

# *Explorations* in **Southeast Asian Studies**

A Journal of the Southeast Asian Studies Student Association

Vol 1, No. 1

Spring 1997

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## **Cultural Sublimation**

The Museumizing of Indonesia

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### **Introduction**

Mouse goes everywhere, through rich men's houses she creeps, and she visits even the poorest. At night, with her bright little eyes she watches the doing of secret things and no treasure chamber is safe that she cannot enter and see what is hidden there. In the olden days she wove a story child from all she saw and to each of these she gave a gown of a different color-white, red, blue or black. The stories became her children and lived in her house and served her because she had no children of her own.

The above is an old Eikoi folk tale demonstrating a very sophisticated theory of aesthetics and creative sublimation. I apply this tale to explain Indonesian systems of nation building and methods of enforcing a national hegemony. Indonesia has created its national "story" based upon the many cultures contained within its national boundaries. It chooses from the rich as well as the poor, combining the many found treasures to weave its tale. Not all local "stories" will be deemed appropriate to this national unity, which uses culture as its base. Those elements which fail to be assimilated or appropriated face enforced conscription or obscurity. Such

political control makes the autonomous cultivation of local forms rare.<sup>1</sup> Many peoples of Indonesia have attempted to redefine themselves and their traditions in order to culturally survive, even if this means cooperating with the growing power of Indonesia's New Order government.<sup>2</sup> Yet, other regional cultures have experienced further marginalization.

Control over cultural expression in Indonesia is heavily influenced by the Republic's motto "Unity in Diversity".<sup>3</sup> In order for "Unity in Diversity" to work, each local culture must add to and enhance this greater national culture and identity.<sup>4</sup> The process of selecting the elements to be included in this identity often results in the redefinition and recontextualization<sup>5</sup> of material culture<sup>6</sup>, thus creating miscommunication, miscomprehension, and cultural reconstruction.<sup>7</sup> In this paper I will argue that in the creation of a national culture-theoretically consisting of a combination of high points from all of Indonesia's regional cultures and existing as a hegemonic community which possesses a common language, ideology, an esthetic expectation,<sup>8</sup> history, and goals-many traditional arts<sup>9</sup> undergo the process of cultural hybridization, becoming official "selective traditions"<sup>10</sup> as a result of redefinition and recontextualization.

Political and cultural policies of Indonesia's nation building project dichotomize the national culture thereby creating "other" regional and ethnic cultures.<sup>11</sup> The underlying motivations behind these policies and the dissonance resulting from them are extremely broad and fraught with theoretical complexities. I shall keep my inquiry to a small portion of this discourse. The first section of the paper discusses aspects of policy and state ideology that inform motivations for cultural hegemony and cultural appropriation. The second section takes these ideas and applies them to the politically-driven practices of exhibiting, collecting, preserving, and explaining regional material culture. I begin by examining past and current Western (Euro/American) methods of collecting and exhibiting Indonesian material culture. Western museums have historically been informed by a colonial imperialist ideology heavily influenced by the ideas of rational science. Rational science established and legitimated the Western propensity for collecting and categorizing the various cultures of the colonies. Such ideology of "museum mindedness"<sup>12</sup> is problematic in post-colonial Indonesia. My investigation of the national and regional museums of Indonesia as well as their static and living exhibitions examines the relationships between expression and control of national and regional cultures, the viability of traditional forms, and the impact of the domestic and international gaze.<sup>13</sup>

## **Invented Tradition and National Culture**

It is a common complaint that the Indonesian central government does not recognize the autonomy of local cultures to create their own criteria for expression. Clifford Geertz argues that, to the present day, Javanese culture remains the axis on which Indonesian life turns. <sup>14</sup> By imposing Javanese aesthetics and politics upon the rest of the country,<sup>15</sup> the central government colonizes within its own borders.<sup>16</sup> This suggests inherent cultural prejudices that impose a Java-centric slant onto the project of creating hegemonic nation. As a consequence of

the central government's push for unity, not all regional cultures receive equal import. Traditional art forms that cannot make the leap into the "Unity in Diversity" do not fare well.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, for our purposes, it is the criteria and process of selection which is of importance.

Currently, a dissonance exists between the traditional past that informs the present and the governmental push for modernization that fossilizes the past.<sup>18</sup> Ideas of modernity now reach every corner of the archipelago through radio and television. Through modern technology the central government promotes state ideology with the aim of preventing regional, ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences from becoming political forces in Indonesia.<sup>19</sup> Symbols of local culture and power must be emptied of independent, anti-national power before they are re-released as part of the modern national culture.<sup>20</sup> Objects of local culture that are in conflict with state ideology risk becoming cultural dispossessed and preserved as "traditional".<sup>21</sup> The state ideology and national motto of "Unity in Diversity" provide license to rewrite history in order to validate the present.

