lanna in this period. Organizations for conserving and developing Northern culture were set up, for instance, Chiang Mai University set up the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture in 1985. The rediscovery of Sipsong Panna was coincident with this cultural revival trend, and since then on the culture of Sipsong Panna has been closely related to the Lanna renaissance. In the year 1984, the Three Kings Monument was set up in Chiang Mai, which is a typical event of the arise of regional consciousness. In the memorial handout of the ceremony, *Lanna Thai, Memorial Handout of the Royal Opening Ceremony of the Royal Three Kings Monument*⁷¹ (1984), there is a travelogue "Visiting Sipsong Panna⁷²" (Yiam Sipsongpanna) by Kraisi Nimmanahemin. On November 22-24th, 1986, the conference "Lan Na and Sipsong Pan Na: Studies in Cultural Relations, Continuity and Change" was held in Chiang Mai. When reviving and reconstructing the Northern culture, the Northern Thai not only recover local culture, but also borrow the culture from other Tai areas like Sipsong Panna, and Kengtung. In the past, the kingdom of Chiang Mai was closely related with Sipsong Panna, Kengtung, Luang Prabang and other neighboring states. Besides, there is a considerable amount of people in Northern Thailand whose roots can be traced back to Sipsong Panna, Kengtung and other neighboring Tai areas. It is understandable why the reconstruction of Lanna identity combines the cultural elements from these places, to dissimilate it from the major culture in Thailand. However, before the 1980s, the culture of Sipsong Panna also played a role in the cultural construction of Northern Thailand. In 1953, a modernized Northern Thai banquet was organized by Kraisri Nimmanhemmin and his wife. In order to express the identity of Northern Thai, guests were requested to wear the standard costume of *khon mueang* of Lanna Thai. Trousers, that the people (Khun⁷³ and Lue) in Kengtung and Sipsong Panna wear, was chosen to be one part of the male costume (Nimmanhemmin, 1984, pp. 122-123), because chong kraben, that the local Yuan⁷⁴ male wore, was not

⁶⁷ One of these articles is: Sathianrasut, Liang. (1982). Prawat khwaen Sipsongphanna [History of Sipsong Panna]. *Thalaeng ngan nrawattisat, ekka san boranna khadi* 12(1), 29-48.

⁶⁸ One of these books is: Swangpanyangkoon, Thawi (1986). *Tamnan phuen mueang sipsongphanna* [Chronicle of Sipsong Panna]. Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai Book Centre.

⁶⁹ One of these books is: Chanhom, Lamun (Ed.). (2002). *Suphasit thai lue* [Lue proverbs]. Chiang Mai: Samnak Sinlapa Watthanatham, Sathaban Ratchaphat Chiang Mai.

⁷⁰ One of these books is: Yian, Woenpian, & Choengphoeng (1992). *Nithan thai lue nai monthon yunnan* [Tai Lue folktales in Yunnan Province]. Trans. Suchat Phumiborirak. Krungthep: D.D. Books.

⁷¹ My translation.

⁷² My translation.

⁷³ Khun is the group of Tai people originating from or residing in Kengtung, Shan State, Myanmar.

⁷⁴ Yuan is the Tai people in Northern Thailand, and some parts of Myanmar and Laos.

appropriate for this occasion.

Nowadays, the elements of Sipsong Panna can be found in different types of Northern Thai arts. The traditional Lue costumes of Sipsong Panna, especially the female costume of Mueang U⁷⁵, are widely used in all kinds of activities in Northern Thailand. Hulusi, a musical instrument being widely accepted to be a symbol of the Dai people in China, is also introduced into Thailand. Hulusi⁷⁶ is the main instrument in the Northern Thai artist Khamla Thanyaporn's song "Sipsongpanna" (in *Lanna Symphony Orchestra*) and instrumental piece "Sib Shuang Banna" (in *Resonance of Lanna*). Direkchai Mahatdhanasin, former adviser for the Lanna Folk Club of Chiang Mai University, adapted the peacock dance in the dance drama *Peacock Princess*, which he watched in Sipsong Panna in 1986, into "Fon Nok Yung" (Peacock Dance). This adapted dance is categorised as "Adapted Lanna Dance" (*fon Lanna prayuk*) (Saensa, 2011, pp. 46, 50). Lue architecture of Sipsong Panna inspires modern Lanna architectural designs in the Northern Thailand. Adul Heranya, a famous Northern Thai architect, adapts the elements of Sipsong Panna architecture in his works, such as the Khum Nakorn Villa, the Sipsan Luxury Hotel, the Rawee Waree Luxury Hotel and etc. The wells in Lue villages of Sipsong Panna, which are usually added with a pagoda-style ground cover to guard the water, are also used to decorate the hotels in Chiang Mai, such as the Yaang Come Village Hotel (designed by Niwat Tantayanusorn), the Dhara Dhevi Chiang Mai, and the Rim Resort of Chiang Mai.

The rediscovery of Sipsong Panna also gives impetus to the identity construction of the Lue in Thailand. A large amount of Lue people lives in Northern Thailand, most of whom were obliged to migrate there during the early 19th century, for the restoration of Chiang Mai and Nan and other neighboring Tai states, and during the 20th century, for the political turmoil in Sipsong Panna and Laos.

The identity construction of Lue in Thailand, does not only preserve the existing culture, but also recover the ancient culture. Since Sipsong Panna and Mueang Yong⁷⁷ (Mong Yawng) are the hometowns for the majority of Lue in Thailand, the culture of these two places are thought to be the orthodox culture of Lue. From the 1980s onwards, for the development of international relationship, transportation and tourism, Sipsong Panna and Mueang Yong are never hard to visit. The culture there is easily transmitted to Thailand and is utilized as resources to reconstruct their identity. Costume, music, language, architecture, script and other things become elements to reconstruct cultural identity. The costumes of Sipsong Panna and Mueang Yong are imitated by some Lue communities. Traditional *khap lue* and modern songs from Sipsong Panna and Mueang Yong are played as background music for cultural activities or dance. Though Tham script is a widely-used script in Tai areas, but the Lue in Thailand prefer the font made by Kengtung or Sipsong Panna. Buddhist architecture is another thing being reproduced. Bamboo-shoot pagoda (*that no*) of Sipsong Panna are rebuilt in Ban Don Chai village, Tambon Silalaeng, Amphoe Pua, Changwat Nan in 2000, and Wat Thin Nai, Tambon Bantthin, Amphoe Mueang, Changwat Phrae in 2015. Phra That Chom Yong, the most important pagoda in Mueang Yong, is also replicated in some Mueang Yong descendants communities.

For the reason of nation-building, Lue is now considered as an ethnic minority in Thailand. And partly due to the need of tourism and the consumption of otherness, the difference between Lue people and other Tai people in Northern Thailand is over-emphasised and exaggerated. When transplanting the culture of Sipsong Panna and Mueang Yong, the Lue in Thailand fails to notice culture change, especially the

⁷⁵ Now in Phongsaly Province of Laos.

⁷⁶ Actually, contrast to the widely accepted view, Hulusi (*pi lamtao* in Tai Nuea and *pi namtao* in Lue and Thai) is not a musical instrument of Sipsong Panna, but of Dehong.

⁷⁷ Now in Shan State of Myanmar. However, nowadays, most of the Lue descendants in Lamphun Province call themselves as Yong rather than Lue.

difference between the changes caused by endogenous and exogenous factors. And the newly constructed cultural traits or traits that influenced by the other are considered to be their own culture. Cultural identity is never fixed and homogeneous, but changeable. People from the same ethnic group may hold different cultural traits, while an individual can show different identities at different time and space. Through imitating of the culture in the homeland and other Lue areas and sharing the same cultural experience, the Lue in Thailand obtains a sense of belonging. They are not only belongs to their own local communities, but also a much larger Lue community.

It is in this period that the literary work KKLSH is introduced to Thailand.

II Literary Criticism

Thai literature researcher is not only the first recipient of KKLSH, but also the major recipient of it. Thai trend of travel to Sipsong Panna in the 1980s, is coincident with the publication of books printed in New Tai Lue script. Books sold at Sipsong Panna were brought back by those visitors. The two-volume KKLSH was only printed 15,000 copies in China, thus its circulation is limited. Besides, this text has never been fully transcribed or translated into Thai, those who read it are people having the knowledge of New Tai Lue script or Tham script. Thai critics' reception of this text can be divided into two kinds, the first is based on primary source, the original text (Phanthumetha, 1986; Malarochana, 1986; Sribusra, 1991; Nimmanhemim, 2011; Khamchan, 2012), and the second is based on secondary source (Jeennoon, 2004, 2006; Damrhung & Khana Aksonsat, 2013; Damrhung, 2014).

