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for the Study of the Chinese Novel
Journey to the West

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Some Classical Malay Materials for the Study of the
Chinese Novel *Journey to the West* *

Hoong Teik Toh

Didedikasikan kepada Victor H. Mair

The objective of this study is to stimulate interest in looking further for a possible "missing link" between the two monkeys, Hanuman (the central figure in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's Sanskrit epic *Rāmāyaṇa*) and Sun Wukong 孫悟空 (the hero in the Chinese novel *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 "Journey to the West", hereafter XYJ), in Classical Malay literature. I refer the reader to Nakano and Mair for more thorough treatments of Sun Wukong's origins and the secondary literature thereon as I shall, in this paper, confine myself to supplying the reader, for the very first time, with a few excerpts of Classical Malay texts accompanied by an English translation in order to show that they contain elements traceable to a common origin shared by XYJ. In so doing, I do not pretend to offer an ultimate solution to the long-debated problem but merely suggest that

* I am grateful that my study of the monkey king, inspired by Professor Victor Mair many years ago, could be resumed and finalized in the year of the monkey. Professor Mair has kindly helped me in improving the writing besides furnishing me with valuable information. I also wish to thank my friend Matthew Mosca for helping me to proofread my draft. Any shortcomings of this study are due to my own incompetence. I was luckily introduced to Malay history and literature two decades ago but I was then too young to be able to discern the wisdom embedded in the seemingly shallow narrative of Classical Malay stories. *Seperti kera mendapat bunga* "like a monkey obtaining a flower" (one who cannot appreciate what he obtains because of his folly and conceit), so says the Malay proverb.

the clues to a solution, as with many other things in life, may be found in unexpected places.

Before we embark on perusing the extracts, a few general remarks on the Malay romances may not be out of place here.

Many of the Malay popular romances (*hikayat* حكاية) were transmitted orally for centuries before they were recorded in Jawi script. It is easy to imagine that not every single story or all the variations of a similar story have come to survive in writing. It follows that the limited number of written stories that have been studied present to us a far from complete picture of the literary products that at one time were current in Nusantara (Malay Archipelago). Though handed down in writing after the Malay people had been converted to the Muhammadan religion (15th century), pre-Islamic (mainly Hindu) elements are still abundant in them. A mixture of Indian and Perso-Arabic elements are usually observable.

Most of the stories were told and retold to Malay audiences by their tale-tellers or, as they were called in Malay, *penglipur lara* "soother of the afflicted, soother of cares"¹. In general, the language is prolix, repetitive and, at times, may appear to modern readers to be monotonous, more so in translation. While trying to be faithful to the original in my translation, I have occasionally compressed two or more sentences by inserting a relative pronoun such as "who", "which", "where" etc. wherever necessary. The words *maka*,

¹ The *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, though not belonging to the category of *hikayat penglipur lara*, has this to say in its *muqaddimah* or prolegomenon (HAH: xxix, xxx): *Maka barang siapa membaca dia atau mendengar dia, serasa beroleh pahala yang berganda-ganda jua. [... ...] Bahawa apabila hati dukacita, bacalah hikayat ini nescaya hilang dukacitanya itu.* "Anyone, [by] reading it or listening to it, will gain multiple merits. [... ...] When you feel blue, read this romance and your blues will surely disappear."

hatta etc. used frequently to begin a sentence in Classical Malay have no English equivalents and have to be left out of the English translation.

There are a considerable number of Classical Malay manuscripts that have never been read and await critical studies. In this study, I have used only published texts which are not limited to HSR(B), HSR(M) (the Brunei and Malaysian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) and HSS (a Malay recension of the *Mahābhārata*) in which Hanuman occurs, but also include other Malay romances that were inspired by the oral narration of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* in the traditional Malay society and might have therefore preserved elements derived from a certain variant narrative of the epics that no longer exists.

Having kept in mind the basic facts mentioned above, let us now turn to read closely some passages culled from the Classical Malay texts. Attention is drawn to the parallels between XYJ and its Malay counterparts under "Remarks".

* * *

§ 1.1

Maka Raja Gangga Indera pun serta melihat segala rakyatnya banyak lari dan setengah banyak mati, maka ia pun terlalu marahnya serta menderam bunyinya terlalu gembiranya lalu ia pergi mendapatkan raja naga Rakna Gempita itu seperti bunyi ombak yang besar di laut. Maka serta sampai lalu berjuanglah keduanya itu di dalam laut itu gemuruh bunyinya. Maka seketika berjuang maka Raja Gangga Indera menjadikan dirinya seekor gagak, maka ia pun terbanglah ke udara. Maka raja naga Rakna Gempita itu pun menjadikan dirinya seekor helang terbang mengikut ke udara. Maka serta sampai, maka keduanya pun berkelahilah bergumul-gumul, maka antara keduanya jatuhlah ke

bumi. Seketika itu juga maka Raja Gangga Indera pun menjadikan dirinya seekor singa lalu berkokok <read: berkokak>. Antara keduanya sama kesaktiannya dan sama luka dan sama letihnya. Seketika bergumul itu gigit menggigit, tokok menokok <read: tokak menokok>, cakar menyakar sama tiada beralahan.

Seketika itu juga maka Raja Gangga Indera itu pun menjadikan dirinya seekor beruk terlalulah besarnya seperti bukit besarnya datang mengusir Rakna Gempita. Maka Rakna Gempita pun menjadikan dirinya seekor gergasi serta membesarkan dirinya seperti sebuah pulau yang besar serta berkelahilah keduanya. Setelah itu maka Gangga Indera pun menjadikan dirinya walimana lalu terbang ke udara. Maka Rakna Gempita pun segeralah menjadikan dirinya seekor garuda lalu terbang ke udara mendapatkan Gangga Indera itu. Maka serta sampai maka keduanya pun berperanglah di udara terlalulah azmat bunyinya, sambar-menyambar, pagut-memagut terlalulah ramai. Maka sorak mambang dewa-dewa itu pun bertegarlah bunyinya serta dengan suara naga dan rakyatnya terlalu gempita bunyinya dan raja kedua itu pun berbagai-bagai lakunya menjadikan dirinya sama-sama mengadukan kesaktiannya.

Maka Gangga Indera pun megeluarkan api daripada mulutnya datang kepada Rakna Gempita. Maka Rakna Gempita pun menyemburkan air daripada mulutnya. Maka api itu pun padamlah dengan seketika itu juga. Maka Gangga Indera pun terlalulah marahnya sebab tewas itu, lalu ia datang menerpa Rakna Gempita itu. Maka Rakna Gempita pun menunjukkan paruhnya lalu dikeratnya leher walimana itu lalu dikacipkannya dengan paruhnya yang seperti gunting itu lalu putuslah lehernya. Maka Raja Gangga Indera pun matilah gugur ke dalam laut itu. Maka Rakna Gempita itu pun

turunlah dari udara kembali seperti rupanya yang sediakala itu. Maka ia pun pergilah mendapat saudaranya Raja Mambang Dewa Keinderaan. (HPP: 98-99)

Seeing that many of his subjects had run away and half of them had perished, Raja Gangga Indera became much infuriated. Uttering a very deep rumbling roar² like the sounds of huge waves of the sea, he marched to confront the dragon king Rakna Gempita³. As soon as he got there, they two fought in the sea, making thunderous sounds. At the moment of fighting, Raja Gangga Indera transformed himself into (*menjadikan dirinya*) a raven (*gagak*) and flew up to the air. And the dragon king Rakna Gempita transformed himself into an eagle (*helang*) and followed [the raven] into the air. As soon as he reached [the raven], they two contended and wrestled, and they both fell onto the ground. At that moment (*seketika itu*) Raja Gangga Indera transformed himself into a lion and snarled. Both of them were equally powerful, equally wounded and equally exhausted. While wrestling, they bit one another, snapped at one another, clawed at one another, and neither was defeated.

At that moment Raja Gangga Indera transformed himself into a very big macaque (*beruk*), as big as a hill, and he came to chase Rakna Gempita. And Rakna Gempita transformed himself into a giant and enlarged himself to the size of a big island, and they two contended. Thereafter Gangga Indera transformed himself into

² Mal. *gembira* "cheerful", in this context, still carries the original meaning "deep, deep-sounding" of Skt. *gambhīra*, Buddhist hybrid Skt. *gabhira* and OJ. *gabhīra*.

³ Cf. Ratna Gembira / Gumbira, Ratna Gempita / Gumpita in HBC: 7, 30.

a harpy (*walimana*)⁴ and soared into the air. Rakna Gempita quickly transformed himself into a *garuda* and soared into the air to catch up with Gangga Indera. As soon as he reached [Gangga Indera], they fought in the air with a great deal of noise. In their din, they snatched one another and pecked at each other. The applause of all the spirits (*mambang dewa-dewa*) was clamorous, and the voices made by the dragons and the subjects were most tumultuous. The two kings thus transformed themselves in various manners to outdo each other in magical strength (*sama-sama mengadukan kesaktian*).

Gangga Indera issued from his mouth a burst of flames towards Rakna Gempita who, at that moment, sprayed water from his mouth on the fire and extinguished it. Gangga Indera, enraged by this defeat, came swooping down upon Rakna Gempita. Rakna Gempita pointed his beak to sever the harpy's neck and, with his scissor-like beak, he clipped the latter's head off the neck. Raja Gangga Indera died and fell into the sea. Rakna Gempita descended from the air, returned to his form as before, and went to receive his brother Raja Mambang Dewa Keinderaan.

§ 1.2

Maka Indraputra pun sampailah ke Tasik Bahrul Asyik. Maka dilihat Indraputra tasik itu rumputnya daripada kumkuma, dan pasirnya daripada emas urai, dan kersiknya daripada kapur barus, dan lumpurnya daripada kesturi, dan batunya daripada permata. Syahdan di tengah tasik itu ada suatu pulau bernama Biram Dewa, karena pulau itu rupanya seperti gajah, sebab itu maka dinamai Pulau Biram Dewa. Maka Indraputra

⁴ Also: *walmana*, a distorted form of *wilmana* which, in turn, was derived from Skt. *vimāna* "aerial vehicle" (through epenthesis).

pun bermain di tengah tasik itu melihat segala yang indah-indah itu. Seketika lagi maka angin pun bertiup, maka tasik itu pun berombak seperti awan rupanya. Maka harusnya pun berdengung seperti bangsi bunyinya, dan ombaknya mengalun seperti naga rupanya, dan buihnya seperti permata bagai-bagai rupanya. Setelah demikian angin itu pun teduhlah. Maka dilihat Indraputra pada Pulau Biram Dewa itu ada seorang perempuan terlalu amat baik rupanya. Maka datang dua orang laki-laki terlalu amat pantas lakunya dan sikapnya datang mengusir perempuan itu. Maka perempuan itu menjadikan dirinya bunga seganda terlalu sekali indah-indah rupanya. Maka orang dua orang itu menjadikan dirinya babi, tubuhnya daripada nilam, tangannya daripada pirus, dan matanya daripada mutia, dan kukunya daripada pualam terlalu indah-indah rupanya. Maka seekor babi itu menjadikan dirinya burung rajawali hendak mengambil bunga seganda itu. Maka babi yang seekor itu menjadikan dirinya burung wakab. Maka berkelahilah burung dua ekor itu sambar-menyambar di udara. Maka perempuan itu menjadikan dirinya suatu permata, maka diperebutkan oleh burung dua ekor itu. Maka Indraputra pun heran melihat seorang perempuan diperebutkan oleh dua orang laki-laki dan bagai-bagai kejadiannya. Maka seketika lagi permata itu disambar oleh rajawali, kemudian maka disambar pulah oleh burung wakab.

Hatta dengan demikian maka didengar Indraputra suara orang berkata, "Wah, manakala gerangan datang ke mari Indraputra anak Maharaja Bikrama Bispa, supaya habis pekerjaanku ini." Maka Indraputra pun terkejut dan heran mendengar namanya disebut orang itu; dalam hatinya, "Siapa gerangan yang menyebut namaku ini?" Setelah demikian maka permata itu pun jatuh ke dalam tasik itu menjadikan dirinya bunga tunjung biru, terlalu indah-indah rupanya dilihat Indraputra. Maka burung wakab dan

rajawali keduanya menjadikan dirinya naga turun ke dalam tasik itu. Maka naga itu terlalu indah-indah rupanya, sayapnya daripada emas, culanya daripada zamrut, dan matanya daripada manikam. Maka naga itu pun bersabung dalam tasik itu, terlalu gemuruh bunyinya tasik itu berombak, jadi keruhlah air tasik itu seperti tapir rupanya dan Pulau Biram Dewa itu pun selaku-laku akan bergeraklah rupanya dilihat oleh Indraputra. Maka naga dua ekor itu berebut hendak mengambil bunga tunjung itu. Hatta maka didengar oleh Indraputra suara orang berkata, "Manakala gerangan datang kemari Indraputra anak Maharaja Bikrama Bispa!" Setelah didengar Indraputra suara orang itu maka dalam hati Indraputra, "Siapa gerangan yang menyebut namaku ini?" Arkian maka angin ribut itu pun teduh dan naga keduanya itu pun gaib. Maka dilihat Indraputra ada perempuan empat orang berdiri pada tepi tasik itu terurai-urai rambutnya dan menampar-nampar dadanya, katanya, "Wah, hilanglah tuan putri sekali ini!" (HIP: 98-99)

Indraputra arrived at the sea (*tasik*) [which was called] the Sea of Infatuation (Bahrul Asyik)⁵. [There] he found that the grass was of curcuma [foliage], the sand of gold dust, the pebbles of camphor, the mud of musk, and the stones of jewels. In the midst of the sea was an island named Biram Dewa. Because its form resembled that of an elephant, it was called the Biram Dewa Island. Indraputra disported himself in the sea and watched all the beautiful scenery. Before long, the wind

⁵ Mal. *tasik* means "lake", which is also what R. O. Winstedt gives in his "Hikayat Indraputra", *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 85 (1922), p. 48. But here it should be read as "sea" (Cf. OJ. *tasik* "sea" and Bu. *tasik* ٨٥ "sea") since the *bahr* of Bahrul Asyik (Mal. *asyik* "infatuated with love" < Ar. *âsi* اسي "melancholic") is without doubt Ar. *bahr* بحر "sea".

began to blow up cloudlike waves in the sea. The water flow⁶ produced a droning sound like that of a flute, the waves rolled like [wriggling] dragons, and the bubbles were like jewels of various types. No sooner had the wind abated than Indraputra caught sight of a lady of most lovely visage on the Biram Dewa Island. Then came two men, very swift in action and manner, pursuing the lady who soon transformed herself into (*menjadikan dirinya*) a most beautiful *seganda* flower⁷. The two men transformed themselves into hogs—their bodies were of hyacinth, forefeet⁸ of turquoise, eyes of pearls, and nails of marble, which looked very beautiful. One of the hogs then transformed himself into a falcon (*rajawali*) to seize the *seganda* flower. The other hog transformed himself into a hawk (*wakab*), and the two birds contended and snatched one another in the air. The lady then transformed herself into a jewel and the two birds scrambled for it. Indraputra was surprised to see two men scrambling to seize a lady and their various transformations (*bagai-bagai kejadiannya*). In a short while, the jewel was snatched by the falcon and then by the hawk.

