

GAYATRI RAJAPATNI'S LEADERSHIP STRATEGY AS A REVOLUTIONARY WOMAN DESIGNER OF THE MAJAPAHIT EMPIRE'S VISION

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Abstract

Modern societies view women as equal to men, especially in government. conversely, societies with traditional stigmas view women as having power only in the domestic sphere. Historically, Javanese women, particularly in the ancient Javanese era, held a strategic position in shaping government policy. This is evident in the presence of Gayatri Rajapatni in the Majapahit Kingdom. Gayatri served as an advisor to the king and a policy maker, although she was not legally the queen. This study aims to determine the leadership strategy of Gayatri Rajapatni, a figure behind the success of Majapahit. This study used historical research methods and resulted in an analysis of Gayatri Rajapatni's leadership strategy in building the Majapahit Empire. The author concludes that Gayatri Rajapatni employed various leadership strategies to implement her vision for Majapahit's glory, namely by developing tactics and leadership patterns inherited from her father (Kertanegara).

Keywords: Gayatri rajapatni; Majapahit kingdom; Javanese women.

INTRODUCTION

The societal stigma regarding the role and position of women continues to evolve in line with the era of modernization. Before entering the era of modernization and the development of science, especially regarding gender studies, employment opportunities were dominated by men. Women's participation in urban communities is generally supported by various factors such as scientific developments and a more open society in facing the currents of modernization. In a 2022 study by Larashati entitled "Gender Inequality and Increasing Gender Equality in the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals)," the role of women in supporting sustainable development, especially in the employment sector, was explained. The results showed a significant difference between the number of male and female workers, with the percentage of men employed at 36.2% and women at 43.39% (Larashati, 2022). This study indicates that the ratio of women involved in the workforce is higher than that of men. This condition may be due to the economic background of the family, which requires a woman to earn additional income to support her family.

The stigma of urban society regarding the role and position of women in society is inversely proportional to the condition of women in societies with traditional stigma and are not open to the flow of modernization. The patriarchal system that develops in the cultural structure of traditional society causes gender inequality, which has an impact on gender injustice, especially for women. Patriarchy comes from the word patriarchate, which means a structure that places men as the sole, central, and all-powerful ruler (Irma & Hasanah, 2017). In traditional societies, women dominate informal sector jobs such as casual laborers and errand runners. This view is based on women's biological barriers, namely women's nature to conceive, give birth, and breastfeed children, making it impossible for women to move into the formal sector due to their household roles and responsibilities.

The patriarchal culture that developed in traditional societies contrasts sharply with the representation of ancient Javanese women. This raises the assumption that gender issues have only

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recently emerged in line with the development of modernization. This condition is because the representation of women in society is someone who has a gentle, gentle, obedient nature and is subordinate to men (Indradjaja, 2017). In ancient Java, women often served as regional officials, such as during the reign of the Singhasari and Majapahit Kingdoms. Women played a role in the economic and social sectors, as ceremonial performers, farmers, craftsmen, traders, and other professions carried out by men (Marwah, 2020). The ideal role for women is activities in managing the household, supporting the husband's career, and being a submissive wife (Putri & Nurhajati, 2020). In Javanese literature, women are positioned as "kanca wingking" which means placing women in matters of the well, bed, and kitchen (Rizqillah, 2023). There is another term, namely "swarga nunut nraha katut" which means "in heaven only follow men, in hell just follow". Meanwhile, in ancient Javanese society there is a term "wani ing tata" where the meaning of this conception is that women actually have the same position as men in general by looking at their leadership (Jati, 2015). The term "wani ing tata" in placing the position and role of women is justified by the appearance of Bhatahari Durga who presents a strong female figure and rejects the subordination of men (Nugroho, 2021). This statement shows that women have potential and strength that may be more dominant than men.

Evidence of women's participation in government is evident in the era of kingdoms, with the presence of female figures, especially in Java, such as Queen Shima, Ken Dedes, Gayatri Rajapatni, and Tribuwanatunggadewi (Erlangga & Nelsusmena, 2022). These figures became pioneers and at the forefront of the development of kingdoms in the archipelago at this time. This condition proves that women have a strong fighting spirit and determination in leading their kingdoms. The involvement of women during the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in the archipelago became an important momentum for women to rise further because not everything can be dominated by men. Among these kingdom leaders, the figure that researchers highlight is Gayatri Rajapatni. Gayatri was the daughter of Kertanegara (the last king of the Singhasari Kingdom). Gayatri married Raden Wijaya, the founder of the Majapahit Kingdom. Gayatri Rajapatni was a figure who was behind the scenes of Majapahit's glory.

