

## MAHARADIA LAWANA

### INTRODUCTION

There is a huge body of Philippine ethnic and folk literature that has been collected through the years.<sup>1</sup> These are either in the original languages or in English renderings, but seldom in the text and translation.<sup>2</sup> The latter type of publication is relatively very scarce owing perhaps to the dearth of scholars, either native speakers of the original languages in which the literature is known or people who would devote their time to this type of scholarship alone. And this is, indeed, the most urgent type of work that needs to be done now owing to the increasing demand for materials to be used in the study of Philippine literature, particularly folk literature, in the various institutions of learning in the country. The present paper is one contribution to this demand.

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<sup>1</sup>For a comprehensive listing of works including collection done on Philippine folk-literature, see E. Arsenio Manuel, *Philippine Folklore Bibliography* (A Preliminary Survey). Quezon City: Philippine Folklore Society, 1965; Shiro Saito, *Preliminary Bibliography of Philippine Ethnography*. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, The Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila, 1968; Leopoldo Y. Yabes, *A Brief Survey of Iloko Literature*. Manila: The Author, 1936 (with J.R. Calip).

<sup>2</sup>E. Arsenio Manuel, *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky* (A complete song from the Bagobo folk epic Tuwaang). Rev. Ed. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1958 [Text and Transl]; "Upland Bagobo Natives," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, vol. 26, no. 4 (October 1961), pp. 429-552 [English Trans.-]; Robert Day McAmis *An Introduction to the Folk Tales of the Maranao Muslims in the Southern Philippines*. Transcript Series No. 9, PSP, Dept. of Anthro., University of Chicago, July 1966. Abdullah T. Madale, *A Preliminary*

*Maharadia Lawana* is a prose tale in Maranao, the text of which, already in *madrassa*<sup>3</sup>, came to my attention during the initial field work I conducted in the Lanao area relative to my research project, "An Investigation of Probable Sanskrit Elements in Maranao Language and Literature." This was in the summer months of 1968 (Philippine Summer – March, April and May). The text was shown to me by Dr. Mamitua Saber, Dean of the University Research Center, Mindanao State University at Marawi City, during one of our discussions on the various aspects of Maranao language and literature. It is entitled "Maharadia Lawana: A Lanao Prose Version of the Ramayana, A Celebrated Hindu Poem," and on the last leaf of the text, after the word *Tamat* (finis), is an "inscription" – "As recorded by MS (Mamitua Saber) and Severino Velasco,<sup>4</sup> related by Bai Pamoki".<sup>5</sup>

By the time Dr. Saber showed me this text, my knowledge of Maranao had somewhat improved after a few weeks of intensive lessons. On going over the text, I recognized immediately that even without the title the tale is, indeed, derived from, or more appropriately tells of, similar episodes in the abduction and recovery of Sita as told in the Rama epic, and not exactly a "version of the Ramayana . . ." To effect its immediate translation, I asked my Maranao language teacher, if I could use the text for my lesson in translation. My teacher<sup>6</sup> gave assent to this proposal, and with the aid of available Maranao-English dictionary I spent some three to four hours in the evenings translating the text, after the informant work on the subject of my field research. The mornings following were devoted to checking on my translation

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*Study of Maranao Folk-literature.* Institute of Research for Filipino Culture, Mindanao State University, 1966.

<sup>3</sup>The term *Madrassa* has a two-fold meaning in Maranao, (1) a school where Arabic learning and Islamic religion are taught, (2) the roman script rendering of the Maranao arabic script. The term as used in the present essay has the second meaning.

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Severino Velasco, at the time the text was acquired, was one of the senior members of the National Library, where, as a young man, he met Dr. Mamitua Saber, then a youth just arrived from Marawi City (then Dansalan), who became his assistant.

<sup>5</sup>Bai Pamoki was an informant from Taraka, Lanao del Sur.

<sup>6</sup>Mr. Nagasura T. Madale, a public school teacher, who later on was engaged to be my research assistant in the research project mentioned above.

by the *guru* and working on the syntax and other aspects of the language necessary for the work on the literature. The translation was finished towards the end of the field work, fully checked.

Upon my return to the field in September 1968 to continue the work, the translation was again reworked with my teacher. It was further edited and rechecked by my teacher, who had already joined me in Diliman (June 1969) as research assistant for the project mentioned above.

The tale is known throughout the lake area. This may be due to the fact that in the *darangen*<sup>7</sup> a similar episode telling of the abduction and subsequent recovery of Princess Lawanen is the most frequently told portion of the epic. And since the *darangen* version is chanted and only during special occasions, the prose version in the language of the masses is easily understood in contrast to the language of the *darangen*, which is relatively archaic or classical. It is most popular among gatherings of less serious nature.

The phonemic rendering of Maranao as seen in the text is based on the common system, without distinction between the vocalic sounds *u* and *o*, and the pepet vowel rendered *e*; *i* is rendered as *i*. Consonantal sounds are rendered like roman consonants.<sup>8</sup> For the purposes of this essay, and all other essays relative to Maranao language and literature that shall be written by me, I use a system which I devised considering the many systems used by different workers in the same area.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The *darangen* is a long, almost genealogical account of the mythological history of the Maranao. Because of its epic proportions, it has been considered in the light of literary traits as an epic, comparable only to the Greek Homeric poems, and the Indian *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. See Mamitua Saber, "Darangen: The Epic of the Maranao," *Journal of History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (September 1962), pp. 322-329.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Howard P. McKaughan and Batua A. Macaraya, *A Maranao Dictionary* (Honolulu: Universtiy of Hawaii Press, 1967), Introduction pp. viii-ix.

<sup>9</sup>See Charles Winslow Elliot, *A Vocabulary and Phrase Book of the Lanao Moro Dialect* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913); David L. Hamm, et. al., *The Dansalan Junior College Maranao-English Dictionary* (Dansalan City, Philippines: Madrasa Press, 1952); Melvin Mednick, *Encampment of the Lake, The Social Organization of a Moslem-Philippine (Moro) People*, Research Series No. 5, PSP, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1965.

The phonemic system used in the text is based on a reading made by the research assistant, who is himself a native Maranao speaker. The sounds elicited through this reading would be the following – a, i, u, o, e, k, g, ng, b, t, n, l, m, r, d, h, s, z, p. The *e* represents the pepet vowel, a representation which would reduce printing difficulties. The velar (glottal) stop in the initial position is not indicated; but in the *ultima* position, it is indicated by the sign '. The same sign (') is used to indicate the two vowel sounds in contiguous positions, e.g., *gawi'i* (night), *di'i* (present progressive marker – *di'i gitagita*, "is playing"), etc. The diphthongs are represented by the compound *ai*, *ao*, *ui*, *ei* with *i* and *o* representing the semi-vowels *u* and *w*. The other semi-vowel, *y*, is represented by *i*, when it precedes or follows a vowel. The exact or perhaps more exact phonemization of Maranao as represented in the text could have been approximated if the text were written in the *kirim*<sup>10</sup> when I acquired it.

Further printing difficulties are here reduced as diacritical marks and long and short signs in the transliterated Sanskrit names and terms in the discussions have been omitted. These names and terms are negligible in number, hence no attempt was made at transliterating these according to the standard transliterations of *devanagari*.

For convenience in the cross-references between text and translation, all paragraphs in the text are numbered, which numbers are retained with the corresponding paragraph in the translation. As a research device, these numbers are indicated in brackets. Moreover, words and phrases or clauses indicated within brackets in the translation are inserted to complete ideas and/or concepts evident in the text but which are missing without these accretions. Hence, the liberal use of this device. Parenthesis are liberally used in the translation for emphasis and to avoid confusion in cross-references.

The translation was done on the line by line method to insure retention of the ideas as they are expressed in another medium. In many cases where the ideas or concepts in Maranao could not be literally translated into English, the device of annotation is liberally utilized. While the device may be cumbersome it is very helpful in the basic

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<sup>10</sup>The term means in Maranao, the Arabic script modified to suit the Maranao phonological system.

understanding of the nuances of the Maranao language as well as the Maranao mind.

The writing of the present essay was made possible through the help of many friends, scholars and institutions interested in the study of Philippine *volk* as well as *kunst* literatures. I owe them a debt of gratitude for the priceless help – to Dr. Mamitua Saber, Director of the University Research Center and now Dean of the College of Arts and Science, Mindanao State University, for allowing me to work on the tale, the use of his own Maranao materials relevant to it, and for contacting informants; to Bapa Hadji Kali Lawa, Research Assistant of the Research Center for the reading of the text in my attempt to check on the phonemics of the language as used in the text; to Dr. Antonio Isidro, President of Mindanao State University, for allowing me to remain in one of the dormitories during the initial period of my field work owing to the immediate facilities of the University library; to Pagari Nagasura T. Madale, my language teacher, for his patient understanding of my situation as a pupil learning Maranao for the first time.

To the University of the Philippines' Office of Academic Services Foundation Fund Committee, for the grant-in-aid to the research project, "An Investigation on the Probable Sanskrit Elements of Maranao Language and Literature," thereby allowing me to conduct the field work during which the folk tale was discovered; and to the Asian Center (then Institute of Asian Studies) for releasing me from my teaching duties during the period of field work. There are many others who in one way or another had contributed to the completion of this essay. To them my grateful thanks.

## II. THE SETTING

Lanao del Sur, the land where the folktale was nourished, may be best described as a part of volcanic highlands of Mindanao.<sup>11</sup> It forms the western portion of these highlands, the eastern being the Bukidnon

<sup>11</sup>Frederick L. Wernstedt and J.E. Spencer, *The Philippine Island World* [A Physical, Cultural and Regional Geography. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967)], pp. 557-569. Also Robert E. Huke, *Shadows on the Land* (An Economic Geography of the Philippines), Manila: Bookmark, Inc., 1963.

