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SAMKOK: A STUDY OF A THAI ADAPTATION OF A CHINESE NOVEL

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Sāmkok : A Study of a Thai Adaptation

of a Chinese Novel

by

Malinee Dilokwanich

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Introduction

Sāmkok สามก๊ก is a Thai translation of a 14th-century Chinese novel, San-kuo yen-i 三國演義, by Lo Kuan-chung 羅貫中. The translation was started in the late 18th century and finished in the early 19th century under the editorial supervision of Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (หน), a prominent Thai poet and nobleman. Sāmkok is an important work in Thai literary history not only because it is the first work of translation made from a Chinese source, but also because it has a unique place in Thai literature as the only translation from Chinese to receive general acclaim as a literary work. To be sure, there are translations and reworkings of other foreign literature that are recognized. But Sāmkok is the only one from Chinese that is respected and recognized as a work of art and a great source of literary entertainment. There are several subsequent translations from Chinese fiction but none has received such a prestigious appraisal.

There are two possible approaches to studying Sāmkok and thereby accounting for its unique position in Thai literature. One is to study Sāmkok as a work of Thai literature in its own right. The other is to investigate Sāmkok as a translation and see how the translation treats its original by comparing the two texts to find what features are derived and what features are new. This latter

approach is the concern of this dissertation.

It has long been known that the Sāmkok is a very free translation made in idiomatic literary Thai. This fact was established in studies done by Sang Phatthanōthai สังข์ พัชโรทัย and by Prapin Manomaivibool ประพิน มโนมัยวิบูลย์ . But no one has ever conducted a study of textual comparison of Sāmkok and its Chinese original in a systematic fashion. Prapin merely compares the text of a few chapters and Sang simply points out some of the mistakes found in the translation. This dissertation is an attempt to do a systematic comparison of the two texts in order to reveal the discrepancies in four major aspects, namely, structure, technique of narration, language, and content. In doing this, new light is shed on the question of what is new and special about Sāmkok . It becomes clear from the investigation that Sāmkok is drastically changed from its original. It makes a total adaptation to Thai literary conventions, to the Thai language, and to the Thai world view. It changes the literary medium, the style, and the format so that a new genre of prose fiction is created. It changes the language and the content in compliance with Thai language usages and cultural context, with the result that the translation becomes natural, understandable, and appealing. And it also uses language at a high literary level and of high quality. Furthermore, it changes the

world view from a Chinese philosophical framework with T'ien 天 at the center to a Thai Buddhist universe explained in terms of bun-kam บุญ-นิยม or moral retribution. As a result, Sāmkok is a unique Thai work of highly literary quality.

This dissertation is arranged as follows. Chapter One deals with the historical setting of the Sāmkok translation. This includes a consideration of the question as to what is significant about the relations between Chinese and Thai both before and during the period when the translation was undertaken (i.e., late 18th century to early 19th century). This chapter also surveys the availability of Chinese works in the Thai literary world at the time and looks into the reasons why such a work was produced. Then Chapter Two concerns how the project of Sāmkok was undertaken and deals with the question of date and authorship. Also, the edition of the San-kuo yen-i text used for the translation is identified on the basis of textual evidence.

The comparison of texts is presented from Chapters Three to Seven. Chapter Three compares the format of presentation, the literary medium, and the arrangement of chapters and their headings. Chapter Four deals with the issue of narrative techniques. It points out the changes and innovations made in the translation. Chapter Five focuses on the nature and quality of language employed in Sāmkok and explains how the Thai language is different from

the Chinese in quality. Chapter Six touches upon the significant changes made with respect to the philosophical outlook of the Chinese work and how the changes affect the meaning of the work.

Chapter Eight provides a report of the development and popular acceptance of the Sāmkok story. An evaluation is made of three subsequent retellings in terms of their literary contribution to the understanding and enjoyment of Sāmkok .

Chapter Nine, in conclusion, summarizes the changes which are made in Sāmkok and evaluates the significance of the changes in terms of the Thai-ized literary work that the translation produced.

The romanization system for Chinese names and terms which is adopted in this dissertation is that of Wade-Giles. As for the English transcription for Thai, the official system established by the Royal Institute of Thailand is used. The Chinese characters or the Thai scripts will be provided when a new term or name appears.

Chapter One

Social and Political Setting

With the sudden increase of Chinese immigrants after the fall of the Ayutthayā อโยธยา Kingdom (1350-1767), particularly during the reign of King Phutthayōtfā พุทธยอดฟ้า or Rama I (r. 1782-1809) (1), Chinese influence on diverse aspects of the Thai life including literature was phenomenal. Immigration of Chinese to Thailand, a country previously known as Siam, was of course not a new movement, for early Chinese settlers were found in the new land as early as the thirteenth century when the first diplomatic missions between Siam and China took place. (2) Henceforth, the growth of Chinese immigrants increased steadily but slowly. It was only after the collapse of Ayutthayā that the influx of Chinese people became extraordinary.

There are three major factors that contributed to the unprecedented flow of Chinese immigrants in 18th-century Thailand. The first factor has to do with the problem of underpopulation which was a serious situation right after the devastating attack on Ayutthayā by the Burmese in 1767. The capital city of Ayutthayā was left in a state of total ruin most of its population of approximately two hundred thousand having been either plundered or evacuated as captives. The country's population which was already low relative to agricultural productivity because of war with

its toll in deaths and forced emigration, was especially depleted during the ruinous wars with Burma after 1759. (3) Upon the ascendancy of King Tāksin ทากสิน who unified the country four months afterwards, there occurred a crisis in which the demand for manpower was critical, for the new ruler merely had only about ten thousand followers in the new capital. (4) This was 5% of the number of population of Ayutthayā city prior to its destruction. Throughout the course of Thai history such events pertaining to the lack of population or manpower had been quite common following each war between Thailand and her neighbors. (5) However, the destruction of Ayutthayā and the diminution of its citizens by 1767 was so great that the new ruler was forced to build a new center of Thai civilization at Thonburī หนองบัว as well as to make recruiting manpower the first priority. The need of manpower was at that time critical not only for agricultural cultivation which was the mainstay of the economy of the country, but also for military purposes, in view of the necessity to ensure the freedom and stability of the country. (6) Under these circumstances the movement of people from neighboring countries and China was especially welcome. Since Chinese people were recognized by the Thais as free laymen, the former could offer all kinds of labor services.

The necessity to reestablish international commerce with China was the second factor that resulted in the great influx of Chinese merchants and tradesmen to Thailand during this period. With many wars going on, the country needed to have enough sources of revenues to cover military and other expenses. The Chinese played a significant role in acquiring a major amount of the state income, as Thailand's international trade depended largely on the assistance of Chinese agents and crews. Her trade with China at that time represented the country's sole economic output. (7) It is known that the government of King Rama I received a large part of the revenues from trading activities with China. (8) Due to mutual promotion in trade there was then a rapid expansion in the volume and variety of the goods of the two countries. And since the Europeans were for the most part effectively excluded from the Siam trade during this period, its growth was borne mainly by Chinese and Thai. (9) The general position of Chinese merchants and shippers improved in consequence, not only because of the increased private trade sponsored financially by Thai officials and nobles, but also because Chinese were so largely used in the royal trading enterprises. (10) As a result of these developments, the Thai government could only encourage Chinese immigration. As one writer comments:

The first two Jakkri kings developed state trading and royal monopolies to an unprecedented degree.

In order to increase the production of Siam's exports and provide crews for their royal ships, they encouraged Chinese immigration. Even the ships belonging to the kings brought back Chinese passengers, in direct violation of Manchu tributary and trading regulations. Writing in 1822, Finlayson stated that, because the king and his ministers wished to increase the produce of the country, "Chinese emigrants were . . . encouraged beyond all former example." From this we may assume that the upward trend in Chinese immigration, begun in King Taksin's reign, continued without break into the nineteenth century. (11)

The third factor that attracted Chinese immigrations was the fact that the new Thai leaders were themselves of Chinese descent. The case of King Taksin whose father (12) was a native of the Ch'ao-chou 潮州 dialect was outstanding. Because of Taksin's favorable attitude towards his own ethnic group, the Chinese under his reign increased and prospered very rapidly. The Ch'ao-chou dialect people in particular received most privileged treatment from the Taksin government as they were called the "royal Chinese" (chīn lūang จีนหลวง) and had residential quarters of their own. (13) "Taksin's policies doubtless attracted many Teochius [Ch'ao-chou] to Bangkok, where they predominate today." (14) On the basis of eyewitness accounts of the first of Taksin's reign, a French historian recounted in 1770: "The Chinese colony is the most numerous and flourishing, by the extent of its commerce and by the privileges which it enjoys." (15) John Crawford, one of

the first Europeans to visit and write about Siam after Tāksin reigned, wrote:

It was through the extraordinary encouragement which he [Tāksin] gave to his countrymen that they were induced to resort to the country and settle it in such numbers. This extraordinary accession of Chinese population constitutes almost the only great and material change which has taken place in the state of the kingdom during many centuries. (16)

King Rama I, who ruled after King Tāksin and founded the present Čhakrī ๙๓๑ dynasty, was of Chinese descent on his mother's side. (17) It was perhaps because of his Chinese background also that King Rama I, like King Tāksin, encouraged the immigration of Chinese and their full participation in trade and shipping. As a result, the Chinese made up the largest portion of the nation's immigrants and constituted quite a significant proportion of the capital's population.

The Chinese population within the early Bangkok period was estimated by William Skinner to be about 200,000 altogether, while the total population of the country was estimated to be about 5 million. (18) This number included 100,000 China-born Chinese as well as those who were born in the Kingdom but considered themselves Chinese. "They were concentrated in Bangkok and the tin mining areas of the south, and scattered in coastal towns. Bangkok was the chief center of Chinese concentration, and they probably

constituted over half the population in the capital throughout the first half of the nineteenth century." (19)

The prestige of the Chinese civilization had for long been high in Siam and the Chinese immigrants had well established themselves in the Thai social system ever since the beginning of the Ayutthayā epoch. (20) Yet, their impact on the Thai social, economic, and cultural life had never been so influential as compared to that of the Thonburī-Early Bangkok period. Because of the government's favorable regard, Chinese were then the sole group of foreigners in Thailand who enjoyed social rights and privileges. They were allowed to retain their national identity by keeping the custom of wearing queues and using Chinese names. (21) Unlike other aliens, the Chinese were never considered as foreigners by the Thai, perhaps due to a similar religious belief in Buddhism, and therefore they were allowed to marry Thai citizens. (22) Moreover, they were totally exempted from corvée labor which was required for those belonging to the class of commoners or what was known as phrai lws¹. (23) Being unbound by this obligation, Chinese immigrants were able to move about freely in the kingdom, to render services and labor for payment or to undertake private business, and these were again the kind of privileges the commoner class was devoid of. Occupation wise the Chinese were mainly engaged in wage labor and

entrepreneurial trades with no competition from the Thai. (24) This development largely continued throughout the nineteenth century, as one scholar notes:

By 1850 the Chinese had gained almost complete control of the interregional trade of Thailand. A number of documents mention a group of people term [sic] sētthī (wealthy ones) or chāo khlūa (Chinese merchants). King Mongkut's Royal Proclamation of 1867 mentions two such sētthī. (25)

Being outside the formal system (which would otherwise have required that they become phrai and serve *corvée*), the limitation on upward mobility of phrai did not affect them. Usually, through trading in particular, they could accumulate wealth which was the most important means of moving into the upper class as noble officials. (26) The leaders of the Chinese communities, according to Skinner, were constantly incorporated into the Thai nobility. (27) One possible way to elevate one's social status was intermarriage with Thai women from noble families. (28)

Chinese art and culture were also permeating the Thai life style of the time. Chinese artistic style and technique in architecture and other forms of art introduced by imported Chinese builders and artisans were employed in constructing temples and palaces. (29) Many Chinese art objects were imported to be used as decorative items in the royal palaces and buildings. The influence of Chinese painting in the use of color and line was also evident on many walls in temples and palaces. (30) As for the art of

Chinese play or opera, it had long been accepted by the Thai. It was recorded that by 1685 Chinese plays were already popular among Thai audiences. Two groups of foreign visitors, led by the French Ambassador in 1685-1686 and a French traveller named De la Loubère in 1687-1688, witnessed the fact that the Chinese dramatic performances were much enjoyed in Siam at the time of their visits. Victor Purcell having reviewed the writings of these visitors summarizes their impressions as follows:

The embassy was received with elaborate entertainment concluding with a Chinese play. . . . There were actors from Canton and others from Fukien: the Fukien were the most magnificent and the most ceremonious. . . . After the comedy there was a play by Chinese marionettes, . . . Regarding the music the Abbe [a member of the French delegates] was affected by it very much.

.
De la Loubère who was in Ayutthaya about three years afterwards, in 1687 and 1688, . . . also speaks in amusing terms of a theatrical performance. "The one was a Chinese comedy, which I would willingly have seen to the end, but it was adjourned after some scenes to go to dinner. The Chinese comedians, whom the Siamese do love without understanding them, do speak in the throat" (31)

There were other Chinese customs that came to be adopted by the Thai. For instance, the custom of mourning by shaving one's head was adopted beginning in the reign of Rama I, as for example, on the occasion when Prince Surasihanāt สุรสีห์มหาราช , the brother of King Rama I, died in the year 1806. In 1809 when King Rama I died the same

mourning custom was demanded by King Rama II as recorded in an official writing. In another documental record written in 1817, mention is made of an order given to all royal members, nobles, officials, civil servants, and citizens to mourn for the death of a prince by shaving the head once a month until the ceremony of cremation took place. (32) Nowadays this custom is no longer practised among the Thai. It was cancelled officially in the reign of King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868) when Western impact became more significant. (33)

It is indisputable that the significance and influence of the Chinese is indeed an indispensable subject in the study of the history of the Thonburī-Early Bangkok period. This view is shared at least by two young contemporary historians. Chānwit Kasētsiri ชานวิต เกษศรี suggests in a recent article written in 1981 that the historical development in Thonburī-Early Bangkok period should be viewed differently from that during the Ayutthayā times because of the inevitable impact of the Chinese element in the bloodline of the new rulers and in the society as a whole. (34) Loraine Marie Gesick in her 1976 dissertation similarly perceives a new spirit and energy as being put forth by the Bangkok rulers in the task of national regeneration. Specifically, Gesick attempts to show in her research that although the founder of the Čhakrī dynasty,

Rama I, took the Ayutthayā civilization as his model, he demonstrated his creative genius in manipulating the tradition with great skill as he adopted traditional ideals to the practical necessities of the changing world. (35) Indeed, Rama I not only restored the old institutions of the Ayutthayā Kingdom, but also initiated many important new projects in order to mold a strong and civilized state under his rule. (36)

Literary reconstruction was one of the major accomplishments achieved in this reign. Aside from the effort to imitate and revive the traditional heritage of Ayutthayā literature, a new kind of inspiration emerged. It became evident that King Rama I and his contemporaries were specially fond of stories from foreign lands. Never before had the Thai enjoyed such a variety of literary tastes. Literature originating in India, Ceylon, Iran, Indonesia, Mon, and China was used as source of inspiration as it was either adapted or translated into Thai.

From India, the story of Rama, the ancient Indian hero from the great epic Ramayana, was adapted in 1789, to become a Thai literary classic called Rāmakīen รามเกียรติ์ (The Honor of Rama), this work being attributed to the King. (37) 'Unarut อุนรุท (Aniruddha in Sanskrit, the grandson of Krishna), another piece of royal writing written in 1783, was a Thai adaptation of the story of the Indian

epic Mahabharata . Also a religious text in Pali known as Mahāwansā มหาวันสา originating in Ceylon was translated into Thai in 1797 at the King's command by a certain Phyā Thammapurōhit พญาธรรมบุโรหิต . The tale of the Sipsōng liēm ลิบสองเหลี่ยม (The Duodecagon) which was written 1783 under royal patronage was in fact a translation of an ancient Iranian literary work. Two other royal writings, Dālang คาหลิง (The Greater Tale of Inao) and 'Inao อีเนา (The Lesser Tale of Inao), borrowed their themes from the adventurous Panji (Inao) tales of Java. The work of Rāchāthirāt ราชธานีราช (The King of Kings) which was written in 1785 and attributed to Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (หน) (d. 1805) was a translation of Mon history covering the years 1321-1569. Sāmkok สามก๊ก (Three Kingdoms) and Saihan ไช่ฮั่น (Western Han) were two works of translation from Chinese historical novels produced during this reign. The translation of Sāmkok was supervised by Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) and Saihan by Prince Anurak Thēvēt อุนรักษ์เทเวศร์ (d. 1807), the King's nephew. (38) The King purportedly made the selection of these two works and ordered to have them translated into Thai as part of his contribution to the literary reconstruction project.

It is significant to note that until the time of Rama I there had never been any attempt to introduce Chinese literature and use it as a source of inspiration for Thai

literary work. Sāmkok and Saihan were the first two literary products from a Chinese source ever to appear in Thai.

There had, however, been some precedent, during the Ayutthaya period, for taking stories from other countries and rendering them in Thai. For instance, there exists a poetic piece which is believed to be a prototype of the Rāmakīen story. It is called Rāchāphilāp kham chan ราชพิลาป คำฉันท์ (A Royal Lamentation in chan (39)) otherwise known as Nirāt Sīdā นิราศลีดา (A nirāt (40) of Sīdā) dated in the time of King Nārāi นารายณ์ (r. 1656-1688) of Early Ayutthayā. It deals with Rama's journey in the wilderness in search of his abducted wife, Sida. (41) Also in the period of King Nārāi, the theme of 'Unarut was found in a poetic piece called 'Anirut kham chan อนิรุทคำฉันท์ (Anirut ['Unarut] in chan) which was composed by the renowned poet Srīprāt ศรีปราณี (fl. 1703). (42) By the time of King Borommakōt บรมโกศ (r. 1732-1758) of Late Ayutthayā, the story of 'Inao had already been a familiar theme in poetry as well as in dramatic performances. (43) And the 1783 version of Sibsōng līem , according to Prince Dhāni ธาณี , was actually made from the 1753 Ayutthayā copy. (44)

Nevertheless, the works of Sāmkok and Saihan were significant as the beginning of a new literary trend initiated by King Rama I. And the appearance of the impact of Chinese literature on the Thai scene should be viewed as the inevitable result of the concentration of the cross-cultural influence between Thailand and China at that time.

As Sāmkok was the first choice for such an important project, it is appropriate, here, to look into factors that may have motivated this choice. First of all, one can pretty safely speculate that before the work was translated the Thai were already familiar with this Chinese tale -- so much so that there was at least a certain degree of popular demand for the book. By the late eighteenth century the San-kuo story had already been popular in China for over 1,300 years and printed copies of the written text were then widely available. There was a good possibility that the educated people among the Chinese immigrants would have had in their possession some copies of the San-kuo either for the purpose of educating their offspring or simply for enjoyment. At any rate, one can speculate that the Thai must have known of the San-kuo story through dramatic performances. As already mentioned, the Thai were known to have enjoyed Chinese plays since the early seventeenth century. And long before that the San-kuo themes had been

used in different types of dramatization by Chinese artists. As early as the Sui 隋 dynasty (581-618) the San-kuo stories were performed in puppet shows. During the Northern Sung 宋 period (960-1127) they were dramatized in shadow plays (the p'i-ying hsi 皮影戲). There were plays during the Chin 金 period (1115-1234) known as yüan-pen 院本 that dealt with the San-kuo events and figures. By the Yüan 元 dynasty (1277-1367) the themes from the San-kuo cycle became specially popular on stage in the tsa-chü 雜劇 plays. (45)

The fact that King Rama I himself was the one who selected the San-kuo work suggests the idea that the King possibly had had some previous personal appreciation of the novel. Coming from a Chinese family, the King must have familiarized himself with this popular story and could very well have been attracted to it for the reason that he lived a kind of life quite similar to those of the heroes in the novel, i.e., being a warrior king and political leader in a time of chaos and disorder. So perhaps the novel's value as a text of war strategies and diplomatic tactics was what the King perceived to be worth transmitting into Thai. This speculation was earlier made by Prince Damrong ดำรง in his 1928 article entitled "Tamnān nangsu' Sāmkok " ตำนานหนังสือสามก๊ก (History of the Work of Sāmkok) where he says Sāmkok was translated perhaps "in order to bring

benefit to the governmental affairs of the country."

เพื่อประโยชน์ราชการบ้านเมือง (46) If one takes into consideration the political climate of the time and also the rulers' Chinese background, one will see that Prince Damrong's statement is after all not a farfetched conjecture. The Thonburī period was a time of political chaos and power struggles within and without the country. In the first years of his reign, King Tāksin had to fight against at least five internal political upheavals and throughout his reign the Burmese and Thai engaged in numerous battles. (47) King Tāksin was apparently a brilliant military strategist and capable warrior, for he was able to unify the country in the short period of four months and eventually drive the Burmese out. Interestingly, King Tāksin had been assisted by voluntary Chinese troops in many battles. (48) It is possible, therefore, that King Taksin who had knowledge of the Chinese language (49) would have at one time or another consulted the text of San-kuo as a guide in making moves or plans during the many wars of his times. Considering the similar nature of battles conducted during the Taksin time and that of the San-kuo period, the possibility of consulting the San-kuo text during Tāksin's reign was fairly high. King Rama I being a close friend and King Tāksin's right-hand man throughout his reign (50) could have had experiences similar to those encountered in the

San-kuo text. As a matter of fact, during King Tāksin's reign, Rama I who served then as his generalissimo under the noble title Čhāophrayā Čhakrī เจ้าพระยาจักรี was known to have used a certain trick in the warfare against Burma in 1775, which was similar to that used by Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 in the San-kuo story. (51) It is quite safe to assert that one of the reasons for translating San-kuo yen-i was the perception of King Rama I that some benefit was to be gain from the Chinese novel in the area of the knowledge of military tactics.

In summary, the general climate of the social and political environment helped to encourage the rapid growth of the Chinese community in Thailand during the period under study. First, the desperate demand for manpower following the ruinous wars with Burma between 1758-1767 opened a great opportunity for the Chinese immigrants who were recognized as free layman to fulfill that need. Second, as the Chinese were at that time the key instrument for Thailand's international trading which in turn was essential as the main source of the State revenue, the government's policy regarding the Chinese immigration was accordingly favorable. Third, Chinese immigrants were attracted to the country by the fact that the new Thai rulers were of Chinese descent and for that reason good treatment and attitudes on the part of the Thai authorities seemed to be guaranteed. As a

result, Chinese communities became dense, especially in the capital as they constituted over half of the population. By this time, the impact of the Chinese was greater than ever in social, economic, and cultural aspects. The influence of Chinese literature appeared for the first time in the form of literary writings, which was in part made possible by the enthusiastic interest in foreign literature by the King and his contemporaries. Sāmkok , the first piece of translated work from a Chinese text, seemed to be the most appropriate choice for two reasons: there was a demand for this popular Chinese tale among the Thai readers; and the text contained some useful knowledge applicable quite well to the nature of military campaigns of the time.

Notes

(1) The former had Thonburī as its capital and was often referred to as the Thonburī period. King Rama I, ruled the Kingdom after Tāksin, moved the capital to Bangkok and proclaimed his own dynasty of Čhakrī, the rule of which remains till today.

(2) For further information as to the Sino-Thai historical relations and the early movement of Chinese immigration to Thailand during the period from the thirteenth century to 1767, see Kenneth P. Landon, The Chinese in Thailand (1941; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1973), pp. 1-6; Likhit Hoontrakul, The Historical Records of the Siamese-Chinese Relations (Bangkok: n.p., 1953), p. 103; George William Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 1-20; Phaithūn Mīkuson ไพฑูรย์ มีกุล Prawattisāt Thai ประวัติศาสตร์ไทย (Thai History), (Mahāsārahkrām: Prīdā kānphim, 1978), pp. 209-214.

(3) Skinner, p. 30.

(4) Chānwit Kasētsiri, "Mōng Prawattisāt ton Rattanakōsin," มองประวัติศาสตร์ต้นรัตนโกสินทร์ (Viewing the History of Early Rattanakōsin Period) Sinlapa watthanatham ศิลปวัฒนธรรม 2, No. 18 (April 1981), 16.

(5) Akin Rabhibhadana, Wilailak Mekarat, and Walwipha Burutrattanaphan, Social History of the Thai Kingdom 1782-1873, Part I of Persistence within Change (Bangkok: Thai khadī Research Institute, Thammasāt University, 1981), p. 5.

(6) Akin, p. 6.

(7) Skinner, pp. 11, 18; Phonlakūn 'Angkinan พลกุล อังกินันท์ Botbāt chāo Čhīn nai Prathēt Thai nai ratcha samai Phrabāt Somdet Phra Čhunlačhōmklāo Čhāoyūhua บทบาทชาวจีนในประเทศไทยในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (The Role of Chinese People in Thailand in the Reign of King Čhulālongkōn), (Bangkok: Pračhak kānphim, 1972), pp. 14-5.

(8) Akin, p. 142.

(9) Skinner, p. 18.

(10) Manlikā Rŭ'angraphī มัลลิกา เรื่องระพี Botbāt khōng chāo Čhīn nai dān sētthakit sangkhom lae sinlapakam Thai samai ratchakān thī nu'ng thu'ng ratchakān thī sī haeng Krung Rattanakōsin บทบาทของชาวจีนในค่านเศรษฐกิจ สังคม และ ศิลปกรรมไทย สมัยรัชกาลที่ 1 ถึงรัชกาลที่ 4 แห่งกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ (The Role of Chinese People in Thai Economics, Society, and Artistic Activities during the Period from the First to the Fourth Reigns of Rattanakōsin dynasty), (Bangkok: Čhulālongkōn University Press, 1975), p. 46.

(11) Skinner, pp. 24-25.

(12) King Tāksin's father whose name was Tāē Hai-hong
แต่ไชของ was a Chinese tax farmer in the last years of the
Ayutthaya period who received an honorific title of "Khun
Phat" ขุนพัตน์ . See Landon, p. 7; Phaitūn, p. 1.

(13) Phonlakūn, p. 13; Manlikā, p. 46.

(14) Skinner, p. 21.

(15) M. Turpin, Histoire civile et naturelle du Royaume de Siam (Paris: n.p., 1771), p. 9. Quoted in Skinner, p. 21 and Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 92.

(16) John Crawford, Embassay to Siam and Coechin-China (n.p.: n.d.), p. 450. Quoted in Skinner, p. 21 and Purcell, p. 95.

(17) The fact about King Rama I's mother's Chinese background is recorded in a letter written by King Rama IV, the grandson of King Rama I and the son of King Rama II, to Sir John Bowring printed in The Kingdom and the People of Siam by John Bowring, Vol. I (London: n.p., 1857), p. 66.

(18) Skinner, pp. 71, 79.

(19) Akin, p. 101. Crawford estimated in the reign of King Rama II out of 50,000 Bangkokians there were 31,000 Chinese. Jacob Tomlin in his work written in 1844 claimed to have access to the official report of census of the year 1828 that the population of Bangkok was 77,300 of which

31,000 were Chinese. The figures reported by Crawford and Tomlin were quite close. This information is cited in Chanwit's article, p. 16. Dr. Ruschenberger, a medical officer and historian who accompanied a group of American envoys to visit Southeast Asia during 1835-1837, reported that in 1836 there were over 400,000 Chinese in Bangkok out of a total population of 500,000. This is taken from The Chinese in Southeast Asia , p. 98.

(20) See Skinner, pp. 14-15; Phonlakūn, p. 10; Manlika, p. 13 and Purcell, p. 91.

(21) Akin, p. 102.

(22) Skinner, p. 11 and Phaithūn, p. 211.

(23) Akin, p. 47. In lieu of the corvée, the Chinese were required to pay head tax of about 2 bāt บาท a year. As for the phrai or commoners, different amounts of time for corvée were required according to their classification as phrai . In general, there were three kinds: the phrai lūang ไพรหลวง , phrai som ไพรสม , and thāt ทาส (slave). The first group, phrai lūang , belonging to the king, was required to serve the State corvée labor for three months annually, the second group being owned by private individuals was required to serve only one month and the slave or thāt one week a year. See Akin, p. 46.

- (24) Manlikā, p. 46.
- (25) Akin, p. 102.
- (26) Akin, p. 114.
- (27) See Skinner, pp. 153-154.
- (28) It is a fact that Chinese women never emigrated in those days. Skinner, p. 3.
- (29) Manlikā, pp. 185, 187.
- (30) Chānwit, pp. 18-20.
- (31) Purcell, pp. 89-90.
- (32) Manlikā, pp. 173-174.
- (33) Manlikā, pp. 175.
- (34) Chānwit, pp. 17-19.
- (35) Loraine Marie Gesick, "Kingship and Political Integrity in Traditional Siam, 1767-1824," Diss. Cornell University 1976.
- (36) See Prince Dhāni's article entitled "The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty," In Collected Articles by Prince Dhāni (Bangkok: n.p., 1976), pp. 145-168.
- (37) The Rāmakīen by King Rama I is the most complete Thai version of the Indian epic Ramayana. Phutthayōtfā Čhulālōk, King of Thailand พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก Rāmakīen รามเกียรติ์ (The Honor of Rama), (Bangkok: Su'ksāphan, 1964-1965).

(38) The work of Saihan , like Sāmkok , is an historical novel from the Chinese. Since the work is undated, one may presume that it antedates the year 1807 in which its supervisor, Prince Anurak Thēvēt, died. Saihan deals with the story of Chinese history from the period of the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (221-207 B.C.) to that of the Western Han 西漢 (206 B.C.-A.D. 24). The first printing edition of Saihan in two volumes appeared in 1874. Several printings have been made since then without any substantial editing work. The 1974 edition published by Phrāēphitthayā represents the current standard version of Saihan .

(39) Chan is a verse form consisting of rhymes and a definite metrical scheme. For more information on the kind and characteristics of chan , see Plū'ang Na Nakhōn เปลื้อง ณ นคร , Prawat wannakhadī Thai ประวัติวรรณคดีไทย (A Thai Literary History), (Bangkok: Thai Watthanā phānit, 1980), pp. 9, 25-26.

(40) Nirāt is a type of literature in verse written on the occasion of a journey during which the poet is separated from a loved one or from his favorite town. Nirāt is usually characterized by the theme of love and the melancholic mood caused by the separation.

(41) Plū'ang, p. 208. The author of Nirāt Sīdā is unknown. See Mōtthayākōn โมทยากร , Prawat wannakhadī Thai sī samai ประวัติวรรณคดีไทยสี่สมัย (Four Periods of Thai Literary

History), (Bangkok: Phitthayakhān, 1974), p. 76.

(42) Plū'ang, p. 218. Information on the biography and works of Srīprāt can be found in Plū'ang, pp. 116-130 and Mōtthayākōn, pp. 78-83.

(43) See Plū'ang, p. 286. As a matter of fact, Dālang and 'Inao by Rama I are revivals of versions written by King Barommakōt's daughters, Princess Kunthon กุณฑล and Princess Mongkut มงกุฎ, respectively. Mōtthayākōn, pp. 95-97, 117-120.

(44) Prince Dhāni, "The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty," p. 157.

(45) Winston Lih-yeu Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih as a Source of the San-kuo-chih yen-i," Diss. Stanford University 1971, pp. 57-58. Henceforth cited as "The Use of the San-kuo chih".

(46) Prince Damrong Rāchānuphāp สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยา
ดำรงราชานุภาพ "Tamnān nangsu' Sāmkok
ตำนานหนังสือสามก๊ก (History of the Work of Sāmkok)," in Sāmkok
by Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon), (Bangkok: Bamrungsān, 1973),
p. 13. Henceforth cited as "Tamnān".

(47) See Phaithūn Mīkuson, Prawattisāt samai Thonburī
ประวัติศาสตร์สมัยธนบุรี (History of the Thonburī Period),
(Khōnkaen: 'Udomsin, n.d.), pp. 8, 21-33, 44-47. Henceforth
cited as Thonburī.

(48) Phaithūn, Thonburī , p. 213 and Landon, p. 6.

(49) Phaithūn, Thonburī , p. 2 and Landon, p. 7.

(50) At the age of eight, Thōngduang --

original name of King Rama I -- and Tāksin who was two years older became pages of the same lord, Čhāofā 'Uthumphōn เจ้าฟ้าอุทุมพร , the third son of King Barommakōt. They both served the last two Ayutthayā rulers for nine years, 1758-1767, before Tāksin became King. While Tāksin was leading his defending army against Burma at Chonburī ชลบุรี , Thōngduang decided to join him there. During the fifteen years of Tāksin's reign, the future Rama I fought beside Tāksin against their mutual enemies in eleven campaigns which furthered the liberation of the country from Burmese domination. In the last campaigns under Tāksin, Rama I known then as Phra Rātcharin พระราชรินทร์ was the commander-in-chief of the Thai armies. The above information is from The Restoration of Thailand under Rama I, 1782-1809 , trans. Greeley Stahl, by Klaus Wenk (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968), pp. 2-3. One source has it that King Tāksin was once married to the oldest daughter of King Rama I and that makes them related by marriage. See Chalōem Yūwīangchai เฉลิม อยู่เวียงชัย , Prawattisāt samai Krung Thonburī lae samai Krung Rattanakōsin ประวัติศาสตร์สมัยกรุงธนบุรี และสมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ (History of the Thonburī and Rattanakōsin Periods), (Bangkok: Teacher's

Training Department, 1971), p. 23.

(51) See "Introduction" by Krom Sinlapākon กรมศิลปากร
(The Department of Fine Arts) provided in the 1973 edition
of Sāmkok published by Bamrungsān, pp. 8-9.

Chapter Two

Historical Background

A. The Translation of Sāmkok

Previous studies on Sāmkok done by Thai scholars have shed little light on our knowledge about the piece of Chinese literature from which Sāmkok was translated. Information provided in those studies is sketchy and assumptive as supporting evidence is lacking. Prince Damrong (1) who was the first scholar to examine the background history of Sāmkok , mistakenly mentioned the title San-kuo chih 三國志, in referring to the Chinese work used for the Samkok project. In his essay, "Tamnān nangsū' Sāmkok ," Prince Damrong writes:

หนังสือสามก๊กไม่ใช่เป็นพงศาวดารสามัญ จีนเรียกว่า "สามก๊กจี" แปลว่าจดหมายเหตุเรื่องสามก๊ก เป็นหนังสือซึ่งนักปราชญ์จีนคนหนึ่งเลือกเอาเรื่องในพงศาวดารตอนหนึ่งมาแต่งขึ้น โดยประสงค์จะให้เป็นที่รำสำหรับศึกษาอุบายการเมืองและการสงคราม และแต่งค้อย่างยิ่ง จึงเป็นหนังสือเรื่องหนึ่งซึ่งนับถือทั่วไปในประเทศจีนและตลอดไปถึงประเทศอื่นๆ

ต้นตำนานของหนังสือสามก๊กนั้น ทราบว่าเดิมเรื่องสามก๊กเป็นแต่นิทานสำหรับเล่ากันอยู่ก่อน เมื่อถึงสมัยราชวงศ์ถัง (พ.ศ.1161-1449) เกิดมีการเล่นจิวซันในเมืองจีน พวกจิวก็ชอบเอาเรื่องสามก๊กไปเล่นด้วยเรื่องหนึ่ง ต่อมาถึงสมัยราชวงศ์ซ่ง (พ.ศ.1820-1910) การแต่งหนังสือจีนเฟื่องฟูขึ้น มีผู้ชอบเอาเรื่องพงศาวดารมาแต่งเป็นเรื่อง

หนังสืออ่าน แต่ก็ยังไม่ได้เอาเรื่องสามก๊กมาแต่งเป็นหนังสือ จนถึงสมัย
 ราชวงศ์ไต้เหม็ง (พ.ศ. 1911-2186) จึงมีนักปราชญ์จีนชาวเมืองฮังโจวคนหนึ่ง
 ลอกวนตง คิดแต่งหนังสือเรื่องสามก๊กขึ้นเป็นหนังสือ 120 ตอน

The Work of Sāmkok is not a common chronicle. It is called in Chinese "Sam-kok-chi" [San-kuo chih] which means the Record of the Three Kingdoms Period. It is a work written by a Chinese scholar who composed it from materials selected from a portion of the [Chinese] historical chronicles, with the intention of making it a text for studying political and military tactics. The book is so well written that it became one of the works which are highly regarded throughout China as well as in other countries.

With regard to the history of the work, Sāmkok, it is known originally as a folk tale. In the T'ang dynasty (B.E. 1161-1449) [A.D. 618-906] there appeared [Chinese] opera performances in China in which the San-kuo story was dramatized. Later, in the period of the Yuan dynasty (B.E. 1820-1910) [A.D. 1277-1367] fictional writing increasingly flourished. There were writers who liked to write stories based on historical annals. By that time, however, the history of the San-kuo period had not been fictionalized. By the time of the Ming dynasty (B.E. 1911-2186) [A.D. 1368-1643] a Chinese scholar from Hang-chiu [Hang-chou 杭州] named Lo Kuan-tung [Lo Kuan-chung 羅貫中] (2) wrote the work of Sāmkok [i.e. the San-kuo yen-i 三國演義] in one hundred and twenty chapters. (3)

In the above passage, Prince Damrong quotes an incorrect title for the Chinese work which he is discussing. From his description about the book, it is obvious that Prince Damrong is actually referring to San-kuo yen-i, not

San-kuo chih which is a completely different piece of literature written much earlier, in the third century A.D., by a Chinese historian named Ch'en Shou 陳壽 (233-297) (4) Later Thai scholars have failed to point out this mistake, although they are able to distinguish the work of San-kuo chih from the fictional version of Lo Kuan-chung.

(5) Perhaps one reason behind this restraint of criticism is the fact that Prince Damrong has been regarded by the Thais to be the most outstanding and the most knowledgeable historian in the country. (6) His writings seem to be automatically accepted as factual knowledge. In any case, there remain in the above quotation a few items of incorrect information about the San-kuo yen-i that have not yet been rectified by later scholars and writers. First of all, it is not at all true to say that by the Yuan times "the history of the San-kuo period had not been fictionalized," because a work in the genre of historical narration or chiang-shih 講史 known as the San-kuo-chih p'ing-hua 三國志平話 (A P'ing-hua of the History of the Three Kingdoms Period) had already appeared in the Yüan dynasty. (7) Both Western and Chinese scholars believe that the San-kuo yen-i has, to a certain degree, made use of the narrative framework of the P'ing-hua, and that the latter presented popular history while the former rendered popularized history. (8) It is also incorrect to state that

Lo Kuan-chung wrote his work "in one hundred and twenty chapters," as the earliest surviving edition of Lo's original writing was divided into 240 chapters. (9) The abridgment in the organization of the chapter divisions was actually done a few hundred years later by Mao Tsung-kang 毛宗崗 (fl. 1679) (10) in the early Ch'ing 清 period (1644-1911).

Since the appearance of Prince Damrong's article in 1928, there have never been any studies focusing specifically on the background history of the Chinese work that was used for the translation of Sāmkok. Subsequent studies on Sāmkok including those by Sang Phatthanōthai สังข์ พัชรีนัย and Prapin Manomaivibool ประพิน มโนมัยวิบูลย์ rely exclusively on Prince Damrong's information (11), and therefore are still lacking in sufficient evidence to identify the right version of the San-kuo text from which Sāmkok was translated. Since there is no surviving external evidence that has the information to clarify the point in question, it seems necessary to resort to the method of textual investigation in order to determine this version.

Based on the discrepancies in form and content, the work of San-kuo chih by Ch'en Shou seems very unlikely to have been the work used as the translation model of the Thai version. The San-kuo chih is a collection of biographies of important personages of the Three Kingdoms period

(A.D. 220-280), organized into 65 chüan 卷 or chapters. It contains altogether 442 biographies of which 230 are those of Wei 魏 figures, 83 of Shu 蜀, and 129 of Wu 吳. (12) The 230 biographies of Wei figures constitute the first 30 chüan, the 83 of Shu make up the following 15 chüan, and the 129 of Wu take up the remaining 20 chüan. The author of San-kuo chih derived his sources from earlier historical records and categorized the compiled materials into different types of biographies, namely, the annals of the emperor known as chi 紀, exclusive biography or chuan-chuan 專傳, combined biography or ho-chuan 合傳 and appended biography or fu-chuan 附傳. Each biography is presented in chronological order with concise and compact language strictly following the style of traditional Chinese historiography. (13) As one writer remarks:

Like other historians of the old school, Ch'en Shou, in his San-kuo chih, seldom thinks of working historical facts into a unified structure that will be in accord with reality; he makes no attempt to "evoke," "conjure" and "revive" past events. He fails to work up his historical sources and to combine the facts he has found in successive chains. What he has done is to arrange them in certain categories. He has made no attempt to create any sort of coherent picture of the San-kuo period; he has merely presented the material that has been preserved in a most accessible form to the reader. . . . he conceived of the San-kuo period as a series of concrete events and overt acts; he views history as a registration of them which should be exact and dispassionate, without any projection across the scene of the personality of the registrar. At its best, his work is but a reliable yet impersonal record of unconnected events. (14)

In contrast to the biography form of San-kuo chih , Sāmkok is presented in the form of narrative fiction which has the characteristics of contextual unity and thematic cohesiveness. Unlike the San-kuo chih with unconnected pieces of biography, the different episodes in Sāmkok are linked together by the plot scheme to produce certain thematic meanings and to create a variety of lively and imaginatively interesting characters. With these qualities, Sāmkok most likely originates from the novel San-kuo yen-i by Lo Kuan-chung. The length of the Thai translation and its general content show closer affinity to the San-kuo yen-i text than any other fictionalized version of the San-kuo story. For instance, the San-kuo chih p'ing-hua which is the only extant version written before Lo's novel can hardly be the work from which Sāmkok was translated because, firstly, the length of texts is not comparable, and secondly, the stories contained in the two texts do not match. The P'ing-hua consists only of three chüan while Sāmkok has eighty-seven chapters -- a length that is close to that of San-kuo yen-i . The story of the P'ing-hua starts with a tale of moral retribution dealing with the disintegration of the Han empire into three separate states, and it ends with the death of Chu-ko Liang. Sāmkok neither contains such a moral tale nor stops short at that death scene. In fact, the story line of San-kuo yen-i is found to

be closely followed in Sāmkok (see Chapters Six and Seven below).

It has been known that many revised versions and different editions have been made since the completion of Lo's original writing in the end of the fourteenth century. (15) The version that was revised and edited in early Ch'ing period by the scholar named Mao Tsung-kang and his father Mao Lun 毛 綸 (fl. 1616-1670) (16) became today's standard version. In previous studies by Thai authors, it has been commonly agreed that the Mao Tsung-kang version is the one used by the translators of Sāmkok simply by virtue of the fact that the translation was done during the time when the Mao version had already become, for over one hundred years, the sole popular standard text and the most widely read version of the San-kuo stories in China. The following textual comparison will provide more solid evidence that Sāmkok was actually translated from the Mao Tsung-kang edition of the San-kuo yen-i text.

Many studies have been done to show the textual differences between the Mao Tsung-kang version and Lo's original work. (17) The discrepancies lie in stylistic improvements (18) and a number of minor revisions of content. It is the latter aspect that is significant and useful to the problem at hand. If the text of Sāmkok shows similarity to the Mao version in those changes, we show for

the first time beyond any reasonable doubt that Sāmkok was translated from the Mao version.

Mao Tsung-kang made the revision of the content in three different ways: deletion, addition, and alteration. There are at least two incidents that are removed from the revised version. The first is the incident about Chu-ko Liang attacking Szu-ma I 司馬懿 at the Shang-fang 上方 valley by using fire, which appears in chapter 103 of the Mao text. In Lo's original text the scene also includes the story that Chu-ko Liang wishes to harm Wei Yen 魏延 in the same attack by using the same means. The Wei Yen episode is not found in the Mao text; nor does it appear in Samkok.

(19) Another minor deletion is found in the episode about the fight between Chu-ko Chan 諸葛瞻 and Teng Ai 鄧艾 in chapter 117. Teng Ai made the diplomatic move to settle the conflict by asking for Chu-ko Chan's submission. The latter received the letter of proposal in great hesitation. It was his son, Chu-ko Shang 諸葛尚, who disagreed and insisted on making the final decisive attack. This last incident which shows the important role of Chu-ko Shang in the fight is omitted in the Mao text and the same is omitted in Sāmkok. (20)

As for the addition of content that is found in the Mao version, Sāmkok appears to include all of Mao's additional passages. For instance, the matching of the opening and

ending statements about the cyclical pattern of history (21) is an important example of evidence to support the view that the Thai author of Sāmkok was actually working with the Mao version. Furthermore, the Mao text and Sāmkok agree in the scene where Ts'ao Ts'ao arranged to share his possessions among his wives and concubines before his death (22), and also in the scene in which Sun fu-jen 孫夫人 committed suicide by plunging into the Ch'ang-chiang river. (23) Since these two incidents represent details which were incorporated by Mao Tsung-kang, it is obvious that the Ch'ing revised version was used for the translation of Sāmkok .

Moreover, one finds that a number of changes in the content made by Mao so as to adhere to historical facts are reproduced in the Thai version. The Sāmkok text follows the Mao text even in the minor details. One of the most interesting episodes that has gone through changes in the Mao version is the scene narrating how Ma T'eng 馬騰 meets his death at Hsü-ch'ang 許昌 . Here are some points of difference between the Lo text and that of Mao and Sāmkok . (24)

Lo text

- Ma T'eng with his two younger sons and nephew left for Hsü-ch'ang to report to Ts'ao Ts'ao in response to the latter's letter of

Mao text and Sāmkok

- Before making the decision to leave Hsi-liang, Ma T'eng consulted with Ma Ch'ao as the former became suspicious of Ts'ao Ts'ao's intention.
- Han Sui 韓遂 was appointed

summons, leaving Ma Ch'ao
馬超, his eldest son,
in charge of Hsi-liang
西涼 city.

-After Ma T'eng's arrival
at Hsü-ch'ang, Ts'ao Ts'ao
conferred on him an offic-
ial title and provided him
with material rewards.

-One day during his stay
in the capital, Ma T'eng
had the chance to be in
audience with Emperor
Hsien who commissioned
the former to eliminate
Ts'ao. And Ma T'eng
agreed to carry out the
Emperor's wish.

-Huang K'uei 黃奎
agreed to cooperate
with Ma T'eng in the
assassination plan
against Ts'ao Ts'ao.
Unfortunately, Ts'ao
secretly learned of the
scheme from a member of
Huang K'uei's household

-Ma T'eng was captured
by Ts'ao's force even
before the assassination
could be carried out.
Only Ma Tai 馬岱 was
able to make the escape.

as Ma Ch'ao's assistant at
Hsi-liang.

-When Ma T'eng approached
Hsü-ch'ang, Ts'ao Ts'ao
immediately sent Huang
K'uei to order Ma T'eng
to settle his troops outside
the city and entered Hsu-
ch'ang with a few of his
senior officials.

(This scene is not in
either the Mao or Sāmkok
texts.)

