

## *Nusantara* and *Mitreka Satata*: A Study of the Majapahit Foreign Policy in the 13th Century

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/jmsni.v7i1.17402>

### Abstract

In stanzas thirteen to fifteen of the *Kakawin Negarakertagama*, the regional terms "*Nusantara*" and "*Mitreka Satata*" are mentioned. Written by Pu Prapanca, the manuscript clearly elucidates the meanings and distinctions between these terms. Notably, the term "*Nusantara*" was already known during the Singhasari era, as evidenced by its appearance in the Camundi inscription under the name "*Dwipantara*." However, there remains considerable ambiguity and frequent misinterpretations regarding these terms, with some even conflating them. This research aims to clarify the meanings of "*Nusantara*" and "*Mitreka Satata*" and to delineate their differences. Additionally, the study explores the historical contexts and nuances associated with each term. This study employs historical methods with a philological approach, examining inscriptions, statues, and manuscripts categorized as artifacts. The results of this study shed light on the foreign policy of Majapahit as a state. The concept of territorial division was adopted by kingdoms on the island of Java and has been developing since ancient Javanese times. This concept was adhered to even during the Islamic Mataram era and the period of colonialism.

**Received:**  
February 9, 2023

**Revised:**  
November 15, 2023

**Accepted:**  
May 15, 2024

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**Keywords:** Majapahit; *Nusantara*; *Mitreka Satata*; Territorial Division; Foreign Policy.

### Introduction

Majapahit is the largest Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Indonesia. In *pupuh* thirteen and fourteen *Kakawin Negarakertagama*, Mpu Prapanca wrote that the Majapahit kingdom had a much wider territory than the current state of Indonesia. According to *Pararaton*, the territory of the Majapahit kingdom was due to the success of the political unity of the archipelago carried out by Gajah Mada in the Palapa Oath. In Gajah Mada's Palapa Oath, also recorded in *Pararaton*, the territory of the Majapahit kingdom is referred to as the *Nusantara*. The term *Nusantara* refers to the territory of the Majapahit and was also used by Mpu Prapanca in the *Negarakertagama*. However, in the *Negarakertagama*, Mpu Prapanca wrote a synonym for the term *Nusantara*, namely *Dwipantara*. *Dwipantara* was also used during the Singhasari during the reign of King Kertanagara. This is proven by the existence of the Camundi inscription, which mentions *Dwipantara*.

Apart from the term *Nusantara*, in the *Negarakertagama*, in the 15th *pupuh*, Mpu Prapanca wrote *Mitreka Satata*. *Mitreka Satata* is used for foreign kingdoms that have friendly relations with the Majapahit. Mpu Prapanca stated in the *Negarakertagama* that the foreign kingdoms called *Mitreka Satata* were under the auspices of the Majapahit (Saktiani 2018, 60). So, foreign kingdoms were also obliged to pay tributes to the Majapahit (Saktiani 2018, 62).

These two terms cannot be separated from the concept of division of royal territory adopted by kingdoms on the island of Java. The concept of territorial division of power has developed since ancient Javanese times. This was still adhered to even during the Islamic Mataram era and colonialism.

In this concept it can be said that Nusantara is a term that is included in *nagara* and *nagaragung*. Meanwhile, the term *Mitreka Satata* includes foreign kingdoms.

This shows that the terms Nusantara and *Mitreka Satata* are very different. However, there are still differences in interpretation between the two terms. For this reason, this research finds the meaning and differences between and *Mitreka Satata* which were used during the Majapahit period. This aims to Nusantara ensure that differences in understanding do not recur, giving rise to differences in historical interpretation regarding the two.

This research was prepared using historical methods. The historical research method itself consists of five stages. The sequence of five stages in the historical method is (1) topic selection, (2) collection (heuristics), (3) verification (critical history, source validity), (4) interpretation: analysis and synthesis, and (5) writing (historiography) (Kuntowijoyo 2013, 69). Historical methods in this research aim to ensure that the research carried out can obtain maximum results. The sources used in this article are artefacts in the form of inscriptions, statues and manuscripts.

