

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang



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ABSTRACT: The construction of an understanding of Gayo is greatly influenced by how the discourse on Gayo is produced. Discourse about Gayo can only be traced through historical texts that document various narrations about Gayo. This study aims to describe how the historical discourse contained in the text is used as legitimacy in building constructions about Gayo. To analyze the various narratives about Gayo in the text, this research uses qualitative research methods with the DHA (*Discourse Historical Approach*). Through DHA, the construction of an understanding of Gayo in the present which was built based on historical discourse found the context. The results of this study indicate that: (1) the texts about Gayo which are grouped into three sets “Linge Kingdom Texts 1”, “Linge Kingdom Texts 2”, and “Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang Texts” are narratively contradictory to each other; (2) the three sets of texts become a discourse that legitimizes its narrative based on historical events; (3) The “Text of the Kingdom of Linge 1” becomes the understanding of the dominant group in reproducing the understanding of the dichotomy between the Acehnese as the dominant group and the Gayo tribe as a minority through discursive practices.

KEYWORDS: Kingdom of Linge, Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang, Discourse, Gayo.

I. INTRODUCTION

In late October 2012, there was a rejection action by the Gayo people against Qanun No. 8/2012 on Wali Nanggroe Institution. The Qanun is considered a discriminatory act against ethnic minorities in Aceh because it requires the use of the Aceh language to become a Wali Nanggroe. One element of the Gayo community who are members of KP3 ALA (Committee for the Preparation of the Establishment of Aceh Leuser Antara Province) not only rejected the qanun wali nanggroe but further demanded that the Gayo-speaking region (Central Aceh and Southeast Aceh Districts) separate itself from Aceh Province, by forming ALA (Aceh Leuser Antara) Province (Serambi News, 2012). The demand for the formation of ALA Province was again voiced by a student group called Gayo Merdeka when protesting against the Aceh hymn competition conducted by the government at the end of 2017. The competition included a requirement that the hymn is sung in the Acehnese language (Bakri, 2017). Although in Qanun Aceh No. 2/2018 on Aceh Hymns, Aceh hymns can be translated into languages in Aceh.

Qanun No. 8/2012 and the Aceh hymn competition held in late 2017. These represent the dichotomous relationship between Gayo as a minority tribe living in the highlands, and Aceh as the majority tribe living in the coastal areas, as the dominant group in the government. However, it is not enough to see the dichotomous relationship between the Acehnese and Gayo tribes as spontaneous, limited to the rejection of government regulations that are considered discriminatory against minority tribes. The dichotomous relationship between the Acehnese and Gayo tribes must be seen in terms of how Gayo has been discussed by the dominant group.

Discourses about Gayo are manifested in texts that contribute to the understanding of Gayo. The significance of present knowledge is always sought for legitimacy from past texts and events. Thus, historical texts always become a discourse, the truth of which is determined by an authority (Wodak, 2015). Thus, texts always represent the point of view of a group, even semiotically texts can be understood as ideological content (Kristeva et al., 1982). Therefore, the purpose of this article is to describe how the Gayo discourse influences the dichotomous relationship between the Acehnese and Gayo tribes.

II. METHOD

Various narratives in the text are certainly not enough to be understood literally, because the text produced always includes other motives outside the text itself. As stated by Fairclough (2015), the text is language documented in written form, and is strongly influenced by the social context in which the text is produced, reproduced, and distributed. Thus, texts always represent authority in social structures.

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

To describe the instability of meaning in narratives about Gayo contained in various texts, the researcher uses a qualitative research method with a DHA (*Discourse Historical Approach*) approach. According to Wodak (2015), DHA is a critical discourse analysis method that focuses on text criticism to find inconsistencies, contradictions, and paradoxes; sociodiagnostic criticism finds manipulative acts of narrative substance latently in the text of discursive practices; prospective criticism that seeks to overcome future communication problems related to historical narratives.

Discourse analysis in DHA seeks to find the context of the text so that an understanding of the text can be built. Therefore, in DHA according to Wodak (2009) when analyzing the text, the context of the text can be found through (1) intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts; (2) social or extra-linguistic variables that represent certain situational contexts; (3) text history; (4) sociopolitical aspects related to discursive practices as an authority that determines the truth of the narrative in the text (Wodak, 2001).

The application of DHA in this study focuses on the Gayo narratives documented in various texts. Narratives about Gayo in this study are referred from several books such as *Tarikh Atjeh and Nusantara* (Tarikh Atjeh dan Nusantara) by H.M Zainuddin; *Iskandar Muda's white elephant* (Gajah Putih Iskandar Muda) by M. Junus Djamil; *Aceh Culture in History* (Kebudayaan Aceh Dalam Sejarah) by Ali Hasjmy; *History of Gayo Region and Tribe* (Sejarah Daerah dan Suku Gayo) by Abdurrahim Dandy. In addition, the narrative about Gayo is also referred to from a paper by Dien Majid entitled *The Entry and Development of Islam in Central Aceh and its Relationship with Perlak and Pasai* (Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Aceh Tengah Serta Kaitannya Dengan Perlak dan Pasai), which was presented on September 25-30, 1980 at the Seminar on the History of the Entry and Development of Islam in Indonesia, in East Aceh Regency.

Other narratives about Gayo are also referenced from three news articles in the online news media Lintas Gayo. The first news article was published on May 3, 2015, with the title *Gayo Archaeological Findings Great Ammunition for the ALA Struggle* (Temuan Arkeologis Gayo Amunisi Hebat Perjuangan ALA) written by Darmawan Masri; the second news article was published on July 24, 2015 with the title *Loyang Mendale and Early Inhabitants of the North End of Sumatra* (Loyang Mendale dan Penghuni Awal Ujung Utara Sumatera) written by Win Wan Nur; and the third news article was published on May 27, 2021 with the title *Loyang Mendale Research Results for What?* (Hasil Penelitian Loyang Mendale Untuk Apa?) written by Win Wan Nur.

To make it easier to analyze the narratives about Gayo from the various texts mentioned above, the researcher then grouped the texts based on the similarity of narrative substance. "*Linge Kingdom Text 1*" (a set of texts on *Tarikh Atjeh and Nusantara*; *Iskandar Muda's white elephant*; and *Aceh Culture in History*); "*Linge Kingdom Text 2*" (a set of texts on *the History of Gayo Region and Tribe* and *The Entry and Development of Islam in Central Aceh and its Relationship with Perlak and Pasai*); and "*Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang Texts*" (a collection of three news articles in the Lintas Gayo online media with the titles *Gayo Archaeological Findings Great Ammunition for the ALA Struggle*, *Loyang Mendale and Early Inhabitants of the Northern Tip of Sumatra*, and *Loyang Mendale Research Results for What?*).

The three groups of texts were analyzed by being confronted intertextually. Through intertextuality not only contradictory text structures are found, but also represent the social context that influences the epistemology of the text (Kristeva et al., 1982). Thus, through intertextuality, it is possible to see how the discourse about Gayo occurs. It is not only limited to the coexistence of contradictory texts but also how the narrative about Gayo is institutionalized through regulations created by the dominant group.