2.1 The New Tai Lue Script

Charoen Malarochana, more well-known by the pseudonym Mala Khamchan, finished his Master thesis at Silpakorn University, under the supervision of Prasoet Na Nakhon and Thawi Sawangpanyangkun. The later was studying the New Tai Lue script at that time, and used the first page of KKLSH as an illustration of the script in *Tamnan Mueang Yong* (Chronicle of Mueang Yong, 1984) and *Tamnan Phuen Mueang Sipsongphanna* (Chronicle of Sipsong Panna, 1986) (Swangpanyangkoon, 1984, p. 10; Swangpanyangkoon, 1986, pp.32-35). Malarochana assisted the research of *Tamnan Phuen Mueang Sipsongphanna*, and got KKLSH from Sawangpanyangkun (Khamchan, personal interview, February 7, 2015).

Malarochana's thesis "An Analytical Study of Khamkup Lanka Sip Hua a Thai Lue Literature" is the first monographic study on KKLSH, and his study on this text influenced his later work, CCPH, which will be discussed in the next section. This thesis consists of six chapters, that is, "Introduction", "Some Fundamental Knowledge about Thai Lue People" (introducing the geography and history of Sipsong Panna, and the manuscripts and books of Thai Lue literature), "Thai Lue Script System" (discussing the script and orthography of the New Tai Lue script), "Thai Lue Language in Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua" (discussing common words in Thai and Thai Lue, Pali, Sanskrit and Khmer loanwords in Thai Lue, word formation, and language use), "Cultural Elements in *Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua*", and "Conclusion and Suggestion" (discussing style, content, artistic tactics, social and cultural condition)⁷⁸. In the fifth chapter, he discusses the characteristics of rhyme, and the way to start and to end a canto in section one, the way of presenting love in speech (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 248-249), and onomatopoeia (Malarochana, 1986, p. 254), which helped Mala Khamchan to write *khap lue* in his later work CCPH.

Half of the thesis (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 41-179) focuses on the script and language in KKLSH. The New Tai Lue script used to print this text was put in use in 1955, before then Tham script and Fak Kham script

⁷⁸ My translation.

were the scripts used in Sipsong Panna. Even though the New Tai Lue script is based on Tham script, the orthography undergoes a great change. Besides, at that time, a large number of books published were printed in the New Tai Lue Script, which had never been studied in details by Thai scholars. Therefore, Malarochana devoted one chapter (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 41-75) to analyze the script. He mentioned that this study would publicize the knowledge of the New Tai Lue script and Lue languages, and can contribute to the later studies of other Lue documents (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 4, 7, 77, 179, 291). It is true that, some of the later studies on Lue language and literature do refer to this thesis (Sonkanok, 1990). Thai scholars certainly know the script reform in Sipsong Panna, but some of them consider the new script to be more corresponding to the actual pronunciation (Sribusra, 1991, preface). They seldomly mention the distortion of the text caused by the new script, that has been discussed above. With the exception of correcting *thīdā* (daughter) into *thidā*, Malarochana does not amend the other characters' names. Another scholar, Sribusra, follows all the spellings of the names in KKLSH, when he translates the text into Thai, in order to remain the literary style of the original text. He does not even correct the word *thīdā*, which is incorrect in Thai (Sribusra, 1991). When reviewing CCPH, Suphan Thongkhilai mentions that Mala Khanchan revises the names of the characters in KKLSH. He says that "if it is the real *khap lue*, *phrommachak* should be written as *phummachak*, *ram* or *rama* should be written as *lamma*" (Thongkhilai, 1992, p. 54). However, as what has been discussed above, most of the names in KKLSH has been misrepresented by the New Tai Lue script, and Phommachak should be written as *phommachak* (Brahmacakka). In CCPH, Mala Khamchan only revises the name from the Pali form to the Sanskrit form.

2.2 Ramakien

Since *Lanka Sip Hua* stories was introduced into Thailand, they had been closely related to *Ramakien*. *Ramakien* is the most famous literary work in Thailand, and probably for this reason, KKLSH becomes one of the most-discussed Lue literary works in Thailand. There are three chapters discussing the literature of Lue in Bunchuai Srisawat's *Lue, Khon Thai Nai Prathet Chin* (Lue, the Thai people in China, 1955), one of which introduces the story of *Lanka Sip Song Hua*, a variation of *Lanka Sip Hua*. The only literature review collected in *Yunnan* (1986), discussed KKLSH.

As what has been mentioned above that Thai academic horizon expanded to other Tai areas outside Thailand in the 1980s. Tai literatures in Kengtung, Sipsong Panna, Laos and other areas become the objects of the study of comparative local literature (*wanna kam thong thin priap thiap*). The research on KKLSH in Thailand is no exception. It centers on the comparison between KKLSH and other *Ramayana* stories in Thailand, such as *Ramakien*. Phatchalin Jeenoo's thesis "An Analysis of Hanuman in Various Versions of the *Ramakien*"(2004) and paper "The Degrees of Hanuman's Dignity in Various Versions of the *Ramakien*"(2006-2007) compare the character of Hanuman in KKLSH with other versions of *Ramakien*. Prakhong Nimmanhemim's "Rama stories as Buddhist Literature"⁷⁹(2011) discusses KKLSH and other *Ramayana* stories in the context of Buddhist literature. In the paper "*Lanka Sip Ho: Recitation of Ethics of Tai-Lue Ramayana*" (2014), Pornrat Damrung compares the character Phommachak in KKLSH with the character Ravana in *Uttara Kanda*, and compares KKLSH with other *Ramayana* stories in Northern Thailand, i.e., *Phommachak*, *Horaman* and *Prammahian*. Moreover, Pornrat Damrung and the students of the Faculty of Arts adapted KKLSH into a drama, which is a part of the drama project "*Ramakien: Our Roots Right Now*" (*Ramakien: kao na chak rak kaew*). The other three works, *Yok Rob*, *Femmes Fatales in Lanka* (*Nangrai nai Longka*), and *Ravanasura* (*Rapphanasun*), are also related to *Ramayana* stories. Some critics

⁷⁹ My translation.

of CCPH also consider the *khap lue Lanka Sip Hua* in CCPH as *Ramakien* (Jarungkidanan, 1992; Chitchamnong, 1992). Other writings, which are not monographs of comparative study, still discuss it together with other texts. Nawawan Phanthumetha's "The story of *Lanka Sip Hua*"⁸⁰ (1986) compares KKLSH and *Ramakien*, the version of the reign of Rama I, from three aspects. When paraphrasing the plot of KKLSH, Sribusra emphasizes the plots that are not found in *Ramakien* or the plots that are found in *Ramakien* but have subtle differences.

Reception context and expectation horizon effect the transnational reception of text. *Ramakien* is one of the most well-known literary works in Thailand, while few people knows *Lanka Sip Hua* and KKLSH. For the consideration of the audience's understanding, *Lanka Sip Hua* is often called as Lue version of *Ramakien*. Sribusra's work *Lanka Sip Hua: Tai Lue's Ramakien* (1991) uses the photo of the mask of Indra in the Khon drama as book cover. When reviewing CCPH, Wanich Jarungkidanan referred the story of Rama and Sida in the *khap lue Lanka Sip Hua* as *Ramakien*, not as *Lanka Sip Hua*. In addition, he used the name Nang Sida and Thotsakan in *Ramakien* instead of Sida and Phrommachak in the *khap lue* (1992, pp. 128-129). Later on, he used the proverb "Yaksha steals, monkey takes away" (*yak lak ma, ling pha pai*) to explain Mala Khamchan's intention for inserting the story of Rama (Jarungkidanan, 1992, p. 129). However, it is somehow over-interpretation.