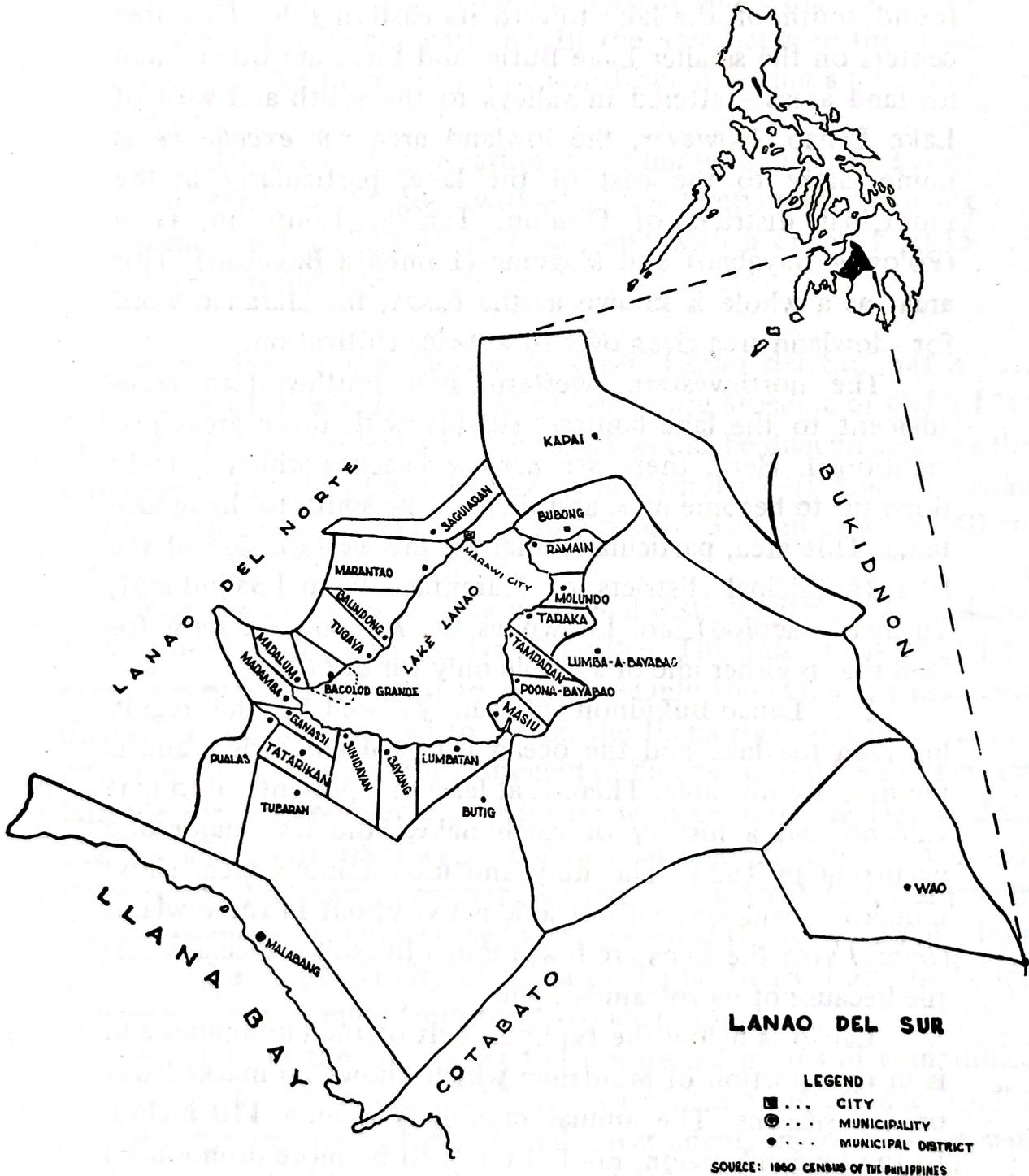
province. The most important feature of this highland is Lake Lanao, the largest freshwater lake on Mindanao and second only to Laguna Lake in Luzon. It is roughly triangular in shape with a 28.8-kilometer long base. Its surface is 780 meters above sea level, and surrounded on the east, south and west by a series of peaks reaching up to 2,300 meters. On such an elevation the lake provides a scenic grandeur and pleasant temperature compared to the rather hot temperatures in greater areas of the country. On the northern tip of the lake lies Marawi City, the premier urban center of the province, which is bisected by the Agus River, the only outlet of the lake to the sea to the north, and feeds the Maria Cristina Falls — now the major source of hydroelectric power throughout the two Lanao provinces — Sur and Norte.

Since the stage of the research field work has been concentrated on the northern and eastern sides of the lake, I had not therefore visited the others parts of the area. Hence, I am citing rather extensively the description by Melvin Mednick who spent about three years of field work in the area. It is quite precise a description that no paraphrasing is necessary for clarity.

. . . North and northwest of the lake are to be found some fairly level stretches of land and same is true, to an extent, directly west of the lake. South and southwest . . . the areas tend to be forest covered and sharply broken . . .

The areas around the edge of the lake itself, particularly those just south and to the east of it, mark the beginnings of the Lanao-Bukidnon plateau, a region of some 4,500 square miles of undulating hill and flat lands which are interrupted at the Lanao-Bukidnon border by a broken range of forested hills of varying degrees of steepness. The areas adjacent to the lake on its northeastern corner and the eastern side are marshy but after a short distance these marshes give way to a relatively flat lowland type of terrain suited for wet-rice agriculture. About 90 square kilometers of this kind of land are to be found northeast of the lake before the hills are encountered. Due east of the lake this lowland widens out to cover about 165 square kilometers before being interrupted by the forested hills which lie between Lanao and Bukidnon.

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These hills form a rough half-circle around this eastern lowland, rising almost within sight of the lake on the northern and southern extremes, while they are perhaps 15 kilometers inland directly east of the lake. Another lowland area is to be found south of the lake toward its eastern side. This area centers on the smaller Lake Butig, and there are other small lowland areas scattered in valleys to the south and west of Lake Lanao. However, the lowland area *par excellence* is immediately to the east of the lake, particularly in the municipal districts of Disu'un, Taraka, Tamparan, Gata (Po'on a Bayabao) and Maguing (Lumba a Bayabao). This area as a whole is known as the *basak*, the Maranao word for a lowland area given over to wet-rice cultivation.

The northwestern, western, and southwestern areas adjacent to the lake contrast sharply with those areas just mentioned. Here, there are narrow beaches which quickly slope up to become hills, and then on the south to the mountains. This area, particularly that on the western side of the lake (municipal districts of Marantao, Watu [Balindong], Tugaya, Bacolod) are known as the *kalopa'an* a term for land that is either idle or suitable only for dry crops.

The Lanao-Bukidnon plateau as well as the region between the lake and the ocean is of volcanic origin and is tectonically unstable. There is at least one presently dormant volcano and a history of earthquakes, the last major one occurring in 1954. The hilly and mountainous areas show numerous evidences of volcanic activity, but in the lowland (*basak*) area the signs are few, though the soil is specially fertile because of its volcanic origin.

Lanao is below the typhoon belt of the Philippines and is in that portion of Mindanao which knows no marked wet or dry seasons. The annual rainfall is around 110 inches. In the lowland region, rainfall tends to be more pronounced and continuous from late August or September through December. This is the main growing period for wet rice, with the harvest starting in December. In January and February there are short dry spells, while in March, April and May

there occur dry spells which may last several weeks at a time. It is in this period that fields are prepared for planting which begins in late May, when the rainfall tempo begins to pick up.

Rainfall on upland and hilly regions on the western side of the lake is affected by the terrain and tends to follow somewhat different patterns. In the area between the coast and the lake there are periods of drought lasting a month or more.

Because of the elevation, the climate in the Lake Lanao area tends to be cool with daytime temperatures ranging from the low 70's to low 80's and with a drop of 10-15 degrees at night.<sup>12</sup>

According to the Census of 1960, Lanao del Sur has a total population of 378,327; 355,727 of whom are Muslims or claim Islam as their religion. The remaining number would be divided among other religious groups: i.e., Christians (Roman Catholic — 19,934; Protestant — 923; Aglipayan — 591), Iglesia ni Kristo — 399, Buddhist — 40 and others — 713.

With the exception of the municipal districts of Saguiaran, Kapai, Lumba a Bayabao, Wao, Pualas, Tatarikan, Tubaran and Butig, all the other districts are oriented to the lake. Only the Malabang municipal district is directly oriented to sea on the Illana Bay, and its advantage over the other districts either oriented to the lake or not lies in its greater latitude for sea commerce and traffic with centers like Davao, Zamboanga and even transocean commercial connections with Sabah, Celebes, etc. Malabang, however, is connected with the central provincial government in Marawi City by the National Highway 42 miles long, and with the industrial city of Iligan in the northern shores of Mindanao by another 22 miles from the provincial capital.

Apart from the lake being the traditional means of communication between and among districts, its economic importance needing no further elaboration, the national government, in cooperation with the provincial and municipal governments, had constructed roads connecting these, thereby enhancing faster and more efficient communica-

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<sup>12</sup>Mednick, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26.

tion. The lake, furthermore, provides the major source of protein in the diet of the Maranao and other inhabitants of the area. It occupies also very great importance among the Muslims for it provides immediate source of water, a commodity most important to Islamic religion. The lake waters, too, apart from its traditional importance, is now the major source of power that is generated by the hydroelectric plants in the Maria Cristina Falls and fed back to Lanao del Sur.

The wet and dry agricultural economy is supplemented by fishing, and further augmented by the very extensive home industries such as weaving and brass making. The logging and sawmill operations in the eastern side of the lake have also increased the economic potentials of the area.

### III. CONTACT HISTORY

The contact history of Lanao, particularly the lake area, may be viewed in the broader perspective of Philippine (contact) history. For hundreds of years before the coming of Islam into the lake area, there had been already an earlier contact, though indirectly, with the great Asian traditions, Indian and Chinese. It is known that Chinese wares, particularly Sung and Ming,<sup>13</sup> had been seen to form part of family heirlooms (pusaka) of the Maranao. These constitute what perhaps would be the earliest evidence of Maranao contact with one of the great traditions – Chinese. It is interesting to note, however, that these may be indirect contact evidence, because of the relative isolation of the area from direct contact with movements of culture coming from overseas.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps, contemporaneous with the influx of Chinese elements found in the cultural complex of the Maranao, albeit, indirect, is the coming of Indian elements which are discernible only in the not-so-tangible aspects, e.g., language and literature, which further on would be dealt with in greater detail, particularly the latter aspect. The lan-

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<sup>13</sup>The National Museum and the Mindanao State University Museum are in possession of many Chinese porcelain wares ranging from Tang through Ming dynasties.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Mednick, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-35.

guage aspect of this influx is purely borrowings of the vocabulary rather than syntactical, which, more or less, is the nature of the borrowings from Indian languages by the languages of South East Asia. These words had to adopt themselves to the phonetic systems of the borrowing languages, a normal process occurring in such a linguistic phenomenon. These borrowings are made through the intervention of the continuous languages — Malay and Javanese, languages which belong to the same family of languages, known as Austronesian, to which Maranao also belongs.

“Contact with the Moslem world has been . . . via the Maguindanao,” and the “influences has been in direct proportion to distance so that those Maranao communities closest to Maguindanao, i.e., those around the south and southwest portions of the lake, show greater Maguindanao influence in language, custom, and in some aspects of society than those due east, west, or north of the lake.”<sup>15</sup>

Relative to the extent of Maranao contacts beyond the shores of Mindanao, particularly in regard to the other Southeast Asian regions, it may be seen in the extent of their knowledge of Malay in relation with their Muslim co-religionists. The Maguindanao, a number of them, claim knowledge of Malay, in contrast to the Maranao's very little, if at all, knowledge of Malay.<sup>16</sup> The Maranao's knowledge and practice of Islam may also indicate their relative isolation and the indirectness of the influx of the religion into their culture complex.

. . . The number of persons having a direct knowledge of Islam in the sense of being able to read directly from the Koran appeared to be fewer even in such Maranao centers as Marawi City than in comparable Maguindanao centers such as Cotabato City, or Tao-sug centers such as Jolo. The large majority of Maranao, and this includes the most devout, at the least must follow a phonetic transcription. They have, of course, no understanding of what they recite.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

At present, the Islamic overlay on Maranao culture is intensified by the coming of missionaries in large numbers very recently, and the annual pilgrimages of Maranao of all ages and sexes to Mecca. These pilgrims bring back with them into Maranao society their ideals of Arab Islamic society, which in many ways are instruments in the continuous process of islamization of everything Maranao.

