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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

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Introduction

Sāmkok สำปโภค is a Thai translation of a 14th-century Chinese novel, San-kuo yen-i 三国演义, 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 จักรพรรดิพิชัย (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (ฟ้า), 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 Phatthanāthai and by Prapin Manomaivibool. 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 worldview. 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-กรรม 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 Ayutthaya Kingdom (1350-1767), particularly during the reign of King Phutthayotfa Chulalok 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 Ayutthaya 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 Ayutthaya by the Burmese in 1767. The capital city of Ayutthaya 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 ascendency of King Taksin สิน 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 Ayutthaya 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 Ayutthaya 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 Thonburi ทวีป 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 ลั่ง จีน) and had residential quarters of their own. (13) "Taksin's polices 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 Crawfurd, 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 Čakrī ภวภว 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 Ayutthaya epoch. (20) Yet, their impact on the Thai social, economic, and cultural life had never been so influential as compared to that of the Thonburi-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 铔. (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] sëtthi (wealthy ones) or chão khlua (Chinese merchants). King Mongkut’s Royal Proclamation of 1867 mentions two such sëtthi. (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 Surasīhanāt สุรัชชานาท, 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 indispensible subject in the study of the history of the Thonburi–Early Bangkok period. This view is shared at least by two young contemporary historians. Chānwit Kasātsiri ชานวิทยา เกษมศิริ suggests in a recent article written in 1981 that the historical development in Thonburi–Early Bangkok period should be viewed differently from that during the Ayutthaya 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 Chakri 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 Rāṃkien รามเกียรติ (The Honor of Rama), this work being attributed to the King. (37) 'Unarut อนุรุทธ์ (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 originating in Ceylon was translated into Thai in 1797 at the King's command by a certain Phya Thammapurōhit พญายามบุญโรคิจ. The tale of the Sipsōng liem สิปสงชเลิม (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 ดาลัง (The Greater Tale of Inao) and 'Inao ินาโอน (The Lesser Tale of Inao), borrowed their themes from the adventurous Panji (Inao) tales of Java. The work of Rāchāthīrīt ราชธิราช (The King of Kings) which was written in 1785 and attributed to Čhāophrayā Phrakhlang (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง ( Hon) (d. 1805) was a translation of Mon history covering the years 1321-1569. Sāmkok สัมกโค (Three Kingdoms) and Saihan ซีเหียน (Western Han) were two works of translation from Chinese historical novels produced during this reign. The translation of Sāmkok was supervised by Čhāophrayā Phrakhlang (Hon) and Saihan by Prince Anurak Thēvēt อภินิกิตย์เทวก (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 Rāmakīṇa story. It is called Rāchāphilāp kham chan วิชาภิลัย คำนำหน้า  (A Royal Lamentation in chan  (39)) otherwise known as Nirāt Sīḍā นิร่าถ่ำศีดา (A nirāt (40) of Sīḍā) dated in the time of King Nārāi นาราธิป (r. 1656–1688) of Early Ayutthaya. 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 อินรุทธคำนำหน้า  (Anirut ['Unarut] in chan ) which was composed by the renowned poet Srīprāt ศรีปราฏ (fl. 1703). (42) By the time of King Borommakot บรมโกศ (r. 1732–1758) of Late Ayutthaya, 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 ซิบซ่งลี้่่่่, according to Prince Dhāni ชานิ, was actually made from the 1753 Ayutthaya copy. (44)
Nevertheless, the works of Sämkok 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 Sämkok 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 eighteen 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 北 period (960-1127) they were dramatized in shadow plays (the p'i-ying hei 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-chū 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 "Tamnăn nangsrî Sâmkok " คำานัน หนังสือสำคัญก่อนหน้านี้ (History of the Work of Sâmkok ) where he says Sâmkok was translated perhaps "in order to bring
benefit to the governmental affairs of the country."

(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 Taksin's reign, Rama I who served then as his generalissimo under the noble title چhrorhay چhratī چhrayr چhratī 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. Sâmkok, 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 Thonburi as its capital and was often referred to as the Thonburi period. King Rama I, ruled the Kingdom after Taksin, moved the capital to Bangkok and proclaimed his own dynasty of Chakri, the rule of which remains till today.


(3) Skinner, p. 30.


(6) Akin, p. 6.

(7) Skinner, pp. 11, 18; Phonlakun 'Angkinan พลเอก อิ่งกินนันท์ Botbát chao Chin nai Prathet Thai nai ratcha samai Phrabat Somdet Phra Chunlaothomklao Chaooyuhua บัตรทหารจีนในประเทศไทยในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (The Role of Chinese People in Thailand in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn), (Bangkok: Prajak kānphim, 1972), pp. 14-5.

(8) Akin, p. 142.

(9) Skinner, p. 18.

(10) Manlikā Rū'nangraphī มั่งลิกา เรืองราชี Botbát không chao Chin nai dān sēttthakit sangkhom lae sinlapakam Thai samai ratchakān thī nu'ng thu'ng ratchakān thī sī haeng Krung Rattanakōsin บัตรทหารจีนในค่านเศรษฐกิจ สังคม และศิลปะไทย ฉบับรู้จักที่ 1 ถึงรู้จักที่ 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: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1975), p. 46.
(11) Skinner, pp. 24-25.

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

(13) Phonlakan, p. 13; Manlik, p. 46.

(14) Skinner, p. 21.


(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. Crawfurd 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 Crawfurd 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.


(21) Akin, p. 102.

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

(23) Akin, p. 47. In lieu of the corvée, the Chinese were required to pay head tax of about 2 bât นน. 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 lûang หลวง , phrai som สม , and thât ทาส (slave). The first group, phrai lûang, 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 thât one week a year. See Akin, p. 46.
(24) Manlikā, p. 46.
(26) Akin, p. 114.
(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.
(33) Manlikā, pp. 175.
(34) Chānwit, pp. 17-19.
(37) The Rāmakīn by King Rama I is the most complete Thai version of the Indian epic Ramayana. Phutthayōtfa Čulālōk, King of Thailand พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาลงกรณ์ Rāmakīn 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 蔡 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 Phraephitthayā 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 เปรียง narong , Prawat wannakahāi 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 Sīda is unknown. See Mōtthayākōn ในปัจจุบัน, Prawat wannakahāi Thai สิ่งสามัย ประวัติวรรณคดีไทยในยุค (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 คุณากร and Princess Mongkut มกุฎ , respectively. Mōtthayākōn, pp. 95-97, 117-120.


(46) Prince Damrong Rāchānuphīp ระจงกุลCHA "Tamnān nangsū' Sāmkok
คานานนังสูบสามกโค (History of the Work of Sāmkok )," in Sāmkok

(47) See Phaithūn Mīkuson, Prawattisāt samai Thonburī ประวัติศาสตร์สมัยยุคหนู (History of the Thonburī Period),
(49) Phaithūn, Thonburī, p. 2 and Landon, p. 7.
(50) At the age of eight, Thongduang --
original name of King Rama I -- and Taksin who was two years
older became pages of the same lord, Čhāofā 'Uthumphōn
เจ้าพระยาภูมิพน , the third son of King Barommakōt. They both
served the last two Ayutthaya rulers for nine years,
1758–1767, before Taksin became King. While Taksin was
leading his defending army against Burma at Chonburī ชลบุรี ,
Thongduang decided to join him there. During the fifteen
years of Taksin's reign, the future Rama I fought beside
Taksin against their mutual enemies in eleven campaigns
which furthered the liberation of the country from Burmese
domination. In the last campaigns under Taksin, Rama I
known then as Phra Rātcharin พระราชาธิราช , 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 Taksin was once married to the oldest daughter
of King Rama I and that makes them related by marriage. See
Chalīm Yūwīangchai เฉลิม ยุวีวงศ์ , Prawattisāt samai Krung
Thonburī lae samai Krung Rattanakōsīn ปราชญศาสตร์สมัยกรุงธนบุรี
และสมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ (History of the
Thonburī and Rattanakōsin Periods), (Bangkok: Teacher's
Training Department, 1971), p. 23.

(51) See "Introduction" by Krom Sinlapākon นฤมลสุภะกิจ
(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 Sämkok

Previous studies on Sämkok done by Thai scholars have shed little light on our knowledge about the piece of Chinese literature from which Sämkok 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 Sämkok, mistakenly mentioned the title San-kuo chih 三國志 in referring to the Chinese work used for the Samkok project. In his essay, "Tamnăn nangsû' Sämkok," Prince Damrong writes:

"..."
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'ên 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 knowledgable 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 Yuan 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 毛宗崑 (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 Phatthanāthai สง่า พัฒนนท์ and Prapin Manomaivibool ปราพิน มโนมวีบูล 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 章 or chapters. It contains altogether 442 biographies of which 230 are those of Wei 魏 figures, 83 of Shu 蜀, and 129 of Wu 吴. (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 纪, exclusive biography or chuan-chuan 専傳, 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 biographical form of San-kuo chih, Sämkok 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 Sämkok 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, Sämkok 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 Sämkok 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 chuān while Sämkok 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. Sämkok 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 毛輪 (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 Shih 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魏廷 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 Sämkok was actually working with the Mao version. Furthermore, the Mao text and Sämkok 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 盛夫人 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 Sämkok.

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 Sämkok 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 Sämkok.

(24)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lo text</th>
<th>Mao text and Sämkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- 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</td>
<td>- 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 謝遂 was appointed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 曹操 conferred on him an official 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 Hsü-ch'ang with a few of his senior officials.

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

There are an extra few lines of dialogue between Huang K'uei and his concubine 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 Sâmkok 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, a work under royal command, providing background information on the work.