III. RESULT

Gayo Discourses in Various Historical Discourses

To see how the Gayo tribe is perceived today, we must look back at the various discourses documented in various texts about the tribe. The oldest text known to mention the word "Gayo" is the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. The text explains that: *There was also told by the person who had the story. There was people in that country who did not want to convert to Islam. So they fled upstream of the Pasangan River, hence the name of the people of that country as Gayu until the present day* (A.H.Hill, 1960:59).

Gayo, which is told in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* as a group of people who were afraid to convert to Islam when sultan Malik as Saleh of the Samudera Pasai kingdom Islamized the area, continues to be reproduced in the writing of Aceh's history, as seen in the book *Tarikh Atjeh and Nusantara* (Tarikh Atjeh dan Nusantara) by H.M Zainuddin. The book explains: *The Gayo people came from people who fled to the mountains from East and North Aceh who did not want to convert to Islam and then when the Peureulak kingdom was attacked by Srivijaya in 670 AD = 1271 AD. They were called Gayo Seumamah and Gayo Serbadjadi near Simpang Krueng Peunarun (East Aceh) and Peusangan. Later on, there were more refugees from the coast of North Aceh for fear of being taken by the King of Aceh to Malaya to fight, they removed themselves to the upper reaches of the Peusangan river (Laut Tawar) or Takengon* (Zainuddin, 1961:16).

Zainuddin also explicitly mentions that the word "Gayo" comes from the Acehnese "Kayo" which means fear, as he explains:

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

So the word Kayo means FEAR, over time the word changed to Gayo and thus the Alas and Karo people moved from the coast (sea coast) to the mountains. because of avoiding something fearful, that might also be during the expansion of Srivijaya, Siam and Majapahit mentioned above or even because of attacks (civil war) from each of the small kingdoms that ruled around the coasts (Zainuddin, 1961:16).

The view of Gayo developed from Acehnese historians' interpretation of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* contrasts with the narrative developed by Gayo figures. For example, in Abdurahim Dandy's book entitled *History of Gayo Region and Tribe* (Sejarah Daerah dan Suku Gayo). Dandy's writing is in the form of poetry in the Gayo language and was written in 1959, his writing was later published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the Indonesian reading and literature book publishing program in 1979.

Dandy presents a narrative about the initial conditions of Aceh before the presence of the Gayo tribe, there were no tribes that existed because other areas were still in the form of oceans. as he explained (Dandy, 1979:21):

Tekala uren rane remane asalni Gayo mulo pertama daerah kiteni lauten ijo gere ilen mutuho uken urum toa (When the raindrops fell on Gayo in the beginning, our region was still a green sea, there was no conflict between Uken and Toa).

Tekala kerpe jarum jemarmu gere ilen malum sara urum roa ike manusiépe gere ilen murum gere ilen mepum jenis ni bangsa (When the grass was still fragrant before it was created one with two when humans did not yet live in groups, there were also no various types of nations).

Then Dandy presents a narrative about the emergence of the first Islamic kingdom in Aceh, the Linge kingdom, which also marks the beginning of civilization in the Aceh region. The narrative begins with the stranding of Genali, a descendant of a Turkish sultan, on an uninhabited island, later named Buntul Linge. The area is believed to be the initial area of the establishment of the Linge kingdom. As he explained:

Keberni genali kite renyelen genali musergen kusara pulo urum atang atang urum iken-iken? nasib ni ejel teniro (Genali's story continues Genali is stranded on an island with a piece of wood and fish? fate has not yet arrived) (Dandy, 1979:24).

Menurut cerak sembilang peri oyale mujadi kin buntul linge enta kone kase gelah kite kaji supaya cerakni enti gantung male (According to stories that have circulated, that place will later become Buntul Linge, whether it is true, we will study it later so that the story does not hang) (Dandy, 1979:24).

Ini le mulo asal ni kerejeen linge kati sudere memahami makna ijemen kelamin bute kedah mulo menurut berite dahulu kala (This is the origin of the Linge Kingdom so that you understand its meaning in the days when there was still no script according to ancient stories) (Dandy, 1979:32).

Furthermore, Dandy explicitly states that the origin of Aceh should be referred to the Gayo tribe, namely:

Bierpun acih puren terjadi ari kite ni mulo ku so oya kase puren kase gelah kite cari supaya enti kase mupelto (Although Aceh only existed at a later date from us, initially there was only one there, later we will research it together so that there are not too many studies) (Dandy, 1979:33).

Tempat bersemayam ni seltan ali seltan aseli reje pemulo oyale sebab kati irasi sawah besilo ni kute nireje (The resting place of sultan Ali, the original sultan of the first king, which is why the place was named Kuta Raja until now) (Dandy, 1979:56).

Nanpe iperinen masyhur i acih oya mubatang tebeh awal pemulo ike cerak paluhpe ara kite betih ike jak u acih oya kuterje (Although it is said that the fame of Aceh is the beginning of everything if we have heard their stories if you go to Aceh, it is Kuta Raja) (Dandy, 1979:56).

Another narrative that tells about the Linge kingdom is in a book by M. Junus Djamil entitled *Iskandar Muda's white elephant* (Gajah Putih Iskandar Muda) published in 1959. In the narrative, Genali's name as the founder of the Linge kingdom is named with the Acehnese name "Teungku. Kawee Teupat". In addition, the establishment of the Linge kingdom according to Djamil was influenced by the Peurelak kingdom as he explained:

It is the name of a title of an official (prime minister) of the kingdom of Lingga, since the beginning of the formation of the first Lingga kingdom in 416 H = 1025 AD. whose king is known as Teungku Kawee Teupat (Kik Betol). The origin of the name was Sheikh Sirajuddin, the emissary of Sultan Makhdum Malik Mahmud Syah Johan Berdaulat, the Sultan of Peureulak at that time, in the opening (awakening) the country of Lingga (Buntul Linggeu). The designation Sheikh Sirajuddin, over time changed to the designation Cik Seuroeleue. So is the name Cik Seuroeleue, is the title of a dignitary (prime minister) of the Lingga country which has been handed down to that time (Djamil, 1959:70).

In the period of the Aceh Darusallam kingdom, the Linge kingdom in the narrative built by Djamil was placed into the territory of the Aceh Darusallam kingdom. As he explained:

Eumpoebroee was one of the representatives of the people of Lingga in the assembly of Sultan Alaidin Ri 'ayah Syah Al-Kahar (Djamil, 1959:92).

Eumpoebroee according to Djamil is a noble title given to a woman since the reign of the first Lingga king *Teungku Kawee Teupat*. This title then continued to be passed down to female descendants in subsequent periods.

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

The continuity of the Linge kingdom's placement in the authority of the Aceh Darussalam kingdom even continued during the reign of Linge king XIII. The following is Djamil's explanation:

King Lingga XIII, from the time Sultan Alaidin Ali Mughayat Syah expelled the Portuguese in the Pase and Aroe areas, continued to be active in the Aceh army as a Commander and member of the Staff of Amirul-Harb Ri'ayah Syah..... Also, one of the daughters of the Sultan of Malacca's family was married to one of the Acehnese princes, Radja Lingga XIII (Central Aceh) (Djamil, 1959:65).