In the meantime Indraputra heard a voice saying: "O! When will Indraputra, the son of Maharaja Bikrama Bispa, come here so that this matter of mine will come to an end?" Indraputra was astonished to hear his name being called, and being

⁶ *harus* = *arus* "current".

⁷ The lady was Princess Seganda Caya Iram-iram (Mal. *seganda* < Skt. *sagandha* "fragrant").

⁸ The text reads "hands" (*tangan*), cf. HB: 19: *Maka taikala dilihat segala kucing akan tikus itu, maka dian itu pun dibuangkan daripada tangannya lalu ditangkapnya akan tikus itu.*

curious, he mused⁹: "Who could be the one calling my name?" Then Indraputra saw the jewel drop into the sea and transform itself into a most beautiful blue lily while the hawk and the falcon transformed themselves into dragons and descended to the sea. The dragons were very beautiful,—their wings were of gold, their horns of emerald, their eyes of gem. The dragons fought¹⁰ in the sea and stirred up thundering waves. The sea water became very turbid like the color of the tapir, and the Biram Dewa Island seemed to Indraputra to be shifting away. Thus the two dragons struggled to seize the lily. [Again,] Indraputra heard a voice saying: "When will Indraputra, the son of Maharaja Bikrama Bispa, come here?" Hearing this voice, Indraputra mused: "Who could be the one calling my name?" Later the storm subsided and the two dragons vanished. Indraputra saw four ladies standing by the sea, their hair dishevelled, and they kept beating their breasts and they said: "Alas! We have lost the princess this time!"

§ 1.3

Demi Raja Bersiung mendengar kata yang demikian maka marahlah ia, maka dijatuhkan mata pedangnya ke atas Kampar itu, putus segala ikatan itu berlucutan tiada ia merasai luka. Maka tertawa gelak Kampar itu [... ...]. Maka sekalian mereka itu pun datanglah menikam dan menetak bertimpa-timpa senjata kena pada tubuhnya itu suatu pun tiada memberi luka tubuhnya sebagai jua ia tertawa gelak-gelak [...]. Maka segera ia menggerakkan tubuhnya, maka jadilah seekor babi tunggal terlalu besar panjangnya.

⁹ *dalam hatinya* "in his liver," meaning "[he thought] in his mind".

¹⁰ *sabung* "clash, collide; criss-cross (flashes of lightning)", a word often used to refer to cock-fighting.

Maka ia bertaring dua siungnya, segera ia berlari-lari datang menyondol-nyondol di celah-celah kangkang Raja Bersiung. Maka Raja Bersiung pun terguling-guling, tombaknya pun patah, terpelanting matanya, tiada juga luka tubuhnya babi tunggal itu. [... ...] makin ramai orang datang beratus-ratus menetak dan menikam babi itu. Hatta maka ia menggerakkan tubuhnya lalu menjadi seekor ular tedung selar besarnya seperti perdu nyiur dengan lidahnya panjang terjulur-julur, matanya seperti keromong [... ...].
(HMM: 70-72)

On hearing such words, Raja Bersiung wrathfully slashed down his blade at Kampar only to cut all the ties asunder and find Kampar entirely uninjured but laughing [... ...]¹¹. All of them came to stab and hack [Kampar] but none of their weapons that repeatedly hit his body did injure him, and he was found still mirthfully laughing there. [... ...] Immediately he shook his body and thus turned into (*menggerakkan tubuhnya maka jadilah*) a boar of a very large size. The boar came running and, with his two protruding fangs, he thrust in between Raja Bersiung's legs. Raja Bersiung toppled, his spear broken and the spearhead smashed, and the boar was not injured at all. [... ...] More and more people, about hundreds of them, came to hack and stab the boar. The boar then shook his body and turned into (*menggerakkan tubuhnya lalu menjadi*) a king cobra as big as the base of the

¹¹ Kampar, a native of Seri Gunung Ledang "Splendrous Mt. Ophir" (in the state of Johor, the highest mountain in southern Malay Peninsula), was "well-versed in all sciences of transformations and, in addition, his body was iron-proof" (*mengetahui daripada segala ilmu jadi-jadian dan lagi tiada dimakan oleh besi tubuhnya*—HMM: 70).

coconut tree. He flicked his tongue out and his eyes were like [two suspended] kettle gongs (*keromong*) [... ...].

§ 1.4

[... ...] *ia pun naik ke atas Gunung Serindip itu, maka ia pun sampai pada batu hitam tempat Nabi Adam turun dari dalam syurga, demi datang ke sana; Hanuman pun meniarap menyembah pada batu itu. Setelah sudah ia menyembah, maka digerak akannya dirinya jadi sejangkal juga tingginya. Maka ia pun naik ke atas batu seraya bertumpu pada batu itu, lalu ia melompat ke Negeri Dagar Katakin. Dengan seketika itu juga, ia sampai ke negeri itu. (HSR[B]: 98)*

[... ...] so he (Hanuman) ascended Mt. Serindip and reached the Black Stone, the place where Prophet Adam descended from heaven. Upon reaching there, Hanuman prostrated himself and worshipped the stone. After worshipping, he shook himself (*digerak akannya dirinya*) and became one span tall. He mounted atop the stone, concentrated his weight at the stone, and he leaped towards the Country of Dagar Katakin. Instantly, he arrived in the country¹².

¹² Cf. HBC: 254 where we read that the monkey brothers Singa Merbana and Mercu Singa reached the immense plain of Tobil (< Ar. *tahwil* تحويل "transformation") with one springy leap only while the monkey ambassador Kera Nun had to take a series of thirty leaps to come to their presence. See also HSK: 40: *Maka Singa Merbana pun berdakap tubuhnya berdiri kaki tunggal merapatkan lalu ia melompat lalu sampai kepada Syah Korbat..Maka segala raja-raja dan hulublang yang mengadap baginda itu pun hairanlah melihat gagah perkasa Singa Merbana itu. "Singa Merbana hugged himself, stood on one leg, squeezed himself tighter, and then he leaped and came to Syah Korbat. All the kings and generals in His Majesty's presence were amazed at Singa Merbana's prowess."*

Remarks

Cf. XYJ, Chap. 6 (the contest between Sun Wukong and Erlang Shen 二郎神) and Chap. 61 (the contest between Sun Wukong and Niu Mowang 牛魔王). Note especially the formulaic *yaoshen yi bian* 搖身一變 "shook the body and transformed" in the contests of transformation (*du bianhua* 賭變化) in XYJ, which is also found in the above Malay texts (§1.3 and §1.4. See also §3.2 and note 26 *infra*).

§ 2.1

Sekali persetua Betara Berahma bertitah, demikian katanya dengan Betara Bisnu. "Siapa tua daripada antara beta kedua ini dan siapa dahulu dijadikan oleh dewata mulia raya?" Setelah Betara Bisnu menengar kata Betara Berahma, maka Betara Bisnu pun tersenyum seraya katanya, "Jikalau tuan hamba tua daripada hamba, baiklah tuan hamba bersembunyi, supaya hamba cari tuan hamba itu. Jikalau tiada bertemu oleh hamba, sesungguhnya tuan hamba tua daripada hamba dan hamba didahulukan tuan hamba dijadikan oleh dewata mulia raya daripada hamba."

Setelah demikian, maka Betara Berahma pun ghaiblah tiada kelihatan daripada mata Betara Bisnu itu. Maka Betara Bisnu pun tersenyum seraya melihat ke kiri dan ke kanan, ke atas dan ke bawah: maka diketahuinyalah Betara Berahma itu terbang ke langit yang pertama. Syahadan maka Betara Bisnu pun segeralah menjadikan dirinya burung merak emas lalu terbanglah seperti kilat mengikut cahayanya Betara Berahma itu. Setelah Betara Berahma sampai ke langit yang pertama, maka dilihatnya seekor burung merak emas mengikut dia. Maka ia pun ghaib pula lalu kepada langit yang kedua; maka merak emas itu pun hampir juga kepada Betara Berahma itu. Maka Betara

Berahma pun ghaib pula lalu kepada langit yang keempat, kepada langit yang kelima dan kepada langit yang keenam, diikutnya juga.

Syahadan setelah merak emas melihat akan Betara Berahma itu hendak naik kepada langit yang ketujuh, maka ia pun menjadikan dirinya seekor naga seperti bukit besarnya; maka naga itu pun terdahulu berhenti pada langit yang ketujuh. Maka Betara Berahma pun hampirlah kepada langit yang ketujuh. Arakian, maka Betara Berahma pun bertemu dengan seekor naga terlalu amat besarnya seperti gunung dan mulutnya ternganga-nganga seperti hendak menelan rupanya. Maka Betara Berahma pun berfikir di dalam hatinya, "Ada pun naga ini bukan ia naga sungguh, semuanya itu permainan Bisnu jua. Jika demikian lakunya itu, tiadalah aku dapat naik ke langit yang ketujuh itu. Jika demikian, baiklah aku kembali, supaya ia kusuruh pula bersembunyi, akulah mencari dia. Pada rasa hatiku di mana akan dapat Betara Bisnu berlindungi dirinya daripada mataku ini?"

Setelah sudah Betara Berahma berfikir demikian itu, maka Betara Berahma pun kembalilah pada tempatnya. Maka berkata-kata ia hendak [bertemu] dengan Betara Bisnu. Maka sekonyong-konyong dilihat baginda Betara Bisnu pun sudah ada hadir menanti pada tempat itu. Maka Betara Berahma pun hairan akan dirinya melihat saktinya Betara Bisnu itu. (HSS: 52-54)

On one occasion (*sekali persetua*)¹³, Betara Berahma spoke thus to Betara Bisnu¹⁴: "Who between us is older and was created first by the Dewata Mulia Raya

¹³ Mal. *persetua* (also: *peristiwa*) < Skt. *prastāva*.

¹⁴ Betara < Skt. *Bhaṭṭāra* "Lord"; Berahma < Skt. *Brahma*; Bisnu < Skt. *Viṣṇu*.

(Supreme and Universal Divinity)?" Having heard the words of Betara Berahma, Betara Bisnu smiled and said: "If you are older, you should hide yourself and let me find you. If I cannot find you, then it is true that you are older than I am and that you were created earlier than I was by the Dewata Mulia Raya."

Thereupon Betara Berahma disappeared from the sight of Betara Bisnu. Betara Bisnu smiled and, looking left and right, upward and downward, he knew that Betara Berahma had flown into the First Heaven. He immediately transformed himself into a golden peacock (*burung merak emas*) and, at the speed of lightning, he flew after the light of Betara Brahma. After reaching the First Heaven, Betara Berahma saw a golden peacock following him. So he vanished again and came to the Second Heaven. The golden peacock was still approaching Betara Berahma. Betara Berahma vanished again and came to the Fourth Heaven, the Fifth, and the Sixth. Still, he was followed [by the golden peacock].

Having seen that Betara Berahma wanted to ascend into the Seventh Heaven, the golden peacock turned himself into a hill-sized (*seperti bukit besarnya*) dragon. In advance, the dragon stopped in the Seventh Heaven [awaiting Betara Berahma]. As Betara Berahma approached the Seventh Heaven, he saw a very big dragon, as big as a mountain (*terlalu amat besarnya seperti gunung*), gaping wide his mouth as if waiting to swallow him. Betara Berahma thought in his mind: "This is not a real dragon. All these are Bisnu's tricks. If so, I will not be able to ascend into the Seventh Heaven. If this be the case, I should return and ask him to hide himself and let me find him. In my judgment, in what place can Betara Bisnu hide himself from my eyesight?"

So thinking, Betara Berahma returned to his place. While he yet spoke that he wanted to meet Betara Bisnu, all of a sudden, he saw that Betara Bisnu was already

present there waiting for him. Betara Berahma was astounded witnessing the power of Betara Bisnu.

§ 2.2

[... ...] Maka Semar pun mengejamkan matanya; seketika itu juga ghaiblah ia daripada mata sekalian orang. Maka sampailah ia ke pintu syurga-loka lalu mengeluarkan gadanya dengan marahnya lalu dipalu pintu syurga-loka dengan gadanya, habislah binasa luluh lantak. Maka segala bidadari di dalam syurga-loka itu habis berlarian dan dewa penunggu pintu syurga-loka itu pun terkejut melihat rupa Semar itu lalu ketakutan mendapatkan Betara Guru.

Ada pun pada tatkala itu Betara Guru lagi dihadapi oleh Betara Indera dan Betara Berahma dan Betara Bayu dan Langlang Buana dan Begawan Narada sekaliannya. Maka Sang Purbaya dan Wirabaya dengan segala bidadari itu pun datang berlari-lari mendapatkan Betara Guru itu. Demi dilihat oleh Betara Guru akan segala bidadari dan penunggu pintu syurga-loka itu datang berlari-lari dengan takutnya dan dagunya gementar, maka Betara Guru pun terkejut seraya katanya, "Apa mulanya, maka engkau datang selaku ini?" Maka dewa Purbaya dan Wirabaya itu berdatang sembah, "Ya tuanku, Sang Senohon, syurga-loka itu sudah habis dibinasakan oleh seorang hantu. Itulah, tuanku maka patik ini lari sekalian ketakutan, tuanku." Setelah Betara Guru mendengar kata dewa itu, maka Betara Guru pun menitahkan segala dewa-dewa itu pergi menangkap hantu itu. Maka Betara Kala dan Betara Indera dan Betara Berahma dan Betara Bayu dan Langlang Buana dan Begawan Narada itu pun berjalan mendapatkan Semar itu.

Bermula seketika itu Semar pun datang dengan gadanya yang bernama Pati-jiwa itu. Maka kelihatanlah Semar lagi berjalan membinasakan segala tanam-tanaman dan bunga-bunga dengan gadanya. Maka seorang pun tiada mengenal dia. Maka Begawan Narada pun terlalu marah melihat Semar membinasakan segala tanam-tanaman itu. Maka ia pun bertempik seraya katanya, "Hai, hantu yang tiada berketahuan kaum, mengapakah engkau membinasakan syurga-loka tempat segala dewa-dewa ini? Tiadakah engkau takut akan murkanya Betara Guru? Akan sekarang ini ke mana lagi engkau hendak melepaskan dirimu daripada tanganku ini?"

Demi Semar menengar kata Begawan Narada itu dan melihat segala dewa-dewa itu hendak melawan dia itu, maka makinlah bertambah-tambah marahnya. Maka lalu diusirnya Begawan Narada lalu dipalunya kena kepalanya lalu jatuh, tiada bergerak lagi. Setelah Langlang Buana melihat hal itu, maka Langlang Buana itu pun bertempik hendak menangkap Semar itu. Maka Semar pun memalu dengan gadanya itu. Maka hendak ditangkap oleh Langlang Buana gada itu, maka dilihatnya akan Semar itu Sang Yang Tunggal. Maka ia pun gementar segala tubuhnya lalu jatuh pengan, tiada khabarkan dirinya. Setelah dilihat oleh Betara Bayu halnya Langlang Buana dan Begawan Narada itu, maka Betara Bayu tampil hendak menerbangkan Semar. Maka Semar itu pun marah seraya mengangkat gadanya. Setelah Betara Bayu melihat gada itu cahayanya memancar-mancar, maka dikenalnya Sang Yang Tunggal itu, maka gementar segala anggotanya lalu rebah pengan, tiada khabarkan dirinya lagi. Maka Betara Berahma pun terlalu marah melihat hal segala dewa itu lalu mengeluarkan kesaktiannya. Maka keluarlah api terlalu amat besar bernyala-nyala datang mengusir Semar; itu pun tiada dibakarnya. Maka api itu pun membesarkan dirinya seperti gunung datang hendak

menyunukan si Semar itu. Maka Semar melihat api itu datang; maka Semar pun mengangkat gadanya itu; maka tiadalah dapat api itu hampir kepada hantu itu, dan api itu pun habis mati beterbangan ke udara. Setelah Betara Berahma melihat hal demikian, maka Betara Berahma pun terlalu sangat marah seperti ular berbelit-belit dan mukanya seperti api bernyala-nyala, Maka ia pun mendekati hendak menangkap Semar itu. Maka dilihatnya gada Sang Yang Tunggal itu ada pada tangannya Semar. Maka Betara Berahma pun gelap matanya lalu rebah pengan, tiada khabarkan dirinya itu.

