Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture

Volume 7, Number 2, November 2025
p. 284-304
http://journal2.uad.ac.id/index.php/notion/index

Narrating power: Hunting and state formation in Malay and Old Javanese texts—a comparative philological critique

Riqko Nur Ardi Windayanto[1], Mamlahatun Buduroh[2]
[1,2]Department of Literature, Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

Corresponding author: mamlahatun.buduroh@ui.ac.id

Citation: Windayanto, R.N.A. & Buduroh, M. (2025). Narrating power: Hunting and state formation in Malay and Old Javanese texts—a comparative philological critique. *NOTION: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture,* 7(2), 284-304. https://doi.org/10.12928/notion.v7i2.13705

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:
Received: 19-06-2025
Accepted: 20-10-2025

Keywords:
Comparative literature
Hunting
Malay
Old Javanese
State formation

ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal the articulation of state formation as depicted in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and *Ādiparwa* by examining the hunting events narrated in both texts. By employing the narratology to analyze the events comparatively, this study finds that in the Malay *Hikayat*, the hunting carried out by Raja Ahmad and Merah Silu (Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh) is incidental, as instead of encountering animal as the primary target, they encounter other objects, directly signifying the formation of a state—namely genealogy and the city/palaces founding as a form of territorialization. Meanwhile, in the *Ādiparwa*, the hunting is not incidental; the actors do encounter their game (deer), but it results in a curse and death. Nevertheless, hunting articulates genealogy and rituals demonstrating the grandeur of the state. The Malay text originates from the 14th century Sultanate of Samudera-Pasai and was written to justify the relocation of the capital to Pasai for security and defense. In contrast, the Old Javanese text was written in the 10th century under the patronage of Dharmawangśa Tĕguh, aiming to build a myth of descent as a form of political cultural capital. This study contributes to decolonial pratice by chalengging Geertz's notion that ignores the significance of manuscript. Otherwise, this study sheds light that hunting in the texts is not merely the relation between the king and the game, but discursively also Shapes the political symbol regarding the understanding the historiography of state formation in Southeast Asia. However, as both texts belong to court literature, they tend to reflect elite perspectives and may overlook subaltern voices. Therefore, cross-source analysis and corroboration are necessary to strengthen our understanding of state formation in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

I. INTRODUCTION

Journey into the forest for the purpose of hunting is an inherent activity in Southeast Asia. Humans engage in hunting to fulfill at least three needs—cultural expression, sustenance,

and income—though the functions of hunting vary across time and place and often undergo transformation (Harrison et al., 2016, p. 3). Not only showing the relation between hunter and prey, hunting in this region also reflects an articulation of power (Zakaria, 2023a, p. 6). For instance, several inscriptions founded in Cambodia contain accounts of elephant hunting by Jayavarman III as form of political mobilization (Lowman, 2013, p. 33), while in 19th-century colonized Siam, numerous books emerged documenting elephant hunts and their descriptions (Zakaria, 2023a, p. 20). These indicate that hunting relates to the matter of state and state formation. In this study, state refers to a 'kingdom' or 'sultanate' (Geertz, 2017, p. 5), while state formation refers to the ongoing process of constituting such a state (Steinmetz, 1999, p. 9).

Whereas studies in Southeast Asia above typically examine the relationship between hunting and state formation or the political contexts behind it using archaeological and colonial sources, philological study also offers an opportunity to examine how hunting and state formation represented textually in Nusantaran manuscripts, as well as the implications and the contexts that give rise to those implications. It can be further explored in two grand manuscript traditions, namely Malay and Old Javanese. Hunting is present in the former tradition, for instance in the *Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa*, telling the story of a low-class hunter whose journey reveals the realism of the Javanese natural world (Kieven, 2022, p. 318). Hunting is also found in the Malay tradition. According to the Malay Concordance Project, for example, the words *berburu*, *berburuan*, and *berburuanlah* appear a total of 203 times—most frequently in *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*, and *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*.

Spesifically, theme about hunting and state formation is exemplified in two canonical texts from respective tradition, namely *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* from Malay and *Ādiparwa* from Old Javanese. The simmiliarity of theme between the two implies that hunting is a mobile concept, transcending the boundaries of traditions across the Nusantara. This mobile concept presents both potential and significance for analysis within the framework of comparative literature (Anggraeni, 2023). This study adopts such a framework in its examination of the Old Javanese *Ādiparwa* based on the Juynboll edition which is translated by Phalgunadi (1990), and the Malay *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, romanized by Hill (1960) from Raffles MS 67 manuscript. Preliminary readings suggest that both texts narrate hunting episodes involving a reigning monarch. These hunting expeditions carry implications for the life of the king and the governance of the state (whether kingdom or sultanate). This suggests that hunting is not merely an event within the structural framework of the texts, but a discursively and significantly articulated moment that expresses a conception of state formation.

As long as the exploration of previous studies, the *Hikayat* has been examined philologically through textual editions prepared by Mead (1914) and Hill (1960), codicologically with a focus on manuscript collection history by Jones (1980) and Kratz (1989), in terms of toponymy by Winstedt (1917), and in relation to its textual connections with the *Sejarah Melayu* by Sweeney (1967). The theme of state formation is not new in philological

studies. In this context, the *Hikayat* has been a corpus for analyzing the role of Islam in state ethics (Burhanudin, 2001), the unification of upstream and downstream regions in the formation of maritime-based sultanates (Hall, 2001), later updated by Hall (2017) with an emphasis on the role of communities in state formation, and most recently by Sohoni (2018), who discussed hunting and the myth of city foundation. The *Ādiparwa*, meanwhile, has been studied by van der Molen (2016), focusing on the narrative of the character Ekalawya. van der Molen (2010) also addressed the Old Javanese *Mahābhārata* more broadly, particularly in the context of royal patronage of the text, a theme also explored by Supomo (2006).

Both texts have been widely discussed due to their textual and contextual significance. While many of these studies do not explicitly frame their discussions within the theme of state formation, their topics and findings often point toward proto concepts related to this theme. In this regard, Sohoni's work most closely aligns with and intersects this current study. Besides that, the comparative approach has been employed in earlier studies within the same tradition—as in studies of the *Sejarah Melayu* by Burhanudin and Sweeney. Based on these scholarly syntheses, this current study specifically examines hunting as an event that carries implications for the concept of state formation within the texts. Additionally, this study applies a cross-traditional comparative reading between a Malay and an Old Javanese text. This study seeks to address two primary questions: how is state formation articulated in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and the *Ādiparwa* through the hunting? Second, how do these articulations compare, and what contextual factors imply the differences and similarities?

Therefore, the study aims to conduct a textual analysis of hunting, followed by an exposition of the concepts articulated in the two texts, along with the contexts shaping those articulations since literary works are not passive agents; rather, they are cultural products created to actively transmit specific ideas or concepts. While *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, as transliterated by Hill, was completed in 1815 or the 19th century, the archetype of the manuscript is believed to have been composed in the 14th century (Jones, 1980). Meanwhile, the *Ādiparwa* was produced under the patronage of Dharmawangśa Tĕguh Anantavikramottumgadeva, who ruled East Java from 991 CE to 1016 CE (Phalgunadi, 1990). Both texts were composed under specific political authorities, suggesting that they may be closely linked to the idea of state formation.

