

Nāgarakṛtāgama political philosophy and its relevance to Indonesian defense diplomacy today

Ni Nyoman Ayu Nikki Avalokitesvari ^{1*}, and I Wayan Titra Gunawijaya ²

¹ The Hindu Center of Indonesia/Alumni of Indonesia Defense University; Jakarta-Indonesia

² STAH Negeri Mpu Kuturan Singaraja;
wayantitragunawijaya@gmail.com

* Correspondence: ayunikkia@gmail.com

Received Date: June 26, 2023

Revised Date: July 10, 2023

Accepted Date: July 17, 2023

Cite This Article:

Avalokitesvari, N. N. A. N., & Gunawijaya, I. W. T. (2023). Nāgarakṛtāgama political philosophy and its relevance to Indonesian defense diplomacy today. *Journal of Socio-Cultural Sustainability and Resilience*, 1(1), 32-43. <https://doi.org/10.61511/jscsr.v1i1.2023.209>



Copyright: © 2023 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)

Abstract

History proves that the ancient regions known as the Archipelago already had an advanced government system. Arthaśāstra's knowledge of governance is reflected in the royal arrangements, defense systems, and patterns of international diplomacy that are applied. One of the knowledge of the ancient government is contained in Nāgarakṛtāgama, which describes the concept of the mandala of the Majapahit kingdom. Two political texts on Javanese land, namely Kakawin Nitisastra, and Nāgarakṛtāgama, have close links with Hindu politics, which are listed in various literature such as the Rāmāyaṇa, Māhābhārata, and the treatise on politics and government of Arthaśāstra. This article is the result of research on the Nāgarakṛtāgama text and its context on the Indonesian defense diplomacy system. Data were obtained through literature studies, interviews, and FGDs with defense policymakers. The theory used is the interpretation of Paul Ricoeur with data analysis using Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA). Majapahit, built with the breath of the Hindu-Buddhist religion, wanted to establish the sacred tradition of the kingdom in order to develop people's welfare. The political constellations are known as mandalas which depict political maps, military constellations, and diplomacy. Mitreka state is a well-known Majapahit diplomacy jargon listed in chapter 15. Majapahit places several kingdoms as equal kingdoms or friendly countries, in addition to a number of countries with good relations or enemies that can invade at any time. The Majapahit political map is essential to understand to build geopolitical awareness and efforts to rebuild political learning for youth in the country. Besides that, Nāgarakṛtāgama's political philosophy is powerfully relevant to the current state defense diplomacy system.

Keywords: kakawin; Majapahit; mandala; *mitreka satata*; Nāgarakṛtāgama

1. Introduction

Prithivi Bhakti, or devotion to the fatherland, is essential to the Four Vedas (Ṛgveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda). The teachings of Prithivi Bhakti mention how important it is for every son of Prithivi to dedicate himself to the motherland. This Bhakti teaching is also explicitly taught in the Rāmāyaṇa and Māhābhārata. Prithivi Bhakti's instructions in Māhābhārata are exciting. Namely, they consist of the basics of loving the motherland, the science of government, and the expertise of every Prithivi's son needed to defend dharma up to the rules of war and peace. The great war or Māhābhārata that occurred more than 5000 years ago reflects how a Prithivi Son had to sacrifice his life for the country. Māhābhārata also expressly states that Hinduism does not teach war on religion but on truth against falsehood, sincerity, and sincerity against the lust for power.

Regarding Prithivi Bhakti's teachings, the concept of Motherland Theology or Motherland Theology (Mother Earth) was developed, which originates from Atharvaveda XII.1.2, Atharvaveda IX.10.12, Yajurveda XXV.17, Yajurveda IV.22 and Atharvaveda XII.1.1. This theology is described from the śruti and Smṛti Books as well as books that discuss

Hindu Theology. The concept of Motherland Theology found in Yudha Kanda's Rāmāyaṇa, namely janani janmabhūmiśca svargādapi garīyasi- Mother and Mother Earth are more excellent than even Heaven. Sri Rama taught that the homeland is higher than Heaven itself, so every Son of Mother Earth must dedicate himself to his own country. This concept is fundamental and firm in declaring the motherland (Motherland) whose value is higher than Heaven, closely related to Patriotic Theology as the State Dharma.

Prithivi Bhakti's lessons were summarized by an Indian political Rsi, namely Chanakya or Kautilya. Cāṇakya in his masterpiece Arthaśāstra presents the concepts of the ideal state, leadership, politics and economics which still find relevance today. Meanwhile, teachings on governance, economics and politics in the archipelago can be traced in various literature such as the Rāmāyaṇa, Māhābhārata, Pararatwan I Bhumi Jawadwipa Library, Rajya-Rajya I Bhumi Nusantara Library, Tanjung Tanah Manuscript (the oldest Hindu manuscript in Southeast Asia), Kakawin Nitisastra, Kakawin Nagarakertagama, Nitipraja texts and various other texts. This concept has actually been implemented throughout the centuries including in modern times by a number of Hindu sons, such as I Gusti Ngurah Rai who has chosen the kṣatriya path and dedicated his life to mother earth as the highest offering. This sacrifice is considered an honorable way in the concept of patriotic theology.