In a study conducted by (Agustina & Wany, 2024) entitled "Analysis of Gayatri's Accountant's Power in the Tax Collection System during the Majapahit Kingdom," it was stated that Gayatri's economic policies, namely in the tax collection system, were the reason for Majapahit's glory at that time. In this study, the author not only examines Gayatri's economic policies but also how Gayatri contributed to the government, namely regarding royal decision-making and the political strategies implemented in building Majapahit. Before Singhasari collapsed, Kertanegara had a vision to unite the archipelago, but until Kertanegara's death, this vision could not be realized. Gayatri, as a daughter, then realized her father's vision through the kingdom founded by her husband (Raden Wijaya). Armed with Gayatri's interest in politics from a young age, Gayatri succeeded in exerting her influence on the development of Majapahit.

In providing her role, Gayatri did not have the legality as a queen, but instead helped Majapahit's political policies, giving birth to a successful government during her time (Arpriansyah & Hakim, 2023). Gayatri formed a great cadre named Maha Patih Gajah Mada who was later famous for his oath, namely the "palapa oath" (Wahyuni, 2016). Gayatri's participation in Majapahit's political policy-making shows that women have the same position in government as men (Fathoni, 2020). During the Majapahit reign, women obtained political positions and positions equal to men and received legal protection (Mu'aafi et al., 2022).

Gayatri shows that women also played a central role in the development of a large kingdom in the archipelago called Majapahit. The stigma of women with domestic affairs that developed in the view of traditional society can be broken with Gayatri's involvement in bringing Majapahit to reach the peak of its glory as one of the largest kingdoms that ever developed in the archipelago. Gayatri shows the empowerment of women to the challenges of government and strong and structured leadership. This study aims to increase women's motivation and participation in political decision-making so that it can increase women's representation in society and can help oversee and influence the policy-making process, thereby encouraging the process of developing gender-equitable policies (Suhra, 2018). In addition, this study also aims to add to the study of historical

literature, especially the history of women in ancient Java, which can be used as role models for the younger generation in navigating life in society.

RESEARCH METHOD

The author used a historical method in this research by conducting a literature study as his research technique. The historical method is the process of critically examining and analyzing records of past relics so that events that occurred in the past can be imaginatively reconstructed (Viranny & Wardhono, 2024) . The author obtained data and information for this study from secondary writings in the form of books and articles, which were analyzed by the author and then developed into a coherent historical writing. The results of this analysis were obtained by exploring, assessing, interpreting, and interpreting past facts so that they can then be analyzed to draw conclusions from an event that occurred. The informants in this research are historical activists, namely figures who studied the development of the Majapahit Kingdom who poured their ideas into a book which was then used as a reference by the author in compiling this research.

The stages of historical research conducted by the researcher in compiling this writing are as follows: First, the writing begins with data collection (heuristics) in the form of written sources including articles, journals, and books. Second, the researcher conducts source criticism where the researcher assesses the authenticity of the source both externally and internally (Birsyada, 2016). At this stage, the researcher sorts the information obtained then determines the information that is close to historical facts and determines information from primary or secondary sources. Third, interpretation. At this stage the researcher connects historical facts or events into a complete picture according to the sources obtained. Fourth, namely historiography, the researcher writes the history that has been done based on the facts that have been collected.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gayatri with the Gift of “Rajapatni” and “Prajnaparamita”