Philological study on the theme of state formation is important for demonstrating that manuscripts possess significant value as mediums through which a deeper understanding of historical processes of state formation in Indonesia can be attained. This study also aims to counter Clifford Geertz's (2017) skepticism toward the philological study as a viable method for understanding state formation. His study that emphasizing the anthropological approach indeed usefull in understanding how state is formed in society. However, ignoring the manuscripts because of its unsignificane is not correct since manuscript is produced in certain context. Although the two texts are not pure historical sources in the archival sense, by first examining the hunting narratives, the conceptual frameworks articulated by the two texts—as forms of metanarrative—can serve as a valuable lens through which state

formation can be understood in relation to each text's specific historical and cultural context. As stated by Aminudin et al. (2024), literary works serve as instruments of social, political, and cultural expression. Therefore, understanding discursive formation enables us to comprehend the socio-historical contexts in which literary works are produced (Apriyani & Rosly, 2024).

In addition, the use of comparative literature in this study is a deliberate methodological choice, intended to generate cross-textual and cross-traditional findings that are richer and more diverse. Within the context of Indonesian philology, it is particularly beneficial as it helps avoid narrowly defined a-realism, instead encouraging an appreciation of the interrelatedness among manuscript traditions, textual practices, and literary cultures (Pollock, 2015, p. 7). By employing comparative literature, this study does not disregard the critiques that view comparative literature as a Eurocentric approach—one that, in turn, reinforces Western superiority over the East. However, as Fusco (2006) argues, comparative literature seeks to broaden its scope by incorporating non-Western literatures. Thus, the use of comparative literature in this study not only expands the field of inquiry within the context of Indonesian philology, but also constitutes an act of decolonization—utilizing comparative literature to engage with Malay and Old Javanese texts, or, alternatively, employing Western frameworks as tools to empower the East. In this regard, comparative analysis serves as a means to gain cross-cultural pragmatic understanding through literary works (Nofendralova & Sartini, 2024, p. 73; Fatha et al., 2021, p. 93).

II. METHOD

This study approaches the two texts using a comparative literature framework. Anggraeni (2023) offers a new perspective by defining comparative literature as a mode of inquiry that transcends boundaries—national, regional, and cultural—in order to explore ideas that are mobile. This definition highlights the selection of a particular idea as the formal object of study, as this idea is received, adapted, and appropriated across different literary traditions. We find that this definition is particularly apt for conducting a comparative study of the Nusantara texts, where ideas frequently circulate among various traditions. This study examines hunting as both an event and an idea that implicates the concept of state formation in Old Javanese and Malay texts. The primary corpora are *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, as transliterated by Hill (1960), and the English translation of the *Ādiparwa* by Phalgunadi (1990). The methodological steps are outlined as follows.

First, a close reading is conducted to identify hunting narratives in both texts and to understand them holistically within the broader context of each story. These linguistic data are then interpreted using Mieke Bal's narratological theory, particularly her conceptualization of the event. According to Bal (2017, p. 155), an event is defined as a transition from one state to another, analyzed based on their function—whether they are functional or non-functional within the narrative structure (Bal, 2017, p. 155). In this study, all hunting events will be identified and mapped; however, not all of them will be analyzed, as in some cases, hunting serves as a peripheral event or implies matters unrelated either directly

or indirectly to state formation. This theoretical framework is chosen for its flexibility, allowing us to focus exclusively on one significant narrative aspect without needing to cover the entire text.

The first analysis is also supported by previous literature on state formation, especially Day's (2002) work on the formation of Southeast Asian states. Southeast Asian scholar Day (2002, pp. 287–289) argues that state formation involves multiple aspects, including kinship and genealogy, knowledge and regimes of truth, bureaucratic practices, and violence. This study does not seek to operationalize each concept by tracing its direct representation in the text. Instead, it explores how hunting constructs symbols linked to one or more of Day's concepts. The analysis relies on the researcher's retrospective interpretation to uncover connections between hunting events and aspects of state formation, which are further elaborated in the discussion

Second, the next step is a comparative analysis that highlights both the similarities and differences expressed in the two texts. This comparison is not grounded in a fixed set of aspects, but is in a fluid and flexible manner, aiming to uncover convergences and divergences in how the concept of state formation is implicated through the hunting narratives in each text. Third, this comparative analysis is supported by a contextual investigation informed by prior studies on the historical and political production of both texts. This final step aims to illuminate the underlying contexts that shape the articulation of state formation in the Malay and Old Javanese texts. The structure of this study consists of three main sections: state formation in the Malay text, state formation in the Javanese text, and a comparative analysis along with contextual discussion. The study concludes with a synthesis of its findings and their broader implications.

As a form of methodological accountability, we acknowledge several potential biases in this study. First, we did not engage with the original Old Javanese text directly, but relied on Phalgunadi's translation. While this translation is credible and widely recognized, and translation is a legitimate practice within philological work, it inevitably introduces a degree of separation from the original version of the text. Second, as scholars in the field of philology, we acknowledge the agency of texts in discussing the theme of state formation. However, these texts should not be treated as straightforward historical sources; rather, they require careful interpretation of their literary substance, situated within the broader contexts in which they were produced. Additionally, the two texts under examination belong to court literature, thus the voices they articulate are predominantly elite. The depiction of hunting reflects this elitism. Consequently, the findings of this study represent state formation from an elite perspective—king, sultan, court, and ruler—which may not fully accommodate the voices of subaltern groups who were also involved in the process. This limitation marks an important point for consideration in future research.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

State Formation through Hunting in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*

Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai begins with the story of two friendly kings, King Muhammad and King Ahmad. At the moment, King Muhammad discovers a baby girl born from a *rebung betung* (bamboo shoot), and thus she is named Putri Betong. King Ahmad, who has yet to have offspring, one day ventures into the forest to hunt. Unfortunately, no game appears before him. Instead, the King encounters a small prayer house (*surau*) inhabited by an old man. To this elder, the King recounts the story of his brother, King Muhammad, who had miraculously obtained a daughter. In response, the old man offers the following advice.

> "*Maka ujar orang tua itu. 'Hai, anak-ku jikalau tuan hendak akan anak baik-lah aku tunjokkan dia akan tuan nanti-lah tuan hamba di-sini barang sa-saat.' Maka di-nanti-nya oleh Raja Ahmad itu. Maka pada sa-saat itu juga datang-lah sa-ekur gajah terlalu besar. Maka ada sa-orang kanak-kanak dudok atas kepala-nya maka di-mandikan-nya ia ka-sungai*" (transliterated by Hill, 1960, p. 47).
>
> "Then said the old man, "Oh my son, if you desire the child, I shall show him to you. Please wait here for a moment." So, Raja Ahmad waited, so at that very moment, there came a very large elephant. Upon its head sat a child, and he was being bathed in the river."

One way to understand a functional event is to examine the outcomes resulting from the actors' choices to engage in that event (Bal, 2017, p. 156). Rather than securing game—the expected and ideal result of hunting—King Ahmad returns empty-handed. The excerpt above reveals that hunting leads to an encounter between the king and an old man. Implicitly, the excerpt also reflects King Ahmad's desire to have a child, as his brother already has one. The old man then advises him to wait for a while, after which a boy appears, sitting atop an elephant in the forest. On an auspicious day, Friday, the king returns to the forest to await the elephant and the boy riding it. With the help of his soldiers, he manages to seize the boy and bring him back to his palace, naming him Merah Gajah.