พระพุทธศักราช 2328... พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธชินราช

พระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัวเกิดถึงความสิ้นจางกระพุทธคามาน...มีพระราชโอองการ

...สั่งราชีราชาพระเจ้าราชีจงขึ้นดำกิจกับพระเจ้าวิรัมิวงศ์ เนื่อง

มหาบุญสง่างามในพระราชาพจนควรการบรมพิจารณ์ ที่แปลถึงการบริบูรณ์ภัก

เป็นสมานภำพตามสมเกียรติชีวาราชบรมราชาภิเษก แปลกับคนที่

กับที่ใคร่ครวญพิจารณาเกียรติ จึงทรงพระราชาคำวิจิตรแปลง忠实ใจในเรื่อง

ราชีจงเจ้าที่งดงามเขาเถลิงค์แต่เนื่องผูกไว้ในเส้นเสียบไทยให้เป็นสมานภำพ

คุณพระราชาภิเษกปิยภักดีให้เป็นภิกษุพุทธปริศนาในธรรมะและคณะราชาชีวาน้น

ข้าพเจ้าพระเจ้าพระยาศรีภักดี พระภูprincipalพระเจ้าศรีภักดี

พระบรมวงศ์อยุธยาในพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธชินราช พระศรีภักดี

พระภูprincipalพระเจ้าศรีภักดี ข้าพเจ้าพระยาศรีภักดี พระภูprincipalพระเจ้าศรีภักดี

กันที่ถึงเบื้องหน้า ข้าพเจ้าพระยาศรีภักดี}

ในเรื่องราชีราชาไทยกรุงเทพราชาภิเษก
In the year of 2328 of the Buddhist Era [A.D. 1785], Phrabāt Somdet Phrathutthayotfa Chulilok [Rama I], the King, appeared in audience at Chakraphat Phimān Hall. He ordered that the story of Phra Chao Rāchāthirāt who made war with Phra Chao Farang Mangkhōng -- an epic war recorded in the annals of the Raman [the Mon] -- which was translated into Siamese for Somdet Anuchāthirāt Krom Phrarātchawang Bawôn [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, Chāophraya Phrakhlang, together with three persons, Phraya 'Inthara' akkarāt, Phra Phiromratsam, and Phra Sripūripričā, 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 ꒾asions 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 Phrakhlang (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 Rāchāthirat which was attributed to Phrakhlang and dated in 1785. (30) In fact, Thai literary historians have attributed the work of Sāmkok to Phrakhlang. (31) Accordingly, the safest approximate date of Sāmkok should be the period between 1782, the year Rama I became King, and 1805, the year Phrakhlang 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 Phrakhlang 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 Phrakhlang, whereas the remaining thirty-two chapters demonstrate a different and less elegant style of prose writing. (32) The implication here is that perhaps Phrakhlang 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 Phrakhlang 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 Phrakhlang could not therefore be personally involved in the whole task. In any case, it is still reasonable to believe that Phrakhlang, 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 Phrakhlang was originally known by the given name Hon Wū or Honthāng พงษ์, and he was the son of a Thonbūrī nobleman, Čhāophrayā Surabōdin Surinrū'chāi เขานพราหมณ์ศรีชัยหิรัญ, originally known as Bunmāi บุญมา, and Thanphūying Čharōen ท่านพรหมวงษ์ จรูญ. (34) Phrakhlang began his official career in the reign of King Taksin of the Thonbūrī era. During the reign of King Rama I Phrakhlang 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) Phrakhlang died in 1805, four years before the death of Rama I. (38)
A word should be mentioned about the translators who worked for Phrakhlang 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 knowledgable Chinese to translate the Chinese text and a group of Thai scholars to improve and edit the translated text. Sang Phathathothai 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:

เข้าใจกันม่วง พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลกฯ โปรดให้เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (หมู) anjaนวางการแปลเรื่องสามกักออกภาษา
ภาษาจีนเป็นภาษาไทย...จะต้องมีฉันทางอาจารย์รักษา ซึ่งมองเห็น
ความสำคัญของการสามกักเป็นภาษาไทยสูงอย่างยิ่ง

จากการแปลเรื่องสามกักออกเป็นภาษาไทยนี้มีสิ่งเกิดขึ้น

ซึ่งยากแก่จินตนาการเป็นปัญหาที่สำคัญ เพราะข้อบกพร่องและสถานที่

ที่สำคัญคือการเรียนรู้ภาษาจีนออกมากกว่าเป็นเรื่องซับซ้อนเนื่องจาก

และแก้ไขจากนั้นจะมีขั้นตอนที่จะทำให้การแปลเรื่อง

It has been understood that Phrabārt Somdet
Phrathuyotfa Ñulãlôk, the First Ruler [Rama I], commissioned Châophrayâ Phrakhlang (Hon) to supervise in translating Sâm kok from Chinese into Thai. . . . There must have been powerful officials who perceived the importance of Sâm kok and consequently gave strong support to the project.

One may notice from the translation of Sâm kok 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 Phrakhlang'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 Phrakhlang appeared to be the most appropriate person. The position of Phrakhlang in those days was equivalent to that of present-day Ministers of Finance and Commerce. Phrakhlang 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, Phrakhlang 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 งูพิษ (volumes), is the original work purportedly edited by Čhāophraya Phrakhlang (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 เส้นผูก), and realgar (sen hōradān เส้นหอราง). 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 Kromlāng Wijrāsētsudā คำวิชวลังวิจเรศขวัญ
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 Bratle" หมอบรัทลี่ 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 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 Boriphat เจ้าพันธุ์ , 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 Boriphat'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 Potchanapričā พจนานุกรมภาษา as the chief editor, Khun Wannarakwichit ขุนวัชรินทร์ as the editor's assistant, and Phra Phinitwannarklı พระพินิจวงษ์ who arranged the table of contents. (47) In doing the research and documentation, Prince Damrong was assisted by Phra Čhěnčhǐn'aksčin พระเจนจิ๋น, 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 Phrakhlang (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 Phrakhlang'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 เทพประสิทธิยากร, "Phra damrat rū‘ang Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Kromphrayā Damrong Rāchānūphāp," พระการ์เรื่องสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ
กรมพระยากรุงราชานุภาพ (Discussion about Prince Damrong) in Pathakhathā rū‘ang Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Krom Phrayā Damrong Rāchānūphāp lae Phra prawat lūk lao ปาฐกถาเรื่องสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ
กรมพระยากรุงราชานุภาพและพระประทีปลูกเธอ (A Talk on Prince Damrong and His Biography Narrated by His Daughter), (Bangkok: Su‘ksāphān, 1963), pp. 1-11;
2) Phūnphitsamai Ditsakun พุนพิทักษ์ กิจกุล, same source as 1) above, pp. 201-268; 3) Chakkrit Nōranithadungkānจิรภพนิธิ นฤฤทธิ์วงศ์กร Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Kromphrayā Damrong Rāchānūphāp kap Krasuang Mahāththaiสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมพระยากรุงราชานุภาพ กีสถธรรมราชไทย (Prince Damrong and the Ministry of Interior), (Bangkok: Thammasāt University Press, 1963); 4) Su‘charit Thāzhānēk Phūtīr ศุทธิ์ ธาเวสุต, Phra prawat lae ngān khōng Somdet Phračhāo Barommawongthōe Kromphrayā Damrong Rāchānūphāp พระประทีปลูกเธอสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ (Biography and Works of Prince Damrong), 3 Volumes (Bangkok:
(2) Lo Kuan-chung, the supposed author of San-kuo yen-i, was variously known as Lo Pen, Lo Kuan, and Lo Tao-pen. Little is known of Lo Kuan-chung's life. He was either a native of T'ai-yüan, or of Ch'ien-t'ang 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, Lo Kuan-chung yu Ma Chih-yuan (Lo Kuan-chung and Ma Chih-yuan), (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1930), pp. 12-61; Chao Ts'ung, 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 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 中国古典小說講話 (Discussion of Traditional Chinese Fiction), (Hong Kong: Shanghai shu-chū, 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.


(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.

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. Fulleyblank, eds., Historians of China and Japan (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 95-114.

(14) Yang, pp. 38-39.


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 hsüeh-pao 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 新刻
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 孫際第, "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-chhou chi 滄州集 (The Ts'ang-chhou 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 Čhəphrayā Phra Khlang (Hon) เจ้าพระยาพระคลัง (Hon), Sămkok สามก๊ก (Three Kingdoms), (Bangkok: Rüamsän, 1973), Vol. II, ch. 78, pp. 836-838. The San-min edition of San-kuo yen-i and the Rüamsän edition of Sămkok are the two main texts used in this research. Henceforth the first volume of Sămkok will be referred to as "Sămkok, I" and the second volume of Sămkok as "Sămkok, II".
(20) See San-kuo, ch. 17, p. 739 and Sämkok, II, ch. 86, p. 1044.

(21) See San-kuo, ch. 1, p. 1 and Sämkok, I, pp. 1-2; San-kuo, ch. 120, p. 759 and Sämkok, 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 Sämkok, II, ch. 62, p. 450.

(23) This can be found in San-kuo, ch. 84, p. 524 and Sämkok, 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 Sämkok, 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 Sämkok, I, pp. 421-425; 2) Kuan Yü's response to the royal appointment in San-kuo, p. 161 and Sämkok, I, pp. 525-526; 3) Ts'ao Hou's reaction to Ts'ao P'ei's usurping the kingship from Emperor Hsien in San-kuo, p. 497 and Sämkok, II, pp. 468-469.

(26) Čhao Phrayā Phra Khlang (Hon) จาพระยาพระคลัง (Hon), Rāchāthirāt ราชาธิราช (King of Kings), (Bangkok: Khlang Witthayā, 1970), pp. 1-2.
(29) "Tamnān," p. 11.

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

(31) This information on the authorship of Phrakhlang 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 Phrakhlang (Hon) is provided in Natthawut Sutthisongkhram นพธวัชญ์ สุทธิสังกัศล (Bangkok: n.p., 1966), pp. 441-452, and in Wannakhađī วรรณภักดี (Department of Fine Arts), (Bangkok: Bannākhān, 1972), pp. 9-12.

(35) In the Thonburī period, Phrakhlang was first appointed as Luang Sōrawichit หลวงสรวงชิต in charge of Uthaithāni 邬达他尼 city. After that he was promoted successively to higher positions, being given the titles Phrayā Phiphatthanakōkārī พราหมณ์พิพัฒนากุโลก, Čhāophrayā Phrakhlang, and then Čhāophrayā Mahārī มหาราชิภักดิ์ เจ้าพระยามหาภักดี. He was best known by the title
Čhāophrayā Phrakhlang which is found attached to all of his literary works.