2.3 Problems

Before being published, the texts of Sipsong Panna were carefully censored and revised (sometimes purified), due to the contemporary literary policy or non-normative editing. Not all the compilers mentioned their revision in the books they compiled, neither did the editors of KKLSH. As a result, KKLSH is accepted in Thailand as a Lue text that reflects the language and society of Sipsong Panna. Since the editors did not mention their revision of KKLSH in the foreword, it is impossible for Thai scholars to know that this text had undergone any great changes. For this reason, the plot of Sulaman, changed by the compilers, can be found in almost all the Thai reviews (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 193, 217; Phanthumetha, 1986, p. 196; Montri Sribusra, 1991, pp. 28-29; Jeennoon, 2004, p. 56; Rungruengsri, 2011, p. 73). Other texts printed in New Tai Lue script which are introduced to Thailand have also been more or less revised, for instance, the editor of *Kham Khap Mak Kok Tao Mueang Chae Lai Nong* (Lyrics of the Floating Gourd of Mueang Chae, 1980) based on a Chinese translated version and *khap lue* works to revise the text. Ai Phin edited the plots of *Kham Khap Khao Chao Suwat* (Song of Chao Suwat, 1988) according to the literary policy of the Chinese government. Only some Thai scholars discuss the editorial processes of the texts published in China (Renoo Wichasin, 2001; Renoo Wichasin et al., 2008).

Many problems exist with regard to Thailand's reception of Lue culture and literature. Misreading is unavoidable, especially in the international reception of culture. However, most of the misreadings in Thailand are already finished in China. The misreading in the Chinese context is easily transmitted to Thailand. Especially in the 1980s and 1990s, for the urgent need of getting knowledge of Sipsong Panna, some Chinese books were translated into Thai and published in Thailand⁸¹. Some of these books contains

⁸⁰ My translation.

⁸¹ Li, Fu Chi. (1985). *Ban thuek rueang sipsong phanna* [Records of Sipsong Panna]. Khanakammakan Suepkhon Prawatsat Thai kiaokap Chin nai Ekkasan Phasa Chin, Samnak Nayok Ratthamontri (Trans.). Krungthep: Samnak Nayok Ratthamontri. Chang, Kong Chin. (1987). *Chon chat thai nai prathet chin (tam lak than khong chin)* [Thai people in China (according to Chinese documents)]. Krungthep: Saksopha Kanphim. Chieang, Ing Liang. (1991). *Prawat chon chuea chat thai* [History of Tai people]. Khanakammakan Suepkhon Prawatsat Thai kiaokap Chin nai Ekkasan Phasa Chin, Samnak Nayok Ratthamontri (Trans.). Krungthep: Samnak Nayok Ratthamontri. Yian, Woenpian, & Choengphoeng. (1992). *Nithan thai lue nai monthon yunnan* [Tai Lue folktales in Yunnan Province]. Suchat

many misreading, like peacock is Tai people's symbol. These books, together with other information provided by Chinese informants, contribute to some misreadings that are widely accepted in Thailand, like, Nang Manora Princess is considered by Lue as peacock⁸², and the name of "elephant-foot drum"⁸³. Some foreign researchers challenged the peacock misreading (Davis, 2005: pp. 118-119). The Chinese misreading is transferred into Thailand and the Lue in Thailand also misunderstands peacock as their symbol, and peacock decorations are arranged in many cultural activities to stress the cultural identity⁸⁴.

The crux of the research on the Lue literature of Sipsong Panna is the access to the original manuscripts. Since Sipsong Panna has a long history of interaction with the other Tai areas, the manuscripts of Sipsong Panna must have been brought to the other regions. When Some manuscripts are brought to Thailand. Since the 1980s onwards, Thai scholars brought some manuscripts back to Thailand, and some of them were republished in Thailand. For instance, Somsak Suwaphap's book, *Praweani Mueang Luang* (1986), was transcribed from a manuscript found in Mueang Luang, Sipsong Panna, during a visit there in 1985 (Suwaphap, 1986). In the past decades, especially in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the culture of Sipsong Panna has been destroyed and many manuscripts have lost. Though the manuscript culture is rebuilt after 1978 and manuscripts were imported from Kengtung and other areas, published books are more available for short trip visitors. Thai research works on Sipsong Panna texts are mostly based on books published in China. From 1985 to 2015, twelve Thai theses studying the literature of Sipsong Panna were written, and all of them are based on books published in China⁸⁵. For example, Chutamas Sonkanok's

Phumiborirak (Trans.). Krungthep: D.D. Books. Hoskin, John & Geoffrey Walton. (Eds.). (1992). *Folk Tales and Legends of the Dai People: The Thai Lue in Yunnan, China*. Ying Yi (Trans.). Krungthep: D D Books, Chu, Liangwen. (1994). *Chon chat tai: sathapattayakam lae khanop thamniam prapheni tai nai Sipsongphanna* [The Dai or the Tai and their architecture and customs in South China]. Ngamphan Wetchachiwa (Trans.). Chiang Mai: Suriwong Buk Sentoe. Chu, Liang-wen. (1992). *The Dai, or the Tai and Their Architecture & Customs in South China*. Krungthep: D D Books. Chao, Soeng Chang & Chang Yuan Sing. (1997). *Chon chat thai* [Tai nation]. Khanakammakan Suepkhon Prawatsat Thai kiaokap Chin nai Ekkasan Phasa Chin, Samnak Nayok Rattthamontri (Trans.). Krungthep: Samnak Nayok Rattthamontri.

⁸² In the Lue literature of Sipsong Panna, Nang Manora is Kinnari, a half-human and half-bird creature in Buddhist mythology. But Nang Manora is misread by the Han Chinese as peacock.

⁸³ The drums of Tai is incorrectly called by the Han Chinese as *xiang jiao gu* (elephant-foot drum), which is later literally translated into Thai as *klong thao chang* or *klong tin chang*, while the Tai never call their drums like this.

⁸⁴ Peacock is misread by the Han Chinese as the symbol of the Dai people. Peacock picture was decorated on the stage background of the activity "Watch Bretschneidera bloom, carry on the tradition of Tai Lue in the Nan Province" (my translation of *pho dok chomphuphukha ban, san hit hoi, koi tai lue moeng nan*), which was held in Pua District, Nan Province, on February 28- March 2, 2014. A peacock statue was decorated on the stage background of the activity "Inherit Tai Lue Culture" (my translation of *ngan suepsan watthanatham tai lue*), which was held at Ban Mueang Luang Tai, Doi Saket District, Chiang Mai Province, on March 28-29, 2015.

⁸⁵ Malarochana, Charoen. (1986). *Wikhro wanna kam thai lue rueang lanka sip hua* [An analytical study of Khamkup Lanka Sip Hua a Thai Lue literature]. (Master's thesis, Silpakorn University). Sonkanok, Chutamas. (1990). *Kan sueksa priap thiap rueang phra suthon-nang namora samnuan thong thin lanna, sipsongphanna lae chiang tung* [A comparative study of the Lanna, Sipsong Panna and Kengtung versions of the folktale: Phra Suthon-Nang Mamora]. (Master's thesis, Silpakorn University). Khetta Wimol. (2000). *Phap phuen khiao chuea khrua chao saenwifa sipsong phanna: kan sueksa wikhro nua ha prawat sat* [The manuscripts on genealogy of Chaosaenweefa Sipsongpanna an analytical study of historical subject matter]. (Master's thesis, Silpakorn University). Techasiriwan, Apiradee. (2003). *Phatthana khong akson lae akkhara withi nai ekka san thai lue* [Development of Tai-Lue scripts and orthography]. (Master's thesis, Chiang Mai University). Swangwong, Kasorn. (2005). *Kan sueksa priap thiap wanna kam rueang nang phom hom chabap lanna, isan lae thai lue* [A comparative study of a Lanna Thai, a Northeastern Thai and a Thai Lue versions of the Nang Phom Hom]. (Master's thesis, Silpakorn University). Sangpunya, Isariyaporn. (2006). *Suphasit thai lue: kan sueksa choeng wichro* [An analytical study of Tai Lue proverbs]. (Master's thesis, Srinakharinwirot University). Jornameon, Uamporn. (2009). *Kham si phayang nai phasa thai lue* [Four-syllable words in the Tai Lue language]. (Master's thesis, Chiang Mai University). Mitphraphan, Wakul. (2010). *Mahachat thai lue kan thi 1-7:*

Master thesis, "A Comparative Study of the Lanna, Sipsong Panna and Kengtung Versions of the Folktale: Phra Suthon-Nang Mamora" (1990), is based on the book *Kham Khap Khao Chao Suthon* (Song of Prince Suthon, 1985); Lamun Chanhom's *Comparative Study of Lanna Proverbs and Tai Lue Proverbs*⁸⁶ (1998) was based on the book, *Tai People's Proverbs*⁸⁷ (1990), edited by Gao Lishi. In addition, most of the works republished in Thailand are books which have been published in China⁸⁸. Traditionally, Lue literature of Sipsong Panna are handed down orally or in the form of manuscript, a large body of which have not yet been compiled and published. Compared with unpublished primary sources collected in personal, institutions and libraries (Thechasiwan, 2003, p. 175), publications are more accessible. Surveys and digitalization of manuscript are carried out at the turn of the twenty first century, a research programme on the manuscripts in Sipsong Panna was conducted by Kato Kumiko, and a report was published in 2001. From 2003 onwards, local researchers carried out manuscripts investigation in Sipsong Panna (Yu Kang, 2010, p. 3).

