

ASSYMETRICAL AMALGAMATION: IMBALANCED PORTRAYAL OF VISHNU AND SHIVA'S DIVINE ATTRIBUTES ON HARIHARA HEADGEARS DURING MAJAPAHIT ERA (13th – 15th CENTURY) IN JAVA

Waridah Muthi'ah^{1*}, Agus Sachari², A. Haldani Destiarmand³

¹Department of Art and Design Studies, Post Graduate School Faculty of Art and Design
Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia

^{2,3}Faculty of Art and Design Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia
wari.historia@gmail.com^{1*} ; aasachari@gmail.com²

ABSTRACT

Harihara statue is a unique object in the study of Classical Era in Java, mainly because it portrays Vishnu and Siva in one body. During 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 Harihara statue is the headgear. According to Silpasastra Manasara as canon in the visual portrayal of gods, since it represented the unity of two gods, Harihara statue is depicted with half *jatamakuta* and half *kiritamakuta*, each represents Vishnu and Siva. These portrayals are usually found in India and Cambodia. 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 headgears and symbols attached to it, by using qualitative-descriptive method with iconographic approach. It is found that Harihara are portrayed with various crown attributed to Vishnu or Siva, while carrying the mixed symbols of the two gods. It is assumed related to the statue's function as manifestation of Devaraja concept, that is to align the king's image and characters with the image of the Gods. It also indicates the rise of Harihara sect during the era, that can be linked to the political purpose to unify the different beliefs and factions during that tumultuous period.

Keywords: Harihara, Headgears, Iconography, Java, Late Classical Era.

**Corresponding Author*

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A. INTRODUCTION

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

worship and distinct religious practices, the inscription noted that the two religions were considered equal, even have the same concept of truth (Sedyawati & Subroto, 1993: 4-5). Further evidence during Kediri, Singasari, up until Majapahit kingdoms period in East Java (tenth to sixteenth 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.

Pluralism is one of the characteristics of religious life during 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. Several tombstones that are discovered in Trowulan, the centre of Majapahit, even indicated that Islam has already spread and embraced by a minority of people during that time, even though it is not clear if they are locals or Moslem traders or immigrants from Asia.

One of the artefacts that show this tendency is Harihara statues. Th

Harihara statues are unique objects in the study of Classical Era in Java, not only because they portray two different gods which worshipped by two different sects in one body, but also because it indicated the religious and political aspects of the society during that time. Harihara cult was 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, Sivaism and Vaisnava, that contended for the state patronage and often lead to malevolence (Sharma 2009). In line with India, Cambodia also used Harihara worship for the same reason, starting from 6th or 7th century (Lavy 2003). It is assumed that Harihara worship in Indonesia was originated from and influenced by Khmer kingdom in Angkor, Cambodia (Jaya 2015).

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

While the Harihara cult is something that is rarely found in Indonesia, several depictions of Harihara were found. The earliest statue that is identified as Harihara that is known today was found in Pejaten, Batang, and now is being part of Ronggowarsito Museum's collection, Semarang (Figure 1a). Based on its style, it is concluded that this statue was dated from Early Classical Era, around 5th to 6th century AD, roughly from the same time as Vishnu I of Cibuaya statue. This statue was previously identified as Vishnu, based on its crown and the appearance of conch shell and a ring that is identified as a disc (*chakra*), both are Vishnu's *lakshanas*, 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 *lakshanas* are actually

belong to Vishnu and Shiva, because the ring could be refer to a rosary (*aksamala*) rather than a *chakra*, later study suggested that instead of only depicted one god, this statue is an amalgamation 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 is dated from the Middle Classical Era, roughly during 8th to 11th century AD. This statue is identified as Harihara due to the *lakṣanas* that were attributed to two gods: a conch shell on his right hand that is belong to Vishnu and a horsetail whip (*camara*) on his left hand that is belong to Shiva.



