

# POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN *HIKAYAT SERI KELANTAN* FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THEORY OF CONFLICT BEHAVIOUR

**(*Konflik Politik dalam Hikayat Seri Kelantan daripada Perspektif Teori Perilaku Konflik*)**

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## Abstract

*Hikayat Seri Kelantan (HSK)* is one of Kelantan's traditional Malay historiographical texts. As a historical literary text, this *hikayat* comprises various conflicts involving the Malay kingdom and its external powers. However, most studies on *HSK* focus more on the issue of war without discussing political conflicts as a whole. Therefore, this article discusses the political conflicts in *HSK* by outlining two objectives, which are to elaborate on the conflicts in *HSK* and to analyse the causes of the conflicts according to the theory of conflict behaviour. This article utilised the *HSK* manuscript edited by Mohd. Taib Osman (2004) as its primary source, while data collection was done using library research. Close reading strategy and analysis of descriptive text were applied in data analysis based on the theory of conflict behaviour by Bartos and Wehr (2002). The findings

of this study showed nine events of political conflicts that could be categorised into four issues, which are: (1) the issue of tyrannical reign; (2) the issue of state sovereignty from external powers; (3) the issue of territorial expansion; and (4) the issue of position and power struggle in reign. The findings also revealed that disputes over resources comprising land or territory, power, and prestige are the premises for political conflicts in HSK. This study proves that HSK is a sociocultural document that has recorded various political conflicts of the Malay kingdom in Kelantan.

Keywords: Political conflicts, *Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, Malay historiography, theory of conflict behaviour, Malay kingdom, Kelantan

### ***Abstrak***

*Hikayat Seri Kelantan (HSK) ialah salah sebuah karya historiografi Melayu tradisional negeri Kelantan. Sebagai sebuah karya sastera bercorak sejarah, hikayat ini mengandungi pelbagai konflik yang melibatkan pemerintahan kerajaan Melayu dan kuasa luar. Namun begitu, kebanyakan penulisan tentang HSK banyak tertumpu pada isu peperangan tanpa membincangkan konflik politik secara menyeluruh. Oleh itu, makalah ini membincangkan konflik politik dalam HSK dengan menggariskan dua objektif, iaitu menjelaskan isu konflik politik yang terkandung dalam HSK dan menganalisis punca berlakunya konflik berdasarkan teori perilaku konflik. Makalah ini menggunakan teks HSK yang telah diselenggarakan oleh Mohd. Taib Osman (2004) sebagai sumber primer; manakala pengumpulan data dijalankan melalui kajian kepustakaan. Makalah ini juga dianalisis menggunakan teknik bacaan rapi dan analisis deskriptif teks berdasarkan prinsip teori perilaku konflik oleh Bartos dan Wehr (2002). Hasil dapatan kajian menemukan sembilan peristiwa konflik politik yang boleh dikategorikan kepada empat isu, iaitu (1) isu kezaliman pemerintahan; (2) isu tekanan kuasa luar terhadap kedaulatan negeri; (3) peluasan wilayah jajahan; dan (4) isu perebutan kuasa dan kedudukan dalam pemerintahan. Dapatan juga menghujahkan bahawa pertikaian sumber, iaitu tanah atau wilayah, kuasa, dan prestij sebagai premis teretusnya tindakan berkaitan konflik dalam HSK. Hasil kajian ini membuktikan bahawa HSK merupakan dokumen sosiobudaya yang banyak merakamkan konflik politik pemerintahan dalam kerajaan Melayu di Kelantan.*

*Kata kunci: Konflik politik, Hikayat Seri Kelantan, historiografi Melayu, teori perilaku konflik, kerajaan Melayu, Kelantan*

## INTRODUCTION

Conflict is a phenomenon in social life and functions as a form of social interaction. It is an interactive process that defines differences, disagreements, and disputes between social entities (M. Afzalur Rahim, 2001). Social conflicts are disputes in society that involve a myriad of issues such as politics, economy, culture, identity, religion, and others. As a cultural product, a literary work records conflicts that are prevalent in society. This is contributed from the author's life experiences and surroundings in his or her society, which are used as sources for the literary work. Therefore, a literary work can be considered as a sociocultural document and reflection of the real social life of a particular society that produced the work (Swingewood, 1972). Malay historiography is a genre in traditional Malay literature that broadly depicts the social setting of the Malay community in ancient times, particularly the royalties. As historical literature, the contents of the works in this genre are based on actual events that occurred during reigns, including conflicts. Thus, it is through these works that readers can observe various conflicts in the storylines, particularly those that are related to the politics and rulings of the Malay Sultanate.

*Hikayat Seri Kelantan* (henceforth *HSK*) is a masterpiece that belongs in the traditional Malay historiography genre. This hikayat is a historical literary work from Kelantan that narrates the development of the Malay kingdom in the state's territory, beginning with the reign of Che Siti Wan Kembang in Tanah Serendah Sekebun Bunga until that of the Kelantanese kingdom in the early 20th century. According to local historian Nik Mohamed Nik Mohd Salleh (2018), *HSK* is Kelantan's best historical work as it explains in great detail the state ruling, besides other matters related to Kelantan, such as royal ceremonies and external affairs. Therefore, this article discusses one of the aspects contained in the hikayat, namely the phenomenon of political conflicts. For this purpose, this article outlines two objectives, which are to elaborate on the issue of political conflicts as presented in *HSK* and to analyse the causes of the conflicts according to the theory of conflict behaviour.