III *Chao Chan Phom Hom* and the Cultural Reconstruction of the Northern Thailand

As mentioned above that Mala Khamchan's Master thesis studies KKLSH and he assisted the study of the *Chronicle of Sipsong Panna*, these experiences has strong impact on his novel and other works. CCPH, like

konlawithi thang wannasin lae phap sathon sangkhom lae watthanatham [The Tai Lue Mahachat chapter 1-7: literary techniques and reflection of society and culture]. (Master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University). Petchaboon, Chatuporn. (2010). *Mahachat thai lue kan thi 8-13: konlawithi thang wannasin lae phap sathon sangkhom lae watthanatham* [The Tai Lue Mahachat chapter 8-13: literary techniques and reflection of society and culture]. (Master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University). Ruanjai, Rosarin. (2010). *Khronng sang khong nithan thai lue* [Structures of Tai Lue Folktales]. (Master's thesis, Chiang Mai University). Ritpen, Supin. (2011). *Samlo nang u-piam lae chao suthon nang manora, khwam mai lae kan damrong yu nai boribot sangkhom khong chon chat thai* [Samlor - Nang Upiam and Chao Sudhon - Nang Manohra: the meaning and existence in the social context of Tai ethnic groups]. (Doctoral dissertation, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University). Thungsang, Wannida. (2013). *Tamnan kan sang lok khong chao thai lue: wichro chak khamphi boran khong sipsong panna (Satharanarat Prachachon Chin)* [The origin of the world in Tai Lue tradition: analyze from manuscripts of Sipsong Panna (PR.China)]. (Doctoral dissertation, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University).

⁸⁶ My translation.

⁸⁷ My translation.

⁸⁸ Swangpanyangkun, Thawi. (Ed.). (1986). *Roi paet kham boran thai lue* [One hundred and eight Tai Lue proverbs]. Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University. Wichasin, Renoo. (Ed.). (1987). *Tamra ya sipsongphanna* [Sipsong Panna materia medica]. Chiang Mai: Sathaban Wichai Sangkhom Mahawithayalai Chiang Mai. Wichasin, Renoo. (Ed.). (2001). *Chuea khrua chao saen wi sipsongphanna* [Chronicles of Sipsong Panna kings]. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books. Chanhom, Lamun. (Ed.). (2002). *Suphasit thai lue* [Tai Lue proverbs]. Chiang Mai: Samnak Sinlapa Watthanatham, Sathaban Ratchaphat Chiang Mai. Nimmanhemim, Prakhong. (Ed.). (2003). *Kham khap khao chao chueang han maha kap phuen thin thai lue* [*Chao Chueang Han* libretto: Tai Lue local epic]. Krungthep: Sathaban Thai Sueksa Chulalongkorn Mahawithayalai. Chanhom, Lamun. (Ed.). (2004). *Phap khao nithan kha si saen mon ma* [Legend of four hundred thousand saddles]. Chiang Mai: Rongphim Ming Mueang. Dokbuakaew, Phaithoon et al. (Eds.). (2008). *Tamra ya samunphrai khong thai lue nai chin* [Herbal pharmacopoeia of Tai Lue in China]. Chiang Mai: Rongphim ming mueang. Wichasin, Renoo et al. (Eds.). (2008). *Wanna kam Tai Lue mak kok tao mueang chae lai nong, tamnan khwam rak khwam tai* [A Study of Tai Lue Literature 'Ma:k Ko:k Tao Me:ng Cae Lai No:ng']. Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University. Nimmanhemim, Prakhong. (Ed.). (2011). *Chao chueang han wira burut thai lue: tamnan maha kap phithi kam* [Tai Lue's hero Chao Chueang Han: legend, epic and worship]. Krungthep: Chulalongkorn University. Nimmanhemim, Prakhong et al. (Eds.). (2011). *Kham khap luk on: phap chivit lae phum panya Thai Lue nai bot phleng samrap dek* [Children's songs: Tai Lue's life and wisdom in children's songs]. Krungthep: Chulalongkorn University Press. Premchit, Sommai et al. (Eds.). (2015). *Tamnan Mueang Lue: prawat sat phuen thin daen din Chiang Rung, Mueang Yong Mueang Sing* [Legend of Lue kingdom: local history of Chiang Rung, Mueang Yong and Mueang Singh]. Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University.

the other works of Mala Khamchan, tells the story of the Northern Thai world, where regional history, local culture and native language intertwine. The sources of Sipsong Panna are weaved into this work to construct the regional world. CCPH won the Southeast Asian Writers Award of 1991, and is the most well-known work of him. Mala Khamchan plays a major role in the cultural revival of Lanna, and his adaptation of KKLSH in CCPH will illustrate the role of the culture of Sipsong Panna plays in the cultural reconstruction in Northern Thailand.

Except the *khap lue* of *Lanka Sip Hua*, the trace of Sipsong Panna in CCPH can still be noticed in another aspect. Chao Chantha Yot Fa, the queen who proposes Chao Chan to pilgrim to the Phra That Inkhwaen (Kyaiktiyo Pagoda), is based on a text from Sipsong Panna. In CCPH, Chao Chantha Yot Fa is a queen who ruled Sipsong Panna two or three hundred years ago (Khamchan, 2012, p. 21), or three and four hundred years ago (Khamchan, 2012, p. 46). Mala Khamchan mentions that (Khamchan, personal interview, February 7, 2015), this character comes from *Tamnan Phuean Mueang Sipsong Phanna* (Swangpanyangkoon, 1986, p. 76). As what has been mentioned above that he assisted the study of this chronicle, and in his Master thesis, he also cites the king genealogy of Sipsong Panna, which includes Chao Chantha Yot Fa (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 15-17). Chao Chantha Yot Fa has two functions in CCPH, one is being the previous life of Chao Chan, and the other is inspiring Chao Chan to make a pilgrimage to Phra That Inkhwaen. Before Chao Chan's birth, her mother dreams that Chao Chantha Yot Fa appears at the court and gives her a gem, then her parents give her the name Chantha Kaew Yuen Fa, being named after the queen (Khamchan, 2012, p. 46). In addition, Chao Intha also compares Chao Chan to Chao Chantha Yot Fa, and says she is as beautiful as the queen (Khamchan, 2012, p. 43). The princess also considers herself as the afterlife of Chao Chantha Yot Fa, and worshipping the Phra That Inkhwaen can let her escape from the hand of Pho Liang (Khamchan, 2012, p. 81). At the age of sixteen, she gets a serious illness and her mother dreams of Chao Chantha Yot Fa again, who hints that the Phra That Inkhwaen can help Chao Chan. (Khamchan, 2012, p. 105). Because Chao Chantha Yot Fa cuts off her hair to worship the pagoda in Chiang Rung⁸⁹, she exempts herself from the fate of marrying a Chinese king.

Moreover, Mala Khamchan thinks that Sipsong Panna and Lanna have a close cultural connection, the culture of Sipsong Panna can complement the culture of the Northern Thailand. "Thai Yuan or *khon mueang* ("local people" or "people of the kingdom") has a close relationship with Thai Lue. Certain [things] disappeared in Lanna, are still preserved by Thai Lue brothers in Sipsong Panna"⁹⁰ (Khamchan, 2008, p. 131). For this reason, he adds the part concerning house spirit in Chia Yaenchong's "Sipsong Panna Tai Lue's house spirit, and village god and country god"⁹¹ (1994) to the chapter "House Spirit" (*phi huean*) in his work *Phi Nai Lanna* (The Spirits and Gods of Lanna, 2008). In the book compiled for the adolescent, *Tamnan Banphachon* (Ancestor's Legends, 1994), Mala Khamchan rewrites the story of Chao Bun Pan conquering Yaksha in the *Chronicle of Sipsong Panna*.