Setelah Betara Indera melihat hal segala dewa itu, maka ia pun tampil memegang senjata itu seraya katanya, "Hai hantu! Ke mana engkau melarikan nyawamu daripada tanganku ini?" Maka Semar pun terlalu sangat marahnya mendengar kata Betara Indera itu lalu diangkat gadanya lalu dipalunya; kena gadanya, maka gada Betara Indera itu pun patahlah. Maka patahan gada itu menjadi naga terlalu banyak mengusir Semar. Maka Semar pun segera mengangkat gadanya lalu dipalukannya kepada sekalian naga itu. Maka naga itu habis mati. Setelah Betara Indera melihat hal gadanya tiada dapat melawan gada si Semar itu, maka ia pun mengeluarkan senjatanya panah yang bernama panangsare-jiwa itu lalu dilepaskannya. Maka anak panah itu pun menjadikan dirinya pedang beribu-ribu hendak memarang pada Semar. Maka Semar pun mengangkat gadanya lalu dipalukannya kepada pedang itu. Maka pedang itu pun habis patah-patah berpelantingan ke udara. Maka patahan pedang itu menjadi tali hendak mengikat Semar itu. Maka kata Semar, "Hai tali kumendu! Pergilah engkau ikat Betara Indera." Maka tali kumendu itu pun berbalik kepada Betara Indera. Maka Betara Indera pun hairan akan dirinya itu. Maka tali kumendu itu pun datang lalu mengikat Betara Indera itu, dililitnya dari kakinya sampai di kepalanya. Maka Betara Indera pun jatuh. Maka

kata Betara Indera, "Hai tali kumendu! Mengapakah engkau datang mengikat aku, kerana engkau itu aku peroleh di dalam pertapaanku; seratus tahun lamanya aku bertapa itu kerana memohonkan engkau ini. Sang Senohon, Betara Sang Yang Tunggal, yang memberikan engkau akan daku." Maka sembah tali kumendu itu, "Ya tuanku! Ada pun yang menyuruhkan hamba mengikat tuan hamba, Betara Sang Yang Tunggal juga. Tiadakah tuan hamba mengenal akan Ingkang Senohon itu?" Maka Betara Indera pun berdebar hatinya, sebab tiada mengenal baginda itu. Maka ia pun rebah pengsan, tiada khabarkan dirinya.

Ada pun akan Betara Kala, setelah dilihatnya akan hal segala dewa dan hal Betara Indera telah tertangkap itu, maka ia pun lalu lari menyusur kayangan Betara Guru itu. Setelah dilihat Betara Kala telah lari itu, maka Semar pun datang mengusir Betara Kala itu serta memegang gadanya itu seraya bertempik, katanya, "Hai kaki Kala! Ke manakah engkau hendak melarikan nyawamu itu? Jikalau engkau ke kayangan Betara Guru pun, aku perikut juga." Maka suara Betara Kala pun kedengaranlah kepada Betara Guru. Maka Betara Guru pun keluarlah, dilihat rupanya Betara Kala datang serta dengan lelahnya dan gementar segala tubuhnya. Maka Betara Kala pun memberi tahu akan hal segala dewa-dewa itu dan hal Betara Indera tertangkap. Maka Betara Guru pun terlalu marah. Seketika itu maka Semar pun datang mengusir Betara Kala itu, rupanya seperti babi tunggal. Maka Betara Guru pun terlalu sangat marahnya seraya katanya, "Hai hantu! Disetu, moga-moga engkau jadi andaga." Tiga kali ia menyumpah itu, tiada juga Semar menjadi andaga. Maka Semar pun berkata, "Hai Betara Guru! Jangan tiada engkau sendiri menjadi andaga." Maka dengan seketika itu juga Betara Guru pun

menjadi andaga berlata-lata kepada segenap pagar. Maka Semar pun lalu naik duduk pada tempatnya Betara Guru. (HSS: 64-68)

[... ...] Semar closed his eyes and, at that moment, he disappeared from the sight of everybody. Arriving at Heaven's gate, he took out his club angrily and smashed the gate into pieces. All the fairies fled, and the gatekeepers were frightened by Semar's [awe-inspiring] look. They ran in terror to get Betara Guru¹⁵.

Betara Guru was granting audience to Betara Indera, Betara Berahma, Betara Bayu, Langlang Buana and Begawan Narada when Sang Purbaya and Wirabaya and the fairies came rushing. Seeing that all the fairies and gatekeepers ran in fright and with trembling chins, Betara Guru was shocked and he asked: "What causes you to come in such a manner?" The gods Purbaya and Wirabaya reported: "My lord, Your Highness (Sang Senohon)! Heaven is being destroyed by a ghost! That is why we rushed in fright, my lord." Having heard the report, Betara Guru bid all the gods go and capture the ghost. Betara Kala, Betara Indera, Betara Berahma, Betara Bayu, Langlang Buana and Begawan Narada set out to confront Semar.

Semar was coming with his club named Pati-jiwa. Along the way, he destroyed the plants and flowers with his club. Nobody recognized him. Begawan Narada, angered at seeing the plants destroyed by Semar, shouted: "Hey! Ghost of unknown descent! Why are you destroying the heavenly abode of gods? Are you not afraid of Betara Guru's indignation? Now, whither do you want to run away from my hand?"

¹⁵ Betara Guru "Lord Teacher" is Śiva. Semar is Skt. *smara* "remembrance, love". Semar is also the favorite clown of the Javanese puppet show (*wayang kulit*). Though of humble appearance, he is the one who upholds the right and is the most powerful.

When Semar heard the words of Begawan Narada and saw that all the gods wanted to fight him, he became increasingly infuriated. He chased Begawan Narada and hit him on the head. [Begawan Narada] collapsed and became motionless. Upon seeing this, Langlang Buana shouted [as he came] to capture Semar. Semar struck him with his club. When Langlang Buana wanted to seize the club, he [suddenly] saw that that Semar was [indeed] Sang Yang Tunggal ("The Unique Lord")! His entire body trembled and then he fainted. Having seen what had happened to Betara Narada and Langlang Buana, Betara Bayu¹⁶ came to the fore intending to blow Semar away. Semar angrily raised his club. When Betara Bayu saw the radiance of the club, he came to recognize Sang Yang Tunggal and he fell senseless. Enraged at this all, Betara Berahma exhibited his magical power. A very big fire was issued to chase Semar who, however, was not burnt at all. The fire then enlarged to the size of a mountain and came to engulf Semar. Seeing that the fire was coming, Semar raised his club. The fire could not approach the ghost and, being dispersed into the air, it died out. Betara Berahma was maddened like a twisted snake and his face flared red. He approached to seize Semar but, [as soon as] he saw that the club of Sang Yang Tunggal was in Semar's hand, he blacked out and collapsed.

Having seen what had happened to those gods, Betara Indera came forward with his weapon, saying: "Ghost! Whither do you want to run away from my hand?" Hearing these words of Betara Indera, Semar angrily raised the club to hit him. It struck Betara Indera's club. Betara Indera's club broke and the broken parts changed into many dragons which came to chase Semar. Semar immediately raised

¹⁶ Mal. *bayu* < Skt. *vāyu* "wind".

his club and struck the dragons. The dragons were all killed. Seeing that his club was no match of Semar's, Betara Indera took out his arrow named Panangsare-jiwa and released it. The arrow changed into thousands of swords coming to slash Semar. Semar raised his club and struck the swords which were all smashed and bounced into the air where the broken swords turned into a lasso and came to catch Semar. Semar exclaimed: "Lasso! You go and ensnare Betara Indera!" To Betara Indera's surprise, the lasso turned back to him, tied around him from his legs up to his head. Betara Indera fell and exclaimed: "Hey Lasso! Why do you ensnare me? I acquired you in meditation. I meditated for a hundred years in order to obtain you. It was His Highness (Sang Senohon), Betara Sang Yang Tunggal, who conferred you upon me." The lasso answered: "My lord! The one who commanded me to ensnare you is none other than Betara Sang Yang Tunggal. Do you not recognize His Highness (Ingkang Senohon)?" Betara Indera's heart throbbed because he failed to recognize Him and then he fainted away.

Having seen what had happened to those gods and that Betara Indera was captured, Betara Kala fled in the direction of Betara Guru's heavenly court. Seeing that Betara Kala was running away, Semar came to chase him with his club while shouting: "Hey, old man (OJ. *kaki*) Kala¹⁷! Whither do you want to escape for your life? I will hunt you even up to Betara Guru's heavenly court!" Betara Kala's voice was heard by Betara Guru who came out and saw that Betara Kala was coming exhaustedly and that his entire body was trembling. [When] everything had been reported by Betara Kala, Betara Guru became furious. At that moment, Semar came like a boar to chase Betara Kala. Betara Guru exclaimed furiously: "Hey ghost! May

¹⁷ Mal. *kala* < Skt. *kāla* "time".

you turn into an ant!" Three times he cursed and yet Semar did not turn into an ant. Semar exclaimed: "Hey Betara Guru! What if you yourself turn into an ant!" Thereupon Betara Guru turned into an ant crawling around on the hedge. Semar then ascended the seat of Betara Guru.

§ 2.3

[... ...] Maka kata segala raksasa, "Hai kera kecil baik-baik sapu olehmu beri cuci segala daun-daun kayu yang luruh dan segala ranting yang patah itu supaya engkau kuberi sebiji mempelam ini." Mendengar kata raksasa demikian maka Hanuman pun sediakala pagi-pagi hari menyapu segala daun kayu luruh itu dan rantingnya yang patah. Maka hati segala raksasa pun terlalu sukacita sekali melihat kera itu bersuci tanaman itu. Maka pada suatu hari yang lain segala raksasa itu mabuk berkeliling di bawah pohon mempelam itu. Maka apabila dilihat oleh Hanuman segala raksasa itu tiada khabarkan dirinya, ia pun naik ke atas pohon mempelam itu barang ada buahnya semuanya dimakannya, putik bunga dan daunnya habis dimakannya. Setelah sudah habis daunnya barang ada batangnya pun dimakannya. Sudah itu pohon mempelam itu dibongkarnya akarnya ke atas dan pucuknya ke bawah.

Maka dari pagi-pagi hari segala raksasa pun bangun, maka dilihatnya pohon mempelam itu sudah terbalik akarnya ke atas pucuknya ke bawah. Maka kata seorang raksasa, "Mana kera kecil yang kita suruhkan menyapu sediakala itu." Maka dilihatnya Hanuman itu duduk di atas akar mempelam itu, maka kera itu pun dipanggilnya oleh segala raksasa itu maka Hanuman pun turun segera. Maka ditanya oleh raksasa itu, "Hai kera kecil, siapakah yang kau lihat membinasakan pohon mempelam ini." Maka Hanuman pun tiada menyahut; berpuluh-puluh kali ditanyanya sekali pun tiada

disahutinya. Maka raksasa itu pun menangkap Hanuman lalu diikatnya dibawanya kepada Maharaja Rawana. [... ...] maka disuruh bakar dengan api, apabila menyalalah api itu pada segala tubuhnya Hanuman itu sehelai romanya pun tiada hangus; tinggal lagi sedikit kain itu pada ekornya menyala maka kera itu pun melompat ke atas bumbungan rumah Maharaja Rawana maka istana Maharaja Rawana pun hanguslah.
(HSR[M]: 121-123)

[... ...] So said the *rākṣasas*[, the watchers of the Mango Grove]: "Hi little monkey! Sweep properly and clean up any fallen leaves and broken twigs so that you will be rewarded this one mango fruit (*mempelam*)¹⁸." Having heard the *rākṣasas*

¹⁸ Ma. *mempelam* < Tam. *māmpalam*. In RK: 12.56, the monkeys were armed with clubs made of mango trees (OJ. *poh*). The mango tree is sacred in Hindu culture. The mango (P. *amba*, Skt. *āmra*) is also found frequently in personal names and metaphors in Jain and Buddhist literature. Here, I shall mention a few Buddhist examples. The Buddha reminds us in the *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經) that there are Buddhist scholars who are outwardly moral but inwardly corrupt, outwardly wrongful but inwardly righteous, and those who are malicious or virtuous both inwardly and outwardly, just like it is hard to tell whether a mango fruit is ripe or unripe (菴羅果生熟難知) for it may be an unripe mango that appears ripe (外熟內生), a ripe one that appears not (內熟外生), an unripe one that appears unripe (內外俱生), or a ripe one that appears ripe (內外俱熟) (T202.4: 380b-c). But, once you have attained Buddhahood, you will see the inherent Buddha nature (*tathāgata-garbha*, matrix of Buddhahood) in all people clearly, as it is put in the *Dafangdeng rulaizang jing* 大方等如來藏經 (**Mahāvaiṣṭya-tathāgatagarbha-sūtra*) translated by Buddhahadra (T666.16: 458b-c): 如來寶藏在無明殼，猶如果種在於核內。"The precious matrix of Buddhahood is [concealed] within the shell of benightedness (*avidya*), like the [mango] seed in the [mango] stone." 菴羅果內實不壞，種之於地，成大樹王。"The mango kernel is undamaged and if you plant it in soil, it will grow into the king of mighty trees." A lesser known metaphor is that used by the author of the logical treatise *Fangbian xin lun* 方便心論 (**Upāyahrdaya*? T1632.32: 23b): 如為修治菴婆羅果，而外廣植荆棘之林，為防果故。今我造論，亦復如是，欲護正法，不求名聞故。"For instance, to cultivate mangoes, one surrounds [the mango orchard] with a large bramble thicket to protect the

saying so, Hanuman [went] early every morning to sweep the fallen leaves and broken twigs. The rākṣasas were most delighted to see the monkey keeping the plantation clean. On another day, all the rākṣasas were drunk and [laid] around the mango tree. Seeing that all the rākṣasas had lost self-awareness, Hanuman mounted the mango tree and ate up all the fruit. The pistils and leaves were eaten up by him. When there were no more leaves, all the stems were eaten up by him as well¹⁹. Then he uprooted the mango tree, [turned] the roots upward and the shoots downward.

