

The Politics of Transgression:
Women Painters in Bali during the 1990s

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the social paraphernalia affecting women's art production in Bali, Indonesia – particularly painting. All forms of production in Bali – including art production – are divided along gender lines. Whereas men have traditionally produced certain art forms – i.e. painting – women have traditionally produced others – i.e. textiles. Not surprisingly, then, the majority of painters in Bali are men. However, today, more and more women are taking up painting professionally. I attribute this, in part, to the fact that a group of Indonesian and non-Indonesian women established alternate networks within which to operate during the early 1990s. These include Ikatan Seniwati di Bali (Women's Art Association of Bali), or ISWALI, and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. Both of these organizations provide women painters with the kind of institutional support denied them by local museums and art schools. In addition to this, they have helped legitimize women's art practise in Bali.


Examiners




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* All photographs by Adrienne Sugita Truchi unless specified otherwise.

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Dedication

Om Dewa suksma parama acintyàya

Namah swàha

Sarwa karya prasidhàtam

Om Sàntih, Sàntih, Sàntih, Om.

Chapter 1

Introduction

As I said this morning to Charlie
There is far too much music in Bali
And although as a place it's entrancing
There is also a thought too much dancing
It appears that each Balinese native
From the womb to the tomb is creative
And although the results are quite clever
There is too much artistic endeavor

Noel Coward¹

For almost a century, scholars and non-scholars alike have remarked upon the high number of artists in Bali. In *Island of Bali*, published in 1937, the artist Miguel Covarrubias noted that, “(e)verybody in Bali seems to be an artist. Coolies and princes, priests and peasants, men and women alike, can dance, play musical instruments, paint, or carve in wood and stone.”² Two years later, the artist Walter Spies wrote that, “... almost every single Balinese can paint [and] almost everyone [can] dance or play in the *gamelan* ...”³ Covarrubias and Spies were not alone. In her essay, “The Arts in Bali,” the anthropologist Margaret Mead explained that, “(t)he arts in Bali are practiced in some part by all, for there is no girl so unskilled that she cannot construct offerings, and no man so inept that he can play no musical instrument.”⁴ This being the case, then, why are the majority of painters in Bali men?

¹ Noel Coward quoted by Ruud Spruit, *Artists on Bali*, (Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, 1997), p.61.

² Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946), p.160.

³ Walter Spies quoted by John Darling in “The Context of Bali”, in Hans Rhodius and John Darling, (edited by John Stowell), *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*, (Amsterdam: Terra, Zutphen, 1980), p.71

⁴ Margaret Mead, “The Arts in Bali,” in *The Yale Review*. Vol.XXX, No.2 (December 1940), pp.335-347.

In his essay, "The Recruitment and Socialization of Artists," Mason Griff argues that, "... we should not be led to assume that artists somehow drift into their art. There exists a whole social paraphernalia for getting persons committed to their artistic identities; and the fact that the machinery is not usually visible to the person himself does not, of course, make it any less real."⁵ I believe the same applies to the study of women painters in Bali. "Women's practise in art has never been absolutely forbidden, discouraged or refused," explain Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, "but rather contained and limited to its function as the means by which masculinity gains and sustains its supremacy in the important sphere of cultural production."⁶ Unlike the majority of their male counterparts, women are criticized, even alienated, for taking up painting professionally.

This thesis examines the social paraphernalia, as Griff puts it, affecting women's art production in Bali, particularly that of women painters.⁷ In other words, it seeks to reveal the mechanisms that, until recently, have prevented women painters from fully participating in the mainstream art world as well as the steps they have taken to level the playing field. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate that men and women do not necessarily take up painting professionally by virtue of the fact that they are talented individuals. Rather, the path to becoming a professional painter, or not becoming one for that matter, is affected by a complex network of social structures. "Women play numerous roles in traditional life [in Bali]," explains Mary

⁵ Mason Griff, "The Recruitment and Socialization of Artists," in Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett and Mason Griff, eds. *The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p.147.

⁶ Roszsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art & Ideology*, (London: Routledge, 1981), p.170.

⁷ Due to the gendered nature of art production in Bali, I have chosen to use the term 'painter(s)' instead of 'artist(s)' since the term 'artist(s)' refers to those who practise visual and performing art alike.

Northmore, director of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, “(b)ut [painting] has always been the male domain in which women were neither expected nor encouraged to take part.”⁸ Of particular interest to me is *why*?

Some scholars have suggested that the reason why women painters in Bali are outnumbered by men is due, in part, to the fact that art production there is divided along gender lines.⁹ Whereas men have traditionally practiced certain art forms – such as painting and music - women have traditionally practiced others – such as weaving and dance.¹⁰ However, there are other factors at play here as well. I also believe that there are fewer women painters in Bali due to the strict gender codes which govern the everyday lives of people there – gender codes which were, and still are, propagated through political as well as religious ideology. The Panca Dharma Wanita (Five Duties of Women) dictates that women in Indonesia are, above all, expected to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers.¹¹ In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, they are discouraged from pursuing careers which, in the past at least, used to be reserved for men. These include painting and/or playing music professionally.

Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the number of women painters in Bali is growing. I attribute this to the fact that women painters in Bali began to organize themselves during the 1990s in order to negotiate alternate spaces within which to

⁸ Mary Northmore quoted by Author unknown, “Sense and Sensibilities,” in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

⁹ For more information, see Astri Wright, “Reinventing Myth, Tradition, Gender and the Self: Women Artists in Bali,” in *Seniwati di Bali*, Exhibition Catalogue (Jakarta: Bentara Budaya, 1996), pp.18-30a.

¹⁰ The majority of dancers in Bali are women. However, it is important to note that men also dance. For more information, see the section entitled Museum and Art School Statistics in Chapter 4.

¹¹ See Chapter 3 for more information.

operate. There are seven museums in south-central Bali.¹² Each of them boasts impressive collections of both traditional and modern Indonesian painting as well as works by (mostly male) foreign painters.¹³ Women painters, however, are under-represented in each of these museums. As a result, they rely on the economic/emotional support of their families and partners. In addition to this, they have established their own art organizations: Ikatan Seniwati di Bali (Women's Art Association of Bali), or ISWALI, and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. Among other things, these organizations provide women painters with the kind of institutional support denied them by the above mentioned museums. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, they have helped to legitimize female art practice, particularly in painting, which in Bali, has traditionally been practised by men.

The women with whom I met during the course of my research paint all manner of subject matter – ranging from mythological (Ni Made Suciarmi) to scenes from daily life (Gusti Agung Galuh). However, for some, painting serves as a tool with which to examine issues affecting their lives and/or the lives of others. Of particular interest to me are their images of women. Images of women abound in Indonesian painting. However, more often than not, they are depicted as the objects, rather than the subjects, of these paintings. In other words, they are images *of* women, but not necessarily *about* or *by* them. Such is not the case of work by Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), Ni Nyoman Sani (b.1974) and I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih

¹² These are: Museum Rudana in Peliatan (established in 1995); Museum Neka in Sanggingan (established in 1982); Museum Puri Lukisan (Palace of Painting Museum) (established in 1956); the Agung Rai Museum of Art, or ARMA (established in 1996); Museum Seni Lukis Klassic Bali (Museum of Classical Balinese Painting) (established in 1993); Museum Negeri Propinsi Bali (Museum Bali) (established in 1932); and Taman Budaya (Art Centre) (established in 1973).

¹³ More often than not, these painters make up a sizeable part of the collections and are highly regarded by the Balinese community at large.

(b.1966), or Murni. Rather, these three painters explore issues that are relevant to women, such as political censorship and sexuality to name a few.

ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women were founded in 1991 by a group of Indonesian and non-Indonesian women living and working in Bali. Having said that, though, non-Indonesians, such as Mary Northmore (b.1949), and to a lesser extent Judith Shelley (b.1959), have been the driving force behind them. What, then, does the twenty-first century hold for women painters in Bali? In order for these organizations to better meet the challenges ahead of them, it is my hope that Balinese, as well as Indonesian, women will assume more pro-active roles within both of these organizations. I believe that this is possible due to the fact that traditional gender roles in Bali are becoming increasingly blurred. Prior to the onset of mass tourism, Bali had an agricultural based economy. Today, it has a commodity based one. This has affected almost every aspect of people's lives there – including, among other things, the kinds of work they do. This bodes well for women painters interested in pursuing professions which, in the past at least, were reserved for men.

In Chapter 1, I discuss the literature available on painting in Bali. In addition to this, I explore the theoretical frameworks which informed my research and provide a short account of my experiences in the field. In Chapter 2, I provide a short history of painting in Bali. Painting has traditionally served a religious function. However by the twentieth century, this was no longer the case. Among other things, painters began to explore secular themes. In Chapter 3, I examine traditional art production in Bali as well as some of the ways in which it is reinforced by gender ideology. In Chapter 4, I examine the various forms of support available to women painters in Bali, including

ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. In Chapter 5, I discuss images of women in the work of Ni Nyoman Sani, Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih and Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti.¹⁴ And finally in Chapter 6, I examine some of the ways in which women painters in Bali are benefiting from shifting gender codes there.

Literature Review

There is no shortage of information in English on painting in Bali.¹⁵ Anthony Forge's *Balinese Traditional Paintings: A Selection from the Forge Collection of the Australian Museum* (1978) is a catalogue which accompanied an exhibition by the same name.¹⁶ In it, Forge provides a brief introduction to traditional painting in Bali as well as summaries of the most popular stories. Traditional painting in Bali, or Wayang style painting, originated in Kamasan during the seventeenth century. The paintings, which typically depict scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabarata, are didactic in nature. In other words, they are intended to impart some kind of lesson to the viewer. Characters fall under one of two categories: *halus* (refined) or *kasar* (coarse). Those which are *halus* are situated on the right hand side of the painting, while those which are *kasar* are situated on the left hand side of the painting. Whether *halus* or *kasar*, though, all characters are depicted in three-quarters profile. This is in order that their full head dress, which allows to viewer to identify them, be clearly visible.

¹⁴ See Appendix I for a discussion on Balinese names.

¹⁵ For a complete bibliography of publications on Bali from 1920 to 1990, see David J. Stuart-Fox, *Bibliography of Bali: Publications from 1920 to 1990*, (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1992).

¹⁶ It is important to note here that early texts on painting in Bali were not written by art historians. Rather, they were written by anthropologists, historians, etc. Anthony Forge, for example, was a professor of anthropology at ANU (Australian National University).

Claire Holt's *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (1967) includes a chapter entitled "Bali's Plastic Arts: Traditions in Flux."¹⁷ Prior to the 1930s, according to Holt, painters in Bali produced mostly narrative cloth paintings done in the *wayang* style. Favorite subjects included scenes from the well-known Hindu texts – the Ramayana and the Mahabharata - as well as other Balinese myths, such as Calon Arang.¹⁸ Innovation in painting, according to Holt, was rare. Painters rarely strayed from established conventions. This changed, however, during the 1930s. Canvasses, for one, got smaller. However, as Holt explains, "... the demand for paintings either framed or suitable for framing in time changed not only the format and technique but also affected the content of painting."¹⁹ Previously, painting had served a religious function in Bali. However by the late 1930s, this was no longer the case. "From the realm of the gods and mythological heroes," explains Holt, "[...] the painters increasingly turned to Balinese life on this earth."²⁰ In other words, painters began to depict scenes from daily life. This marked the beginning of an important shift in painting in Bali.²¹

R.M. Moerdowo's *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts* (1977) is similar to Holt's text in that it, too, contains a chapter on Bali's 'plastic arts.'²² Like Holt, Moerdowo credits Walter Spies with having played an instrumental role in development of painting in Bali. In 1936, Spies helped to establish the well-

¹⁷ The term 'plastic arts,' here, refers to painting and sculpture.

¹⁸ Calon Arang is the mythic tale of the fight between the witch Rangda and the King Airlangga.

¹⁹ Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), p.180.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.180.

²¹ I have chosen to use the term 'early modern' to describe paintings produced in and around Ubud during the 1930s and 1940s. Neither Holt nor Geertz use it in their respective texts. By contrast, Moerdowo uses the term 'modern'.

²² The book was published again in 1983.

known art organization Pita Maha. The Pita Maha, which was comprised of artists from in and around Ubud, was extremely successful.²³ Paintings produced by members of the Pita Maha are housed in the Museum Puri Lukisan. During a trip to Bali in 1945, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Indonesia's Ambassador to America, suggested the need for a museum of modern art in Ubud. The Cokorde Gede Agung Sukawati – a member of Ubud's ruling family – agreed. In 1956, the Museum Puri Lukisan opened.²⁴ The museum, according to Moerdowo, is a testament to the fact that painting underwent something of a renewal during the 1930s and 1940s. However by the 1950s, this was no longer the case. Painting in Bali had become staid. As a result, members of the art community petitioned the government to open an art school in Bali. In 1965, two art schools were established in Denpasar.²⁵

Hildred Geertz's *Images of Power: Balinese Paintings Made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead* (1995) examines a number of Batuan style paintings collected by two anthropologists in Bali during the late 1930s. Bateson, an Englishman, and Mead, an American, arrived in Bali in 1936. Over the course of the next three years, the pair collected over one thousand paintings – the majority of which were produced in the village of Batuan and made notes on each of the paintings. In addition to this, their assistant interviewed twenty-three painters about their life and work. However, nothing ever came of their study. During the 1990s, however, Hildred Geertz decided to pick up where they left off. Batuan style paintings produced during the 1930s, according to Geertz, reveal a preoccupation

²³ I was especially interested to learn that I Gusti Nyoman Lempad's daughter, I Gusti Putu Oka, was also a painter. Oka, according to Moerdowo, was one of the only women painters in Bali. Beyond that, he tells us nothing about her.

²⁴ Moerdowo claims that the museum opened in 1957, when in fact it opened in 1956.

with power or, more specifically, *shakti* (mystical power). She explains that, “(a)nyone who has lived in Bali for any length of time knows that the fear of the sorcery of fellow villagers, and the dread of godly or ancestral wrath governs much of everyday life. These works, in sometimes horrifying ways, give vivid images of this pervasive anxiety, which is normally hidden behind a happy façade of courtesy.”²⁶ Geertz describes the paintings in the collection as ‘bi-cultural products’ since, on the one hand, they are made with western pictorial conventions, while on the other, they are firmly rooted in Balinese culture.

There are also a number of recent publications on painting in Bali aimed at a mainstream audience. These include: *Balinese Paintings* (1986) by A.A.M. Djelantik; *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting* (1991) by Alison Taylor; *Perceptions of Bali: Images of Bali in the Arts* (1993) by Garrett Kam; and *Museum Puri Lukisan* by Jean Couteau (1999). *Balinese Paintings* by A.A.M. Djelantik is the first survey of painting in Bali written by a Balinese.²⁷ In it, Djelantik examines the origins of the Kamasan, Ubud, Batuan and Panestanan Schools of painting as well as works by academic and non-academic painters. *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting* by Alison Taylor, *Perceptions of Bali: Images of Bali in the Arts* by Garrett Kam and *Museum Puri Lukisan* by Jean Couteau are somewhat different than Djelantik’s text in that they are written around, and for, the collections of the Agung Rai Museum of

²⁵ See Chapter 2 for more information.

²⁶ Hildred Geertz, *Images of Power: Balinese Paintings Made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), p.2.

²⁷ Djelantik helped found Listibya (Council for the Arts and Culture of Bali).

Art, Neka Museum and Museum Puri Lukisan. In addition to this, they examine works by both Balinese and non-Balinese painters.²⁸

Each of these texts is in its own way very informative. However, except for the inclusion of one painting by Ni Made Suciarmi in *Balinese Paintings* and one each by Ni Made Pastini and Ni Gusti Ayu Natih Arimini in *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting*, neither one of these so-called ‘surveys’ discusses works by women painters at length. This reflects the fact that during the 1990s women painters were, and still are, under-represented in museums throughout the island.²⁹ The first scholar to write about women painters in Indonesia was Astri Wright. Wright’s Ph.D. dissertation, “Soul, Spirit, and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters” (1991), includes a chapter on women painters.³⁰ In it, she examines the ways in which painters such as Farida Srihadi, Nunung W.S and Lucia Hartini have negotiated a place for themselves within Indonesia’s male dominated art world.³¹ The bulk of the chapter, however, is devoted to the painter Kartika Affandi.³² Wright argues that Affandi, “... is the only female painter who has thought or dared to openly express the pain and struggle of a woman in search of her true identity no matter how this might clash with culturally imposed roles of womanhood.”³³ The

²⁸ This is due to the fact that all three museums house works by Indonesian, Balinese and foreign painters.

²⁹ See Chapter 4 for museum and art school statistics.

³⁰ Wright’s Ph.D. dissertation served as the basis for her book, *Soul, Spirit, and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994).

³¹ These include joining women’s art organizations such as Ikatan Pelukis Wanita Indonesia (The Association for Indonesian Women Painters), Grup Sembilan (Group Nine) and Nuansa Indonesia (Nuance Indonesia).

³² Kartika Affandi was known as Kartika Affandi-Köberl during her marriage to Gerhard Köberl. They have since divorced.

³³ Astri Wright, “Soul, Spirit and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters,” (Cornell University: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1991), p.286.

issues raised in this chapter relate specifically to women painters living in Java. However, I believe them to be relevant to women painters living in Bali as well.

The number of publications on women painters in Bali increased during the 1990s thanks to the establishment of ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women in 1991.³⁴ The Australian curator, Heather Curnow, has published (at least) three essays on the subject. “Women Artists in Bali” (1993/1994), “Working With Balinese Artists” (1993/1994), and “Two Balinese Women Artists: Dewa Biang Raka and Dewa Ayu Budiati” (date unknown) are based on her interviews with women painters in Bali. In addition to this, she organized an exhibition of women's art from Bali in 1995. The first scholar to write about the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, however, was Astri Wright. In 1994, she presented a paper about the gallery at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Northwest Regional Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies (NWRCSSEAS), University of Washington in Seattle. The following year, she published a short essay on the Seniwati Gallery of Art in *Art and Asia Pacific* in which she discusses works by Ni Made Suciarmi, Dewa Biang Raka, Ni Putu Ani and Gusti Ayu Suartini at length.³⁵ Wright explains that in the Seniwati Gallery of Art, women “have a place to go where their identity as artists is supported and where common problems and challenges can be discussed with others in similar situations.”³⁶ In 1996, both Wright and Djelantik contributed essays to a catalogue commemorating the Seniwati Gallery of Art's first exhibition held outside of Bali.³⁷

³⁴ See Appendices II & III for a list of newspaper and magazine articles on both of these organizations.

³⁵ The same essay was reproduced in Dinah Dysart and Hannah Fink, eds., *Asian Women Artists*, (Roseville: Craftsman House, 1996) the following year as “A Woman's Place: The Seniwati Gallery in Bali.”

³⁶ Astri Wright, “The Seniwati Gallery of Women's Art,” in *Art and Asia Pacific*, Vol.2, No.2 (April 1995), p.35.

³⁷ Wright's essay was reproduced in Indonesian in *Kompas*, (Sabtu, 19 Oktober 1996).

The catalogue is comprised of four essays written both in English and Indonesian, artist biographies as well as colour plates of the works which appeared in the show.³⁸

In addition to the aforementioned scholars, two undergraduate students have written research papers on women painters in Indonesia. Wendy Norris' paper, "20 Seniwati di Bali: Current Balinese and Indonesian Women Painters in Perspective" (1992), is a collection of biographies of women who have at some point in their careers exhibited at the Seniwati Gallery of Art. Norris, a student from Australia, has divided the twenty women into three categories: traditionalist painters, contemporary/academic painters and new generation painters. However no attempt has been made to explain what constitutes a 'traditionalist,' 'contemporary/academic' and/or 'new generation' painter. Consequently, it is unclear what criteria was used to divide them in this way.³⁹ Despite this, though, "20 Seniwati di Bali: Current Balinese and Indonesian Women Painters in Perspective" does provide a glimpse into the lives of women painters in Bali.⁴⁰ By contrast, Philippa Wright's paper, "The Development of Traditional Balinese Painting, With Particular Reference to the Late Twentieth Century" (1997), focuses only on traditional Balinese painting.⁴¹ However, unlike

³⁸ Wright has also presented several conference papers on women painters in Bali. These are "The Emerging Herstory of Modern Art in Bali: The Seniwati Gallery for Women Artists," paper presented at Southeast Asia and the New Economic Order, the Sixth Annual Conference of the Northwest Regional Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies (NWRCSSEAS), University of Washington, Seattle, 4-6 November 1994; and "Southeast Asian Women Artists: A Case Study of 'Naughty' in Bali," paper presented at the Centre for Asia Pacific Forum, Dunsmuir Lodge, University of Victoria, Victoria, 6 February 1999.

³⁹ For example, there are many contemporary artists in Bali whose style is considered traditional. See Chapter 2 for more information.

⁴⁰ Wendy Norris, "20 Seniwati di Bali: Current Balinese and Indonesian Women Painters, in Perspective," unpublished manuscript. (Peliatan: School for International Training, 1991). Norris has also written a senior thesis entitled, "Women of Two Worlds," (date unknown). However, I have been unable to locate it.

⁴¹ Philippa Michele Wright, "The Development of Traditional Balinese Painting, With Particular Reference to the Late Twentieth Century," unpublished manuscript. (The University of Hull: Special Degree of Bachelor of Arts Dissertation, 1997).

other works of this nature, Wright, a student from England, writes about the emergence of women painters in Bali as well as the establishment of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.

Theoretical Frameworks

The majority of texts on Balinese painting, then, focus exclusively on male art practice.⁴² In *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, Deborah Cherry urges feminists to question the so-called neutrality of the documents with which they work. She argues that, "(t)he historical archive is a fissured, fragmentary monument to the past, shaped in and by historically specific relations between power and knowledge which have determined who is recorded, when, where and how. Far from simply containing information or relaying facts, surviving documentation as much as contemporary historical inquiry can be located within the exercise of power."⁴³ The same is true of other disciplines as well. Linda Mitteness explains that,

Reading much of the traditional social anthropology might lead one to think that cultures other than ours consist entirely of men of indeterminate adult age who have mothers only in order that they might have mothers' brothers. This ethnographic slant can probably be accounted for by a variety of factors, including the relative importance of men in the societies studied, the predispositions of Western anthropologists to think of male institutions first, and the age and sex of the fieldworker...It is time for anthropologists to reflexively analyze their selection of topics for study.⁴⁴

⁴² Feminists began to question the exclusion of women from mainstream art in the early 1970s. For more information, see Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990); Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art & Ideology*, (London: Routledge, 1981); and Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*, (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁴³ Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, (London: Routledge, 1993), p.6.

It is the responsibility of feminists such as myself to question why women are written out of much of art history and to 'disrespect' those texts from which they are excluded. "Disrespect," according to Frigga Haug, "is a necessary precondition of knowledge itself."⁴⁵ By disrespecting texts, we subvert 'common sense' knowledge, or knowledge which 'everybody knows'. In her essay "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," first published in 1973, Linda Nochlin demonstrated that most art history texts focus exclusively on male art practise. Consequently, people tended to assume that that there were no women artists - an example of 'common sense' knowledge. 'Common sense' knowledge, according to Linda Carty, "... makes inequality and discrimination appear natural."⁴⁶

Haug's notion of 'disrespect' is especially relevant to white feminists engaged in cross-cultural work today. Feminist scholarship, explains Linda Martin Alcoff, "... has a liberatory agenda that almost requires that women scholars speak on behalf of other women; yet the dangers of speaking across differences of race, culture, sexuality, and power are becoming increasingly apparent."⁴⁷ Among other things, the dangers of which Alcoff speaks threaten to rob women of their voice. For decades, women of colour have argued that a paradigm shift is necessary within (white) feminist discourse.⁴⁸ In their critique of British feminism in the 1980s, Valerie

⁴⁴ Linda Mitteness quoted by Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.109.

⁴⁵ Frigga Haug and Others (Translated by Erica Carter), *Female Sexualization: A Collective Work of Memory*, (London: Verso, 1987), p.63.

⁴⁶ Linda Carty, "Black Women in Academia: A Statement from the Periphery," in Himani Bannerji, Linda Carty, Kari Dehli, Susan Heald and Kate McKenna, *Unsettling Relations: The University as a Site of Feminist Struggle*, (Toronto: Women's Press, 1991), p.21.

⁴⁷ Linda Martin Alcoff, "The Problem of Speaking for Others," in Judith Roof & Robyn Wiegmar, eds., *Who Can Speak? Authority & Critical Identity*, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1995), p.98.

⁴⁸ For more information, see bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*, (Boston: South End Press, 1992); Donna Landry and Gerald McLean, *Materialist Feminisms*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993); and Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Woman, Native, Other*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

Amos and Pratibha Parmar wrote: "... [white feminists] are not acquainted with traditions outside of their own cultures and histories, [therefore] the ideological and the theoretical legacies that they write from inevitably deny as valid any modes of struggle and organization which have their origins in non-European philosophical traditions."⁴⁹ In addition to this, they construct "... monolithic images of 'Two-Thirds World Women' by ignoring the complex and mobile relationships between their historical reality on the level of specific oppressions and political choices on the one hand and their general discursive representations on the other."⁵⁰

Should white, middle-class feminists write about women of colour, then? I have struggled with this question throughout the course of my research. On the one hand, I agree with Edward Said who writes,

... if you agree with Gramsci that an intellectual vocation is socially possible as well as desirable, it is inadmissible at the same time to build analyses of historical experience around exclusions, exclusions that stipulate, for instance, only women can understand feminine experience, only Jews can understand Jewish suffering, only formerly colonial subjects can understand colonial experience.⁵¹

On the other hand, I sometimes think it might be easier to avoid the subject altogether for fear of repeating the mistakes of the past. However as Linda Martin Alcoff argues, the desire to avoid criticism and/or making errors is not a legitimate reason for *not* writing for or about others. She maintains that, "... errors are unavoidable in theoretical inquiry as well as political struggle, and they usually make contributions.

⁴⁹ Donna Landry and Gerald McLean, *Materialist Feminisms*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), p.183.

⁵⁰ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp.208-211.

⁵¹ Edward Said quoted by Laurie J. Sears, *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), pp.8-9.

The pursuit of an absolute means to avoid making errors comes perhaps not from a desire to advance collective goals but from a desire for personal mastery, to establish a privileged discursive position wherein we cannot be undermined or challenged and thus become master of the situation.”⁵² I agree with Alcoff that the desire for mastery should be resisted. Instead we should engage in an ongoing dialogue with those we are either writing for or about - conscious of the mistakes we may make, but always willing to learn from them.

Wright has already applied the ideas discussed here to the study of contemporary Indonesian art. Wright, author of *Soul, Spirit, and Mountain: Preoccupations of Indonesian Painters*, the first in-depth study of contemporary painting in Indonesia, believes in encouraging “... peer-exchange, mutual goals, acceptance and representation of difference, and respect in the research process.”⁵³

One of the ways she does this is by making a point of interviewing artists:

Artists are an important source of authority about a work of art – one which has often been ignored in the pages of art historical research. In attempting to understand the art of another culture, the inclusion of the artist is essential: like thought processes and behaviour patterns, aesthetic reactions and judgments are learned, and the artist’s ideas and circumstances can give clues to perceptions and values surrounding art that would not be immediately apparent to an outsider from the art work itself.⁵⁴

Wright, who speaks Bahasa Indonesia, lived in Indonesia for almost two years while carrying out research for her Ph.D. Since then, she has traveled there on several

⁵² Linda Martin Alcoff, “The Problem of Speaking for Others,” p.110.

⁵³ Astri Wright, “Selftaught Against the Grain: Three Artists and a Writer,” paper presented at the “Women Imaging Women” Exhibition/Conference at the University of the Philippines, Manila, 11-14 March 1999, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Wright, *Soul, Spirit and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters*, p. 1.

occasions and works hard to maintain her professional as well as personal contacts between visits. Wright allows the artists she interviews to re-read their interviews after they have been transcribed as well as read her manuscripts before they are published. This gives the artists the opportunity to proofread them and/or make changes they feel are necessary. More importantly, though, it allows her to develop good working relationships with those she is either writing for/about. Wright believes strongly in this approach. “(W)e need scholarship that empowers individual people,” she explains, “the artists with whom many of us as researchers choose to work closely, in this case women artists in Southeast Asia, at the immediate, personal, individual level, by aiding in the reach of their voices beyond their immediate surroundings to audiences which can hear and appreciate what is often misunderstood or ignored at home.”⁵⁵

Fieldwork

In May of 1998, I traveled to Bali to begin the fieldwork component of my research.⁵⁶ I based myself in Ubud, since that was where the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women was located. However the day after I arrived, four students were murdered during an anti-government rally at Trisakti University in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta.⁵⁷ The Trisakti murders spurred student protestors to stage a massive demonstration in Jakarta nine days later. On May 19, thirty thousand students stormed the House of Representatives (DPR) and the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR)

⁵⁵ Wright, “Selftaught Against the Grain: Three Artists and a Writer,” p. 24.

⁵⁶ I spent almost three months in Bali in 1998, but returned the following year.

⁵⁷ The country was in the midst of an economic crisis at the time.

and called for President Suharto's resignation.⁵⁸ The students had intended to camp out there for one night and then make their way to the National Monument for the demonstration the following day. However, thirty-nine thousand police and military personnel were deployed throughout the city in the early hours of the morning of May 20 in order to prevent the students from marching. When opposition leaders learned about this, they cancelled the demonstration. "In such a situation," one of them explained, "I'm afraid there would be people – civilians and military – injured for nothing (and this) would damage our campaign for reform."⁵⁹ Despite this, though, foreigners were advised to stay in their hotels and/or homes for fear that they may be targeted by angry mobs. The following day, Suharto resigned after thirty-two years in power.⁶⁰

Not surprisingly, then, I was not able to begin my fieldwork on time.⁶¹ In the beginning of June, I drew up a list of painters with whom I wanted to meet. I was especially interested in meeting women from different socio-economic/ethnic backgrounds as well as different ages in order to determine, among other things, whether or not one generation's perspectives and/or experiences differed from

⁵⁸ Students blamed Suharto and his cronies for the economic crisis.

⁵⁹ Author unknown, "National Awakening Day rally cancelled to avoid bloodshed," *The Jakarta Post*, Vol.18, No.25 (21 May 1998), p.1.

⁶⁰ "I QUIT" screamed the headlines the following day. And with that the country breathed a collective sigh of relief. However over the course of the next few weeks, reports began to emerge that hundreds of ethnic Chinese women had been gang raped and/or mutilated by organized mobs during the May riots.

⁶¹ I thought that I might have to leave Bali at this time. My journal entry for May 18 reads as follows: "The situation here is getting progressively worse. Apparently students are planning massive demonstrations across the country on May 20. Until now, Bali has been spared the violence which has rocked Jakarta, but the situation is so volatile anything is possible. What to do? I am feeling increasingly isolated as foreigners continue to leave the island in droves. All flights out of Bali are booked solid for the next eight days. The Australian Consulate has told me to stay put on the 20th and not to travel. If the situation continues to deteriorate, they will airlift us out of here en masse. Airlifted out of Bali? Is this really happening?"

another's.⁶² I formally interviewed thirteen painters in 1998; these were Ni Made Suciarmi (b.1932), Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), Dewa Biang Raka (b.1937), Annie Ogle (b.1940), Ni Made Rinu (b.1957), Ni Made Sriasih (b.1962), Megasari (b.1963), I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, or Murni (b.1966), Kerry Pendergrast (b.1963), Gusti Agung Galuh (b.1960), Gusti Ayu Suartini (b.1972), Ni Putu Sriani (b.1973) and Ni Nyoman Sani (b.1974); as well as the director of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, Mary Northmore (b.1949).⁶³ I also interviewed a number of other people, including museum guides and art teachers, on a more informal basis.⁶⁴ In addition to this, I did research in a number of local libraries, visited museums and galleries and attended cultural performances, such as dances and concerts, in order to gain a better understanding of Balinese culture. It is important to note here that all of the people I interviewed, whether formally or informally, were receptive to my project and eager to answer my questions.⁶⁵

During the course of my research, I was fortunate in that I was able to develop good working relationships with the women I interviewed. However, these relationships would more often than not become strained when I asked them to sign a Letter of Consent. The Office of the Vice-President, Research at the University of Victoria requires that all research involving humans must be approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee, or HREC. In order to be approved, researchers must be able to demonstrate that their project conforms to the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on*

⁶² It is important to note here that my original list changed as some of the painters I had hoped to talk to were either busy and/or no longer living in Bali.