### **Background of *Hikayat Seri Kelantan***

*HSK* is an epic masterpiece of the state of Kelantan. According to its endnotes, the writing or arrangement of this *hikayat* was completed on 9th Rabiulawal 1332 Hijrah or February 5, 1914. It was produced by referring to two other sources, namely *Cetera Raja Muda* and a manuscript owned

by Nik Seri Paduka. This can be identified at the end of the text (*Hikayat Seri Kelantan*, 2004:100), which reads as follows:

*Telah selesailah ini cetera pada malam Raba'a 9 hari bulan Rabiulawal tahun 1332 pada waktu jam 9.00 malam (di hadapan Wan Ali bin Wan Yusof \_\_\_\_\_).*

*Dan ini cetera dua, saya buat satu, iaitu saya ambil daripada cetera Raja Muda satu, yang membawa kepada sayanya Tuan Guru Haji Awan Kenali, dan yang akhir ini saya dapat daripada Wan Ali Pekan, iaitu ia dapat daripada Nik Seri Paduka, sangat-sangat betul.*

[This story has been completed on the night of 9th Rabi'ul Awwal in the year of 1332 at 9.00 p.m. (in front of Wan Ali bin Wan Yusof \_\_\_\_\_).

These are two stories [that] I turned into one. I received one from the story of Raja Muda, which was brought to me by Tuan Guru Haji Awan Kenali, while the second I received from Wan Ali Pekan, who received it from Nik Seri Paduka, very accurately].

The author or arranger of *HSK* could not be ascertained since the *hikayat* was penned using the traditional writing style, whereby the author does not state his or her name in any part of the manuscript. Even though the name Wan Ali bin Wan Yusof is written at the end of the text, Mohd. Taib Osman (2004) refutes the possibility that this individual is the author or arranger of *HSK*. He argues that the phrase *di hadapan* (translated literally as “in front of”) before the name indicates that the *hikayat* was probably produced upon the individual's instruction, or that its writing or arrangement was also possibly implemented under his supervision.

In terms of its content, *HSK* narrates the development of traditional Malay kingdom ruling in the territory of Kelantan state. The plot of the *hikayat* can be divided into two parts. The first part details the ruling of several states that used to exist in Kelantan's territory, such as Tanah Serendah Kebun Bunga Cerangtegayung and Kota Jelasin. On the other hand, the second part explains the development of Kelantan state's ruling from the reign of Long Yunus until the ruling of the Kelantanese kingdom in the early 20th century. Unlike other works that belong in the same genre, *HSK* is not too laden with mythical elements, which are frequently utilised as part of the writing components for traditional Malay historiographical works to venerate the status of the Malay kings. This *hikayat* does not

relate the origins of the kings who used to rule kingdoms in Kelantan with any extraordinary elements. Nevertheless, the author still illustrates the supernatural power bestowed upon Puteri Saadong, one of the female rulers of Kelantan state territory.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A survey of previous studies has identified 17 works that utilised *HSK* as their research subject, either as the main reference or as part of the studied works. These works were produced between 1961 until 2019 and comprise theses or dissertations at the bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degree levels (four works), journal articles (two works), conference paper (one work), and conference papers published as book chapters (10 works). In particular, these works are written by Mohd. Taib Osman (1961, 2006), Ahmad Ramizu Abdullah (1994), Fahniza Mat Taib (2003), Ahmad Hakimi Khairuddin (2006), Bazrul Bahaman (2006), Harun Mat Piah (2006), Nik Safiah Karim (2006), Rahmah Haji Bujang (2006), Siti Hawa Haji Salleh (2006), Wan Abdul Kadir Wan Yusoff (2006), Zainal Abidin Borhan (2006), Mardiana Nordin (2010), Faridah Sarudin et al. (2015), Nur Yuhanis Mohd. Nasir et al. (2016), Nor Huda Ahmad Razali and Norazimah Zakaria (2018), as well as Amiruddin Arman and Shaiful Bahri Md. Radzi (2019). These works discuss *HSK* from different disciplinary perspectives, which include research in philology, history, linguistics, literary criticism, and adaptation of text into performance art. However, only two works are relevant to the topic of this article, which are written by Bazrul Bahaman (2006) and Zainal Abidin Borhan (2006). These two works are conference papers that have been republished as book chapters in *Siri Kajian Naskhah Kesultanan Melayu: Kesultanan Melayu Kelantan* (2006). This section therefore will discuss the two papers and compare them with the topic of this article.