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)

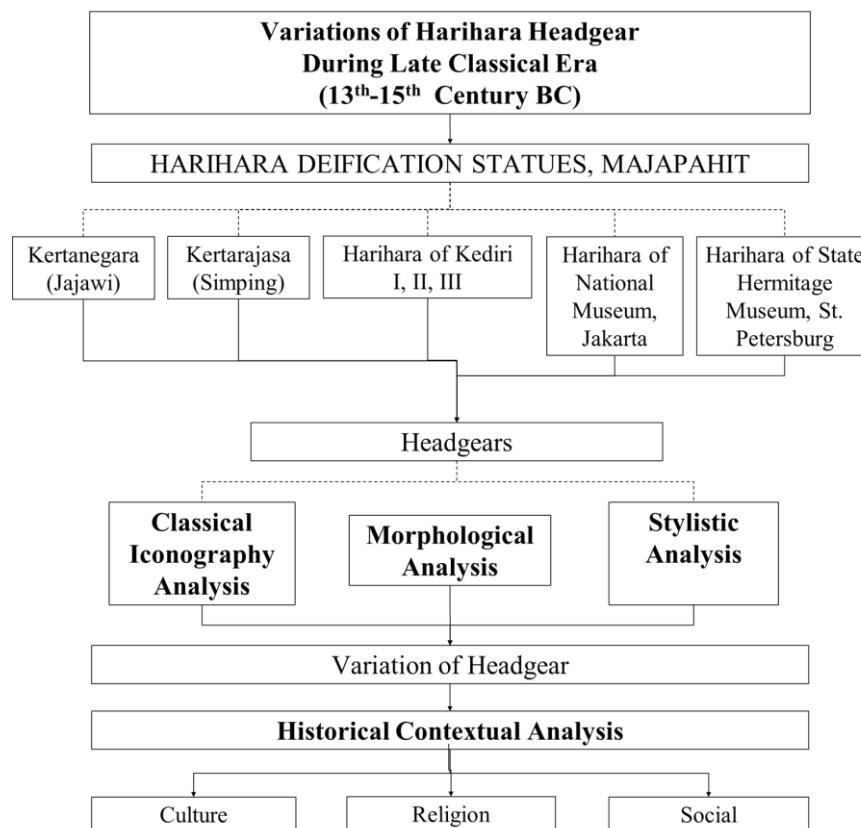
A major thing that can be recognized from Harihara statues, as practised in India and Cambodia, is the headgear. According to Silpasashtra Manasara as canon in the visual portrayal of gods, both parts of gods are depicted with their own headgears (Sharma 2009). Therefore, Harihara statues shows two types of headgear side by side. Shiva is depicted on the right side with jatamakuta, while Vishnu is depicted on the left side with kiritamakuta. Example to this is Harihara statue from Karnataka Temple, Mysore, South India, originated from Hoysala Dynasty, 10th to 14th century.

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 (*lakṣana*) which show symbols that represented both Vishnu and Shiva. 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.

B. METHODS

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.



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 statues 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:

- a. Deification statue of King Kertanegara as Harihara, Jawi Temple (Fig.
- b. Deification statue of King Kertarajasa as Harihara, Simping Temple
- c. Harihara statue of Kediri I, II, III
- d. Harihara statue, collection of National Museum, Jakarta
- e. Harihara statue, collection of State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This paper is focused on the portrayal of Harihara's headgear during Late Classical Era in Java, specifically Majapahit Era (131th to 15th century). 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 originated from early Majapahit era, but depicted the late king from previous kingdom, King Kertanegara of Singasari (Fig. 2a). The king was died during Jayakatwang's *coup d'etat* 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, avenge the death of his father-in-law and build a new kingdom, Majapahit. He painted himself and his kingdom as the true successor of Singasari kingdom, by linked 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. He built two statues which portrayed Kertanegara as deities, one as Buddha-Aksobya and the other one as Siva. 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 were 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, as stated by Stutterheim, the Harihara statue took a long journey abroad: from Indonesia, it was shipped to Germany and later to Russia. At the moment, it is part of the collection of State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia (Pullen 2021).



Figure 2. Harihara statues from Singasari and Early Majapahit Period from left to right: a) Harihara of Jawi, deification statue of King Kertanegara of Singasari, early 14th century (Pullen 2021), b) Harihara of 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 originated from Candi Simping, East Java (Fig. 2b), originated from early 14th century. Today, this statue is part of the collection of 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, the first king of Majapahit (Saktiani 2016). Fact that Harihara became the subject of the embodiment statue shows its significance to the kingdom's historical background. Furthermore, the discovery of 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.