In spite of the process of islamization which more or less seems to give meaning to the entire Maranao society,

. . . various pagan beliefs, particularly in regard to river spirits and the propitiation of the dead remain prominent in the Maranao system of religious belief. In some cases, these exist separately from Islam and are acknowledged by many to be non-Islamic. In this category falls the practice of the *kalilang*, a feast which involves the calling of water spirits, *tonong*, to protect the new born or to bring health to the ill. Other customs of obvious pagan origin, . . . include placing spirit houses in the eaves of dwellings and in the fields, notions of a companion spirit (*inikadoa*) house in the body of a yellow-legged chicken. Some beliefs of pagan origin have been integrated into Islamic practice and are considered to be sanctioned by, if not a part of, Islam. These particularly relate to treatment of the dead and include such customs as setting aside food for the spirit of the newly deceased, periodic celebrations over a period of 104 days when the spirit of the dead is still earthbound, and periodic revisits by the dead at times of *araoak* . . .<sup>18</sup>

The above brief discourse on the encounter between the indigenous culture and an intrusive one, Islam, shows certain of the accommodations made by both to make the society viable in not only the religious, but also all other aspects of Maranao culture.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>19</sup>See and Cf. Cesar Abid Majul, "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia," in *Proceedings, Second Biennial Conference, International Association of Historians of Asia*, Taipei, Taiwan, October 6-9, 1962, pp. 339-398.

This society, perhaps now invigorated by the infusion of Islam through the centuries, would have its painful encounter with Christian Spanish and American cultures. Violent as the encounters were, the Maranao society had demonstrated to their fellow Filipinos of those times its stability as well as its vigor in standing against attempts to reduce it as one of the societies under the hegemony of colonial administrators. They were aptly subdued, but still retained their identity apart from the lowland christianized and the mountain pagan peoples. This persisted even into the independence and republican periods of Philippine history, for which the government in its attempt to integrate these Muslim Filipinos into the greater Philippine society has given very wide latitude for education and development.<sup>20</sup>

The present Maranao society is, indeed, a composite of all cultures that influenced its development — both peaceful and violent according to the nature of the influx of these cultural elements. To this process, the society has been enriched, invigorated to persist through the centuries to come.

#### IV. MAHARADIA LAWANA IN THE CONTEXT OF ASIA

In discussing the relations of *Maharadia Lawana* with the Malay, Javanese, Thai and Bornean literatures, the format that shall be used follows that which I used in a paper I presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, XXIst Session, Srinagar, Kashmir, October 12-14, 1961, entitled "The Rama Story in the Post-Muslim Malay Literature of South-East Asia."<sup>21</sup> But certain modifications are made on this

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See also Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Origin of the Malayan Filipinos*. Manila: Philippine Academy, 1912, *History of Sulu*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, Inc., 1963 (Reprinted from the 1908 edition published by the Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology Publications, vol. IV, part II, Manila, Bureau of Printing).

<sup>20</sup>The National Integration Law, R.A. 1889, created the Commission of National Integration, to facilitate the integration of all national minorities, including the Muslims, into the national community. Mindanao State University was also chartered by the Government to participate in this national effort at bringing together all peoples of the country, particularly in the Mindanao and Sulu as well as the Palawan areas in preparation for the greater national integration.

<sup>21</sup>Originally published in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. x (1920, n.s.), July-December, 1962, pp. 468-485.

format to fit into the nature of the subject under study.

**Introductory** . The influence of the Rama story in the literature of Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and other countries in Southeast Asia is no longer a debatable problem. As such it ranks high among all other stories of definitely Indian provenance. It is the source of much aesthetic inspiration, apart from the inspiration it has created in literature. Its influence upon the art<sup>22</sup> of the region is too famous to need any reference here just as its pervasive spirit has permeated human imagination — “crude” or refined — among the varied peoples of Southeast Asia.

In *literature*, particularly, the Rama story has been source of almost every known composition.<sup>23</sup> In Malay literature, it is the main story-theme of the famous *Hikayat Seri Rama*<sup>24</sup> (HSR) and the *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* ((HMR).<sup>25</sup> It is the source, too, of another story styled as a Fairy Tale. In Maranao (Philippine) literature, the

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*Post Muslim* as used in the essay would be the period after the islamization of Malaya — a conservative 250 more or less years later than the conversions in circa late 14th century A.D.

<sup>22</sup>For the Rama story on stone, see W.F. Stutterheim, *Rama Legenden und Rama Reliefs en Indonesien*, Munchen, 1925; *Le Temple d'Angkor Vat*, 2 vols. (Memoirs Archaeologiques de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, t. ii, 1929). See also H.B. Sarkar, below.

<sup>23</sup>See H.B. Sarkar, *Indian influences in the Literature of Java and Bali* (Calcutta, 1934), for the various literary compositions that were inspired by the Rama story; P. Schweisguth, *Etude sur la Litterature Siamoise* (Paris, 1959), for the Siamese version of the Rama epic. Cf. Suzanne Karpeles, “Une Episode du Ramayana Siamoise,” *Etudes Asiatiques*, I, pp. 315 ff.

Also Edouard Huber, “Legende du Rama en Annam,” *BEFEO*, V, 5, pp. 168 ff; Francois Martin, “En Marge du Ramayana Cambodgien,” *Journal Asiatique*, 1950, pp. 51 ff.; Louis Finot, “Researches sur la litterature Laotienne,” *BEFEO*, XVIII, 5, pp. 1-128.

<sup>24</sup>Arabic, *bikayat*, “story, romance, autobiography.” It is more likely that the meaning of the word as used in the title is “romance.” In Indonesian literature, *bikayat* comprises different kinds of prose, but the greater part of it consists of tedious and fantastic, romantic stories, dealing with the endless adventures of kings and princes, and numberless wars. See T.P.C. Sutopo, “An Introduction of Indonesian Literature,” *Indonesian Review*, II, 1 (January-March, 1954), pp. 50 ff.

<sup>25</sup>H. Overbeck, in *JRAS-MB*, XI, 2, pp. 111 ff.

Rama story, an episode of which forms a major theme of the epic cycles, is a popular prose story. The latter is the subject of the present essay.

The Fairy Tale was originally published *in extenso* in both the English summary and Malay-Arabic text in the JRAS-SB,<sup>25a</sup> and believed to be founded on the *Ram*.<sup>26</sup> In 1910, another tale was published in the same journal,<sup>27</sup> entitled *Hikayat Seri Rama* with a preface by Sir William E. Maxwell. This paper now contains the romanized text of the same tale by Sir R.O. Winstedt. An examination of the two reveals that the former version seems to be an English summary of the Malay romanized text.

While Sir William incorporated in his English summary a number of footnotes explaining a number of points that are significant in the comparison with the HSR and the *Ram*., they are, on closer examination, inadequate. It is the purpose of this essay to supplement the notes of Sir William, since, moreover, his work was written more than half a century ago, and the work is no longer readily available. At the same time, it is also the purpose of the present essay to present the *Rama* story in a broader perspective in the light of its "diffusion" in other parts of Southeast Asian locus; in this instance in the Philippines — the *Maharadia Lawana* in Maranao.

It is apparent that the *Maharadia Lawana* has not been studied in relation with other *Rama* story versions in Southeast Asia. This essay would attempt to investigate the following points: (1) the major characters and their relationships with each other; (2) the names of the important places and episodes connected with these places; (3) interpolations and accretions. The *Rama* story versions in Southeast Asia that shall be referred to in the process of comparison are the *Hikayat Seri Rama* (HSR),<sup>28</sup> the *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* (HMR) the Fairy

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<sup>25a</sup>W.E. Maxwell, "Sri Rama, A Fairy Tale told by a Malay Rhapsodist," JRAS-SB, XVII, May 1886.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>JRAS-SB, LV, June 1910.

<sup>28</sup>*Hikayat Seri Rama* (Text), in JRAS-SB, LXXI, 1917. With introduction to this text which is a ms. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by W.G. Shellabear, in JRAS-SB, LXXI, 1917.

Tale (Maxwell version). To bring the story in further and broader view, the Sanskrit *Ramayana* (*Ram.*)<sup>29</sup> shall be cited here extensively for the purpose of showing the most important changes of the original story as it finds itself in an entirely different eco-social and cultural context.

**The Major Characters and Their Relationships with each other .**

The following table gives a graphic representation of the characters in the *Maharadia Lawana* in comparison with those in *The Fairy Tale*, the HSR (HMR) and the *Ram.*:

| <i>Mah. Law.</i>                                  | <i>Fairy Tale</i>            | <i>HSR/HMR</i>             | <i>Ram.</i> |
|---|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| Radia Mangandiri                                  | Sri Rama                     | Seri Rama/Rama             | Rama        |
| Tuwan Potre                                       | Sakutum Bunga                | Sita Dewi/Sita             | Sita        |
| Malano Tihai                                      | Satangkei                    |                            |             |
| [Laksamana, son<br>of R.M. by Po-<br>tre Langawi] | Kra Kechil Imam<br>Tergangga | Tabalawi/Jangga-<br>pulawa | Kusa-Lava   |
| Radia Manga-<br>warna                             | Raja Laksamana               | Laksamana/<br>Laksamana    | Laksmana    |
| Laksamana   | Shah Numan                   | Hanuman/Hanuman            | Hanuman     |
| Maharadia<br>Lawana                               | Maharaja Duwana              | Ravana/Ravana              | Ravana      |

The birth of Radia Mangandiri, and for that matter, of his brother Radia Mangarwarna, is not described. The story merely relates that Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna are the sons of the Sultans and Sultanness of Agama Niog. Therefore, there seems to be no way of knowing the facts of the birth of these two sons, unlike that in the HSR, HMR and the *Ram.* Similarly, there is no mention of the fact of the birth of Sri Rama in the Fairy Tale, as well as the circumstances of the heroine's birth. No inference from the tale itself can be drawn as to the circumstances of these births. The story commences only with the reference that Sri Rama is married to Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei and that he was unhappy about their being childless for years.

<sup>29</sup> See J. Kats, "The Ramayana in Indonesia," BSOS, IV, 1926-1928, pp. 279-285, for a comparatively extensive discussion on the various adaptations of the Rama adventures in the literature of Indonesia (Java).

The names of Sita and of her sons (Kusa and Lava) in *Maharadia Lawana* show entirely different developments. This is also true in the Fairy Tale. Sita becomes Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai. She is *Sakutum Bunga Satangkei*, "Single Blossom on a Stalks," and Kusa and Lava, *Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga*. In the HSR, she is born as Sita Dewi, of the second Mandu-dari (who was carried away by Ravana) by Dasarata, who by supernatural power goes to Langkapuri and sleeps with her. It would lead to the inference that Rama in this *Ram.* version married his own (half) sister. However, in *Maharadia Lawana*, the identities of Kusa and Lava become rather complicated, for Radia Mangandiri (Rama) and Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai (Sita) in the story do not have as yet an issue. Radia Mangandiri becomes the father of a monkey son, not by Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai; the circumstances of such an issue shall be discussed in the following paragraph.