Regional cultures<sup>22</sup> in the 1970's and 80's became the focal point of Indonesian national identity as modernity spread through the archipelago. Those areas of cultural life that have undergone the process of transformation become modernized and accepted as part of contemporary Indonesia. Those elements that do not undergo transformation and remain unaffected become known as "traditional". Yet, tradition is not a relic of the past so much as it is a contemporary construct.<sup>23</sup> According to Kessler, it is usually when the tradition is threatened, and a self-awareness arises, that the reference to the past is consciously advanced. In a nation and world that threatens intensified dislocation, traditional culture provides grounding of personal reality as well as that of the nation: only when the continuity of the present becomes threatened does the past itself become recognizable.<sup>24</sup> This may result in a positive continuation of traditional modes of life that will add prestige to the modern national culture.

Indonesia, as a traditional and modern country, presents a disjunctive modernity instead of presenting a continuity of national culture. Java-centricism has resulted in regional reactions of renewed pride in their local cultures: looking to local traditions to define themselves. These same traditions are also used by the government to legitimize a nation that exists in the present. In other words, local cultures, reacting against marginalization and/or enforced modernization, use their past to set themselves apart from the dominating national culture directed by the central government. Yet, the government subsumes the past of these local cultures in order to establish a hegemonic, modern nation according to Javanese tastes.<sup>25</sup> As a consequence of enforced conformity, local cultures are increasingly self-aware populations. A self-aware culture is potentially a political culture.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, two fundamental elements in the sublimation process are the depoliticization of the past and the reenactment of regional cultures in the context of the New Order state.

## Pancasila

Prior to the Dutch consolidation of power (which did not permeate all the islands until the early 20th century) "Indonesia" consisted of separate regions and ethnic groups with their own cultural behavior informing their political agendas. Territorial boundaries were fluid and generally depended upon alliances and migration of manpower.<sup>27</sup> Contemporary Indonesia is a nation of over 180 million people, with over 300 ethnic groups and over 600 dialects.<sup>28</sup> It is understandable that ethnic and cultural conflicts, if not controlled, may potentially arise. Yet from Indonesia's center, Java, a strong military and state ideology stifles overt displays of dissatisfaction. A far reaching element of this central control focuses on the national philosophy of *Pancasila* which forms the ideological framework for the state.

Over 85% of the population of Indonesia is Muslim. Yet, due to the many ethnic groups overlapping along various religious lines, the Indonesian government cannot claim Indonesia to be a Muslim state. *Pancasila* acknowledges the importance of religious diversity by sanctioning the five major world religions of Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Judaism.<sup>29</sup> The New Order government promotes the state ideology of *Pancasila*, or five points of national unity, as if it were a state religion: belief in One God; a just and civilized humanity; a united Indonesia; popular rule through policies formed after representative consensus; and social justice for the whole Indonesian population.<sup>30</sup> The primary concern of the five points is that everyone claims membership in one of the five accepted world religions or *agama*.<sup>31</sup>

How does this effect the regional culture? Most regional traditional beliefs are in opposition to the five religions. Most accepted world religions require a change in meaning and function of certain elements of local religious and material culture. The 1985 Cultural Policy states that "care is taken that destructive superstitions are not tolerated in these local beliefs. All local groups must have a belief in God." Due to this conflict between traditional "superstitions" and modern religion, regional material culture selected for Indonesian national heritage often no longer possesses its original religious function.<sup>32</sup> The object chosen to represent the essence of the local culture is no longer viable to that culture in its original ceremonial and ritually significant context. The consequence is a hybrid of traditionalism, Western and national influences, as well as local evolution.<sup>33</sup>

*Pancasila* attempts to foster a national ethos of tolerance under which official recognition is given to various regional groups and religions. Yet the New Order national ideology, couched so strictly in *Pancasila*, poses a dilemma for many segments of Indonesian society.<sup>34</sup> *Pancasila*'s premise of conformity, and all the contradictions therein, pushes for an artifice of unity. Although acknowledging the diversity of Indonesian culture, the message of *Pancasila* does not support a pluralist society. On the contrary, the philosophy stresses self-control, restraint, and self-denial for the good of the nation.<sup>35</sup>

## Cultural Policy

Though the local culture is distinctive, it is contained under the umbrella of the

nation. Diversity in Unity.[36](#)

Article 32 of the 1945 Constitution states that the government will develop a national culture that expresses the personality and vitality of all the peoples in Indonesia.[37](#) This concept of national culture is now the cornerstone of Indonesia's nation building project.[38](#) The Indonesian constitution places cultural development in the hands of the central government that pushes for a hegemonic state.[39](#) It allows for the preservation of "highlights" of local cultures and local belief systems as elements of national heritage. The traditions which do survive are those that retain a function in the modern context. By the mid-1980's, those local traditions that were perceived as political obstacles to the unity of the nation, its development, and its modernity were slated for change.[40](#)

