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Siwa in Java: the Majestic Great God
and the Teacher

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Śiwa in Java

The Majestic Great God and the Teacher

ABSTRACT

In this article, I have chosen to focus upon two particular representations of the god Śiwa from both Central and East Java—Śiwa the Majestic Great God and Śiwa the Teacher. Through a discussion of these image types I am attempting to weave a narrative of the Javanese past in which the objects are indicative of the singularity and fluidity of the human religious experience. These two specific representations of the god Śiwa in the art of classical Java are connected with Javanese religious thought as articulated in indigenous textual material, embracing the present and present-day perceptions of the Indonesian past. I examine how the creation of a typology of images is problematic due to the rigidity of categories, and in so doing I argue that style cannot be separated from the interpretive element. The representation of the male body in Javanese art is also briefly considered.

This article is based on recent research on images of Śiwa from Java.¹ However, this study does not relate the discovery of hitherto unknown images and therefore it does not offer a new interpretation of Javanese images of Śiwa on that basis.² Rather, through a self-reflexive engagement with the research, I critically examine how to interpret Javanese images of Śiwa and how the Javanese past is reconstructed.

The main concern of my research is to see how images of Śiwa can be reconnected with their religious context, from which they have been divorced, by paying greater attention to Javanese religious textual material and looking at the relationship between texts and images. In doing so I have revisited established iconographic classifications. This focus on textual material is expected to be complemented by an archaeological study of the sites with which the images are associated, when that is possible. Scholars such as Gregory Schopen have indicated the importance of connecting the study of Buddhist texts with the archaeological study of Buddhist sites, and more recent work on early Indian art has used landscape archaeology to reevaluate the sculpture from the Sanchi site.³

Most of the work on classical Indonesia has not differentiated between art history and archaeology, which have been used as a combined tool in the study of religious structures.⁴ The overemphasis and overdependence on written texts, which has been

criticized in the context of the study of Indian religions, especially Buddhism, and the consequent impact of such a dependence on Indian art-historical writing are not a problem found in art-historical writing focused on classical Java. On the contrary, here the role of indigenous textual material in reconstructions of the religious background seems to have been underplayed; this is certainly so in the case of Śiwa images and Śaivism. Thus one of the aims of the research was to recontextualize Śiwa and present the cult and iconography of Śiwa in its local form as it pertains to Javanese religion, through a reevaluation of relevant Javanese textual material.

In the course of the research a number of issues problematized the classification process and required that the assumption of neutrality of classification be explicitly questioned. In addition, dating images and objects and searching for a chronological order that would reveal an evolutionary progression were not seen as the principal goal of research of this kind as often still understood to be the case in writings dealing with the art of classical Java.⁵ Development and progression are assumptions reflecting ways of thinking about the past; these assumptions reveal the relationship of the present with the past and the construction of what the archaeologist Michael Shanks has called “a past as wished for”: “We all produce a ‘past as wished for’ in the sense of pasts which we find empirically, theoretically, aesthetically and archaeologically ‘satisfying.’”⁶

In this article, I have chosen to focus upon two particular representations of the god Śiwa from Java — Śiwa the Majestic Great God and Śiwa the Teacher. Through a discussion of these image types I am attempting to weave a narrative of the Javanese past in which the objects are indicative of the singularity and fluidity of the human religious experience.

IMAGES: RELIGIOUS TEXTS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND TEMPLE SITES

Why are there representations of the god Śiwa in Java? Śaivism traveled to Java with a mixed background. We know that Śiwa is a Hindu god whose

cult was imported from India, as a result of what at one time was referred to as the “Hinduization” of the Indonesian islands and was later called “localization of Indian influence.”⁷ The impetus to adopt Indian religions has been seen by historians as being motivated principally by local rulers’ desire to legitimize kingship: the Indian religions gave them the means to acquire greater power and /or to consolidate it.⁸

Neither the “Indianization” nor the “localization of Indian influence” theory have been satisfactory in explaining the “India-Java axis.”⁹ The theory of “Indianization” of Indonesia and Southeast Asia served a purpose during the colonial era, just as the “localization of Indian influence” did in the post-independence period. So is the attempt to see some kind of cosmopolitanism linking South and Southeast Asia, particularly in the sense of the Sankrit cosmopolis theorized by Sheldon Pollock:¹⁰ a “past as wished for” influenced by contemporary ideas of global networks and the spread of English as an international *lingua franca*. I will, however, leave aside all questions of origin of Javanese Śiwa cults, preferring not to engage with the overly debated issue of Indian influence on ancient Indonesian culture. It is a topic for another article and one that needs to be considered in the light of how it relates to present-day constructions of the Javanese past.

Śiwa worship seems to have enjoyed popularity in Indonesia over a period of more than seven centuries. The existence of locally fashioned images associated with temple sites and also of early inscriptions referring to *lingga* installation and the existence of a number of locally composed texts in Old Javanese, of various dates, from about the tenth century, dealing with the worship of Śiwa, can be taken as evidence that a cult identified as Śiwa worship by its practitioners lived on for a number of centuries. In many ways the cult of Śiwa is still alive. Śiwa worship is part of Balinese Hinduism,¹¹ and Śaiwa Tantric influences can be found in *kebatinan* or *kejawen* (Javanese mysticism; literally “the religion of Java”).¹² Judith Becker has highlighted the impact of Śaiwa Tantric cults on the artistic practices of Javanese courts through her study of the twentieth-century mystical musical

treatise *Wedha Pradangga Kawedhar* (Knowledge of Gamelan Revealed).¹³

At a more popular level, Śiwa provided a new identity for the local gods, whose characteristics were seen to parallel one or another of the god's composite aspects. It would be simplistic, however, to perceive the presence of Śiwa in Java and, more widely, in Indonesia, only in this light. The presence of literature in the Śaivite mold, from Java, very broadly coeval with the images, reveals greater complexity and allows for a study of the religious background of Javanese images of Śiwa that takes into account Javanese sources. Thus one can begin to engage with the issue of who made the images and why.