In the Fairy Tale, *Kra* implies that the son is born as a monkey, a small (kechil) monkey, but a leader (imam terganggu) "among the simians." The monkey birth of the son was caused by the transformation of Sakutum and Sri Rama into monkeys on their excursion for the acquisition of a son. In the HSR, there is no clue to the development of the name of Sri Rama and Sakutum's son. It may be well to assign this question to an independent source which may be indigenous Malay. While Rama's son turns out to be a monkey in the HSR, he is not directly born of Sita Dewi. Instead the embryo was massaged out of Sita Dewi's womb, wrapped and thrown into the sea, where it falls into the mouth of Dewi Anjati, while the latter was performing spiritual austerities. Dewi Anjati becomes the vehicle through whom the son is born (see below).

The birth of a monkey son (in *Maharadia Lawana*) of Radia Mangandiri, but not the counterpart of Lava and Kusa in the *Ram.*, shows a similarity with that in the HSR. He is born of Potre Langawi, who swallows the testicles of Radia Mangandiri, which was gored out (of his scrotum) by a wild carabao (*Bos sondaicus*) in his dream. Potre Langawi thought it to be precious stone. In the *Ram.*, these events are entirely absent. Thus, it may be safely said that these developments owe their introduction into *Maharadia Lawana*, the Fairy Tale, and even in the HSR to indigenous literary traditions. Even in the popular versions of the *Ram.* in India, no evidence of this episode is

seen.

The birth of a monkey son in *Maharadia Lawana* is relatively complicated because while it is an issue by similar circumstances, the son takes on the role of Hanuman as seen in the *Ram*. He was born of a dream which becomes empirically true, with Potre Langawi as the vehicle of birth. On the other hand, Hanuman becomes Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale, and he turns out to be a "grandparent" of Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga. *Shah Numan* appears to be a corruption of Sans. *Hanuman*, the name of a general in the Monkey army of Sugriva, who helped Rama recover Sita.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the title *Shah* must have been mistaken by the rhapsodist (from Perak who narrated the tale) to be corrupted in *Hanuman*. Shah Numan is a monarch in the monkey world by the sea. All the adventures of Hanuman in the *Ram*. are now attributed to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. In the HSR, Hanuman<sup>31</sup> is born as the son of Sita Dewi and Seri Rama. His birth came about after the couple had plunged into the pond which as an embryo after having been massaged out of Sita Dewi was then deposited into the mouth of Dewi Anjati who becomes pregnant with it; she gave birth to a simian-boy who was named Hanuman. In the *Maharadia Lawana*, Hanuman becomes Laksamana, and there seems to be no internal evidence with which to check these developments. Moreover, even in the larger versions of said episode in the *darangen*, the incident is not verifiable.

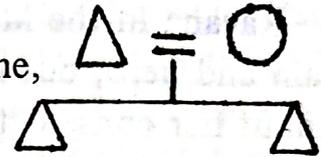
One of the most interesting developments in the Fairy Tale is Laksamana's (Laksamana in the HSR) relation to Rama. He becomes Rama's elder brother and is given the title *Raja* — Raja Laksamana. In the *Ram*., Rama is the first born of Dasaratha, and Laksamana, the third, born of a different mother. There is no way to determine whether or not Sri Rama and Raja Laksamana were born of the same mother. The brother Rama and Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana* are known as Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, respectively, being the sons of the Sultan and Sultanness of Agama Niog. Their rela-

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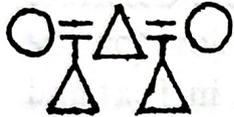
<sup>30</sup>W.E. Maxwell, *Loc. cit.*, writes a note to the name, that Hanuman was the "monkey king in the Ramayan." This is not exactly so.

<sup>31</sup>In Indian mythology, Hanuman is the son of Pavana, the god of the winds, by Aniana, wife of the monkey name Kesari.

tion is that form of a double-single consanguineal line,



contrast to the Rama-Laksmana kinship through the single-double line,



, that is, both were born of one father through two mothers.

It is, indeed, interesting to note that certain cultural factors may be operating in the kin structure of the *dramatic personnae* of the story. (See below for more discussion on this aspect).

As noted above, **Laksmana** who becomes Radia Mangawarna in the *Maharadia Lawana*, appears to be the younger brother of Rama, the major hero, as he is known in the *Ram*. But their relationship (Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna) seems to be more egalitarian than that between Rama and **Laksmana**.

However, in the Fairy Tale, apart from being the elder brother to Rama, Raja Laksamana becomes a diviner, a man well versed in sorcery. This seems to be an "allusion to the art of divination still practised by Malay sorcerers and devil dancers, the impiety of whose performances from the Muhammedan point of view, is excused by immemorial usage."<sup>32</sup> The ceremonies that he performed in order to divine whether Sri Rama, his younger brother, would be favored with a child are exactly those of a Malay *pawang*<sup>33</sup> of present day. Raja Laksamana's name and position in the Fairy Tale is in direct disregard to the meaning of the words in the Malay language. *Laksamana*, in Malay, means "admiral," the name with whom historically Han Tuah compared himself in the 15th century Malacca.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Maxwell, *loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup>Malay, *pawang*, "1. magician, expert in spells, talismans, drugs and some peculiar industry, 2. a shaman who invokes ancestral spirits, Hindi gods, Arabian genie, and Allah to reveal the cause of the illness or drought or pestilence and accept placatory sacrifices." See R.O. Winstedt, "Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, III, 3, pp. 6-21; and "More Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, V, 2, pp. 342-347.

<sup>34</sup>See R.O. Winstedt, *Malay-English Dictionary*. It is certain that the Hang Tuah of the 15th century Malacca may have been a ruling Sultan who was at the same time an admiral of the navy.

Ravana in the Maranao story occupies the major position as both villain and hero, but much less so of the latter, for he forcibly abducts without her consent the wife of Radia Mangandiri (Rama in *Ram.*, Sri Rama in the Fairy Tale, Seri Rama in the HSR). It is indeed, interesting to note that the story presents Maharadia Lawana first, and describes him as one with vile tongue, albeit having great compassion for the world, because "the world is chained" to desire (see fn. 1, in Text and Trans.). He is still a young man subject to the commands of his parents — the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

In the Fairy Tale, the position of Ravana seems interesting.<sup>35</sup> He is Maharaja Duwana of an Island equivalent to Lanka (Kachapuri, see below); he is an island ruler of less violent tendencies. After his abduction of Sakutum, he is discovered to be consanguinally related to the princess — that the princess stood to him in the relation of a daughter to a father. This relationship is not found in the *Ram.* as well as in the HSR. In fact in the HSR, Ravana carries away Rama's mother, Madaduri,<sup>36</sup> who is actually the double of his real mother, from whose skin's secretion the former had been created.

**The Place Names.** Only two important place names shall be discussed in this essay.

| MAH. LAW.         | FAIRY TALE    | HSR-HMR  | RAM.    |
|-------------------|---------------|--|---------|
| Pulu Agama Niog   | Tanjong Bunga | Mandu Puri Nagara/<br><b>Mandupura</b>                           | Ayodhya |
| Pulu Bandiarmasir | Kachapuri     | Bukit Serindib<br>(Later, Langkapuri) <sup>1</sup><br>Langkapura | Lanka   |

<sup>35</sup>See H. Overbeck, "Hikayat Maharaja Ravana," JRAS-MB, XI, 2, December 1933, pp. 111 ff. This *bikayat* is not dated. While its title tells of Ravana, it more or less tells the story of Rama, his exile, his search for Sita, his combat with Ravana, and the return of the princess, who is purified in the pyre. The entire *bikayat* shows the influences (?) of the Rama and the HSR, and it appears that it could be the source of the Fairy Tale.

<sup>36</sup>In the HSR, Mandudari, having been "given" by Dasarata to Ravana although she had already given birth to a son, Seri Rama, retires into the inner apartments, and from the secretion of her skin, she produces by massage a mass which she first changes into a frog then into a woman exactly like herself, whom she dresses with her own clothes and sends to the king.

The city of Dasaratha, Ayodhya, in the *Ram.* does not have any traces in the *Maharadia Lawana* as well as in the Fairy Tale and in the HSR. The HSR city of Dasaratha has Sanskrit suffixes, e.g., Mal. *puri* (Sans. *pura*, "city"), "ruler's private apartments in a palace," and Mal. *nagara*, *negara* (Sans. *nagara*, "city"), "lit., state, country; ar., the top of a hill." *Mandupuri nagara*<sup>37</sup> may, therefore, mean "the city of Mandu on top of a hill," if it were to be interpreted literally. But the city of Sri Rama, Tanjong Bunga, which may be inferred to be also the city of his father, in the Fairy Tale, apparently shows a development independent of both the HSR and the *Ram.* Similarly, Pulu Agama Niog does not show any traces of the city in the Fairy Tale, HSR or in the *Ram.* The name may be interpreted to mean the "City located in an Island of Coconuts," which is quite interesting in terms of the fact that the setting is relatively a source of products derived from coconuts.

The events that happen in Lanka in the *Ram.*, in the HSR, as well as in the Fairy Tale are not transferred to Pulu Bandiarmasir in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The word *Bandiarmasir* is reminiscent of the city of *Bandjarmasin* in the southeastern part of Borneo. Whether or not *Bandiarmasir* has any relation to *Bandjarmasin* is one problem that needs further investigation.

W.E. Maxwell<sup>38</sup> interprets *Kachapuri* to be Conjeeveram (the Kancipuram of the inscriptions and literature) in the Coromandel (Chola-mandala) coast in South India. He interprets it further to be the "Kachchi in Tamil literature."<sup>39</sup> There is no internal evidence of the development of *Kachapuri* from *Lanka*. It seems that *Kancipuram* was yet unknown in the *Ram.*, although it is likely that the city may already be known in the later versions of the epic, like the Tamil Rama story by Kamba. Moreover, it is probable that the Fairy Tale may have sources other than the HSR from which this interesting interpolation may have been lifted. Even the phonetic development of the word is curious. Ravana's island kingdom in the HSR, Bukit Serindib, is already

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<sup>37</sup> Although the story of Seri Rama in the HSR commences only on page 51 of the text, the city is mentioned for the first time on page 62.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* His authority is Yule's Glossary, p. 782.

known in the Arab records on Southeast Asia as *Serindib*.<sup>40</sup> This island kingdom would be later known as Langkapuri which follows closely the *Ram*. island kingdom with the *puri* accretion.

The identity of both Pulu Agama Niog and Pulu Bandiarmasir in the historical records of the Maranao as well as in the references in literature is not known. A check with known historico-literary texts in Old Malay and Old Javanese, particularly in those that are contemporaneous with the introduction of the Rama story (see below) into Indonesia and Malaya, yielded negative results.

**Important Episodes.** The episodes that have been selected for discussion in the present essay are (1) the winning of Sita, (2) the abduction of Sita, (3) the search for Sita, and (4) the return of Sita. These episodes roughly correspond to the *Bala-*, *Aranya-*, *Kiskindha-*, *Sundara-* and the *Yuddhakanda-s* of the *Ram*. It may be seen that the story is reduced to almost microscopic size in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The Fairy Tale is equally microscopic, but the HSR is still relatively voluminous.