Djamil also described Sultan Alaidin Ri'ayah Syah Al-Kahar as a sultan of the Aceh Darussalam kingdom who was based on Islam in running his government, even equating him with the leadership of Umar bin Khattab. In addition, sultan Alaidin Ri'ayah Syah Al-Kahar is also described as a sultan who has the authority to determine the tribes in Aceh and give them titles. The following is Djamil's depiction:

Sultan Alaidin Ri'ayah Syah Al-Kahar was one of the Sultans of Atjeh who first organized the kingdom of Atjeh so regularly based on Islamic government, following the government at the time of Sayyidina Umar bin Khattab r.a. It was he who first examined and determined the tribes of the Acehnese nation and gave names (titles) to each (Djamil, 1959:81).

Another narrative about the Linge kingdom is also contained in the collection of materials for the seminar on the history of the entry and development of Islam in Indonesia held on September 25-30, 1980 in East Aceh Regency. The seminar was a continuation of the previous seminar on the entry of Islam into Indonesia, which was held on March 17-20, 1963 in Medan, and the seminar was held on July 10-16, 1978 in Banda Aceh (Hasjmy, 1981).

The narrative related to the Linge kingdom in the seminar on the history of the entry and development of Islam in Indonesia is contained in a paper written by Dien Majid with the title *Entry and Development of Islam in Central Aceh and its Relationship with Perlak and Pasai* (Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Aceh Tengah Serta Kaitannya Dengan Perlak dan Pasai). In the paper, Majid explained how the process of the entry of Islam into the Central Aceh region is difficult to imagine if it is separated from the influence of Islamic kingdoms from coastal areas such as the Peurelak kingdom and the Pasai kingdom.

However, there is another view given by Majid that there was a kingdom in the Central Aceh region before the entry of Islam into the region. In his explanation, Majid quotes Dada Meuraxa's book entitled *History of Sumatran Culture* (Sejarah Kebudayaan Sumatera) which bases its argument on Marco Polo's notes. As explained by Majid:

The indigenous people of this hinterland called the area "Lainggow" and called its king Ghayo-ghayo or "king of the sacred mountain". In the Linggow area there was already a small kingdom, the "kingdom of Linggow", and there was already a relationship with the kingdom of Perlak in East Aceh which was marked by sending gifts (Majid, 1981:478).

Majid then constructs "Linggow/Lainggow" as the Linge kingdom in the Central Aceh region. Here is his statement:

Likely, what is meant by "Lainggow" in Marco Polo's account is "Linge", so what is meant by "Lainggow Kingdom" is the Kingdom of Linge, while what is meant by "Small Sea" in the interior of Perlak is "Lake Laut Tawar", because the only lake in the interior of Aceh is Lake Laut Tawar. From Marco Polo's account, it is known that the interior was already inhabited by indigenous people, before the introduction of Islam and people who fled from the Perlak Kingdom in East Aceh (Majid, 1981:478).

Another narrative about the Linge kingdom is found in Ali Hasjmy's book entitled *Aceh Culture in History* (Kebudayaan Aceh Dalam Sejarah) published in 1983. Quoting from M. Junus Djamil's *Chronicles of the Kings of the Kingdom of Aceh* (Tawarikh Raja-Raja Kerajaan Aceh), Hasjmy constructs a narrative that the founder of the Linge kingdom, Genali, was a descendant of the Peurelak sultan's brother who moved to central Aceh region. The following is Hasjmy's statement:

ADDI GENALI with the title Meurah Lingga, son of Meurah Tanjoong Krueng Jambo Ayee, brother of Sulthan Peureulak Makhdum Johan Berdaulat Syahir Nuwi (Hasjmy, 1983:53).

Tengku Kawee Teupat graduated Dayah Cot Kala. His name was Adi Geunali, a prince. Moved to Central Aceh and built the Islamic Kingdom of Lingga (416 H. = 1025 AD), and became the first king, from Scholar to ruler (Hasjmy, 1983:226).

After Srivijaya attacked the Islamic Kingdom of Peureulak in 375 A.H. (986 A.D.), many of the scholars, leaders, and children of the king of Peureulak fled to various other countries, including to Lingga (Central Aceh today), where they were able to establish an Islamic society and kingdom (Hasjmy, 1983:53).

Based on the narrative constructed by Hasjmy, the establishment of the Linge kingdom was inseparable from the role of the Peurelak kingdom in spreading Islam to various regions in Aceh. Hasjmy's narrative also implicitly states that there was no kingdom and community before Addi Genali, a descendant of the Peurelak sultan's brother, established the Linge kingdom.

Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang Sites as a Discourse

Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang are pre-historic sites located in Central Aceh Regency. Excavations carried out by the North Sumatra Archaeology Center (Balai Arkeologi Sumatera Utara) since 2009 on the two sites produced various findings of both artifacts and ecofacts (Setiawan, 2009). The findings of the pre-historic cultural heritage also changed the construction of Gayo people's understanding of their identity, moreover, the results of DNA tests on human skeleton samples found in Loyang

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang showed a match with the current Gayo tribe. So it can be concluded that the skeletons found in Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang are the ancestors of the Gayo people (Balai Arkeologi Sumatera Utara, 2018).

The construction of understanding built based on pre-historic archaeological findings at Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang not only refers to the origin of the Gayo tribe but creates a narrative that the Gayo tribe is the oldest in the Aceh region. The representation of this understanding can be seen from the narratives reported in mass media, such as online news media. The following will show three news articles related to the narrative of Gayo as the oldest tribe in Aceh from Lintas Gayo, an online news media originating from Central Aceh.

The first news article was written by Darmawan Masri and published on May 3, 2015, under the title *Gayo Archaeological Finds Great Ammunition for ALA Struggle* (Temuan Arkeologis Gayo Amunisi Hebat Perjuangan ALA) (News text 1). This news article as a whole contains Afriansyah's views on the need to make the archaeological findings of Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang a discourse in the struggle for the division of the ALA (Aceh Leuser Antara) province. Afriansyah himself is an academic from Gayo who at the time was pursuing doctoral studies at Leiden University. The following is a fragment of his statement in the news article (Masri, 2015):

"Strengthening the identity of archaeological findings in Gayo is strong ammunition for the ALA struggle," said Arfiansyah when asked to give his views on the ALA Province struggle.

The archaeological findings in Gayo should be a good momentum to support the ALA struggle. Claims that Gayo is an indigenous people are very strong because they have strong historical evidence too. Although, after that Gayo people were able to become the first king of Aceh.

"Maybe if the matter of the first Acehnese king from Gayo is less popular, only we recognize it. And it is still a debate among historians. But, the archaeological data produced, is indisputable. So that the archaeological findings in Mendale and Ujung Karang should raise the awareness of Gayo people," said Arfiansyah.

The second news article written by Win Wan Nur entitled *Loyang Mendale and the Early Dwellers of Sumatra's North* (Loyang Mendale dan Penghuni Awal Ujung Utara Sumatera) was published on July 24, 2015 (News text 2). Overall, the content of this news article refutes claims about the origin of the legendary Gayo tribe put forward by coastal areas, Aceh Singkil, and even the Gayo people themselves. According to the news article, the discovery of pre-historic human skeletons in Loyang Mendale is scientific and irrefutable proof that the Gayo people as early inhabitants of the northern tip of Sumatra 7,500 years ago. The following is a fragment of the statement in the news article (Nur, 2015):

Talking about the history of Gayo's origins. The discovery of a 7500-year-old prehistoric human skeleton in Mendale by a team of experts from Balar Medan led by Ketut Wiradyana changed everything...