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

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

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


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


(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
(43) One of these copies belonged to จุฑาภัยรัตน์ srīṣurīywong เจ้าพระยาศินสุริโยงกิ , 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.
(48) The hand-written copy used for the 1928 edition was owned by กรมหลวงวิรุมัชตรพ กรมหลวงวิรุมัชตรพ, 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 Sâmkok 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
一壺獨酒喜相逢 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，蜉蝣一瞬空
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，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，後人憑弔空牢騷
The Three Kingdoms that stood like a tripod have turned into a dream;
Posterity in grieving 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 predestined 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'aoos
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 Sâmkok 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. Sâmkok did not exclude those pieces that bear an integral function in the narrative development. All eleven pieces of poem and song represented in the Sâmkok 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 express his grief over the doom of the Han rulers and calling for acts of revenge. It is because of this poem that Tung Cho decided to eliminate Emperor Shao. (23) The second piece is a song sung by Tiao Ch'an 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 蔣瑁 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 繆周瑜 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 周瑜 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 萧丕 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 萧髦 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 Ṣāmkok 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 Nīthān Chādok นิทานชาดก (Tales of the Life of Buddha), the first version of which is called Mahachāt kham หลวง มาหาราชาที่สุด นนท์ หลวง written in 1482 by a group of court literati at the command of King Barommatraī Lōkkanaṭ บรมมณีกลมนาฏ (r. 1448–1488). (34) Mahachāt kham หลวง which means "the official words about the Great Life" was written in rāiyāo ราษฎรา (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 Chāru'k หินรุ่ง (Stone Inscription) purportedly written by King Rāmkhamhāeng รามค์หแนง ร. 1277-1317) in 1292 during the Sukhōthai ศุโขทัย 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 ไลห (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 (a report or memorandum to the emperor), ts'e 策 (an order of appointment), hsi-wen 敗文 (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 誼 (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 册 (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 Sämkok 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of document</th>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sämkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hsi-wen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lien-chang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meng</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kao-chih</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa-chih-wen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Sämkok. 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 Sämkok divides its chapters is different from the original. The San-kuo yen-i text is divided into one hundred and twenty hui (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 มหู 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 Phrāruang and Nīthān chādok, for instance, the note of suspense is not at all a factor of consideration. The division of Traiphūm and Nīthān 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 Sâmkok ends with the scene that focuses on the character of Tung Cho in the city of Yang-ch'eng 阳城 (54), and the beginning of chapter four switches attention to the scene at Po-hai 海 with Yuan Shao 袁绍 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 Sâmkok are organized in a similar manner.

Apart from the above, there are about sixteen cases of chapter division in Sâmkok 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 Sämkok '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. Rāmakīen 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 Rāmakīn 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 Orientalní, 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.


[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.


[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 Fei, 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 吕布, and 134 on Yüan Shu 袁術.

(8) See, for examples, San-kuo, pp. 147 on Mi Heng 禹衡, 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.
(22) See discussion in Chapter Two.
(24) See Sāmkok, I, p. 150 and San-kuo, p. 46.
(34) Plū'ang, p. 47.
(35) Rāiyāo, one of the four types of rāi 'N, 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 Chāru'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'ksāphān in 1963.

(41) The names of these authors are indicated in the introductory passage of Rāchāthirāt. They are Čhāophrayā Phra Khlang (Hon), the chief editor and supervisor of the Sāmkok project, Phrayā 'Inthara'akkharāt พลเร่ยนมาศ , Phra Phromratsami พระธรรมวิสุทธิ์ , and Phra Srīphūripīchā พารศ์ศรีชัย .

(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, pang, 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 .


(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, Rāmakīn — 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 Rāmakīn
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.


(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.


(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 Sămkok 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 Sămkok.

The first method of narration that is dropped in Sămkok is the technique of systematically creating suspense at the end of the chapter, as has been discussed above (Chapter Three). Thus in Sămkok 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 Sămkok 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 Sămkok, while the same story takes up more than one chapter in the San-kuo yen-i. Similarly, chapter three of Sămkok 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 Yu 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:

บวชกาจื่อสัญลักษณ์หาความหมายให้ความว่า จะพบเขายับเยิน และทรงเจ้า
ท่านจะไปตามที่เห็นเป็นเคี่ยม

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-te [Pai-ti 帥 ]." (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 Sâmkok 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:
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.

Chô Chô [Ts'ao Ts'ao] then called for Chô Hong [Ts'ao Hung 重洪 ], Khao Thû [Hsü Ch'u 許褚 ], Si Long [Hsü Huang 徐晃 ], and Háe-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 Thû 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 龍德, 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:
"...I will work out a scheme that will make it easy to obtain the city of Tiang-an [Ch'ang-an]. Since the people of Tiang-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 虚 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.

Returning to the camp, Khong-beng [K'ung-ming] summoned Mā Tāi [Ma Tai] and Tiao 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, Rāmakīn. 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聞下玄孫姓劉名備
孝德.

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)

张梁张宝引败残军士夺路而走
忽见一彪军马直打红旗当头来到
截住去路为首闪出一将身长七尺细眼长髯

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)

Sàmkok

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 劉弘]. Lao Heng was a descendant of Emperor Han Keng [Han Ching Ti 漢景帝]. (17)

พวกโจรสางเกตคนนี้ ... จึงไปพบผู้คนนี้ ซึ่งแสดงถึงพวก พนักงานหน้า
เข้าหลักพื้นใจไว้ไม่ได้ไป แสนยั้งพื้นใจโจโฉ ดูงบุญบารมี

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 sawk 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 Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok. 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 ChangFei, 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 Sâmkok 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 Samkōk 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 献. 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 晋 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" (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 胡曾在 (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 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 conspicuos. 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 Fei, 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 Pei],
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 hose given by Tung Cho as a present to 
Ts'ao. At this point Sāmkok narrates:

กังไจงทางใจโดยกและผู้คน แล้วว่านี่หนอนเอาไปซื้อเก็ต ใจใจใจใจ 
ยิ่งก็มีจึงก็มี ติ่นเคราะห์จะว่าที่กังไจงใครก็ไม่เสมือน จึงจะอยู่ในเมือง 
หลวงโดยไปเกลือกกว่ากังไจงใคร จะขอกบเสีย อยากเลขก็ถามแล้วจะ 
มีก็ไปมาที่จะกังไจงใครจะกังไจงใดไป แล้วใจใจใจใจว่าที่กังไจงใคร 
ใจใจใจใจ แล้วขาดใจขาดก็มี หงษ์หนานี้ กังไจงหาลูกนี้ แหชางผู้นี้ก็จะดุกไม่ 
มากจากเจ้าจะหกนี้ พระคุณมาห์ที่สุดไม่ แต่ขาดเจ้าจะขอขี้ข้องคุณนี้หา 
มากก่อน
So Tang To [Tung Cho] took Chō 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 Chō 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 Chō 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:

卓引操出闇看馬操謝囘願信試一騐

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. Rāmakīn, 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 Pan-shui
氾水 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 Sâmkok 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

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?"
Yuan 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)

Simkok

ยูี่่นเสียวผู้สู้นั้นยิ่งเกินความยืนยันไปแซงฟ้าเกินกว่าไม่รู้จักหรือรู้จักไม่เรียนรู้แล้ว ถ้าหยินนั้นที่ยืนยันสูงสุด มีให้อาภาพยิ่งมาก จึงให้ทหารตั้งรับห้ามทหารอยู่แล้วทหารทั้งสองฝ่ายไปมา

อวั่นสุข ซึ่งเนื่องกงล่าเสียง ณ ขายน ซึ่งเป็นจันทร์เก้าหน่วยสุดท้ายที่ใครๆก็ทราบเรื่อง

ที่จ้าวเมื่อใหญ่ ใครจะหายใจไม่รักษาเกือบที่มีไม่ซึ่งเวลาผ่านมา

คำนั้นก็ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าที่ถือ มนุษย์เกือบที่เก่าก็ยังไม่กลับ

อุ่นสุขพรานเจ้าต้นธุรกิจพันธ์แล้วรู้สืบผ่านเกือบที่ชีวิต

การให้ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าที่ถือ มนุษย์เกือบที่มี

เสียง เนื่องในเจ้าตั้งหลักฐานยิ่งไม่เอาเสียงไปส่ง ทหารในกองทหารเจ้าตั้ง

ยามที่ว่าตายสูญเสียเกียร์กับเจ้าก็ยัง

คำนั้นก็ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าที่ถือ มนุษย์เกือบที่มี

การให้ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าที่ถือ มนุษย์เกือบที่มี

ขุ่นเกียยได้ทั้งเก้านั้นสุดกับ

[mood] 'Yuan 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 Yuan Sut [Yüan Shu] not to deliver the supplies. (44) So he commanded his soldiers to stay guarding the camp, and then he took Thia Phao [Cheng P'u]
and "Ui Kāi [Huang Kai] to see 'Uan Sut who was in charge of transporting supplies to the camp. Sun Kien then said to 'Uan Sut: "Tang To [Tung Cho] behaved vilely and set himself up as someone important (45), but he never did anything to offend me. The reason that I joined this mission with 'Uan Siao was out of loyalty to the country and because I wish to take revenge upon Tang To for killing 'Uan Ngui, your uncle. (46) I have striven amid distress, submitting my body to brave all the arrows and weapons without regard for my life. And I made a request for supplies. (47) Why then did you listen to one who maliciously urged you not to deliver the supplies? My soldiers consequently were so hungry and exhausted that we were defeated by the enemy. And when 'Uan Sut heard this, he was deeply ashamed and commanded the soldier who had maliciously urged him not to send the supplies to be brought and put to death in the presence of Sun Kien.

A messenger came from Sun Kien's camp to tell Sun Kien: "Now Li Chui [Li Ts'ui] is riding his horse from the camp at Kî-sui-kuan to come to see you." Sun Kien thereupon bid farewell to 'Uan Sut and returned to the camp. (48)

One other function of the narrator of Sâmkok 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sâmkok</th>
<th>San-kuo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ทิ้งกุณแพร่วราชบัญชี</td>
<td>車騎將軍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti-chong-kun</td>
<td>Chü-ch'i chiang-ch'un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Guard. (General of Chariots and Cavalry) (50)

相國 (Chancellor of State)

都尉 (Chief Commandant)

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

Sāmkok

โอกินันตาซามกอ (Provence of Siam)

Tō Yin in Thai is the knowledgable Bhraman.

San-kuo

太平道人 (A Taoist named T'ai P'ing)

東川 (East of Szu-ch'uan province)

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 Sämkok project can account for such a decision. As mentioned before (Chapter One), Sämkok 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, Sämkok 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 Sämkok 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, Sämkok 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


(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 九江 ).

(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.


(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" 瀘水, "Shih-shan" 峙山, "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 陳莒).