Therefore, selective preservation of regional art forms has become part of the larger political process of inclusion that stresses nationalism and the national unity of Indonesia.[41](#) Indonesia, as a nation, promotes and instills a particular vision of itself to the world while deliberately disregarding all other visions. [42](#) The means of selection, collection, and categorization utilized by both the producers and viewers of objects are steeped in the politics of this vision. In 1973, the Ministry of Culture called for greater attention to be given to the outer regions for their assistance in the obtaining of Independence. Opposing the fast-paced ideas of modernity, the Ministry advocated for the preservation and collection of material cultural forms that were at least fifty years old. He was the first Indonesian administrator to publicly suggest that the best of Indonesian material culture had either been appropriated by the colonists and housed in foreign museums or sold to outside investors, while Indonesia itself had failed to recognize these objects as national treasures.[43](#)

Tenets of the cultural policy of the early 1970's differ in their primary concerns with those of the cultural policy of 1985. Unlike the earlier version of national cultural policy, the loss of cultural property due to theft, tourism, and modernity failed to be a strong concern in the mid-80's. The policy of 1985 also lacks encouragement to investigate and acknowledge outer regional social systems, customs, and traditions. By 1985, the cultural policy had shifted its emphasis from the support of histories to the cataloging of culture. This shift resulted in the discouragement of local cultural practices, customs, and traditions that contest the national hegemony.[44](#) The political dominance of the Javanese has also meant that even the cataloging of culture has predominantly given intense attention to Javanese culture over others.[45](#)

Even so, Indonesia has experienced a vast growth of museums in the last twenty years, ranging from the National Museum (the inheritor of Dutch architecture and collections) to local and private museums. Presently, the primary role of Indonesian museums is the promotion of "Unity in Diversity." This ideology informs museums and staff regarding the treatment and inclusion of regional culture into its displays. Both the national and regional museums redefine the meaning and function of material objects in order to comply with national and regional expectations. This multiplicity of meaning makes the creation and comprehension of the Indonesian national

cultural project difficult.

Before I begin discussing the current museum system in Indonesia, an explanation of Western collecting and viewing practices of Indonesia should be covered. This is because the system of aesthetics and collecting, primarily by the Dutch in this case, has left a legacy-for better or worse-in its former colony.

## Western Museums and the "Other"

Collecting stems from a need to live intimately allied with one's memories, obsessions with the salvaging of order from disorder.[46](#)

Almost nothing displayed in museums was made to be seen in them. [47](#)

Public forums, such as the national and regional museum and their exhibitions, present contesting ideas about cultural representation and produce disputes over meaning, function, and methods of displaying material culture. Museums create a sense of space, time, and history. Western museums, especially those built specifically to house colonial collections, do not obliterate cultural differences; they demarcate them. Distinction of cultural pasts define for *us* our present and confirm the "Us " and "Them" dichotomy: *our* culture is not *their* culture.[48](#)

By the 18th century, a time when Europe was itself grappling with its own ideas of nationalism and nation building, the Western aesthetic that linked art and culture together had evolved. Since "art and culture" were equated along class and racial lines, objects of aesthetic value could move within the "white" class parameters, but racism denied the colonized object temporal mobility. An object facing questionable "arthood" can only be elevated to art by sublimating its pertinent contextual information.[49](#) This framework of sublimation has informed Western strategies of what should be collected and preserved, as well as methods of exhibition for more than two centuries.[50](#) In the 19th century, colonial ideologies of scientific ethnic group classification gave rise to what we now consider racist and classist categorizations of all aspects of bourgeois society, both at home and in the colonies.[51](#) Such ideologies also informed the methods of exhibiting cultures within the art institutions. The rise of racism initiated general terms of control, such as "primitivism", as opposed to ethnic arts. By the 20th century the "art and culture" paradigm had been reclassified into categories of artistic genius and the masterpiece. Such categories extended to all the world's peoples.[52](#) The "primitive" and their objects were then placed upon a pedestal of *Modernism*, and admired for what was missing in Western culture. Thus the "primitive" and their "art" were rendered historically immobile. "Primitivism", in this art historical model, had little to do with the actual living circumstances of the individual and their culture; it was an idea in Western culture by which the "other" is defined.[53](#) Since the late 19th century, objects of curiosity, "primitive" arts, have been redefined and recontextualized into desacralized objects of art. It is this Western aesthetic paradigm, manifest through the Empire era ideology, that informs museum practices and exhibitions.[54](#)

## Ethnographic versus "Fine" Art Museums

Very interesting things happen when material culture is elevated to "Primitive" art. In order for the object to be art, its inherent function must be co-opted and changed by the collector, dealer, or museum, so that it can plausibly "fit into the underlying assumptions of the primitive art market."<sup>55</sup>

Increasingly, the distinction between "primitive" art and ethnographic artifact is coming into question. Until recently, ethnographic museums focused on contextual facts about the object (material, age, use). The local artist was of secondary importance to the collecting and cataloging process. However, Paul Taylor argues that *contemporary, decolonized*<sup>56</sup> ethnographic museums invite the local people to consult and participate; the fine art museums' spectators cannot be the same people whose artwork is collected, because then the object does not fit into the art historical notions of authenticity, scarcity, and temporal distance.<sup>57</sup> Taylor describes the ethnographic museums' shift in cultural policy as a breaking down of the hierarchical relationship between the collector/spectator's culture and the culture of the people who produced the artworks.