3.1 The Influence of *Khaph Lue*

Though CCPH tells the story of the Chiang Mai princess Chao Chan's pilgrimage to the Phra That Inkhwaen, being accompanied by Pho Liang, it contains an abundance of *Khaph Lue* elements. Except from what has been mentioned above that Mala Khamchan's Master thesis studies this text, he said that he had written too much Lanna poems and needed to extend his creative space, and *Lanka Sip Hua* and *khaph lue* were unknown to most Thai (Khamchan, personal interview, February 7, 2015). As for the text itself, Pho Liang

⁸⁹ The capital of Sipsong Panna.

⁹⁰ My translation.

⁹¹ My translation.

appointed the singer to sing *khap lue*, the story of Lanka Sip Hua, for the princess, because “she has the lineage of Thai Lue of Sipsong Panna” (Khamchan & Kong Bannathikan Buk Riwiu, 1991, p. 85). The impact of KKLSH on Chao Chan Phom Hom will be discussed in four aspects, inter-textuality, the use of *khap lue*, expression, and style.

The first aspect is inter-textuality. KKLSH enters the text through the singer’s mouth. According to CCPH, the singer had fled to Sipsong Panna for twenty years to escape the danger caused by the Southerner, before he came back and asked for working under Pho Liang. For being weak and unfit for heavy work, he was appointed as a singer (Khamchan, 2012, p. 37). What the singer sings during their travel is the story of Lanka Sip Hua, the content of which is parallel to the process of their journey. Thirteen sections of the lyrics of Lanka Sip Hua are interweaved in the text, and the contents of them are as follows: the prelude (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 6-7); Sida is taken away by Phrommachak to Lanka Island (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 13-14); Phrommachak is fascinated by Sida and plans to bring her to Lanka (Khamchan, 2012, p. 26-7); the massive procession back to the city (Khamchan, 2012, p. 37); Sida is brought by the bird Kali to the forest and feels confused (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 41-42); Sida’s sorrowfulness for being taken to Lanka Island (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 44-45); Sida roams lonely in the forest after being driven away by Rama (Khamchan, 2012, p. 87); Sida deplors the massive death of Yakshas and fears that she is the cause of such a sin (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 113-114); the celebration scene for the victory over Phrommachak (Khamchan, 2012, p. 115). The last four sections relate how Sida steps into the burning flames (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 124, 125, 126-7, 137).

These sections of *khap lue* correspond to the process of Chao Chan’s journey, which is as follows: Pho Liang escorts Chao Chan to Phra That Inkhwaen; the move of elephants and the procession; Pho Liang is fascinated by Chao Chan and can not help looking back at her; heavy mist in the forest; Chao Chan feels despair for having to marry Pho Liang; monkeys play in the forest; the cruel fighting between the troop and Wa robbers; after the fighting, Pho Liang let his subordinates to bury the bodies of Wa to prevent them from being eaten by the tiger; they cut off the bushes to open up a path to Phra That Inkhwaen; and finally Chao Chan despairs and decides to live with Pho Liang. Besides, the characters in KKLSH are counterpointed with the characters in CCPM, i.e., Sida and Chao Chan, Rama and Chao Intha, Phommachak and Pho Liang, monkey troop and warriors of Pho Liang, Yaksha troop and Wa robbers. Moreover, the narrator uses “ghost Yaksha”(yak prai) to call Pho Liang (Khamchan, 2012, p. 83), and the story of Sida and Rama is mentioned by her mother to persuade her give up Chao Intha, for Rama has once deeply loved Sida, but at last drives her away (Khamchan, 2012, p. 88).

The second aspect is the use of the verses of KKLSH. Since the original verses in KKLSH do not completely meet the context of CCPH, most the sections of *khap lue* in CCPH are written by Mala Khamchan himself. In these thirteen sections of *khap lue*, one hundred and thirty five verses, only sixteen verses of two sections are borrowed directly from KKLSH. The fourth section uses two verses in KKLSH, which describes the procession back to Lanka Island. Only one word of the original text is deleted in CCPH, that is, “and” (*lae*) in the first verse.

KKLSH: <i>yam nan yotha phrom sena lae amat</i> <i>khao ko okat chao nang chang hue khi lang</i> <i>phlai</i> ⁹² (Dao Jinxiang et al., 1981, p. 92)	CCPH: <i>yam nan yotha phrom sena amat</i> <i>khao ko okat chao nang chang hue khi lang</i> <i>phlai</i> (Khamchan, 2012, p. 37)
Translation: That time, soldiers together with attendants and officials, let the elephant-riding king sit on the male elephant's back	Translation: That time, soldiers together with attendants [and] officials, let the elephant-riding king sit on the male elephant's back

The seventh section is adapted from the verses in the nineteenth chapter of KKLSH, which describe that Sida is driven out from the palace and roams in the forest at a cold night. There are only a few revisions, i.e., four words are omitted (“this” (*ni*) in the fifth line, “this” (*ni*) and “is” (*pen*) in the sixth line, and “girl/princess” (*nang*) in the thirteenth line), and six words are changed (“to look” (*han*, used in Northern Thailand, Kengtung and Sipsong Panna) in the second line is replaced by “to look” (*hen*, Standard Thai), “mat” (*pha suea*) in the fourth line is changed into “cloth” (*pha suea*), “to be wetted [by the rain]” (*yam*) in the seventh line is changed into “to drizzle” (*phram*), “to gush out” (*thang*) in the thirteenth line is changed into “to flow” (*lang*), “till the daybreak” (*to laeng*) in the fourteenth line is changed into “till the red dawn” (trap rung daeng).

The critic Suphan Thongkhilai mentions that this whole section was from the original KKLSH (1992, p. 54). However, this view does not conform to the reality, for Mala Khamchan changed some words. In addition, some changes are not intentional, for instance, the change from “mat” (*pha suea*) to “cloth” (*pha suea*)⁹³. In his Master thesis, “mat” (*pha suea*) is also transcribed as “cloth” (*pha suea*) by mistake (Malarochana, 1986, p. 256).

⁹² For the reason of comparison, these verses are transliterated in accordance with Standard Thai pronunciation rather than Lue pronunciation.

⁹³ These two words are different in tone marks.

KKLSH:

*trong du lam lai fa mung bon chuet chuet
 mua muet dao pa mai bo ru thi han thang
 nang hak kat lae nao klueak non nuea ya
 pha suea la nang noi pen mak hin pha
 mon hua kaew sida ni pen rak mai kum
 pha hom la mae noi ni pen moei sathap
 mung mueang
 moei tok yam fuea tong thim ti nang kat san
 moei yan khlum pan ha fon san
 phlan chai ta bang kaew sida luk nang
 siang tak kung rong kaem rit maeng chon
 nang ni lap bo pen non king moeng thang
 chang
 chai king tang khu noi nao pin taloem kham
 song ta nang nam lai phang yoi thang
 nang ko nang yu tha thueng to laeng ma
 (Dao Jinxiang et al., 1983, pp. 242-243)*

Translation:

[Sida] watched the continuous and endless
 cloud roof above
 The dim and dark forest land could not see
 roads
 The princess felt chilly and slept rollingly
 above grass
 The mattress of the little princess is pebbles
 and cobbles
 The pillow of cherished Sida is the roots of
 sacred garlic pear
 The blanket of the little girl is the frost
 thronging around the whole land
 Fog drizzled the cluttered wide leaves, that
 poked the princess felt cold and trembled
 The murky enveloping fog looked like
 drizzling rain
 Destroyed-heart [and] slender eyes the
 cherished Sida got up and sat
 The buzz of giant crickets mingled with
 crickets and mole crickets
 This princess can not fall asleep, laying and
 pondering kingdom and elephant
 Mind thought over the little pair of stud
 earrings, bracelets, hair pin, and gold face
 shield
 [From the] two eyes of the princess water
 flows, falls, droops, and pours
 The princess sat and waited until the
 daybreak came

In other parts, Mala Khamchan creates his own verses. However, he does not always follow the pattern of

CCPH:

*trong du lam lai fa mung bon chuet chuet
 mua muet dao pa mai bo ru thi hen thang
 nang hak kat lae nao klueak non nuea ya
 pha suea la nang noi pen mak hin pha
 mon hua kaew sida pen rak mai kum
 pha hom la mae noi moei sathap mung
 mueang
 moei tok phram fuea tong thim ti nang kat
 san
 moei yan khlum pan ha fon san
 phlan chai ta bang kaew sida luk nang
 siang tak kung rong kaem rit maeng chon
 nang ni lap bo pen non king moeng thang
 chang
 chai king tang khu noi nao pin chaloem kham
 song ta nam lai phang yoi lang
 nang ko nang yu tha trap rung daeng ma
 (Khamchan, 2012, p. 87)*