In the Māhābhārata and Chanakya Niti Sastra, it is described that the obligation of every leader in various situations is to build a strong nation. In detail, this program is in the form of long-term and short-term programs. Niti Praja text about guarding national borders (Purwadi, 2009). Taking care of Mother Earth (in this case, the country) is the calling of the kṣatriyas. In modern times this can be done through several professions that are closely related to the duties of the kṣatriyas, namely intelligence (State Intelligence Agency), military (Indonesian National Army/TNI), diplomat (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), police (National Police of the Republic of Indonesia), politicians (heads of state, regional leaders, authorities), lawyers, bureaucrats and the like (Aryadharma, 2019). People who are destined to be born as kṣatriyas (both based on lineage, ability and a combination of the two) should fulfill the call of duty of kṣatriyas for the sake of Mother Earth, the welfare and safety of society and for the sake of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In Hinduism, there are also Intellectual Kṣatriyas, Intellectual Warriors (Baudhika Kṣatriya), or Intellectual Knights, people who dedicate their intellectual abilities to defend and progress the country or fight in the name of Dharma. The Intellectual Knight has a significant role today. The state needs people willing to dedicate their intellectual abilities to the integrity and progress of the state and society. In Hinduism, the dedication to knowledge has the highest value of all other offerings.

The concept of yajña for warriors is found in Atharvaveda XII.1.62, Yajurveda IX.23. For warriors, the highest offering for the motherland is one's own body and abilities (Udyoga Parwa Māhābhārata), the dedication of a leader is a special yajña for kṣatriya (Shanti Parwa Māhābhārata/Chanakya Nitisastra). It also describes the yajña of other groups, namely Brahmins, Vaisyas, and the general public for their nation and country. The ancient wisdom teaches that the kṣatriyas must prepare themselves as best because this task has existed throughout the ages. Even in this age, the kṣatriya's task is getting more complex. The challenges they face are enormous and varied, but the kṣatriya is the one who is chosen to serve his country without any desire in his heart to cheat, harm or betray his country (Borooh & Iyer, 2005). Anyone can betray us, but a kṣatriya will choose loyalty to the state. Even though they are dressed in kṣatriyas, those who cheat are not kṣatriyas; they are just taking advantage of kṣatriya clothes. Kṣatriya is not just birth, profession but kṣatriya is attitude, principle, stance, character, and a combination of all (Surpi, 2014).

One of the essential texts that contain the teachings of Prithivi Bhakti and the way for kṣatriya is Nāgarakṛtāgama which is a book left by the great emporium that once existed, namely Majapahit. Nāgarakṛtāgama means a State with sacred (religious) Traditions or a state based on sacred religious traditions, i.e., Dharma rules. This text is also called the Kakawin Desyawarnana (Deçawarṇana). Kakawin, written in 1365, was first discovered in

1894 by J.L.A. Brandes, a Dutch scientist who participated in the KNIL expedition in Lombok. He saved the contents of the King of Lombok's library in Cakranagara before the king's palace was to be burned by KNIL soldiers (Alit et al., 2022). Furthermore, the Nāgarakṛtāgama manuscript was deposited in Leiden and given the code L Or 5.023. Then with the visit of Queen Juliana, the Netherlands, to Indonesia in 1973, this manuscript was submitted to the Republic of Indonesia. The manuscript is stored in the National Library of Indonesia and named NB 9. Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama 2008 was recognized as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World Program.

This Kakawin describes the situation at the Majapahit palace during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk, the great king of Java and the Archipelago. He reigned from 1350 to 1389 AD, during the peak of the Majapahit Empire, one of the largest empires ever in the archipelago (Muljana, 1986). The most important part of the text is about the territory of the Majapahit kingdom. This kakawin consists of 98 pupils, with the pupils being divided very neatly. Canto 1 - 49 is the first part of this manuscript (Alit et al., 2022) that describes the king and his family, the city and territory of Majapahit, the journey around Lumajang, and the genealogy of King Hayam Wuruk. The second part of this kakawin manuscript, which also consists of 49 pupils, contains king Hayam Wuruk who was hunting in the Nandawa forest, and the story of his journey back to Majapahit. It also contains the attention of King Hayam Wuruk to his ancestors in the form of Prada ceremonies and pilgrimages to the tombs of the temples. Next, it describes the news of the death of Patih Gadjah Mada about sacred buildings in Java and Bali. Nāgarakṛtāgama's name appears in the colophon of Dr. J.L.A. Brandes; *Iti Nāgarakṛtāgama Samapta*. The name Nāgarakṛtāgama was added by the scribe Arthapamasah in the month of Kartika in the year of Saka 1662 (20 October 1740 AD). Nāgarakṛtāgama is copied in Balinese script in Kancana (Muljana, 1986).