(34) See San-kuo, pp. 55 (Wang Yün 王允), 150 (Chi T'ai 默太), 150 (Tung Ch'eng 唐承), 193 (Chü Shou 柴授), 205 (Shen P'e 神配), 262 (Chao Yün 趙雲), 330 (T'ai-shih Tzu 太史慈), 355 (Ma T'eng 曹操), 401 (Chang Jen 張任), 497 (Tsu Pi 祖弼), 524 (Feng Hsi 汾習 and Chang Nan 張南), 644 (Kuan Hsing 閆興), 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 傅叡), 740 (Chu-ko Chan 諸葛瞻 and Chu-ko Shang 諸葛尚), 757 (Chang T'ie 張恪).

(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).

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

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

(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 Sämkok's handling the translation? And to what degree is the quality of the language of San-kuo yen-i represented in Sämkok?

Comparison of about 20% of the San-kuo and Sämkok 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 Sämkok text shows no equivalence with the San-kuo text and only 40% can be considered to be reasonably close or approxiamte 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 Sämkok text is sheer addition, 35% is an approximate rendition, and 5% of the Chinese text is omitted in Sämkok.

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債不共
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)

Sămkkok has the following translation:

ใจโกร่งถามโกร่งจึงว่าขึ้นโค้กยงเท่ากล ResourceBundle มาจาบิกห่ามาเหลื่อนน

จะจัดให้ทหารไปเปิดเมืองจักรีให้รายเป็นแผ่นดินจึงจะหาย

ความแก่น

Being furious coh 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" 摘膽剜肝 (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肝以雪吾恨...

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)

โจโฉไตรส จึงตอบว่า . . . โจโฉแยังมีภัยเป็นกกลดูมานี้
หากรไตรสบัลลัง เล่าราญยิบลักษณะกับพระพวก คาย
เปนมั่นมาก เรายกบาลหวังจะแก้แค้นโจโฉได้

Čhõ Chõ [Ts'ao Ts'ao] . . . was angry and said,
". . . Tô Kiem [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 Tô Kiem. . . ." (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" 經天織地 (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 Sämkok as "to have the intelligence to solve problems" มีความกิจแก่ . (7)

In general, therefore, Sämkok 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 เบื้องแปลตลอดความและเรียงเรียงตาม
"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 rācāsap พระราชพิธี 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.

"saw Dee ratcha sombat" เสวพระสมบัติ = to succeed to the throne

"sadet" เสด็จ = to sit, to go

"phra kao thi" พระเก้าที่ = chair

"phra thinang" พระทินัง = residential hall

"phrathai" พระทัย = heart

"phra sati" พระสถิ = 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, Phra Chao Len 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 which means "to be scared or
shocked" is used with both royalty and ordinary people.

帝驚倒

Being scared the emperor collapsed.

莊主是夜夢兩紅日隆於莊後驚覺

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" "กษัตริย์" and the other is the ordinary expression "tok chai" "ชา i".

พระเจ้าเล่นเห็นพระระยำลอยจากพระระยำ หัวพระระยำเกิด ... บรรหารฉุนทางวงใหญ่ สิ่งเหล่านี้เห็นก็ตกใจล้วน Phra Chao Len 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sāmkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I / you</td>
<td>I / you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) a. chen 联 / ch'ing 聯</td>
<td>rao ร้า / than ท่าน</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ..." "พระเจ้าเหียนเกี่ยจีบรรยายณ เมืองฮูโต๋ อยู่แปดปีแล้ว ... ครั้นถึงเกี่ยส่วนช้าขึ้น" (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sāmkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>春三月 Spring, third month</td>
<td>เดือนห้า Fifth month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>六月 Sixth month</td>
<td>เดือนแปด Eighth month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冬十月 Winter, tenth month</td>
<td>เดือนสิบสอง Twelfth month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>十一月二十日 The twentieth day of the eleventh month</td>
<td>เดือนยี่สิบห้า The fifth day of waxing moon of the first month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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'\text{un} \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}} to li \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{2}} as shown below.

\[
\begin{align*}
10 & \text{ ts'\text{un} \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} & = & & 1 & \text{ ch'\text{ih} \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} \\
10 & \text{ ch'\text{ih} \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} & = & & 1 & \text{ chang \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} \\
150 & \text{ chang \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} & = & & 1 & \text{ li \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{2}}} (17)
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
24 & \text{ niu \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} & = & & 1 & \text{ sōk \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} \\
4 & \text{ sōk \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} & = & & 1 & \text{ wā \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} \\
20 & \text{ wā \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} & = & & 1 & \text{ sen \text{\hspace{1em} \textcircled{1}}} (18)
\end{align*}
\]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese units</th>
<th>Thai units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ts'\text{un} = 3 centimeters</td>
<td>1 niu = 2.08 centimeters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ch'ih = 30 &quot;</td>
<td>1 sōk = 50 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 chang = 3 meters</td>
<td>1 wā = 2 meters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 li = 450 &quot;</td>
<td>1 sen = 40 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If one equalizes the two systems, the result would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ts'un</td>
<td>1.44 niu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ch'ih</td>
<td>.6 sōk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 chang</td>
<td>1.5 wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 li</td>
<td>11.25 sen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sāmkok</th>
<th>Correct Conversion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 ts'un</td>
<td>* 8 niu</td>
<td>5.76 niu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ch'ih</td>
<td>1 sōk</td>
<td>1.2 sōk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
<td>4.8 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
<td>* 6 &quot;</td>
<td>4.8 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 chang</td>
<td>8 wā</td>
<td>7.5 wā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
<td>* 20 &quot;</td>
<td>15.0 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 li</td>
<td>* 300 sen</td>
<td>33.75 sen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 &quot;</td>
<td>300 &quot;</td>
<td>337.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 &quot;</td>
<td>* 50 &quot;</td>
<td>337.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280 &quot;</td>
<td>* 2,000 &quot;</td>
<td>3,150.0 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

San-kuo
16 liang 钱 = 1 chin หั่ง
120 chin = 1 tan ซอง

Sāmkok
20 tamlu'ng หระ = 1 chang ระ
50 chang = 1 hāp หนา

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

Chinese
1 liang = 31.25 grams
1 chin = 500 "
1 tan = 60 kilograms

Thai
1 tamlu'ng = 60 grams
1 chang = 1.2 kilograms
1 hāp = 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement of Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San-kuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 liang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10 chin | * 10 chang | 4.2 chang
50 " | * 10 " | 21 "
500 " | * 500 " | 210 "
1,000 " | * 100 hāp | 8.4 hāp
1,000 " | 10 " | 8.4 "
3 tan | * 300 chang | 150 chang

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 斤, and tan 石 -- are changed into the Thai unit -- thang ถนน -- 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 \text{ tou} & = 18.039 \text{ liters} \\
50 \text{ tou} & = 1 \text{ hu} = 90.195 \\
2 \text{ hu} & = 1 \text{ tan} = 180.390 \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
1 \text{ tou} & = .9 \text{ thang} \\
1 \text{ hu} & = 4.5 \text{ "} \\
1 \text{ tan} & = 9.0 \text{ "} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Measurement of Quantity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sāmkok</th>
<th>Correct Conversion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-3 tou</td>
<td>* 1 thang</td>
<td>2.7 thang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
<td>4.5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 hu</td>
<td>* 10,000 &quot;</td>
<td>45,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 &quot;</td>
<td>* 50,000 &quot;</td>
<td>225,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 hu</td>
<td>* 100,000 &quot;</td>
<td>450,000 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 วันไหว้ พิธีไหว้ new translation of the San-kuo yen-i text, and also W. Na Mō'anglung's ว.พ. มืองลุง and N. Noppharat's น. นพรัตน 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 Phrakhlang'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 Sämkok 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 口語 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 Sämkok 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 and ma, 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. 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 還 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, Sâmkok is written strictly in literary Thai prose. literary 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 Sâmkok. The following examples will show that in colloquial Thai these patterns disappear and are replaced by different patterns altogether.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary Thai found in Sâmkok</th>
<th>Colloquial Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 1: ลองนิน กี่ ...</td>
<td>... อย่างนิน กี่ ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... dangerously kō ...</td>
<td>... ยังนนั้น kō ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... like that, then ...</td>
<td>... อย่างนนท, ค่ะ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... ไรไม่ได้ตั้งนักเกิด ๆ หน้า</td>
<td>ไรไม่ได้ตั้งนักเกิด ๆ หน้า</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ช่อ ช่อ ด้วยยน ดังนัน kō krót</td>
<td>ช่อ ช่อ ด้วยยน ยังนน kō krót</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ts'ao Ts'ao having heard so became angry.

Pattern 2: ชีง . . . นั้น . . . / ที่ . . .  hư . . .

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

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

ชึงท่านจะให้สุราหันนั้นอยู่ในท่านกล่าวก่อน / ที่ด่านจะให้สุราหันนั้นอยู่ในท่านกล่าวก่อน

Su'ng than จ่า hai surā / Thī than จ่า hai surā
kīn nan khū hai than notget / kīn na khū hai than
wai kūn

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

Pattern 3: อัน . . . นั้น . . . / . . . หนา . . .

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

As for . . . / As for . . .

อันนั้นenuine มีความคิดใหญ่ / ช่วงเสียทน มีความคิดใหญ่

แก่คือไม่เกิดขึ้น / แก่คือไม่เกิดขึ้น

An 'Uan Siao nan mī khwāmhit / 'Uan Siao na mī khwāmnhit
khit yū tāē khit singdai / yū tāē khit 'arai mai
mai talōt

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

Pattern 4: ก็มักกว่า . . . กี่ . . . / น่ากว่า . . . กี่ . . .

thu'ng māt วี . . . kū . . . / thī hīk วี . . . kū . . .

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

ผู้มีมากกว่าอีกครั้งไม่แสดงผลลัพธ์ / น่ากว่าอีกครั้งไม่แสดงผลลัพธ์

ข้าพเจ้าจริงจังอยู่ที่หนา / ข้าพเจ้าจริงจังอยู่ที่หนา

Th'ung māt วี Ho Chin จ่า / Thī hīk วี Ho Chin จ่า
mai métta laēo khāphačhāo / mai métta lāēo khāphačhāo
If Ho Chin [Ho Chin] does not show kindness, I will take my life in your presence.

**Pattern 5:** นิ้วมานิ้ว ... กั้น ... / นิ้วมานิ้ว ... กั้น ... ไทยมั่น ... กา ... / ไทยมั่น ... กา ...

Even if ... / Even if ...