Bazrul Bahaman (2006) examined the political motives in the writing of *HSK*, which are divided into three main types: the motives behind a king's origin, inauguration and substitution, and war. In addition, he listed several other lesser motives, including the law, betting, political marriage, and lastly the good relations between Kelantan and other states. He specifically looked at a crucial aspect of political conflicts, which is the motive for wars in *HSK*. According to him, wars in the *hikayat* are transpired by four reasons: personal problems between countries, expansion of land territory, counterattack measures, and treason. However, there is a gap between

Bazrul Bahaman's scope of discussion and this article, with the latter focusing more on the political conflicts in *HSK* that are not only confined to warfare.

The second paper, written by Zainal Abidin Borhan (2006), also focuses on the wars in *HSK*, in which he analysed all the war events available in the *hikayat*. His findings revealed that 10 war episodes are recorded in the *hikayat*. Unlike Bazrul Bahaman's study, the research conducted by Zainal Abidin Borhan focuses more on the description of warfare episodes as presented in the entire *HSK*, thus contributing to the understanding of summary on war events in this *hikayat*.

In conclusion, the analysis conducted on both of these past works has found a research gap in the phenomenon of political conflicts in *HSK*. This is because such works have only focused on the issue of wars expounded in *HSK* without discussing the political conflicts in the *hikayat* as a whole. Furthermore, the wars found in the *hikayat* are not only limited to politics, since there are also several wars that were materialised as a result of conflicts apart from those that were politically related. Hence, this article will fill in this gap in the knowledge corpus.

## METHODOLOGY

The present study utilised the qualitative method, given its compatibility with the discipline of literary knowledge that employs literary works as research subjects (Triyono, 2001). In general, literary research can be divided into two designs, namely literature review and field research (Mana Sikana, 2015). This study implemented the literature review design to obtain data through written resources. This was done at two levels, which are collection of data from the source text and analysis of the collected data.

At the first stage, the research focused on the data collection process. This study utilised the *HSK* text edited by Mohd. Taib Osman (2004) as its primary source. This text was obtained from The Malay World and Civilization Library (ATMA Library), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). Besides data collection from the primary source, this study also employed data from secondary sources, comprising academic books and publications by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan (MAIK), local and international universities, as well as academic articles published in high-impact journals and conference proceedings. At the second stage, the research concentrated on the process of data analysis. For this purpose, this study applied the

close reading technique and analysis of descriptive text based on the theory of conflict behaviour by Bartos and Wehr (2002).

### **Theory of Conflict Behaviour**

This article discusses the phenomenon of political conflicts as a form of social conflict found in HSK. For the purpose of analysis, this article adapts one principle presented in the theory of conflict behaviour as introduced by Bartos and Wehr (2002), which is dispute over resources as a premise to analyse the causes of political conflicts in *HSK*.

According to Bartos and Wehr (2002:13), conflict is a “situation in which actors use conflict behaviour against each other to attain incompatible goals and/or to express their hostility.” The “actor” in this definition is not only confined to individuals, but could also be referred to groups in conflict. To better understand the definition, they emphasise on three main concepts, which are behaviour conflict, incompatible goals, and hostility. “Conflict behaviour” as defined by Bartos and Wehr (2002), therefore refers to any kind of action and behaviour expressed by the conflicting party to achieve their desired goals, or any action that signal the presence of hostility. To understand conflict, the causes that trigger conflict behaviour need to be identified.

One cause of conflict behaviour is the difference or incompatibility in goals, which leads to clashes between the parties involved. Following Bartos and Wehr’s (2002) theory, goal incompatibility ensues from three factors: disputes over resources, role incompatibility, and difference in values. For its research focus, this article utilised disputes over resources as the premise of political conflicts in *HSK*. In this theory, the resources that become the factors for rivalry refer to three things:

- (1) Wealth – Wealth normally involves material things such as money or property. However, in ancient times, the most important wealth was land (territory) as it was a source of power and prestige (Bartos & Wehr, 2002).
- (2) Power – As mentioned by Bartos and Wehr (2002:31), “...an actor is powerful if he or she can coerce others to do what he or she wants them to do... by either promising to reward the action he or she desires or by threatening to punish them if they fail to do so.” Thus, political power plays a significant role in the economic needs and becomes a symbol of respect (Katz, 1965).
- (3) Prestige – Prestige refers to reputation, honour, and pride. Prestige is closely related to power since a powerful individual maintains a high prestige value (Bartos & Wehr, 2002).

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The research findings revealed nine events that are related to the phenomenon of political conflicts in *HSK*. The analysis done on the collected data has found that the conflicts that occurred in the said events can be categorised into four issues, which are:

- (1) the issue of tyrannical reign.
- (2) the issue of state sovereignty from external powers.
- (3) the issue of territorial expansion.
- (4) the issue of position and power struggle in reign.

### The Issue of Tyrannical Reign

The issue of an unjust and tyrannical king or sultan in reign is one of the most frequent political conflicts that arise. This issue would commonly lead to people's uprising against the oppressive reign, subsequently causing the downfall of a government. According to Bartos and Wehr (2002), one of the main causes of disputes over resources (power) is the injustice felt by the people. Therefore, this situation becomes the catalyst in the people's uprising to fight against the dominating power that is the king or sultan.