The first scientific evidence was a DNA test that confirmed that the 6500-year-old skeleton had identical DNA to the current Gayo people...

By focusing on the number 6500, all the stories underlying the historical 'claims' of Gayo origins, whether on the coast, in Singkil, or in Gayo itself are immediately apparent as dating back to a very young time.

The third news article was written by Win Wan Nur entitled *Loyang Mendale Research Results for What?* (Hasil Penelitian Loyang Mendale Untuk Apa?) published on May 27, 2021 (News text 3). The substance of the news departs from the understanding that research at Loyang Mendale so far has only produced superficial practical benefits. Scientific archaeological remains should have been used to refute all claims made by coastal Aceh against Gayo as an inferior tribe. The following is a fragment of the narrative in the news (Nur, 2021):

In the hegemony of coastal Aceh in this province, all privileges obtained by the coast are based on the claim that Gayo is a migrant, Gayo is a tribe that is inferior to the majority tribe on the coast.....

We need to remember that claims that coastal Aceh is the rightful owner of this area, Gayo is an immigrant, Gayo is a sub-ethnicity, and all kinds of things, have been based on empty claims without historical evidence and valid scientific studies.

Because in fact, the evidence that Ketut and his team presented in front of our eyes is scientific evidence that shows that we are the oldest inhabitants in this country now called Aceh. We are the "Indigenous Peoples" of Aceh.

Why is it that almost no one has thought to use this research in Loyang Mendale as a weapon to turn our fortunes around, to fight for justice for Gayo from a social, political, economic, and cultural perspective?

The entire narrative of the three Lintas Gayo news articles implicitly or explicitly states that the Gayo people are the oldest tribe in Aceh. This view is considered scientific because it is built on the results of archaeological research on Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang. Thus, the claims made by the coastal Aceh region based on the narrative of the *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*, the narrative of the Linge kingdom originating from the *kekeberan* narrated by the Gayo people themselves are considered unscientific.

IV. DISCUSSION

Intertextuality as an Attempt to Understand Discourse in Texts about Gayo

Every articulated language cannot be separated from the interdependence of meaning. Therefore, language is understood as part of social practice, which determines the model of social action. Because socially and historically language is always conditioned to the social context in a group. Thus it can be interpreted that language is always embedded in social identity, social relations, and belief systems that influence the perspective of a social group (Fairclough, 2013).

Understanding language as part of social practice certainly cannot reduce the understanding of language functionally, as a means of communication that is free from the interdependence of meaning. Language is not just spoken, but how the meaning of discourse through language can be embedded in social structures. This tendency can be seen in the discourse contained in the text. Discourse itself can be understood as a language practice that is manifested in social actions both orally and writing. Therefore, in a textual context, understanding the text is an act of understanding a discourse that applies to a social group (Grinth, 1996).

Viewing texts as an order of discourse that is constructed in the knowledge of a social group must automatically classify texts into two aspects. The first is the discursive aspect where texts are not only produced but also reproduced and distributed. Thus, at the discursive level, discourse conditioning is strongly influenced by the institutionality of the text. Meanwhile, the non-discursive aspect is a condition in which texts and their meanings coexist as constructs of knowledge in social groups (Wodak, 2001).

In the non-discursive aspect, the coexistence of texts about Gayo cannot be understood based only on a single text, because it will not be seen what understanding presuppositions cause the birth of discourse in the text. Therefore, the coexistence of Gayo texts must be approached intertextually. In line with Kristeva's (1980) statement, intertextual highlights the historical perspective contained in the text by paying attention to the transformation of discourse in the texts based on temporal chronological order. In the Gayo context, it is possible to describe the continuity and discontinuity of discourse in texts that contribute to constructing an understanding of Gayo.

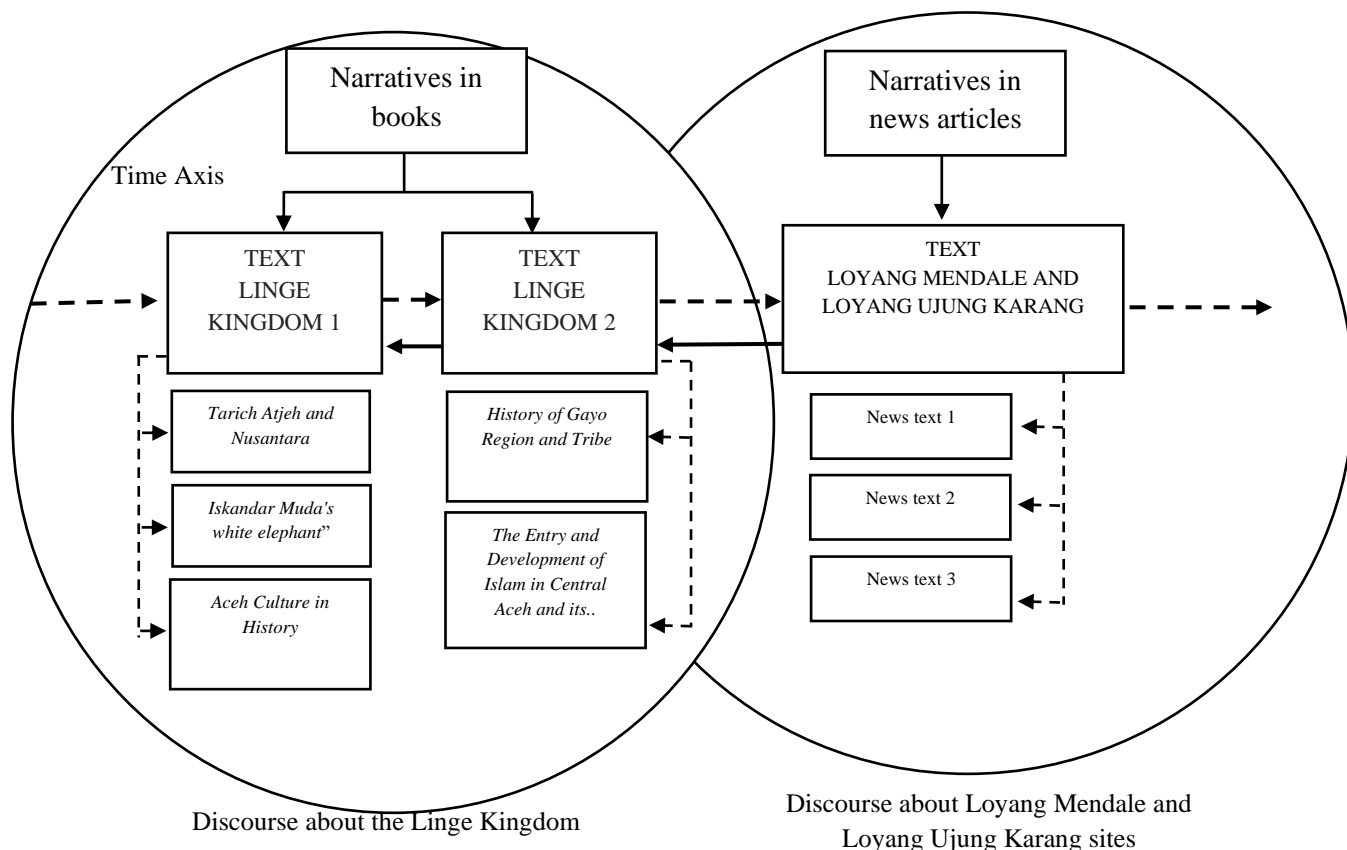


Figure 1. Intertextual discourse of “Linge Kingdom” and discourse of “Loyang Mendale-Loyang Ujung Karang” (adopted from Ruth Wodak).