Early next morning, the rākṣasas woke up and found that the mango tree was already turned upside down. One of them said: "Where is the little monkey whom we asked to sweep regularly?" When they saw Hanuman sitting on the roots of the mango tree, they called him. Hanuman quickly came down, and the rākṣasas asked him: "Little monkey! Who did you see destroy the mango tree?" Hanuman did not answer. Being asked many tens of times, he did not give even a single answer. The rākṣasas then arrested Hanuman, tied him up and brought him to Maharaja Rawana. [... ..] they were ordered to burn [Hanuman] alive. When the entire body of Hanuman caught fire, not a single thread of his hair was burnt. A little cloth on his

fruit [from thieves]. So also my composing the present treatise; for I intend to defend the true teaching rather than to seek personal fame."

¹⁹ As a matter of fact, Hanuman langurs (*Semnopithecus entellus*, *Presbytis entellus*) are able to digest tough food. HSR(B): 95 reads: *Maka Hanuman pun segera melompat naik ke atas pohon mempelam, maka diambalnya buah mempelam itu. Maka habislah buahnya yang masak, dan buahnya yang matah (= mentah) pula diambil. Dan buahnya yang muda itu pun diambalnya juga.* "Hanuman quickly jumped up to the mango tree and grabbed the mangoes. [When he had] finished eating the ripe mangoes, the unripe ones were taken [by him]. [Then] the young ones were taken by him too."

tail was still burning. Thereupon the monkey leaped onto the roof of Maharaja Rawana's mansion. The palace of Maharaja Rawana was thus burnt down.

Remarks

For § 2.1, cf. the monkey king Sun Wukong's attempt to outstrip the Tathāgata but failing in the race (XYJ, Chap. 7). § 2.2 is a story of causing commotion in the *syurga-loka* (Skt. *svarga-loka* "celestial world"), comparable to the "Uproar in Heaven" (*nao tiangong* 鬧天宮) in XYJ. For the magic lasso in § 2.2, cf. the *huangjin sheng* 幌金繩 which turned back to ensnare Sun Wukong in XYJ, Chap. 34. For § 2.3, cf. XYJ, Chap. 5 where we read that Sun Wukong was charged with taking care of the peach garden (*pantao yuan* 蟠桃園; *pantao* is the fruit of immortality in Taoism) but it turned out that he ate up the choicest peaches. The heavenly court then sentenced him to death by fire but he emerged from the flames intact (Chap. 7).

§ 3.1

[...] *Maka pedang itu pun patah dua tinggal hulunya pada tangan Gumba Karna lalu dilotar (= dilontar) akan oleh Gumba Karna ke dalam tentera kera, buruk, lotong, siamang, kukang, kakah, unghah, kelampiau, bakaruga, kola; beratus-ratus banyak matinya terkena hulu pedang Gumba Karna itu. Maka Hanuman pun melotar (= melontar) akan bukit yang pada tangannya pada Gumba Karna, maka segera disambut oleh Gumba Karna dengan tangannya lalu dilotar (= dilontar) akannya pun berbalik kepada Sang Hanuman. Maka bukit itu luluh lantak tiada bergala lagi. Lalu Hanuman melompat kepada batang hidung Gumba Karna. Maka dicari oleh Gumba Karna*

Hanuman itu seraya katanya, "Ke manatah pula perginya si anu kera kecil itu. Dan matinya pun terperlang-perlang sana ke mari." Maka ia pun berasin pula kerana gatal rasa hidungnya. Maka Hanuman pun terpelanting daripada sangat deras nafas Gumba Karna itu juga. Maka Hanuman pun lalu berjalan melintas di hadapan Gumba Karna itu. Maka setelah dilihat oleh Gumba Karna akan Hanuman keluar daripada lubang hidungnya itu terlalu sangat marahnya. Maka Gumba Karna pun mengambil gadanya besi kursani yang seribu sembilan ratus mina beratnya lalu hendak dipalu akannya pada Hanuman. Maka setelah dilihat oleh Hanuman ia hendak dipalu oleh Gumba Karna, maka ia pun segera melompat menyalahkan palu gada Gumba Karna itu, lalu ia bertinggir pada telinga Gumba Karna lalu ia masuk pada sawang telinga Gumba Karna itu. Maka dilihat oleh Gumba Karna ke belakang dan ke hadapan tiada juga Hanuman itu kelihatan pada matanya. Dilihatnya kanan kiri itu pun tiada juga ada. Maka Gumba Karna pun merasai gatal telinganya lalu hendak akan dikoreknya dengan tunjuknya. Setelah dilihat oleh Hanuman akan Gumba Karna hendak mengorek telinganya, maka ia pun segera melompat ke luar dari dalam telinga Gumba Karna itu kerana takutlah ia akan tergagap oleh Gumba Karna itu [... ..]. (HSR[B]: 147)

[...] the sword was thus broken into two parts, the handle being left in the hand of Gumba Karna²⁰ who then cast it into the army of the primates²¹ and killed

²⁰ Skt. *kumbhakarna* "pot-eared". The formidable *rākṣasa* Kumbhakarna was Rāvaṇa's brother, see also AW: 94, 96, 183, 186. What renders HSR special is its light and jocular mood (characteristic of XYJ!), being so markedly different from the pathetic—and sometimes horrifying—one in RK (e.g., Kumbhakarna's fight with Hanuman and Sugrīva in RK: 12.47, 12.57, 12.88, 12.89) which is closer to the Sanskrit epic.

hundreds of them. Thereupon Hanuman hurled at Gumba Karna the hill that was in his hand, [but] the latter quickly caught it with his hands and hurled it back at Sang Hanuman. The hill was crushed to dust. [At that moment,] Hanuman hopped up on the bridge of Gumba Karna's nose [and then went into his nostril]. Gumba Karna looked around for Hanuman, saying: "Where has that little simian gone? Even [when coming to] his death, he cannot be found here and there!" Then he sneezed because his nose itched. Hanuman was driven out by that spasmodic expiration of breath and [then] he walked in front of Gumba Karna. Gumba Karna was greatly enraged seeing Hanuman come out from his nostril. Gumba Karna took his club, which was made of iron from Khurasan (*besi kursani*) and weighed 1, 900 pounds, to hit Hanuman who, seeing that, swiftly leaped away and parried it off. Then he crouched on [the brink of] Gumba Karna's ear and went into the ear canal. Gumba Karna looked before and after and could see Hanuman nowhere. He looked right and left and, still, Hanuman was not there. Feeling an itch in his ear, Gumba Karna wanted to scratch it with his finger. Having seen that Gumba Karna was about to pick his ear, Hanuman quickly leaped out of Gumba Karna's ear because he was afraid of being gripped by Gumba Karna.

²¹ The original reads: the army of *kera* ("Kra, long-tailed macaque"), *beruk* ("pig-tailed macaque"), *lotong* ("silvered leaf monkey"), *siamang* ("Siamang gibbon"), *kukang* (or *kongkang*, "slow loris, slow lemur"), *kakah* (or *kokah*, "Surili"), *ungkah* (or *ungko*, "dark-handed gibbon, agile gibbon"), *kelampiau* ("grey gibbon, Bornean gibbon"), *bakaruga*, *kola*". The *bakaruga* and *kola* are names unfamiliar to me and I must leave them to primatologists.

§ 3.2

Maka Hanuman pun pergilah, setelah datang ke pintu Langkapuri maka ia fikir, "Jikalau aku masuk ke dalam Langkapuri ini nescaya aku dikenal orang." Maka digeraknya dirinya menjadi seekor kumbang maka ia datang pada tempat Sita Dewi. Maka dilihatnya puteri Sita Dewi dukacita dengan tangisnya. (HSR[M]: 213)

Hanuman took leave and, when he came to the entrance to Langkapuri, he thought: "If I enter this [city of] Langkapuri, people would certainly recognize me." So he shook himself (*digeraknya dirinya*) and became a beetle. He then came to the place of Sita Dewi and found that Princess Sita Dewi was weeping sorrowfully.

§ 3.3

Maka pergi Hanuman ke pintu mahaligai itu dilihatnya terkancing, maka Hanuman pun menjadikan dirinya lalat maka masuk ia ke dalam lubang kancing itu, maka dibuka Hanuman kancing itu maka Hanuman pun masuk ke dalam mahaligai itu, maka dilihatnya segala dayang dan perwira <perwara> sekaliannya habis tidur, beberapa tanglung dan pelita terpasang. Maka dilihatnya Maharaja Rawana pun tidur dan Mandudari kelihatan. Maka dilihat oleh Hanuman ada seekor naga daripada emas sepuluh mutu terlalu indah-indah perbuatannya. Maka dikelilingnya oleh Hanuman dilihatnya naga itu tiada berlubang; demikianlah Maharaja Rawana menaruh dirinya sebab ia takut akan Hanuman. Maka Hanuman pun fikir dalam hatinya, "Dari mana aku masuk ini." Maka pada hidung naga itu ada lubang seperti jarum besarnya maka Hanuman pun menjadikan dirinya semut maka ia masuk dalam hidung naga itu terlalu terang daripada cahaya manikam dan kumala. Maka dilihat oleh Hanuman Maharaja

Rawana lagi tidur dengan Mandudari di atas geta pulam <pualam>. Maka datang Hanuman perlahan-lahan disimpulkannya rambut Maharaja Rawana dengan rambut Mandudari, Mandudari pun tiada khabar. Setelah sudah maka Hanuman pun turun ke bawah geta, maka dilihat oleh Hanuman batu itu di bawah geta, maka dibuka Hanuman kunci pintu naga itu dari dalam, maka Hanuman pun keluar. Maka disurat oleh Hanuman leher naga itu demikian bunyinya, "Jikalau Seri Maharaja hendak terbuka simpulan ini suruh lutu pada adinda Mandudari tuan puteri." Maka Hanuman pun keluarlah membawa batu itu pada Seri Rama. (HSR[M]: 244-245)

Hanuman came to the gate of the palace²² and found it locked. Thereupon Hanuman turned himself into a fly, entered into the lock hole, and opened the lock. Hanuman then entered the palace. He saw that all the court maidens and maids-in-waiting were asleep and that several lanterns²³ and lamps were lit. Maharaja Rawana was sleeping too and [his wife] Mandudari was visible. Hanuman saw a dragon elegantly made of ten carat gold. Hanuman went around the dragon and found that it was without orifice,—Maharaja Rawana had placed himself [inside] in such a way because he was afraid of Hanuman. Hanuman mused: "From where can I enter?" Then [he found] a needle-sized hole at the dragon's nose. Hanuman turned himself into an ant and entered into the dragon's nose. [Inside, he found it] much brighter than the splendor of gems. He saw Maharaja Rawana still in his slumber,

²² *Mahaligai* (also: *mahligai*) is a hypercorrect form of *maligai* (< Tam. *mālikai* "palace").

²³ Mal. *tanglung* < Ch. *denglong* 燈籠 "lantern". A variant *tinglung* is found in HSM: 36. The former goes back to Cantonese while the latter to Min dialect.

together with Mandudari, on the marble bed. Hanuman came gently and knotted together the hair of both Maharaja Rawana and Mandudari. Mandudari still did not awake. Thereafter Hanuman went under the bed and, there beneath the bed, he found the stone. Hanuman then unlocked the gate from inside and went out. On the dragon's neck were inscribed the following words by Hanuman: "Should Seri Maharaja intend to disentangle the knot, ask your wife Mandudari the princess to beat [your head]." Then Hanuman went out and brought the stone to Seri Rama.

Remarks

Compare § 3.1 with XYJ, Chap. 76²⁴. Compare § 3.2 with XYJ, Chap. 86 and 71²⁵.

Compare § 3.3 with XYJ, Chap. 84²⁶.

²⁴ XYJ, 76: 3a-b: 那老魔鼻子發痒, "阿口妻" 的一聲, 打了個噴嚏, 直迸出行者。行者見了風, 把腰躬一躬, 就長了有三丈長短, 一隻手扯着繩兒, 一隻手拿着鐵棒。那魔頭不知好歹, 見他出來了, 就舉鋼刀, 劈臉來砍 [...]. "The old demon felt a nasal itch. 'Ah-chee!' Xingzhe was sneezed out right away! As soon as Xingzhe was exposed to the wind, he bent at his waist and stretched himself to some thirty feet tall, with one hand dragging the rope and the other holding the iron club. The monster chief saw that Xingzhe had come out and, not knowing anything good or bad [was to befall himself], he raised his steel sword and slashed [Xingzhe...]."

²⁵ XYJ, 86: 9a-b: 行者道: "[...] 我要現本相, 趕上前, 一棍子打殺, 顯得我有勇無謀。且再變化進去, 尋那老怪, 看是何如。" 跳出溝, 搖身又一變, 變做個有翅的螞蟻兒。[...] 即從門縫兒裏鑽去看時, 原是個大園子, 隱隱的聽得悲聲。"Xingzhe said [to himself], 'Should I manifest my original form and rush forward to kill them all with one single stroke, that will only show that I have bold courage but little intelligence. Let me transform myself again and go inside to find the old demon and decide what to do then.' Jumping out of the sewer, again, he shook his body and turned himself into a winged ant. [...] Entering through a crevice in the door, he found himself in a large garden and could hear a faint moaning sound." XYJ, 71: 1a-b: 孫大聖變做箇痴蒼蠅, 釘在門傍, 見前面防備甚緊, 他即抖開翅, 飛入後宮門首看處, 見金聖娘娘伏在御案上, 清清滴淚, 隱隱聲

To study the relationship between the Indo-Malay primate and the Chinese monkey, it may also be helpful to examine if there is any explicit reference to the Malay people or the Indo-Malay region in China's monkey romances, and if so, what information we may retrieve therefrom.

In the Chinese story "Sun Ke 孫恪" from the *Chuanqi* 傳奇²⁷ of Pei Xing 裴鏞 (9th century), we read that Sun Ke married Lady Yuan 袁²⁸ who was the transformation of a

悲。"The Great Sage Sun turned himself into an idle fly lighting on the doorpost. Seeing that the front [passage] was tightly guarded, he quivered his wings and flew to the harem's entrance. He found the Golden Royal Lady bent over her desk, shedding tears and lamenting." Compare also the Bengali *Mahī Rāvaṇer Pālā* where Hanumān, going to the nether world to rescue Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, transformed himself into a fly and spoke with a buzzing sound (Sen: 276, 278).

²⁶ XYJ, 84: 13a-14a: [… …] 即變做三尖頭的鑽兒，挨櫃脚两三鑽，鑽了一個眼子。收了鑽，搖身一變，變做個螻蟻兒 [… …]。那國王正在睡濃之際 [… …]。即變做千百口剃頭刀兒，他拿一把，分付小行者各拿一把，都去皇宮內院、五府六部各衙門裡剃頭。"[… …, Xingzhe] turned [that string of hair] into a three-headed drill. Drilling twice or thrice close to the bottom of the cupboard, he bored a hole there. He retrieved the drill, shook his body and turned into an ant [and went out through the hole]. [… …] The king was in deep slumber. [… … Xingzhe] turned [the hair] into thousands of razors. He took one and had all the little Xingzhes take one each. They all went into the palace, harems, the commission offices and ministerial departments to shave heads."

²⁷ *Chuanqi*, the title of Pei Xing's collected short stories (some of which are preserved in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記. "Sun Ke" is found in fascicle 445, Harbin: Ha'erbin Chubanshe, 1995, pp. 3970-3973), later became a generic term for the short stories composed in the Tang and Song dynasties.