⁶³ These interviews were pre-arranged and, for the most part, audio-taped.

⁶⁴ These interviews were neither pre-arranged nor audio-taped.

⁶⁵ I conducted follow up interviews with I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih and Ni Nyoman Sani in 2000. In addition to this, I sent new questions via email to Mary Northmore, Tjandra Kerton, Judith Shelley,

the Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.⁶⁶ Among other things, the policy stipulates that, “(r)esearch may begin only if prospective subjects, or authorized third parties, have been given the opportunity to give their free and informed consent about participation, and their free and informed consent has been given and maintained throughout their participation.”⁶⁷ One of the ways to do this is by having them sign a Letter of Consent.⁶⁸ However in my case, that did not really work. The letter, I soon realized, made some Balinese women uncomfortable. Whereas initially they had been receptive to my project, they now became suspicious of my motives. In some cultures, such as Indonesia, oral agreements are looked upon more favourably than are written contracts. As a result, the Letter of Consent was counter-productive. Rather than help destabilize the relations of power which typically exist between researcher and researched, it only served to reinforce them.⁶⁹

I have been writing my thesis, off and on, since the end of 1999. This was, in part, due to the fact that I took part in the Darmasiswa Programme in Bali during the 1999/2000 academic year. The programme, which was established in 1974, provides non-Indonesians with the opportunity to study aspects of Indonesian culture at one of the country’s state-run universities for up to one year. I studied Bahasa Indonesia at Universitas Udayana (Udayana University) in Denpasar. However, in my spare time,

Victoria Cattoni, Kerry Pendergrast and Joanna Moon in 2001. Shelley, Cattoni and Moon are all painters.

⁶⁶ The *Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* is a policy which was conceived of by the Medical Research Council (MRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

⁶⁷ For more information, see the following web site:

<http://www.sshrc.ca/english/programinfo/policies/ethics.htm>.

⁶⁸ The *Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* prefers that consent be put into writing.

I returned to all of the museums that I had visited in 1998. This enabled me to determine whether or not the number of women painters in their collections had changed.⁷⁰ In addition to this, I met with several of the painters I interviewed in 1998. Our meetings were, for the most part, informal – a format where important information is gathered and insights often arise. However, I did conduct formal follow-up interviews with I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih and Ni Nyoman Sani. It is important to note here that I was not writing my thesis at this time. Rather, I waited until after I returned to Canada in 2000. Since then, I have interviewed Mary Northmore and Kerry Pendergrast again. I have also emailed questions to Judith Shelley (b.1959), Victoria Cattoni (no date) and Joanna Moon (b.1964) about their involvement with ISWALI and/or the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. All three artists have lived and worked in Bali at some point in their lives. Consequently, they were able to provide me with non-Indonesian perspectives on both of these organizations.

⁶⁹ When I complained about this to the Human Research Ethics Committee, I was told that having participants sign a Letter of Consent is, in fact, optional. However, this was not made clear to me prior to carrying out my fieldwork.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 4 for more information.

Chapter 2

A Short History of Traditional and Early Modern Painting in Bali

Painting in Bali used to serve a religious function. Typically, Kamasan, or Wayang, style paintings, depict scenes from the Mahabarata or Ramayana. However by the 1930s, there was no longer a market for these paintings. This was due, in part, to the fact that the courts, and to a lesser extent, temples no longer had the means necessary to patronize artists. However at about the same time, a new patron emerged: tourists. Among the first tourists to arrive were a group of foreign artists – most notably Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet. In 1936, Spies and Bonnet, along with the Cokorde Gede Agung Sukawati, founded the well-known art organization Pita Maha. The Pita Maha spawned several schools of painting. These include, among others, the Ubud and Batuan Schools. However, unlike Kamasan style paintings, these new schools of painting did not serve a religious function. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, they no longer had an indigenous market.

Traditional Painting

No one is sure when the Balinese started to paint.¹ However, we do know that during the seventeenth century, the King of Klungkung commissioned an artisan from the village of Kamasan to decorate his palace with paintings done in the *wayang* style. Pleased with the results, the king bestowed upon him the title *sangging*

mahudara (master artisan).² In addition to this, the *banjar* (hamlet) in which he lived, was renamed Banjar Sangging (Hamlet of the Master).³ Prior to the twentieth century, painting served a religious function in Bali. “That which we call art,” explains Michel Picard, “had until then been a functional task, a ‘service’ (*ayah*) rendered to the gods and ancestors, princes and the community, rather than the expression of individual creativity.”⁴

Kamasan, or Wayang, style paintings used to be displayed primarily in temples in the form of *lontek* or *umbul-umbul* (slender banners), *kober* (flags), *ider-ider* (long scrolls), *lahuhur* (canopies), *langse* (curtains) and *tabing* (hangings). In addition to this, they adorned all manner of objects such as *parba* (headboards), *palinggih* (temple shrines), *janggawari* (sacred relic holders), *jampana* (holy image/relic carriers), *joli* (palanquins) and *gayot* (sedan chairs) (Figure 1).⁵ They were not “... intended to be objects of contemplation in their own right, but to be part of a more complex whole involving buildings, which they decorated; offerings, which often partly obscured them; and a whole set of actions by priests and congregation which were the main focus of attention.”⁶

According to Anthony Forge, Kamasan style paintings can be divided into two categories: mythological and post-mythological. Mythological paintings are derived

¹ According to Garrett Kam, the oldest documented paintings in Bali date to the fifteenth century. For more information, see Garrett Kam, *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, (Ubud: Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka, 1993), p.25.

² Anthony Forge, *Balinese Traditional Paintings: A Selection from the Forge Collection of the Australian Museum, Sydney*, (Sydney: The Australian Museum, 1978), p.7.

³ Urs Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.60.

⁴ Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1996), p.84.

⁵ Kam, *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, pp.22-23.

from well-known Hindu texts, the Mahabarata and the Ramayana. Especially popular as a subject among Kamasan style painters was, and still is, the abduction of Sita. By contrast, post-mythological paintings are based on actual events. “The stories in this group,” according to Forge, “are more diverse, covering the adventures of romantic heroes, past kingdoms, folk heroes, and struggles between the forces of black and white magic ...”⁷ These include, among others, Calon Arang – the mythic battle between the witch Rangda and the king Airlangga – and Malat - the Balinese version of the Panji cycle.⁸ Whether mythological or post-mythological, though, Kamasan style paintings are “... meant to inform the viewer about the ethical and moral standards of the established order.”⁹ In other words, they are didactic in nature.

Ni Made Suciarmi's (b.1932) painting *Arjuna Wiwaha* (Celebrations of Arjuna's Wedding), date unknown, (traditional paint on treated cotton, 52 x 78 cm) falls under the mythological category (Figure 2).¹⁰ Here, a group of nymphs led by Suprabha attempt to seduce Arjuna while he meditates. While his two servants, the brothers Twalen and Morda, succumb to their charms, Arjuna, who is seated at the foot of a mountain, does not. Impressed by this, the god Indra charges Arjuna with slaying the demon Detia Kwaca. However Arjuna cannot do it alone. Rather, he needs Suprabha's help. Suprabha soon discovers his secret and tells Arjuna. A battle ensues

⁶ Forge, *Balinese Traditional Paintings: A Selection from the Forge Collection of the Australian Museum, Sydney*, p.7.

⁷ *Ibid*, p.13.

⁸ The Panji Cycle describes the hero's, Panji Ino Kertapati's, quest to be reunited with the women he loves.

⁹ Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali*, p.61.

¹⁰ For a complete synopsis of the story, see Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change*, pp.272-273.

and Arjuna eventually kills the demon with an arrow given to him by the god Siwa.¹¹ The figures here are depicted in three-quarters profile except for their chest and shoulders which are depicted frontally. However, it is important to note that they are not individuals. Rather, they conform to strict iconographic rules.

In addition to the above mentioned categories, Kamasan style painters also produce traditional Balinese calendars - the most popular being the Pelelintangan. The Pelelintangan, which is derived from the Balinese word *lintang* (star, constellation), is a thirty-five day calendar which functions as a kind of astrological chart (Figure 3). However, unlike conventional calendars, it depicts the days on which the five and seven day week cycles of the Pawukan calendar coincide.¹² “Each day of the week has a set of attributes. These are located on the top and bottom rows of the calendar and include such things as animals and birds. “One should give preference and preferential treatment to whichever animals, birds, and gods are his or her own,” writes Fred B. Eiseman, Jr., “These choices should influence even such decisions as which tree to plant near the house. The proper choice will bring luck, and the wrong choice may bring trouble.”¹³

Kamasan style paintings were, and still are to a certain extent, made using traditional materials. Ni Made Suciarmi, one of the few female Kamasan style painters active in Bali today, described the process to me as follows: First, *kain*

¹¹ The Arjuna Wiwaha myth is extremely popular among Kamasan-style painters. However, Suciarmi's version is unusual in that she has depicted eight nymphs instead of the seven mentioned in the story.

¹² The Pawukan calendar, according to Fred B. Eiseman, Jr., “... is an undated, 210-day repeating cycle on which are overlaid ten distinct “weeks.” One-day weeks, two-day weeks, three-day weeks and so on up to ten-day weeks all run concurrently.” For more information, see Fred B. Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala & Niskala*. Volume I (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1996), p.194.

¹³ Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala & Niskala*, Volume I, p.196.

belacu (unbleached cotton) is soaked in a rice mixture and dried in the sun. Once dry, it is polished with a cowrie shell. Second, a preliminary sketch is made using either a pencil or pen (Figure 4). Less experienced painters use a pencil whereas more experienced ones use a pen. Third, the sketch is coloured in using bamboo brushes. Light colours are applied first followed by darker ones. The painter supports the canvas with the palm of his/her hand while he/she paints. Before synthetic paints were made available in Bali, painters used to make their own. Materials such as clay, soot and bones were ground up using a mortar and pestle and then mixed with a binding agent called *ancur* (fish glue) (Figures 5, 6 & 7). When the painting is finished, it is polished again with a cowrie shell until it shines (Figure 8). Not surprisingly, then, a single painting can take months to finish.¹⁴

Patronage

Prior to colonization by the Dutch in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, artists in Bali, especially performing artists, were patronized by *pura* (temples).¹⁵ Temples are, "... the central focus for nearly *all* Balinese arts: artists and craftsmen are required to build, ornament, and, maintain them, and they must perform their arts, make their offerings to celebrate their festivals, and read their poetry aloud

¹⁴ Ni Made Suciarmi, personal communication, 15 June 1998.

¹⁵ The Dutch conquered the island in stages between 1846 and 1908. The kingdoms of Buleleng and Jembrana were the first to capitulate – followed by those of Karangasem, Gianyar and Bangli. However, the kingdoms of Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung held out until the *puputan*, or 'fight to the finish,' of 1906 and 1908. The first of these was precipitated by a shipwreck off the coast of Sanur in 1906. When the King of Badung refused to compensate the vessel's owner, the Dutch sent in their troops. However, rather than submit to Dutch authority, the King of Badung and his family committed ritual suicide. Two years later, the same thing happened in Klungkung.

within them.”¹⁶ (my italics) Unlike in other parts of Asia, the Balinese do not regard temples as homes for the gods. Rather, they are activated, as J. Stephen Lansing puts it, a few days each year when the invisible forces of the Upper and Lower Worlds are placated with, among other things, a series of artistic performances.¹⁷ Temples, according to Lansing, “... exist for the purpose of holding festivals, in which artistic performances articulate the relationships among the Three Worlds, which in turn validate the existence of temples.”¹⁸ He explains that, “(p)erforming art groups are not distributed evenly across the Balinese landscape, nor are they found primarily in the centres of the population. Instead, they are closely associated with temples. The more temples that there are in a district, the more performing art groups.”¹⁹

Artists used to be patronized by the courts as well. Prior to colonization, Bali was comprised of eight kingdoms.²⁰ “Each court,” according to Adrian Vickers, “had many sets of orchestras playing the most beautiful music, and was adorned with paintings and carvings ...”²¹ Painters and sculptors, for example, were organized into guilds by the courts and paid handsomely for their services. In fact, certain individuals were even elevated to the rank of ‘insider.’ An ‘insider,’ or commoner employed by the court, was given a plot of land to cultivate. However, he was not

¹⁶ J. Stephen Lansing, *The Three Worlds of Bali*, (New York: Preager, 1983), p.71.

¹⁷ The Balinese believe that the universe is comprised of three worlds. The world in which we live, the world of *maya* (illusion), is located between the Upper World and the Lower World. The Upper World is inhabited by the forces of growth and the Lower World is inhabited by the forces of decay. These forces, which are for the most part invisible, come together in the Middle World. Hence, the Middle World is not static. Rather, it is subject to endless cycles of growth and decay. These cycles are marked in temples which link the Upper, Middle and Lower Worlds.

¹⁸ Lansing, *The Three Worlds of Bali*, p.66.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.68.

²⁰ These were Buleleng, Jembrana, Karangasem, Gianyar, Bangli, Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung.

²¹ Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1996), p.54.

allowed to sell his yield.²² Vickers explains that, “(a)s the courts multiplied, as the number of kings, queens, princes and princesses increased, there was a need for more and more art, more paintings, jewellery, textiles, shadow plays, dances, music and so on.”²³ Consequently the demand for artists was always high.²⁴ However, this was no longer the case after the Dutch stripped the courts of their money and power. Not surprisingly, then, the demand for paintings and sculptures began to decline.

The Pita Maha

However by the 1920s, another group of patrons emerged in Bali: tourists. Among the first to visit Bali were a group of foreign artists. In fact, some of them loved it so much that they decided to stay. Walter Spies (1895-1942), a German painter, moved to Ubud in 1927 followed by Rudolf Bonnet (1895-1978), a Dutch painter, two years later. Situated 25 kilometres northeast of Denpasar, Ubud is teeming with museums and galleries and is in close proximity to some of the island’s most beautiful temples. In addition to this, it boasts some of the island’s best restaurants and hotels, thus making it popular with tourists. However, this was not always the case. Ubud had been a relatively minor court until the end of the nineteenth century. Picard explains that, “(u)nlike many princely houses which were

²² Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali*, p.60.

²³ Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p.54.

²⁴ This was especially true during a big ceremony. Stephen J. Lansing explains that, “... the greatness of the court was expressed by its ability to mobilize the resources of much of the realm to conduct a *karya agung*. *Karya agung*, whose literal meaning is simply “great work,” denotes the class of major royal rituals, such as royal weddings, tooth-filings, cremations, the founding of a temple, or celebration of a major royal temple festival. All of these events, as *karya agung*, should properly be celebrated with the utmost magnificence, as a symbol of greatness of the realm.” For more information, see J. Stephen Lansing, “The Formation of the Court-Village Axis in the Balinese Arts,” in Edward M.

reduced and weakened by the colonial occupation, the *puri* [palace] of Ubud managed to maintain most its power and wealth, thanks to a dexterous policy of allegiance to the island's new masters."²⁵ Thus by the time Spies and Bonnet had arrived, Ubud's star was on the rise.

Soon after arriving, Spies and Bonnet developed a friendship with a member of Ubud's ruling family - the Cokorde Gede Agung Sukawati. The Cokorde was the younger brother of the Cokorde Gede Raka Sukawati who was Bali's representative on the People's Council under the Dutch.²⁶ In fact, it was he who had played host to Spies during his first trip to Bali in 1925. The Cokorde Agung, who was keen to promote Ubud as a tourist destination, "... did everything he could to attract educated, long-term interest in Balinese culture and art ..."²⁷ Spies and Bonnet, in turn, shared with him their knowledge of western painting. The Cokorde Agung's relationship with the two European painters was a fruitful one. "With the *puri* [palace] being the traditional centre of the arts, culture, philosophy and science," explains Alison Taylor, "acceptance of this new input was easily achieved, and the symbiotic relationship which developed between the Balinese and the expatriates

Bruner and Judith O. Becker, eds. *Art, Ritual and Society in Indonesia*, (Athens: Ohio University, 1979), p.23.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.84.

²⁶ For more information, see Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p.140.

²⁷ Anthony Forge, "Balinese Painting: Revival or Reaction," in John Clark, ed. *Modernity in Asian Art*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p.22.

created a climate in which change and diversification could take place.”²⁸ Over time, Bonnet and Spies became respected members of the community.²⁹

In 1936, the Cokorde Agung and his brother the Cokorde Raka, with the help of Spies and Bonnet, founded the well-known art organization Pita Maha (Grand Ancestors).³⁰ In his essay, “Modern Art in Bali,” published in 1939, J. Kats wrote that, “(t)he main objective of the Pita Maha [was] to make war on the inferior mass produced articles by supporting really good work and to guarantee to the buyer that by purchasing work of the members of the association he will acquire a good specimen of Balinese art, even if the standard of the work differs individually.”³¹ The term ‘mass produced,’ here, does not refer to the manufacturing of standardized articles in large quantities. Rather, it refers to copying. Foreigners, such as Kats, were critical of artists who copied works of art. However it is important to note that copying in Bali does not have the same connotations as it does in the west. This is in large part due to the fact that ritual art, such as Kamasan style painting, must conform to certain iconographic rules in order to be understood. Not surprisingly, then, there was/is little room for innovation.³²

The Pita Maha was comprised of over one hundred artists – including painters, sculptors, as well as gold and silversmiths – from in and around Ubud. As

²⁸ Alison Taylor, *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting*, (Ubud: Agung Rai Gallery of Fine Art, 1991), p.15.

²⁹ This was in large part due to their friendship with the Cokorde Agung which ensured them credibility in the eyes of the Balinese. For more information, see Taylor, *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting*, p.14.

³⁰ Jean Couteau, *Museum Puri Lukisan*, (Ubud: Yayasan Rathna Warta, 1999), p.30.

³¹ J. Kats (translated by A.G. Schot), “Modern Art in Bali,” in *Indian Arts and Letters*, New Series, Vol.13, Nr.1 (1939), p.49.

³² Kam, *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, pp.70-71.

far as I have been able to ascertain, they were all men.³³ Members attended weekly meetings where they would discuss one another's work. The board then selected pieces which they deemed good enough to be exhibited and/or sold at Museum Bali in Denpasar. The Pita Maha's board was comprised of the Cokorde Agung, the painter I Gusti Nyoman Lempad as well as Spies and Bonnet.³⁴ Marianne van Wessen, a Dutch connoisseur, served as the organization's Secretary.³⁵ The Pita Maha, thanks in part to the efforts of Spies and Bonnet, was extremely successful. The pair organized several exhibitions locally, nationally and internationally which met with great success.³⁶ In fact, two of the organization's members – Ida Bagus Kembang and Ida Bagus Gelgel – received silver medallions at the International Exposition of Art in Paris in 1937.³⁷

For all of its successes, though, the Pita Maha was short lived.³⁸ In 1938, Spies was arrested for allegedly having sex with underage boys and spent nearly a year in prison. Soon afterwards, World War II broke out. In 1940, Spies, along with other German nationals living in Bali, was interned in a camp in Sumatra.³⁹ Bonnet, being Dutch, was left in peace, until the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). In 1942,

³³ There is a photo of the members of Pita Maha in Jean Couteau, *Museum Puri Lukisan*, (Ubud: Yayasan Rathna Warta, 1999). All of them are men.

³⁴ Most authors cite only these board members. However, R.M. Moerdowo includes the sculptor Ida Bagus Gelodog among them. For more information, see R.M. Moerdowo, *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1983), p.36.

³⁵ Jeannette ten Kate, "Paintings in a Garden of Eden," in Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren, and Jeannette ten Kate, *Pictures from the Tropics: Paintings by Western Artists during the Dutch Colonial Period in Indonesia*, (Amsterdam: Pictures Publishers – Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen/Royal Tropical Institute, 1999), p.137.

³⁶ For a list of the Pita Maha's exhibitions, see Suteja Neka, *The Development of Painting in Bali*, (Ubud: Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka, 1989).

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.24.

³⁸ The Pita Maha was dissolved in 1942.

³⁹ Two years later, Spies was to be transferred to a camp in Sri Langka, but he never arrived. The ship he was on was sunk off the coast of Sumatra by the Japanese.

he was interned in a camp in Sulawesi for the duration of the war. By the time he returned to Bali in 1947, the Pita Maha had disbanded. However, Bonnet remained very active in the local art scene.⁴⁰ At the suggestion of Dr. Ali Sastroamiddjojo - Indonesia's then Ambassador to America – he and Cokorde Gede Agung Sukawati, set out to raise the funds necessary to build a museum in Ubud. In 1953, the pair established an organization called Yayasan Rathna Warta (Rathna Warta Foundation) for this very purpose. In 1956, the Museum Puri Lukisan was officially opened to the public. The museum, which is built on land donated by the Cokorde, features works done mostly by members of the Pita Maha.⁴¹

Impact of the Pita Maha on Painting

Claire Holt credits Spies, and to a lesser extent Bonnet, with having stimulated painters in Bali "... to new forms of expression" during the 1930s and 1940s.⁴² According to Holt, they encouraged painters to depict scenes from daily life, such as a fisherman in his boat and/or a group of children harvesting coconuts, etc. In fact, Spies is said to have given Anak Agung Gede Sobrat the following advice: "Maybe you should try drawing something else for a change [...] something you see around you every day, like a farmer going out to the ricefields [*sic*] with his cow, or a woman selling her wares at the market."⁴³ It is important to note, however, that scenes from

⁴⁰ In 1951, Bonnet founded an art organization called Gonlongan Pelukis Ubud. However, it failed to match the impact made by the Pita Maha. For more information, see Couteau, *Museum Puri Lukisan*, pp.32-33.

⁴¹ Moerdowo, *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts*, pp.43-44.

⁴² Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change*, p.181.

⁴³ Walter Spies quoted by Hans Rhodius, "Walter Spies: A Short Study of His Life and Work," in Hans Rhodius and John Darling (edited by John Stowell), *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*, p.31.

daily life abound in traditional Balinese paintings such as Pelelintangan calendars (Figure 3). However, whereas traditional Balinese paintings depict multiple scenes at the same time, paintings done after 1930 are, for the most part, restricted to a single scene. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, they do not serve a religious function. Rather, they serve a secular one.

Painters also began to rely more and more on imported materials, such as paper, hair brushes and steel pens. Most texts credit Spies and Bonnet with having furnished “boys from around Ubud,” as Covarrubias put it, with imported materials.⁴⁴ However, they were not the only ones. Forge’s conversations with painters from Batuan during the 1970s revealed that they relied on Hans Neuhaus for materials as well.⁴⁵ Neuhaus, a German entrepreneur, owned a well-known art shop and aquarium in Sanur. Forge writes that, “(i)t was clear from my conversations with [painters] about the 1930s that Neuhaus was a crucial patron who maintained the viability of the productive system [...] There was no point in producing if there was no-one to buy, and most operated on such narrow cash margins that without a dealer to provide cash and materials there could be no work at all.”⁴⁶ Neuhaus, then, also furnished painters with new materials at this time.

The introduction of imported materials to Bali, particularly pre-cut pads of drawing paper, affected, among other things, the scale of paintings produced during the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁷ Holt attributes this shift to other factors as well. According to

⁴⁴ Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, p.194.

⁴⁵ In 1940, an inventory was done in Neuhaus’ shop. All three hundred paintings there were done on paper provided by him.

⁴⁶ Forge, “Balinese Painting: Revival or Reaction,” p.24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

Holt, tourists required paintings either framed or suitable for framing. “The size of cloth was now limited by the novel idea of framing a picture,” she explains, “something the Balinese had never done for themselves.”⁴⁸ In other words, painters in Bali started to frame their paintings. However, this is a contested issue. According to Garrett Kam, there is a precedence for this in Kamasan style painting - albeit not in the manner described by Holt.⁴⁹ Kamasan style paintings, according to Kam, typically have a decorative border which, for all intents and purposes, frames the painting. This is evident in Suciarmi’s *Dewi Saraswati* (The Goddess Saraswati), date unknown (traditional paint on treated cotton, dimensions unknown) (Figure 9). In it, the figure of Dewi Saraswati is enclosed in a painted frame based on a floral motif.

Prior to the twentieth century, there was no word for ‘art’ or ‘artist’ in Bali. Rather, people who produced paintings, sculptures, etc., were referred to as *sangging* (artisans). However, attitudes towards ‘art’ and, more specifically, ‘artists’ changed during the 1930s. This was in part due to the fact that tourists started patronizing the arts. Previously, so-called ‘works of art’ were rarely produced by a single person. For example, one person would draw and outline and another person would colour it in. However this approach did not sit well with tourists who had been taught to believe that paintings, sculptures, etc., should be produced by one person and one person alone. According to Picard, “(t)his brought radical changes, not only to the form and intent of art works, but to the social status of their creators. Where previously they were only anonymous artisans, willingly offering their talents in a collective labor,

⁴⁸ Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change*, p.180.

⁴⁹ Kam, *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, p.65.

“artists” began to appear, selling “works of art” of which they are the individual creator.”⁵⁰

There is little consensus as to what constitutes ‘traditional’ and/or ‘modern’ painting in Bali.⁵¹ In fact, the majority of texts avoid the subject altogether. However, as Wright explains, “Indonesian art, in particular painting, is at its most basic level called ‘modern’ because it utilizes techniques, media, and *ideas* which in large part, or in their peculiar combinations, are new to the practice of the arts in the country (my italics).”⁵² Using this definition, then, I apply the term ‘traditional’ to Kamasan style paintings due, in part, to the fact that they were the result of ideas generated from within the culture and the term ‘early modern’ to paintings produced in and around Ubud during the 1930s and 1940s since they came about largely as a result of ideas from without the culture. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, early modern paintings did not serve a religious function and thus did not have an indigenous market in Bali. Rather, they were, and still are, primarily bought by tourists.

Early Modern Painting

⁵⁰ Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p.85.

⁵¹ For example, Jean Couteau refers to paintings produced in and around Ubud during the 1920s and 1930s as ‘Renewal Art’; Joseph Fischer refers to paintings produced in and around Ubud during the 1930s and 1940s as ‘traditional’; Agus Dermawan T. refers to them as ‘post-traditional’; and R.M. Moerdowo refers to them as ‘modern’. For more information, see Couteau, *Museum Puri Lukisan*, p.26; Joseph Fischer, “Problems and Realities of Modern Balinese Art,” in Joseph Fischer, ed. *Modern Indonesian Art: Three Generations of Tradition and Change 1945-1990*, (Jakarta and New York: Panitia Pemeran KIAS (1990-91) and Festival of Indonesia, 1990), pp.90-105; Agus Dermawan T., *A Collector’s Journey: Modern Painting in Indonesia, Collection of Jusuf Wanandi*, (Denpasar: Centre for Strategic and International Studies Neka Museum, 1996), pp.8-21; and Moerdowo, *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1983), pp.13-63.

⁵² Wright, *Soul, Spirit and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters*, p.242.

The Pita Maha spawned two important schools of painting in and around Ubud. The first of these is often referred to as the Ubud School since most of its members originated from Ubud.⁵³ The Ubud School was very much influenced by Bonnet. According to A.A.M. Djelantik, Bonnet was "... active in telling the painters why their paintings had not been selected [by the Pita Maha], and what was wrong with them. This could not fail to impose on the Balinese a distinct Bonnet style."⁵⁴ The work of Gusti Ketut Kobot (b.1917) is a case in point. Kobot, who was born in Pengosekan, studied anatomy and perspective with Bonnet. His painting *Battle at Kurusetra*, 1966 (tempera on canvas, 70 x 141 cm) depicts the battle between Arjuna and his half brother Karna as described in the Hindu epic, the Mahabarata (Figure 10). However unlike paintings done in the *wayang* style from Kamasan, the figures – though stylized – are rendered in a naturalistic manner. In other words, figures are no longer two-dimensional. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, Kobot creates the impression of depth through his use of light and shade.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Ubud School splintered into several groups. These include, among others, the Young Artists of Panestanan and the Pengosekan School.⁵⁵ In 1960, the Dutch painter Arie Smit invited a group of boys from the village of Panestanan to study painting with him. Smit, who had moved to Bali four years earlier, provided them with materials with which to paint. According to Kam, "... the youths responded with imaginative works using colors which did not reflect

⁵³ Djelantik refers to the 'Ubud School' as the 'Pita Maha School'.

⁵⁴ A.A.M. Djelantik, *Balinese Paintings*. (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.30.

⁵⁵ Couteau refers to these schools as the 'Post-War Schools'.

photographic reality – yellow skies, pink oceans, green people [etc.]”⁵⁶ I Ketut Soki (b.1946) was one of Smit’s students. His naïve rendering of a temple ceremony in his painting *Village Festival*, date unknown (oil on canvas, 35 x 55 cm) is typical of this style of painting (Figure 11). Here, no attempt is made to create the illusion of depth. Rather, Soki juxtaposes large swatches of colour in such a way as to give the painting an almost graphic quality.⁵⁷ As a result, the painting is very flat.

Unlike the Young Artists of Panestanan, the Pengosekan School came about due to ideas/innovations generated by Balinese, rather than foreign, painters. For the most part, paintings done by the Young Artists of Panestanan depict scenes from daily life. By contrast, the Pengosekan School is concerned with nature itself.⁵⁸ The Pengosekan School was made famous by I Dewa Nyoman Batuan (b.1939) during the early 1970s who, according to Djelantik, “... brought into life a rediscovery of nature with a sensitive eye for the graceful forms of leaves, birds and insects ...”⁵⁹ Dewa Biang Raka’s (b.1937) painting, *Flowers and Butterflies*, date unknown (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown) is characteristic of this style of painting (Figure 12).⁶⁰ In it, two butterflies rest atop the leaves of a flowering tree. Of particular interest here, though, are the colours in the painting. As has been previously mentioned, the Young Artists of Panestanan utilize primary colours in their paintings. By contrast,

⁵⁶ Kam. *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, p.54.

⁵⁷ As a result, Smit referred to this style of painting as the ‘Decorative Art of the Young Balinese’. For more information, see Kam. *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, p.60.

⁵⁸ I Dewa Ketut Rungun (1917-1986), considered by many to be the father of the Pengosekan School, is most likely the first painter in Ubud to have painted birds and herons.

⁵⁹ Djelantik, *Balinese Paintings*, p.34.

⁶⁰ Raka is Rungun’s widow.

adherents to the Pengosekan School rely on subtle tones thus creating the illusion of depth.

The Pita Maha was comprised of painters from the village of Batuan as well. Batuan, which is situated a few kilometres south of Ubud, is renowned as a centre for the performing arts. According to Djelantik, “(m)any of the painters were [...] also musicians, dancers and performers of classical drama, the Gambuh, masked dance-drama, the Topeng, and opera, the Arja.”⁶¹ However, Batuan is also famous for its stylized monochromatic paintings derived from the *wayang* style. In 1949, the British anthropologist Gregory Bateson described the manner in which they were produced:

The leaves are first drawn in the free outline in pencil, then each outline is tightly redefined with pen and black ink. When this has been done for all the leaves, the artist begins to paint with brush and Chinese ink. Each leaf is covered with a pale wash. When these washes are dry, each leaf receives a smaller concentric wash and after this a still smaller [one], and so on.⁶²

I Ketut Ngendon (1903-1946) and Ida Bagus Made Togog (1913-1989) were both members of the Pita Maha. However, according to Hildred Geertz, Ngendon was more influenced by Bonnet than was Togog.⁶³ Ngendon’s painting, *Landscape with Women Bathing in Sacred Spring*, 1939 (ink on paper, 19.5 x 15 in) depicts a scene from daily life: three women bathing in a spring at a temple (Figure 13). Togog, on the other hand, tended to stick to mythological subjects and/or folktales. His painting *The Story of the Demon Who Pretended to Be a Priest*, 1937 (ink on paper, 22.25 x

⁶¹ Djelantik, *Balinese Paintings*, p.36.