According to Shabah et al. (2021, p. 339), the term *merah* or *meurah* is a title used among royal families. It refers to the designation of a king in Aceh prior to the arrival of Islam (Shabah et al., 2021, p. 353). Meanwhile, Setiawan (2022, p. 107) explains that *merah*, *meurah*, or *mirah* implies a high social status. Thus, through this naming, the boy—once a forest dweller—becomes a noble, living in the palace and endowed with elevated social class. The *Hikayat* then tells that Merah Gajah, upon reaching maturity, marries Putri Betong, blessed with two sons: the first, Merah Silu, and the second, Merah Hasum. Merah Silu is later narrated as the ruler who founded and reigned over Samudera Pasai for the first time. Following the death of Merah Gajah, Putri Betong, and their respective fathers, Merah Silu and Merah Hasum journey together until they reach the dwelling of Megat Iskandar. There, Merah Silu is crowned king by Megat Iskandar, assuming the throne of Rimba Jeran to replace Sultan Maliku'l-Nasar, who was defeated in war.

We argue that the significance of King Ahmad's hunting persists throughout the narrative, culminating in the rise of Merah Silu. The hunting facilitated the king's encounter with a boy

who would ultimately become the progenitor of Merah Silu—in other words, Merah Silu's presence in the story is made possible by a seemingly fruitless hunting. The episode allows the establishment of a genealogical link between a royal figure and a boy miraculously encountered atop an elephant. As Sudibyo (2000, p. 196) notes, Merah Silu possesses a special genealogy. Although he does not elaborate further on why it is considered special, it may be interpreted from Merah Silu's status as the son of Merah Gajah—the boy who appeared riding an elephant. Zakaria (2023b, p. 158) explains that riding an elephant—a large mammal—signifies class and authority, as capturing, taming, and maintaining an elephant incurs significant cost. However, in the context of the Malay world, Zakaria (2023b, p. 158) notes that elephant training was not centralized, given the vastness of the forests. In such untamed environments, elephants that consumed certain plants were understood to be part of God's dominion and, thus, could not be claimed by anyone. The wild elephant, the forest, and the boy raised within it form a symbolic unity, representing that all three belong to God and cannot be claimed—even by King Ahmad. When the king succeeds in taking the boy, this act can be interpreted as the king's successful acquisition of God's property and as divine consent for the king to care for the boy. In relation to the special genealogy, the hunting yields a genealogical fact: Merah Silu descends from a father whose origin is divine.

Within this genealogy, woman hold a status equal to that of men. This is evidenced by the case of Princess Betong, who gave birth to Merah Silu. This role is not something that is attained or strived for, but rather inherently part of her being. Her role is shaped by the princess's identity as a woman born through a miraculous means—not from a human, but from a giant bamboo stalk. This extraordinary birth has implications for Merah Silu's own special genealogy, as he was born of a mother with a miraculous origin. Princess Betong's role in the formation of this genealogy challenges the notion of woman's passive status in Malay literature. As noted by Hamdan & Md.Radzi (2014, p. 222), woman in Malay literature is often portrayed as weak mentally, physically, and spiritually. However, *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* presents the opposite condition, as the character's extraordinary identity plays a significant role in the construction of the genealogy.

The paragraph above demonstrates that genealogy is constructed in diverse ways, combining the adoption of magically obtained children with bloodline relations that produce heirs. Thus, genealogy here is not merely about who begets whom, but also how heirs to the throne and dynasty are acquired. Braginsky (2013, p. 372) notes that dynastic space in Malay textual discourse consists of two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. The vertical dimension, according to Braginsky, refers to kings who are born of or originate from supernatural forces, a motif later modified with the arrival of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic elements. In *Hikayat*, hunting is narrated as a foundational event, enabling Merah Silu's becoming as a king, through descent from miraculous or divinely attributed figures. This pre-Islamic vertical dynastic space facilitates Merah Silu's transformation into a sultan who embraces Islam. As Milner (1981, p. 51) argues, an emphasis on pre-Islamic origins does not indicate that Malay rulers rejected Islamic ideas. On the contrary, the emphasis serves to legitimize Sultan

Maliku'l-Saleh not only through Islam as the state religion, but also through pre-Islamic mythologies surrounding the union of a man on an elephant and a princess from a bamboo shoot.

While the earlier hunting episode constructs a genealogical narrative, the hunting expeditions conducted by Merah Silu after his ascension to the throne serve a different purpose. According to the *Hikayat*, he hunts twice. The first hunting takes place before his conversion to Islam. On one occasion, he ventures into Rimba Jeran accompanied by a dog. The dog begins barking to an ant the size of a cat, which is at a high ground. Upon discovering this, Merah Silu captures the ant and eats it. The narrative then shifts to the following excerpt.

> "*Maka tanah tinggi itu pun di-suroh Merah Silu tebas pada segala orang yang serta-nya itu. Maka sa-telah itu di-perbuat-nya akan istana nya, sa-telah maka Merah Silu pun dudok-lah ia di-sana, dengan segala hulubalang-nya dan segala rayat-nya diam ia di-sana. Maka di-namai oleh Merah Silu negeri itu Semudera herti-nya semut yang amat besar; di-sana-lah ia diam raja itu*" (transliterated by Hill, 1960, p. 55).
>
> "Then Merah Silu orders all the people who are with him to clear the high ground. After that, he builds his palace, and when it is completed, Merah Silu settles there with all his chiefs and citizenry. Merah Silu names that place Semudera, which means a giant ant; it is there that the king resided."

The hunts carried out by Merah Silu functionally led not only to the discovery of game, but also to the identification of highland area as suitable locations for establishing a palace. The first palace he built is Samudera. This type of narrative motif reappears when Merah Silu—who has changed his name to Sultan Malik al-Saleh after converting to Islam—go hunting for a second time. In a forest near the coast, he encounters a highland area occupied by a mousedeer. The mousedeer barks at the dogs which, according to the Sultan, indicated it was no ordinary animal. Therefore, he decided to establish a palace there, naming it Pasai. In this text, huntings become the medium for locating the future site of a palace—thus transforming an abstract idea of the state into physical space. This is actualized through the clearing of forests on high ground discovered during the hunting. This process is referred to as *menebas rimba*, comparable to *mbabad alas* in Javanese contexts (Quinn, 2002, p. 181). Hao (2024, pp. 8, 11) suggests that transforming isolated areas—especially forests—into inhabited settlements constitutes a paradigmatic moment that not only displays control over nature, but also signifies spiritual mastery over worldly desires. The founding of these two palaces or city reflects the concept of territorialization. Day (2002, pp. 288–289) asserts that it is part of bureaucratic development, marked by defined realms that affirm the state authority.

