Abstract
The love legend of Mae Nak Phra Khanong was perceived and portrayed as a haunting, revenge and furious ghost story for almost a century. In 1999, Nonzee Nimibutr’s version of Nang Nak was claimed as the first version that humanized Mae Nak and depicted tragic aspect of her as a mournful young lady who devoted her life to her husband, a strong stereotype of how Thai girl (in the past) should conduct. However, Nimibutr had also highlighted the aspect of Buddhist Animism that finally ended ‘the life of Mae Nak’ in this story. The truth is Mae Nak has never died. In 2013, Banjong Pisanthanakun and his team had recreated a comedy version of this legend to retell a reverse aspect from Mak, Nak’s husband, and his friends. This version declared a turning point of how this legend has been perceived and also how the contemporary Thai society has evolved. The research began to question and revisited this legend. In order to investigating the roots of personal and political conflicts in the legend and in contemporary Thai society, the researcher embarked on the collaboration of revising the story of Mak, Nak as individuals and the society of Phra Khanong. This research paper examines and reinterprets individualism and community. The concept of ‘ghost’ and the sense of belonging in the community have been explored and questioned. The first stage play of ‘Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong’ is performed in June 20th, at the Prague Quadrennial 2015 with about 200 audiences.

Keywords: Reinterpreting, Mae Nak, Identity, Individualism, Community
The Legend, Analyses and Myth of Mae Nak

Mae Nak Phra Khanong’s love legend stands its position as a haunting, revenge and furious ghost story for more than a century. The first performance of Mae Nak Phra Khanong staged in 1911 in Pridalia Theatre where the story was well-received and since then the haunting love tale of Mae Nak has been made to nearly hundred versions including films, television series, radio, stage and musical plays. The truth is Mae Nak has never died.

In 1999, Nonzee Nimibutr’s version of Mae Nak, named ‘Nang Nak’¹, was the first version that humanized Mae Nak and depicted her tragic aspect as a mournful young lady who devoted her life to her husband, a strong stereotype of how Thai girl (in the past) should conduct. Nang (or Mrs in modern world) is the female title used to call married women. Nimibutr’s version of Nang Nak also put an emphasis on romantic love between Nak and her husband, Mak.

The legend Mae Nak has been known for being a beautiful and dedicated to her husband which would eventually turned into revenge and blindly to take her husband with her. The analysis of Mae Nak is vast and various, Pornpitcha Boonbanjong writes in her paper ‘การประกอบสร้างมายาคติ ‘ความเป็นเมีย’ ให้เรื่องแม่นาค’ (Myth and Wifehood of Mae Nak)² that inspite of being suppressed by the society as a woman and as a wife, Mae Nak was still portrayed as an ideal woman who should and should not conduct herself according to society’s rules and norms. To analyse Mae Nak’s image that represents “what to expect in an ideal woman” from majority of Thai people’s perspective, it became one of the obvious reasons why Mae Nak tale is still prevailed and continued to pass on further.

Mae Nak’s resurrection’s endowed with superhuman power. It is to an method in the myth creation to empower and enlarge a seem-to-be submissive character to become a dominant character in the story. Jinjing Sun investigated female ghosts in her paper “When Female Ghosts Come Back”³ that compared Arnika Furrrmann’s study of “Nang Nak—Ghost Wife: Desire, Embodiment, and Buddhist Melancholia in a Contemporary Thai Ghost Film”⁴ and the ancient Chinese literature and the concept of Confucianism, Sun has summarized the over human being known as “ghost” especially in femal ghost character to be the mixture of two understandings: the first interpretation is when the beauty of the ghost who chased after the man and the man died. According to Sun, the

