

Harihara Headgears as A Symbol of Religious Symbiosis during the Majapahit Period (13th to 15th Century) in Java

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ABSTRACT

During the era of Hindu-Buddhist Kingdoms in Indonesia, Hinduism flourished, as evidenced by the discovery of temples and statues. While the main sect of that day is Sivaism, there is evidence of the worship of other gods, especially Visnu, as shown by the Harihara or Shankaranarayana statue, which portrays Viṣṇu and Śiva in one body. During the Late Classical era in Indonesia (11th to 15th century AD), several depictions of Harihara were found in statues of kings and deities. A major thing that can be recognized from the Harihara statue is the headgear. According to Silpaśāstra Manasara, Hindu literature that served as canon in the visual portrayal of deities, Harihara is depicted with half *jaṭāmukūṭa* and half *kirīṭāmukūṭa* to represent the unity of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Nevertheless, in the Harihara statues found in East Java, while there are several variations of headgear, these characteristics are absent. This paper aims to highlight the issue, by focusing on the variations of the headgear and symbols attached to it, by using morphological analysis with an iconographic approach. It is found there are three tendencies in how Harihara statues' headgears are portrayed during the Late Classical Era: as *jaṭāmukūṭa*, *kirīṭāmukūṭa*, and the amalgamation of these two headgears, in which *jaṭāmukūṭa* is represented by the roundel or swirling patterns on the body of a truncated cone-shaped headgear that is resembled. It is concluded that this representation is related to the statue's function as a manifestation of the Devaraja concept, which is to align the king's image and characters with the image of the Gods. Harihara is normally used to represent the balance and duality of the king; Visnu's *kirīṭāmukūṭa* is used to represent the status of the king as the ruler that maintains the order of his kingdom, while Siva's *jaṭāmukūṭa* is used to represent the ascetic side. Meanwhile, when the two crowns fusions, it represents that there is no definite segregation between those two roles. It also indicates the rise of the Harihara sect during the era, which can be linked to the political purpose to unify the different beliefs and factions during that tumultuous period.

Keywords: *Harihara, Headgears, Iconography, Java, Majapahit*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Pluralism is one of the characteristics of religious life during the Majapahit era in Java (thirteenth to sixteenth century CE). Ancient kakawin such as Desawarnana (Negarakertagama) and Sutasoma (fourteenth century CE) mentioned that several religions were present during this era: Siwaism, Buddhism, Rsi, and indigenous beliefs (Kusen, Atmosudiro, and Adrisijanti 1993). Several tombstones from Hayam Wuruk's era that are discovered in Trowulan, the center of Majapahit. The headstones were carved with both Arabic and Javanese inscriptions and decorated with centripetal rays of light that are often found in Hindu-Buddha buildings and statues, showing that at the time, Islam has already been embraced by a few members of the royal family. This proof indicated the open-minded nature of Majapahit's society and culture, not only its tolerance towards another culture in socio-economic nature but also its readiness to adopt elements from other cultures and integrate them

Pluralism in Indonesia, especially during the Hindu and Buddha kingdom period, has a long history even before the Majapahit era. The existence of multiple religious practices in the same era was found at least since the Tarumanagara period (5th century CE), as proved by the discovery of Buddhist temples in Batujaya, West Java (Djafar 2010), while the inscriptions dated back from the fourth to eighth century BCE shows strong indication of Hinduism. Pluralism entered a new height in the Central Javanese kingdoms era (Ancient Mataram, 8th century CE), as mentioned in the Klurak inscription, dated back from 728 CE. While the discovery of Śivaism and

Buddhism temples indicated that these two religions have separated places of worship and distinct religious practices, the inscription noted that the two religions were considered equal, and even have the same concept of truth (Sedyawati and Subroto 1993: 4-5). Further evidence during Kediri, Singasari, up until Majapahit kingdoms period in East Java (10th to 16th century CE) suggested that not only different gods were worshipped at the same period, but also that they were sometimes regarded as one or equal, even worshipped at the same site, that in some cases, they indicated the practice of syncretism.

