

SANSKRIT IN MARANAO LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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The influx of Indian cultural elements – art objects,¹ Sanskrit language and literature,² system of writing,³ and others⁴ – into the Philippines is viewed only in terms of their movement through the Southeast Asian regions. So pervasive, indeed, was the Indianization that these cultural elements, in spite of their having been substantially assimilated into the local cultural milieu, eventually found their way into the Philippines. However, it should not be construed that the culture movement was primarily one-way. There was also a substantial reverse movement.

The carriers of these elements, when they returned to their homelands, may have carried back with them some cultural elements of the lands they visited. Similarly, traders and traffickers from the Philippines, in their travels to the Indonesian archipelago and the Malayan Peninsula, left some of their own culture elements there and from there brought back with them some of their own culture elements they felt would suit their needs. It is in this context that the influx of Indian culture into the Philippines may be understood.

From linguistic evidences, the Indian cultural elements began to percolate between 900-1100 A.D. The more datable evidences, e.g., archeological artifacts, reached the Philippines between 1100-1400 A.D. “. . . It may be fairly deduced from these dates that (1) the language items arrived in these Islands ahead of the artifacts and (2) they arrived here at a time when the full flowering of Indian culture in the intermediate regions had reached its zenith and was in fact on its decline, decisively crushed towards the middle of the fourteenth century by the advent of Islam.”⁵

What is most interesting is that Indian cultural influence continued to percolate into the Philippines even after the establishment of Islamic kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and the Malaysian archipelago. It may be because the Muslims who came to the Philippines were themselves former Hindus or people who were Hinduized; hence, they could not have forgotten their heritage so soon. Thus it is not surprising to see vestiges of Hindu rituals in Muslim areas in Mindanao and Sulu. But the percolation finally ceased with the “complete” Islamization of those “entrepreneurs” and the coming of the Europeans.⁶

These facts bring to focus these inferences:

1. That the language elements, e.g., Sanskrit, that reached the Philippines did not involve syntactical or grammatical constructions and therefore were not strong or influential enough to have changed substantially the character of Philippine languages; rather, these influences resulted primarily in enriching the Philippine vocabulary;

2. That in literature, it did not involve the introduction of Sanskrit texts, or the writing of local texts that are highly Sanskritized, e.g., the Old Javanese **Rāmāyaṇa**. The Sanskrit literature that reached the Philippines were either renarration of stories in the local languages, e.g., Maranao, or direct translations of stories of Indian themes, e.g., the **Rāma** story, from intermediate languages, e.g., Malay.⁷

My earlier work uncovered Sanskrit influences in Philippine languages.⁸ As my research continued, new evidences of these influences, particularly on Maranao language and literature,⁹ were brought to light. The data used here are from initial readings of the Maranao folk epic, the **Darangen**,¹⁰ a long narrative that tells of Maranao culture heroes and their deeds.

Sanskrit in Maranao Language

The Sanskrit words (see Word List, Table I) presented here are not found in other Philippine languages that were studied in my earlier work. No attempt on a phonological analysis of these words will be made. The general principles on the development of Sanskrit sounds as adopted in Philippine languages had been established in my earlier work. Only peculiar developments shall be focussed on.

Table I: WORD LIST

MARANAŌ	SANSKRIT	MALAY/OLD MALAY (OM)	JAVANESE/OLD JAVANESE (OJ)
astana ¹ – mansion, manor, house, castle, residence. Cf. Maguin-danao, istana – “id”	sthāna – place of standing or staying, any place, spot, locality, abode, dwelling, house, sit.	istana – palace	istana – palace
bakti – faithful, loyal	bhakti – attachment, devotion, trust, homage, worship, piety, faith or love.	bendahara – royal treasurer, prime minister (in old Malay state).	bekti – homage
bandara’ – title of nobility	bhandagara – treasury		
barahana – eclipse	grahana – seizure of, or moon, eclipse.		
bato-kapala – headstone	kapala – skull, the cranium, skull bone.	bato – stone	
biaksa’ – expert, accustomed, experience.	abhyāsa – repeated, or permanent exercise, discipline, habit		biyasa – habit
bidaria – houri, angel	vidyādhari – a female of the class above supernatural beings, fairy, sylph.		
bitara – speak, feast as marriage, dialogue	vicāra – dispute, discussion, pondering, deliberation consideration, reflection, examination, investigation	bicara – discussion, legal proceedings, concern, opinion.	
bongabong a komara – kingdom in the Darangen.	kumāra – a child, boy, youth, son; a prince, heir apparent associated in the kingdom with the reigning monarch		
daksina – northeast	dakṣiṇa – south, southern (as being on the right side of a person looking eastward)		daksina – south
gadia – bishop in the chess game; lion	gaja – elephant		
garahana – eclipse (see barahana)	grahana – eclipse		
istiri – sweetheart, marry	stri – a woman, female, wife		istri (MJ) – “id.” stri (OJ) – “id.”

Table I: WORD LIST

MARANAO	SANSKRIT	MALAY/OLD MALAY (OM)	JAVANESE/OLD JAVANESE (OJ)
kaio kapur – dryobalnops Gaertn. F., pinus insularis Engl. kaio – tree	karpūra – camphor (either the plant or resinous exudation or fruit).		
laksasa – dragon	rākṣāsa – a demon in general, an evil or malignant demon	raksasa, reksasa – ogre, or goblin of Hindu mythology (often mentioned in traditional literature)	raksasa, reksasa – ogre, or goblin of Hindu mythology (often mentioned in traditional literature)
mantapoli – The Philippines	mantra) – mantra – saying, prayer,) etc. puri) – puri – city, town.		
manteri – queen in the chess game	Hence, the country where pious people live.		
midadari – a lady of god, beautiful lady in heaven	mantri – a king's counsellor, minister	menteri – headman, chief	
nagri – community, country	vidyadhari – a female of the upper class of supernatural beings, fairy, sylph	bididiari, bidadari – celestial nymph	widadari – “id.”
niaoa – life, spirit, soul	nagari – town-born, townbred, relating or belonging to town or city, town-like, civic		
otara – northeast monsoon	jiva – life, existence	utara – the north	utara – northeast wind
pagotara'an – north	uttara – higher, upper; northern (because the northern part of India is high)		
padoka – title used by person of royal blood in Sulu	paduka – impression of the feet of a god or a holy person, shoe or slipper	paduka – royal title or honorific (the subject is presumed to speak of the king's shoe)	paduka (OJ) – His Majesty
pahala – use, value	phala – benefit, enjoyment, compensation, reward, advantage, fruit	pahala – reward, merit	
paksina – northwest (see daksina)			