Although we are not able to surpass them, we should remember that they are all nourished by the same source of life.

**Thai:** ทูน์มั่นไว้กูมั่นลุก / ทูน์มั่นไว้กูมั่นลุก

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 Sämkok text that are not used in the colloquial speech. For instance, the word 'lae .waitKey (with mid tone and long vowel), which means "and", has to be replaced by 'lae .wait (high tone and short vowel) in the colloquial medium. The pronoun singdai ซิงไใต meaning "what" is changed to 'arai อะไร which is more colloquial. And the negative form 'a hat ฯลฯ mai ใน is, likewise, too literary to be used in the spoken language. The language of Sämkok is therefore very literary.

In conclusion, the translation Sämkok 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


(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.


(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 nangsūi 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.


(14) See Chunlačhīmklaō ชุนลาชีคิมหล้า, 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 Sämkok. See other examples in San-kuo, pp. 1, 298, 382, 418, 444, 458, 481, 489, 529, 574, 637, and 643 which correspond with Sämkok, 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 Sämkok, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10 hao</th>
<th>1 li</th>
<th>10 ch'ih</th>
<th>1 chang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 li</td>
<td>1 fen</td>
<td>10 chang</td>
<td>1 yin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 fen</td>
<td>1 ts'un</td>
<td>15 yin</td>
<td>1 li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(18) Actually, the Thai measurement units of length should include khū'p куп and yōt յот. 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 Sämkok, 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 Sâmkok, 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 kwîen เกี่ยน.

\[
\begin{align*}
20 \text{ thanān} &= 1 \text{ thang} = 20 \text{ liters} \\
100 \text{ thang} &= 1 \text{ kwîen} = 2,000\text{ "}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(23) The work of Sâmkok is always mentioned in texts dealing with the history of Thai literature. See, for examples, Kulśap Manlikkamāt ภูมิลำปู มันลีกษณ์, Wannakam Thai วรรณกรรมไทย (Thai Literary Works), (Bangkok: Rāmkhamhāng University Press, 1974), pp. 113-129; Mōthayākōn, pp. 121-124; Plū'ang, pp. 242-249.

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

(26) This is taken from an interview with W. Na Mū'anglung which appeared in the magazine Lalanā รามาน 224 (April 19882), 65-75.


(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 Sâmkok translation. The first type of mistake concerns the names of characters. (3) It has been mentioned that the group of Chinese translators for the Sâmkok project was comprised of scholars of different dialects, of which the Fukien speech
was the most predominant. The official Mandarin language 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 in the Mandarin speech, who was an official of Wei, is rendered in Sāmkok as both Kā Kun and and Kā Kui in the Thai version. Fei I, a colleague of K'ung-ming, is called by the names Bi Hui and Hui Wui 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 Cheng is used for two different persons with different names, namely, Sun Ching, who was the youngest brother of Sun Chien, and Hsün Cheng, who was a subordinate of Yüan Shu. Also, Sun Hao and his father Sun Hō are called by
the same name, Sun Hō 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.

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'ū-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)

Sāmkok contains the following translation of the above passage:

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-k'ik [San-chieh 三結], Su Nā [T'ū-na 茶那 ], the magistrate of Mi-tōng [nai Tung 乃童 ] city and Hui Lam [Hui-nan 會喃 ], the magistrate of Hai-am [nai
Ah 阿] 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 邑 which immediately precedes the character tung 鎮 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 阿] 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 周 in the original Chinese text is mistakenly translated as Mrs. Tīao Kok-lī 布菜多米 . (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 辛 and Prince Hsieh 協, the two sons of Emperor Ling 國 (r. 168-188), are identified in the San-kuo text as huang-tzu Pien 皇子辛 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., Hengkap 皇子 and Hengkap 皇子. (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sāmkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mien-chu 魏竹</td>
<td>1) Kim-kok กิมกอก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Bi-tok บีกอก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hao-t'ing 號亭</td>
<td>1) Chū-teng จู teng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) 'ū-teng จู teng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) Hao-teng ฮ่าวยอง</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Fou-shui 浮水 | 1) Pō-sui ปหุ่ย
2) Pui-sui ปูېวี่
3) Puai-kang ปุายกัง

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sämkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Ch'i-shan 箕山</td>
<td>Ki-sān กิลัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Chū-t'ieh-shan 齊鉄山</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Ch'i-shan 祐山</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Hsiang-yang 襄陽</td>
<td>Song-yong ซห่ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Shang-yung 上庸</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a few common nouns which are mistakenly taken to be place names. For instance, the compound chan-tao 檀道 which means "a log-formed road along a steep cliff" is taken in Sämkok 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San-kuo</th>
<th>Sämkok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta-chiang-chūn 大將軍</td>
<td>Khunnāng phīyai thī pru'ksā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ขุนนางใหญ่ในที่บริภาร</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Sämkok.

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

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, Sämkok repeatedly describes the battle as taking place at the seaside (chāi thalā ทะเล) (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 knowledgable diviner named Hsū 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.

"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.

เล่าให้พระในคืนวันที่ จ้างครองให้ไปเรียนหนังสือกับแต่เพื่อนผู้โดยครู เล่าไม่มีเพื่อนสองคน ซึ่งฉudiant องค์ครูเจ้าหนึ่ง เรียนหนังสือผู้ ค่วยกันเจ้าอยู่ในศีลเดินไป
At the age of fifteen, Lao Pi's [Liu Pei] mother sent his son to study with a teacher named Tâe Hien [Cheng Hsüan 程玄]. Lao Pi had two friends, one named Lü Ting [Lu Chih 劉植] and the other K'ung Sun-chen [Kung Sun-chan 公孫瓚]. They studied together until Lao Pi 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) Samkok, 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

瑜大喜教取硃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

Chiu Yī [Chou Yū] 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 Chiu 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 to lend him some ships and requested that the latter keep it a secret from Chou Yū. (28) The editor of Sāmkok also deleted the scene in which Chou Yū tested Chu-ko Chin's 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 Sâmkok . (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 Sâmkok , 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 followed Hsün's advice. The outcome was that Ts'ao was able to gain the upper hand by various strategems, until the enemy decided to retreat. This entire scene is missing in Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok 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 淮 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 pleading 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 Sämkok 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, Sämkok 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 桃园) located in Chang Fei's residence (45) is changed to a different setting in Sämkok. The peach garden is replaced by the garden of yīthō 椿 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 rātchāsi พระราชาช้างเผือก) 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 hsi'éh" 霜霧霽雪 (spreading frost and springing snow) which conveyed the notion of "vastness and abundance" was replaced by the metaphor of water, "waves in the ocean" (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" ลำต้นเงินใบไม้และผลแล้วยิ้มทอง . (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 Sâmkok editor found it necessary to change the metaphor to the movement of "taking oranges out of a box" หนีบเอามันในถัง . (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 Sâmkok . (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

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)

Sámkok

มีสาระหลากหลายทรงพระนามพระเจ้าจวบถึง แลพระวงศ์ไคเสยerness
โค้กสมมาร์ในปลายพระองค์ ได้ประจำศูนย์เมืองเจิ้นถึงปี จึงมีภูเขาเขี้ยวเมือง
บิ้งเจิ้นหัวเมือง ครั้งนั้นพระเจ้าจวบถึงไคเสยernessเมืองจินกุก ไม่ได้
เอาหัวเมืองลงเขียวมัน เข้ายู่ในลาซาร์กพระเจ้าจวบถึงจินกุก ครั้งนั้น
พระเจ้าจวบถึงเสียแก่เนื้อมัน แล้วไคเสยernessกับจินกุก จึงไคเสยernessสมบัติแก่
บิ้งไคเสยernessบิ้งกิจจวบถึงและพระราชาจวบถึงไคเสยernessราชสมบัติของเราในแผ่นดินที่ถึง
เสียขององค์ มีทุ่นทางหนึ่งซึ่งยั้งนิ้วมิ้งเป็นระบุชิงชากระภับาที่ เป็นเจ้า
แนวภูเขาสมบัติภูเขา แล้วจึงเส้นพระเจ้าจวบถึงไคเสยernessกับจินกุก จึงไคเสยerness
พายส์ชิงชากระภับาที่ เสียขององค์ พระราชาจวบถึงไคเสยerness พระองค์ให้
เสียขององค์จุ้นจนพระนามพระเจ้าจวบถึง เจ้าจึงเป็นล้าน เจ้าไคเสยerness
ภาษาจีนเรียกวา สำนัก
There was a king named Phračhão Ċhiu Bû 'Ong [Chou Wu Wang 用武王]. 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 Phračhão Ċhin 'Ong [Ch'in Wang 漢王] was ruler in the kingdom of Ċhin-kok [Ch'in state], and he attacked and took all seven cities, bringing them all under his rule. Later on Phračhão Ċhin 'Ong was defeated by Han Ċhô [actually Han and Ch'u 楚 states]. Han Kô Ċhô [Han Kao Tsu] and Han Ċhô fought, and the throne passed to Han Kô Ċhô. Han Kô Ċhô and his line ruled, twelve rulers in succession, in the country of China. Then came a noble named 'Ong Mâng [Wang Mang 王莽] who rebelled and seized the throne and was king for 18 years. Then a grandson of Han Kô Ċhô, named Han Kông Bû [Han Kuang Wu 漢光武], caught 'Ong Mâng and killed him and seized the throne. The rule was then passed down, twelve kings ruling in succession. The last ruler was named Phračhão Hien Tê [Emperor Hsien], and then the kingdom broke up into three kingdoms which in Chinese were called Sâm-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 Sâmkok '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 Sâmkok. 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, Sâmkok added that K'ung-ming asked Chou Yû 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 Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok, 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 Sâmkok 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 tôn 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 Manōmaiwiibūn 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 songkhram 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.


(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.


(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.


(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'ıo (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.
(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.


(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.


(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.

(47) San-kuo , p. 131, line 5.

(48) Sāmkok , I, p. 422.

(49) San-kuo , pp. 10, 227 and Sāmkok , I, pp. 30, 760.


(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.


(57) This is also pointed out be 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.