In *HSK*, there is an event that depicts a conflict related to a ruler's tyranny, which happened during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim in Kota Teras. Sultan Ibrahim was the younger brother of Sultan Abdullah, who was also the husband of Puteri Saadong. After the conflict between Puteri Saadong and Sultan Abdullah ended with the demise of the latter, administrative matters were passed down by Puteri Saadong to Sultan Ibrahim to avoid the eruption of internal conflict between the princess and her brother-in-law. However, the reign under Sultan Ibrahim is depicted as tyrannical, causing the people to immensely suffer. This can be observed in the following excerpt from *HSK (Hikayat Seri Kelantan, 2004:19)*:

*Maka Sultan Ibrahim itu pun duduk memerintahlah negeri berapa lamanya. Maka perintahnya sangatlah zalimnya; kesakitan rakyat sakar isi negeri itu, masing-masing pun bersungut belaka akan zalim perintahan Sultan Ibrahim itu. Maka sekalian rakyat-rakyat yang kena zalim itu pergi mengadukan hal kepada Tuan Puteri Sa'dung itu akan hal perintahan Sultan Ibrahim itu. Maka pada masa itu Tuan Puteri Sa'dung ada di Bukit Marak lagi. Maka sekalian rakyat pun sampailah*



*mengadu kepada Tuan Puteri Sa'dung itu seraya menyembahkan sekalian perintahan itu, sangatlah kesakitan isi negeri Kota Teras itu.*

[Hence, Sultan Ibrahim sat on his throne ruling the state for a period. His reign was indeed oppressive; his people greatly suffered across the state, all complaining of his tyranny. Thus the exploited citizens went to report Sultan Ibrahim's tyrannical reign to Princess Sa'dung. At that time, the princess was still residing in Bukit Marak. They told her everything about his oppressive reign, which had brought intense suffering across the state of Kota Teras].

Based on the excerpt, it appears that there were seeds of rebellion by the citizens under Sultan Ibrahim's oppressive ruling that had caused them to live in agony. This is in line with Bartos and Wehr's (2002) explanation on the distribution of power. One form of injustice in power distribution is when a more powerful party dominates a weaker party, thereby triggering the latter's uprising for their freedom from the former. Albeit not explicitly indicated through direct riots, the people's rebellion was fulfilled by referring to a more powerful ruler to seek justice and uphold their rights. Sultan Ibrahim's tyranny ended with the fall of his reign upon the curse placed by Puteri Saadong.

### **The Issue of State Sovereignty from External Powers**

According to Newton and Deth (2009), state sovereignty refers to the highest authority that grants freedom upon a country or state to make decisions in its own territories. A country or state is said to be autonomous when it holds the highest authority and is free to act without depending on external interventions. However, the sovereignty of a country or state is jeopardised when external powers interfere with its ruling and administrative matters. In *HSK*, three events have been identified in relation to the issue of sovereignty, which respectively happened between Kembayat Negara-China, Pattani-Siam, and Kelantan-Siam.

The first issue of sovereignty in *HSK* is found in the fall of Kembayat Negara, a kingdom in the Malay World located in the Indo-China region. This kingdom is prominently found in traditional Malay literature through *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang China*. According to Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi (1994), Kembayat Negara is believed to be a different name for Champa, a kingdom of the Malay World that existed in the now-territories of Vietnam and Cambodia. In *HSK*, the issue of sovereignty

arises when Kembayat Negara was attacked by China. The attack by the Chinese army resulted in the downfall of Kembayat Negara and loss of its sovereignty until the entire kingdom was destroyed. This event can be seen in the following excerpt in *HSK (Hikayat Seri Kelantan, 2004:21)*:

*Alkisah, maka tersebutlah raja negeri Kebayat Nenggara dilanggar oleh raja China. Maka tiada tertahan oleh raja Kebayat itu kerana banyak raja China tenteranya itu melanggar negeri Kebayat Nenggara itu. Maka kalah negeri Kebayat Nenggara itu, pecah belah tiada ketahuan pergi ke sana sini dan raja yang tua itu tiada ketahui lari ke mana-mana perginya .*

[It was therefore made known that the king of Kebayat Nenggara state was attacked by the king of China. The Kebayat king could not hold his defence since the Chinese king's army had attacked a large part of Kebayat Nenggara. Thus the state was defeated, crumbled, and scattered into pieces, and its old king disappeared without a trace].

Therefore, to solve the conflict resulting from Pia Sukon's attempt to take over Kelantan's administrative affairs, the king of Kelantan initiated a new effort by involving the British to ensure that the state remained free from Siam's total control. He travelled to Singapore to discuss with the British before seeking an audience with the king of Siam. This narrative in *HSK* is eventually concluded without further explanation on the progress of this discussion.

Based on the three events explained, it can be deduced that interference from external forces contributes to conflicts associated with the issue of state sovereignty. As claimed by Bartos and Wehr (2002), conflicts in relation with disputes over resources can develop when one party covets a resource owned by another, such as power and land (territory). This is similar to Katz's (1965) opinion whereby conflicts between countries or states can be triggered following attempts to invade the ruling territory of another state or country. Accordingly, the invaded country or state would struggle to fight and free themselves from being conquered by the external forces.