One of the artifacts that show this tendency is the Harihara statues. Harihara statues are unique objects in the study of the Classical Era in Java, not only because they portray two different gods worshipped by two different sects in one body, but also because they indicated the religious and political aspects of the society during that time. Harihara cult originated from South India, but gained popularity in Southeast Asia, particularly in Cambodia. Harihara worship was seen as a solution for the antagonism between two opposing cults in India, Śivaism and Vaisnava, that contended for state patronage and often lead to malevolence (Sharma 2009). In line with India, Cambodia also used Harihara worship for the same reason, starting from the 6th or 7th century (Lavy 2003). It is assumed that Harihara worship in Indonesia originated from and influenced by the Khmer kingdom in Angkor, Cambodia (Jaya 2015).

Since it portrays two main gods in the Hindu pantheon, Śiva and Viṣṇu, Harihara is pictured using attributes of both gods. In Hindu tradition, the right part of Harihara bears the attributes of Śiva (Hari), while the left part is Viṣṇu (Hara). The left part is often depicted as female with ample bosom, since due to his nurturing nature, Viṣṇu is often considered feminine. The portrayal of Harihara as half man, half woman, is also known as Harihara Ardhanari. Harihara Ardhanari is often confused with the Ardhanari statue that depicted Śiva and his consort, Parvati. Nevertheless, while Harihara Ardhanari is still portrayed with some Viṣṇu attributes, the Ardhanari statue only shows Śiva or the amalgamation of Śiva and Parvati's attributes.

In Cambodia, the existence of the Harihara cult was supported by the discovery of a temple dedicated to the deity and the naming of the kings (*abhiseka*) as Harihara. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, while several depictions of Harihara were discovered in the form of statues, it is not known if any temples are dedicated solely to the amalgamation image of Harihara. The earliest statue that is identified as Harihara that is known today was found in Pejaten, Batang, and now is part of Ronggowarsito Museum's collection, Semarang (Figure 1a). Based on its style, it is concluded that this statue is dated from the Early Classical Era, around the 5th to 6th century CE, roughly from the same time as the Vishu I of Cibuaya statue. This statue was previously identified as Viṣṇu, based on its crown and the appearance of a conch shell and a ring that is identified as a disc (*chakra*), both are Viṣṇu's *lakṣaṇas*, thus placed the statue within the same scope of the rising Vaisnava sect during the early age of Hinduism in Indonesia. Nevertheless, since this statue shows that the *lakṣaṇas* belong to Viṣṇu and Śiva because the ring could be referred to a rosary (*aksamala*) rather than a *chakra*, later study suggested that instead of only depicting one god, this statue is an amalgamation or fusion of both gods, known as Harihara (Indradjaja and Degroot 2018).

Another Harihara statue was found in Dieng (Figure 1b). The style of art and iconography suggested that this statue dated from the Middle Classical Era, roughly during the 8th to 11th century AD. This statue is identified as Harihara due to the *lakṣaṇas* that were attributed to two gods: a conch shell on his right hand that belongs to Viṣṇu and a horsetail whip (*camara*) on his left hand that belongs to Śiva.



Figure 1 Harihara statues from Pre-Classical and Early Classical Era, from left to right: a) Harihara of Pejaten, Batang (Indradjaja and Degroot 2018), b) Harihara of Dieng (Ania 2016)

A major thing that can be recognized from Harihara statues, as practiced in India and Cambodia, is the headgear. According to Silpasastra Manasara as canon in the visual portrayal of gods, both parts of gods are depicted with their headgears (Sharma 2009). Therefore, Harihara statues show two types of headgear side by side. Śiva is depicted on the right side with *jaṭāmukūṭa*, while Viṣṇu is depicted on the left side with *kirīṭamukūṭa*. An example of this is the Harihara statue from Karnataka Temple, Mysore, South India, which originated from Hoysala Dynasty, 10th to 14th century.



Figure 2 Harihara sculptures from India, from left to right: a) Stele depicted Harihara, Buddha, and Surya. Bihar, Kusana period, 1st to 4th century CE (Archaeological Survey of India 1932); b) Harihara's relief, Vishnu Temple, Badami. Calukya dynasty, 6th to 9th century CE of Dieng (de Leeuw 1956)

Nevertheless, in the Harihara statues found in East Java, while there are several variations of headgear, these characteristics are absent. From preliminary observation to some of Harihara statues as found in Central and East Java, each statues depicted only one type of headgear. These statues were identified as Harihara due to other attributes (*lakṣaṇa*) which show symbols that represented both Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is assumed that presentation of a certain type of headgear on Harihara statue was a deliberate choice that was related to social or religio-political

context of the era. This paper aims to highlight the issue, by focusing on the variations of the headgears and symbols attached to it, and the reason behind the portrayals.