It is also important to note that the first and second hunting are separated by the arrival of Islam. The arrival of Islam is narrated through two modes: fantastical and realist. The former mode appears in Merah Silu's dream encounter with the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet instructs Merah Silu to recite the *shahada* (the profession of faith), which he initially

refuses. The Prophet then restrains him, opens his mouth, and spits into it. From that moment, the Prophet renames him Sultan Malik al-Saleh, who embraces Islam and is required to implement Islamic law. Bowen (1984, p. 686) argues that the name connects Aceh with Arabia, positioning it as one of the earliest regions to receive Islam. According to Alatas (2019, p. 6), dreams function as creative sites and dialogical exchanges that bring together the dreamer and other actors from different ontological realms. The ontologies of Merah Silu and the Prophet Muhammad are indeed distinct, but their encounter becomes a symbolic site that facilitates a connection between Islam in Samudera and Islam in Mecca, highlighting that Islam in the former location is inseparable from the shadow of Islam in the latter. The Prophet's command and symbolic act of spitting into Merah Silu's mouth signify the subjugation of the king to Islamic authority and the use of Islam as a source of legitimacy, which integratively justifies the ruler's conversion.

The realist mode is conveyed through a prophetic narration in which the Prophet Muhammad informs his companions that after His passing, there will arise a sultanate in the lands below the wind named Samudera. He instructs that an emissary should later be sent to this sultanate aboard a ship, bringing royal regalia to facilitate the Islamization of its king and people. The emissary is Shaikh Ismail. The *Hikayat* recounts the success of this mission upon his arrival in Samudera, where he succeeds in converting the population to Islam. This is shown in the following excerpt.

> "*Maka apabila sudah berhimpun-lah sakalian-nya, maka di-ajari oleh Shaikh Ismail menguchap al-shahada akan mereka itu sakalian-nya. Maka segala mereka itu pun rela-lah menguchap du'a kalimat al-shahada dengan tulus ikhlas yakin hati-nya. Sebab itu-lah maka di-namai Daru'l-islam, karana tiada sakalian-nya orang itu dengan di-gagahi dan tiada mashaqqakan-nya dan tiada dengan di-perlelahkan-nya pada mengerjakan kerja masok ugama Islam*" (transliterated by Hill, 1960, p. 58).
>
> "When they all have gathered, Shaikh Ismail teaches them to recite the *shahada*. And they all willingly recite the words of the *shahada* with sincere hearts and firm conviction. That is why the place is named Daru'l-Islam, because none of the people were forced, troubled, or wearied in embracing Islam."

Shaikh Ismail not only guides Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh in proclaiming the *shahada*, but also undertakes the Islamization of his entire populace, namely all the nobles and citizens, who willingly embrace Islam by sincerely and voluntarily. Consequently, the state is named Daru'l-Islam and is often referred to in the text as *Samudera Daru'l-Islam*. The term *Darul Islam* or *dar al-Islam* in Arabic literally means 'the abode of Islam' or 'the Islamic world', implying that adherence to Islamic law is obligatory in that state (van Dijk, 1981, p. 10). The designation Daru'l-Islam signifies that Samudera is not only established through the hunting in Rimba Jeran, but is also continuously shaped and maintained. The arrival of Islam does not only transform the religious culture of the ruler and his subjects, but also provides a new identity. Samudera thus is not only a kingdom born from the discovery of a cat-sized ant, but one that makes Islam the basis of governance and life.

Historically, Islam was indeed intertwined with the development of the Samudera Pasai Sultanate, such that religion was aligned with politics. As Yakin (2015, p. 278) states, political power was an echo of Islam, with the sultanate serving as a center for Islamic dissemination. However, the arrival of Islam does not entirely eliminate pre-Islamic element. This indicates that Islamic and pre-Islamic elements coexisted almost simultaneously. Sohoni (2018, p. 230) notes that the founding of a palace or city through mystical narratives presents a vision of miraculous events divinely sanctioned. Meanwhile, the arrival of Islam—through an encounter with the Prophet Muhammad in a dream and the coming of envoys from Mecca—suggests that the sovereignty of Samudera Pasai is seemingly endorsed, legitimized, and supported by the Islamic authority at its center, namely Mecca, and even directly by the Prophet himself. Thus, the mystical tale of the hunting and the establishment of the palace, alongside the sociocultural conversion to Islam, enable Islam and mythic element to converge in building the legitimacy of the formation of the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai, both genealogically and in terms of territorialization.

State Formation through Hunting in the Old Javanese *Ādiparwa*

Hunting is quite prevalent in the *Ādiparwa*, appearing either briefly or as extended events. These include: (1) the hunting by Parikṣit which leads to his meeting with Samīti, then ultimately bringing a curse upon Parikṣit that he will die from the bite of the serpent Takṣaka; (2) the hunting by Pāṇḍu, which results in a curse from Bhagavān Kindama; (3) Sāntanu's hunting, leading him to encounter Gaṅgā by the riverbank; (4) Sāntanu's hunting, where he discovers a pair of male and female babies originating from magical sperm left by Saradvan, attracted to Jānapadi; the children are named Krpa and Krpī (Krpa later becoming the teacher of the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava, while Krpī marries Droṇa); (5) Duśvanta's successful hunting of many animals, after which he arrives at the beautiful hermitage of Bhagavān Kanva, where he meets a woman; (6) Sambarana's hunting, leading to his meeting and falling in love with the celestial nymph Tapati; and (7) Maharaja Basuparichāra's hunting, during which his sexual desire arises upon recalling the beauty of Girika, causing his sperm to spill. Events (3), (4), (5), and (6) depict hunting briefly, yet it acts as the means through which characters meet one another. Another motif appears in event (7), where hunting creates physical distance between the actors and his partner, prompting the release of sperm. Lastly, events (1) and (2) portray hunting as the cause of a curse upon kings. Collectively, these hunting narratives imply that hunting functionally serves as the foundation for subsequent events. This function is reinforced by the shared attribute across all seven events that hunting is performed by kings.

Falk (1973, p. 1) argues that the wild environment and civilized human spaces are often perceived as distinct—wild nature is dangerous and avoided by humans. However, this opposition is not rigid, as there is a complex relationship between kingdom and the wild, since the wilderness is an entity to be conquered for the accumulation of power (Falk, 1973, p. 1). In the context of the *Ādiparwa*, hunting reflects this complexity of relationship. Hunting serves as a ritualized display and performance of a king's authority and power, enabling him

to move freely between the inner kingdom and the outer wild. Yet, at times, the forest also brings disaster, as experienced by Pāṇḍu and Parikṣit.

This section focuses specifically on the huntings of Pāṇḍu and Parikṣit. These huntings bring about disasters in the form of curses, which significantly affect the articulation of state formation. The hunting by these actors is more meaningful for analysis compared to those of others. Pāṇḍu of Hastināpura goes for hunting at the foothills of Himavān, accompanied by his two wives, Kunti and Mādrī. Pāṇḍu is depicted as a great king who has conquered several realms, such as Magadha, Mithila, Kāśi, Suhmā, and Svendra, acquiring wealth and prosperity from these countries. The text does not narrate further on the specific reason for Pāṇḍu's hunting. However, implicitly, it depicts royal hunting as a ritualistic activity that signifies his authority and power as a great king. During the hunting, he sees a beautiful white she-deer. Bhagavān Kindama, sexually attracted to the deer, transforms into a he-deer and engages in intercourse. While they are copulating, Pāṇḍu shoots an arrow which struck them, leading to subsequent events.