Translation:

[Sida] watched the continuous and endless
 cloud roof above
 The dim and dark forest land could not see
 roads
 The princess felt chilly and slept rollingly
 above grass
 The clothing of the little princess is pebbles
 and cobbles
 The pillow of the cherished Sida is the roots
 of sacred garlic pear
 The blanket of the little girl [is] the frost
 thronging around the whole land
 Fog drizzled the cluttered wide leaves, that
 poked the princess felt cold and trembled
 The murky enveloping fog looked like
 drizzling rain
 Destroyed-heart [and] slender eyes the
 cherished Sida got up and sat
 The buzz of giant crickets mingled with
 crickets and mole crickets
 This princess can not fall asleep, laying and
 pondering kingdom and elephant
 Mind thought over the little pair of stud
 earrings, bracelets, hair pin, and gold face
 shield
 [From the] two eyes water flows, falls,
 droops, and pours
 The princess sat and waited until the red
 dawn came

khap lue. For example, for the word “give”, he alternately used Yuan and Lue word *hue* (Khamchan, 2012, p. 37) and Thai word *hai* (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 13, 124). Moreover, the modal particle *tho* is replaced by *thoe*, which is more common in Yuan dialect or Kham Mueang (Khamchan 2012, pp. 6, 45, 137).

The third aspect is expression. Though the other parts of the *khap lue* in CCPH are Mala Khamchan’s creation, they are still influenced by KKLSH. One of the most remarkable influences is the compound word modifying or referring to character, or using the names that Mala Khamchan uses in his Master thesis, “compound word of character’s name” (*kham prakop chue tua lakhon*) or “representative word of character’s name” (*kham thaen chue tua lakhon*). This kind of words are conventional phrases widely used in *khap lue*, and are used to modify characters or refer to characters. Some shared words, like “princess of high-descent” (*nang no kaew*) and “most-cherished princess” (*nang yot kaew*), can be found in the literature of Sipsong Panna, Northern Thailand and other areas. These words used in KKLSH are found in the *khap lue* of CCPH, “extensive-goodness Rama” (*rama bun yai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 7), “cherished beautiful girl” (*kaew nang ngam*, Khamchan, 2012, pp. 13, 44), “gem-molded princess” (*chao kaew lo*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 26), “cherished noble beauty” (*kaew nat thai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 27), “the highest king” (*chao yot thai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 41), “majestic king” (*chom chak chao*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 42), “dearly loved husband” (*chom hua phua*, Khamchan, 2012, pp. 45, 124), “only-cherished princess” (*kaew nang diao*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 113), “cherished flower” (*kaew dok mai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 125), “good-looking prince” (*chao chai ngam*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 137), “the highest king” (*chom phaen chao*, Khamchan, 2012, p.137), “ruler of the sky” (*chao phaen fa*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 137) can be found in KKLSH. Moreover, Mala Khamchan created new words. Some of these words are reorganized from the existing words in KKLSH, such as “cherished majestic little beauty Sida” (*kaew thep thai noi nat sida*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 6), “precious and cherished beauty” (*nang nat kaew kha choi*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 14), “gem-molded Sida princess” (*chao kaew lo sida*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 26), “wide-goodness king” (*chao bun kwang*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 37), “the crest of the sky” (*chom yot fa*, Khamchan, 2012, p.42), or are slightly modified from the words in KKLSH, for instance, “big iniquitous and asinine ruffian” (*chao phala ba bai atham yai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 26). The widely use of these words in CCPH, reflecting the style of *khap lue*, owns much to Mala Khamchan’s analyse on this kind of modification in his Master thesis (Malarochana, 1986, pp. 158-61).

Except from using in *khap lue*, this kind of words are also found in non-*khap lue* parts. For instance, “extensive-goodness Rama” (*chao rama bun yai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 45), and “cherished majestic princess” (*kaew thet thai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 87) in the paragraphs describing the singer and the story of *Lanka Sip Hua*, and “precious cherished princess” (*kaew phaeng choi*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 60) in other part of the work. But more are Mala Khamchan’s creation, such as “extraordinary beautiful princess” (*chao nang ngam loet la*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 11) and “cherished little daughter little princess” (*kaew luk la nang noi*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 72). Some critic mentioned Mala Khamchan’s creation of words to modify woman, but did not mention KKLSH, and misread that “cherished beauty” (*nang nat kaew*) is also Mala Khamchan’s creation (Satchaphan, 1992, p. 74).

Words in KKLSH are also borrowed into CCPH. The first are the names of plants, such as *dok mu*⁹⁴ and *mak hai kham*⁹⁵. The former appeared five times, once in *khap lue* (Khamchan, 2012, p. 6), and other four times

⁹⁴ Mala Khamchan notes that *dok mu* is “the name of a flower in Thai Lue literature” (2012, p. 6) without further explanation. A botanic book recognizes *mai dok mu* as *Symplocos paniculata* (Thunb.) Miq. (Xu Zaifu et al., 2015, p. 167).

⁹⁵ *Mai hai kham* is *Ficus microcarpa* Linn. f. (Xu Zaifu et al., 2015, p. 127).

it was followed by *kaew* (cherished) to refer to Chao Chan. Early in the morning, when Chao Chan thinks about Chao Intha, her inner voice says, “My dear, [I] do not know how is your sick going, Kaew Dok Mu I beg you recover from illness quickly” (*chao phi no, puai khai pen yang dai pai laew bo ru, kaew dok mu nang ni kho phi phlan hai reo wan thoe chao*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 32). When Chao Chan hears that her parents let her marry Pho Liang rather than Chao Intha, the narrator describes her as “Kaew Dog Mu the princess felt uneasy and depressed” (*chao kaew dok mu uet at klat klum*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 72) and Chao Chan feels “like Kaew Dok Mu is an imprisoned sinner” (*muean kaew dok mu pen khon thot cham khang*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 72). When Pho Liang brings gold and silver to her, Chao Chan ponders that “do not think Kaew Dok Mu will be shaken at once” (*ya nuek wa kaew dok mu chak phlan wan wai*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 83). “Mak hai kham” appears twice, when the bird pecks fruits (Khamchan, 2012, pp. 49, 120). This fruit is written as *mak rai kham* in KKLSH, however Mala Khamchan here revises it as *mak hai kham*.

Then is onomatopoeia, such as *awum, awum*, the sound of tiger’s roar, in “Awum, awum, sounds of tiger echoed in the remote valley” (*awum, awum, siang suea rong kong hup klai hu*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 5). It is safe to say Mala Khamchan borrowed this word from KKLSH, for this word was employed as an example to analyze onomatopoeia of KKLSH in his Master’s thesis. Besides, the critic Kusuma Raksamani also mentioned that he found this word only in KKLSH and CCPH (1992, p. 48).

Lastly is the impact on style. Needless to say, the inserted *khap lue* sections follows the pattern of *khap lue*. Each canto of *khap lue* begins with the word “listen” (*fang tho*), addressing to the audience to hear the story. The *khap lue* sections in CCPH also begins like this to catch the audience’s attention, for example, “Hear me, high-flying Hongsa and walk-dancing peacock, little-sapphire-berry-like lithe little girl please listen carefully, now I will tell the poem of Lanka” (*fang thoe mae hongsa bin sung nang yung yang fon, la on aen dok mu noi khoi fang di thi, pang ni chai chak klao duai khao langka*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 6). Then are conjunctions between cantos, “that time” (*yam nan na*, Khamchan, 2012, pp. 44, 113, 115) and “that time” (*yam nan*, Khamchan, 2012, pp. 37, 124, 125, 126). In some verses, for the consideration of rhyme, Mala Khamchan wrote the word in Lue accent, in “trumpets of male elephants shook, horses galloped like water floods” (*hon hon rong hatthi plai saen, ma laen poi dang nam lai nong*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 38), the last word of the former verse *saen* (vibrate), should be written as *san*, but for rhyming with the word *laen* (run) in the next verse, he chose the Lue accent. These two verses are adapted from the verses in KKLSH, “thunders of male elephants shook, horses galloped and riding nobles darted” (*siang khang chang plai san rong saen, ma laen poi khun khi ao yot*, Dao Jinxiang et al., 1983, p. 328).