Gayatri was the daughter of Kertanegara, the last king of the Singhasari Kingdom. Gayatri had a personality that was the opposite of her sister. Gayatri presented herself as a simple, intellectual woman who did not emphasize her physical appearance like women in general (Arpriansyah & Hakim, 2023) . Gayatri received the title "Rajapatni" which is a special title that shows her position in the kingdom. "Rajapatni" means a wife who is a companion and is prioritized by the king. The title "Rajapatni" bestowed on Gayatri means "main" as well as being the beloved wife of Raden Wijaya. In addition to the title "Rajapatni" bestowed on her, Gayatri also received another honorary title, namely "Prajnaparamita" which means "supreme goddess of wisdom". In Mahayana Buddhism, Prajnaparamita refers to the personification or embodiment of the concept of perfect wisdom (Mahfudhoh, 2016). From this meaning, she succeeded in giving birth to a leader who was not only born in her womb, but also from honed wisdom and character (Bonga, 2021). The awarding of the title was based on Gayatri's social life in harmonizing her life experiences so that it became the trust of the people at that time (Jamil et al., 2018) . At that time, the Javanese people recognized the intellectual capacity that Gayatri possessed through the learning methods she took to understand the procedures of politics in everyday life. The embodiment of the majesty of the title held by Gayatri is evidenced by the existence of the Gayatri Statue at the Gayatri Temple located in Boyolangu, Tulungagung Regency, East Java. The respect for the Gayatri title is based on evidence of offerings to honor Gayatri and is written in Negarakertagama Pupuh 3.1. which reads:

"...in Bayalangu, the tomb temple of Sri Rajapatni will also be built. The priest Jnanawidi will again be assigned to bless the land. The plan has been approved by the minister demung Boja. Wisesapura is the name, when the temple is fully erected, it will be built. The tomb temple of Sri Rajapatni is famous as a sacred place. Every month Badrapada is decorated by ministers and priests. In each area, the people simultaneously make memorials and worship. That is so that the sueganya, the blessing of having sons, grandson of Narendra Utama"

Another proof of respect for Gayatri is the Saraddha ceremony. The Saraddha ceremony is a ceremony that was carried out on a large scale to honor Gayatri after her death. The reverence is told that in the sradda event, namely the event to commemorate the twelve years of Gayatri's death, precisely in 1362 AD, it was carried out with various offerings. It is said that in the Saraddha event, namely the event to commemorate the twelve years of Gayatri's death, precisely in 1362 AD, it was carried out with various offerings (Arpriansyah & Hakim, 2023). In Kakawin Negarakertagama pupuh 67.1 it is stated:

"The feast and serada held were all festive and solemn. It will surely make the soul of the deceased Sri Rajapatni happy. May he bestow blessings on the king. So that he will be victorious against enemies as long as there is the moon and the sun"

The ceremony lasted for eight days. This worship was a form of respect for Gayatri Rajapatni. The worship of Gayatri Rajapatni concluded with the placement of the Prajnaparamitha statue. In Kakawin Negarakertagama LXXII-LXXIV, it is stated that Gayatri's dharma was named Prajnaparamitapuri in Kamal Pandak and Wisesapura in Bhayalango (Yusuf, 2024). The location of this dharma is more often known as Gayatri Temple, located in Boyolangu District, Tulungagung Regency, East Java Province.

Gayatri Rajapatni and the Glory of Majapahit

Living in the palace environment with her father gave birth to Gayatri, a figure with a knack for acquiring knowledge from a young age. The title "Rajapatni" bestowed upon Gayatri is proof that she succeeded as a female teacher who successfully promoted the advancement of Majapahit's intellectual authority. In Javanese, the name Gayatri is proof that she was an intellectual teacher, spiritual, and controller of every royal policy. In Negarakertagama pupuh 44.4, which is written evidence of Kertanegara's ambition for his vision, it is stated that:

"Gayatri's way of still being able to achieve her father's vision through her husband as the first king of Majapahit, is a form of the image of the power of Javanese women in participating in decision-making."

There is a term in ancient Javanese society to represent women, namely "*wani ing tata*" which has the meaning of the conception of Batari Durga which places women as owners of more power in controlling men in everyday life (Jati, 2015). While in theological terms "*wani ing tata*" is called "*Ardhanareswari*" which has the meaning of balance between men as souls (*purusa*) and women as bodies (*pradana*). "*Ardhanareswari*" shows that Javanese women during the Hindu-Buddhist period had carried out their roles in the social, economic, legal, and religious fields.