The situations described by Bartos and Wehr (2002) as well as Katz (1965) can be observed in the three aforementioned events. Firstly, China's intrusion upon Kembayat Negara with the intention to expand their territory caused the downfall of the latter's kingdom and the loss of its sovereignty. Similarly, Pattani's treason against Siam was motivated

by the need to reclaim the former's state sovereignty since it had been invaded by the latter, hence becoming part of Siam's territory. The same incident also almost happened to Kelantan when Pia Sukon, a Siamese nobleman, attempted to directly take over the state's administration to push for Siam's total control of Kelantan. The people and king of Kelantan nonetheless did not relent, and thus they initiated an escape from the said plan through negotiation with a third party, the British, to ensure Siam would not gain absolute domination over Kelantan.

### **The Issue of Territorial Expansion**

In *HSK*, there is a narrative on Yang Dipertuan Linggi (Lingga) who wished to expand his territory by conquering a state known as Anak Sungai. This event can be identified in the following short excerpt from *HSK (Hikayat Seri Kelantan, 2004:35–36)*:

*..Maka Yang Dipertuan itu sangatlah berkehendak akan Anak Sungai itu. Maka disuruh beberapa kali pergi langgar perang tiada boleh kalah.*

[...Therefore Yang Dipertuan greatly desired Anak Sungai. Hence he declared war several times but could not defeat them].

Based on the excerpt, the intention of Yang Dipertuan Linggi did not materialise due to resistance from the people of Anak Sungai. Hence, he commanded Tuan Dalam, the king of Terengganu, to invade Anak Sungai and promised to make him his adopted son if he succeeded. In *HSK*, it is mentioned that on his journey to attack Anak Sungai, Tuan Dalam was visited by a mysterious man in his dream. In this dream, the mysterious man offered to help Tuan Dalam's military force win the war against Anak Sungai on one condition: Tuan Dalam is not allowed to trim his beard until the end of his life. Upon agreeing to the pact, Tuan Dalam awakened from his sleep and his force arrived at the Anak Sungai territory. The following episode narrates the success of Tuan Dalam's force in conquering Anak Sungai and seizing all properties, with its people becoming the slaves of Yang Dipertuan Linggi, as read in the following excerpt (*Hikayat Seri Kelantan, 2004:37*):

*...Maka seketika, undurlah sebelah orang negeri Anak Sungai, maka sorak pun seperti naga bersemburnya dari sebelah orang Tuan Dalam. Tiba-tiba kalah, orang negeri Anak Sungai itu pun*

*larilah, habis tinggal yang tiada sempat hendak lari itu, maka ia mengakulah akan dirinya hambanya. Maka banyaklah orang rakyat-rakyat Tuan Dalam boleh rampasan senjata dan harta benda. Dan Raja negeri itu mengaku tunduk akan dirinya di bawah perintah Yang Dipertuan Linggilah.*

[...After a while, the people of Anak Sungai state retreated, hence the people of Tuan Dalam celebrated with great joy. Due to their sudden defeat, the people of Anak Sungai fled, leaving behind those who could not make it in time to flee, who later submitted themselves as his slaves. Tuan Dalam's people seized a lot of weapons and properties. And the king of the state bowed himself under the reign of Yang Dipertuan Linggi].

In the theory of conflict behaviour, Bartos and Wehr (2002) explained that wealth is among the main sources that lead to competition. According to them, wealth in the context of ancient times refers to land (territory) as a source of power and symbol of dignity. Similarly, Katz (1965) also asserted that a country or state would seek to expand their position and control over resources, territory, and market.

These explanations by Bartos and Wehr (2002) as well as Katz (1965) can thus be seen in the abovementioned instance. The war waged between Linggi and the state of Anak Sungai was due to Yang Dipertuan Linggi's desire to expand his occupied territory, despite his repeated failures after several attempts following resistance from the people of Anak Sungai. Nonetheless, it was only after the Linggi army, led by Tuan Dalam, succeeded in seizing the state of Anak Sungai that its king and people submitted to Linggi. This victory eventually transformed Anak Sungai as part of Linggi's occupied territory, thereby directly elevating the latter's status upon defeating its rival.

### **The Issue of Position and Power Struggle in Reign**

The issue of power struggle in reign is a significant phenomenon of political conflict in *HSK*. In this *hikayat*, there are four events that depict power struggle in ruling affairs: the coup d'état by the children of the late Long Junuh (Long Yunus), the attack by Terengganu-Pattani on Kelantan, the murder of Raja Temenggung, and the civil war between Tuan Senik Mulut Merah and Raja Bendahara.

The first incident linked to power struggle in reign happened in a coup organised by the children of the Late Long Junuh against Yang Dipertuan Kelantan. Yang Dipertuan Kelantan was the son of Raja Terengganu who married a daughter and princess of Long Junuh, named Encik Ku Tuan Nawi. Following the demise of Long Junuh, his son-in-law was elected as the king of Kelantan, bearing the title of Yang Dipertuan Negeri Kelantan. However, conflict arose from his indifferent attitude towards the children of the late Long Junuh. This bred discontent among them, which led to a protest against the reign of Yang Dipertuan Kelantan.