-There are an extra few
lines of dialogue between
Huang K'uei and his concu-
bine discussing the details
of the plan.

-Having learned of Ma
T'eng's secret scheme,
Ts'ao Ts'ao made plans with
his four able generals.

-Ma T'eng was attacked
unguarded from four sides
by Ts'ao's generals as
planned. All were captured
and executed including
Huang K'uei and all his
clansmen.

There are still three other episodes that illustrate the
fact that Sāmkok corresponds well to the Mao version rather
the Lo text. (25)

B. The Date and the Author

It is very unfortunate that the prefatory section of the original text of Sāmkok has not survived to give us some light on the questions of date and authorship. According to Thai traditional custom any literary project under royal sponsorship was supposed to state in its preface the date of writing and the purpose of the work itself. The following, for instance, is an introductory passage from Rāchāthirāt ราชธานีราช , a work under royal command, providing background information on the work.

พระพุทธศักราช 2328... พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก
 พระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัวเสด็จออกพระที่นั่งจักรพรรดิพิมาน...มีพระราชโองการ
 ...สั่งว่าเรื่องราวพระเจ้าราชธานีราชซึ่งทำศึกกับพระเจ้าฝรั่งมังฆ้อง เป็น
 มหายุทธสงครามมีในพระราชพงศาวดารรามัญนั้น ที่แปลออกจากรามัญภาษา
 เป็นสยามภาษาดูยากสมเด็จอนุชาธิราชกรมพระราชวังบวรฯแปลเปลี่ยนแปลง
 กับที่ได้ทรงฟังสังเกตไว้แต่ก่อน จึงทรงพระราชนิพนธ์แก้ไขข้อความในเรื่อง
 ราชธานีราชที่ยังขาดเหลือค้างเกินอยู่นั้นให้เรียบเรียงขึ้นเสียใหม่ไว้เป็นสยามภาษา
 ค่ายพระราชนัดดาประสงค์จะให้เป็นที่คานาคติประโยชน์แก่พระบรมราชวงศานุวงศ์
 ข้าทูลละอองธุลีพระบาท ผู้น้อยผู้ใหญ่นายทหารพลเรือน จะใกล้ชิดจำไว้เป็นคติ
 บำรุงสติปัญญาไปภายหน้า ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าพระยาคลังหนึ่ง พระยาอินทรอัศวราช
 หนึ่ง พระภิรมย์รัตน์หนึ่ง พระศรีภูมิปรีชาหนึ่ง ข้าทูลละอองธุลีพระบาทพร้อม
 กันทั้งสี่นาย ขอรับพระราชทานพระบรมราชวโรกาสเรียบเรียงข้อความ
 ในเรื่องราชธานีราชโดยกระแสพระราชนิพนธ์

In the year of 2328 of the Buddhist Era [A.D. 1785] . . . Phrabāt Somdet Phraphutthayōtfā Čhulālōk [Rama I], the King, appeared in audience at Čhakraphat Phimān Hall. He ordered . . . that the story of Phračhāo Rāchāthirāt who made war with Phračhāo Farang Mangkhōng -- an epic war recorded in the annals of the Raman [the Mon] -- which was translated into Siamese for Somdet Anuchāthirāt Krom Phrarāčchawang Bawōn [younger brother of Rama I], differs from what has been heard. [The King] therefore would like to make an adaptation of the story of Rāchāthirāt. As for those neglected and missing episodes, the King ordered that they be retold in Thai with the intent of making the work a useful source of intellectual enlightenment in the future for the royal family and for military and civil servants great and small. I, Čhāophrayā Phrakhlang, together with three persons, Phraya 'Inthara'akkharāt, Phra Phiromratsamī, and Phra Srīphūripričhā, respectively took this grand occasion to compile the story of Rāchāthirāt in response to His Majesty's command. (26)

The loss of the prefatory page of Sāmkok has consequently raised some unresolved speculations on the problem of the date of writing among concerned scholars in Thailand. It still remains unsolved as to the exact year in which the translation of Sāmkok was completed. However, there is strong evidence to believe that the work was launched and perhaps finished during the reign of King Rama I. The work of Sāmkok is referred to by name in the lyrical text of the dramatic piece called Khāwī กล้วย which was composed by King Rama II (1767-1824), the son of Rama I. (27) This indicates that the Thai version of the San-kuo yen-i novel had been available and well-known at least before Rama II wrote his work which was, unfortunately,

undated. At any rate, it is known that during the reign of Rama II (r. 1809-1824) a few new projects of translation, like that of Sāmkok , were ordered by the King to follow the rich literary spirit of the past. One of these projects was dated the year 1819, and it is believed to have been undertaken in order to follow in the tradition of Sāmkok . (28) One can now say for sure at least that by 1819 Sāmkok was already appreciated by its readers.

But it is tempting to believe that Sāmkok was finished even before Rama II succeeded to the throne in 1809. One of the reasons is that Prince Damrong received words passed down from his ancestors (he was the great grandson of Rama I) indicating that the Sāmkok project was ordered by Rama I to be handled under the supervision of Chaophraya Phrakhlāng (Hon). (29) Although this information regarding the authorship is based on hearsay, it may very well have a pretty good degree of truth as one detects the similarity of language between Sāmkok and Rāchāthirāt which was attributed to Phrakhlāng and dated in 1785. (30) In fact, Thai literary historians have attributed the work of Sāmkok to Phrakhlāng. (31) Accordingly, the safest approximate date of Sāmkok should be the period between 1782, the year Rama I became King, and 1805, the year Phrakhlāng died.

It is interesting to note that, although Prince Damrong has assigned a time before 1805 as the date of Sāmkok , he expresses a doubt, however, as to whether Phrakhlāng really conducted all of the editing of the translation. Prince Damrong's suspicion is based on his impression that the language of Sāmkok shows two different styles and qualities. According to him, the first fifty-five chapters of Sāmkok , which contain beautifully polished Thai prose, must have been written by Phrakhlāng, whereas the remaining thirty-two chapters demonstrate a different and less elegant style of prose writing. (32) The implication here is that perhaps Phrakhlāng died before the translation was finished and therefore the task was taken over by another literary person. Sang Phatthanōthai seems to agree with Prince Damrong on this point, and for the same reason. (33) However, neither scholar provide any illustrations to substantiate their view, although their doubt can raise an important question concerning the date of completion of Sāmkok : Was Sāmkok finished after 1805? But such a question is hardly appropriate since it is impossible to prove whether or not Phrakhlāng actually edited the language of the entire Samkok text due to the lack of knowledge about those individuals who gave assistance in and contribution to the translation project. The cause for the language of the later chapters being less polished than that of the early

ones could very well be the fact that such a huge work (about 2,100 pages in length) was long, slow, and tedious, and that Phrakhlāng could not therefore be personally involved in the whole task. In any case, it is still reasonable to believe that Phrakhlāng, who was a very highly respected official and outstanding poet and prose writer of his time, was entrusted by the King with such a grand and important project.

Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng was originally known by the given name Hon หน or Honthāng หนทาง, and he was the son of a Thonburī nobleman, Čhāophrayā Surabōdin Surinrū'chai เจ้าพระยาสุรบกินทร์ สุรินทร์จาไชย, originally known as Bunmā บุญมา, and Thanphūying Čharōen ท่านผู้หญิง เจริญ. (34) Phrakhlāng began his official career in the reign of King Taksin of the Thonburī era. During the reign of King Rama I Phrakhlāng advanced rapidly in office and was promoted to one of the highest honorary ranks. (35) Perhaps his literary genius and ability was even more appreciated. He composed eleven classic pieces of literature in prose and poetry which even today are regarded as pieces of valuable national literature. (36) Among them Sāmkok stands out as the most well-known and most widely read among the Thai readers of past and present. (37) Phrakhlāng died in 1805, four years before the death of Rama I. (38)

A word should be mentioned about the translators who worked for Phrakhleng in the project. It is most likely that some native Chinese scholars were summoned to help with the translation since there was not an individual Thai scholar at that time who was competent in both the Thai and Chinese languages. (39) It is believed that the King commissioned two groups of scholars: a group of knowledgeable Chinese to translate the Chinese text and a group of Thai scholars to improve and edit the translated text. Sang Phatthanothai who did comprehensive glossaries of the names of characters and places in Sāmkok and in San-kuo yen-i gave an interesting opinion on these two groups of the translating committee as follows:

เข้าใจกันมาว่า พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลกมหาราชที่
โปรดให้เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (หน) อำนวยการแปลเรื่องสามก๊กออกจาก
ภาษาจีนเป็นภาษาไทย... จะต้องมีผู้ทรงอำนาจในราชการ ซึ่งมองเห็น
ความสำคัญของเรื่องสามก๊ก เป็นกำลังสนับสนุนอย่างแข็งขัน
จากการแปลเรื่องสามก๊กออกเป็นภาษาไทยนั้นสังเกตได้ว่า
จีนฮกเกี้ยนคงจะทำหน้าที่เป็นบรรณาธิการ เพราะชื่อบุคคลและสถานที่
ต่างๆ ที่ออกเสียงจากภาษาจีนออกมาล้วนเป็นเสียงจีนฮกเกี้ยนเป็นส่วนใหญ่
นอกจากนั้นคงจะมีจีนแต้จิ๋ว และ กวางตุ้ง และ ไทหล่า เป็นคณะ
บรรณาธิการในการแปลด้วย

It has been understood that Phrabāt Somdet

Phraphutthayōtfā Čhulālōk, the First Ruler [Rama I], commissioned Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) to supervise in translating Sāmkok from Chinese into Thai . . . There must have been powerful officials who perceived the importance of Sāmkok and consequently gave strong support to the project.

One may notice from the translation of Sāmkok into Thai that a Fukienese was most likely the chief editor, since the names of people and places transcribed from the Chinese in the translation were, for the most part, pronounced in the Fukienese dialect. In addition, however, there were probably also speakers of Ch'ao-chou, the K'e-chia, the Cantonese, and the Hainanese dialects, who served as members of the editorial committee for the translation. (40)

Being in charge of the project, it was Phrakhlāng's duty not only to polish the Thai translation but also to assure that the two groups of scholars were able to cooperate and communicate well with one another. For such a difficult position Phrakhlāng appeared to be the most appropriate person. The position of Phrakhlāng in those days was equivalent to that of present-day Ministers of Finance and Commerce. Phrakhlāng was endowed with the authority to govern and control the Chinese immigrants in the country as well as to handle the trade with China. With such administrative power and cultural exposure, Phrakhlāng must have received the kind of respect from both groups of translators which was needed to maintain his superior status and the success of the translation.

C. Different Editions

Due to the difficulty in gaining access to the early editions of Sāmkok which are preserved as rare books in the Library of the National Academy of Thailand, the present work must, unfortunately, rely on secondary sources. The following information on the different editions of Sāmkok is derived mostly from two pieces of writing by Prince Damrong. (41)

There are altogether three different editions of the Sāmkok text. The first edition, which is comprised of ninety-five samutthai สมุดไทย (volumes), is the original work purportedly edited by Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon). This 1805 edition was circulated for about sixty years in the form of hand-written copies using various implements, such as , lead pencil (sen dinsō เส้นดินสอ), powdered pencil (sen fun เส้นฝุ่น), and realgar (sen hōradān เส้นทรกาน). Most of these copies of Sāmkok were reproduced under the order and sponsorship of rich and noble people who wished to have possession of this work in their library collections. A few of these hand-written copies originally owned by noble members are now kept as rare books in the Library of the National Academy of Thailand. Prince Damrong in 1928 remarked that not all of the Sāmkok copies in the National Academy Library are complete and that only the one which originally belonged to Kromlūang Wōrasētsudā กรมหลวงวรเสถียรสุดา

appears intact. Since these Library copies are now inaccessible to the public, there is no way to check whether Prince Damrong's above statement remains true.

A printed edition of Sāmkok appeared for the first time in 1865 when the first publishing company in the country, owned by an American missionary known as "Mō Bratlē" หมอบรัดเลย์ or Dr. Bradley (d. 1871), began to publish Thai literary works. (42) The text of this printed edition represents the revised version made from three different copies (43) of the hand-written edition. Dr. Bradley, who did the editing, rearranged the printed work into a four-volume set. According to Prince Damrong, about fifty sets were sold to King Rama IV (r. 1851-1868) who had all along given encouragement to the progress of publication.

(44) Dr. Bradley's first printed edition of Sāmkok was so popularly received by the reading public that the work was reprinted five times during the period of sixty-three years, from 1865 to 1928. The last three publications of Sāmkok were not printed by Dr. Bradley and in them many minor mistakes were made.

The third edition of Sāmkok appeared in early 1928 on the day the cremation of HRH Princess Sukhuman Marasri สมเด็จพระนางเจ้า สุชนาถมารศรี พระอัครราชเทวี was held. (45) This new edition of Sāmkok was provided as a funeral gift for this ceremonious event. The selection of the funeral gift

was made by the Princess's son, Prince Bōriphat เจ้าฟ้าบริพัตร , who had a special interest in and a deep appreciation for the Sāmkok novel. With great concern for the degraded quality of the existing printed text, Prince Boriphat requested that Prince Damrong, who was then the president of the National Academy of Thailand, make a comprehensive textual reexamination so that the language of Sāmkok could be preserved in its original greatness of quality. Prince Damrong, similarly concerned with the problem, accepted Prince Bōriphat's proposal, which promised full financial support for the project of editing and printing. (46) Three men were commissioned to the responsibility for the publication: Phrayā Potčhanaprīchā พระยาพจนปรีชา as the chief editor, Khun Wannarakwichit ขุนวรวงษ์วิจิตร as the editor's assistant, and Phra Phinitwannakān พระพิณิจวรรณการ who arranged the table of contents. (47) In doing the research and documentation, Prince Damrong was assisted by Phra Čhēnčhīn'aksōn พระเจนจันฉกษร , a Thai expert on Chinese, and by Professor George Coedès, a presumed acquaintance of Prince Damrong. In reexamining the text, three different versions were used as sources, namely, the original hand-written edition of Sāmkok , the Bradley early printed version, and the Mao Tsung-kang version of San-kuo yen-i . (48) Since then the revised National Academy edition has been used as the standard text of Sāmkok in Thailand. The

main purpose of this 1928 edition was to preserve the original body and quality of the 1805 edition. However, the new edition bears some extra features. It provides explanatory footnotes to the main text, gives the equivalent Thai year of the Buddhist Era in parenthesis following the Chinese year, and incorporates illustrations portraying some of the major scenes along with the main text.

From the above discussion, it is clear that the Mao Tsung-kang version of the San-kuo yen-i novel is the original Chinese text that was used for the translation of Sāmkok , and it was probably completed by Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) before the year 1805. The 1928 edition of Sāmkok , which is the current standard text, is valuable to the present study exactly because of its achievement in preserving the style, the text, and the language originally embodied in Phrakhlāng's version. It is therefore quite legitimate to use the Mao version of San-kuo yen-i and the 1928 edition of Sāmkok as sources for the textual comparison which will be treated below.

Notes

- (1) Sources of information on Prince Damrong's life and works are ample and voluminous. Important ones are: 1) Phitthayalāp Phru'tthiyakōn พิทยลาภพฤฒิศิยากร , "Phra damrat rū'ang Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Kromphrayā Damrong Rāchānuphāp," พระคำรัสเรื่องสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาคำรงราชานุภาพ (Discussion about Prince Damrong) in Pathakhathā rū'ang Somdet Phraačhāo Barommawongthōe Krom Phrayā Damrong Rāchānuphāp lae Phra prawat lūk lao ปารุกถาเรื่อง สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาคำรงราชานุภาพ และพระประวัติลูกเล่า (A Talk on Prince Damrong and His Biography Narrated by His Daughter), (Bangkok: Su'ksāphan, 1963), pp. 1-11;
- 2) Phūnphitsamai Ditsakun พูนพิศมัย คีตกุล , same source as 1) above, pp. 201-268; 3) Chakkrit Nōranitphadungkān จักรกฤษณ์ นรนิติผดุงการ Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Kromphrayā Damrong Rāchānuphāp kap Krasuang Mahātthai สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาคำรงราชานุภาพ กับกระทรวงมหาดไทย (Prince Damrong and the Ministry of Interior), (Bangkok: Thammasāt University Press, 1963); 4) Sučharit Thāwōnsuk สุจริต ถาวรสุข , Phra prawat lae ngān khōng Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Kromphrayā Damrong Rāchānuphāp พระประวัติและงานของ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยาคำรงราชานุภาพ (Biography and Works of Prince Damrong), 3 Volumes (Bangkok:

Su'ksāphan, 1965).

(2) Lo Kuan-chung, the supposed author of San-kuo yen-i, was variously known as Lo Pen 羅本, Lo Kuan 羅貫, and Lo Tao-pen 羅道本. Little is known of Lo Kuan-chung's life. He was either a native of T'ai-yüan 太原, or of Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘 in modern Hang-chou. It was believed that he lived during the late Yüan and early Ming periods, approximately between the years 1330 and 1400. Many historical romances and plays were attributed to him but the lack of knowledge about him makes it difficult for later scholars and writers to accept Lo's authorship. For more information on Lo Kuan-chung's life and works, see Dictionary of Ming Biography, Vol. I, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chao-ying Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 978-980; Winston Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih," pp. 62-64; Hsieh Wu-liang 謝无量, Lo Kuan-chung yu Ma Chih-yuan 羅貫中與馬致遠 (Lo Kuan-chung and Ma Chih-yuan), (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1930), pp. 12-61; Chao Ts'ung 趙聰, Chung-kuo szu ta hsiao-shuo chih yen-chiu 中國四大小說之研究 (The Study of the Four Great Chinese Novels), (Hong Kong: Yu-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1964), pp. 114-117; Wu Shang-i 吳雙, Ming Ch'ing hsiao-shuo chiang-hua 明清小說話 (Discussion of the Ming and Ch'ing Fiction), (Hong Kong: Shanghai shu-chü, 1976), pp. 30-31;

Wen Chi 文輯, ed., Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo Chiang-hua
中國古典小說講話 (Discussion of Traditional Chinese
Fiction), (Hong Kong: Shanghai shu-chü, 1973), p. 68.

(3) "Tamnān," p. 8.

(4) A good discussion on the author and the text of the
San-kuo chih can be found in Winston Yang's dissertation.

(5) See Prapin Manomaivibool ประพิน มโนมัยวิบูลย์, "Sāmkok
: Kān su'ksā prīepthīep," สามกก: การศึกษาเปรียบเทียบ (Sāmkok
: A Comparative Study) Thesis, Chulālongkōn University 1966,
p. 43; Sang Phatthanōthai สังข์ พัชโรทัย "Khamnam khōng
phūtaeng," คำนำของแต่ง (Author's Introduction) in his
Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok พิชัยสงครามสามกก (The Military
Tactics in Sāmkok), (Bangkok: Sūn kānphim, 1969), pp. 1-3.

(6) In Thailand Prince Damrong is called "the Father of
Thai History" as he is the author of many important surveys
and treatises in the field. He wrote, moreover, numerous
essays that touch on a wide range of topics. See the list
of his works in the sources given in note 1 above.

(7) Yang, p. 52.

(8) See, for examples, W.L. Idema, "Some Remarks and
Speculations Concerning P'ing-hua," T'oung Pao, 60, Nos.
1-3 (1974), pp. 156-157; Yang, pp. 52-57, 66-79; Cheng
Chen-to 鄭振鐸, "San-kuo yen-i te yen-hua,"
三國演義的演化 (The Evolution of San-kuo yen-i),
Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao 小說月報, 20, No. 10 (Oct. 1929),

pp. 1546-1553, 1557-1558; Chao Ts'ung, pp. 105-113; Li Ch'en-tung 李辰冬, San-kuo Shui-hu yü Hsi-yu 三國水滸與西遊 (San-kuo yen-i, Shui-hu chuan, and Hsi-yu chi), (Peking: Ta-tao ch'u-pan-she, 1946), pp. 6-16.

(9) The earliest surviving text of San-kuo yen-i in 240 chüan was published in the year 1522 and is preserved in the Peking Library. Sun K-ai-ti 孫楷第, Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu 中國通俗小說書目 (Bibliography of Chinese Popular Fiction), (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 30. See also note 15 below.

(10) Scholars, such as, Chao Ts'ung and Winston Yang, believe that the revision of the novel by Mao Tsung-kang was completed in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, probably before 1679. See Chao Ts'ung, p. 119 and Yang, p. 82. The latter source also includes information on Mao and his works.

(11) Prapin, p. 43 and Sang, pp. 1-3.

(12) Nine of the 442 biographies are not listed in the Table of Contents. However, there are twenty-five biographies not found in the text but listed in the Table of Contents. Winston Yang places the responsibility for such mistakes on later careless scribes. Yang, p. 21.

(13) Yang remarks in his dissertation that, in form, Ch'en Shou's San-kuo chih is modeled after Szu-ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 biographical style of writing in the Shih chi

史記。 Following Dennis Twitchett's study entitled "Chinese Biographical Writing," Yang is inclined to believe that there was a model for this type of biographical writing already existing before the time of the Shih chi (first century A.D.). See Yang, p. 44, footnote 54. Dennis Twitchett's article can be found in W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, eds., Historians of China and Japan (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 95-114.

(14) Yang, pp. 38-39.

(15) Discussions on the original work of Lo Kuan-chung's novel and its different versions and editions can be found in the following sources: 1) Liu Hsiu-yeh 劉修業, Ku-tien hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'u ts'ung-k'ao 古典小說戲曲叢考 (Compiled Investigations of Traditional Fiction and Drama), (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she, 1958), pp. 63-72; 2) Meng Yao 孟瑤, Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih 中國小說史 (The History of Chinese Fiction), (Taipei: Wen-hsing shu-tien, 1966), Vol. III, pp. 304-312; 3) Yang, pp. 59-64; 4) Liu Ts'un-jen 柳存仁, "Lo Kuan-chung Chiang-shih hsiao-shuo chih chen-wei hsing-chih," 羅貫中講史小說之真偽性質 (The Nature of the Authenticity in Lo Kuan-chung's Historical Novel), Hsiang-kang chung-wen ta-hsüeh chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu-so 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報, 8, No. 1 (1976), 171-185. According to Liu Ts'un-jen's

recent study, Lo Kuan-chung's original work assumes the general title of "San-kuo chih chuan" 三國志傳 from which the later editions of the San-kuo yen-i were derived." (p. 233) Perhaps the most important among the later editions of Lo's San-kuo chih chuan is the Ch'iao-shan-t'ang 喬山堂 publication of 1609 under the title Hsin chin ch'uan hsiang t'ung-su yen-i san-kuo chih chuan 新鐫全像通俗演義三國志傳 (New Engraved and Illustrated Version of Popular Elaboration of the Story of the Three Kingdoms Period) which is now preserved in the British Museum. Liu believes that this Ch'iao-shan-t'ang edition is a reprint of an early original copy that precedes even the 1522 Chia-ching edition entitled San-kuo chih t'ung-su yen-i 三國志通俗演義 (Popular Elaboration of the Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms Period). See Liu, pp. 184-185. Liu Ts'un-jen's finding about Lo's earliest extant text has obviously challenged the idea shared among previous scholars that the Chia-ching edition is the earliest surviving edition of Lo's original writing. See Cheng Chen-to, p. 1545; Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第, " San-kuo chih p'ing-hua yü San-kuo chih chuan t'ung-su yen-i ," 三國志平話與三國志傳通俗演義 (San-kuo chih p'ing-hua and San-kuo chih chuan t'ung-su yen-i) in Ts'ang-chou chi 滄州集 (The Ts'ang-chou Collection) by Sun K'ai-ti (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), pp. 109-120;

Li Ch'en-tung, p. 13; Chao Ts'ung, pp. 118-123; Meng Yao, p. 309; Yang, p. 9, footnote 20.

(16) These dates are taken from Yang, p. 14.

(17) Important works are: 1) Cheng Chen-to, pp. 1572-1576; 2) Sun K'ai-ti, pp. 119-120; 3) Meng Yao, p. 308; 4) Hsieh Ch'ao-ch'ing 謝朝清, " San-kuo yen-i chih yen-chiu yü hsing-ch'eng 三國演義之研究 (The Study and Development of San-kuo yen-i)," Hsin T'ien-ti 新天地, 7, Nos. 2-3 (1968), pp. 20-21; 5) Chao Ts'ung, pp. 121-123.

(18) The stylistic improvements in the Mao version include refinement of the language, clarity of diction, polishing of lyrical passages, and reorganization of chapter division.

(19) See Lo Kuan-chung 羅貫中, San-kuo yen-i 三國演義 (The Elaboration of the Three Kingdoms Period), (Taipei: San-min shu-chü, 1978), ch. 103, pp. 656-657, and Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (หน) , Sāmkok สามก๊ก (Three Kingdoms), (Bangkok: Rūamsān, 1973), Vol. II, ch. 78, pp. 836-838. The San-min edition of San-kuo yen-i and the Rūamsān edition of Sāmkok are the two main texts used in this research. Henceforth the first volume of Sāmkok will be referred to as " Sāmkok , I" and the second volume of Sāmkok as " Sāmkok , II".

(20) See San-kuo , ch. 17, p. 739 and Sāmkok , II, ch. 86, p. 1044.

(21) See San-kuo , ch. 1, p. 1 and Sāmkok , I, pp. 1-2; San-kuo , ch. 120, p. 759 and Sāmkok , II, ch. 87, p. 1086. For the English translation and meaning of the opening and ending lines, see Chapter Seven below.

(22) This scene can be found in San-kuo , ch. 78, p. 489 and Sāmkok , II, ch. 62, p. 450.

(23) This can be found in San-kuo , ch. 84, p. 524 and Sāmkok , II, ch. 65, p. 541.

(24) Textual comparison between the Mao and Lo texts of the scene about Ma T'eng's death is treated in detail in Cheng Chen-to, pp. 1574-1575. See San-kuo , pp. 353-354 and Sāmkok , II, pp. 69-74.

(25) These three episodes are discussed in Cheng Chen-to, pp. 1572-1575. They are: 1) Liu Pei's conversation with Ts'ao Ts'ao in San-kuo , pp. 131-132 which is found in Sāmkok , I, pp. 421-425; 2) Kuan Yü's response to the royal appointment in San-kuo , p. 161 and Sāmkok , I, pp. 525-526; 3) Ts'ao Hou's 曹后 reaction to Ts'ao P'ei's usurping the kingship from Emperor Hsien in San-kuo , p. 497 and Sāmkok , II, pp. 468-469.

(26) Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (หน) , Rāchāthirāt ราชธานีราช (King of Kings), (Bangkok: Khlang Witthayā, 1970), pp. 1-2.

(27) "Tamnān," p. 12.

(28) "Tamnān," p. 13.

(29) "Tamnān," p. 11.

(30) See comparison of language between the two texts in Chapter Five below.

(31) This information on the authorship of Phrakhlāng can be found in a number of texts on the history of Thai literature. Recommended works are listed in the Bibliography.

(32) "Tamnān," p. 31.

(33) Sang, "Author's Introduction," p. 4.

(34) Information on the family history of Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon) is provided in Natthawut Sutthisongkhram นักรูขี สุนทรียสงคราม 29 Čhāophrayā 29 เจ้าพระยา (Twenty-nine Čhāophrayā), (Bangkok: n.p., 1966), pp. 441-452, and in Wannakhadī วรณคดี (Literature), ed. Krom Sinlapākōn กรมศิลปากร (Department of Fine Arts), (Bangkok: Bannākhān, 1972), pp. 9-12.

(35) In the Thonburī period, Phrakhlāng was first appointed as Lūang Sṓrawichit หลวงสรวิชิต in charge of Uthaithānī อุทัยธานี city. After that he was promoted successively to higher positions, being given the titles Phrayā Phiphatthanakōsā พระยาพิพัฒน์โกษา, Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng, and then Čhāophrayā Mahā Kōsāthibadī เจ้าพระยามหาโกษาธิบดี. He was best known by the title

Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng which is found attached to all of his literary works.

(36) The list of Phrakhlāng's works are included in the biographical pieces already cited in note 34 above.

(37) See the "Introduction" of Wannakhadī , p. 10.

(38) There is no record as to Phrakhlāng's date of birth.

(39) "Tamnān," p. 30.

(40) Sang, "Author's Introduction,," p. 4.

(41) These two sources are: 1) Prince Damrong's "Introduction" to the 1928 edition of Sāmkok reprinted in the 1973 edition by Bamrungsān, pp. 1-7; 2) "Tamnān," pp. 34-39.

(42) Dr. D.B. Bradley was a medical doctor who came to Thailand in 1835 as a member of the American missionaries. He was the first person to introduce the use of printing presses into the country and he owned the first printing company of Thailand. The first publication of Thai books appeared on June 3, 1836. Dr. Bradley also published the first newspaper, the Bangkok Recorder , which was launched on the 4th of July, 1844. His contributions during the 36 years he spent in Thailand are considerable, especially in the area of modern medicine, the technique and progress of publication, and the growth and circulation of Thai language texts and literature. For more information, see Nāi Hōnhūi

นายโหนดทวย , Mō Platlē kap Krung Sayām หมอบริคเสยกับกรุงสยาม
 (Dr. Bradley and Siam), (Bangkok: Phrāēphitthayā, 1954) and
 Khurusaphā คุรุสภา , ed., Prachum phongsawadān ประชุมพงศาวดาร
 (Compiled Chronicles) Vol. 18 (Bangkok: Su'ksaphan, 1965).

(43) One of these copies belonged to Čhāophrayā
 Srīsuriyawong เจ้าพระยาศรีสุริยาวงศ์ , a prominent literary man
 who sponsored the translations of at least eighteen Chinese
 historical novels during the reigns of Rama IV and V
 (1851-1910).

(44) "Tamnān," p. 35.

(45) She died on July 9, 1927.

(46) Prince Damrong's "Introduction," p. 2.

(47) Prince Damrong's "Introduction," p. 4.

(48) The hand-written copy used for the 1928 edition
 was owned by Kromlūang Wōrasētsudā กรมหลวงวรเสีรสุคทา , and it
 is now preserved in the Library of the National Academy of
 Thailand. As for the Bradley edition, many copies were
 borrowed from individual owners. Prince Damrong failed to
 give the bibliographical information regarding the Chinese
 text of San-kuo yen-i that was used by the editor of the
 1928 version.

Chapter Three

Structure

The term "structure" is taken here as referring to the pattern of presentation in a literary work. Comparison of structure between the San-kuo yen-i and the Sāmkok reveals a discrepancy in two major aspects. First, the two works are different in the choice of literary form employed. Second, the organization by chapter division appears to be handled in dissimilar ways.

The San-kuo yen-i , in complying with the traditional convention of Chinese popular fiction, employs two kinds of literary form, i.e., prose intermixed with verse. (1) The main narrative is given in prose which is in "the language that alternates between a simple literary language and dignified colloquial." (2) Over two hundred lyrical pieces are interspersed in the narrating prose. The structural format of presentation appears to be artistically well designed with the emphasis being placed on the contrast of form. The entire prose work is enveloped by two poetical pieces which serve as the introductory and the conclusive sections of the novel. Interpolations of lyrical pieces throughout the narrative prose are not only for the purpose of contrast in form, but also carry some significant functions (3) which offer at once aesthetic beauty and ideological significance. The introduction of verse into

prose fiction has been viewed as a necessary foil to the monotonous prose narrative for the effect of "an aesthetic embellishment or a kind of lyrical opalescence." (4) The beauty of the poetical form is enhanced by the functional correlation between the verse and the prose elements. It is a pattern in which poetry ideologically serves to accentuate prose. Numerous pieces of verse appear to mark highlights of major and minor episodes. Twenty-five pieces are found to serve as comments on specific incidents and remarkable deeds performed by the three protagonists, Liu Pei 劉備, Kuan Yü 關羽, and Chang Fei 張飛. About sixty poems serve to clinch the point of significant events, such as, the victory of Wu and Shu over Wei in the Battle of Ch'ih-pi 赤壁 (5) and the successful mission led by Chu-ko Liang or K'ung-ming 孔明 in subjugating Meng Huo 孟獲. (6) Over eighty poems are inserted at the point when certain historically significant figures die. These poems are either used for commemorating the virtuous or for condemning the vicious. (7) A few of them, however, are neutral in moral tone; they simply acknowledge the important place of certain characters in the history of the Three Kingdoms period. (8) Over a score of the lyrical pieces are employed for descriptive purposes which include the description of a location or building, an animal, a beautiful girl, or the emotional mood of a certain character. (9)

Also parallel to the beauty of poetical contrast of form is the significance of verse in conveying the conceptual overtone of the work. It seems that some of the poetical lines are presented to carry some general concepts of things and of the world that is portrayed in the novel. Two points of conceptual thought are clearly expressed through the lyrics. One comprises the notion that life which is by nature transitory is after all a sequence of a dream in which nothing can be really gained or lost. So what man labels as success and failure, right and wrong will in the end boil down to the state of emptiness. The author of the San-kuo text expresses this concept right at the very beginning in the introductory poem.

滾滾長江東逝水 浪花淘盡英雄
 是非成敗轉頭空 青山依舊在幾度夕陽紅
 白髮漁翁江渚上 慣看秋月春風
 一壺濁酒喜相逢 古今多少事都付笑談中

The eastward-flowing water of the Yangtze is
 rolling;
 The spray of breaking waves completely wiped away
 great heroes.
 Right and wrong, success and failure instantly (10)
 become void.
 Green mountains exist as before
 And many times the red sun sets.
 White-haired fishermen are on the river bank;
 Habitually they watch the autumn moon and the
 spring wind.
 With one jug of unstrained wine they meet one
 another with joy.
 Many stories of present and past
 Become the topics of chatting and laughing. (11)

The durability and recurrence of nature are mentioned here in order to contrast with the transitory nature of human life. The process of the birth and death cycle of man is comparable to that of a mayfly.

生死人常理 蟬蛸一樣空

Man often rationalizes the matter of birth and death

To be as empty as that of a mayfly. (12)

Life is therefore viewed as a "big dream" 大夢 . (13) The existence of people in the story of the Three Kingdoms period is no exception, as one poem has this line:

三分鼎足渾如夢 蹤跡空留在世間

The Three Kingdoms that stood like a tripod is like a dream.

There were no traces left behind in the world. (14)

The last line of the concluding piece at the end of the novel repeats the same concept:

鼎足三分已成夢 後人憑吊空牢騷

The Three Kingdoms that stood like a tripod have turned into a dream;

Posterity in greiving over them will grumble in vain. (15)

The second concept that is expressed through the verse is that of fatalism. Thus the rise and fall of political powers are seen as illustrations of the notion that human life is predesigned and that the power of fate designed by Heaven is inescapable. And this concept is then expressed

in a number of poetical lines.

漢室傾危天數終

The House of Han leans toward danger as its fate
[designed by Heaven] comes to an end. (16)

漢朝天數當桓靈 炎炎紅日將西傾

The Han dynasty faces its predestined tragedy
[designed by Heaven] in the reigns of Huan
and Ling.
The scorching hot sun is falling in the west. (17)

兩朝旺氣皆天數

The prosperity of the two dynasties [Shu and Wu]
is all predetermined by heavenly fate. (18)

魏吞漢室晉吞曹 天運循環不可逃

Wei conquered the Han House and Chin took over
the Ts'aos
Fate goes in a cycle from which there is no
escape. (19)

The note of fatalism is once more expressed in the final
poetical piece:

紛紛世事無窮盡 天數茫茫不可逃

Multitudinous mundane affairs have no end;
Vast is the net of fate from which there is no
escape. (20)

The pattern here is one that has a two-plane exposition
of ideas. While the prose provides specific, historically
unique incidents, the interpolated verse expresses general,
universally valid comments or judgments on the incidents.
The designed pattern of verse and prose in this fashion has
been perceived by one critic in the light that the verse is
employed to "raise the actual story to the demonstration of

a certain philosophical conception of the world," and "to raise reality to the metaphysical, eternal and poetical plane." (21) Verse not only colours and beautifies the prose narration, but it also highlights and underlines the general key of the story.

The verse element in the San-kuo becomes a compositional device with which the author successfully achieves both aesthetic and conceptual goals. These two aspects are lost completely in the Thai translation because almost all of the poetical pieces are discarded. Of the 211 pieces of poetry, only eleven are given in the translation but none of them are rendered in verse form. Most of them are roughly translated and revised into prose passages. As a result, the entire work of Sāmkok is written in prose. It can be said therefore that the Thai version fails to preserve the poetical feature of the original.

There are perhaps three main factors which help to explain why the total omission of verse was made in the translation of Sāmkok. First is the technical difficulty involved in handling the translation of Chinese verse. Chinese poetry is by nature compact, concise, and occasionally, cryptic and allusive. To do a good job of translation into Thai at a time when sinological research had not even existed in Thailand must have represented a real problem. Worse than that is the fact that no member of

the translating committee was well versed in both Thai and Chinese. (22) It can be easily imagined how difficult it would have been to convey into Thai both the meaning and form of the Chinese poems. The tendency to drop the lyrical passages in the Sāmkok seems after all natural and necessary on the part of the Thai translators.

One other point that needs to be taken into consideration here is the fact that most of the poetical pieces were regarded to be not crucial to the main plot or the development of the story. Exclusion of those elements which are unimportant to the plot was deemed as the best alternative. Sāmkok did not exclude those pieces that bear an integral function in the narrative development. All eleven pieces of poem and song represented in the Sāmkok prove to be impossible to reject without hurting the flow of the narrative, for they are either improvised or sung by the characters themselves.

The first piece is a poem improvised by Emperor Shao 少 expressing his grief over the doom of the Han rulers and calling for acts of revenge. It is because of this poem that Tung Cho 董卓 decided to eliminate Emperor Shao. (23) The second piece is a song sung by Tiao Ch'an 貂蟬 to please Tung Cho. The lyric of the song gives a hint of the danger Tung Cho is doomed to encounter in his affair with Tiao Ch'an. (24) The third piece is a poem written by Ts'ai

Mao 蔡瑁 with the intention of making Liu Piao 劉表 believe that Liu Pei was responsible for the composition, thus implying the latter's ambition to overpower Liu Piao. (25) The fourth piece is a song sung by Hsü Shu 徐庶 expressing his desire to serve a good master. Liu Pei's attention was caught upon hearing this, and he subsequently took Hsu Shu as his advisor. (26) The fifth piece is a poem chanted by K'ung-ming as he woke up from his afternoon nap while Liu Pei was waiting patiently all this time to see him. (27) The sixth piece is a poem recited by K'ung-ming describing Ts'ao Ts'ao's 曹操 desire of having the wives of Chou Yü 周瑜 and Sun Ts'e 孫策 as his consorts. Chou Yü, hearing this, became furious and decided to declare war against Ts'ao Ts'ao. (28) The seventh piece is a song sung by Chou Yü pretending he was drunk in order to deceive Chiang Kan 蔣幹, a follower of Ts'ao Ts'ao, so that the latter might fall into the trap Chou Yü was laying. (29) The eighth piece is a song sung by Ts'ao Ts'ao while he was enjoying drinking with his troops. The lyric of the song carries a note of misfortune which foreshadows the defeat of Ts'ao Ts'ao's army by the Wu and Shu forces in the Battle of Ch'ih-pi. (30) The ninth piece is an eight-line verse composed by a wise man named Tzu Hsü 紫虛 predicting the doom that would befall the Shu Kingdom. (31) The tenth piece is a poem improvised by Ts'ao Chih 曹植 at

the order of Ts'ao P'ei 曹丕 who was then the ruler of the Wei Kingdom. This poem was composed to prove Ts'ao Chih's ability as a poet and consequently saved his life. (32) The eleventh and last piece is a poem by Ts'ao Mao 曹髦 expressing his recognition of his position on the throne being threatened by the power of Szu-ma Chao 司馬昭. Because of this poem Szu-ma Chao made up his mind to eliminate Ts'ao Mao. (33)

Omission of the remaining two hundred pieces of verse becomes even more reasonable when one considers the Thai literary conventions at that time. Although "fiction" in the modern, Western sense of the word was not yet known in Thailand at the time Sāmkok was produced, literary works in the narrative mode had long been created. However, traditional Thai narrative works were predominantly written purely in verse. A good example of these is the collection of Jataka tales known as Nithān Chādok นิทานชาดก (Tales of the Life of Buddha), the first version of which is called Mahachāt kham lūang มหาชาติคำหลวง written in 1482 by a group of court literati at the command of King Barommatrai Lōkkanāt บรมไตรโลกนาถ (r. 1448-1488). (34) Mahachāt kham lūang which means "the official words about the Great Life" was written in rāiyāo ราชยา (35) dealing with the story of the previous existence of Buddha. (36) It is important to note that unlike the Chinese literary scholars their Thai

counterparts did not employ verse mixed with prose.

Likewise, works in prose were never alternated with verse. Only two important pieces of prose literature were created prior to the appearance of Sāmkok. The earliest work of prose is a stone inscription called Silā Čhāru'k ศิลาจารึก (Stone Inscription) purportedly written by King Rāmkhamhāeng รามคำแหง (r. 1277-1317) in 1292 during the Sukhōthai สุโขทัย Era (A.D. 1257-1350), a mere nine years after the King's invention (1283) of the Thai writing system. (37) Its content can be divided into three sections: a biography of King Rāmkhamhāeng, an account of important traditional customs of the Sukhōthai Kingdom, and a section memorializing the King and his reign. (38) The second important prosaic piece is the Traiphūm Phraruang ไตรภูมิพระร่วง (The Three Spheres of Phraruang) attributed to King Lithai ลิไท (r. 1354-1376). The date of the original work, which has not survived, is believed to be 1360 according to a contemporary authority on Thai literature. (39) Written in prose, Traiphūm is basically a comprehensive philosophical treatise of the Buddhist concept of cosmology dealing with variant forms of life. (40) The reconstructed version of Traiphūm made in 1783 and revised in 1802 in the reign of King Rama I has faithfully preserved the original literary form by using pure prose. By the late eighteenth century the Stone Inscription and the Traiphum

represented the only extant important models for prose writing. As already discussed, King Rama I was very much conscious of the necessity to revive the cultural heritage of previous Thai kingdoms in order to consolidate his newly established regime in Bangkok. Prose literature of this period including the Sāmkok consequently conformed as much as possible to the traditional conventions. Rāchāthirāt , a prose chronicle of Mon rulers completed in 1785, probably a decade earlier than Sāmkok , does not include any form of verse even though its authors were known to be famous poets of the time. (41) The disappearance of the poetical element in Sāmkok should then be understood as a structural adaptation in favor of the indigenous literary tradition.

Not only did the form of verse fail to be represented in the Thai version, but the old wen-yen 文言 or archaic classical language passages in the original Chinese text also underwent a certain degree of modification. The archaic wen-yen pieces were incorporated in the novel perhaps for two main purposes. One was for the sake of reliability and authenticity with regard to historical documents. (42) The other was for the purpose of variety in the use of the medium of expression. Like the poetical pieces, the archaic wen-yen passages coloured the main text which is written in simple wen-yen style and also elevated the sophistication of the language of the San-kuo text. (43)

There are approximately forty-five pieces of the archaic wen-yen passages found in the San-kuo yen-i. These archaic classical language documents are in the forms of piao 表 (a report or memorandum to the emperor), ts'e 策 (an order of appointment), hsi-wen 檄文 (a written summons to arms for a cause), meng 盟 (an oath), pang 榜 (a public notice), shih-p'u 世譜 (a record of family pedigree), chao 詔 (an imperial decree), chi-wen 祭文 (a written message offered to the deceased in worship), lien-chang 諫章 (an essay of admonition), ts'e 冊 (an order to confer nobility title), kao-shih 告示 (an official notice), shu 疏 (an appeal with points listed to the emperor), fa-chih-wen 法之文 (a statement of instruction), and lun 論 (a treatise). Almost fifty percent of the archaic wen-yen pieces are missing in the Thai translation or are only partly translated. Only five out of fourteen types of these documents are fully accounted for in the Sāmkok text. (44) Six types are totally discarded and some of the other three types are dropped. (45) The following chart will show the number of each type appearing in the two texts.

Type of document	<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>
<u>Hsi-wen</u>	3	3
<u>Lien-chang</u>	2	2
<u>Meng</u>	1	1
<u>Pang</u>	1	1
<u>Kao-chih</u>	1	1
<u>Shu</u>	3	0
<u>Fa-chih-wen</u>	2	0

<u>Ts'e</u>	1	0
<u>Lun</u>	1	0
<u>Ts'e</u>	1	0
<u>Shih-p'u</u>	1	0
<u>Chao</u>	8	7
<u>Piao</u>	17	8
<u>Chi-wen</u>	3	1
Total	45	24

Although quite a number of these archaic wen-yen writings are translated, they are rendered in the same style of Thai prose as found in the main narrative text of Sāmkok. Consequently, the distinction between the archaic classical language of these wen-yen documents and the simple literary language used in the main narrative in the original work has completely been removed in the Thai translation.

The organization of chapter divisions represents the second feature of contrast in structural pattern. The manner in which Sāmkok divides its chapters is different from the original. The San-kuo yen-i text is divided into one hundred and twenty hui 回 (chapter), each of which ends at a point when the tension has reached a climax. The mood of suspense is then to be released in the following chapter, so the final statement of each chapter reads: "If you do not know what happened to . . . , please read the next chapter." (46) This format is repeated over and over from beginning to end. According to both Western and Chinese experts, the style of dividing the story into hui at the climactic moment came from the traditional art of the Sung

storytellers. (47) The main purpose was for commercial and economic benefits. (48) As Průšek explained it thus:

The breaking up of stories into hui "episodes", or more aptly, "turn" -- invariably at moments when the tension had reached a climax, -- was a very important strategem. It was hardly possible to expect the hearers to contribute anything before they had discovered whether the story was interesting enough to justify a contribution or not. Therefore, the narrator stopped short at the most thrilling moment of his story, and collected the money. He did not resume the narrative until his demands were to some extent satisfied.