Muljana (1986) states that this manuscript was completed in Aswina, Saka year 1287 (September – October 1365 AD). The pseudonym used by the author is Prapanca. However, through historical analysis, the author of this manuscript is Dang Acarya Narendram, whom he thought to be the son of Dharmadyaksa Kasogatan in the Majapahit Kingdom. However, it is known that Prapanca wrote this manuscript; Kakawin discusses several matters, such as the royal family, the majesty and territory of Majapahit, Hayam Wuruk's travel around Lumajang, the genealogy of kings, religious ceremonies, and poets who are loyal to the kingdom. In Canto 13-14, it is stated that the areas that were within the scope of Majapahit, such as Sumatra, the Malayan peninsula, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, the Nusa Tenggara Islands, Papua, Singapore, and several Philippine islands. This region covers a large area known as the Nusantara. As a region with a great civilization, the Archipelago, Nusantara, which covers a broad geopolitics store various knowledge about state administration and foreign diplomacy. This knowledge comes from texts of Indian political philosophy which are widely influential in Southeast Asia (Chano and Surpi, 2020). Ancient knowledge actually has great potential to be re-analyzed and used to strengthen knowledge and national defense strategies. This article limits political philosophy in Nāgarakṛtāgama and its relevance to the defense diplomacy system of the Republic of Indonesia. It is hoped that ancient knowledge will make a significant contribution to the knowledge and defense diplomacy system in order to build a better diplomatic force for now.

2. Methods

This article is the result of qualitative research that focuses on the Nāgarakṛtāgama text and its context on the State Defense Diplomacy system. The Nāgarakṛtāgama text was chosen because it contains knowledge of state defense diplomacy as a form of genius concept that was built during the Majapahit kingdom. The researcher analyzes the possibility of the concepts in the text (Siswanto, 2010; Rahardjo, 2018) contributing to Indonesia's defense diplomacy today. Data was obtained through literature studies, interviews and FGDs with stakeholders in the Defense Diplomacy system. The data is processed using a qualitative method consisting of data reduction, data display and conclusions as well as data

verification. The theory used is Paul Ricour's interpretation with data analysis using Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), which is a combination of objective content analysis and participant observation, where researchers interact with documentation materials. This qualitative content analysis is systematic, analytical but still shows flexibility. The main discussion of this article is about political philosophy in kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama and its context in order to strengthen the national defense system.

3. Results and Discussion

Nusantara inherited several books related to politics, government, leadership, and social ethics, such as Kakawin Nitisastra, kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama, Nitipraja Fiber, Nitisruti Fiber. The political philosophy in Nāgarakṛtāgama describes Mandala's geopolitical theory and the Majapahit kingdom's geostrategy. It includes the concept of state diplomacy, foreign policy, and other strategic policies.

Various knowledge of state administration and defense has been inherited from the past. But unfortunately, a lot of knowledge from the past was not studied properly so that knowledge continuity did not occur in the next generation. The era of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in the archipelago which lasted for several centuries has given rise to an established system of knowledge. The political philosophy of the Rāmāyaṇa and Māhābhārata and Arthaśāstra was contextualized and implemented according to local conditions. This is reflected in the texts of Nitisastra, kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama, Serat Nitipraja, Serat nitsruti and various other ancient texts. Therefore, the political philosophy that was built was able to strengthen the system of government that was built. This is the important role of knowledge in every civilization. The characteristics of the advancement of a civilization are related to how much science develops. Because knowledge builds civilization. Likewise, a country that does not value knowledge will slowly weaken and be conquered by other nations, as happened in Indonesian history.

Majapahit is one of the most prominent kingdoms in Southeast Asia. His power exceeded the area of modern Indonesia. The power and glory of Majapahit are recorded in various ancient books, inscriptions, saga, folklore, and archeology scattered in various countries. According to [Muljana \(1976\)](#) the territorial concept of the Majapahit Kingdom is divided into three areas, for instance:

1. *Negara Agung*, or *Negara Utama*: core kingdom. This area included the royal capital and the surrounding area where the king effectively exercised his rule, encompassing the eastern half of Java, with all of its provinces administered by the Bhre (nobles), who were close relatives of the king..
2. *Mancanegara*, the area covering the *Negara Agung*. Javanese culture directly influenced this area and was subject to an annual tribute. These areas usually had native rulers or kings who possibly formed alliances with or married into the Majapahit royal family. The Majapahit Empire stationed bureaucrats and officials in these places, managed their foreign trading activities and collected taxes, but they enjoyed considerable internal autonomy. The foreign territory includes all other regions or kingdoms on Java, Madura, Bali, Dharmasraya, Pagaruyung, Lampung, Palembang, and Sumatra.
3. The wider area was called *Nusantara*, which did not reflect Javanese culture but was included in the colonies and had to pay annual tribute. This region enjoyed considerable autonomy and internal freedom, and Majapahit did not feel that placing bureaucrats or military troops was essential. However, threats to this area included harassing Majapahit's sovereignty. This area was the small kingdoms and colonies in the Moluccas, the Nusa Tenggara Islands, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and the Malay Peninsula.