> "When both of them were making love, they were hit with sharp arrows by Pāndu. Immediately Bhagavan Kindama, who had assumed the appearance of a he-deer, *manusyavachanam* addressed Maharaja Pāndu in a human voice: […]" (translated by Phalgunadi, 1990, p. 189)

The hunting by Pāndu is not incidental in nature. The term *incidental* here refers to unintentional encounters that lead characters to meet other figures or objects instead of the actual game being pursued. In contrast, Pāndu's hunting indeed involved a direct encounter with a pair of deer. Mistaking them as legitimate games, Pāndu shoots his arrow. Unfortunately, he is unaware that the male deer is in fact a sage in disguise. With his anthropocentric identity, the sage is able to reprimand and even curse Pāndu. In his rebuke, Kindama expresses his fury at Pāndu, stating that killing him—in the form of a deer engaging in sexual intercourse—is unjustifiable. He then curses upon Pāndu: "*Yāwat kita masaṅgamā lāwan strinta, pějaha tanpamaṅguha ñ kāmarasa*" ('Whenever you will make love with your wife, you will die instantaneously, without obtaining the pleasure of making love') (Phalgunadi, 1990, p. 191). Stricken with grief, Pāndu decides to renounce the throne and never return to the kingdom. He casts off all royal dresses and, accompanied by his two wives, wanders across various hermitages in the hills before finally settling in Sataśṛṅga.

Pāndu's encounter with the couple of deer, rather than culminating in a successful hunting, turns disastrous as it brings upon him a curse, threatening his ability to engage in sexual relations and get offspring. Sahgal (2015, p. 11) argues that the curse experienced by Pāndu reflects a subtle tension between the *kṣatriya* and *brāhmaṇa* orders: while hunting is a justified and inherent activity of the *kṣatriya*, it is precisely this action that compelled Pāndu to adopt the path of a *brāhmaṇa*, renouncing worldly ties and seeking atonement for his transgressions. Thus, the hunting becomes the catalyst for Pāndu's abandonment of the kingdom and the very power that defined his *kṣatriya* identity. An activity previously deemed

legitimate and intrinsic to his role ultimately results in his disconnection from the royal domain and authority he once held.

A similar event unfolds in the next generation through Arjuna's grandson, Parikṣit. As stated in the text: "*ndān kadi mahārāja Pāndu sira sakta riñ gunāburu. Asiñ wukir alas paran irāmet mrga*" ('Pariksit like Maharaja Pāndu, is fond of hunting. Every jungle and mountain are his hunting ground') (Phalgunadi, 1990, p. 89). It illustrates that hunting is not merely an activity inherent to the *kṣatriya* class, but also a practice transmitted and institutionalized across generations. On one such hunting, Parikṣit pursues a deer in the forest, but lost track of it. Thirsty, he stops at the hermitage of Bhagavān Samīti and inquires whether the sage has seen the fleeing deer. The sage, however, is drinking and does not respond at all. Offended by the sage's silence, Parikṣit places a dead snake around the sage's neck. Yet the sage is still silent, neither reacting with anger nor speaking in return. Upon learning of this incident, Śṛṅgi, son of Bhagavān Samīti, becomes enraged and cursed King Parikṣit, declaring that he will die because of snake bite inflicted by Takṣaka seven days from the utterance of the curse. This curse came to pass when Takṣaka, hiding inside a guava fruit, fatally bit the king.

As in Pāndu's case, Parikṣit's hunting is not entirely incidental either, as the deer is the intended quarry and the ideal goal is its successful capture. The hunting does not simply initiate a new narrative event in the form of a meeting between actors, but also triggers a curse resulting from a specific action by Parikṣit, that ultimately leads to his death. This study sheds light that hunting during Parikṣit's time causes significant implications for the narrative arc of his son, Janamejaya. Enraged upon knowing that his father's death has been caused by Takṣaka, Janamejaya asks the brahmins to perform a sacrificial ritual as an act of vengeance, as demonstrated in the following excerpt.

> Thus spoke the Brahmanas. Then the king ordered all his ministers (*mantri*) to arrange the offerings, and also to look for a suitable place for the ceremony strictly as per the Brāhmanas' instructions. The place for the ceremony should be two yojanas long. It was measured by the Brahmanas accompanied by prayers as per norms laid down in the religious scriptures (*vidhiśāstra*) (translated by Phalgunadi, 1990, pp. 97—99).

Janamejaya inquires of the brahmins about the existence of a sacrificial ceremony intended for serpents and *nāgas*, and whether such a rite could indeed be performed. According to the brahmins, such a ritual does exist, yet no king has ever succeeded in performing it, except for a great king such as Janamejaya. Moreover, no kingdom in the past has ever managed to carry it out, making the moment ideal for Janamejaya to undertake it. The above excerpt depicts the preparatory process of the ritual: the measurement of the sacrificial grounds accompanied by the chanting of mantras. However, the ritual, *yajñasarpa* 'serpent sacrifice', is not entirely successful. While countless serpents and *nāgas* from all corners are indeed drawn into the sacrificial fire (*kunda*), this fate does not befall Takṣaka.

The motif of hunting in the *Ādiparwa*, as represented by Pāndu and Parikṣit, results in curses that ultimately lead them to death. However, this study argues that the functional significance of these events extends beyond serving merely as narrative causes or precedents for their deaths. Rather, they articulate ideas of state formation. Although the curse upon Pāndu initially threatens the continuation of his lineage and disrupts the sovereignty of Hastināpura, this study states that the curse paradoxically became a kind of "path of destiny" enabling Kunti to use the *Ādityahṛdaya* mantra (magic formula) granted by Bhagavān Durvāsā. This mantra allows her and later Mādrī to be granted five divine sons, known as the Pāṇḍava. These five actors will come to play pivotal roles in the process of state formation throughout the *Mahābhārata* epic. Thus, hunting, which initially severs Pāndu's genealogical line, ultimately facilitates divine intervention to ensure its continuation.

Therefore, the *Ādiparwa* articulates the Pāṇḍava genealogy as a divine gift: Yudhiṣṭhira, son of Dharma, is described as *Yeki wruh iñ dharma dlāha* ('He will become the most righteous (king) of the future'); Bhīmasena, son of Vāyu, is described as *Yekā uttama mahāśakti dlāha* ('He will be the best and in command of mighty powers in future'); Arjuna, son of Indra, is described as *umalahakĕn iñ samānta nrpati, umaṅgihakna divyāstra. Ya ta gumawayakĕn sukhanta* ('In future he will defeat all the neighbouring rulers. He will obtain divine weapons (*divyāstra*). He will bring you happiness'); Nakula and Sahadeva, sons of the twin gods Aśvin, are described as *Iku anakta kālih makaguna buddhi satva lāwan rūpa, hetunyan lĕwiha sañkeñ wwañ akweh* ('both your sons will be endowed with intelligence (*buddhi*), purity (*sattva*), good qualities (*guna*) and handsomeness. That is why they will be much better than many people') (Phalgunadi, 1990, pp. 194–199). Genealogy plays a vital role in state formation because kinship serves as a capital to consolidate power in the process of state formation (Day, 2002, pp. 89, 287). Justice, strength, sacred power, intelligence, purity, and virtue together form a unified combination that supports Yudhiṣṭhira's ascension to the throne of Hastināpura.