The impact of KKLSH is also reflected on the style of narration, especially the dialogues between characters, such as between Chao Chan and Chao Intha, and between Chao Chan and her parents. When addressing to the opposite side, the dialogues in KKLSH usually employ a set of words to modify the recipient. For example, when Piyasa arrives at Lanka Island, he uses “be-loved flower in my eyes” (*ngao dok mai kham rak nuai ta chai hoei*, Dao Jinxiang et al., 1981, p. 57) to address to a group of girls. This kind of expression can be found all over CCPH, for example, when Chao Chan’s father tells the history of Chiang Mai to her, he says “the cherished gem in father’s heart” (*chao kon kaew kae chai pho hoei*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 89) and “daughter, the most-beloved precious gem in father’s eyes” (*luk hoei, kaew yuen fa sut rak nuai ta khong pho*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 89). Especially when the voice of the narrator and the voice of Chao Chan converge.

Kusuma Raksamani provides an explanation as to how KKLSH impacted the atmosphere creating, that is, juxtaposing antonym, in CCPH (Raksamani, 1992, pp. 119-120). In the opening paragraph, Mala Khamchan employed eight pairs of antonyms to depict the environment, moon (*duean*) and star (*dao*), fall (*tok*) and compete (*khaeng*), big (*yai*) and small (*noi*), twinkling (*wup wap*) and sparkling (*wip wap*), near (*klai*) and

far (*klai*), cold still light (*saeng nao yen ning*) and blink brilliantly (*kaphrip phrang proi*), ripe white (*suk khao*) and aged gray (*kao mon*), young girl's eyes (*ta sao noi*) and old buried embers (*than fai mok thao*) (Raksamani, 1992, pp. 118-120).

The rhyme of Khup Lue might have impacted the narration of CCPH. This can be illustrated briefly by discussing the imaginary description of Phra That Inkhwaen. "Pagoda was decorated extremely gorgeous, carved flower patterns formed net and were entirely covered with gold, the whole and the entire body was decorated with gems from the heaven of Indra, extremely tall it looked like it would fly and slide to the sky, the giant tapered endpoint would pierce the breast of the sky, it stood eminently and challenged righteous people to find it" (*phra that chao a ong ngam nak, chalu chalak dok lai pen ta khai thong khlum thua, thang ton thang tua pradap laew duoi kaew mueang in, sung song dang cha bin loi luean khluan hao, sung yai plai riao rao cha siap ok fa, tang den tha khon bun pai ha*, Khamchan, 2012, p. 121). The syllables of each sentence are not equal, the first verse has seven syllables, the second ten, the third ten, the fourth nine, the fifth nine, the sixth seven. The last syllable of the first sentence *nak* (very) rhymes with the second syllable of the second sentence *chalak* (carve), the last syllable of the third sentence *in* (Indra) rhymes with the fifth syllable of the fourth sentence *bin* (fly), the last syllable of the fourth sentence *hao* (sky) rhymes with the fifth syllable of the fifth sentence *rao* (tapering), and the last syllable of the fifth sentence *fa* (sky) rhymes with the third syllable of the sixth sentence *tha* (to (issue a) challenge). However, this style of rhyme of *khap lue* is also found in other poetry in Northern Thailand and other areas, like *rai*.

IV Lanka Sip Ho and the Lue Identity Construction in Thailand

The third dimension of the cultural influence of Sipsong Panna on Thailand is connected with the identity reconstruction of the Lue community in Thailand. In 2012, KKLSH was adapted into the modern drama LSH, by Professor Pornrat Damrung and the students of the Art Faculty of Chulalongkorn University. Pornrat Damrung, a researcher and a playwright of applied theatre, writes drama to reflect social problems and emphasizes drama's function for the human development and social change. LSH, like other dramas she wrote, is an applied theatre. This drama was publicly played in the communities in Northern Thailand, especially in the Lue communities. The aims of this drama, as Pornrat Damrung says, are evoking ethical and moral reflection among Tai Lue audiences, and letting them "be proud of their own cultural root" (2014, p. 57).

4.1 From Kham Khap Lanka Sip Hua to Lanka Sip Ho

The drama LSH is not directly based on KKLSH, but on secondary source, i.e., Charoen Malarochana's Master thesis and Sribusra's work (Damrung, 2014), and is not an adaptation corresponding to the original text, but a text of deconstruction.

The destruction can be divided into two parts: One is the destruction of the plots. Firstly, the plots are destructed and only the plots of the promise of Phrom (Brahma), the return to Lanka Island, the Swayamvara of Sida, and the luring of the golden deer are employed. These plots are combined with the creation myth of Pu Sangkasa-Ya Sangkasi (grandpa Sangkasa-grandma Sangkasi), and the story of the young man Inpan in the modern society into a drama. The story of the creation myth introduces the key question of the whole drama, "in this world, the brightest is human's heart, and the darkest is also human's heart" (*nai lok ni sawang thi sut ko chai khon, dam thi sut ko chai khon*, Damrhung & Khana Aksonsat, 2013, p. 1), which is answered by the interaction between Phummachak and Inpan. Secondly,

the story of Phummachak happens in a modern city, according to the setting is Bangkok, Chiang Mai or other cities, while the original story happens in Himmaphan Forest, Lanka Island and other places. In the drama, Phummachak and his mother are new migrants in the big city. When playing the game hide-and-seek, Phummachak is bullied by other children. Later, his mother finds him and does not let him play outside. Finally, the story of Phummachak and the story of Inpan are juxtaposed in the same space-time. Phummachak and Inpan are clearly counterpointed to each other. Phummachak is a new migrant, while Inpan is a new transfer student. Both Phummachak and Inpan are facing challenges from the new environment, for Phummachak is bullied by other children when playing game, and Inpan is bogged down in a debate with other students; The other is the destruction of the characters. Firstly, Phummachak is infantilised and his childishness is shown at the beginning, for his entrance on the stage at Act II is the scene of playing hide-and-seek. Later Phummachak's mother comes to look for him. In their conversation, the identity of being "child" is constantly emphasized. Secondly is the irony of identity. In Act III, when Phummachak goes back to the island of Lanka as a prince, the derisive laughs of the maids behind him deconstructs the seriousness of the ceremony. And lastly, the identities of the characters undergo three phases of change. In Act II, Phummachak and In Pan were two independent persons. In Act III, when In Pan is put on the mask of Phummachak, he turns into Phummachak and experiences the following scenes in the name of Phummachak, that is, the promise of Phrom, the return to Lanka Island and the Swayamvara of Sida. In Act IV, Phummachak takes off the mask from Inpan, and Inpan changes back to himself. Phummachak tells Inpan that the scenes he has experienced before are illusion. After an intense debate, Phummachak tells Inpan that Phummachak is in his heart. At last, Phummachak is the incarnation of the darkness of Inpan's inner world.

The deconstruction serves the aims of the drama, that is, moral education and community development. Selecting modern city as the setting, rather than a place in the distant ancient, aims to reveal the problem of the society where the audience are. Choosing Inpan as the protagonist and infantilising Phummachak intend to make the characters more close to the audience both in age and mental status, which will be easy to strike a sympathetic chord among the audience. The plots of Inpan changes identities with Phummachak and comes to be himself again, and the discussions among students and the debate between Phummachak and Inpan, inform the audience that everyone has the choice to be good or to be evil. The story of Pu Sangkasa-Ya Sangkasi reveals the theme of the drama at the beginning, that is human's mind is the brightest and also the darkest. The author hopes this drama delivers the idea that "we should have bright mind in dark society" (Damrung, 2014, p. 68).

4.2 Identity Construction

Applied drama is usually performed for the audience of a certain group of people at a non-theatrical space. Since LSH is designed for the Lue audience (Damrhung 2016, p. 8) to develop community pride (Damrung, 2014, p. 70; 2016, p. 20), it is mainly performed at the common communities of Lampang Province and Phayao Province. The former are NANA Theatre Studio and the Lue village Ban Kluai Muang, and the latter are four temples in Chiang Kham, Wat Phra That Sop Waen, Wat Wiang Phra Kaew, Wat Sri Chum and Wat Nong Lue.