### Profile of Nusantara as Majapahit State

In Gajah Mada's Palapa Oath written in *Pararaton*, a term can be found, namely Nusantara. The contents of the Palapa Oath itself are,

*"Lamun huwus kalah nusantara isun amukti palapa, lamun kalah ring Gurun, ring Seran, Tanjung pura, ring Haru, ring Pahang, Dompo, ring Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, samana isun amukti palapa"* (Brandes, 1897: 28)

"If the islands outside Madjapahit have lost, I will rest, later if I have lost Gurun, Seran, Tanjung Pura, Haru, Pahang, Dompo, Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik then I will enjoy my rest time" (Padmapuspita 1966, 84).

According to Zoetmulder (Zoetmulder and Robson 2011, 710; Zoetmuder 1993) the meaning of the term Nusantara is other islands. In the *Pararaton* translated by Ki J. Padmapuspita, the meaning of the term "Nusantara" contained in the Palapa Oath is also found, namely the islands outside the Majapahit. The difference in interpretation regarding the term Nusantara comes from Hasan Djafar, published in National Geographic Indonesia magazine 2012: Repihan Majapahit, Hasan Djafar stated that the meaning of the term Nusantara is a coalition between kingdoms that work together for the common good of regional security and trade. They form a coalition as *Mitra Satata*, friends or partners in the same position (Thamrin 2012, 31). In his simple opinion, Hasan Djafar equates the term Nusantara with the term *Mitreka Satata*. Meanwhile C.C. Berg in his writings stated that the territory of the Majapahit only covered East Java, Madura and Bali. In his writing, C.C. Berg also stated that the regions of the archipelago were just ideals and never came under the power of the Majapahit (Djafar 2012, 53).

According to the inscription on the back of the Camundi statue, the term Nusantara itself was known during the Singhasari during the reign of King Kertanegara, but at that time the term most often used was *Dwipantara*. According to Zoetmulder and Robson (2011, 245) the meaning of the term *Dwipantara* is another archipelago. So it can be justified if *Nusantara* is a synonym and continuation of *Dwipantara*. In the inscription on the Camundi statue (see Picture 1), it is also stated that the Bhattari Camundi statue was consecrated when Sri Maharaja (Kertanegara) won throughout the region and subdued all the other islands (Pusponegoro 2010, 439). One proof of the implementation of *Dwipantara* which was initiated by King Kertanegara during the Singhasari kingdom was the Pamalayu expedition in 1275 AD which was marked by the Amoghapasa statue which was sent in 1286. The aim of the Pamalayu expedition itself was to establish relations with the Malay kingdom in the face of Kublai Khan's threat.



Figure 1. Camundi Statue in Trowulan Museum (right) and inscription carved on the back of the Camundi statue (left) (Photo by Fernandes)

*Kakawin Negarakertagama* also confirmed the Pa Malayu expedition by the king of Kertanegara. It is written in stanza five *pupuh* forty-one, which says that in 1197 Saka / 1275 AD, the king of Kertanegara ordered to attack Malay lands. *Kakawin Negarakertagama* also describes the areas included in the *Dwipantara* in the second verse of *pupuh* forty-two. The areas referred to as *Dwipantara* are: a) Pahang; b) Malayu; c) Gurun; d) Bakulapura; e) Sunda; f) Madura; g) entire Java. Through this, the Palapa Oath, which Gajah Mada initiated during the Majapahit, was a continuation of the *Dwipantarapolicy*, which King Kertanegara initiated during the Singhasari. It is reinforced by the Gajah Mada inscription, which tells about the construction of Caitya for the king of Kertanegara, carried out by Mpu Mada (Gajah Mada). So, the success of the Gajah Mada Palapa Oath cannot be separated from the legitimacy of Majapahit as the heir to the Kertanegara king (Anonymous 1928).