Understanding the term "woman" according to Javanese society, Gayatri also exemplifies that women. Gayatri's role demonstrates that Javanese women can perform work outside the domestic sphere, namely as government policymakers, just like men (Yeni & Septiana, 2022). Gayatri's decision-making to continue her father's vision through Raden Wijaya's government represents a form of Javanese female power (Lutfillah, 2021). Gayatri's accomplishments as a behind-the-scenes figure in Majapahit's glory led her to a position as a woman with the highest self-esteem (Jamil et al., 2018). Gayatri's interest in statecraft grew as she frequently observed her father making decisions for the kingdom.

Gayatri understood the kingdom's political problems through imagination packaged in a cultural context and then applied it through everyday life with historical stories that she herself presented through wayang plays that were appropriate to the kingdom's problems. In this case, it means that Gayatri's historical reflection and imagination were used to face ongoing problems (Jamil et al., 2018). Gayatri's learning experience made her one of the hopes to bridge Kertanegara's ambitions in uniting the archipelago (Maftukhin, 2017). Some of Gayatri Rajapatni's leadership strategies in achieving Majapahit's glory are as follows:

Using the Cakrawala Mandala Political Tactics by Appointing Gajah Mada as the Kingdom's Prime Minister

The Cakrawala Mandala Policy was a political tactic used by Kertanegara during the Singhasari Kingdom by placing Arya Wiraraja in Sumenep to run the government, especially Madura. This political tactic was taught by Kertanegara to Gayatri in studying government science. After the collapse of the Singhasari Kingdom caused by the large number of troop deployments to Malay and Champa around 1292 AD, the dark period of the collapse of the Singhasari Kingdom did not last long. In *Negarakertagama* pupuh 44.4 it is written that the Singhasari Kingdom could be quickly restored with the presence of *Sri Nrpati* (Kertanegara's daughter, Sri Gayatri Rajapatni) and Kertanegara's son-in-law, Raden Wijaya (Lutfillah, 2021). Through Raden Wijaya, Gayatri realized Kertanegara's grand vision of uniting the archipelago. Her father's enthusiasm for the Cakrawala Mandala Policy tactic inherited from Gayatri was one of the reasons Raden Wijaya was attracted to Gayatri (Febianty, 2024).

Kertanegara possessed the characteristics of dynamic and expansionist leadership, which were later inherited by Gayatri. Various royal problems that arose at the beginning of the Majapahit Kingdom were resolved by Raden Wijaya thanks to Gayatri's encouragement and advice. The kingdom's internal problems were always influenced by Gayatri's intervention. Gayatri's knowledge of territorial expansion served as the initial capital in the implementation of government. Furthermore, Gayatri's position as the king's advisor was tasked with formulating initial strategies for building a new capital, restoring peace, and stabilizing the government in order to legitimize Raden Wijaya's status as the Majapahit throne. Raden Wijaya and Gayatri frequently discussed the priorities to achieve their vision. In these discussions, Gayatri often shared experiences with Raden Wijaya regarding discussions with her father, such as defense strategies against the threat of Khublai Khan and resolving conflicts of interest between the Singhasari Kingdom and the Kediri Kingdom. At that time, Khublai Khan's envoys demanded that members of the royal family be sent to the Khanbalik palace as hostages in order to submit to the Yuan Empire (Oktorino, 2020). From the discussion, Gayatri provided views on the kingdom's priorities, for example, uniting the newly established kingdom, improving the welfare of the people, and restoring cultural and economic relations with other countries (Lutfillah, 2021).

After Raden Wijaya's death, the throne fell to Jayanegara (Raden Wijaya's son with Tribhuaneswari). During his reign, the kingdom was unstable due to frequent rebellions. This unstable condition of the kingdom actually showed Gayatri a figure who could later bring progress to Majapahit. Gayatri saw Gajah Mada, an elite royal guard, as a figure with potential for Majapahit's progress. In her view, Gajah Mada possessed a strong intellectual capacity, especially in the field of government. For this reason, Gayatri planned to take Gajah Mada as a student who would later be guided in studying government.