paramata – sapphire, gem, jewel	paramārtha – the highest truth, spiritual knowledge, any excellent or important object, the best kind of wealth	paramarta – gentle, gentleness
ragas – sizzle, successive sounds	raga – loveliness, beauty (especially of voice or song); a musical note, harmony, melody	rasa (Of) – “id.”
rasa – coating, nutritious part of food	rasa – the sap or juice of plant, juice of fruit, any liquid or fluid, the best or finest or prime part of anything, essence, marrow, juice of the sugar cane, syrup	
ropia – money, rupee	rupya – well-shaped, beautiful, stamped, or impressed, wrought silver or gold, stamped coin, rupee	rupiya – silver coin, rupee
samsara – trouble, suffer, hard-up	samsāra – the misery of mundane existence	sensara – suffering, misery, torture
saudara – friend, chum, pal, sweetheart	sodara – brother, born of the same womb	sudara, saudara – brother, sister
sasana – trust, to have confidence in, rely on.	śāsana – religious or scientific instruction, charter, royal edict, any written book, scripture, teaching	
satari – game, chessmen	caturaṅga – the four limbs of the army: elephants, chariots, cavalry, infantry; a kind of chess, the game of chess	catur – chess or chesslike game Cf. Sundanese, catur – “id”
sator – chess, chessplay		
satoran – chess game		
satro – trouble	śatru – enemy, rival, a personal enemy	seteru – personal enemy
siksa – calamity, danger, pestilence, trouble, maltreat	śikṣa – instruction, chastisement, punishment	seksa, siksa – punishment, torment, agony, etc.
		Cf. Makassar, sessa – ‘to punish, torment.’

There seems to be two forms of Sanskrit **vidyādhari** in Maranao, e.g., **bidaria** and **midadari**, each having apparently different meanings. However, both words seem to convey meanings only in two levels. Phonologically, **midadari** appear to be much closer to the assumed Sanskrit form. The intermediate Malay form does not deviate substantially from the original Sanskrit, for the nasal bi-labial **m** is merely a variation of the bi-labial plosive **b**, the sound to which Sanskrit **v** develops in the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

An interesting interpretation is that of the Maranao **mantapoli**, said to be the Philippines. It is difficult to ascertain whether the word is composed of the Sanskrit **mantra** and **puri** or **pura**. The text, are, however, not definite in referring to the area now politically known as the Philippines, the setting of the epic. Unlike the geographic descriptions in the **Mahābhārata** and the **Ramāyāṇa** which are definite, the descriptions in the **Darangen** are quite hazy. Hence, it is still difficult to pinpoint Mantapoli as the present Philippines.

The Sanskrit **dakṣina** (south) has the opposite meaning of the Maranao **dakṣina** (northeast) and **paksina** (northwest). At the present stage of the work on the **Darangen**, it is not yet ascertainable how this came about. The term may just as well be a native Maranao word, or that if it were a borrowed word, the borrowers may not have clearly understood it when they assimilated it into their vocabulary. Could it have any relevance to the northeast monsoons or to the northwest monsoons? Phonologically, it is difficult to explain the d-to-p-development (dental to labial development).

Of the other words in the list, it seems that they had followed the general development — both phonological and semantic — from Sanskrit to Maranao through the intermediate languages, viz., Malay and Javanese.

Sanskrit in Maranao Literature

In an early work,¹² I discussed the Indian influences in Philippine literature in two levels — parallel elements and motif indices. The discussions were limited only to brief, or even fortuitous, sometimes hazy, episodes or indices. At that time, I had not discovered narratives showing extensive borrowings from a much greater literary tradition

like the Indian's. In a later work¹³ I refuted some of my earlier conclusions, and put into sharper focus the indigenous nature of some of my earlier conclusions.

In 1968, I discovered a Maranao text titled **Maharadia Lawana**, a condensed version of the **Rāmāyaṇa**.

The Maranao version tells of Maharadia Lawana, the eight-headed son of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir. He was so irascible that his father banished him to Pulu Nagara, an island. Later he returned to his father's kingdom where he regained his father's graces.

In another kingdom, Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, sons of the Sultan and Sultanness of Agama Niog, set out on a 10-year sea journey to court Tuwan Potre Malaila Tihaiia, daughter of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Nabandai. On the way, they were shipwrecked and were by coincidence washed ashore to Pulu Nabandai. Soon Mangandiri won the hand of Tuwan Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaiia). But after sometime, he and Mangawarna became homesick and decided to return to their homeland.

During the journey, Malaila Ganding saw a golden-horned deer grazing and wanted it caught. But the deer turned out to be a ruse so that Maharadia Lawana could abduct Malaila Ganding.

Meanwhile, Mangandiri dreamt that he begot a monkey-child – Laksamana. It turned out the dream was true. Later, Laksamana by accident met Mangandiri and Mangawarna and helped them rescue Malaila Ganding.

In the end, Lawana ruled with justice. Laksamana metamorphosed into a handsome datu. Mangandiri and his wife and his brother returned to Agama Niog where they lived happily ever after.

To show the Indian epic **Rāmāyaṇa**'s influence on Maranao literature, the **Maharadia Lawana** (ML) will be compared with the **Hikayat Seri Rama** (HSR)¹⁴ the **Hikayat Maharaja Ravana** (HMR)¹⁵ and a Malay Fairy Tale (FT) based on **Rāmāyaṇa**.¹⁶

The comparison shall be primarily on three aspects – the major characters and their relationships with each other; the names of the important places and episodes connected with these places; and interpolations and accretions.