The areas referred to as the archipelago are stated in the Palapa Oath written in *Serat Pararaton*. In the Palapa Oath, Gajah Mada named ten regions targeted to be united under the power of the Majapahit kingdom. However, the ten regions mentioned in the Palapa Oath are the only necessary areas from many areas across the archipelago. These ten regions are considered sufficient to represent the region known as the archipelago, which must recognize the greatness of Majapahit (Munandar 2010, 52).

A complete description of the areas referred to by the term *Nusantara* itself is written in the *Kakawin Negarakertagama* precisely in *pupuh* thirteen, fourteen and the second verse of *pupuh* fifteen. The contents of *pupuh* thirteen, fourteen, and the second stanza of *pupuh* fifteen *Kakawin Negarakertagama* are as quotes below:

Canto 13

*lwir niñ nūṣa pranūṣa pramukha sakalsawat/ kṣoṇī ri malayu* [the aspect of the islands of all sorts: the principal ones are all]

*nañ jāmbi mwañ palembaṅ karitañ i tēba len/ ḍarmmaṅraya tumūt* [those that belong to the country of Malayu: namely Jāmbi and Palembang, Karitang, Tēba, on the other hand Dharmāshraya along with them]

*kaṅḍis kahwas manañkabwa ri siyak i ṛkañ/ kāmpar mwañ i pane* [Kaṅḍis, Kahwas, Manangkabwa, Siyak, Rēkan, Kampar and Pane]

*kāmpa harw āthawe maṅḍahiliñ i tumihaṅ parllāk/ mwañ i barat* [Kampe, Haru, and Mandahiling too, Tumihang, Parlak and Barat]

*hi lwas lāwan samudra mwañ i lamuri batan lāmpuṅ mwañ i barus* [it was with Samudra and Lamuri, Batan, Lampung and Barus]

*yekāḍinyaṅ watēk/ bhūmi malayu satanaḅ kapwāmatēh anūt* [these are the most important ones of those belonging to the country of Malayu, one country, equally executing (orders), following commands]

*len tekañ nūṣa tanjuñ nāgara ri kapuhas lawan ri katiñān* [Otherwise then: the island of Tanjung-Nagara: Kapuhas with Katingan]

*sāmpit/ mwañ kūṭaliñga mwañ i kūṭawariñin/ sambas mwañ i lawai* [Sampit and Kuta-Lingga and Kuta-Waringin, Sambas and Lawai. ((Pigeaud 1960, 16-17))]

Canto 14

*kaḍaḅdhañan i lañḍa len ri samēdhañ tirēm tan kasah* [Kaḍangḍangan, Lañḍa, on the other hand Samēḍang, Tirem unseparated]

*ri sedhu bureneñ ri kalka saludhuñ ri solot/ pasir* [Sēḍu, Burunēng, Kalka, Saluḍung, Solot, Pasir]

*baritw i sawakū muwah ri tabaluñ ri tunjuñ kute* [Baritu, Sawaku, also Tabalung, Tunjung-Kute]

*lawan ri malano makapramukha tañ ri tanjuñpuri* [with Melano, having for principal town then: Tanjung-Puri]

*ikañ sakahawan pahañ pramukha tañ hujunḅ medina* [those that belong to Pahang, the principal, to be sure, is Hujung Medini]

*ri luksukha len ri saimwañ i kalatēn i triñgano* [Lēngkasuka, on the other hand Saimwang, Kalantēn, Tringano]

*naḅor pakarmuwar ḍuñun ri tumasikh* [Nashor, Pakainuwar, ḍungun, Tumasik]

*ri sañ hyañ hujunḅ, klañ kēḍa jēre ri kanjap i nirān/ sanuṣa pupul* [Sanghyang Hujung, Kēlang, Kēḍa, Jēre, Kanjap, Niran, one island, altogether]

*sawetan ikanañ tanah jawa muwah ya warnanēñ* [all those east from the Javanese country there also are to be]

*ri bali makamukya tañ baḍahulu mwañ i lwāgajah* [described: Bali, having for principal places, to be sure: Baḍahulu and Lwā Gajah]

*gurun makamukha sukun/ ri taliwañ ri ḍompo sapi*, [Gurun, having for principal place: Sukun, Taliwang, ḍompo, Sapi]

*ri sañ hyañ api bhīma ḅeran i hutan kaḍaly āpupul* [Sanghyang Api, Bhima, Sēran, Hutan Kaḍali altogether].