Originating out of the same Empire era ideology of classification, art museums historically have ignored contextual information. Sally Price, in *Primitive art in Civilized Places*, argues that to display any primitive objects as art is a form of neo-colonization, and that the culture continues to be appropriated for the Western gaze.<sup>58</sup> Price has called attention to inherent problems in elevating objects to art status. The object, having been elevated to art, becomes a mirror from which we may define our cultural selves. Cultural nuances of sociological and political concerns are missing from the object. It acquires a reconstructed history representing the essence, or symbol, of an entire culture. The viewer becomes increasingly aware of his/her own culture, since information about the culture that made the object is lacking or missing.<sup>59</sup> The main event ceases to be the exhibition. The event lies in the viewing public's realization that this selected "essence" of culture is not *us*.

## Dutch Museumizing of Indonesia

Well into the late 18th century, the Dutch cultural policy concerning indigenous peoples was left much to Dutch administrative organizations. During the late 18th century, the Oriental Studies scientific branch, as well as the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (established in 1778), became the centers for cultural sciences that researched the Indies' "primitivism". The Batavian Society, now the National Museum in Jakarta, was established to house the vast collections of confiscated indigenous material culture. Many of these traditional arts and pre-Islam religious monuments had been left to ruin because of the overwhelming influence of Islam throughout the archipelago.<sup>60</sup> Most archeological work on the vast complexes of temples and monuments began in the early 20th century, and the findings were recorded in languages not accessible to the Indonesians.<sup>61</sup> Indigenous cultures, and their fate, were being defined for them. The material

objects were taken out of their context in homes, temples, grave sites, etc., and were recontextualized as artifact in ethnographic museums, or elevated to art status in fine art museums. Today, some material culture in Indonesian museums and monuments are being restored by the central government and are now regarded as national symbols.

## **Post-Colonial Display of Indonesian Material Culture**

The Western approach to collecting Indonesian material culture is slowly changing. Several events have taken place since Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia, announced Indonesia's independence in 1945. These include the decolonization of museums, the blurring of the distinction between ethnographic artifact and fine art (ethnographic and art museums experienced parallel development), and the indigenization of museums within Indonesia.<sup>62</sup> Currently, in both Western and Indonesian museums, Indonesian material culture is increasingly seen, once again, as vested with special meaning, value, and a social structure. Recently, a vast amount of research has focused on the encoded symbolism in the objects.<sup>63</sup>

The term "decolonization" deliberately implies the conscious attempt to disrupt the balance of power that characterized the colonial period.<sup>64</sup> Taylor states that the most important element of decolonization, from the point of view of the museum and its collecting practices, is the recognition that the people who created the material culture are a fundamental part of the museum's spectatorship. As will be explained below, the Indonesian regional museum affords increased participation in the process of assembly and collecting, resulting in an interesting cultural hybridization. Western museums have also begun to reassess their methods of display. The Tropen Museum in the Netherlands, for example, has pioneered the decolonization of Dutch museums. They have changed the function of the active colonial institution into a new cross-cultural evaluating forum. The new public forum established a discussion of the past biases and future intercultural understanding.<sup>65</sup> Exhibitions at the Tropen are now designed to involve viewer participation in the overall understanding of the cultural background of the object displayed.<sup>66</sup>

A profusion of large collections of Indonesian material culture has toured the globe since Indonesia's independence: from Barbier's collection (1988), Rockefeller's collection of Asmat material (1976), to the Court Arts of Java (1992). The exhibitions combined art history and ethnography but imposed their own ideas of content and aesthetic to the objects displayed. In the last fifty years of exhibiting Indonesian material culture, a trend to assume material culture as "Primitive" has been on the rise in the Western museum.<sup>67</sup>

## **Indonesian Museums and Material Culture: Collected, Exhibited and Redefined**

### **Museum-Mindedness**

As Western collecting and exhibiting practices in the twentieth century experienced changes regarding Indonesian material culture, so too has Indonesia experienced changes in its