The Major Characters

The major characters and their relationship with each other will be discussed first (See Comparative List of Major Characters, Table II). In the Maranao version, the birth of Radia Mangandiri – or for that matter, of his brother Radia Mangawarna – is not described, unlike in the HSR/HMR and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The brothers are merely described as sons of Sultan and Sultanness of Agama Niog. Similarly, in the fairy tale, there is no mention of, nor inference on, the birth of Sri Rama (Mangandiri) nor of the heroine's. The Fairy Tale merely relates that Sri Rama was unhappy about his childless marriage with Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei.

Table II: MAJOR CHARACTERS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH EACH OTHER

Maharadia Lawana	Fairy Tale	HSR/HMR	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
Radia Mangandiri	Sri Rama	Sri Rama / Rama	Rāma
Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai	Sakutum Bunga Satangkei	Sita Dewi / Dewi	Sītā
Laksamana, son of Radia Mangandiri by Potre Langawi	Kra Kechil Imam Terganga	Tabalawi / Jangga- dulawa	Kusa, Lava
Radia Mangawarna	Raja Laksamana	Laksamana / Laksamana	Lakṣmaṇa
Laksamana	Shah Numan	Hanuman / Hanuman	Hanuman
Maharadia Lawana	Maharaja Duwana	Ravana / Ravana	Rāvaṇa

The names of Sītā and of her sons, Kusa and Lava, are entirely different in *Maharadia Lawana*, as well as in the Fairy Tale. Sītā becomes Tuwan Potre Malano (Malaila) Tihai (Ganding) in *Maharadia*

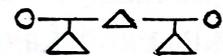
Lawana, and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei – “Single Blossom on a Stalk” – in the Fairy Tale. In HSR, she is Sita Dewi, born of the second Mandu-dari (the double of Rama’s mother) and Daśaratha. It infers that Rāma in **Rāmāyaṇa** married his own half-sister.

In the Fairy Tale, Kusa and Lava are Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga which implies that “the son is born a monkey” (Kra), “a small monkey” (Kechil), “a leader among simians” (imam tergangga). Kra Kechil’s monkey birth is explained by the transformation of Sakutum and Sri Rama into monkeys on their excursion to acquire a son. There is no clue to the entirely different development of his name, from Kusa-Lava (**Rāmāyaṇa**) to Tabalawi (HSR) and Janggapulawa (HMR). It may well be to assign this question to an independent source which may be indigenous Malay. In HSR, Rama’s monkey-son was not directly born of Sita Dewi. As an embryo, he was massaged out of Sītā Dewi’s womb, wrapped and thrown into the sea, where it fell into the mouth of Dewi Anjati, who gave birth to a monkey-son.

But in the **Maharadia Lawana**, the identities of Kusa and Lava are not clear. They could not be the sons of Mangandiri and Malaila Ganding who were childless. Nor could they be represented by Lakṣamana, who, although sired by Mangandiri, is not the son of Malaila Ganding (Sītā in **Rāmāyaṇa**). Yet Lakṣamana’s birth (ML) is similar to the monkey-son’s birth in other versions, except the **Rāmāyaṇa**. Lakṣamana is born of Potre Langawi, Queen of the East, who, mistaking Mangandiri’s testicle for a precious stone, swallowed it. (In ML, Mangandiri dreamt he was gored by a wild carabao and his testicle was thrown to the east where it was swallowed by Potre Langawi.) In **Rāmāyaṇa** – even in its popular version – this episode is entirely absent. Thus it may be safely said that this episode is traceable to indigenous literary traditions.

Lakṣamana’s birth is relatively complicated to trace. In **Rāmāyaṇa**, the monkey son is Hanuman. Hanuman becomes Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale, and Shah Numan is a “grandparent” of Kra Kechil. (Shah Numan appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit **Hanuman**, the monkey general in the army of Sugrīva, who helped Rāma recover Sītā.¹⁷ The title Shah may 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.) Yet Hanuman's adventures are those of Kra Kechil, not of Shah Numan. In HSR, Hanuman¹⁸ is the son of Sita Dewi and Sri Rama and is born through Dewi Anjati. There seems no internal evidence to suggest Hanuman's development to Laksamana in **Maharadia Lawana**. Even in the larger versions of the episode in the **Darangen**, this development is not verifiable.

A most interesting development is the relationship of Laksamana and Sri Rama (FT). Laksamana, who bears the title of Raja, is Sri Rama's elder brother. But this relationship changes slightly in **Rāmāyaṇa**. Here, Rāma (Sri Rama, FT) is the first born of Daśaratha and Lakṣmaṇa (Laksamana, FT) is the third son, born of a different mother. In **Maharadia Lawana**, they are Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, respectively, brothers born of the same parents. Their relationship therefore forms a double-single consanguinal line  in contrast with the Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa kinship that forms a single-double line  It is indeed interesting to note that certain cultural factors may be operating in the kin structure of the dramatis personae of the story.

Basing on the kinship pattern in **Rāmāyaṇa**, it would appear that Mangawarna is Mangandiri's younger brother. But the Mangandiri-Mangawarna relationship seems more of equals than that of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

Laksamana in the Fairy Tale is also a diviner, a man well-versed in sorcery. This attribute seems to be an "allusion to the art of divination still practised by Malay sorcerers and devil dancers, the impiety of whose performance, from Mohammedan [read Muslims] point of view, is excused by immemorial usage."¹⁹ The ceremonies Laksamana performed to divine whether Sri Rāma would have a child are exactly those of a Malay **pawang**²⁰ of present day. Raja Laksamana's title and name are contradictory terms in the Malay language. Laksamana, in Malay, means "admiral", the name with whom Hang Tuah compared himself in 15th century Malacca.²¹ **Maharadia Lawana** (Rāvaṇa in **Rāmāyaṇa** and HSR/HMR) in the Maranao story is both villain and hero — although he is considered less a hero because he abducted Mangandiri's wife. It is interesting to note that the Maranao story

presents him first, describing him as an ambivalent young man – one with vile tongue but with great compassion for the world.

Lawana is Maharadia Duwana, a ruler of less violent tendencies, in the Fairy Tale. Duwana's position seems interesting.²² He ruled an island equivalent to Lanka Kachapuri (See Names of Places, Table III). After he abducted Princess Sakutum, he discovered that he was consanguinally related with the princess who stood to him as a daughter to a father. This kinship is not mentioned in **Rāmāyaṇa** and in HSR. In HSR, Ravana (Duwana, FT) actually had carried away the princess' double.²³

Place-names

Only two important place-names are taken up here – Pulu Agama Niog and Pulu Bandiarmasir in **Maharadia Lawana** (See Table III).