As a palace guard, Gajah Mada played a role in saving Jayanegara during the Kuti rebellion. During the rebellion, Ra Kuti's troops were unable to fully control Majapahit due to the symbol of the Rajasa lineage held by Gayatri (Munandar, 2015). Gajah Mada's role in the rebellion was as *Bekel* (head of the special troops) of *Bhayangkara* (the king's bodyguard). Gajah Mada's strategic position earned him respect, in addition to Gajah Mada's firm stance in making decisions (Pangestika et al., 2019). During his duties, Gajah Mada showed extraordinary loyalty to Jayanegara. Gayatri clarified this loyalty to interpret his sincerity and asked Gajah Mada to compare the eras of leadership of each Majapahit king. However, Gajah Mada was not easily swayed because of his loyalty, until finally Gajah Mada was appointed Mahapatih Daha in 1330.

Gayatri began to instill ideological doctrines and government policies in Gajah Mada through a family approach (Wijaya, 2016). Gayatri subtly instilled her views to Gajah Mada regarding the differences in decision-making during the reigns of Raden Wijaya and Jayanegara. In every decision-making, Raden Wijaya prioritized decision-making through negotiation, while Jayanegara through armed confrontation. In this condition, Gajah Mada began to doubt the political policies implemented by Jayanegara and realized that Jayanegara's political policies caused chaos in the kingdom's political and economic stability. Gajah Mada's trust in Gayatri gradually

increased and Gayatri had unofficially become Gajah Mada's government teacher. In the midst of Gajah Mada's process of understanding royal politics, Gayatri encouraged Gajah Mada to overthrow Jayanegara. Until finally Jayanegara died and then the throne fell into the hands of Tribhuwanatunggadewi (Daughter of Raden Wijaya and Gayatri) who would later lay the foundations of Majapahit state politics (Ramadhan, 2020).

The power relations carried out through the marriage between Raden Wijaya and Gayatri were passed down to Tribhuwanatunggadewi with a shift in concept to become an educator of her successor so that she could become the leader of the kingdom (Pranidhi et al., 2022). This was done by Gayatri because when the royal throne that should have been held by her, was instead given to her daughter and she chose to become a *nun*. During her daughter's reign and without having the legality as a queen, Gayatri continued her father's vision to unite the archipelago. This effort was carried out by Gayatri with the spirit of Javanese asceticism where Gayatri shaped herself to have a willingness to give attention and tried to control her desires with *ascetic practices*. The ascetic practices carried out by Gayatri are described in Negarakertagama pupuh 69.1 and it is stated that:

"...The statue of Sri Rajapatni was blessed by the priest Jnyanawidi, was old, understood tantra, gathered religious knowledge, like the incarnation of Mpu Barada..."

The practice of asceticism, as mentioned, implies that self-liberation can be achieved by freeing oneself from selfishness (*pamrih*) or self-denial. This effort is a process of awakening through one's inner feelings. The feelings within a Gayatri are expressed through her tendency to protect, yield, and serve. Gayatri's devotion is recounted by Mpu Prapanca in Neagarakertagama pupuh 2.1, which states:

"...like the incarnation of Parama Bagawati covering the universe..."

Mpu Prapanca said that the greatness possessed by Gayatri was then depicted as Prajnaparamita, which has the meaning of the goddess of knowledge as the embodiment of the wisdom possessed by the figure of Gayatri.

In 1334, Tribhuwanatunggadewi appointed Gajah Mada as Prime Minister of Amungkubhumi (Rahmadania et al., 2022). In carrying out his duties, Gajah Mada was always guided by Gayatri, until he finally announced his policy to expand the kingdom's territory with the Amukti Palapa Oath upon his inauguration. Gayatri's efforts to achieve her vision were to expand Majapahit's territorial boundaries. Not through conquest, but through an offer to join a confederation led by Majapahit. This step was taken so that countries joining the Majapahit confederation would not be forced or feel colonized. In doing so, Majapahit maintained local governance and customs by collaborating in agriculture, trade, and defense. The underlying reason for this cooperation was the cultural and historical ties to the region that Gajah Mada mentioned during his oath. Gayatri made a suggestion to take the next big step by leading the nearest neighboring countries to re-enter Majapahit to maintain its sovereignty, involving international territories, and involving countries in the archipelago that had similarities with Java. It is written in the Serat Pararaton that there are regions that must recognize the glory of Majapahit including Gurun, Seran, Tanjung Pura, Haru, Pahang, Dampo, Bali, Sunda, Palembang, and Tumasik (Alpiyah & Purnengsih, 2019). Among these regions, Bali is an area that has attracted Gayatri's attention because of its traditional culture (Pangestika et al., 2019). In addition, Bali is an area where the Hindu-Buddhist teachings of Majapahit are embraced by rulers, priests, and farmers. Bali is also an area that implements a government system like that of the Majapahit era, namely by adopting a state constitutional law book called *Kutawarnana* or *Kutawarnawa* (Noorwatha, 2019).