²⁸ Homophonous with *yuan* 猿 "ape, monkey". Although Pei Xing might have borrowed this motif from the ancient story of the swordswoman from Yue (*Yuechuzi* 越處子) defeating Old Man Yuan (Yuangong 袁公, transformation of a *baiyuan* 白猿 "white monkey"), he might have as well been inspired by the living culture with which he had direct contact in Lingnan. One may also have to consider early contacts between the Yue and Oceanic cultures. In the story of "the Yue maiden's arts

monkey originally kept in a Buddhist temple in Duanzhou 端州²⁹. The monkey wore a blue-green jasper bracelet 碧玉環³⁰ which was donated to the temple by a "Huren" from Heling 訶陵胡人³¹. This suggests that Heling influences (incl. monkey cult?) were then

of the sword" (*Yuenü jian* 越女劍, a variorum edition of which is in Zhou Shengchun 周生春, *Wu-Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao* 吳越春秋輯校匯考, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1997, pp. 250-253), we can still observe the ancient Chinese philosophy concerning "inertness" (symbolized by the maiden) and "agility" (symbolized by the monkey). But in Pei Xing's romance of the swordslady Nie Yinniang 聶隱娘, the Taoist imagination is already much tinted with an exotic flavor. The Zhejiang polymath Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (1851-1922), with his typical astuteness, even viewed this kind of Tang romance as an "offshoot" (*zhibie* 支別) of tantric Buddhism. See Shen's *Hairi Lou zhacong* 海日樓札叢, compiled by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962, p. 220.

²⁹ In present-day Zhaoqing 肇慶, Guangdong 廣東.

³⁰ Cf. the vermilion earrings of the white monkey (*keru putih*) Hanuman in HSR(B): 54, 94: *telinganya beranting-anting manikam merah*.

³¹ The 7th-century Buddhist translator and pilgrim Yijing 義淨 informs us that, in the years of Linde 麟德 (664-666 A. D.), the Sichuan monk Huining 會寧 traveled (*zhangxi* 杖錫) to Nanhai 南海 (in Guangzhou) and sailed (*fanbo* 泛舶) to the island of Heling (*Heling zhou* 訶陵洲) where he stayed for three years to translate Sanskrit texts (*Datang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, T2066.51: 4a). But the *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄 says that Huining stayed in the "Boling state [bordered by] Rinan" (T2153.55: 385b: 日南波陵國). Both Nanhai and Rinan / Nhật Nam (in Central Vietnam) are littoral areas of the South China Sea. The Southeast Asian states were then subsumed under the term Nanhai 南海 "Southern Sea". Since Heling 訶陵 (Vietnamese: Ha Lăng) or Boling 波陵 (Vietnamese: Ba Lăng) was in the Southern Sea, it was said to be "bordered" by Lingnan 嶺南 (Guangzhou and Vietnam) (e.g., Bai Juyi 白居易, *Song ke chunyou Lingnan* 送客春遊嶺南: 訶陵國分界 etc., see Gu Xuexie 顧學頡 ed., *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1979, p. 353). According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, the Indian tantric master Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空) set out for Sri Lanka from Nanhai (this "Nanhai" was the Cantonese

present in Guangdong³². In a poem by Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) in response to Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) on the occasion of seeing off a friend who was departing for Lingnan

prefecture in Guangzhou) in 742, with the aid of Yixibin 伊習賓 (Ispond?)—the *Fanke dashouling* 蕃客大首領 “Head of foreign merchants” (who was probably a Persian magnate) in the territory of Panyu (番禺界) in Guangdong. Their ship was hit by “a massive black wind” as it entered Heling’s maritime territory 至訶陵國界遇大黑風 (T2061.50: 712b). Modern scholars generally view Heling as a transcription of *Kaliṅ, a hypothesized archaic form of Kling/Keling. Keling, to be sure, is one of the toponyms one encounters with the highest frequency in Malay and Indonesian literature. The OJ version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the *kusyara* from Keling (RK: 10.71) and, if *kusyara* truly means “silk”, this may suggest Keling’s close commercial ties with China. Keling, the “Malayized” form of Kaliṅga, referred to a place in the Malay Archipelago rather than in the Indian subcontinent, but had somehow become a derogatory name for “Indians” in later times (see, e.g., SS: *passim*. Indians are still called Kiatleṅ^a 吉令子 “Keling guys” by Southern Min 閩 dialect speakers in Malaysia today). The 訶~波 variance in the toponym may be compared to that of 訶~婆 in *suohē* 索訶~*suopo* 娑婆 for Skt. *saha* “enduring” (See also *Fo shuo lishi apitan lun* 佛說立世阿毘曇論, T1644.32: 173c: *abobo* 阿波波 for, probably, P. *ahaha* [Skt. *hāhava/hahava*] “[interjection of the inhabitants of] cold hell”) and the sound involved might be *ha* which, in turn, might simply reflect a velar *k* such as that of *kliṅ* (The name of an ancient Tibetan state is also given as 訶陵 in *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975, p. 3823, which might reflect Tib. Gling, as already suggested in Rolf A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines: légendes, classifications et histoire*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1961, p. 45, n. 123). Louis-Charles Damais, on the other hand, proposed that Heling = Walain (an OJ toponym), see his “Études sino-indonésiennes III”, BEFEO 52.1 (1964): 93-141. Apart from this, Heling’s precise location also remains elusive although most scholars link it to Java, for a quick glance at which, see R. A. Kern, “Ho-ling” (*Orientalia Neerlandica: a Volume of Oriental Studies*, Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff’s Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1945, pp. 402-413), Gonda: 19, 25, 26, 30, 104, and Wolters: 213-218.

³² A special mention of “monkey king” (*houwang* 猴王) in Java is made in Zhao Rugua’s 趙汝适 (1170-1231) *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志, see Yang Bowen 楊博文, *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi* 諸蕃志校釋, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1996, pp. 54-55. The transformation of a human into a monkey / ape (often white in color), or vice versa, is by no means an unusual motif in Classical Malay literature. See, e.g., HIP: 107, 113 where the subjects of Rainun were diurnally *kera* (long-tailed macaques), *beruk* (pig-tailed

macaques), *lutung* (silvered leaf monkeys), *ganggang* <*kongkang*> (sloth monkeys), *siamang* (Siamang gibbons) and nocturnally *manusya* (humans), and HSR(B): 15 where Sibelia (Subali in SRK: 114) and Segrewa were changed into white monkeys (the Brunei version of Bālin and Sugrīva). The white monkey is also present in Chan Buddhist talks, e.g., SGLZ: 651c, 654c, 687a: 將謂猴白，更有猴黑 “Thinking that the monkey is white, yet there comes a black monkey.” 張猴白，李猴黑 “Monkey x is white, monkey y is black.” 猴黑誰知有猴白 “[Having seen only] black monkeys, who knows there are white monkeys [too]?”

It is well known that the monkey in XYJ symbolizes the mind. A convenient footnote to the Buddhistic term *xinyuan* 心猿 (“monkey-mind”) in Chinese may be the famous lines from the *Za Ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T99.2: 81c, cf. Léon Feer ed., *Samyutta-Nikāya, Nidāna-Vagga*, XII, 62.8, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1888 [1989 reprint]): 猶如獼猴遊林樹間，須臾處處，攀捉枝條，放一取一。彼心、意、識，亦復如是，異生異滅。 “Like the macaque (Ch. *mihou*, P. *makkaṭo*) roaming about (Ch. *you*, P. *caramāno*) in the forest, within a short time, [he swings] everywhere (Ch. *xuyu chuchu*) and seizes branches, letting go of one and grasping onto another (Ch. *fang yi qu yi*, P. *taṃ muñcivā aññaṃ gaṇhati*). Likewise the mind (Ch. *xin*, P. *citta*), cognition (Ch. *yi*, P. *mano*) and consciousness (Ch. *shi*, P. *viññāṇa*) cease at one point and arise at another.” In Chap. 58, when Sun Wukong was engaged in melee with the false Sun Wukong, all those in heaven and the netherworld were confounded and failed to discern which was the true monkey king and which was the false (that is, which being the *zhenxin* 真心 “true mind” and which the *wangxin* 妄心 “false mind”, see the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T1666.32: 576b-581b, T1667.32: 585a-589c). This chapter is titled *erxin jiaoluan daqiankun* 二心攪亂大乾坤 “Two minds mess up the great universe”. When two minds function together, one is perplexed with doubts (人有二心生禍災，天涯海角致疑猜. Cf. Tib. *som nyi, yid gnyis* and Skt. *dvaidha, dvāpara* “doubt, doute, Zweifel”) and one’s world is immediately in disarray. However the true and the false are one (*zhen wang bu er* 真妄不二). Once you have overcome your devilish thoughts and smashed the false mind with one stroke (*yibang dasha* 一棒打殺), you should come to realize that there is always the true oneness in your nature, i.e., the *zhenru* 真如 “True Suchness” (Cf. *qunmo qi benxing, yiti bai zhenru* 群魔欺本性，一體拜真如在 Chap. 77), the Tathāgatagarbha. That is why although Diting 諦聽 (“listen attentively”, the animal that serves Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha 地藏菩薩) had, by pressing his ear to the earth (*kṣiti*), perceived instantly all confidential details of all beings of all continents and thereby distinguished aurally the false from the true, it was the Tathāgata who disclosed the truth that the false Sun Wukong was the liu’er mihou 六耳獼猴 “six-eared macaque” (Ch. “six ears” means involving a third party who eavesdrops on a

(*He Letian song ke you Lingnan* 和樂天送客游嶺南), there is a note to the line *bozhu yaocang bao* 舶主腰藏寶 "the shiplords conceal valuables in a waist [pouch under their clothing]" wherein one finds that "Huren" was equated with "Bosi":

南方呼波斯爲“舶主”。胡人異寶多自懷藏，以避強丐。

[People in] the south (i.e., Lingnan) address the Bosi as “shiplord” (*bozhu*)³³. The Huren (“the Hu [trades]men”) often carry rare treasures concealed to avoid robbers.³⁴

conversation *entre nous*) who knew everything about the true Sun Wukong. In the Tathāgata’s presence, Sun Wukong managed to end the Six-eared Macaque’s life with one single blow and thus the universe returned to peace. This story, evolved from the well-known episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where Rāma was unable to distinguish between Vālin / Bālin (“haired, tailed”) and the monkey king Sugrīva (“beautiful-necked”) when the twin brothers were fighting hand to hand, had been ingeniously adapted to the Buddhist theme in China.

³³ This might or might not be a translation of Pers. *nāxudā* (*nāv* “ship” + *xudā* “lord”; cf. Skt. *nau-netri* “ship-conductor, shipowner”). A Chan talk has: 將謂南番舶主，元來此土商人。“I thought it was a shiplord of the Southern foreigners (Nanfan), but it turned out that it was a local merchant.” (GZS: 917) The term “Nanfan” refers to foreigners coming from the Southern Sea. Zheng Yin 鄭綱 (752-829) mentioned a certain Li Mohe, a shipmaster (who might have been a herb dealer as well) from the Heling state (*Heling guo bozhu Li Mohe* 訶陵國舶主李摩訶), who supplied him with a medical prescription in Lingnan in 812 to cure his illness. See Luo Xianglin 羅香林, “Xichu Bosi zhi Li Xun ji qi Haiyao bencao” 系出波斯之李珣及其海藥本草, in Luo Xianglin, *Tang Yuan erdai zhi Jingjiao* 唐元二代之景教, Hong Kong: Zhongguo Xueshe, 1966, p. 131. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975, pp. 454, 5273), a Heling envoy bearing the name Li Henei 李訶內 presented 5 black slave boys (*sengqi tong* 僧祇僮)—*sengqi* (Cantonese: *saŋ k’əi*, cf. Faxian’s 法顯 [4th-5th centuries] transcription of Mahāsamghika: Mohesengqi 摩訶僧祇, T1425.22) seems to reflect Mal. *zanggi* (< Pers. *zangī*) “black slaves”, cf. Bausani 1964: 11 and Ferrand—to the

Tang court on October 4, 815 (元和十年八月丙寅. This date concurs with the record in the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, 972: 7). Both Li Mohe and Li Henei had adopted the Tang royal clan name Li.

There are a number of Classical Malay romances having a shipmaster as protagonist, e.g., HNM (or HMB), HNA etc., which often involve a beauty disguised as a male, a motif frequently found not only in the Indonesian *panji* romance but in the Persian romance as well. The stereotyped image of a heroic beauty in Malay romances—e.g., Hamani Ta'ifah (HAH: 63-65), Kilan Suri and Indera Negeri (HAH: 463, 470), Cahaya Khairani (disguised as the warrior Johan Ali Perkasa, HSK: 35-37), etc.—is unmistakably of Persian origin. This, supposedly, was also transplanted into the Chinese romance and was brilliantly adapted to indigenous historical tradition and contemporary thematic concerns, e.g., Hu Sanniang 扈三娘 in SHZ, Chap. 47, Sun Quan's 孫權 sister in SGYY: 490, 495, SGZTSYY: 522-523, 528, the notable female warriors in the Yang Jiajiang 楊家將 romance etc. Another repetitious motif shared by Chinese and Persian romances is—cannibalism. At the beginning of the Malay version of the Hamzah romance, Alkis Menteri ordered that Khoja Buzurjumhur Hakim's liver be cut out and put on a stick (*pacakkan hatinya*) so that he could chew it up to his satisfaction (HAH: 13). At the end of the same romance, there is also the famous episode where Hamzah's liver was sliced and eaten by the non-believers (HAH: 707: *dibelahnya dada Amir Hamzah dan dikeluarkan hatinya dan disayatnya sedikit, lalu dimakan oleh segala kafir itu*). In SHZ, 31: 336, Wang Aihu 王矮虎 ordered that Song Jiang's 宋江 liver be cut out to make soup (Cf. SHZ, 40: 436-437 where the liver of Huang Wenbing 黃文炳 was cut out and shared among the heroes). The image of the cannibal Raja Bersiung in HMM, the Malay quasi-chronicle of the state of Kedah, should also be seen in the light of the influences of Indian folklore (see C. O. Blagden, "The Cannibal King in the Kedah Annals", *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 79 [1918]: 47-48) and Perso-Arabic narrative cycles. This is not too surprising. Even the Greek legend of a donkey-eared king had crept into the Korean quasi-history *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (T2039.49: 976b) as well as into the Tibetan quasi-histories *Deb ther dmar po* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 1981, pp. 20-21) and *Rgya Bod kyi yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long* (Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1985, pp. 109-110). The Korean account (late 13th century) is almost the same as the story of King Midas of Asia Minor, except that it was the bamboos in a temple that whispered "Our king's ears resemble ass's ears!" (吾君耳如驢耳) whenever the wind blew. In the *gtam rgyud* "legend" given in the two Tibetan histories (14th-15th centuries), the donkey-eared (*bong rna can*) emperor who put on a golden mask (*gser gyi 'bag*) to cover his ears was the son of Wu dzi then (Wu Zetian 武則天) of the Tang dynasty! In Said Ali-Akbar Khitayi's *Khitay-Nâme*h (± 1500), the donkey-eared son's mother was not Wu Zetian but rather Lu-zi (Lü Zhi 呂雉), the empress of the Han dynasty (See Aly Mazahéri, *La route de*

la soie, Paris: S.P.A.G.[Papyrus], 1983, Chapitre 8). We read in Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan's history of Bon po, *Rgyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas*, that Jing gir (Činggis Qan) was born by the Uyghur king's "donkey-eared" queen (*Yu gur gyi rgyal po bong rna bya ba'i btsun mo*—see Khedup Gyatso, *Three Sources for a history of Bon*, Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Center, 1974, Folio 89). Also to be noted is that the 'bag "mask" seems to indicate some connection with Tibetan dramas and propitiatory rituals, cf. the Bon po story of the shamanic boy whose donkey ears were hidden under a turban, which is quoted in Rolf Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris: Dunod, 1962, p. 197, in support of the hypothesis concerning Western influences on Bon po. Although one may oftentimes observe the connection of 'bag with ancient Western Tibet (Mnga' ris Gu ge and Zhang zhung, the land of Bon po), I have always been wondering if 'bag could be related to Ch. *bo* 剥 (**pak*) "to skin; peel off (fruit, bark etc.), strip; worn out; faded, fallen off", cf. Tib. *pags* / *lpags* "skin, leather; peel of fruit, bark of trees", 'bag *pa* "impaired, damaged", *bog pa* "fainted; fallen, faded (fruit, flower etc.)". This 'bag should be differentiated from *bag*, 'bag, "scent, stain" (as in the Buddhist psychological term *bag chags*, corresponding to Skt. *vāsanā*, Ch. *xunran* 熏染, *xiqi* 習氣, *xunxi* 熏習), 'bags, *dbags*, *sbags* "stained, tainted", which reminds me of *bak* "stained wet, tainted [with color/smell/dirt], blemished (reputation)", a curious word in Southern Min dialect that cannot be represented sinographically.