The concept of territory varies according to the size of the territory and the conquests that have taken place. When Majapahit was in its golden age, the archipelago covered a large area with solid royal influence. The constitutional teachings, as explained by

Chanakya in Arthaśāstra, were also widely used in the Classical Southeast Asian Era, during the Golden Age of the Majapahit Kingdom with an area of jurisdiction stretching from Sumatra Island to New Guinea, covering the territory of Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand South, the Philippines, and East Timor nowadays (Manggala, 2013). Under the leadership of the Supreme Minister Gajah Mada and the Charismatic Leadership of King Hayam Wuruk, the Majapahit Kingdom shaped the geopolitics of the Mandala by placing the surrounding kingdoms in concentric circles with Majapahit as the center circle (chakravartin). Foreign relations built by Majapahit referred to the Geopolitical Mandala, which placed several countries as partners (friends/allies), ari (opponents/enemies), madhyama (middle power), and udasina (significant power) (Boesche, 2003).

Manggala (2013) describes the constellation of the Majapahit mandala, which was adopted from Chanakya's geopolitical mandala. According to Manggala, Majapahit placed Champa as a rear friend. This constellation was based on the position of Champa, who rejected Mongolian hegemony in the region at that time. Champa even refused the request of the Mongols to use one of the ports in Champa as an "embarking logistics" when Kublai Khan launched a massive invasion of Java at the end of the 13th century. On the other hand, Majapahit established a relationship with the Syangka kingdom because they both rejected the dominance of the Chola kingdom, the Indian subcontinent. This relationship is also based on the Chanakya doctrine "My enemy's enemy is my friend" (Chati et al., 2018). The Syangka kingdom is the enemy of the Chola kingdom. Because Majapahit was also hostile to the Chola kingdom, Syangka, as an enemy of the Chola kingdom, was a partner who should be invited to work together. Both of these relationships show how Majapahit realized the balance of influence by building relationships with kingdoms that could dampen the hegemony of Majapahit's enemies. Majapahit tried to ensure that its ari (enemy), namely the empire of the Mongols and Chola, was balanced by its partners (allies), namely the kingdoms of Champa and Syangka (Surpi et al., 2020).

Meanwhile, according to Muljana (1976) Majapahit also built and maintained relations with Ayudhya because Ayudhya had built a population and had power in the Central Indochina Peninsula, which previously had no record of the influence of relations with the Majapahit kingdom. Majapahit placed Ayudhya as Madhyama (Middle Power). Meanwhile, Majapahit placed China, which was then under the Ming Dynasty empire, as Udasina or Major Power. Majapahit built trade relations with the Ming Dynasty to build desirable regional architecture. Majapahit built regional stability based on mutually beneficial economic cooperation without having to submit politically to the Ming Dynasty in China.

However, according to the author, Manggala's (2013) view of Syangka's position as a rear friend and Ayutthaya as a madhyama in depicting the Majapahit mandala constellation must be revised. If we refer to canto 15 in the book of Nāgarakṛtāgama it is mentioned (Muljana, 1986):

Nahan / lwir niṅ deçantara kacaya de çri narapati, tuhn / taṅ synakayodyapura kimutaṅ darmmanagari, marutma mwan riṅ rajapura nuniweh sinhanagari, ri campa kambojanyat i yawana mitreka satata.

"This is the name of a foreign country that has a relationship, Siam (Thailand) with Ayudyapura (Ayutthaya, the capital city of Siam), as well as Darmanagari (Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand), Marutma (Mottama, Myanmar), Rajapura (Ratchaburi, Thailand), as well as Singanagari (Songkhla, Thailand), Campa (South Vietnam), Cambodia and Yawana (North Vietnam) are friendly countries."