*muwah tañ i gurun sanūṣā mañaran ri lombok miraḅ* [also, to be sure: Gurun, one island with the name Lombok-Mirah]

*lawan tikañ i sāksak ādinīkalun/ kahajyan kabeḅ* [with the Saksak (country); the first of those that are called the]

*muwah tanah i bāntayan pramukha bāntayan len/ luwuk* [principalities, all of them, also the countries of Bantayan, the principal Bantayan, on the other hand Luwuk, then the (countries) of]

*tkeñ uda makatrayāḍinikanañ sanūṣāpupul* [Uḍa, making a trio; these are the most important of those that are one island, altogether].

*ikañ saka sanūṣanūṣa makhasar butun/ bañgawī* [those that are (enumerated) island by island (are): Makasar, Butun]

*kunir ggaliyau mwañ i salaya sūmba solot/ muar* [Banggawl, Kunir, Galiyao and Salaya, Sūmba, Solot, Muar]

*muwah tikhañ i wañḍan ambwan āthawā maloko wwanin* [and the Wañḍan (country). Ambwan and Maloko too, Wwanin]

*ri seran i timūr makādiniñ añeka nūṣā tutur* [Sēran, Timūr. These make the first of the numerous islands that are mindful]

From these two *pupuh Kakawin Negarakertagama*, we can see the areas referred to by *Nusantara*. The implementation of the Palapa Oath itself is written in the forty-ninth *pupuh Kakawin Negarakertagama*, precisely in the fourth stanza, which briefly mentions the conquest of Bali in the Saka year 1265 (1343 AD) (Pigeaud 1960,36). The events of the conquest of Bali by the Majapahit kingdom are also written in full in the *Babad Dalem* and *Babad Arya Kutawaringin*. In the *Babad Dalem* and *Babad Arya Kutawaringin*, it is known that Gajah Mada directly led the Majapahit troops to attack and conquer the island of Bali (Putra 1989, 8-13). Other evidence of the implementation of the Palapa Oath is the conquest of Pasai, which was recorded in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, and the conquest of Tumasik, which was recorded in the Malay History in 1350 (Mulyana 2005, 158).

The truth about Majapahit's invasion of the Pasai area is also strengthened by several place names in the North Sumatra region, which refer to Majapahit and Gajah Mada. Like a hill in the city of Langsa known as Manjak Pahit: Majapahit. Based on local folklore, it was on this hill that the Majapahit army built a fort to attack Temiang. Between Perlak and Peudadawa, there is a swamp called Paya Gajah: Gajah Mada. According to local folklore, Gajah Mada and Majapahit soldiers passed through the swamp on their way to Lhokseumawe and Jambu Air, which were the main targets of the attack. After crossing the swamp, Gajah Mada and the Majapahit troops landed on a hill inland opposite the swamp. The hill is now called Gajah Hill. Next to Gajah Hill is a hill called Meunta, a name change from Mada because that is where Gajah Mada made preparations to attack Pasai (Mulyana 2005, 159).

Meanwhile, Malay History notes that the main reason for the success of the Javanese (Majapahit) attack on Tumasik (Singapore) was due to the defection of a Tumasik treasurer who in Malay History is said to have had the title Radjuna Tapa. It is known that Radjuna Tapa's daughter was humiliated because of slander from the king's mistress who stated that Radjuna Tapa's daughter had done evil. King Iskandar, who believed the slander, became angry and humiliated Radjuna Tapa's daughter with a punishment called *sulakan* at the head of the market. This made Radjuna Tapa embarrassed and chose to defect. Malay history then states that after that Radjuna Tapa sent a letter to Djawa informing Betara (King) Majapahit that he had defected and would help Betara Majapahit if he wanted to attack Tumasik (Singapore). Until finally it was said that in the early hours of the morning, Radjuna Tapa opened the city doors, allowing the Javanese (Majapahit) troops to enter the city and defeat Tumasik (Singapore).