Table III: PLACE-NAMES

Maharadia Lawana	Fairy Tale	HSR/HMR	Rāmāyaṇa
Pulu Agama Niog	Tanjong Bunga	Mandupuri Na- gara / Mandura- pura	Ayodhyā
Pulu Bandiarmasir	Kachapuri	Bukit Serindib (Later, Langkapuri/ Langkapura)	Lanka

There are no traces of Dasaratha's city, Ayodhyā (**Rāmāyaṇa**), in the other versions. What appears to be its counterpart in HSR is Mandupuri Nagara. It has Sanskrit suffixes, e.g. Malay puri (Sanskrit, pura – city) – “ruler's private apartments in a palace” and nagara, negara (Sanskrit, nāgara – city) – “state, country, the top of the hill.” Mandupuri Nagara²⁴ may, therefore, mean “the city of Mandu on top of a hill,” if it were literally interpreted. Tangjong Bunga (FT), Sri Rama's city – which could also be interpreted as his father's city – shows an independent development. Similarly, no traces of

Pulu Agama Niog – which may mean the “city on an island of coconuts” – are found in other versions.

The events in Lanka (**Rāmāyaṇa**), Mandupuri (HSR), Langkapuri (FT) do not similarly occur in Pulu Bandiarmasir (ML) which is reminiscent of the city of Bandjarmasin in southwestern Borneo. (Whether Bandiarmasir has any relation to Bandjarmasin is not certain; it is a problem that needs further investigation.)

W. E. Maxwell²⁵ interprets Kachapuri to be Conjeeveram (the Kañcīpuram of the inscriptions and literature) in the Coromandel (Cholomandala) coast in South India. He interprets it further to be the “Kachchi in Tamil literature”.²⁶ There is no evidence to suggest the development of Kachapuri from Lanka. It seems that Kañcīpuram was yet unknown when the **Rāmāyaṇa** was first told although it may already have been known when later versions – like the Tamil Rāma story of Kambar – came out. Probably, the Fairy Tale may have other sources, aside from HSR, from which this interesting interpolation may have been lifted. Even the phonetic development of the word is curious. Ravana’s island kingdom, Bukit Serindib (HSR) was already known in Arab records on Southeast Asia as **Serindib**.²⁷ It was later called Langkapuri, which follows closely Lanka, the island kingdom in **Rāmāyaṇa**, with the **puri** accretion.

The geographical identity of Pulu Agama Niog and Pulu Bandiarmasir has not yet been ascertained. A check with Maranao historical records and literature yielded negative results. So did a check with known historical and literary texts in Old Malay and Old Javanese, particularly those contemporaneous with the introduction of the Rāma story in Indonesia and Malaya.

Important Episodes

The Maranao version reduced the Rāma story to almost microscopic size. The Fairy Tale is equally microscopic. However, the HSR version is relatively voluminous.

The episodes selected for discussion here are the winning of Sītā; the abduction of Sītā; the search for Sītā; and the return of Sītā. These episodes roughly correspond to the Bāla, Āraṇya, Sundarā and the Yuddha Kanda-s of **Rāmāyaṇa**.

The Winning of Sītā

Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna had learnt of the incomparable beauty and charm of Tuwan Potre Malano (Malaila) Tihaiia (Ganding), daughter of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Nabandai, and set out to court her. On their way, their ship was wrecked by strong waves and without their knowing, they were washed ashore to Pulu Nabandai. While recuperating there, they heard the sound of agongs and the music of kulintangs. They were told that a sipa contest was being held to determine who should marry the princess – Malaila Ganding. The suitor who could kick the sipa, a rattan ball, into the lamin, the princess' penthouse, would wed her. Mangandiri joined in the contest and won.

The Fairy Tale does not tell how Sri Rama (Mangandiri, ML) won his wife Sakutum Bunga Satangkei (Malaila Ganding, ML). It starts with a description of the royal couple, who were childless. The HSR and HMR tell of how Rama won Sita by fulfilling her guardian Kula's condition – shooting an arrow through 40 palm trees. Only the bow is significant in winning Sītā in the Valmīki Rāmāyaṇa. King Jānaka offered Sītā in marriage to whoever could raise and string the bow. Rāma, not only raised and stringed the bow with one arm, but also snapped it asunder.

The Abduction of Sītā

In the Fairy Tale, Maharaja Duwana, by supernatural powers, flew from Kachapuri to Tangjong Bunga where he transformed himself into a golden goat. Sri Rama, fascinated by the unusual animal, with his men tried to capture it. But it escaped into the deep jungle. There, it became Duwana again, who by magic, entered Sri Rama's palace. Soon Sakutum fell under Duwana's spell, and they eloped to Pulu Kachapuri. There Duwana discovered that he could not marry her. He was her kin and stood as a father to a daughter. When Sri Rama returned from the chase, he discovered his wife was gone.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, Sītā's abduction was accomplished by deception. Rāvaṇa (Duwana, FT) had ordered Mānici to assume the form of a golden deer to lure away Rāma and his half brother, Lakṣmaṇa. While the brothers were capturing the deer, Rāvana, disguised as a

Brahmin (as in HSR/HMR), went to Sītā. After he won her confidence, he abducted her.

As in the HSR, the conversation between Sītā and Rāvaṇa in **Rāmāyaṇa** was congenial until the latter revealed his true intention. In the Fairy Tale, it was also friendly.

As in **Rāmāyaṇa**, the setting in HSR is the jungle where the couple, accompanied by Lakṣmana, were in exile. In the Fairy Tale, the setting is a kingdom, specifically, Sri Rāma's palace. This interpolation seems to be an independent development. The variations in the use of these motifs – the silver and golden fawns (HSR/HMR), the golden goat (FT) and the golden deer (**Rāmāyaṇa**) show close affinity and also give a clue to the origin of the Fairy Tale.