Mitreka satata is friendly to countries considered to have the same position and respect for their sovereignty, namely Syanakayodyapura, Darmagiri Marutma, Rajapura, Singanagari, Campa, Cambodia, Yawana. Based on a study conducted by Pigeaud (1962) Syangka is another name for the Kingdom of Siam, with our mother located in Ayodhya or often called Ayutthaya. In other words, the synakayodyapura written in the 15th chapter of Nāgarakṛtāgama refers to the Majapahit cooperation with the Siamese kingdom, whose

capital is Ayudhya/Ayutthaya. Thus, Syangka or Siam and Ayudhya or Ayutthaya are not two different royal entities. So it is impossible to place Syangka as a partner and simultaneously place Ayudhya as a madhyama in the Majapahit mandala constellation. Furthermore, suppose it was aimed at stemming the influence of the Chola dynasty from India as a rear enemy or Parshnigraha, based on location and geographical layout. In that case, the Singhanagari kingdom, now called Songkhla, is more suitable to occupy the rear friend or Akrandra position. Meanwhile, to contain the influence of the Mongols as a real threat because of their massive invasion of Java and placing Champa as a partner was the right strategy (Avalokitesvari & Midhio, 2020) states that Ayutthaya's position as Madhyama (Middle Power) and China's (Ming Dynasty) position as Udasina (Major Power) has not changed. According to the author, this position was following the geopolitical constellation at that time. A more precise description of the location layout of Majapahit, Chola, Singhanagari, Ayutthaya, Champa, Mongol, and also China (Ming Dynasty) can be seen on the map in the following image.



Figure 1. Depiction of Position Map of Majapahit, Chola, Singhanagari, Ayutthaya, Champa, and Mongol (Avalokitesvari & Midhio, 2020)

Good relations between countries and friendly treatment are the concepts of diplomacy in Mitreka satata. These nations have neither a history of hostility nor a desire for invasion, but instead strengthen one another and build good relations with each generation. Syanakayodyapura, Darmagiri Marutma, Rajapura, Singanagari, Campa, Cambodia, Yawana are considered to have the same position and their sovereignty is respected. While there is a state as a madhyama, in a geopolitical position in the middle but there is no tendency to invade. On the other hand, the state must be wary of enemies who may invade or attack at any time. This mandala constellation, which was common in the past, is slightly different from the modern state form. The Chola dynasty from India had big ambitions to expand the colonial territory at that time so that it was placed as a threatening enemy. The invasion of the Chola Dynasty was unique, in that the kingdoms in Southeast Asia were previously considered to have the same kinship and religious breath with a number of dynasties in Mainland India (Kulke et al., 2009). The kings of Southeast Asia are believed to have descended from various dynasties in India and received both religious and political upbringing from Bharatavarsa. Therefore, the attack of Raja Rajendra Chola gave a new historical color and changed the political mandala of the Majapahit kingdom.

Then, in Figure 2. Depiction of the Geopolitical Mandala of the Majapahit Kingdom. The critical thing to understand in the constellation of geopolitical mandalas in Southeast Asia in the classical era, including during the golden age of Majapahit, is the international

system which does not refer to the tributary system run by the empire in China. Countries that recognized the Majapahit rule paid a certain amount of annual tribute and thus came under the protection of the Majapahit Kingdom. But they are given the freedom to run the government. There was no significant interference from Majapahit in the government running in the kingdom concerned. In other words, the kingdoms under the protection of Majapahit had autonomy over their respective territories.

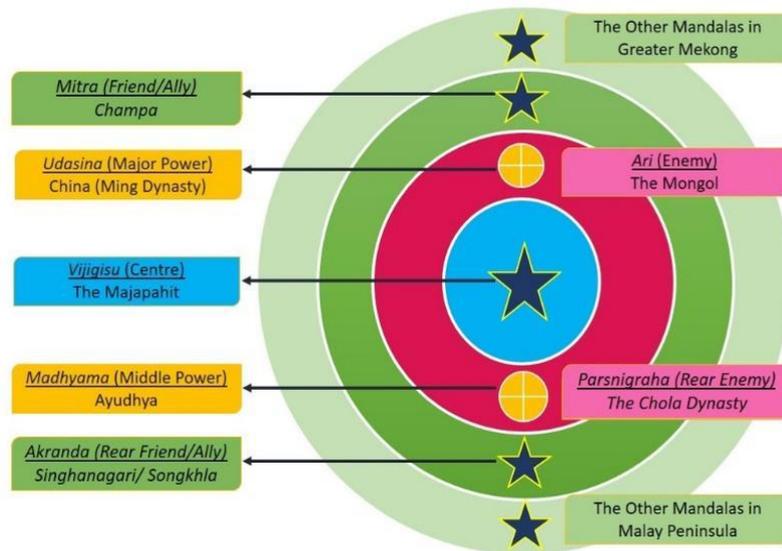


Figure 2. The Majapahit Geopolitical Mandala Constellation (Avalokitesvari & Midhio, 2020)

In managing a kingdom, sacred texts teach that a head of government should use all kinds of power to develop the country and build strength to avoid enemy attacks and, at the same time, be able to develop the welfare of society. Kautilya emphasized this in Arthaśāstra 6.2.33.

śaktis trividhā-jñana|balaṁ mantra|śaktiḥ kośa|daṇḍa|balaṁ prabhu|śaktiḥ vikrama|balaṁ utsāha|śaktiḥ

Translation:

“There are three types of power: The Power of Judgment is called the mantra śaktiḥ or intellectual power. Substantial treasury/economic and military possessions constitute prabhu śaktiḥ or Sovereign power. And utsāha śaktiḥ is the power of courage, talent, and capable leadership” (Gautam, 2013).