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² Boonbanjong, Pornpich. “การประกอบสร้างมายาคติ ‘ความเป็นเมีย’ ให้เรื่องแม่นาค” Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Thaksin University, Year 6 Volume 1, 2013.
emotion of love has been interpreted to bring life back called “resurrection” The second interpretation in Sun’s study is the feminism that
drew from Judith Zeitlin’s research paper “The Phantom Heroine: Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-century Chinese Literature.” Jinjing Sun believed that the transformation from the fragile and negative attributes to the power and freedom of female ghosts have been endowed with the death that eventually become the superhuman power. Sun summarized the two interpretations as,

“The mixture of these two understandings, interestingly, reflected issel in Fuhrmann’s paper on Nang Nak (the movie), a famous ghost wife in a classical ghost story in Thailand. Fuhrmann believes that it is both love and power that give her a period of posthumous life”

(Sun: 2013, 261)

Buddhism and Politics in the Legend

The love legend of in “Nang Nak” in Nimibutr’s movie had also highlighted the aspect of Buddhist Animism that finally ended “the life of Mae Nak” in this story. Arnika Fuhrmann declared in her paper that the role of Buddhism in “Nang Nak” became nationally politics. Fuhrmann pointed out how this version of Nang Nak has been interpreted the Mae Nak character to bear its position in Buddhism truths of impermanence and of futility of desire which would then became what Fuhrmann firmly stated that “it legitimates a contemporary nationalist outlook.”

“A particular form of Buddhist melancholic remembering becomes evident in the embodied narrative of loss, in which Nak watches her own body gradually fall apart and her hold on the world loosen. On the one hand, this feature of the film almost literaizes Buddhist orthodox expectations of how detaching is supposed to occur. Women, especially, are supposed to realize the truth of impermanence through contemplation of the repulsiveness of their own bodies.”

(Fuhrmann: 2009)

In “Nang Nak—Ghost Wife: Desire, Embodiment, and Buddhist Melancholia in a Contemporary Thai Ghost Film” Arnika Fuhrmann thoroughly discussed and correlated the politics in terms of the return of Mae Nak in “Nang Nak” the movie in 1999. Fuhrmann stated that “Haunting is often described as the eruption of the past into the present in a manner that effects the reexamination of past injustices and possibly leads to reparation.” Fuhrmann identified distinctively that as a ghost, Nang Nak could be viewed to represent “the minority subjectivity.” Fuhrmann further discussed that haunting becomes the cleanse of antihistorical context and the fight between Nak’s devotion to her husband as an individual and the villagers’ effort to exorcize Nang Nak became the political tension itself. Once Mak has gradually realized that his wife is dead, the shift of the decision making has weighted upon Mak. The truth is Mae Nak has never died. In

\[5\] Fuhrmann, 234.
\[6\] Fuhrmann, 226.
2013, Banjong Pisanthanakun and his team had recreated a comedy version of this legend to retell a reverse aspect from

Mak, Nak’s husband, and his friends, “Pee Mak Phra Khanong.” This version declared a turning point of how this legend has been perceived and also how the contemporary Thai society has evolved.

In “Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong” the performance produced by Arunwadi Leewananthawet (the researcher) and directed by Tanatan Tupthong (the research assistant) under the research project that asked three main questions

1) What is actually Mae Nak’s voice (besides from being with her love ones)?
2) Why Mak does not voice?
3) What positions Nak and Mak play in the society?

Figure 1: Nak is fighting with People in the community.

Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong’s production has been developed from the directing class. At first, the director, Tanatan Tupthong, was interested in recreating a well-known comedy horror film named “Pee Mak Phra Khanong” into a comedy drama work that can tell the message about how unconditional love is being judged by the social norms and how their true love can strive society’s rules.

8 “Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong” performed at the Prague Quadrennial 2015.
Portraying Bangkok’s suburb in 1840s during King Rama III, when Thailand, formerly known as Siam, was evaded by both Western and neighboring countries. Men were sent to war while women were expected to stay at home to raise kids. Women were oppressed and had no status in the society. Slavery was still a norm.

People’s lifestyles and cultures were strongly based upon Buddhism. Buddhism rituals were conducted rigorously to discipline people in the community.