The cause of Sītā's abduction in **Rāmāyaṇa** is also shown in HSR, although with variations. Śūrpanakhā (Sura Pandaki, HSR), who suffered humiliation in the hands of Lakṣmana, Sītā's brother-in-law, told Rāvaṇa of the princess' exquisite beauty. Thus the abduction was motivated by revenge (Śūrpanakhā's) and by a desire (Rāvaṇa's) to possess a woman of such unsurpassed charm and beauty. In the Fairy Tale, the revenge motive is absent. Maharaja Duwana (Rāvaṇa in **Rāmāyaṇa**, HSR/HMR) of Sakutum's beauty, falls in love with her.²⁸ In HSR, Rāvaṇa's attraction to Sītā's beauty is not mentioned.

There is no evident cause for Malaila Ganding's abduction in **Maharadia Lawana**. In the Maranao story, Malaila Ganding, spotted a golden-horned deer grazing in a cogon field and wanted it caught. Radia Mangandiri, set out to catch the deer, but before departing he told Mangawarna not to leave Malaila Ganding even if he called for help – which he did. But Malaila Ganding, on hearing her husband's call, threatened to kill herself if Mangawarna would not leave her and help his brother. Mangawarna agreed but he warned Malaila Ganding – “When I go down, you close the windows and whoever knocks, do not open.”

The deer, on seeing Mangawarna, divided itself into two – and both deers ran away. One of them led Mangawarna in circles and soon Mangawarna found himself back to their house. There, he saw the wall of their house destroyed and was told that Malaila Ganding has been forcibly taken away by Maharadia Lawana. He said to himself,

“That which we were 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 in the HMR/HSR and **Maharadia Lawana**: the presence of the golden deer, or golden goat or silver goat or golden gazelles or a deer with golden horns. These animals are coveted by the heroine in each story. These fantastic animals are in each story Ravana who drew away the heroes from the heroine.

No drawing of the protective magic circle is evident in the South-east Asian versions of the episode – as is found in **Rāmāyaṇa** – nor of Sītā’s accusing Lakṣmaṇa of desiring to possess her if Rāma died in the pursuit of the golden deer.

The Search for Sītā

The episode on the search for Sītā takes on very curious turns. In the Maranao version, Radia Mangandiri dreamt that his testicle, gored out by a carabao was thrown east where Potre Langawi, Queen of the East, swallowed it. This made her pregnant and soon she gave birth to a monkey son. When Mangandiri awakened, he found out that his testicle was missing and thought that his dream might have been true. Indeed his dream was true: he really had begotten a monkey-son named Laksamana.

Laksamana meanwhile left home in search of his father. One day he met Mangandiri and Mangawarna who were planning to rescue Malaila Ganding. Addressing Mangandiri as father and Mangawarna as uncle (which surprised the brothers), he offered help, assuring them of weapons and soldiers. To get to Pulu Bandiarmasir, Lawana’s kingdom, Laksamana catapulted from Mangandiri’s palm and stringed across the sea a rattan causeway.

While crossing the causeway, they lost their balance and fell into the sea, where there were crocodiles. Laksamana battled and defeated them. Now the crocodiles promised aid by battling Lawana’s men who would run to the sea for safety.

At Lawana’s palace, Mangandiri, Mangawarna and Laksamana saw that whenever Lawana approached Malaila Ganding, a barrier of fire appeared. Laksamana explained that such a phenomenon occurred

because Malaila Ganding was abducted from Mangandiri. A betel chew was then prepared and exchanged between the royal couple. Then Laksamana brought back Malaila Ganding to Mangandiri.

Soon the battle began and Lawana fought by turns Mangandiri and Mangawarna. Still, he could not be wounded. Just then Laksamana seized Mangandiri's *kampilan*, sharpened it on the whetstone set upon a naga wood (For it was prophesied that any weapon sharpened on it would cause Lawana's downfall) and gave it to Mangawarna. Mangawarna wounded Lawana and this ended the battle.

In the Fairy Tale, Sri Rama asked his son, Kra Kechil, a monkey prince, to help in the search. The prince agreed to help – only if Sri Rama would, for once, eat a meal with him from the same leaf, and let him sleep in his father's arms. Sri Rama agreed. The monkey prince then jumped from his father's shoulder to Pulu Kachapuri. He landed on an island, but through the aid of a jinn, he finally landed on Kachapuri. There, Kra Kechil and his mother Sakutum, recognized each other through the ring that the monkey prince had slipped into a water jar. Then he destroyed Duwana's favorite trees – a coconut tree and a mango tree. Infuriated, Duwana ordered his army to subdue the monkey prince. But nothing could hurt the prince. After a seven-day truce, the battle continued and Kra Kechil was finally caught. He instructed his captors to swath him in cloth soaked in oil, and to set it afire. This done, he jumped about the palace, setting it on fire.

Hanuman's adventures in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, HMR and HSR are those of Kra Kechil (FT) and of Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The meeting between mother and son in the HSR is not quite represented in *Maharadia Lawana* because the son (Laksamana) in *Maharadia Lawana* is actually a step son whom she had not seen. Hence, there merely was Laksamana identifying himself, just as Hanuman did in *Rāmāyaṇa*. (To identify himself, Hanuman used rings – a motif found in varied forms in all versions, except *Maharadia Lawana*.)

In the HSR, there is no evidence that may have led to these developments, although the meeting between mother and son is shown. Kra Kechil's appearance in monkey-form before his mother is perhaps an echo of Hanuman's appearance before Sītā in the Aśoka groove of Rāvaṇa in *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanuman in HSR appeared first as a Brahman

before Sita Dewi, but in HMR, he took first the form of an old woman.

The magic car motif appears in **Rāmāyaṇa**; in HSR and HMR, it is a flying chariot.

The Jaṭayu-Rāvaṇa combat in **Rāmāyaṇa** is not found in the Fairy Tale. The Duwana-Kra Kechil combat in the Fairy Tale is not found in the other versions. But the burning of Kachapuri has a descriptive counterpart in **Rāmāyaṇa**, HSR/HMR, although again interesting accretions and developments are found in the Fairy Tale. In **Rāmāyaṇa** and HMR, Hanuman's tail was swathed in cloth soaked in oil/petroleum (**minyak tanah**) and bestrewn with saltpeter (**sendawan**). In HSR, he was bandaged all over, but he grew and grew until there was no more cloth left with which to wrap him. His wrap was then set to fire and when only the piece that swathed his tail was left, Hanuman leapt over the roof and set the palace on fire.