I cannot claim (very far from it) to have been able to make complete sense of the textual material, which is truly vast.¹⁴ Texts to be considered are as diverse as literary compositions, such as some of the best known *kakawin* (*Arjunawiwāha* [Arjuna's Wedding] is a case in point) and other works that deal more specifically with the exposition of doctrine. The latter are categorized by the experts as *tutur*, prose works of religious content. This type of literature is known to us mostly through Bali, where *tutur* have been composed by the hundreds and relate more specifically to Balinese religion. Some of these *tutur* were, however, also known in Java, and it is very likely that *tutur* writers were active in ancient Java, alongside composers of *kakawin* and *kidung*.

To the literary genre of *tutur* belong the "classic" works — "classic" in the sense that this is how they are viewed in present-day reconstructions of their religious import — that present an exposition of Śaiva religion in ancient Java. Of these the main ones are: *Wṛhaspati Tattwa* (The Doctrine of Reality of Wṛhaspati), *Gaṇapati Tattwa* (The Doctrine of Reality of Gaṇapati), *Sang Hyang Tattwajñāna* (The Revered Knowledge of the Doctrine of Reality), *Sang Hyang Mahajñāna* (The Revered Great Knowledge), *Wratisasana* (The Precepts of the Ascetic), *Bhuwana Kośa* (The Sphere of the Inhabited World), *Bhuwana Sangkṣepa* (The Quintessence of the World), and *Jñānasiddhanta* (The Knowledge of Śaiva Siddhanta). To this list one should add an exceptional *kakawin*,

Dharma Śūnya (The Philosophy of the Void), a religious and philosophical work in verse that has received greater attention only in more recent years.¹⁵ The dates of these texts are not known with any precision, except perhaps for *Jñānasiddhanta*, a Balinese rather than Javanese text in the form known to us today, which Jan Gonda places around 1000.¹⁶ The above-mentioned *Dharma Śūnya*, also regarded as a Balinese work, is thought to be Majapahit.¹⁷

The way this textual material relates to the images and their iconography is not immediately obvious. Śiwa worship is a complex phenomenon, shrouded in secrecy. But even with such shortcomings, an overview of the religious literature involved highlights the conceptual background of the images and allows for a refinement of interpretive techniques. What transpires from a reading of this vast material is that Javanese Śaivism seemed to have been an independent synthesis of different Śaiva teachings, from Pāśupata — for the presence of which Max Nihom has argued,¹⁸ to Śaiva Siddhanta — the latter not, however, akin to South Indian Śaiva Siddhanta.¹⁹

Textual sources may allow us an insight into the thinking of the people who fashioned the images, but the inscriptions connected with sites where images were found can tell us more precisely about the historical context. Inscriptions do not inform us on doctrine; however, they often make indirect reference to Śiwa worship, for example through the mention of specific mythological episodes connected with the god, which may be used as metaphors for royal prowess. Their vocabulary needs to be scrutinized for it may be full of ambiguities. However, such indirect references are still very significant²⁰ and point to acquaintance with a specific body of religious knowledge.

The architectural context of images is important for establishing their ritual function. Information about the original physical context of the images is unfortunately far too often missing and impossible to retrieve, as the objects we see today have by and large been removed from their original location, with no record of their provenance. However, there are still a number of images in situ, such as the ones at the

Prambanan complex, a number of *linggas* also in situ, and relief representations, including the Śiwa from Jago's *Arjunawiwāha* relief series in East Java.

To these we need to add the knowledge derived from an archaeological study of the sites, in particular in terms of a sacred landscape, with the sites viewed by way of their relationship with one another, as components of this overall sacred landscape.²¹ We may then begin to obtain a more complete picture. Postprocessual approaches to archaeology have emphasized a concept of landscape as a "lived context which is experienced from the position of the human being,"²² bringing back people and their movements—human agency—into the empty landscapes of structuralist approaches, which have dominated Indonesian archaeology to date:

This has resulted in a more reflexive model which recognises the interactive relationship between people and buildings. . . . Of particular concern in these recent studies has been the ways in which the physical layout of ritual sites may have helped to maintain behaviour and ideological regularity, especially through the control and restriction of vision and bodily movements.²³

Thus we see a complex relationship emerge among texts, epigraphic records,²⁴ the images themselves, their immediate architectural context, and the sacred landscape to which the images belong, through the sites with which they are associated. It is only by looking at the way these different elements relate to each other, bringing the focus back on human agency, that we begin to make sense of the wider context—religious and sociohistorical.

ŚIWA THE MAJESTIC GREAT GOD

In this and in the following section, I shall focus on the image types of Śiwa Mahādewa and Śiwa Guru and their iconographic features. The iconography of the images in question has been examined in great detail in a prodigious output of scholarly writings for well over a century. Through these writings, archaeologists and art historians—primarily writ-

ing in Dutch, due to the colonial past of Indonesia, but roughly from the time of the Second World War publishing in English, Bahasa Indonesia, and other languages—have classified all extant Javanese images and arranged them into set types. These writings constitute the present body of iconographic knowledge.²⁵ Newly discovered images, if any, are always compared with these existing types, and they are classified and named accordingly.

In my work I have related to this existing typology in a critical way, attempting a reclassification based on a new reading of the formal iconography of the images considered. This new reading was prompted by my engagement with the religious textual material. But my reclassification is not, in any way, posited as fixed. As I shall further elaborate, classifications should be kept sufficiently flexible, for they are based on interpretation, and while some may be more useful in certain contexts, they may be useless in others.

The first image type I shall consider is Śiwa as the Majestic Great God or Śiwa Mahādewa. The *Jñānasiddhanta* (*Tutur Adhyātmika*) describes Mahādewa as one of the *saptadewata*, the seven deities. This designation is to be seen as part of a series of interlinked levels on the way to liberation, with the lowest level of *ātma* corresponding with the lowest level of *dewata* and so on. Mahādewa corresponds to *nirātma*, the *aṣṣara* O and the *turyapada* state. The *Jñānasiddhanta* describes him as follows: he is *nirātma*; the seven openings of the body (eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth) are his dwelling place; he is yellow in color; and he is the originator of the world. He is fourth in the list.²⁶

Mahādewa is also part of the *nawasangga*, the Nine Great Gods, occupying different cardinal directions, and in that scheme he rules West.²⁷ Other characterizations of Mahādewa are found in a number of literary works, some of which may describe him in negative terms.²⁸ Extant images of Mahādewa are not necessarily linked with the whole range of these contrasting conceptualizations, nor is it always possible to match them exactly, but it helps to be aware of this multivocality. They are a "solid metaphor," and polysemy is what underlies them as "solid metaphor."²⁹

In Java (both Central and East Java, but more frequently in Central Java), Mahādewa is shown standing in *samabhanga*, with a straight back, the weight equally distributed on the feet (fig. 1). There are representations of seated Śiwa also conventionally referred to as Mahādewa (fig. 2). I prefer to separate the standing Mahādewa from the seated Śiwa, as I feel that the seated Śiwa is not Mahādewa (bearing in mind, of course, that Śiwa is Mahādewa and Guru and everything else simultaneously and all the time). Mahādewa seems to embody the Majestic Lord Śiwa, Śiwa as a kingly god, whereas seated Śiwa is seen in his meditative, yogic aspect. I shall discuss these images in greater detail in the next section.