Based on the figure above, the set of texts can be grouped into two main discourses: the discourse on the Linge kingdom and the discourse on Loyang Mendale-Loyang Ujung Karang. The two discourses are in opposition to each other, symbolized by circles that do not intersect. The discourse on the Linge kingdom is divided into two groups of texts, namely “Linge kingdom text 1” and “Linge kingdom text 2” which also oppose each other. The discourse represented in “Linge kingdom text 1” starts from the text *Tarikh Atjeh and Nusantara* (Tarikh Atjeh dan Nusantara) by Zainuddin. The view of Gayo as a group of people who are afraid to

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

convert to Islam is still maintained, even further Zainuddin etymologically interprets the word “*Gayo*” as coming from the Acehnese “*Kayo*” which means fear. The use of capital letters in the word “FEAR” is a form of affirmation of his view of Gayo which tends to be stereotypical.

In the text, *Iskandar Muda's white elephant* (Gajah Putih Iskandar Muda) by M. Junus Djamil, the narrative of Gayo as a group of people who are afraid to convert to Islam is no longer present. This is because the locus of the narrative of the beginning of the Linge kingdom as an Islamic kingdom is placed in 1025 AD. This refutes the narrative in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* that the Gayo people were a group of people who were afraid to convert to Islam and retreated to the interior when Islamization was carried out by sultan Malik as Saleh who ruled in the kingdom of Samudera Pasai according to Djamil's records in 1265 AD (Djamil, 1959:59).

In the period of the Aceh Darusallam Kingdom, the Linge Kingdom was placed directly under the domination of the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom, it can be seen from the statement that the king of Linge XIII since the reign of sultan Ali Mughayat Syah had become a warlord of Aceh Darussalam Kingdom, and was married to a princess from Malacca Kingdom with a position as an official of Aceh Darussalam Kingdom. Another statement that illustrates domination is seen in the statement that states that the Sultan Alaidin Ri'ayah Syah Al-Kahar has the authority to determine the tribes in Aceh such as the statement “.....It was he who first examined and determined the tribes of Aceh.....” (Djamil, 1959:81).

The narrative in the text *Aceh Culture in History* (Kebudayaan Aceh Dalam Sejarah) by Ali Hasjmy also shows a dichotomous narrative. The establishment of the Linge Kingdom described by Hasjmy is inseparable from the influence of the Peureulak Kingdom. Adi Genali, who is known as the founder of the Linge kingdom, is a descendant of Sultan Makhdum Johan Berdaulat Syahir Nuwi's brother, Meurah Johan. Adi Genali's name is also referred to by another name, *Teungku Kawee Teupat*. Another dichotomous view can be seen implicitly in Hasjmy's statement that the Islamic community in the Central Aceh region was founded by people from the Peureulak kingdom who fled to the area. This view is akin to stating that no community existed in Central Aceh before people from the coastal areas established an Islamic society and kingdom in Central Aceh.

The texts collected in “Linge Kingdom text 1” present the discourse that Gayo was under the authority of the coastal region. This can be seen from the naming of “Gayo” in Acehnese; the narrative of the establishment of the Linge kingdom and society in Central Aceh was largely determined by the kingdoms in coastal Aceh from the period of the Peureulak kingdom to the kingdom of Aceh Darusallam. An opposing view is given in the set of “Linge kingdom texts 2”, such as in Abdurahim Dandy's *History of Gayo region and Tribe* (Sejarah Daerah dan Suku Gayo).

The narrative of the existence of the Gayo tribe was previously portrayed dichotomously by narratives from coastal areas. Dandy overcomes this by starting his writing in the setting of the period of the absence of any tribes where the entire region was still an ocean. The emergence of civilization began when a descendant of the Turkish sultan Genali was stranded in an area that was later named Buntul Linge (Central Aceh region today), from here Genali later established the Linge kingdom as the first Islamic kingdom after marrying the Turkish sultan's daughter named Putri Terus Mata. The narrative reversal is seen when Dandy describes that the Aceh sultanate was under the authority of the Linge kingdom, found in Dandy's statement that Genali's son named sultan Ali became the first king of the Aceh kingdom.

The narrative of the Linge kingdom initiated by Dien Majid in his paper entitled *The Entry and Development of Islam in Central Aceh and its Relationship with Perlak and Pasai*, (Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Aceh Tengah Serta Kaitannya Dengan Perlak dan Pasai) based his understanding on Marco Polo's notes when he visited Sumatra in 1292. According to Majid, there was already a kingdom called “Linggow” in Central Aceh before people from the coastal areas spread Islam in the region. In this case, Majid is trying to refute narratives from the coastal areas that reduce the understanding of Gayo to a group of people from the coastal areas who fled to the interior because they were afraid of converting to Islam. Also, the narrative of the Linge kingdom, whose establishment was heavily influenced by the authority of the coastal kingdoms.

In the set of news narratives in “Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang Texts”, the line of demarcation between Aceh and Gayo is very clear. This can be seen in the use of the terms “*coastal Aceh*”, “*inferior*”, and “*Indigenous Peoples*”. The three news texts have similar views, first in terms of the Gayo tribe as the oldest and earliest tribe in Aceh, which is associated with human skeletons in Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang. The second similarity is rejecting the mythical *kekeberen* view of the Linge kingdom. The third similarity (in news text 1 and news text 3) is about the urgency to make Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang the political discourse of the Gayo people in the face of domination from coastal Aceh. Even in news text 1 Loyang Mendale and Loyang Karang are mentioned as the main discourse in the political movement for the division of the ALA (Aceh Leuser Antara) province.

Discursive Practice as an Act of Reproducing Discourse in the Dominant Group

If in the non-discursive aspect, the text is understood only as a coexisting discourse. In the discursive aspect, discourse coexistence can no longer be interpreted symmetrically because in practice the process of producing, reproducing, and distributing texts is always based on the framework of understanding the dominant group. Therefore, from these three processes, the presence of institutions that represent the position of the dominant group and have power relations to determine the truth in a discourse is a

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

necessity. In line with Van Dijk (1998) statement that at the macro-sociological level, the way institutions work is very similar to ideology in organizing, managing cognition, and determining and regulating interaction actions in social practice.

There are five points of view that represent the understanding of the dominant group in discursive practices. First, how the name of a person or group is referred to linguistically to form a construction of understanding about the existence of in-group and out-group; second, what characteristics are attributed to a group; third, the argumentation scheme that can be used to legitimize the narrative produced; fourth, in what perspective or point of view the labeling of a group is expressed; fifth, how discourses containing dominant narratives are articulated covertly or openly (Wodak, 2001).

The understanding of the dominant group described by Wodak has been seen in how the narrative about Gayo is discussed in the writing of Aceh's history. In the discourse about the Linge Kingdom, especially the "Linge Kingdom Text 1" described above, Gayo itself is presented with the understanding of the dominant group. For example, the name "Gayo" is etymologically referenced from the Acehnese word "Kayo" which means fear, the word fear is always associated with "fear of converting to Islam" inherited from the understanding of Gayo in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. In addition, in Aceh's historical discourse, Gayo has always been narratively integrated under the dominance of the coastal Aceh kingdom, giving Gayo a passive role as a cultural entity.