Initiating the Formation of Independent Groups to Improve the Economy

The Majapahit Kingdom was a maritime and agrarian kingdom that relied on trade and agriculture (Nugroho & Novianto, 2022). Majapahit was strategically located near the Brantas River, and dozens of villages were exempt from taxes. This tax exemption was referred to as "*nadi tira pradesa*," meaning riverside villages. This term also implies that rivers played a vital role in trade and traffic (Safitri, 2015). Gayatri's educational background made her adept at analyzing royal issues, such as in her analysis of the Ronggolawe Rebellion. In this analysis, Gayatri criticized the

ties between the people of Tuban and Ronggolawe. Gayatri criticized Ronggolawe's method of gaining support from the Tuban community, even though her own family had no ties to the Tuban community (Kusumastuti, 2021).

As a strategic maritime kingdom, Gayatri then instructed Raden Wijaya to form a special or independent group, which would then be assigned to Tuban to conduct an outreach. The results of this outreach would later be used as a tool to compile a report on the aspirations, complaints, and suggestions of the Tuban people. The formation of this independent group eventually expanded beyond Tuban to include the port of Gresik and its surroundings. The formation of this independent team facilitated Raden Wijaya's study of the port's growth, which was inseparable from the active role of local traders and traders from outside Java. The port's rapid growth led to the creation of policies for Javanese ports.

The growth of the port occurred because traders who traded at the port did not simply wait for the arrival of foreign traders, but also transported their merchandise including rice and agricultural products to be exchanged for foreign products such as Chinese ceramics, textiles, and spices. The development of this port would later become the beginning of Islamization on the island of Java due to the close relationship between Malacca and the north coast of Java, namely Gresik and Tuban (Oktorino, 2020). To implement the maritime strategy, Gajah Mada was assisted by Admiral Nala's military fleet. Admiral Nala was a Resi or Mpu who participated in the development of the Majapahit region with his formidable and respected naval fleet. Thanks to the cooperation between Admiral Nala and Gajah Mada, the Brantas River became one of Majapahit's maritime sectors that was very vital in the life of the kingdom (Wijoyo, 2016). The formation of this independent team made the wheels of the Majapahit economy grow rapidly due to trade interactions carried out primarily by utilizing the port as a maritime asset owned by Majapahit.

Developing a Strategy to Unite Rural and Port Cities

After establishing an independent force and successfully fostering port growth, Gayatri's next step was to develop a strategy to foster the common good in Majapahit by uniting the countryside and port cities (Lutfillah, 2021). According to Gayatri, Majapahit's strategic position allowed for economic progress by combining agricultural potential and maritime trade. Majapahit's strategic position, situated on a rice granary and close to the port, targeted port visitors from outside Java. Gayatri did not develop this grand strategy alone; she held discussions with Raden Wijaya. The discussion between Raden Wijaya and Gayatri resulted in the decision to accept equal numbers of merchants and intellectuals. According to the Trowulan inscription, these intellectuals comprised tax officials, port officials (including accountants), and judges (Lutfillah, 2021).

Gayatri's important role in developing the port is told in Cheng Ho's expedition from China with the leader of the Huan . It is known that Cheng Ho visited Majapahit during the reign of Wikramawardhana (Atmodjo, 2017). The expedition revealed that Southeast Asian ports lacked the abundant supply of vegetables found in Java. The expedition's findings demonstrate that port management in Java was far superior to that in Southeast Asia. The presence of rivers in the Majapahit region provided the potential for developing the kingdom's economic conditions. Large rivers such as the Brantas, Porong, and Brangkal served as key access points for trade. In addition to serving as trade routes, these rivers also served as transportation routes between villages located near the waterways.