The main *lakṣaṇa* of Mahādewa, by which I mean the customary distinctive marks or attributes, are given as: *cāmara* (fly whisk), *akṣamala* (rosary of beads), *padma* (lotus flower), and *kamaṇḍalu* (water jar). The *cāmara* is understood, in the established body of iconographic knowledge, to be linked with purification. The *akṣamala* is a rosary sometimes made of small skulls. The *kamaṇḍalu* is said to symbolize asceticism. These attributes are not necessarily present in all images, nor are they always held in the same hands. Among the hand gestures (*mudrā*), most frequently seen is the *yogamudrā* (also known as *dhyāṇamudrā*, one hand over the other, palms facing upward). The *hasta* (hand and arm gesture) most frequently seen are *varadahasta* (bestowing gesture) and *abhaya* (do-not-fear). There are variations in terms of which hand carries what or performs a particular *hasta* or *mudrā*. Directions for the *hasta* may vary, and it is important to remember that a change of direction should not be taken to mean we are seeing a different *hasta*. There are several *mudrā* and *hasta* seen especially among East Javanese images that cannot be easily identified.³⁰

Another important *lakṣaṇa* is the *candrakapāla* or *ardhacandrakapāla*, which is worn on the head. This is a moon or half-moon with a skull placed either over the *jāṭamakuṭa*, a crown placed under a topknot, or a *kirīṭamakuṭa*, a tall diadem crown or headdress. An optional *lakṣaṇa* is the *trinetra*, third eye, not seen in all Mahādewa images. A *triśūla* (trident) may be



1 Śiwa Mahādewa, Central Java, silver. National Museum, Jakarta.



2 Seated Śiwa, Central Java, bronze. Private collection, Amsterdam.

seen, sometimes carved on the stone surrounding the image or held by the deity when the image is made of bronze. The dress varies according to the region (Central or East Java) and may reflect aristocratic fashion. In Central Javanese images we see what can be described as a thin *kain* cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body, usually plain. Occasionally a second *kain* can be seen, which may be made of tiger skin, as in the Mahādewa from Candi Banon (fig. 3), in the Borobudur area, now in the National Museum in Jakarta. When the *kain* is decorated, the motifs seen are lines (*garis*), *kawung* (a type of batik cloth pattern), and arabesque-like figures.

In East Java, Mahādewa is seen with two or three belts or waist cloths (*ikat pinggang*), an *uncal* (tassel),

and a *sampur* (sash) tied from right to left around the waist, shaped like a fan. East Javanese images are almost weighed down by the richness of dress and adornment. The physical body of Śiwa disappears, and the sumptuous decorative clothing and rich jewelry seem actively to refer to authority and power (fig. 4).

Mahādewa may wear an *upawīta ular*, a snake-shaped *upawīta* (brahmanical cord),³¹ or a jewel-like long *upawīta* and can be seen, in Central Java, standing next to or seated on his *wāhana* (vehicle), the bull Nandi. His jewelry varies. As earrings he wears varieties of *kuṇḍala* (ear ornaments). He wears *hara* or *kalung* (necklace), *keyura* (arm bracelets), and *kankana* (round ornaments that can be worn over wrists or ankles), and he may wear snakes coiled round the arms. The height of the images varies, and I suggest variations in height are related to their place within the *candi* (temple).

Having examined a variety of Mahādewa images in the course of three field trips to Indonesia (1998, 1999, and 2000), I asked myself how the Javanese Mahādewa compares with parallel images from other regions. Comparison with Indian images seemed to be relevant. Engaging in this comparison had a point, for it helped to highlight what is peculiar about Javanese Mahādewa and what distinguishes it from other images of the god manufactured elsewhere. The first thing that strikes us is that there is no exact equivalent image in India. Indian Śiwa is generally addressed as Mahādeva by devotees, but Śiwa is primarily known as Maheśvara (Great Lord) in the Sanskrit texts. As Maheśvara or Maheśamūrti, Śiwa in India is described in relevant iconographic texts such as *Śilpaśāstra* (The Canonical Book of Sculpture) as three eyed, with *jāṭamakuṭa*, four armed and on a *padmapīṭha* or *padmāsana* (pedestal), carrying *paraśu* (ax) and *mṛga* (deer, symbol of *pāśu*), and performing *abhaya* and *varada*, the gesture of protection and bestowing.

Images of Maheśamūrti as such are relatively uncommon. The best known is from Elephanta, and this type of image is possibly related to Javanese representations of Śiwa Triśiras.³² Maheśvara manifests himself in different forms, seated or standing, riding upon vehicles, as terrific (*ugra*) or pacific (*saumya*).



3 Detail of tiger skin, Mahādewa, Candi Banon, National Museum, Jakarta.



4 Mahādewa, East Java, National Museum, Jakarta.

His *līlamūrti* (the lord engaging in cosmic play) are several in number, and it is under such guises that he is more commonly shown. The Javanese Mahādewa seems to be a reinterpretation, in a novel form, of the concept of Śiwa as the Great Lord/God. The *cāmara* is a Javanese elaboration in the iconography of Śiwa and

not specific to the Mahādewa representations, as will be seen, though it must be pointed out that in India the *cāmara* may be seen with Svarṇakarsaṇa Bhairava, according to the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, a Sanskrit work that discusses the arts.³³ What we are thus witnessing is an overall phenomenon of transposition, which is not in itself indicative of ignorance of given iconographic precepts³⁴ but may simply represent a conscious reformulation to infuse a majestic form (Mahādewa) with more esoteric religious meaning. The *cāmara* is a reference to cleansing, and as such it connects to the ascetic practices involving ablutions, also referred to by the *kamaṇḍalu*, in keeping with what the Javanese (Śaiwa) religious literature discusses in connection with *tapa*, asceticism.³⁵