The significance of the dominant group's understanding as a discursive practice can be seen from Aceh Qanun No. 8/2012 on Wali Nanggroe Institution. Article 69 explains the criteria for wali nanggroe candidates, one of the criteria is in point (c) "can speak Aceh fluently and well" (Pemerintah Aceh, 2012:30). It should be noted that the Wali Nanggroe institution is a customary leadership institution that oversees all customs in the province of Aceh. Its establishment is based on Indonesian Law No.11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh.

The mention of the words "can speak Aceh" in point c if interpreted is the language found in the province of Aceh. By article 1 on general provisions number 20 states that "Acehnese languages are languages that live and develop in the people of Aceh" (Pemerintah Aceh, 2012:4). However, a literal definition cannot explain any reality. Gayo as a minority tribe that has its language, Gayo language, is reluctant to have its language referred to as Aceh language, so the linking of "can speak Aceh fluently and well" as one of the requirements to become wali nanggroe is a discriminatory act against minority tribes in Aceh (Serambi News, 2012).

Relations of domination can also be seen when the qanun was formulated in the DPRA (*Aceh People's Representative Council*) session. The Aceh Party (Partai Aceh), whose majority spoke Acehnese at the time, dominated the parliament, thus greatly influencing the decision on the use of the Acehnese language as one of the requirements for a Wali Nanggroe. Moreover, the establishment of Malik Mahmud as wali nanggroe cannot be separated from the power relations of the Aceh Party as the majority party in the parliament, considering that in addition to the use of Aceh language as one of the requirements for a Wali Nanggroe, Malik Mahmud was the elite of the Aceh Party and an elite from GAM (Free Aceh Movement), he is also the chairman of the *Tuha Peut* Assembly of the Party (Suganda et al., 2014).

Aceh Qanun No. 8/2012 on the Wali Nanggroe Institution drew protests from various elements of society in various regions. Protests were launched by conducting demonstrations against the qanun wali nanggroe. The Gayo minority tribe considers the qanun discriminatory because it requires the Aceh language as one of the requirements for a wali nanggroe. The role of minority tribes is not considered in the qanun, even though the wali nanggroe institution is a unifying institution of Acehnese society consisting of various cultural entities (Serambi News, 2013). The rejection was not only limited to the wali nanggroe qanun but also coincided with demands for the division of the ALA province (Aceh Leuser Antara) for Gayo speakers in the mid-southeast region of Aceh province (Serambi News, 2012).

The power relations of the dominant group are also reflected in the issue of Aceh hymns. Based on Law No. 11/2006 on Aceh Government, Aceh Province has its flag, emblem, and hymn as a sign of the specificity and specialty of the special autonomous region. Therefore, in October 2017, the government through the DPRA (*Aceh People's Representative Council*) held a competition for Aceh hymns, one of the conditions of which was "sung in the Aceh language" (Pemerintah Aceh, 2017). This requirement was again rejected by the Gayo people because it was considered to limit minority tribes that do not speak Aceh to participate in the competition. Although in Aceh's Qanun No. 2/2018 on Aceh Hymns, article 9 paragraph 1 explains that Aceh hymns can be translated into languages found in the territory of Aceh Province (Pemerintah Aceh, 2018). In protest of the Aceh hymn competition requirements, the discourse on the division of ALA Province was again voiced.

Review the Construction of the Textual Understanding of Gayo

The mention of the word Gayo in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* does not explain anything other than information about the existence of an ethnic group that has inhabited the upper reaches of the Peusangan river. Therefore, *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* certainly cannot be used as the main reference in reconstructing Gayo's history. Apart from the fact that the manuscript is more of a legend, which requires supporting sources to analyze the information in the manuscript, the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* manuscript itself is a copy dating back to the 19th century. The manuscript was copied at the initiative of Raffles when he was lieutenant

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

governor of Java, and the name of a Demak regent Kiai Suradimanggala at the end of the manuscript, which indicates the year 1724 Saka (1814 AD), is related to the copying of the manuscript (A.H.Hill, 1960).

Given the lack of information about Gayo in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, Zainuddin's naming of "Gayo" from the Acehese "Kayo", meaning fear, is not supported by historical facts. Zainuddin's naming of Gayo tends to be stereotypical in the present context, where the word "fear" of Islam is inherent in the word "Gayo" itself. Moreover, Bowen's observation is that Islamic values are fundamental and influence the behavior of the Gayo people (Bowen, 1984a).

Another narrative about the existence of the Gayo tribe is the story of the history of the Linge kingdom. To this day, the story of the Linge kingdom is still alive among the Gayo people. It has even influenced the way Gayo people now view the coastal areas, especially the view of the Central Aceh region as the first area where Islam entered Aceh (Madjid & Wahyudi, 2020). However, the story of the Linge Kingdom is more of an oral tradition, which varies in number and narrative. In his research in Central Aceh, Bowen found around 40 legends, 19 of which were about the Linge kingdom and whose narratives differed from one another (Bowen, 1984b).

The spatial-temporal ambiguity in the oral tradition of the Gayo people in narrating the Linge Kingdom becomes interesting when Djamil gives a clear chronological order. Djamil gives the year 416 AH (1025 AD) for the establishment of the Linge Kingdom with its first king Tengku Kawee Teupat (Djamil, 1959). Ali Hasjmy says Teungku Kawee Teupat was the son of Meurah Tanjoong Krueng Jambo Aye, who was related to the Peureulak sultan Makdhum Johan Berdaulat Syahir Nuwi (Hasjmy, 1983). Both views shift the Spatio-temporal setting of Gayo from the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* during the thirteenth-century kingdom of Samudera Pasai, to the eleventh century with the Peureulak kingdom founded in 225 AH (840 AD) as the center of the narrative (M. D. Djamil, 1968).

Djamil and Hasjmy's explanation of the Linge kingdom does avoid the stereotypical interpretation of Gayo in *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. However, in the substantive narrative, Gayo is still portrayed as subordinate to the coastal authority. For example, Hasjmy's assertion that the community in Central Aceh only came into existence when people fleeing from Peureulak arrived and established a community in the region (Hasjmy, 1983). The most fundamental question that arises from Djamil's and Hasjmy's statements is the historical sources they use.

The genealogy of the kings of Aceh described by Djamil comes from his book entitled *Chronicles of the Kings of the Kingdom of Aceh* (Tawarikh Raja-Raja Kerajaan Aceh) published in 1968. The book contains a neat chronological genealogy of the kings of Aceh from the time of the Peureulak kingdom to the time of the Aceh Darusallam kingdom. The information about the genealogy of the kings of Aceh was obtained from copying two books, namely "Zubdatu'l Tawarikh" by Nuru'l-Haq Al-Masyriqiyal-Duhlaway and "Idhahu'l-haq fi Mamlatatu'l- Peureula" by Abu'l-Ishaq Al-Makarany. Djamil's notes referring to these two books were first presented at Pekan Kebudayaan Aceh (PKA) I, and based on his notes at the seminar he explained that the first Islamic kingdom in Aceh was the kingdom of Peurelak (Said, 1981).