(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 天地 (heaven and earth), for the sake of cultural adjustment, has been changed to the Thai expression "พระบรมเทวทัศน์" (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 天 as expounded in the San-kuo 天 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 天 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 堂天 (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 Sâmkok 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牛斗過天津
熾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, a friend of K'ung-ming's, as follows:

州平日將軍何故欲見孔明玄德四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誅魁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斡旋天地補繕乾坤恐不易為徒費心力耳

Chou-p'ing said, "Why do you wish to see K'ung-ming?" Hsüan-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 Sâmkok text. Wang Li's passage is rendered only in abridgment as follows:
'Ong Lip [Wang Li], a nobleman, quietly spoke with Lao Ngai [Liu Ai], a relative of Phračhāo Hień 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 Phračhāo Hień 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 'Ong Lip secretly presented this information to Phračhāo Hień Tē. Phračhāo Hień 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:

ข่มปริบปริศนาควบคุม แผนกีในคราบครามถ้าจะต้องปรับวิถีหาก
ปรากฏก็ปริบปริศนา ถ้าหน้ามาเท่าที่ฉันชี้หมายถึง khốiคิกเล้า ทว่าประทับ
แผนกีในเกิดหัวดังกล่าวก็เป็นสุขในการสู่กิจการดังนี้ เมื่อข่มควม
มาเกิน แล้วต่อจากนี้จะจัดอย่างไรปรับแผนกีอันดับถ้ากลุ่มการดังกล่าวให้
กลับเป็นสุขในการสร้างสถานการณ์จะปรับวิถีเหล่า อันเกิด
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 Sāmok. There are over forty cases in which the term T'ien in the context of fate is omitted in Sāmok. (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."

**Sāmok**

จงด้วยธรรมนำไปจนกว่าจะโค้กซึ่งเรา

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

อันฉันท์ของเรานั้นเห็นได้ไม่ชัดเจน

"I'm afraid I won't survive this time."
Hsüeh Tsung 謝 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 蕭周 said to Liu Chang 劉璋 of the latter's decision to surrender Szu-chuan to Liu Pei:

主公之言正合天意

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

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 เทพษา or thēphada เทพพะ 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

飛日...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.

เพื่อประโยชน์... เขียนตามที่สองมาไปฉันเรานะ... จะไปขว้างพระและทวาย และขอให้เหลี่ยยอดันตั้งสามให้ป่วยนักใจเกี่ยวกัน... กินรูจักร... จึงรู้จักเพื่อนใหนะเมษาเทา แลจริงที่สุภัยด้วยกันจะว่า... ความลับนี้ ข้าพเจ้าก็สบายค่อนมาเท่าจะมีป่วย ระพีพิศพานา นับไปภามน้า ข้าพเจ้าที่สามได้มีข้อสงขังกัน ขอให้เทวดาสมพระอภิสิทธิ์วิคติยะรักนก ภалสก

So Tiao Hui [Chang Fei] said, "... Please both of you [Liu Fei and Kuan Yu] 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 Sâmkok to address themselves to the gods instead of T'ien, as illustrated in the following examples. (16)

San-kuo

Lù Pu:
此天令你兩家罷兵也
"It is Heaven that orders you two families to cease the battle."

Yūan 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:
難得勝天所佑也...
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

Sâmkok

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

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

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

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:
今幸張松法王為
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 Kæ [Kuo
Chia] has met his death, it
is as if the gods had
destroyed my life."

บัดนี้ก็จะบ้งบางก็ทิ้งท่าจะโลกก็คือหนาน
จะช่วยพานุ่งรุ่ง เผื่อนหาสุขมาซุ่มต้องให

"Now that Tïao Sung [Chang
Sung] and Hûat Cheng [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."

แม้จะนี้ก็จะเห็นพวกข้าอย่าจะไวก
ความชอบเป็นนั้นก็

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

ครั้งนี้พวกข้าจะกล้าสุจริตรักเราณเห็น

"This time the gods delib-
erately intend to destroy
me for good."

ธุรกิจของเรา cicloกล่าจะ เผื่อนไม่ไป

"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
Sāmkok one finds, instead, this Buddhist comment: "That I am not successful with my plan is just my kam." (20)

In chapter twenty-four, as Ts'ao Ts'ao advanced his troops to subdue Liu Pei at Hsiao-p'ei 小沛 not knowing that the latter had prepared to attack Ts'ao's camp that night, an inauspicious omen occurred in Ts'ao's camp to warn of the coming disaster. Upon receiving this warning, Ts'ao said: 天報應我即當防之 "Heaven responds to me, so I must prevent it." (21) In the Thai version, Ts'ao's reaction to the omen is expressed in a different vein as Ts'ao said: "The occurrence of wind is a revelation from the gods because of my bun." (22)

Chapter seventy-eight relates the final days of Ts'ao's life, during which he is haunted by the spirits of those he has killed. Ts'ao is urged to summon the Taoist priests to offer sacrifice in order to get rid of the haunting spirits. Ts'ao refuses to do so as he comes to realize the truth about his fate:

"The sage says, 'He who makes offense against Heaven has no one to pray to.' I know my fate is coming to an end; how can it be saved?" (23)

In the Thai version, however, Ts'ao talks about the effect
of his bad deeds, instead of about his helpless plight determined by Heaven.

"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 and plundered its citizens in revenge for his father's death.

"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. "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: "To plan a task is for man but to complete it is for Heaven, which cannot be
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:

"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.

Kāng '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:

"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:

"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."

Sämkok

โกเกียมเป็นคนดีของข้าว และมีกิจกิจ-
ผูกมันเกี่ยวให้เศร้าใจใกลงไม่ได้เห็น
กับ ซึ่งเกิดเหตุเกินกิจกรรมของ
โกเกียมทำไว้แล้วดังนี้

"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] kill Chō Kō [Ts'ao Sung]. This incident has occurred because of TŌ Kiem's past bad deeds [i.e. kam]."

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."

Hsū Shu said to Liu Pei:

ข้าพเจ้าในนี้เป็นคนมีกิจกรรมมากมาย ทำให้
"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.

"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 patterns of translation observed above, one can see clearly that Sâm kok 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 Sâm kok. (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 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 Säm kok, the Thai editor has offered a different interpretation of the theme of fatalism. Unlike San-kuo yen-i, Säm kok 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 Säm kok 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 Säm kok, 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 Säm kok 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
Sämkok 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 Sämkok 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:
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: ว่าคุณเพื่อนบนนี้เกี่ยวกับ
บูญและกรรม "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: ทั้งชาวเจ้าทุกคนให้สามบัญชี
พังขากราภัยยับยั้ง จึงกลับความลำบาก "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 successfully deceived by Ts'ao Ts'ao and urged to leave Liu Pei for good. Before Hsū Shu's
departure, Liu Pei feeling sorry for himself said to the former: ตั้งข้าพฤ้ความ จึงให้ผ่านใจเย็น จิตสิ้นเสีย
"I am a man with very little วัตสานā, 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: เราจะไม่สำเร็จ นั่นก็เพราะ kam เราจะล้มหนักแต่สำคัญที่สุด
"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:

กับกิรถามกันทำหน้างานจะกระทำเศรษฐกิจได้ยาก แต่
เพราะเสียเปล่าเนื่องด้วย เจ้าต้องสำเร็จ กรรมการ

"I started out with the hope of eliminating the enemy of the throne and and bringing peace to the kingdom of Phraēhaō Hiēn 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 Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok, 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 loosing 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.

"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.

K'ung-ming also performed a similar act of merit later on in the campaign. 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. 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: "I still have plenty of bun, that's why the gods caused the rainfall to save me." 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:

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:

"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:

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

"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 Yu, 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 Sâmkok 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 Sâmkok 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: "Because my kam has arrived, I am in this life poor of bun and have not served you [Lu 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
摩夫人, 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: "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 dating 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, Rāmakīn 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 Buddhists 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."


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

(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 เจริญสงสิทธิ์, Prawattisāt Thai samai 2352-2453 ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยสมัย 2352-2453 (Thai History during A.D. 1809-1910), (Bangkok: Rū'angsinsin House, 1974), Vol. I, p. 64; Khū'krit Prādōt คงศรี ปราดอท ปราโมช , "Phra Phutthasātsanā kap sangkhom Thai," พระพุทธะสานันธั แก้วแสงกนิถ (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.


(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.


(20) Sāmkok, I, p. 77.

(21) San-kuo, p. 152.
(22) Sāmkok , I, p. 495.
(23) San-kuo , p. 489.
(27) San-kuo , p. 657.
(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.


(38) Yang, Classical Chinese Fiction, p. 43.


(40) See Wang T'o, pp. 178-185.

(41) Wan Pin-pin, pp. 22-23.

(42) Sâmkok, I, p. 8.

(43) Sâmkok, I, p. 25.

(44) Sâmkok, I, p. 213.

(45) Sâmkok, I, p. 651.


(47) Sâmkok, I, p. 733.

(48) Sâmkok, I, p. 758.

(49) Sâmkok, II, p. 551.

(50) Sâmkok, II, p. 553.

(51) Sâmkok, II, pp. 923-924.

(52) Sâmkok, II, p. 590.

(53) Sâmkok, II, p. 604.

(54) Sâmkok, II, p. 638.


(56) Sâmkok, II, p. 838.

(57) Sâmkok, II, p. 844.

(58) Sâmkok, II, p. 844.
(59) Sāmkok, I, p. 987.
(60) Sāmkok, II, p. 448.
(61) Sāmkok, II, p. 58.
(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 lakhôn nōk ละโคนหนึ่ง 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 lakhôn Prāmōthai ละโคนปราโมทย์ 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 Yū, 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 หลวงชานมาศภิมณ์, originally known as Thu'k Chitkathu'k
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 สำนักพิมพ์มังคโลก (Sāmkok: The Mendicant Storyteller's Version) by Chot Phraephan โชติ พราภพ (1908-1956) under the famous penna "หม่อม" พระยา (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:

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:

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 Phrákhlang. (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" วานิภค (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:

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.