.
This custom is the reason why Chinese stories are so unnaturally divided into chapters, and why the natural continuity of the narrative is always broken at the moment of highest tension. (49)

The writer of Sāmkok , however, must have found this Chinese narrative convention too alien for the Thai audience to accept. So the ending note of suspense and the final formulaic expression were completely discarded in favor of a relatively acceptable approach of organization which was adjusted well to the Thai literary tradition of the time. And the division of chapters was rearranged in order to maintain the unity of subject matter and restore the natural continuity of the narrative, which was a convention that already existed in Thai narrative works. The translation, as a result, has a total of eighty-seven tōn ท่อน or chapters. Traditional Thai narrative poetry was always presented in continuity without interruption of climactic mood. In fact, quite a few are not even divided into

sections or chapters, the story remaining one whole uninterrupted piece of narration. Two works of the same period as Sāmkok , Rāchāthirāt (50) and Rāmakīen (51) are good examples. A work of seven hundred pages, Rāchāthirāt presents its account without any sectional pause. Rāmakīen with a length of three thousand nine hundred pages, including more than sixty thousand pieces of poetry (52) is narrated in one continuous stream of narrative from beginning to end. Even for those narrative works with chapter divisions, Traiphūm Phraruang and Nithān chādok , for instance, the note of suspense is not at all a factor of consideration. The division of Traiphūm and Nithān chādok with its sections is made strictly on the basis of topic or subject matter. The method adopted for Sāmkok , is similarly based on the unity of subject matter so that the narrative continues naturally. It follows the principle that the story is suitably broken up into chapters when there is a change of focus on character, place, action or when a certain lapse of time takes place. Sixty-seven chapters are ended at the point where the switch of attention is made to a different character in a different setting. Thus chapter two ends with the scene in which Ho Chin 何進 and Ts'ao Ts'ao, in the capital of Lo-yang 洛陽, are on bad terms due to their disagreement on the approach to get rid of the Ten Eunuchs, and chapter three

then begins with a new scene at a new location in the city of Hsi-liang where Tung Cho appears to anticipate a possibility of usurping the Han throne. (53) In the San-kuo yen-i, however, these two scenes are put together in the same chapter, i.e., the third hui. Chapter three of Sāmkok ends with the scene that focuses on the character of Tung Cho in the city of Yang-ch'eng 陽城 (54), and the beginning of chapter four switches attention to the scene at Po-hai 渤海 with Yüan Shao 袁紹 as the central figure. (55) Again, the San-kuo text includes both scenes in the fourth hui since there is no climactic point between the two. (56) A majority of the chapters of Sāmkok are organized in a similar manner.

Apart from the above, there are about sixteen cases of chapter division in Sāmkok where the focus in a new chapter remains on the same character as before, but either a new location or a lapse of time is involved. (57) For instance, the focus of attention is still placed on the character of Liu Pei at the point when chapter one ends and chapter two begins. But while chapter one stops at the scene in which Liu Pei was disappointed by the emperor's neglect of his merits in subjugating the Yellow Turban bandits (58), chapter two takes the scene of Liu Pei and his sworn brothers strolling idly in the capital after a certain period of time has passed since their last appearance in

chapter one. (59) These two scenes are of course not broken up in the original Chinese text. (60) To cite one more example, at the end of chapter twenty-one and the beginning of chapter twenty-two, Ts'ao Ts'ao continues to be the central figure of focus in the new chapter, but the place of the scene changes. Chapter twenty-one is a scene at the imperial court but the next chapter is a scene at the private residence of Ts'ao Ts'ao. (61) These two scene can both be found in the twenty-fourth hui of the San-kuo text. (62)

One other approach in organizing the Sāmkok 's chapters is right at the point when a new character is introduced. Only two chapters are found to begin in this manner. Chapter thirteen introduces the character of Sun Ts'e with some family background provided. (63) But this account appears in the middle of hui fifteen in San-kuo . (64) Chapter thirty begins with the introduction of the character of Ts'ao P'ei at the age of eighteen. (65) The first appearance of Ts'ao P'ei is found in hui thirty-two in the San-kuo text. (66)

The division of chapters of the San-kuo yen-i is basically determined by the notion that a chapter should contain two main events as indicated by the chapter-title couplet. As a result, the length of each chapter does not vary much. It ranges from four pages to nine pages. The

most common length of a chapter is five to seven pages. (67) Sāmkok apparently does not model after San-kuo yen-i as far as table of contents and the length of chapters are concerned. In its rearrangement of chapter divisions, the size of chapters of Sāmkok shows a big gap of thirty-eight pages between the shortest and the longest chapters. (68) With regard to the table of contents, instead of translating the title couplets and listing them as an outline of the subjects treated in each chapter, the way the Chinese original has done, the Sāmkok editor provides a new list of the subject matter covered in each chapter. The list ranges from two headings to twenty-four headings. The most common ones are those that contain four to nine headings. All in all, the Thai version has four hundred and forty-one more items in the title headings than the Chinese version. Significantly enough, this pattern of supplying the table of contents with lengthy lists of the subject headings was prevalent at the time Sāmkok was produced. The table of contents of Rāchāthirāt, a work that is about one-third of the size of Samkok, for instance, contains as many as eighty-eight headings. Rāmakiēn which was also completed before Sāmkok has about one thousand eight hundred headings covering a text that is only one-third larger than Sāmkok. This kind of detailed listing in the table of contents is perhaps justified by the

fact that the narrative of both Rāmakiēn and Rāchāthirāt is extremely long and characteristically episodic. The table of contents would therefore serve, on the one hand, as a handy reference to the location of pagination, and on the other hand, as a rough summary of the story itself. The treatment of chapter headings and the table contents in Sāmkok are, therefore, in the style of conventional Thai literature.

In structure, then, Sāmkok is characterized by an independence from its original Chinese text. And adjustment to the Thai literary conventions of the time plays a very significant role in occasioning the changes that were made. As a result of these changes, Sāmkok can be easily identified with other Thai literary works of and before that time with regard to its literary medium, the principle of dividing the chapters, providing subject headings, and arranging the table of contents. Significantly enough, Sāmkok, in combining the Thai literary conventions of prose and poetry, emerged as the earliest piece of prose fiction and therefore pioneered a new genre in Thai literary history.

Notes

(1) The use of prose alternating with verse in traditional Chinese popular stories and novels has been generally agreed by both Western and Chinese scholars to be a legacy of the conventions of the storytelling art that reached its efflorescence in the Sung dynasty. See John L. Bishop, "Some Limitations of Chinese Fiction," in Studies in Chinese Literature, ed. John Bishop (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 242. A few interesting opinions on the historical significance of this prose-verse form found in traditional Chinese fiction are worth noting here. Chou Shu-jen 周樹人 (1881-1936), one of the earliest modern Chinese critics and writers who was better known by his pseudonym Lu Hsün 魯迅, remarked in his lecture given in 1924 that the use of verse in the narrative prose "shows the influence of the T'ang dynasty, for the T'ang people had great respect for versification, and writing poetry was considered cultured. In imitation of this, the storytellers usually interspersed their stories with verses, and indeed this is still done by many present-day novelists." Quoted from "The Historical Development of Chinese Fiction," trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, by Lu Hsün, Chinese Literature, 6 (Dec. 1958), 136-137. Jaroslav Průšek, an authority on Chinese popular fiction, suggested forty years later a new approach to the importance of the poetic

element, namely, that the use of verse "was not so obligatory as was assumed." According to Průšek, the author could make a choice in his employment of lyrical lines depending on the purposes intended, "and if he filled in his story with lyrical poems, one must see in such a procedure a conscious artistic intention and not a mere conforming to tradition." Jaroslav Průšek, "The realistic and Lyric Elements in the Chinese Medieval Story," Archiv Orientalni , 32, No. 1 (1964), 10. Similarly, W.L. Idema is of the opinion that those elements of the storytellers' conventions which were adopted by later compilers and authors of short stories and novels cannot be treated "as left-overs from the past," but they must be considered "as deliberate artistic inventions." W.L. Idema, "Some Remarks and Speculations Concerning P'ing-hua ," p. 123.

(2) James R. Hightower, Topics in Chinese Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 104.

(3) The poetical element in the San-kuo text is also found to be used as a device for narrative purposes, which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter Four.

(4) Průšek, p. 10.

(5) See the five poems in San-kuo , pp. 296, 298, 304, 308, and 309.

(6) See these three poems in San-kuo , pp. 552 and 558.

(7) For the commemorating pieces, see, for examples, San-kuo , pp. 482 and 483 on Kuan Yü, 504 on Chang Fei, 529 on Liu Pei, and 662-663 on K'ung-ming. For those poetical lines of negative criticism, see, for examples, San-kuo , pp. 52 on Tung Cho, 124 on Lü Pu 呂布 , and 134 on Yüan Shu 袁術.

(8) See, for examples, San-kuo , pp. 147 on Mi Heng 彌衡, 194 on T'ien Feng 田豐 , 199 on Yüan Shao, and 248 on K'ung Jung 孔融.

(9) See the poems on pp. 230, 275, 18, 46, and 21-22, respectively.

(10) Literally chuan t'ou 轉頭 means to turn one's head, which implies the idea of an instant, a moment.

(11) San-kuo , p. 1. This translation is done by the present writer. Hereafter, if the translations are not otherwise identified, they are done by the writer of this present work.

(12) San-kuo , p. 644.

(13) San-kuo , p. 235.

(14) San-kuo , p. 218.

(15) San-kuo , p. 760. This translation is taken from Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih ," p. 62.

- (16) San-kuo , p. 15.
- (17) San-kuo , p. 31.
- (18) San-kuo , p. 336.
- (19) San-kuo , p. 751.
- (20) San-kuo , p. 760.
- (21) Průšek, pp. 12 and 13.
- (22) See discussion in Chapter Two.
- (23) See Sāmkok , I, p. 68 and San-kuo , p. 21.
- (24) See Sāmkok , I, p. 150 and San-kuo , p. 46.
- (25) See Sāmkok , I, p. 722 and San-kuo , p. 216.
- (26) See Sāmkok , I, pp. 739-740 and San-kuo , p. 221.
- (27) See Sāmkok , I, p. 774 and San-kuo , p. 235.
- (28) See Sāmkok , I, p. 890 and San-kuo , p. 275.
- (29) See Sāmkok , I, p. 914 and San-kuo , p. 284.
- (30) See Sāmkok , I, pp. 956-957 and San-kuo , p. 299.
- (31) See Sāmkok , II, p. 164 and San-kuo , p. 387.
- (32) See Sāmkok , II, p. 457 and San-kuo , p. 493.
- (33) See Sāmkok , II, p. 997 and San-kuo , p. 719.
- (34) Plū'ang, p. 47.
- (35) Rāiyāo , one of the four types of rāi ¹ᦶᦺᦑᦟ, which is a form of verse, is normally found in Jataka literature.
- (36) See excerpts in Plū'ang, pp. 47-68.
- (37) The symbols used in this ancient Thai alphabet are believed to be the modified forms of Mon and Khom letters.

(38) Excerpts of Silā Čhāru'k can be found in Plu'ang, pp. 29-31.

(39) Plu'ang, p. 32.

(40) Excerpts of Traiphūm Phraruang can be found in Plu'ang, pp. 34-40. The standard version of the Traiphūm text is published by Su'ksāphan in 1963.

(41) The names of these authors are indicated in the introductory passage of Rāchāthirāt. They are Čhāophrayā Phrakhlāng (Hon), the chief editor and supervisor of the Sāmkok project, Phrayā 'Inthara'akkharāt พระยาอินทอัครราช , Phra Phiromratsamī พระภิรมย์รัตน์ , and Phra Srīphūripričhā พระศรีภูมิปรีชา .

(42) If the San-kuo yen-i was really meant to be a popularized version of the Three Kingdoms history as Winston Yang proposed in his dissertation cited above, these archaic wen-yen documents should serve as truthful crucial documents, making this popular novel a reliable source of history.

(43) The wen-yen language was, until the Literary Revolution launched in 1920s, considered to be the only legitimate medium of expression to be employed for orthodox Chinese literature.

(44) The five types are hsi-wen , meng , panq , lien-chang , and kao-shih .

(45) The six types are ts'e , shih-p'u , ts'e , shu , lun , and fa-chih-wen . The three types are chao, piao, and chi-wen.

(46) The most common statement goes like this: "Wei chih . . . hsing-ming ju ho, ch'ieh k'an hsia wen fen-chieh." 未知 . . . 性命如何且看下文分解 .

(47) Ch'en Shou-yi, Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction (New York: Ronald Press, 1961), p. 469; Bishop, "Some Limitations," p. 241; Patrick D. Hanan, "The Development of Fiction and Drama," in The Legacy of China , ed. Raymond S. Dawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 119.

(48) See Yang Hsien-yi, "The Historical Development of Chinese Fiction," p. 137; Jaroslav Průšek, "Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel, Part II," Archiv Orientalni , 23 (1955), 300-301; C.T. Hsia, "Introduction" in The Classical Chinese Novel (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 17.

(49) Průšek, "Researches, Part II," pp. 300-301.

(50) The edition used for this research is the 1970 edition published by Khlang Witthayā.

(51) Completed in 1798, Rāmakīen -- a Thai version of the Indian epic Ramayana -- is attributed to King Rama I. See Plu'ang, pp. 219-221, and 227-242 for more information and selected excerpts. The standard version of Rāmakīen

which is published by the Commercial Press of Khuru Sapha, 1954 edition, is used for the present study.

(52) Plū'ang, p. 220.

(53) See Sāmkok , I, pp. 44-46.

(54) See San-kuo , p. 14.

(55) See Sāmkok , I, pp. 70-72.

(56) See San-kuo , p. 22.

(57) These cases are between chapters 1-2, 8-9, 17-18, 18-19, 21-22, 24-25, 28-29, 33-34, 35-36, 56-57, 57-58, 70-71, 75-76, 76-77, and 78-79 of Sāmkok .

(58) Sāmkok , I, p. 25.

(59) Sāmkok , I, p. 26.

(60) San-kuo , p. 9.

(61) Sāmkok , I, pp. 489-491.

(62) San-kuo , p. 151.

(63) Sāmkok , I, p. 294.

(64) San-kuo , pp. 89-90.

(65) Sāmkok , I, p. 684.

(66) San-kuo , p. 206.

(67) Of the 120 chapters, about 40 chapters have a length of six pages, 37 have seven, 27 have five, 9 have eight, 5 have nine, and only 2 have four.

(68) The shortest chapter which is chapter 24 has thirteen pages and the longest one which is chapter 41 has fifty-one pages.

Chapter Four

Narrative Technique

In his article, "Narrative Pattern in San-kuo and Shui-hu ," Peter Li remarked that traditional Chinese critics of classical novels gave particular attention to the fine structure of the novel rather than the overall structure. Mao Tsung-kang, the well-known editor of the 1679 edition of San-kuo yen-i text was cited by Peter Li as representative of the critics under discussion. Stressing the significance of the smaller units of the narration, Mao focussed on such features as "the art of planting narrative threads, various methods of emphasis by contrast, techniques of creating suspense, ways of building up and rounding out a high point, etc." (1) In other words, in editing the San-kuo, Mao reworked the text with respect to narrative technique, also polishing the language and making adjustments and changes here and there in the content. (2) Work on the narrative techniques can be said to constitute a major part in Mao's contribution to the improvement in the quality of the novel. It is interesting to see whether this important ingredient of the narrative structure is kept intact in the Thai translation.

Normally, the narrative techniques of a literary work, when translated, should not have gone through any serious alterations if the translation is faithfully done. It is

clear, however, that the narrative techniques of Sāmkok have been altered considerably from those of the Chinese original. For one thing, we can note that three kinds of narrative technique employed in the San-kuo are not adopted in Sāmkok .

The first method of narration that is dropped in Sāmkok is the technique of systematically creating suspense at the end of the chapter, as has been discussed above (Chapter Three). Thus in Sāmkok all traces of a suspenseful note which appears at the end of each chapter are omitted in favor of a clear-cut method of natural continuity; so there is no sustaining mood of emotional tension built up among the audience as the end of a chapter approaches. As a matter of fact, some of the chapters in Sāmkok reflect an attempt to establish the completeness of an episode within the space of one single chapter. For instance, the story about the political turmoil raised by the Yellow Turban rebels and their final destruction is all presented in chapter three of Sāmkok , while the same story takes up more than one chapter in the San-kuo yen-i . Similarly, chapter three of Sāmkok presents a relatively unified picture of the episode which relates events from the time Tung Cho first appears in the capital up to the point when he successfully takes control of the central power there. Through the method of building up suspense this episode of Tung Cho is

broken up into two separate chapters (ch. 3 and 4) in San-kuo . One other good example is the story of the seduction of Tung Cho and Lu Pu by Tiao Ch'an which is presented in one complete piece in chapter seven. This again is divided into two chapters (ch. 7 and 8) in San-kuo

The narrative technique of suspense in the San-kuo , besides being employed at the end of the chapter, is occasionally found elsewhere in the narrative. Take, for example, the incident in which Liu Pei received a puzzling note of one character, "pai" 白 , from the fortuneteller named Li I 李意 , as a prediction concerning Liu Pei's military campaign against Sun Ch'uan in revenge for the untimely deaths of Kuan Yü and Chang Fei. (3) Not only Liu Pei, but also the reader is perplexed at this point as to the meaning of the riddle. The intention here on the part of the Chinese narrator is to create a mood of suspense which in turn leads the reader on to the discovery of the consequences. (4) On the contrary, however, the Thai version discards the suspense by providing a full explanation for the meaning of the riddle "pai" saying:

บริศนาซึ่งลือทำถวายนั้นเป็นใจความว่า จะแพ้เขายับเยิน แล้วพระเจ้า
เล่าปี่จะไปตายที่เมืองเบ๊กเต้เสีย

The connotation of the riddle which Li I presented was that King Lao Pi [Liu Pei] would suffer a

disastrous defeat and then he would die at the town of Pek-tē [Pai-ti 白帝]." (5)

A most common device in creating suspense found in the San-kuo narrative is the employment of the phrase "ju tz'u ju tz'u" 如此如此, literally "like this like this," which conveys the notion that something is intentionally held back from the audience as a secret by the narrator. There are at least thirteen occasions in which the "ju tz'u" phrase is used in the San-kuo, only three of which are faithfully represented in accordance with the original meaning and function. (6) The other ten cases of the usage of "ju tz'u" as a suspenseful device are mishandled in two different ways. The first way is simply to omit the "ju tz'u" phrase from the Thai translation. (7) The second way is that the narrator of Sāmkok reveals the secret to the reader instead of maintaining the "ju tz'u" phrase. There are altogether seven cases of the second type (8), most of which are incidents involving well-planned intrigues which the Chinese narrator prefers to keep secret. Illustration of a few examples will be sufficient.

A mood of suspense occurs in the scene in which Ts'ao Ts'ao secretly made a scheme to capture Ma T'eng upon learning that the latter had conspired against him. Concealing the nature of the scheme, the narrator of San-kuo simply provides this brief passage:

操便密喚曹洪許褚分付如此如此 又喚
夏侯淵徐晃分付如此如此 各人領命去了

Thereupon Ts'ao privately called for Ts'ao Hung and Hsü Ch'u instructing them so and so and also called for Hsia-hou Yüan and Hsiu Huang instructing them so and so. Each took the order and left. (9)

It was a little later, when Ma T'eng actually confronted Ts'ao's troops, that the secret of the scheme was gradually unfolded. But the Thai version discloses the detail of Ts'ao's secret plan right at the beginning when Ts'ao instructed his four able generals.

โจโจจึงเรียกโจทองเคาหูซึหลงแฮหัวเอียนมากระซิบบอกเนื้อความ
ซึ่งเบียวเต็กฟ้องอุยกุยกั้นให้ฟัง แล้วสั่งว่าพรุ่งนี้เวลาเช้าท่านแต่งตัว
ให้เหมือนเรา เอาธงแดงสำคัญของเราหน้าไป แล้วให้เคาหูเป็นปีก
ขวา ให้แฮหัวเอียนเป็นปีกซ้าย โจทองเป็นกองหลวง ซึหลงเป็นกอง
หนุน ยกออกไปตั้งห้องสนามนอกเมือง ให้ท่าอาการเหมือนเราจะยกไป
ม้าแท่งไม่ทันรู้จะสำคัญว่าเรายกออกไปก็จะยกเข้ามาตามสัญญาอุยกุยก
ท่านจึงจุดประทัดสัญญาให้ทหารยิงเกาทัณฑ์ล่อม้าแท่งไว้ จับมาให้ได้
โจทองกับทหารทั้งปวงก็ยกออกไปตั้งอยู่ตามสิ่งทุกประการ

Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] then called for Chō Hong [Ts'ao Hung 曹洪], Khao Thū [Hsü Ch'u 許褚], Si Long [Hsü Huang 徐晃], and Hāe-hua 'Ian [Hsia-hou Yüan 夏侯淵] and whispered to them the gist of the accusation of Biao Tek [Miao Tse 苗澤, Huang K'uei's brother-in-law] against 'Ui Kui [Huang K'uei 黃奎]. Then he ordered, "Tomorrow morning you [Ts'ao Hung] must dress up like me and take my personal red flag to lead the army. Let Khao Thū take the right-wing position,

Hāe-hua 'Ian take the left-wing position, Čhō Hong be the central force, and Si Long be the supporting force. All should take their positions on the ground outside the city, pretending that I am about to take action to move ahead. Without realizing the truth, Mā Theng [Ma T'eng] will assume that I have advanced the army out of the city and consequently he will bring his troops into the city as agreed upon with 'Ui Kui. At that moment you must light the fire-cracker as a signal for shooting the arrows in order to surround Mā Theng and seize him." Čhō Hong with all soldiers accordingly moved the troops to their assigned stations as ordered. (10)

Clearly the narrator of Sāmkok fails to maintain the note of suspense in the above scene.

The outcome of the above incident is that Ma T'eng was captured and executed. Ma T'eng's death led to the revenge by his son, Ma Ch'ao, who naturally wished to overthrow Ts'ao's power. In the scene where Ma Ch'ao was making an attempt to take over the city of Ch'ang-an 長安 which was then under Ts'ao's sovereignty, P'ang Te 龐德, a follower of Ma Ch'ao, suggested a scheme. Knowing that after ten days of besiegement the people of Ch'ang-an must be by now desperate for food, water, and firewood, P'ang Te came up with a plan that called for a temporary withdrawal of Ma Ch'ao troops. In order to create suspense in this scene the narrator simply allowed P'ang Te to say: 只須

如此如此長安垂手可得 "Just need to so and so, Ch'ang-an can be easily obtained." (11) However, the whole plan is revealed in the same scene in Sāmkok as P'ang Te says to Ma Ch'ao:

"...ข้าพเจ้าจะคิดกลอุบายอย่างหนึ่งให้ไ้เมืองเตียงอันโดยง่าย
 ด้วยบัดนี้ ไพรพลีในเมืองเตียงอันก็ซัดสนเสมียงอาหารอยู่แล้ว
 ขอให้ท่านถอยกองทัพออกไปชุมนุมอยู่ที่ไกลเมือง ให้คนในเมือง
 ออกหาเสมียงอาหาร ข้าพเจ้าจึงจะคิดอ่านปลอมเข้าไปใน
 เมืองแล้วจะจุดเพลิงสัญญาณขึ้นเปิดประตูเมืองรับท่าน"

"... I will work out a scheme that will make it
 easy to obtain the city of T'iang-an [Ch'ang-an].
 Since the people of T'iang-an are now lacking food,
 I suggest you withdraw your troops to hide away
 somewhere far from the city so that the people can
 come out to look for food. Then I can scheme to
 disguise myself and get into the city and after
 that I will light the fire as a signal and open
 the city gate for you." (12)

A similar approach is employed in the incident in which
 K'ung-ming worked out a tactic to conquer the force of the
 Ch'iang 羌 tribe. Whereas the plan was kept a secret in
 the San-kuo by using the "ju tz'u" phrase (13), the Thai
 version openly lays out the scheme for the reader.

ซ่งเบ้งกลับมาค่าย เรียกม้าค่ายกับเตียวเอ็ก มากระซิบสั่งเป็นความ
 ลับให้ยกทหารตั้งชุมนุมอยู่หลังเขา แล้วเกณฑ์ทหารให้ซุกคูลู่หน้าค่าย
 ให้ตีตะปิกปากคูนบนแคะนั้นให้อาฟางแลคินเกลี่ยท่ากลลวงไว้

Returning to the camp, Khong-beng [K'ung-ming]
 summoned Mā Tāi [Ma Tai] and T'iao Ek [Chang I
 張翼] whispering a secret order, "Take your
 troops and position them in ambush behind the

hill, then recruit some of your men to dig a ditch in front of the camp. Cover the ditch with woven bamboo sheets and spread some straw and dirt over them to make a trap." (14)

The second method of narration that is not followed in the Thai version is the technique of introducing the characters. The San-kuo uses a more exciting way of introducing a new character to the reader; for the Chinese narrator usually describes the character first including, perhaps, his physical appearance, his disposition, his lineage, and then gives that character's name afterwards. But the Thai version usually mentions the name of the character first, which virtually destroys the sense of excitement intended in the original work. It is noteworthy, however, that this new method of introducing a new character by first providing the name is one commonly found in Thai narrative poetry, such as, Rāmākīēn. The introduction of the characters of Liu Pei and Ts'ao Ts'ao is typical of this type of narrative technique.

San-kuo

那人不甚好讀書性寬和寡言語...
 生得身長八尺兩耳垂肩雙手過膝...
 中山靖王劉勝之後漢景帝閣下玄孫姓劉名備
 字玄德

This man was not too fond of study. But he was liberal and amiable, albeit a man of few words. . . . He was tall of stature. His ears

were long, the lobes touching his shoulders.
 . . . He was a descendant of a Prince whose father
 was the grandson of the Emperor Ching. His name
 was Liu Pei whose style was Hsun-te. (15)

張梁張寶引敗殘軍士奪路而走
 忽見一彪軍馬盡打紅旗當頭來到
 截住去路為首閃出一將身長七尺細眼長鬚

Chang Liang and Chang Pao, with a few flying
 soldiers, found a way of escape. But suddenly a
 troop of soldiers with crimson banners appeared to
 oppose them. Their leader was a man of medium
 stature with small eyes and a long beard. He was
 one Ts'ao Ts'ao who was also known as Ts'ao
 Meng-te. (16)

Sāmkok

แผลเมืองคันทันกวัน มีชายคนหนึ่งชื่อเล่าปี่ เมื่อน้อยชื่อเหียนเท็ก ก็ไม่สู้
 รักเรียนหนังสือ แต่มีปัญญา น้าใจนั้นก็ . . . เล่าปี่นั้นเป็นบุตร
 เล่าเหง เล่าเหงเป็นเชื้อวงศ์พระเจ้าฮั่นเกงเต้

In the city of Tun-kuan [Cho-hsien 涿縣] there
 was a man named Lao Pi [Liu Pei]. As a youth, he
 was called Hien Tek [Hsuan-te]. He was not
 particularly fond of learning, but he was
 intelligent and good-hearted. . . . And Lao Pi was
 the son of Lao Heng [Liu Hung 鑿弘]. Lao Heng
 was a descendant of Emperor Han Keng [Han Ching Ti
 漢景帝]. (17)

พวกโจรซึ่งเหลือ้นั้น . . . จึงไปพบทัพหนึ่ง ชงแคงตั้งทัพ ทหารกองหน้า
 เข้าสกัดพวกโจรไว้ไม่ให้หนีไป แลนายทัพนั้นชื่อโจโจ สูงประมาณห้า
 ศอก จักมุเล็ก ทนวยาว

So the surviving members of the bandits

. . . encountered a troop with red flags. The advance force intercepted the bandits to prevent them from running away. And the troop leader was named Cho Cho [Ts'ao Ts'ao]. He was about five sāwk high. And he had small eyes and a long beard. (18)

Furthermore, the way of addressing characters is also different between San-kuo and its Thai version. The narrator of Sāmkok sticks to only one name in referring to a given character, whereas that of San-kuo uses many different names depending upon the circumstances, the social occasions, and the etiquette appropriate to the occasion. The three protagonists, namely, Liu Pei, Kuan Yu, and Chang Fei are called by the name Lao Pi, Kuan 'U, and Tiao Hui, respectively, throughout the work of Sāmkok. In the original version, however, Liu Pei is variously called Liu Pei, Hsuan-te 玄德, Liu Huang Shu 劉皇叔 (Royal Uncle Liu), Liu Hsien Chu 劉先主 (The First Ruler of the Liu clan), and simply Hsien Chu 先主 (The Late King). Likewise, Kuan Yu is variously called Kuan Yu, Kuan Kung 關公 (Lord Kuan), Kuan Yun-ch'ang 關雲長, or simply Kuan. Chang Fei is called by the names Chang Fei, I-te 翼德, or simply Chang.

The third narrative device employed in San-kuo which is ignored by the Thai editor is the technique of using verse for narrative purposes. It has been pointed out above (Chapter Three) that Sāmkok contains no verse of any type

and that the meaning of about 3% of the poems appearing in the San-kuo is roughly rendered in prose. Having excluded the majority of the lyrical pieces of San-kuo, the work of Samkok in consequence becomes devoid of five important techniques of narration. First, the verse in San-kuo is employed for the purpose of embellishment or description. Second, the verse may provide a hint or forecast relating to the subsequent outcome of the story. Third, the San-kuo narrator occasionally recapitulates the story by means of poetry. Fourth, the verse is inserted to give comments on the incidents and characters in the story. Fifth, the lyrical lines under the "cheng-shih" 正是 phrase which appears at the end of each chapter serve to clinch the point of the story.

There are about sixteen pieces that carry the descriptive function. Eight of these are inserted into the prose narrative to provide mood or atmosphere, (19) and the other eight depict the physical appearances, qualities, and abilities of some figure, animal, thing, or place. (20)

Twelve pieces have the function of providing a hint or forecast of things to come. The message most often hinted at throughout the work is the point that the coming division of China into three kingdoms after the disintegration of the Han empire is inevitable and unavoidable. This is implied in five pieces. (21) Four pieces are found to hint at some

approaching mishap. (22)

Only four pieces bear the function of recapitulation. (23) The most significant piece of the four is the final piece which closes the novel. It essentially gives a summary in chronological order of the basic story related in the San-kuo account. At the outset, the poem recounts the founding of the Han dynasty by Emperor Kuang Wu 光武. It continues to talk about the deteriorated final years of the Han line under the rule of Emperor Hsien 獻. The remaining lines of the poem contain, in the main, a delineation of the major historical incidents which were turning points ultimately leading to the country's break up into three kingdoms. This summary ends with the account of the unification of China by the Szu-ma 司馬 family of the Chin 晉 dynasty.

The fourth function of verse, that of comment on incidents and characters, has been discussed in a number of works. (24) Of these, Crump's article entitled "P'ing-hua and the Early History of the San-kuo chih," is the most informative. Touching on the verse element in the San-kuo text, this study has shed some light on the origin and historical development of the poems of critique used in historical Chinese fiction. According to Crump, the technique of using poetry to criticize or comment on historical events, places, and personages derived from the

tradition of writing "yung-shih shih" 詠史詩 (literally, "poetry sung about history") which may be translated as "historical poem". The intention of the yung-shih poets was to convey didactic messages to their contemporary readers. Prose discussion on the same subject usually accompanied the yung-shih poem. Crump believed that the texts with these historical poems "were first used to teach children the facts of history, later used by official teachers of noble children, and still later used as the bases for the hua-pen [話本 promptbook or storytelling script] of historical narrators in the market place." (25) Subsequently, specimens of old historical poems were used in later sophisticated works of historical fiction like the San-kuo yen-i. According to Crump, there are four yung-shih pieces found in the Mao Tsung-kang edition of San-kuo yen-i, all of which were purportedly composed by the T'ang poet named Hu Tseng 胡曾 (fl. 860). (26)

Crump's study suggests the fact that the technique of using poetry to comment on specific incidents and characters in the historical narrative was still very much in practice at the time San-kuo yen-i was written. As a matter of fact, it seemed to be the preferred technique of narration employed by the author of San-kuo yen-i, as the frequency of usage is considerable. About 75% of the poems interpolated in the San-kuo narrative are found to serve as

the narrator's comments on historical incidents and personages of the Three Kingdoms period. The nature of the usage is varied, and it may be broadly categorized into two types: comment on incidents and criticism of characters.

The incident type which numbers 67 pieces in all is the kind that highlights and sometimes verifies historical facts concerning outstanding or unique incidents throughout the narrative. Some mark the significance of certain accomplishments performed by historical individuals, among which the Shu heroes receive most attention. (27) Some are highlights of critical events that are crucial to the changing situations in the narrative development. (28) Take, for instance, the poem which remarks on the conflict between Tung Cho and Lu Pu caused by the seduction of Tiao Ch'an, which finally leads to Tung Cho's death and Lu Pu's loss of power. (29) Another good example is the group of poems marking the crucial importance of K'ung-ming's decision to take the position as Liu Pei's mentor which results in the shift of balance of power among the three kingdoms. (30) In other words the active participation of K'ung-ming in the political arena assures the rise of the period of the Three Kingdoms. In a few instances comments on incidents contain a didactic tone. (31) For instance, the incident of the murder of Ts'ao Ts'ao's father and his clan members, which gave rise to Ts'ao's violent vengeance, is noted by the

narrator to be a result of the natural law of retribution. The implication here is that Ts'ao Ts'ao justifiably deserves such misfortune as a consequence of his previous evil conduct regarding the massacre of Lu Po-she 呂伯奢 and his family. (32)

The second type of comment through verse is the kind made on historical characters, and this in turn can be categorized into two groups. The first group is comprised of 49 poetical pieces which give moral judgment on the virtue of the characters. Thirty-eight pieces are inserted for commemorating virtuous personages, such as, those with outstanding courage (33) and those with the virtue of loyalty. (34) And of these about a score praise the virtues -- fidelity, compassion, integrity -- of the four central characters, Liu Pei, Kuan Yu, Chang Fei, and K'ung-ming. (35) The remaining eleven pieces of verse in this first group reflect a negative moral judgment. The narrator's condemnation on Ts'ao Ts'ao's villainous traits is conspicuous. Ts'ao Ts'ao is criticized for his crookedness, cowardice, and cruelty. (36) Some disloyal officials are also criticized by means of verse. (37)

The fifth narrative function through verse is that which serves to clinch the point at the end of each chapter. The verse in this category is systematically preceded by the phrase "cheng-shih" (literally, "it is exactly" which can be

appropriately translated as "the point is"), and this formally indicates that the verse conveys a special comment by the narrator. These cheng-shih poetical lines then immediately precede the formulaic line of suspense ("If you do not know what happened to . . . , please read the next chapter.") which closes the chapter. In this format, the cheng-shih element summarizes the gist of the story that has been presented in the given chapter. The reader is then led on to the exciting conclusion in the following chapter. The case in chapter one represents a typical example. The story of chapter one of the San-kuo yen-i ends with the scene in which Tung Cho showed his arrogant manner upon meeting Liu Pei, Kuan Yu, and Chang Fei who introduced themselves as ordinary laymen with no official ranks. The climax of this scene is reached when Chang Fei, being enraged by Tung Cho's haughtiness, threatened to kill Tung Cho immediately. The prose narrative ends with the statement: 張飛便要提刀入帳來殺董卓 "Chang Fei wanted to attack the camp with the sword in his hand in order to slay Tung Cho." (39) Immediately following this statement of narrative, the San-kuo text provides the cheng-shih line:

正是人情勢利古猶今誰識英雄是白身
安得快人如翼德盡誅世上負心人

The point is:
From ancient to present times human sentiment toward

power and wealth is the same.
 Who would have known that great heroes are ordinary
 people?
 How could one find such a straightforward man as
 I-te [Chang Fei],
 That exerts himself to eliminate all ungrateful men
 in the world! (40)

All remaining chapters, except for the last one, have a
cheng-shih line that bears a similar function to the above.

The translators of Sāmkok not only made selections
 among the narrative devices, but also created a new
 functional narrator to serve the Thai audience. The Sāmkok
 's narrator is apparently different from that of the San-kuo
 in that the former appears to be more omniscient than the
 latter. For instance, the Sāmkok 's narrator read the mind
 of the character while that of San-kuo seldom did so. In
 the scene where Ts'ao Ts'ao failed to carry out his plan to
 kill Tung Cho in the latter's chamber, Ts'ao was quick to
 find a pretext to escape by expressing his wish to take a
 ride on the new horse given by Tung Cho as a present to
 Ts'ao. At this point Sāmkok narrates:

ตั้งโต๊ะจึงพาโจโฉออกมาดูม้า แล้วว่าม้านี้ท่านเอาไปขี่เถิด โจโฉได้
 ยินคังนั้นจึงคิดว่า กุศิกนาวาจะทว่าร้ายตั้งโต๊ะก็ไม่สมคิด ซึ่งจะอยู่ในเมือง
 หลวงต่อไปเกลือกว่าตั้งโต๊ะจะรู้ระกายจะฆ่ากูเสีย อย่าเลยกูจะขี่ม้าแล้วจะ
 หนีไปหาบิดาจึงจะไต่คิดการต่อไป แล้วโจโฉจึงว่าแก่ตั้งโต๊ะว่า ซึ่งท่านให้
 ม้าไซ้แก่ข้าพเจ้าคังนี้ พระคุณหาที่สุดไม่ แต่ข้าพเจ้าจะขอขี่ลองดูนี้เท่า
 มาก่อน

So Tang To [Tung Cho] took Čhō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] outside to see the horse, then said, "Why don't you take this horse for your own use." Hearing this Čhō Chō thought: "I initially planned to do harm to Tang To but it didn't go as planned. If I remain in the capital, Tang To may hear the rumour and he would get rid of me. No. I will ride this horse and run away to see my father, then I can plan what to do next." So Čhō Chō said to Tang To, "Your gift of a horse is most kind, but I'd like to try riding it first to see how fast it can run." (41)

The Chinese text, on the other hand, is as follows:

卓引操出閣看馬操謝曰願借試一騎

Tung Cho took Ts'ao Ts'ao out of the chamber to look at the horse. Ts'ao thanked Tung Cho and said: "I wish to borrow the horse for a riding test." (42)

It is clear from the above that the Thai narrator is entering into Ts'ao Ts'ao's thoughts whereas the Chinese narrator is not. So the Thai version has indeed introduced an omniscient narrator in its recounting of the story. And this innovation was no doubt introduced under the influence of the conventions of the Thai narrative poetry in existence at the time of the Sāmkok translation; for such works frequently employed the narrative device of an omniscient narrator. Rāmakīen, for instance, is rich with lines expressing the feelings and thoughts of its characters.

The above texts also illustrate the fact that the San-kuo narration tends to be more short and concise, and sometimes less imaginative than that of Sāmkok. And it

turns out that, over and over again, details with regard to time, place, mood, thought, speech, and change of movement of the characters are either added or elaborated in the Thai version. Take any scene from the text of Sāmkok and compare it with its original Chinese text, and one can detect a certain degree of expansion or elaboration of text.

The Sāmkok 's narrator simultaneously assumes two other functions: to recapitulate the story and to identify certain characters and thus guide the Thai reader along with the story. For illustration, excerpts of an identical scene from the San-kuo and Sāmkok texts will be compared to demonstrate the added text found in the Sāmkok and also to point out the narrative functions present.

The scene which is selected here is from the context of the episode which featured the military struggle for power between Tung Cho's force at the capital and the allied forces of the country warlords established outside the capital. Yuan Shao was selected as the leader of the allied forces, Ts'ao Ts'ao as the coordinator, and Yuan Shao's brother, Yuan Shu, as the person in charge of food and military supplies. The first mission which was assigned to Sun Chien 孫堅 to attack the fort city named Fan-shui 汜水 under Tung Cho's control, turned out to be a failure all because Yuan Shu refused to deliver the supplies to Sun Chien. As Sun Chien received a new order from Yuan Shao to

reattack Fan-shui, Sun Chien promptly took off to see Yuan Shu to inquire about the cause of the delay of supplies. The following excerpts are from the scene of the meeting between Sun Chien and Yuan Shu at the latter's camp. One will find in this scene that the Sāmkok text contains many added details with regard to place, mood, speech, and movement of characters as well as the narrative functions of recapitulation and identification. The added text will be indicated by underlining and the functions will be given in parenthesis near the left margin of the page.

San-kuo

紹遂移檄孫堅令其進兵堅引黃蓋程普至袁術寨中
相見堅以杖畫地曰董卓與我本無讎隙今我奮不顧身
親冒矢石來決死戰者上為國家討賊下為將軍家門之
私而將軍却聽讒言不發糧草致堅敗績將軍何安

術惶恐無言命斬進讒之人以謝孫堅忽人報
堅曰關上有一將乘馬來寨中要見將軍堅辭袁術

Yüan Shao then forwarded a written statement ordering Sun Chien to lead his troops onward. Sun Chien leading Huang Kai and Ch'ing P'u came to see Yuan Shu at his camp. Drawing something on the ground with his staff, Sun Chien said, "Tung Cho and I actually had no personal quarrel. Yet now I exerted myself regardless of personal safety to brave the arrows and rocks in order to determine the final bloody battles. While I, on the one hand, punished the rebels for the country, on the other hand, served for the advantage of your family, yet you heeding the words of slander withheld the supply of wheat and grass, which caused my defeat. Why, General?"

Yüan Shu, confused and frightened, had no word to say. He ordered the decapitation of the person who inferred the slander to placate Sun Chien. Suddenly a man reported Sun Chien: "An official from the fort came on horseback to see you at the camp, General." Sun Chien bid farewell to Yuan Shu and returned to his camp. (43)

Sāmkok

อ้วนเสี้ยวแจ่มจิ่งนั้นก็มีความยินดีจึงให้แต่งหนังสือไปถึงซุนเกี้ยนว่า ให้เร่งยกทหารเข้าตีค่ายกิสุยกวนไค้ ฝ่ายซุนเกี้ยนครั้นแจ่มจิ่งในหนังสือนั้นแล้ว ก็รู้ข่าวว่ามีผู้ยุ้งอ้วนเสี้ยวมิให้เอาเสบียงมาส่ง จึงให้ทหารทั้งปวงรักษาค่ายอยู่แล้วพาเทีย เกา กับ อูยกายไปหาอ้วนเสี้ยว ซึ่งเป็นกองล่าเลี้ยง ณ ค่าย ซุนเกี้ยนจึงว่าแกอ้วนเสี้ยวว่าตั้งโต๊ะทำการหยาบฆ่าตั้งตัวเป็นใหญ่ ไช้จะทำสิ่งใดให้เราซัดเคื่องก็หามิไค้ ซึ่งเราจะมาทำการด้วยอ้วนเสี้ยวครั้งนี้ก็เพราะความซื่อตรงต่อแผ่นดินแล้วจะคิดแก้แค้นตั้งโต๊ะซึ่งฆ่าอ้วนหงุยอาท่านเสียนั้น อุตสาห์ทรمانเอากายเข้าสู้ถูกเกาทัณฑ์เลอาวูซตั้งปวงมิไค้คึกชีวิต เรากี้ให้บอกมาขอเสบียง เป็นใจท่านจึงฟังคำคนยุ้งมิให้เอาเสบียงไปส่ง ทหารในกองทัพเราจึงออกอยากอิกโรยกำลังจนเสียที่แกฆ่าศึก แลอ้วนเสี้ยวไค้ยืนคังนั้นก็มีความละอายนัก จึงให้เอาตัวทหารซึ่งยุ้งมิให้ส่งเสบียงนั้นมาฆ่าเสียต่อหน้าซุนเกี้ยน ฝ่ายม้าไค้อยู่ ณ ค่ายซุนเกี้ยนมาบอกแกซุนเกี้ยนว่า บัคนี่ลิจูซี้มาออกมาจากค่ายกิสุยกวนว่าจะมาหาท่าน ซุนเกี้ยนไค้ฟังก็ลาอ้วนเสี้ยวกลับมา ณ ค่าย

- (mood) 'Uan Siao [Yüan Shao] was happy upon hearing the news [about Lu Pu's defeat]; he sent a letter to Sun Kien [Sun Chien] ordering him to advance his troops and effect an attack on Ki-sui-küan [Fan-shui fort]. As for Sun Kien, at the time he received the message in the letter, he already had learned the news that someone had maliciously urged 'Uan Sut [Yüan Shu] not to deliver the supplies. (44) So he commanded his
- (place)
- (recap.)
- (movement) soldiers to stay guarding the camp, and then he took Thia Phao [Cheng P'u]

- and 'Ui Kāi [Huang Kai] to see 'Uan Sut
 (ident.) who was in charge of transporting supplies
 (speech) to the camp. Sun Kien then said to 'Uan
 (recap.) Sut: "Tang To [Tung Cho] behaved vilely
 (speech) and set himself up as someone important
 (recap.) (45), but he never did anything to offend
 (recap.) me. The reason that I joined this mission
 (mood) with 'Uan Siao was out of loyalty to the
 (place) country and because I wish to take revenge
 (place) upon Tang To for killing 'Uan Ngui, your
 (ident.) uncle. (46) I have striven amid distress,
 (place) submitting my body to brave all the
 (place) arrows and weapons without regard for my
 (place) life. And I made a request for supplies.
 (place) (47) Why then did you listen to one who
 (place) maliciously urged you not to deliver the
 (place) supplies? My soldiers consequently were
 (place) so hungry and exhausted that we were
 (place) defeated by the enemy. And when 'Uan Sut
 (place) heard this, he was deeply ashamed and
 (place) commanded the soldier who had maliciously
 (place) urged him not to send the supplies to be
 (place) brought and put to death in the presence
 (place) of Sun Kien.
 (place) A messenger came from Sun Kien's
 (place) camp to tell Sun Kien: "Now Li Chui [Li
 (place) Ts'ui] is riding his horse from the camp
 (place) at Ki-sui-kuan to come to see you." Sun
 (place) Kien thereupon bid farewell to 'Uan Sut
 (place) and returned to the camp. (48)

One other function of the narrator of Sāmkok is to provide Thai meanings or equivalents for some of the Chinese terms in the San-kuo text. Most of these Chinese terms are official titles which are explained in terms of Thai official ranks which unfortunately fail to convey the right meaning of the original, as shown below. (49)

<u>Sāmkok</u>	<u>San-kuo</u>
คิงกุนแปลว่าทหารรักษาพระองค์	車騎將軍
<u>Ti-chong-kun</u> means Imperial	<u>Chü-ch'i Chiang-chün</u>

Guard.

เขียนก๊กภาษาไทยว่าพระยามหาอุปราช

Siang-kok in Thai means
Prince of the Front Palace
[i.e., the successor to
the throne].

โตอุยแปลภาษาไทยว่า นายทหารเอก

Tō-'ui in Thai means great
military personel.

(General of Chariots and
Cavalry) (50)

相國

Hsiang-kuo
(Chancellor of State)

都尉

Tu-wei
(Chief Commandant)

Besides official titles, some proper names of people
and places are given the meaning in Thai. (51)

Sāmkok

โตฮยินแปลภาษาไทยว่าพราหมณ์มีความรู้

Tō Yin in Thai is the
knowledgable Bhraman.

ตั้งฉวนแปลภาษาไทยว่าทางกันดารฝ่าย
ตะวันออก

Tang-chuan in Thai means
the path of drought in
the East.

จิวป่าสกแปลเป็นภาษาไทยว่าเนินงูเลื้อย

Chua-pua-sok in Thai
means crawling snake hill.

San-kuo

太平道人

T'ai-p'ing Tao-jen
(A Taoist named T'ai
P'ing)

東川

Tung-ch'üan
(East of Szu-ch'uan
province)

盤蛇谷

P'an-she-ku
(Coiled Serpent Valley)

It is interesting to note that most of the Chinese
terms mentioned in the last eight chapters of Sāmkok are no
longer provided with explanation or equivalent translation
in Thai. (52) This is most likely due to waning enthusiasm

toward the end of the project as the painstaking labor of translation dragged on and on.

In the aspect of narrative technique, Sāmkok appears to employ different approaches. While the San-kuo yen-i emphasizes the importance of building up suspense and excitement along the narrative so that the work will be interesting to follow, Sāmkok prefers its narrative to be clear, simple, and straightforward by adopting an omniscient type of narrator to guide the Thai readers.