ŚIWA THE TEACHER

Śiwa the Teacher is Śiwa Bhaṭāra Guru (Lord Teacher), that is, Śiwa when one thinks of him as teacher. Once again it must be reiterated that this is not a very clear-cut category. Śaivism postulates a series of realities from the highest absolute to the visible — realities, incidentally, that are inner, accessible through meditation practice, centered on one's own body. A manifestation of Śiwa rules over each reality, and Bhaṭāra Guru is Śiwa manifesting himself in the visible reality. Śiwa is the Supreme Yogi, and it is through yogic discipline³⁶ that one can reach the highest reality. The discipline is taught by Śiwa himself (or a guru who "is" Śiwa). Thus Śiwa is Bhaṭāra Guru as he is simultaneously Mahādewa, Sadāśiwa, as he is also Sang Paramārtha (The Highest).

I am keen to distinguish between Śiwa Guru and Agastya even though the two are often conflated and thought, in secondary sources, to be one and the same. In view of my above remarks on simultaneous identities, this view is theoretically acceptable, but the image is usually described as a composite image type, a hybrid, with no further engagement with the religious context of the image that has in the first instance given rise to this supposed hybridity. Agastya is a guru in human form, a human manifestation of Śiwa, and as such images of Agastya have a place in

Śiwa temples.³⁷ Agastya is, strictly speaking, a *ṛṣi*, in other words a sage, a guru who is, ultimately, Śiwa. I base my typology of Śiwa Guru and Agastya on Le. Poerbatjaraka,³⁸ who, on the basis of his reading of primary source material, went to great lengths to demonstrate that Agastya and Bhaṭāra Guru were not quite the same.³⁹ Śiwa Guru is distinct, and that is why there are some problems in understanding the identity and possible location of the Śiwa images in a sitting position, referred to earlier, usually named Mahādewa in museum classifications and catalogues.⁴⁰

In my view, the category of Śiwa the Teacher ought to comprise such images, mostly from Central Java, especially Dieng (but the bronzes can be from other areas in Central Java and also later than Dieng, as seen in fig. 2). They represent Śiwa seated in a meditative posture, which is variedly described by writers as *vīrāsana* or *vajrāsana* or even *padmāsana*, but more simply called *svastikāsana* (crossed legs) by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.⁴¹ The god wears hardly any adornment and may have either two or four arms, in which case he is holding an *aṣṭamala* and a *cāmara*, with the two primary arms usually in *dhyānamudrā* at the front, often with a lotus placed on the upturned palm. An *ardhacandrakapāla* is placed in his locks. The example illustrated in figure 5 has a different hand gesture, the *śiwalingga*, which explicitly refers to the abstract form of Śiwa, the *lingga*.

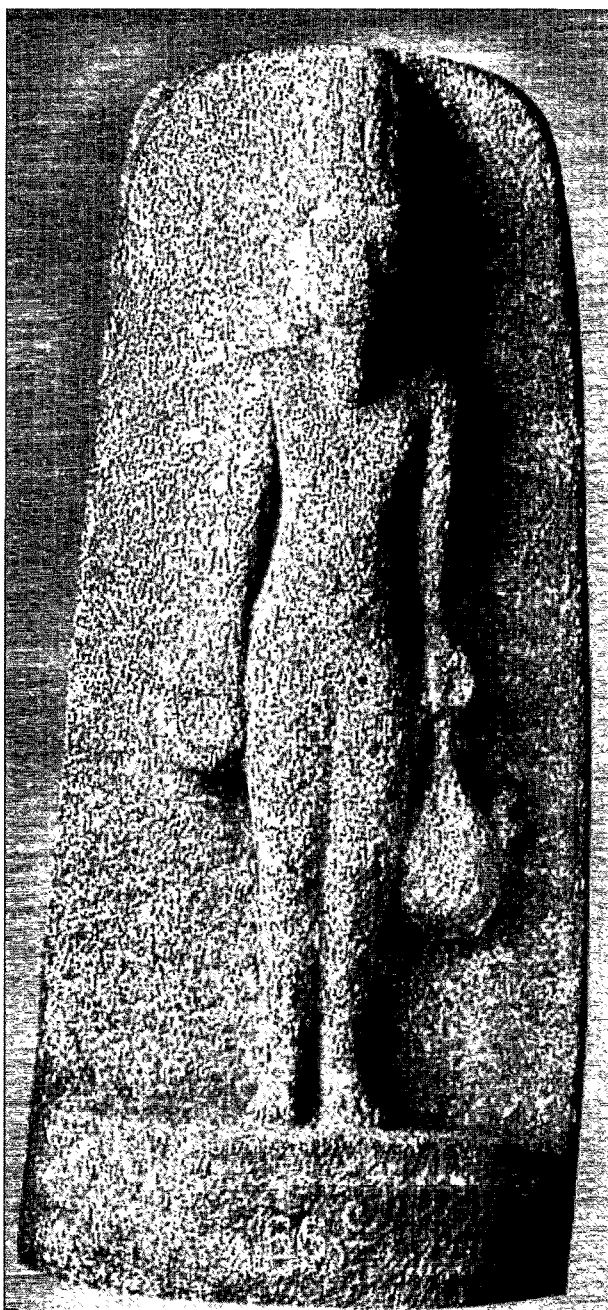
The Śiwa the Teacher category, in the way it is understood today, also accommodates images of Śiwa as a young, rather emaciated ascetic, two armed, carrying a *kamaṇḍalu*, sporting a small beard, dressed with a simple cloth, with a *triśūla* either in his hand or sculpted at the back of the stele. However, rather than thinking of such images as young Agastya without the characteristic potbelly, or as a generic Śiwa Guru type, I propose, in a slightly more radical interpretation, that these should be seen as Śaiwa Ṛṣis or human ascetics. There is very little in terms of contextual clues for such images, of which there are only a few, all from Central Java, but this interpretation seems to be more in keeping with the iconography of the images and the emphasis given in Śaiwa religious writings to the figure of the *Ṛṣi* (fig. 6)



5 Śiwa the Teacher (conventionally classified as Śiwa Mahādewa), Central Java. Musée Guimet, Paris. The hands show *śiwalingga*.