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. These 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 AD. Unfortunately, there are no indication regarding the identity of the nobles or monarchs that were portrayed.

The Harihara of Kediri I was found at Punden Reco Guru, Bandar Lor, Kediri. 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 Kediri Museum Virtual Tour. The statue is made of andesite, its dimension is 255 x 112 x 65 cm, regards it as the biggest deification statue in East Java that is known until today. Old photograph taken by Claire Holt on 1934 (Fig. 3a) shows it in its prime condition, but recent photograph taken on 2015 (Fig. 3b) shows that there were some damages to the statue. The identification of this statue as Harihara was based on the amalgamation of Vishnu and Siva's *laksanas*, 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 Siva's *laksana*, while conch-shell and bludgeon are Vishnu'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 AD.



Figure 3. 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 on Airlangga Museum, Kediri

Another Harihara statue from Kediri (Fig 4a) is portrayed 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 *jatamakuta*, a crown made of tangles of hair that is attributed to Siva. Its identity as Harihara was shown through the appearance of Vishnu's *laksana*, that is a winged conch-shell on its back-right hand, and Siva's *laksana*, a horse-tail whisk on his back-left hand. Unfortunately, both of its front hands are already missing. The origin of this statue is unknown, but 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 4b) was photographed by Kinsbergen in 1966. The statue is registered with museum number 256b. Among all Harihara statues from Kediri, this statue is the only one which presented 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 century AD.



Figure 4. Harihara statues from Kediri
from left to right: a) Harihara of Kediri I, 14th century (Holt 1934); b) recent photograph of Harihara of Kediri III, currently located on Airlangga Museum, Kediri; c) Harihara statue of unknown origin

It is noteworthy to mention other Harihara statues with unknown origin, that is now placed in National Museum, Jakarta, with register number 938a (Fig. 5a) 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.

Another statue that is now being part of the collection of State Hermitage Museum, St.








Petersburg (Fig. 5b) 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 appears 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 5. 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: *jatamakuta* for strands of hair shaped in twisted conical shape, *kiritamakuta* for crowns shaped in cut conical shape or upside-down pot, and amalgamation or fusion *kiritamakuta* and *jatamakuta*.

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

No	<i>Jatamakuta</i>	<i>Kiritamakuta</i>	Amalgamation between <i>jatamakuta</i> and <i>kiritamakuta</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, deification statue of Kertarajasa, 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
Location	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		
3			
Name	Harihara		
Location	National Museum, Jakarta		
Place of origin	East Java (exact location unknown)		
Date	13 th - 15 th century		

Based on the data on Table 1, it was found that Harihara statues during Late Classical Era in Java are mainly portrayed with two types of headgear: *jatamakuta* that is the attribute of Siva

and *kiritamakuta* that is attributed to Vishnu. None of the statues uses two types of headgear side by side as depicted in Silpasastra Manasara. Nevertheless, there is another type that depicts the headgear as amalgamation or fusion between those two types of headgears. Rather than pictured them side by side, these statues using one type of headgear (*kiritamakuta*) as base shape, adorned with circular and swirling patterns that resembled the spiraling twists of hair on *jatamakuta*.

Religious life during Singasari and Majapahit period are colored by pluralism. Based on that fact, the depiction of the king as Harihara can be perceived as to paint the kings in the image of the God. As an amalgamation of Vishnu and Siva, Harihara represents two opposite but balanced power, thus portray 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 Vishnu is also an analogical representation of Raden Wijaya as the avatar of Vishnu who eradicates wrath and restores balance to the world.

D. CONCLUSION

It is found that there are three tendencies on how Harihara statues' headgears are portrayed during Late Classical Era: as *jatamakuta*, *kiritamakuta*, and the amalgamation of these two headgears. Majority are using *kiritamakuta*, a crown attributed to Vishnu, 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. The use of Vishnu's headgear shows the relation between this portrayal as representation of Devaraja concept, and the alignment of microcosm and macrocosm in Indian mandala concept. Vishnu is chosen not due to the rise of Harihara sect, but also to build the king's image in Vishnu's image, both to protect and unify the different fractions.

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