It is also noteworthy to highlight the role of a woman, namely Kunti, in the genealogical formation since, according to Suandi (2024, p. 205), woman holds meaning within social-cultural context. The mantra she possessed becomes a means of salvation and a way to overcome a curse. Although Pandu's curse could not be revoked, Kunti's mantra enabled Pandu's desire to still have children through his two wives. Vemsani (2021, p. 49) notes that while there are many wish-fulfilling mantras, Kunti uniquely received one that allowed her to summon Gods and bear children from them. Furthermore, Vemsani suggests that Durvāsā likely bestowed this mantra with foresight into the future, a time when Kunti would become the wife of a man forbidden from sexual relations. Pandu, with his "path of destiny" as a cursed man, and Kunti, with her "path of destiny" as a woman blessed with a mantra, converge. This convergence occurs through the act of hunting. Subsequently, this meeting triggers the formation of a genealogical line. Therefore, what we mean by "the path of destiny" is the paradoxical narrative trajectory that articulates the process of state formation. On one hand, the hunt closes off Pandu's ability to act as a normal man who can engage in

sexual relations and have offspring through natural means. On the other hand, the hunt opens an alternative path for Pandu, through Kunti, to have descendants imbued with divine elements.

In addition, the *Ādiparwa* also articulates ritual as a critical aspect of state formation. The Pāṇḍava not only rule over Hastināpura, but one of them becomes the progenitor of successive rulers, culminating in Janamejaya, who performs the *yajñasarpa*. Parikṣit's hunting does not only result in death, but also lays the foundation for a ritual undertaken by the succeeding king. In his study on state formation in 19th-century Bali, Geertz (2017) includes ritual as a crucial element in the process of state formation. Geertz (2017, p. 176) states that ritual acts as a theatre for rendering ontologies visible and actualized through their ceremonial enactment. The ontological status of the *yajñasarpa* is that of a divinely sanctioned sacrifice of serpents and *nāgas*, one that is scripturally justified and executable only by a great king such as Janamejaya. Furthermore, it has never been performed before. This ontology is actualized through the enactment of the ritual itself, evidenced by the preparations involving the brāhmaṇas measuring the ritual space and chanting mantras. According to Geertz (2017, p. 197), no king or kingdom can manifest its own expression except through the choreographed spectacle of ritual performance. In the text, the choreography of the ritual is seen in the way various serpents and *nāgas* are drawn into the sacred fire, marking the completion of the *yajñasarpa*.

The ritual described in the *Ādiparwa* underscores the claim made by Keyes et al. (in Day 2002) that ritual constitutes a process of mystifying the actions of the state by transferring ritual authority from religious to political domains. The ritual conducted by Janamejaya is thus justified, legitimized, and mystified as a scripturally sanctioned rite, deemed appropriate precisely because no other king had ever succeeded in performing it. Though executed through the efforts of religious officials, the ritual in essence marks a shift in authority—from that of religious elites to that of the state—serving as a means for the state and for Janamejaya himself to project their power and magnificence.

Comparison and Context of Both Texts

The discussion in the two sections above has demonstrated that both the Malay and Old Javanese texts contain narratives involving royal or sultanic hunting. These do not focus on the result of the hunting itself, but rather on the implications they cause for the state ruled by the main actors. Thus, these texts articulate particular visions of state formation. In *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, hunting is positively portrayed from the outset as a mechanism that supports the state. It emerges incidentally when Raja Ahmad and Merah Silu (later Sultan Malik al-Ṣālih) fail to catch their intended game, but instead encounter other elements during their hunting. Raja Ahmad, in his unsuccessful hunting, meets an old man in a *surau* who reveals how to obtain a son. Meanwhile, Merah Silu, both before and after his conversion to Islam, encounters not the intended quarry, but two animals: a giant ant and a mousedeer residing on high ground. This incidental aspect of the hunt leads him to discover a place legitimized as the proper site for establishing a palace: Samudera and Pasai. Through

these hunting, the *hikayat* articulates concepts of genealogy and territorialization or bureaucratization.

In contrast, hunting in the *Ādiparwa* is not incidental, but rather a deliberate practice inherent to the role of a king as a *kṣatriya*. This non-incidental nature of hunting is evident in the fact that both Pāṇḍu and Parikṣit do encounter their prey—though Parikṣit eventually loses track. Unlike the *Hikayat*, which presents hunting as a functional event aiding state formation from the start, the functionality of hunting in the Old Javanese text is articulated through its destructive consequences, such as curses and death. State formation is not directly expressed through the act of hunting itself, but through subsequent events triggered by it. For instance, genealogy only emerges after Pāṇḍu has been cursed by Kindama, has withdrawn into the forest with his wives, and then, through Kuntī, invokes the *Ādityahṛdaya* to request divine offspring. This withdrawal and the use of the mantra are, of course, inseparable from the initial cause: the hunting incident. Likewise, ritual as a display and choreography of state grandeur is not revealed at the moment Parikṣit hunting and loses his quarry, nor even when he is cursed to die by Takṣaka, but only after his death—through the command of his son, Janamejaya.

Despite the different moments at which state formation is revealed, it is clear that both texts present hunting as a functionally significant event in articulating the idea of state formation. Genealogy is a shared theme between the two, while their differences lie in the aspects of palace founding and ritual. Physical palace establishment and performative ritual are both considered forms of bureaucratic state-making (in Day's term) as they represent the expression of the state in concrete political and institutional terms. However, this does not nullify the distinct ways in which each text articulates these processes. This study argues that the different articulations of state formation stem from the distinct narrative traditions from which each text was created or inspired, as will be elaborated below.

The composition of *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* reflects textual elements found in other Malay literary works. For example, Sweeney (1967, p. 98) notes that the myth of a princess born from a bamboo, as Sultan Malik al-Ṣālih's mother, is a common trope in other Malay texts. The clearing of forests for founding a city also appears in *Hikayat Banjar*, where Ampu Jatmaka does so to establish a settlement. The hunting narrative seems to have been influenced by or derived from South Indian storytelling traditions. As Drewes (1968, p. 445) argues, this *hikayat* reflects strong South Indian influence. Furthermore, this study suggests that the motif of founding the palace on high ground once occupied by animals is a widespread myth in South Asian stories. For instance, in a South Asian tale, Ramninar builds a palace at a site inhabited by a powerful lizard capable of biting dogs, and he then orders his troops to clear the forest and mark territorial boundaries (Bes, 2022, p. 47). Such stories, traceable back to the Kampili and Hoysala periods are much older (Bes, 2022, p. 91).

This indicates that *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* drew upon widely known South Asian hunting narratives. While the *Hikayat* was part of palace literature and associated with the Islamic Sultanate of Samudera Pasai, it was not written based on historical facts (Hill 1960, 12).

Rather, the hunting episode is not a record of the historical founding of the sultanate, but an incorporation of well-known mythic elements from South Asian literary traditions. The establishment of a palace on high ground formerly occupied by a supernatural animal serves as a mythic justification for territorial and bureaucratic claims to sovereignty. This supports Sohoni's (2018, p. 230) argument that founding a city through mythic narratives is intended to frame it as divinely sanctioned. Nature—forests, animals, and high ground—acts as a symbolic confirmation of divine approval for the ruler's choice of capital. However, one may ask: is this mythic legitimization merely a spiritual claim, or does it conceal political and economic calculations?