The story begins with Mak, coming back from the war with his four friends whose lives he saved. Mak introduces his wife, Nak, to friends and invites them to stay in Phra Khanong. They live together without a doubt until the friends have heard the rumor of Nak had died during giving birth to her stillborn, Dang. The source of this rumor is Aunty Priak, owner of a local liquor store. People think that Mak and Nak are living in different worlds; it is impossible to live together so the friends try to tell Mak about his ghost wife but he doesn’t believe and they have a fight. The friends still attempt to save him from Nak. Later on, they find out that Mak had already known about ghost Nak and he can accept and willing to stay with her. Finally, Mak proves his belief by staying with Nak and continue their lives at Phra Khanong.

Once, the story has been developed, the comedy parts have been omitted, the creative team wanted to focus on the political message of the story, the struggle as individual against society norms. When creating a script we asked ourselves what would we be asking and requesting if we were the girl like Nak, and we finalized the family issues about the struggle of single and extended family that has long been in Thailand and in Asian cultures, the mother in law, the daughter in law and the son. The love that blinds them all, the good intention that turns into tragedy and the realization after they are willing to let go.

**Individualism, and Collectivism**

Harry C. Triandis and Michele J. Gelfand have proposed in “A Theory of Individualism and Collectivism” in 2012 that the constructs of individualism and collectivism were indicated in religious institutions throughout the centuries.” It became obvious that the concept of individualism and collectivism organically derive from the smallest unit in the Western society as an individual. In the East, the Asian culture, the roots of the society deeply and clearly depend on the social status and religious therefore when people gathered for rituals or religious purposes, the collectivism began. As Triandis and Gelfand further pointed out in the paper that “Religious in the East were much more focused on duties and obligations within a hierarchial structure which is associated with some forms of modern-day collectivism.”

In his paper “Thailand Haunted: The Power of the Past in the Contemporary Thai

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10 Triandis and Gelfand, 500.
Adam Knee explained the critical view on how “Nang Nak” stands its points to place Mae Nak as a female ghost individual character who stands herself against the norms. Knee stated that eventhough Ghost Nak was reminded about the high Buddhist dignitary, Nak was indifferent and the visual image represented in the movie symbolized the opposition and the state of ignorance to any religious or authority power.

“In one sense, the striking image of Nak upside down on the ceiling of the wat (temple) nicely sums up the opposition she poses to male order. She literally inverts the male frame of reference – a notion previously suggested in the monk’s instruction to Mak to bend over and liik between his legs if he wants to apprehend Nak’s true nature. She is upside down to the men’s right-side up, one the their many, feminine (indeed, she again appears here holding her baby) to their masculinity, spectral to their eatherliness. But while this is an overdetermined image of oppositionality, it is also one of complementarity; Nak completes the picture, dwells in the space where the men do not, and wields a power of fertility (the presence of the baby reminds us) that the men on their own are lacking.”

(Knee: 2005)

In May Adadol Ingawanij’s essay “Nang Nak: Thai Bourgeois Heritage Cinema,” which focused “Nang Nak” on being a heritage film has explained from cinematographic viewpoints about narrative sterotype of Thainess and hierarchy through the lens. Ingawanij specified that three narrative storylines were presented in “Nang Nak.” The first was the couple’s involuntary parting and then when Nak became ghost once Mak was back and not knowing about his deadly wife and lastly when the people in Phra Khanong expelled Nak.

Whose Voice Matters

In “Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong” when Mak insisted to stay with his family (Ghost Nak and the baby), it is a bold statement of shifting himself a clan. Mak persisted to continue his desire, not Nak’s desire, instead of being drawn by society’s norms and accept it.

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12 Knee, 145.
Figure 2: Mak has decided to be with his wife as he knew she’s dead.