The technique of building up suspense as used in the San-kuo text was a narrative convention handed down from the tradition of the Chinese storytelling art which serves as a key mechanism that reinforces the linear movement of the story. By rejecting the technique of suspense, the narration of Sāmkok tends to drag and be less exciting than the original work. The absence of the technique of suspense observed in this chapter should not be interpreted as reflecting a lack of interest in suspenseful stories on the part of the general Thai audience. The love for excitement is a universal pattern of human behavior regardless of cultural bias and differences. Besides, Thai people have been known to love theatrical performances of varying types and moods -- sentimental, melancholic, romantic, adventurous, suspenseful, comical, etc. Therefore, cultural background can be ruled out as a significant factor for the

decision to discard the technique of suspense in Sāmkok .

The use of poetry as a narrative device in the San-kuo text reflects the love of extravagant embellishment which was so skillfully handled by the San-kuo author. Poetical embellishment is also undesirable in Sāmkok because the Thai editor seems to adhere to the principle of lucid simplicity in narrating the story.

The changes in the narrative techniques from sophisticated method to something much simpler can be understood by looking into the development of fictional writing in Thailand. The genre of prose fiction was not yet established at the time Sāmkok was written. Works in orthodox literature were almost exclusively produced in verse. Prose writings were very few and none of them were in the genre of fiction. They were historical records or chronicles or religious treatises. Sāmkok was then the first work of long prose fiction in Thai, despite the fact that it was a work translated from a foreign literature. Considering the fact that Sāmkok is a pioneer work of its kind, Sāmkok must naturally be produced with special care. For Sāmkok was not only the first introduction of a Chinese story, but also a new literary venture in attempting to create a proper form of narrative fiction which was yet unknown in the country. Therefore, it seems to make sense for the Thai editor to choose simple narrative techniques

rather than accepting a wholesale imitation of sophisticated literary conventions of a foreign culture.

Perhaps the objective behind the Sāmkok project can account for such a decision. As mentioned before (Chapter One), Sāmkok was produced under royal command to be used primarily as a text of military tactics as well as for administrative and governmental purposes. In this respect, Sāmkok was certainly regarded more as a text of reference than as an entertaining piece of fiction. The narrative method of suspense being characteristic of the art of storytelling may well have been viewed as an unsuitable technique in the light of the King's serious objective. For this reason perhaps the editor of Sāmkok saw it necessary to modify the narrative style so as to accord with the purpose in the King's mind. In order, then, to fulfill its function as a source of knowledge, Sāmkok had to be written with a style that displays lucidity and straightforwardness. From this standpoint, any elements of suspense, ambiguity, and extravagant embellishment (poetry) were undesirable. On the other hand, however, the Thai editor showed interest in making the story more lively, imaginative, and appealing to Thai readers by adopting the use of an omniscient narrator.

Notes

(1) Peter Li, "Narrative Pattern in San-kuo and Shui-hu ," in Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays, ed. Andrew H. Plaks (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 74.

(2) See the difference in content between the Mao and Lo texts in Chapter Two above.

(3) This incident can be found in San-kuo , p. 506.

(4) The reader of San-kuo must read four more chapters (chs. 82-85) before discovering the truth about the riddle.

(5) Sāmkok , II, p. 491.

(6) See San-kuo , pp. 442, 632, and 648 which are rendered in Sāmkok , II, pp. 325, 784, and 821, respectively.

(7) Compare San-kuo , pp. 295, 408, and 704 with Sāmkok , I, p. 945; II, pp. 221 and 956, respectively.

(8) See these seven examples in San-kuo , pp. 243, 347, 354, 357, 590, 617 and compare them with Sāmkok , I, p. 799; II, pp. 53-54, 73, 81-82, 692, 755, and 925, respectively.

(9) San-kuo , p. 354.

(10) Sāmkok , II, p. 73.

(11) Sān-kuo , p. 357.

(12) Sāmkok , II, pp. 81-82.

(13) San-kuo , p. 590.

(14) Sāmkok , II, p. 692.

(15) San-kuo , p. 2.

(16) San-kuo , p. 5.

(17) Sāmkok , I, p. 7.

(18) Sāmkok , I, pp. 15-16.

(19) See San-kuo , pp. 21, 22, and 81 (melancholic mood), 232 and 234 (three poems expressing the chaotic political climate of the time), 555 and 556 (the hot weather of South China).

(20) See San-kuo , pp. 46 (two poems describing the beauty of Tiao Ch'an), 18 (the uniqueness of Lu Pu's horse), 230 (two poems describing the serenity of the residence of K'ung-ming), 275 (the first 16 lines describe the architectural layout and exquisite decorations of Ts'ao Ts'ao's castle), 287 (on the natural geographic site of the Ch'ang-chiang river), and 336 (on the beautiful location of a place called Chiang-shan 江山).

(21) See San-kuo , pp. 4, 5, 125, 260, and 336.

(22) See San-kuo , pp. 46 (two pieces on Tung Cho's doom), 298 (a forecast of Ts'ao Ts'ao's defeat in the Battle of Ch'ih-pi), and 499 (a hint of the downfall of the Ts'ao ruling line).

(23) See San-kuo , pp. 31-32, 75, 237, and 760.

(24) See J.I. Crump, " P'ing-hua and the Early History of the San-kuo chih ," Journal of the American Oriental Society , 71, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1951), 249-256; Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih ," p. 72; Průšek, "The Realistic and Lyrical Elements in the Chinese Medieval Story," pp. 11-12.

(25) Crump, p. 255.

(26) Crump, p. 255. The four pieces of Hu Tseng's historical poem which are found in the San-kuo yen-i , pp. 147, 189, 552, and 755 can be found in Vol. 10, No. 2 of the work of collection of T'ang poetry entitled Ch'in ting ch'üan T'ang shih 欽定全唐詩 (The Comprehensive Collection of T'ang Poetry under the Imperial Order), (Fu-chou: Shuang-feng shu-wu, 1875), pp. 94a, 96a, and 104b under the titles, "Lu-shui" 瀟水, "Shih-shan" 峴山, "Chiang-hsia" 江夏, and "Kuan-tu" 官渡, respectively.

(27) On Liu Pei see San-kuo , pp. 5, 218, and 234; on Kuan Yu, pp. 4, 30, 171, 415, and 470; on Chang Fei, pp. 4, 262, 381, and 397; on K'ung-ming, pp. 246, 252, 289, 304, 552, 558, 602, 619, 630, and 665.

(28) There are over a score of examples of this type.

(29) San-kuo , p. 49.

(30) San-kuo , p. 237 (two poems).

(31) San-kuo , pp. 15, 59, 190, 695, and 696. The poems on pp. 15 and 190 draw lessons on the failure of a political leader who refused to heed good advice, which inevitably led to his final destruction. The ones on pp. 59, 695, and 696 dwell on the didactic note: "Do not do to others what you do not want others to do to you."

(32) The Lu Po-she incident can be found in San-kuo , pp. 24-25.

(33) See San-kuo , pp. 21 (Ting Kuan 丁管), 22 (Wu Fu 伍孚), and 123 (Ch'en Kung 陳宮).

(34) See San-kuo , pp. 55 (Wang Yün 王允), 150 (Chi T'ai 吉太), 150 (Tung Ch'eng 董承), 193 (Chü Shou 沮授), 205 (Shen P'ei 審配), 262 (Chao Yün 趙雲), 330 (T'ai-shih Tzu 太史慈), 355 (Ma T'eng), 401 (Chang Jen 張任), 497 (Tsu Pi 祖弼), 524 (Feng Hsi 馮習 and Chang Nan 張南), 644 (Kuan Hsing 關興), 682 (Hsing Hsien-ying 辛憲英), 686 (Sun Ch'üan 孫權), 710 (Followers of Chu-ko Tan 諸葛誕), 732 (Fu Ch'ien 傅斂), 740 (Chu-ko Chan 諸葛瞻 and Chu-ko Shang 諸葛尚), 757 (Chang T'i 張悌).

(35) For examples, see San-kuo , pp. 124, 132, 134 and 529 (on Liu Pei); 158, 179, 327, 482 and 483 (on Kuan Yü); 504 (on Chang Fei); 662-663 and 669 (on K'ung-ming).

(36) See San-kuo , pp. 111, 355, 359, 418, and 490.

(37) See San-kuo , pp. 15 (Ho Chin), 52 (Tung Cho), 124 (Lü Pu), 134 (Yuan Shu), 422 (Yang Sung 楊松), and 526 (Huang Ch'üan 黃權).

(38) See San-kuo , pp. 147 (Mi Heng), 151 (Tung Fei 董妃), 184 (Sun Ts'e), 189 (Hsü Hsiu 許攸), 194 (T'ien Feng), 199 (Yüan Shao), 212 (Kuo Chia 郭嘉), 229 (Hsü shu's mother), 248 (K'ung Jung), 249 (Liu Piao), 349 (Chou Yu), 370 (Yang Hsiu 楊修), 382 (Hsün Yü 荀彧), 393 (P'ang T'ung 龐統), 488 (Hua T'o 華佗), 491 (Yü Chin 于禁), 513 (Huang Chung 黃忠), 514 (Kan Ning 甘寧), 524 (Fu T'ung 傅彤), 524 (Ch'eng Chi 程畿), 524 (Sun fu-jen), 605 (Ma I 馬謖), 627 (Chang Pao 張苞), 643 (Chang Ko 張郃), 668 (Wei Yen), 682 (Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽), 682 (Kuan Lu 關輅), 699 (Wen Yang 文鸯), 721 (the Ch'eng 成 clan), 721 (Wang Ching 王經), 725 (Hsia-hou Pa 夏侯霸), 737 (Ma Ch'ao's wife), 747 (Teng Ai), 748 (Chung Hui 鍾會), 748 (Chiang Wei 姜維), and 755 (Yang Ku 羊祜).

(39) San-kuo , p. 6.

(40) San-kuo , p. 6.

(41) Sāmkok , I, p. 74-75.

(42) San-kuo , p. 23.

(43) San-kuo , p. 32.

(44) This refers to an early scene on page 89 in Sāmkok , I.

(45) The reader already witnessed this incident in chapter three of Sāmkok .

(46) This refers to a previous scene on page 96 in Sāmkok , I.

(47) Sun Chien requested to Yuan Shu for the food supply on page 89 in Sāmkok , I.

(48) Sāmkok , I, p. 100.

(49) About a score of Chinese official titles are provided with meanings in Thai. See Sāmkok , I, pp. 5, 21, 40, 67, 120, 123, 235, 245, 265, 271, 349, 465; II, pp. 245, 343, 500, 647, 733, 903, and 1019. The three examples shown are from Sāmkok , I, pp. 21, 67, and 235, respectively and from San-kuo , pp. 7, 21, and 71, respectively.

(50) For the English translation of the Chinese official titles, the unpublished paper entitled "Ch'in-Han Official Titles" prepared by the committee of the Han Dynasty History Project, University of Washington, has been consulted.

(51) The three examples shown are from Sāmkok , I, p. 4; II, pp. 267 and 635, respectively and from San-kuo , pp. 2, 422, and 564, respectively.

(52) See Sāmkok , II, pp. 903, 952, 953, 1044, 1051, 1054, 1071, 1072, 1076, 1077, 1082, and 1086.

Chapter Five

Language

In his article which investigates the nature of Chinese narrative, John C.Y. Wang makes an interesting point on the important role of language in determining the distinction between two narrative works of similar themes and narrative structure. Wang writes:

If . . . story is the skeleton of a narrative, language then is its flesh, its outer demeanor. True, the element of story is more fundamental than language since it is possible to have a narrative without using language, but a narrative without a story would not be a narrative at all. But language constitutes those very individualistic qualities without which it might become hard to set one narrative apart from another. For example: There is more than a superficial resemblance between the Chin P'ing Mei and the Hung-lou meng in subject matter, format, as well as manner of narration, and yet we feel a world of difference toward the two. Among other reasons, the language used in both is probably the decisive factor for making us feel so. As such, if story is the most translatable part of narrative, language is the least translatable. The more sophisticated, metaphoric, and symbolic the language, the harder it is to render into another language. In general, satirical and humorous works are harder to translate precisely because so much depends on the special tone of the language involved. (1)

Wang suggests in the above passage that language represents one of the component elements of Chinese narrative that is most difficult to render faithfully in translation. It is interesting to see, in the present study, whether the Thai version consistently renders

reasonably close translation of the original text, namely, giving the Thai equivalence of what the Chinese text says. If it is not so, what seems to be the general pattern of Sāmkok 's handling the translation? And to what degree is the quality of the language of San-kuo yen-i represented in Sāmkok ?

Comparison of about 20% of the San-kuo and Sāmkok texts (2) obviously shows that a good percentage of the Thai text cannot be regarded as translation; the Thai editor simply rewrites the text based on the ideas gathered from the original Chinese. About 60% of the Sāmkok text shows no equivalence with the San-kuo text and only 40% can be considered to be reasonably close or approximate translation. Furthermore, about 5% of the Chinese text is simply not represented, even in ideas, in the Thai version. These three patterns can be seen in the long passage already quoted in Chapter Four above where the functions of the Thai narrator are analyzed. In the passage, about 65% of the Sāmkok text is sheer addition, 35% is an approximate rendition, and 5% of the Chinese text is omitted in Sāmkok .

With regard to the issue of textual omission, most cases reveal that subtraction is called for when it presents problem. For instance, it is difficult to translate the poems and some old classical language documents (see Chapter Three above), consequently, almost all of the poems are

omitted and half of the old documents is discarded in Sāmkok. Discussion of other items which are omitted in the Sāmkok text will be given in Chapter Six below. However, it is appropriate to point out here one feature of the language of San-kuo which has not been preserved in the Thai version, that is, the use of four-character idioms. This is a peculiar form in the Chinese language which is not shared by the Thai language. So it is almost impossible to retain the original form in the Thai translation if one wishes to give an idiomatic rendition of the original. On top of the fact that the Thai language lacks a comparable form of language, the difficulty of handling the Chinese idioms derives further from the fact that the actual meanings of these idioms have no very obvious relationship to the literal ones. Due to such complications, it is natural that most of the four-character idioms are omitted in Sāmkok, and only very few are rendered in ideas. Here are some examples where the Chinese idiomatic expressions are ignored in the Thai version.

The idiomatic expression "pu kung tai t'ien"

不共戴天 (literally, "not carry the sky together" or "not live under the same sky") which is commonly found in the San-kuo text is ignored in the Thai translation. This idiom is used, for instance, in the scene where Ts'ao Ts'ao became furious as he learned that his father was killed by

T'ao Ch'ien's 陶謙 soldiers.

操切齒曰陶謙縱兵殺吾父此讎不共
戴天吾今悉起大軍洗蕩徐州方雪吾恨

Ts'ao grinding his teeth said, "T'ao Ch'ien advanced his troops and killed my father, I will not live under the same sky with such an enemy [implying that Ts'ao will take the life of his enemy in revenge]. I will today arrange a big army to wipe out Yu-chou, only then my grudge will be removed." (3)

Sāmkok has the following translation:

โจโฉมีความโกรธ จึงว่า ซึ่งโตเถียงพาทกลอุบายมาฆ่าบิดาเราเสีย
เราจะยกทหารไปเหยียบเมืองซีจิ๋วให้ราบเป็นแผ่นดิน . จึงจะหาย
ความแค้น

Being furious Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] said, "As for the event that Tō Kiem [T'ao Ch'ien] plotted and killed my father, I will advance my army to destroy Chī-chiu [Yu-chou] city so that my grudge will be removed." (4)

In the same scene, another four-character idiom is used, namely, "chai tan wan hsin" 摘膽剜心 (literally, "to pluck out the gall and scoop out the heart") which implies the meaning of "the most violent form of vengeance." This Chinese idiom is discarded in the Thai text as seen below.

操怒曰...陶謙殺吾一家誓當摘膽剜心
以雪吾恨...

Ts'ao being angry said, ". . . T'ao Ch'ien killed my entire family. I swear that I will take my

revenge in the most violent form in order to remove my grudge. . . ." (5)

โจโฉโกรธ จึงตอบว่า . . . โศกเยี่ยมหนักคิดเป็นกลอุบายให้
ทหารไปสังหารบิดาเรา แล้วทำร้ายบิดาเรากับพรรคพวก ตาย
เป็นอันมาก เรายกมาหวังจะแก้แค้นโศกเยี่ยม

Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] . . . was angry and said,
". . . Tō Kiēm [T'ao Ch'ien] schemed against my
father by sending his soldiers to see my father
off and then killed him and a number of his
followers. I have advanced my troops in the hope
of taking revenge against Tō Kiēm. . . ." (6)

Some four-character idioms are found to be rendered in rough meanings in the Thai translation. For instance, the expression "ching t'ien wei ti" 經天緯地 (literally, "vertically toward the sky and horizontally toward the earth"), which is an idiom normally used to describe a person's great ability in ruling the state, is translated in Sāmkok as "to have the intelligence to solve problems" มีความคิดแก้ไข . (7)

In general, therefore, Sāmkok can be said to be a very free translation which reflects a far greater concern for readable and idiomatic Thai than for faithfulness to the original. Prapin makes this same point in her thesis:

"การแปลหนังสือสามก๊ก ฉบับไทย เป็นการแปลออกความและเรียบเรียงตาม

สำนวนภาษาไทย" "The translation of the Thai version, Sāmkok , is one which conveyed the meaning [of the Chinese text] and set it forth according to idiomatic Thai usage." (8) This viewpoint was later shared by a group of Thai experts on Sāmkok which in 1978 was brought together for a discussion on the subject of the translation of Sāmkok . (9) The members of the conference panel unanimously agreed that Sāmkok appears to be written in idiomatic Thai prose with special concern for providing Thai cultural equivalents where they seem to be called for.

As for the portions of text where approximate translations are given, we find that several features of the language have been modified to meet with certain rules and standards of writing in the tradition of orthodox Thai prose. The first feature in the Sāmkok language that has gone through the process of cultural adjustment is the use of royal speech or rāchāsap ราชศัพท์ in Thai. This so-called "royal speech" is a special Thai vocabulary used in speaking to and of royalty. For instance, when a commoner talks about his heart he uses a common word for "heart" which is "čhai" ใจ or "huačhai" หัวใจ , but if he refers to a king's heart, he must then apply the royal vocabulary for heart which is "phrathai" พระทัย . In Sāmkok this practice of using royal speech is also applied, as shown in the following passage which describes the scene in

which Emperor Ling witnessed some unusual natural phenomena which occurred during his reign. The royal vocabulary is underlined.

ครั้ง^๑อยู่มาพระเจ้าเลนเต้เสวยราชสมบัติไ้สิบสองปี ๗ เดือนสี่ขึ้นสิบห้าค่ำ เสด็จ^๒อยู่
บนพระเก้าอี้ ๗ พระที่นั่ง^๓อุทิศ^๔เทียน เวลา^๕ตะวันเที่ยงเกิดลมพายุหนัก มีงูเขียว^๖ตกลง
มาพันอยู่ที่เท้าพระเก้าอี้ซึ่งเสด็จ^๗อยู่นั้น พระเจ้าเลนเต้ตกพระทัย^๘ล้มลงจากพระ
เก้าอี้หาพระสติ^๙มิได้ ชาว^{๑๐}รักษาพระองค์^{๑๑}เข้าช่วยพยุงเชิญเสด็จ^{๑๒}เข้าไปข้างใน

"sawōei rācha sombat" เสวยราชสมบัติ = to succeed
to the throne

"sadet" เสด็จ = to sit, to go

"phra kao'i" พระเก้าอี้ = chair

"phra thīnang" พระที่นั่ง = residential hall

"phrathai" พระทัย = heart

"phra sati" พระสติ = consciousness

"phra 'ong" พระองค์ = body; he, him

Later on, in the twelfth year of his reign, on the fifteenth day of the waxing moon of the fourth month, Phrachāo Lēn Te [Emperor Ling] was seated on a chair in the 'Un-tok-tien Royal Residence Hall. At noon there occurred a heavy storm. A green snake fell down and coiled itself around the leg of the chair on which the emperor sat. Prachao Len Te was so startled that he fell off the chair and lost consciousness. Those who were in attendance came and lifted him up and invited him to go and rest in the inner room. (10)

The Chinese text, like the English translation above, lacks the special royal vocabulary used in the Thai. Thus, the character ching 敬 which means "to be scared or

shocked" is used with both royalty and ordinary people.

帝驚倒

Being scared the emperor collapsed.

莊主是夜夢兩紅日墜於莊後驚覺

The master of the farmhouse dreamt that night of two red suns falling toward the back side of the farm. Being scared he woke up. (11)

On the contrary, the word in Thai for "being scared" has two different forms. One is the royal form "tok phrathai" "ตกพระทัย" and the other is the ordinary expression "tok chai" "ตกใจ".

พระเจ้าเลนเต้ตกพระทัยล้มลงจากพระเก้าอี้ ทาพระสติมิได้ . . .
บรรดาขุนนางผู้ใหญ่ผู้น้อย ซึ่งเฝ้าอยู่นั้นเห็นงูก็ตกใจกลัว

Phraçhāo Lēn Te [Emperor Ling] was so startled that he fell off the chair and lost consciousness. . . . All kinds of officials, petty and important, who were in audience with the emperor, were startled and frightened when they saw the snake. (12)

The only hierarchical distinction made in the usage of the San-kuo language is in the use of pronouns. The emperor uses a special form of pronoun to refer to himself but uses other terms to address his ministers and subjects. Likewise, the ministers have to use one pronoun in addressing the ruler and a different one in referring to themselves. This set of pronouns which is used in the emperor-minister relationship cannot be applied to any other type of relationship. However, the system of pronouns

employed in the Sāmkok language is different from that used in the San-kuo text. Specifically, the set of pronouns used in the relationship between ruler and minister is similar to those used in other types of relationship, as shown in the table below. Moreover, in the Thai system of pronouns there is a special set that is used with the implication of negatively aggressive emotion. This set of pronouns (enclosed in brackets in the table below) can be used in all levels of relationships. The comparison of pronouns shown in the table is arranged into six kinds of relationship.

- (1) a. Emperor to minister
b. Minister to emperor
- (2) a. Superior to subordinate
b. Subordinate to superior
(also, officials of equal ranks or friends)
- (3) a. Senior to junior (female)
b. Junior (female) to senior
- (4) a. Husband to wife
b. Wife to husband
- (5) Stranger to stranger
- (6) Pronoun for third person

The Use of Pronouns

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>
I / you	I / you
(1) a. <u>chen</u> 朕 / <u>ch'ing</u> 彼 ,	<u>rao</u> เรา / <u>than</u> ทาน , [eng

	<u>chün</u> 君 , <u>erh</u> 爾	ເິ່ງ, <u>mu'ng</u> ມິ່ງ, <u>tūa</u> ທົ່ວ]
	b. <u>ch'en</u> 臣 / <u>pi-hsia</u> <u>陞</u> 下	<u>khāphachao</u> ຫ້າພເິ່ງ / <u>phra-</u> <u>'ong</u> ພຣະອົງ
(2)	a. <u>wu</u> 吾 , <u>wo</u> 我 / <u>ju</u> 汝, <u>erh</u> , <u>ni</u> 你	<u>rao</u> , [kū ກູ , khā ຫ້າ] / <u>than</u> , [eng, <u>mu'ng</u> , <u>tūa</u>]
	b. <u>wu</u> , <u>wo</u> , <u>mou</u> 某 / <u>chün</u> , <u>kung</u> 公 , <u>ju</u>	<u>khāphačhāo</u> , <u>rao</u> , [kū, khā] / <u>than</u> , [eng, <u>mu'ng</u> , <u>tūa</u>]
(3)	a. <u>wo</u> / <u>ju</u>	<u>rao</u> , [kū, khā] / <u>čhao</u> ເິ່ງ, [eng, <u>mu'ng</u> , <u>tūa</u>]
	b. <u>ch'ieh</u> 妾 / <u>kung</u> , <u>ta-</u> <u>jen</u> 大人	<u>khāphačhāo</u> / <u>than</u>
(4)	a. <u>wu</u> / <u>fu-jen</u> 夫人	khā / <u>čhao</u>
	b. <u>wo</u> , <u>ch'ieh</u> / <u>chun</u> , <u>ni</u> , <u>fu-chun</u> 夫君	<u>khāphačhao</u> / <u>than</u>
(5)	<u>wo</u> , <u>wu</u> , <u>mou</u> / <u>ju</u>	<u>rao</u> , <u>khāphačhao</u> , [khā, kū] / <u>than</u> , [tūa, eng, <u>mu'ng</u>]
	He and she	He, she, [it]
(6)	<u>ch'i</u> 其	<u>khao</u> ເິ່ງ, <u>nāng</u> ນາງ , [man ມັນ]

There are certain subcategories of things which appear to be used differently in the language of the two texts. First, the times of month and year which are recorded in Sāmkok appear to be different from those accounted in the San-kuo . For instance, the Chinese text has "the eighth year of Chien-an, first month in Spring"

, but Sāmkok gives the translation as "Phrachao Hien Te [Emperor Hsien] resided at the city of Hu-to [Hsu-tu] for eight years . . . it was during the waxing moon of the third month . . ." "พระเจ้าเหี้ยนเต้เสด็จมาอยู่ ณ เมืองฮูโต ได้แปดปีแล้ว . . .

ครั้นถึงเดือนสามข้างขึ้น"

(13) The discrepancy here can be explained by the fact that the first lunar month in the traditional Thai system starts two months earlier than that of the Chinese one. (14) Therefore, to comply with what the Thai understand, the first Chinese month will become the third month in the Thai version. But as far as the year is concerned, the reason for the omission of the name of the reigning year, Chien-an, is because the Thai readers are not familiar with this system. It is clearer for the Thai readers simply to state how many years the emperor had been on the throne. (15) The following examples will demonstrate that the Chinese lunar months are systematically transformed into the Thai lunar system. (16) All dates in Sāmkok are treated in comparable fashion.

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>
春三月 Spring, third month	เดือนห้า Fifth month
六月 Sixth month	เดือนแปด Eighth month
冬十月 Winter, tenth month	เดือนสิบสอง Twelfth month
十一月二十日 The twentieth day of the eleventh month	เดือนอ้ายแรมห้าค่ำ The fifth day of waxing moon of the first month

Second, the units of measurement with regard to length, weight, and capacity are all converted into Thai measurement units. For the measurement of length as well as height, the Chinese text uses the system which goes from ts'un 寸 to li 里 as shown below.

$$\begin{aligned}
 10 \text{ ts'un } \text{寸} &= 1 \text{ ch'ih } \text{尺} \\
 10 \text{ ch'ih } &= 1 \text{ chang } \text{丈} \\
 150 \text{ chang } &= 1 \text{ li } \text{里} \quad (17)
 \end{aligned}$$

In the Thai version, the Chinese measurement units are all converted into Thai system, as the Sāmkok uses these units.

$$\begin{aligned}
 24 \text{ niu } \text{นิ้ว} &= 1 \text{ sōk } \text{ศอก} \\
 4 \text{ sōk } &= 1 \text{ wā } \text{วา} \\
 20 \text{ wā } &= 1 \text{ sen } \text{เส้น} \quad (18)
 \end{aligned}$$

Apparently, the Thai and the Chinese unit systems shown above do not share the same degree of gradation. In fact, the actual length of each of these units shows different figures in the metric system.

Chinesse units	Thai units
1 <u>ts'un</u> = 3 centimeters	1 <u>niu</u> = 2.08 centimeters
1 <u>ch'ih</u> = 30 "	1 <u>sōk</u> = 50 "
1 <u>chang</u> = 3 meters	1 <u>wā</u> = 2 meters
1 <u>li</u> = 450 "	1 <u>sen</u> = 40 "

If one equalizes the two systems, the result would be:

Chinese		Thai
1 <u>ts'un</u>	=	1.44 <u>niu</u>
1 <u>ch'ih</u>	=	.6 <u>sōk</u>
1 <u>chang</u>	=	1.5 <u>wā</u>
1 <u>li</u>	=	11.25 <u>sen</u>

One will find that the converted figures in Thai units which are found in Sāmkok are only approximate equivalents of the Chinese ones. Quite a few of them (those marked by an asterisk below) reflect a considerable miscalculation. (16)

Measurement of Length

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>	Correct Conversion
4 <u>ts'un</u>	* 8 <u>niu</u>	5.76 <u>niu</u>
2 <u>ch'ih</u>	1 <u>sōk</u>	1.2 <u>sōk</u>
8 "	4 "	4.8 "
8 "	* 6 "	4.8 "
5 <u>chang</u>	8 <u>wā</u>	7.5 <u>wā</u>
10 "	* 20 "	15.0 "
3 <u>li</u>	* 300 <u>sen</u>	33.75 <u>sen</u>
30 "	300 "	337.5 "
30 "	* 50 "	337.5 "
280 "	* 2,000 "	3,150.0 "

300	"		* 200	"		3,375.0	"
1,000	"		* 10,000	"		11,250.0	"

Like the measurement units of length, the measurement units of weight also reflect different systems in Samkok and San-kuo .

<u>San-kuo</u>		<u>Sāmkok</u>	
16 <u>liang</u> 兩	= 1 <u>chin</u> 斤	20 <u>tamlu'ng</u> ตำลึง	= 1 <u>chang</u> ชั่ง
120 <u>chin</u>	= 1 <u>tan</u> 石	50 <u>chang</u>	= 1 <u>hāp</u> หาบ

The two weight systems show differences in the actual amount of weight when they are converted into metric system.

Chinese	Thai
1 <u>liang</u> = 31.25 grams	1 <u>taml'ung</u> = 60 grams
1 <u>chin</u> = 500 "	1 <u>chang</u> = 1.2 kilograms
1 <u>tan</u> = 60 kilograms	1 <u>hāp</u> = 60 "

Note that only the tan is equal in weight to the Thai unit hāp . One liang is approximately equal to .52 tamlu'ng and one chin equalizes about .42 chang . The conversions made in Sāmkok are mostly inaccurate (marked by an asterisk), as shown in the chart. (20)

Measurement of Weight

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>	Correct Conversion
500 <u>liang</u>	* 500 <u>tamlu'ng</u>	260 <u>tamlu'ng</u>
1,000 "	* 1,000 "	520 "

10 <u>chin</u>	* 10 <u>chang</u>	4.2 <u>chang</u>
50 "	* 10 "	21 "
500 "	* 500 "	210 "
1,000 "	* 100 <u>hāp</u>	8.4 <u>hāp</u>
1,000 "	10 "	8.4 "
3 <u>tan</u>	* 300 <u>chang</u>	150 <u>chang</u>

From the above examples, it is evident that the translators of Sāmkok did not have a converting table with which to work, as the figure in most cases remain the same and only the terms in Chinese units are changed to the Thai units. In those cases where the figures do seem to be adjusted, the adjustment is inconsistent and unsystematic. For instance, in one place 1,000 chin is converted to 100 hāp, whereas in another the same amount of weight in Chinese is given as only 10 hap. As shown in the above chart, none of the figures of weight in the Thai units accurately reflects the weight given in the original text. In fact many of the figures are more than double or less than half what they should be. As for measures of volume, we find that although the Chinese measurement units of quantity -- tou 斗, hu 斛, and tan 石 -- are changed into the Thai unit -- thang ถัง -- no attempt whatsoever is made to give the approximate conversion since identical figures are found in the Thai translation. Since the Thai

measurement units of quantity work differently in scale from those of the Chinese system, the method of changing merely the unit names is insufficient. The Chinese measurement units of quantity used in San-kuo are as follows.

	1 <u>tou</u>	=	18.039	liters
50 <u>tou</u>	= 1 <u>hu</u>	=	90.195	"
2 <u>hu</u>	= 1 <u>tan</u>	=	180.390	"

Sāmkok only uses the unit called thang which is equal to 20 liters (21), in adjusting the Chinese quantity units. The correct conversion from Chinese quantity units to Thai units should be:

1 <u>tou</u>	=	.9	<u>thang</u>
1 <u>hu</u>	=	4.5	"
1 <u>tan</u>	=	9.0	"

The following examples demonstrate how careless Sāmkok is in giving the converted Thai units. (22)

Measurement of Quantity

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>	Correct Conversion
2-3 <u>tou</u>	* 1 <u>thang</u>	2.7 <u>thang</u>
5 "	5 "	4.5 "
10,000 <u>hu</u>	* 10,000 "	45,000 "
50,000 "	* 50,000 "	225,000 "
100,000 <u>hu</u>	* 100,000 "	450,000 "

10,000 tan | * 10,000 " | 90,000 "

It is worth noting that in modern translations from Chinese works contemporary Thai translators prefer to retain both the Chinese measurement system and the Chinese system of counting months and years. Examples include Wanwai Phatthanōthai's วรรณไว พัธโนทัย new translation of the San-kuo yen-i text, and also W. Na Mū'anglung's ว.ณ. เมืองลุง and N. Noppharat's น. นพรัตน์ translated works. By doing this, these translators avoid some of the complications inherent in the Sāmkok handling of such matters.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the editor of Sāmkok had made a major adaptation in the language of the Thai version in order to accord with the proper usages of the native tongue. Adjustment of certain elements to the Thai way of saying was considered necessary in order to gain common acceptance among the Thai reading public. An idiomatic approach to translation seemed to be the basic method here. The end result is that Sāmkok is written in a kind of prose language prevalent at the time Sāmkok was produced.

In fact the quality of the Thai prose used in Sāmkok is so admired by orthodox literary scholars that Sāmkok has obtained a legitimate place in the history of Thai literature despite its being an imported work. Ever since

Sāmkok was completed, it has been considered as part of the great heritage of Thai literature. (23) In 1914 Sāmkok received a highly honorable appraisal from the Literary Club established by King Rama VI (r. 1910-1925) as the best fictional writing in prose. (24) By virtue of its literary prose language, Sāmkok is still considered today to be one of the best pieces of Thai literature ever written. A good portion of Sāmkok (chaps. 39-42) has been, for many decades, assigned to school students of the seventh grade as a compulsory textbook in their Thai language course. Among contemporary Thai writers and translators of Chinese stories, the language of Sāmkok is very highly regarded as a very literary style of Thai prose. It is a style that reflects old literary syntax as opposed to modern literary syntax and it shows special dexterity in the choice of words and expressions. Wanwai, who recently finished a new translation of San-kuo yen-i, attempted to preserve in his version the style of language of the original Sāmkok work. (25) W. Na Mu'anglung, one of the most well-known contemporary translators of Chinese fictional stories, confessed in an interview that it is precisely because he realized that he would never be able to do translation in a style comparable to that of Phrakhlung's, the Sāmkok's chief editor, that he finally had to create his own unique style of translation. (26)

Interestingly, the kind of favorable appraisal received by Sāmkok has never been accorded to the work of the San-kuo yen-i original among Chinese readers. It is undeniable that San-kuo yen-i has been popularly read by the Chinese. But since San-kuo yen-i was written in the form of a novel, which was traditionally associated with folk literature, it became automatically lowered in value by the standard of orthodox literature in China.

In the past, Chinese scholars generally professed at least in public, a lofty disdain for popular fiction. Because of this attitude, although the novel had delighted and influenced many generations of readers, it was not as highly regarded as were poetry and history. So not until modern times, as a result of the influence of the West, has prose fiction come to assume a new status as serious literature. (27)

Even though San-kuo yen-i is basically written in the language of simple classical Chinese -- a language that was exclusively used in orthodox literary writings, the virtue of its language was completely ignored. Ironically, the work of San-kuo came to be chosen as one of several famous classical novels used as models by the Vernacular Language or the pai-hua 白話 Movement in China early this century. From the perspective of its language, San-kuo was again misevaluated.

Regardless of the difference in the way the language of Sāmkok and San-kuo is evaluated in the respective countries of each work, the question remains whether the level of Thai

language used in Sāmkok is comparable to the level of Chinese language employed in San-kuo . Although there is no question that both texts are written in literary rather than colloquial language, it is clear that, in terms of the literary standards of the two countries, the language used in Sāmkok is much higher on the colloquial-versus-literary scale than the language used in San-kuo .

In the case of the San-kuo yen-i , the systematic usage of a group of functional archaic particles definitely indicates that the medium used is classical Chinese. And such usage reflects a style of classical Chinese which is simple enough for literary laymen to understand yet not so uncouth as to be classified as vernacular literature. (28) But San-kuo also contains passages in the colloquial speech using modern final particles not found in classical Chinese. Two forms of these, le 了 and ma 麼 , are found in the San-kuo text. The form le , a sentence-final particle indicating a change of status or new situation, is employed numerous times. This particle functioned as an alternative form for the classical particle i 矣 . A thorough survey of the use of le and i in San-kuo yen-i indicates that the substitution of le for i reflects an early stage of the change from classical to colloquial usage. Clearly the process of change from i to le as found in San-kuo yen-i is still at an early stage because the use of i (500 times)

outnumbers the use of le (300 times). The modern interrogative particle ma appears in less than a score of cases, while the classical interrogative particle yeh 耶 is used regularly throughout the San-kuo text. All this leads to the conclusion that the language of the San-kuo yen-i is, in the main, written in the medium of classical Chinese which employed both classical and modern particles.

Unlike its Chinese original, Sāmkok is written strictly in literary Thai prose. Although the distinction between colloquial Thai and literary Thai is not as sharp as it is in the domain of Chinese language, the discrepancy between the two levels of speech is clearly detectable. There are certain sentence patterns that are exclusively used in literary writing. These patterns are found to be common in the text of Sāmkok. The following examples will show that in colloquial Thai these patterns disappear and are replaced by different patterns altogether.

Literary Thai found in <u>Sāmkok</u>	/	Colloquial Thai
Pattern 1: . . . กังนั้น ก็ . . .	/	. . . อย่างนั้น ก็ . . .
. . . dangnan kō . . .	/	. . . yāngnan kō . . .
. . . like that, then . . .	/	. . . like that, then . . .
โจโจได้ยื่นดั่งนั้นก็โกรธ	/	โจโจได้ยื่นอย่างนั้นก็โกรธ
Āhō Chō dāiyin dangnan kō krōt	/	Āhō Chō dāiyin yāngnan kō krōt

Ts'ao Ts'ao having heard so became angry.

Pattern 2: ¹ซึ่ง . . . ¹นั้น . . . / ¹ที่ . . . ¹นะ . . .

su'ng . . . nan . . . / thi . . . na . . .

As for (the fact) that / As for (the fact) that
.

¹ซึ่ง¹ท่านจะให้สุ¹ร่ากิน¹นั้น¹ขอให้¹ท่านง¹คไว้¹ก่อน / ¹ที่¹ท่านจะให้¹กิน¹สุ¹ร่า¹นะ¹ขอให้¹ท่านง¹คไว้¹ก่อน

Su'ng than čha hai surā / Thi than čha hai surā
kin nan khō hai than ngot / kin na khō hai than
wai kōn / ngot wai kōn

As for your wishing to offer me a drink, I request that
you set (it) aside for the moment.

Pattern 3: อัน . . . ¹นั้น . . . / . . . ¹นะ . . .

an . . . nan . . . / . . . na . . .

As for . . . / As for . . .

¹อัน¹อ้วน¹เสี่ยว¹นั้น¹ มี¹ความ¹คิ¹ค¹อยู่ / ¹อัน¹เสี่ยว¹นะ¹ มี¹ความ¹คิ¹ค¹อยู่

แต่¹คิ¹ค¹สิ่ง¹ใด¹ไม่¹ค¹ล¹อด / แต่¹คิ¹ค¹อะไร¹ไม่¹ค¹ล¹อด

An 'Uan Siao nan mī khwām- / 'Uan Siao na mī khwāmkhit
khit yū tāē khit singdai / yū tāē khit 'arai mai
mai talōt / talōt

With regard to 'Uan-siao, he has ideas but is
absolutely indecisive.

Pattern 4: ถึง¹มา¹คร¹ว่า . . . ¹ก็ . . . / ถ้า¹หาก¹ว่า . . . ¹ก็ . . .

thu'ng māt wā . . . kō . . . / thā hāk wā . . . kō
.

If/Even if . . . / If . . .

ถึง¹มา¹คร¹ว่า¹โฮ¹จิ้น¹จะ¹ไม่¹เม¹ค¹ตา¹แล้ว / ถ้า¹หาก¹ว่า¹โฮ¹จิ้น¹จะ¹ไม่¹เม¹ค¹ตา¹แล้ว

ข้า¹พ¹เจ้า¹ก็¹จะ¹ค¹าย¹อยู่¹ค¹อ¹หน้า / ข้า¹พ¹เจ้า¹ก็¹จะ¹ค¹าย¹อยู่¹ค¹อ¹หน้า

Th'ung māt wā Ho Chin čha / Thā hāk wā Ho Čhin čha
mai mētta lāēo khāphačhāo / mai mētta lāēo khāpha-

kō čha tǎi yū tō nā

čhāo kō čha tǎi yū tō
nā

If Ho Chin [Ho Chin] does not show kindness, I will
take my life in your presence.

Pattern 5: ถึงมากกว่า . . . ก็ . . . / ถึงแม้ว่า . . . ก็ . . .
thu'ng māt wā . . . kō . . . / thu'ng māē wā . . .
kō . . .

Even if . . .

/ Even if . . .

ถึงมากกว่าคุณแม่ลูกจะตาย เทวดาแล
มนุษย์ทั้งปวงก็หาสรร เสริญมันไม่

/ ถึงแม้ว่าคุณแม่ลูกจะตาย เทวดาและ
มนุษย์ทั้งปวงก็ไม่สรร เสริญมัน

Thu'ng māt wā kō māē lūk / Thu'ng māē wā kō māē
čha tǎi thewadā lāē manut
thangpūang kō hā sansōen
mai

/ Thu'ng māē wā kō māē
lūk čha tǎi thewadā
lae manut thangpūang kō
mai sansōen man

Even though we, mother and son, are to die, all gods
and men will never praise him.

Notice that, in the above examples, there are certain
words (marked with a waving line) in the Sāmkok text that
are not used in the colloquial speech. For instance, the
word lāē แล (with mid tone and long vowel), which means
"and", has to be replaced by lae และ (high tone and short
vowel) in the colloquial medium. The pronoun singdai สิ่งใด
meaning "what" is changed to 'arai อะไร which is more
colloquial. And the negative form hā หา . . . mai ไม่ is,
likewise, too literary to be used in the spoken language.
The language of Sāmkok is therefore very literary.

In conclusion, the translation Sāmkok is found to be a
very free one -- one which adds freely to the text, or
deletes from it, or makes idiomatic and cultural

adjustments. Also the language of Sāmkok is different from the original in many respects. Although the two are written in the literary medium, the language of Sāmkok reflects a higher literary level than that of San-kuo yen-i. Also many features in the language are changed to comply with the Thai patterns and usage, such as, the pronoun, the royal speech, the systems of weights and measures, and the counting of months and years.

Notes

(1) John C.Y. Wang, "The Nature of Chinese Narrative: A Preliminary Statement on Methodology," Tamkang Review , 6, No. 2 / 7, No. 1 (Oct. 1975 / April 1976), 242-243.

(2) The portion of 20% of text compared here includes chapters 1-7, 44-50, 114-120 of San-kuo and chapters 1-6, 39-42, 84-87 of Sāmkok .

(3) San-kuo , p. 59.

(4) Sāmkok , I, p. 193.

(5) San-kuo , p. 59.

(6) Sāmkok , I, p. 195.

(7) San-kuo , p. 67 and Sāmkok , I, p. 221.

(8) Prapin, p. 262.

(9) The event of the 1978 conference on the translation of Sāmkok which was organized by the Association of Language and Books in Thailand is briefly described in the magazine Lōk nangsu' โลกหนังสือ , 1, No. 8 (May 1978), 13-20.

(10) Sāmkok , I, p. 2.

(11) San-kuo , pp. 1 and 16, respectively.

(12) Sāmkok , I, p. 2.

(13) See San-kuo , p. 199 and Sāmkok , I, p. 655.

(14) See Čhunlačhōmklāo Čhāoyūhua พระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว , King of Thailand, Phrarātcha phithī sipsōng dū'an พระราชพิธีสิบสองเดือน (The Royal Ceremonies of the Twelve Months), (Bangkok: Phrachan, 1953).

(15) The omission of the name of the reigning year is a common practice in the translation of Sāmkok. See other examples in San-kuo, pp. 1, 298, 382, 418, 444, 458, 481, 489, 529, 574, 637, and 643 which correspond with Sāmkok, I, pp. 2, 954; II, pp. 149, 251, 331, 367, 429, 450, 552, 654, 797, and 881, respectively.

(16) The four examples shown are from Sāmkok, II, p. 654; I, p. 42; II, p. 149; I, p. 906, respectively, and San-kuo, pp. 574, 13, 382, and 281, respectively.

(17) The four units, namely, ts'un, ch'ih, chang, and li, which are found to be used in the San-kuo yen-i text are actually parts of a more complete system of measurement units of length.

10	<u>hao</u>	毫	= 1	<u>li</u>	厘		10	<u>ch'ih</u>	= 1	<u>chang</u>	丈
10	<u>li</u>		= 1	<u>fen</u>	分		10	<u>chang</u>	= 1	<u>yin</u>	引
10	<u>fen</u>		= 1	<u>ts'un</u>	寸		15	<u>yin</u>	= 1	<u>li</u>	里
10	<u>ts'un</u>		= 1	<u>ch'ih</u>	尺						

(18) Actually, the Thai measurement units of length should include khū'p นิ้ว and yōt โยชน์ . Khū'p is equivalent to 12 niu or about 25 centimeters and yōt is equal to 400 sen or about 16 kilometers.

(19) These examples are from San-kuo, pp. 35, 3, 18, 71, 3, 1, 16, 51, 18, 56, 27, and 18, respectively, and from Sāmkok, I, pp. 110, 9, 59, 233, 7, 3, 553, 166, 58, 182, 85, and 59, respectively.

(20) These examples are from San-kuo , pp. 4, 18, 47, 604, 103, 4, 174, 441, respectively, and Sāmkok , I, pp. 12, 58, 154; II, pp. 726; I, pp. 331, 12, 567; II, p. 322, respectively.

(21) The traditional Thai measurement units of volume should include thanān ทะนาน and kwīen เกวียน .

20	<u>thanān</u>	=	1	<u>thang</u>	=	20	liters
100	<u>thang</u>	=	1	<u>kwien</u>	=	2,000	"

(22) These examples are from San-kuo , pp. 199, 367, 385, 89, 109, 61, respectively, and Sāmkok , I, p. 656; II, pp. 110, 155; I, pp. 291, 352, 199, respectively.

(23) The work of Sāmkok is always mentioned in texts dealing with the history of Thai literature. See, for examples, Kulāp Manlikkamāt กุหลาบ มัลลิกะมาส , Wannakam Thai วรรณกรรมไทย (Thai Literary Works), (Bangkok: Rāmkhamhāeng University Press, 1974), pp. 113-129; Mōtthayākōn, pp. 121-124; Plū'ang, pp. 242-249.