According to HSK, Long Junuh's children—led by Long Muhammad together with their uncle, Engku Kelucur—staged an attack against Yang Dipertuan Kelantan. The attack consequently caused a war to erupt between the people of Kelantan on the children's side and the people of Terengganu on Yang Dipertuan's side. Kelantan managed to defeat Terengganu in the war as the former outnumbered the latter, and Yang Dipertuan was forced to flee back to Terengganu after his defeat. This is recorded in the following excerpt in *HSK* (2004:47):

*...maka raja-raja anak Almarhum Long Junuh pun langgarlah kota raja Terengganu, Yang Dipertuan Kelantan itu. Maka bertikamlah orang Kelantan dengan orang Terengganu itu. Maka bertikam itu tiada berapa lamanya lalu kalah sebelah orang Terengganu kerana orang Terengganu pada masa itu tiada berapa banyak lagi dan orang Kelantan terlalu banyak kerana negeri sendiri dan lawan dengan orang luar negeri, terlebih ketahuilah. Maka tatkala itu Yang Dipertuan Kelantan pun undur lari pergi ke negeri Terengganu balik...*

[...hence the children of the late Long Junuh launched an attack on the fort of the Terengganu king, Yang Dipertuan Kelantan. The people of Kelantan and Terengganu fought against one another. Not long after, the people of Terengganu were defeated because there were not many of them, and the Kelantanese were larger in number as they were fighting in their own state against the foreigners. Yang Dipertuan Kelantan therefore had to retreat back to Terengganu...].

In *HSK*, it is documented that following the coup incident, the reign of Kelantan was taken over by the children of the late Long Junuh. Long Muhammad was elected in consensus as the new king of Kelantan. This

appointment was entirely approved by his siblings, especially Long Jenal. Subsequently, Long Jenal was appointed as Raja Bendahara, Long Tan became Raja Temenggung, and Long Bongsu became Raja Muda to assist with the reign. The downfall of Yang Dipertuan Kelantan, however, triggered another war episode to seize the ruling power, and this involved Terengganu and Pattani.

The second power struggle in *HSK* is the continuation of the previous event, that is, the defeat of Yang Dipertuan Kelantan. Yang Dipertuan Terengganu (Tuan Dalam), the father of Yang Dipertuan Kelantan, intended to launch a counterattack on Kelantan as vengeance against the children of the late Long Junuh. He then formed a pact with the ruler of Pattani to attack Kelantan, as noted in the following excerpt in *HSK* (2004:48):

*...Maka tatkala itu utusan raja Terengganu pun membuat surat perjanjian dengan Datu Pangkalan, raja Pattani itu sekian sakat harinya beri sampai ke negeri Kelantan kerana Yang Dipertuan Kelantan hendak langgar semula...*

[...Therefore at that time, the messenger of the Terengganu king drafted a letter of agreement with Datu Pangkalan, the king of Pattani, because Yang Dipertuan Kelantan wanted to launch a counterattack on the state of Kelantan...].

The Terengganu-Pattani attack on Kelantan was led by Yang Dipertuan Kelantan himself to reclaim the ruling power seized by his in-laws. The war between Terengganu-Pattani and Kelantan was two-cornered, with Terengganu launching an attack on the east side while Pattani did the same on the west side. Since Terengganu-Pattani had a stronger combined military force compared to that of Kelantan, the war was thus won by the former. This event is presented in the excerpt from *HSK* (2004:49) below:

*...Maka tatkala itu berlanggarlah-langgaranlah orang Terengganu sebelah timur dan orang Pattani sebelah barat.*

*...Maka tiada daya dan upayalah sebelah orang Kelantan hendak melawan lagi kerana dua lawan dengan satu lawan. Jikalau satu sama satu tentulah menang orang Kelantan. Ini apalah hendak dikatakan lagi melainkan undur larilah sebelah orang Kelantan mudik ke hulu berhenti dalam Sungai Kuala Nal. Maka negeri Kelantan sebelah kuala boleh kepada Yang Dipertuan Kelantan*

*pula, perintah ia, menjadi raja pada masa itu memerintah di sebelah kuala Kelantan...*

[...Therefore at that moment, the people of Terengganu attacked on the east side, while the people of Pattani did so on the west side.

...The Kelantanese no longer had the strength and ability to fight against two opponents. They would have won if they were to fight one against one. There was nothing else that could be done by the Kelantanese except to flee upstream the river of Kuala Nal. Thus, the state of Kelantan on the confluence side was taken over by Yang Dipertuan Kelantan, where he resided to rule as the king...].