Djamil's views in his notes also influenced the decision of the seminar on the entry of Islam in Aceh in 1978, which decided that Islam entered Aceh first in Peurelak, continued to Lamuri, and then to other parts of Aceh. What is interesting is that the two books referred to by Djamil were never researched further, nor was it ever explained when they were written. The only detailed information is found in Djamil's *Chronicles of the Kings of the Kingdom of Aceh* (Tawarikh Raja-Raja Kerajaan Aceh) (Said, 1981). Meanwhile, the historical source used by Ali Hasjmy in explaining the genealogy of the kings of Aceh is the book *Qanun Mekuta Alam* by Tengku Di Meulek. According to Hasjmy, this book was written during the reign of sultan Alaidin Ibrahim Mansur Syah (1857-1870). The sultan ordered Tengku Di Meulek to add the genealogies of the Islamic kings of Peurelak, Samudera Pasai, and other Acehese kings in the book *Qanun Meukuta Alam* which was rewritten at that time (Hasjmy, 1983).

Looking at the source used by Djamil, which contains genealogies of Acehese kings from the period of the Peureulak kingdom to the period of Aceh Darusallam, it is likely that the source is of an earlier date. In comparison, for example, the *Qanun Mekuta Alam* by Teungku Di Meulek, which Hasjmy refers to as one of the historical sources in writing his book *Aceh Culture in History* (Kebudayaan Aceh Dalam Sejarah), turned out to be the result of a re-copy in the 19th century AD with the addition of the genealogy of the Peurelak kings.

Majid tries to build a historical construction based on primary sources when he mentions that there was a kingdom in the Central Aceh region before the entry of Islam into the region. The kingdom named "Lainggow" was later equated with the Linge Kingdom, which Majid stated was known and recorded in Marco Polo's travel notes when he visited Sumatra in 1292.

Marco Polo himself never mentioned "Lainggow". In his travel notes *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Venetian* translated by Manuel Komroff. When Marco Polo visited the coast of Sumatra (*Java Minor*) he mentioned several countries he visited. Some of these countries include *Felech* a kingdom whose coastal areas have embraced Islam while inland areas still worship idols and practice cannibals; *Basman* a kingdom claiming to be obedient to the Great Khan, in the territory of this kingdom there are many wild elephants and rhinos; *Samara* a kingdom whose inhabitants were idolaters and subject to the Great Khan, here Marco Polo stayed for five months because he was constrained to continue the voyage; *Dragoian* a kingdom led by a prince and recognized the authority of the Great Khan, the population was uncivilized and idolatrous. The people were also familiar with the

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

practice of magic; *Lambri* a kingdom known as a producer of camphor; *Fanfur* a kingdom ruled by a prince, this kingdom was known as a producer of the best quality camphor even sold for gold (Marcopolo, 1953).

In the end, the narrative of the Linge Kingdom that is built on the interpretation of the sources used by Hasjmy, Djamil, and Majid needs to be doubted, if not said to be speculative. In line with Djajadiningrat's assertion that the history of Aceh before the 16th century is very vague, most of the texts that mention information that occurred long before the 16th century were written in the 19th century. For example, the Turkish newspaper "*Djawa'ib*" was published before the outbreak of the Dutch-Aceh war in 1873. In the newspaper, there is the name Johan Syah is the propagator of Islam in Aceh in the 13th century. The information in "*Djawa'ib*" was obtained from the Acehnese people who came to Turkey to ask for Turkish help against the Dutch (Djajadiningrat, 1982). While, Johan Syah according to Hasjmy was the son of Genali who spread Islam in Aceh Besar and was also the founder of the Lamuri Kingdom and reigned as sultan Alaidin Johan Syah (1205-1234 AD) (Hasjmy, 1983).

So far, one of the artifacts found by the National Archaeology Center of North Sumatra (Balai Arkeologi Sumatera Utara) in Buntul Linge is ceramic fragments. Some of the fragments were found to come from various periods. The oldest ceramic fragments come from China during the reign of the Sung Dynasty (11th-12th century AD); other ceramic fragments come from the reign of the Yuan Dynasty (13th-14th century AD); ceramic fragments come from Sukothai Thailand (14th-15th century AD); Vietnamese ceramic fragments (16th-17th century AD); ceramic fragments from the reign of the Qing Dynasty (17th-18th century AD); ceramic fragments dating from 1834-1899 made by the firm Regout & co-produced in the Netherlands; and ceramics made by Nippon Kohitsu Toki Co-produced in Japan in the 1920s -1930s (Balai Arkeologi Sumatera Utara, 2018). From the ceramic findings in Buntul Linge, we can know that the place has existed since at least the 11th-12th centuries AD. However, the findings do not provide any information about the Linge kingdom.

Archaeological findings at Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang shed some light on the origin of the Gayo tribe. The findings also refute the assumption of Ali Hasjmy and Junus Djamil that the Gayo tribe are people from the Peureulak kingdom who fled to the interior of Central Aceh. According to Wiradnyana & Setiawan (2011) from the results of radiocarbon dating of artifact samples, the Central Aceh region, especially Loyang Mendale, has been inhabited since 7,400 years ago, far from the year proposed by Hasjmy and Djamil for the establishment of the Linge kingdom in 1025 AD as the beginning of the existence of civilization in Central Aceh.

The significance of Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang according to Truman Simanjuntak is to strengthen the evidence that there is a route for the spread of Austronesian speakers through the WRM (*Western Route Migration*) via the Indoncina region such as Vietnam-Kalimantan-Semenanjung Malaya-the western region of Indonesia. The inclusion of Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang into the WRM is based on the discovery of *cord-marked pottery* fragments (Simanjuntak, 2017). The similarity of the *red-slipped pottery* of Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang in terms of decorative patterns and dating with the pottery at the Ban Chiang site in Thailand further corroborates the migration of *Austronesian* speakers through the WRM route. Moreover, according to Wiradnyana, there are fragments of *red-slipped pottery* that are dated older than the Minanga Sipakko site, the oldest prehistoric Austronesian site in Indonesia (Wiradnyana, 2017).

The results of archaeological research on Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang have also changed the Gayo people's understanding of their existence, which has been narrated based on the understanding of the dominant group. The representation of this understanding can be seen in the three news articles we have discussed above. Substantially, the narratives in the three news articles state that Gayo is the oldest tribe in Aceh, as seen from the appearance of words such as "*Indigenous Peoples*" (Nur, 2021). The understanding of Gayo as the oldest tribe in Aceh arises from the results of DNA tests on pre-historic human skeletons found in Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang. The DNA test results show that the pre-historic human skeletons found in Loyang Mendale and Loyang are the ancestors of the Gayo people (Purnawibowo, 2015).

When viewed from the results of archaeological research at Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang, as well as the results of research on pre-historic sites in coastal areas. So the understanding of Gayo as the oldest tribe in Aceh is only a claim. Cultural layers are much older than the ones at Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang. Such as the Bukit Kerang Pangkalan site in Aceh Tamiang. The results of radiocarbon dating of charcoal samples at a depth of 190 cm found at the Bukit Kerang Pangkalan site show a date of $12,550 \pm 290$ years ago. associated with the finding of a *chopper* with Paleolithic features. Thus there is a possibility that the early inhabitants of Bukit Kerang Pangkalan were of Paleolithic culture (Wiradnyana, 2011).