Kautilya teaches three central powers in building a country and governance, namely mantra śaktiḥ or intellectual strength, scientific power, Prabhu śaktiḥ which concerns the military and economy, and utsāha śaktiḥ namely a capable leader; this concerns courage, strategic ability, and the competencies and skills that a leader should have (Surpi et al., 2019). According to Kautilya, main strength should always be built to maintain a country's greatness. Canakya's political philosophy finds its threads in various texts in the archipelago, including in the Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama and Kakawin Nitisastra.

Politics, the state, and the king (state leader) all have the same goal, namely, the community's welfare. In Hinduism, politics, leadership, and government are not dirty but have noble goals, namely to maintain social order, build prosperity and even maintain dharma civilization (Surpi, 2019). By him, politicians and future kings must be prepared with valuable knowledge in carrying out government. The common thread of Hindu and Nāgarakṛtāgama politics is that the kingdom is intended as a sacred hierarchy, with the lofty goal of maintaining social welfare and order. In short, to keep the Dharma on earth. Hence, Hindu political philosophy is an essential body of knowledge in the Upaveda (Complementary Veda). Political knowledge is incorporated in a fundamental treatise,

Arthaśāstra (the science of welfare, politics, state administration, and leadership). Arthaśāstra is a handbook for aspiring politicians, bureaucrats, leaders, military, diplomats, and anyone who wants to dedicate his life to the good of the state and nation. This literature study should be encouraged for the younger generation of Hindus in the country, in addition to Kakawin Nitisastra, Sevaka Dharma, and Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama.

Politics, the state, and the king (state leader) all have the same goal, such as the community's welfare. In Hinduism, politics, leadership, and government are not dirty but have noble plans: to maintain social order, build prosperity, and even maintain dharma civilization (Surpi, 2019). By him, politicians and future kings must be prepared with valuable knowledge in carrying out government. The common thread of Hindu and Nāgarakṛtāgama politics is that the kingdom is intended as a sacred hierarchy, with the lofty goal of maintaining social welfare and order. In short, to keep the Dharma on earth. Hence, Hindu political philosophy is an essential body of knowledge in the Upaveda (Complementary Veda). Political knowledge is incorporated in a fundamental treatise, Arthaśāstra (the science of welfare, politics, state administration, and leadership). Arthaśāstra is a handbook for aspiring politicians, bureaucrats, leaders, military, diplomats, and anyone who wants to dedicate his life to the good of the state and nation. This literature study should be encouraged for the younger generation of Hindus in the country, in addition to Kakawin Nitisastra, Sevaka Dharma, and Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama.

In real terms, Hindu political philosophy should be able to contribute to the framework of Indonesian military diplomacy significantly. Military Diplomacy Blueprint 2019-2024, as illustrated below (Avalokitesvari & Midhio, 2020). In fact, the blueprint shows that military diplomacy is part of defense diplomacy, in which the military is an actor that plays a significant role in it. Based on this chart, it can also be seen that Indonesia's defense diplomacy cannot only be identified with military diplomacy, where the only actors are the military and the Ministry of Defense. I believe it can be seen from the Indonesian diplomacy machine, which is driven by national interests, foreign policy, domestic politics, economy, culture, and ideology. In my view, this has prevented the military from becoming a single fighter in Indonesia's defense diplomacy arena. At least in every activity of defense diplomacy, two elements of ministries are always involved, namely the Ministry of Defense (including the TNI in it) and also the Ministry of foreign affairs (Avalokitesvari et al., 2018). Meanwhile, in some instances, other actors, such as related ministries and institutions, are also the subject of Indonesian defense diplomacy. The point is that in Indonesian Defense Diplomacy, all sectors in ministries or related institutions become a unit that complements and supports each other to achieve national goals. Therefore, ancient knowledge must be strengthened to build a strong pattern. In addition, knowledge of defense diplomacy should be discussed in political parties, campuses, and organizations in Indonesia so that people's understanding becomes very broad in the field of defense diplomacy.



Figure 3. Military Diplomacy Blueprint 2019-2024
(Avalokitesvari & Midhio, 2020)