Despite Yang Dipertuan Kelantan's success in reclaiming a part of Kelantan's confluences, Raja Long Muhammad and his people planned for a retaliation against the Terengganu-Pattani army with the help of Chinese people from Hulu Galas. They were represented by Raja Temenggung (Long Tan), who went to Hulu Galas to strike a deal with *Kapitan Cina* (translated as "Captain of the Chinese"). If the Galas Chinese were to help with the counterattack on Terengganu-Pattani, they would be permitted to commit robbery for three consecutive days, as mentioned in the excerpt from *HSK* (2004:49) as follows:

*...lalu disuruh Raja Temenggung mudik pergi ke Hulu Galas pergi muafakat dengan Cina Galas itu minta ia tolong bantu sekalian adik-beradik itu, ia hendak langgar Yang Dipertuan Kelantan semula serta suruh Raja Temenggung itu buat janji dengan orang Cina Galas itu apakala menang hendak membenarkan kepada Cina Galas itu merampas tiga hari berturut-turut kerana pada masa itu di Galas banyak orang-orang Cina.*

[...Thereby Raja Temenggung was told to travel upstream to Hulu Galas to seek an agreement with the Galas Chinese that would help the siblings to launch a counterattack on Yang Dipertuan Kelantan. Raja Temenggung was also instructed to promise the Galas Chinese that should they succeed in winning the war, they would be allowed to confiscate (properties) for three consecutive days since at that time, there were many Chinese people in Galas].

With the help of the Galas Chinese people, Kelantan's counterattack successfully defeated the Terengganu-Pattani army once again. The Kelantanese launched an attack on the Terengganu army, while the Galas Chinese confronted the Pattani people. The victory returned Raja

Long Muhammad to his throne as the king of Kelantan. As agreed in the pact, the Galas Chinese were granted permission to commit robbery for three days. There is also a recount in *HSK* on Tuan Dalam's attempt to counterattack, but it was called off because his wife, Tuan Puteri Bulan, was extremely ill, prompting his troop to return to Terengganu. To ensure there would be no more threats from Terengganu and Pattani, Raja Kelantan along with his noblemen reached a consensus to seek Siam's protection. This marked the beginning of the tradition of sending *bunga emas* to Siam every three years.

Next, the struggle for power and position in *HSK* is identified in the incident of Raja Temenggung's (Long Tan) murder due to Raja Bendahara's (Long Jenal) jealousy. The conflict stemmed from the extra attention given by Raja Long Muhammad to Long Tan's children over Long Jenal's children. According to this *hikayat*, Raja Long Muhammad did not have children, so he decided to adopt Long Tan's son named Tuan Senik Mulut Merah as his own son. Consequently, Long Jenal felt bitter towards Long Tan, and possibly also felt that his position was somewhat threatened when Raja Long Muhammad favoured Long Tan's child over his children. This can be seen in the brief excerpt from *HSK* (2004:54) as follows:

*...Maka anak Raja Temenggung, Tuan Senik Mulut Merah itu, Raja Kelantan ambil buat anak angkat. Maka Raja Bendahara sangat-sangat menaruh dengki kepada Raja Temenggung sebab Raja Kelantan kasih kepada anaknya...*

[...Hence, the son of Raja Temenggung, Tuan Senik Mulut Merah, was adopted by Raja Kelantan. Raja Bendahara therefore was extremely envious of Raja Temenggung because of Raja Kelantan's fondness towards his son...].

Due to such jealousy, Long Jenal hired a Galas Chinese to kill Long Tan. Long Tan was then murdered when he was in Hulu Galas before his body was later burned as explained in the excerpts from *HSK* (2004:55):

*...Maka Raja Bendahara upah orang Cina Galas suruh buat Raja Temenggung. Maka Raja Temenggung memegang tanah Galas.*

*Maka ada pada satu hari Raja Temenggung mudik pergi ke Hulu Galas dengan ada pekerjaan, maka datang orang Cina itu buat Raja Temenggung serta bakar mayat. Maka orang kenal Temenggung itu gigi bertatah emas. Itulah boleh kenal, lalu dibawa hilir dikuburkan.*



[...Therefore Raja Bendahara hired a Galas Chinese to kill Raja Temenggung who was ruling the land of Galas.

Thus one day as Raja Temenggung travelled upstream to Hulu Galas for work matters, the Chinese came to kill Raja Temenggung and burned his body. The people however could identify him through his golden tooth. Upon recognising him, the body was brought downstream to be buried].

Due to the tragedy of Long Tan's murder, Raja Long Muhammad decreed for all Galas Chinese who were involved in the murder conspiracy to be arrested and investigated. They were later sentenced to death and their bodies were thrown into the river. In HSK, Long Jenal's involvement as the mastermind of his brother's murder was discovered by Raja Long Muhammad, hence he ordered for Long Jenal to be banished. Long Jenal initially refused to follow the order, but it was only after Raja Long Muhammad decreed that he would be shot if he persistently refused the order of banishment that Long Jenal eventually relented and moved to the Kuala Menara territory.