Throughout the story, not only Nak who persisted with her desire to be with Mak, Mak also insisted and declared his sole statement to do what is right for his family (Nak and the baby). Mak decided to ignore the society and norms and fully understand the consequence of giving up another of his family (his mother). Mak’s mother continued to request, forced and asked him to accept Nak’s deception. Mak showed ignorance; the truth is Mak already knew and he has also already been ready to be with Nak which meant to enter the death.
Figure 3: Mak’s discovery and decision.

Monologue is utilized throughout “Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong” to represent thoughts, desires and also asking questions to the audiences.

In scene three of “Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong,” is the turning point when Mak found out that his wife has already been dead but he insisted on being with her and decided to choose his own family over himself.

The followings are Mak’s three turning point monologues which consist of 1) People’s rumor 2) Discovery and 3) Love and Decision.

นาก (Nak):
พี่มาก พี่รักข้าไหม
Pee Mak, do you love me?

มัก (Mak):
มัก Of course, I do. I really love you

- มัก lighting changes, Mak in his own thoughts.

มัก (Mak):
ตั้งแต่วันแรกที่ข้ากลับมาทุกคนก็ต่างก็ทำตัวแปลกๆ
ทั้งนาก แม่ข้าและ ยิ่งพวกชาวบ้าน มองข้าแปลกๆ รากับมีสิ่งแปลกๆอย่างพ่อนางเกล้า
ขอถามก็ทำทางตนเอง...ข้าไม่เข้าใจ
People been acting strange since the first day I came back. Even Nak, my mother, and the villager. All of them looked at me in a very strange way, as if there was something. They were terrified when I asked, I don’t get it. And as day goes by, it’s getting weirder that I have to force them to speak. The more I ask, the weirder the answer gets. Some says my wife died while pregnant, some asked me to look between my legs to find out if she’s a ghost. Some told me to visit the cemetery behind the temple… I don’t understand. The rumor is getting worse by days. What’s with all the bad talks about my wife? Nak takes care of our son, cooks us food and waits for me everyday. Asking mom doesn’t help either. She even blames Nak and keeps asking me to go ordain. This doesn’t make sense to me at all.
Maybe I need to see it myself.

- Nak breaks the silence and asks

นาค (Nak):
พี่มาก พี่รักข้าไหม
Pee Mak, Do you love me?

- Mak walks back to wrap around Nak and their baby.

มากเดินไปกอดนากที่ยืนอุ้มลูกอยู่

มาก (Mak):
(ถอดฉากด้วยความสงสัย)
รักสิ ข้ารักเดิมมาก
Of course, I do love you

- Mak plops out of Nak’s and looks lighting changes, Mak in his own thoughts again.