History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) book 324 and *Yingyai Shenglan* (1416) describe an area in Sumatra called Sanbozhai as a subordinate region of Java (Majapahit) (Groeneveldt 2009, 97 and 103). Apart from that, the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) in book 325 also mentions an area in Sumatra called Indragiri as a conquered area of Java (Majapahit) (Groeneveldt 2009, 108). It is reinforced by the existence of a figure named Adityawarman, mentioned in the inscription on the *Manjuçri* statue at Candi Jago and several inscriptions in Sumatra. Adityawarman himself was a figure from the Majapahit kingdom who came from the land of Minangkabau on the island of Sumatra (Yamin 1960, 42). The inscription written on the *Manjuçri* statue at Candi Jago shows that Adityawarman was still a relative of *Çri Rajapatni*. During the reign of Queen Tribhuwana Tungga Dewi in Majapahit, Adityawarman received the rank of *mantri praudhatara* (Pitono 1966a, 31).

Meanwhile, Adityawarman's role in Sumatra is written in the inscription behind the Amoghapasa statue from Padang Temple. According to Pitono (1966b, 11), Adityawarman calls himself Maharajadhiraja. Another sign of Adityawarman's increasing power. Based on these two inscriptions, it can be seen that Adityawarman was one of the important figures during the Majapahit kingdom. As stated in the inscription on the back of the Amoghapasa statue from Padang Temple, Adityawarman has the title of Maharajadhiraja in Sumatra, especially in Malay, according to Yamin (Yamin 1960, 45). Sometime after 1343, Adityawarman left Majapahit and returned to Minangkabau, moving the centre of the kingdom from Darmasraja (Sidjundjung) to the foot of Mount Merapi on the edge of Batang Bengkawas. Adityawarman rose to fame as Datuk Seri Maharajadiraja, who was friendly with Majapahit and spread his wings throughout Sumatra and the

Malay Peninsula across the Strait of Malacca. So, it can be said that Adityawarman had an essential role in managing the regional government of the Majapahit in Sumatra, especially Malay.

The history of Kalimantan also mentions a kingdom in the Tanjung Puri area, located in the South Kalimantan region. This kingdom was known as the Nan Sarunia kingdom. This kingdom is said to have fallen because it was attacked by the Javanese kingdom (Suwondo 1978, 18). This event can be interpreted as a connection to implementing the political unification of the archipelago initiated by Gajah Mada, remembering that the Kalimantan region is the area targeted by Gajah Mada in the Palapa Oath. The name of the Tanjung Puri area itself was recorded in the 14th *pupuh* of *Kakawin Desawarnana* as one of the areas included in the Majapahit (Nusantara).

The truth about the existence of Majapahit power in the Kalimantan area is also mentioned in the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) book 325. In the History of the Ming Dynasty, it is said that the West Coast area of Kalimantan, known in Chinese records as Bu-ni, was part of Java (Majapahit). History of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1643) book 325 also mentions the obligation of the West Coast region of Kalimantan (Bu-ni) to deposit tribute in the form of 40 catties of camphor every year to Java (Majapahit) (Groeneveldt 2009, 155–157).

*Serat Pararaton* states that Majapahit's expansion of Sunda and Dampo occurred simultaneously in Saka 1279. The incident of the conquest of Sunda (Pa Sunda) was also reported by sources from the Sunda kingdom, namely *Kidung Sunda* and *Carita Parahiyangan*. *Serat Pararaton* then stated that after successfully conquering the Sunda (Pa Sunda) and Dampo (Pa Dampo) regions, it was said that Gajah Mada was enjoying (taking) a period of rest.