Creating drama based on the story of the target audience is a common technique of applied theatre. Adapting the familiar story or experience of the audience aims to evoke sympathetic response among them. LSH is formally performed at the communities in Lampang Province, Phayao Province and Bangkok, mainly at the Lue communities in Northern Thailand. In this case, the creator selected two works to write LSH. One is *Phathommakal*, and the other is KKLSH. Though KKLSH is not a local text of the Lue in Thailand,

both the adapter and the Lue people in Thailand regard it as a Lue ethnic literary text. Pornrat Damrhung considers *Lanka Sip Hua* as a Lue literary work, and wonders why the Lue people in Chiang Kham does not know this work (Thai Public Broadcasting Service, 2013). Pornrat Damrhung mentions that the drama has popularised the story of *Lanka Sip Hua* in the Lue communities (Damrung, 2016, p. 20). The young men of Chiang Kham who joined the drama performance, also do not consider *Lanka Sip Hua* as a literary work of Sipsong Panna, but as a literary work of Lue people. Not only is this text viewed as a text belonging to the Lue ethnic group, but also the other local culture of Sipsong Panna is comprehended as ethnic culture. Since the 1980s, the culture of Sipsong Panna is introduced to the Northern Thailand, and to some extent, influences the identity reconstruction of the Lue communities.

The audience of Chiang Kham is also a part of the identity construction of the drama. When the drama was performed in Chiang Kham, the audience wore traditional Lue costumes to watch the drama, which is quite ritualistic for nowadays traditional costumes are not worn in daily life but in activities to express ethnic identity. In order to stimulate young Lue people to conserve their own culture, Lue people are invited to join the performance as well. During the performances in Chiang Kham District and then in Bangkok, a Lue music teacher was responsible for playing musical instruments, especially the Lue flute, and singing *khap lue*, and a group of young Lue men from Chiang Kham played musical instruments. Lue youth from Chiang Kham also joined to modify the drama. They advised to wear traditional Lue costumes of Chiang Kham and lent a female costume to the dancer of Sangkasi (Khamkaew, April 25, 2016). The Lue youth who took part in the performances in Chiang Kham and Bangkok also expressed that they are proud and excited to show the real Lue culture (Khamkaew, May 1, 2016).

To make the drama more ethnic, Lue cultural elements are collaged in it. This drama expresses Lue ethnic identity from different aspects: The first is literature, that is, KKLSH and the creation myth of Pu Sangkasa-Ya Sangkasi, the latter to emphasize the origin of the Lue. The second is clothing, which is one of the visual markers of ethnic identity. In the performance, male characters and genderless characters wear local style trousers, and female characters (Kuttithida, maids and Sida) wear tube skirts. For instance, in the performance at Wat Sri Chum, on October 19, 2012, Sida wore the Lue tube skirt of Ban Hat Bai, Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province, and maids wore the Lue tube skirts of Chiang Kham District, Phayao Province. The third element is language. The name of this drama follows the Lue accent as *Lanka Sip Ho*, not Standard Thai *Lanka Sip Hua*. The name of the character Phommachak is Phummachak, according to the spelling of the name in KKLSH. The creation myth in the opening is recited in Lue dialect. The fourth is dance, the martial dance is mixed in the movement. For instance, the movement of the dance of Sangkasa and Sangkasi in the performance at Chulalongkorn University, January 2013, is mixed with the movements of traditional Lue martial dance (*fon choeng*). The fifth element is music. *Khap lue* and the music played Lue flute are used in the scenes of Inpan's meditation, of Rama's lift of the heart-bow (*kung duang jai*), and of the lure of the golden deer. Besides, traditional Lue musical instruments, such as drum-and-gong-set (*klong mong soeng*), are employed to play background music.

The development of this drama also reflects the increase of the signs and symbols of ethnic identity. In "*Lanka Sip Ho: Recitation of Ethics of Tai-Lue Ramayana*" (2014), Pornrat Damrhung introduced the background and the creation of the drama. She divided the development of the drama into three phases. The first phase is "the phase of trial performance and modification before performance in the community" (*chuang thotlong sadaeng lae prap bot kon sadaeng nai chumchon*). This drama debuted at Sodsai Pantoomkomol Centre for Dramatic Arts, on July 12-14, 2012. After the performance, several adjustments were made: using *khap lue*, the story of Sangkasa and Sangkasi, as the opening and to replace the part of the video of social news; use dance, use body to communicate; "employing Lue language to tell a legend;

adjusting the puppet, the mask, and the costumes to be proper to ethnicity”; “remove the narration of shadow puppetry in the beginning part, and introduce the role of mask”; and “beginning to discuss and trying to search for the use of light, audio mixing, and song in the show”; the new version is fifteen minutes longer than before. The second show took place in August, 2012, at Wat Pathum Wanaram School, Lanna People Society (*samakhom chao Lanna*), Wat Wachirathumsathit and the Department of Music and Performing Arts Activities of Burapha University. In September of the same year, this drama was performed at the 3rd Asia Pacific Bureau Theatre Schools Festival & Directors Conference, Taipei National University of the Arts (Damrung, 2014, pp. 71-72). The second phase is “the phase of work with young Tai Lue people” (*chuang poet sadaeng lae tham ngan ruam kap yaowachon thai lue*). The team went to “perform in the local communities in Mueang Lampang District, Lampang Province and Chiang Kham District, Phayao Province, six times in total.” In Chiang Khan District, the Lue in Chiang Kham joined the performance being responsible for music and singing (Damrung, 2014, pp. 72-73). The third phase is “Performance in Bangkok” (*kan sadaeng thi krungthet makrakhom*), that is the two performances at “The Research Forum & Festival on Thai/ASEAN Contemporary Theatre”, held at the Sodsai Pantomkomol Centre for Dramatic Arts, Chulalongkorn University, on January 2013. This drama is a part of the drama project “*Ramakien: Our Roots Right Now*” (*ramakien: kao na chak rak kaew*), together with other four versions of *Ramakien’s* adapted works. In these two performances, the dance of Sangkasa and Sangkasi was added, performed by a young man from Chiang Kham and an assistant researcher of Chulalongkorn University (Damrhung, 2014, pp. 72-74).

Lue cultural elements used in the drama continuously emphasis the identity of the Lue, which consists heterogeneous characteristics different from the dominant culture in Thailand. Pornrat Damrhung states that the character Phummachak in the drama is an “outsider” (*knon not klum*), the “Other” (*khon uen*), and “a person outside the society” (*khon nok sangkhom*), just like the Lue people are “newcomers” (*khon plaek thin*). In addition, the story of Phummachak reflects their conflicts with the natives and their adaptation to the society when Lue people migrated to the new place (i.e. Northern Thailand) (Damrung, 2014, pp. 66-67).

Conclusion

Since Sipsong Panna has been reopened to foreign countries in the 1980s, the cultural exchange between Sipsong Panna and Thailand becomes more and more frequent. The culture of Sipsong Panna has become a source for Thai academic research, Lanna renaissance, and Lue cultural identity construction. KKLSh is probably the most well-known Lue literary work in Thailand and its acceptance in Thailand is a typical example illustrating the major influences of the culture of Sipsong Panna in Thailand.

The literature books published in the 1980s, in new Tai Lue script and Tham script, are for popularizing the new script, and purifying culture and knowledge. Their circulation in foreign countries is not expected by the editors and publishers. However, being conscious of the Thai interest in the culture of Sipsong Panna, Chinese researchers and the local government of Sipsong Panna take advantage of Sipsong Panna to expand the influence of China on Thailand and other countries. English forewords are added to some books (Gao Lishi, 1990), and the bibliography of Chinese research works on the Dai people is translated into English as well (Guan Jian, 1992).

From 2003 to 2010, the local government of Sipsong Panna published the Complete Chinese Pattra Buddhist Scripture, in the preface and afterword of which the compilers state that one of the purposes of this publication is an international exchange and expanding the Chinese influence on Southeast Asia (Dao,

2003-2010; Hu, 2003-2010). Since the early 21st century, many Lue language music videos, produced by both the government or non-governmental organisations, are added with Thai subtitles, for facilitating the acceptance of people who can not read Tham or Chinese scripts.

However, some problems still exist. Because of the cultural destruction in the mid-20th century and the introduction of a new script, the literary culture of Sipsong Panna has been heavily changed. Many literary works are still waiting to be compiled, and professional editorial work is needed. Not only KKLSH, but also the receptions of other texts and cultures of Sipsong Panna in Thailand mostly depend on books published in China and on information provided by Chinese informants, so the misreadings in the Chinese context are easily transmitted to Thailand.

In the 1980s, the pastoral scene of Sipsong Panna aroused Thai visitors' nostalgic feelings. However, after entering the 21st century, the lack of cultural preservation consciousness, the development of tourism and economy, and the new migration trends of Han Chinese into Sipsong Panna have been significantly transforming the cultural landscape of Sipsong Panna. Sipsong Panna is now becoming an object to be deplored.

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