collecting and display of its own material culture. The major change is the act of collecting itself. Indonesia has never collected *us* as we have collected *them*. Those with money, in particular the government, actively collect themselves. Having inherited the Dutch system of categorizing and hoarding practices, the New Order actively collects the diverse material culture from around Indonesia. Indonesia collects from its various cultures in order to make sense of itself as a nation in the present. Traditionally, Indonesians did not collect for the same Western "rational", scientific, or categorizing purposes. Instead, they collected items perceived to possess power. This power would dissipate over time but maintained a binding effect of the common people and the royal house that guarded the collection. These objects would be hidden from sight and viewed only by a very few royal persons, or village chiefs. This is because the power of the objects could only be contained by those who traditionally also possessed divine power. On the other hand, most of the objects exhibited for public consumption were exposed to the elements and left to ruin. When a piece disintegrated due to the elements, another object was made to replace it. Objects were duplicated because it was the intent and the ceremonial function of the object that was most important, not the object itself. This process of duplication confounds Western notions of art, artistic genius, and originality; each piece of work should be an inspired original, and therefore authentic.<sup>68</sup> Until the era of Post Modernism in Art history, items lacking authenticity (arbitrarily assigned), became ethnographic artifacts. Western art museums exhibited only the "authentic": the masterpieces.

The idea of "museum" in the Western sense does not necessarily translate to Indonesian cultural behavior toward material culture. The Western gauge of what a museum ought to be proves problematic when applying the same standard to Indonesian museum systems. Let us not lose sight of the fact that the standardized systems of conservation and preservation of material culture is seemingly new to the Indonesian culture. The preservation of objects is selective and serves a distinct purpose of transforming them into representations of national culture. Most of these recontextualized objects previously possessed plural, culturally specific, ritualistic, religious, and political functions. Therefore, the idea of material culture functioning as a decontextualized "art" object is a rather new concept to Indonesia.

This fundamental lack of what Kreps calls "museum mindedness"<sup>69</sup> helps to explain why so much of the collections in the ethnographic museums, especially the National Museum, is in such disrepair,<sup>70</sup> and why traditional arts are rarely exhibited in fine art museums. It should also be understandable why museums are not promoted as tourist attractions to the same extent as living exhibitions: such as, dance, ritual, and villages. One can readily observe in Indonesia that traditional cultures and objects tend to be better preserved within the villages.

The lack of financial resources, the foreign concept of art objects, and the lack of trained staff contribute to the further decay of traditional art forms contained in the museums. And, although there has been an increase in the number of museums, this does not imply an increase in quality. Even though urban centers have seen a growing number of educated staff, who are semi-trained in areas of Western museology, ethnography, and curatorial matters, many buildings remain unsuitable for display, and the small salaries of the staff remain prohibitive.<sup>71</sup> In many

instances, it is a matter of how the need for a museum is perceived by the Indonesian government and the public. The domestic tourist is increasingly drawn to the live rituals of dance and music and not to objects that have been emptied of their ritual and ceremonial intent. But the conditions of the regional museum and the care taken to safeguard its contents are also influenced by the Java-centric priorities of the Ministry of Culture. Therefore, the museums lack both public and government support.

The current standardized system of the regional museum affords an interesting view of the center (Java) and periphery (outer regions) as they debate their public presentations of themselves.<sup>72</sup> As has been argued, the collection, preservation and exhibition of these various domains cannot be natural, as they create an illusion of an adequate representation of the cultures, or ethnic groups, collected.<sup>73</sup> They link local and national cultural politics with contesting significances of the past and future.

### **The Regional Museum and Material Culture: Multiplicity of Function**

Catholic missionaries established several regional museums in the 1930's. Most of these museums, in their original state, are gone. The missionaries recognized the disappearance of indigenous craft as a detrimental and impoverishing consequence of colonization.<sup>74</sup> The museums housed examples of what little was left of the local pre-Christian material culture. The state took over the missionary museums after 1945. Present day regional museums function as tools for unifying the country as well as affirming local cultural heritage.<sup>75</sup>

One such museum is the renovated Ternate Palace that simultaneously tells two stories: that of the central government-run regional museum of the Moluccas, administered by the Directorate of Museums, and that of a sultan's palace treated in accordance with *adat* (traditional custom and law).<sup>76</sup> Ritual retains its original meaning within the museum/palace<sup>77</sup>, as people continue to bring offerings in honor of the royal regalia hidden inside.<sup>78</sup> The museum is a functioning relic of a now silent sultanate.

Like many of the regional museums, the Ternate Palace Museum also presents two types of viewer involvement: (1) the public (tourist) sphere, which is presented with Indonesian national solidarity, and (2) the private sphere, in which only the last traditional leaders may participate among the objects or regalia.<sup>79</sup> The village regalia consisted of many generations of collecting, dating back to the founding ancestors of the clan or village. The objects exist in two worlds: the world of scientific labeling and preservation and the world of local tradition in which the objects are necessary components to the community which continues to perceive them as aura containing cultural icons.

All of the old palaces have been assimilated into the state and renovated.<sup>80</sup> These provincial museums house objects that in one way or another bind the community together. It is important for the New Order to absorb the old sultanate in order to consolidate governmental power over

the local cultures.<sup>81</sup> Theoretically, by appropriating the supernatural power of the palace and forcing it to behave as state museum, a political obstacle to centralized government is eliminated. No matter what the location of the museum, the message remains the same: " We are distinct as a local culture, but one as a nation." Creating a hegemonic culture must include the local culture's partial or complete encapsulation in the national identity. Although they have been absorbed, this does not mean they have been integrated.