(1) **The Winning of Sita.** Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna learn of the incomparable beauty and charm of Tuwan Potre Malano (Malaila) Tihaila, daughter of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Nabandai. Now they set out for the journey to the princess's homes which can be reached only by sea for ten years. After suffering the privations of the journey they reach Pulu Nabandai. They are wrecked by the strong waves of the sea. However, they do not know that the island is Pulu Nabandai.

While they are recuperating in the home of their rescuer and benefactor, they hear the playing of the *agongs* and the *kolintang*s

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<sup>40</sup>Serindib is mentioned (Dimaski, 1325) as one of the islands met in a west-east route (from Arabia) in which Malay closes the chain – “Serindib (Ceylon) and Sribuza . . .” See and cf. J.L. Moens, “Srivijaya, Yava, en Kataha,” JRAS-MB, XVII, 2, January 1940, p. 85.

A check with the Malay Annals (Sejarah Melayu) does not mention the name *Bukit Serindib* or *Serindib*. But the modern name is known as Ceylon already (See “Outline of the Malay Annals: Shellabear’s romanized edition, Singapore, 1909” Chapter XXVIII, in “The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu” (The Earliest Recension from Ms. No. 18 of the Raffles Collection, in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, edited by R.O. Winstedt), JRAS-MB, XVI, 2, pp. 12-13.

Perhaps it owes its not being mentioned to the late composition of the Annals – between the 16th and 17th centuries. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-34.

and upon inquiry are informed that a festival is going on for the winning of Tuwan Potre Malaila Tihai's hand in marriage; that a game of the *sipa* is to be played among the suitors, and whoever kicks the rattan ball to the *lamin*, penthouse, where the princess lives with her retinue, shall marry her. To make the story short, Radia Mangandiri kicks the *sipa* to her penthouse, and wins the hand of the princess. (See details of the winning in the Text and Translation.)

The Fairy Tale and the HSR (Maxwell) do not tell of the winning of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei by Sri Rama. Rather they open with the married life of both being described as childless. The HSR and HMR tell of the winning of Sita's hand by Rama's shooting one arrow through forty palm trees, which was the condition set by Sita's guardian, Kala, that whosoever pierces these forty trees with just one arrow shall marry Sita.

While the HSR and the HMR show the use of the bow and arrow in the winning of Sita, it is only the bow that plays a significant role in the winning of Sita in the Valmiki *Ramayana*. King Janaka offers Sita in marriage to whoever could bend and string the bow of Siva. Rama instead of merely bending and drawing it with just one hand also snaps it asunder. He wins the hand of Sita in marriage.

(2) **The Abduction of Sita** . The cause of the abduction of Sita in the *Ram.* is found in the HSR, although there are already certain variations in the episodic unfoldment. It is Sura Pandaki (Surpanakha, in the *Ram.*) alone who suffers the humiliation and the hands of Lakshmana. Ravana's abduction of Sita is in revenge against Rama and Lakshmana . In the *Ram.*, Surpanakha tells Ravana of the exquisite beauty of Sita; thus the abduction had two purposes—revenge and the desire to possess such a woman of unsurpassed charm and beauty; in the HSR, the attraction of Sita's beauty is not mentioned.

In the Fairy Tale, no revenge is known. Maharaja Duwana, having merely heard of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei's fascinating beauty, falls in love with her.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is described thus — “. . . her waist could be encircled by the fourth finger and the thumb joined, how her figure was as slim as the menjelei (a kind of grass or weed something like millet?) stem, her fingers as slender as the stalk of the lemon grass, and her heels as small as bird's eggs; . . . when she ate sirih or drank water her face acquired an indescribable charm . . .” Maxwell, *loc. cit.*

Now begins the adventure of Maharaja Duwana. Possessing supernatural powers, he flies from Kachapuri to Tanjong Bunga and there by magic charms he affects the behavior of the princess. Subsequently he appears before her in the form of a golden goat. She and her attendants around her, as well as Sri Rama himself, are fascinated by such an unusual animal. The king, therefore, summons his people to seize the golden goat, but it proves elusive. It runs deep into the jungle. Having thus enticed all, it disappears, and returns to the palace. Resuming his human form and having by magic charms opened all the locks of the palace doors, Maharaja Duwana presents himself before Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, who is extremely agitated by the confrontation of a person who is a complete stranger to her.

Here follows one of the most interesting episodes in the Fairy Tale: The conversation between Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei and Maharaja Duwana in rather symbolic-euphemistic verse, particularly the replies of the latter to the former, is very curious. The following excerpts from the conversation is a case in point,<sup>42</sup>

“From the island of Kachapuri, he said,

Yang tersisip di-awan mega  
 Hilang di-puput angin menyankar  
 Belum tempak dari kemunchak gunung  
 Enggil-berenggil

*(It may be seen peeping out from among the clouds, but is lost to view when the wind blows; From the summit of Enggil-berenggil it looks no larger than a dove's nest.)*

“What uneasiness of mind,” asked the princess, “has brought you to my house at such an hour of the night?”

He answered in the following stanza:

Berapa tingi puchock pisang  
 Tinggi lagi asap api  
 Berapa tinggi gunung melentang (*ledang*, Windtedt)  
 Tinggi lagi harap kamil

*(How high so ever the shoot of the plantain,*

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<sup>42</sup>See JRAS-SB, LV, June 1910, p. 68.

*Higher still is the smoke of the fire;  
High though may be the mountain ranges;  
Higher yet are the hopes I indulge.)*

To which the princess replied:

Kalau bagitu kembang jala-nya  
Ikan sesak ka-berombong  
Kalau bagitu rembang kaya-nya  
Choba berserah beradu untong.

*(If the casting net be skillfully thrown,  
the fish are found together at the upper  
end of it; If these words are said in  
earnest, Let us yield to fate and see  
what comes of it.)*

He retaliated with the following verses:

Meranti chabang-nya dua  
Di-tarah buat kerentong  
Sedang mati lagi di-choba  
Inikan pula beradu untong.

*(The meranti tree with a forked limb; Shape  
the wood and make drum of it. The path that  
leads to death is often ventured one; Here  
I yield to fate and see what comes of it.)*

The princess then ceremonially entertains the stranger with *sirih*. The ceremony being over, Maharaja Duwana finds no difficulty in convincing the former to elope with him to Pulau Kachapuri. But with his magic power, he carries her off. Having reached Pulau Kachapuri, Maharaja Duwana looks over the genealogy of his house and discovers that the princess stands to him in the relation of a daughter to a father. Thus her cannot marry her.

Meanwhile, Sri Rama, having entered the jungle in search of the golden goat, realizes the futility of the chase. He orders his men to return to the palace. Having reached his court, he discovers his inner apartments violated. Learning of the true situation, he utters a horrible cry which terrifies everyone in the palace.

In the *Ram.*, the abduction of Sita is accomplished by Ravana's deception. He orders Marici to assume the form of a golden deer, and

gambols about Rama's hut in the jungle. Sita sends Rama after the deer while Laksmana remains to watch over his sister-in-law. Marici when struck by Rama's arrow utters a cry similar to Rama's voice. Sita anxious of Rama's safety sends Laksmana who goes reluctantly. Ravana, as in the HMR and HSR, thereby appears before Sita in the guise of a Brahman, and is admitted into the princess's confidence. But later on, he reveals his own nature, and forcibly abducts the helpless Sita. The use of a magic car in the *Ram.* is not found in the Fairy Tale; neither is the combat between Jatayu and Ravana. The flying chariot is found in the HMR and HSR. Two raksasas, one of gold and the other of silver, appear before Sita Dewi. As in the HSR, the conversation between Sita and Ravana in the *Ram.* is congenial before the latter's revelation of his true intention. In the Fairy Tale, it is friendly.

As in the *Ram.*, the HSR scenes are located in the jungle where the couple, accompanied by Laksmana, are in exile. In the Fairy Tale, the scene is in the kingdom (palace) of Sri Rama. This interpolation seems to be an independent development from *Ram.* and HSR-HMR, whereas the variations in the employment of the silver golden fawns, the golden goat, and the golden deer, have shown or show very close affinity. This last point seems to give a clue to the origin of the Fairy Tale.

There is no evident cause for the abduction of Malaila Ganding (Tihai) by Maharadia Lawana in the Maranao story. The abduction is introduced by the scene of ripening rice grains which Radia Mangandiri and his party have planted while they are on their long journey to their kingdom, Pulu Agama Niog. While they watch the golden grains, their attention is caught by a deer with golden horns, grazing in the nearby cogonal area. Malaila Ganding, upon seeing it immediately harbors a craving for the rare animal, that if it is not caught she will die. Radia Mangandiri, to satisfy such desire, goes forthwith to catch the animal with instructions to his brother Mangawarna not to leave Malaila Ganding even if he will call for help.

The deer does not prove elusive to Radia Mangandiri. Rather it meets him, and fights back. Radia Mangandiri in his difficulty cries for help, but Radia Mangawarna does not leave his sister-in-law. However, Potre Malaila Ganding not being able to bear the predicament that Radia Mangandiri is in, threatens to die (to kill herself) if Radia Manga-

warna does not go to help his brother. So he goes, telling his sister-in-law “. . . I think that when I go down, you close the window, and whoever knocks, do not open.”

When the deer sees Radia Mangawarna come, it divides into two deers that ran away. Each brother runs after one deer till darkness fell, and Radia Mangawarna finally finds himself right back in their house. Radia Mangandiri has reached the forest, and the deer is nowhere to be found.

Radia Mangawarna, upon his return sees the result of his action—the women are wailing because Potre Malaila Ganding has been forcibly taken away by Maharadia Lawana. The walls of their house are destroyed and everything in the house is in disarray. He says to himself, “That which we were running after was Maharadia Lawana who disguised himself as a deer.”

It is interesting to note that there is a common identifying element in the stories, particularly the HMR, HSR (Maxwell and Shellbear) and the *Maharadia Lawana*; and that is the presence of the golden deer, or golden goat or silver goat or golden gazelles or a deer with golden horns. All these are coveted by the heroine in each story. These fantastic animals are Ravana in each story appearing thus before the heroine to draw away the heroes from her preparatory to the abduction. In the *Ram.*, Ravana orders Marici to assume the form of a golden deer to draw away Rama, and then Laksmana, so that he will have no difficulty in penetrating the defenses of the brothers. All these are done by deception.

No drawing of the protective magic circle is evident in the Southeast Asian version of the episode as it is found in the *Ram.* Neither is there any evidence of Sita's accusation against Laksmana's desire to possess her should his brother Rama die in the pursuit of Marici disguised as a golden deer. Many other details can be cited here but these are the most significant of the episode of the abduction.

(3) The Search for Sita. This episode takes on very curious turns. Radia Mangawarna, upon learning of the abduction of Malaila Ganding and seeing that Radia Mangandiri has not returned from his search for the golden horned deer, returns to the jungle to look for

his brother. He finds him unconscious (asleep)

Now Radia Mangandiri dreams that he fights a carabao and he is gored; and one of his testicles is thrown east where Potre Langawi, Queen of the East, swallows it, causing her to become pregnant and later to give birth to a monkey son named Laksamana. He awakes and sees his brother Radia Mangawarna. He feels his scrotum and finds his testides missing. He thinks to himself that his dream may be true.