As Jones (1980, p. 167) has argued, *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* was most likely composed in the 14th century although the Raffles MS 67 manuscript, edited by Hill, was produced in the 19th century. Historically, the Sultanate of Samudera-Pasai reached its peak between the 13th and 15th centuries as a main port in northern Sumatra (Hall, 2017, p. 35). Based on Jones's assertion, it can be argued that the text was composed during the sultanate's peak. Hall (2017, p. 35) notes that the move from Samudera to Pasai was based on strategic considerations—its location was safe from pirate attacks and sea invasions. This maritime context appears in the text when Sultan Malik al-Ṣālih is depicted hunting in a forest near the sea. Thus, the high ground where the palace was established was indeed historically near the coast. This supports the earlier question: the myth of palace founding is not merely an expression of divine favor as Sohoni (2018) suggests, but also symbolically legitimizes the ruler's politically and economically strategic decision to relocate the center of power for the sake of defense, security, and sovereignty.

In contrast, the writing of the *parwa*, specifically the *Ādiparwa*, the first book of the *Mahābhārata*, did not mark the end of the Indian epic's Javanization. Rather, it was part of a continuous Javanization process involving the fundamental transformation of an Indian-based narrative into a Javanese context (Supomo, 2006, pp. 324–325). The Old Javanese *Mahābhārata* was not created by Javanese authors per se, but was a translation from Sanskrit (van der Molen, 2010, p. 387). Nevertheless, van der Molen (2010, p. 387) emphasizes that the Old Javanese version is still worthy of scholarly attention as it consciously adapts the text to serve the ideological interests of the patron-king. In this factual adaptation, the story of Pāṇḍu's hunting and the curse he receives is retained from the Sanskrit version. In the latter, there is a dialogue between Pāṇḍu and Kindama. Pāṇḍu defends his right as king to hunt deer and questions Kindama's criticism, while Kindama explains his reasons for cursing him (see translation by van Buitenen, 1973, pp. 246–247). While this dialogue is longer in the Sanskrit version, the essential fact remains: the hunting episode is not an invention or interpolation by the Old Javanese author, but an integral part of the adapted narrative.

From the perspective of kingship and masculinity, one might ask why a narrative of a king who is forbidden from enjoying sexual pleasure and thus risks producing no heirs would be adapted at all, given that such a scenario represents a failure in masculine kingship (Sahgal, 2015, p. 6). The answer lies in what has already been discussed: the curse becomes a "path of

destiny", resulting in the birth of the Pāṇḍava, who forms a unified force in the formation of the Hastināpura, and Arjuna's genealogy continues down to Janamejaya. The genealogical basis is politically valuable to the king under whose patronage the text was produced. *Ādiparwa* was composed under Dharmawangśa Tĕguh Anantavikramottunggadewa, who ruled East Java from 991 to 1016 CE (Phalgunadi, 1990, p. 2). van der Molen (2010, p. 394) suggests that Dharmawangśa's motivation was tied to the myth of lineage; he considered himself a descendant of the Pāṇḍava, particularly claiming to be a great-grandson of Arjuna. Accordingly, it is understandable why the hunting episode was consciously adapted and translated into the Old Javanese context, since the hunting implies a narrative construction of genealogy intended to form a foundation of legitimacy and lineage mythology for the king, a form of cultural capital instrumental in the process of state formation and the consolidation of royal authority.

The comparison, accompanied by contextual discussion, underscores this study's final argument that both *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and the *Ādiparwa* serve dual functions. On one hand, both texts incorporate a hunting event that textually reveals notions of state formation articulated through their respective narrative. On the other hand, state formation in these texts does not occur in a vacuum, but is instead deeply connected to specific power discourses shaped by the political environments in which the texts were produced. It demonstrates that the processes of state formation undertaken by Samudera Pasai and Dharmawangśa Tĕguh actively engaged with and utilized textual culture to discursively construct genealogy, legitimize the strategic selection of palace sites, and cultivate the mythos of the king as a charismatic figure rooted in ancestral heritage. Through a comparative literary analysis that combines textual and contextual approaches, this study challenges Geertz's (2017, p. 7) skepticism regarding the relevance of philology in the discourse of state formation. While these two texts may not serve as direct historical sources for the establishment of premodern states, a focused investigation into their textual constructions of hunting and their contextual foundations enables a deeper understanding of how these polities initiated cultural projects, specifically, literary traditions, as a means of state formation.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study challenges Geertz's view that philological sources are insignificant for understanding the complexities of state formation in Indonesia. Contrary to Geertz's sociological-anthropological approach, which emphasizes societal processes, this study examines state formation through literary analysis, uncovering the symbolic meaning of hunting events in Old Malay and Old Javanese texts. Each text articulates the idea of state formation in relation to, and shaped by, the sociopolitical context in which the text was produced. As discussed earlier, these contexts not only influence how state formations are represented, but more importantly, suggest that both texts were written in support of specific processes of state formation within their respective political and cultural context. Thus, this study contributes not only to decolonizing historiography of state formation in

Southeast Asia, but also offers a theoretical implication that state formation occurs not only within the real world of sultanate or kingdom, but is also discursively constructed through literary work. Furthermore, this study expands Tony Day's argument by proposing that, beyond kinship and genealogy, regimes of knowledge, bureaucracy, and violence, literary work also functions as a discursive practice that articulates state formation.

Future studies are encouraged to explore other events beyond hunting that may significantly conceptualize state formation. Further studies could also broaden the analytical horizon by investigating hunting as a pathway to state formation in other Old Malay and Old Javanese texts, or even in entirely different literary traditions. Such comparative exploration would deepen our understanding of state formation in Indonesia and position philology as a relevant and valuable discipline within broader discourses of state formation studies. It is also important to acknowledge that this study analyzes state formation through two courtly literary works, thereby foregrounding the perspectives of ruling elites while potentially overlooking the voices of marginalized or lower-class groups. Given the complexity of state formation, the findings of this study are not definitive. A more comprehensive understanding requires foregrounding peripheral voices and fostering interdisciplinary dialogue to construct a more inclusive account of state formation in Southeast Asia.

REFERENCES

Alatas, I. F. (2019). Dreaming saints: exploratory authority and Islamic praxes of history in Central Java. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *00*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.13177.

Aminudin, M.F., Alade, S., Widyastuti, S.H., & Wiyatmi. (2024). Traditional symbols and social constructs in M. Irata's Momuhuto: A literary sociology perspective. *Notion: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture*, *6*(2), 218-231. https://doi.org/10.12928/notion.v6/2.11149.

Anggraeni, D. (2023). *Sastra bandingan, mobilitas gagasan, dan para pelanggar batas*. Tengara.Id. Retrived from https://tengara.id/esai/sastra-bandingan-mobilitas-gagasan-dan-para-pelanggar-batas/.

Apriyani, T. & Rosly, N.J.B. (2024). Power relations in the novel My Name is Alam by Leila S. Chudori. *Notion: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture*, *6*(1), 128–136. https://doi.org/10.12928/notion.v6i1.10184.

Bal, M. (2017). *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative* (fourth edition). University of Toronto Press.

Bes, L. (2022). *The heirs of Vijayanagara: Court politics in early modern South India*. Leiden University Press.

Bowen, J. R. (1984). Death and the history of islam in highland Aceh. *Indonesia*, *38*, 21–38. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3350843.

Braginsky, V. (2013). Imagining kings of rum and their heirs: The dynastic space of the Malay world and beyond. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, *41*(121), 370–395. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2013.821752.