No bodily expansion of the monkey-son takes place in the Fairy Tale nor in the **Maharadia Lawana**. There seems, therefore, to be no significantly sustained nourishment of the literature, either due to political changes in the area, or to a misreading of the motif by the borrowers who belong to a different socio-cultural mold.

The Return of Sītā

The return of Malaila Ganding in **Maharadia Lawana** is not as dramatic as that found in other versions. In **Maharadia Lawana**, there is no trace of Kra Kechil's carrying Sita Dewi (FT), nor of Sītā's use of a flying car or chariot in her return (**Rāmāyaṇa**). Moreover, there is no fire ordeal to purify Malaila Ganding from her "contact" with **Maharadia Lawana** but there is a fire barrier — which is reminiscent of the fire-purification of **Rāmāyaṇa**.

Details of the return of the princess as found in **Maharadia Lawana** and the **Fairy Tale** are presented here for comparison. These will further show the various interesting aspects of the Maranao story in relation to the Southeast Asian versions, particularly the Indian's.

In **Maharadia Lawana**, Radia Mangandiri returned home to Agama Niog after his victory over Lawana. His escorts — the crocodiles that created waves and the carabaos whose footsteps made the earth

tremble – created fear among his people. But Laksamana told the people that it was Mangandiri who had returned from a long journey. The people then gave him a joyous welcome. Laksamana meanwhile metamorphosed into a handsome datu.

In the Fairy Tale, Sakutum's return to Tangjong Bunga was marked with rejoicing and feasting, but the celebration was shortlived: Duwana came to avenge his defeat at Kachapuri. In the ensuing battle, Laksamana was killed but was immediately brought back to life by a powerful remedy that Kra Kechil had brought from Mount Enggil-ber-Enggil. In defeat, Duwana left. Afterwards, Sri Rāmā and Sakutum acknowledged Kra Kechil as their son and heir.

Whereas Sītā's return in *Rāmāyaṇa* agrees with the return of Sita Dewi in HSR and of Sita in HMR, Sakutum's return in the Fairy Tale takes on a different turn. In *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma brought Sītā home in the magic car of Kubera, the god of wealth. In the Fairy Tale, Kra Kechil brought home his mother, Sakutum. No magic car or flying chariot – which is not mentioned in HSR/HMR – is used.

Perhaps in the Fairy Tale, the fire ordeal to purify the heroine was not necessary. Sakutum, who was taken back by her own son, was consanguinally related to Duwana. Therefore no chastity test and purification ceremonies were necessary. In HSR/HMR and *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is no clue to Duwana's invasion of Tangjong Bunga and to Sri Rama and Sakutum's recognition of Kra Kechil as their son but there is Laksamana's death and resurrection.

Rāvāṇa

Ravana's position in *Maharadia Lawana* shows a very important link with HSR/HMR. The Maranao version opens with a description of Lawana who has eight heads (seven heads, in Par. 61, 65 and 73, Text and Translation). He was said to have caused the death of many a man in the realm because of his vile tongue – he intrigued. To punish him, he was exiled to Pulu Nagara where he one day burned leaves and wood and from a tree cried that the world was chained. Diabarail (Angel Gabriel) reported it to the Lord (Tuhen) who told him to ask Lawana not to sacrifice himself because nothing could cause Lawana's

death, except a tool (knife, sword, etc.) that would be sharpened on a whetstone in the palace of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

The HMR commences with Ravana's genealogy, followed by his banishment for being unruly and for posing a danger to his sire's dynasty. In Langkapura, Ravana practiced austerities, collected firewood during the day and at night slept hanging head down over the fire. After 12 years, Allah sent down Adam to find out what Ravana wanted. Ravana asked for the rule over the four worlds – earth, air, water and the nether world. He was told that his wish would be granted, provided he would anger no one, and would not steal women. If he broke the covenant, Allah's curse would fall on him. (In delivering the message, Adam omitted one condition – stealing of women.) Ravana agreed and thus conquered the four worlds.

Reference to Ravana's having ten heads is made when he passed through the hermitage of a great **rishi** (sage). He became angry and the ten heads appeared.

HSR commences with a description of Ravana as a 10-headed and 20-handed **Raksasa** (demon). [It may be interesting to note that the **raksasa** motif appears only in HSR which tells of two **raksasas** – one golden, the other silver – appearing before Sita Dewi.] He was banished to Bukit Serindib (later called Langkapuri) where for 12 years he performed austerities, hanging himself by the feet. The Almighty God in heaven sent his Prophet Adam to ask Ravana what he wanted. And God, informed of Ravana's desire, granted him his wish – that he rule over the worlds – the earth, the heavens, the seas, and the nether world.

Ravana in the **Rāmāyaṇa** is described as having 10 heads and 20 arms. He performed austerities for conquering the four worlds. There seems to be no clue to the change in the number of Ravana's heads, from ten (**Rāmāyaṇa** and HSR/HMR) to eight, then seven (ML). There is also no mention of Ravana's other hands in **Maharadia Lawana**, not even a reference of it when he fought Mangandiri and Mangawarna.

Interpolations and Accretions

A number, if not all, of the interpolations and accretions in **Maharadia Lawana** cannot be traced back to the Fairy Tale and HSR/

HMR. It may be inferred that these interpolations and accretions are independent developments. Some accretions and interpolations in HSR and the Fairy Tale relative to the **Rāmāyaṇa**, are not found in **Maharadia Lawana**. For instance, in the Fairy Tale, Sri Rama's desire for an offspring is not distinctly shown in either HSR or **Rāmāyaṇa**. Although Sri Rama's feeling is universal, its depiction may have been derived from Indian custom and tradition. In another instance, Raja Laksamana's use of sorcery to predict the birth of Sri Rama's son is purely an indigenous accretion, an allusion to the art of divination practiced by Malay sorcerers since time immemorial.