Another possibility is that since $12,550 \pm 290$ years ago the early inhabitants of Bukit Kerang Pangkalan were the *Hoabinhian* group from the Mesolithic period. This can be supported by evidence of *Sumateralith* findings at coastal *Hoabinhian* sites in the provinces of North Sumatra and Aceh, such as the Bukit Kerang Tandem Hilir site; Bukit Kerang Kampung Baru; Bukit Kerang Binjai; Bukit Kerang Masjid; and Bukit Kerang Bandar Baru. *Sumateralith* remains at the site are dated in the range of $12,885 \pm 131$ to $7,340 \pm 360$ years ago (Boedhisampurno & Filippis, 1991). Thus it can be concluded that there has been an exploration of the area carried out by the *Hoabinhian* group in the coastal area. The exploration of the area is very likely based on the subsistence pattern of the *Hoabinhian* group as food gatherers and gatherers (Wiradnyana, 2017).

The *Hoabinhian* culture reached the Central Aceh highland region around 7,400 years ago. The dating is based on the radiocarbon dating of charcoal remains at Loyang Mendale. Other evidence is also found in *Sumateralith* at Loyang Mendale

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

(Wiradnyana & Setiawan, 2011). Another group that later arrived in the Central Aceh region were *Austronesian* speakers who were characterized as Mongoloid, in contrast to supporters of the *Hoanbinhian* culture who had Australomelanesian racial characteristics. The *Austronesian* speakers brought a more advanced culture than the *Hoanbinhian* culture supporters (Wiradnyana, 2017).

The earliest *Austronesian* speakers arrived at Loyang Ujung Karang a range of $4,400 \pm 120$ years ago. Meanwhile, Loyang Mendale began to be used as a place of residence by Austronesian speakers around 3580 ± 100 years ago. (Wiradnyana & Setiawan, 2011: 111). Some of the cultural remains in Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang that are associated with Austronesian speakers are quadrangular adze, unfinished quadrangular adze, red slipped-pottery fragments, pottery decorated with rope terra, and arrowheads. In addition, they have recognized the belief system, indicated by the implementation of the burial system. One of the skeletons in Loyang Mendale was buried with half-folded legs and overlapped with a large stone with an east-west orientation of the skeleton, the presence of pottery fragments around the skeleton is very likely to function as grave provisions (Wiradnyana, 2015).

The migration of *Hoanbinhian* cultural supporters to the Central Aceh Region ranged 7,400 years ago, followed by the migration of Austronesian speakers 4,400 years ago. Of course, this leaves the question of which are the ancestors of the Gayo people. Did they come from supporters of the *Hoanbinhian* culture from the Mesolithic period, which according to Bellwood has the physical characteristics of the Australomelanesian race based on skeletal findings from the oldest *Hoanbinhian* site in Niah Cave, Serawak (Bellwood, 2000). *Austronesian* speakers from the Neolithic period based on skeletal remains at Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang show characteristics of the Mongoloid race (Setiawan, 2011).

Samples taken from skeletons at Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang for DNA testing originated from the Neolithic period with physical characteristics showing the Mongoloid race. Skeletal samples taken from Loyang Ujung Karang consisted of two individuals. The first individual came from excavation box S2 T2 spit 8-9; the second individual came from excavation box U1 T1 spit 5. Meanwhile, at Loyang Mendale the skeletons consisted of two individuals from excavation box S5 T15 spit 3. The DNA test results of the skeletons show a match with the present-day Gayo tribe (Balai Arkeologi Sumatera Utara, 2018).

Based on the DNA test results, we know that the ancestors of the Gayo people were no older than 4,400 years ago. The presence of *Hoanbinhian* cultural supporters in coastal areas and those who arrived at Loyang Mendale around 7,400 years ago, indicates that there was a group that inhabited the Central Aceh region before the ancestors of the Gayo people arrived in the region. Thus the statement that "Gayo is the oldest tribe in Aceh" contained in the news article above such as the words "...DNA which confirms that the 6500-year-old skeleton found has DNA identical to the Gayo people..." (Nur, 2015), has not been scientifically proven - if not said to be a mere claim-.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the intertextual approach that has been used to analyze the various texts in this paper, provides an understanding that texts cannot be fully understood if they are dependent on a single text. The narratives of Zainuddin, Junus Djamil, and Ali Hasjmy about Gayo and the Linge kingdom can only be understood as the coexistence of texts whose narratives contradict each other. The meaning of the text of "Linge Kingdom Text 1" which contains a narrative of domination can be seen from Zainuddin's statement that the word "*Gayo*" etymologically comes from the Acehnese "*Kayo*" which means fear. Djamil and Hasjmy's narrative places Gayo under the authority of the coastal region. Meanwhile, in "Linge Kingdom Text 2", Dandy and Majid in their narrative try to reduce and shift the locus of the narrative with Gayo and Central Aceh as the center of the narrative. The power relations of the dominant group gain significance. When the narrative of the dominant group is discursively reproduced through Aceh Qanun Number 8/2012 on Wali Nanggroe Institution. In the qanun, one of the criteria for becoming a Wali Nanggroe is "*being able to speak Aceh fluently and well*". A similar criterion of "*sung in the Aceh language*" was also applied to the Aceh hymn competition in October 2017.

The emergence of the Gayo narrative as the oldest tribe in Aceh cannot be separated from the narrative discourse articulated in a subordinate manner by the dominant group. In this case, Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang are not simply understood as meaningless piles of pre-historic cultural relics. Through their rich pre-historic cultural heritage, Loyang Mendale and Loyang Ujung Karang not only refute the claims stated in "Linge Kingdom Text 1" and "Linge Kingdom Text 2". It legitimizes Gayo's discourse as the oldest tribe in Aceh.

In the end, all the texts peddled in this paper are only intertwined with interests outside of the writing of the text itself. This can be seen from the use of sources in producing the narrative, such as Nuru'l-Haq Al-Masyriqiyal-Duhlawy's "*Zubdatu'l Tawarikh*" and Abu'l-Ishaq Al-Makarany's "*Idhahu'l-haq fi Mamlatatu'l- Peureula*", which Djamil used to compile his book *Chronicles of the Kings of the Kingdom of Aceh* (Tawarikh Raja-Raja Kerajaan Aceh); and *Qanun Mekuta Alam* by Tengku Di Meulek used by Hasjmy, which is not enough to prove the narrative compiled by the two figures about the Linge kingdom.

Dandy's narrative of the Linge kingdom is also more of an oral tradition difficult to reconstruct as a historical event, except for the sentiment between Aceh and Gayo contained therein; Majid's narrative of a kingdom called "*Lainggow*" that was

Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

known to Marco Polo during his stopover in Sumatra in 1292, also cannot be substantiated. In *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Venetian* Marco Polo never mentions “Lainggow”. Meanwhile, the assertion of the Gayo as the oldest tribe in Aceh denies that the ancestors of the Gayo people entered the Central Aceh region 4,400 years ago. The region has been inhabited by groups supporting the *Hoabinhian* culture that has Australomelanesian characteristics since 7,400 years ago.

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Discourse on Gayo through Historical Narration: Linge Kingdom, Loyang Mendale, and Loyang Ujung Karang

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