มาก (Mak):
ที่นี่ช่วงมืดเดิน เขาถึงอย่างนั้น น่าจะหลงลับ น่าจะหลงลับ น่าจะหลงลับ
ความเดินทางเดินสงสัย ของเขานั้น
เสียงลมที่พัดแรง เสียงมหัศจรรย์ที่ดังสะท้อนไปที่
น่าจะหลงลับนั้น…
สมทบที่มืดชัด แรงชัด ดันไม่ใหญ่เล็กน้อย เดิน ไฟสว่างหวัว
บรรยายศาสตร์ที่นี่ ช่างน่ากลัวสัจจิตร
ข้ากว่าบางข้ากว่าบาง พวกบางร่วงบางออกไปยังช่วงที่มีดินกวาด
พวก ผมมาที่บรรยายนั้นเสียงข้างๆเสียงยังนั้น…
ทันใดนั้น สบายๆ ก็ข้างก็ระวังควบคุมความจริง…
ช้านะจะไม่เชื่อสายตาตัวเอง
อยู่ๆ เรียกอีกทีหายไป…
ทั้งใบหน้า เสื้อผ้า และรูปร่าง
ความจริงที่ปรากฏ…
คงไม่มีสิ่งใดจะกระเทาะหัวใจเขา ให้แตกสลายเท่ากับความจริงที่ยากจะยอมรับ
ร่างไข่รูปร่างหนบอนของอานาจ คนที่ช้าก็
อยู่ๆ คงไม่เห็นสิ่งที่ข้างก็ระวังนั้นไปด้วยยาน้ำตา
หาริเรืองเขา…ช้างรัตน์ ทรมานเหลือเกิน
นัก ข้าจะนิ่งก็ได้ไปอย่างไร…
จะเศร้า หรือจะดี นักสลบแค่ไหนใครก็รู้
แต่สำหรับเขา…คงไม่มีสิ่งใด นักสับสำหรับการจากลา
จะไปไม่เสี่ยงไหม เพราะจากลา
เพราะข้าก็ไม่สบายใจอยู่ได้ ถ้าไม่มีเธอ
This place is so dark and silent… the cemetery of Mahabut temple
My curiosity swelled along with the howling winds
What a creepy night!
Cold wind blows harder and harder, trees irresistibly waving in the wild wind
This place is horrifying.
I slowly walk along the graveyard, glancing at dead bodies covered with dirt.
Corpse all over the place, such a depressing thing to see
All of the sudden, my eyes meet what I never wish to see
I couldn’t believe this
My strength has just vanished right at the moment I see her
That face, that clothes she wore, that body she has
Nothing could possibly break my heart into pieces than this unbearable truth
The soulless body of my love, Nak
Brings tears to my eyes
My heart has never been so injured like this before
Nak, how am I going to live?
Either corpses or ghosts are scary
But nothing scares me more than goodbye
Nothing will do us part, my dear
Because I can’t stand living without you, Nak
Nak breaks the silence and asks

นาก (Nak):
พี่มาก พี่รักข้าไหม
Pee Mak, Do you love me?

มาก (Mak):
(กอดนากแน่น)
รักสิ ข้าไม่สามารถอยู่ได้ ถ้าไม่มีเดิ
Of course, I do love you, my dear
I can't live without you

นาก (Nak):
พี่มาก ถ้าพี่ย้อนเวลาหลับไปได้ พี่ยังจะเลือกช่วยข้าไหมหรือเปล่า
Pee Mak, if you could turn back time, would you still save me?

มาก (Mak):
ทำไมถึงถามอย่างนี้ล่ะ อีกน่ะช่วยสิ
Why did you ask that, Nak? Of course, I would help you

นาก (Nak):
ตอนนั้น ทำไมพี่ถึงคิดช่วยฉัน
Why did you help me?

มาก (Mak):
ข้าไม่ครับว่าถึงทำคิดอะไร ไปพวกผู้ชายพวกนั้นที่ตายไป
ก็เพราะตัวพวกมัน เงื่อนนั้น เงื่อนใดไม่ทำร้ายพวกมันไม่
Well, you done no wrong, all those guys are dead because of what they did. You didn’t hurt them at all.

นาก (Nak):
คิดว่าชาวบ้านเห็นหรือไม่?
You don’t fear of being accused?

มาก (Mak):
ข้าไม่เคยสังผูกชาวบ้านอยู่แล้ว
พวกชาวบ้านเห็น ต่างก็รู้อยู่ก็ว่าไปพวกนั้นทำผิดทั้งกฎหมายและศีลธรรม
t่างก็ปิดปากเงียบ ไม่มีใครเท่าท่วงอะไร
I don’t care much about the villagers,
in fact, they knew for what those guys done to you is illegal and immoral.
They were just dare not to speak
นาก (Nak):
แล้วแม่เพลี
What about your mom?