The chapter on "world geography" in the *Rgya Bod kyi yig tshang* (p. 11) also mentions "the kingdom of one-eyed demons" (Tib. *the rang mig gcig pa'i rgyal khams*). I am not sure if this ought to be connected with the one-eyed (*yimu* 一目) ghost country (*guiguo* 鬼國) in ancient Chinese records or to Herodotus' *Arimaspoi* or even to both, but cf. B. Laufer, "Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen", *T'oung pao* 9 (1908), p. 452, and Yu Taishan 余太山, *Guzu xinkao* 古族新考, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2000, pp. 100-102. It is uncertain whether the story of Midas was ever put into writing by Chinese literati in Yuan and Ming times or was only performed orally. Interestingly enough, in Wang Guanglu's 王光魯 (17th century) play *Xiang dangran* 想當然 (*I suppose so!*), there is a prologue ascribed to Tan Yuanchun 譚元春 (1586-1631) in which one finds a mention of the singing of *Mi Dawang you lü'er* 彌大王有驢耳 "King Mi[das] has ass's ears!" (*Tan Youxia pidian Xiang dangran chuanqi* 譚友夏批點想當然傳奇, in *Guben xiqu congkan chuji* 古本戲曲叢刊初集 66).

³⁴ Ji Qin 冀勤 ed., *Yuan Zhen ji* 元稹集, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982, p. 140.

The Bosi is often mentioned in the *yulu* 語錄 "records of sayings" of the masters of the Chan 禪 Buddhist school, the florescence of which in the Tang-Song period was greatly indebted to the Buddhist master extraordinaire Huineng 惠能 (638-713) who hailed from Lingnan. To quote just a few examples:

問: "一塵才舉, 大地全收。如何是一塵?" 師云: "波斯上廟。" (GZS:

715)

Question: "Once you pick a particle, the great earth has already been entirely taken into account. What is 'a particle'?" The master answered: "A Bosi visits a [Buddhist] temple."

問: "法無羈鎖, 爲什麼趣入卻難?" 師云: "波斯讀梵書。" (GZS: 713)

Question: "Of the Dharma, there are no fetters. Why, then, is it difficult to enter into [the Dharma]?" The master answered: "A Bosi reads Sanskrit script." ³⁵

³⁵ Cf. the Fujian 福建 scholar Zheng Sixiao's 鄭思孝 (1241-1318) *Ze miu* 責謬 "Condemning the Mistakes" in his *Zawen* 雜文 "Miscellaneous Essays": *Bosi duoduo Fanyu, bieguo ren ju mo bian zhi*. 波斯咄咄梵語, 別國人俱莫辨之。 "A Bosi yelled exasperately in Sanskrit and all those from other countries could not distinguish his words." See Zheng Sixiao, *Xinshi* 心史 (*Beijing Tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 90), Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Chubanshe, 1988, p. 949a. In the *Zazuan xu* 雜纂續 by the Song writer Wang Junyu 王君玉, one of the ironical instances listed under the rubric *nan lihui* 難理會 "Puzzling" is *Bosi nian Kongque jing* 波斯念孔雀經 "A Bosi reads the *Scripture of the Peacock* ([*Mahā-*] *Mayūrī* [-*vidyā-rājñī*])". Wang's *Zazuan xu* was a supplement to the *Yishan zazuan* 義山雜纂, a work ascribed (probably falsely) to the Tang poet Li Shangyin 李商隱, in which *qiong Bosi* 窮波斯 "A poverty-stricken Bosi [shipmaster]" is listed as a paradox under

the heading *bu xiangchen* 不相稱 "Incongruity". We do not know why the Chinese were particularly interested in the fact that the Bosi did not know Sanskrit. We are, however, reminded of a real issue—which is of much interest for studying the "interreligious dialogue" between Buddhism and Nestorianism, the history of the transmission of Buddhist scriptures, the Chinese view with respect to the Sanskrit and Iranian versions of Buddhist scriptures, the religious policy in China in the Tang period etc.—recorded in Yuanzhao's 圓照 *Datang Zhenyuan xu Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄. There we read that the Kashmirian monk Prajñā (733/734-?) traveled from South India to Guangfu 廣府 (Guangzhou) and met his cousin (*biaoxiong* 表兄) Luo Haoxin 羅好心 in the Tang capital in 786. Luo Haoxin (whose original name remains unknown) served the cavalry of the Tang imperial guard, the so-called Shence Jun 神策軍 "Army of Divine Strategy", which helped in pacifying the An-Shi Rebellion 安史之亂 that almost toppled the whole empire. Because of his military merits, Luo was granted a princely title (as indicated in his complete title: 右神策馬軍十將奉天定難功臣開府儀同三司檢校太子詹事上柱國新平郡王). As a devout Buddhist (Cf. *Xin Tangshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975, p. 912 for the imperial guard and the worship of Buddha: 神策軍有浮屠像 etc.), Luo prompted Prajñā to translate into Chinese the Sanskrit text of the *Scripture of the Six Transcendental Virtues* (*liu boluomi* 六波羅蜜, *ṣaṭ-pāramitā*) which survived shipwreck during his voyages to the Southern Sea and China. As Prajñā did not know Chinese, he collaborated with Jing Jing (Adam), the Persian priest of the Syrian church (*Daqin si Bosiseng Jing Jing* 大秦寺波斯僧景淨), to work out a Chinese translation in seven fascicles based on an Iranian version (*yi Huben liu boluomi yi cheng qijuan* 依胡本『六波羅蜜』譯成七卷) which, I assume, was kept by the church in China and was close to the Iranian (Sogdian?) version on which the Sogdian translator Kang Senghui's 康僧會 eight-fascicle *Liudu ji jing* 六度集經 (T152.3) was based. This collaborative endeavor failed to obtain imperial sanction: 時為般若不閑胡語，復未解唐言，景淨不識梵文，復未明釋教。雖稱傳譯，未獲半珠，圖竊虛名，匪為福利。 "At that time, because Prajñā was not conversant in the Iranian language and also did not understand Chinese, [whereas] Jing Jing was not acquainted with Sanskrit and also did not comprehend Buddhism, though they claimed to have translated [the scripture], they failed to get [even] half of the pearl (*banzhu*, opposite to *quanbao* 全寶 "the whole valuable [pearl]"). [They] attempted to earn an undeserved reputation. [They did this] not for the sake of benevolence." The Dezong 德宗 emperor (Li Gua 李适, r. 780-805) stressed that a Nestorian priest "should preach the teaching of Mesiha" (*ying chuan Mishihejiao* 應傳彌尸訶教) whereas a Buddhist monk should "propagate and expound Buddhist scriptures" (*hongchan Fojing* 弘闡佛經) (T2156.55:756a; cf. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, "The Name of 'Messiah' Found in a

辯 <read: 辨> 真贗，撞著瞎波斯。較輕重，迷逢胡達磨。(WJ: 83a)

To discern [whether a pearl is] genuine or fake, one encounters a blind Bosi³⁶. To measure [whether it is too] light [or too] heavy (i.e., whether it is fake), one is lost and meets the Hu [monk] [Bodhi]dharma³⁷.

Buddhist Book; the Nestorian Missionary Adam, Presbyter, Papas of China, Translating a 'Buddhist Sūtra', *T'oung Pao* 7 [1896]: 589-91). In other words, they had crossed a boundary which should never have been crossed. By edict, a new translation committee was formed and a new Chinese translation based on the Sanskrit version was produced. This being the ten-fascicle *Dasheng liu liu boluomiduo jing* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 which contains a conspicuous proportion of tantric elements (T261.8). Here we have a documented historical issue involving a Bosi (Persian) who did not know Sanskrit and, though a non-Buddhist, had come to read (and even translate) a Buddhist text.

³⁶ Persian merchants are known in Chinese literature as jewelry connoisseurs who could distinguish between the fake and genuine. See Edward Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", in Walter Fischel ed., *Semitic and Oriental Studies: a Volume Presented to William Popper*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951, pp. 403-422, as well as the Vietnamese story written in Classical Chinese, "Nanhua mujiang ji 南華木匠記", in Chen Qinghao 陳慶浩, Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, Trần Nghĩa 陳義 eds., *Yuenan Hanwen xiaoshuo congkan* 越南漢文小說叢刊, II, Vol. 4, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1992, p. 220.

³⁷ Cf. *Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (T1998.47: 879c): *Damo zhuoran shi lao sao Hu* 達磨灼然是老臊胡。 "[Bodhi]dharma was, clearly, an old Hu with strong body odor (*sao* 臊)." The Chinese linked body odor to the Hu people, as in the well-known case of the late Tang poet Li Xun 李珣 (nicknamed Li Bosi 李波斯, a China-born Persian), for which, see the very succinct, insightful and delightful essay by Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Huchou yu Huchou" 狐臭與胡臭 (" 'Foxy smelling' and the 'Hu odor' "), in *Chen Yinke Xiansheng wenshi lunji* 陳寅恪先生文史論集, Hong Kong: Wen Wen Publications, 1973, Vol. 2, pp. 413-415. In Chan discourse, "the Hu monk whose front teeth were missing" also refers to Bodhidharma, e.g., SGLZ: 509b: 缺齒胡僧到大唐 (For a Tang writer, "Datang 大唐" simply means China. In Bodhidharma's time, China was under the Liang and Wei dynasties,

not the Tang), *Xu Chuandeng lu* 續傳燈錄 (T2077.51: 550a): 缺齒胡僧笑不言, *Wumen guan* 無門關 (T2005.48: 298a): 缺齒老胡, etc.

Bodhidharma (5th-6th centuries A.D.), who came to China via the Southern Sea and became the *zushi* 祖師 "[founding] forefather" of the Chan school of Buddhism, was, according to Yang Xuanzhi 楊銜之, "a Hu (Iranian?) from Bosi" (*Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, T2092.51: 1000b: *Bosiguo Huren ye* 波斯國胡人也). Tanlin 曇林, on the other hand, stated that Bodhidharma was "a native of South India" (*Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記, T 2837.85: 1284c: *Nan Tianzhuguo ren* 南天竺國人). Although the information supplied by Tanlin (a student of Bodhidharma) seems to be more credible (see Yinshun 印順, *Zhongguo Chanzong shi* 中國禪宗史, Taipei: Yinshun, 1974, p. 3), it is noticeable that when the Southern Chan tradition had become predominant in China, the image of a bluish-eyed, yellow-haired and red-bearded Hu monk surfaced over and over again in Chan discourse. A few examples:

任是碧眼胡兒，也須路頭迷卻。(GZS: 866)

Even a bluish-eyed Iranian guy would have lost his way.

碧眼胡僧笑點頭。(GZS: 713, WDHY: 629)

A bluish-eyed Iranian monk smilingly nodded [in acknowledgment].

笑倒西來碧眼胡。(Xu Chuandeng lu 續傳燈錄, T2077.51: 645b; cf. SGLZ: 519b:
笑殺西來碧眼胡)

[This] made the bluish-eyed Iranian who came from the west (i.e., Bodhidharma, cf. the more frequent *zushi xilai* 祖師西來 or *Damo xilai* 達磨西來) laugh uproariously.

此心能有幾人知，黃頭碧眼非相識。(WDHY: 1075)

How many people can understand this heart [of mine]? The yellow-haired, bluish-eyed one is not an acquaintance.

將謂胡鬚赤，更有赤鬚胡。(GZS: 633, 917)

When I thought that the Hu-style beard (*Huxu* 胡鬚 whence came *huxu* 鬚鬚 "beard"; cf. *Huzi* 胡子 "a Hu guy or a bearded guy" whence came *huzi* 鬚子 "beard") is red in color, there again I found a red-bearded Hu. (A philosophical interpretation of this Chan repartee has been proposed in Suzuki 1996)

If Bodhidharma was not a Hu (Iranian) but a South Indian, then this "Iranianization" of Bodhidharma would need some explanation. The presence of Persians at the Chan centers in Lingnan might account for this (Cf. Wang Chengwen 王承文, "Tangdai Lingnan de Bosiren yu Bosi wenhua 唐代嶺南的波斯人與波斯文化", *Zhongshan Daxue shixue jikan* 中山大學史學集刊 1 [1992]: 68-82). A parallel case is that of the "bluish-eyed" immortals in Taoism. For instance, the "celestial exorcist" (*tianshi*) Zhang 張天師 was said to have "green pupils" (*lüjing* 綠睛, see Zhao: 200a). Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, had *changmu shenbi* 長目深鼻 "long eyes and deep nose"—a transposition of *changbi shenmu* "long nose and deep eyes"—and was led by a "bluish-eyed Iranian monk" (*biyan Huseng* 碧眼胡僧) to the abode of Donghua Xiansheng 東華先生 when he lost his way after the war against Tufan 土蕃 (Zhao: 276b-c). In the story of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, Zhongli Quan was depicted as a long-bearded and bluish-eyed immortal who came from the western direction (Zhao: 358a: 長髯碧眼, 自西而來). Song Lian 宋濂 (1301-1381), who was once a Taoist priest, also mentioned an "extraordinary man" (*yiren* 異人) who had a long beard and bluish pupils like the ancient Taoist immortals (*changlie bitong ru gu xianren* 長鬚碧瞳如古仙人). See *Song Wenxiangong quanji* 宋文憲公全集 (Sibu congkan edition), Vol. 3, p. 8. The Taoist case is peculiar and definitely deserves a separate study. In XYJ, Sun Wukong's teacher Xuputi Zushi 須菩提祖師 was curiously represented as a Taoist immortal. "Xuputi" was Subhūti (Tib. Rab 'byor) in the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (*Vajracchedikā*, *Rdo rje gcod pa*) but "Puti Zushi" was none other than Damo Zuzhi, i.e., Bodhidharma! In the Tibetan tradition, Bodhidharma was sometimes identified with the South Indian ascetic Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas (d. 1117) who founded the schools of Zhi byed and Gcod in Tibet. Thus we read in the *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ngo bo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan*, the biography of Lcang skya III Rol pa'i rdo rje (Zhangjia Guoshi 章嘉國師, 1717-1786): *rgya skad du tā mo tsu shi bya ba slob dpon bho dhi dharmotta ra rgya yul du byon nas lta ba'i rnam bzhag gsungs pa dar che ba 'dug cing/ slob dpon de 'ga' zhig gis pha dam pa sangs rgyas yin yang zer la/ gang ltar yang lta ba'i ngo bo bod kyi zhi byed kyi lta ba dang gnad gcig tu 'dug/* "After Ācārya Bodhi-dharmottara, called 'Damo Zushi' in Chinese, had come to China and discoursed on the theory formation (*lta ba'i rnam bzhag*; Tib. *lta ba*, like Greek *theōrein*, means "to look at") [of the Mādhyamaka, the theory began to] flourish [in China]. Some even alleged that he was Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas; anyhow, [his] theory and the Tibetan theory of 'Pacifier' (Zhi byed) are essentially the same." See *Collected Works of Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma* (*Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series* 1), Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1969, Vol. Ka, Folio 76r. It is possible that Tib. *pha dam pa* "late father" and *sangs rgyas* "Buddha" (*sangs* "cleansed;

僧問：“甚麼人辨得？”師云：“波斯養兒。”(JD: 428a)

The monk questioned: “Who is able to distinguish?” The master answered:

“A child brought up by a Bosi.”³⁸

“浩浩之中，如何辨主？”師云：“波斯入鬧市。”(GZS: 758)

“In the midst of the vastness, how is one to recognize [one’s] lord?” The master answered: “A Bosi enters a busy marketplace.”