2.METHODOLOGY

This research is performed by using qualitative methodology. Analysis is performed mainly using morphologic and stylistic analysis with classical iconographic approach according to Manasara (Rao 1997; Acharya 1980), in which the headgears are identified through their specific characteristics and classified based on its typology. To understand the reason behind the portrayal of headgears, historical contextual analysis is used by connecting the tendency of the portrayal of headgears with historical background, including culture, religion, and social context.

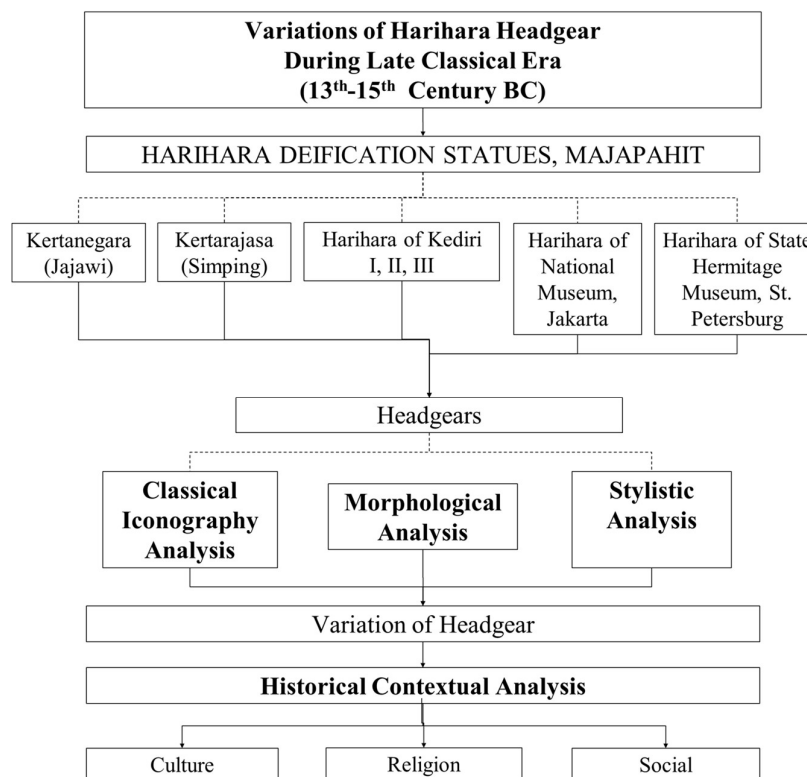


Figure 3 Research Mindmap

The object study in this research is the Harihara statues originated from East Java. There are seven Harihara statues found in the area, all of them are free in the sense that they are not attached to their temple of origin. All objects are presumably originated from Late Classical Era (Majapahit kingdom, 13th to 15th century AD). The objects are:

- Deification statue of King Kertanegara as Harihara, Jawi Temple
- Deification statue of King Kertarajasa as Harihara, Simpang Temple
- Harihara statue I, II, and III, collection of Airlangga Museum, Kediri
- Harihara statue, collection of Museum Bagawanta Bhari, Kediri
- Harihara statue, collection of National Museum, Jakarta

3.RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This paper is focused on the portrayal of Harihara's headgear during Late Classical Era in Java, specifically Majapahit Era (13th to 15th century).