Evidence that the archipelago region mentioned in detail in *pupuh* thirteen, fourteen, and the second verse of *pupuh* fifteen of *Kakawin Negarakertagama* was the territory of the Majapahit kingdom can be found in *pupuh* eighty-three stanza five of *Kakawin Desawarnana*. According to the passage of *Kakawin Negarakertagama* mentions that every month during *Phalguna* (February-March), the Illustrious Prince is honored with a *paripuja* (procession worship) held at his royal residence. This grand celebration attracts mantris (mandarins) from all over Java, including interpreters, *kuwus* (lairds of manors), *dhyaksas* (judges), and *upapattis* (assessors-at-law). Additionally, representatives from Bali and other islands arrive with *prabherti* (first fruits tribute), creating a bustling and vibrant atmosphere.

The marketplace becomes a hub of activity, filled with tradespeople and merchants selling a diverse array of wares. This monthly event not only reinforces the Prince's authority and influence but also serves as a significant economic and cultural exchange, drawing crowds and fostering a sense of unity among the various regions under his rule (Pigeaud 1960, 98).

In Canto 15 of the *Kakawin Negarakertagama*, stanza 1, the text highlights the influence and protection extended by the Illustrious Prince over various regions. It specifically mentions Syangkiyodhyapura, Dharmanagari, Marutma, Rajapura, Singhanagari, Campa, and Karaboja, indicating a diverse expanse of territories under his guardianship. Notably, it distinguishes Yawana as a friendly and regular ally (Pigeaud 1960, 17).

Further emphasizing the extent of this influence, Canto 15, stanza 3, describes how other continents are eager to show their obedience to the Illustrious Prince. These regions consistently present a variety of products each season, reflecting the organized and systematic nature of their tributes. The stanza also underscores the Prince's dedication to the welfare of his realm, mentioning the deployment of ecclesiastical officers and mandarins to collect the produce regularly, thus showcasing his proactive governance (Pigeaud 1960, 18).

In this *pupuh*, Mpu Prapanca mentions a ceremony honouring the king of Majapahit held every month of *Phalguna*. This *pupuh* very clearly emphasized that the Majapahit territories, referred to as the archipelago, are obligated to pay respects and offerings to the king of Majapahit. Every month in *Phalguna*, all important officials from Java, Bali, and all archipelago regions come to the Majapahit palace to pay their respects and make offerings to the Majapahit king. It has been confirmed that the areas included in the term *Nusantara* were the territory of the Majapahit.

### ***Mitreka Satata: A Concept Referring Foreign Policy***

*Mitreka Satata* is a term used to describe Majapahit's foreign policy of establishing friendly relations with foreign kingdoms. It is a combination of three ancient Javanese words: *Mitra*, which means friend or friend (Zoetmulder and Robson 2011, 669); *Ika* which means that (Zoetmulder and Robson 2011, 379); and *Satata*, which means constant, continuous, and never-ending (Zoetmulder and Robson 2011, 1054).

In the *Kakawin Negarakertagama*, in the first and third stanzas of *pupuh* fifteen, Pu Prapanca writes about foreign kingdoms in the Southeast Asia region that had friendly relations with the Majapahit kingdom. In the first and third stanzas of the fifteen *Kakawin Negarakertagama* it is stated in Canto 15 of the *Kakawin Negarakertagama*, stanza 1. The text highlights the influence and protection extended by the Illustrious Prince over various regions. It specifically mentions Syangkfiyodhyapura, Dharmanagari, Marutma, Rajapura, Singhanagari, Campa, and Karaboja, indicating a diverse expanse of territories under his guardianship. Notably, it distinguishes Yawana as a friendly and regular ally (Pigeaud 1960, 17).

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In the first stanza of the fifteenth *pupuh* of the *Kakawin Negarakertagama* manuscript, it is stated that the foreign kingdoms in Southeast Asia which are included in the *Mitreka Satata* are: a) Syangka: Siam; b) Ayodhyapura: Ayuthia; c) Dharmanagari: Dharmarajanagara; Ligor; Lakhon; d) Marutma: Martaban or Mergui; e) Rajapura: Rajpuri in Southera Siam; f) Singhanagari: Singhapuri; g) Campa: Campa; h) Kamboja: Kamboja; i) Yawana: Annam (Pigeaud 1960, 35).