Once again comparison with parallel Indian statuary may be helpful to highlight difference and affinity. The Indian equivalent of the seated Śiwa Guru (Mahādewa in current writings) is Śiwa Yogadakṣiṇamūrti. This equivalent image is conceptually close to the Javanese. Rao gives the iconographic precepts, culled from Sanskrit texts, for several variants. None of these is entirely similar to the Javanese one, but the affinity, down to the presence of an *aṣṭamala*, is undeniable, especially when one considers what Rao calls the “first mode of representation” of Yogadakṣiṇamūrti.⁴²

We have no real indication as to what position the images just discussed would have had in the architectural context of a *candi*, as they are not found in situ and we are thus unable to say whether in the case of the seated Śiwa Guru, the injunction



6 Śiwa Guru, National Museum, Jakarta, here reclassified as Śaiwa Ṛṣi.

of Yogadakṣiṇamūrti being south facing,⁴³ found in Indian iconographic texts, would have had any application in a Javanese context. I feel, however, that calling such images Mahādewa as currently done is far too broad a description, and that is why I am suggesting that they may be reclassified.

I can find no Indian equivalent for the Śiwa (Bhaṭāra) Guru, here reclassified as Śaiwa Ṛṣi.

CLASSIFICATION: STYLE AND TYPOLOGY

It has been common practice in classical Indonesian archaeology and art history to engage in periodic surveys of all extant images, aimed at classifying them by iconographic features in the hopes of adding to a definitive typology based on what iconographic elements are consistent and what forms are common or rare. Through this survey-based method art historians and archaeologists have also thought it might be possible to identify stylistic links, with style understood to be an objective property, and to establish a chronology by looking at styles and drawing comparisons.⁴⁴ This approach is problematic.

Let us reflect for a moment on how one would usually classify, in keeping with the above prescriptions of sample survey combined with meticulous noting of frequency of features.⁴⁵ The sorting of objects such as Śiwa statuary may be done to establish whether the objects of the group sample considered (for example, the Śiwa statuary from Dieng) have a specific ritual function, and thus the images are grouped and regrouped accordingly. Establishing whether an image is a freestanding sculpture part of a group of sculptures from a specific site, or a relief part of the same narrative sequence, is also a constituent of these initial classifications related to determining function. But already we run into problems with this approach, because the ritual function can be only partially ascertained, if at all, due to the difficulties one encounters in reconstructing an architectural context for any freestanding image that is not found in situ; therefore the ritual function is often only an assumption. Moreover, ritual functions may overlap with other functions, and this possibility needs to be taken into account.

In parallel to this function-based classification, after establishing what iconographic elements are consistently frequent and consistently similar, following a division of the surveyed images into groups, one begins to engage with considerations of variations in style within a specific group, primarily to establish a chronology.⁴⁶ It has been quite usual to see style and function as separate, with classifications never understood to be intersecting, except at the level of grand

theorizing. But here we have another problem. This separation is not clear cut, and it is artificial. We can look at style as “material style,” that is, the patterning in material artifacts, or as a “way of doing,” which would include ideas, decisions, and practices. These conceptions are not exclusive. There is and there needs to be a constant shift in the way they are used in the context of an analysis.

Michael Shanks suggests that material culture is production or design and that the style of an artifact is not an expression or an attribute but “the means by which objects are constituted as social forms.”⁴⁷ Thus it no longer seems feasible to adopt art style as the unit of analysis and fix the art styles of ancient Java into stylistic types, as has been done in most previous studies.⁴⁸ Interpretation, in other words, cannot be separated from the identification of similarity and difference within a typology.⁴⁹

In the work I have carried out, I do have types. These are posited as very flexible, temporary analytical categories. Consistency is what I have been striving for in creating these categories, but they are not rigid. In my typology, I have the following types, drawn from the religious literature I have acquainted myself with: Śiwa Mahādewa (Śiwa the Majestic God), Śiwa Guru (Śiwa the Teacher), Agastya (the Teacher who is Śiwa incarnated as human teacher), Nandiśwara (the door guardian who is Śiwa), Mahākala (the door guardian, swallower of the universe), Lingga (Śiwa’s phallus), Ardhanariśwara (Śiwa who is half-male–half-female), Hari-Hara (Viṣṇu and Śiwa as one), Triśīras (three-headed Śiwa), corresponding to what are known from the said religious literature as aspects or manifestations of the god.

But though I am separating Śiwa Mahādewa or Agastya from Śiwa Guru for the practical purpose of temporary classification, it does not follow that they should be seen or were at any time perceived as wholly distinct, as the typology suggests. This distinction is often assumed when the images are subsequently related to their religious and socio-historical context in broader historical accounts attempting to reconstruct a historical past—in this specific instance, as noted earlier, with the additional complication of pos-

iting Javanese Śiwa Guru as a hybrid. As said, conceptually Śiwa is Mahādewa even when he is Guru, and this is so regardless of whether he is depicted standing or seated or in any other position or wearing any garment or attire.

The artificial nature of typologies and the need for keeping them flexible can be exemplified by the way Triśīras (three-headed Śiwa) is thought of. Triśīras can either be taken as a representation of Maheṣa showing Śiwa as the pacific god (Tatpuruṣa), the terrifying one (Aghora-Bhairawa) and the female principle (Wāmadewa-Sakti), or as Trimūrti (Brahma-Viṣṇu-Śiwa), thus interpreting the religious or philosophical import of the image differently, creating yet more types⁵⁰ and establishing a different doctrinal content on the basis of the art-historical or archaeological classification. In other words, by taking typologies as flexible analytical categories and by supporting them with a reading of religious textual material, I am not separating classification from context. There are, of course, other interpretive strategies that allow for further contextualization, which I have not explored and which will complement my own. In showing that a classification is an act of creative interpretation, I am trying to go beyond the separation of objective/subjective, referring to newer discourses in archaeology that have not yet had much impact on the archaeology of classical Indonesia.⁵¹ I am here attempting to question entrenched positions.

How, then, do I describe these images? What elements do I consider important to convey the nature of the images as representations of the god Śiwa? I have used the following categories to record the characteristics of the images: form and shape, (approximate) size, provenance, location, ornamentation, adornment, dress, posture, gesture, attribute. I have left out precise dating on purpose. Dating is something that should be seen in context, as one of the different types of information relating to the images rather than the most important element of their classification. Thus it can be added, omitted, or left open-ended, depending on the use one wishes to make of the classification.