Burhanudin, J. (2001). The Making of Islamic political tradition in the Malay World. *Studia Islamika*, *8*(2), 1–54. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v8i2.687.

Day, T. (2002). *Fluid iron: State formation in Southeast Asia*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Drewes, G. W. J. (1968). new light on the coming of Islam to Indonesia? *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, *Deel 124*(4de Afl.), 433–459. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/27860978.pdf.

Falk, N. E. (1973). Wilderness and kingshipin ancient South Asia. *History of Religions*, *13*(1), 1–15. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1061948.

Fatha, N., Adam, M., Manaku, R. A., & Tangkilisan, S. (2021). Cultural appropriation of Polynesian portrayed in Moana movie. *Notion: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture*, *3*(2), 92-98. http://doi.org/notion.v3i2.4885.

Fusco, S. (2006). The Ironies of comparison : Comparative literature and the re-production of cultural difference between East and West. *TRANS-*. http://journals.openedition.org/trans/167; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/trans.167.

Geertz, C. (2017). *Negara teater: Kerajaan-kerajaan di Bali abad kesembilan belas*. Basabasi.

Hall, K. R. (2001). Upstream and downstream unification in Southeast Asia's first islamic polity: The changing sense of community in the fifteenth century "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai" Court Chronicle. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, *44*(2), 198–229. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3632327.

Hall, K. R. (2017). Maritime trade and societal transitions in the Western Indonesian archipelago: Samudra-Pasai at the dawn of the European age (c. 1200-1500). *Asian Review of World Histories*, *5*(1), 31–69. https://doi.org/10.12773/arwh.2017.5.1.031.

Hamdan, R. & Md.Radzi, S. (2014). The meaning of female passivity in traditional Malay literature. *Asian Social Science*, *10*(17), 222–228. https://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ass/article/view/39669.

Hao, T. Z. (2024). *The forest withdrawn: A historiographicaltrope for mediating change in Cirebonese Chronicles*. *180*(1), 1–35. https://doi.org/10.2307/48770116.

Harrison, R. D., Sreekar, R., Brodie, J. F., Brook, S., Luskin, M., O'Kelly, H., Rao, M., Scheffers, B., & Velho, N. (2016). Impacts of hunting on tropical forests in Southeast Asia. *Conservation Biology*, *30*(5), 972–981. https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/27341537/.

Hill, A. H. (1960). Hikayat raja-raja Pasai. *Source: Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *33*(2), 1–215. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41505497.

Jones, R. (1980). The texts of the hikayat raja Pasai: A short note. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *53*, 167–171. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41493569.

Kieven, L. (2022). "The wandering poet"; Depictions on ancient Javanese relief panels. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia*, *23*(2), 288–336. https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/wacana/vol23/iss2/2/.

Kratz, E. U. (1989). Hikayat raja Pasai: A second manuscript. *Source: Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *62*(1), 1–10. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41493623.

Lowman, I. (2013). The elephant hunt of Jayavarman III: A political myth of angkorian Cambodia. *UDAYA, Journal of Khmer Studies*, *11*, 29–57. https://www.yosothor.org/uploads/images/Udaya/UDAYA_ISSUES/Udaya_11/01_Lowman_Elephant_Hunt_Final%20without%20tracking_KSV03_UDAYA_!!.pdf.

Mead, J. P. (1914). A Romanized version of the hikayat raja-raja Pasai. *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *66*, 1–55. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41561000.

Milner, A. C. (1981). Islam and Malay kingship. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, *1*, 46–70. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00136834.

Nofendralova, S.F. & Sartini, N.W. (2024). Comparing congratulatory speech in Javanese and Sundanese: Influence of culture on strategies. *Notion: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture*, *6*(1), 70-92. https://doi.org/10.12928/notion.v6i1.9110.

Phalgunadi, I. G. P. (1990). *The Indonesian Mahabharata Ādiparva - The First Book. Translated from the Original Classical Kawi Text*. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.

Pollock, S. (2015). Liberating philology. *Verge: Studies in Global Asias*, *1*(1), 16. https://doi.org/10.5749/vergstudglobasia.1.1.0016.

Quinn, G. (2002). The role of a Javanese burial ground in local government. In H. Chambert-Loir & A. Reid (Eds.), *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, saints and heroes in contemporary Indonesia* (pp. 173–182). Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University Of Hawai'i Press Honolulu.

Sahgal, S. (2015). Situating kingship within an embryonic frame of masculinity in early India. *Social Scientist*, *43*(11), 3–26. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24642382.

Setiawan, M. (2022). *Episteme Islamisasi Nusantara: Kajian naskah Melayu Klasik abad xiv dan xvii* [Disertasi]. Sekolah Pascasarjana, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Shabah, M. A. A., Nahrowi, & Masyrofah. (2021). Dowry amount in Aceh-Indonesia and Selangor-Malaysia: Between state regulations and customs. *AHKAM*, *21*(2), 325–356. 10.15408/ajis.v21i2.19673.

Sohoni, P. (2018). The Hunt for a location: Narratives on the Foundation of Cities in South and Southeast Asia. *Asian Ethnology*, *77*(1 & 2), 215–233. https://doi.org/10.2307/26604839.

Steinmetz, G. (1999). Introduction: Culture and the state. In G. Steinmetz (Ed.), *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (pp. 1–49). Cornell University Press.

Suandi, S.L. 2024). Representation of subaltern women in Pad Man: Against the silencing of women's rights and voices. *Notion: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture*, *6*(2), 205-217. https://doi.org/10.12928/notion.v6/2.11001.

Sudibyo. (2000). Mistifikasi dan pengagungan kekuasaan dalam babad dan hikayat: Kontinuitasnya dalam sistem kekuasaan Indonesia modern. *Humaniora*, *XII*(2), 195–204. https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.690.

Supomo, S. (2006). Indic transformation: The sanskritization of Jawa and the Javanization of the Bharata. In P. Bellwood, J. J. Fox, & D. Tryon (Eds.), *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (pp. 309–332). ANU Press.

Sweeney, P. L. A. (1967). The Connection between the hikayat raja-raja Pasai and the sejarah Melayu. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *40*(2), 94–105. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41491926.

van Buitenen, J. A. B. (1973). *The Mahabharata: Book 1 the book of the beginning*. The University of Chicago Press.

van der Molen, W. (2010). Dharmawangsa's heritage on the appreciation of the old Javanese Mahabharata. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* , *12*(2), 386–398. https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/wacana/vol12/iss2/16.

van der Molen, W. (2016). The art of storytelling in old Javanese prose as illustrated by the story of Ekalawya. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia*, *17*(3), 506–520. https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v17i3.457.

van Dijk, C. (1981). *Rebellion under the banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia*. Brill.

Vemsani, L. (2021). *Feminine Journeys of the Mahabharata: Hindu women in history, Text, and Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Winstedt, R.O. (1917). Place-Names in the hikayat Pasai. *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *77*, 181. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41561265.

Yakin, A.U. (2015). Islamisasi dan syariatisasi Samudera-Pasai abad ke-14 masehi. *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, *9*(2), 269-294. https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2015.9.2.269-294.

Zakaria, F. (2023a). Charismatic megafauna in Southeast Asia. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*. https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-692.

Zakaria, F. (2023b). *The camphor tree and the elephant: Religion and ecological change in Maritime Southeast Asia*. University of Washington Press.