Hindu political lessons, including political philosophy in Nāgarakṛtāgama, can be explored to strengthen political and defense positions in the current era. However, intelligence is needed, and the śaktiḥ mantra is required to be able to contribute more profound thoughts, not just in terms of concepts but in actual implementation, to build the strength of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a proof of Mother Nature Bhakti. The power of defense diplomacy must continue to be made for the sake of the nation's dignity and future. Ancient texts also describe a qualified 'officer' who moves the defense mandala from military figures, diplomats, and bureaucrats to special officers. They must have a high capacity, knowledge, and ability to ensure an incompetent party does not risk the country. Arthaśāstra explicitly states that a diplomat must be physically competent and loyal to the state and be physically capable of knowledge and power. Incompetent parties can make a destructive contribution to building defense diplomacy. Therefore Defense diplomacy education must be a severe knowledge in a country, and there is an established strategy for teaching it. All elements driving the state, which in Hindu texts are called Kshatriyas, must fully understand the concept of defense diplomacy. Its application in Indonesia is quite tricky because of the direct election system, which can make people who are incompetent in government become leaders either because of mere popularity or of being nominated by political parties and winning elections. It seems to differ from the concept of a Knight who must be trained and tested for competence before being given a particular position. The idea of elections in Indonesia also has the opportunity to produce incompetent leaders. Learning suddenly after taking office was not a solution in the ancient Hindu government system because leaders had to be educated, trained, and tested. Even though someone comes from ordinary people, if he gets a good education and can lead, he is worthy of leading. If not, even if he comes from the Knight clan but doesn't have the ability, then the country's safety will be at stake. This dilemma must be bridged and anticipated so that leaders born from democracy in Indonesia have at least basic knowledge of diplomacy and understand their own capacity, whether or not it is appropriate to speak out on issues related to defense diplomacy.

Defense diplomacy as a form of mandala pays attention to the Mitreka state concept, that is, friendly countries that are considered to have the same position and respect for the sovereignty of madhyama are countries that have relations but are not directly related to national security and defense. Meanwhile, the concept of the rear enemy, or Parshnigraha,

is a country that poses a real threat because of attempts to invade or endanger sovereignty. In the case that occurred due to the cancellation of the U20 World Cup in Indonesia as a result of the rejection by the Governor of Bali, I Wayan Koster, and the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, two figures are not directly related to defense diplomacy but exert influence. From the analysis of defense diplomacy, the two governors needed help to mobilize defense diplomacy. Still, due to the impact of anti-Israeli news and sentiment, FIFA withdrew Indonesia from hosting the football event. The basis for refusal used did not consider the diplomacy that was built, namely that Indonesia did not make one country an enemy.

International diplomacy in Indonesia must be taken care of by considering the broad impact and reputation for now and in the future, not just political jargon or political directions from those who need help understanding the essence of defense Diplomacy. In addition, it is not the duty and authority of a governor in International Diplomacy efforts related to state relations in the international eye, not only regarding one particular race. A regional leader must also understand his capacity and play a diplomatic stick correctly directed with the appropriate space. Suppose the Arthaśāstra and the political philosophy of Nāgarakṛtāgama and Kakawin Nitisastra are understood. In that case, a regional leader, policy maker, and state leader will be careful in taking international diplomatic actions by paying attention to the significant impacts now and in the future. The archipelago's ancient government system, which has strong roots in political science, governance, and diplomacy, should significantly impact the knowledge of citizens, especially leaders.

Nāgarakṛtāgama does not explain in detail about the implementation of state defense diplomacy. However, in a number of other ancient texts, including his baboon book, Arthaśāstra, it is explained that every state official and prince must learn about national defense as a whole. Specifically for those who carry out diplomatic duties, they must have a number of special skills such as knowledge, how to win disputes, avoid decisions that have detrimental consequences to the ability to disguise. Diplomats must have high loyalty to the state and ensure that their country's interests are protected. Under certain conditions, not all state officials may interfere in foreign diplomacy. Especially for those who do not have the knowledge and skills that are qualified.

4. Conclusions

Nāgarakṛtāgama's political philosophy includes state and constitutional forms, mandalas which contain the concepts of defense and foreign diplomacy. The mandala concept includes geopolitics and geostrategy, which are closely related to the theories of Kautilya or Chanakya, whose thoughts are contained in the Arthaśāstra. Majapahit wanted to build the concept of a holy state to establish a state based on sacred principles. Political goals are to protect the country and improve the welfare of society. Likewise, the state leadership is linked to the sacred hierarchies to guard the Dharma. However, the existence of a state (kingdom) cannot be separated from threats. In this case, Majapahit received threats from the Mongol Empire from Mainland China and Chola from India. The mandala that his constellation built considered these two major threats, thus strengthening relations with other countries and strengthening positions in the considerable territory already part of Majapahit. Mitreka Satata is a very well-known diplomacy jargon, which is at the same time proof of the genius of the concept of Majapahit royal diplomacy. The concepts and knowledge of international diplomacy in ancient times contributed directly to Indonesia's defense framework. Indonesia must build a strong concept of defense diplomacy with implementers who have high integrity, reflect high knowledge and ability as warriors.

Acknowledgement

Thanks and appreciation to the informants of this research and fellow researchers who have provided input to improve the results of this research.