3.1 Harihara statue, collection of State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg



Figure 4 Harihara of Candi Jawi, assumed as deification statue of King Kertanegara of Singasari, early 14th century
 (Pullen 2021)

Since statues from Kediri to Singasari period are still not completely unearthed yet, records of Harihara statues from this era are still lacking. The oldest Harihara statues from this era that is known today was assumed to depict the late king from previous kingdom, King Kertanegara of Singasari (Fig. 4). The king had died during Jayakatwang's *coup d'état* on 1292, which also marked the end of Singasari and the birth of Kadiri kingdom. Later, Raden Wijaya (King Kertarajasa Jayanegara), Kertanegara's nephew and son in law, avenged the death of his father-in-law and built a new kingdom, Majapahit. He painted himself and his kingdom as the true successor of the Singasari kingdom, by linking his genealogical line to the founder of Singasari kingdom. It was during his reign, the commemoration of his father in law's death was taken. It is unclear if Kertanegara's deification statues were made during Raden Wijaya's reign or before. Nevertheless, the statue from the late Singasari era bears many resemblances with statues from early Majapahit era.

Negarakertagama (Desawarnana) noted that there are two statues that portrayed Kertanegara as deities, one as Buddha-Aksobya and the other one as Śiva. These statues were originally placed in Jajawi Temple, unfortunately through a series of events in time, those statues are not where they belonged anymore. Buddha Aksobya statue was reported missing since around 14th century, and a statue that was regarded as King Kertanegara's portrait was found in Surabaya, traditionally known as Joko Dolog. Meanwhile, the Śiva statue took a long journey abroad: from Indonesia. Even though in Desawarnana, it was said that Śiva's statue was still located at Jajawi Temple at the time of Hayam Wuruk's reign, during Dutch occupation period, it was shipped to Germany and later to Russia. In his dissertation and book, Leslie S. Pullen noted that the aforementioned statue is now being part of the collection of State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Pullen 2021).

A study on the *lakṣaṇas* of the statue leads to the conclusion that instead of Śiva, the statue is portraying Harihara Ardhanari. Out of three *lakṣaṇas*, only the rosary that is regarded as Śiva's attribute (the rosary/ aksamala), while the winged conch shell (*sankha*) and bludgeon (*gada*) are Viṣṇu's attributes. The ample bosom on the left part of the body shows that in this statue, Viṣṇu is portrayed in his feminine representation.

3.2 Deification statue of King Kertarajasa as Harihara, Simping Temple



Figure 5 Harihara of Candi Simping, deification statue of King Kertarajasa of Majapahit, early 14th century
 (Museum Nasional Indonesia 2019)

The most prominent Harihara statue known until recently is a statue originating from Candi Simping, East Java (Fig. 5), from the early 14th century. Today, this statue is part of the collection of the National Museum, Jakarta with registration number 103a/256 (Museum Nasional Indonesia 2019). This statue is mentioned in *Dasawarnana* (Nagarakertagama) scripture as the embodiment statue of Raden Wijaya (King Kertarajasa Jayawardhana), the first king of Majapahit (Saktiani 2016). The fact that Harihara became the subject of the embodiment statue shows its significance to the kingdom's historical background. Furthermore, the discovery of the Harihara statue also indicates the rise of a sect during the era, that can be linked to the political purpose to unify the different beliefs and factions during that tumultuous period.

Although in this statue, Raden Wijaya is portrayed in the same figure as his father-in-law, there are some obvious differences, especially in the choice of *lakṣaṇas* and clothings. While Kertanegara was portrayed more as Śiva, or at least have the almost balanced representation of both Śiva and Viṣṇu, Raden Wijaya was highly portrayed as Viṣṇu. This is indicated by the amount of *lakṣaṇas* that are attributed to Viṣṇu and the type of headgear. Out of four *lakṣaṇas* that are presented, three of them (winged *sankha*, flaming disc, and bludgeon) are Viṣṇu's attributes, while the *lakṣaṇa* which symbolize Śiva is only the rosary (*akṣamala*).

In this statue, Harihara is portrayed with headgear in the shape of truncated cone. The side of the headgear is flat and angled, making the headgear is more in the shape of a frustum of a pyramid. This shape of headgear is attributed to Viṣṇu, but in Manasara, it was noted that this shape is also can be used by high kings. Therefore, using this type of headgear is not only portraying the deceased in the image of God, but also to emphasize the status as king.