### Cultural Hybridization

From the examples given above, it will be argued that the consequences of exhibiting material traditional culture in national and regional museums are: (1) the cultural hybridization of material culture and (2) the transformation of the material culture into a selected tradition representing the entirety of a particular culture.

Cultural hybridization is defined here as the result of the regional museum fulfilling the national requirement as to what a museum is supposed to be: representing "Unity in Diversity"; fulfilling the cultural requirement of the local region; maintaining *adat*; and the functional and representational integrity of the objects exhibited. Unlike methods of "selective tradition", cultural hybridization makes it more difficult to classify the objects within the collection because they retain their original function and possess multiple convictions simultaneously. Cultural hybridization exists in the act of cultural reinvention: an act which incorporates not only national ideologies but also traditional, religious, and tourist ideologies.

Most of the provincial museums have staff who live in the area, participate in traditional events, and are knowledgeable of traditional customs of the region. Except for the training receive from the Directorate of Museums, most have no formal museological training.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, it is quite common for the staff of the provincial museum to consult ritual masters in the proper display of ritual objects.<sup>83</sup> Kreps gives the example of the museum staff and ritual master of Balanga, in Kalimantan, who devise exhibitions that allow the viewer to enter the exhibition as if it were authentic space of everyday or ritual life. Rather in opposition to state ideology, the object performs both as functional ritual (often in pre-"official" religious context) as well as art object.

Another example of cultural hybridization is the Ternate regalia mentioned earlier. The objects contained within the palace walls are rarely seen by the people, but they are revered because of their perceived power to hold the community together. Like objects in national museums, the regalia is taken out of its vault and put into a display case. However, differing from the urban museums, provincial practice maintains that the pieces are often taken out of the cases and ritually cleaned as if they still may possess their original power. Retention of function and supernatural power often oppose not only the national ideology of *Pancasila* but also the village's dominant religion.<sup>84</sup>

### Nationalism and the Living Museum: Taman Mini Indonesia Indah

The increased penetration of national culture ideology into Indonesia's regional cultures alters the natural connection of a traditional culture to its material culture. Items highlighted for inclusion in the national culture are redefined in the context of the New Order state. The assertion of national culture and its *Pancasila* ideology looms over every aspect of Indonesian culture. The manipulation of the nation's local cultures for modern usage, also means Indonesia can market the revised version. New cultural forms have emerged to satisfy the international and domestic market, even while local creativity has been enhanced.<sup>85</sup> These extracted bits, such as the stupa, *prau*, longhouse, Torajan house or Nias sculpture, are officially certified as belonging to the cultural traditional of one nation-Indonesia.<sup>86</sup>

No Indonesian state cultural project has been as vast and involved as the Taman Mini park in Jakarta. "The idea of Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature (TMII) recreates Indonesia and everything in it in miniature form."<sup>87</sup> Taman Mini stretches across 100 hectares of land just outside of Jakarta.<sup>88</sup> According to the TMII catalog, the idea for the park originated from inspirational speeches given by President Suharto. His wife, Ibu Tien Suharto, speaks of the park as an avenue to promote national identity within the global arena. The primary aim of the Park was to promote a cultural model of state ideology.

The TMII, containing traditional material culture and replicas of traditional houses built by master craftsmen and supported by the governments of regions from throughout the Indonesian archipelago, is the largest collection of Indonesian regional cultures ever amassed.<sup>89</sup> It is ironic that several of the traditions displayed in the park are rarely practiced any more, and as, in the case of Nias, the houses are seldom made at all. The material and ritual culture is presented as authentic to the public at invented times and often by performers and artists who are not from the particular culture being displayed.

### **Displacement of Function, Meaning and Natural Space**

The Taman Mini, and other museum exhibitions throughout Indonesia, are devised to promote tourism in order to enhance the economic well being of the state. Because tourism has a profound effect on the legitimization of a national culture and identity, the New Order has utilized tourism to help unify the country.<sup>90</sup> National unity exists in the park exhibit as a whole, not in one object. Each ethnic culture and their objects must be chosen carefully so that, when combined with many other cultural objects, they promote the message of unification. It is the curator or administrator who decides what the message will be and runs interference between the true cultural context of the object and the audience. The audience participates in this propagation of misinformation and appropriation of histories and cultures because exhibition and cultural models inherently create illusions both of artificial culture controlled by the dominating culture and of the false relations between things. Authenticity, for the audience, is located in the event or exhibition and not in the culture represented or in the object.<sup>91</sup>