⁶² Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, (Saint Albans: Paladin, 1973), p.121.

⁶³ On the whole, painters from Batuan were less influenced by Bonnet than painters from Ubud. This may in part due to the fact that Batuan is situated a few kilometres just south of Ubud.

18.5 in) depicts the story of an evil spirit who transforms himself into a priest (Figure 14). In order to expel the spirit from the village, the priest's wife tricks him into squeezing himself into a water jug. She then throws the jug into a large fire and the spirit disappears. Here, Togog depicts the villagers gathering wood with which to feed the fire. Both Ngendon's and Togog's paintings are derived from the *wayang* style. Having said that, though, they are more naturalistic than those produced in Kamasan.

Batuan style paintings produced during the 1930s and 1940s are almost always monochromatic. This is unusual considering the Balinese love of colour. “[Balinese] temple festivals are riots of colour,” explains Geertz, “their clothing is bright, and their indigenous art works, including sculpture, are almost always painted.”⁶⁴ What, then, accounts for this shift? Geertz posits three reasons. First, Bonnet encouraged Batuan style painters to work in black and white in order to develop their skills in draftsmanship. Second, there was a market for them. Black and white works reminded westerners of etchings and charcoal drawings and thus appealed to them. And third, Batuan style painters could not afford colour paints.⁶⁵ During the 1950s, however, painters began to incorporate colours into their paintings as a result of them becoming more readily available. In addition to this, their paintings became significantly more *ramai* (crowded, busy, bustling, lively, festive, noisy and loud).

⁶⁴ Geertz, *Images of Power: Balinese Paintings Made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*, p.13.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.13.

This is evident in Ni Gusti Ayu Natiharimini's (b.1966) painting *Preparing for Nyepi, the Day of Silence*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown) (Figure 15). Nyepi, which marks the beginning of the New Year in Bali, is a purification ceremony which takes place over the course of two days. The first day is very festive. This is intended to entice evil spirits out of their hidden places. The following day, though, no one stirs. As a result, evil spirits are tricked into thinking that everyone has left and to make their home elsewhere. Here, the painter has chosen to depict several scenes simultaneously, including women carrying offerings on their heads, men slaughtering a pig as well as various dances. In other words, the painting is *ramai*. However it is important to note that this concept is not limited to painting. Geertz explains that, "... the Balinese make sure that there is always a constant buzz of activity around them. Their pleasure in being members of a crowd is always apparent."⁶⁶ *Ramai*, then, is an integral part of the culture there.

Art Schools

According to R.M. Moerdowo, former dean of the Program Studi Seni Rupa dan Disain (Department of Painting and Design), or PSSRD, at Universitas Udayana (Udayana University) in Denpasar, and author of *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts*, mass tourism in Bali had a detrimental affect on painting there. As the demand for souvenirs grew, painters began to crank out painting after painting with little regard for quality. As a result, during the early 1960s, "a group of interested people," as he puts it, proposed the creation of a western-style art school in

⁶⁶ Geertz, *Images of Power: Balinese Paintings Made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*, p.9.

Bali.⁶⁷ In 1965, an art high school was established in Denpasar. In addition to this, an Academy of Fine Arts and Architecture was incorporated into the Technical Faculty at Universitas Udayana (Udayana University) also in Denpasar.⁶⁸ According to Moerdowo, students study subjects such as anatomy and perspective, art criticism as well as aspects of Balinese, Indonesian and European, or Western, art and culture.⁶⁹ Today, there are more than five art schools in Bali.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ It is important to note that the country's first art schools - the Faculty of Fine Art and Design at the Institute of Technology in Bandung and the Indonesian Academy of Fine Art in Yogyakarta - were established soon after Indonesia achieved Independence.

⁶⁸ This eventually came to be known as the Program Studi Seni Rupa dan Disain (Department of Painting and Design).

⁶⁹ Moerdowo, *Reflections on Balinese Traditional and Modern Arts*, p.48.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 4 for more information.

Chapter 3

Gender Ideology and Traditional Art Production in Bali

In *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting* (1991), Alison Taylor explains that the Agung Rai Museum of Art "... encourages members of the local community to come and learn the technique of painting [...] [However], it appears that girls prefer to learn dancing, as few have taken up the challenge."¹ I believe that this is due, in part, to the fact that art production in Bali has traditionally been divided along gender lines. Whereas men have traditionally practised certain art forms – such as painting and music – women have traditionally practised others – such as weaving and dance. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, women are discouraged from taking up painting professionally due to the strict gender codes which govern the lives of men and women there. Northmore explains that, "(a)lthough some [women] are educated in the arts, most have to steal time from endless obligations and responsibilities to continue working, often carrying on in the face of strong opposition. Men have the luxury of time and support, women don't – they do the work."² Not surprisingly, then, the majority of painters in Bali are men.

Art Production

The Republic of Indonesia is an archipelago comprised of 13,000 islands. Of these only about 900 are inhabited. Those located in the North – Sumatra, Java,

¹ Taylor, *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting*, back flap.

² Mary Northmore quoted by Barbara Anello, "Seniwati: Art by Women," in *Bali Echo*, (April/May 1994), page unknown.

Borneo and Sulawesi – are known as the Greater Sunda Islands, while those in the South – Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores and Timor (to name a few) – are known as the Lesser Sunda Islands. The territory, which covers an area of about 7 million square kilometres, is vast (Figure 16). As a result, small islands, such as the island of Bali, barely register on the map. The island is only 140 kilometres East to West and 80 kilometres North to South and covers an area of about 5,600 square kilometres (Figure 17). Its inhabitants, which number just over 3 million, account for 1.5% of the nation's total population. However, unlike the rest of Indonesia whose population is predominantly Muslim, the majority of Balinese are Hindu.

No one knows for sure when Hinduism took root in Bali. Royal edicts, dating from as early as 882 C.E. show that Buddhist, as well as Sivaite monks and priests served as advisors to the island's various kings and princes. Thus from the ninth century on, according to Urs Ramseyer, "... we find in Bali representatives of Mahayana Buddhism with a strong Tantric element. But at the same time we can also see early, local Sivaism with Tantric elements in which Siva is worshipped according to a special teaching as the manifestation of the all-powerful sun-god Surya."³ However, it was not until the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit conquered Bali during the fourteenth century that Hinduism really took root there.

According to Picard, Balinese identity "... is inscribed foremost in its religion, whose omnipresent ceremonies maintain a pattern of relationships which on the one hand are genealogical, with their deified ancestors, and on the other territorial, with their places of origin and residence. These relationships are maintained through a

³ Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali*, p.38.

close network of *pura* (temples) – walled enclosures of holy ground, rather than buildings, where humans may make contact with their gods.”⁴ Not surprisingly, then, religion informs almost every aspect of life in Bali, from agricultural cycles of irrigation, planting and harvesting to art production. “For the Balinese,” explains Kam, “art is inseparable from religion, and religion is very thoroughly integrated in life. Life and art thus are intertwined closely with one another.”⁵

Most ritual art, such as an offering, is used just once. Offerings are made of natural materials such as flowers, leaves and/or fruit (Figure 18). However, included in almost all offerings are three very important ingredients. These are the *buah* (areca nut), *base* (betel leaf) and a bit of *pamor* (lime). When combined, these ingredients are collectively known as *porosan*. *Buah*, *base* and *pamor* have deep religious meanings. Red, the colour of the *buah*, represents Brahma; green, the colour of the *base*, represents Wisnu; and white, the colour of *pamor*, represents Siwa. “And so,” explains Eiseman Jr., “a tiny bit of each of these three substances is placed in an offering in order to provide a place for the presence of these three most important aspects of God.”⁶ There are hundreds, if not thousands, of different kinds of offerings in Bali.

Offerings in Bali are, for the most part made by women. “Within one household women of several generations work together,” explains Francine Brinkgreve, “and it is this way that knowledge and skills are handed down.”⁷ Men

⁴ Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p.11.

⁵ Kam, *Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts*, p.36.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp.217-218.

⁷ Francine Brinkgreve, “The Cili and Other Female Images in Bali,” in Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof, eds., *Indonesian Women in Focus: Past and Present Notions*, (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1987), p. 137.

also make offerings, but use different materials. During big rituals, for example, they make offerings out of meat. In addition to this, they construct temporary shrines and *penjor* when needed.⁸ However, as Brinkgreve explains, “these activities play only a part in the preparation for the grander rituals, whereas women make offerings every day.”⁹ Women prepare offerings alone as well as in groups. In fact, during large temple ceremonies, groups of women are required to work in shifts at the *bale banjar* (village meeting hall) or in the temple itself. The person in charge of coordinating such an event is called a *tukang banten* (offering specialist). *Tukang banten* are specialists in making offerings. According to Brinkgreve, “(t)hey know everything about the contents and numbers of all the hundreds of different offerings that are required for the various rituals.”¹⁰

Dance is another form of ritual art (Figure 19). According to Colin McPhee, “(n)o temple feast, no reception in any of the larger palaces, no village holiday is conceivable without a large program of traditional dances, plays, and music, performed by highly skilled dancers and musicians.”¹¹ Most dances take place in temples. Temples in Bali are divided into three courtyards: the *jeroan* (inner courtyard), the *jaba tengah* (middle courtyard) and the *jaba* (outer courtyard). According to Eiseman, Jr., “(o)nly very sacred dances may be performed in the *jeroan*, slightly less sacred ones in the *jaba tengah*, and secular performances are

⁸ *Penjor* are large bamboo poles erected in front of people’s homes on ritual occasions.

⁹ Brinkgreve, “The Cili and Other Female Images in Bali,” p.139.

¹⁰ Francine Brinkgreve, *Offerings: The Ritual Art of Bali*, (Sanur: Image Network Indonesia, 1992), p.131.

¹¹ Colin McPhee, “Dance in Bali,” in Jane Belo, ed., *Introduction to Traditional Balinese Culture*, (New York: Columbia: University Press, 1970), p.293.

given in the *jaba*.”¹² Other dances, such as those performed on social occasions, take place in the street, makeshift outdoor arenas and/or in the *bale banjar* (village meeting hall).

One of the most sacred dances in all of Bali is the Sanghyang. There are several versions of Sanghyang. All of these, except for a few, are performed by pre-menstrual girls in the inner courtyard of temples.¹³ “The function of the Sanghyang or god-inspired trance-dance in Balinese society,” according to Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, “is to protect people against all evil forces invoked by the practitioners of black magic and, in the case of an epidemic in the village, to produce a counter charm.”¹⁴ The length of the Sanghyang depends on how long the dancers remain in a trance. “With some,” explains McPhee, “the state of trance is brief and transitory; with others it is intense to the point of utter exhaustion. But when, by means of holy water and incense, the dancers are revived, they rise and calmly walk away as though they had never lost consciousness.”¹⁵ The Sanghyang is similar in style to the Legong. However, unlike Legong dancers who train for months, perhaps years, to perfect their steps, Sanghyang dancers receive no formal training.¹⁶

All dances in Bali are accompanied by a *gamelan* (orchestra). There are many kinds of *gamelan* in Bali. However, perhaps the most common is the *gamelan gong*. A typical *gamelan gong* is comprised of *gangsas* (xylophone), *ceng ceng* (cymbals), *riong* (bronze pots), *trompong* (bronze pots), *suling* (flute), *rebab* (violin) and

¹² Eiseman, Jr. *Bali: Sekala & Niskala*, Volume I, p.282.

¹³ Pre-menstrual girls are considered holy in Bali. For more information, see Gordon D. Jensen and Luh Ketut Suryani, *The Balinese People: A Reinvestigation of Character*, (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁴ Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, *Dance and Drama in Bali*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.70.

kendang (drum). When played together, they produce a distinctive sound. “There is in Balinese music a unified range of sonorities tending towards one sound,” explains Covarrubias, “with the exception of certain bamboo xylophones, an incidental bamboo flute, or a two-string violin, all of the instruments are metals struck with mallets; there is a generic tone-colour of metallic percussions – tinkling, acid sonorities that can be clashing and violent or soft and delicate ...”¹⁷ Music tends not to be written down in Bali. As a result, songs are practiced over and over again until they are committed to memory.

The majority of *gamelan* in Bali are comprised of men.¹⁸ “From the time a little boy can hold a mallet in his hand,” explains Eiseman Jr., “he loves to sit in his father’s lap while he is playing or rehearsing. And when fathers leave for short break, the little boys flock in and create a very passable gamelan group.”¹⁹ More often than not, aspiring musicians study *gamelan* in their villages. However, some are trained at one of Bali’s music schools: Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia (Middle School for Gamelan), or KOKAR, SMKI, for teenagers and Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (College of Indonesian Art), or STSI, for young adults. Once their training is complete, students typically return to their villages to teach. However, some go on to teach *gamelan* abroad. Such was the case of I Wayan Sinti, a well-known *gamelan* player from Ubung, who taught *gamelan* for many years in the United States of America.²⁰

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp.318-319.

¹⁶ There is a debate about this. Colin McPhee claims that rehearsals do in fact take place.

¹⁷ Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, p.211.

¹⁸ There is one women’s gamelan called Mekar Sari. It is located in Ubud, Bali.

¹⁹ Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala & Niskala*. Volume I, p.334.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.339.

The fact that certain art forms have traditionally been produced by women, while others have traditionally been produced by men reflects the fact that all forms of production in Bali – including art production – are divided along gender lines. Jan Branson and Don Miller explain that,

In traditional rice production men plough, plant and irrigate; women harvest (traditional rice), thresh and carry away the grain. Men tend cows, buffaloes and ducks; women tend chickens and pigs. Men carve and paint; women weave. Women prepare religious offerings from rice, fruit, flowers and leave (sic); men prepare offerings from meat. Women carry offerings to the shrines and decorate them; men gamble at dominos and cock-fighting. Women cook, nurture, sweep and clean; men preen their cocks and entertain their young progeny. In the distribution of produce beyond the home, women carry produce to market and handle all small-scale sales within the market place; men administer the markets and the large scale preparation and wholesale distribution of cash crops. Beyond the realm of agriculture production, men drive animals and machines (tractors, bullocks, buses, etc.); women carry. Men build in bricks and mortar, cement, and bamboo; women, carry bricks, mortar, cement and bamboo. Men tile and thatch rooves; women carry tiles and thatch. Men build the roads and drive the road-making machinery; women carry the materials with which the roads are built.²¹

Art production in Bali is also affected by the strict gender codes which affect the lives of men and women there.²² Carla Bianpoen explains that, “even with more women being educated, more women entering the workforce, and more women taking positions in the government and its leading institutions, many of them find themselves stuck in societal expectations that they give priority to their roles as

²¹ Jan Branson and Don Miller, “The Changing Fortunes of Balinese Market Women,” in Glen Chandler, Norma Sullivan and Jan Branson, eds. *Development and Displacement: Women in Southeast Asia*, (Clayton, Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1988), pp.4-5.

²² For example, in the spheres of education, work, personal relationships, etc.

wives, mothers and the keepers of the household.”²³ In other words, women in Bali, as in the rest of Indonesia, are first and foremost considered caregivers and are not encouraged to engage in activities which have traditionally been reserved for men.

Arahmaiani, the well-known Javanese installation artist, put it this way:

As a young woman artist I realize it is a difficult way I have chosen. The repressive government is operating on a combination of militarism, Javanese moslem feudalism and [sic] patriarchal system, which breeds a culture of violence, physically and emotionally. There is never enough room for a woman to express herself freely apart from being a good mother, a good wife, a good daughter or sister. Beyond that, a woman would become either “bad” or simply crazy – someone not to be trusted. Because of this, I was stigmatized because I rebelled against authority and convention.²⁴

According to the *kodrat wanita* (women’s nature), Indonesia’s code of conduct for women, women are expected to be “... meek, passive, obedient to the male members of the family, sexually shy and modest, self-sacrificing and nurturing, and that they find their main vocation in wifedom and motherhood.”²⁵ Thus, women’s sphere of influence is limited to the home. This affects, among other things, the kinds of work they have traditionally been allowed to do.

Gender Ideology and Women

The notion that women should be complacent and altruistic, as prescribed by the *kodrat wanita* (women’s nature), is promulgated by Indonesia’s state-run

²³ Carla Bianpeon, “Indonesian Women Artists: Vision and Formation,” in Mayling Gardiner and Carla Bianpoen, eds. *Indonesian Women: The Journey Continues*, (Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2000), p.68.

²⁴ “Women Imaging Women: Home, Body, Memory.” Exhibition Catalogue (Manila: Cultural Centre of the Philippines, 11-31 March 1999), p.17.

women's organizations, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Applied Family Welfare Program), or PKK, and Dharma Wanita (Women's Duty).²⁶ Both of these organizations subscribe to the Panca Dharma Wanita (Five Duties of Women), which dictates that a woman be: wife and faithful companion to her husband; manager of the household; producer of the nation's future generations; mother and educator of her children; and citizen.²⁷ The Panca Dharma Wanita, among other things, epitomizes what Julia I. Suryakusuma calls 'State Ibuism.'²⁸ State Ibuism casts women "... as dependent wives who exist for their husbands, their families, and the state."²⁹ According to Saraswati Sunindyo, "(t)he post-1965 state [...] put its weight behind these notions."³⁰ Not surprisingly, then, neither the PKK nor Dharma Wanita advocate women's rights. Rather, they are vehicles through which the state transmits its policies to women.

In 1974, demographers projected that Indonesia's population would grow from 126.1 million people to 141.6 million people in five years. They warned that if left unchecked, there would be food, clothing and housing shortages throughout the

²⁵ Saskia Wieringa, "Sexual Metaphors in the Change from Sukarno's Old Order to Suharto's New Order in Indonesia," paper presented at the SOAS: ASEAK (Association for South East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom) conference in London, 25-27 April 1996, p.7-8.

²⁶ The inclusion of the word 'dharma' in the name of the women's organization Dharma Wanita is not coincidental. According to Micheal Van Langenberg, it "emphasizes a Hindu-Buddhist Javanese aristocratic tradition of duty to a ruler, of loyalty to the state based on a sense of corporate obligations and sacral duty." For more information, see Michael Van Langenberg, "Analyzing Indonesia's New Order State; A keywords approach," in *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, Vol.20, No.2 (Summer 1986), p.15.

²⁷ Alison J. Murray, *No Money, No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes in Jakarta*, (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.4-5.

²⁸ For more information, see Julia I. Suryakusuma, "State Ibuism: The Social Construction of Womanhood in the Indonesian New Order," in *New Asian Visions*, Vol.6, No.2 (1991), pp.46-71.

²⁹ Julia I. Suryakusuma, "The State and Sexuality in New Order Indonesia," in Laurie J. Sears, ed. *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), p.98.

³⁰ Saraswati Sunindyo, "Murder, Gender, and the Media: Sexualizing Politics and Violence," in Laurie J. Sears, ed., *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, p.125.

archipelago.³¹ The solution? Population control. Since birth control was, and still is, considered a woman's responsibility in Indonesia, the state created several programmes "... to specify the role of women in the national development process and to create an organizational structure within which that role [could] be played on a national level."³² Hence the creation of state-run women's organizations which, among other things, were intended to integrate women into the development process. However as Carol Warren explains, the state's vision of women's role within this process "... assumes a dependent economic position in the household and promotes an ideology of the family and women's place in it which is more compatible with the state's interest in social control ..."³³ Former president Suharto put it this way: "It is the task of our women's organizations to guide Indonesian women to her appropriate status and role in society, which is to be a housewife as well as a driving force in development [...] Ideal women are those who can function well in both these roles."³⁴

The PKK and Dharma Wanita are Indonesia's largest state-run women's organizations. The PKK, which operates primarily at the village level, is made up of married women while Dharma Wanita is made up of the wives of civil servants. Members acquire their positions within these organizations based on who they are married to. So, for example, if a woman is married to the head of a village she will automatically become the chairperson of the PKK in that village and so on. However, it is important to note that 'cadres,' or programme leaders, are not paid. Moreover,

³¹ Norma Sullivan, "Gender and Politics in Indonesia," in Maila Stevens, ed. *Why Gender Matters in Southeast Asian Politics*, (Monash Papers on Southeast Asia) No.23 (1991), p.65.

³² Solvay Gerke, "Indonesian National Development Ideology and the Role of Women," in *Indonesia Circle*, Nos.59 & 60 (November 1992/March 1993), p.53.

³³ Carol Warren, *Adat and Dinas: Balinese Communities in the Indonesian State*, (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.245.

they may not be qualified to carry out jobs allocated to them. In her essay, "The Perfumed Nightmare: Indonesian Women's Organization's after 1950," Saskia Wieringa describes a PKK meeting in which this was the case:

Bu Camat, the wife of the head of the district, chaired the meetings of the PKK. That is, Bu Camat opened the meeting officially, and then one of the other, more competent members of the board quickly took over. Bu Camat was then able to rest contentedly, a pastime which suited her better than the awkward business of presiding at a meeting. Still, she occupied the seat of honor, and wore the most beautiful kain and kebaya, so it was clear to everyone that she was the most important figure about.³⁵

In addition to this, members of both organizations are forced to relinquish their positions as soon as their husbands' lose their jobs. Such was the case of a former PKK chairperson who was effectively fired after her husband, a high district officer, retired. She explained that,

I was married very young and was not allowed to finish secondary school. I was always very active, but because my husband was an important man I could not take a low-status job. So I was happy with the PKK, for I was of course the chairwoman at the district level. I started to carry out all sorts of activities. At first the other members of the leadership resented this, for they were all much older and some of them had more education than I. But I tried hard, and after a while they accepted me. We organized many courses for our members, and I think they liked it. But a few years ago my husband retired and so I had to step down as chairwoman. So now I still advise them, but I cannot organize anything anymore. Most activities of our PKK branch have now stopped.³⁶

³⁴ Suharto, *Suharto: My Thoughts, Words and Deeds*, (Jakarta: P.T. Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada, 1989), p.260.

³⁵ Saskia Wieringa, "The Perfumed Nightmare: Indonesian Women's Organizations after 1950," (The Hague: Working paper published by the Institute for Social Studies, 1985), p.277.

³⁶ Saskia Wieringa, "Two Indonesian Women's Organizations: Gerwani and the PKK," in *The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol.25, No.2 (April/June 1993), p.24.

Members of the PKK are not encouraged to criticize the establishment. Wieringa explains that, “(i)f individual PKK leaders disagree with either the extremely hierarchical line of command or with the content of programs they are supposed to carry out, their concerns cannot be translated into open debates and dissent. Avoidance and passivity are the most common strategies used in such cases.”³⁷

It is also important to note that the programmes carried out by the PKK and/or Dharma Wanita are for the most part devised by men. Not surprisingly, then, they rarely take into account the needs of those they are intended to ‘help’. Rather, they dictate what is, and what is not, considered appropriate behaviour for women. During the late 1970s, PKK theorists came up with a list outlining women's responsibilities in the development process:

- The creation of good relations within and between families.
- Correct childcare.
- The use of hygienic food preparation techniques and close attention to nutrition.
- Care that clothing is suited to its proper functions - protection, morality, modesty.
- Intelligent use of house space to meet needs of hygiene, privacy, entertainment, etc.
- The securing of total family health - physical, mental, spiritual, moral.
- Effective household budgeting.
- Effective basic housekeeping, calculated to maximize order and cleanliness.
- Preservation of emotional and physical security and a tranquil environment in the home.
- Development of family attitudes appropriate to the modernization process and future planning.³⁸

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.29

³⁸ Norma Sullivan, “Gender and Politics in Indonesia,” pp.68-69.

What the list fails to mention, however, are women's rights. "It states objectives, but refers to no strategies for achieving them," asserts Norma Sullivan, "(i)t alludes to no personal benefits women might hope to gain, working towards these ideals. With the exception of creating good relations between families, the list ignores the extra-domestic roles, relations and practices that consume a great deal of time and energy for most women living in Indonesia ..."³⁹ She adds that in reality, women are not considered citizens in their own right, but rather as mere appendages of their husbands.⁴⁰

This position is promoted through religious ideology as well. Miller and Branson explain that, "(i)n Bali, religious symbolism is of fundamental importance in the ideological construction of gender, an ideology riddled with [...] ambiguities ... but oriented overall to the subordination, or more correctly the firm control, of women."⁴¹ Nowhere is this more evident than in Hindu texts such as the Ramayana. The Ramayana, or Rama's story, is perhaps the most popular Hindu text in South and Southeast Asia. There are several versions of the Ramayana. The oldest, which dates from the beginning of the first century CE, is believed to have been written by Valmiki. In India, "(i)t is through the recitation, reading, listening to, or attending a dramatic performance of this revered text (above all others) that a Hindu reasserts his or her cultural identity as a Hindu ..."⁴² However the same is true in Bali. According to Eiseman Jr., "... one only has to visit a *wayang kulit* - shadow puppet -

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.69.

⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that Indonesia's President, Megawati Sukarnoputri, has criticized the way in which Dharma Wanita operates since taking office.

⁴¹ Don Miller and Jan Branson, "Pollution in Paradise: Hinduism and the Subordination of Women in Bali," paper presented at the Fifth National Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia at the University of Adelaide, 13-18 May 1984, p.7.

performance in one of the villages in Bali to see the rapt attention of the audience to understand the grip that [this story has] upon Hindus even today.”⁴³ The Ramayana, then, is more than just a story. In addition to this, it provides people with a “... model of social perfection.”⁴⁴

Most Balinese regard the epic characters Rama and Sita as models of social perfection. According to Vickers, “Rama and Sita were the perfect couple, and their sexual union was a mystical ritual which brought fertility, goodness and prosperity to their whole realm. They were also an inseparable pair - the king could not rule without his queen.”⁴⁵ Sita possesses all of those traits which Indonesians, particularly Hindu’s living in Bali, value in a woman - she is placid, chaste and above all, self-sacrificing. In a passage from the Ramayana, she explains that,

For a woman, it is not her father, her son, nor her mother, friends nor her own self, but the husband, who in this world and the next is ever her sole means of salvation. If thou dost enter the impenetrable forest today, O Descendant of Raghu, I shall precede thee on foot, treading down the spiky Kushu grass. In truth, whether it be in palaces, in chariots or in heaven, wherever the shadow of the feet of her consort falls, it must be followed.⁴⁶

Soon after her marriage to Rama, the pair, as well as her brother-in-law and his brother Lakshmana, are banished to the forest of Dandaka where Rawana, king of Langka, conspires to kidnap her. However in order to do so, he must first lure the brothers away from Sita's side. He does so by enlisting the help of a magician who

⁴² Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World: A Psycho-Analytic Study of Childhood and Society in India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp.63-64.

⁴³ Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala & Niscala*, Volume I, p.19.

⁴⁴ David Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses: Visions of the Divine Feminine in the Hindu Religious Tradition*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p.68.

⁴⁵ Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p.44.

changes himself into a golden deer. At his wife's urging, Rama pursues the deer into the forest to catch it for her. Rawana then kidnaps Sita and holds her captive in Langka. With the help of the monkey king, Sugriwa, and his general, Hanuman, Rama and Laksmana raise an army to free Sita. A battle ensues and Sita is rescued. However Rama does not take her back immediately. Rather, he demands that she prove her innocence by throwing herself on a funeral pyre. Sita emerges unscathed when the fire-god Agni testifies on her behalf. Rama and Sita then return home where they are crowned king and queen.⁴⁷

This text, according to Miller and Branson, stresses "... the controlling role of the male and the need for strict regulation of the female."⁴⁸ The notion that the female is somehow 'in need of control' derives, in part, from the fact that all women, specifically menstruating women, are perceived as being potentially destructive. As has been previously mentioned, men and women in Bali engage in activities which tend to complement each other. This is due in part to the fact that all forms of production are divided along gender lines. However, according to Abby Ruddick, "(t)he most important distinction between men and women as members of a religious community concerns ritual pollution."⁴⁹ Ritual pollution, or *sebel* as it is known in Bali, affects both men and women. Certain events will render a person *sebel*, such as the birth of a child, marriage and/or death. A person who is *sebel* may not enter a

⁴⁶ H.P. Shastri, trans., *Ramayana*, 1.233 quoted by Kakar, *The Inner World: A Psycho-Analytic Study of Childhood and Society in India*, p.65.

⁴⁷ However the story does not end here. Still unsure of her innocence, Rama banishes Sita to the forest again where she gave birth to twin boys - Lava and Kusha. Upon seeing his sons, Rama sends for Sita and when she arrives, he demands that she submit herself to another trial by fire. Sita refuses, and asks her mother, the earth, to swallow her up.

⁴⁸ Miller and Branson, "Pollution in Paradise: Hinduism and the Subordination of Women in Bali," p.7.

⁴⁹ Abby Cole Ruddick, "Charmed Lives: Illness, Healing, Power and Gender in a Balinese Village," (Brown University: Ph.D Dissertation, 1986), p.106.

temple or take part in religious ceremonies. In addition to this, he/she is prohibited from handling ritual objects. Menstruating women are also considered *sebel* and are subject to the same restrictions.⁵⁰ However, menstrual pollution is different from other forms of ritual pollution. Menstrual blood, according to Ruddick, is perceived as being dangerous, on the one hand, because it comes at regular intervals, and, on the other, because it originates inside women's bodies.⁵¹

By defining women as potentially destructive – and therefore 'in need of control' - the hierarchical nature of men's and women's relationships is justified.⁵² However, problems arise when a woman is widowed. Widows are viewed with varying degrees of suspicion in Bali. In fact, some are even suspected of being *léyak* (witches). This may, in part, be due to the fact that women without husbands in Bali are considered a threat. According to Miller and Branson, this may have been the impetus behind the ancient rite of widow sacrifice. Widow sacrifice was practised primarily by members of the aristocracy: *mesatia* (truth or fidelity) referred to the sacrifice of the deceased's high-caste wives while *mebela* (to die together with the master) referred to the sacrifice of the deceased's low-caste wives and concubines.⁵³

The Dutch scholar R. Friederich described the cremation of Dewa Manggis, Raja of Gianyar on 20 December 1847 as follows:

The corpse was followed by *the three wives* (concubines), who became *Belas*. A procession went before them, as before the body [...] They, like the body, were seated in the highest storeys of the *Bades* [...] After the body of the prince had arrived at the place of cremation, the three *Belas* in their *Bades* - each preceded by the bearer of the offerings

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.107.

⁵¹ Ruddick, "Charmed Lives: Illness, Healing, Power and Gender in a Balinese Village," p.108.

⁵² Jan Branson and Don Miller, "The Changing Fortunes of Balinese Market Women," p.3.

⁵³ Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, p.382.

destined for her, with armed men and bands of music, were conducted to the three fires [...] When the corpse of the prince was almost consumed, the three Belas got ready; they glanced one towards another, to convince themselves that all was prepared; but this was not a glance of fear, but of impatience, and it seemed to express a wish that they might leap at the same moment [...] There was no cry in leaping, no cry from the fire; they must have suffocated at once.⁵⁴

Women were not legally bound to throw themselves into their husbands' funeral pyres. Rather, they had eight days from the time of their husbands' death to decide whether or not they were going to go through with it.⁵⁵ However, the pressure to do so was great. The scriptures asserted that women who died by *mesatia* would not only attain a higher spiritual state, but would also be transformed into the deity Satiawati (the true one). Consequently, many women chose this route. Covarrubias explains that,

From the time their decision was made, the widows were regarded as already dead and deified. They lived a life of constant pleasures, exempt from all duties and constantly attended by the other wives. Their feet were not supposed to touch the impure ground and, like goddesses, they were carried everywhere, lavishly dressed and half-entranced. A Brahmanic priestess was constantly at their side, encouraging them to their sacrifice with flowery descriptions of the beauties of life among the gods.⁵⁶

Widow sacrifice was banned by the Dutch in the early 1900s. However, images of the ancient rite still abound. For evidence of this, one need only visit the city of Gianyar where a contemporary statue of Sita emerging from the flames is located at one of the city's busy intersections (Figure 20). According to Miller and Branson, widow

⁵⁴ R. Friederich (edited by Ernst R. Rost), *The Civilization and Culture of Bali*, (Calcutta: Susil Gupta (India) Private Ltd., 1959), pp.95-97.