In all four stories, the asceticism – an offshoot of Rāvaṇa's banishment – seems to be the common denominator, varied only slightly. The use of fire in the ascetic acts is patently Indian in character. The appearance of Allah and Adam and the Angel Gabriel (Diabarail) in **Maharadia Lawana** and the HSR/HMR may be – and could be – interpolations of Brahma and Visnu (gods in the Hindu Pantheon) to give the stories an Islamic character, considering that Islam, then newly introduced into the area, infused its spirit into, if not entirely superseded the earlier overlay of, the literature and other social aspects. But these developments may just well be indigenous. For instance, the importance of fire was known even in the most "primitive" societies in the area.

An interesting aspect is Lawana's lament on the world being chained. What this means to the Maranao is not clear. But ostensibly it was to relieve the world of the sins (desires) which chained it. This concept appears to be of Buddhistic/Hinduistic orientation, considering the influence of Hindu and Buddhist teachings in the area. However, the Malay versions – the HMR and HSR – do not seem to follow this trend. This may be explained by the fact that in Southeast Asia, there developed through the long years of encounter between Brahmanism and Buddhism a blend expressed in the Śiva-Buddha syncreticism. Explanations to these discrepancies might be found on close examination of **Darangen** (which still is being compiled into one volume), particularly Lawana's genealogy.

The excursions of Sri Rama and Sakutum in the Fairy Tale seem to be shades of Sri Rama's decision not to return to his father's

country after he married Sita Dewi. They also explain Sakutum's pregnancy. The FT/HSR connection is carried on to the transformation of the royal couple into monkeys – an episode found in both the Fairy Tale and HSR. The transformation explains the monkey birth of their son, which varies in this detail: In HSR, as well as in HMR, Hanuman was born of Sita Dewi through Dewi Anjati, whereas in the Fairy Tale, Kra Kechil was directly born of Sakutum. In **Maharadia Lawana**, the monkey birth of Laksamana is not in any way explained. Laksamana's queries on his birth connote concern about incest, a taboo in Maranao society, and also reflect the Maranao's inherent interest in genealogy.

In **Rāmāyaṇa**, Sītā gave birth to sons in exile; in HSR, Sita Dewi gave birth to Hanuman, later to another son, Tabalawi, also in exile. These other sons are not mentioned in the Fairy Tale and in **Maharadia Lawana**. What is interesting, however, is that only the Fairy Tale tells of the royal couple's expressed desire for an offspring, but it does not describe the ceremonies held on the son's birth which are found in the other versions. The **lebis**, **hajis**, **imams** and **khatibs** and the Koran reading in the Fairy Tale do not have any reference in **Rāmāyaṇa**, nor in HSR/HMR which were already influenced by Islamic ideas. They may be attributed to influence of the complete Islamization of the Malay (Perak) peoples. There are no clues to the incidents on the breaking of the news on the monkey-son's birth to Sri Rama and of the sending away of Kra Kechil in either the **Rāmāyaṇa** and HSR.

In the Fairy Tale, Kra Kechil was banished to a forest and after he left it, met Shah Numan (Hanuman in **Rāmāyaṇa** and HSR/HMR). This episode is paralleled in **Maharadia Lawana** by Laksamana's search for bigger food sources, Laksamana – leaping from tree to tree – landed between his sire, Mangandiri and uncle, Mangawarna. This chance meeting ended Laksamana's search for his father, and cleared doubts on his origin; that is, he might have been a product of an incestuous relationship between his mother and grandfather. But how he was able to immediately recognize his father and uncle is still not clear. Perhaps its explanation is in the **Darangen**.

Sugriva's and/or Bali's position in **Rāmāyaṇa** appears to be that of Shah Numan (Hanuman, HSR) in the Fairy Tale. But Hanuman in

HSR is the same as **Rāmāyaṇa**'s Hanuman whose birth offers no clue to link it with Shah Numan's birth. (Shah Numan is described as an aged sagacious monarch in the kingdom by the jungles and as a friend of the sun, Mata Hari.)

Shah Numan's declaration – that he already knew of the origin of Kra Kechil who is related to Sri Rama and Sakutum and who is his "grandchild" – is very, very interesting. It will perhaps give clue to the parentage of Sri Rama or Sakutum. It may not be without basis to conjecture that Shah Numan might be the father of either Sri Rama or Sakutum, judging from his filial affection, concern and loving care for Kra Kechil.

Kra Kechil's other adventures cannot be traced back to the other epics. But since his counterpart – Hanuman in **Rāmāyaṇa** and HSR/HMR – occupied a prominent position in the cynosure of the hero, it may be assumed that logically Kra Kechil would be a prince of all monkey tribes since the Fairy Tale is traceable to either or both HSR and **Rāmāyaṇa**. In this context, it is understandable why no traces of the presence of Sugriva and Bali are evident in the **Maharadia Lawana**. It seems however that the roles of Sugriva and/or Bali, as well as those of Hanuman (**Rāmāyaṇa**, HSR/HMR) and Shah Numan (Fairy Tale), were taken by Laksamana. This is evident when Laksamana enlisted an army of carabaos and crocodiles to invade Pulu Bandiarmasir and when he stringed the rattan bridge.

Like Hanuman, Laksamana in the Maranao story occupied an important position, but there is no evidence of his being a prince notwithstanding his being a son of a princess, Potre Langawi. His being a monkey is also very perplexing. No evidence of his kinship with the simians could be established. Perhaps an examination of the **Darangen** would clarify these points. However, Laksamana's monkey form may be traced back to HSR/HMR – even further back to the **Rāmāyaṇa** – with the Fairy Tale as the intermediate story.

There seems no parallel in HSR to Kra Kechil's eating from one leaf with his father, Sri Rama, nor of his sleeping on his father's lap. (But in HMR, father and son ate from the same banana leaf.) There is also no parallel in HSR to Kra Kechil's metamorphosis into a handsome prince.

The metamorphosis motif, however, may be explained as an influence of the folk-literature²⁹ of the Malays.³⁰ But on assumption that this accretion is independent of any folk-literature development cannot also be ignored because the metamorphosis motif is comparatively widespread, not only in local but in all forms of folk-literature.

The **Maharadia Lawana** is so microscopic that taken in this context, it may readily be seen why there are no traces of Kra Kechil's eating and sleeping with his father in the story. However, there is a parallel to Kra Kechil's metamorphosis – Laksamana metamorphosed into a very handsome datu – but this motif may also be an influence of folk literature, as can be gleaned from the many metamorphosis stories in Maranao **kunst** and **volk literatur**.