The TMII has museumized the Indonesian nation as a way of absorbing a culture that, due to traditional aegis, opposes economic modernity. The culture and object have been taken out of

the villages and displaced into state projects as national culture and art. For the local culture to be acceptable as an element of national culture, ritual and art must be packaged as commodifiable entities. Therefore, it must be secularized for mass appeal. TMII simultaneously juxtaposes several regions with themes (war dances from throughout the archipelago or the art of Bali) that may be similar to those of Jakarta. Thematically, such juxtaposition is intriguing and allows the visitor to experience—however artificial—aspects of cultures they may otherwise never experience. On the other hand, one might argue that such simultaneous exhibition denies the culture its natural space; that is to say that the various cultures would never be seen together in space nor created at the same time. Such display has been encouraged by the governments. The central government manipulates the ritual and material culture of many areas for two main reasons: (1) to attract both domestic and international tourists, the latter leave with a sense of "Indonesian" culture and go home with their skewed, packaged image of a hegemonic nation, and (2) to ensure that, by appropriating culture, the government can eliminate potential obstacles.

The most profound obstacle the government has experienced is the permeating and persistent qualities of *adat* in everyday life. <sup>92</sup> Traditional custom has been institutionalized and ratified by the New Order, as it had been by the Dutch, in that it continues to influence contemporary interpretations of local customs. Now, certain select ethnic customs contribute to the construction of a national tradition. Ritual and material culture are now a national enterprise. For this reason, regions such as Bali have not totally surrendered the meaning of custom and its criteria of cultural expression to government authorization. Instead, the Balinese have begun to create art and ritual in two different contexts: for their own community life and for tourists.<sup>93</sup>

Although local cultures have been assimilated in order to project national unity, positive elements emerge from this process. For example the arts of various regions are allowed to be made and sold in the park. Unfortunately, because the art is made on the park premises, the art object, like ritual in local culture, is secularized. This displacement of function and meaning relegates the object to tourist art. It is the task of the state government to attempt to get the collector to accept the new object as authentic. TMII continuously rotates exhibitions and all of them provide tours or didactic panels heavily textured with national ideology. The government also encourages the recontextualized production of traditional art because the traditional arts present a counterbalance of other things threatening the New Order stability such as religious factionalism, rural vs. urban issues, and the rising middle-class. There is not likely to be a mass movement against the government's goal of a hegemonic nation because it is the government that provides the financial support for the survival of cultural expression.

### Selected Traditions

One consequence of secularization<sup>94</sup> and a hegemonic culture is that the material and ritual culture of a region become selective traditions "which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, [are] always passed off as '*the tradition*', '*the significant past*'." ;<sup>95</sup> The further an object or cultural representation moves away from its locus of origination, the higher the probability

that the object will become the representative or selective essence of that culture. Some of the meanings and functions are reinterpreted and re-released as cultural aspects which confirm, or at least do not contest, the dominant culture. This process of deliberate distancing of an object from its original ethnic and cultural context and location results in confusion and misunderstanding for the viewer (both Indonesian and foreign).<sup>96</sup> The tourist gaze and national governments maintain a long-distance power of legitimization of a national culture through the manipulative process of secularization and commodification of regional material culture.

Taman Mini provides an exemplary demonstration of the selection of cultural "essence". The objective of a cultural model selectively attempts to "portray the best of those tangible, believable aspects of culture upon which the [foreign and domestic] tourist can identify."<sup>97</sup> Stanton goes on to suggest that as a model, and not reality, the process of selecting the cultural elements for inclusion admittedly creates an invented or "fake culture".<sup>98</sup> By emphasizing only the material and performing arts, the Taman Mini cultural model disregards the ideologies as well as the social and world view of these regions.

The function of museum in this paradigm is to collect, preserve, gather information, and present. The national museums (static or living) "essentialize" outer regional culture and do not permit a comprehensive explanation of material objects. Similar to the provincial/regional museum, it recontextualizes and changes the function of the objects. Yet the national/state museum, by placing a great amount of both temporal and spatial distance between the local culture and the object itself, freezes the objects in an immobile history. This immobility is a necessary component of selective traditions. In order for museums to present the "essence" of a culture, the selected element cannot be allowed to evolve.

## Conclusion

Art and object, as social fact, contain very powerful social messages. The art and objects of Indonesia continue to possess strong ethnic and community messages specific to a time and place. Because of the suggestive and evocative powers of the traditional arts and cultures, they have become one of the most stimulating powers and topics of debate in Indonesia's national construction.<sup>99</sup>

In the process of creating an Indonesian national culture and identity, many cultural art forms experience cultural hybridization or become "selected traditions", via the process of redefinition and recontextualization of the object's "evocative" ethnic and community messages. Indonesia selects "high points" of the various regional cultures to create a hybrid national culture within the context of the New Order state.

This investigation began with a brief discussion of state ideology and cultural policy, based on *Pancasila*, to suggest motivating factors behind the practices of collecting and displaying of Indonesian material culture within the museum. The constitution of 1945 places the "guidance" of Indonesian culture in the hands of the central government. Therefore, the Ministry of Culture

established that local culture must add to, and enhance the greater national culture and identity. However the central government provides prominence to and actively preserves Javanese cultural elements over others. The cultural policy also interferes in outer regional cultural autonomy by establishing their own criteria for cultural expression.