ŚIWA'S BODY: THE MALE BODY IN JAVANESE ART

Posture and gesture are important in my classification and typology. I see them as important because they allow us to focus on the physical and symbolic body of Śiwa. They can be seen as encoding information relating to nonverbal communication of an abstract nature. Through them the body can be treated as a category worthy of historical investigation. The body of Śiwa is a representation of the Javanese male body, shown with an “idealized” naturalism — idealized in the sense that it did not necessarily correspond to a real, specific physical type but that it represented an aestheticized view of the male body, informed by awareness of the yogic body (by which I mean the body possessed of a yogic “habitus”)⁵² and articulated in multiple artistic idioms, more specifically related to time and location.⁵³

In Śiwa's images there is a constant shift between the human dimension of the representation and the one symbolic of the divine. Śiwa's body may be used to display regalia and thus be completely obscured by it, as seen in a great number of East Javanese images, to emphasize his majesty (and the majesty of the patron king), or it can be displayed, barely covered by cloth and with sparse ornaments, with a fairly accurate, yet not naturalistic, reproduction of natural forms, not devoid of sensuality and eroticism, as seen in many images from Central Java, especially bronzes, but not exclusively in images from that area. At the ninth-century Prambanan temple complex the male body (Śiwa's body?)⁵⁴ is displayed and exposed while dancing half naked, in sinuous postures — a celebration of masculinity.

Natural forms are not meticulously described in an attempt to show what nature looks like, but Śiwa's body is infused with pulsating energy, inner movement, and inner breath. Śiwa's genitals are never fully displayed; on the contrary, care seems to have been taken to cover the genital area except in the case of specific representations of Śiwa as Bhairawa, of which we know only very few examples, such as the Singhasari Bhairawa now in the Leiden Museum of Ethnology. This care in covering the sexual organ

seems to be at odds with the image of Śiwa as *lingga*, which represents Śiwa's phallus. But the motivation for covering anthropomorphic Śiwa's penis should not necessarily be seen as coming from a coy desire to cover up a “shameful” part of the body, as a Judeo-Christian attitude to nakedness would suggest.

It is more likely — though this will remain speculation — to be an attempt to shield the viewer from the erotic power of Śiwa, avoiding a naturalized representation of a penis but emphasizing, through concealing its anatomical double, that Śiwa's phallus is the seat of the male principle and of Śiwa's dangerous sexuality.⁵⁵ The *lingga* is usually shown in conjunction with the *yoni* (an abstraction of female genitals), never by itself; when it is not, the *yoni* pedestal is usually missing because it has been lost or destroyed. The male and female principles are inseparable, and the union — as metaphysical as it is sexual — of Śiwa Sakti is an important Śaiva belief.

Stances full of strength, hand gestures with varied meanings, and controlled poses imbued with movement characterize Śiwa's representations in the art of Java. This observation holds for both Central and East Java, although the way it is locally articulated differs. The number of positions used by the sculptors is quite small, suggesting that they had a relatively limited postural vocabulary to choose from, which was in all likelihood fixed by convention. Conversely, the hand gestures and also the arm positions indicate a rich symbolic vocabulary, which unfortunately is not easy to understand. We do not yet know with precision which parts or movements of the body were ritually and socially significant for the ancient Javanese; thus the whole body should be the point of departure for any investigation of posture and gesture.⁵⁶

CONCLUSIONS

When we look at images, what do we see? The perception we have of them leads us to an interpretation that begins from the moment we encounter the images.⁵⁷ When we first see an art object, an artifact, its present context is as relevant as the past one we may be trying to retrieve, for the artifact belongs to both past and

present. The interpretation involves making choices. For example, we may choose to see an object and attach to it a present value of some sort (by which I do not necessarily mean a monetary one), or we may choose to see the people who made it, what led them to make it, and the process by which they made it. Thus we can work out the way the artifact relates to their thinking and worldview. We may choose to do all these things simultaneously, constantly shifting our plane of analysis back and forth from present to past to present.

And how are we looking at the object? Do we make aesthetic judgments? We clearly do, although we may not be wont to admit them, and this aesthetic appraisal is reflected in our museums' cultures of display (museums being the places where the object may end up). As Emma Barker notes, being on display is the condition by which the category of art is constructed in the modern Western world.⁵⁸ In the case of anthropomorphic images we are confronted with representations of the human body which we will deem to be artistic, and these representations may prompt us to reflect on issues of gender and sexuality and how these are constructed by us and by the makers of the images.⁵⁹

With such questions at the back of my mind, I have, in this article, argued for greater flexibility and fluidity in classificatory practice. This argument is in view of the present location in museums, private galleries, and private homes of the majority of the images that have been the focus of my research. Their current location is not their original one, whatever that may have been, and in their present location a context is re-created, taking into account cross-cultural dialogues, conceptual regroupings, and fresh classifications and analogies whose purpose is not to constrain perceptions of the objects.

I have also suggested some possible reinterpretations, as in the case of images of Śiwa the Teacher. There are more interpretive options to be explored. The objects have a new life in the present to which we need to adjust our thinking, and carry their past with them as a legacy, variously perceived and constructed.

What I truly need to point out before closing is that as the images are interpreted and reinterpreted, generating multivocality in the present, it must be remembered that the symbolic meaning of each image also varied in the past in relation to the specific beliefs and the level of awareness of the maker, viewer, or worshiper. This polyvalence of Śiwa images is part of their being representations of Śiwa. The concept of Śiwa belongs to a complex religio-philosophical tradition, distinguished by esotericism. A worshiper of Śiwa, initiated into the practice by a guru, would understand the attributes of the god differently from a noninitiate. To a Śiwa worshiper who has entered the higher world of Śaiwa observances, the only reality is that of the powers that are the deity or deities. These powers are visualized by the worshiper as corresponding material representations are worshiped.