Subsequently, the brothers discuss the plans for the search and recovery of Potre Malaila Ganding. And they feel despair because there are only two of them; they have no arms, no army to pursue their search for the princess who has been brought to Pulu Bandiarmasir by Maharadia Lawana, who has deceived them.

Now, Radia Mangandiri's dream indeed is true; Laksamana, the monkey son asks his mother Potre Langawi about who can be his father, since while growing up he has not seen him. She evades answering the question, for she knows that he "has no father." The monkey son being disappointed by such evasion, leaves home, and goes in search of his father. In one of his adventures, he falls right between Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, and addresses them father and uncle, respectively. And both are surprised to be addressed thus by a complete stranger and a monkey at that. After proper introductions, and a presentation of their problems, Laksamana offers to help the brothers to search for Potre Malaila Ganding. All their problems — weapons, soldiers, etc. — are now within solution. Laksamana gathers all his subject carabaos to attack Bandiarmasir. He also asks his father and uncle to help gather rattan to be used for building a causeway between Pulu Bandiarmasir and the land where they now are.

Laksamana ties one end of the rattan to a tree, and holding the other, he prepares to leap to Pulu Bandiarmasir. He asks his father to support him on his (father's) palm, but is directed to leap from the mountain. The mountain cannot support him. It falls apart. Hence, Radia Mangandiri has to support his son's leap with his palm. The leap is successful and the son strings the rattan back and forth. The causeway is finally constructed. They proceed to cross to the other side.

As they walk, the bridge sways and they fall into the sea, where crocodiles wait to eat them. But Laksamana battles and defeats them.

The crocodiles promise aid to the cause of Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna. Thus they are to battle those subjects of Maharadia Lawana who shall run to the sea for safety. They proceed to the palace of Maharadia Lawana. At the palace, they witness Maharadia Lawana approach Potre Malaila Ganding, but fire appears between the two. They are surprised at such a phenomenon. Maharadia Lawana himself is perplexed by such a situation and he is told by Laksamana that such a phenomenon occurs because she was abducted from Radia Mangandiri.

After this exchange, betel chew is prepared and exchanged between Radia Mangandiri and Potre Malaila Ganding. Then Laksamana takes the princess' hand and leads her to his father.

At this point, the battle between the forces of Maharadia Lawana and Radia Mangandiri led by Laksamana begins. Laksamana commands the carabaos to enter the village to fight Maharadia Lawana's army. Those who flee to the sea/water are eaten by crocodiles. Later, Maharadia Lawana enters into the fray and fights with Radia Mangawarna, who cannot equal the strength and power of his adversary. Radia Mangandiri takes over, but he cannot wound Maharadia Lawana. Laksamana, seeing that his father seems to be unable to cope with Maharadia Lawana's prowess, takes the *kampilan* of Radia Mangandiri and sharpens it on the whetstone set upon a *naga* wood found in the palace. With this, Radia Mangawarna wounds Maharadia Lawana, who falls, for according to the prophecy Maharadia Lawana can only be subdued from the power he acquired while performing "austerities" during his exile by any bladed weapon sharpened on the whetstone set upon a *naga* wood. Thus the battle comes to an end.

In the Fairy Tale, Sri Rama, having been advised by his chiefs, consults Laksamana, his elder brother. After deliberating upon the course of action they will take, they set out to recover the lost princess. Having reached the realm of a monkey monarch, who is actually Sri Rama's son whom he has driven away from Tanjung Bunga, they are asked what their business is. Sri Rama, thereupon, asks his son to help him search for his mother. But the monkey prince promises to fulfill his father's request only if he is permitted, just for once, to eat a meal with his father off the same leaf, and to sleep in his arms. Having extracted the promise, and having fulfilled it, they prepare for the

prince's jump to Kachapuri. After two or three attempts, he jumps from his father's shoulder but lands upon an island in the midst of the sea. He calls upon the jin, whom he has befriended in one of his attempts, to help him land upon Pulau Kachapuri.

The meeting between the mother and son is effected through the recognition of the ring that Kra Kechil has slipped into one of the water jars which forty-four maidens carry with which to collect water for the bath of the princess. After this meeting, Maharaja Duwana and Kra Kechil confront each other, before which, however, the latter destroys the former's favorite trees – a coconut tree (*nyor gading*) and a mango tree. Furious at this outrage, Maharaja Duwana fights the monkey prince who changes himself at will into a buffalo bull and declares his mission. Thereafter, a battle rages between Maharaja Duwana's army and the prince. No weapon can hurt him; even when he is bound and thrown into the fire, his hair is not signed. After a seven day truce, the battle continues. Kra Kechil is caught. He instructs his captors to swathe him with cotton cloth soaked in oil, and to set fire to the mass. He jumps about the palace and the fire spreads reducing Pulau Kachapuri to rubble and ashes.

All the adventures of Hanuman in both the *Ram.*, HMR and the HSR are attributed to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. But these adventures are attributed to Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The meeting between mother and son in the HSR is not quite represented in the *Maharadia Lawana* for Laksamana is the son of Radia Mangandiri by another *potre*. Hence, there is no evidence of recognition by the mother. Rather it is merely identification of who Laksamana is before her, just like the identification of Hanuman in the *Ram.* (but with rings for recognition of his mission from Rama). The ring incident is not found in the *Maharadia Lawana*.

There are no evidences in the HSR that may have led to these developments. The meeting between mother and son, however, is known in the HSR. Kra Kechil's appearance in monkey form before his mother is perhaps an echo of Hanuman's appearance before Sita in the Asoka groove of Ravana, while Hanuman in the HSR appears first as a Brahman before Sita Dewi. The ring incident is found in all three stories, as well as in the HMR, although in varied forms. In the HMR, Hanuman appears before Sita in the form of an old woman,

and later assumes his monkey form and identifies himself as her son.

The single combat between Maharaja Duwana and Kra Kechil is not found in either *Ram.* or the HSR or in the HMR. But the burning of Pulau Kachapuri is known from the *Ram.*, the HSR and the HMR, although again interesting accretions and developments occur. In the *Ram.* and HMR, Hanuman's tail is swathed with cloth soaked in oil/petroleum (minyak tanah) bestrewn with saltpetre (sendawan); Hanuman in HSR is swathed all over, but he grows till all the cloth in Langkapuri becomes insufficient. The oil-soaked cloth is burned, and when only that which binds the tail is left he leaps over the roof and sets the palace on fire. No bodily expansion of Kra Kechil takes place in the Fairy Tale. All these are not known in the *Maharadia Lawana*. There seems, therefore, to be no significantly sustained nourishment of the literature in the past. Either this was due to the changes in the political climate in the area, or this was more or less a case of misunderstanding of the literary motif by the borrowers who belong to a different socio-cultural complex. Whichever is probable, it is very important task of further research to investigate.

(4) **The Return of Sita.** The return of Potre Malaila Ganding from Pulu Bandiarmasir after the death of Maharadia Lawana is not as dramatic as the return of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei in the Fairy Tale, the return of Sita Dewi in the HSR or Sita in the HMR and *Ram.* There's no evidence of the carrying of Sita Dewi by Kra Kechil nor the use of a flying car or chariot to carry Sita back to Ayodhya. Moreover, no fire ordeal is known in the *Maharadia Lawana* to purify Potre Malaila Ganding, from her "contact" with Maharadia Lawana. But the fire that appears between them is reminiscent of this fire-purification in *Ram.*

Details of the return of Potre Malaila Ganding is here presented for comparative purposes. Tarrying in Pulu Bandiarmasir after their victory over Maharadia Lawana, they make preparations for their return to Pulu Agama Niog. For this Laksamana tells them that he will effect such an event. He calls all the crocodiles on whose backs all the subjects may ride across the ocean to Pulu Agama Niog. The biggest crocodile with the broadest back becomes the mount of the prince and the princess, and Radia Mangawarna and Laksamana. After travelling

through the sea they reach the shores of Agama Niog, and the waves created by all the crocodiles were like those created by strong winds; "also the forest seemed to tremble at the footsteps of the carabaos that were walking" escorting the party on land.

The people of Agama Niog are frightened, but Laksamana announces to them that they must not fear, for Radia Mangandiri with his bride Potre Malaila Ganding and Radia Mangawarna are returning from long travel. They are welcomed with joy. Laksamana metamorphoses into a handsome datu.

Following are the details relative to this episode as they are found in the HSR, HMR, Fairy Tale and the *Ram*. This will further bring to mind the various interesting aspects of the Maranao story in relation to the Southeast Asian versions of the story as it is known in India also.

The return of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei follows the burning of Kachapuri. She is carried off by her son and restored to Sri Rama at the plain of Anta-ber-Anta, in the kingdom of Kra Kechil. Her return to Tanjung Bunga is marked with rejoicing and feasting, but the celebrations are interrupted by the arrival of Maharaja Duwana who has come to avenge his defeat at Pulau Kachapuri. (He has previously warned Kra Kechil that he would follow him). In the midst of the fierce combat, Raja Laksamana is killed but is immediately revived by a powerful remedy that Kra Kechil brings from Mount Enggil-ber-Enggil. Maharaja Duwana, seeing his power being reduced to nothing, leaves Tanjung Bunga in token of defeat. His men who died in the combat are revived by Kra Kechil.

Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei now acknowledge Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga as their son and heir to the throne of Tanjung Bunga.

The adventures of Hanuman are carried on to the third episode. While the return of Sita in the *Ram*, agrees with the return of Sita Dewi in HSR and Sita in HMR, Sakutum's return takes on another turn in the Fairy Tale. Sita is carried back to Ayodhya by Rama in the magic car of Kubera which has been forcibly appropriated by Ravana from the god of wealth. No mention of the magic car or flying chariot is made in the HSR and HMR, while Sakutum is carried off to Sri Rama by her son. No flying car or magic chariot is used.

Perhaps the fire ordeal is not necessary, as it is in the *Ram.*, the HSR and the HMR, for the purification of the heroine because it is her son who takes her away. Moreover, Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is sanguinally related to Maharaja Duwana, who stands to her as a father to a daughter. Thereby no chastity test and purification ceremonies are necessary. There is no clue to the incident relating to the "invasion" of Tanjung Bunga by Maharaja Duwana in the HSR, HMR, or in the *Ram.*, while the death and revival of Raja Laksamana is known. Moreover, no proof of Sri Rama and Sakutum's acknowledgment of Kra Kechil as their son after his adventures connected with the recovery of his mother is also known.

(5) *Ravana*. Of Ravana's position in the *Maharadia Lawana*, the accounts point out a very important relation with the HMR and the HSR (Shellabear). *Maharadia Lawana* commences with Maharadia Lawana described as the son of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir; he has eight heads (seven heads in Par. 61, Text and Translation). He is said to have caused the death of many a man in the realm because of his vile tongue — he intrigues. Then he is sent on a ship to Pulu Nagara on exile as a punishment for his false representations.