The existence of rivers as trade routes connecting villages led to rapid development, making them centers of trade, shipping, and ferry services. Goods carried by large ships would later be distributed using small boats and resold by the community to meet their daily needs. As a link between regions and centers of civilization, the existence of rivers during the Majapahit era contributed positively to economic development. Furthermore, rivers also supported the government in carrying out diplomatic, political, religious, and cultural activities. The success of the Gayatri in uniting rural areas and port cities indicates that Majapahit's maritime sector was well utilized for the welfare of its people, thus supporting the kingdom's economic condition.

Initiating the Establishment of the Kingdom's Legal System

In order to strengthen Gayatri's power, important issues regarding domestic policy and the kingdom's legal system began to be created. Gayatri's desired legal system was one that could replace the many traditional and religious sanctions, the implementation of which was often overlapping and confusing (Lutfillah, 2021). This overlapping situation prompted Gajah Mada to seek assistance from government legal experts, ultimately resulting in the drafting of the *Kutaramanawa Dharmasastra*, which encompassed both criminal and civil regulations. The regulation consisted of 271 articles addressing various topics that were problematic for the kingdom. These laws regulated aspects of social life, from buying and selling to environmental management, and the principle of equality before the law, regardless of social status (Utami et al., 2024).

The division of castes in the Majapahit social system is also regulated in these regulations. The term caste was used by the Majapahit people when they controlled sovereignty over their territory in the archipelago (Poetri, 2024). The obligations of each color or caste have been strictly regulated and in its implementation and are non-negotiable because they are based on the law book (Alit et al., 2022). In its application, Majapahit law emphasizes the principle of social justice which includes protection for all social groups and the protection of women. As a kingdom with a maritime axis that carries out trade relations with outside communities, Majapahit strictly enforced its royal regulations so that its ambition to make Majapahit the maritime axis of the Nusantara kingdom could be realized properly. In achieving the vision of the empire that was proclaimed, Majapahit enforced its laws and regulations on every asset and potential it owned as a means of controlling what had become the kingdom's vision.

Initiating the Establishment of the King's Advisory Council

The king's advisory council was formed to provide guidance to the king in making various royal decisions before the decisions were implemented. The Majapahit government system refers to the Penanggalan Charter of 1296 where the positions contained in the government refer to the government of the Kadiri Kingdom and the Singhasari Kingdom (Achmad, 2019). As a large kingdom with all its conquered territories, Majapahit had a neat government structure where power was held by the king as the incarnation of the highest god (Fahmi, 2023). The government structure as mentioned above was carried out by Gayatri's grandson, Hayam Wuruk. The formation of the king's advisory council is directly proportional to the Mandala system implemented by Kertanegara in the Singhasari Kingdom. This tradition continued to be maintained until Hayam Wuruk's hands through the relationships established by Gayatri. The future of the Mandala Horizon Politics, reached its peak during Hayam Wuruk's reign where the areas that had not been conquered by Majapahit through Gajah Mada's Palapa Oath would later be united (Susilo & Sofiarini, 2018).

The king's advisory council was formed as a composition in the young king's government under the name Bhatarasapta and included the families of his two daughters because it was related to the honor of the royal dynasty (Lutfillah, 2021). The name of the king's advisory council was taken from Pahom Narendra, which was an institution at the level of the supreme advisory council in the kingdom and consisted of seven kings. In his government structure, the king was assisted by bureaucratic officials who were the sons and relatives of the king with the highest positions. The king's orders were passed down to officials below him, including Rakryan Mahamantri Katrini, held by the king's son, Rakryan Mantri ri Pakira-kiran (council of ministers with duties in the field of government), *Dharmmadhyaksa* (religious law official), and *Dharmma-upapatti* (religious official). Rakryan Mantri ri Pakira-kiran was the most important official called Rakryan Mapatih or Patih Hamangkubhumi. The official who occupied this position was the prime minister who worked together with the king and participated in implementing government policies. There is also a Bhatarasaptaprabhu or royal advisory council consisting of the king's children and brothers (Z. Setiawan, 2022).

Putting Accountants in Charge of the Territory

Gayatri positions accounting power as a means to expand the area of domination (Lutfillah, 2021). The power of accounting during the Majapahit era was the result of a perfect collaboration

between economic and military knowledge, interconnected with each other. Economic knowledge in the Majapahit kingdom was carried out through a structured administrative system, while military knowledge was carried out through royal knights in conquering territories. Majapahit had a military strategy aimed at conquering certain territories and recognizing the sovereignty of the king in those areas to maintain sovereignty over their own territory. In expanding the territory of power, accountants played a significant role in maintaining detailed financial records and reports, as well as sustainable development.