(24) This fact is recorded in the 1953 preface of the work entitled Phrarātcha phithī sipsōng dū'an cited in note (11) above. A passage concerning Sāmkok from this preface is quoted in Kham banyāi phasā Thai chan sūng คำบรรยายภาษาไทยชั้นสูง (Lectures on Sophisticated Thai Language), (Bangkok: Khurusaphā, 1968), pp. 86-87.

(25) See Wanwai's "Preface" to his work of translation dated 1978 in Volume I of Sāmkok chabap plāe mai สามก๊กฉบับแปลใหม่ (Sāmkok , a New Translation), (Bangkok: Sun kānphim, 1978).

(26) This is taken from an interview with W. Na Mū'anglung which appeared in the magazine Lalanā ลลนา , 224 (April 1982), 65-75.

(27) Liu Wu-chi, An Introduction to Chinese Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p. 195.

(28) This has been established by celebrated scholars like C.T. Hsia in The Classic Chinese Novel , p. 12 and James Hightower in Topics in Chinese Literature , p. 104.

Chapter Six

Content

The treatment of textual comparison with regard to content presented in this chapter is largely based on investigation of three different portions of text, namely, the first seven chapters or hui (1-7), the final seven chapters (114-120), and seven others (44-50). (1) Occasionally, data or examples are taken from other portions of text also. This methodology of textual selection is adopted in the hope that the findings from different parts can provide together a representative view of the nature of the differences of content between the San-kuo yen-i and its Thai version. Based on the results of the present investigation along with those which were previously done by Prapin Manomaiwibun and Sang Phatthanothai (2), the content of the two texts can be said to differ in many respects whose nature can be generally categorized into four major areas.

A. Mistakes

Five types of mistakes are found in the Sāmkok translation. The first type of mistake concerns the names of characters. (3) It has been mentioned that the group of Chinese translators for the Sāmkok project was comprised of scholars of different dialects, of which the Fukien speech

was the most predominant. The official Mandarin languagee played no role as far as the pronunciations of Chinese names and terms are concerned. One finds more than ten examples in which different pronunciations of a name are given for a single character. For instance, the character called Chia K'uei 賈逵 in the Mandarin speech, who was an official of Wei, is rendered in Sāmkok as both Kā Kun กากุน and Kīa Kui เกียกุย. Fei I 費禕, a colleague of K'ung-ming, is called by the names Bi Hui บีฮุย and Hui Wui หุยวуй in the Thai version. (4) By providing two different forms of pronunciation, the reader can easily mistake them as two different characters. It is quite possible that the occurrence of such variations of pronunciation is due mostly to the fact that more than one translator was responsible for the actual rendition of the text in the Sāmkok project and that the chief editor or supervisor, Čhāophrayā Phrakhlang (Hon), who had no knowledge of Chinese, could not possibly catch and correct such mistakes.

On the other hand, one finds in Sāmkok a few examples that show identical pronunciation of names of different characters. For instance, the name Sun Čheng ซุนเจ้ง is used for two different persons with different names, namely, Sun Ching 孫靜, who was the youngest brother of Sun Chien, and Hsün Cheng 荀正 who was a subordinate of Yüan Shu. Also, Sun Hao 孫皓 and his father Sun Hō 孫和 are called by

the same name, Sun Hō 孫浩 in Sāmkok . (5)

One example is found in which Sāmkok mistakenly takes the name of a person as the name of a city. This occurs in the episode recounting the military expedition of K'ung-ming in subjugating the Man people. In the wake of K'ung-ming's aggressive attack, Meng Huo, the King of Man, conferred with his three leading warriors.

却說蠻王孟獲聽知孔明智破雍闓等遂聚三洞
元帥商議第一洞乃金環三結元帥第二洞乃董荼那
元帥第三洞乃阿會喃元帥王洞元帥入見孟獲

As Meng Huo, the King of Man, learned that K'ung-ming had used schemes to defeat Yung K'ai and others, he summoned the three cave leaders for a conference. They were Chin Huan-san-chieh, commander of the first cave, Tung T'u-na, commander of the second cave, and Ah Hui-nan, commander of the third cave. The three cave leaders went to see Meng Huo. (6)

Samkok contains the following translation of the above passage:

ฝ่ายเบ้งเฮ็กครั้นรู้ว่าขงเบ้งยกทัพหลวงเข้ามาในแดน จึงให้หาภิกษุ
เจ้าเมืองสามก๊ก สุณาเจ้าเมืองมิตอง ห้วยหล่าเจ้าเมืองไห้อ
สามคนนี้เข้ามา

Having learned that Khong-beng [K'ung-ming] had advanced his troops into his territory, Beng Hek sent for Kim Hūan [Chin Huan 金環], the magistrate of the city of Sam-kik [san-chieh 三結], Su Nā [T'u-na 荼那], the magistrate of Mi-tōng [nai Tung 乃董] city and Hui Lam [Hui-nan 會喃], the magistrate of Hai-am [nai

Ah 𠵹 𠵹] city. (7)

The character of Sāmkok apparently mistook part of the characters' names to be the names of cities. The name of the first cave commander, Chin Huan-san-chieh, is taken in Sāmkok to be made up of two parts, the commander's name and his city, namely, Kim Hūan [Chin Huan] and Sam-kik [san-chieh], respectively. The name of the second cave commander, Tung T'u-na, is split into two, with the first syllable, Tung, construed as part of the city name, Mi-tōng [nai Tung; the syllable "mi" of Mi-tong represents the character nai 𠵹 which immediately precedes the character tung 董 in the San-kuo text]. The last two syllables are then taken as the commander's name, T'u-na [Su Na]. This same kind of mistake is also found in Sāmkok 's handling of the name of the third cave commander. Here the name Ah Hui-nan is taken to be made up of the name of the city, Hai-am [nai Ah 𠵹 𠵹] and the commander's name, Hui Lam [Hui-nan].

Occasionally, too, there are other mistakes as to the rendering of personal names. A mistake is sometimes made in that the name of a male character is taken to be that of a female. For example, the character of Duke Ch'iao 喬公 in the original Chinese text is mistakenly translated as Mrs. Tiao Kok-lō นางเตี้ยวก๊กโล . (8) Also, in some cases, a common noun becomes part of a proper name. For instance,

the term huang-tzu 皇子 which means "the son of an emperor" was included as part of two given names. Thus Prince Pien 辯 and Prince Hsieh 協, the two sons of Emperor Ling 靈 (r. 168-188), are identified in the San-kuo text as huang-tzu Pien 皇子辯 and huang-tzu Hsieh 皇子協. So the royal title "huang-tzu" (Prince) is taken in Sāmkok to comprise the first two syllables of the Princes' names, i.e., Hōng Čhū Pien หອງจูเปียน [huang-tzu Pien] and Hōng Čhū Hīep หອງจูเหียบ [huang-tzu Hsieh]. (9)

There is one example in which Sāmkok took the name of the reigning period Huang-ch'u 黃初 (A.D. 220-226) to be the reigning title of Ts'ao P'ei as he became the first ruler of Wei after the fall of the Han empire. (10)

The second type of mistake deals with place names. Like the name of characters, certain place names have more than one form of pronunciation. According to Sang, at least fifty-two cases of this are found. (11) The following are some examples.

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>
Mien-chu 帛系竹	1) Kim-kok ภิมกค
	2) Bi-tok ภิตก
Hao-t'ing 號亭	1) Čhū-teng จูเตง
	2) 'Ū-teng อุเตง
	3) Hao-teng เหาเตง
Fou-shui 涪水	1) Pō-sui โปฮุย

- 2) Pui-sui ปุยซุย
3) Puai-kang ปวยกิ่ง

Examples of the opposite type of mistake are also found. That is, Sāmkok gives the same pronunciation for names of different places. (12)

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>
1) Ch'i-shan 箕山	Ki-sān กิสาน
2) Chū-t'ieh-shan 聚鉄山	
3) Ch'i-shan 祁山	
1) Hsiang-yang 襄陽	Song-yong ทรงหยง
2) Shang-yung 上庸	

There are a few common nouns which are mistakenly taken to be place names. For instance, the compound chan-tao 棧道 which means "a log-formed road along a steep cliff" is taken in Sāmkok to be the name of a path. (13)

The third kind of mistake concerns official titles. A majority of the official titles which are provided with a meaning in Thai are inaccurate by the standard of official ranking of the Han time. The following shows some representative examples.

<u>San-kuo</u>	<u>Sāmkok</u>
Ta-chiang-chūn 大將軍	Khunnāng phūyai thī pru'ksā ขุนนางผู้ใหญ่ที่ปรึกษา

(Grand General)	(Superior Advisor)
Chung-lang-chiang	Thahān 'ēk
中郎將	ทหารเอก
(Palace General)	(Great Warrior)
Chü-ch'i Chiang-chun	Nāi thahān yai
車騎將軍	นายทหารใหญ่
(General of Chariots and Cavalry)	(Great Military Officer)
Hsiang-kuo	Phrayā Mahā 'Upparāt
相國	พระมหากษัตริย์
(Chancellor of State)	(Crown Prince)
T'ai-shou	Čhāomū'ang
太守	เจ้าเมือง
(Grand Administrator)	(Magistrate)

In one place, also, an officer's title is also found to be misrepresented in Sāmkok as being the name of a certain character. Ts'ai Jung 蔡榮 who served Emperor Ling once received the title of I-lang 議郎 (Gentlemen-consultants) in the text of San-kuo yen-i, but it turned out to be another name of Ts'ai Jung in Sāmkok. And there is one case in which an official title became the name of a city. In his early career as an official, Ts'ao Ts'ao was promoted with the title of Chi-nan Hsiang 濟南相 (Chancellor of Chi-nan). In Sāmkok these three characters were taken to represent the name of the city where Ts'ao Ts'ao was

assigned to take charge. (14)

The fourth type of mistake is one that involves numerical figures -- one of the most common mistakes found in Sāmkok .

<u>San-kuo</u>		<u>Sāmkok</u>	
page		page	
2	500 of Chang Chiao's disciples	I, 4	over 100
5	over 10 pieces of wooden stick in five colours	I, 17	50 pieces of wooden stick
9	a day long	I, 25	about a month
9	some scores of prefectures	I, 25	45 prefectures
733	not quite three rounds	II, 1029	about 9 to 10 rounds
745	a written summons to arms of 20 to 30 words	II, 1059	three copies of a letter
748	10 days	II, 1069	2 days

The fifth and most important kind of mistake is that which shows the wrong meaning in translating the San-kuo text. Mistakes of this type are numerous and varied in kind. Perhaps one of the most crucial of these concerns the location of the Ch'ih-pi Battle episode. According to the Chinese text, the battle took place beside the river Ch'ang-chiang somewhere inland. However, Sāmkok repeatedly describes the battle as taking place at the seaside (chāi thalē ชายทะเล) (15) -- where no battle is ever said to

occur, according to the San-kuo text.

Another example of mistranslation effects a change in the narrative tone. This is the scene in which Ts'ao Ts'ao received a prediction about his future from a knowledgeable diviner named Hsü Shao 許劭. The tone of Hsu Shao's predicting statement sounded noncommittal in the Chinese text as follows:

子治世之能臣 亂世之奸雄也

"You [Ts'ao Ts'ao] can be an able minister in the time of peace and yet a crafty, ambitious one in the time of disorder." (16)

But in Sāmkok the neutral attitude of the diviner is replaced by a biased negative evaluation.

ท่านมีปัญญามากจะป้องกันแผ่นดินไ้ได้อยู่ แต่มีใจสยซื่อต่อแผ่นดิน จะเป็นศัตรูราชสมบัติ

"You are very intelligent and could save the country. But you are not loyal to the kingdom and you will be an enemy to the throne [of Han]." (17)

Certain mistranslations have twisted the facts in the San-kuo narrative. For instance, the fact that Liu Pei in his youth had two teachers and one close friend (18) turned out to be the opposite in the Thai version.

เมื่อเล่าปี่อายุได้สิบห้าปี มารดาจึงให้ไปเรียนหนังสือกับเต้เหียนผู้เป็นครู
เล่าปี่นั้นมีเพื่อนสองคน ชื่อโลทิกหนึ่ง กองซุนจ้านหนึ่ง เรียนหนังสืออยู่
ด้วยกันจนอายุได้ยี่สิบห้าปี

At the age of fifteen, Lao Pī's [Liu Pei] mother sent his son to study with a teacher named Tāe Hien [Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄]. Lao Pī had two friends, one named Lō Tit [Lu Chih 盧植] and the other Kōng Sun-chān [Kung Sun-chan 龔孫贊]. They studied together until Lao Pī reached the age of twenty-five. (19)

The mistake made here is that Lu Chih was, according to the original text, a teacher of Liu Pei, not his friend. Another example is the statement dealing with the fact that K'ung-ming during his early acquirement of knowledge received a great deal of assistance and support from his talented wife who was knowledgable in all important fields, ranging from astrology and geography to military tactics. (20) According to the Thai version, it was K'ung-ming who granted all kinds of knowledge to his wife. (21) Then, again, toward the end of the San-kuo text we see Chiang Wei's extreme hostility toward Huang Hao 黃皓, then the favorite eunuch of the Shu ruler, Liu Pei's son. Chiang Wei wished to kill Huang Hao in order to eliminate the latter's bad influence. But Chiang Wei's scheme was opposed by the Shu ruler who forced Huang Hao to beg Chiang Wei for mercy. As a result, Chiang Wei could do nothing but leave in anger. (22) Sāmkok, on the other hand, describes this scene very differently, saying instead that when Huang Hao cried, Chiang Wei got over being angry and took his leave. (23)

B. Abridgment and Omission

This aspect of textual difference has been partly dealt with in Chapter Three above, which discusses the absence of the poetical element and the archaic classical language pieces. In this chapter a more complete list of items which are omitted and/or abridged in Sāmkok will be given.

Sāmkok tends to make abridgement of those passages which provide background information on the lives of both central and minor characters. (24) Parts of many scenes in Sāmkok are also abridged from the original text. Consequently, certain details are left out. One good example is the scene in which Chou Yü and K'ung-ming talked about the most effective device to overcome Ts'ao Ts'ao's superior naval forces in the Ch'ih-pi Battle episode. During their conversation, K'ung-ming suggested that each of them write down on their palms the key word of their choice of strategy to see if their ideas matched. The following excerpts from the San-kuo and the Sāmkok will show that the Thai version has left out many details in the scene.

San-kuo

瑜大喜教取筆硯來先自暗寫了却送與
孔明孔明亦暗寫了兩個移近坐榻各出掌中
之字互相觀看皆大笑原來周瑜掌中字
乃一火字孔明掌中亦一火字

Being delighted, Chou Yü asked someone to get him a writing brush and an ink-slab. Chou Yü first wrote something down and then passed [the writing equipment] to K'ung-ming. K'ung-ming secretly wrote something. Each moved their chairs closer, then revealed the character that they wrote and they both laughed. Actually they had written the same character, huo [fire], on their palms. (25)

Sāmkok

จิวยี่เห็นชอบด้วยต่างคนต่างเขียนหนังสือลงในฝ่ามือว่า เพลิง แล้วบอกร
ให้กันดู เห็นต้องกัน จิวยี่กับขงเบ้งก็หัวเราะ

Čhiu Yī [Chou Yü] agreed. Each wrote on their palms the word phlōeng [fire] and then showed their palms to each other. They found that what they had written matched; so Čhiu Yī and Khong-beng [K'ung-ming] laughed. (26)

Abridgement of text appears more often as the reader approaches the final chapters of Sāmkok . There are at least nine occasions where the Chinese text is abridged or shortened to some extent. (27)

A few minor episodes are omitted in Sāmkok . For instance, in the Ch'ih-pi episode, Sāmkok left out two scenes. One is the scene where K'ung-ming asked Lu Su 魯肅 to lend him some ships and requested that the latter keep it a secret from Chou Yü. (28) The editor of Sāmkok also deleted the scene in which Chou Yü tested Chu-ko Chin's 諸葛瑾 fidelity to Wu after the latter failed to persuade

his brother, K'ung-ming, to join his service for Wu. (29)
 Examples of missing scenes are found to increase in the
 ending chapters of Sāmkok . (30)

There are scores of diplomatic letters found in the
San-kuo text, five of which are not translated in the Thai
 version. (31) Only one letter that is missing in Sāmkok ,
 however, proves to be relatively important to the story. It
 is the one written by Hsün Yü in response to Ts'ao Ts'ao's
 indecisiveness about whether Ts'ao Ts'ao should withdraw his
 troops, since Yüan Shao, his enemy, appeared to be much
 stronger. In the letter, Hsün Yü advised Ts'ao to maintain
 his determination to conquer Yüan Shao by pointing out that
 despite having a much smaller army Ts'ao had every chance to
 win over Yüan Shao because Ts'ao's talent and brains were
 much superior to those of Yüan Shao. After reading Hsün
 Yü's letter Ts'ao Ts'ao gained back his confidence and
 followed Hsün's advice. The outcome was that Ts'ao was able
 to gain the upper hand by various stratagems, until the
 enemy decided to retreat. This entire scene is missing in
Sāmkok and therefore the Thai version failed to explain the
 cause of Ts'ao Ts'ao's sudden change of attitude with
 respect to battle with Yüan Shao.

Although the editor of Sāmkok made a pretty good effort
 at recording names of characters and providing their
 official titles, at least a score of them are missing. (32)

Sāmkok sometimes also failed to record the date and time of certain events provided in the original Chinese text. (33)

Perhaps the most meaningful kind of omission is of material that might cause difficulty for Thai readers with their very different cultural background. First of all, certain lines of metaphor are obviously omitted because the figure of speech used is unthinkable in the mind of the Thai reader. For instance, Sāmkok dropped the metaphor of "horse and dog" in referring to the idea of a subordinate's faithfulness and diligence in service. (34) In the context of Thai culture, such a line of thought, i.e., comparing a man to domestic animals, usually implies a grave insult because according to Buddhism animals are believed to have a lower form of existence. To be born as an animal is considered to be a sign of moral punishment as a result of one's previous deeds of evil. In another instance Sāmkok omitted any translation of the metaphor of "jade and stone" in comparing different qualities of two things. (35) Omission of this metaphorical line can be accounted for by the fact that jade was not, at that time, known or recognized as a precious stone in Thailand. So, such a figure of speech did not work for the Thai reader.

It is undeniable that quotations from well-known Chinese sources are occasionally cited in the San-kuo text. However, this element of Chinese culture is often neglected

in Sāmkok , as many statements of quotation are simply omitted in the translation. (36) Similarly, allusions to stories of important figures from Chinese history are usually omitted in the Thai version. Right at the beginning, the allusion to the historical legend about Emperor Kao Tsu, the founder of the Han dynasty, killing a white snake and unifying China, is omitted in Sāmkok . (37) Among many historical episodes (38), the famous story of Fan Li 范蠡 and Hsi Shih 西施 is also dropped by the Thai editor. (39)

It is interesting to note that Sāmkok tends to drop references to peculiar Chinese customs which seem alien to Thai culture. These customs include the Chinese way of greeting (40), the political custom in which a small ruler pays respect to a powerful sovereign (41), the custom of bringing one's corpse for burial in the native home (42), the ceremony of pledging allegiance (43), and the traditional ceremony involving the decision to give up one's power and sovereignty (44). All these ceremonies and customs in the Chinese culture require elaborate steps of performance which are not shared by the Thai customs. For this reason, all these peculiar Chinese customs are either translated in abridgment or totally omitted in the Thai version.

C. Change

It has been pointed out earlier in the preceding chapters that the editor of Sāmkok had a tendency to make changes in the work of translation in order to adjust to acceptable criteria and standards in the Thai tradition. The same may be said with respect to the content.

First of all, Sāmkok makes changes where certain items or things are not native or familiar to the Thai reader. For instance, the ceremony of pledging loyalty among the three sworn brothers -- Liu Pei, Kuan Yü, and Chang Fei -- which took place in the peach garden (t'ao-yüan 桃園) located in Chang Fei's residence (45) is changed to a different setting in Sāmkok . The peach garden is replaced by the garden of yīthō ยี่ถ่อ a flowering tree (46) native to tropical countries like Thailand. This change appears, on the one hand, to be something of minor importance since it does not effect the course of the narrative, but on the other hand, it is a significant change because it has destroyed an important landmark of an event well-known in the story of San-kuo yen-i . Among Chinese readers the "peach-garden oath of fidelity" (t'ao-yüan chieh-i 桃園結義) recalls one of the most important incidents in the novel. This key phrase no longer exists in the Thai version. In another scene where the narrator of San-kuo talked about Ts'ao Ts'ao's cleverness in using the plum

fruits to relieve the soldiers' thirst (47), Sāmkok again provided its own version in the choice of fruit. Since plum trees were not grown in Thailand and its people had no idea what plum fruit looked like and how it tasted, the Thai editor changed it to mafū'ang มะเฟือง a kind of juicy tropical fruit well known among the Thais. (48)

The Chinese mythological bird like a phoenix, which does not exist in the Thai vocabulary, was changed to swan (hong หงส์) instead. (49) For the same reason, the fabulous deer-like animal called ch'i-lin 麒麟, which the Chinese believed to appear only in time of peace and prosperity, was changed to lion king (phrayā rātchasi พระยาราชสีห์) a creature familiar to Thai literature. (50)

Some metaphors which did not fit in the mind of Thai reader were also replaced. Many times the San-kuo narrator compared the state of being firm and sturdy to the T'ai Mountain (T'ai-shan 太山), a metaphor commonly found in Chinese literary writings. The Thai translation failed to keep this metaphor, substituting "big mountain" and "cave" instead. (51) The metaphorical expression "p'u shuang yung hsūeh" 鋪霜湧雪 (spreading frost and springing snow) which conveyed the notion of "vastness and abundance" was replaced by the metaphor of water, "waves in the ocean" คลื่นในท้องมหาสมุทร (52), because people of a tropical region had never experienced the kind of cold weather that produces

frost and snow. Nor had they known about precious stones like jade which was not indigenous to the country. For this reason, the Chinese metaphor which compares a valuable person to "a golden trunk and jade leaf" 金枝玉葉 became "trunk of silver and leaves and fruit of gold"

ล่าคั้นเป็นเงิน มีใบและคอกนดเป็นทอง . (53) It made no sense, to the Thai, to compare the idea of quickness and easiness to the act of taking something from one's pocket like the San-kuo author did (54), because in the old days Thai traditional costumes had no pockets and they kept their personal things in a separate purse. In this situation the Sāmkok editor found it necessary to change the metaphor to the movement of "taking oranges out of a box" หยิบเอาส้มในลัง . (55)

In addition to metaphor, the sense of importance with regard to direction was also adjusted to suit the Thai culture. While the Chinese considers left to be a direction more important than right, the Thai thinks the opposite. Therefore, left and right were switched around in Sāmkok . (56) In Chinese culture, an emperor is supposed to sit facing south as found in San-kuo , but the Thai translation changed it to east since it is the appropriate position according to Thai tradition. (57)

Perhaps the most interesting element which was changed in Sāmkok is the Chinese concept of T'ien 天 (Heaven, God). This is an indigenous, religious concept based on the belief in the supreme power of T'ien or Heaven over the affairs of man and his destiny. The concept of T'ien plays a very significant role in San-kuo yen-i as the term T'ien appears often throughout the Chinese text. Sāmkok changed the T'ien concept to the Thai Buddhist concept of bun-kam บุญ-กรรม (good deeds - bad deeds) and as a consequence the original meaning and significance of this religious Chinese concept inherent in the San-kuo text no longer exists in the Thai version. Since this change of concept is crucial to the ideological standpoint of the novel, it will be necessary to treat this subject separately in the following chapter.

D. Additions

There are four kinds of additions of content involved in the Thai translation. First, Sāmkok contains an additional account of the historical background of the Three Kingdoms period. In the opening paragraph of the San-kuo text, there is a brief review of history prior to the time of the San-kuo period. But the opening paragraph of the Thai version is more than just a translation of the Chinese text because Sāmkok contains a few more historical incidents, as shown below.

San-kuo

周末七國分爭并入於秦及秦滅之後
 楚漢分爭又并入於漢漢朝自高祖
 斬白蛇而起義一統天下後來光武
 中興傳至獻帝遂分為三國

By the end of Chou, seven states fought one another till they settled down as Ch'in. After the fall of Ch'in, Ch'u and Han arose to contend for power and Han was the victor. The Han dynasty began with Kao Tsu's slaughter of the White Serpent in unifying the country. The heritage was handed down till the days of Kuang Wu whose name stands in the middle of the long line of Han. It was when the throne was handed down to Emperor Hsien that the country was doomed to be divided into three kingdoms. (58)

Sāmkok

มีพระมหากษัตริย์ทรงพระนามพระเจ้าจิ๋วของ แลพระวงศ์ไค้เสวยราชย์
 ต่อๆลงมาเป็นหลายพระองค์ ไค้ความสุขมาถึงเจ็คร้อยปี จึงมีผู้ตั้งแข็งเมือง
 ถึงเจ็ดหัวเมือง ครั้งนั้นพระเจ้าจินอองไค้เสวยราชย์ในเมืองจินก๊ก ให้ไปตี
 เอาหัวเมืองทั้งเจ็ดนั้น เข้าอยู่ในอาณาจักรพระเจ้าจินอองทั้งสิ้น ครั้นอยู่มา
 พระเจ้าจินอองเสียแก่ฮั่นฉ้อ แล้วฮั่นโกโจกับฮั่นฉ้อรบกัน จึงไค้ราชสมบัติแก่
 ฮั่นโกโจ ฮั่นโกโจและพระราชวงศ์ไค้เสวยราชสมบัติต่อมาในแผ่นดินจีนนั้นถึง
 สิบสององค์ มีขุนนางคนหนึ่งชื่ออองมั่งเป็นขบถจึงเอาราชสมบัติไค้ เป็นเจ้า
 แผ่นดินอยู่สิบแปดปี แล้วจึงมีหลานพระเจ้าฮั่นโกโจชื่อฮั่นกอบบู จีบอองมั่ง
 ฆ่าเสียจึงเอาราชสมบัติ ไค้เสวยราชย์สืบวงศ์มาสิบสององค์ พระองค์ไค้
 เสวยราชย์ที่สุคนั้นทรงพระนามพระเจ้าเทียนเต้ จึงแตกเป็นสามเมือง
 ภาษาจีนเรียกว่า สามก๊ก

There was a king named Phraĉhāo Čhiu Bū 'Ong [Chou Wu Wang 周武王]. His line had held the throne one after the other, with many kings ruling in peace for seven hundred years. Then there arose seven cities who staged a rebellion. at that time Phraĉhāo Čhin 'Ong [Ch'in Wang 秦王] was ruler in the kingdom of Čhin-kok [Ch'in state], and he attacked and took all seven cities, bringing them all under his rule. Later on Phraĉhāo Čhin 'Ong was defeated by Han Čhō [actually Han and Ch'u 楚 states]. Han Kō Čhō [Han Kao Tsu] and Han Čhō fought, and the throne passed to Han Kō Čhō. Han Kō Čhō and his line ruled, twelve rulers in succession, in the country of China. Then came a noble named 'Ong Māng [Wang Mang 王莽] who rebelled and seized the throne and was king for 18 years. Then a grandson of Han Kō Čhō, named Han Kōng Bū [Han Kuang Wu 漢光武], caught 'Ong Māng and killed him and seized the throne. The rule was then passed down, twelve kings ruling in succession. The last ruler was named Phraĉhāo Hien Tē [Emperor Hsien], and then the kingdom broke up into three kingdoms which in Chinese were called Sām-kok. (59)

The second kind of addition is to give more detail in certain scenes. This feature of addition of text has been investigated in Chapter Four above where the functions of the Sāmkok's narrator are discussed. Typical kinds of information that are added are time, place, movement of characters, number of soldiers, and descriptive phrases regarding mood and temperament. Occasionally, incidents which do not appear in the original text are interpolated in Sāmkok. For instance, in the scene where K'ung-ming agreed to undertake the ceremony for summoning the wind in order to defeat Ts'ao Ts'ao's army, Sāmkok added that K'ung-ming asked Chou Yü for his sword of authority in order to

guarantee his full control in building the stage for the ceremony. (60)

The third type of interpolation is that which was made in dialogue. This kind of addition, like the second kind, is the one most commonly found as there are countless examples of this throughout the text, some aspects of which have already discussed in Chapter Four. However, one important aspect which has not been mentioned involves additional statements of reason or motive. For instance, Chang Fei expressed his wish to eliminate Tung Cho when the latter behaved in an arrogant manner in the presence of Liu Pei. In the Thai version, Chang Fei gave his reason that Tung Cho who then held authority in the central army would hold Liu Pei and himself in much greater contempt if Liu Pei stayed with the central army at the capital. (61)

The fourth and most important kind of addition is to provide statements that express Thai religious beliefs in the Sāmkok text, namely, the concept of bun-kam and fate. Discussion of this will be found in the next chapter.

From the above observations, it becomes obvious that the content of the Thai translation, with the exception of innocent errors, was carefully revised and adjusted in all possible ways to make the final product a version which could be easily read as well as acceptable in ideas by the Thai readers. The four areas which have been covered in

this chapter represent the general characteristics of textual differences between Sāmkok and San-kuo yen-i . However, those points of difference that have already been discussed are of minor significance because the results of such discrepancies found in Sāmkok do not make the story and its meaning far removed from that of the original version. For instance, mistranslation of minor details, such as, location, official titles, the mood of the character, do not significantly affect the plot or the meaning of the story. Likewise, no significant change is made to the narrative thread or to the ideological message of the novel when the Sāmkok editor makes omissions of certain minor details, such as, the time and date, the content of certain diplomatic letters, some peculiar Chinese metaphorical lines, and some old Chinese quotations and customs. Similarly, changes and additions of minor details of some scenes in Sāmkok , such as, metaphorical ideas, historical background, the names of fruits and trees, and the number of soldiers, prove to be insignificant as far as the conceptual outlook of the San-kuo novel is concerned.

However, the Sāmkok editor not only is concerned for minor adjustment, but also shows special interest in making changes with regard to the religious and philosophical ideas expressed in the San-kuo novel. This kind of cultural adjustment is crucial and significant to the world view of

the novel. And therefore, it is necessary to discuss it in detail in a separate chapter.

Notes

(1) These selected chapters from the San-kuo text correspond to chapters or tōn 1-6, 39-42, and 84-87 of the Thai version.

(2) The episode of the Battle of Ch'ih-pi which covers chapters 40-50 of San-kuo or 39-42 of Sāmkok has been studied comparatively by Prapin Manōmaiwibūn in her M.A. thesis mentioned earlier. Sang Phatthanōthai made a more general comparative investigation of the Thai and Chinese texts and gave a summary of his observations in his "Author's Introduction" to his work entitled Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok, and this will be treated in Chapter Eight.

(3) Examples given in Sang's study are incorporated here. See Sang, "Author's Introduction," pp. 6-7.

(4) See more examples in Sang, "Author's Introduction," p. 6.

(5) See more examples in Sang, "Author's Introduction," p. 6.

(6) San-kuo, p. 543.

(7) Sāmkok, II, p. 583.

(8) San-kuo, p. 275 and Sāmkok, I, p. 890.

(9) San-kuo, p. 11 and Sāmkok, I, p. 36.

(10) See San-kuo , p. 499 and Sāmkok , II, p. 473. The reigning title of Ts'ao P'ei was Wen Ti .

(11) These 52 examples are listed in Sang, "Author's Introduction," pp. 7-8.

(12) See Sang, "Author's Introduction," p. 8.

(13) See San-kuo , p. 723 and Sāmkok , II, p. 1007. Other examples can be found in Sang, "Author's Introduction," pp. 8-9.

(14) See San-kuo , p. 8 and Sāmkok , I, p. 22.

(15) See Sāmkok , I, pp. 909, 922, 929, 954, 960, 968, and 969. In her thesis, Prapin has also pointed out this type of mistake, p. 226.

(16) San-kuo , p. 5.

(17) Sāmkok , I, p. 17.

(18) San-kuo , p. 3.

(19) Sāmkok , I, p. 8.

(20) San-kuo , p. 738.

(21) Sāmkok , II, p. 1041.

(22) San-kuo , p. 727.

(23) Sāmkok , II, p. 1016.

(24) Important examples are those passages which provide biographical information on Ts'ao Ts'ao (San-kuo , p. 5 and Sāmkok , I, p. 16), Liu Pei (San-kuo , p. 2 and Sāmkok , I, p. 7), Tung Cho (San-kuo , p. 7 and Sāmkok , I, p. 19), Sun Chien (San-kuo , p. 8 and Sāmkok , I, p. 23),

Liu Yen 劉焉 (San-kuo , p. 2 and Sāmkok , I, p. 7), and
Liu Fu 劉馥 (San-kuo , p. 299 and Sāmkok , I, p. 957).

(25) San-kuo , p. 289.

(26) Sāmkok , I, p. 925.

(27) Compare Sāmkok , II, pp. 1017, 1021, 1023, 1029,
1032, 1072, 1083-1084, 1084, and 1085 with San-kuo ,
pp. 727, 729, 730, 733, 734, 749, 756, 757, and 758,
respectively.

(28) See Sāmkok , I, p. 921 and San-kuo , p. 287, lines
6-7.

(29) See Sāmkok , I, p. 899 and San-kuo , p. 278, lines
13-14.

(30) At least fifteen examples are found in the final
seven chapters. See, for examples, Sāmkok , II, pp. 1079,
1082 and San-kuo , pp. 753, lines 1-18 and 754, line 12 to
755, line 2.

(31) These five letters appear in San-kuo , pp. 164,
188, 207-208, 208, and 374. Compare Sāmkok , I, pp. 539,
613, 689, 689, and II, p. 129, respectively. Hsun Yu's
letter to Ts'ao Ts'ao which is discussed here is on page 613
in San-kuo .

(32) Sang also made this comment in his study, p. 16.
Examples can be found on pp. 2, 4, 719, 723 in San-kuo which
correspond with Sāmkok , I, pp. 4, 12; II, pp. 998, and
1007, respectively.

(33) See examples in San-kuo , pp. 2, 728, 730, 748, and 750 which correspond with Sāmkok , I, p. 4; II, pp. 1020, 1023, 1069, and 1073, respectively.

(34) See San-kuo , p. 276, line 2 and Sāmkok , I, p. 891.

(35) Cited in Prapin, p. 241.

(36) San-kuo , p. 527 and Sāmkok , II, p. 547. See more examples in San-kuo , pp. 719, 729 and Sāmkok , II, pp. 999, 1022.

(37) San-kuo , p. 1, line 7 and Sāmkok , I, p. 1.

(38) Other important historical episodes which are dropped in Sāmkok can be seen on pp. 269, 312, 719, 721, 726, and 746 in San-kuo . Check with Sāmkok , I, pp. 876, 989; II, pp. 998, 1002, 1016, 1055, and 1061.

(39) San-kuo , p. 275 and Sāmkok , I, p. 890.

(40) San-kuo , p. 274, line 5 and Sāmkok , I, p. 888.

(41) San-kuo , p. 274, line 16 and Sāmkok , I, p. 889.

(42) Cited in Prapin, p. 237.

(43) San-kuo , p. 3, line 18 to p. 4, line 1 and Sāmkok , I, p. 10.

(44) San-kuo , p. 742, 758 and Sāmkok , II, pp. 1050, 1085.

(45) San-kuo , p. 3.

- (46) Sāmkok , I, p. 9.
- (47) San-kuo , p. 131, line 5.
- (48) Sāmkok , I, p. 422.
- (49) San-kuo , pp. 10, 227 and Sāmkok , I, pp. 30, 760.
- (50) San-kuo , p. 227, 496 and Sāmkok , I, p. 760; II, p. 467.
- (51) Cited in Prapin, pp. 240 and 241.
- (52) San-kuo , p. 59 and Sāmkok , I, p. 196.
- (53) San-kuo , p. 615 and Sāmkok , II, p. 750.
- (54) San-kuo , p. 160.
- (55) Sāmkok , I, p. 523.
- (56) Examples are given in Sang, "Author's Introduction," pp. 14-15.
- (57) This is also pointed out by Sang, "Author's Introduction," p. 15.
- (58) San-kuo , p. 1. The English translation here has been modified from the translation made by Brewitt-Taylor, Romance of the Three Kingdoms , p. 1.
- (59) Sāmkok , I, p. 1.
- (60) Sāmkok , I, p. 966 and San-kuo , p. 302.
- (61) Sāmkok , I, p. 19.

Chapter Seven

Significance of Buddhist Thought

In previous comparative works by Thai scholars, notably Prapin and Sang, there is little attempt to show the influence of Thai Buddhist thought in Sāmkok. In his essay, Sang only once refers to this matter, when he points out that the Chinese expression t'ien-ti (heaven and earth), for the sake of cultural adjustment, has been changed to the Thai expression "phra lāe thēwadā" พระแก้ว เทวดา (Buddha image and gods). (1) Sang makes no further comments on this significant element of conceptual replacement. Nor does Prapin, at any point in her thesis, mention the impact of Thai Buddhist thought. In fact, there has never been any scholastic attempt to look into the change of the world view of the San-kuo novel that is made in the Sāmkok text.

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to show that the Chinese world view which is based on the central concept of T'ien as expounded in the San-kuo yen-i has gone through significant changes in the Thai translation, Sāmkok. The presentation in this chapter will be arranged into two parts. The first part concerns the problem of translation with regard to the term T'ien and the idea of fate. The second part deals with the issue of the concept of fate as a result of the translation.

A. Translation

In the San-kuo novel there appears a common belief in the existence of a supreme providential power called T'ien (Heaven) which is sometimes referred to as huang T'ien 皇天 (Imperial Heaven). (2) Being the supreme deity, T'ien exercises an irrevocable and ultimate control over matters in the human world. Hence, human fate is determined by Heaven. In his unpublished paper entitled "Frame of Heaven's Design in the San-kuo yen-i ," Wan Pin-pin analyzes the nature of the so-called "fatalistic T'ien " (3) by categorizing it into four different qualities. First, fate as designed by Heaven is universal and impartial. Second, heavenly fate is irresistible. Third, fate works in a cyclical pattern. Fourth, omens occurs as manifestations of Heaven's will. It is by means of these four qualities that the concept of Heaven and fate is revealed in the Chinese novel. (4)

A comparison of the San-kuo and Sāmkok texts will show that the Thai editor has removed the concept of fatalistic T'ien from the translation in four ways. First, the idea of T'ien may be simply ignored or omitted. Second, it may be replaced by the idea of Buddha image or, most often, gods. Third, it may be replaced by the Buddhist concept of fate, namely, the concept of bun and kam (merit and demerit). Fourth, the Thai editor may introduce the bun-kam concept

where the idea of T'ien does not occur.

Consider certain passages where the San-kuo deals with the issue of fate. Clearly, for example, San-kuo yen-i begins and ends with an important statement regarding the cyclical nature of history and the changing pattern of politics as follows:

話說天下大勢分久必合合久必分

.....

此所謂天下大勢分久必合合久必分者也

It is said that the general situation of the empire is such that it certainly will be unified after a long period of division and divided after a long period of unification.

.....
This is what is referred to as "the general situation of the empire is such that it certainly will be unified after a long period of division and divided after a long period of unification." (5)

Two ideas can be derived from the above statement, namely, that the course of history proceeds in an alternating manner and that the dualistic pattern of change between unification and division occurs in cycle. The story of the Three Kingdoms period related in the San-kuo yen-i unmistakably reflects such a view of history. The narrative begins at the point where unification under the Han empire is about to disintegrate as the empire enters the period of disorder. Political struggles for power and the degradation

of the Han rulers soon lead to the period of division of the three kingdoms comprising Wei, Wu, and Shu, after which the sign of unification rises with the appearance of a new power who eventually controls the whole empire under the Chin dynasty. This main narrative line is followed closely in the work of Sāmkok ; the Thai version even begins and ends with similar statements which express Lo Kuan-chung's view of history. (6)

However, the editor of Sāmkok has left out one important aspect of Lo Kuan-chung's political understanding. The text of San-kuo yen-i states clearly that it is T'ien or Heaven who controls the fate of the empire. In other words, the working of fate in the pattern of a dualistic cycle of change is absolutely under the power of T'ien . Wang Li 王立 who serves as an astrologer in the Han court expresses the important role of T'ien on the changing destiny of the empire in his conversation with Liu Ai and in his memorial to Emperor Hsien as follows:

吾仰觀天文自去春太白犯鎮星於斗牛過天津
 熒惑又逆行與太白會於天關金火交會必有
 新天子出吾觀大漢氣數將終晉魏之地
 必有興者 又密奏獻帝曰天命有去就五行
 不常盛代火者土也代漢而天下者當在魏

"I have observed the pattern of Heaven. Since last spring Venus has offended the Guard star in

the neighborhood of the Measure and the Cowherd crossing the River of Heaven [the Milky Way]. Mars has been retrograding and comes into conjunction with Venus at the Gate of Heaven so that Metal and Fire are mingled. Thence must emerge a new ruler. I view that the destiny of the Great Han is about to end and there must be someone rising from the area of Chin and Wei." Wang Li also presented a secret memorial to Emperor Hsien saying, "The ordinance of Heaven has as its course to come or to go and the five elements have no way to flourish perpetually. The one to replace fire is earth. The one to replace Han and to possess the world must be Wei." (7)

The juxtaposition of the T'ien concept with its concomitant view of history is found later in the dialogue between Liu Pei and Ts'ui Chou-p'ing 崔州平, a friend of K'ung-ming's, as follows:

州平曰將軍何故欲見孔明玄德曰方今天下大亂四方雲擾欲見孔明求安邦定國之策耳
州平笑曰公以定亂為主雖是仁心但自古以來治亂無常自高祖斬蛇起義誅無道秦是由亂而入治也...至今二百年民安已久故干戈又復四起此正由治入亂之時未可猝定也將軍欲使孔明幹旋天地補綴乾坤恐不易為徒費心力耳

Chou-p'ing said, "Why do you wish to see K'ung-ming?" Hsuan-te [Liu Pei] replied, "The empire is now in great disorder and troubles gather everywhere. I wish to see K'ung-ming and ask for a scheme to bring peace to the people and order to the nation." Chou-p'ing smiling said, "You, Sir, regarded pacification of disorder as your priority. Although this shows your kind

heart, however, the matter of order and disorder requires no ordinary measures. Since the time Kao Tsu [the founder of Han dynasty] killed the Serpent in order to establish righteousness and eliminated the wicked ruler of Ch'in, order began to replace disorder. . . . Until now it has been two hundred years. People have already enjoyed a long period of order and tranquility, so the time of trouble and battles is due. This is now just the time of disorder replacing order and it cannot be quickly rectified. You, Sir, wish to make K'ung-ming regulate heaven and earth, to repair the cosmos, but I fear the task is indeed difficult and to attempt it would be a vain expenditure of mental energy. (8)

In these two quoted passages, Lo Kuan-chung's conception of the change of fate designed by Heaven is fully presented: The transfer of the throne and the general course of events in the empire follow a fixed pattern of transformation. Such a pattern is the mandate of Heaven which one can neither resist nor change. Fate, in this respect, is a collective phenomenon that affects every individual. The political lives of the San-kuo figures must, therefore, experience hardship and failure due to the fate of the nation during impropitious times. The fall of Han is inevitable in the reign of Emperor Hsien as indicated in Wang Li's prediction, and Liu Pei's mission of unification is doomed to failure as warned by Ts'ui Chou-p'ing. This important message about the relationship between Heaven's mandate and the changing pattern of fate is, however, not represented in the Sāmkok text. Wang Li's passage is rendered only in abridgment as follows:

ฝ่ายของหลินซุนนางจึงคอยพูดกันกับเล่าง่ายซึ่งเป็นเชื้อพระเจ้าเหียนเต๋
ว่า ข้าพเจ้าได้เห็นดาวไทเบ็ก ภาษาไทยว่าดาวขาวนั้นสุกใส แดกดูฝน
มาจนถึงฤดูแล้ง บัดนี้ข้ามาลบลบริศมีดาวสำหรับพระมหากษัตริย์
ข้าพเจ้าพิเคราะห์เห็นว่าพระเจ้าเหียนเต๋จะสูญเสียดวงนี้จะมีผู้ใดได้เสวย
ราชสมบัติเป็นพระมหากษัตริย์นั้นเป็นที่งูกับจีน แล้วของหลินจึงเอาเนื้อ
ความทั้งนี้ลอบทูลพระเจ้าเหียนเต๋ พระเจ้าเหียนเต๋มิได้ตรัสประการใด

'Ōng Lip [Wang Li], a nobleman, quietly spoke with Lao Ngāi [Liu Ai], a relative of Phraçhaō Hien Tē [Emperor Hsien] saying, "I have observed that the Thai-pek star, which means dāo-khāo [white star] in Thai, was luminous from the rainy season till the dry season. It has now passed across to conceal the radiance of the King's star. I judge that Phraçhaō Hien Tē will be extinguished. With regard to who will ascend the throne and become the new king, that lies with Ngui [Wei] and Chin [Chin]." After that 'Ōng Lip secretly presented this information to Phraçhāo Hien Tē. Phraçhāo Hien Tē didn't say a word. (9)

Notice that the mentioning of Heaven's ordinance over the destiny of the state and the transfer of the throne has disappeared from the Thai text. Likewise, the recognition of the irrevocable power of T'ien which is clearly stated in Ts'ui Chou-p'ing's dialogue with Liu Pei has been discarded in the Thai text as seen below:

ซุนเป้งหัวเราะแล้วจึงตอบว่า แฉนคินเป็นจลาจลจะมาหาขงเบ้งช่วยท่าน
บำรุงให้เป็นสุขขึ้น ก็เห็นว่าน่าใจท่านสัตย์ซื่อรอบคอบก็แล้ว แต่ว่าประเพณี
แฉนคินนี้เกิดจลาจลแล้วก็สุขแล้ว เป็นสุขแล้วเกิดจลาจลแล้ว เป็นธรรมดา
มาแต่ก่อน แลซึ่งท่านจะคิดอ่านปราบปรามแฉนคินอันถึงกำหนดจลาจลแล้วให้
กลับเป็นสุขนั้น ก็ลือจะไม่สมความปรารถนาที่จะป่วยการเสียเปล่า อันเกิด

มาเป็นคนทุกวันนี้ก็สุดแต่บุญแลกรรม จะหักวาสนานั้นไม่ได้

Then Sui Peng [Ts'ui Chou-p'ing] laughed and said, "With the land in disorder, your wish to come to Khong-beng [K'ung-ming] to help you establish peace reflects a heart of sincerity and awareness. But it has been a natural thing from ancient times for the kingdom to pass through times of disorder and peace, peace and disorder, one after the other. And as for your plan to subdue and bring peace to the kingdom when the appointed time for disorder has arrived, -- if you don't get your wish, you will suffer pain and loss in vain. (10)

Not merely the long passages cited above are discarded, many short statements which convey the Heaven-fate concept are also found untranslated in Sāmkok. There are over forty cases in which the term T'ien in the context of fate is omitted in Sāmkok. (11) Here are some examples showing how the meaning of T'ien and fate is ignored in the Thai translation. (12)

San-kuo

Liu Pei said of his fate:

屈身守分以待天時不可與命爭也

"One should be humble and hold one's own portion in order to wait for the opportunity given by T'ien. One cannot struggle against fate."