In Pulu Nagara, he gathers leaves and wood, ignites these and climbs a tree over the fire. He cries that the world is chained (see Notes and Translation); thereby, Diabarail (Angel Gabriel), hearing it, appears before the Lord (Tohen), informs the latter that Maharadia Lawana cries because the world is in chains. The Lord (Tohen) instructs Diabarail to tell Maharadia Lawana to desist sacrificing himself, because nothing can cause his death, except when he is cut by any tool (knife, sword, etc.) that is sharpened upon a whetstone kept in the heart of the palace of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

The HMR commences with the relation of the genealogy of Maharaja Ravana. Then being unruly and having become a danger to his sire's dynasty, he is banished to Langkapura. In Langkapura he practices austerities, collects firewood during the day and sleeps in the night hanging over the fire, head down. Twelve years elapse and Allah sends down Adam to find out what Ravana wants. Ravana asks for the rule over the four worlds — earth, air, water and the nether world. His wish

is granted on condition that he angers nobody, and does not steal women. Should he break the covenant, Allah's curse will fall upon him. (When delivering the message, Adam omits the stealing of women.) Ravana agrees and conquers the four worlds.

Reference to Ravana's having ten heads is made when he becomes angry as he passes over the hermitage of a great rishi (sage). The ten heads appear thus.

The HSR (Shellabear) commences with an account describing Ravana as ten-headed and twenty-handed Raksasa. He is banished to Bukit Serindib (later called Langkapuri) where he performs austerities for twelve years, hanging himself by the feet downward. While he is engaged thus, the Almighty God in heaven sends Prophet Adam to ask what he wants, and God, informed of his desire, grants his wish — that he rules over the worlds : the earth, the heavens, the seas and the nether world.

Ravana, in the *Ram.*, is described with ten heads and twenty arms; he performs austerities for conquering four worlds.

In all the stories, the asceticism event seems to be the common "denominator," with just slight variation according to each story. All the four stories describe the austerities as having been caused by the banishment imposed upon him for causing disorder in and danger to the dynasty/kingdom of his father. The use of fire in order to perform the ascetic acts is also a feature which is indeed very much Indian in character. The appearance of Allah and Adam and the Angel Gabriel (Diabarail) in the *Maharadia Lawana*, the HSR, and the HMR may be and could be interpolations in exchange for the persons of Brahma and Visnu (both Hindu gods in the Indian Pantheon) to give the stories Islamic character considering the development in the area, e.g., the introduction of Islam and the subsequent changes that occurred to give the literature and other social aspects some Islamic spirit, if not entirely to supersede the earlier overlay. However, these may just as well be indigenous developments considering also the importance of fire in even the most "primitive" societies in the area.

One of the interesting aspects of the austerities by fire of Maharadia Lawana is his lament that the world is chained. Whatever this means to the Maranao, it means that he is performing this asceticism to relieve the world of the sins (desires) to which it is chained. This

(concept) appears to evince a relatively Buddhistic orientation, considering the influence of the Buddha's teachings in the area. However, whatever could be said about its relationship with the Buddha concept, the other Rama story versions – the HMR and the HSR – in the Malay literature do not seem to show such a tendency. Certainly, the austerities performed by Ravana in order to gain power to challenge Siva in the puranic literature is definitely Brahmanic in character. Of course, in Southeast Asia, there developed in the course of the long years of encounter between Brahmanism and Buddhism, a blend of these two systems of thought as expressed in the Siva-Buddha syncretism.

In the HMR and HSR, Ravana is described physically as a ten-headed and twenty-handed king of Langkapuri (Bukit Serindib), or Langkapura, which physical description is derived from the *Ram. Maharadia Lawana* describes Maharadia Lawana as eight-headed. There seems to be no clue to the change from ten to eight or seven heads. No mention of the other hands of Ravana in the *Maharadia Lawana* is made. No reference even is seen to such number of other hands during Maharadia Lawana's combat with the brothers Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna during the battle for recovering Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihai).

**Interpolations and Accretions.** A collation of the *Maharadia Lawana* with the Fairy Tale and the HSR and HMR reveals that a number if not all of the interpolations and accretions found in the former cannot be traced to the latter two. This may lead to the inference that these interpolations and accretions are independent of the historical development of the story in Maranao literature. Some of the accretions and interpolations found in the HSR and the Fairy Tale relative to the *Ram.* are not found in the *Maharadia Lawana*, e.g. (a) Sri Rama's desire for offspring even after three years of married life does not show any distinct connection with either the two Rama stories. The desire for offspring, however, may derive from Indian custom and tradition, but it is universal among all peoples of the world.

(b) While showing independent development from the two Rama stories, Raja Laksamana's sorcery to predict the birth of a son to Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is purely an indigenous influence. This indigenous accretion is an allusion to the art of divination still

practiced by Malay sorcerers and dancers since time immemorial.

The excursion of Sri Rama and Sakutum seems to show connection with the decision of Sri Rama in the HSR not to return to his father's country after winning the hand of Sita Dewi, and the connection is perhaps carried on to the transformation of Seri Rama and Sita Dewi into monkeys, which transformation is also found in the Fairy Tale. The pregnancy is explained by this excursion. This is not found in the *Maharadia Lawana*, but which birth is known.

(1) The birth of Laksamana, the monkey son of Radia Mangandiri, in *Maharadia Lawana*, takes on a very interesting aspect. Laksamana is born of Potre Langawi after she swallows Radia Mangandiri's testicle thinking it was a precious stone. It was gored out and thrown to the east by a carabao in his dream. Laksamana's searching questions addressed to his mother about his birth and his sire are, indeed, significant in the light of the structure of Maranao society. Here reference to a certain taboo in the society, e.g., incest, becomes important in the relations between mother and son. Moreover, the Maranao's "congenital" concern with genealogy to establish the greatness of his birth is brought to focus by the son's searching questions as to who his sire is. However, the problem becomes moot as Laksamana finally finds his father.

The birth of Laksamana as a monkey finds no clue or clues in the story itself. Unlike the birth of Kra Kechil in the Fairy Tale and of Hanuman in the HSR (also in the HMR) which are more or less explained, Laksamana's in the *Maharadia Lawana* is not. Details of the births of the sons of Sita in the *Ram.*, HSR (HMR) and the Fairy Tale may be described briefly to show the major interpolations. In the *Maharadia Lawana* no mention of the birth of Radia Mangandiri and Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaiia)'s son is made.

The birth of the monkey son in the HSR takes on another interesting turn. Seri Rama and Sita Dewi like Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei in the Fairy Tale are turned into monkeys after having plunged into a lake, but are later restored to their human forms after bathing in another lake. Having thus been transformed into monkeys, the germs that developed are monkeys. Hanuman is born of Sita Dewi, through Dewi Anjati who carries the embryo that was conceived

by the former, while Sakutum Bunga Satangkei herself conceives, carries and gives birth to the monkey son, Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga. The birth of Hanuman in the HMR is similar to that in the HSR.

In the *Ram.*, Sita gives birth to sons in exile; in the HSR, Sita Dewi later gives birth again to another son, Tabalawi, also in exile. This incident does not occur in the Fairy Tale as well as in the *Maharadia Lawana*. What is interesting, however, is that in the Fairy Tale, there is an expressed desire for an offspring which does not occur in the *Ram.*, HSR, HMR, and is not known in the *Maharadia Lawana*.

On the occasion of the birth of a son, ceremonies described in the *Ram.* and HSR are not found. This is also true in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The presence of *lebis*, *hajis*, *imams* and *khatibs* and the readings of the Koran do not have any reference in the *Ram.* These are not found in the HSR and HMR which are already influenced by Islamic ideas. But perhaps these owe their presence in the Fairy Tale to the complete islamization of the Malay (Perak) peoples. There are no clues to the incidents of the breaking of the news to Sri Rama of the birth of a monkey son, and of the sending away of Kra Kechil in either the *Ram.* or the HSR.

The departure of Laksamana in *Maharadia Lawana* from his mother's home is impelled by his search for bigger sources of food. This is somehow paralleled by that in the banishment of Kra Kechil (in the Fairy Tale), for he has been a shame to the kingdom, "to a remote part of the forest where human foot had never yet trod." Later, he leaves the forest to look for more adventure and in the process he finds Shah Numan to pick the large round red fruit, which is actually the sun. He falls in his attempt to pick it. Jumping from tree to tree, Laksamana (in the *Maharadia Lawana*) falls between his sire Radia Mangandiri and uncle Radia Mangawarna. This is the end of his search for his sire, and hence his problem of being "born" of a supposed incestuous relation between his mother and grandfather is solved. But the immediate recognition of the brothers Radia Mangandiri and Radia Manganwarna as his sire and uncle respectively is a problem that is to be solved.

(2) Sugriva's or Bali's position in the *Ram.*, appears to be taken by Shah Numan (Hanuman) in the Fairy Tale. Hanuman in the HSR is the same Hanuman in the *Ram.*; the former's birth shows no clue

to the birth of Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale. He (Shah Numan) is an aged sagacious monarch in the kingdom by the jungles. Moreover, he becomes a friend of the sun (Mata Hari).

Shah Numan by his declaration that he already knew of the origins of Kra Kechil upon their first meeting, that he is related to Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, and that Kra Kechil is his "grandchild" is very interesting. These will perhaps give the clue to the parentage of Sri Rama or Sakutum Bunga Satangkei. It may not be without basis to conjecture that Shah Numan may be the father of either Sri Rama or Sakutum, judging from the filial affection, the concern and loving care that the (Shah Numan) had for Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga.

In the *Maharadia Lawana*, Sugriva's or Bali's roles are not known; and, therefore, it seems that this is a very perplexing problem, at least in the light of the story. For the kinship of Laksamana with the monkey world further adds to the problems. It seems, however, that the roles of Sugriva or Bali and Hanuman in the HSR and HMR are performed by Laksamana in *Maharadia Lawana*. This is evident in his gathering all the carabaos and crocodiles to compose the army that shall invade Pulu Bandiarmasir, and in his great leap across the sea from Pulu Nabandai to Pulu Bandiarmasir to secure the rattan vine for the bridge that shall be constructed on which they shall cross to the latter island. Towards the end of the story still no evidence of the kinship of Laksamana with the simians can be established.

(3) It seems evident that the adventures of Hanuman in both the *Ram.* and the HSR as well as the HMR are attributed to Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana* and to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. However, there are no other adventures attributed to Laksamana than the discovery of Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihai). Kra Kechil's other adventures cannot be traced to the two epics.

It may be assumed that since Hanuman in the *Ram.* and in the HSR-HMR occupies a prominent position in the cynosure of the hero, Kra Kechil's becoming a prince of all monkey tribes in the Fairy Tale is traceable, for the Tale appears to have its original source in either or both the epics. With this situation it is understandable that no traces of the presence of Sugriva and Bali are evident. Similarly, Laksamana occupies an important position in the Maranao story; but there is no

evidence of his being a monkey prince as such in spite of his being born of a princess (Potre Langawi, Queen of the East). However, the monkey aspect as well as the adventures of Laksamana may be traced back to the HSR-HMR and further back to the *Ram.*, perhaps with the Fairy Tale as the intermediate story.