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: "หานญี่อามยังคงไม่ไหว..." "หานญี่อามเสียใจยังว่า..." "เมื่อกรานแหล่งอุบัติหานไก่ค้าล่าเว้าวว..." "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:

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: "We are going to have a discussion of what happened and what will happen..." (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 Yākhop implies at one point in his work: "It is the way of the mendicant storyteller to make [his story] clear." (21)

In order to achieve this end, Yākhop must use several sources as he explains:

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. Yākhop 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yakhob's</th>
<th>Brewitt-Taylor's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>คั้นจงพร้อมใจ</td>
<td>壹仲穎卓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Chang-ying To</td>
<td>Tung Chung-ying Cho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ใจแม่เกียง</td>
<td>曹孟德操</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo Meng-te Chô</td>
<td>Ts'ao Meng-te Ts'ao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>อำนาจก้องเสียร์ ฮ่องกงเกียงไปต่อ</td>
<td>渾海 袁紹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Uan Kang-lŭ Siao,</td>
<td>Lord of Po-hai, Yuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lê̤t haeng (i.e., &quot;lord of&quot;) Pô-hai</td>
<td>Kung-lu Shao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>มากกวิสแฝงจมเพี้ย เกียวกจงยุบุน</td>
<td>趙子龍雲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makwîs haeng (i.e., &quot;marquis of&quot;) Chân-píng,</td>
<td>Marquis of Shan-p'Ing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiao Chù-long Yun</td>
<td>Chao Tzu-lung-Yün</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Yăkhıp'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 Yăkhıp. (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 Yū 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:

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

ใจใส่หัวใจเชิดชูผ่าว นี้เป็นหมายความและนึก ซึ่งเจ้าเบากว่าและเล็กกว่านัก จะเข้าไปโกรธเรียกบัณฑิตyxานหน้าคนนี้

At that moment Jō Chō [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 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’s thought as follows:

ใจเม็น เหื่อใจ หานิญาณไม่ได้ ไปยัง นักบัณฑิตกับคนเล็กใจ
ไค ใจผ่านหุ่นสีดำหัวใจผ่าทังนั้น ข้าไม่ชอบบัณฑิตใจใหญ่ว่ากับเจ้า

Chō Meng-tō Chō [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
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 Sāmkōk. (39)

Yākhōp's concern for character delineation and assessment may be seen for example in his treatment of Chou Yū. Here Yākhōp tries to underline the point that Chou Yū was above all loyal to the Sun 斯 family and the Wu kingdom. And he traces Chou Yū'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 Yū makes a solemn oath to serve Sun Ch'üan, the new master of Wu: "I will faithfully serve Sun Kūan [Sun Ch'üan] according to my abilities till the end of my life." (41) At this point Yākhōp makes his comment:

This text is a translation of a portion of the Thai-language text, which contains information about a person named Yākhōp and his analysis of a character named Chou Yū. The text discusses Yākhōp's approach to character analysis and his focus on Chou Yū's loyalty and adherence to principles. The text also highlights the role of Chou Yu in building a powerful base for the Wu kingdom and mentions Chou Yū's solemn oath to the new master, Sun Kūan.
Here is indeed a loyal friend and a faithful slave of the Suns. It is therefore not surprising that the "elegant tiger of Sî-seng"[Chou Yû] will do anything -- right or wrong -- as long as it results in the prosperity and stability of the Suns. (42)

One of Chou Yû'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 Sâmkok and The Romance of the Three Kingdoms, unfailingly carry on the same portrayal of Chou Yû. But Yâkhôp 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, Yâkhôp analyzes it in terms of degree. The author attributes twenty percent of the sense of jealousy to Chou Yû's own personal reasons but the remaining eighty percent to his concern for the public good. In his defense of Chou Yû, Yâkhôp explains that Chou Yû's jealous behavior arose from his sense of duty and his loyalty to Wu. "If such deeds," Yâkhôp 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
After 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 華容. 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 "a true friend and faithful general" rather than as "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 Phrakhlung's Sāmkok which is
terse, compact, and to the point. Take, for instance, the scene in which Wang Yun 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 severly 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.

Yâkhôp writes:

You, blot on the family name. Your seven-times great grandfather was once cherished and highly honored by the Han dynasty. Chê Cham [one of Ts'ao Ts'ao's forbears] was an intimate servant and bosom friend who helped Lao Pang [Liu Pang] become Emperor Han Kô Chê [Han Kao Tsu 廢棄祖]. . . . Do you, the offspring of the Chê [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 Chê 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:

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 ourscheme, 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 Wanipho Version. Here are some examples:

*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 วิทับ chiphāi "to be lost, lost, damned", รู้! thui an onomatopoetic sound of spitting, and ตายโลงตายหา tài hōng tāi ēa "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, "บริพ" bluff, "วีร์ด์" warlord, "ลัคน" lord, "โษน" throne, "คุ้ม" duke, "นัมเบอร" number, "แคนนอน" cannon, and "ฮารี" harem. (51)

And he also transliterates Chinese terms from the dialect of Ch'ao-chou: e.g., "แปลเป้" pāe'Ia (the same), "บั้นกิน" bǒtikō (nowhere), and " doPost" lôntā (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: "สุวสัตว์ไม่สำมิลไปตามทางห้าสัตว์" "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" "ฟูหงส์"(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" "เสือผีวางเสือลิง". (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" "กวางหนีจากปากเสือกวาง
And he uses the imagery of "an alligator resting by the pond with his tail in the water" to convey the notion that Ts'ai Mao had a secure political position in the city of Ching-chou, being the brother of the wife of the magistrate, Liu Piao. 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" and the triumphant force to "a colossal fire dragon." 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". 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:
Reading from his previous behavior, Lao Pi [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. Yākhīp again draws an analogy expressing Liu Pei's
great success in his political career.

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 Yâkhôp'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," "แสกของหนึ่งหลังไปปิดหนักรัก" Yâkhôp remarks, "is not different from the water that is poured on sand." "จะกลางนี้ใกล้ที่หลังกล่าวบนพื้นชาย" (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 亖 and Chang Pei, Liu Pei's sworn brothers, Yâkhôp writes: "แทนที่จะเป็นขุนRelativeToผ่าน คำสุลของจุกท็กกินบนเรียบประหนึ่ง น้าสามารถไปกองเพลิง" "Instead of being cool and refreshing like rain, the words of Chû-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, Yâkhôp 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:
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. Ya-khôp describes Chou Yu's disappointment saying:

The three townships, which [Chou Yu] proudly imagined to be a beautiful reward for fighting against Ts'ao Ts'ao, tuared to a foamy lather which dissolved and vanished into thin air. Chiu Kung-chin [Chou Yu] was absolutely furious. (68)

In sum, Sâmkok: 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 Sâmkok. 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 พิชัยสงครามสามก้อ (The Military Tactics in Sāmkok) written by Sang Phatthanōthai แซ่ป๋อง (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 ศรีนาถ ธรรมวาที (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 phūmiāāt Sāmkok ปรากฏภูมิศาสตร์สามก๊ก (The Geographical Glossary of Sāmkok) and Pathānukrom bukkhon nai Sāmkok ปรากฏภูมิบุคคลสามก๊ก (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:

ข้าพเจ้าจึงได้ที่ไม่มีท่านให้ข้าพเจ้าได้เขียน ด้วยความรู้สึกขออนุญาติไปเสียจะวางแผนที่จะอธิบายและสันนิษฐานที่เรามีมาว่าในเร็ว ๆ นี้ถ้าจะมีข้าพเจ้าจะมีเวลาที่จะเขียนได้แล้วได้บางพูดคือการที่จะเขียนเป็นเรื่องราวที่เป็นจริงและเป็นที่ใช้ชีวิตที่มันจะมีการสรุปรวมที่มีความหมายจริงหรือไม่.

ข้าพเจ้าจึงได้พูดคือการที่จะเขียนเป็นเรื่องราวที่เป็นจริงและเป็นที่ใช้ชีวิตที่มันจะมีการสรุปรวมที่มีความหมายจริงหรือไม่.

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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.

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 Yakhop 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," "พยาบาลวัฒนศำสตร์บูรณาจักรอุปราชศัพท์ไทย" 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 Yūn expressed his dismay regarding the deterioration of the Han empire due to the usurpation of Tung Cho. In Wang Yūn's words, the Sāmkok narrates:

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 錢皇后 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:

....
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: "ความค่อนข้างสำคัญที่นี้ข้อความภาษาไทยมีแค่แบบและเนื้อความที่ได้แปลไปในเรื่องนี้" "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 completed 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
今日老夫賜降晚間敢屈華位到舍小酌

One day while among the throng in attendance, mostly men of long service, he [Wang Yun] 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 songkhram, 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 吕伯奢 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:

ใจโฉกทิศไปเมืองให้ใครหรือให้กัน จึงลงใจกระโจนเกี๋ยมยังงังผัก เบื้อง
Because Ch'êl Ch'o [Ts'ao Ts'ao] held to the principle that he would not allow others to betray him first, he was angry at T'o Kïem [T'ao Ch'ïen] by mistake. This led to the conquest of the Kun-chiu [Yen-chou 耒州] 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:

"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'ïen with military assistance in T'ao's conflict with Ts'ao, Sang praised Liu Pei very highly.

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 Hsî Shu was permitted by Liu Pei to leave for Ts'ao Ts'ao. Sang draws a moral from the
incident by saying:

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 yén-i and the Sāmkok. In his own words, Yākhōp states:

The life of Loa Pi [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 Tê [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:

‘เท่าที่เกิดขึ้นจริงจังจะข่วงโลกเกี่ยวกับ...ในกรณีนี้มาตั้งบัญชาครั้งนี้เห็นเกิดขึ้นจริงจังมากไม่ได้เคยมีอานุภาพโดยใช้อำนาจที่มาก่อนก็ต้อง
หากเค้าอยากปราบโจรขึ้นอันแท้จริงของมนุษย์

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 sūn 蘇 善 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 Pei 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:
Here the compassion and unrevengefulness shines brilliantly. And it is this very trait that was like a celestial weapon to confer the merit on Lao Pi [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:

With regard to this brutal deed of Chô Chô [Ts'ao Ts'ao], regardless that later readers may have viewed Chô Chô as a good person or as someone who vigorously protected the country, the truth that faces us now forces the waniophok narrator to no other conclusion but that this Chô Meng-te Chô 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 Pei -- a fact which Yākhōp highlights in his work. (94) The author remarks:

"แม้จะมีคุณสมบัติที่ดีเป็นที่นับถือม้าวิภัย นั้นไม่ได้เป็นคุณสมบัติที่ดีถึงจะมีคุณสมบัติที่ดีและภาระแน่นอน

และภาระแน่นอนในยามยากจน" "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:

"คนยากจนเป็นคนยากจน เป็นแม่นแก่ในความกิ่งก้านและซุกซาก คงมีมันสีที่เขายกย่อง

จึงไม่มีเล็กน้อยเพื่อความไม่รู้คุณสมบัติ" "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 Chō Meng-tē personal advantage in the situation at hand was more important than any sort of thamma [morality]." "สำหรับปัจจุบัน เนื่องจากมีใครอยู่กับหน้า ลำบากกว่าธรรมธรรมอะไรก็ตาม" . (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 ใจโต: นู้นเมื่อมไฟเล่าทายสืบ "Chō 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: "ใจไมึงน่าใจก่าเวิ่นเสรีสนาม มีความปรารถนา
เมืองกันครับ" "เจ้า จักราข์ 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" "พระเจ้าวชิราวุธ" and Ts'ao
Ts'ao "the enemy of the country" "พันธุ์แพ้ศักดิ์ (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, Чо Чо
Найок talōtkān ไข่ไก่: นายกฯเกิดชาติกรา (Чо Чо: The Life-time
Premier), otherwise known as Sāmkok chabap nāithun
สานก : อภิปรายบุญ (Sāmkok : The Capitalist Version),
appeared in the early 1960s. The author was Khu'krit Prīmōt
cīkūth or ปภิกาช (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:

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:

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 Sâmkok written by an enemy.