Gayatri's existence as an accountant places her inextricably linked to social, political, and institutional practices. According to Gayatri, accounting power is an understanding of the expansion of a realm of power that is not only synonymous with violence but also a system of spiritual, subjective (feeling), and altruistic elements (Lutfillah, 2021). Gayatri implemented the accounting system through consolidation encompassing territory, politics, economics, and spirituality. Consolidation was carried out by utilizing land for agriculture and establishing *sima* (rules of inheritance) by the king, whose purpose was to maintain local governance and customs while remaining united in achieving common goals in agriculture, trade, and defense (Kamayanti et al., 2022). Gayatri's accounting forms values in a single entity consisting of material (extent of power) and spiritual aspects.

Gayatri's accounting authority is dynamic. Accounting can change and evolve over time depending on where it is placed. Each Majapahit region and each country that established cooperative relations with Majapahit had autonomy to determine the meaning and form of accounting. The autonomy granted was a form of control over accounting authority that not only regulated the responsibilities, rights, and obligations of the region, but also its relationship with God (Agustina & Wany, 2024). In its implementation, autonomy was not directly supervised by the military government. However, regions that violated this authority would receive a curse (*sapatha*). In implementing policies regarding Gayatri's accounting authority, Majapahit imposed business restrictions on types of objects exempt from taxation so that tax exemption rights could be controlled (Setiawan, 2022). The taxes in question were land tax, business tax, professional tax, foreigner tax, and natural resource exploitation tax. With taxes as a source of royal income, in addition to trade revenues, the royal court provided taxation information to the Majapahit people, covering taxes and business restrictions, tax objects and collection criteria, tax collection mechanisms, allocation of tax revenues, and various issues related to the tax collection system. Gayatri utilized accounting powers in the *sima* system and royal tax collection. This was done to ensure stable cash flow in and out of the economic cycle.

CONCLUSION

Gayatri Rajapatni proved that women have equal standing in politics and government. This broke the stigma of traditional society that considered women only have power in the domestic sphere. Through political strategy and the religious spirit in Gayatri, the vision of the Majapahit empire to unite the archipelago, which was Kertanegara's ideal, was successfully realized. With the help of Prime Minister Gajah Mada, through the recitation of the *Amukti Palapa* Oath, Majapahit had succeeded in conquering its territory. In realizing her vision, Gayatri recognized and developed Majapahit's potential as an agricultural and maritime kingdom. The conquest of territory was carried out without violence but rather by establishing trade relations by granting regional autonomy to the conquered territories. Gayatri's role in achieving Majapahit's glory was crucial. For example, she placed accountants as central figures in the kingdom's economic cycle. Her thoroughness in harmonizing government knowledge and religious spirit made it easy for Majapahit to control the territories under her control. For Gayatri's various central roles in Majapahit, the community pays tribute to her in the *Saraddha* ceremony, which is held to honor her services in achieving Majapahit's glory. Based on the research conducted, the author hopes that all elements of society will preserve and protect historical evidence of the Majapahit Kingdom, even though its form and structure are no longer perfect. This is because this historical evidence represents one of the remaining manifestations of the Majapahit Kingdom's glory, and its stories

can be passed down to future generations, encouraging them to appreciate the nation's cultural history.

The researcher hopes that this study can provide a shared learning experience, especially for those studying history. This study was written based on literature related to the research topic, which certainly has limitations in its writing. Therefore, the author hopes for a sustainable impact from this writing, so that there will be future updates regarding the research produced in this paper. The author realizes that in conducting this writing, there are still many limitations that need to be addressed so that this study can be more comprehensive. It is important to note that historical studies will be more interesting if the topic of discussion is examined in more depth by everyone who studies it and collaborates in creating arguments so that the study can be developed further and more broadly. Therefore, the author hopes for input and suggestions from all parties who have read this paper so that it can be further developed. This development is very important because existing historical evidence can be subjective, so there is a great opportunity for activists to discuss it with each other based on existing facts, data, and sources.

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