⁵⁵ Putu Wirata, "Out of the Frying Pan," in *Bali Echo*. Vol.I, No.034 (April/May 1998), p.13.

⁵⁶ Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, p.382.

sacrifice "... stressed the inappropriateness of [women's] widowhood and particularly their ambivalent status now their hierarchically superior husband, the source of their status was dead."⁵⁷

Economic Landscape

Over the course of the last fifty years, however, gender ideology in Bali has begun to shift somewhat. This is due, in part, to changes in the island's economic landscape. Bali became a popular tourist destination during the 1920s and 1930s. The Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (Royal Packet Navigation Company), or KPM, promised visitors the trip of a lifetime. Ships traveled via Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore from the West Coast of the United States and via Europe from the East Coast of the United States. It took six weeks to travel to Bali by sea. On average, tourists spent about three days on the island, arriving on Friday and leaving on Sunday. The more adventurous sometimes stayed for up to ten days leaving instead the following week. By 1940, two hundred and fifty tourists visited the island every month.⁵⁸ "... (B)y pre-war standards," explains William A. Hanna, "tourism was booming and there were visitors enough for all ..."⁵⁹ In 1938, an airport opened at Tuban near Denpasar.

In 1945, Indonesia declared itself a Republic. The country's first President, Sukarno, visited Bali often and built himself a palace in Tampaksiring where he

⁵⁷ Miller and Branson, "Pollution in Paradise: Hinduism and the Subordination of Women in Bali," p.9.

⁵⁸ Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, pp.95-97.

⁵⁹ William A. Hanna, *Bali Profile: People, Events, Circumstances (1001-1976)*, (New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1976), pp.105-106.

entertained foreign dignitaries throughout the 1950s.⁶⁰ Despite this, though, the tourist industry was struggling. According to Picard, “the rudimentary state of [the island’s] infrastructure and the ruinous condition of the economy, as well as the endemic political agitation and the xenophobic attitude of the regime, tended to discourage visitors.”⁶¹ In 1963, the Balinese (at Sukarno’s urging) attempted to stage a huge ceremony called *Eka Dasa Rudra* (Eleven Rudras) (Eleven Rudras) which, according to their calculations, was premature. *Eka Dasa Rudra*, according to Sanscrit texts, is intended to pacify the evil demon Rudra – an incarnation of the god Siva. However the ceremony, which is supposed to be held once every hundred years, did not go ahead as planned. A few days before it was scheduled to begin, Gunung Agung, Bali’s most sacred mountain, erupted.⁶²

Two years later, Sukarno was ousted from office after an aborted ‘coup’ allegedly carried out by members of the Partai Kommunis Indonesia (Communist Party of Indonesia), or the PKI.⁶³ Subsequent to this, members of the Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (Nationalist Party of Indonesia), or the PNI, and their sympathizers set out to destroy the PKI. Over the course of the next few months, over half a million

⁶⁰ Sukarno’s mother was Balinese.

⁶¹ Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p.42.

⁶² There is debate about whether or not the Eka Dasa Rudra was held at the right time or not. The ceremony is supposed to take place when the last two digits of the Icaka, or Saka, year are zero. In other words, at the end of the century. However, according to J. Stephen Lansing, the Eka Dasa Rudra of 1963 was held sixteen years before the end of the century. There are several reasons for this. The Chronicle of King Jayakasuma states that the ceremony may be held whenever a disaster occurs. “At that time,” explains Lansing, “Bali was in a state of political and economic turmoil. It was felt by many that the disasters of the twentieth century – the bloody slaughter of the great courts, the Dutch and Japanese occupations, the struggle for independence, and the widespread corruption and economic decay of the post-independence period – warranted holding the Eka Dasa Rudra before the century’s end.” In addition to this, Sukarno announced that he would attend the ceremony before Balinese authorities had decided to go through with it, thus putting pressure on them to do so. Lansing maintains that the Eka Dasa Rudra of 1963 was, in effect, hijacked by Sukarno to serve his own purposes. It was held again in 1979. For more information, see Lansing, *The Three Worlds of Bali*, p.136.

⁶³ The ‘coup’ took place on September 30, 1965.

suspected Communists (mostly ethnic Chinese) were killed and several hundred thousand more thrown in jail. G.B. Robinson estimates that between forty and one hundred thousand people were killed in Bali alone.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, then, tourists stayed away from Bali. However, the situation changed during the 1970s. The country's first Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) "... proposed making the island Indonesia's show window and giving it priority in the development of international tourism."⁶⁵ Since then, tourism has become the driving force behind Bali's economy.

Impact of the Economy on Production

While it is difficult to gage the impact changes in Bali's economic landscape has had on the lives of people in Bali, I believe that it has affected the traditional division of labour there. For example, markets in Bali are widely regarded as 'women's territory'. This is, in part, due to the fact that all forms of commercial activity – especially those having to do with food - are imbued with polluting qualities.⁶⁶ As a result, men rarely, if ever, engage in this kind of work; that is, until recently. In their essay, "The Changing Fortunes of Balinese market Women," Branson and Miller explain that, "(w)hile men have traditionally operated in the markets as tailors, goldsmiths, sellers of agricultural implements, of medicinal potions, of games and trinkets, and as sellers of ducks, they are now increasingly

⁶⁴ G.B. Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p.273. For more information, see Soe Hok Gie, "The Mass Killings of Bali," in Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965 – 1966: Studies from Java and Bali*, (Clayton: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, no.21, 1990), pp.252-258.

⁶⁵ Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p.45.

⁶⁶ Branson and Miller, "The Changing Fortunes of Balinese Market Women," p.10.

present as sellers of processed goods – ready-made clothings (sic), crockery, stationary, ceremonial decorations, cases of prepackaged food”.⁶⁷ In other words, more and more men are engaging in commercial activity.

The weaving industry in Bali has also being affected by changes in Bali’s economic landscape.⁶⁸ In her essay, “Transgressing Boundaries: The Changing Division of Labour in the Balinese Weaving Industry,” Ayami Nakatani explains that, “(t)he rapid expansion of Balinese weaving industries and an increasing specialization of the production process [...] appear to be creating opportunities for male participation in this once traditionally exclusive female activity.”⁶⁹ This is due in part to the scarcity of jobs available in Bali. As a result, men are forced to take jobs which, in the past, were reserved for women.⁷⁰ However, reactions to this new phenomenon are mixed. According to Nakatani, “(s)ome local people seem to accept such a change and see it as the result of economic necessity. [...] Other (sic) are more resentful and assert that male weavers will become womanly eventually.”⁷¹ Despite this, though, more and more men are starting to weave. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, it is becoming socially acceptable for them to do so.⁷²

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.10.

⁶⁸ See Ayami Nakatani, “Transgressing Boundaries: The Changing Division of Labour in the Balinese Weaving Industry,” in *Indonesia Circle*, No.67 (1995), pp.249-272 for more information.

⁶⁹ Nakatani, “Transgressing Boundaries: The Changing Division of Labour in the Balinese Weaving Industry,” p.250.

⁷⁰ This is also due to the relaxing of caste privileges in Bali over the course of the last century. For example, songket used to be made only by members of the *triwangsa* (upper three castes). However today, this restriction no longer applies. As a result, members of all four castes, including the *sudra* caste, produce songket today.

⁷¹ Nakatani, “Transgressing Boundaries: The Changing Division of Labour in the Balinese Weaving Industry,” p.264.

⁷² However, they are more likely to weave endek cloth (weft ikat) than songket cloth (embroidered with gold or silver thread). Songket is produced on traditional handlooms whereas endek is produced on the ATBM (*alat tenun bukan mesin*). Because the ATBM was introduced to Bali under Japanese occupation (1942-1945), endek production is, according to Ayami Nakatani, “perceived as something

new brought from the outside." For more information, see Nakatani, "Transgressing Boundaries: The Changing Division of Labour in the Balinese Weaving Industry," p.264.

Chapter 4

Institutional and Other Forms of Support for Women Painters in Bali during the 1990s

In the *Social Production of Art* (1993), Janet Wolff argues that social institutions in the west, such as schools, churches, legal systems and political parties, etc., affect “*who* becomes an artist, *how* they become an artist, how they are then able to *practise* their art, and how they can ensure that their work is produced, performed and *made available* to a public.”¹ I believe the same is true in Bali. Women painters have unequal access to mainstream museums and art schools there. As a result, they have created alternate networks in which to operate. These include ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. Among other things, ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, validate women’s art practise in Bali. “Thanks to [these organizations],” asserts Ni Made Sriasih, “people now take note of women artists in Bali.”²

Museum and Art School Statistics

In 1998, I visited seven museums and five art schools in south-central Bali in order to determine the number of women painters within these institutions. These were: Museum Rudana in Peliatan, Museum Neka in Sanggingan, Museum Puri Lukisan (Palace of Painting Museum) in Ubud, Agung Rai Museum of Art (ARMA),

¹ Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, Second Edition. (New York: New York University Press, 1993), p.40.

²² Ni Made Sriasih, personal communication, 12 July 1998.

in Peliatan, Museum Seni Lukis Klassik Bali (Museum of Classical Balinese Painting) in Klungkung, Museum Negeri Propinsi Bali (Museum Bali) in Denpasar and Taman Budaya (Art Centre) in Denpasar. I also visited five art schools – Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Middle School for the Arts) in Sanggingan, Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Middle School for the Arts) in Batubulan, Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Middle School for the Arts) in Tangeb, Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (College of Indonesian Art) in Denpasar and the Program Studi Seni Rupa dan Disain (Department of Painting and Design) at Universitas Udayana (Udayana University) in Denpasar. The following figures reveal that, on the whole, women painters in Bali are under-represented in museums and art schools in Bali.³

Out of the hundreds of paintings on display at Museum Rudana, Museum Neka, Museum Puri Lukisan, Agung Rai Museum of Art, or ARMA, Museum Seni Lukis Klassik Bali, Museum Negeri Propinsi Bali and Taman Budaya, only eight are by women.⁴ Works by three of these – Kartika Affandi (b.1934), Ni Made Rinu (b.1957) and Sri Supryatini (b.1958) – are located at Museum Rudana; two – Louise Garrett Koke (1897-1993) and Rosemary Hilbery (1925-1997) – at Museum Neka; and three – Janet Echelman (no date), Geneviève Couteau (no date) and Ni Gusti Ayu Natiharimini (b.1963) – at the Agung Rai Museum of Art.⁵ Women painters were

³ This is also reflected in the literature on painting in Bali. See Chapter 1 for more information.

⁴ In 1996, Neka Museum had three hundred and seven paintings in its collection. In 2001, Museum Rudana had three hundred paintings in its collection; Museum Puri Lukisan had two hundred and four paintings and ninety-nine sculptures in its collection; and Agung Rai Museum of Art, or ARMA, had three hundred paintings in its collection. I obtained these figures by writing to the above mentioned museums. However, I was unable to determine the number of paintings in the collections of Museum Seni Lukis Klassik Bali, Museum Negeri Propinsi Bali or Taman Budaya.

⁵ I believe that the Agung Rai Museum of Art may also have, or have had, a painting by Ni Made Pastini since one of her paintings appears in *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting* (1991) by Alison Taylor.

equally absent from Museum Puri Lukisan, Museum Seni Lukis Klassik Bali, Museum Negeri Propinsi Bali and Taman Budaya (Art Centre). Of the four, only Taman Budaya (Art Centre) had work by a woman painter in its collection – that of Ni Nyoman Serengkong. However, it is important to note here that of the eight women mentioned here, only three – Ni Made Rinu, Ni Gusti Ayu Natiharimini and Ni Nyoman Serengkong – are Balinese.⁶

The ratio of male to female staff and students is also extremely low at the five art schools I visited.⁷ At the Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Sanggungan), only one out of fifteen staff persons was a woman and all forty-five of the students were male; at the Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Batubulan), only seven out of ninety-three staff persons were women and twelve out of six hundred and seventy-three students were female; at Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Tangeb), fifteen out of twenty-five staff persons and sixteen out of three hundred students were female; at Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (Denpasar), thirty-nine out of one hundred and twenty-nine staff persons and one hundred and eighteen out of five hundred and eighteen students were female; and in the Program Studi Seni Rupa dan Disain at Universitas Udayana (Denpasar), seven out of fifty-two staff persons and one hundred out of four hundred and seventy-seven students were female. These statistics represent the total number of males and females at each of these schools.⁸

⁶ I visited these museums again in 1999 and 2000 and found the same works on display.

⁷ These figures were provided to me by I Nyoman Kasta, Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Sanggungan); I Ketut Wedana, Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Batubulan); and Drs. I Nyoman Wiwana and Drs. I Nyoman Sukaya, Program Studi Seni Rupa dan Disain at Universitas Udayana (Denpasar). I did not speak to anyone at Sekolah Menengah Seni Rupa (Tangeb) or Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (Denpasar) as the information I required was posted in their front offices.

⁸ Only one school - Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (Denpasar) - was able to provide me with the number of male and female students in each department. Out of one hundred and forty-six students

Familial Support

Not surprisingly, then, women painters have had to rely on other kinds of support. The majority of women with whom I spoke cited familial support as critical to their success as painters. Ni Nyoman Sani (b.1974) is a case in point. Initially, her parents, neither of whom are artists, did not quite know what to make of their daughter's interest in painting. She explains that, "(i)n the beginning [my parents] didn't agree because they didn't know much about painting and thought that it was really taboo ..."⁹ Sani's parents' reaction is not unusual. The Javanese painter Diany Asmina Sinung (b.1959) had loved to paint as a child. However, she was forced to give it up due to a lack of familial support.¹⁰ Despite this, though, Sinung persevered. Between 1982 and 1984, she studied painting in Banyuwangi, Java. Subsequent to this, she moved to Bali and eventually took up painting full-time. "Now I feel relieved," she explains, "I can fantasize, exercise my imagination, cry and laugh. But most importantly is that I can paint on canvass [sic] to my heart's content ..."¹¹

I found that, on the whole, women born into 'artist families' are less likely to be discouraged from taking up painting professionally than are women born into 'non-artist families.'¹² Such is the case with Bali's most senior woman painter. Ni

studying *tari* (dance), one hundred and five were female; out of seventy-eight students studying *karawitan* (gamelan music), three were female; out of twenty-two students studying *pedalangan* (shadow play puppetry), one was female; out of forty-two students studying *seni rupa* (plastic arts), one was female; and finally, out of two hundred and thirty students studying *seni lukis* (painting), eight were female.

⁹ Ni Nyoman Sani, personal communication, 19 July 1998.

¹⁰ Gloria Frydman, "Diany Sinung: From Poverty to Painting," in *Inside Indonesia*, No.48 (October/December 1996), pp.26-27.

¹¹ Diany Asmina Sinung quoted by "Sepan Kisah: Diany Asmina Sinung," Exhibition Catalogue (Sanur: Bahari Gallery, dates unknown), p. 3.

¹² See Chapter 5 for more information.

Made Suciarmi (b.1932) was born in Mataram, Lombok.¹³ However, she grew up in Banjar Sangging in Kamasan, Klungkung. Banjar Sangging is renown throughout the island for its Kamasan, or Wayang, style paintings.¹⁴ Suciarmi first became interested in painting at the age of six. However, her father did not allow her to paint on *kain belacu* (unbleached cotton) until she was nine. It is unclear who taught Suciarmi to paint – some sources claim that she learned from her father while others claim that she learned from her uncle. Either way, she was born into an ‘artist family.’¹⁵

Familial support is vital in order for women to find time to paint. The majority of the women with whom I spoke paint, on average, two to three hours a day.¹⁶ Northmore explains that, “(a)lthough some [women] are educated in the arts, most have to steal time from endless obligations and responsibilities to continue working, often carrying on in the face of strong opposition. Men have the luxury of time and support, women don’t – they do the work.”¹⁷ For Hindu women in Bali, this includes the making of offerings. According to Alison Taylor, the painter Ni Made Pastini,

... is constantly interrupted, not only by the daily chores she has to attend to, but by the demands made of her by her community to join in the making of offerings for the various ceremonies which take place. There are many occasions when Pastini would prefer to be painting, but when she sees the other women in fellowship, chatting and gossiping as their dexterous fingers shape the palm leaves into vehicles for offerings, she feels guilty about neglecting her community duties and eventually joins in. It is partly this social demands that prevents more women from aspiring to be artists, because the demand on the time of an artist are

¹³ Lombok is the small island next to Bali.

¹⁴ See Chapter 3 for more information on Kamasan, or Wayang, style painting.

¹⁵ Both her grandfather and uncle were *dalang* (puppet masters).

¹⁶ Gusti Agung Galuh manages to paint up to eight hours a day. However, this is highly unusual for a woman painter in Bali.

¹⁷ Mary Northmore quoted by Barbara Anello, “Seniwati: Art by Women,” in *Bali Echo*, (April/May 1994), page unknown.

more than most women are able to give if they also wish to meet their social responsibilities in the community.¹⁸

For women painters, then, juggling familial, as well as religious, obligations, is no small task. Such is the case with Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948). Astiti told me that she wakes up every day at five o'clock in the morning in order to cook for her family. "I cook rice, *sambal* (chili sauce), fish and vegetables," she explains, "not like you only bread and milk and you go!"¹⁹ In addition to this, Astiti teaches part time in the Program Studi Seni Rupa dan Disain at Universitas Udayana (Udayana University). Not surprisingly, then, it can be difficult for women painters to find time to paint.

Spousal Support

The support of one's partner is equally important if a woman decides to become a painter. Gusti Agung Galuh (b.1960) learned how to paint from her father, the well-known painter Gusti Agung Purga. However, she did not consider taking up painting professionally until her early twenties. "I was shy and didn't think my work was good enough," explains Galuh.²⁰ However her husband, who is also a painter, disagreed.²¹ He encouraged her to exhibit her work. Since then, she has taken part in many group exhibitions. In 1995, Galuh made her first trip overseas. She, along with Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti and Sri Supriyatini (b.1958) attended the opening of the exhibition "Women Artists of Bali" in Cologne, Germany. Despite this, though, the trip was not an easy one. After only a few weeks, Galuh began to miss her family and

¹⁸ Taylor, *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting*, pp.45-46.

¹⁹ Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, personal communication, 13 June 1998.

²⁰ Gusti Agung Galuh, personal communication, 25 June 1998.

friends in Bali. However, she stuck it out, thanks in part to her husband who, according to the painter, "... gave me spirit."²²

I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih (b.1966), or Murni, also credits her partner of more than nine years, the painter Mondo (no date), with encouraging her to take up painting professionally. Mondo, according to Murni, not only introduced her to his teacher with whom she studied for three years, but also provided her with the funds with which to buy materials when she started painting.²³ Murni and Mondo have also exhibited together on several occasions – most recently in an exhibition entitled "Painters in Pairs" which took place at Pranoto's Art Gallery in Ubud, Bali.²⁴ The exhibition, which featured the work of thirteen couples living in and around Ubud, is a testament to the fact that many painters in Bali today are either married to or living with other painters.

This was not, however, always the case. According to Wright, it was not uncommon during the early 1980s for a woman to give up painting after she got married – especially if it was to another painter. The Javanese artist Hildawati Siddharta told her that, "... when you get married, you don't compete with your husband. You work as a team. Two painters in the same house would not look good, plus it might not be economically feasible."²⁵ Such was the case of Ni Luh Siki (b.1940) whose husband's career took precedence over her own. Siki, who took up

²¹ Gusti Agung Galuh is married to the painter Gusti Agung Swastika.

²² Gusti Agung Galuh, personal communication, 25 June 1998.

²³ I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, personal communication, 15 May 1998.

²⁴ The exhibition took place from 17 December 1999 to 7 January 2000.

²⁵ Hildawati Siddharta quoted by Wright, "Soul, Spirit, and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters," p.261.

painting after her children left home, stole her husband's materials until he found out. Fortunately for her, he did not object to her taking up painting.²⁶

Others, however, are not as lucky. "It can be a bit of a handicap for her career if a woman does not have her husband's support," admits Mayke Boestami, public relations manager at the Hotel Bali Padma in Legian.²⁷ In 1994, Mary Northmore told Wright that, "(o)ne [woman] is forbidden to paint by a husband who says that it is not a woman's occupation, and that woman is broken-hearted, but I know that if I go to her house, I would just cause her more problems. So I just make sure that she gets messages of support coming through occasionally, she knows that we know she exists, and if she can ever come back, [...] we're waiting for her."²⁸ Familial support, then, is a vital, but often elusive, factor in a painter's success.

Women's Art Organizations

Due to the lack of institutional support for women painters, they have established their own art organizations. In Java, these include Ikatan Pelukis Wanita Indonesia (The Association for Indonesian Women Painters), or IPWI, Grup Sembilan (Group Nine) and Nuansa Indonesia (Nuance Indonesia). When Wright was doing research in Indonesia during the late 1980s and early 1990s, IPWI and Grup Sembilan were comprised of non- and semi-professional artists. By contrast, Nuansa Indonesia was comprised of mostly professional artists. This was reflected in the quality of their exhibition catalogues which included essays, biographies and colour

²⁶ Mary Northmore, personal communication, 7 August 1998.

²⁷ Mayke Boestami quoted by Jaye Wood, "Ground Breakers," in *Bali Echo*, Vol.I, No.034 (April/May 1998), p.10.

reproductions. In addition to this, they were funded by well-known organizations such as the Jakarta Arts Council.²⁹ However, of the three organizations, Nuansa Indonesia no longer exists.³⁰

There is only one women's art organization in Bali. Ikatan Seniwati di Bali (Association of Women Artists in Bali), or ISWALI, was established in 1991.³¹ The organization's first meeting on June 22 took place in the home of Mary Northmore (b.1949), a retired teacher from England, at the suggestion of Judith Shelley (b.1959), a painter from Australia. The pair, both of whom had already lived in Indonesia for almost a decade, wanted to meet other women artists living in and around Ubud in order to discuss their work as well as to "... provide an organizational structure to arrange exhibitions."³² "Over the years I had met several individual women artists at exhibitions and openings [...]," explains Shelley. "When we decided to hold [ISWALI's first] meeting, I went around to invite them all."³³ In addition to Northmore and Shelley, five painters showed up to the first meeting.³⁴ Nonetheless, the meeting, according to Shelley, "... was a very emotional and meaningful experience."³⁵

"[I asked] everyone to go around the circle to introduce themselves and to share their experiences as women artists," Shelley explains. "The women really

²⁸ Astri Wright, unpublished interview with Mary Northmore, 17 July 1994.

²⁹ Wright, *Soul, Spirit, and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters*, p.130.

³⁰ Tjandra Kerton, personal communication, 13 July 2001.

³¹ Ni Made Rinu told me that the idea to start a women's art organization in Bali had been floating around for years.

³² Heather Curnow, "Women Artists in Bali," in *Contemporary Art Tasmania*, (Summer 1993/1994), p.24. Northmore is also an Indonesian citizen.

³³ Judith Shelley, personal communication, 28 February 2001.

³⁴ These were Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Ni Made Rinu, Sri Supriyatini, Muntiana Tedja and her daughter Lini Nataliniwidhiyasi.

³⁵ Judith Shelley, personal communication, 4 February 2001.

opened up their deep heart feelings about their lives as artists, their personal struggle, the parents ripping up their work, lack of support from family and husbands, etc. Tears were shed ...”³⁶ Northmore concurs. “(I)t really brought home the oppression that some women artists can suffer, and how hard it must be if you don’t get any support but only discouragement,” she explains, “and also for all of us, because it so clearly vindicated our wish to make contact with other women artists for mutual support and encouragement.”³⁷ A few weeks later, ISWALI, which by then had grown to ten members, decided to hold its first exhibition. Northmore then decided to approach I Nyoman Rudana, founder of Museum Rudana, for help. “Someone suggested Rudana might help,” explains Northmore, “so I went to see him and he agreed to hold a show for us at his hotel in Panestanan.”³⁸

“10 Seniwati di Bali (10 Women Artists in Bali)” opened on 2 September 1991 at La Luna Gallery in Panestanan and featured the work of Diany Asmina Sinung (b.1959), Januar Ernawati (b.1959), Judith Shelley (b.1959), Mary Northmore (b.1949), Muntiana Tedja (b.1938), Lini Nataliniwidhiasi (b.1964), Ni Luh Putu Sugianitri (b.1948), Ni Made Rinu (b.1957), Sri Supriyatini (b.1958) and Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948).³⁹ The exhibition reflected the cross-cultural nature of the organization. Shelley is from Australia; Northmore is from England; Sinung, Tedja, Nataliniwidhiasi, and Supriyatini are Javanese; Ernawati is from Sumatra; and Sugianitri, Rinu and Astiti are Balinese. ISWALI’s first exhibition was a huge

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Mary Northmore, personal communication, 18 January 2001.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ La Luna Gallery is situated in Padma Indah Cottages.

success. The opening alone was attended by two hundred people.⁴⁰ “The women’s gamelan [Mekar Sari] played at the opening,” explains Shelley. “Everyone was very happy.”⁴¹ In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, it provided members with the opportunity to meet other women painters living in Bali.

Since then, the organization has staged only five exhibitions. These include “Ikatan Seniwati di Bali (Association of Women Artists in Bali)” which took place at Taman Budaya (Art Centre) in Denpasar between 13 and 27 April 1992; “Through a Woman’s Eyes: Association of Women Artists in Bali” which took place at the Sheraton Lagoon Hotel in Nusa Dua, Bali, between 3 and 30 April 1993; “Dunia Kita” (Our World) which took place at Erasmus Huis in Jakarta between 24 November and 17 December 1993; “ISWALI” which took place at the Hotel Intan Legian in Legian between 13 and 27 April 1996; and “ISWALI” which took place at The Galleria Shopping Centre in Nusa Dua between 15 and 30 May 1996.⁴²

ISWALI is comprised of Indonesians and non-Indonesians.⁴³ However, only serious painters need apply. According to the organization’s current chairwoman, Ni Made Rinu (b.1957), members are required to have exhibited at least four times prior to joining the organization.⁴⁴ “We want people to know that female painters can also create quality work,” explains Diany Asmina Sinung.⁴⁵ All members are eligible to

⁴⁰ Author unknown, “Are There Women Artists in Bali? Yes,” in *Bali Tourist Guide*, (Late October 1991), p.21.

⁴¹ Judith Shelley, personal communication, 28 February 2001.

⁴² See Appendix IV for a list of exhibitors.

⁴³ According to Ni Made Rinu, the organization’s chairwoman in 2002, non-Indonesian members must have lived in Bali for at least two years before they are allowed to join. This was not the case, however, when ISWALI was first established.

⁴⁴ Ni Made Rinu, personal communication, 23 July 1998.

⁴⁵ Diany Asmina Sinung quoted by Author unknown, “Female Artists Band Together!,” *Nusa Tenggara*, (15 August 1991), page unknown.

serve on ISWALI's board of directors. The board, which is comprised of a chairwoman, vice-chairwoman, treasurer and secretary, is elected every two years. Members may stand for election as many times as they want.⁴⁶ The board is responsible for coordinating exhibitions as well as extra-curricular activities including seminars, museum visits and the occasional sketching holiday. It is important to note that all of these activities are paid for by the members themselves. ISWALI is a non-profit organization. Consequently, it relies heavily upon *iuran* (membership dues) in order to meet its costs.⁴⁷

The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women

The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women opened in December 1991. Northmore explains that, "(i)n this culture, it is very hard for women to be boastful and say, 'This is my work and I'm proud of it'. That would be very, very difficult. They couldn't say that to a male gallery owner, it just wouldn't be appropriate."⁴⁸ Consequently, Northmore and Shelley discussed the idea of opening a gallery themselves. However in the end, Northmore decided to go it alone. She explains that,

When I met an artist I made sure to have money in my pocket, to talk directly to the artist herself, not via middlemen, discuss her work, explain about the gallery and then say that I would like to buy a painting then and there, if I could afford to. I always asked the artist to name her price, saying that I wouldn't bargain and if I couldn't afford it now I would just have to wait. This part always took time as it is a very strange thing to do! But finally the family saw the artist get her

⁴⁶ ISWALI has had three chairwomen in the past ten years. They are Ni Luh Putu Sugianitri, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti and Ni Made Rinu.

⁴⁷ Ni Made Rinu, personal communication, 23 July 1998.

⁴⁸ Northmore quoted by Rachel Farnay, "New Spirits in Bali," in *Asian Art News*, Vol.8, No.6 (November/December 1998), p.58.

price for the work and I always said to put some money aside for materials.⁴⁹

Today the gallery, which stages approximately twelve exhibitions annually, represents over seventy artists.⁵⁰ Situated in Northmore's husband's old studio, the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women has neither the look nor feel of a typical gallery (Figures 21 & 22).⁵¹ This is due to the fact that it is not strictly a commercial operation. In addition to providing women with a venue in which to promote their work, the gallery also established itself as a kind of artistic center which serves to empower women living in and around Ubud.⁵² This is done through a variety of programs and activities (see below).

The majority of the women with whom I spoke credited the gallery with having changed their lives. "I only knew two woman artists before I got involved with the gallery," explains Ni Putu Sriani, "now I know a lot more."⁵³ Women painters in Bali, then, need no longer work in isolation. Ni Wayan Suartini, manager of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, agrees. She explains that, "[the artists] are very happy and all of them are very proud of the Gallery, especially the women from the villages, because they no longer feel that they are painting alone and never meeting anyone. When they come here, they feel that they have made friends and that

⁴⁹ Mary Northmore, personal communication, 18 January 2001.

⁵⁰ See Appendix V for a list of exhibitions.

⁵¹ Northmore was married to the well-known Indonesian painter Abdul Aziz (1928-2002).

⁵² Since opening in 1991, the Seniwati Gallery for Art by Women has spawned two other female ventures. Sanggar Weni (Weni's workshop) and the "Women Artists" art shop which is co-owned by Ni Wayan Rotiani (b.1969). However, Sanggar Weni is no longer in operation. When I asked Ni Wayan Suarniti, manager of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, about this, she told me that its members had found it difficult to find time to paint after they had got married and/or had children.

⁵³ Ni Putu Sriani, personal communication, 19 July 1998.

their works are respected.”⁵⁴ In addition to this, “... some of [the artists] are now their family’s main bread winners, able to afford luxuries such as electricity and telephones. Others have been able to travel overseas to show their work, experiences that have enriched their lives and art.”⁵⁵

Ten years later, the gallery is still going strong. However, it is not without its critics. The gallery constantly has to struggle with the fact that women painters are not taken as seriously as their male counterparts. I believe that this is due, in part, to the gallery’s lack of curatorial practice. However, Northmore stands by the policy. “I think women artists have enough obstacles to face just doing their work and I don’t want to create more,” she asserts.⁵⁶ As a result, she will not turn anyone away.⁵⁷ “There has only been one case to now where someone has tried to take advantage of our policy,” explains Northmore, “and that was an elderly woman whose sons pushed her to bring in a [...] painting, saying that we would pay a lot for it. We didn’t pay for it, but did hang it [...] and after a month or so the lady came back and asked for her painting back – we haven’t seen her since, but she will still be very welcome if she comes of her own accord.”⁵⁸

Sanggar Muda

⁵⁴ Suartini quoted by Farnay, “New Spirits in Bali,” p.58.

⁵⁵ Author unknown, “Sense and Sensibilities,” in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

⁵⁶ Mary Northmore, personal communication, 18 January 2001.

⁵⁷ When Ni Putu Ani first contacted the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, she was considered too young to exhibit her work. However Ani, who was thirteen at the time, persisted and was eventually allowed to join. “I feel that 13 is really too young,” explains Northmore, “but she insists so who are we to stop her?” For more information, see Annemarie Hollitzer, “Women Paint a Broader Canvas,” in *The Official In-Flight Magazine of Garuda Indonesia*, (September 1996), p.11.

⁵⁸ Mary Northmore, personal communication, 18 January 2001.