มาก (Mak):
นาก …หลังจากเหตุการณ์วันนั้นที่เข้าได้มีโอกาสช่วยเอง
เข้าเกิดได้ว่า ตัวเข้าเองไม่ใช่พวกอันทะล แสบดไปดันๆ
เข้าเป็นผู้เป็นคน ได้ก็เพราะบัง เลยเข้าจะสนุดคำให้กันอีกเล่า
วันแต่เดี๋ยวก่อน อยู่ๆทำไม่มากเท่าเข้ายังนั้นเล่า
Nak, after I had a chance to save you,
I come to realized that I’m not living day by day, being drunk and irresponsible.
I became a grown man because of you,
why would I need to care about others’ words?
What about you? Why did you ask me such question?

นาก (Nak):
ฉันกลัววันหนึ่งพี่จะทิ้งฉันไป เพราะคำของชาวบ้าน เพราะแม่พี่
I’m afraid one day you will leave me because of those words people said about me,
or even your mom…

มาก (Mak):
เข้าไม่มีวันที่เองดออกนาก
ต่อให้ใครพูดอย่างไร ลูกก็ไม่มีวันเชื่อ
เข้ารักอีมาก ลูกเชื่ออย่าง
เข้ารู้ว่าอีจนจะไม่มีวันหลอกลูกเข้า
เพราะอีจึงคือชีวิตของลูก ชีวิตใหม่
เปลี่ยนหน้าชีวิตจากความตาย
จากคนเดิม ให้กลายเป็นคนใหม่
I will never leave you, Nak
No matter what people would say, I don’t care
I love you so much and I believe in you
I know you would never let me down
You are my life, my new life
You have awaken me from the death
From how crappy I was, to the better man I am now

- นากเงิ่นไป Nak in silence.

The force from the society which represented by Mak’s mother would only drove Mak to fight uncompromisingly but only when Mak has realized his personal desire caused Nak to hurt his own mother. From that moment he realized what his mother did was the same action that he intended to do. In the end, Mak decided to enter the monkhood; it is also solely his own intent (desire) to make his own choice which is different interpretation
from what Nonzee’s Nang Nak represented Mak in the monkhood. As Fuhrmann illustrated the last scene in “Nang Nak” that when Mak stand in the Buddhism robes, watching Nak’s burning body with sorrow and Nak’s forehead was taken out as a symbol of the monk to sustain Nak’s power. Fuhrmann stated that “in this resolution, its manipulation of a female corpse for a future end—lies in how it makes female haunting serviceable to a vision of contemporary gender ideals.”

It is viewed as the backward of what Thai society strives to become. Fuhrmann added “Through manipulation of Nak’s dead body, “Nang Nak” further creates the vision of Thailand as a site of simple splendor and Buddhist-infused intersubjective and communcal affective sufficiency.”

Figure 4: The final scene of fights and realization of all.

**Conclusion**

To illustrate the purpose of this research paper, it intends to voice another perspective in Mae Nak’s tale and look carefully on how to consciously pass this popular legend along to the next generation without indoctrinating the concept of furious and jealously female ghost trying to be with her husband. To a degree, Mae Nak Phra Khanong tale could be inserted with the aspects of how ones should conduct and follow his/her intention and never give up. The ones who stand up for herself and also himself. How responsible ones could be as an individual and how the society

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14 Fuhrmann, 235.
15 Fuhrmann, 236.
should act towards individual. Mae Nak Phra Khanong could be portrayed as a heroine in her legendary tragic tale and Mak as a hero even though they lost the battle to the society and the dhamma. The enlightenment of both characters led them to their own separated ways. It is the vital ending part when you tell, and retell the stories to the next generation and when we decided to overcome the black magic, lust and anger parts of the stories, there will be more to add on to life and the life after death.
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“Mak, Nak and People of Phra Khanong” performed in Prague Quadrennial 2015. Project Directed by Arunwadi Leewananthawet Directed by Tanatan Tupthong Production Designed by Pornpan Arayaveerasid Sound Designed by Lab No. 5 Soundworks Script Created by Friend’s Laboratory Stage Managed by Nilobon Hathaipantaluk Performers: Atthapol Thongjan, Mayya Sathang, Duangdara Jadee