Based on the explanation of the two *pupuh* fifteen *Kakawin Negarakertagama*, it can be said that in simple terms, the meaning of the term *Mitreka Satata* is equal friends (Munandar 2014, V). The relationship between the archipelago and the Campa kingdom is known to have existed since the time of the Singhasari kingdom under the reign of King Kertanegara. The Po Sah inscription says that King Simhawarman III had two queens. One of them was a princess from Java who was possibly the sister of King Kertanegara. This political and familial relationship continued in the Majapahit era, as the news shows that Jayasimhawarman III's son fled to Java when Annam attacked Campa (Soekmono 1981, 65-66). It meant that the Majapahit kingdom, a continuation of the Singhasari kingdom, could also establish *Mitreka Satata* relations with the Campa kingdom.

In the fourth stanza of *pupuh* eighty-three *Kakawin Negarakertagama* it is also mentioned that there were foreign kingdoms outside the kingdoms of Southeast Asia which also had relations with Majapahit. The contents of the *pupuh* are as mentions in Canto 83 stanza 4. The passages tell about the continuous influx of diverse peoples from various regions such as Jambudwipa (India), Camboja, China, Yawana (Annam), Champa, Karnataka (South India), Goda (Gaur), and Syangka (Siam) is a testament to the vibrant trade and cultural exchanges during the Majapahit era. These travelers, arriving by ship and mingling with merchants, included a significant number of bhiksus (Buddhist monks) and wipras (Brahmins). Upon their arrival, they were welcomed and treated with hospitality, ensuring their comfort during their stay.

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Further emphasizing the extent of this influence, Canto 15, stanza 3, describes how other continents are eager to show their obedience to the Illustrious Prince. These regions consistently present a variety of products each season, reflecting the organized and systematic nature of their tributes. The stanza also underscores the Prince's dedication to the welfare of his realm, mentioning

the deployment of ecclesiastical officers and mandarins to collect the produce regularly, thus showcasing his proactive governance (Pigeaud 1960, 18).

This *pupuh* mentions several foreign kingdoms that have trade relations with the Majapahit kingdom. Apart from foreign kingdoms in Southeast Asia, it was also mentioned: a) Jambudwipa: India; b) China: China; c) Karnataka: South India; d) Goda: East Indian; e) Kancipura: Conjeveram. It clearly shows that *Mitreka Satata* was a form of foreign policy carried out by the Majapahit to establish relations with foreign kingdoms, especially those in Southeast Asia.

The first and third stanzas of *pupuh* fifteen *Kakawin Negarakertagama* clearly state that these foreign kingdoms had friendly relations with the Majapahit. Even though these foreign kingdoms were not under Majapahit's rule, these foreign kingdoms recognized that Majapahit was a superpower kingdom in the Southeast Asia region. Evidence of the formation of a friendly relationship known as *Mitreka Satata* between Majapahit and foreign kingdoms in the Southeast Asian region can be seen in the third stanza of *pupuh* fifteen *Kakawin Negarakertagama*. Foreign kingdoms in Southeast Asia such as Siam, Campa, Cambodia always paid tribute to the Majapahit which their officials sent. Giving tribute was not a sign of submission but was a sign that they belonged to the Majapahit as a superpower kingdom in Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, in the fourth stanza of *pupuh* eighty-three, it is said that trade was one of the factors that created relations between the Majapahit and foreign kingdoms in the Southeast Asia region. The fourth stanza of this *pupuh* also mentions the existence of foreign kingdoms outside Southeast Asia, such as China and India, which also established trade relations with the Majapahit.

Another thing that influenced the formation of *Mitreka Satata* was the growing similarity of religion and culture. One of them is Indian culture, especially Hinduism and Buddhism. Several Hindu and Buddhist religions developed in Southeast Asia, including (1) Vedic religion; (2) Hindu Trimurti; and (3) Mahayana Buddhism. Apart from that, there is a culture of worship of kings or what is known as the concept of Devaraja/Holy King [kings are considered to have sacred qualities like gods] (Munandar 2014, 97 and 100), which also developed in kingdoms in the Southeast Asia region, including Majapahit.