The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women provides young girls with scholarships to study painting in its *sanggar muda* (youth workshop). “I decided that once my initial target of promoting, selling and showing the adult women artists was reached, our next target should be to ensure that the next generation did not have to suffer the same traumas,” explains Northmore.⁵⁹ The Seniwati Sanggar Muda, which opened in 1992, is open to girls between the ages of five and eighteen (Figures 23 & 24).⁶⁰ Each of them is sponsored by a “Big Sister/Brother” who helps pay for things like materials, extra-curricular activities as well as their teachers’ salaries.⁶¹ Only those girls who have competed in and won the *sanggar*’s annual art competition are allowed to join. At the end of the year, all of the girls’ work is exhibited and sold in the gallery, with the proceeds being split equally between the painter and the Sanggar’s Scholarship fund. “It would be a mistake to think that they will all continue with their painting,” explains Northmore, “but what we can give them is the freedom to go on and be creative in whatever they do knowing that they won’t get left behind just because they are girls.”⁶²

Life-Drawing

Life-drawing at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women was the brainchild of Annie Ogle (b.1940) and Kerry Pendergrast (b.1963).⁶³ Prior to its inception, Ogle, a

⁵⁹ Mary Northmore, “Seniwati Sanggar Muda Report,” in *Bali International Women’s Association Newsletter*, (June 1994), p.10.

⁶⁰ It is important to note that there are a number of *sanggars* in and around Ubud. However girls are rarely, if ever, encouraged to join. For more information, see Northmore, “Seniwati Sanggar Muda Report,” pp.10-12.

⁶¹ The girls have two teachers: Dewa Biang Raka (b.1937) and Ni Made Sriasih (b.1962).

⁶² Author unknown, “Artists of Tomorrow,” in *Bali Echo*, (June/July 1994), p.15.

⁶³ Life-drawing is held at the gallery every Thursday between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m.

painter from the USA, and Pendergrast, a painter from Australia, had been sketching waitresses at Casa Luna, a popular restaurant in Ubud. However, Ogle felt the need to take her artistic exploration a step further. “I really wanted a nude model,” she explains.⁶⁴ Consequently, the pair set about to find a place where they could hold a life-drawing class. Eventually, they asked Northmore if she would consider letting them use the gallery. “She thought about it,” said Ogle, “and asked the women she has working for her how they felt about it and they agreed.”⁶⁵

While popular with some, very few Balinese women attend the life-drawing classes.⁶⁶ I sat in on a life-drawing session at the gallery in 1997 and again in 1998. In 1997, all eight of the women present were non-Indonesians. In 1998, nine out of ten of the women present were non-Indonesians.⁶⁷ When I asked Pendergrast about this, she told me that this was not always the case. “They came at first,” she explains, “It was packed.”⁶⁸ However, one by one, they all dropped out. When I asked Gusti Ayu Suartini whether or not she attended life-drawing at the gallery, she replied “I’m not brave enough.”⁶⁹ However, Suartini is not alone. The majority of the Balinese women with whom I spoke told me that the idea of sketching a nude model made them feel uncomfortable. Life-drawing, then, does not appeal to everyone. However, classes are always well attended by non-Indonesians.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Annie Ogle, personal communication, 30 July 1998.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Classes are open to women only.

⁶⁷ The only Balinese woman present was Ni Nyoman Sani.

⁶⁸ Kerry Pendergrast, personal communication, 7 July 1998.

⁶⁹ When I asked Suartini what she meant by this, she said that the idea of sketching a nude model made her feel uncomfortable.

⁷⁰ Pranoto’s Art Gallery in Ubud also offers life-drawing classes. According to the gallery’s owners, Pranoto and Kerry Pendergrast, the classes are attended primarily by Indonesian and non-Indonesian men as well as non-Indonesian women. Classes take place Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday between 2 p.m. and 5 p.m.

Permanent Collection

The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women is unique in that unlike other commercial galleries in Bali, it has a small, but growing, permanent collection.⁷¹ This is significant considering that women painters, particularly those from Bali, are under-represented in Bali's mainstream museums and art schools. The collection, which features the work of Ni Made Suciarmi (b.1932), Dewa Biang Raka (b.1937), Muntiana Tedja (b.1938), Ni Luh Siki (b.1940), Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), Ni Nyoman Pastini (1950-1991), Sri Supryatini (b.1958), Ni Wayan Warti (b.1964), Ni Putu Suriati (b.1965), Gusti Ayu Natiharimini (b.1966), Gusti Agung Galuh (b.1960), Ni Nyoman Remin (b.1958) and Gusti Ayu Suartini (b.1972), is comprised of traditional and modern paintings. In addition to this, it represents a good cross-section of work by Indonesians for sale at the gallery.⁷²

The paintings which make up the permanent collection have, for the most part, been selected by Northmore.⁷³ When I asked her why she chose the paintings she did, she cited three reasons: 1) the painting is an excellent example of the painter's work; 2) the painting signals a shift in the painter's style; 3) and/or, the painter is no longer active.⁷⁴ In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, the permanent collection is comprised of paintings by Indonesians only.⁷⁵ As has been previously mentioned, the gallery represents Indonesian and non-Indonesian painters alike. However, non-

⁷¹ See Appendix VI for the list of paintings in the gallery's permanent collection.

⁷² The majority of the paintings on sale at the gallery are figurative in nature. This is true of those in the permanent collection as well.

⁷³ This is no longer the case. Paintings are now chosen by both Northmore and Ni Wayan Suarniti, manager of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.

⁷⁴ Mary Northmore, personal communication, 8 July 1998.

Indonesians are treated differently than their Indonesian counterparts.⁷⁶ To the best of my knowledge, non-Indonesians have never taken part in a traveling exhibition. In addition to this, they have never been featured in the gallery's annual calendar.⁷⁷ The calendar, which is sold throughout the island, was recently featured on Oprah Winfrey's Oxygen Network.

Dewa Biang Raka's painting in the permanent collection, *Peacocks*, 1992 (acrylic on canvas, 79 x 99 cm), is, in my opinion, one of her best paintings to date (Figure 25). Raka, who was born on 16 July 1937 in Pengosekan, Bali, took up painting when she was eight years old. During the 1950s, she, along with a group of well-known painters such as Anak Agung Gede Sobrat and Gusti Ketut Kobot, studied painting with Rudolf Bonnet. "[He] would give us different assignments," explains Raka. "After I finished a painting, I would bring it to his house and ask him to take a look at it."⁷⁸ However, it is important to note that, except for Raka, all of Bonnet's students were men. "I was the only woman in the group," she explains. "Things were very different then."⁷⁹ In 1959, Raka married the well-known painter

⁷⁵ Except for Tedja and Supriyatini, who are Javanese, all of the painters are Balinese.

⁷⁶ Non-Indonesians must be residents of Bali in order to exhibit their work at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. In 1994, Northmore explained to Wright that, "...its supposed to be [for] foreigners who are resident in Bali, but of course, who is a resident in Bali changes from one month to the next. And so, I'm very concerned about that, because its not right, really, that somebody who has just been here for a month should come by and be able to [exhibit] here when other needs are pressing ...". In addition to this, non-Indonesians pay higher commissions than do Indonesians. For example, if an Indonesian woman sells a painting at one of these exhibitions, the gallery takes a 20% commission. However if a non-Indonesian woman sells a painting at one of these exhibitions, the gallery takes a 25% commission. When I asked Ni Nyoman Ayu Ariani, a former staff member at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, why this is the case, she told me that, on the whole, Indonesian women living and working in Bali generally have less money than do their non-Indonesian counterparts. As a result, the gallery does not charge them as high a commission when they sell paintings at a temporary exhibition.

⁷⁷ See Appendix VII for a list of painters included in the gallery's calendars.

⁷⁸ Dewa Biang Raka, personal communication, 21 June 1998.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Dewa Ketut Rungun.⁸⁰ Together, they had seven children. Despite this, though, Raka did not abandon her art practice. “I always make time to paint,” she explains, “Two hours in the afternoon and two hours at night.”⁸¹

The majority of Raka’s paintings teem with animals such as frogs, birds, insects and butterflies. Her painting *Peacocks* is a case in point. Here, Raka depicts two peacocks seated in a tree. The painting is deceptive in that, at first glance, it appears to be monochromatic. This is in part due to the painter’s muted palette. However upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the canvas is filled with colour. Raka’s paintings, according to Wright, appear at first to be “... conventional, but with longer viewing [they] begin to glow, to deepen and come to life in such a way that one swears one saw a peacock feather ruffle in the breeze ...”⁸² She achieves this, in part, by applying layers of washes to the canvas, thus creating subtle gradations of colour. We see this, for example, in the birds’ feathers. When I asked Raka about her technique, she told me that just because someone sells a painting does not necessarily mean that the painting is good. Her paintings are good, she says, because she imbues them with her spirit.⁸³

Gusti Ayu Suartini’s paintings have changed a lot over the course of the last ten years. Suartini was born on 29 May 1972 in Pengosekan, Bali. Pengosekan is famous for its paintings - especially those done in the Pengosekan School style (Figure 12).⁸⁴ Suartini told me that when she was a student at Sekolah Menengah Seni

⁸⁰ Rungun was a member of the Pita Maha.

⁸¹ Dewa Biang Raka, personal communication, 21 June 1998.

⁸² Astri Wright, “A Woman’s Place,” in Dinah Dysart and Hannah Fink, eds., *Asian Women Artists*, (Roseville: Craftsman House, 1996), p.107.

⁸³ Dewa Biang Raka, personal communication, 21 June 1998.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 2 for more information on the ‘Pengosekan School’.

Rupa (Middle School for the Arts) in Batubulan, the Pengosekan School style was at the height of its popularity; so popular, in fact, that painters could not keep up with the demand for paintings. As a result, she was able to put herself through school without her parent's help.⁸⁵ In 1992, Suartini graduated from high school. Since then, she has taken part in several group exhibitions including several at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. In addition to this, she has joined two art organizations: ISWALI and Eka Cipta Budaya (One Idea Culture). Suartini is a gifted artist. In addition to painting, she is an accomplished musician.⁸⁶

Suartini is represented by two paintings in the permanent collection: *Ancestral Fowl I*, 1993, (acrylic on paper, 23 x 36 cm), *Ancestral Fowl II*, 1993, (acrylic on paper, 22 x 35 cm) (Figures 26 & 27). Both *Ancestral Fowl I* and *Ancestral Fowl II* were painted less than a year after Suartini attended a workshop at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. The workshop, which marked the opening of the Sanggar Muda, was taught by Kartika Affandi from Yogyakarta.⁸⁷ Suartini told me that attending Affandi's workshop changed her approach to painting. Since then, she has begun to experiment with new styles.⁸⁸ Here, the painter abandons the conventions of the Pengosekan School style and lets her imagination run free. The paintings, which depict two groups of birds scratching for food, are wonderfully inventive. Neither of

⁸⁵ Gusti Ayu Suartini, personal communication, 2 August 1998.

⁸⁶ Suartini is a member of a gamelan in Pengosekan.

⁸⁷ Affandi is perhaps the most well known women painter in all of Indonesia. Born in 1934, she paints directly onto the canvas with her fingers - a technique she learned from her father, the well-known painter Affandi. For more information, see Astri Wright, "Undermining the Order of the Javanese Universe: Kartika Affandi-Köberl's Self-Portraits," in *Art Asia Pacific*, Vol.1, No.2 (June 1994), pp.62-72; Wright, "Selftaught Against the Grain: Three Artists and a Writer;" Astri Wright, "Difference in Diversity: Women As Modern Artists in Indonesia," in Laura Summers and Bill Wilder, eds., *Gendered States; Modern Powers: Perspectives from Southeast Asia*, (London: Macmillan Press, St. Martin's Press, forthcoming).

⁸⁸ Gusti Ayu Suartini, personal communication, August 2, 1998.

the birds here are depictions of actual birds. Rather, they are products of the painter's imagination. In addition to this, they are extremely colourful unlike most Pengosekan School style paintings.

All but two of the painters represented in the permanent collection are still active. Ni Nyoman Remin gave up painting after giving birth to twins.⁸⁹ Her painting, *Market*, no date (acrylic on cotton, 29 x 32 cm), is typical of the Ubud School (Figure 28). The figures depicted here, though rendered in a naturalistic manner, are outlined in black. In addition to this, Remin creates the illusion of depth through her use of light and shade. However, unlike most paintings of this nature, i.e. market scenes, there is a narrative here. A woman carrying a basket on her head gestures towards a man crouching in the foreground of the painting. He, in turn, points to a cracked vessel on the ground. However, it is unclear what exactly is going on here. Is the woman simply asking the man how much the vessel costs or is she accusing him of having broken it? Either way, Remin leaves the final analysis up to the viewer.

The rich browns favoured by Remin contrast sharply with Pastini's muted palette. Northmore purchased *Wedding Ceremony*, 1991 (acrylic on cotton, 57.5 x 81.5), shortly after Ni Made Pastini's (1950-1991) death (Figure 29). The painting, which was commissioned by the gallery, may very well be the only example of Pastini's work left in Bali.⁹⁰ As a result, Northmore refuses to sell it. Here, a group of women prepare offerings for a wedding ceremony. However the figures, of which there are ten, are not individuals. Rather they are variations of a type. As is often the

⁸⁹ Due to their heavy workloads, it is not uncommon for women to give up painting during their childbearing years and return to it later.

case with painters born into artist families, Pastini's style is similar to that of her father's, the well-known painter I Wayan Godot. Godot, like Pastini, favoured muted tones. However this is where the similarity ends. Unlike her father who painted men and animals, Pastini tended to paint women and children.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Ni Made Pastini's painting, *Carrying Water*, no date (acrylic on cotton, 50 x 71 cm), is featured in *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting* by Alison Taylor, p.45.

⁹¹ Taylor, *Living Traditions in Balinese Painting*, p.46.

Chapter 5

Women Painting Women

Women in Bali, as in the rest of Indonesia, are, above all, expected to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers. Not surprisingly, then, they are discouraged from asserting their influence in the public sphere. However, according to Jutta Berninghausen and Birgit Kerstan, women's "... informal possibilities for participation and influence on village structures can be considered to be just as effective, but in a different way, as men's formal representational responsibilities."¹ I agree with Berninghausen and Kerstan. Women in Indonesia *do* in fact have a voice.² Of particular interest to me is the fact that some choose painting as the vehicle through which to access that voice. The women with whom I met explore all manner of subject matter in their work. However, I found their images of women especially powerful. This chapter examines images of women in the work of Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), Ni Nyoman Sani (b.1974) and I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih (b.1966), or Murni.

In terms of style, Astiti's, Sani's and Murni's work is very different. Nowhere is this more evident than in their treatment of paint. Inasmuch as Astiti and Sani have a penchant for loose brushstrokes, Murni does not. In fact, one would be hard pressed to find any evidence of them in her work. As a result, Astiti's and Sani's paintings are textured and somewhat uneven, whereas Murni's are smooth and flat. This difference

¹ Jutta Berninghausen and Brigit Kerstan (translated by Barbara A. Reeves), *Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java*, (London: Zed Books, 1992), p.169.

can be attributed, in part, to the painters' choice of medium. Astiti and Sani favour oils. Murni on the other hand, prefers acrylics.³ Equally important is the manner in which each of the painters chooses to depict the world. Astiti, Sani and Murni paint in a modern idiom. Having said that, though, their styles are very different from one another. Astiti's colourful compositions have a somewhat graphic quality to them. She achieves this by juxtaposing large swatches of colour next to one another. By contrast, Sani's compositions are comprised of several planes. This allows her to depict multiple scenes at the same time. Like Astiti, Murni has little use for perspective. Rather, her figures appear to be suspended, both in time and space.

However different their styles, though, Astiti's, Sani's and Murni's paintings bear other similarities. This is especially true of their images of women. For although they may look different, they nevertheless tell a similar story – that of women's agency. Images of women abound in Indonesian painting. Rarely, though, are they painted from a woman's perspective. Motherhood is a recurring theme in Astiti's work. Women in Bali, as in the rest of Indonesia, are, above all, expected to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers. However, it is not clear whether or not that is what they expect of themselves. Women figure prominently in the work of Sani as well. In recent years, she has become increasingly interested in images of women in the media. Sani told me that she hopes that her paintings make people think more critically about the images they consume. Murni's more recent work is perhaps the most provocative of the three. She is interested in exploring themes relating to sexuality, particularly women's sexuality. Sex is not something which is discussed

² It is important to note here, however, that women's voices are not always heard as effectively or as loudly as men's voices.

openly in Indonesia – let alone women’s sexuality. Murni, however, approaches the subject with humour and honesty.

Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti

Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti was born on 1 September 1948 in Payangan, Bali. Her decision to take up painting was not a popular one. Astiti was often ridiculed and made to feel an outcast by her neighbours. In fact, many of them thought that she was crazy.⁴ Despite this, though, she went on to study painting at Universitas Udayana (Udayana University) in Denpasar where she now teaches three days a week.⁵ Astiti told me that the University has changed a lot in the last thirty years. When she was a student there during the 1960s, there were no other women in the department. Today, there are over a hundred.⁶ Astiti attributes this to the fact that it is becoming more acceptable for a woman to take up painting. Astiti has exhibited regularly over the course of the last thirty years - both here and abroad. However, she only recently took part in her first solo exhibition. The exhibition, which was held at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, coincided with her 50th birthday.⁷

Women and children figure prominently in Astiti’s work. She explains that, “[having been] born a woman, and having become a mother, the life of women is very close to my heart, and so my works are about women. I paint the life of women to remind them to be true to themselves and their spirits.”⁸ According to Heather

³ Murni has experimented with other mediums as well, such as oils, tempera, etc.

⁴ Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, personal communication, 13 June 1998.

⁵ Astiti also teaches foreign students at her home.

⁶ See Chapter 2 for exact figures.

⁷ The exhibition took place between 1-26 September 1998 at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

⁸ Astiti quoted by Wendy Norris, “20 Seniwati di Bali: Current Balinese and Indonesian Women Painters, in Perspective,” research paper. (Peliatan: School for International Training, 1992), p.32.

Curnow, Astiti's paintings "... contradict the usual glamourized post-card image of Balinese femininity."⁹ For evidence of this, one need only look to images of women in paintings done by some of Indonesia's most well-known painters. Basuki Abdullah's painting *Girl from Bali*, 1942 (oil on triplex, 50.5 x 68 cm) is a case in point (Figure 30). Here, Abdullah depicts a young woman clasping a piece of fabric to her breast. The painting is sexually charged. By contrast, 'sexually charged' is not a term I would apply to Astiti's work. Her painting *The Same Fate*, 1997 (oil on canvas, 26 x 34 cm) depicts two pregnant women (Figure 31). The pair, who are dressed in ceremonial clothes, clasp their bulging bellies. Here, Astiti appears to celebrate the joys of motherhood.

In order to better understand these and other paintings, however, it is important to establish *how* they work. Some art historians do this by using Ferdinand Saussure's theory of structural linguistics.¹⁰ According to Saussure, language is a system made up of signs. A sign is comprised of two components – the signifier and the signified. The correlation between the two is arbitrary, meaning that they are not inherently related.¹¹ In other words, a sign "... is neither the thing nor the meaning alone, but the two together. The sign consists of the signifier, the material object, and the signified, which is its meaning [...] in practise a sign is always thing-plus-meaning."¹² If we apply this definition to Astiti's painting, then, the signifier refers to the two women in the picture, while the signified refers to the idea, or ideas, that they represent. The women pictured in this painting are smiling. Therefore, one can

⁹ Curnow, "Women Artists in Bali," p.26.

¹⁰ For an example of this, see Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

¹¹ Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practise & Poststructuralist Theory*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p.23.

assume that they are happy. However the women's down turned eyes seem to suggest otherwise. Is motherhood a blessing or a curse according to Astiti? Either way, this contradiction suggests to me that there is disparity between the signifier and the signified here.¹³

Her painting *Women of Two Continents*, 1994 (oil on canvas, 69 x 99 cm) explores similar themes (Figure 32). Here, Astiti depicts a group of Balinese women on their way to a temple ceremony. We know this because they are carrying offerings on their heads. However, they are not alone. Rather, they are being watched by a group of tourists. All of the tourists are women. Despite this, though, it is clear that the two groups have little in common. First, they are dressed differently. The Balinese are wearing *pakaian adat* (traditional clothes) whereas the tourists are wearing bathing suits. Second, they occupy different spaces. The Balinese are grouped together on one side of the canvas while the tourists are grouped together on the other side of the canvas. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, they are separated by a large stretch of sand. Third, they are engaging in different kinds of activities. The Balinese are going to a temple ceremony. As Astiti put it: "they are working."¹⁴ By contrast, the tourists do not have a care in the world. They are on a holiday. In fact, they do not even have to look after their children if they don't want

¹² Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, (London: Marion Boyers, 1978), p.17.

¹³ This is debatable. I, as a western woman, interpret the women's down turned eyes to mean that they are melancholic. However, it is important to note that this is an established convention in Balinese, as well as Indonesian, art. Female wayang kulit puppets are always depicted with down turned eyes and male wayang kulit puppets are always depicted with up turned eyes. The same is true of the figures depicted in Kamasan style painting.

¹⁴ Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, personal communication, 13 June 1998.

to because they can afford to hire babysitters. The Balinese, however, cannot afford such luxuries.¹⁵

Of particular interest to me is the inclusion of a child in the painting. The child, pictured here with her mother, is Balinese. It should be noted that while children figure prominently in Astiti's paintings, she rarely depicts them in the company of tourists. In fact, tourists, whether they be male or female, are almost always childless. Such is the case in *Objek (Object)*, 1996 (oil on canvas, 70 x 100 cm) (Figure 33). Here, a group of men and women emerge from the temple as tourists wait to take their photographs. The Balinese have children. However, the tourists do not. The absence of children here is significant. As has been previously mentioned, the *kodrat wanita* (women's nature) dictates that women "... find their main vocation in wifedom and motherhood."¹⁶ Not surprisingly, then, there is a lot of pressure for them to have children. In Bali, according to Eiseman Jr., "(a) childless family is a disaster [...] If a woman cannot bear children, a man may take another wife who can."¹⁷ The fact that women are almost always pregnant or in the company of children in Astiti's paintings attests to this. However, I believe that these, and other, paintings challenge the notion of motherhood in Bali rather than support it.

Ni Nyoman Sani

Unlike Astiti, who tends to focus exclusively on the lives of women and children, Sani's more recent work examines issues relating to women in the media.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Wieringa, "Sexual Metaphors in the Change from Sukarno's Old Order to Suharto's New Order in Indonesia," pp.7-8.

¹⁷ Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala & Niskala*, Volume II, p.66.

Sani was born on 10 August 1974 in Sanur, Bali. She has two brothers and six sisters. However, she is the only one who paints. “From the very young age I enjoyed painting, but without guide [sic] from anyone,” she explains, “At the age of eighteen years old I pushed myself to express my own ideas and feeling on canvas. Upon completion of [high school], I tried even harder to learn through books and attending exhibitions, whether in Denpasar or in Ubud and other art centres [...]”¹⁸ In 1994, Sani took her first steps towards establishing herself as a professional painter: she started selling her work at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. In addition to this, she joined ISWALI. She explains that, “(w)ith these two organizations I feel I have a good opportunity to participate in the richness of Balinese artistic culture.”¹⁹ In 1996, Sani decided to study painting formally. That same year, she enrolled at Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (College of Indonesian Art) in Denpasar. Since then, she has taken part in several solo and group exhibitions.

Sani is interested in bodies, particularly female bodies.²⁰ This is evident in paintings such as *Wali Dancers*, date unknown, (oil on canvas, 20 x 25 cm) (Figure 34). Here, Sani has depicted what appear to be five female dancers. Or is it one dancer striking five different poses? We don’t know because none of the dancers have faces. In other words, they are not individuals. Sani told me that she doesn’t consider people’s faces important.²¹ Even when she does give her figures faces, they are generic rather than individual. The ‘self as subject’ is a contested issue in Indonesia. Berninghausen and Kerstan explain that in Java, for example, “... personal autonomy

¹⁸ Ni Nyoman Sani, “Ni Nyoman Sani,” Exhibition Catalogue (Ubud: Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women, 1997), page unknown.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, page unknown.

as a normative orientation is not by any means as highly and positively valued [...] as it is in Western culture. The strong emphasis on collectivism [...] is consciously maintained by both male and female Javanese as an alternative to individualism, which they consider to be Western.”²² I believe the same is true in Bali. “Bali is not a place where each seeks his own,” explains Eiseman Jr., “it is a place that requires collective participation in almost every aspect of political, social, economic, and religious life.”²³ It is possible, then, that *Wali Dancers* does not depict individuals, but rather alludes to the anonymity of the collective?

In 1998, Sani’s canvasses got larger. In addition to this, she began to experiment with new media often incorporating collage into her work. Perhaps more importantly, her paintings became more political. Her most recent work, for example, examines images of women in the media - images which are politically charged. Her painting *Model II*, 1999 (oil on canvas, 90 x 140 cm) is a case in point (Figure 35). Several years ago, the magazine *Popular* published a controversial photo of a well-known Indonesian actress. The actress, who was sitting on the floor with her legs crossed, was not wearing any clothes. However her arms and legs were positioned in such a way so as to conceal her breasts and genitals. The photo, according to Sani, marked the first time a mainstream magazine published such a photo. Indonesia’s former president, Suharto, however, was not amused. He argued that the photo was pornographic.²⁴ However Sani disagrees. She explains that her painting is an attempt

²⁰I believe that this interest stems, in part, from the fact that she attends life-drawing sessions at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women as well as at school.

²¹ Ni Nyoman Sani, personal communication, 10 February 2000.

²² Berninghausen and Kerstan (Translated by Barbara A. Reeves), *Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java*, p.247.

²³ Eiseman, Jr., *Bali: Sekala & Niskala*, Volume II, p.72.

²⁴ Ni Nyoman Sani, personal communication, 10 February 2000.

to "... express the sensual and aesthetic aspects of the nude model. It is up to the viewer to interpret this, but in my view the nude model is not identical with pornography."²⁵ Are paintings and/or photos of the female nude different? Why are paintings of the female nude considered 'art,' whereas photos are not? Sani addresses these and other questions in *Model II*.

Tradisi Berjins (The Tradition of Wearing Jeans), 1999 (oil on canvas, 120 x 150 cm) was also inspired by an image she saw in a magazine (Figure 36). In it, the model wore a ceremonial *gelungan* (head dress) and *selendang* (breast cloth) along with a western-style skirt. Typically, these items of clothing (not including the skirt) are worn on ritual occasions in Bali. To couple them with a western-style skirt was, according to the painter, inappropriate. Sani told me that Indonesian magazines, the majority of which are published in Java, are not culturally sensitive to local traditions.²⁶ This is in part due to the fact that they cater to the Javanese market.²⁷ In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, Javanese culture is often passed off as Indonesian culture.²⁸

"To some people," explains Niels Mulder, "[Javanization] simply means the spreading of the rural population of densely settled Java to less heavily populated parts of the archipelago [...] To others the meaning is less simple, as they take it to mean the conscious or unconscious imposition of Javanese patterns of thought and behaviour throughout Indonesia, and then the sense is one of cultural imperialism."²⁹ Here, Sani depicts the model wearing jeans instead of a skirt in order to further stress

²⁵ Sani quoted by "Painters in Pairs," Exhibition Catalogue (Ubud: Pranoto's Gallery, 1999), p.34.

²⁶ Ni Nyoman Sani, personal communication, 10 February 2000.

²⁷ The majority of Indonesian magazines are published in Java.

²⁸ The Javanese account for half of the country's population.

the inappropriateness of the coupling. In addition to this, she has painted a large red square over the model's face to register her disapproval.³⁰ *Tradisi Berjins*, then, can be read as a critique of the phenomenon called 'Javanization.'

I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih

Issues raised in the work of Astiti and Sani are radical by Indonesian standards. However, those raised by Murni are downright provocative. I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, or Murni, was born on 21 May 1966 in Tabanan, Bali. Soon afterwards, her family moved to Sulawesi. In 1987, Murni returned to Bali where she got a job making jewelry at a silver factory in Celuk. However making jewelry proved to be detrimental to her health.³¹ Murni then got married and moved to Payangan with her husband. After several years of marriage, Murni's husband asked permission to take a second wife on the grounds that she had failed to produce a child.³² Soon afterwards, Murni filed for a divorce. When her husband refused, Murni decided to leave anyway.³³ Several years later, Murni's husband's lover became pregnant. Only then did he agree to the divorce. Soon after leaving her husband, Murni met the Italian painter Mondo (no date). Mondo encouraged Murni to return to painting which she had enjoyed as a child, but had been discouraged from doing by

²⁹ Niels Mulder, *Inside Indonesian Society: Cultural Change in Java*. (Amsterdam: The Pepin Press, 1996), p.49.

³⁰ Ni Nyoman Sani, personal communication, 10 February 2000.

³¹ Murni developed eye problems.

³² Polygony is still legal in Indonesia, but a man is not allowed to marry another woman unless his first wife sanctions the marriage.

³³ It is very difficult to obtain a divorce in Indonesia if either one of the parties refuses.

her family. Mondo introduced Murni to his teacher, the well-known painter I Dewa Putu Mokoh (b.1933), with whom she studied for three years.³⁴

Subsequent to this, Murni decided to go it alone. “When I paint,” she explains, “I just surrender to the flow of images that pass through my mind. I never begin with a concept or pattern, except for the shards of my dreams that remain in my consciousness. Dreams and my past are the source of my ideas in painting.”³⁵ Her painting *Aku Rindu Padamu Mama* (I Miss You Mama), 1998 (acrylic on canvas, 1 x 1.5 m) attests to this (Figure 37). Here, Murni depicts what appears to be an *ankh* - the Egyptian hieroglyphic symbol meaning ‘life’ or ‘to live’ - flanked by a figure dressed in Egyptian garb. Murni developed an interest in Egypt after receiving a postcard from a friend who had traveled there the year before.³⁶ However when I asked her about this particular painting, she told me that it was inspired by Mother Theresa. Murni was deeply affected by the nun’s passing in 1997, so much so, in fact, that she began to dream about her on a regular basis. “Almost all my work is about my mind and my inspiration,” she explains. “When I had a broken heart, when I was happy or sad, I could put it all on canvas.”³⁷ When I asked Murni why she had chosen to depict Mother Theresa in this manner, she told me the *ankh* was in fact the crucifix that she had worn in her dreams. After this conversation, I read *Aku Rindu Padamu Mama* (I Miss You Mama) as an aniconic representation of Mother Theresa.

Murni’s paintings, then, are very much informed by her own experiences. In 1998, she produced a series of paintings about masturbation. The paintings, which

³⁴ I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, personal communication, 15 May 1998.

³⁵ Murni quoted by Wayan Suardika, “Pure Instinct,” in *Bali Echo*, Vol.III, No.037 (October/November 1998), p.22.

³⁶ In 1998, I counted ten paintings with Egyptian motifs in Murni’s studio.

depict female torsos with various implements between their legs – including tubes of paint and paint brushes - were very controversial (Figures 38 & 39). Masturbation is not something which is openly discussed in Indonesia. Wright explains that, “... references to body functions related to sexuality are accompanied by embarrassment, and are subject to extensive ‘off-colour’ joking and rewriting.”³⁸ Nevertheless, Murni exhibited the paintings the following year. The exhibition, which took place at Bali 3000 Internet Café and Gallery in Ubud, Bali, was not well received.³⁹ One painting, in particular, provoked a lot of criticism. *Kesenangan* (Pleasure), 1998, (acrylic on canvas, 85 x 60 cm) depicts a knife between a woman’s legs (Figure 40). While it appears that another person is holding it, Murni told me that it is in fact the same person.⁴⁰ The majority of the people with whom I spoke about the exhibition found the painting very disturbing.⁴¹ In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, they assumed that it had been painted by a man. When I told Murni about this, she just laughed. The exhibition was not about masturbation per se. Rather, it was about taking control of one’s sexuality. “When I’m alone,” explains Murni, “that’s what I do.” “But what about the knife?” I ask, “Doesn’t it hurt?” “Not if you move it slowly.”⁴²

So why all the controversy? The female nude figures prominently in Balinese painting. During the 1920s and 1930s, travel writers raved about the island. Here was

³⁷ Murni quoted by Melanie Stetson Freeman, “Women Artists Blossom in Bali,” in *The Christian Science Monitor*, (9 October 1998), p.B4.