Who is this person? He is none other than Chô Chô, the legitimate Premier of China in the reign of Phra-Chaô Hien Tê [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:

ร่างกายมีสุขภาพประปรายดี ร่างกายสุข หนวดยาว และมีลักษณะ
ริบกระชับทั้งงวง จนเหมือนไม่มีเขาคนไหนคนนี้ มองได้เห็นมักจะใจ
แล้ว เนื่องจากเห็นจึงไม่ถูกกันเพราะไอ้ใด ไอ้หนึ่ง

Čhō Čhō 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.

เพราะโจโฉมีสมบัติเป็นผู้น่ามาแกล้งในจน
ภูมิภูมิ ถ้าที่เป็นหัวหน้าของคนกลุ่มนี้ ทั้งนี้ไม่ถึงจะเชื่อ

Čhō Čhō [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:

Lao Pi [Liu Pei] was ambitious from birth. He was constantly scheming to become a lord and master. Near his house stood a mulberry tree. Lao Pi would always say: "If I became a severeign I will make the royal umbrella out of this mulberry tree." This statement of Lao Pi'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 Yu and Chang Fei, Khu'krit denigrates Liu Pei saying:
Lao Pî [Liu Pei] had great ambition and desired all fortune, honor, and fame. But Lao Pî also realized that he had no skills whatsoever. Moreover, he was rather a coward. Lao Pî'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 Yü], Lao Pî decided to make friends with him. So it was as if Lao Pî had two arms but still lacked the brains which he must continue to search for, because Lao Pî 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.

Čhô Čhô [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. Čhô Čhô 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:

**The life of Ch'ao Ch'ao [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 Ch'ao Ch'ao had the policy of gathering China together and stabilizing it, he set out to implement that policy without giving way to discouragement or allowing joy or pain to become obstacles blocking his way. All his life, Ch'ao Ch'ao held to the principle that it was his place to serve Phracha R. Hien Tê [Emperor Hsien]. He had all along elevated and respected the Emperor in compliance with his rank. . . .

Ch'ao Ch'ao was the subject of Emperor Hien Tê 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:

If we look at the history of Lao Pi [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 Pi would end up betraying that person in the end. Whoever supported Lao Pi, Lao Pi would plan to dethrone him in order to obtain that post. Lao Pi, 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:

In fact, if a person like Lao Pi [Liu Pei] had come to hold the post of premier like Chô Chô
[Ts'ao Ts'ao], Phra Chao 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, 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 "Chô Chô [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 rhythm 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:

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 Yūn, Ts'ao Ts'ao, and other senior officials. Criticizing the weakness of these senior
officials, Khu'krit wrote sarcastically as follows:

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 contemptous 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
Sâmkok. Khu'krit's work attracts a great deal of attention among the Thai reading public because it offers novelty in content. As for Yâkhop, his originality lies in the style and approach of presentation. Yâkhop offers in his Waniphok Version the use of storytelling narrative arts and vernacular language. He also changes the approach of presentation by reorganizing the Sâmkok 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 Phrakhlang's Sâmkok remains the orthodox version. Sang's work, however, unlike Yâkhop's and Khu'krit's works, is hardly known among the reading public. This is perhaps because Phichai songkhrâm Sâmkok is less controversial in nature, setting itself forth as an abridged version of the orthodox text of Sâmkok. However, despite receiving less recognition, Phichai songkhrâm Sâmkok 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 songkhrâm are an invaluable contribution to scholarly research.
Notes


(2) See list of the script and libretto in "Tammān," 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.


(5) See three pieces compiled in Fang lae khaočhāi phlēng Thai พังฉาและเข้าใจเพลงไทย (Listen and Understand Thai Songs), by Montri Trāmōt มนตรี ทรั่มอิน (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 Yū 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 Chulālongkōn University for the purpose of raising funds for the School. In 1982 an artist named Chakraphan Pōsayakrit ชากระพันธ์ ไพศาลยิ่ง created his own show of exquisite puppets based on the Sāmkok story.

(7) Choṭ Phrāēphān (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 นิยมสมรภูมิ (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 สามกษัตริย์มเหศวร (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.


(14) This is also claimed by the publisher of the 1973 edition who stated that "หน้าข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับรูปแบบของ ชื่อเรื่อง และผู้เขียน ซึ่งถูกติดตามในลักษณะที่แตกต่างและมีความต่างจากแบบTREE ' frankly as the 'Yākhōp who is a specialist in storywriting 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.


(18) Yākhōp, Vol. II, pp. 40, 223, 462, respectively.
(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.
(26) This statement is from Romance , Vol. I, p. 42.


(35) This episode appears in chapter four of Sāmkok and San-kuo yen-i.


(37) This scene can be found in San-kuo, chap. 6.


(49) These are taken from Yākhōp, Vol. I, pp. 157, 216, and 231, respectively.


(57) "นายพหลั่งข้ามวัน จึงเอาอั้นเปรี้ยวที่เนินยาวมากระทั่่งตัวขู่" "General Chūa Mê [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.


(63) "ไต่ไท่เมี๋นน้ำดียางซึ้ง ปิ้งเก่าิปิ้งหัวคุ้มสมันกิ้ด" "T'ei K'i-em [T'ao Ch'i'en] is an aged man just like ginger in that the older it gets the better its quality." Yākhōp, Vol. I,
"[The picture of] Li Po [Lü Pu] going to war, riding on a red horse, is like a red hot charcoal radiating in the stove."

(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 songkrām Sāmkok. For more information on Sang's life and
works, see Kānchanā Tangchonthip's กาญจนา ทั่งสนธิป  essay in Warasān Thammasāt วารสารธรรมศาสตร์, 9, No. 1 (July-Sept. 1979).

(70) See "Khamnam khǭng phūtaeng," คำนวณของแผง (Author's Introduction) in Phichai songkhram Sāmkok, by Sang Phatthanāthai (Bangkok: Sūn kānpinh, 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 Nūm Kētnut พลตรี น้อม เกษมบดี (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.


(73) Compare the lists of characters in notes 12 and 69.
(74) "Author's Introduction," p. 20.
(76) Phichai songkhram, 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 songkhram, p. 20.
(79) See Phichai songkhram, pp. 286-287; San-kuo, chap. 57.
(80) Phichai songkhram, p. 61.
(81) San-kuo, chap. 4, p. 22. The translation is taken from the Romance, p. 38.
(82) "[The story of] Čhô Čhô [Ts'ao Ts'ao] killing Pae-chia [Po-she] and his family shows his over-readiness to listen to false tales." Phichai songkhram, p. 70.
(83) Phichai songkhram, p. 70.
(84) Phichai songkhram, p. 345.
(85) Phichai songkhrām, p. 71.
(86) Phichai songkhrām, p. 198.

(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 Si ā phaendin (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. Si ā phaendin is one among hundreds of khu'krit's literary works. For information on Khu'krit's life and works, see Sala Likhitkūn and Sīkākūl, comp., Khu'krit Prāmōt pen Nāyok, chīwit lae ngān (Khu'krit Prāmōt as Prime Minister, His life and Works), (Bangkok: Su'kśā samphan, n.d.); Prachā Dunlayatham ประชา คุ้มปรง, Su'kśā Khu'krit lae wannakam (Khu'krit and His Literary Works), (Bangkok: Klum su'kśā wannakam kānmū'ang, 1975).

(106) Khu'krit Prāmōt, "Introduction" to Beng Hek บงหก (Meng Hou), (Bangkok: Khlang witthayā, 1960), p. 2, as quoted in "Wiwatthanākān khōng wannakam Chīn bāēp Chīn lae kīekap Chīn nai Prathēt Thai," วิวัฒนาการของวรรณกรรมจีนแบบจีนและเกี่ยวกับจีนในพระทศไทย (The Evolution of Chinese Literature, Chinese-style Literature,
and Literature about China in Thailand), by Khwanthi Rakphong.

(107) Khu'krit Prāmīt, Čhò Cho Nāyok talōtkān
ไขโน นายกคณะกลการ (Ts'ao Ts'ao: The Life-time Premier) or
Sāmkok chhabap nāithun สำนักขับบัญญัติน (Sāmkok: The
Capitalist Version), (Bangkok: Kāonā, 1964), pp. 3-4.

Henceforth cited as Capitalist Version.

(111) Capitalist Version, pp. 11-12.
(114) This is repeatedly expressed in the text. See
(116) See Capitalist Version, pp. 145, 179, 231, and
276.
(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.


(123) See Capitalist Version, pp. 4-5.


(126) For instances, the following expressions are found: "uppamā samū'an" หูผุมาเสืออน (it is similar or comparable to), "chōp/mai chōp" ขับ/ไม่ขับ (right/not right; ought to/ought not to), "pai thāang klāngwan klāngkhün'ın" ไปถึงกลางวันกลางคืน (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 Rāchāthīrāt) 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 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 Samkok 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 (Rāmakīn) 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 (Rāmakīn). And the use of an omniscient narrator also finds its precedents in Thai poetry (Rāmakīn). 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 Sămkok story has won an ever widening acceptance from the Thai reading public. So many readers have come to enjoy Sămkok 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 Sămkok 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 Sămkok story. Also, the reading public now has access to the abridged version, Sang's Phichai songkhräm Sămkok, which makes the story easier to follow, yet still retains the style of the literary Thai.

It becomes clear that Sămkok 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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