Yüan Shao said of his son's death:

此天喪吾也

"This is because T'ien bereaves me."

Sāmkok

จงคอยทรมาณไปจนกว่าจะได้ดีของเรา

"We should continue to suffer until our opportunity comes, and then we can plan the next step."

อันชีวิตของเราครั้งนี้เห็นจะไม่รอดแล้ว

"I'm afraid I won't survive this time."

Hsüeh Tsung 薛 said to
Chu-ko Liang:

漢歷傳至今天數將終

"The heritage of Han has
been handed down till today
and its disaster predestined
by T'ien is approaching."

Ch'iao Chou 譙周 said to
Liu Chang 劉璋 of the
latter's decision to surren-
der Szu-chuan to Liu Pei:

主公之言正合天意

"The words of your lordship
exactly suit T'ien's
intention."

ตั้งแต่พระเจ้าอินโงโจได้เสวย

ราชสมบัติแผ่นดินเป็นสุขมาช้านาน

มีคนถึงกำหนดแผ่นดินเป็นจลาจล

"The empire has long
been peaceful ever since
the time Phrachao Han Ko
Cho [Emperor Kao Tsu]
ascended the throne. Now
the time is due for the
empire to be in disorder."

ทานคิดนี้ชอบ

"This thought of yours is
excellent."

Second, the Samkok editor may replace the Chinese concept of T'ien with the idea of the Buddha image or of the god(s). This change reflects the fact that the Thai editor does not regard "heaven" in the same sense as the Chinese does. The idea of Heaven or T'ien, according to the Chinese mind, means the ultimate Reality by which everything is created and controlled. Heaven in this sense has absolute power over man's fate. T'ien is deemed as the supreme Deity or God. The Chinese concept of "heaven" is thus equivalent to the Christian definition of the Supreme

Being or God. But according to the Thai religious thinking, there are two kinds of spirit, the good and the bad. (13) The former dwells in heaven where the gods rule; the latter belongs in the realm of hell. The gods and the good spirits represent a high form of existence which is superior to that of human beings. Being superior to man, the gods may exercise their supernatural power over man. However, the gods have no absolute power to either control or change man's fate. For it is the Law of bun-kam or the principle of moral retribution that regulates the working of fate. And even the gods themselves are subject to this law. Thus "heaven" in the Thai mind is simply a term referring to the realm in which the gods and the good spirits are found. And so it becomes natural for the Thai editor to adjust the idea of "heaven" in order to suit the Thai religious mind.

There are at least twenty-three examples which show that the term T'ien in the sense of Divine Supremacy is changed to the term thēwada เทวดา or thēpphadā เทพพาดำ which means a god or gods. In chapter one, the oath in the peach garden is pledged among the three protagonists in a ceremony witnessed by T'ien, such an oath being considered sacred. The San-kuo yen-i narrates:

飛曰...明日當於園中祭告天地我三人
結為兄弟...次日...三人焚香再拜
而設誓曰...皇天后土實鑒此心

背義忘恩天人共戮

Chang Fei said, ". . . Tomorrow in the garden we must worship and inform Heaven and Earth of the three of us planning to join as sworn brothers. . . . The next day . . . the three men burnt the incense, bowed twice then took the oath saying, ". . . Imperial Heaven and Earth are true witnesses of our hearts. The one who turns his back on fidelity and forgets favor would be slain by both Heaven and man." (14)

In the Thai version the reference to Heaven and Earth in the above passage is dropped and replaced by the familiar Thai phrase "phra lae thewada" which refers to the Buddha image and the gods. Here is the Thai translation of the above passage as rendered in the Samkok text.

เคียวหุยจึงว่า... เชิญท่านทั้งสองมาไปบ้านเรา... จะไ้บูชาพระแลเทวดา
แล้วจะไ้ให้สัตย์ต่อกันทั้งสามให้เบ็็นหน้าหนึ่งใจเดียวกัน... ครันรุ่งขึ้น... จึง
จุกฐูปเทียนไหว้แลบูชาเทวดา แล้วจึงตั้งสัตย์สาบานต่อกันว่า... ความสัตย์
นี้ข้าพเจ้าไ้สาบานค่อนหน้าเทวดาท้งปวง จะเป็นทิพย์พยาน ถ้าสืบไปภายหน้า
ข้าพเจ้าทั้งสามมิไ้ซื่อตรงต่อกัน ขอให้เทวดาสังหารนลาณชีวิตไ้ประจักษ์แก่
ตาโลก

So Tiao Hui [Chang Fei] said, ". . . Please both of you [Liu Pei and Kuan Yü] come to my house . . . so that we can worship the Buddha image and the gods, then the three of us can make a vow to hold together as one. . . . The next morning . . . they therefore lit the incense and the candles to pay respect to the Buddha image and worship the gods, and then they swore fidelity to each other saying, ". . . We have sworn this oath of fidelity in the presence of all the gods as witness. If hereafter the three of us are unfaithful to one another, may the gods take our

lives for the world to see. (15)

Many other central characters also appear in Sāmkok to address themselves to the gods instead of T'ien, as illustrated in the following examples. (16)

San-kuo

Lü Pu:

此天令你兩家罷兵也

"It is Heaven that orders you two families to cease the battle."

Yüan Shu:

有傳國玉璽若不為君背天道也

"It would mean to turn my back against the way of Heaven, if, having the possession of the jade seal of state, I do not become a ruler."

Sun Ts'e:

晴雨乃天地之定數

"[The appearance of] fine rain is predetermined by Heaven and Earth."

Ts'ao Ts'ao:

雖得勝天所佑也...
奉孝死乃天喪吾也

"I have, nevertheless, achieved victory, this is due to the assistance of Heaven. . . . Feng Hsiao's [Kuo Chia] death means that Heaven has

Sāmkok

เราเสี่ยงแก่เทพคาก็เห็นปรากฏอยู่แล้ว

"What I asked of the gods has come to pass."

ตราสำหรับกษัตริย์อยู่ในเงื้อมมือกู
เหมือนหนึ่งเทพคามาเสกให้กูเป็นเจ้า

"The imperial seal is in my hand as if the gods had come and pronounced me King."

ซึ่งฝนตกลงมานั้นเพราะอำนาจเทพคา

"The coming of the rain is due to the power of the gods."

เหตุที่เราไม่พั้งซิ่นยกไปได้นั้นก็เพราะ
เทพคาช่วยเรา... ครั้งนี้กูยกแกมาถึงแก่ความ
ตาย อยู่มาเหมือนเทพคาทำลายชีวิตเราเสีย

"The reason I've not fallen but have succeeded in my defiant attack is because the gods have helped me.

bereaved me."

P'ang T'ung:

今幸張松法正為
內助此天賜也

"It is fortunate now that Chang Sung and Fa Cheng have become the spies; this is Heaven's favor."

Szu-ma I:

是天使吾成功矣

"This is certainly because Heaven makes me achieve success."

Chiang Wei:

天喪我也

"Heaven has bereaved me."

吾計不成乃天命也

"That my plan has failed is the ordinance of Heaven."

. . . Now that Kui Kāē [Kuo Chia] has met his death, it is as if the gods had destroyed my life."

บัดนี้เที่ยวสงทวคเจ้ทั้งสองก็มิใจรักก็ค้ค้อทธาน
จะชวยทธานบ่ารุง เหมือนเทวคามาช้ชุมทองให้

"Now that Tīao Sung [Chang Sung] and Hūat Čheng [Fa Cheng] both are loyal to you [Liu Pei] to help you with the state affairs, it is as if the gods had led me to a gold mine."

แม้ฉะนั้นก็เหมือนเทพคาชวยเรว จะค้ให้
ความชอบเป็นมันคง

"In that case, it seems that the gods have helped me and will certainly reward me."

ครั้งนี้เทพคางจะแกล้งผลาญชวีทเรวมันคงแล้ว

"This time the gods deliberately intend to destroy me for good."

อุบายของเรวคคคไว้ทลคคแล้ว เทพคามีค้ค้ไปรค
ให้ส้เรวแกล้งผลาญชวีทเรวในครั้งนี้

"My scheme has been thought through, but the gods do not want it to succeed, and they are now deliberately taking my life."

Third, the idea of T'ien in the fatalistic sense has frequently been replaced by the Thai concept of fate, i.e., the concept of bun and kam (merit and demerit), in the Thai version. Although the notion of fatalism is still maintained in Sāmkok, a different explanation for the cause of human fate is provided in the Thai translation. While the Chinese author maintains that human destiny is designed and controlled by T'ien, the Thai editor chooses to say that predestination is the result of moral retribution which depends upon one's previous good and bad deeds. The belief in moral retribution in accordance with one's bun or good deed and kam or bad deed is indeed a central concept of popular Thai Buddhism. Even today any study on the Thai concept of fate is indispensably associated with the Buddhist principle of bun-kam. (17) There are at least seventeen incidents which show that the concept of fate as Heaven's design is changed in the Thai version to the bun-kam concept. This conceptual change, as shown in the following seven examples, reflects that the Sāmkok editor prefers to cope with the question of fate from the Buddhist standpoint, not from the Chinese one. (18)

In chapter five, when Ts'ao Ts'ao failed to carry out his assassination plan against Tung Cho, Ts'ao remarked:

今事不成乃天意也

"The present task being unsuccessful is due to the intention of Heaven." (19) In

of his bad deeds, instead of about his helpless plight determined by Heaven.

โบราณว่าไว้ว่า กรรมมาถึงตัวแล้วจะทำประการใดก็หาเห็นไม่
มีคนกรรมมาถึงแล้วใครจะมาช่วยเราได้

"An ancient saying goes, 'When kam arrives, one can do nothing to avoid it.' Now that kam is here, who can help me?" (24)

In chapter ten, Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Yü-chou 徐州 and plundered its citizens in revenge for his father's death. Upon this event, T'ao Ch'ien, the magistrate of Yü-chou, looking up to the sky said in tears: 我獲罪於天 致使徐州之民受此大難

"I have offended Heaven who has caused the people of Yü-chou such great difficulty." (25) Again, the concept of Heaven and fate is replaced by that of moral retribution in the Samkok narrative: เกิดเหตุครั้งนี้เพราะกรรมของเรามาตามทัน "This event has happened because my kam has caught up with me." (26)

In chapter one hundred and three, there is a scene in which K'ung-ming attempted to use fire to capture Szu-ma I and his sons, but the latter were able to escape with safety because of the sudden appearance of a strong wind that consequently changed the direction of the fire. K'ung-ming viewed this as a miracle sent by T'ien from which he concluded: 謀事在人成事在天 "To plan a task is for man but to complete it is for Heaven, which cannot be

resisted." (27) The idea of fate as Heaven's design is not translated in Sāmkok ; K'ung-ming in the Thai version sounds more like a Buddhist thinker:

ธรรมดาคนทั้งปวงจะทำกา^๑รสิ่งใ^๑ใด ก็ย่อมสำเร็จด้วยความคิ^๑ก แม้การ
ไม่ตลอดก็เพราะผู้นั้นมีกรรมอยู่

"Normally, whatever people want to do can be expected to be achieved through planning. But if things cannot be brought to a conclusion, it is because the person has kam." (28)

In the same chapter, K'ung-ming decided to make an attempt at "praying for protection against calamity" (ch'i-jang 祈禳) to prolong his life as suggested by Chiang Wei, although K'ung-ming realized that it all depends on Heaven's intention whether such an attempt will succeed or not. (29) In the Thai version, both K'ung-ming and Chiang Wei took the Buddhist view of life in response to the situation. The following dialogue came after K'ung-ming informed Chiang Wei of his astrological discovery about the approach of his death.

เกีย^๑งอยู่จึงว่า ถ้ากระนั้นท่านจงแต่งการบูชาเทพคา^๑สะเคาะเคราะห์เสีย
เห็นพอจะสืบอายุไปได้บ้าง ขงเบ้งจึงตอบว่า อันการนี้เราก็กัง^๑แจ้อยู่ แต่เป็น
โบราณกรรมถึงอายุของเราแล้ว จำจะแต่งบูชาขอ^๑กำลังเทพคาให้ช่วยตามบุญ

Kiang 'Ui [Chiang Wei] then said, "In that case, you must prepare a ceremony to worship the gods in order to fend off misfortune, and I think that would be good enough to prolong your life." So

Khong-beng [K'ung-ming] replied, "I know of such means, but it's my past kam that brings me to the end of my life. I must make arrangements for the worship in order to ask for the power of the gods to help me in accordance with [my] bun ." (30)

In chapter thirty-seven, Ts'ui Chou-p'ing made an important statement about T'ien :

豈不聞「順天者逸逆天者勞」
「數之所在理不得而奪之命之所在人不得而強之」乎

"Haven't you [Liu Pei] heard that 'The one who follows Heaven will have an easy way, the one who offends Heaven will meet hardship,' and that 'Where destiny dwells, principle cannot remove it; when fate is there, man cannot resist it.'" (31)

The Thai editor replaces the T'ien concept with the bun-kam concept as follows:

อันเกิดมาเป็นคนทุกวันนี้ก็สุดแค่บุญแลกรรม จะหักวาสนานั้น
ไม่ได้

"Your birth as a human being today depends upon bun and kam . No one can resist his fate." (32)

Fourth, the Buddhist concept of bun-kam may be introduced in Sāmkok where the original Chinese text has no reference to T'ien or fate. There are at least thirty-five cases of this kind of interpolation. Here are some good examples. (33)

San-kuo

Liu Pei said of T'ao Ch'ien:

陶恭祖乃仁人君子不意
受此無辜之冤

"T'ao Kung-tsu [T'ao Ch'ien] is a kind-hearted gentleman. It is unexpected that he would receive such punishment for a crime not committed."

Shui-ching said to
Liu Pei:

公今日幸免大難

"You, Sir, are lucky today to have escaped a great difficulty."

Liu Pei said of his sense of morality: 使人殺其母

而用其子不仁也

"It is not humane to let someone's mother be killed while I employ her son."

Hsü Shu said to Liu Pei:

Sāmkok

โตเกียวเป็นคนสัตย์ซื่ออารี และคิวกล-
อุมายให้เคียวคิซาโจโกเสียนั้นเราไม่เห็น
ควาย ซึ่งเกิดเหตุทั้งนี้ก็เพราะกรรมของ
โตเกียวทำไว้แต่หลัง

"Tō Kiem [T'ao Ch'ien] is a kind and honest man. I do not agree that he could have schemed to have Tiao Khi [Chang K'ai 張闓] kill Chō Kō [Ts'ao Sung]. This incident has occurred because of Tō Kiem's past bad deeds [i.e. kam]."

ตัวท่านนี้มีบุญแลวาสนาเป็นอันมาก
ภัยมาถึงตัวแล้วก็นีเอาตัวรอดได้

"You are a person with a great deal of bun and wātsanā [good fortune due to past good deeds]. When danger comes, you are able to escape unharmed."

อันจะแยกแม่กับลูกไว้มิให้ไปหากัน ให้
มารดาจำตายเพราะลูกนั้น ก็จะเป็น
บาปกรรมไปภายหน้า

"To keep mother and son from reuniting and let the mother die because of her son will be a sinful kam that effects my future."

ข้าพเจ้านี้เป็นคนมีกรรมตามมาทัน ทำให้

某才微智淺深荷使君重用
 今不幸半途而別實為老母故也

"I am of small talent and little intelligence. I am deeply grateful for your making use of me. It is unfortunate that now I have to leave in the middle of the road. The reason for this is because of my aged mother.

พลัดพรากกันที่กลางคัน เหตุด้วยมารดา
 เป็นช้อใหญ่

"I am a person who is caught up by kam which causes an undue separation between us. This is mainly because of my mother."

From the four pattern of translation observed above, one can see clearly that Sāmkok has adopted the Thai Buddhist world view and belief, which in effect becomes distinctively different from the religious and philosophical thought revealed in the original Chinese text. Specifically, the idea of T'ien as the Supreme Deity is replaced by the idea of gods which means that the Chinese monotheistic concept is transformed to the Thai polytheistic thought. Heaven in the sense of ultimate reality is changed to refer merely to a celestial sphere. And the Chinese concept of fatalistic T'ien has been completely replaced by the Buddhist thought of bun-kam which is a switch from fate as an irresistible divine providence to fate as inexorable moral consequences of one's actions. As a result, Buddhist thought plays a dominant role in the conceptual framework of Sāmkok . (34) This in turn effects a change in the meaning and purpose of the novel, which will be discussed in the next section.

B. Concept of Fate

The theme of fatalism has been a topic of discussion in previous studies on the work of San-kuo yen-i , all of which agree on its significance to the design of plot development. (35) Wang T'o shows in his work that the idea of fatalistic Heaven is employed as a dominant factor in the San-kuo plot as many significant turning points in the narrative are justified by the fate concept. (36) Winston Yang makes a similar observation in his dissertation as he writes:

Fatalism, indeed, has dominated the description of events in the San-kuo-chih yen-i . Thus, despite such great talents as Chu-ko Liang and P'ang T'ung, such capable military commanders as the five "Tiger Generals," [Kuan Yu, Chang Fei, Ma Ch'ao, Huang Chung, and Chao Yun] and the resources of Szu-chuan, the Shu rulers cannot complete their ambitious plans to restore the Han dynasty. Chu-ko Liang's magical arts cannot change the course of events seriously; his prolonged attempt to rectify the design of heaven ends in failure. Liu Pei makes fatal mistakes one after another. All his fatal decisions and those made by other leaders that determine the course of San-kuo history can be seen as acts of fate. The inscrutable workings of heaven determine the fate of many men of ambition and talent. The ultimate sense of fate as heaven's design emerges unmistakably in the San-kuo-chih yen-i . (37)

Furthermore, the concept of fatalism in San-kuo has extended its significance in the portrayal of "tragic heroes" who have courage and determination to challenge fate or T'ien although the chance to succeed is very unlikely. Winston Yang has aptly described the condition in which these tragic heroes are trapped:

In the Romance [San-kuo yen-i] there are many other heroes. But no matter how brilliant and talented they may be, most of their efforts are foredoomed to failure because the time is not propitious. It is under these circumstances that their actions must be judged. They make their choices and stand by them even though they know that the odds against their success are formidable. Their ambition is to help their respective chosen masters fulfill their ambitious designs. . . . But in the end nearly all fail to reach their life-long goals, and many die in bitter disappointment. Stressing their ambitions, failures, and deaths, Lo Kuan-chung dramatically reveals, often at the deathbed, their helplessness, their inability to challenge fate, and their ultimate failure. Even though most of them know that the times are against them, and that it is unlikely that they will ever fulfill their ambitious goals, they would not give up their ambitions or admit their failures until the very end of their lives. (38)

According to Wang T'o, however, the idea of "tragic heroes" is depicted only through the characters of Liu Pei and Chu-ko Liang. Wang believes that the motive of "honoring Liu degrading Ts'ao" (ch'ung Liu ch'u Ts'ao 崇劉黜曹) which is reflected throughout the novel (39) requires that Lo Kuan-chung incorporate the heaven-fate concept for three important reasons. First, the author can keep the story in line with the historical facts without committing himself in favor of Ts'ao Ts'ao. Second, the fate concept serves as excellent justification for Liu Pei's failure to attain his ambitious goal and rewards despite his embodiment of virtues. Third, in the mind of Lo Kuan-chung, Liu Pei's tragedy would seem less bitter when human failure

proves to be beyond man's control. (40)

Similar to Wang T'o, Wan Pin-pin views the use of the fate concept in the light of elevating the heroic attributes of Liu Pei and K'ung-ming who exemplify the importance of human values by maintaining their ethical integrity. The essential meaning of heroism is conveyed through their courageous responses in coping with the power of Heaven and the workings of fate, as Wan Pin-pin writes:

In the novel, the fate determined by heaven works like a frame; all heroes perform on a stage beneath it. The creation of characters is in terms of their response and their attitude toward the fate determined by heaven. The basic tension is that the reader has an awareness that Shuhan will fail. This awareness is based on one's knowledge of historical events, and is understood in terms of the workings of fate expressed by the author. With respect to Liu Bei and Kong-ming, this tension is increased by the conflict between their resistance to fate in order to carry out the ideal virtues or to heighten human values, and their submission to the fate and the abandoning of all efforts. Liu Bei resisted fate and ignored the omens, because he chose loyalty to his brothers as more important than obeying heaven. Kong Ming challenged fate because he had devoted himself to an humane leader whom he viewed as the only one able to bring peace to the empire. Loyalty and the determination to carry out a promise to his leader prompted Kong Ming to resist what he himself knew could be the fate determined by heaven. The choice and efforts of Liu Bei and Kong Ming are admirable; they represent an unconquerable human spirit which can arise when one is faced with an irresistible challenge. When faced with fate the characters in the novel appear to have the choice to respond with abject submission or heroism. Liu Bei and Kong Ming chose the heroic stance of challenging fate, resisting in the hope of changing heaven's design. By portraying these two heroic characters within the framework of the design of heaven, Lo

Guanzhong imbues his work with a tragic spirit and presents a theme of universal meaning. (41)

In sum, the concept of fate is essential in the San-kuo novel not only because it is a dominating factor in the plot design, but also because it serves as a criterion by which the definition of heroism is drawn. The sense of tragedy which results from the heroes' fruitless struggle against fate cannot be understood properly unless such a conceptual environment of a fatalistic Heaven is seriously taken into consideration.

However, the same conceptual analysis cannot be made for Sāmkok due basically to the change in the concept of fate. With the adoption of the Buddhist concept of bun-kam, the central notion of Sāmkok is that man himself, not any supernatural power, through the good and bad nature of his deeds, is solely responsible for his own destiny. Occasional revelations from the gods are made in response to the effect of bun and kam. In other words, all beings including the gods are regulated by the Law of bun-kam. The characteristic of "fate" in Sāmkok is, therefore, a matter of individual concern, which is significantly in contrast to that in the San-kuo novel. The Chinese work dwells on the central concept that human destiny is designed and controlled by a God-like entity called T'ien or Heaven in a fixed pattern of cyclical change. The San-kuo characters appears as helpless creatures who must play their

roles according to the providential plan. The nature of "fate" in San-kuo yen-i is, therefore, a collective phenomenon. In adopting the moral approach of Buddhist thought in Sāmkok, the Thai editor has offered a different interpretation of the theme of fatalism. Unlike San-kuo yen-i, Sāmkok can no longer be viewed as a story dramatizing human struggle against fate because its characters, both central and minor, not only show their understanding and acceptance of the workings of fate, but also manifest no signs of doubt or of any wish to challenge fate. Investigation of some protagonists and minor characters will provide clear evidence that the Sāmkok figures have been portrayed by the Thai editor as men and women of Buddhist faith who accept and feel responsible for their own fate.

Among the central characters in Sāmkok, Liu Pei stands out as the most important figure who exemplifies the Buddhist view of fate as being the result of the law of moral retribution. In Sāmkok Liu Pei is portrayed as living a life filled with difficulties and disappointments. Liu Pei was born to an impoverished family despite the fact that his father was a scion of the royal House of Han. Because of poverty Liu Pei received less chance than others to acquire the proper education necessary for becoming a prestigious scholar-official. But due to his past bun, the

Sāmkok text records, Liu Pei was lucky enough to obtain financial support from his uncle. (42) The incident of the Yellow Turban upheaval provided Liu Pei an opportunity to show his capability and intelligence in military affairs. His merits in the struggle against the rebels were, however, overlooked by the government authority, which intensely disappointed Liu Pei. (43) Even though he was later assigned a petty civil post, Liu Pei was eventually forced to resign because he refused to commit bribery. At this point, Liu Pei became not only a wanderer, but also a wanted man. The Sāmkok narrator relates that it was precisely because of the result of bun that Liu Pei found shelter and support from T'ao Ch'ien. (44) But it was not very long before Liu Pei was back on the run again when power struggles among warlords erupted, leaving Liu Pei deprived of land and forces. The result was that Liu Pei could not help but put himself under the charge of Ts'ao Ts'ao whom he came to distrust and despise as a strong contender to usurp the Han throne. Liu Pei soon proclaimed his hostile position against Ts'ao Ts'ao as the former continued on with his involvement in the wars among the various warlords. The Kuan-tu battle between Ts'ao Ts'ao and Yüan Shao which resulted in a great loss of forces for Liu Pei signalizes the first calamity in his life. Upon this disappointing event, Liu Pei expressed his mind to his followers:

ท่านเหล่านี้ล้วนมีสติปัญญาแลฝีมือ เหตุใดจะสู้กรรมล่ำวากกายมา
 คิคคามเราซึ่งเป็นคนท้าวาสนาไม่มี จะเอาประโยชน์สิ่งใด...จงพากัน
 ไปชวนขวายนามูลนายซึ่งมีวาสนามากจึงจะได้อยู่เย็นเป็นสุขสืบไป

"You people all have brains and skill. Why did you have to suffer by following a person like me who has no watsana [good fortune due to past good deeds]? What good would that be? . . . Why don't you try to find a lord blessed with much wātsanā so that you can live happily from now on." (45)

Liu Pei as seen above began to blame his bad lot on his lack of bun or wātsanā . It is from this point onward that Liu Pei showed the tendency to associate his misfortune and failure with the bun-kam concept. When Liu Pei was asked whether he was afraid of any mishaps that the horse on which he rode could bring, Liu Pei replied: โชซึ่งคืนร้ายนั้นก็ตามแต่บุญแลกรรม "Fortune and misfortune are all due to bun and kam ." (46)

In chapter thirty-two of Sāmkok , after Liu Pei had barely made a safe escape from Ts'ai Mao's vicious scheme, he reflected on his degrading plight: ทิวข้าพเจ้าทุกวันนี้วาสนาน้อย ทั้งชาตาราศีก้ออภัพ จึงไ้ได้รับความล่ำวาก "My wātsanā these days is small and my fate is wretched and so I have encountered hardship." (47) After this, Liu Pei met Hsu Shu who became his military advisor. But this happy relationship in Liu Pei's political career did not last long when Hsu Shu was sucessfully deceived by Ts'ao Ts'ao and urged to leave Liu Pei for good. Before Hsü Shu's

departure, Liu Pei feeling sorry for himself said to the former: คัวข้าพเจ้านี้เป็นคนวาสนาน้อย จึงมิได้ท่านไว้อยู่ช่วยสั่งสอนสืบไป

"I am a man with very little wātsanā , therefore I cannot have you to help and advise me in the days to come." (48) Finally, K'ung-ming appeared and controlled affairs in the Shu kingdom as he became Liu Pei's most capable advisor. However, the genius of K'ung-ming was unable to change Liu Pei's ill-fated life. The undue deaths of Kuan Yü and Chang Fei prompted Liu Pei to make bad decisions which resulted in the devastating defeat that eventually cost Liu Pei's own life. At the final moment of his life, Liu Pei blamed it on the consequence of his kam : เราช่วยกันทำการยังมีสำเร็จ บัดนี้กรรมมาถึง เราจะลาท่านไปแต่กลางทางก่อน

"We have all helped in the task but without success. Now [my] kam is here, I will have to leave in the midst of my task." (49) In his letter to his son whom Liu Pei appointed as his successor, Liu Pei wrote:

คัวบิดาไปทำการทั้งนี้หวังจะกำจัดศัตรูราชสมบัติจะบารุงแผ่นดิน
พระเจ้าเหี้ยนเต้ให้เป็นสุข ก็ไม่ทันจะสำเร็จ กรรมมาถึง
บิดาจะลาไปก่อนแล้ว

"I started out with the hope of eliminating the enemy of the throne and and bringing peace to the kingdom of Phraçhaō Hien Tē [Emperor Hsien]; but [my] kam has arrived before I could complete my task. I must now leave." (50)

Like Liu Pei, K'ung-ming is portrayed in Sāmkok as a character who fully understands the law of moral retribution. He justified his failure and success, his misfortune and good luck with the Buddhist concept of bun and kam . For instance, in chapter forty of Sāmkok , K'ung-ming set off with twenty sailing boats to approach Ts'ao Ts'ao's military base settled near the Ch'ang-chiang river prior to the Battle of Ch'ih-pi. To the surprise of Chou Yü and Lu Su, K'ung-ming returned with some one-hundred thousand arrows obtained from the enemy without losing a single soldier. This miraculous success was viewed by K'ung-ming as the result of his abundant possession of bun. (51) During his campaign to conquer the Man people in chapter sixty-seven, K'ung-ming expressed his wish to release the captive soldiers of Man for the sake of making merit or bun .

คนทั้งปวงเป็นแต่ไพร่พลเมือง เบ่งเฮ็กเกณฑ์เอาตัวมารบ ชักเขา
มิได้ก็จำเป็นจำมา ครั้นเราจับไว้ไค้ฉะนี้ ฝ่ายลูกเมียพี่น้องอยู่
ข้างหลังก็คอยหา ครั้นไม่เห็นกลับไปก็ระร้องเป็นทุกข์ถึง เราคิด
เอ็นคุคนทั้งปวงไม่ฆ่าเสีย แล้วจะปล่อยไปเอาบุญ

"All these people [the Man soldiers] are only common citizens whom Beng Hek [Meng Huo] drafted to fight in the battle. Since they could not resist him, they had to come. Now that they are captured, their families and relatives who stayed behind will long for them. If the soldiers do not return, their families will cry in their distress. I have compassion for these people; I will not

kill them but set them free for the sake of bun .” (52)

K'ung-ming also performed a similar act of merit later on in the campaign. (53) And in the Buddhist way K'ung-ming accepted the good result of bun in his life. But he also accepted the bad result of kam . As many lives were lost during the campaign, K'ung-ming gradually felt responsible for the sins he had committed; and he sensed that his life would soon be doomed because he had killed so many people. (55) Henceforth, K'ung-ming experienced one calamity after another. K'ung-ming's careful scheme to eliminate Szu-ma I and his sons, in chapter seventy-eight, turned out to be an utter failure. The scorching flame from the fire that K'ung-ming used to trap his enemy was stopped by a sudden rain storm. Upon this unexpectedly lucky outcome, Szu-ma I commented: บุญของเรามีอยู่เป็นอันมาก เทพกาจึงบันดาลให้ฝนตกลงมาช่วยเรา "I still have plenty of bun , that's why the gods caused the rainfall to save me." (55) For K'ung-ming, however, his failure to capture Szu-ma I was a great disaster for which K'ung-ming blamed his kam , as he remarked:

ธรรมดาคนทั้งปวงจะทำการสิ่งใดก็ย่อมสำเร็จด้วยความคิด
แม้การไม่ตลอดก็เพราะผู้นั้นมีกรรมอยู่

"Normally, whatever people want to do can be expected to be achieved through planning. But if

things cannot be brought to a conclusion, it is because the person has kam . (56)

Following this disappointment K'ung-ming became ill and his health became increasingly worse. K'ung-ming then made the final attempt to prolong his life by using his knowledge and magical arts. Ironically, his arts and talents failed to be effective when they were most needed. By then K'ung-ming realized that his death was inevitable:

ความตายนี้เป็นโบราณกรรม ถึงมาครว่าจะคิดอ่านแก้ไขประการใด
ก็ไม่พ้น ตัวเราครั้งนี้จะถึงความตายเป็นมั่นคง

"My death is due to past kam . It is inescapable no matter how I scheme to remedy the situation. Surely I am now approaching death." (57)

And even though Wei Yen 魏延 deserved blame for jeopardising the completion of the life-prolongation ceremony, K'ung-ming still insisted that failure was the result of his past demerits:

จะฆ่าอยู่เฉียนเฉียนนั้นไม่ควร อันเหตุทั้งนี้เพราะกรรมของเรา
จะถึงที่ตาย

"It is not right to kill 'Ui 'Ian [Wei Yen]. All this happened because my kam is about to bring me to my death." (58)

At the final moment of life, the protagonists in Sāmkok always felt their fate was due to bun and kam . Like Piu Pei and K'ung-ming, Ts'ao Ts'ao accepted the law of moral

retribution as he said: อันเป็นแต่ตายนั้นก็สุดแต่บุญแลกรรม "As for life and death, it all depends on bun and kam ." (59) And before Ts'ao died he said:

โบราณว่าไว้ว่า กรรมมาถึงตัวแล้วจะทำประการใดก็หาพ้นไม่
 บัดนี้กรรมมาถึงแล้ว ใครจะมาช่วยเราได้

"An ancient saying goes, 'When kam arrives, one can do nothing to avoid it.' Now that kam is here, who can help me?" (60)

Chou Yü, the mentor of the Wu kingdom, resenting his approaching death, wrote an apologetic letter to his master, Sun Ch'üan, in which he blamed his kam for his failure to complete his master's plan to unify China. (61)

Not only the male characters in Sāmkok thought in the Thai Buddhist fashion, the female figures were also portrayed to hold the belief in the efficacy of bun-kam . Chapter seven in Sāmkok contains the well-known episode relating how Tiao Ch'an cleverly seduced both Tung Cho and Lu Pu as part of Wang Yun's secret scheme to destroy them. Torn between her affection for Lu Pu and her duty to carry out her schemes, she chooses the latter, saying: เพราะเจ้ากรรมมาตามทัน ชาตินี้บุญน้อยแล้วมิได้อยู่ปรนนิบัติท่านผู้เป็นสามี
 "Because my kam has arrived, I am in this life poor of bun and have not served you [Lü Pu] who are my husband." (62) In chapter thirty-seven, there is an impressive scene showing the genuine love of a mother in the character of Mi fu-jen

糜夫人, the wife of Liu Pei, who offered her own life for the safety of her son whose survival would mean the perpetuation of the Shu ruling line. When Chao Yun denied her wish, she said to him: อันตัวข้าพเจ้านี้จะตายก็ตามแต่เวรหนหลัง "If I should die, it all depends upon my past bad deeds." (63)

As a result of this conceptual change in the issue of fate, the crucial element of heroism portrayed in the original Chinese work has become irrelevant in Sāmkok. Similarly, the meaningful sentiment of tragedy which is derived from the characters' inability to fight against fate or against the power of T'ien has been nullified in the Thai version. In a sense, the original meaning and purpose of the San-kuo novel are substantially missing in Sāmkok.

It is interesting to note that the theme of moral retribution is, by no means, new in the tradition of the development of the San-kuo story for it was once employed in an early version called the San-kuo-chih p'ing-hua (A P'ing-hua version of the Record of the Three Kingdoms Story), a work of oral and popular origin daating from the Yüan dynasty. (64) When Lo Kuan-chung wrote the San-kuo yen-i several decades later, he intended to do away with such a popular treatment of reward and punishment as he concentrated more on retelling historical facts. Considering this fact, the reappearance of the moral

retribution concept in Sāmkok would have been a sign of literary weakness in the eye of the Chinese author. But in order to do justice to the role and responsibility of the Thai editor for the translation, it is necessary to consider the purpose behind the changes. It is obvious that the Thai editor had to initiate such a drastic change of concept for the purpose of making the translation a relevant and acceptable work of literature in the Thai cultural context and way of thinking. Like its contemporary literary products, such as, Rāmakīen and Rāchāthirāt , Sāmkok adheres to the philosophical tenet of Buddhism. The role of Buddhism was striking in all aspects of life during the time Sāmkok was translated. Buddhism was not only the state religion in this newly established dynasty of Chakrī, but also was significant as being the ideological foundation for all kinds of cultural reconstruction vigorously pushed and encouraged by its founder, King Rama I. Thus, literary reconstruction was done in the tradition to teach and uphold Buddhsit thought. The most interesting point here is that even imported foreign literature like the Chinese novel, San-kuo yen-i , could hardly escape such prominent currents of thought. In this respect, Sāmkok , can be said, in a sense, to be written in support of the indigenous religious belief in the new environment.

Notes

(1) Sang, "Author's Introduction," p. 11.

(2) This concept of T'ien being a Supreme Deity went back to ancient times in China, probably as far as the period of the Hsia 夏 and Shang 商 dynasties (c. 2205-1123 B.C.). The meaning of T'ien and its relationship to man afterwards became a major topic for philosophical and religious discussions in different schools of thought throughout the centuries. A few good historical surveys of the T'ien concept can be found in the following works: 1) Feng Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), Vol. I, chap. 3; 2) David Howard Smith, Chinese Religions (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968).

(3) Wan Pin-pin adopts Feng Yu-lan's definition of "fatalistic T'ien " given in A History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 31: "A fatalistic T'ien, equivalent to the concept of Fate (ming 命), a term applied to all those events in human life over which man himself has no control."

(4) Wan Pin-pin, pp. 4-13.

(5) San-kuo, pp. 1 and 759, respectively.

(6) See Sāmkok, I, p. 1 and II, p. 1086.

(7) San-kuo , p. 83.

(8) San-kuo , p. 231.

(9) Sāmkok , I, p. 274.

(10) Sāmkok , I, p. 768.

(11) Examples can be found in the Chinese text on the following pages and lines: 4.2, 13.15, 45.16, 45.17, 50.15, 67.18, 83.14-.16, 98.18, 103.11, 106.2, 220.7, 220.8, 229.6, 231.13, 274.15, 330.16, 368.1, 433.17, 443.9-.10, 457.6, 535.7-536.3, 536.6, 607.16, 644.11, 686.18, 732.15, and 750.17.

(12) The four examples shown are from San-kuo , pp. 89, 196, 269, 409, respectively, and Sāmkok , I, pp. 293, 643, 874, and II, p. 226, respectively.

(13) Thai folks have for centuries believed in the supernatural, including ghosts and divine spirits, long before and after the establishment of Buddhism in Thailand. This fact is recorded in Chai Rū'angsin ชัย เรื่องศิลป์ , Prawattisāt Thai samai 2352-2453 ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัย 2352-2453 (Thai History during A.D. 1809-1910), (Bangkok: Rū'angsin House, 1974), Vol. I, p. 64; Khu'krit Prāmōt คีฤทธิ ปราโมช , "Phra Phutthasātsanā kap sangkhom Thai," พระพุทธศาสนา กับสังคมไทย (Buddhism and Thai Society), (Bangkok: n.p., 1973), p. 10.

(14) San-kuo , p. 3.

(15) Sāmkok , I, pp. 9-10.

(16) These eight examples are from San-kuo , pp. 99, 182, 211, 375, 598, 733, 747, respectively, and Sāmkok , I, pp. 317, 340, 593, 704; II, pp. 130, 711, 1030, 1067, respectively. More examples of T'ien being changed to "gods" can be located in Sāmkok , I, pp. 6, 649, 731; II, pp. 23, 292-293, 490, 534, 549, 640, 709, 736, 827 which correspond with San-kuo , pp. 2, 197, 219, 336, 430, 505, 522, 528, 567, 597, 608, and 652, respectively.

(17) See, for instance, the studies done by James N. Mosel, "Fatalism in Thai Bureaucratic Decision-making," Anthropological Quarterly , 39 (July 1966), 191-199 and J. Ingersoll, "Fatalism in Village Thailand," Anthropological Quarterly , 39 (July 1966), 200-225.

(18) Ten other incidents can be found in San-kuo on the following pages and lines: 65.7, 181.9, 214.12, 220.2, 311.8, 349.11, 387.17, 496.4, 660.5, and 660.9 which correspond with Sāmkok , I, pp. 213, 590, 715-716, 733, 987; II, pp. 58, 164, 466, 844, and 844, respectively.

(19) San-kuo , p. 24.

(20) Sāmkok , I, p. 77.

(21) San-kuo , p. 152.

- (22) Sāmkok , I, p. 495.
- (23) San-kuo , p. 489.
- (24) Sāmkok , II, p. 448.
- (25) San-kuo , p. 59.
- (26) Sāmkok , I, p. 195.
- (27) San-kuo , p. 657.
- (28) Sāmkok , II, p. 838.
- (29) San-kuo , p. 659.
- (30) Sāmkok , II, p. 842.
- (31) San-kuo , p. 231.
- (32) Sāmkok , I, p. 768.

(33) The five examples shown are from San-kuo on the following pages and lines: 62.15, 219.15, 227.1, 227.5, respectively, and Sāmkok , I, pp. 204, 733, 757, 758, respectively. More examples can be found in Sāmkok , I, pp. 149, 155, 357, 398, 412, 423, 458, 543, 583, 629, 636, 639, 651, 691, 709-710, 756, 772, 850, 852; II, pp. 116, 170, 246, 264, 430-431, 542, 551, 553, 590, 597, 604, and 725 which correspond with San-kuo in the following pages and lines: 45.16, 47.16-.17, 110.15, 122.5, 126.17, 131.12, 142.9, 166.10, 179.2, 192.7-.8, 194.3-.4, 195.1, 198.3-.4, 208.11, 212.16, 226.14, 233.17, 260.1, 261.2, 370.3-.4, 390.1, 416.9, 421.16-.17, 483.1, 525.10, 528.15, 529.13, 546.1, 548.16, 554.9, and 603.17.

(34) Statistically, the term bun in the basic sense of "merit" appears over fifty times in the Sāmkok text and the term kam in the sense of "demerit" about thirty times.

(35) Interesting discussion on the theme of fatalism in San-kuo yen-i can be found in the following sources: 1) Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih ," pp. 95-102; 2) Winston Yang, Peter Li, and Nathan Mao, Classical Chinese Fiction: A Guide to Its Study and Appreciation (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1978), pp. 43-45; 3) Wang T'ao 王拓, "San-kuo yen-i chung te ting-ming kuan-nien" 三國演義中的定命觀念 in Chung-kuo ku-tien hsiao-shuo lun-chi 中國古典小說論叢 No. 1 by Lin I-liang 林以亮, et al. (Taipei: Huan-chih wen-hua kung-szu ch'i-k'an-pu, 1975), pp. 169-189; 4) Wan Pin-pin, "Frame of Heaven's Design in the San-kuo yen-i ," (A term paper for a seminar at the University of Washington, winter 1981), pp. 1-27; 5) Ling Ying 凌影, San-kuo yen-i tsung-heng t'an 三國演義縱橫談 (Kowloon: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976), Vol. II, pp. 461-466. Only the last piece of work has negative criticism on Lo Kuan-chung's employment of the concept of fate. Ling Ying asserts in his essay that the use of the idea of fate as a device and solution of plot design in San-kuo yen-i seems to be an unnecessarily cheap and forced technique.

- (36) Wang T'o, pp. 171-174.
- (37) Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih ," pp. 98-99.
- (38) Yang, Classical Chinese Fiction , p. 43.
- (39) Wang T'o, pp. 175-176.
- (40) See Wang T'o, pp. 178-185.
- (41) Wan Pin-pin, pp. 22-23.
- (42) Sāmkok , I, p. 8.
- (43) Sāmkok , I, p. 25.
- (44) Sāmkok , I, p. 213.
- (45) Sāmkok , I, p. 651.
- (46) Sāmkok , I, pp. 715-716.
- (47) Sāmkok , I, p. 733.
- (48) Sāmkok , I, p. 758.
- (49) Sāmkok , II, p. 551.
- (50) Sāmkok , II, p. 553.
- (51) Sāmkok , II, pp. 923-924.
- (52) Sāmkok , II. p. 590.
- (53) Sāmkok , II, p. 604.
- (54) Sāmkok , II, p. 638.
- (55) Sāmkok , II, P. 837.
- (56) Sāmkok , II, p. 838.
- (57) Sāmkok , II, p. 844.
- (58) Sāmkok , II, p. 844.

- (59) Sāmkok , I, p. 987.
- (60) Sāmkok , II, p. 448.
- (61) Sāmkok , II, p. 58.
- (62) Sāmkok , I, p. 155.
- (63) Sāmkok , I, p. 850.

(64) In stressing the theme of moral retribution, the author of the San-kuo-chih p'ing-hua interpretes the disintegration of the Han empire into three separate states as the result of the unjust execution of three able generals by the Han Emperor Kao Tsu and regards the eventual reunification of the three states under the Chin as reward of heaven to the Ssu-ma family, one of whose ancestors has been extremely just in his administration of laws. This is taken from Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih ," p. 67.

Chapter Eight

Subsequent Versions

When Sāmkok first appeared in early 19th century, it was immediately well received and recognized as an important work of military strategy. It was after 1865 when Sāmkok was available in published form that the work became increasingly popular as a source of literary entertainment. Since then the Sāmkok story has been an interesting theme to the Thai authors.

In the early days, the thematic influence of Sāmkok appeared in the form of drama and poetry. (1) Certain popular episodes from Sāmkok were adapted for a kind of dramatic performance called lakhōn nōk ละคอนนอก which is a kind of play featuring Thai classical dance performed exclusively by males. By the turn of the 20th century, the Sāmkok theme was found in another dramatic form called lakhōn Prāmōthai ละคอนปราโมทัย which is a kind of operatic play performed by both males and females. The most popular stories performed on stage were the Tiao Ch'an episode, the story of Chou Yü, and the story of Liu Pei and Sun fu-jen. (2)

As for poetry, Prince Damrong informs us that there was a piece written in klōn (3) describing the seduction of Tung Cho. This piece was written by Lūang Thanmāphimon หลวงธรรมาภิมนตรี , originally known as Thu'k Chitkathu'k

ถึก จิตรกรถึก , and it was printed in 1916. (4) Furthermore, there were some klōn on the Sāmkok theme which were specially composed to accompany musical scores and used for chanting or for incorporating in the operatic plays. (5)

In the contemporary period, Sāmkok not only lends its theme to various styles of dramatic production (6), but it also has occasioned the rise of new versions in prose. The purpose of this chapter is to point out the significant contributions the new versions have made in attempting to provide a better way of understanding the story of Sāmkok . Three important works are selected to show the differences in their contribution to the understanding and enjoyment of this work. Discussion of the three works will demonstrate the similarities and differences among them with regard to format, narrative approach, style of language, and interpretation of the story. Also, comments will be made on the use of sources and especially on how the text of Sāmkok is viewed and utilized by these contemporary authors.