³⁸ Wright, *Soul, Spirit and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters*, p.141.

³⁹ Tji Kien Chin, personal communication, 5 January 2000.

⁴⁰ I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, personal communication, 8 February 2000.

⁴¹ This view was shared by both men and women alike.

⁴² I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, personal communication, 8 February 2000.

a paradise, a “tropical wonderland,” as one writer put it, well worth a visit.⁴³ Of particular interest to them, however, was the fact that the women there wore no tops. “Above all,” explains Vickers, “[travel writers] were seemingly dumbfounded by the sight of women going topless without any social stigma.”⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, then, Bali came to be regarded as a kind of Garden of Eden. Foreign painters, the majority of which were male, were seduced by this construction and sought to (re)produce it in their paintings. Paintings such as *Ni Gusti Kompiang*, 1943 (pastel on paper, 36 x 47 cm) by the Dutch painter Willem Hofker (1902-1981) are typical of this genre of painting (Figure 41). Hofker, who studied painting at the Academy of Arts in Amsterdam, moved to Bali in 1938. Soon afterwards, he “... started a long series of oils and pastels of Balinese beauties in their dancing costumes, with sacrifices on their heads on their way to temple, or busy with everyday chores.”⁴⁵ More often than not, however, Hofker’s models were only partially clothed.

Hofker’s painting *Ni Gusti Kompiang*, then, facilitates the male gaze. By contrast, Murni’s painting *Kesenangan* (Pleasure) frustrates the male gaze. In her essay, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” Laura Mulvey examines how films satisfy our need to look at others. However, she cautions that, “(i)n a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are

⁴³ Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p.98.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.99.

⁴⁵ Spruit, *Artists on Bali*, p.75.

simultaneously looked at and displayed.”⁴⁶ Murni told me that her marriage and subsequent divorce taught her not to rely on others to satisfy her sexual needs.⁴⁷ The fact that the knife is held by a woman in *Kesenangan* (Pleasure), then, makes it difficult for the male viewer to enjoy.

According to Wright, Murni’s nudes are controversial not so much because they are nudes, but rather because they are painted by a woman. She explains that, “(w)omen artists painting their own experience of body, of self, of their worlds, are treated very differently in contemporary Indonesia than are male artists painting women’s bodies ...”⁴⁸ She adds that, “... it is not just naked bodies that shock, but naked female bodies. It is not just the naked female bodies, but their depiction in ways that completely defy any acceptable form of prettiness ...”⁴⁹ I agree with Wright. Murni’s painting *Kesenangan* (Pleasure) is not ‘pretty’ in the sense that Hofker’s painting *Ni Gusti Kompiang* is. This is in part due to the fact that Ni Gusti Kompiang, seen here reclining on a bed, is the object, rather than the subject, of the painting. By averting Hofker’s, as well as the viewer’s, gaze, she is in effect telling us that she has no agency. However, I would argue that this is not the case with Murni’s painting *Kesenangan* (Pleasure). While the prospect of masturbating with a knife may not appeal to everyone, the fact that the painter had the courage to depict herself on her own terms is, in and of itself, a subversive act. The painting is a testament to this.

⁴⁶ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Screen*, Vol.16, No.3 (Autumn 1975), p.11.

⁴⁷ I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, personal communication, 8 February 2000.

⁴⁸ Wright, “Selftaught Against the Grain: Three Artists and a Writer,” p.21.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp.20-21.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

We have seen that art production in Bali has traditionally been divided along gender lines. Whereas men have traditionally practiced certain art forms - such as painting and music – women have traditionally taken up others – such as weaving and dance. Not surprisingly, then, the majority of painters in Bali are men. I have suggested that this is due, in part, to the strict gender codes which govern the lives of men and women there. In addition to this, and perhaps more importantly, women do not have the same access to museums and art schools as men. As a result, women have had to rely on familial and spousal support. In addition to this, they have established their own art organizations. These include ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. Thanks to the efforts of these organizations, the number of women painters in Bali is on the rise. What, then, does the twenty-first century have in store for women painters?

As has been previously mentioned, ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women are comprised of Indonesians and non-Indonesians alike. Of particular interest to me, however, is the fact that the driving forces behind both of these organizations were non-Indonesians. Initially, I had reservations about this. Was this a case of white, middle-class women imposing their will on so-called third-world women? When I spoke to Balinese, as well as Indonesian, women painters about this,

however, it became clear to me that this was not an issue for them.¹ “I married a long-term Ubud resident, I made my life here, I am an Indonesian citizen,” explains Northmore, “and if one wants to put down good roots, one needs good friends. It’s very important.”² In other words, Northmore wanted to connect with local women.³

“When I realized how busy Balinese women are,” explains Northmore, “I wanted to find a way to meet them, which is not easy on the street, in order to share ideas together, but ideas about what? Ubud is an arts community, so it seemed best that that should be our connection.”⁴ In 1991, Northmore, together with Shelley, helped establish ISWALI. “At that time,” explains Shelley, “there was no place for women artists to meet, discuss or find support”.⁵ Shelley attributes the fact that she was able to help establish ISWALI due, in part, to her background. “My background in Australia included experience of co-operative structures and community development,” she explains, “[it] helped me to be confident in calling people together”.⁶ However in Indonesia, where counter hegemonic thought continues to be discouraged, such behaviour is frowned upon and, at times, violently repressed.

This is illustrated by the case of Marsinah, one of Indonesia’s well-known labour activists. On May 8, 1993, Marsinah, an employee at the Indonesian/Swiss owned factory PT Catur Putra Surya, was found dead near her home in Nganjuk, East

¹ As a result, I decided against pursuing the issue any further. However, I do believe that it is one that merits further investigation.

² Northmore quoted by Eka Sawitri, “Interview between Balinese Journalist Eka Sawitri and Seniwati Gallery Founder and Director, Mary Northmore,” in “Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women: The First Ten Years, 1991-2001,” Exhibition Catalogue (Jakarta: Taman Ismail Marzuki, dates unknown), p.8.

³ It is important to note here that both Northmore and Shelley were living and working in Bali during the early 1990s. Northmore still lives there. Shelley, however, does not.

⁴ Northmore quoted by Eka Sawitri, “Interview between Balinese Journalist Eka Sawitri and Seniwati Gallery Founder and Director, Mary Northmore,” p.8

⁵ Judith Shelley, personal communication, 28 February 2001.

Java. The twenty-five year old had been beaten and raped after going on strike to demand a minimum wage of Rp.2250 a day as well as the right to form a trade union.⁷ Following the strike, at which both the police and army were present, Marsinah led a delegation which successfully negotiated a new contract with company officials. However, days later came news of her brutal murder. “For student activists and groups campaigning for women’s and worker’s rights in Indonesia,” explains Benjamin Waters, “Marsinah’s death symbolized the exploitation and violence that threatens workers, especially women, in Indonesia’s rapidly growing export-oriented manufacturing sector”.⁸

Women in Indonesia, then, are neither expected, nor encouraged, to question the status quo. That is not to say the desire for change is not there. Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I sensed a degree of tension/hesitancy in the women I interviewed. On the one hand, they were clearly proud of their accomplishments. On the other hand, though, they were somewhat guarded with me.⁹ Such was the case of Ni Made Suciarmi. When I interviewed her in 1998, she had a sign outside her home which read: Ni Made Suciarmi – Classical Kamasan Style – Art by Woman (Figure 42). While this may not seem out of the ordinary, I believe that the inclusion of the phrase *Art by Woman* on the sign is. Here was one of Bali’s most senior women painters making a point of identifying herself as a woman and painter. By contrast,

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ At the time, Rp.2250 was the equivalent of approximately US\$1.

⁸ Benjamin Waters, “The Tragedy of Marsinah: Industrialization and Worker’s Rights,” in *Inside Indonesia*, No.36 (September 1993), p.12. Artists also reacted to Marsinah’s brutal murder. For more information, see Astri Wright, “Resistance in the Visual Field: Activist Artists in Indonesia in the 1990s,” in Ing-Britt Trankell and Laura Summers, eds, *Facets of Power and Its Limitations: Political*

her son appeared during the interview and began to answer questions on her behalf. Suciarmi did not object to this. Rather, she sat quietly behind him during the rest of the interview.¹⁰

The question, then, is this: would ISWALI or the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women have ever got off the ground were it not for the involvement of non-Indonesians? Absolutely. The timing was right for women painters in Bali to organize themselves. By the early 1990s, there were already three women's art organizations in Java. IPWI (The Association of Indonesian Women Painters), Grup Sembilan (Group Nine) and Nuansa Indonesia (Nuance Indonesia) were comprised mainly of women living and working there.¹¹ However, Indonesians from other parts of the country, including Bali, were members as well.¹² In fact, Ni Made Rinu told me that the idea to start a women's art organization in Bali had been floating around before the arrival of either Northmore or Shelley.¹³ However, nothing ever came of it.

I believe that Balinese women will assume more prominent roles in ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women in the near future. In 1994, Northmore told Wright: "I don't see my involvement with the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women as essential, or forever. I think that the place should be running on its own steam, say,

Culture in Southeast Asia, (Uppsala: University of Uppsala Studies in Anthropology 24, 1998), pp. 115-146.

⁹ I believe that this was due, in part, to the fact that I had only just met them.

¹⁰ This also occurred during my interview with Ni Ayu Suartini. Three quarters of the way through it, her husband 'took over,' as it were, and began answering questions on her behalf. I did not object to this at the time. However, upon returning to Canada, I decided not to use the parts of interviews whereby male family members answered on the painter's behalf.

¹¹ It is my understanding that all three organizations were comprised of Indonesians and non-Indonesians alike. The majority of members, however, hailed from the island of Java.

¹² Ni Made Rinu told me that she had exhibited with Nuansa Indonesia (Nuance Indonesia) during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

¹³ Ni Made Rinu, personal communication, 23 July 1998.

in five or ten years time.”¹⁴ Over the course of the last five years, Northmore has been spending less time at the gallery, leaving the bulk of the administrative work to its manager, Ni Wayan Suarniti. In 1998, Suarniti accompanied Gusti Agung Galuh on a three week trip to the University of Melbourne in Australia on behalf of the gallery. The trip marked Suarniti’s first trip overseas. “[The Staff here] run everything,” explains Northmore, “each aspect of our work and all our activities. They are very responsible, dedicated [and] very proud of what we are doing.”¹⁵

I also believe that this is possible due, in part, to the fact that traditional gender codes in Bali (and in the rest of Indonesia for that matter) are becoming increasingly blurred. This is due, in part, to the fact that Bali has shifted from an agricultural based economy to a service based one over the course of the fifty years. Andre Syahreza explains that, “the large scale entry of the tourism industry to Bali has affected change and transformed local tradition, in particular, that which applies to women.”¹⁶ There was a time, for example, when women were discouraged from working in hotels, restaurants, etc. Today, this is no longer the case. “Society can now see that tourism is a suitable place for women,” explains Violetta Simatupang, director of a public relations company in Bali.¹⁷ As a result, it is becoming increasingly common for women to engage in activities which have traditionally been performed by men and vice versa.

¹⁴ Astri Wright, unpublished interview with Mary Northmore, 17 July 1994.

¹⁵ Northmore quoted by Eka Sawitri, “Interview between Balinese Journalist Eka Sawitri and Seniwati Gallery Founder and Director, Mary Northmore,” p.8.

¹⁶ Andre Syahreza, “Freedom Fighters,” in *Bali Echo*, Vol.III, No.040 (April/May 1999), p.14.

¹⁷ Violetta Simatupang quoted by Jaye Wood, “Ground Breakers,” p.8.

In 1957, there were only three hotels on the island: the Bali Hotel in Denpasar, the Shindu Beach Hotel in Sanur and the Kuta Beach Hotel in Kuta.¹⁸ Today, there are hundreds.¹⁹ In addition to this, the number of tourists who visit Bali each year has increased dramatically.²⁰ Not surprisingly, then, tourism has had a huge impact on Bali's economy.²¹ In 1994 the Bali Government Tourist Office, or Diparda, estimated that 47,000 people worked in tourism related jobs; 32,000 in hotels, 8,300 in restaurants, 3,000 as guides, 1,900 in transportation and 1,800 in travel agencies.²² However, Picard argues that, "(t)o this number must be added the artists and craftsmen working in a more or less permanent way for the tourism market or for export (whose numbers are difficult to estimate) as well as workers employed in the garment industry."²³

Tourism has had an impact on painting as well. In an essay published in 1993, Forge claims that I Wayan Munut, an art dealer from Ubud, receives thousands of orders for paintings each year from abroad. Not surprisingly, then, this generates a lot of jobs. Most of these go to copyists. A few painters, however, take this as an opportunity to explore new avenues in painting. "While it is true that the demand for

¹⁸ Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created*, p.184.

¹⁹ In 1999, there were 1,022 hotels in Bali with a total of 31,372 rooms. For more information, see Wayan Juniarta and Andre Syahreza, "Protecting the environment," in *Bali Echo*, Millenium Edition (December 1999/January 2000), pp.26-31.

²⁰ In 1994, Balinese immigration officials reported over one million international arrivals. However, the total number of tourists is probably much higher as this figure does not take into account those who arrived either on domestic flights or by ferry. Wayan Juniarta and Andre Syahreza estimate that the number of foreign tourists arriving in Bali in 1998 totaled 2.08 million.

²¹ The handicraft and garment industries in Bali are to a large extent by-products of tourism. Garments, for example, account for more than 50% of the island's exports. Not surprisingly, then, they are designed with this market in mind. There are approximately 30 licensed exporters and 200 factories in Bali – the majority of which are located in in Kuta, Sanur and Denpasar.

²² Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, p.62.

²³ *Ibid*, p.62.

cheap souvenirs has led to the mass production of shoddy identical items that have no motivation but to gain quick sales,” explains Curnow, “tourism has also provided income for committed artists to improve and experiment without discarding tradition”.²⁴ Such is the case of my friend Mas Agus. Mas Agus, a professional painter from Java currently living and working in Ubud, Bali, produces paintings for export in his spare time. This affords him the opportunity to generate income whenever his own paintings are not selling well.

The increased demand for art objects, such as paintings, has benefited women painters in Bali. Both ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art have staged exhibitions in tourist related venues.²⁵ In fact, two of ISWALI’s six exhibitions were held at hotels. A third was held in a shopping-centre that caters to tourists. In addition to this, several women painters have exhibited their work at restaurants. Such is the case of I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, or Murni. In 1996, Murni exhibited at the Strand Bar in Kuta and at Tutmak Café in Ubud. Three years later, she exhibited at Bali 3000 Internet Café and Gallery in Ubud. All three establishments cater primarily to tourists. Being able to exhibit in tourist related venues, then, has enabled a small, but growing, number of women painters to exhibit their work despite the fact that they are under-represented in mainstream museums and galleries.

²⁴ Curnow, “Women Artists in Bali,” p.26.

²⁵ It is important to note here that Bali does not have as many established commercial galleries as large cities in the west.

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Illustrations



Figure 1. artist unknown, *Hyang Burana, God of the Sea, jempana* (holy relic carrier), Pura Samuan Tiga temple. Photograph courtesy of Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka.

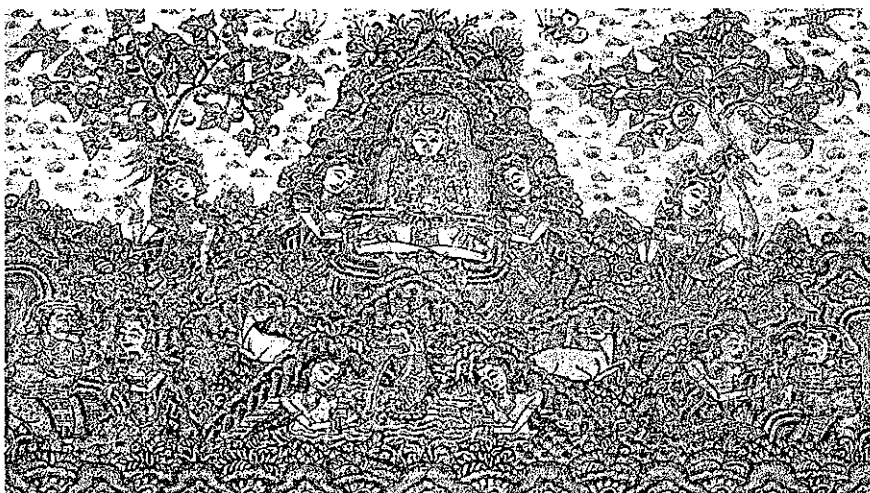


Figure 2. Ni Made Suciarmi. *Arjuna Wiwaha* (Celebrations of Arjuna's Wedding), date unknown (traditional paint on treated cotton, 52 x 78 cm). Photograph courtesy of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.

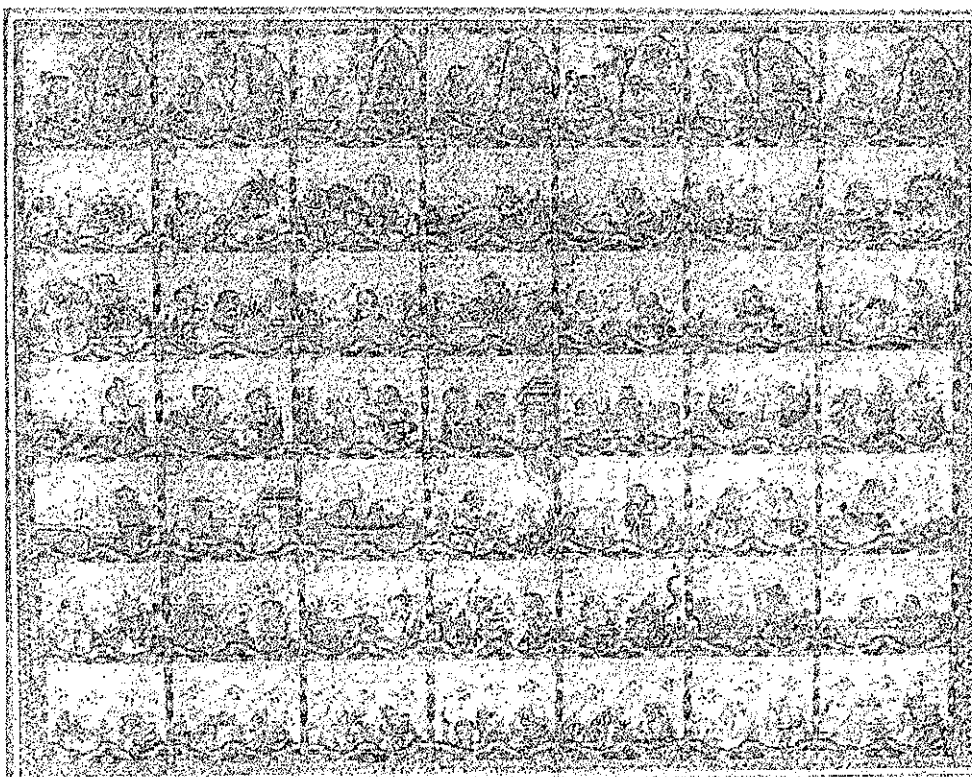


Figure 3. Ni Made Suciarmi. *Balinese Calendar*, 1993 (traditional paint on treated cotton, 122.5 x 136.5 cm.). Photograph courtesy of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.

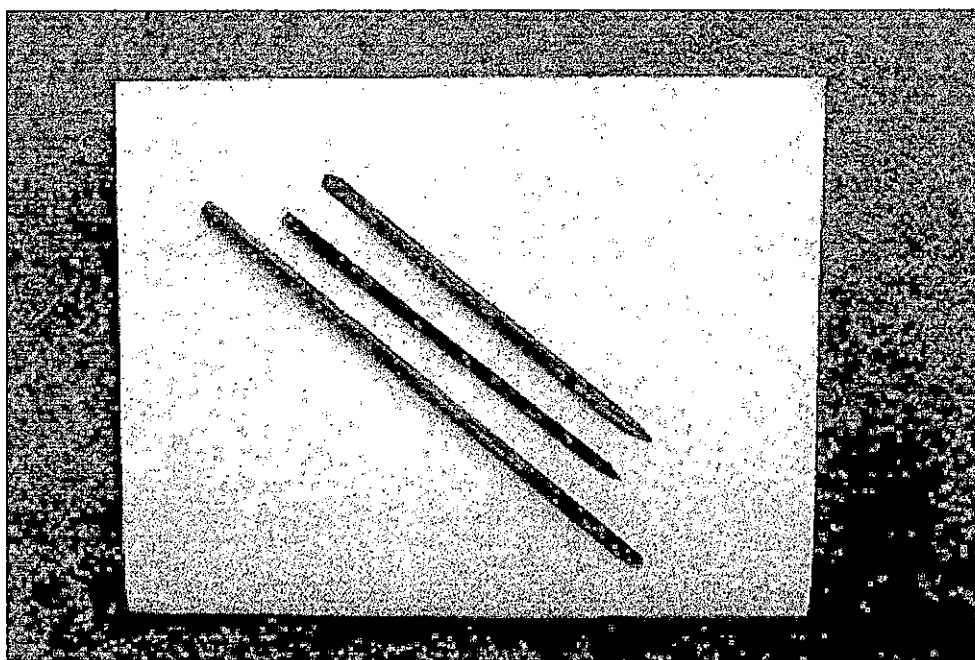


Figure 4. Traditional Kamasan-style pens.

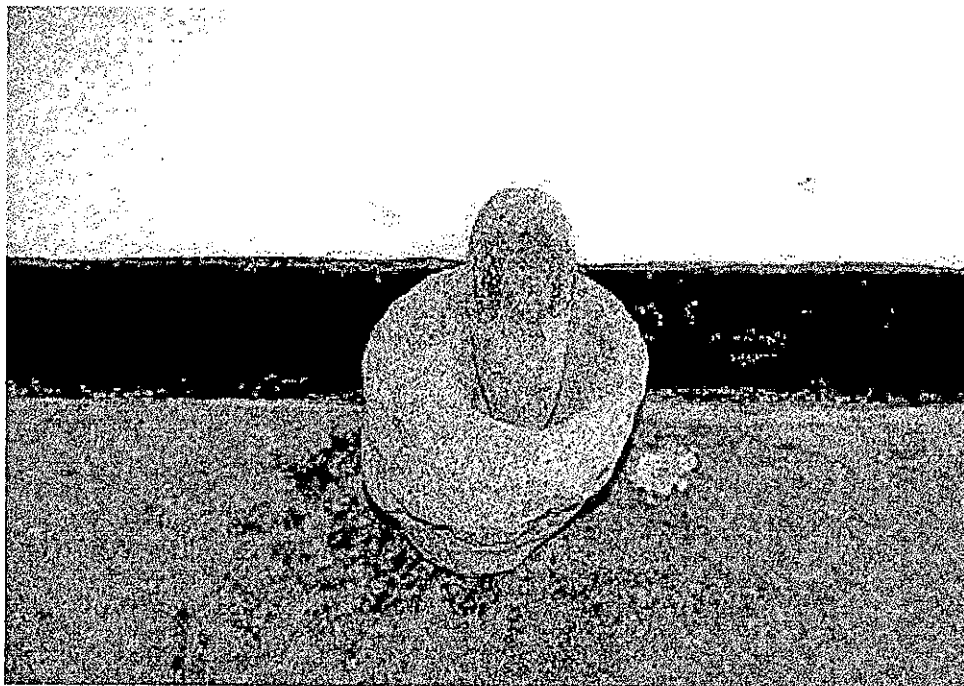


Figure 5. Mortar and Pestle.



Figure 6. Ground up pigments.



Figure 7. Traditional Kamasan-style pigments and cowrie shell.

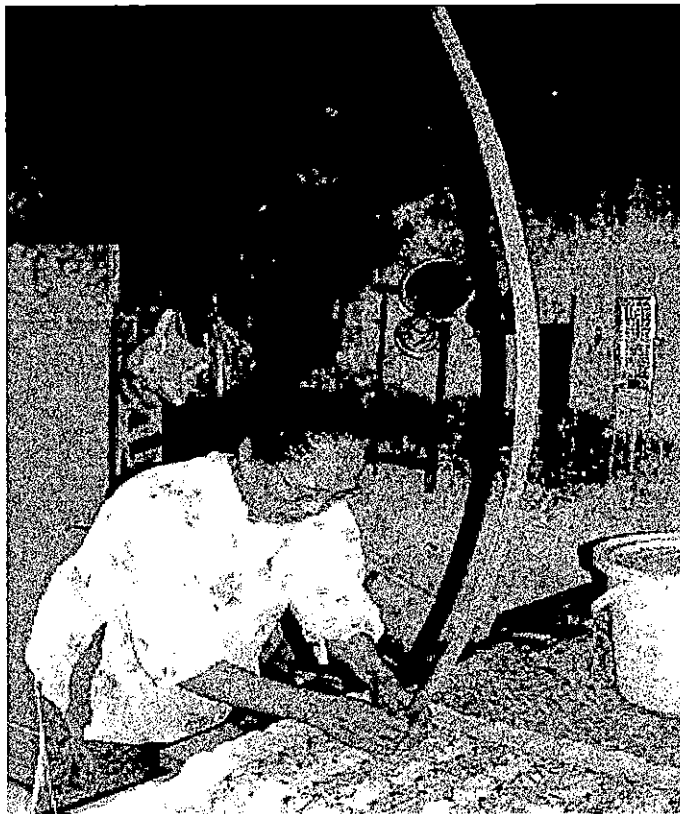


Figure 8. Ni Made Suciarmi polishing canvas with a cowrie shell.



Figure 9. Ni Made Suciarmi *Dewi Saraswati* (The Goddess Saraswati), date unknown (traditional paint on treated cotton, dimensions unknown).



Figure 10. Gusti Ketut Kobot, *Battle at Kurusetra*, 1966 (tempera on canvas, 70 x 141 cm). Photograph courtesy of Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka.

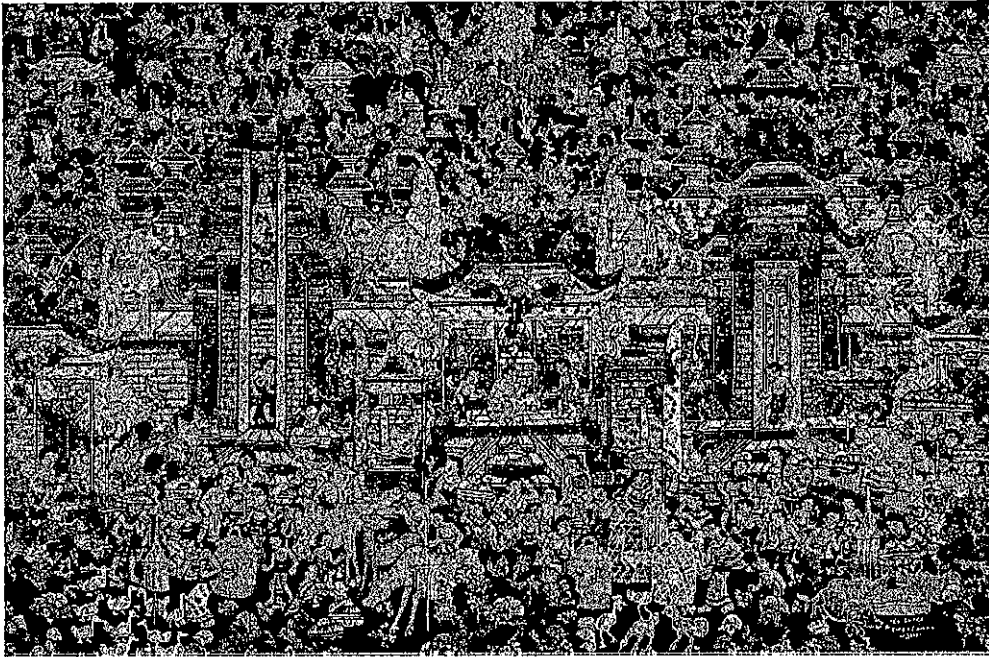


Figure 11. I Gusti Ketut Soki. *Village Festival*, no date (55 x 35 cm). Photograph courtesy of the Agung Rai Museum of Art.

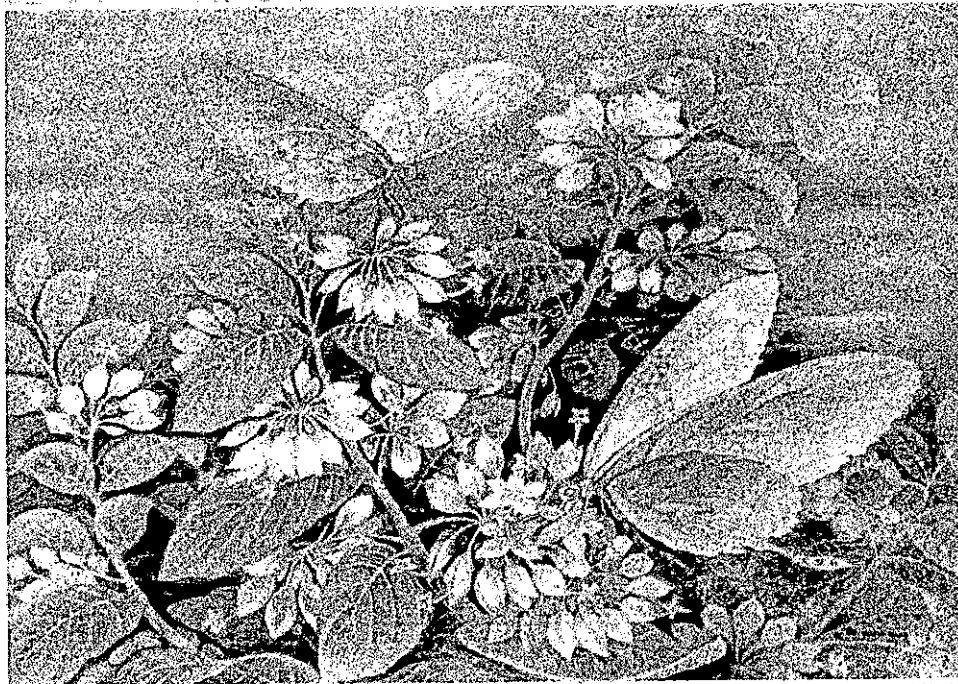


Figure 12. Dewa Biang Raka, *Flowers and Butterflies*, date unknown (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown). Photograph courtesy of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.



Figure 13. I Ketut Ngendon, *Landscape with Women Bathing in Sacred Spring*, 1939 (ink on paper, 19.5 x 15 in). Photograph courtesy of Lois Bateson.



Figure 14. Ida Bagus Made Togog, *The Story of the Demon Who Pretended to Be a Priest*, 1937 (ink on paper, 22.25 x 18.5 in). Photograph courtesy of Lois Bateson.

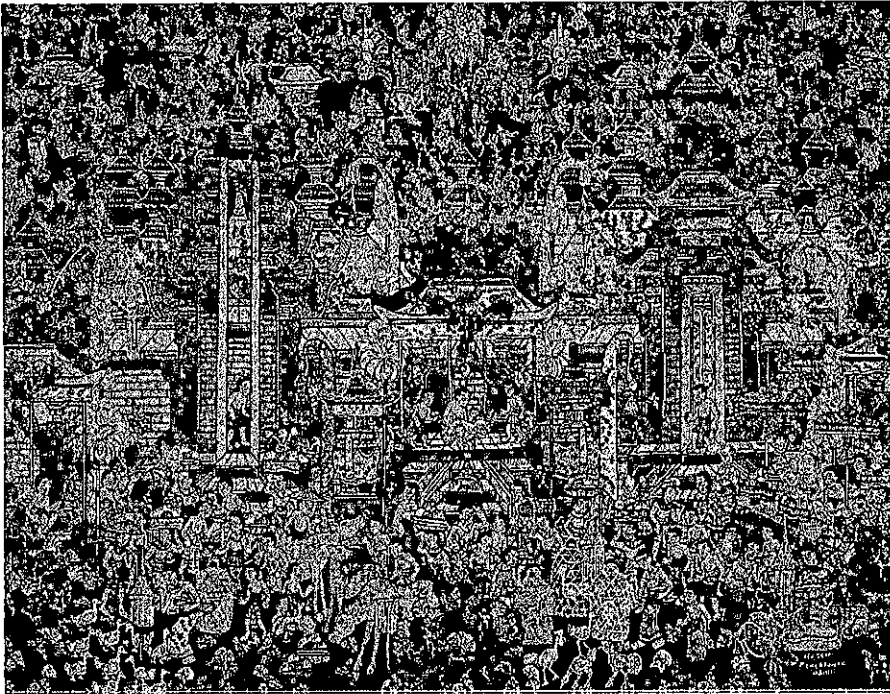


Figure 15. Ni Gusti Ayu Natiharimini, *Preparing for Nyepi, the Day of Silence*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown). Photograph courtesy of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.