3.3 Harihara statues from Kediri

Other than these statues, there are some statues with ambiguous attributes that are formerly identified as Harihara. Two statues originated from Kediri were recorded in the old photographs by Claire Holt (1934) and Isidore van Kinsbergen (1866), and available in digital copy at Leiden University Library Digital Collection. Both were portrayed in rigid, meditative state, thus lead to the assumption that both are deification statues. This assumption was even more supported by the physical and stylistic characteristics of Middle Majapahit art, showed that even though these statues were found in Kediri, they are built during Majapahit era, roughly around 13th to 15th century CE. Unfortunately, there are no indication regarding the identity of the nobles or monarchs that were portrayed.



Figure 6 Harihara statue from Kediri, from left to right: a) Harihara of Kediri I, 14th century (Holt 1934); b) recent photograph of Harihara of Kediri I, currently located at Airlangga Museum, Kediri (photograph taken by author, 2021)

The Harihara of Kediri I was found at Punden Reco Guru, Bandar Lor, Kediri (Fig. 6). It was previously placed on Kediri Square, but later was moved to Airlangga Museum, Kediri. This statue is registered with serial number 116/KDR/96 and can be viewed through Airlangga Museum Virtual Tour. The statue is made of andesite, its dimension is 255 x 112 x 65 cm, regarded as the biggest deification statue in East Java that is known until today. The characteristic of andesite statues from East Java is that they were made of more porous material, therefore they are more vulnerable than andesite statues from Central Java. Old photograph taken by Claire Holt on 1934 (Fig. 4a) shows it in its prime condition, but recent photograph taken on 2021 (Fig. 4b) shows that there are some damages to the statue. Due to the damage, in which the right hand of the statue that hold trident was missing, in the official information given by Airlangga Museum, the statue is identified as Viṣṇu.

The identification of this statue as Harihara was based on the amalgamation of Viṣṇu and Śiva's *lakṣaṇas*, as shown in Holt's photographs, in which the figure was shown holding a trident (*trisula*) on its back-right hand, a lotus (*padma*) which was carved as winged conch-shell (*sankha*) on its back-left hand, a lotus on its front-right hand, and a bludgeon (*gada*) on its front-left hand. A trident is Śiva's *lakṣaṇa*, while conch-shell and bludgeon are Viṣṇu's attributes, thus lead to the conclusion that this figure is Harihara. Even though the statue was found on Kediri, the artistic style of this statue shows resemblance to the Majapahit style, thus placed this statue to Majapahit era, around 13th to 15th century CE.



Figure 7 Harihara of Kediri II, 14th to 15th century (photograph taken by author, 2021)

Another Harihara statue that is now located at Airlangga Museum, Kediri (Fig. 7), portrays the god in smaller size. The dimension of the statue is 122 x 47 x 33 cm, made of andesite stone. Half of the head is already broken, but the right side of its head shows that this figure is wearing *jaṭāmukūṭa*, a crown made of tangles of hair that is attributed to Śiva. Its identity as Harihara was shown through the appearance of Viṣṇu's *lakṣaṇa*, that is a winged conch-shell on its back-right hand, and Śiva's *lakṣaṇa*, a horse-tail whisk on his back-left hand. Unfortunately, both of its front hands are already missing. Although the exact origin of this statue is unknown, based on the two potted lotuses that flanked the main figure, it is concluded that the statue is made in Majapahit era.

The third Harihara statue from Kediri (Fig. 8) is now part of the collection of Bagawanta Bhari Museum, Kediri. This statue is 75cm in height, including the double *padmasana*, place it within the highest percentile of small-sized category. The width is 35 cm, and the thickness is 20 cm. Compared to the other statues, this statue's costume style is the most simple. This statue is using *kirīṭamukūṭa* with flat top



Figure 8 Harihara of Kediri III, collection of Bagawanta Bhari Museum no. 244, Kediri (photograph taken by author, 2021)