Sāmkok chabap waniphok สามก๊กฉบับวานิพอก (Sāmkok : The Mendicant Storyteller's Version) by Chot Phraephan โชติ แพรวพันธ์ (1908-1956) under the famous penname "Yākhōp" ยำขอบ (7) represents the earliest of these new versions. It is comprised of eighteen short pieces which were finished over a period of time between 1943 to 1955. (8) Originally, these eighteen pieces of writing were published separately

beginning in 1943. In 1964 they were compiled for the first time in two volumes. (9)

According to Yākhōp, the narrative of Sāmkok was presented in an unnecessarily complicated manner that consequently caused confusion and ambiguity at times. Yakhop remarks in his work:

เรื่องสามก๊กพูดได้ในฐานที่ตนเป็นคนสนใจต่อการประพันธ์ สามก๊กเป็นเรื่องที่อ่านง่าย แต่เข้าใจยาก ลีลาของการแต่งหรือการเชื่อมโยงเรื่องนั้น ก่อให้เกิดความสับสนไปหมด ขอล่าววิธีเขียนของสามก๊กเป็นวิธีของการเขียนเรื่องยาวที่เลว

Speaking as a person who is interested in creative writing, I would say that the story of Sāmkok is a work that is easy to read but difficult to understand. The style of composition or the way the story is put together produces all kinds of confusion. Let me say that the method used in writing Sāmkok is a poor method for writing long fiction. (10)

And again:

เราจะพูดถึงหนังสือสามก๊กสักหน่อย เรื่องสามก๊กเป็นหนังสือดีมาก ปรากฏการณ์ที่ระบุไว้ในท้องเรื่องโยงสัมพันธ์กันถี่ยิบ แต่วิธีดำเนินเรื่องหรือลีลาของการประพันธ์นั้นหาดีไม่

Let us talk about the work of Sāmkok a bit. The Sāmkok is a very good piece of work. Incidents which appear in the story are minutely intertwined. But the method by which the story develops or the style in which it is written is not good. (11)

It was with this perspective that Yākhōb commenced to write his own version of Sāmkok. Yākhōp offers a completely different approach in presenting the narration of the Sāmkok tale. Instead of proceeding with the story in chronological order, Yākhōb tells his story by focussing on one particular character in each piece. (12) His treatment of an individual character in each piece is designed to draw special traits and characteristics of the protagonist and at the same time is an attempt to present major incidents and other important related figures. Each piece adopts the name of the character under discussion as its title to which the author adds as a subtitle a descriptive phrase or epitaph that denotes a typical characteristic of the character. (13) These eighteen pieces of The Waniphok Version, as a whole, constitute a fairly complete picture of the Sāmkok story as presented in the original version by Phrakhleng. (14)

Not only is Yākhōb's style of presentation or format is different from the original Sāmkok version, but his narrative style is also novel. As suggested by the title of his work, The Mendicant Storyteller's Version, Yākhōb chooses to employ the artistic conventions of the traditional storyteller. The narrator overtly addresses himself by the name "waniphok" វង្សិណ (mendicant storyteller). In the role of "waniphok" narrator, Yākhōb exercises his freedom to control and direct the rhythm and

tempo of his narrative. In fact, the author occasionally makes explicit reference to his own approach in handling his materials:

ว่าจะเล่าตามเนื้อหาไม่บ้าน้ำลาย แต่อดไม่ไหวตามวาสนาของวนิพก
นอกเรื่องไปอีกจนได้

ขอบ้าน้ำลาย เกล็ดไปควยใจที่ตั่งว่าจะรับใช้ผู้อ่านตามฐานะวนิพกนี้ให้สมหน้าที่ไป

แต่สามก๊กในมือของท่านนี้เป็นฉบับของวนิพก เป็นกินแค้นที่บุคคลผู้หนึ่งได้รับความ
สมยอม (โดยปริยาย) ให้แสดงความคิดเห็น หรือบ้าน้ำลายโดยเสรีภายใน
ในขอบเขตของพฤติการณ์ต่างๆ จากสามก๊กที่เป็นฉบับหลักฐานแท้จริง

I meant to tell the story focussing on essentials, without carrying on at great length; but being given to the habit of a mendicant storyteller I could not help departing from the main story.

Please let me carry on at length so that as a mendicant storyteller I can serve you, the reader, in accordance with my duty.

The work of Sāmkok in your hand now is the waniphok version in which one is accepted (automatically) to express certain ideas or to speak out freely within the limits of the events as recorded in the legitimate version, Sāmkok.
(15)

Interestingly, some of the narrator's functions are similar to those of the traditional Chinese storytellers.

(16) Thus, like the Chinese storytelling artists, the "waniphok" narrator invites his audience to his

presentation.

เชิญตั้งเข้ามาดังเคย...ตะเกียงดวงเล็ก ๆ จุกขึ้นแล้ว อันเป็นลักษณะ
 สำแดงว่าวนิพกจะเล่านิทาน

มาเชิญตั้งเข้ามาอย่างเคย แล้วช่วยขึ้นเชิงการเล่า ถึงจะเล่าบ้าง
 หยุคน้างบระการโก แต่ในค่านความสนุกก็ไม่เคยทำให้ผู้ใดผิดหวังนั้น
 วนิพกผู้หนึ่งก็จะดำเนินการ เล่าเรื่องสามก๊กครั้งใหม่ของเขาต่อไป

เชิญตั้งเข้ามาอย่างเคย บัดนี้วนิพกคนเก่าของท่านได้กลับมารับใช้บำรุง
 บำเรอความสุขของท่านอีกแล้ว

Please gather in a circle as usual . . . the
 little lantern has been lit as a sign indicating
 that Waniphok is going to tell a story.

Come, gather in a circle as usual. And with the
 wiles of the storyteller, who despite stops and
 starts has never disappointed anyone's hope of
 enjoyment, Waniphok will carry on and tell a new
 episode of Sāmkok.

Please gather in a circle again as before. Your
 good old Waniphok is now back to serve you and
 bring you pleasure once again. (17)

Occasionally, the narrator will give a summary of what
 has been narrated or remind his audience of certain events
 previously mentioned. So one finds phrases, such as the
 following: "ท่านผู้อ่านยังคงจำไคว่า..." "ท่านผู้อ่านลืมหรือยังว่า..."
 "เมื่อกัวนิพกทาสผู้รับใช้ท่านได้กล่าวแล้วว่า..."
 "The reader may still remember that . . . ", "Has the reader

forgotten that . . . ", "Just now Waniphok, your slave and servant, mentioned that . . . ". (18) And, like the Chinese storyteller, Yākhōp also invites his audience to follow the events to come, in the following:

เขาจะต้องผจญอย่างไรกับศัตรูผู้นี้ เราก็คouldเห็นในคอนหน้า
 บัดนี้เราก็คouldเห็นสิ่งที่เราพากันติดตามคอยดู
 ท่านอยากฟังหรือไม่ เมื่อข้าพเจ้าจะเล่าถึง . . . เชิญฟังตอนต่อไป

We will see in the next chapter how he encounters his enemy.

We will now witness what we have been waiting to see.

Would you like to hear what I have to tell you? . . . Please listen to the next chapter. (19)

At some points the reader is urged to take part in making judgments on the story. The narrator, for instance, says:

"เราตั้งใจให้ท่านผู้อ่านของเราไปเถียงกันเอง คงจะเป็นแน่ที่เกี่ยว
 นี้เราก็คouldทำหน้าที่วิพากษ์ของเราต่อไปเรื่อยๆ" "It may be a good idea for me
 to leave it here for the reader to carry on the argument,
 and I can continue to do my duty as a waniphok ." (20)

Perhaps the most important function of the waniphok narrator is to make the Sāmkok story clear _ something which Yākhōp felt his work should do in order to improve the

original version. As Yākhōp implies at one point in his work: "เป็นวิธีการของวนิพกที่จะทำให้กระจ่างออกไป" "It is the way of the mendicant storyteller to make [his story] clear." (21) In order to achieve this end, Yākhōp must use several sources as he explains:

วนิพกผู้เจียมตัว แต่ก็มีใจในข้อพิพาทเห็นของตัว จะพิสูจน์ข้อคิดเห็น
ของเขา ทั้งนี้เป็นการสนทนาคณะผู้อ่านให้เข้าใจ โดยค้นและเอาจากการ
ลำดับภาพเหตุการณ์ในสามก๊ก ฉบับหอสมุดแห่งชาตินั้นเองเสียใหม่
จากสามก๊กฉบับของบริวิทย์เทเลอร์ และจากพงศาวดารจีนเรื่องอื่นๆ
เข้าประกอบด้วย

The Waniphok who is modest but confident of his viewpoint and opinions, in appreciation for the reader, will demonstrate his ideas by researching and bringing in materials obtained from reorganizing the narrative sequence of events in the National Library edition of Sāmkok, and from the text of the Sāmkok version done by Brewitt-Taylor, as well as from other Chinese historical records. (22)

In fact, Yakhop relies mostly on the English translation by Brewitt-Taylor, The Romance of the Three Kingdoms . (23) The influence of Brewitt-Taylor's work is evident throughout. The author occasionally quoted portions of text in English, such as names, titles, speeches, and poems, interpolating these quotations right before or after their Thai renditions. Yākhōp usually failed to cite his source of reference when he used Brewitt-Taylor's work. One also finds that the characters' names and official titles follow

those in the work of Brewitt-Taylor, as for example, in the following names (24):

Yakhob's	Brewitt-Taylor's
ตั้งจิ่งยั้งโตะ	董仲穎卓
Tang Chang-ying To	Tung Chung-ying Cho
โจเม้งเค้อฉ	曹孟德操
Jo Meng-te Chō	Ts'ao Meng-te Ts'ao
อ้วนกั๋งเสี่ยว ลอร์ดแห่งโปไฮ	渤海 袁紹
'Uan Kang-lū Siao, lōt haeng (i.e., "lord of") Pō-hai	Lord of Po-hai, Yüan Kung-lu Shao
มาควิสแห่งชานปิง เคียวจูลงหยุน	趙子龍雲
Makwī haeng (i.e., "marquis of") Chān-ping, Tiao Chū-long Yun	Marquis of Shan-p'ing, Chao Tzu-lung Yün

Some statements in direct quotation are cited by Yakhob. For instance, to begin his chapter on K'ung-ming, Yakhob brings in Hsü Shu's description of K'ung-ming's unsurpassed qualifications as taken from Brewitt-Taylor's text. (25) Ts'ao Ts'ao's famous statement, "I would rather betray the world than let the world betray me," (26) is also quoted in Yākhōp's work. (27)

Also, several poems from the English text are used, whereas the original Thai translation omits most of the poetic lines. For instance, a poem relating Wang Yün's scheme to exterminate Tung Cho is quoted and translated by Yākhōp. (28) In the episode relating Liu Pei's three visits

to K'ung-ming's residence, Yākhōp cites two poems in English and transmits them into Thai. (29)

Often Yākhōp translates part of Brewitt-Talor's text but fails to give its source or to cite the English text in his work. One good example is the account concerning the family lines of the Han house which proved Liu Pei a legitimate royal uncle of Hsien Ti, the ruling Han Emperor. (30) One other example is the mourning speech of K'ung-ming given to Chou Yü at the latter's funeral. (31) All these are taken from the English version with the hope of making the story clear and vivid.

Besides using Brewitt-Taylor's work, Yākhōp occasionally refers to a number of historical events, ranging from World War I and European history to the political history of the Far East and that of Thailand. (32) He also uses some episodes from Thai literature to work into his Sāmkok narrative. (33)

In order to provide the detail for some scenes, Yākhōp sometimes prefers to utilize his imagination as he once stated:

ในฉบับของวานิพจน์ ขอฟังกันให้แตกคอกนอกตำรับเดิมเขาไปหน่อย " In this waniphok version, let us listen to materials that depart from the original source." (34) So Yākhōp fabricates vivid descriptions of mood and thought which are not found in the Sāmkok . To cite an example, take the scene in which

Ts'ao Ts'ao is about to make an assassination attempt against Tung Cho. (35) When he is caught by Tung Cho, Yākhōp imagines what Ts'ao Ts'ao would have said to himself:

โจโจสำนึกในขณะนั้นว่า นี่เป็นมวยคนละขนาด ข้าพเจ้าเบากว่าและเล็กกว่านัก จะเข้าไปโค่นอย่างไรกับนักมวยขนาดหนักเช่นนั้น

At that moment Jō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] reflected: "Here is an unequal fight. I am much lighter and smaller. How am I going to knock out this heavy-weight boxer." (36)

In another scene where Ts'ao Ts'ao felt disappointed because Yuan Shao and other military warlords refused to pursue Tung Cho when the latter was fleeing in defeat (37), Yakhop fancies Ts'ao Ts'ao's thought as follows:

โจ มั่ง เต๋ โจ คำที่งอยู่ในใจ โชเอ๋ย นี้กูมาคิดการกับคนเลี้ยงโค ไอพวกขุนศึกแก่นี่ควายทั้งนั้น ข้าไม่ขอคิดการใหญ่ร่วมกับเจ้าสืบไปแล้ว . . . ใครไม่ไปกูไปตามอุดมการณ์ของกู

Chō Meng-tē Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] muttered angrily to himself, "Oh No! Here I am dealing with cow herds. All these military warlords are as stupid as water buffaloes. I'm not going to plan big schemes with them any more. . . . If nobody wants to go along, I'll pursue my ideals alone. (38)

Yākhōp not only clarifies and elaborates the Sāmkok story, but he also offers his analytical treatment of the characters where he sees fit. At one point he expresses his intention to look into the meaning behind what appears on

the surface of the text:

วนิพกผู้นี้จะขออาสาพาท่านทั้งหลายไปสู่เบื้องหลังของคิ้วหนังสือ ซึ่ง
 คิ้วทรศนะของวนิพกผู้นี้ ท่านอาจจะได้พบความจริงนอกเหนือไป
 กว่าที่ปรากฏเป็นตัวอักษรในหนังสือสามก๊กฉบับจริง

This Waniphok will volunteer to take you to see what lies behind the text. Through the perceptive view of a mendicant storyteller, you may find the truth which lies beyond what appears in black and white in the authentic version of Sāmkok. (39)

Yākhōp's concern for character delineation and assessment may be seen for example in his treatment of Chou Yü. Here Yākhōp tries to underline the point that Chou Yü was above all loyal to the Sun 孫 family and the Wu kingdom. And he traces Chou Yü's unwavering adherence to the principle of faithfulness from the beginning to the end of his life. One can already notice the crucial role of Chou Yu in building up a powerful base for Wu as early as the time when Sun Ts'e 孫策 was the helmsman of Wu. (40) At the death of Sun Ts'e, Chou Yü makes a solemn oath to serve Sun Ch'üan, the new master of Wu: "ข้าพเจ้าจะช่วยท่านบำรุงขุนกวนไปคามสคติปัญญาโดยสุจริต จนกว่าจะสิ้นชีวิต" "I will faithfully serve Sun K'üan [Sun Ch'üan] according to my abilities till the end of my life." (41) At this point Yākhōp makes his comment:

นี่แหละ คือเพื่อนผู้ภักดีและทาสผู้ซื่อสัตย์ของแซ่ซุน กังนั้นจึงไม่แปลก

เลยที่เสื่อสำอานแห่งซีเสงจะทำให้ทุกอย่าง ไม่ว่าทางตรงหรือทางคค
 ถ้าสิ่งนั้นอย่างนั้นผลของมันจะ เพื่อความรุ่งเรืองและสวัสดิภาพของ
 วงศ์ขุน

Here is indeed a loyal friend and a faithful slave
 of the Suns. It is therefore not surprising that
 the "elegant tiger of Si-seng" [Chou Yü] will do
 anything -- right or wrong -- as long as it
 results in the prosperity and stability of the
 Suns. (42)

One of Chou Yü's traits as portrayed in the San-kuo
yen-i that has been frequently discussed by both Chinese and
 Western scholars is his jealousy of K'ung-ming's great
 intelligence and surpassing genius. (43) Translations of
 the San-kuo , namely, the Sāmkok and The Romance of the
Three Kingdoms , unflinchingly carry on the same portrayal of
 Chou Yü. But Yākhōp seems to see such a negative judgment
 of Chou Yu's character as unfair. Instead of viewing Chou
 Yu's jealousy as a negative trait, Yākhōp analyzes it in
 terms of degree. The author attributes twenty percent of
 the sense of jealousy to Chou Yü's own personal reasons but
 the remaining eighty percent to his concern for the public
 good. In his defense of Chou Yü, Yakhōp explains that Chou
 Yü's jealous behavior arose from his sense of duty and his
 loyalty to Wu. "If such deeds," "ถ้ากรรมนั้น" Yākhōp justifies,
 "are done for the sake of one's own native land, we must by
 all means bow our heads in sympathy for the one who does

them." "ประกอบเพื่อมาชุมนุมกันแล้วไซ้ ถึงอย่างไรเราก็ต้องยอมกัน
ศิระให้แกผู้ประกอบมันด้วยความเห็นใจ"

(44)

After Ts'ao Ts'ao is defeated in the Battle of Ch'ih-pi by the joint forces of the Wu and the Shu kingdoms, the winning partners gradually come into conflict because of their desire to occupy Ching-chou 荊州. Chou Yü then makes several attempts to take Ching-chou back from Liu Pei, all of them unsuccessful, and he finally suffers the loss of his life. Nevertheless, Yākhōp praises Chou Yü and glorifies him for his unchanging faithfulness to the Suns and for his love to Wu. (45) And he affirms that this Wu hero should indeed be viewed as "มิตรแท้และทหารเอกที่ซื่อสัตย์" "a true friend and faithful general" rather than as "คนเจ้าอารมณ์ริษยา" "a jealous man." (46) So his treatment of Chou Yü's character is a conscious reconsideration of the conventional concepts existing in the Sāmkok narrative. In fact, Yākhōp is attempting to offer in his writing some of his personal opinions in the hope that the reader will achieve what he feels to be a better understanding of the Sāmkok characters.

The kind of language found in Sāmkok: The Mendicant Storyteller's Version is semi-formal prose mixed with colloquial expressions. Thus, it is quite different from the kind of prose found in Phraklang's Sāmkok which is

terse, compact, and to the point. Take, for instance, the scene in which Wang Yün and his official colleagues including Ts'ao Ts'ao gathered to conspire against Tung Cho. The senior officials were all in tears as they felt hopeless about getting rid of the tyrant. Seeing them in such a pitiful plight, Ts'ao Ts'ao breaks into laughter. This severely tries Wang Yun's patience,, so the latter reprimands Ts'ao Ts'ao. Wang Yun's reproving speech at this point will demonstrate the contrasting language used in the two works. Yākhōp writes:

ไอ้เด็กผ่าเหล่า ทวคของทวคของทวคของเจ้าเคยเป็นคนที่ราชวงศ์ฮั่น
 ต้องระลึกไว้ด้วยควมมีเกียรติยิ่ง โจโฉเป็นข้าสนททั้งเป็นมิตรคู่ใจ
 ที่ช่วยให้เล่าป้งตั้งตัวเป็นพระเจ้าฮั่นโกโจ . . . ไอ้เด็กในตระกูล
 โจมีกะใจหัวเราะเล่นหรือในเมื่อพระมหาจักรีแห่งราชวงศ์ฮั่นถูก
 ขยี้ฆ่าเสียยับเยิน มึงนะ เสียตระกูลใจ อันมีชื่อเสียงว่าชื่อตรงจง
 รักคอกแน่นคิน ออกไป ไปให้พ้น อย่าให้พวกข้าได้เห็นกริยาอันน่า
 อับยศแก่ชื่อเสียงของตระกูลเจ้า

You, blot on the family name. Your seven-times great grandfather was once cherished and highly honored by the Han dynasty. Čhō Cham [one of Ts'ao Ts'ao's forbears] was an intimate servant and bosom friend who helped Lao Pang [Liu Pang 劉邦] become Emperor Han Kō Čhō [Han Kao Tsu 漢高祖]. . . . Do you, the offspring of the Čhō [Ts'ao] family, still have the heart to laugh while the ruler of the Han dynasty is being crushed and ruined? You are destroying the Čhō family's reputation for faithfulness and loyalty to the kingdom. Go away! Get out! Don't let us

see such disgraceful behavior toward the reputation of your family. (47)

Compare Yākhōp's lively colloquial style with Phrakhlang's concise literary prose:

ปู่แลบิดาของตัวก็เป็นขุนนางไต่กินเบี้ยหวัดมาแต่ก่อน ทิวหารู้จักคุณแผ่นดิน
 ใดไม่ เราคิดการจะล้างตั้งโต๊ะเสีย เหตุไฉน ทหารตั้งโต๊ะมีเป็น
 อันมาก เราคิดยังมีตลอดจึงร้องไห้ เป็นใจนักรบจึงมาคมมือหัวเราะ
 เย้ยดังนี้

Your grandfather and father were nobles who used to receive pensions. Do you feel no gratitude to the country? We are planning to eliminate Tang To [Tong Cho]; but because of Tang To's great military strength, we are not yet able to work out our scheme, and so we're weeping. Why then do you clap your hands and laugh and jeer at us like this?

Coarse expressions are occasionally used in The Waniphok Version. Here are some examples:

ลูกจิมหายนี้เลี้ยงไว้ทำไมกัน
 อูย! ไอ้เจ้าไม่มีศาล
 ไปคายโห่งคายหาเสีย
 Why did I have to raise such a damned no-good son?
 I spit on you! You shrineless god!"
 Plague take you! (49)

In the above examples, the author makes use of the expressions จิมหาย chiphāi "to be lost lost, damned", อูย! thui an onomatopoeic sound of spitting, and คายโห่งคายหา tāi hōng tāi hā "to die of a vile disease" which have a coarse

flavor. Presumably such language is introduced to add color to the story. (50) And perhaps for the same reason Yākhōp makes use of foreign words in transliteration. He transliterates English terms, such as, "บรืฟฟ์" bluff, "วอรัลลอร์ด" warlord, "ลอร์ด" lord, "โชน" throne, "คืค" duke, "นัมเบอร์" number, "แคนนอน" cannon, and "ฮาเร็ม" harem. (51) And he also transliterates Chinese terms from the dialect of Ch'ao-chou: e.g., "แป้เอี้ย" pāe'īa (the same), "บ้อคิโก" bōtikō (nowhere), and "โล๊ะเมี้ย" lomīa (to affix a signature). (52)

One conspicuous feature of Yākhōp's language style is the use of metaphor. And here he often uses imagery associated with the animal world. To emphasize that Ts'ao Ts'ao by nature possessed certain powerful characteristics that were rare among other protagonists, Yākhōp draws this analogy: "สวรรค์มิได้ประทานพรให้ลาแก่เทวราชสีห์" "Heaven did not bless the donkey with the intelligence of the lion." (53) Ts'ao Ts'ao on another occasion is compared to "an eagle" "พญาอินทรี"(54) because of his rapid progress in gaining political power. And when Ts'ao Ts'ao becomes ferocious over the incident involving the death of his father, he is described as "a tiger tasting fresh blood" "เสือกัดดาวเลือดสด" . (55) Yākhōp also pictures the dangerous predicament of Emperor Hsien, the victim of a succession of dictatorial usurpers, as being "a deer escaping from one tiger's mouth to fall into another's" "กวางหลุกจากปากเสือตัว

หนึ่งไปสู่อำนาจ" . (56) And he uses the imagery of "an alligator resting by the pond with his tail in the water" "จรเข้พินอนเอาหางลงน้ำ" to convey the notion that Ts'ai Mao 蔡瑁 had a secure political position in the city of Ching-chou, being the brother of the wife of the magistrate, Liu Piao 劉表. (57) Then, as the story of the Three Kingdoms deals with the many military struggles, with their recurring defeats and victories, Yākhōp sometimes compares the defeated force to "fire flies entering the fire" "แมลงเม่าเข้ากองเพลิง" (58) and the triumphant force to "a colossal fire dragon." (59) "มังกรไฟควมเหิม"

Analogies drawing on inanimate things are also numerous. Primarily, these analogical items are made to convey the nature of human condition or the plight in which the characters find themselves. Liu Pei who, in the beginning of his political career, appeared as a remote descendant of the Han house but came from an impoverished family, is described to be like "a gem emerging from mud" "แก้วที่ผุดขึ้นมาจากโคลน" . (60) As Liu Pei pursued his path of ambition toward building the foundation for his political power, his rivalling opponents began to consider Liu Pei their dangerous competitor. To amplify Liu Pei's value at this particular point Yakhop makes the following metaphor:

เล่าปี่ผู้นี้มาจากพฤกษการที่เห็นมา ปรากฏประหนึ่งเป็นข้าวกล้าพันธุ์

ประหลาด คือจะตกไปในนื่อนานห่งใดก็ตาม ก็ดูทำที่ว่าจะงอกงาม
เอาใหญ่โตไ้จากดินแคนแห่งนั้นเสมอไป

Reading from his previous behavior, Lao Pī [Liu Pei] appears to be like a wonderful kind of rice. That is, no matter what type of paddy field it falls upon, it always seems to be able to flourish on that land. (61)

Eventually, Liu Pei was able to consolidate his ruling power over the eastern region of China known as the Shu Kingdom and became one of the three most powerful rulers in the country. Yākhōp again draws an analogy expressing Liu Pei's great success in his political career.

จากนายพลผู้เร่รอนขึ้นมาเป็นจักรพรรดิ ยากจะหาคนอยู่เพียงเท่า
กระบะมือก็ตั้งยาก มาครองแผ่นดินจีน 1 ใน 3 ของขรณียจีนจาก
สะเก็ดดาวเล็กๆ มาเป็นดวงตะวันอันเจิดฉายไพโรจน์

From wandering warrior [Liu Pei] became an emperor. From being someone who was without even a handful of land to live on he came to rule over one third of the Chinese soil. From being just a tiny speck of a star he became the gracefully luminous sun. (62)

T'ao Ch'ien 陶謙, the aging magistrate of Hsü-chou 徐州, was appropriately compared to "ginger" in the sense that "the older it gets the better its quality becomes."
(63) And Lü Pu, riding his red horse, is likened to "a red hot charcoal radiating in the stove." (64)

Some metaphorical expressions describe the state of things or the mood of the situation. Liu Pei, in Yākhōp's eye, did many favors for others but sometimes those favors seemed to be of no avail especially if the recipient was devious and wicked. "Favor showered upon a dishonest man," "พระคุณที่หลั่งลงไปบนคนคค" Yākhōp remarks, "is not different from the water that is poured on sand." "จะค่างอันใดกับ

หลังนำลงบนพื้นทราย" (65) To describe the anger of Liu Pei, when Chu-ko Chin 諸葛瑾, an envoy from Wu, sought to persuade Liu Pei to forget the mishaps which befell Kuan yū and Chang Fei, Liu Pei's sworn brothers, Yākhōp writes:

"แทนที่จะเป็นชุ่มฉ่ำคั่งสายฝน คำพูดของจูกัดกินเปรียบประหนึ่ง

น้ำมันรากลงในกองเพลิง"

"Instead of being cool and

refreshing like rain, the words of Čhū-kat Kin [Chu-ko Chin] are like oil poured on to a fire." (66) In recounting the episode of the Battle of Ch'ih-pi, Yākhōp pointed out the advantageous position which the Shu heroes gained, on the one hand, and the disadvantageous standing of the Wu leaders, on the other:

เราทราบกันอยู่แล้วว่าหูกได้ลงทุนทุ่มเทลงไปในสงครามครั้งนี้ไม่น้อย
เหมือนกับลงมือออกเรียวแรงปล้ำคีจึง เศรษฐีคนหนึ่งอย่างสุดแรง เกิด
แล้ว ขงเบ้งกับเล่าปี่ซึ่งเท่ากับ เป็นคนร้องหนุนอยู่ข้างๆ และคอยเก็บ
สคางคีที่ร่วงจากกระเป่าเศรษฐีเวลาปล้ำเท่านั้นยังไม่พอ ยิ่งบังอาจ
ทำทำยื่นมือมาจะปลคสายสร้อย และนาฬิกาในเวลาที่ท่านเศรษฐีนั้น

ล้มแล้วอีก

We all realize that Wu has invested a great deal in this battle. It's as if while Wu is wrestling a millionaire with all his might, Khung-beng [K'ung-ming] and Lao Pi [Liu Pei] are standing beside the ring cheering him on, ready not only to pick up any coins falling out of the millionaire's pocket while he is wrestling, but they even have the gall to reach out and take the necklace and wrist watch from the millionaire as he falls. (67)

The defeat of Ts'ao Ts'ao in the Battle of Ch'ih-pi soon led to the fight over three of Wei's fort-towns between Wu and Shu. It turned out that Wu in the end lost the towns to Shu because of the latter's better strategy. Yākhōp describes Chou Yu's disappointment saying:

หัวเมืองทั้งสามซึ่งมันหมายภาคภูมิว่าจะเป็นบำเหน็จอันงดงามของการ
 ขับเคียงกับโจโฉ ก็กลายเป็นฟองสบู่แตกทำลายหายวับไปกับตาใน
 กลางอากาศ จิว กุงจิ้น ยี่ คังแค่นไม่มีอะไรเปรียบปาน

The three townships, which [Chou Yü] proudly imagined to be a beautiful reward for fighting against Ts'ao Ts'ao, turned to a foamy lather which dissolved and vanished into thin air. Chiu Kung-chin [Chou Yü] was absolutely furious. (68)

In sum, Sāmkok: The Mendicant Storyteller's Version is an attempt to present a complete story of the Three Kingdoms period in a new style and spirit that constitutes a conscious departure from the orthodox form and style that was used in the original work of Sāmkok. For his

presentation, Yakhop chooses to focus on a few important characters, an approach quite dissimilar to that of Sāmkok which places the emphasis on the chains of cause and effect. As a result, The Wāniphok Version tends to show greater concern with the analytical treatment of character than with straightforward narration. In working out this new dimension of approach, it was evidently necessary for the author to incorporate various secondary materials as well as subjective views and fabrications in his work. The Mendicant Storyteller's Version as suggested by its title, is meant to be a version specifically enjoyed by the common public; so Yakhop deliberately enlivened his Sāmkok story in the style of storytelling art written in the form of vernacular prose rich with lively expressions and figurative language.

The second work to be discussed here is the piece entitled Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok พิชัยสงครามสามกก (The Military Tactics in Sāmkok) written by Sang Phatthanōthai สังข์ พิธีโนทัย (1919--). (69) Like Yākhōp's work, the exact date of writing is unknown. However, from what we are told in the author's introduction to Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok, the work was probably completed sometime between 1958 and 1965, approximately one decade after Yākhōp wrote his Wāniphok Version. Sang told in the introduction that during his seven-year political imprisonment by Prime

Minister Sarit Thanarat สฤษดิ์ ธนะรัชต์ (r. 1958-1963) he did extensive research on the Sāmkok. The investigation was, primarily, to make a comparison between the Sāmkok and its English translation, The Romance of the Three Kingdoms, and in turn to compare them with the original Chinese work, the San-kuo yen-i by Lo Kuan-chung. One result of his research was Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok which took Sang merely two months to write. With the assistance given by his colleagues in prison, Sang was able to produce two comprehensive glossaries. They are Pathānukrom phūmisāt Sāmkok ปทานุกรมภูมิศาสตร์สามก๊ก (The Geographical Glossary of Sāmkok) and Pathānukrom bukkhon nai Sāmkok ปทานุกรมบุคคลในสามก๊ก (The Glossary of Characters in Sāmkok). Also, a newly revised map of the Three Kingdoms period written in Thai was put out. All of these works were done during his life in prison. (70)

Sang's motives in composing Phichai songkhrām are revealed in his introduction, as the author writes:

ข้าพเจ้าสนใจอ่านหนังสือสามก๊กมาแต่เมื่อยังเป็นนักเรียน มีความรู้สึกซึ้งอยู่ในใจเสมอว่าหนังสือนี้มีตัวบุคคลและสถานที่ในเรื่องมากมายจำไม่ไหวและเนื้อเรื่องก็ไขว้กันไปไขว้กันมาอยู่หลายตอน ถึงจะอ่านอย่างตั้งสมาธิก็แทบจะจับคนชนปลายไม่ถูก นอกจากนั้นเรื่องราวที่แปลไว้บางตอนอ่านเท่าไรก็ไม่เข้าใจอยู่นั่นเอง . . . อันที่จริงถ้าจะอ่านเอาเรื่องกันอย่างจริงจัง การอ่านสามก๊กเพียงสามจบน่าจะยังไม่เพียงพอ ยิ่งสามก๊กฉบับภาษาไทยของเรายังต้องใช้ความพากเพียรมากเป็นพิเศษ ข้าพเจ้าเกิดความคิดใหม่ที่จะคลายความยากลำบากในการอ่านสามก๊กภาษาไทย...หยิบยกเอาความเด่นของแต่ละเรื่องขึ้นพรรณนา สรรแต่สิ่งที่เป็นคำราพิชัยสงคราม ตักพลความทิ้งเสีย เพื่อให้ง่ายต่อการจดจำ

Ever since I was a student I have been interested in reading the Sāmkok . I have always felt frustrated by the fact that the work contains too many characters and places to remember. And in several places the story meanders back and forth so that even though one reads with great concentration it is almost impossible to follow. Furthermore, some parts of the translated texts are absolutely incomprehensible.

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 In fact, if one really wants to understand the story of Sāmkok , even three readings of Sāmkok wouldn't be enough. Extra effort is especially needed in reading the Thai version, Sāmkok . So I . . . have come up with a new idea to reduce the difficulty of understanding the story of Sāmkok I have picked up the highlights of each episode, selecting only those parts that deal with military strategies, and dropped all minor incidents so as to make it easy to remember. (71)

Sang's purpose was evidently to write an abridged version of the Three Kingdoms cycle that focussed on the essence of the Sāmkok story.

Phichai songkhrām is divided into twenty chapters, each of which focusses on a single character or a group of figures (72), a style of organization which reminds one of The Waniphok Version . However, subtle differences in their format design are discernible. The characters in Phichai songkhrām are handled in such a way that the story can be followed in sequential, chronological order. Sang begins his work with the story of the "Ten Eunuchs" who initially caused the fall of the Han dynasty and ends with that of Szu-ma Yen 司馬炎 who successfully reunified China after the internal of the Three Kingdoms period. In this sense, the Phichai Songkhrām is relatively coherent, whereas The

Waniphok Version shows less concern with sequential organization of the story as a whole. At the sacrifice of sequential order, Yākhōp places his emphasis on analyzing those Sāmkok figures whom he regarded to be interesting and significant enough in forming a good picture of the Sāmkok romance. Hence, as a result of their difference of emphasis in writing, Sang and Yākhōp select different characters for their chapters. Except for those major characters like Ts'ao Ts'ao, Liu Pei, K'ung-ming, Kuan Yu, and Chang Fei, the remaining selected Sāmkok figures treated in the two works do not match. (73)

One other feature of structural organization found in Phichai songkhrām which is different from the Waniphok Version is that the author's comments are kept separate from the main body of the narrative. Thus at the beginning of each chapter is a summary of the moral issue underlying the chapter in question, which comprises a sort of didactic preamble. Then at the end are some comments dealing with contextual information. This is dissimilar to Yākhōp's style in that Yākhōp regularly interposes his comments by making them blend in with the narrated story. It may be pointed out that because of Yākhōp's concern with the storytelling art, it seemed necessary for him to utilize the technique of interpolating commentaries. In Sang's case, it would seem unfit to interrupt the story with subjective

remarks since the author is merely concerned to write a simplified version of Sāmkok.

In the "Author's Introduction" Sang has indicates his intention "to preserve the style of Sāmkok 's language," "พยายามรักษาสำนวนหนังสือของสามก๊กฉบับภาษาไทย" and to avoid making up anything new or using expressions and idioms that are alien to the original text [Sāmkok]. (74) Accordingly, one finds similar usage of wording and even verbatim statements in the Phichai songkhrām text. Take, for example, the scene where Wang Yün expressed his dismay regarding the deterioration of the Han empire due to the usurpation of Tung Cho. In Wang Yün's words, the Sāmkok narrates:

แต่ตั้งโศกเข้ามาอยู่ในเมืองหลวงทำการหยามฆ่าแล้วฆ่านางโฮเขาก็กับ
ห้องจูเบี่ยนเสี่ยว เรามีความร้อใจนัก อุปมาคังนอนในกองเพลิง
เราเล็งไปไม่เห็นผู้ใดจะช่วยคิกท่านบำรุงให้แผ่นดินเป็นสุขได้

Ever since Tang To [Tung Cho] arrived in the capital, he has behaved offensively, and he has killed Ho Hao [Empress Dowager Ho 何] and Hōng Chu Pien [Liu Pien 劉 少 郎 or Emperor Shao 少]. I am deeply distressed as if I were lying on a bed of fire. I see no one who can save the country and bring peace. (75)

One finds similar speech in Sang's work, as follows:

ตั้งแต่ตั้งโศกยี่ก้อ่านาใจในเมืองหลวง ไต่ก่อกรรมทำเข็ญค่อแผ่นดินแสน

สาหัส ข้าพเจ้ามีความทุกข์ยิ่งนัก อุปมาคังนอนอยู่ในกองเพลิง เล็ง
ไปไม่เห็นผู้ใดจะช่วยคิกทานุบำรุงให้แผ่นดินเป็นสุข

Ever since Tang To [Tung Cho] seized power in the capital, he has brought dire distress to the country. I am suffering terribly as if I were lying on a bed of fire. I see no one who can save the country and bring peace. (76)

Note that the last two phrases are identical. As a matter of fact, verbatim expressions from Sāmkok can be detected throughout the work. Needless to say, the Sāmkok is the most significant source for Sang in writing his version, for not only is the content closely followed but the style of language and the usage of wording are copied. Thus, the language of Phichai songkhrām is completely different from Yakhop's version. It has been pointed out that the style of language of the Waniphok Version is semi-literary and colloquial, as is appropriate for the style of the traditional storyteller. Thus, Yākhōp was trying to tell a popularized Thai version of the Three Kingdoms story, while Sang was simply attempting to abridge and revise the official version of Sāmkok .

Although Sāmkok was the main source of Phichai songkhrām , the San-kuo yen-i also played an important role in the composition of the work. (77) For, in revising the Sāmkok Sang was relying on the original Chinese work, especially in those parts that he found were totally deleted

from the Sāmkok or were only translated in part. Sang states in the introduction: "ความตอนใดที่หนังสือสามก๊กภาษาไทยมิได้แปลและเป็นความที่ก็แปลไว้ให้บริบูรณ์" "Any statements that were not translated in the Sāmkok which are remarkable will be rendered in full." (78) One good example is the mourning speech given by K'ung-ming for Chou Yu as part of the sacrificial offerings for the death of the latter. This sacrificial writing was completely ignored in the Sāmkok but was included in Sang's work. (79) Sang was also careful in checking those little details which were missing in the Sāmkok. Take, for instance, the assembly organized by Wang Yun. In his narrative Sang relates that it was for the occasion of Wang Yun's birthday that the meeting was held. (80) This was not said in the Sāmkok text but was clearly stated in the San-kuo yen-i as follows:

一日於侍班閣子內見舊臣俱在允曰
今日老夫賤降晚間敢屈象位到舍小酌

One day while among the throng in attendance, mostly men of long service, he [Wang Yün] said to his colleagues, "This is my birthday, I pray you come to a little party in my humble cot this evening." (81)

As pointed out earlier, Yākhōp utilizes Brewitt-Talor's Romance of the Three Kingdoms as the main source for his work. Since the Romance is considered to be a complete translation of the San-kuo yen-i which was used by Sang, it

can be said that both Yākhōp and Sang were relying on pretty much the same resource of the Three Kingdoms cycle, that is, the version written by Lo Kuan-chung. As a matter of fact, both Thai writers shared the same concept of hero-villain with regard to the San-kuo figures.

Typically, both Sang and Yākhōp portray Ts'ao Ts'ao as a villain but Liu Pei as a hero, in exactly the way Lo Kuan-chung presented them in the San-kuo yen-i . Although one finds very few comments on the characters of Ts'ao Ts'ao and Liu Pei in the Phichai songkhrām , the author's predilection to praise Liu Pei and to condemn Ts'ao Ts'ao is quite discernible. With regard to the incident in which Ts'ao Ts'ao murdered Lu Po-she 呂伯奢 and his household, Sang blames it on Ts'ao Ts'ao's over-readiness to listen to false tales. (82) Sang also disapproves of Ts'ao's selfish inclination in overlooking the public good and gratifying his own desires. This is demonstrated in the incident in which Ts'ao turned hostile against T'ao Ch'ien whom he mistakenly thought was involved in the murder of Ts'ao's father. Ts'ao could not tolerate his trust being betrayed by T'ao Ch'ien, so he proceeded to take personal revenge at the expense of the lives of numerous soldiers. As Sang writes:

โจโฉถือคติไม่ยอมให้ใครทรยศไกรก่อน จึงหลงโกรธาโต้เถียงอย่างฉุนๆ เป็น

เหตุให้เสียเมืองกุนจิ๋วแก่ลิโป้ และเสียกำลังไปเป็นอันมาก

Because Čhō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] held to the principle that he would not allow others to betray him first, he was angry at Tō Kiēm [T'ao Ch'ien] by mistake. This led to the conquest of the Kun-chiu [Yen-chou 兗州] city by Li Po [Lü Pu] and the loss of a great number of forces." (83)

Upon the death of Ts'ao, Sang draws a moral lesson:

"คนที่สร้างชีวิตขึ้นมาด้วยการล้างผลาญชีวิตผู้อื่น ย่อมจบชีวิต
ลงด้วยความร้าย"

"Any persons who have built their

lives at the expense of others' lives will certainly end their lives in misery." (84) In contrast, Liu Pei was favorably evaluated by Sang as a virtuous ruler. On the occasion when Liu Pei provided T'ao Ch'ien with military assistance in T'ao's conflict with Ts'ao Ts'ao, Sang praised Liu Pei very highly.

อันผู้เป็นใหญ่ในแผ่นดินนั้น แม้นสร้างบารมีขึ้นมาด้วยคุณธรรมความดี
มีความอดทน ไม่ชิงสุกก่อนห่าม รู้กาล รู้ประมาณ ฟังเสียงมหาชน
เป็นใหญ่ บัลลังก์ย่อมมั่นคงยั่งยืน

As for the powerful ruler, if he builds his prestige by virtue and goodness, is patient, avoids taking things before the due time, understand times and situations, and listens to the voice of the people, his throne will be everlastingly unshakable. (85)

Liu Pei is also admired by Sang for his mercifulness as shown in the episode where Hsü Shu was permitted by Liu Pei to leave for Ts'ao Ts'ao. Sang draws a moral from the

incident by saying:

อันผู้เป็นใหญ่ในแผ่นดิน แม้เห็นอกเห็นใจในความทุกข์ยากของคนอื่น
ก็ช่วยให้เขาพ้นทุกข์ มีความร่มเย็นเป็นสุข ตัวเองก็จะพ้นทุกข์
มีความร่มเย็นเป็นสุขด้วย

As for the powerful ruler, if he shows sympathy towards other's sufferings and delivers them from suffering, bringing them happiness and peace, he himself will be free from suffering and will receive peace and happiness. (86)

In the Waniphok Version Yākhōp also portrays Liu Pei and Ts'ao Ts'ao as opposites -- the good and the bad -- just as they are depicted in the San-kuo yen-i and the Sāmkok . In his own words, Yākhōp states:

ชีวิตของเล่าปี่เป็นชีวิตที่สามก๊กบรรยายไว้ให้เป็นที่อยู่ในฝ่ายถูก
คือเป็นฝ่ายต่อต้านกับโจโฉ ซึ่งสามก๊กบรรยายให้เป็นประหนึ่ง
วัณโรค ที่ฝังอยู่ในร่างกายเห็นแก่ แล้วคอยลอบทำให้จักรพรรดิ
ผู้เยาว์เสื่อมโทรมลงในที่สุด

The life of Loa Pī [Liu Pei] is a life that Sāmkok recounted as one on the side of right, that is, the one that opposed Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] whom Sāmkok described as tuberculosis residing in the body of Hien Tē [Emperor Hsien] which gradually brought the young emperor to a state of complete deterioration. (87)

Thus, Yākhōp reveals the lives of Liu Pei and Ts'ao Ts'ao in complete contrast from each other.

First of all, Liu Pei was presented as a man full of mercy and compassion who was always willing to provide others with assistance as long as justice and humanity prevailed. Regarding the incident involving the conflict between T'ao Ch'ien and Ts'ao Ts'ao of which Liu Pei served as a moderator, Yākhōp comments on the latter with great admiration:

เล่าปี่ก็ตกลงใจที่จะช่วยโตเกียว... ในการรบราฆ่าฟันกับเขาคั้งนี้
เห็นกันถนัดชัดแท้ว่า ไม่ใช่ช่วยอาณาประโยชน์โดยเฉพาะตัวคนของตัว
หากแต่อาณาประโยชน์อันแท้จริงของมนุษยธรรม

Lao Pī [Liu Pei] was determined to help Tō Kīem [T'ao Ch'ien]. . . . By his joining him in this war it can be clearly seen that it was not for his own benefit but rather for the sake of humanity. (88)

Liu Pei's compassion was also directed toward those who harrassed him. An inspector from the capital asked for a bribe from Liu Pei when the latter was taking the post of magistrate of An-hsi 安喜 district. When Liu Pei refused to meet this request, the inspector exploited his power to set up a trap in order to demote Liu Pei. But the outcome was that Chang Fei was able to suppress the crooked inspector by means of force. Liu Pei with his sense of compassion was willing to forgive the inspector and freed him. At this point Yākhōp inserts his personal comment:

มีคัมภีร์เมตตาหาอาชญาบาปมิได้ ก็ฉายแสงรุ่งโรจน์ขึ้น
และบุคลิกลักษณะนี้เองเหมือนเป็นเทพอาวุธสำหรับช่วยแบ่ง
บุญให้เล่าปี่รุ่งเรืองไปเบื้องหน้า

Here the compassion and unvengefulness shines
brilliantly. And it is this very trait that was
like a celestial weapon to confer the merit on Lao
Pī [Liu Pei] that brought him renown later
on. (89)

In contrast, Ts'ao Ts'ao is represented as a man marked
by brutality. For instance, he was responsible for the
cruel massacre of the residents of Hsü-chou of which T'ao
Ch'ien was the magistrate. (90) One other instance was the
incident in which Ts'ao executed the pregnant concubine of
Emperor Hsien and seven hundred members of her family
despite the Emperor's begging for mercy. Yakhop remarks:

หารุณกรรมของโจโฉครั้งนี้ นักอ่านสามก๊กในชั้นหลังจะเห็นว่าโจโฉ
เป็นคนดี หรือคิดรักษาแผ่นดินด้วยความเข้มแข็งอย่างไรก็ตาม
ความจริงที่เขาย้ายอยู่เฉพาะหน้าบัดนี้ ทำให้วนิพกผู้เล่าเรื่อง
ไม่อาจเห็นเป็นอย่างอื่น นอกจากจะเห็นกันว่าโจเม้งเต้โฉ
ผู้สำเร็จราชการคนนี้ได้กลายเป็นตั้งโต๊ะคนที่สองไปแล้ว

With regard to this brutal deed of Chō Chō [Ts'ao
Ts'ao], regardless that later readers may have
viewed Chō Chō as a good person or as someone who
vigorously protected the country, the truth that
faces us now forces the waniphok narrator to no
other conclusion but that this Chō Meng-te Chō who
assumed the post of Regent had become a second
Tang To [Tung Cho]. (91)

Yākhōp is implying here that Ts'ao Ts'ao was as bad a tyrant as Tung Cho.