The give-and-takes among Chan masters are, as is well known, not to be followed verbatim or through logical reasoning. However we are here concerned neither with their apparent nonsensicality nor their language-transcendent essence. We content ourselves with highlighting the historical information contained therein. What remains in question is whether the Bosi that occurs in the Chan Buddhist texts refers to the Persians or to the Malays. Considering the Chan saying quoted in XYJ, Chap. 65: 碧眼胡兒識假真 “A bluish-eyed Iranian guy (Hu’er) can discern between the fake and genuine,” it seems that the Bosi merchants could not be Malay. Considering the Chan sayings: 南海波斯獻象牙

awakened”, *rgyas* “fully”, cf. *'tshang rgya ba* “become perfect, fully enlightened”) had been vaguely related to Ch. *zushi* “forefather” and *puti* “Bodhi” (the Tib. word for *bodhi* is *byang chub*—*byang* “purged”, *chub* “versed”). The Tibetans seem unaware of Bodhidharma’s “Iranianness”.

³⁸ It is regrettable that no statistics of Chinese children adopted by foreigners in this period are available.

"The Bosi from the Southern Sea present ivories," (GZS: 474)³⁹ and 崑崙撞著波斯子，
把手相將海底行。"A Kunlun (a Black) ran into a Bosi guy and, hand in hand, they went
into the sea," (SGLZ: 662c) the Bosi could either be Malay or Persian. But consider the
following:

波斯捧出海南香，白眼崑崙與論量。賈客不諳彈舌語，只看兩箇鼻頭
長。(SGLZ: 662c)

The Bosi presented the "Hainan fragrance". The pale-eyed Black
discussed with him and weighed it. A [Chinese] merchant buyer (*guke*),
not understanding the trilled language (*tanshe yu*), could but stare at the
two long noses (the long nose of the two).⁴⁰

³⁹ Cf. GZS: 490: 太陽燄裡分八字，南海波斯不較多。"To puzzle out the eight characters (viz. 生滅滅已，寂滅爲樂, the second half of the *gātha* [*banji* 半偈] pronounced by a *rākṣasa* in the *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T375.12: 693a) in a mirage, [this could be] almost [done by] a Bosi from the Southern Sea."

The Ming novel *Jinping mei* mentions in Chap. 19 that Borneol (*bingpian* 冰片, *Dryobalanops camphora*) used in Chinese medicine was an indigenous product of the Bosi state in the Southern Sea (*Nanhai Bosiguo didao chu de* 南海波斯國地道出的). This seems to be *kapur* (Malay camphor) from Pasai / Pasè in North Sumatra.

⁴⁰ The *Hainan xiang* was probably eaglewood or Mal. *gaharu* (an aromatic wood). "Hainan" does not necessarily refer to Hainan island, but more likely to the Indochinese, Siamese and Malay states being the various "southern countries in the sea" (*hainan zhuguo* 海南諸國). I owe the English translation for *tanshe yu* to Victor Mair who has also drawn my attention to the Tang poet Li Dong's 李洞 interesting lines 十萬里程多少磧，沙中彈舌授降龍 (*Song Sanzang gui Xitianguo* 送三藏歸西天國, in *Quantang shi* 全唐詩, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1960, p. 8300) to which the poet added a note: 樊

崑崙渡海誇珍寶，波斯門下鬚鬚多。(GZS: 715)

The Black sailed across the sea and boasted of the treasures. The disciples of the Bosi showed off their plentiful beards⁴¹.

獻寶波斯鼻似鉤。(SGLZ: 716c)

The nose of the Bosi who presents treasures [to the court] is like a hook.

南海波斯鼻孔龐。(SGLZ: 710b)

The Bosi from the Southern Sea has a big nose⁴².

波斯鼻孔自來龐。(SGLZ: 676a)

The nose of the Bosi has been always big.

波斯鼻孔長三尺。(GZS: 170)

The nose of the Bosi is three feet long.

公彈舌念梵語心經以授流沙之龍。"Ven. Xuanzang recited the Sanskrit *Heart Sutra* with trilling sounds to impart [the scripture] to the desert dragon."

⁴¹ Cf. the remarks by the 10th-century Quanzhou 泉州 Taoist Tan Qiao 譚峭: 胡夫而越婦，其子鬚面而短足。"If the husband is a Hu [man] and the wife is a Yue [lady], their son will have a bearded face and short legs." (*Huashu* 化書, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1996, p. 23)

⁴² Here, *bikong* is not "nostril" but rather "nose" (Cf. *p'i k'ang* "nose" in Min dialect).

波斯鼻孔長又長。(GZS: 181)

The nose of the Bosi is long, long.

波斯眼深鼻孔大。(GZS: 363)

The Bosi's eyes are deep and nose is big.

There is little doubt that the physical features mentioned (though sometimes in an exaggerated way)⁴³ in the above quotes could be better associated with the Persians than

⁴³ Later in Chinese drama, a popular comic character was the big nosed and large bearded Huihui 回回 ("Muslim"). The Hubei writer Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570-1623) had a "deep-eyed, big-nosed and plentifully bearded" cousin—Wang Yiming 王以明 was his name (apparently derived from the chapter of *Qiwu lun* 齊物論 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子: *mo ruo yi ming* 莫若以明)—who appeared much like "the Huihui at the comic theater" (深目大鼻，繁鬚髯，貌大類俳場上所演回回狀) and, for which reason, people called him Wang Hui. Yiming's younger brother Zhifu 質夫 was renamed Shangfu 尙夫(= 甫) because the character *shang* 尙 can be analyzed into *xiao Hui* 小回 "Little Huihui". See Yuan's "Huijun zhuan" 回君傳 and "Shu Wang Shangfu shi" 書王尙甫事 in *Kexue Zhai qianji* 珂雪齋前集, *Xuxiu Sikuanquanshu* 續修四庫全書, Vol. 1375, p. 705b, Vol. 1376, p. 90a. Cf. Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道, *Yuan Zhonglang quanji* 袁中郎全集, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 174, pp. 799a, 858b. Although there were Huihui actors and actresses in the Mongol Yuan period (Cf. Sun Chongtao 孫崇濤 and Xu Hongtu 徐宏圖 eds., *Qinglou ji jianzhu* 青樓集箋注, Beijing: Zhongguo Xiju Chubanshe, 1990, p. 192), it seems that a Han Chinese could play the role by simply putting on a mask, like the "Huihui nose [mask]" mentioned in the novel *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻緣傳 (*Ming-Qing shanben xiaoshuo congkan chubian*, Taipei: Tianyi Chubanshe, 1985, 33: 7a: 戴了一个回回鼻子). We find in the Yuan drama *Xiyou ji* that, when the Sand monk (Sha Heshang 沙和尚) told the monkey that his last name was Sha (Ch. "sand"), the monkey said, "I recognize you! You are Qâri Shâh, the Huihui man." (我認得你，你是回回人河裏沙) When asked how he knew that, the monkey answered, "Your countenance somewhat resembles [his]." (你嘴臉有

with the Malays. Hence it is important to note that, although the "Nanhai Bosi" 南海波斯 was most likely a maritime settlement in the Malay Archipelago, the "Bosi" from such a Malay *peisir* ("coastal") state who came to be close to the Chan monks in Guangzhou were not Malay but rather Persian⁴⁴. The "Hu" from Heling in Pei Xing's monkey story "Sun Ke" seems to have been such a "Bosi" too. It is tempting to suggest that the

些相似)—see *Yang Donglai piping Xiyou ji* 楊東來批評西遊記 (*Guben xiqu congkan chuji* 古本戲曲叢刊初集 18), p. 48. One wonders whether the Yuan actor who played the role of Sha Heshang did wear a Huihui mask. "Huihui" most likely refers to the Persians here. In the culinary section of the *Duoneng bishi* 多能鄙事 (*Versatile with Menial Tasks*), a manual carrying the humble title taken from the Confucian *Analects* (Chapter of Zihan 子罕: 吾少也賤，故多能鄙事。君子多乎哉？不多也！), Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375, the great astrologer and strategist who helped found the Ming Dynasty) gives several recipes for preparing "Huihui and Jurchen dishes" (*Huihui Nuzhen shipin* 回回、女真食品) where we find "Huihui" food such as *ha'erwei* 哈兒尾 (*halvây*—from *halvâ*, a kind of candy, sweetmeat) and *halisha* 哈里沙 (*harisa*, a kind of porridge made from wheat and mutton) etc. (see *Xixiu Siku quanshu*, Vol. 1185, pp. 23b, 24a) which, not unlikely, were also served in the Yuan and Ming courts although they are not found in the *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (*A Compendium of Healthy Fare*), the *materia dietica et medica* published by the Mongol Yuan court in the 14th century and republished by the Ming court in the 15th century (of which there is now a modern edition: Paul Buell and Eugene Anderson, *A Soup for the Qan*, London/New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000). It appears that Liu Ji learned about the Arabic names through the medium of Persian, the "Huihui" language.

⁴⁴ The clues in the Chan Buddhist sources were apparently not known to scholars who had published on the age-old puzzle of "Malayan 'Bosi'" (a good survey of which is in Wolters: 130-160). In view of the Chan evidences, Berthold Laufer's hypothesis that "Bosi" could refer to a Malay people has to be discarded. See Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products*, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1919, pp. 384, 424, 468-487.

Persians played an important role in the transmission of the Indo-Malay folklores of monkeys to Southeastern China.

§ 4.1

Maka Laksamana pun mengguris tanah berkeliling (= berkeliling) istana itu maka seraya katanya, "Hai bumi, barang siapa melangkah guris aku ini daripada manusia atau jin bauta, dewa, indera, mambang, pari atau barang sebagainya, apabila terlangkahi guris aku ini nescaya tiada boleh kembali lagi daripada tempat guris ini." Maka setelah sudah Laksamana mengguris tanah itu ia pun berjalan mendapat akan kekanda baginda.

Maka syahadan, akan Maharaja Rawana, setelah ia melihat Laksamana sudah pergi berjalan ia pun turun dari atas ratanya lalu ia menjadikan dirinya seorang bernama Berahman terlalu amat daif rupanya. Maka ia pun berdiri di luar pagar batu sambil memigang (= memegang) tongkat pada tangannya seraya katanya pada Siti Dewi, "Hai tuan puteri, beri apalah hamba barang yang ada kepada tuan puteri kerana hamba ini terlalu daif." Maka kata Siti Dewi, "Hai Berahman, suatu pun tiada ada kepada hamba ini." Maka Maharaja Rawana pun ghaib lalu ia menjadikan dirinya orang tua amat, seperti tiada akan terbawai dirinya lalu ia berdiri dekat pagar batu itu seraya katanya sambil ia terkejar-kejar seperti orang demam kura lakunya, katanya pada Siti Dewi, "Ya tuanku tuan puteri, beri apalah aku api barang sedikit kerana tubuhku sejuk tuanku." Maka Siti Dewi pun kasihan mendengar kata orang tua itu, katanya, "Masuklah nenek mengambil api." Maka kata orang tua, "Hai tuan puteri, baiklah unjukkan oleh tuanku keluar pintu kerana nenek takut melangkahi guris Laksamana itu." Maka Siti Dewi pun

berdiri lalu ia mengunjukkan api pada orang tua. Maka kata orang tua, "Unjukkan tangan tuan puteri keluar pagar ini." Maka Maharaja Rawana pun segera menyambut api lalu ditarik akannya tangan Siti Dewi seraya dibawanya naik ke atas ratanya. Maka rata pun terbang ke udara lalu melayang segera-segera. (HSR[B]: 72)

Laksamana scratched (*mengguris*) the ground, encircling the palace, saying, "O Earth! Whoever steps over this scratch (*guris*) of mine, be it a human or a jinni, a deity, an indra god, a ghost, a fairy, or whatsoever, once he has stepped over this scratch of mine, he must not be able to return from the place of this scratch here."⁴⁵ Having thus scratched the ground, Laksamana walked away to join his brother.

Seeing that Laksamana had left, Maharaja Rawana descended from his carriage and turned himself into a man called Berahman who appeared to be very weak. He stood outside of the stone fence and, carrying a walking stick in his hand, he spoke to Siti Dewi, "O Princess! Give me anything you have because I am too weak." Siti Dewi said, "Hey Berahman! I have nothing with me." Maharaja Rawana then disappeared and changed into a man who was so senile that it seemed as if he would fail to carry himself. He stood near the stone fence and, gasping like one suffering from malaria, he spoke to Siti Dewi, "Princess, my mistress⁴⁶! Give me

⁴⁵ Cf. the Khotanese version, *Pelliot 2781: cu hā tvā byāśdā karā, mara mūña myāña kare*, which H. W. Bailey first translated into "there she stays in the midst of the circle" (Bailey 1940: 565) but, later, changed to "he who treads over that circle, he remains there inside the circle" (*Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 53).

⁴⁶ Mal. *tuanku* means "my lord" (*tuan* "lord", cf. *tuhan* "Lord, God"). The princess was also addressed *Tuan Puteri* which is simply rendered by "Princess" here.

some fire because my body is cold, my mistress." Upon hearing the old man's words, Siti Dewi felt pity for him and said, "Grandpa⁴⁷, come in and have the fire." The old man said, "O Princess, it would be better if you come out and hand it over by yourself because grandpa is afraid of stepping over that scratch of Laksamana." So Siti Dewi stood up and handed the fire to the old man. The old man said, "Extend your hand out of this fence." [When the princess did so,] Maharaja Rawana quickly received the fire and, pulling Siti Dewi's hand, he brought her out and mounted his carriage which flew up into the air and swiftly glided away.