The forms are only an instrument for establishing awareness and control of those powers. The attributes of the deities are outward symbols of inner realities. The Śaiwa worshiper through yogic meditative and breathing techniques visualizes the inner realities and locates them in his or her body to achieve union with the Supreme Soul who dwells in his or her heart.⁶⁰ One should therefore be aware of this framework of references, ideas, and expectations that surrounds the images and may work simultaneously and at different levels, in the past and in the present. ❖

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NOTES

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1. Here the term "images of Śiwa" includes freestanding sculpture and representations of the god Śiwa in relief sculpture from West, Central, and East Java, from the sixth century to the fourteenth century, found in museums, private collections, and in situ, in a number of countries, especially The Netherlands, Thailand, and Indonesia. In this article, however, West Javanese images will not be discussed.
2. I use a "w" when referring to Śiwa (Śaiwa) in Java and a "v" when referring to Śiva (Śaiva) in India in order to be consistent with the conventional romanization of Old Javanese and original Sanskrit.
3. Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1977); Julia Shaw, "The Sacred Landscape," in *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*, ed. Michael Willis (London: British Museum Press, 2000).
4. See, for example, Boechari, *Some Considerations on the Problem of the Shift of Mataram's Centre of Government from Central to East Java in the 10th Century* (Jakarta: Proyek Pelita, Pembinaan Kepurbakalaan dan Peninggalan Nasional, Department P & K, 1976), 10; Jan Fontein, with R. Soekmomo and Satyawati Suleiman, *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and East Javanese Period* (New York: Asia Society, 1971); Marijke J. Klokke, *Tantri Reliefs on Ancient Javanese Candi* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993); R. Soekmomo, *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning* (Leiden: R. J. Brill, 1995); Edi Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994).
5. Consider here what Marijke J. Klokke writes about Singhasari and Majapahit: "Should we speak of a continuous artistic development which cannot be traced in detail because the art of these three hundred years did not, for one reason or another survive? Or should the Singhasari rulers be considered the inventors of an ancient *long lost tradition* of stone temple building which went back to Central Java and which was developed further by the Majapahit rulers?" [emphasis mine] Marijke J. Klokke, "Stone Images of the Singhasari and Majapahit Periods," *Arts of Asia* 30.6 (2000): 60.
6. Michael Shanks, with Lampeter Archaeology Workshop, "Relativism, Objectivity and the Politics of the Past," *Archaeological Dialogues* 2 (1997): 166.
7. Georges Coedes, *The Indianised States of Southeast Asia*, English ed. Walter F. Vella, trans. Susan B. Cowing (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1968); Jan Wisseman Christie, "State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia: A Consideration of the Theories and Data," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 151.2 (1995): 235–88.
8. L. N. Shaffer, *Maritime Southeast Asia to 1500* (New York and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1996); Kenneth Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967).
9. Astrid Wright, review of *Prambanan: Sculpture and Dance in Ancient Java*, by Alessandra Iyer [Lopez y Royo], *Asian Perspectives* 41.2 (2002): 175.
10. Sheldon Pollock, "The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300–1300: Transculturation, Vernacularization and the Question of Ideology," in *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, ed. J. E. M. Houben (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1996), 197–247.
11. C. Hooykass, *Religion in Bali* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973).
12. Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: Exile and Prophecy in Colonial Java* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995); Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
13. Judith Becker, *Gamelan Stories: Tantrism, Islam and Aesthetics in Central Java* (Arizona: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1993).
14. Helen Creese, "Old Javanese Studies: A Review of the Field," in *Old Javanese Texts and Culture*, ed. Helen Creese and William van der Molen, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 157.1 (2001): 3–33.
15. IBM Dharma Palguna, *Dharma Śūnya: Memuja dan meneliti Śiwa* (The Philosophy of the Void: Worshiping and Researching Śiwa) (Denpasar: Yayasan Dharma Sastra, 1999); Geoffrey Forrester, "The Dharmaśūnya (The Philosophy of the Void): An Old Javanese Treatise on Yoga and Liberation" (honors thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1968).
16. Jan Gonda, "The Indian Religions in Pre-Islamic Indonesia and Their Survival in Bali," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 17.
17. Palguna, *Dharma Śūnya*, 172–73.
18. Max Nihom, "Saṅkhyā and Pāsupata Reflexes in the Indo-Indonesian Vṛhaspatitattva," *Werner Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 39 (1995): 203–20.
19. Hariati Soebadio, ed., *Jñānasiddhanta* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), 53.
20. This point was reiterated by historian and epigraphist Professor J. G. De Casparis, in one of our conversations about epigraphy at the International Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden, October 2000–January 2001.
21. Shaw, "Sacred Landscape," 27.
22. Julian Thomas, "Space and Landscape: Introduction," in *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, ed. Julian Thomas (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 492.
23. Shaw, "Sacred Landscape," 27.
24. See Creese, "Old Javanese Studies," for a review of epigraphic sources.
25. It would hardly be possible to review this massive literature in the context of this article. To derive an idea of just a fragment of this gargantuan output, it would suffice to look at all past issues of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, an august Dutch journal published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (KITLV), Leiden, which began its activities in 1851.