Lastly, the issue of power struggle in reign can also be observed in the event of a civil war between Tuan Senik Mulut Merah and his uncle, Long Jenal, following the latter's act of seizing the throne from him as the rightful successor. According to HSK, upon receiving news regarding Raja Long Muhammad's deteriorating condition, Long Jenal, who was banished from the state of Kelantan, decided to return and meet the monarch. After Raja Long Muhammad's demise, Long Jenal ascended the throne as Raja Kelantan and thus Raja Bukit became Raja Muda. This caused Tuan Senik Mulut Merah to protest as he was the rightful successor of the king, as stated in the late Raja Long Muhammad's will in the following excerpt from HSK (2004:55):

*...Sebab sangat-sangat Raja Kelantan itu kasih anak-anak Raja Temenggung itu, terlebih kasih kepada Tuan Senik Mulut Merah sehingga membuat surat pergi kirim kepada Lenggur minta tolong, kemudian daripadanya beri boleh Tuan Senik Mulut Merah menjadi raja negeri Kelantan.*

[...Due to Raja Kelantan's extreme fondness for Raja Temenggung's children, especially Tuan Senik Mulut Merah, he sent a letter to ask for Lenggur's help, which later would allow Tuan Senik Mulut Merah to be appointed as the king of Kelantan].

Tuan Senik Mulut Merah, along with his siblings, resolved to reclaim the throne from Long Jenal, thus waging a war against their uncle. The duration of the ensuing civil war is not stated in *HSK*, but the *hikayat* does reveal that Tuan Senik Mulut Merah emerged triumphant. Meanwhile, Long Jenal fled Kelantan following his loss in the battle. Tuan Senik Mulut Merah later presented a letter to the state of Lenggur (Ligor) to announce that Kelantan was in his rule. Accordingly, Tuan Senik Mulut Merah sailed to Siam to request an audience with the Royal Highness Cha Krum Parbat Semedit Perapan Keluju Yahwa.

Based on the four explained events, it can be deduced that the political conflicts in *HSK* develop from the struggle of power and position in state ruling. According to the theory of conflict behaviour by Bartos and Wehr (2002), one of the causes of political conflict is the competition to vie for power. They further added that there is always a party who would obstinately strive to seize power and enforce it beyond limit. As claimed by Katz (1965), political power is significant as it plays an important role to safeguard economic interests and position. Therefore, for these reasons, there would be several parties who would compete in obtaining power to the point of eliciting conflicts.

In regard to the scholarly opinions discussed earlier, conflicts that happened due to power struggle can be identified in the coup initiated by the children of the late Long Junuh against Yang Dipertuan Kelantan. Yang Dipertuan, however, retaliated by attacking Kelantan with help from his father, Yang Dipertuan Terengganu, and Pattani to regain his position as the ruler of Kelantan. However, Long Junuh's children, who were assisted by the Hulu Galas Chinese, launched a counterattack on Terengganu-Pattani and successfully defeated the alliance.

The same issue is identified in the murder of Raja Temenggung by Raja Bendahara, stemming from the latter's jealousy of Raja Long Muhammad's unequal attention towards Raja Temenggung's children over his children. This was seen as a threat to the latter's position. This conflict persisted even after Raja Long Muhammad's demise, when Raja Bendahara ascended the throne as Raja Kelantan despite the late king's will to appoint Tuan Senik Mulut Merah as his successor. This issue eventually spurred a civil war between Tuan Senik Mulut Merah, who was trying to regain his throne, and Raja Bendahara, who had already taken over reign as Raja Kelantan.

## CONCLUSION

The findings of this study have uncovered nine events in *HSK* that can be associated with political conflicts. These events are further classified into four issues—the issue of tyrannical reign, the issue of state sovereignty from external powers, the issue of territorial expansion, and the issue of position and power struggle in reign. These issues have been analysed through the perspective of conflict behaviour theory by Bartos and Wehr (2002). This article puts forth that disputes over resources such as land or territory, power, and prestige or honour are the premises that trigger actions linked to conflicts in *HSK*. The analysis has established that conflicts, as found in this article, have indeed ensued from disputes over resources.

Based on the analysis, there were a few causes of political conflicts in *HSK*. Among the identified causes was the unjust reign that involved domination by a powerful party over the subjects, prompting the people's uprising. Besides that, conflicts in *HSK* were also triggered by the issue of state sovereignty against the clutches of external powers. Next, political conflicts also happened due to the state ruler's desire to expand his territory by conquering new territories. Lastly, political conflicts in *HSK* also materialised through struggles for power and position in the ruling of state, which eventually led to a murder and a civil war.

The discussion of this article has proven that *HSK* is a sociocultural document that has recorded various political conflicts in the reign of Kelantan state. The findings discussed in this article are significant not only as a form of reference on ancient society's sociopolitical history, but also as a guide and lesson for the present society, especially for parties involved in administrative and political affairs. As a Malay historiographical masterpiece, *HSK* holds a vast trove of narratives that can be studied. For this reason, this article recommends further studies to be conducted on *HSK* since to date, the number of studies involving *HSK* is still limited compared to those on other Malay historiographical works.

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## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Fariz Idzwan: Writing-Original draft, data collection and data analysis;  
Muhd. Norizam Jamian: Supervision, reviewing and editing the draft, data and analysis.

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## DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data supporting the findings of this study are available within the article.

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