There seems to be no evidence at all in the HSR to show Kra Kechil's eating from one leaf with, and sleeping in the lap of, his father, Sri Rama, in return for which he will undertake the search for his lost mother. In the HMR, however, Rama and Hanuman eat from the same banana leaf. Neither does his metamorphosis into a handsome prince towards the end of the tale have any evidence in the HSR. This metamorphosis, however, may be explained to be an influence from the folk-literature<sup>43</sup> of the Malays.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the assumption that this accretion is independent of any folk-literature development can not be ignored. For the metamorphosis motif is comparatively widespread not only in locality but also in the forms of folk-literature..

The *Maharadia Lawana* is so microscopic, in comparison with the HSR, HMR and the Fairy Tale, that no traces of Kra Kechil's eating

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<sup>43</sup>See and cf. Howard Mckaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of the Maranao Verb*, Text Illustration No. 2A, "Si Someseng sa Alongan ago si Amo" (Someseng of Alongan and Monkey), pp. 50 ff.: Dean S. Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales* (Lancaster, Penn., 1921), No. 19— "Juan Wearing a Monkey skin"; N. 29— "Chongita" (Little Monkey Lady); and the Tinguian Tales, found in Fay Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguians*, Field Museum of Natural History Publication 180, XIV, 1 (Chicago 1915).

Also Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (London 1858), No. 12— "The Jackal, The Barber, etc.," p. 175-194; *Ram.* I, 48; III, 71; The *Puranas* and the *Kathasaritsagara* also provide us with a number of tales that show the motif. The story of Urvasi and Pururavas in RV, X, 95, is another major paradigm for his motif. The motif in this story is also known as the "Swan Maiden" motif (see *Kathasaritsagara*, II, Appendix I— "Urvasi and Pururavas"; VIII, Appendix I — "The Swan Maiden' Motif").

Furthermore, see Ivor N.H. Evans, "Folkstories of the Tempasuk and Tuaran Districts, British North Borneo," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLIII, 1913; *Studies in Religion, Folklore and Customs in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* (Cambridge, 1923).

<sup>44</sup>*Malay* is used here as a generic term. This would include therefore the whole of the Malaysian Peninsula and Archipelago.

from the leaf with, and sleeping on the lap of, his father, Sri Rama, are found in the story. However, there is trace of the metamorphosis of Kra Kechil into a handsome prince in the *Maharadia Lawana*. Laksamana metamorphosed into a very handsome *datu*. However, there is no reference to any further adventures he undertakes, unlike what is evident in the Fairy Tale (see below).

Such a metamorphosis as referred to above may be an influence of the folk-literature, such as seen in the many metamorphosis stories in Maranao literature – both *kunst* and *volk*.

(4) Both the *Maharadia Lawana* and the Fairy Tale end with the metamorphosis respectively of Laksamana and Kra Kechil into a handsome *prince/datu*. But Laksamana's change is not followed by other events, and he does not assume any other name. Kra Kechil henceforth is known by the name of Mambang Bongsu, becomes the son-in-law of a king (Raja Shah Kobad), who abdicates his throne in favor of Mambang Bongsu, and reigns as Raja (of) Bandar Tawhil.. All these are not found in the greater Malay text, the HSR as well as the HMR, and no traces are found either in the *Ram*. This is understandable for it appears that in spite of the evident attempt at islamization of the HSR and HMR, there seems to have been some resistance to the introduction of new elements and interpolations, because of its being closer to the traditional story as introduced from Indonesia than to the developing literature which found its way into the folk traditions.

**The Probable Date of Maharadia Lawana.** In comparative studies such as the present one, the most important aspect is the attempt to place in the literary historical context of the major literature with which it is compared. And it seems it is a most difficult task for it involves more speculative rather than absolute dates. Arbitrary dating would more or less be resorted to but with extreme caution.

The attempt to date the *Maharadia Lawana* in the context of its appearance in Maranao literature is indeed a perplexing one. However difficult it is, it will not be a futile exercise to put it in historical perspective at least, in the light of its relatively close kinship with the Malay Rama stories. This attempt to date the piece may be done on two levels, e.g., internal and external. By *internal*, the date shall be inferred from the evidence in the piece itself; and on the *external* level,

the date inferred from the former shall be collated with the date of the Fairy Tale and/or the HSR and HMR in Malay literature.

Internal evidences may constitute mostly (a) Islamic religious aspects, e.g., references to Diabarail (Angel Gabriel), the Muslim prayer corrupted in Maranao (see par. 6, in Text and Transl.), and reference to Muslim titles such as *Sultan*, *Shah*. References to (b) Indian titles as *potre* (Sans. *putri*), *Radia* (Sans. *raja*), *maharadia* (Sans. *maharaja*) and other Indian terms, such as *manosia* (Sans. *manusia*), *nagara* (Sans. *nagara*), *sowara* (Sans. *svara*) and many others that would also have some bearing upon the date of the piece of literature are also made.

(c) The metamorphosis of Laksamana from a monkey-form to a man-form.

In terms of the movement of cultures in Philippine proto-historic times, the Indian aspects of Philippine culture came earlier than the Arab (more commonly related to the Islamic religion). However, in the light of the *Maharadia Lawana* story, it is possible and significantly probable that both the Indian and the Arab elements seen and recognizable could have reached their present setting simultaneously. More precisely, the story itself, or the theme, reached the Maranao area already complete with these elements at a period after the islamization of the adjoining areas, e.g., Java, Sumatra and Malaya. This date would be extended further into the period during early incursions of the European in the area. The references to Islamic terms itself do not invalidate the view that the piece of literature has its early beginnings in pre-Islamic times, and that these terms found their way into the literature as an attempt on the part of the recipients of this culture aspect to infuse islamic spirit in it to make it acceptable to the orientations of the new institutions.

The transformation of Laksamana from a monkey aspect to a human form, may reveal that the story dates back further in time — into the mythological age of Maranao folk-history. The presence of a parallel event in a piece of literature with the same theme and plot in a different setting is evidence of its antiquity. However, such a phenomenon is also found in other tales not necessarily of the same plot and theme and in one setting alone, but in other folk literary traditions.

Without referring to item (c), for it shall be adverted to again subsequently, the date of the story may now be set in the light of items

(a) and (b). Considering the aspects referred to under these items, and in relation to the date of the entry of Indian and Arab culture elements into the Philippines, it seems that the piece of literature may have reached its present setting sometime between the middle of the 17th century and the early 19th. The range of very significant Maranao elements in the literature is itself an indication that the story has floated in Maranao society for quite some time, and that it would have taken that long to assume an entirely Maranao character and image (see Text and Transl. for details of this reference). Between the 17th and 20th centuries is a relatively long period of adjustment to the literary traditions, in the context of its cultural milieu; hence, the result was no longer one in which the sharp distinctions between the local and the alien elements have been blurred.

As the date of the *Maharadia Lawana* has been set arbitrarily, it may be instructive to look at this date in collation with the date of the Malay Fairy Tale with which it is compared. The date of this Fairy Tale constitutes the external evidence of the *Maharadia Lawana* date. In the essay, whose format is utilized in the present work, I wrote that the date of the Fairy Tale shall be inferred from two points (internal as they were); "... (a) the presence of religious men (lebis, hajis, imams, khatibs)<sup>45</sup> during the birth of the monkey son and the reading of the Koran at such an important event; (b) the changing of Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga's name to Mambang Bongsu after his metamorphosis."

Among other references to the Malay Muslim religion, the presence of religious men — lebis, hajis, imams, khatibs — during the birth of the son certainly points to the late date of the Fairy Tale. Moreover, the readings from the Koran present another clue to the very late composition of this piece. These two accretions show that the tale developed during the later period of the incursions of Islam into Malay society. It may even be surmised that allowing a conservative number of years from the earliest conversions in Malaya, the Fairy Tale may be dated

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<sup>45</sup>*Haji* (Arabic), "pilgrim to Mecca, a title for those male or female who have made the pilgrimage." *Imam* (Arabic), "1. leader, g.g., the caliphs and the four muslim jurists (Ibn Hanbal, Hanifah, Malik and Shafi'i); 2. leader of a congregation at prayer in a mosque." *Khatib* (Arabic), "reader or preacher in the mosque." *Lebai* (Dravidian?), "pious elder, mosque official."

not earlier than the 16th century. This conservative estimate may be collated with the second internal evidence.

The changing of the monkey son's name from Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga to Mambang Bongsu after his metamorphosis to man's form is significant in the historical development of Malay literature. This phenomenon in Malay literature, while it may not be recurrent in the Fairy Tales seems to reveal a character trait of the Panji tales — that is, the hero in the course of his adventures changes his name in almost every important episode in the story.<sup>46</sup> The Panji tales are not indigenous in Malay literature. According to R.M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka,<sup>47</sup> the Panji tales may have first appeared in 1222-1292, the Singhasari period of Javanese history. But Winstedt<sup>48</sup> believes that the cycle appeared during the early Majapahit period, c. 1350 A.D., and that the cycle was introduced into Malacca in the middle of the 15th century A.D.<sup>49</sup> Another hundred years or more may have elapsed before the cycle reached the interiors of the Malay Peninsula.

If the phenomenon in the Malay story was borrowed from the Panji tales, it must have taken place in the early years of the introduction of the tales, owing perhaps to the occurrence of only one instance in the Malay tale.

In collation with the probable date of the tale on the basis of the first point, the Panji tales having already picked up influences of the Islamic faith the date of whose introduction in Java being sometime towards the middle of the 14th A.D., perhaps the end of the 16th century A.D., or even later, may be taken as a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the Rama Fairy Tale.

It may not seem superfluous, therefore, that the *Maharadia Lawana* would have appeared in Maranao literary milieu at the date set for it (see above). For as the date of the Fairy Tale takes a significant bearing upon that of the *Maharadia Lawana*, it becomes equally important to

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<sup>46</sup>See R.O. Winstedt, "The Panji Tales," JRAS-MB XIX, 2 (October 1941), p. 235, for an illustration of this tale character trait. See furthermore, R.O. Winstedt, "A Panji Tale from Kelantan," JRAS-MB, XXII, 1 (March 1949), pp. 53-60.

<sup>47</sup>Cited in Winstedt, *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*

the whole Maranao literary tradition. This is particularly so in relation to the *Darangen*, which belongs to the classical period of Maranao literature, for it belongs to a date relatively earlier considering the language of the folk epic and the many cultural elements that no longer persist in present Maranao society.

### ABBREVIATIONS

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| BEFEO          | Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient       |
| BSOS           | Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies           |
| FAIRY TALE     | The Rama Story in the Maxwell study                  |
| HIKAYAT or HSR | The Malay <i>Hikayat Seri Rama</i> (Shellabear)      |
| HMR            | <i>Hikayat Maharaja Ravana</i>                       |
| JRAS-SB        | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch |
| JRAS-MB        | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch |
| Mal.           | Malay  |
| PSP            | Philippine Studies Program                           |
| <i>Ram.</i>    | The Sanskrit <i>Ramayana</i>                         |
| Sans.          | Sanskrit   |

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