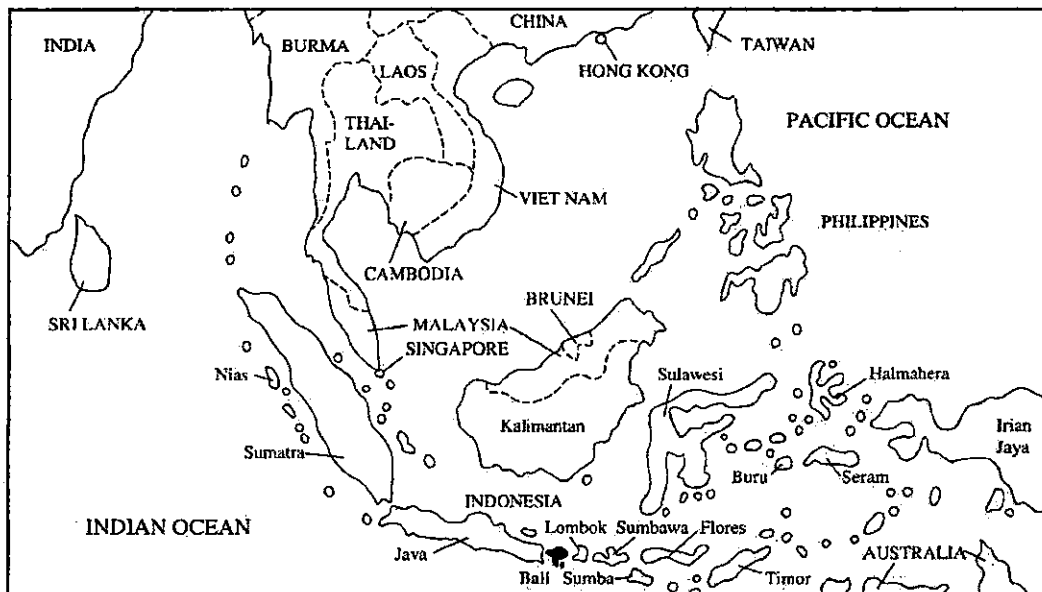


Figure 16. Map of Indonesia. Photograph courtesy of Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka.

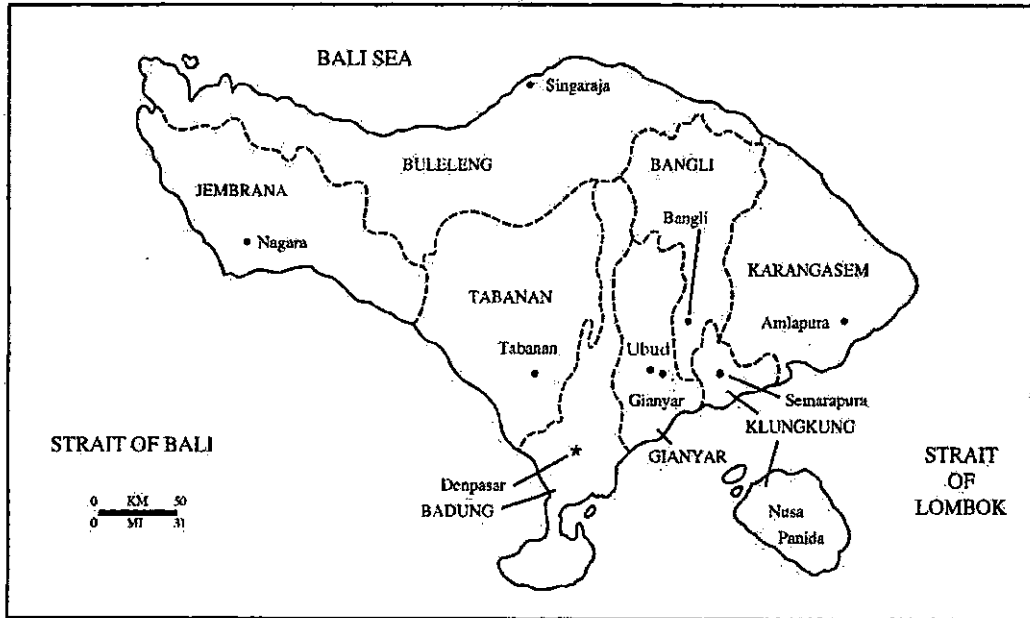


Figure 17. Map of Bali. Photograph courtesy of Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka.



Figure 18. Offerings.



Figure 19. Ramayana Ballet.

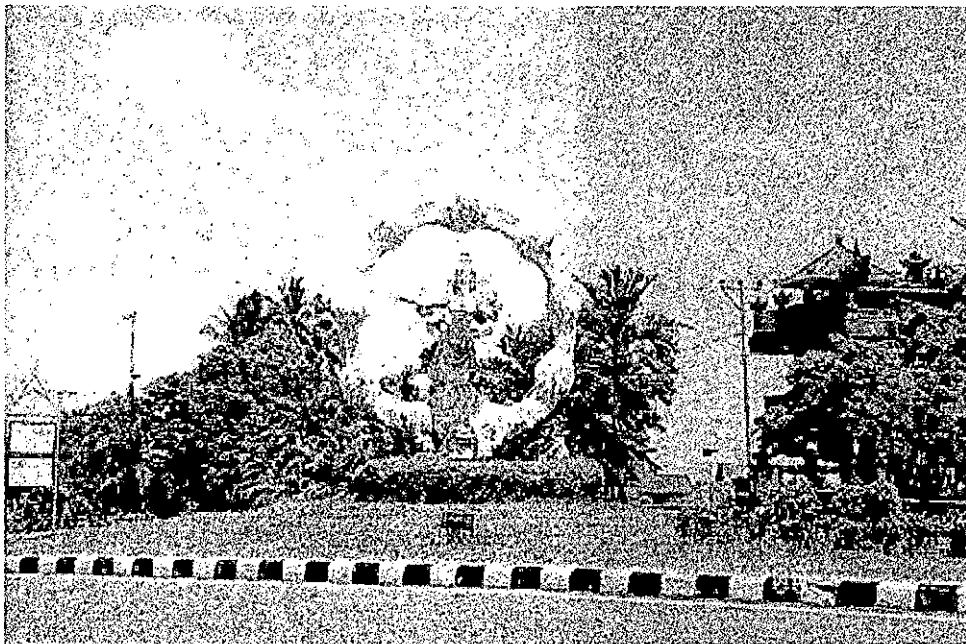


Figure 20. Sita Trial by Fire. Gyanyar, Bali.

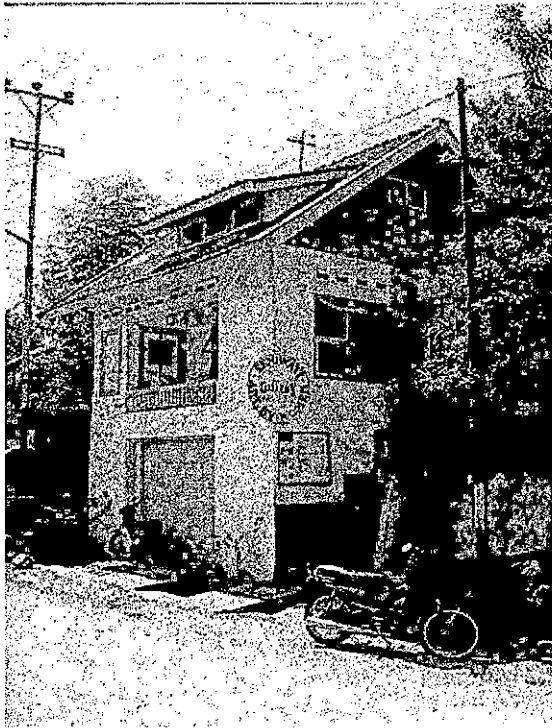


Figure 21. The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women. Ubud, Bali



Figure 22. The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women Exhibition Space. Ubud, Bali.



Figure 23. Students at work at the Seniwati Gallery of by Women's Sanggar Muda (youth workshop). Ubud, Bali.



Figure 24. Students at work at the Seniwati Gallery of by Women's Sanggar Muda (youth workshop). Ubud, Bali.

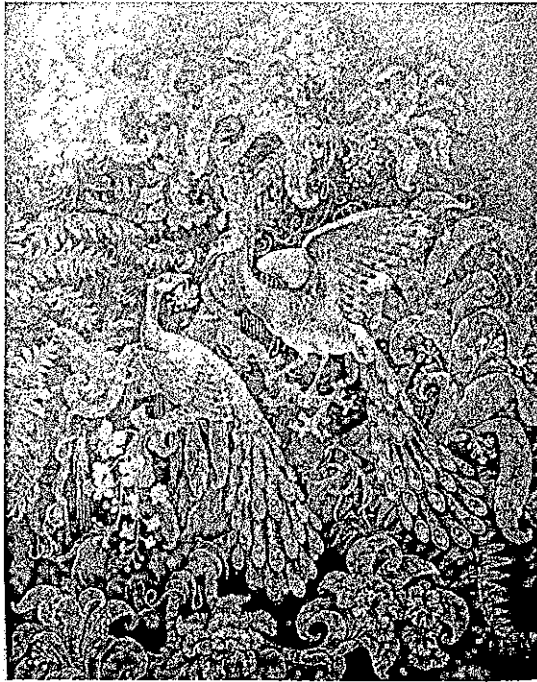


Figure 25. Dewa Biang Raka, *Peacocks*, 1992 (acrylic on canvas, 79 x 99 cm).



Figure 26. Gusti Ayu Suartini. *Ancestral Fowl I*, 1993, (acrylic on paper, 23 x 36 cm).



Figure 27. Gusti Ayu Suartini. *Ancestral Fowl II*, 1993, (acrylic on paper, 22 x 35 cm).



Figure 28. Ni Nyoman Remin. *Market*, no date (acrylic on cotton, 29 x 32 cm).

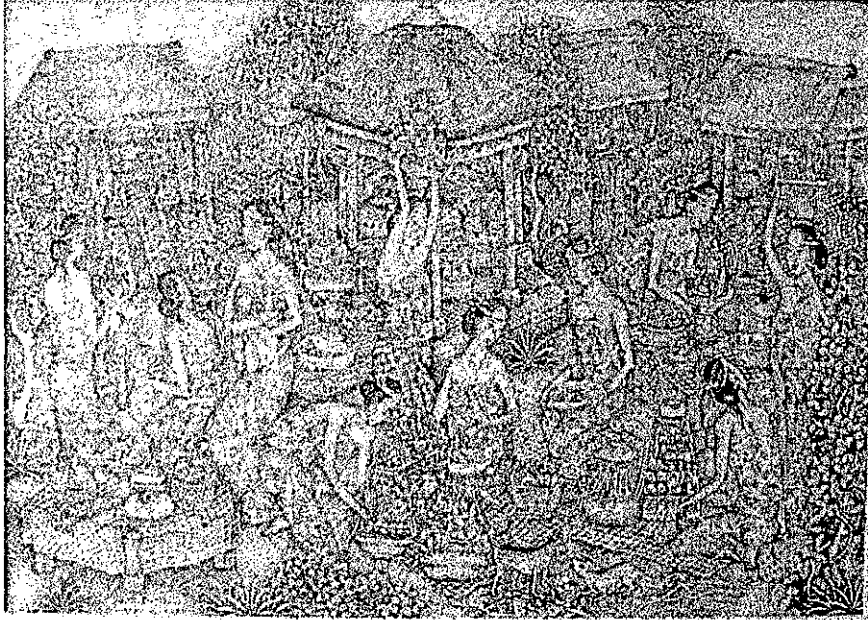


Figure 29. Ni Made Pastini. *Wedding Ceremony*, 1991 (acrylic on cotton, 57.5 x 81.5).



Figure 30. Basuki Abdullah, *Girl from Bali*, 1942 (oil on triplex, 50.5 x 68 cm).



Figure 31. Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, *The Same Fate*, 1997 (oil on canvas, 26 x 34 cm).

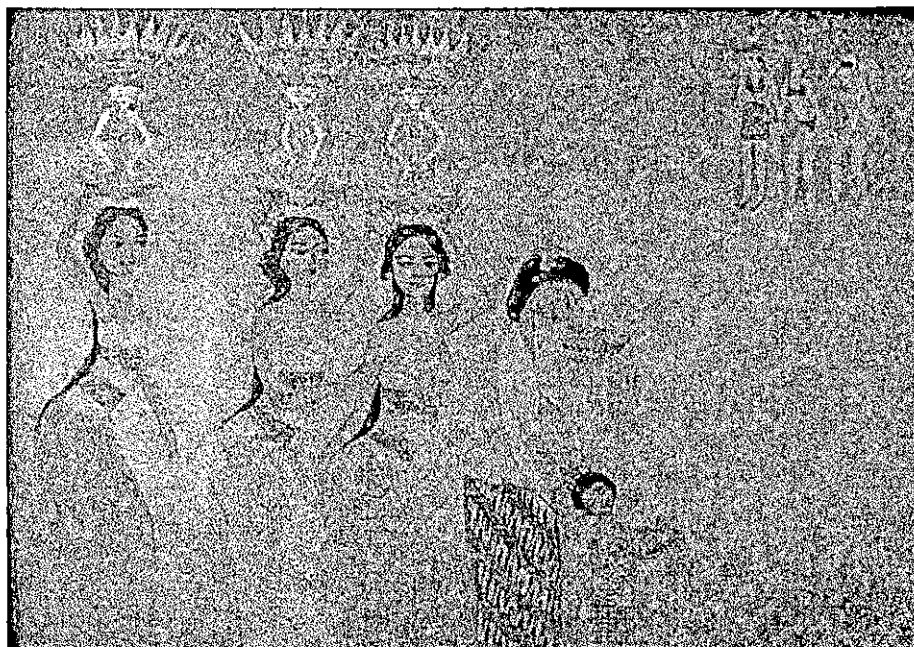


Figure 32. Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti. *Women of Two Continents*, 1994 (oil on canvas, 69 x 99 cm).

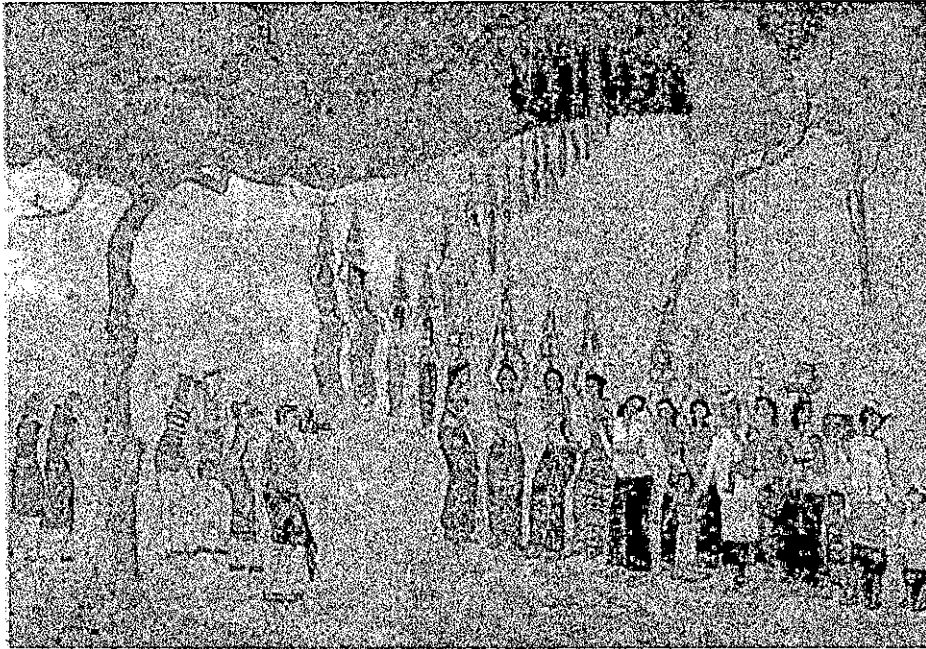


Figure 33. Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti. *Objek (Object)*, 1996 (oil on canvas, 70 x 100 cm). Photograph courtesy of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.



Figure 34. Ni Nyoman Sani. *Wali Dancers*, date unknown, (oil on canvas, 20 x 25 cm). Photograph courtesy of the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women.



Figure 35. Ni Nyoman Sani. *Model II*, 1999 (oil on canvas, 90 x 140 cm). Photograph courtesy of Pranoto's Gallery.



Figure 36. Ni Nyoman Sani. *Tradisi Berjins* (The Tradition of Wearing Jeans), 1999 (oil on canvas, 120 x 150 cm). Photograph courtesy of Ni Nyoman Sani.

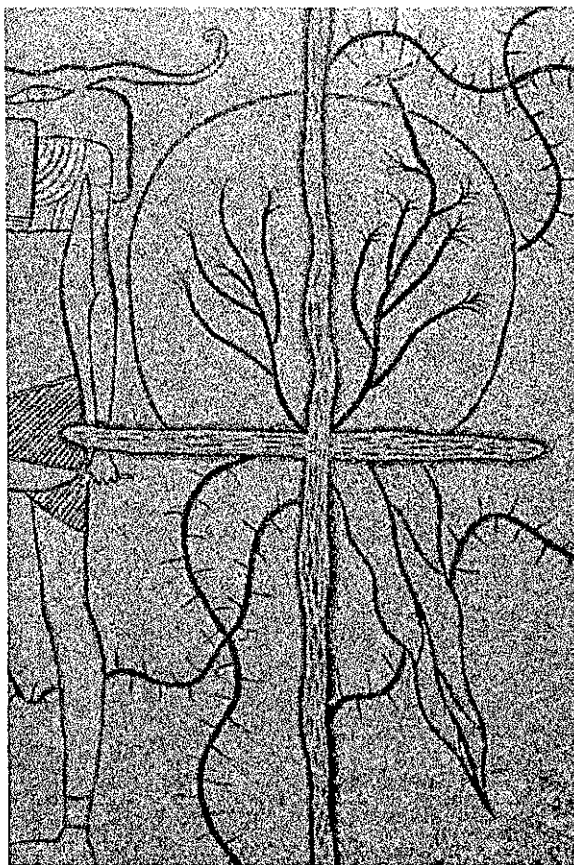


Figure 37. I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih. *Aku Rindu Padamu Mama* (I Miss You Mama), 1998 (acrylic on canvas, 1 x 1.5 m).

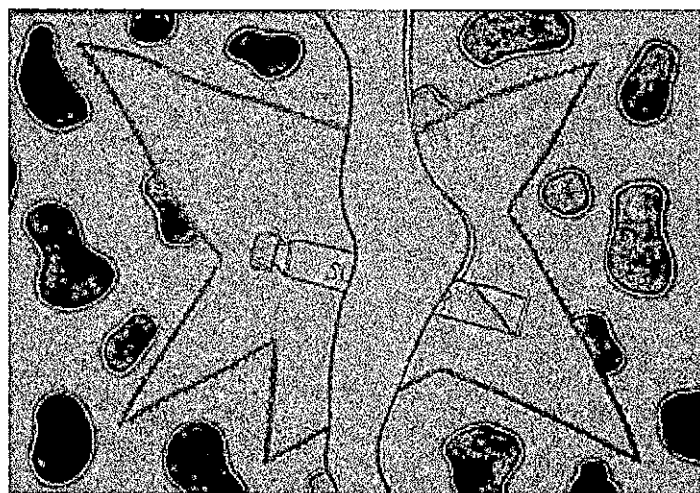


Figure 38. I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih. *Di Atas Bintang Aku Bikin Kesenangan* (Pleasuring Myself Atop a Star), 1999 (acrylic on canvas, 60 x 80 cm).

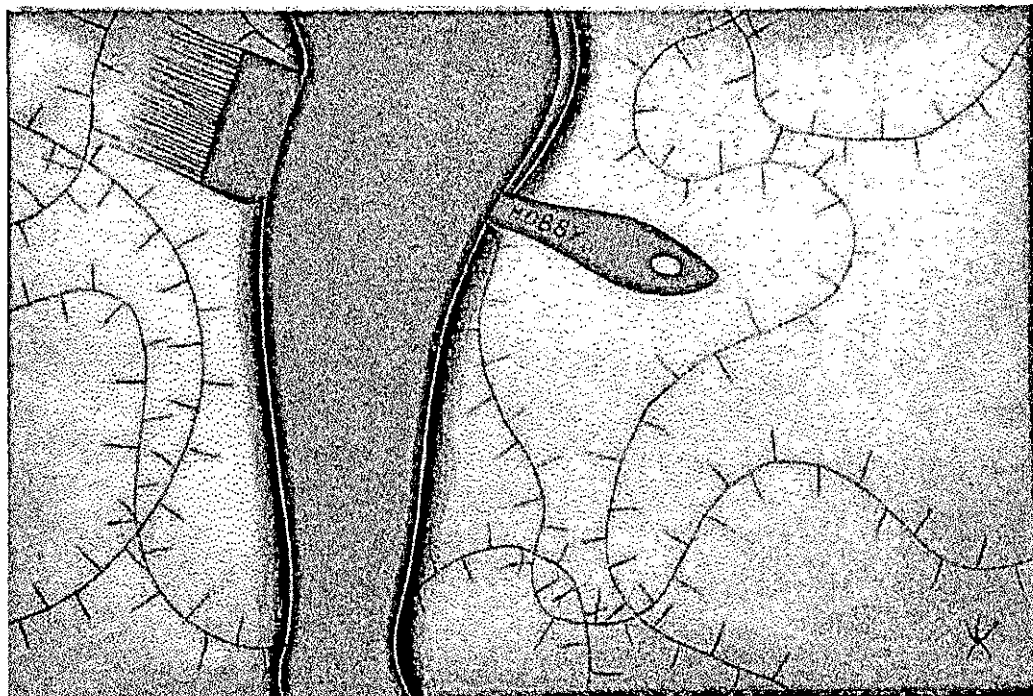


Figure 39. I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih. *Menggapai Kenikmatan* (Achieving Bliss) 1999 (acrylic on canvas, 40 x 60 cm x 2 panels).

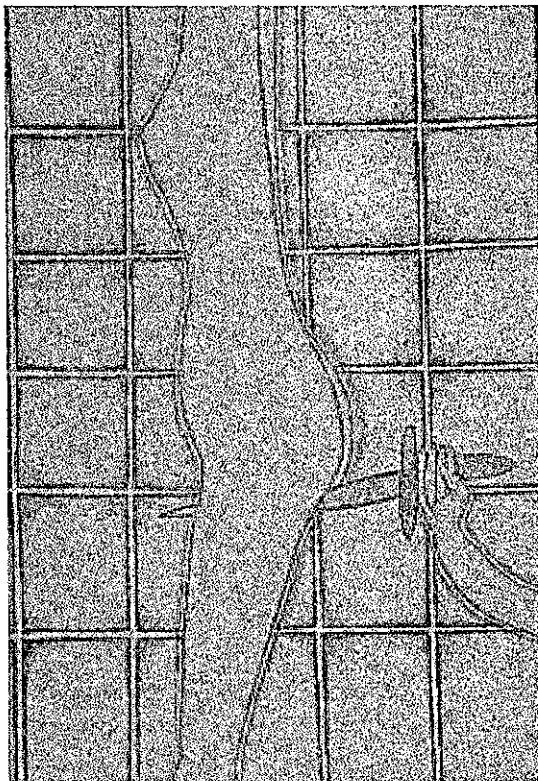


Figure 40. I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih. *Kesenangan* (Pleasure), 1998, (acrylic on canvas, 85 x 60 cm).



Figure 41. Willem Hofker, *Ni Gusti Kompiang*, 1943 (pastel on paper, 36 x 47 cm). Photograph courtesy of Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka.



Figure 42. “Ni Made Suciarmi – Classical Kamasan Style – Art by Woman” sign outside of Ni Made Suciarmi’s house. Kamasan, Bali.

Appendix I

Balinese Names

When the Portuguese arrived in India in 1498, they used the word ‘caste’, which means ‘division’, to describe the way in which society was organized there. However, Indians did not use this word themselves. Rather, they used the word ‘warna’ which literally means ‘colour’. Over time, though, ‘warna’ came to mean ‘station’ or ‘profession’,¹ In the West, caste is generally regarded as a form of discrimination. However, ‘caste’ should not be confused with ‘class.’ Caste, according to Eiseman, Jr., “... is a complex system of social organization historically based on social function – smith, farmer, priest, etc. – which eventually became entwined with Hindu doctrine.”² There are four castes in Bali – *sudra*, *wesya*, *ksatriya* and *brahmana*. Within these categories are further divisions. In theory, the *sudra* caste is comprised of farmers; the *wesya* caste is comprised of merchants; the *ksatriya* caste is comprised of rulers; and the *brahmana* caste is comprised of priests. However today, these categories are blurred.

In Bali, one’s name divulges one’s caste. Names there are comprised of three parts; the person’s title, the person’s birth order name and the person’s given name. The titles I (for a male) and Ni (for a female) indicate that the person is of the *sudra* caste; the titles Dewa (for a male) and Desak (for a female) indicate that a person is of the *ksatriya/wesya* caste (the title Anak Agung (for a male and female) was given to people of the *ksatriya* caste who held important positions in the Dutch government);

¹ Eiseman Jr., *Bali: Sekala and Niskala*. Volume I, pp.25-29.

and finally the titles *Ida Bagus* (for a male) and *Ida Ayu* (for a female) indicate that a person is of the *brahmana* caste. A person's birth order name indicates just that - the order in which he or she was born. The names *Wayan*, *Putu*, *Gede*, *Nengah* and *Luh* (for a female) indicate that a person is either the first- or fifth-born; the names *Nyoman* and *Kadek* indicate that a person is the second-born; the name *Made* indicates that the person is the third-born; and the name *Ketut* indicates that the person is the fourth-born. Finally, a person's given name is what distinguishes him/her from others. The name *I Wayan Sugita*, for example, indicates that the person is a male of the *sudra* caste, is the first born, and is named *Sugita*.

Unlike in the West, it is considered impolite to address someone by his/her given name in Bali. Rather, his/her caste prefix and/or birth order name is commonly used. *I Wayan Sugita*, then, is commonly referred to as *Wayan*. Things get complicated, however, when two people have the same caste prefix and/or birth order name. How is one supposed to differentiate between the two? There are two solutions to this problem. The first is to refer to them by the place they were born. The second is to refer to them by their given name. Several of the painters discussed in this thesis have same caste prefix and/or birth order name. As a result, I have chosen to use their given names. I am not alone in doing this. Geertz also does this in her book *Images of Power: Balinese Paintings Made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*.

² *Ibid*, p.25.

Appendix II

Newspaper and Magazine Articles on ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women in English found in the Gallery's Library

Margot Anwar, "Exchanging Gifts," in *Inside Indonesia*, (September 1994), pp.26-27.

Author unknown, "Extremities," in *Bali Kini*, (March 1998), p.4.

Author unknown, "Beyond Boundaries," in *The Nation*, (14 November 1994), p.C8.

Author unknown, "One Woman Show," in *Bali Tourist Guide*, (Mid April 1992), p.26.

Author unknown, "Happy Viewing," in *Bali Tourist Guide*, (December 1991), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Women Artists Hold First Group Exhibition," in *Bali Post*, (31 August 1991), p.5.

Author unknown, "Through a Woman's Eyes," in *Bali Post*, (date unknown), page unknown.

Author unknown, "The New Year's Look," in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Marilyn Monroe in Bali," in *Bali Tourist Guide*, (date unknown), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Brushing Up on Balinese Art," in *Uni News*, Vol.7, No.12. (3 April 1998), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Women Seeing Men," in *Hello Bali*, (January 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Sumba at Seniwati," in *Hello Bali*, (February 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Art at Seniwati," in *Hello Bali*, (August 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Talented Youth," in *Hello Bali*, (May 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Sri Haryani at Seniwati Gallery," in *Hello Bali*, (September 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Kitchen Sisters," in *Hello Bali*, (April 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Phenomenal Women," in *Hello Bali*, (March 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Sri Haryani at Seniwati Gallery," in *Bali Tribune*, (September 1999), page unknown.

Carla Bianpoen, "Balinese Women Venture Into A New Area: The Fine Arts," in *The Jakarta Post*, (20 October 1996), p.10.

_____, "Women Artists in Pursuit of Kartini's Spirit," in *The Jakarta Post*, (18 April 1995), p.7.

Jean Couteau, "Exhibition of Janouar Ernawati," in *Bali Post*, (14 Januari 1993), page unknown.

Heather Curnow, "Two Balinese Women Artists: Dewa Biang Raka and Dewa Ayu Budiati," in source unknown, (date unknown), pages unknown.

_____, "Working With Balinese Women Artists," in *Artlink (Australian Contemporary Art Quarterly)*, Vol.13, No.3&4 (November/March 1993/1994), pp.59-60.

R. Fadji, "West Sumatran Painter Balances Diverse Views," in *The Jakarta Post*, (27 November 1994), p.10.

Rachel Farnay, "Women Artists of Bali at the Turning Point Gallery (Exhibition Review)," in *Asian Art News*, Vol.7, No.6 (November/December 1997), pp.87-88.

Myles Grindal, "Art in Your Lounges," in *Ansett Golden Wing News*, (September 1993), pp.48-49.

Peggy Le Roy, "Art by Women," in *Bali Post*, (25 April 1992), page unknown.

Sarah Murray, "Ubud Inspires Mary Northmore's Female Artists," in *The Jakarta Post*, (14 July 1996), page unknown.

Wendy Norris, "A Brief Overview of the Arts in Bali in Regard to Women," excerpted from *Women of Two Worlds*. (senior thesis), pages unknown.

Dipika Rai, "Female Artists From Ubud Display Their Paintings," in *The Jakarta Post*, (11 December 1993), p.7.

Paul Rivas, "Art By Women of Bali," in *Saudi Gazette*, (5 February 1996), p.Panorama 1.

Virginia A. Sheridan, "A Brush With Gender," in source unknown, (March 1999), p.7.

Amir Sidharta, "Art about Indonesia Dominates Regional Auctions," in *The Jakarta Post*, (27 December 1996), p.9.

Don Siegal, "Balinese Art - By Balinese Women," in *A Rational Geometric Game*, Vol.15, No.4 (August/September 1997), pp.117-118.

Melanie Stetson Freeman, "Women Artists Blossom in Bali," in *The Christian Science Monitor*, (9 October 1998), pp.B4-B5.

Astri Wright, "Offbeat Murni Tramples Taboos in Unorthodox View of Bali," in *The Jakarta Post*, (30 October 1997), page unknown.

_____, "Kartika Affandi Inspires Many Women," in *The Jakarta Post*, (24 September 1995), p.8.

Thalia Zepatos, "Galleries and Gamelans," in *The Women's Review of Books*, Vol.XII, Nos.10-11. (July 1995), pp.9-10.

Appendix III

Newspaper and Magazine Articles on ISWALI and the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women in Indonesian found in the Gallery's Library

Author unknown, "Pameran Ikatan Seniwati," in *Bali Post*, (13 April 1992), p.11.

Author unknown, "'Kegelisahan' Ikatan Seniwati di Bali," in *Bali Post*, (25 Augustus 1991), p.2.