References

- Alit, D. M., Pramatha, I. N. B., Sandri, G., Lewa, S., Darmada, I. M., Ayu, I., & Sri, P. (2022). *Negarakertagama: Kisah Keagungan Kerajaan Majapahit*. *Nirwasita*, 3(1), 31–42. <https://doi.org/10.59672/nirwasita.v3i1.1820>
- Aryadharma, N. K. S. (2019). *Vedānta & Metode Pemahaman Filsafat Hindu*. Surabaya: Paramita. <http://sim.ihdn.ac.id/app-assets/repo/repo-dosen-162005113103-54.pdf>
- Avalokitesvari, N. N. A. N., Midhio, W., & Prasetyo, T. B. (2018). Analysis Of State Defense Diplomacy In The Course Of Chanakya (Literature Study Of Arthashastra As The Basic Strategy For State Defense Diplomacy). *Jurnal Prodi Diploması Pertahanan*. <https://doi.org/10.33172/jdp.v4i2.324>
- Avalokitesvari, N. N. A. N., & Midhio, W. (2020). *Cāṇakya Arthaśāstra & Diploması Pertahanan*. Surabaya: Paramita. https://opac.lib.idu.ac.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=11629
- Boesche, R. (2003). Kautilya's Arthaśāstra on war and diplomacy in ancient India. *Journal of Military History*. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jmh.2003.0006>
- Borooh, V. K., & Iyer, S. (2005). Vidya, Veda, and Varna: The influence of religion and caste on education in rural India. *Journal of Development Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220380500186960>
- Chati, C., Avalokitesvari, N. N. A. N., & Surpi, N. K. (2018). State Defense Diplomacy In Chanakya Viewpoint (Study of Arthashastra Text as a Basis Strategy of Defense Diplomacy). *Vidyottama Sanatana: International Journal of Hindu Science and Religious Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.25078/ijhsrs.v2i2.621>
- Chano, J., & Surpi, N. K. (2020). The thoughts on divinity philosophy of Madhvācārya. *Vidyottama Sanatana: International Journal of Hindu Science and Religious Studies*, 4(2), 250-260. <https://doi.org/10.25078/ijhsrs.v4i2.1850>
- Gautam, P. K. (2013). Relevance of Kautilya's Arthashastra. *Strategic Analysis*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2012.737592>
- Kulke, H., Kesavapany, K., & Sakhuja, V. (Eds.). (2009). *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: reflections on the Chola naval expeditions to Southeast Asia* (Vol. 1). Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Manggala, P. U. (2013). The Mandala Culture of Anarchy: The Pre-Colonial Southeast Asian International Society. *JAS (Journal of ASEAN Studies)*. <https://doi.org/10.21512/jas.v1i1.764>
- Muljana, S. (1976). *A Story of Majapahit*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Muljana, S. (1986). *Nagarakertagama dan tafsir sejarahnya*. Retrieved from Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara website: [http://hollis.harvard.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=HVD_ALEPH011202619&indx=1&reclids=HVD_ALEPH011202619&recldxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&v1\(51615747UI0\)=a](http://hollis.harvard.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=HVD_ALEPH011202619&indx=1&reclids=HVD_ALEPH011202619&recldxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&v1(51615747UI0)=a)
- Pigeaud, T. G. T. (1962). *Java in the 14th century: a study in cultural history: the Nāgara-Kērtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D.* Netherlands: The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Purwadi. (2009). *Kitab Jawa Kuno*. Yogyakarta: Pinus Book Publisher.
- Rahardjo, M. (2018). *Studi Teks dalam Penelitian Kualitatif*. Malang: Repository.uin-malang.ac.id/2480. Retrieved from <http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/2480/1/2480.pdf>
- Siswanto. (2010). *Metode Penelitian Sastra Analisis Struktur Puisi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Surpi, N. K. (2014). *Konsep dan Implementasi Varnasrama Dharma menurut Kitab-kitab Purana*. Institut Hindu Dharma Negeri Denpasar.
- Surpi, N. K. (2019). Moral Politik Dan Merosotnya Kualitas Peradaban Manusia. In I. N. Y. Segara (Ed.), *Politik Hindu Sejarah, Moral dan Proyeksinya* (I, p. 58). Denpasar.

- Surpi, N. K., Avalokitesvari, N. N. A. N., & Untara, I. M. G. S. (2020). Mandala Theory of Arthaśāstra and its Implementation Towards Indonesia ' S Geopolitics and Geostrategy. *Jurnal Penelitian Agama Hindu* 4: 179–190. <https://jayapanguspress.penerbit.org/index.php/JPAH/article/view/1222>
- Surpi, N. K., Sumaryani, N. M., & Sofa, A. (2019). Counter Terrorism Against the Mindset of Women and Children Perpetrator of Terror: The Study Philosophical of Success, Time and Bravery in Overcoming Terrorism in Indonesia. In J. Mahroza & R. A. G. G. Sovian Aritonang (Eds.), *Proceedings 3 rd Indonesia International Defense Science Seminar* (p. 117). Jakarta. Retrieved from www.idu.ac.id