But here the parallel ends: Whereas in **Maharadia Lawana**, the metamorphosis ends the story (no other events followed it), in the Fairy Tale, Kra Kechil, henceforth known as Mambang Bongso, married the daughter of Raja Shah Kobad. The Raja abdicated his throne in favor of Kra Kechil who reigned as Raja Bandar Tawhil. These subsequent events are not found in the greater Malay text – the HSR/HMR – or in **Rāmāyana**. This is understandable. The HSR and HMR seem to have been resistant to the introduction of a new elements and interpolations despite an evident attempt at their Islamization – because they are closer to the traditional story – of Indonesian origin – than to the developing literature which found its way into the folk tradition.

At present, we cannot yet assess the extent of Sanskrit influence on Philippine languages and literature. Work currently done on it is still focussed on the literature of Philippine Muslims groups, the earliest and most deeply influenced ethnic group of the Philippines. Pre-Islamic literature is believed to contain the most extensive amount of Sanskrit elements. This suspicion is partly confirmed by a cursory study of the **Darangen**. The appearance of a condensed Rāma story in Maranao literature may signify that more Sanskrit elements lay undiscovered in the literature of other Philippine Muslims like the Maguindanaos, Tausogs and Samals. For instance, the Indarapatra epic of the Maguindanao appears to show some characteristics of the Indian long narratives. I cannot make any definite stand on this yet until it is

collated with the Maranao version.³¹ In a year or two, the nature and extent of Sanskritization of Philippine languages and literature, particularly before the advent of Islam and Christianity, could be shown in sharper focus.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

FT	Fairy Tale (The Rama Story in the Maxwell Study)
HMR	Hikayat Maharaja Ravana
HSR	The Malay Hikayat Seri Rama (Shellabear)
JRAS-SB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Strait Branch
JRAS-MB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch

NOTES

1. See Juan R. Francisco, **The Philippines and India: Essays in Ancient Cultural Relations**. Manila: National Book Store, 1971. pp. 38-60.

2. See Juan R. Francisco, **Indian Influences in the Philippines (With Special Reference to Language and Literature)**. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1964.

3. See other essays in reference cited in footnote 1.

4. See Juan R. Francisco, **Philippine Palaeography**. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1973.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. See work cited in footnote 2.

9. The Maranaos are lake (ranao) dwellers, who at some point of their history received Indian cultural elements, but which more or less had ceased in the course of their Islamization. Nevertheless, their language and literature, in spite of the dominance of Islam in their present cultural perspective, still carry many elements which are distinguishably Indian in character.

10. The term **darangen** may be Sanskrit **tarangini**, perhaps both being of the same meaning, narrative or history. It may, however, be related to the Old Javanese **dalang**, the chanter in the **wayang** shadow plays.

11. The apostrophe after a vowel-ultima indicates the velar-stop, e.g. **astana'**.

12. See footnote 2.

13. See footnote 4.

14. **Hikayat Seri Rama** (Text) in JRAS-SB, LXXI, 1917. With introduction to this text which is a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by W. G. Shellabear, in JRAS-SB, LXX, 1917.

15. H. Overbeck in JRAS-MB, XI, p. 111 **passim**.

16. W. E. Maxwell, "Sri Rama, A Fairy Tale told by a Malay Rhapsodist," JRAS-SB, XVII, May 1886.

17. Maxwell, **loc. cit.**, writes a note to the name, that Hanuman was the "monkey king in the Ramayana." This is not exactly so.

18. In Indian mythology, Hanuman is the son of Ravana, the god of the winds, by Anjana, wife of the monkey, Kesari.

19. Maxwell, **loc. cit.**

20. Malay, **pawang**, 1) magician, expert in spells, talismans, drugs, and some peculiar industry; 2) a shaman who invokes ancestral spirits, Hindu gods, Arabian genie, and Allah to reveal the cause of illness or drought or pestilence and accept placatory sacrifices. See R. O. Winstedt, "Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, V. 2, pp. 342-347.

21. 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.

22. See H. Overbeck, "Hikayat Maharaja Ravana," JRAS-MB XI, 2, December 1933, pp. 111 **passim**. This Hikayat is not dated. Although its title carries the name of Ravana, it really tells the story of Rama, his exile, his search for Sita, his combat with Ravana, and the return of Sita, who is purified in the pyre. The entire Hikayat shows the influences (?) of the Rama and the HSR, and it appears that it could be the source of the Fairy Tale.

23. In the HSR, Mandudari had already given birth to a son, Seri Rama. When she was "given" by Dasarata to Ravana, Mandudari retired into the inner apartments. There, from the secretion of her skin she produced by massage a mass which she first changed into a frog, then into a woman exactly like herself. She dressed her double with her own clothes and sent her to the king.

24. 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.

25. **Op. cit.**

26. **Ibid.** His authority is Yule's Glossary, p. 782.

27. Serindib is mentioned (Dimaski, 1325) as one of the islands along the west-east route (from Arabia) in which Malaya 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 Malayu) does not mention the name Bukit Serindib or Serindib. But a 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 Malayu" (The Earliest Recession 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 17 centuries. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-34.

28. Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is described thus – “. . . her waist could be encircled by the fourth fingers and the thumbs 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.*

29. See and cf. Howard McKaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of the Maranaw Verb*. Text Illustration No. 2A “Si Someseng Sa Alongan ago si Amo” (Someseng of Alongan and Monkey), pp. 50 *passim*; Dean S. Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales* (Lancaster, Penn., 1921), No. 19 – “Juan Wearing a Monkey Skin”; No. 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, I (Chicago, 1915).

Also Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days*. (London, 1858), No. 12 – “The Jackal, The Barber, etc.”, pp. 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 the RV. X, 95, is another major paradigm for this 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, “Folk stories of the Tampasuk 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.

30. Malay is used here as a generic term. This would include therefore the whole of the Malaysian Peninsula and Archipelago.

31. The Maranao version of the Radia Indrapatra narrative formed the basis of an M.A. (Asian Studies) thesis by Nagasura T. Madale, July 1973. The thesis is available in the Library of the Asian Center, University of the Philippines