Author unknown, "Aktivitas Wanita Bali Semakin Maju," in *Bali Post*, (15 April 1992), p.2.

Author unknown, "Bali di Kanvas Muntiana Tedja," in *Bali Post*, (10 April ?), p.page unknown.

Author unknown, "Seniwati Bali Unjuk Gigi di Jakarta," in *Bali Post*, (1 Augustus 1992), p.11.

Author unknown, "34 Wanita Pelukis Bali Pameran di Bentara Budaya," in *Bali Post*, (15 Oktober 1996), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Pameran Galeri Seniwati: Hidup Dimulai Umur 40," in *Kompas*, (11 Oktober 1996), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Colleen Morrow Pameran di Seniwati Gallery: Dari Batik ke Dunia Wayang," in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Pelukis Finlandia di Seniwati," in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Tujuh Tahun Perjuangan Wanita Pelukis," in *Bali Post*, (7 Januari 1999), page unknown.

Author unknown, "Seniwati Bali Unjuk Gigi di Jakarta," in *Bali Post*, (1 Augustus 1992), p.11.

Author unknown, "Seniwati Indonesia dan Luar Negeri Himpun Diri di Bali," in *Bali Post*, (18 Augustus 1991), p.8.

Author unknown, "Memotret Keindahan Perempuan di Atas Kanvas," in *Bali Post*, (7 Maret 1999), page unknown.

- Author unknown, "Keindahan Sentuhan Perempuan," in *Bali Post*, (11 April 1999), page unknown.
- Author unknown, "Kelompok Sembilan," in source unknown, (12 Nopember 1976), page unknown.
- Author unknown, "Kecil, Peran Seniman Wanita Dalam PKB," in *Bali Post*, (26 Juni 1994), p.3.
- Author unknown, "Goresan Pensil Gaya Barbara Anello," in *Bali Post*, (24 Oktober 1995), page unknown.
- Author unknown, "Pameran Lukisan Karya Pasien RSJ," in *Bali Post*, (date unknown), p.3.
- Author unknown, "Pameran 34 Wanita Pelukis: Pertemuan Keserasian dengan Kekontrasan," in *Bali Post*, (20 Oktober 1996), page unknown.
- Sides Suayarto DS, "Pameran Tiga Pelukis Wanita di TIM: Kartika Affandi, Sriyani, Umi Dachlan," in source unknown, (9 Maret 1976), page unknown.
- Yvonne de Fretes, "Seniwati: Galeri Khusus Karya Wanita," in *PERTIWI*, No.150, Th.VI (Januari 1992), pp.72-73.
- Aneka Gaya, "Merekam Keindahan Pulau Dewata," in *Bobo*, (28 Nopember 1996), page unknown.
- S. Kamadjaya, "Galeri Seniwati," in *Travel Club*, No.75 (Nopember 1994), pp.56-57.
- _____, "Mary Northmore: Wanita Pelukis Bali Sangat Potensial," in *Prima*, (4 September 1994), p.24.
- Riyanto Rabbah, "Yuni H. Lembayun Pameran Tunggal: Orang-orang di Dalam Garis," in *Bali Post*, (5 Desember 1995), page unknown.
- Erlita Rachman, "Karya Mereka Yang 'Tenggelam'," in *Femina*, No.45/XXI (18-24 Nopember 1994), pp.102-106.
- Oka Rusmini, "Mary Patricia Northmore: Tak Ada Perempuan Melukis dalam Suatu Hari," in *Bali Post*, (28 Februari 1999), p.8.
- Cok Sawitri (?), "Ni Made Suciarmi, Pelukis Kamasan: Goresan akan Berbeda, Tergantung Resapan Cerita," in *Bali Post*, (18 Februari 1995), p.8.
- I Wayan Suardika, "Judith Shelley dan Lukisan Sutra," in *Bali Post*, (7 Januari 1993), page unknown.

_____, "Pameran Lukisan Anak Australia: Kutu di Mata Anak-anak," in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

I Ketut Lanus Sumatra, "Pelangi, Kumpulan Pelukis Perantau," in *Bali Post*, (30 Nopember 1997), page unknown.

_____, "Bali di Kanvas Muntiana Tedja," in *Bali Post*, (10 April 1994), page unknown.

_____, "Judith Shelley: Pelukis Abstrak Australia," in source unknown, (1993), p.45.

_____, "Peta Pelukis Wanita di Bali," in *Drupadi Magazine*, No.7 (Desember 1993), pp.24-25.

Made Surita, "Muntiana: Bertempur Tak Semata Demi Dapur," in source unknown, (date unknown), page unknown.

_____, "Gst Ayu Natih Arimini: Tak Mampu Sekolah Terjun Melukis," in *Bali Post*, (15 Februari 1981), page unknown.

Suyadnyana, "'Kegelisahan' Ikatan Seniwati di Bali," in *Bali Post*, (25 Augustus 1991), p.2.

Agus Dermawan T., "Lukisan-lukisan Lini, Sebuah Pilihan Orientasi Seni Lukis Kita!," in source unknown, (28 Juli 1976), page unknown.

Bambang Undjianto, "Pelukis Cilik Lini, 'Anak Ajaib' Dari Surabaya," in source unknown, (2 Juli 1976), page unknown.

Dwi Wahyuni, "Remaja Brisbane Pelajari Kehidupan Berkesenian di Ubud," in *Bali Post*, (5 Juli 1996), page unknown.

Astri Wright, "Mitolgi, Tradisi, Gender dan Jatidiri Seniwati di Bali," in *KOMPAS*, (19 Oktober 1996), page unknown.

Appendix IV

ISWALI's Exhibitions

1992

13-27 April, "Pameran Seni Rupa: Ikatan Seniwati di Bali" (Art Exhibition: Association of Women Artists in Bali) at the Taman Budaya (Art Centre) (Denpasar, Bali). Including works by Ni Luh Putu Sugianitri, Mary Northmore, Ni Made Rinu, Sri Supriyatini, Sri Haryani R., Januar Ernawati, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Lini Nataliniwidhiasi, Dewa Ayu Budiati, Muntiana Tedja, Diany Asmina Sinung, Ni Made Suciarmi, Ni Luh Siki, Dewa Biang Raka, Janet De Neefe, Ni Putu Suriati, Ni Nyoman Citawati and Gusti Ayu Suartini.

1993

3-30 April, "Through a Woman's Eyes: Association of Women Artists in Bali" at Sheraton Lagoon Hotel (Nusa Dua, Bali). Including works by Ni Made Suciarmi, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Sri Supriyatini, Gusti Agung Galuh, Dewa Biang Raka, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Ni Putu Suriati, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Charlotte Panggabean, Sri Haryani R., Ni Made Rinu, ??

24 November-7 December, "Pameran Lukisan: Dunia Kita" (Painting Exhibition: Our World), held at Erasmus Huis (Jakarta, Java). Including works by Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Ni Putu Suriati, Ni Wayan Warti, Ida Ayu Kede Sulasmini, Charlotte Panggabean, Jero Kesumawati, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Sri Wahyuni, Sri Haryani R., Ni Made Sriasih, Megasari, Gusti Ayu Natiharimini, Ni Luh Putu Sugianitri, Januar Ernawati, Muntiana Tedja, Sri Supriyatini, Ni Made Suciarmi, Dewa Biang Raka, Ni Made Rinu, Gusti Agung Galuh and Diany Asmina Sinung.

1996

13-27 April, "Pameran Lukisan: ISWALI" (Painting Exhibition: Association of Women Artists in Bali) at Hotel Intan (Legian, Bali). Including works by Ni Made Rinu, Januar Ernawati, Diany Asmina Sinung, Muntiana Tedja, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Dewa Biang Raka, Sri Supriyatini, Ni Made Suciarmi, Megasari, Sri Haryani R., I Gusti Ayu Mahardiyani, Nisak Indri Khayatri, Ni Made Sri Astuti, Ni Luh Nyoman Sri Rahayu, Ni Nyoman Sani, I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, Ni Made Ida Utari, Ni Putu Suriati, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Ni Wayan Budiarti, Ni Made Sriasih, Gusti Agung Galuh, Gusti Ayu Natiharimini, Desak Nadi Kusumayanti, Ni Wayan Warti, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Ida Ayu Anom, Ida Ayu Kade Sulasmini, Ni Made Ratnawati and Maria Rahayuti Soeryo.

15-30 May, "Pameran Lukisan: ISWALI" (Painting Exhibition: Association of Women Artists in Bali) at The Galleria Shopping Centre (Nusa Dua, Bali). Including works by Ni Made Rinu, Muntiana Tedja, Januar Ernawati, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Diany Asmina Sinung, Dewa Biang Raka, Sri Supriyatini, Sri Haryani R., Ni Made Suciarmi, I Gusti Ayu Mahardiyani, Megasari, Nisak Indri Khayatri, Ni Made Sri Astuti, I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, Ni Luh Nyoman Sri Rahayu, Ni Made Ida Utari, Ni Nyoman Sani, Ni Putu Suriati, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Gusti Agung Galuh, Ni Wayan Budiarti, Gusti Ayu Natiharimini, Ni Made Sriasih, Desak Nadi Kusumayanti, Ni Wayan Warti, Ida Ayu Kade Sulasmini, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Ni Made Ratnawati, Ida Ayu Anom and Maria Rahayuti Soeryo.

Appendix V

Painting's in the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women's Permanent Collection (1999)

- Ni Nyoman Remin, *Market*, no date (acrylic on cotton, 29 x 32 cm).
- Ni Nyoman Pastini, *Wedding Ceremony*, 1991 (acrylic on cotton, 57.5 x 81.5 cm).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, *Women of Two Continents*, 1994 (oil on canvas, 69 x 99 cm).
- Dewa Biang Raka, *Peacocks*, 1992 (acrylic on cotton, 79 x 99 cm).
- Gusti Ayu Suartini, *Ancestral Fowl I*, 1993 (acrylic on paper, 23 x 36 cm).
- Gusti Ayu Suartini, *Ancestral Fowl II*, 1993 (acrylic on paper, 22 x 35 cm).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, *Waiting*, 1997 (oil on canvas, 9.5 x 12 cm).
- Ni Wayan Warti, *Melahirkan* (Giving Birth), 1998, (water colour on paper, 30 x 42 cm).
- Ni Luh Siki, *Orang Mandi* (People Bathing), no date (acrylic on paper, 23 x 31 cm).
- Gusti Agung Galuh, *Gadis Desa* (Village Girl), 1991 (acrylic on paper, 17.5 x 12.5 cm).
- Gusti Ayu Natiharimini, *Lubdaka*, 1995 (water colour on paper, 51 x 71 cm).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, *The Same Fate*, 1993 (oil on canvas, 26 x 34 cm).
- Ni Putu Suriati, *Barong*, 1993 (acrylic on paper, 38 x 41.5 cm).
- Ni Made Suciarmi, *Balinese Calendar*, 1993 (traditional paint on treated cotton, 122.5 x 136.5 cm).
- Gusti Agung Galuh, *The River*, 1993 (acrylic on paper, 44.5 cm. across).
- Ni Wayan Warti, *Topeng* (Masks), no date (ink and water colour on paper, 26 x 33.5 cm).
- Muntiana Tedja, *Cili of Flowers*, 1994 (oil on paper, 53 x 77.5 cm).
- Sri Supriyatini, *Balinese Woman*, no date (oil on canvas, 45 x 45 cm).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, *My Recent Portrait*, no date (oil on canvas, 27 x 35 cm).

- Sri Supryatini (b.1958), *Bali Girl*, 1992 (oil on canvas, 65 x 48 cm).

1995

- Ni Made Suciarmi (b.1932), *Balinese Calendar*, 1992 (traditional paint on treated cotton, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Wayan Warti (b.1964), *Topeng Masks*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Desak Nyoman Sri Jumiati (b.1961), *Flora dan Fauna*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Dewa Ayu Budiasih (b.1969), *Playing Shadow Puppet*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Ayu Suartini (b.1972), *Just Pregnant*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Agung Galuh (b.1968), *The River*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Putu Suriasih (b.1965), *Barong*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Sri Wahayuni (b.1968), *Bali Girl*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Made Indria Dewi (b.1937), *Animals*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), *Women of Two Continents*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Dewa Biang Raka (b.1937), *Flower on Butterfly*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Ayu Natiharimini (b.1966), *Preparing for Nyepi*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).

1996

- Ni Putu Sriani (b.1973), *Bali Girl*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Yanuar Ernawati (b.1959), *Restrictions of Life*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Jro Amer Amberie (b.1964), *Duck as Harvest?*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Nyoman Sani (b.1974), *Fish*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Sri Supryatini (b.1958), *Buddha*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Ida Ayu Kadek Sulasmini (b.1967), *Butterfly*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Diany Asmini Sinung (b.1959), no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Muntiana Tedja (c.1959), *Cili – Goddess of Riches and Fertility*, no date (oil on paper, dimensions unknown).

- Ni Ketut Manik (b.1962), *Saraswati*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Putu Ani (b.1981), *Landscape with Shrine*, no date (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Sri Haryani (b.1961), *On the Beach*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Charlotte Penggabean (b.1930), *Sita's Innocence is Proven*, no date (oil on canvas, dimensions unknown).

1997

- Ida Ayu Sri Asmara Dewi (b.1962), *Mask*, no date (hair beard, gilded leather on painted wood, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Wayan Wartu (b.1964), *Pan Brayut and Some of His Children*, no date (acrylic and ink on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Ayu Sumartini Dewi (b.1980), *Play Time*, no date (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Ayu Natiharimini (b.1966), *Women Drawing of the Moon?*, no date, (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Ida Ayu Anom (b.1963), *Hunting the Fish*, no date, (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Agung Galuh (b.1969), *Landscape*, no date, (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- Ni Wayan Astini (b.1973), *Barong*, no date, (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Amelia Amini (b.1956), *Women from Darat?*, no date, (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Gusti Ayu Suartini (b.1972), *Passion*, no date, (acrylic on paper, dimensions unknown).
- I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih (b.1966), *Flora and Fauna*, no date, (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Dewa Biang Raka (b.1937), *Gift From God on a Bed of Flowers*, no date, (acrylic on canvas, dimensions unknown).
- Megasari (b.1963), *God Siwa, Creator and Destroyer*, no date, (wood cut, dimensions unknown).

1998

- Ni Made Jasni (b.1977), *Looking for Fire Wood*, no date (acrylic on paper, 50 x 34 cm).
- Sri Supriyatini (b.1958), *Budha*, no date (oil on canvas, 140 x 125 cm).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), *Mother and Child*, no date (oil on canvas, 28 x 35 cm).
- Charlotte Penggabean (b.1930), *Market*, no date (oil on canvas, 70 x 90 cm).

- A.A. Raka Satya Dewi (b.1986), *Ceremony on the Beach*, no date (acrylic on paper, 39 x 96 cm).
- Ni Nyoman Sristini (b.1973), *Butterfly*, no date (acrylic on paper, 17 x 23 cm).
- Sri Haryani (b.1961), *Market*, no date (oil on canvas, 120 x 90 cm).
- Desak Putu Alit Sanjiwangi? (b.1980), *Bird Eating Egg*, no date (acrylic on paper, 26 x 38 cm).
- Ni Nyoman Citawati (b.1957), *Hanoman and Sita*, no date (acrylic on paper, 61 x 81 cm).
- Ni Made Suciarmi (b.1932), *Arjuna's Meditation*, no date (traditional pigment on treated cotton, 38 x 52 cm).
- Ni Made Ideastari? (b.1970), *White Roses*, no date (oil on canvas, 50 x 60 cm).
- Jro Amer Ambarie (b.1964), *The Artist's House*, no date (acrylic on paper, 44 x 34 cm).

1999

- Evan Prima Vera? (b.1994), *Street Scene*, no date (acrylic on paper, 30 x 43 cm).
- Ni Wayan Rotiani (b.1969), *Lessens Dancers?*, no date (acrylic on canvas, 100 x 69 cm).
- Ni Made Lalik Nuatni? (b.1969), *Bathing*, no date (water colour on paper, 44 x 29 cm).
- Muntiana Tedja (b.1938), *Butterfly and Sun Flower*, no date (oil on paper, 54 x 78 cm).
- Ni Made Sriasih (b.1962), *Fighting Cocks*, no date (acrylic on paper, 40 x 30 cm).
- Titin Hartini (b.1972), *Cili Figure*, no date (acrylic on paper, 70 x 50 cm).
- Ni Putu Suriati (b.1965), *Calonarang Drama*, no date (acrylic on paper, 22 x 27 cm).
- Ni Made Sudarmini (b.1974), *Bali Girl*, no date (acrylic on paper, 27 x 32 cm).
- Maria Soeryo (b.1932), *Women in Wait?*, no date (acrylic on paper, 60 x 60 cm).
- Desak Putu Sulastri (b.1983), *Ceremony*, no date (acrylic on paper, 23 x 31 cm).
- Ni Nyoman Sani (b.1974), *Wali Dancers*, no date (oil on canvas, 25 x 20 cm).
- Ni Nyoman Supini (b.1957), *Mahabarata*, no date (tempera on treated cotton, 81 x 59 cm).

2000

- Dewa Ayu Sri Widyanti? (b.1990), *Praying*, no date (colour pencil on paper, 29 x 40 cm).
- Ni Made Kurniati Andika (b.1976), *Woman Artist Between Two Cultures*, no date (mixed media, 70 x 45 cm).
- Ida Ayu Indah Teja Pratami (b.1990), *Birds*, no date (colour pencil on paper, 43 x 30 cm).
- Yuni Lembayun (b.1972), *I Give you Flower?*, no date (pastel on paper, 40 x 30 cm).

- Ni Wayan Santiutami? (b.1992), *View and Ricefields*, no date (crayon on paper, 30 x 40 cm) .
- Sri Supriyatini (b.1958), *United Artists, Art, Lover, Curator and Manager?*, no date (oil on canvas, 80 x 100 cm).
- A.A. Intan (b.1995), *Threshing Padi?*, no date (colour pencil on paper, 30 x 43 cm).
- Evan Prima Vera (b.1994), *Children Playing*, no date (crayon on paper, 30 x 43 cm).
- Muntiana Tedja (b.1938), *Their Future Together*, no date (oil on canvas, 70 x 80 cm).
- Gusti Ayu Megawati (b.1991), *Cili (Rice Goddess)*, no date (acrylic on paper, 60 x 43 cm).
- Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti (b.1948), *The Future of Seniwati*, no date (oil on canvas, 60 x 43 cm).

2001

- Gusti Ayu Yasning (b.1964), *Rejang Dancer*, no date (acrylic on canvas, 50 x 40 cm).
- Indrayani (b.1974), *Going to the Temple*, no date (colour pencil on paper, 24 x 19 cm).
- Ni Nyoman Suartini (b.1986), *Grapes*, no date (water colour on paper, 25 x 38 cm).
- Dewi Tjahwati (b.1942), *Women With Flower?*, no date (oil on canvas, 42 x 38 cm).
- I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih (b.1966), *Women Always Working Hard*, no date (acrylic on paper, 88.5 x 60 cm).
- Ni Ketut Manik (b.1962), *Gopale?*, no date (traditional paint on treated cotton, 95 x 81 cm).
- Ni Putu Ani Asmara Dewi (b.1977), *Lions*, no date (oil on canvas, 35 x 40 cm).
- Ida Ayu Sri Asmara Dewi (b.1962), *Mask*, no date, (hair beards, chinese coins, gilded leather on painted wood).
- Jero Kusumawati (b.1966), *Barong Dancer*, no date (oil on canvas, 34 x 50 cm).
- Ni Wayan Sutami (b.1970), *Aquarium*, no date (water colour on paper, 24.5 x 37 cm).
- Amelia Amini (b.1956), *Made Model?*, no date (oil on canvas, 81 x 42 cm).
- Ni Wayan Budiarti (b.1977), *Calonarang*, no date (acrylic on paper, 55 x 41 cm).

Appendix VII

The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women's Exhibitions

1992

January, "Group Exhibition: The Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women" at IALF (Denpasar, Bali). Including works by Judith Shelley, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Sri Supriyatini, Muntiana Tedja, Nataliniwidiasih, Mary Northmore, Ni Luh Sugianitri, Yanuar Ernawati, Dewa Biang Raka, Diany Asmina Sinung, Ni Made Rinu, Ni Putu Suriati, Gusti Agung Galuh, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Ni Nyoman Citawati, ??

April, "Solo Exhibition: Januar Ernawati" at the Seniwati Gallery of Art by Women (Ubud, Bali).

11 December-2 January, "Solo Exhibition: Kartika Affandi Köberl" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

1993

3-? January, "First Annual Schoolgirl Art Contest Winners" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

11 January-26 February, "Solo Exhibition: Januar Ernawati" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

28 February-28 March, "Masks from the collection of Peggy C. LeRoy" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

3-30 April, "Group Exhibition: Through a Woman's Eyes," at the Sheraton Lagoon Hotel (Nusa Dua, Bali). Including works by Ni Made Suciarmi, Ckorde Istri Mas Astiti, Sri Supriyatini, Gusti Agung Galuh, Dewa Biang Raka, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Ni Putu Suriati, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Charlotte Panggabean, Sri Haryani, Ni Made Rinu, ??

9-? May, "Art from Trash" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

3 July-31 August, "Batik Wall Hangings by Anne-Marie Kipar" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

1-30 September, "Group Exhibition: Women Artists of Bali," Ansett (Sydney, Australia). Including works by Ni Made Suciarmi, Diany Asmina Sinung, ??

1995

5–18 February, “More Masks: Hillebil Anderssen” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

12 March–4 April, “Paintings by Melissa Jane” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

21 April–8 May, “Group Exhibition: Women Artists of Bali” at the Grand Mirage Hotel (Nusa Dua, Bali). Including works by Charlotte Panggabean, Ni Made Suciarmi, Dewa Biang Raka, Muntiana Tedja, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Ni Ketut Manik, Sri Supriyatini, Januar Ernawati, Diany Asmina Sinung, Sri Haryani, Ni Made Sriasih, Megasari, Gusti Ayu Natih Arimini, Ni Putu Suriati, Jero Wayan Amer Ambarie, Ida Ayu Kadek Sulasmini, Ni Nyoman Sani, Gusti Agung Galuh, Jero Kesumawati, Gusti Ayu Suartini and Ni Putu Sriani.

28 April–10 May, “Geography of Magic: Spiritual Maps – Sculptures by Zenpari” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

?-30 April, “Works by Seniwati Sanggar Muda” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

17 August-20 October, “Women Artists of Bali” at (gallery unknown) (Cologne, Germany).

3–9 September, “Bali International Women’s Association Photo Exhibition Commemorating Indonesian Independence” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

10–29 September, “She’s Back: Suzanne Vermaat” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

22 October–3 November, “Solo Exhibition: Barbara Anello” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

December, “Works by Murni” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

1996

10–24 January, “Solo Exhibition: Y.H Lembayun” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

4 February-4 April, “Group Exhibition: Women Artists of Bali” at the Museum Puri Lukisan (Ubud, Bali).

18 February- 2 March, “Paintings by Helen Kreis-Kusenbergr” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

24 March-6 April, "Group Exhibition: Unveiling the Goddess - Images of the Divine" (gallery unknown) (location unknown). Including works by Gusti Made Ratnawati, Ni Wayan Wartu, Ni Putu Suriati, Ida Utari, Muntiana Tedja, Ni Made Suciarmi, Ida Ayu Anom, I Gusti Ayu Mahardiani, Amalia Amini, Desak Nadi, Gusti Ayu Natiharimini, Ni Nyoman Sri Rahayu, Dewa Biang Raka, Ni Wayan Bduiati, Ni Nyoman Sriastini, Gusti Ayu Suartini, I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, Charlotte Panggabean, Ni Nyoman Sani, Ni Made Sudarmi, Ni Nyoman Citawati, Gusti Agung Galuh, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti.

7-19 April, "Tribes on the Move: Davina Stephens" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

May, "Group Exhibition: Women Artists of Bali" at the Museum Puri Lukisan (Ubud, Bali).

9-22 June, "Solo Exhibition: Andrea Higgins" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

30 June-12 July, "World Textiles" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

15-27 July, "Indonesian Textiles" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

June-September, "Works by Seniwati Sanggar Muda" at Amankila Hotel (Manggis, Bali).

6-19 October, "Expressive Art Therapy Project" at Bangli Hospital (Bangli, Bali).

11-20 October, "Group Exhibition: Seniwati Gallery of Bali" at Bentara Budaya (Jakarta). Including works by Charlotte Panggabean, Ni Made Suciarmi, Dewa Biang Raka, Muntiana Tedja, Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Amalia Amani, Gusti Made Ratnawati, Sri Supriyatini, Diany Asmina Sinung, Sri Haryani, Ni Made Sriasih, Megasari, Ida Ayu Anom, Jero Wayan Amer Ambarie, Ni Wayan Wartu, Ni Putu Suriati, Gusti Ayu Natih Arimini, I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, Ida Ayu Kadek Sulasmini, Gusti Agung Galuh, Ni Wayan Rotiani, I Gusti Ayu Mahardiyani, Desak Nyoman Nadi Kesumayanti, Ni Made Ida Utari, Liesti Yanti Purnomo, Gusti Ayu Suartini, Ni Nyoman Sri Astini, Ni Made Sri Astuti, Ni Putu Sriani, Ni Made Sudarmi, Ni Nyoman Sani, Ni Wayan Budiarti, Titin Hartini and Ni Nyoman Sri Rahayu.

17 November-17 December, "Solo Exhibition: Dwi Hadiah" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

1997

5 January-? February, "Solo Exhibition: Gertie Kruger" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

9–19 April, “Lifestyles: Ni Nyoman Sani” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

20 April–10 May, “Masks by Ida Ayu Sri Asmara Dewi” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

1 June–? August, “Seniwati Sanggar Muda Students” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

4 September–18 October, “Group Exhibition: Women Artists of Bali” at the Turning Point Gallery (Singapore). Including works by Ni Wayan Rotiani, Diany Asmina Sinung, Muntiana Tedja, Gusti Made Ratnawati, Ni Made Suciarmi, Gusti Agung Galuh, Ni Nyoman Supini, Gusti Ayu Natih Arimini, Megasari, Ni Putu Sriani, Ni Made Sudarmi, Sri Supriyatini, Ida Ayu Kadek Sulasmini, Titin Hartini, Ni Made Sriasih, Ni Wayan Warti, Ni Putu Suriati, Pande Made Kondri, Jero Amer Ambarie and Gusti Ayu Suartini.

21 September–10 October, “Secret Splendours: Women’s Costumes from the Arab World” at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

12–24 October, “Solo Exhibition: Ni Made Sriasih” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

31 October–1 December, “Group Exhibition: Women Artists of Bali” at Gallery Matini (Hong Kong). Including works by Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti, Sri Supriyatini, I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih and Megasari.

9–28 November, “Pastel Power: Nicky Kassapian” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

6–19 December, “From our Grandmothers’ Grandmothers: Weavings from Sumba” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

21 December–3 January, “Prints by Colleen Morrow” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1998

1–25 January, “Solo Exhibition: Muntiana Tedja” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

3–30 February, “Ni Made Suciarmi, Supini, Ni Ketut Manik: Kamasan Style Paintings” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1–25 March, “Solo Exhibition: I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-25 April, "Rita Oerstes: Installation" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

28 April-3 June, "Seniwati Sanggar Muda Students" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

6-26 June, "Group Exhibition: The Kitchen Sister" at the Seniwati Sanggar (Ubud, Bali).

5-31 July, "Kerry Pendergrast: Movement in Motion" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-30 August, "Solo Exhibition: Pauline Solon" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-26 September, "Cokorde Istri Mas Astiti: 50th Birthday Celebration" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-30 October, "Solo Exhibition: Sanna Karlsson-Sutisno" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-30 November, "Group Exhibition: Special Sale" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-15 December, "Susy Gilles: Bali Tour" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

16-31 December, Doho Erlina and Dewi Tjahjati: Mother and Daughter" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1999

3-30 January, "Group Exhibition: Women Seeing Men" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-25 February, "Ninik: Sumba Cloths" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-29 March, "Ni Nyoman Sani and Kurnio: Phenomenal Women" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

3-28 April, "Group Exhibition: Bali Starling" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali). Including works by Maria Rahayuti Soeryo, Muntiana Tedja, Dewi Tjahjati, Nastarin N. Rezvani, , Sri Supriyatini, Sri Haryani, Noriko Miyajima, Ida Ayu Anom, Kerry Pendergrast, Taeko Takezawa, Ni Putu Suriati, I Gusti Ayu Kadek Murniasih, Gusti Agung Galuh, Ni Wayan Rotiani, Yuni Lembayun, Ni Luh Nyoman Sri Rahayu, Ni Putu Sriani, Ni Made Sri Astuti, Ni Made Sudarmi, Siti Komariyah Hanne and Doho Erlina.

2-28 May, “Seniwati Sanggar Muda Students” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

11-23 June, “Pat Dale: Basket Exhibition” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-25 July, “Solo Exhibition: Maria Rahayuti Soeryo” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-31 August, “Solo Exhibition: Sri Supriyatini” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-30 September, “Solo Exhibition: Sri Haryani” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

4-25 October, “Victoria Cattoni: Interlace” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

31 October-30 November, “Solo Exhibition: Ida Ayu Anom” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

2-27 December, “Solo Exhibition: Muntiana Tedja” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

2000

3-27 January, “Group Exhibition: WOW (Women on Women)” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

9-30 February, “Solo Exhibition: Tracy Harrisson” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

4-26 March, “Solo Exhibition: Candy South Czabania” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-28 April, “Solo Exhibition: Ni Made Suciarmi” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

2-29 May, “Seniwati Sanggar Muda Students” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-30 June, “Megasari: Wood-Cut Prints” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-27 July, “Solo Exhibition: Putu Suriati” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

7-30 August, “Annie Ogle: Now and Then” at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-20 October, "Jo Odessa: Dream" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

3-26 November, "Ninik: Sumba Cloths" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-30 December, "Group Exhibition: WAW (Women After Women) at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

2001

30 December-30 January, "Prayer Cloths for the Continents: Betsy Sterling Benjamin" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-15 January, "Women Artists of Bali" at Cipta II Galleri TIM (Jakarta).

3-28 February, "Ancient Inspirations/Contemporary Interpretations: Beth Van Gelber" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

3-24 March, "Solo Exhibition: Titin Hartini" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

7-27 April, "Solo Exhibition: Anak Agung Oka Kartika" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

29 April-30 May, "Seniwati Sanggar Muda" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

9-30 June, "Dewi Tjahjati: Amazing Grace" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-31 July, "Ni Nyoman Sani: Faces" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

4-29 August, "Konihrawati: Hierarchy" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

24 September-6 October, "Women: An Exhibition of Paintings by Women Artists of Bali" at the Gallery of the Canberra school of Art (Australian National University (Canberra, Australia).

? September-3 October, "Siti Komariya Hanny: Black & White" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

7-31 October, "Views and Gardens: Works in Pastel by Kerry Pendergrast" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

4-30 November, "In Praise of Women: Sri Supriyatini" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

1-30 December, "Group Exhibition: Mother and Daughter" at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

5-30 January, "The Journey From Java to Bali: Sucik Yulianti W." at the Seniwati Showspace (Ubud, Bali).

Vita

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- University of Victoria (Canada) 1996 to 2002
- Universitas Udayana (Indonesia) 1999 to 2000
- Concordia University (Canada) 1991 to 1996
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- Darmasiswa Scholarship (Government of the Republic of Indonesia) 1999
- British Columbia International University Students' Award (British Columbia Centre for International Education) 1999
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- Ford Small Research Grant (Northwest Regional Consortium of Southeast Asian Studies) 1998
- Travel Grant (Department of History in Art, University of Victoria). 1998
- Graduate Teaching Fellowship (University of Victoria) 1996 to 1999
- FCAR (Fonds pour la formation de chercheurs et à la recherche) (Government of Quebec) 1996 to 1998
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- Helen McNicoll Art Scholarship (Concordia University) 1995

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Author



Adrienne Sugita Truchi

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