§ 4.2

Maka Laksamana pun mengelilingi rumah Sita Dewi dan mengguris tanah itu dengan jarinya seraya berkata, "Hai bumi pertaruh ku Sita Dewi kepadamu barang siapa melangkah gurisku ini, pegangkan olehmu." Sudah berkata demikian maka Laksamana pun berjalanlah dengan hambanya empat orang.

Apabila Laksamana jauhlah daripada Sita Dewi dan tiadalah kedengaran bunyinya lagi, maka Maharaja Rawana pun datang merupakan dirinya seperti Brahman. Maka lalu berdiri di hadapan Sita Dewi maka kata Maharaja Rawana, "Hai menantu Maharaja Dasarata, beri apalah akan aku sesuatu anugerahmu." Maka kata Sita Dewi, "Hai Brahman, suatu pun tiada ada pada hamba hanya bunga pada tangan hamba inilah ada." Maka kata Brahman itu, "Hai puteri Sita Dewi, barang yang kau anugerahkan akan aku ambil." Mendengar kata demikian maka Sita Dewi pun mengunjukkan bunga itu kepada Brahman. Maka Brahman pun berkata, "Hai Sita Dewi

⁴⁷ Mal. *nenek* ("nana, granny"), here means rather "grandpa" (Cf. the honorific *nenda* "grandfather, grandmother").

tiada hamba dapat melangkah guris ini jikalau ada kerana kasih tuan hamba unjukkanlah sendiri kepada tangan hamba." Maka Sita Dewi pun turun dari rumahnya ke tanah. Maka kata Brahman, "Ya Tuanku Tuan Puteri, hamba tiada dapat melangkah guris ini unjukkanlah berdiri di dalam guris itu." Maka tangannya keluar mengunjukkan bunga itu kepada Brahman baharu Sita Dewi mengunjukkan bunga itu keluar guris itu maka ditangkapnya oleh Brahman itu tangan Sita Dewi. Maka lalu dibawanya terbang ke udara kepada rata itu [... ..]. (HSR[M]: 91-92)

Thereupon Laksamana circumambulated Sita Dewi's mansion and scratched the ground with his finger while saying, "O Earth, I commend (*pertaruh*) Sita Dewi to you! Whoever steps over this scratch of mine, you hold (*pegangkan*) him!" Having said so, Laksamana walked away with his four servants.

When Laksamana was already far away and was heard no more, Maharaja Rawana came and disguised himself as a brāhman. Standing before [the mansion of] Sita Dewi, Maharaja Rawana spoke, "O the daughter-in-law of Maharaja Dasarata! Give whatever gift to me." Sita Dewi said, "Hey brāhman! I have nothing but a flower in my hand." The brāhman said, "O Princess Sita Dewi, whatever you give, I will take." Hearing such words, Sita Dewi held out the flower to the brāhman. The brāhman said, "O Sita Dewi, I cannot go beyond this scratch. If you have love [for me], hold it out to my hand yourself." So Sita Dewi walked down from her house onto the ground. The brāhman said, "Princess, my mistress, [since] I cannot step over [the scratch], [pray] hold it out [while you] stand inside the [circular] scratch." So [Sita Dewi extended] her hand outside to hand the flower to the brāhman. As soon

as Sita Dewi held the flower beyond the scratch, the brāhman seized Sita Dewi by her hand, carried her off and flew up to the air towards the carriage [... ..].

Remarks

For Lakṣmaṇa's drawing a circle on the ground to create a circle of power to protect his sister-in-law Sītā before he left, cf. XYJ, Chap. 50⁴⁸ and Mair 1989: 717. Lakṣmaṇa had to leave because he was reviled by Sītā who was ignorant of Rāvaṇa's trickery. See also XYJ, Chap. 27, where the white skeleton demon appeared as a young lady, an old lady and an old man in turn, and misled the gullible Tripiṭaka master to rebuke and expel the "humane and righteous monkey king" (XYJ, Chap. 30: 有仁有義的猴王). Also, cf. HIP: 59 where Indraputra, forewarned by a skull (*tengkorak*), recognized the *rakṣaksa* (*rākṣasa*) who took the guise (*merupakan dirinya*) of a lady, an old man and a young man

⁴⁸ XYJ, 50: 3a: [… …] 將那平地下週圍畫了一道圈子，請唐僧坐在中間，着八戒、沙僧侍立左右，把馬與行李都放在近身，對唐僧合掌道：“老孫畫的這圈，強似那銅牆鐵壁，憑他甚麼虎豹狼虫，妖魔鬼怪，俱莫敢近。但只不許你們走出圈外，只在中間穩坐，保你無虞，但若出了圈兒，定遭毒手。千萬千萬！至祝至祝！” “[With his club, Xingzhe] drew a circle on the ground. [Then] the Tang monk was seated in its center, escorted by Pigsy and the Sand monk, and the horse and luggage were placed near beside them. [Xingzhe] joined his palms and addressed the Tang monk, ‘This circle I have drawn [forms a stronghold] as firm as a wall made of bronze and iron. Be it a tiger, a leopard, a wolf, an ogre, or a ghost, neither will dare to approach you. But you must not step out of this circle. Sitting composedly inside and you are guaranteed to be safe. But if you quit the circle, harm will surely befall you. Please heed my utmost warning! Heed my utmost warning! (*qianwan qianwan zhizhu zhizhu*. Note that *zhu* 祝 reads *zhu* 囑, a usage which can be found in, e.g., Fan Zhongyan's 范仲淹 [989-1052] famous biographical essay *Dou Jianyi lu* 竇諫議錄 in *Fan Wenzheng Gong bieji* 范文正公別集, the fourth volume of the *Song Fan Wenzheng Zhongxuan ergong quanji* 宋范文正、忠宣二公全集, 1910 ed., 4: 4b, 5b)

successively. The image of an old roguish brāhman is also found in the *Hikayat Indera Jaya / Hikayat Syah Mardan* (Pers. شاه مردان *shâh-i mardân* "king of humankind") in which Berahman was the teacher and trickster who, craving for Princess Jalul Asyikin, abused Syah Mardan's trust and deftly trapped him in the form of monkey (*keras*) (HSM: 63-68; cf. HKM: 122-124).

Additional Remarks

Lastly, to alert the reader to the complexity of the issue of Sun Wukong's origins, one more observation should suffice here.

In a deviant version of the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, viz. HSR(K), we find one straggling Little Monkey (Kera Kecil) acting as Hanuman II. This monkey, known as Kera Kecil Imam Tergangga, was instructed by Syah (Pers. *shâh* "king") Noman—i.e., the "Persianized" Sang Hanuman—to head to the plain (*padang*) of Anta (Skt. *antah*) Beranta (Skt. *bhrānta*) "internally perplexed, bewildered" to become the ruler of all the monkey tribes (HSR[K]: 61)⁴⁹. In HSR(B), however, the little monkey was Hanuman's own son, though it was a giant fish that gave birth to him and he was therefore not known to Hanuman until they chanced upon each other. In HXYJ (*A Sequel to Journey to the*

⁴⁹ Ar. *imâm* إمام "[spiritual] leader" in Little Monkey's name indicates a shift from Hinduism to Islam in the Malay version of the monkey king. For the plain of Anta Beranta, cf. Anta Berahi in HIP: 107-108, the plain where Princess Candralela Nurlala was placed in isolation by Raja Puspa Pandai. There the word *berahi* seems to have retained the meaning of Skt. *virahin* "separated; lonely". Mal. *berahi*, otherwise, means "passionate love" as in the compound *cinta berahi* (Skt. *cintā* "care, anxiety").

West), too, the role of Sun Wukong / Xingzhe 行者 (“peripatetic”)⁵⁰ / Dasheng 大聖 (“great sage”) was taken over by one Xiao Xingzhe 小行者 (“the little peripatetic one”) or Xiaosheng 小聖 (“little sage”). In XYB (*A Supplement to Journey to the West*), Sun Wukong found, to his surprise, that the Prince of Pāramitā (Boluomi Wang 波羅蜜王) was a son of his. But this, together with a bewildering array of temporal and spatial experiences, took place when Sun Wukong was stuck in the Qingqing Shijie 青青世界 “Blue World” created by the gigantic Qing 鯖 fish who was born at precisely the same time as was Sun Wukong. In the end, Sun Wukong was extricated from his embarrassing situation by Xukong Zhuren 虛空主人 or Lord of Space (cf. Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏菩薩) whose *gāthā* awakened the monkey to the fact that it was the infatuation (*qing* 情) of the monkey himself (symbol of the mind) that projected the monster fish as well as the illusory world (也無鯖魚者，乃是行者情)⁵¹. In view of the presence of parallel

⁵⁰ The monkey was one who wandered afoot and practised austerity (*cārīn* “walking around; practising”), cf. the monkey’s image as a rambler in the quote of T99.2 in note 32 *supra*.

⁵¹ This is still very much the spirit of the Buddhist adage featured in XYJ, viz., “As soon as the mind arises, all kinds of hindrance (Ch. *mo*, Skt. *māra*) arise; as soon as the mind ceases, all kinds of hindrance cease.” (XYJ, Chap. 13: 心生，種種魔生；心滅，種種魔滅。) However one should note that an insinuation of the Qing 清 dynasty was also intended here (青, 鯖, 情, 清 are homophones). Dong Yue 董說 (1620-1686), the author of XYB, became a Chan Buddhist recluse after the Manchu conquest of China. Dong’s most caustic innuendo of the Manchu dynasty is probably the following:

新居士在矇矓世界回來，玉門關閉，不能進入古人世界，權住未來世界中，開飯店度日。他是不肯忘本的人，因此改名叫做新古人。當日坐店中吃茶，只見孫行者從東邊亂嚷：“臊氣，臊氣！”一步一跌跑來。[... ..] 新古人道：“要臊，到我這裏來；不要臊，莫到我這裏來。這裏是韃子隔壁，再走走兒，便要

elements—such as the junior monkey, the giant fish (which can probably be traced back to the sea monster *makara*, known as *mojie dayu* 摩竭大魚 in Chinese, which symbolizes Kāma “Love” in Indian mythology), and the allegorical settings (the plain of Anta Beranta and the Qingqing Shijie)—in the Chinese and Malay stories, it may not be too

滿身惹臊。”行者聽罷，心中暗想：“老孫是箇毛團，萬一惹些臊氣，恰不弄成箇臊猢猻？[... ..]” (XYB, 10: 3a-b)

Returning from the Ignorant World, the New Lay Recluse (Xin Jushi) could not get into the Ancient World because the Jade Gate (Yumen, the most important pass in Gansu defending China from foreign incursions from the west) was closed. He had to stay provisionally in the Future World and open a restaurant to make a living there. As he was not the kind of persons ready to forget his roots, he changed his name to the New Ancient Man (Xin Guren). That very day, he was sitting in the restaurant and drinking tea when he saw Sun Xingzhe awkwardly rushing in from the east, yelling, “Stench! What a stench!” [... ..] The New Ancient Man said, “If you prefer stench, come to my place here; otherwise, do not come here. We are right next door to the Tatars (Dazi). Walking around a little more and your entire body will get smelly (*sao*).” Having heard this, Xingzhe mused, “Given my hirsuteness, in case I am stained with this smell, will I not just become a ‘smelly macaque’ (*saohusun*)? [... ..]”

I suspect that *saohusun* 臊猢猻 (胡孫) was meant to be a contemptuous reproach directed against the Ming officers who had turned to serve the Manchus. For a Ming Chinese, the ethnic designation “Hu” referred to the “Tatars” more frequently than to the Iranians. Whether the monkey serves as a pun with good or bad connotations is always a matter dependent on the context. For instance, if the Qing scholar Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) was correct, Dai Liang 戴良 (1317-1383) alludes positively to the Yuan Dynasty (*Yuan* 元 and *yuan* 猿 “monkey” are homophonous) in his comments on Yan Hui’s 顏輝 *Scroll of a Hundred Monkeys* (嘗題百猿圖，以猿比元，以王孫比明—this sentence was, however, crossed out in black ink in Zhu’s holograph *Shiguan gao zhuan* 史館藥傳, see *Fengyu Lou miji liuzhen* 風雨廬祕笈留真 [an 1917 reproduction], Vol. 3, pp.17a-17b).

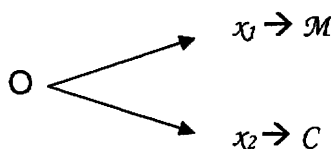
bold to suggest that the authors of HXYJ (a sequel to XYJ) and XYB (a "midquel" to XYJ) were also indebted to certain popular tales of monkeys that were genetically related to the several versions of HSR which we have been fortunate enough to read⁵².

For the time being, I am not able to tell whether the relationship between the Malay (\mathcal{M} : the various versions of HSR) and the Chinese (C : XYJ, HXYJ, XYB), both share a common origin (O), is one of I or II below:

I:



II:



It is my sincere hope that the fragmentary notes in this limited study may spur students of Chinese or Malay literature into finding out χ . Sometimes, it is not the correct answer, but rather the process of finding an answer itself, that increases our knowledge considerably.

⁵² A possible South Indian source (Tamil) had been suggested for the Malay Rāma saga before the turn of the 20th century (Juynboll: 66) but, so far, such an "original" text has yet to surface. See also Singaravelu.

Language Abbreviations:

Ar. = Arabic

Bu. = Bugis

Ch. = Chinese

Mal. = Malay

OJ. = Old Javanese

P. = Pāli

Pers. = Persian

Skt. = Sanskrit

Tam. = Tamil

Tib. = Tibetan

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- HDM Henri Chambert-Loir. *Hikayat Dewa Mandu: épopée malaise*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1980s.
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- HNA Mu'jizah ed. *Hikayat Nakhoda Asyik*. Jakarta : Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1995.
- HNM *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* (cf. HMB). In Mohd. Yusof Md. Nor ed. *Antologi Enam Hikayat*. Petaling Jaya : Fajar Bakti, 1989.

- HPP Jamilah Haji Ahmad ed. *Hikayat Parang Puting*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran, 1980.
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- HSS *Hikayat Sang Samba (Hikayat Maharaja Boma)*. *Kesusasteraan Melayu Rampai-rampai III: Cerita Hindu dan Jawa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1958.
- HXYJ *Hou Xiyou ji* 後西遊記. Dalian: Dalian Chubanshe, 2000.
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PN Abdul Rahman Kaeh. *Panji Narawangsa*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pendidikan, 1989.

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SGLZ *Chanzong songgu lianzhu tongji* 禪宗頌古聯珠通集 (*Dai Nihon manji zoku zōkyō* 大日本卅字續藏經 Vol. 65). Tokyo: 1986.

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SGZTSYY *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* 三國志通俗演義. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji

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SHZ Jiang Zugang 蔣祖綱 ed. *Guben Shuihu zhuan* 古本水滸傳. Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue, 1996.

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T x.y: z

T = *Taishō shinshu daizokyō* 大正新修大藏經.

x = serial no., y = volume no., z = page no.

WDHY *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984.

WJ *Wujia zhengzong zan* 五家正宗贊. Kyōto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1991.

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XYB *Xiyou bu* 西遊補. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1990.

XYJ *Li Zhuowu Xiansheng piping Xiyou ji* 李卓吾先生批評西遊記 (*Ming-Qing shanben xiaoshuo congkan chubian* 明清善本小說叢刊初編). Taipei: Tianyi Chubanshe, 1985.

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