26. Soebadio, *Jñānasiddhanta*, 145.
27. There are various versions of this directional arrangement in the relevant literature. See Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period*, 180 n. 56; Teen Goudriaan, "Manifestations of Śiva in the Balinese Hymn Collection," in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, ed. Perala Ratmam (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973), 2:65–66.
28. Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period*, 181.
29. Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 263.
30. Marijke J. Klokke, "The So-Called Portrait Statues in East Javanese Art," in *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture*, ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 178–91.
31. The snake-shaped *upavīta* is a reference to the association of Śiva with snakes. This association is always taken for granted but rarely explained. Javanese sources by and large do not have specific references to the significance of Śiva's snakes, although Javanese images of Śiva do show him wearing a snake as ornament. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty has connected the snakes with eroticism in her discussion of the mythology of (Indian) Śiva as the erotic ascetic, underpinned by her research into Sanskrit texts: "The general sexual significance of snakes is of course well known; the excited cobra with expanded hood is often found encircling the *linga*, the tail carried down into the *yonī*." See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 243–44. See also my later remarks on the body of Śiva.
32. See note 50 below.
33. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1916; reprint, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), 179; Ratnaesih Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud* (Śiva in His Every Form) (Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, 1993), 26–43.
34. These would have been known from practice, handed down from master to apprentice. There are no specific iconographic texts from ancient Java that present a codification of some sort, as there are in India.
35. See, for example, the work *Wṛatisāsana* (The Precepts of Ascetic) (Sharada Rani, 1961).
36. The exact nature of yogic discipline(s) and the way in which it was practiced are very difficult to know. Yoga was learned through a guru and was not available to everyone. By and large yogic practices involve meditation and physical discipline of some kind, but the details of each yogic school (*śaḍāṅga*, *pratyahāra*, *dhyāna*, *prāṇāyāma*, *tarka*, and others) will never be accessible, as this is the kind of knowledge that would not be divulged and of which no record, apart from the name, can be found. See *Wṛhaspatitattwa* (The Doctrine of Reality of Wṛhaspati), 52.88; 53.4, trans. and ed. Sudarshana Devi Singhal as *Wṛhaspatitattwa: An Old Javanese Philosophical Text* (Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1957), xx; *Wṛatisāsana*.
37. From extant temples in Central Java it is possible to say that it was quite usual for a *lingga* (another representation of Śiva) to be a principal temple image, with an image of Viṣṇu in the northern niche, Agastya in the eastern one, and Brahma in the southern one. An alternative pattern seems to have been temples with images of Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini in the northern niche, of Gaṇeśa in the eastern niche, of Agastya in the southern niche, and of the guardians Nandiśwara and Mahākāla in niches on either side of the eastern entrance. Candi Śiva at the Prambanan complex is a case in point.
38. Le. Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel* (Agastya in the Archipelago) (Leiden: Brill, 1926).
39. For example, *Wṛhaspatitattwa* supports Poerbatjaraka's thesis. See also Tom Hunter, "The Aridharma Reliefs of Candi Jago," in *Society and Culture in Southeast Asia: Continuities and Changes*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2000), 89.
40. A pertinent example is the Śiva Mahādewa from the Musée Guimet, Paris (see fig. 5; see also fig. 2).
41. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 284.
42. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 284–89.
43. The seated Śiva Mahāyogi seen in Prambanan, on Candi Śiva, faces east, not south. R. E. Jordaan and Edi Sedyawati, "Some Iconographic Notes on the Śiva Temple of Prambanan," *Archipel* 40 (1991): 15–23.
44. Recent examples are Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud*; Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period*.
45. I have discussed some of these concerns in a short article, "Interpreting Javanese Images of Śiva," *IIAS [International Institute of Asian Studies] Newsletter*, no. 25 (2001): 32. Thus there may be some overlap.
46. This almost obsessive concern with dating has not just to do with a "thirst for knowledge." A thriving art market is based on valorization of antiquity. The older the object, the more valuable it will be. Hence accurate dating is perceived to be paramount.
47. Michael Shanks, *Art and the Early Greek City State: An Interpretive Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 18.
48. For example, in Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period*.
49. Ian Hodder, "Style as Historical Quality," in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine A. Harstorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 48.
50. The interpretation of Triśiras in Java is open to controversy, as the interpretation of Trimūrti and Maheśamūrti have been in India, judging from the relevant literature, summarized in Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud*, 186–89. The trio Brahma-Viṣṇu-Śiva is known as *trisamaya* from *Tantu Panggelaran*, 66.16, and also from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (The Ancient Story of the Universe), 55.6. In this grouping Śiva is regarded as the highest god. P. J. Zoetmulder, with Stuart Robson, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982), 2:2040; Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud*.
51. For a relevant critique of the character of archaeological interpretation, see Michael Shanks, *Classical Archaeology of Greece: Experiences of the Discipline* (London: Routledge, 1996); Shanks, *Art and the Early Greek City State*; Julian Thomas, "Introduction: The Polarities of Post-Processual Archaeology," in Thomas *Interpretive Archaeology*, 1–22.
52. I am here following Pierre Bourdieu's idea of "habitus" or "hexis" — a disposition toward a habitual or standard condition, appear-

ance, posture, gesture, etc., applicable to a socially constructed body. Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Sage, 1993), 86. For the body in Indian sculpture, see Vidya Dehejia and D. Y. Harnisch, "Yoga as a Key to Understanding the Sculpted Body," in *Representing the Body: Gender Issues in Indian Art*, ed. Vidya Dehejia (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1997), 68–81.

53. In an earlier paper I have looked at representations of the female body in the art of classical Java, focusing on the Rāmāyana reliefs of the Prambanan temple complex. Alessandra Iyer [Lopez y Royo], "Images of Women in the Prambanan Rāmāyana Reliefs," in *A Varied Optic: Contemporary Studies on the Ramayana*, ed. Mandakranta Bose (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Institute of Asian Research, 2000), 33–54. These remarks complement the earlier discussion.

54. In an earlier publication I have suggested that the dance reliefs of Candi Śiwa at Prambanan might represent a dancing Śiwa. Alessandra Iyer [Lopez y Royo], *Prambanan: Sculpture and Dance in Ancient Java—A Study in Dance Iconography* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998). Subsequently, Astrid Wright has tried to identify specific reliefs, in her view more likely to depict Śiwa, out of the overall sixty-two. Wright, review of *Prambanan*.

55. The danger of Indian Śiwa's sexuality has been highlighted by O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiwa*. The association with danger of Śiwa's excessive chastity and excessive sexuality is seen in the *kakawin Smaradahana* (The burning of Kāma) (Poerbatjaraka, R. Ng [1931] Smaradahana, Oud Javaansche Tekst met Vertaling, BJ3, Bandoeng) and the episode of the burning of Kāma, the Lord of Desire.

56. Jan Fontein, *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1989), 82–116.

57. Stanley O'Connor, "Humane Literacy and Southeast Asian Art," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26.1 (1995): 147–58.

58. Emma Barker, "The Changing Museum," in *Contemporary Culture of Display*, ed. Emma Barker (London and New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 1999), 13.

59. Rosemary Joyce, "A Pre-Columbian Gaze: Male Sexuality among Ancient Maya," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, ed. Robert A. Schmidt and Barbara Voss (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 253–83; Mark Pluciennik, "Art, Artefact, Metaphor," in *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, ed. Yannis Hamilakis, Mark Pluciennik, and Sarah Tarlow (New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 217–32.

60. This would be, in Śaiwa terminology, the *ānandakaṇḍapadma*, the lotus of the heart, where the *jīwātma* and the *iṣṭadewata* unite through yoga. P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Tantra*, Translation series 8 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1966); *Dharma Śūnya*, 11.4, in Forrester, "The Dharmaśūnya (The Philosophy of the Void)," 84.

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