### Concept of Division of Kingdom Territory (State Concept) in Ancient Java

In fact, during the Ancient Javanese era, the concept of a state had already developed since the Ancient Mataram period. We can also find the concept of the state during the Ancient Javanese era in *Kakawin Desawarnana*, where it is said in this concept that three regions influenced power, namely Java (the capital), islands outside Java, and overseas (foreign kingdoms). This concept was still used during the Islamic Mataram Sultanate (Mataram II), but the areas included in this concept were referred to as state, nagara-gung and overseas. *Nagara* means capital, and *nagaragung* means "grand" area or core area (inner area) of the king's kingdom. Meanwhile, overseas areas are located outside (Moertono 1985, 33).

Based on this concept, it can be said that during the Majapahit kingdom, the term Nusantara was a term used to refer to the entire territorial unity under Majapahit rule, which in the Old Javanese state concept was referred to as *Nagara*, *Nagara-gung*, and *Mancanagara*. The areas referred to here are: a) Nagara Majapahit (Capital); b) Nagara-gung = The ten regions contained in Gajah Mada's palapa oath, which represent all regions in the archipelago, namely: 1) Desert; 2) Seran; 3) Tanjung temple; 4) Haru; 5) Pahang; 6) Dampo; 7) Bali; 8) Sundanese; 9) Palembang; 10) Tumasik; c) Macanagara means that Majapahit's dominions which do not include Nagara-gung which is as far away as the coastal areas.

The definition of this area is by the views of Prof. Veth and Dr Selosoemardjan, who stated that the Javanese states were planned according to concentric circles, starting with the regional centre at the palace and ending with the most distant regions (Moertono 1985, 130-131). Meanwhile, in the *Mitreka Satata* concept, it can be said to be a term for foreign kingdoms that had relations with Majapahit. *Mitreka Satata* is not included in the Concept of the Ancient Javanese State.



In the concept of the state during the Old Javanese era, it is evident that the terms *Nusantara* and *Mitreka Satata*, known during the Majapahit era, were two different things. Through this concept, it can be said that Majapahit has sovereignty and recognition from foreign kingdoms, especially those in Southeast Asia. It is clearly different from what Hasan Djafar expressed: that the archipelago is a coalition of kingdoms that work for the common interest of regional security and trade. They form a coalition as *satata* partners-friends or partners in the same position (Thamrin 2012, 31).

*Kakawin Negarakertagama* provides a note in *pupuh* eight and *pupuh* three that the regions under the power of the Majapahit kingdom, which are referred to as the archipelago, should hold ceremonies of respect and make offerings to the king of Majapahit every month of Phalguna. Meanwhile, foreign kingdoms in Southeast Asia, which were referred to as *Mitreka Satata* for the Majapahit kingdom, were said only to be paying tribute because they wanted to take shelter from the Majapahit kingdom, which at that time was a superpower kingdom in Southeast Asia region. In this case, it can be said that foreign kingdoms in the Southeast Asia region hoped for protection from the Majapahit. In Canto eighty-three, in the fourth stanza. Foreign kingdoms in the Southeast Asia region called *Mitreka Satata* also had trade relations with the Majapahit. Apart from that, this *pupuh* also explains foreign kingdoms outside Southeast Asia, which are also referred to as *Mitreka Satata*, namely China and India.

## Conclusions

The terms *Nusantara* and *Mitreka Satata* are two very different things. It is because the term *Nusantara* is the term for the territories under the control of the Majapahit kingdom, so in the concept of the country, the term *Nusantarais* is used to refer to the unity of *Nagara*, *Nagara-gung*, and *Mancanagara*. Meanwhile, the term *Mitreka Satata* refers to foreign kingdoms that were not included in the territory of the Majapahit kingdom (*Nusantara*). It is because this *pupuh* does not mention that these kingdoms also sent their envoys to pay respects or make offerings to the king of Majapahit. *Mitreka Satata* is a term used to describe Majapahit's foreign policy of establishing friendly relations with foreign kingdoms.

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