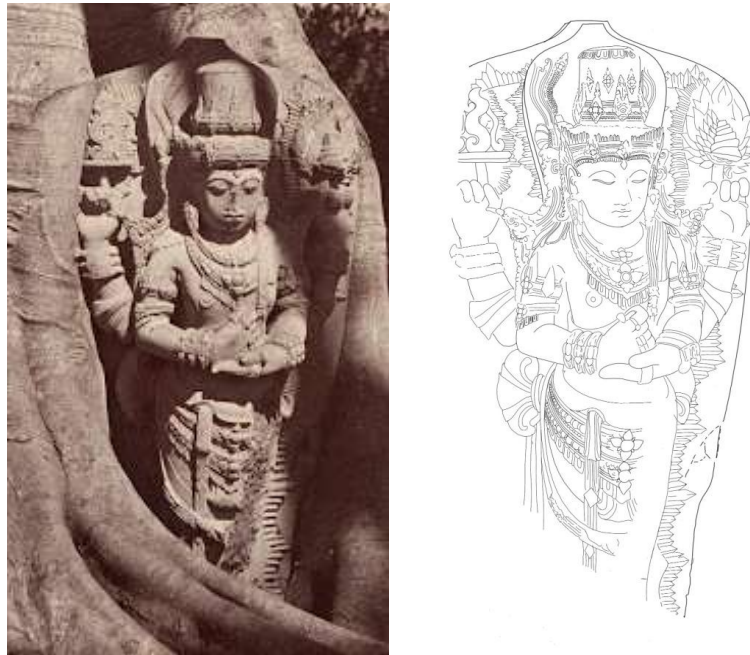


Figure 9 Harihara statue of unknown origin, museum number 256 (Kinsbergen 1866)

The fourth Harihara statue from Kediri (Fig 9) was photographed by Isadora von Kinsbergen in 1966. The statue is registered with museum number 256b and now being inventorized in the National Museum, Jakarta. This statue clearly presents Majapahit art style characteristic, that is the sentripetal sunrays that surrounds the whole body of the main figure. Based on this characteristic, it is assumed that the statue was made around the 14th to 15th century CE. This statue features Harihara with rounded *kirīṭamukūṭa*. The shape of *kirīṭamukūṭa* is slightly curvy, with flat top. The body of *kirīṭamukūṭa* itself is plain, but its base is decorated with some rhombus-shaped decorative pieces with sharp tip (*simbar*).

3.4 Harihara statue, collection of National Museum, Jakarta, no. 938a

It is noteworthy to mention other Harihara statues with unknown origin, that is now placed in National Museum, Jakarta, with register number 938a (Fig. 10a) The portrait of the statue here was taken by Kern Institute, between 1863 and 1956. This statue is different from the other statues, mainly because it holds a bludgeon on his front-left hand, as opposed to on his front-left hand like the other Harihara statues from this era.

3.5 Harihara statue, collection of State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg




Another statue that is now being part of the collection of State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Fig. 10b) is portrayed Harihara in smaller size than the rest of deification statues. Though this statue bears the Majapahit statue's characteristics, that are the rigidity of the posture and the existence of two potted lotuses that flank the main figure, it doesn't show the centripetal rays that frequently appear in Majapahit statues, known as *Surya Majapahit*. The absence of *Surya Majapahit* characterized Majapahit style on its earlier stage, around Early to Middle Majapahit period, thus placed its origin to around 14th to 15th century AD.

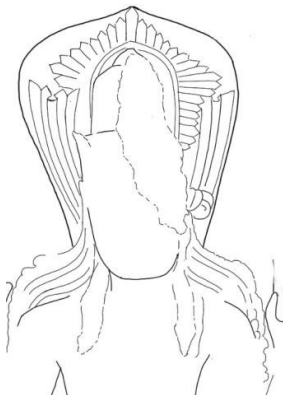






Figure 10. Harihara statues from East Java, exact location unknown, from left to right: a) Harihara, exact origin unknown, currently located at National Museum, Jakarta (Kern Institute 1863); b) Harihara, exact origin unknown, currently located at State Heritage Museum, 14th-15th century (Deshpande, 2016)

In Table 1, headgears that are portrayed in these statues are identified based on its shape and ornaments, according to Manasara (Rao 1997). Next, the headgears are classified into three categories: *jaṭāmukuṭa* for strands of hair shaped in twisted conical shape, *kirīṭāmukuṭa* for crowns shaped in cut conical shape or upside-down pot, and amalgamation or fusion *kirīṭāmukuṭa* and *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

Table 1. Classification of the Types of Harihara's Headgear During Late Classical Era