Endowed with ethical ideals, Liu Pei was highly praised by Yākhōp as a man of great virtues. Liu Pei, as portrayed in Sāmkok, was loyal to the Han Emperor. In his work Yākhōp holds the same view. As the author comments, Liu pei, because of his faithful piety toward the Emperor, joined with others in pledging to protect the Han throne from the power of Ts'ao Ts'ao. (92) Yākhōp even went so far as to defend Liu Pei by trying to prove that any of Liu Pei's actions which seemed to look like the deeds of greed and ambition actually came from his motive to protect the security of the Han House. (93) Liu Pei was virtuous also because of his fidelity toward his sworn brothers, Kuan Yu and Chang Fei -- a fact which Yākhōp highlights in his work. (94) The author remarks:

"แม้จะมีบุญหนักศักดิ์ใหญ่เป็นถึงจักรพรรดิ ก็มีไ้เป็นคนซนคละคำสัตย์ปฏิญาณ
และการรวมสาบานในยามยากจน" "Even though [Liu Pei] was

so meritorious as to become an emperor, he was not the kind of man to break the pledge and oath made in the time of poverty." (95) Liu Pei's virtue lies also in his deep sense of gratitude:

"คนยากแห่งบ้านสานเสื่อ เป็นผู้หนักในความกตัญญูรู้คุณคน คั้งนั้นสิ่งที่เขาเกลียด
จึงไม่มีอันใดเทียบเท่าความไม่รู้จักคุณคน" "The poor man from a family of
grass-mat weavers [Liu Pei] was profoundly filled with

gratitude, therefore there was nothing he hated more than ingratitude." (96) One finds many other episodes highlighted in Yākhōp's work that demonstrates Liu Pei's virtue of gratefulness. (97)

Opposite to Liu Pei, Ts'ao Ts'ao had no moral values whatsoever; he is described as an ambitious, crooked, selfish man. Yākhōp notes that Ts'ao Ts'ao in his early age was already skillful in deceiving others. (98) As Ts'ao Ts'ao made progress in his political career, he became even more dexterous in adjusting himself to the direction of the current political wind. To gain a stable position, Ts'ao Ts'ao easily switched from one master to another even though the new master had been his enemy -- as witnessed in the way Ts'ao switched to serve Tung Cho after Ho Chin 何進 died. (99) Yākhōp concludes that Ts'ao was more concerned with survival through the immediate crisis than with morality. "For Čhō Meng-tē personal advantage in the situation at hand was more important than any sort of thamma [morality]." "สำหรับโจเม้งเต้ เหตุการณ์จะได้เสียก่อนหน้า สำคัญกว่าธรรมาธรรมะอะไรทั้งสิ้น" . (100) Ts'ao Ts'ao is criticized for his self-indulgence. He considered his own safety as paramount. Thus, Yākhōp refers to Ts'ao in a chapter title as โจโจ: ผู้ไม่ยอมให้โลกทรยศ "Čhō Chō: A Man Who Will Not Let the World Betray Him." (101) Yākhōp notes also that in the latter half of Ts'ao's political career he had shown his

ambition to become the emperor of China himself. (102)

Yākhōp remarks: "โจโฉคนน่าใจกำเหิบเสิบสาน มีความปรารถนา
เป็นกษัตริย์" "Čhō Chō whose heart was mutinous wanted to be
king. (103)

By showing the contrast of character between Ts'ao
Ts'ao and Liu Pei, Yākhōp paints the latter as an ideal
statesman who adhered to his ethical principles of loyalty
and gratitude, while depicting the former as a villainous,
ambitious politician who was at all times prepared to bend
his conscience if it meant safety or advancement. Thus, Liu
Pei is called "the king of kings" "พระเจ้าราชาธิราช" and Ts'ao
Ts'ao "the enemy of the country" "ศัตรูแผ่นดิน" (104)

One may say, then, that Yākhōp and Sang are both in
accordance with Sāmkok and San-kuo yen-i (including of
course The Romance of the Three Kingdoms), which they used
as their sources. Both authors did not, at any point in
their works, express their doubt as to the accuracy and
reliability of the texts of those sources. And Yākhōp and
Sang also accept their sources' literary values and seem to
respect them as they were.

However, such an attitude was soon challenged by a new
work. A work of revolutionary nature in content, Čhō Chō
Nāyok talōtkān โจโฉ: นายกตลอกกาล (Čhō Chō: The Life-time
Premier), otherwise known as Sāmkok chabap nāithun
สามก๊ก: ฉบับนายทุน (Sāmkok : The Capitalist Version),

appeared in the early 1960s. The author was Khu'krit Prāmōt คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช (1911--), a prominent Thai writer of this century. (105) Its subtitle -- Sāmkok: The Capitalist Version -- is suggestive of Khu'krit's intention to write in challenge of Yakhop's work, The Mendicant Storyteller's Version , He explained:

อนึ่ง ได้เคยมีท่านที่เคารพของข้าพเจ้าเขียนสามก๊กฉบับวนิพกเอาไว้แล้ว โดยใช้วิธีเล่านิทานข้างถนนหาสคงค์ ข้าพเจ้าถึงแม้จะไร้ทรัพย์ คนก็ยังนับถือว่าเป็นเจ้าสัวจะเล่านิทานแบบนี้บ้างก็ละอายใจ กลัวเสียชื่อ ต้องเล่าแบบใหม่ เป็นแบบเจ้าสัวหรือแบบนายทุน

Incidentally, there is someone I respect who has written Sāmkok : The Mendicant Storyteller's Version, employing the style of one who earns money as a street-side storyteller. As for myself, people regard me as a millionaire even though I have no money. It would be embarrassing if I told my story in such a fashion, for I'm afraid my reputation would suffer. So I must use a new style, the style of a millionaire or of a capitalist. (106)

What Khu'krit meant by "the style of a capitalist" is actually his novel interpretative approach to the Three Kingdoms narrative, which proposed to reconsider the character of Ts'ao Ts'ao in a more positive light. In the Capitalist Version Ts'ao Ts'ao was therefore the hero while Liu Pei became the villain. In protecting Ts'ao's image and reputation which, Khu'krit asserted, had long been misrepresented in Sāmkok , the author attempted to mold a

new favorable image. In the opening chapter Khu'krit declared:

ขอเชิญฟังกันให้คึกคัก ผมจะเล่าเรื่องของวีรบุรุษผู้มีความซื่อสัตย์กตัญญู
 วีรบุรุษผู้ที่ได้เสียสละและเสี่ยงชีวิตหลายครั้ง เพื่อก่อให้เกิดเสถียรภาพ
 ทางการเมือง และเพื่อความผาสุกของคนทั้งปวง แต่แล้วกลับถูกใส่
 ร้ายป้ายสีว่าเป็นคนทรยศต่อแผ่นดินมาหลายศตวรรษ ค้วยหนังสือโสมนม
 สกปรกที่ฝ่ายปฏิปักษ์เป็นผู้เขียนขึ้น เรียกว่า "สามก๊ก"
 เขาผู้นั้นคือใครเล่า หากใครอื่นไกลไม่ เขาคือโจโฉ นายกรัฐมนตรี
 ถูกองค์กษัตริย์แห่งประเทศจีน ในรัชสมัยพระเจ้าเหียนเต้ ผู้
 ครองตำแหน่งนี้ไว้ตลอดอายุขัย ผู้เป็นนายกตลอดกาลอย่างแท้จริง

Come and listen carefully. I am about to tell a story of a hero, faithful and knowing gratitude, of a statesman who many times sacrificed himself and risked his life to bring about political stability and for the happiness of all the people. Yet for centuries he has been calumniated and branded a traitor because of a filthy book called Sāmkok written by an enemy.

Who is this person? He is none other than Chō Chō, the legitimate Premier of China in the reign of Phra Chāo Hīen Tē [Emperor Hsien] who remained in this position till his death and who was indeed a life-time Premier. (107)

Thus, in twenty-two chapters, Khu'krit repainted the life of Ts'ao Ts'ao focussing on his important role in the political world of the period of Three Kingdoms. Most of the time the character of Ts'ao Ts'ao was made to contrast to that of Liu Pei in order to praise the former over the latter. Firstly, Khu'krit compared the physical appearance of the two protagonists. The author described Ts'ao's

physical features saying:

โจโฉนั้นเป็นคนสูงประมาณห้าศอก จักขุเล็ก หนวดยาว และมีลักษณะที่
 ค้ำยประการทั้งปวง จนหมอกูไม่ว่าคนไหนคนนั้น ลองได้เห็นลักษณะโจโฉ
 แล้ว เป็นต้องทักทายทุกคนไปว่าต่อไปเบื้องหน้า จะได้เป็นใหญ่ใน
 แผ่นดิน

Chō Chō was about five sōk [about 8 feet] tall
 with small eyes and long moustach. And his form
 was fine in every way. Any astrologer, upon
 seeing him, would have to predict that in the
 future he would become great in the land. (108)

In contrast, Liu Pei was ridiculed about his appearance.
 After quoting Liu Pei's physical features from Sāmkok ,
 Khu'krit commented that Liu Pei had the funniest looking
 features, of a sort only fit to exhibit as a comical figure
 on stage at a temple fair. (109)

Secondly, Khu'krit tried to establish his argument that
 Ts'ao Ts'ao was by nature a capable man with leadership
 ability, whereas Liu Pei was a weak but ambitious man. In
 Khu'krit's eye, Ts'ao had as a child possessed an inborn
 gift -- the personality of a leader.

เพราะโจโฉมีลักษณะเป็นผู้นำมาแต่ก่อนแต่ก่อน ไม่ว่าจะไปอยู่ในชน
 กลุ่มใด ก็ต้องเป็นหัวหน้าของคนกลุ่มนั้น ทั้งนี้โดยไม่ต้องขู่เชิญ

Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] had the qualities of a
 leader from birth. No matter what group of people
 he was in, he inevitably became the leader of that
 group, all without having to threaten or

intimidate. (110)

Negatively Liu Pei was described as possessing a nasty ambitious mind:

เล่าปี่เป็นผู้นักใหญ่ใฝ่สูงมาแต่กำเนิด ก็จะเป็นเจ้าคนนายคนอยู่เป็นนิตย์ ที่ริมบ้านนั้นมีต้นหม่อนขึ้นอยู่คนหนึ่ง เล่าปี่ก็ปรารถนาอยู่เสมอว่า ถ้าได้เป็น เจ้าเมื่อใด จะเอาต้นหม่อนนั้นไปเป็นเศวตฉัตร คำปรารถนาของเล่าปี่ คำนี้อาจแสดงให้เห็นน้ำใจของเล่าปี่ว่า มิได้คิดแต่เพียงจะทำนุบำรุงแผ่นดิน หรือช่วยปราบยุคเข็ญ ให้บ้านเมืองได้เป็นสุข แต่เล่าปี่มีเจตนาตลอดมา ที่จะแย่งราชบัลลังก์ ตั้งตัวเป็นเจ้าแผ่นดินเหนือคนอื่น

Lao Pī [Liu Pei] was ambitious from birth. He was constantly scheming to become a lord and master. Near his house stood a mulberry tree. Lao Pī would always say: "If I became a sovereign I will make the royal umbrella out of this mulberry tree." This statement of Lao Pī's shows his attitude that he was not just thinking of serving the country or helping to suppress rebels and bring peace to the land, but he had the intention all along of usurping the throne and establishing himself as Emperor. (111)

Liu Pei was further painted as greedy, unintelligent, and a coward. In the scene where Liu Pei first met Kuan Yü and Chang Fei, Khu'krit denigrates Liu Pei saying:

เล่าปี่นั้นมีความนักใหญ่ใฝ่สูง ต้องการลาภยศ วาสนา และชื่อเสียงทุกอย่าง แต่เล่าปี่ก็รู้ตัวว่าคนนั้นไม่มีฝีมืออย่างใด มีหน้าซำเป็นคนค่อนข้างซี้ซาลาค คาวาอีกด้วย เล่าปี่ได้เที่ยวหุยมามากคนหนึ่งนับว่าสิ้นกังวลไปไถ่บ้าง ในเรื่อง หุนถวิทย์ เพราะเที่ยวหุยมั้ครจะเป็นนายหุนหนุนหลัง คราวนี้มาเห็นกวนอู ทาทางแข็งแรง โนงนางดี เล่าปี่ก็คิดจะคบด้วย ก็เท่ากับเล่าปี่มีแขน สองข้าง ยังขาดอยู่แค่มันสมองซึ่งจำต้องหาต่อไป เพราะมันสมองหรือ

สติปัญญาความรู้นั้น เล่ามาก็ไม่มีเช่นเดียวกัน

Lao Pī [Liu Pei] had great ambition and desired all fortune, honor, and fame. But Lao Pī also realized that he had no skills whatsoever. Moreover, he was rather a coward. Lao Pī's gaining a man like Tiao Hui [Chang Fei] meant that there was no worry about financial resources because Tiao Hui had volunteered to stand behind him with his money. Then when he perceived the strong and forceful bearing of Kuan 'Ü [Kuan Yu], Lao Pī decided to make friends with him. So it was as if Lao Pī had two arms but still lacked the brains which he must continue to search for, because Lao Pī still did not have any brains or intelligence. (112)

In contrast to Liu Pei, Khu'krit remarked that Ts'ao Ts'ao was able to advance as an official administrator through his own ability.

โจโฉนั้นเติบโตมากด้วยลำแข้งของตนเอง ได้เป็นขุนนางมีตำแหน่งรับผิดชอบ บังคับบัญชาคนเป็นอันมาก ก็ด้วยสติปัญญาและความเข้มแข็งเด็ดขาดของตนเอง จะใคร่มีผู้ใคร่มาให้ความอุปการะช่วยเหลือก็หาไม่ โจโฉจึงเป็นบุคคลที่น่านับถือ

Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] grew strong through his own efforts. He became an official who was responsible to command a great number of people. This came about because of his own intelligence and strong will, not because of the help or support of others. Chō Chō was thus a person worthy of respect. (113)

Thirdly, Khu'krit demonstrated the difference in their moral stance. In all events, Ts'ao Ts'ao was viewed by Khu'krit as having one single purpose or goal in life to

unify the country and bring peace to all of China. (114)
 With this goal in mind, Ts'ao adhered to the principle of
 loyalty as a minister should behave toward his sovereign.
 The following represents Khu'krit's view on Ts'ao Ts'ao's
 character:

ชีวิตของโจโฉเป็นตัวอย่างอันดีของความรับผิดชอบในการกระทำ และ
 เป็นตัวอย่างอันดี ของการกระทำตรงไปตรงมา... เมื่อโจโฉมีนโยบาย
 ที่จะรวบรวมแผ่นดินจีนให้เป็นปึกแผ่น โจโฉก็มุ่งหน้าดำเนินนโยบายนั้น
 อย่างไม่ทอดอ้อย มิให้ความสุขหรือทุกข์ หรือเหตุใดๆขึ้นมาเป็นอุปสรรค
 กีดขวางได้ โจโฉถือว่าตนอยู่ในฐานะท้าวราชการให้แก่พระเจ้าเหียนเต๋
 เป็นหลักไปตลอดชีวิตถวายการยกย่องและสักการะตามควรแก่ฐานะตลอดมา...

โจโฉเป็นข้าพระเจ้าเหียนเต๋และผู้รับใช้ที่ซื่อสัตย์ของราษฎร ไปถึงแก่ความ
 ตายลง ขณะที่อยู่ในตำแหน่งโดยสมบูรณ์ จึงควร เรียกว่าเป็นนายกรัฐมนตรี
 ตลอดกาลโดยแท้

The life of Čhō Čhō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] is a good
 example of the sense of responsibility in one's
 actions and is a good example of straightforward
 behavior. . . . since Čhō Čhō had the policy of
 gathering China together and stabilizing it, he
 set to implement that policy without giving
 way to discouragement or allowing joy or pain to
 become obstacles blocking his way. All his life,
 Čhō Čhō held to the principle that it was his
 place to serve PhraČhaō Hĭen Tē [Emperor Hsien].
 He had all along elevated and respected the
 Emperor in compliance with his rank. . . .
 Čhō Čhō was the subject of Emperor Hĭen Tē
 and a faithful servant of the people, and he died
 while holding the very highest office. Therefore,
 it can be said that he was the real life-time
 Premier. (115)

By contrast, Khu'krit considered Liu Pei as a crooked, ambitious politician whose final aim was to rule over China. In his narrative, Khu'krit traced how Liu Pei cunningly obtained his base of political power and stealthily occupied the territories of others. (116) Khu'krit condemned Liu Pei:

ถ้าจะดูประวัติของเล่าปี่ตั้งแต่แรก จะเห็นได้ว่า เล่าปี่เป็นหัวหน้าความ
วุ่นวายไปสู่อุทกๆที่ที่เล่าปี่ผ่านไป เล่าปี่คบกับใครแล้วก็ต้องคิดหักหลังคนนั้น
ในตอนท้าย ใครอุปการะเล่าปี่ เล่าปี่ก็จะต้องคิดโค่นคนนั้นเพื่อชิงตำแหน่ง
แผ่นดินจีนที่แตกออกเป็นสามก๊กนั้น ก็เพราะเล่าปี่เป็นสาเหตุมากกว่าคนอื่นๆ

If we look at the history of Lao Pī [Liu Pei] from the beginning, we will see that Lao Pi was one who brought disorder everywhere he passed. Whoever Lao Pi associated with, Lao Pī would end up betraying that person in the end. Whoever supported Lao Pī, Lao Pī would plan to dethrone him in order to obtain that post. Lao Pī, more than anyone else, was the reason why China was broken up into three kingdoms. (117)

Khu'krit further asserted that Liu Pei, being cunning and ambitious, very likely cherished the wish to become China's Emperor. As the author wrote:

ความจริงบุคคลเช่นเล่าปี่นั้น ถ้าหากว่าได้เข้ามาอยู่ในตำแหน่งนายกรัฐมนตรี
เช่นโจโฉ พระเจ้าเหียนเต็กก็เห็นจะอยู่ในราชสมบัติไม่ได้นาน เล่าปี่คงจะ
แย่งเอาเสียเป็นแน่

In fact, if a person like Lao Pī [Liu Pei] had come to hold the post of premier like Chō Chō

[Ts'ao Ts'ao], Phrachao Hien Te [Emperor Hsien] would likely not have ruled for long before Lao Pi seized power. (118)

It is important to point out that despite his objection to Sāmkok's portrayal of Ts'ao Ts'ao and Liu Pei, Khu'krit nevertheless used Sāmkok as his source. Excerpts from the text of Sāmkok were quoted throughout Khu'krit's work. But Khu'krit's utilization of the Sāmkok text was inconsistent with his purpose. On the one hand, the text was used as part of the narrative and was often cited in support of the author's argument. On the other hand, although Khu'krit appeared to draw his argument from the Sāmkok he was actually misquoting the text. Such deliberate misuse of the Samkok text was detectable throughout his work. In many cases, Khu'krit deviated from the facts of the story as they appeared in Samkok in order to create a favorable image of Ts'ao Ts'ao. For instance, Khu'krit says that after the capital was moved to the city of Hsü-tu 許都 Ts'ao Ts'ao was appointed by the Emperor to take the post of Premiership. (119) This is in direct contradiction to the statement of the Samkok text that "Chō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] was so presumptuous that he promoted himself to become Viceroy." (120) Through similar misuse of his source, Khu'krit tarnished Liu Pei's image with misquotes from Sāmkok. (121) On account of such textual abuse, one must be wary of his trust in the reliability of the Sāmkok

account found in the Capitalist Version , since the misquotes were not supported by any kind of historical sources. Khu'krit was therefore arbitrary and unsystematic in the way he used his source -- unlike Yākhōp and Sang who though they were selective in their use of the text, still utilized their sources without deliberately distorting the textual facts.

As far as narrative style is concerned, the Capitalist Version is more like the Waniphok Version than the Phichai songkhrām . As already discussed above, the narrator of the Waniphok Version played an important role in the arrangement of the narrative. He clearly maneuvered the pace and rythm of the story and interpolated his comments at will. Khu'krit employed the same type of narrator, communicating directly with his audience. The overt appearance of the narrator in the opening chapter reminds one of the "waniphok" narrator of the Mendicant Storyteller's Version :

วันนี้ ท่านผู้มีเกียรติทั้งหลายมาพร้อมกันแล้ว รัฐมนตรีของคณะผมก็ข้าง
 อยู่ยงคงกระพันเสียจริงๆ เป็นที่ฟังของลูกข้างอยู่ได้เรื่อยๆ เจ็บ
 เลอะครีบ นั่งลงไปพร้อมเพรียงกัน ผมจะสั่งกับข้าวเสียก่อน ประเดี๋ยว
 จะเล่านิทานให้ฟังอีกเรื่องหนึ่ง

All the honorable people have already gathered here today. The Director of my [political] party who is enjoying his longevity continues to be my supporter. Please all take your seats. I will first order some dishes and in a little while I will recount a new story for you.(122)

Like Yākhōp, Khu'krit gave ample liberty to his narrator to depart from the main narrative in order to discuss minor topics. For instance, one finds critical comments on such topics as the significant roles of the eunuchs in Chinese history (123), the characteristics and the power of politicians in general (124), and the nature of Chinese poetry (125). Such comments were interspersed throughout the work.

With regard to the style of language, Khu'krit as compared with Yākhōp employed relatively short and concise sentences of literary prose. Yākhōp preferred to write long and complexed sentences which, in a way, reflected the influence of the English sentence patterns found in The Romance of the Three Kingdoms which Yākhōp used as his main source. The prose of the Capitalist Version was also free of the colloquial and coarse expressions which Yākhōp distinctively used in his work. Like Sang, Khu'krit used the language which was typical of that of Sāmkok, for some old words and peculiar expressions (126) were preserved. However, one can capture at some points the playfully sarcastic tone of language, especially when Khu'krit was trying to give a negative impression of some of his unfavorable figures. Take, for example, the scene of the assembly among Wang Yün, Ts'ao Ts'ao, and other senior officials. Criticizing the weakness of these senior

officials, Khu'krit wrote sarcastically as follows:

พอขุนนางมาพร้อมกัน กำลังกินโต๊ะกันอยู่ อ่องอู่ก็ปรับทุกข์ถึงความ
ยากลำบากของบ้านเมือง และความทารุณของตั้งโต๊ะ พอพูดถึงชาติ
ขึ้นมา อ่องอู่ก็ร้องไห้แฉะเหมือนเด็ก ๆ ขุนนางทั้งหลายทั้งปวงก็พากัน
ร้องไห้ระจอนแงไปทั่วกัน บางคนก็ร้องไห้เพราะแก่สุรา บางคน
ก็ร้องไห้เพราะสงสารตัวเองที่มีได้เป็นใหญ่เป็นโต ส่วนมากเมื่อเห็น
ผู้อื่นร้องก็ร้องบ้าง

The officials were gathered and as they were at table, 'Ong 'Un [Wang Yün] unburdened himself concerning the hardships in the country and the cruelty of Tang To [Tung Cho]. As soon as he spoke about the nation, 'Ong 'Un cried like a baby. So all the officials present joined in clamorous weeping. Some wept because they had had too much to drink. Some wept in self pity because they hadn't gotten to be great and powerful. Most of them wept because they saw others weeping. (127)

Such a mildly contemptuous tone appeared from time to time, as an expression of Khu'krit's revolt against the orthodox text of Sāmkok .

Among the three works discussed above, the Capitalist Version stands out as the most controversial, for it opened up a new direction of interpretation in treating the Sāmkok theme. It challenges the essence of Sāmkok 's moral standpoint by taking the villain as the hero and vice versa. It, in fact, reinterprets the moral values of the protagonists that have been traditionally established in

Sāmkok . Khu'krit's work attracts a great deal of attention among the Thai reading public because it offers novelty in content. As for Yākhōp, his originality lies in the style and approach of presentation. Yākhōp offers in his Waniphok Version the use of storytelling narrative arts and vernacular language. He also changes the approach of presentation by reorganizing the Sāmkok narrative into eighteen separate treatments of individual protagonists. The Waniphok Version has been popularly received by the reading public because of its new style and approach. As a matter of fact, it has become the most well-known popularized version of the Three Kingdoms story in the country, while Phrakhlāng's Sāmkok remains the orthodox version. Sang's work, however, unlike Yākhōp's and Khu'krit's works, is hardly known among the reading public. This is perhaps because Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok is less controversial in nature, setting itself forth as an abridged version of the orthodox text of Sāmkok . However, despite receiving less recognition, Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok is significant in its scholarly input, for Sang has incorporated materials which he extracts from the original Chinese text so as to present a better picture of the Three Kingdoms narrative. Also the two comprehensive glossaries of names of characters and places provided in Phichai songkhrām are an invaluable contribution to scholarly research.

Notes

(1) See "Tamnān," pp. 28-30.

(2) See list of the script and libretto in "Tamnān," pp. 28-30.

(3) Klōn is the most common type of Thai verse consisting of at least four eight-syllable lines with rhymes and rhythm but no rigid metrical scheme.

(4) "Tamnān," p. 30.

(5) See three pieces compiled in Fang lae khaočhai phlēng Thai ฟังและเข้าใจเพลงไทย (Listen and Understand Thai Songs), by Montri Trāmōt มนตรี ตราโมท (Bangkok: Thai Khasēm, 1980).

(6) Three productions dealing with the Sāmkok story are known to have been performed in Thailand during the last three decades. The piece about the life story of Kuan Yü was performed in 1965 at Thammasāt University in Bangkok. About one decade later, the story of Sāmkok was performed in the style of a comic-parody play by the students of the Architecture School at Čulālongkōn University for the purpose of raising funds for the School. In 1982 an artist named Čhakraphan Pōsayakrit จักรพันธ์ ไปษยกฤต created his own show of exquisite puppets based on the Sāmkok story.

(7) Čhōt Phrāēphan (1908-1956) who is better known as "Yākhōp" was a well-known writer during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Although he did not finish his

high school education, Yākhōp was able to make his living as a writer and a journalist. Besides writing fictional stories, Yākhōp was active as the editor of a daily newspaper and was once honored as the president of the Thai Journalism Association. He wrote many romantic short stories, but it was the romantic novel called Phūchana sip thit ผู้ชนะสิบทิศ (The Great Victor) that made Yākhōp famous. It is a story about the life and romantic adventures of an historic Burmese warrior of the 16th century. The story became a great success right after the first series appeared in 1932-1933. The series continued for many years. The novel was finally compiled and published in 1955. Yakhop died in 1956 at the age of forty-eight while his works including Sāmkōk chabap waniphok were very popular.

(8) This approximate date is implied in a statement made by the author at one point in his work in which he refers to the period during which Mao Tse-tung 毛澤東 led his Communist revolutionary campaign toward the successful overthrow of the Chinese government in 1949 as an event which happened five to six years before his writing. Perhaps this means that his later pieces of Sāmkok chabap waniphok were written around 1955 since it is known as a fact that the first piece appeared in 1943. See Yākhōp, Sāmkok chabap waniphok สามก๊กฉบับวานิชพาท (Sāmkok : The Mendicant Storyteller's Version), Vol. I (Bangkok: Phadung

su'ksā, 1973), p. 274. Yākhōp's work will be henceforth referred to as the Waniphok Version.

(9) The Phadung su'ksā publishing company received the copyright to print the first compiled edition and a few later editions including the 1973 edition which is used for the present research.

(10) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 261.

(11) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 620.

(12) The eighteen figures dealt with in Yākhōp's work are: 1) Tung Cho, 2) Ts'ao Ts'ao, 3) Liu Pei, 4) Chou Yü, 5) K'ung-ming, 6) Chao Yün, 7) Kuan Yü, 8) Chang Fei, 9) Lù Pu, 10) Ma Chao, 11) Sun fu-jen, 12) Hsü Shu,, 13) Ssu-ma Hui 司馬徽, 14) Mi Heng 彌衡, 15) Ts'ao Chih, 16) Lu Chi 陸績, 17) Tien Wei 典韋, 18) Yang Hsiu 楊儀.

(13) See the table of contents in Vol. I and II of the Waniphok Version .

(14) This is also claimed by the publisher of the 1973 edition who stated that "ยาชอบ ซึ่งเป็นเอกตักตะในการเขียนเรื่องจริงคือเรื่องออกตามลักษณะเด่น ของตัวละครคนขึ้นใหม่ โดยรวบรวมเนื้อหาไว้ อย่างสมบูรณ์ตามฉบับเดิม." "Yākhōp who is a specialist in storyriting has rearranged and abridged [the Sāmkok story] according to the distinctive characteristics of the characters and in so doing he does not fail to present a complete story in his version." This is taken from the publisher's explanation of "The Origin of the Story of Sāmkok " in the Waniphok Version

, 1973 edition.

(15) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 265, 268, and 817 respectively.

(16) For discussion on the traditional storytelling conventions during the Sung, the Yüan, and the Ming periods of China see: Jaroslav Průšek, "Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel," in Chinese History and Literature by Jaroslav Průšek (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publication, 1970), pp. 228-268. This article originally appeared in Archiv Orientalni , 11 (1939), 91-132; V. Hrdličková, "Some Observations on the Chinese Art of Storytelling," Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica , 3 (1964), 53-78; V. Hrdličková, "The Professional Training of Chinese Storytellers and the Storytellers' Guilds," Archiv Orientalni , 33 (1965), 225-248; V. Hrdličková, "Chinese Storytellers and Singers of Ballads, Their Performances and Storytelling Techniques," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan , Third Series, 10 (1969), 97-115; W.L. Idema, Chinese Vernacular Fiction: The Formative Period (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1974). This work is a compilation of Idema's previous articles and studies as follows: "Storytelling and the Short Story in China," Toung Pao , 59, No. 1-5 (1970), 1-67 and "Some Remarks and Speculations Concerning P'ing-hua ," Toung Pao , 60, No. 1-3 (1974), 121-172.

(17) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 149, 584 and Vol. II, p. 262, respectively.

(18) Yākhōp, Vol. II, pp. 40, 223, 462, respectively.

(19) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 284, 749 and Vol. II, p. 326, respectively.

(20) Yākhōp, Vol. II, p. 178.

(21) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 260.

(22) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 621-622.

(23) The Romance of the Three Kingdoms was translated in 1926. Several printings have been made in the past. The 1959 edition published by C.E. Tuttle in Tokyo is used for the present research.

(24) These names can be found in Yakhop, Vol. I, pp. 27, 151, 188, and Vol. II, p. 263, respectively.

(25) See Yākhōp, Vol. II, pp. 1-2; Brewitt-Taylor, trans., The Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle, 1959), Vol. I, pp. 382-383. Henceforth cited as Romance .

(26) This statement is from Romance , Vol. I, p. 42.

(27) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 161.

(28) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 120-121.

(29) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 470-471, and 487.

(30) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 287-289.

(31) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 820-824.

(32) For examples, see Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 163, 169, 204-214, 214-215, 249-251, 266-267, 594-596, and 622-624.

(33) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 268-270, 551, and Vol. II, pp. 87, 205.

(34) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 396.

(35) This episode appears in chapter four of Sāmkok and San-kuo yen-i .

(36) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 152.

(37) This scene can be found in San-kuo , chap. 6.

(38) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 248.

(39) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 593.

(40) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 594-597.

(41) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 599.

(42) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 599.

(43) See, for examples, Winston Yang, "The Use of the San-kuo chih ," pp. 284-293; Chu Hsiu-hsia 祝秀俠, San-kuo jen-wu lun 三國人物論 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1953), pp. 102-109.

(44) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 647.

(45) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 776, 807, and 809-810.

(46) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 826.

(47) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 150.

(48) Sāmkok, Vol. I, p. 73.

(49) These are taken from Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 167, 216, and 231, respectively.

(50) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 256.

(51) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 195, 196, 243, 286, 297, 300, 301, 597, 615, and 630.

(52) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 202, 217, and 692.

(53) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 218.

(54) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 275.

(55) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 278.

(56) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 272.

(57) "นายพลฉัวมอ จึงเท่ากับเป็นจรเข้ที่นอนเอาหางลงน้ำสำหรับแคว้น
เกงจิ๋ว ไม่ต้องหวั่นเกรงว่าใครมาเทียบเคียงบารมีกับตัว" "General Chūa Mō
[Ts'ai Mao], in the principality of Keng-chiu, is like an
alligator resting by the pond with his tail in the water.
He doesn't need to be afraid that anyone will come and
challenge his authority." Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 417.

(58) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 495.

(59) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 579.

(60) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 289.

(61) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 373.

(62) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 583.

(63) "โตเกียวเป็นผู้แก่อย่างขิง ยิ่งแก่ยิ่งทวีคุณสมบัตินี้" "Tō Kīem
[T'ao Ch'ien] is an aged man just like ginger in that the
older it gets the better its quality." Yākhōp, Vol. I,

p. 279.

(64) "ลิโป้ออกรบบนหลังม้าสีแดง เหมือนถ่านที่กำลังประทุอยู่กลางเตา"

"[The picture of] Li Pō [Lü Pu] going to war, riding on a red horse, is like a red hot charcoal radiating in the stove."

(65) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 321.

(66) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 574.

(67) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 739-740.

(68) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 753-754.

(69) Sang Phatthanōthai (1915--) is known as a writer of descriptive essays and also as a political activist. Some of his works touch upon specific questions on Thai and Chinese history. Some are records of his sojourns in foreign countries, such as, China, Turkey, and India. During the early years of his life, especially in the forties and fifties, Sang was very much politically oriented when he worked for the Thai government as a political propagandist attacking the Communist Party of Thailand. However, by early 1950s Sang's political beliefs changed drastically. He now gave his support to the Chinese Communist government, which unfortunately was in direct conflict with the anti-communist policy of the Thai government. As a result, Sang was imprisoned for seven years, from 1958 to 1965, during which he wrote Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok . For more information on Sang's life and

works, see Kānchanā Tangchonhip's กางจนา คังชลทพย essay in Warasān Thammasāt วารสารธรรมศาสตร์ , 9, No. 1 (July-Sept. 1979).

(70) See "Khamnam khōng phūtaeng," คำนำของผู้แต่ง (Author's Introduction) in Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok , by Sang Phatthanōthai (Bangkok: Sūn kānphim, 1969), pp. 5 and 22. A complete collection of Sang's four works was published in 1969 of which hundreds of copies were presented as funeral gifts on the occasion of the cremation of Major General Nōm Kētnut พลตรี นอม เกตุnutí (1898-1970), a respected "uncle" of Sang. It is this 1969 edition which is used for the present research.

(71) "Author's Introduction," pp. 4, and 20.

(72) The twenty chapters of Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok are: 1) The Ten Eunuchs ("shih ch'ang shih" 十常侍), 2) Tung Cho, 3) Wang Yun, 4) Li Ts'ui 李催 and Kuo Fan 郭汜, 5) Ts'ao Ts'ao, 6) Liu Pei, Kuan Yü, and Chang Fei, 7) Lü Pu, 8) Tien Wei, Hsü Ch'u 許褚, and Chang Liao 張遼, 9) Hsien Ti 獻帝, 10) Yüan Shao, 11) Liu Piao, 12) Hsü Shu, 13) K'ung-ming, 14) P'ang T'ung, 15) Sun Ch'uan, 16) Hua T'o 華陀 and Kuan Lu 管輅, 17) Meng Hou, 18) Ssu-ma I, 19) Chiang Wei, 20) Ssu-ma Yen 司馬懿 .

(73) Compare the lists of characters in notes 12 and 69.

(74) "Author's Introduction," p. 20.

(75) Sāmkok , Vol. I, p. 72.

(76) Phichai songkhrām , p. 61.

(77) Sang gave in the "Introduction" a list of 16 reference works which he had consulted during his research on the Sāmkok . Unfortunately, these works were not fully documented with regard to the place and date of printing. It is not clear as to which editions of Sāmkok and the Romance were used. As for the San-kuo yen-i text, only the name of publisher -- the Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she 作家出版社 -- was given.

(78) Phichai songkhrām , p. 20.

(79) See Phichai songkhrām , pp. 286-287; San-kuo , chap. 57.

(80) Phichai songkhrām , p. 61.

(81) San-kuo , chap. 4, p. 22. The translation is taken from the Romance, p. 38.

(82) โจโจฆ่าปะเจียกับครอบครัวเป็นความใจเบาอย่างมหันต์
 "[The story of] Čhō Chō [Ts'ao Ts'ao] killing Pae-chia [Po-she] and his family shows his over-readiness to listen to false tales." Phichai songkhrām , p. 70.

(83) Phichai songkhrām , p. 70.

(84) Phichai songkhrām , p. 345.

- (85) Phichai songkhrām , p. 71.
- (86) Phichai songkhrām , p. 198.
- (87) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 384.
- (88) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 334. Similar remarks in praise of Liu Pei are made in subsequent pages, see Vol. I, pp. 338, 416, and 447.
- (89) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 319.
- (90) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 330.
- (91) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 406-407.
- (92) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 395.
- (93) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 404, 405, 409, 475, and 493.
- (94) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 567-569.
- (95) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 581.
- (96) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 550.
- (97) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 326, 346, 436, 497, and 512-513.
- (98) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 168.
- (99) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 175-176.
- (100) Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 189-190.
- (101) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 149.
- (102) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 392 and 627.
- (103) Yākhōp, Vol. I, p. 627.

(104) See Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 409 and 629.

(105) A writer, politician, professor, dramatic performer, social critic, and chief newspaper editor, Khu'krit Prāmōt has written many works of various kinds and on diverse subjects. In the literary arena, Khu'krit is well known for his classic masterpiece novel called Sī phaendin สี่แผ่นดิน (Four Reigns) which poignantly traces the changes in the Thai social and political history from the reign of King Rama IV to that of King Rama VII, 1851-1932, through the life of a female protagonist. Sī phaendin is one among hundreds of khu'krit's literary works. For information on Khu'krit's life and works, see Sala Likhitkūn สละ ลิขิตกุล, comp., Khu'krit Prāmōt pen Nāyok, chīwit lae ngān คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมชเป็นนายกรัฐมนตรี ชีวิตและงาน (Khu'krit Prāmōt as Prime Minister, His life and Works), (Bangkok: Su'ksā samphan, n.d.); Prachā Dunlayatham ประชา ดุลยธรรม, Su'ksā Khu'krit lae wannakam ศึกษาคึกฤทธิ์ และ วรรณกรรม (A Study of Khu'krit and His Literary Works), (Bangkok: Klum su'ksā wannakam kāmnu'ang, 1975).

(106) Khu'krit Prāmōt, "Introduction" to Beng Hek เบ่งเฮ็ก (Meng Hou), (Bangkok: Khlang witthayā, 1960), p. 2, as quoted in 'Wiwatthanākān khōng wannakam Čhīn bāep Čhīn lae kīeokap Čhīn nai Prathēt Thai,' วิวัฒนาการของวรรณกรรมจีน แบบจีน และเกี่ยวกับจีนในประเทศไทย (The Evolution of Chinese Literature, Chinese-style Literature,

and Literature about China in Thailand), by Khwandī Rakphong
 ขวัญคี รัคพงษ์ , Warasān Thammasāt วารสารธรรมศาสตร์ , 7, No. 2
 (Oct.-Dec. 1977), 114.

(107) Khu'krit Prāmōt, Chō Chō Nāyok talōtkān
 โจโจ นายกตลอคกาล (Ts'ao Ts'ao: The Life-time Premier) or
Sāmkok chabap nāithun สามกคฉบับนายทุน (Sāmkok : The
 Capitalist Version), (Bangkok: Kāonā, 1964), pp. 3-4.
 Henceforth cited as Capitalist Version .

(108) Capitalist Version , p. 7.

(109) Capitalist Version , p. 10.

(110) Capitalist Version , p. 6.

(111) Capitalist Version , pp. 11-12.

(112) Capitalist Version , p. 14.

(113) Capitalist Version , pp. 14-15.

(114) This is repeatedly expressed in the text. See
Capitalist Version , pp. 199, 220, 339, and 341.

(115) Capitalist Version , p. 342.

(116) See Capitalist Version , pp. 145, 179, 231, and
 276.

(117) Capitalist Version , p. 231.

(118) Capitalist Version , p. 276.

(119) Capitalist Version , p. 119.

(120) Capitalist Version , p. 119.

(121) Examples can be found in Capitalist Version , pp. 90-94, 96-97, 103, 122, 126, 143, 243-244, and 249.

(122) Capitalist Version , p. 1.

(123) See Capitalist Version , pp. 4-5.

(124) See Capitalist Version , pp. 13, and 138-141.

(125) See Capitalist Version , p. 23.

(126) For instances, the following expressions are found: "uppamā samū'an" อุปมาเสมือน (it is similar or comparable to), "chōp/mai chōp" ชอบ/ไม่ชอบ (right/not right; ought to/ought not to), "pai thāng klāngwan klāngkhū'n"

ไปทั้งกลางวันกลางคืน (travel all day and all night). See Capitalist Version , pp. 3, 2, 66, and 87, respectively.

(127) Capitalist Version , p. 43.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

The textual comparison between San-kuo yen-i and Sāmkok conducted in this dissertation reveals significant changes in the various features of the novel. In structure or format of presentation, Sāmkok uses the medium of pure prose in place of the intermixed form of prose and poetry found in the original Chinese. Also the design by chapter in Sāmkok is based on unity of subject matter as opposed to the climactic method of arrangement used in the San-kuo text. As a result, the total number of chapters between the two texts differs considerably; the Chinese text has 120 chapters while the Thai version has only 87. Furthermore, the original style of providing a couplet as the chapter heading is changed to a free style of listing the subjects covered in each chapter in Sāmkok. So, the table of contents of Sāmkok is much longer than that of San-kuo.

With regard to the technique of narration, some major changes are found. Two types of suspense-creating technique used in San-kuo are discarded in Sāmkok. The Thai version adopts a simple and straightforward method of narration, providing clues and necessary explanations for the sake of clarity. The technique of introducing the characters is less exciting and much simpler in the translation. Unlike the Chinese text, the Thai version reveals the name of a

character before providing a physical description or giving biographical information. The use of poetic lines for narrative purposes is completely left out in the translation. However, Sāmkok adds to the narrative an omniscient narrator which makes the story more lively and rich in imagination.

As for language, the Sāmkok makes a great many changes that provide idiomatic and cultural Thai equivalents for Chinese terms and expressions. Thus, the system of pronouns and the royal speech and vocabulary are adapted to Thai usage. The various measurement systems and the counting of dates, months, and years are all converted to Thai systems. Conversely, any peculiar forms of Chinese language, such as, the four-character idioms, which find no equivalence in the Thai language and are difficult to render into Thai, are simply omitted in the translation. As a result, Sāmkok is written in clear, idiomatic, easily-understood Thai. Also we find that the language is quite a bit higher on the colloquial-literary scale than the language of the Chinese original.

In content, Sāmkok merely keeps the same names, places, and narrative sequences of the Chinese work, but it makes no attempt to provide a faithful translation of the majority of the material in the Chinese original. For the Thai translator deliberately revises and rewrites the Thai text

after making appropriate changes in the content. Many elements in the content are adjusted to make the translation expressively Thai. These adjustments include social manners and customs, figures of speech or metaphor, historical legends and allusions, old quotations, and unfamiliar things, etc. In fact, about 60% of the content is the result of additions, omissions, abridgments, and conceptual adjustments made so as to render the story more real and readable to Thai readers. Also, minor mistakes in the content are occasionally found in the translation, -- which is hardly surprising in such a monumental undertaking.

The most drastic and significant change made in the content is in the philosophical outlook of the novel. The Thai version breaks away from the Chinese philosophical framework with T'ien at the center and replaces it with a Thai Buddhist universe with the principle law of bun-kam as its base. The incorporation of this conceptual line in Sāmkok was, in fact, a common practice in Thai literature in those days (Rāmakīen and Rāchāthirāt) since Buddhism was the state religion and the ideological foundation for all aspects of national regeneration. In adopting the Buddhist world view, essentially the belief in moral retribution, Sāmkok is consequently very different from the Chinese original in treating the question of fate. The meaning of fate in Sāmkok is based on the Buddhist philosophy of life

-- human destiny is a matter of moral consequences and therefore is subjective. On the contrary, the understanding of fate in the Chinese original comes from the basic acceptance in the concept of T'ien as the ultimate Reality. In this respect, one's fate is dependent virtually upon the power of T'ien and thus the entire matter is non-subjective. The San-kuo text regards fate from the providential standpoint whereas the Thai version sees the working of fate in the light of moral consequences. Because of the change in the meaning of fate, the idea of heroism and tragedy, so central to the Chinese version, becomes totally irrelevant in the Thai translation.

When we compare the Sāmkok with the Chinese original, it becomes clear that what the translators have done is to take the original Chinese work with its names, places, and sequences of events, and to thoroughly adapt it not only by translating it into Thai, but also by rewriting large parts of it -- as much as 60% -- and by reorienting it to Thai perceptions and experiences, and even to the Thai religious and philosophical world view.

In doing this, the translators have managed to create a new genre. This is achieved by adapting to the Thai literary conventions of prose and poetry. The change of literary medium from a mixed form (prose alternated with verse) to pure prose follows the style found in Thai prose,

such as, the Traiphūm Phraruang . From the same source, Sāmkok derives the convention of dividing by chapters on the basis of subject divisions. The new design of the table of contents which provides a list of chapter headings, as opposed to a couplet, follows the way Thai narrative works in prose (Rāchāthirāt) and in poetry (Rāmakīen) of the time were presented. The manner in which Sāmkok changes the style in introducing new character is similar to that found in previous works of poetry (Rāmakīen) . And the use of an omniscient narrator also finds its precedents in Thai poetry (Rāmakīen) . By incorporating Thai literary conventions and removing unfamiliar Chinese literary conventions, Sāmkok forms a new genre of prose fiction.

In sum, the Thai version merely looks superficially like the original Chinese work, but it has actually been transformed into something very new and different. It may extrinsically appear Chinese but it is Thai intrinsically. Sāmkok presents a creation of a new genre in the Thai literary world. And it also sets a standard of high literary quality in writing prose fiction.

Perhaps by the virtue of its being novel, highly literary, and very Thai, Sāmkok is able to claim a special place in Thai literary history and has had a very significant impact on Thai readers. Sāmkok was produced originally with a didactic purpose, for it was regarded as a

useful source of military tactics. But gradually the work has come to be appreciated not so much for its didactic value but for its artistic and entertainment value. Also, with the advent of the printing press and the growth of literacy, the Sāmkok story has won an ever widening acceptance from the Thai reading public. So many readers have come to enjoy Sāmkok as a classic work of art and as a source of literary entertainment. Furthermore, it has stimulated thematic improvisation in different forms of the arts; for the story of Sāmkok has been adapted for classical dramas, operatic plays, puppet shows, poetry, and songs. And now, in modern times, the story has become available in colloquial speech: Yakhop's Waniphok Version , and Khu'krit's the Capitalist Version . These two works have served as popularized renderings of the Sāmkok story. Also, the reading public now has access to the abridged version, Sang's Phichai songkhrām Sāmkok , which makes the story easier to follow, yet still retains the style of the literary Thai.

It becomes clear that Sāmkok is unique because it is not a mere translation, but a major work of adaptation achieved through considerable creativity and innovation. It is accordingly a highly respected work of literature and a widely read story in the Thai literary world.

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Vita

Name: มาลินี ดิลกวานิช Malinee Dilokwanich

Date and place of birth: August 30, 1949

Bangkok, Thailand

Father: Suwich Dilokwanich

Mother: Poosub Dilokwanich

Secondary education: St. Joseph's Convent School

College education and degrees:

1967-1971 Thammasat University, B.A., English
Language and Literature

1971-1973 University of Oregon, M.A., Interdis-
ciplinary Studies

1973-1975 University of Oregon, M.A., Asian
Studies

1975-1983 University of Washington, Ph.D.,
Asian Languages and Literature