No	<i>Jaṭāmukuṭa</i>	<i>Kirīṭāmukuṭa</i>	Amalgamation between <i>jaṭāmukuṭa</i> and <i>kirīṭāmukuṭa</i>
1			
Name	Harihara of Jawi Temple, deification statue of Kertanegara, last king of Singasari	Harihara of Kediri I, deification statue of unknown monarch	Harihara of Jawi Temple, the deification statue of Kertarajasa, the first king of Majapahit
Location	State Heritage Museum, St. Petersburg	Airlangga Museum, Kediri	National Museum, Jakarta
Place of origin	Jawi Temple, Prigen. Pasuruan	Punden Reco Guru, Bandar Lor, Kediri	Simping Temple, Sumberjati, Blitar

Date	Late 13 th – early 14 th century	14 th century	Early 14 th century
2			
Name	Harihara of Kediri II	Harihara of Kediri III	Harihara
Loca-tion	Airlangga Museum, Kediri		State Heritage Museum, St. Petersburg
Place of origin	East Java (exact location unknown)	Kediri, East Java (exact location unknown)	
Date	14 th century	14 th to 15 th century	14 th to 15 th century
3			
Name	Harihara		Harihara
Location	National Museum, Jakarta		State Heritage Museum, St. Petersburg
Place of origin	East Java (exact location unknown)		East Java (exact location unknown)
Date	13 th – 15 th century		14 th to 15 th century

Based on the data in Table 1, it was found that Harihara statues during the Late Classical Era in Java are mainly portrayed with two types of headgear: *jaṭāmukuta* which is the attribute of Śiva and *kirīṭāmukuta* that is attributed to Viṣṇu. None of the statues uses two types of headgear side by side as depicted in Silpasastra Manasara. Nevertheless, another type depicts the headgear as amalgamation or fusion between those two types of headgear. Rather than pictured them side by side, these statues used one type of headgear (*kirīṭāmukuta*) as the base shape, adorned with circular and swirling patterns that resembled the spiraling twists of hair on *jaṭāmukuta*.

Religious life during Singasari and Majapahit periods are colored by pluralism. Based on that fact, the depiction of the king as Harihara can be perceived as painting the kings in the image of God. As an amalgamation of Viṣṇu and Śiva, Harihara represents two opposite but balanced power, thus portraying kings as Harihara represents the king as the unifier and balancer of the kingdom. From a political perspective, with evidence of the Harihara statue

as the embodiment of Kertanegara, the embodiment of Raden Wijaya as Harihara can be seen as a legitimate effort to show himself as the son-in-law of Kertanegara and the legitimate successor of the Singasari breed. What needs to be underlined is the fact that Majapahit was founded after overthrowing Kediri, which first brought down Singasari. The emphasis on the status as heir to Singasari is genealogical legitimacy for Majapahit to establish and maintain its power, which is then strengthened by religious foundations through divine imagery. The emphasis on the aspect of Viṣṇu is also an analogical representation of Raden Wijaya as the avatar of Viṣṇu who eradicates wrath and restores balance to the world.

4.CONCLUSION

Harihara is chosen as the representative image not only due to the rise of the Harihara sect, but also to build the king's image in both Śiva and Viṣṇu's image, since Harihara is a symbol for protector, unifier, also balancing forces in the world. At the beginning of Majapahit, this also served the political purpose, that is to paint the image of Raden Wijaya as Kertanegara's successor and the unifier of the kingdom.

It is found that there are three tendencies in how Harihara statues' headgears are portrayed during the Majapahit era: as *jaṭāmukūṭa*, *kirīṭāmukūṭa*, and the amalgamation of these two headgears. The majority are using *kirīṭāmukūṭa*, a crown attributed to Viṣṇu, while carrying the mixed symbols of the two gods. The choice of headgear is assumed related to the statue's function to align the king's image and characters with the image of the Gods. Toward the end of the Majapahit era, the amalgamation of these two headgears was taken shape in the form of a truncated cone or frustum of pyramid-shaped headgear, with roundel and swirling patterns on its side to represent *jaṭāmukūṭa*. The use of Viṣṇu's attributes as the model of headgear shows the need to picture the deceased in the image of the god, that is as the ruler of the universe. Furthermore, this shows the relation between the Devaraja concept behind the making of deification statues and the alignment of microcosm and macrocosm in the Indian mandala concept.

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