The cultural policy of the 1970's, recognizing the importance of the varied regional material culture, opened up new areas of conservation. The policy of 1985 shifted away from conservation to cataloging. It also expanded its definition of what local material culture and art was unacceptable in its present form. The aim of the cultural policy is to compel local cultures to modernize and represent the ideals of "Unity in Diversity". Yet, some aspects of local culture are in opposition to the state and cultural policies, such as traditional custom, culturally specific meaning and function of art and object, and an increased cultural self-awareness that has resulted in regional cultures looking back to their traditions in order to define themselves and set themselves apart from the Javanese center.

Increasing numbers of museums were established in the 1970's and 1980's as a consequence of intensified cataloging and assimilating of regional art and object. The notion of museum as a Western construct does not necessarily translate into Indonesian culture. Museum-mindedness in the West possesses a long evolutionary history. Until recently, museum practices were informed by colonial notions of collecting and appropriating objects which the west classified as "primitive". Indonesia is still relatively new to the concept of museum. Currently Indonesia actively collects itself. Traditional ideas of collecting objects for their supernatural meaning have shifted to ideas of collecting in order to present a unified national heritage. While increasing numbers of objects are being appropriated, the lack of official and public support, funds, and trained staff contribute to the further decay of the collections.

By using examples of both national and regional museums, it has been illustrated in general terms that museums present collections of local culture in two ways. As expressions of "we are distinct as a local culture, but one as a nation" regional concerns are promoted and traditional material cultural forms are exhibited as unique. Material cultural forms act as functioning ritual objects, art forms, and examples of Indonesia's richly diverse national culture. On the other hand, as redefined and recontextualized material cultural forms that are both temporally and spatially distanced from the regional culture, the new form represents the entire society in the context of the New Order state. Dissonance often results from the expectations of national, international and local representation of regional art forms.

The discussion of current standardized systems of the regional museum demonstrates that particular regional museums must contend with fulfilling both national expectations of presenting the region's connection with the national culture and local expectations. The regional museums of Balanga and Ternate exemplify the process of cultural hybridization as a possible consequence of this tension between the traditional and the national. Cultural hybridization exists in the act of cultural reinvention that incorporates national, traditional, religious, and tourist ideologies. The Ternate Palace Museum functions both as regional regalia and regional museum; it presents both a national ideology and the specific cultural concerns that bind the

community together. The Balanga museum devises exhibitions that allow the viewer to enter the exhibition as if it were authentic space of everyday or ritual life.

In contrast to the regional museums, the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah park is a vast national cultural model that promotes *Pancasila* and "Unity in Diversity" through exhibiting select art forms of Indonesia's various regional cultures. Unlike the regional museum, the National Museum and TMII appropriate and redefine ritual and material culture. The art form or object represents the "essence" of the regional culture; it has become a selected tradition to be incorporated into national culture. Appropriation on the national scale subsumes original function and meaning by separating the object from its original religious, ritual, and communal functions.

The theory of selective traditions argues that the dominating culture, in this case Indonesian national culture, chooses highlights of marginal cultures and reinterprets these elements to represent an entire culture. The further away an object gets from its locus of origination, the more the original meaning and function lose ground to the dominating cultural assumptions. Miscomprehension of a culture results as the viewer walks away with a false image of Indonesian culture.

Ideals of "Unity in Diversity", *Pancasila*, and cultural policy suggest the importance of regional culture in the formation of national culture. However, the importance lies in possible opposition to the national culture. Through various processes of recontextualization and redefinition, various cultural expressions are reformulated in order to eliminate ethnic, political, and religious opposition to the center. It will be interesting to see if Indonesia continues on its present course, or if it will establish a more open policy that allows autonomy to regional cultures in an embrace of Indonesia's rich "diversity in unity".

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## Notes

**1** Barbara Hatley, "Cultural Expression," in *Indonesia's New Order*, ed., Hal Hill (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 263.

**2** The term "New Order" is used to distinguish President Suharto's government from Sukarno's government. Sukarno's "Old Order" ended in 1965. Both governments heavily rely on the *Pancasila* and political conformity. There are various distinctions between the two governments. One distinction that has affected the material culture is the banning of the Communist Party after the failed coup of 1965 which distanced much of the arts, in particular modern art, from the social and political problems of Indonesian society. The second distinction between the Old and New Order governments that largely affected material cultural expression is Suharto's opening-up of Indonesia to the international economic market, which brought with it Western mass media. Such exposure to mass media and Western secular values, with its emphasis on the



individual, challenged Indonesian notions of the individual within Indonesian society.

**3** Old Sanskrit in origin, this motto was taken from an 11th century coat of arms of a royal Javanese household. Borrowing from an old Javanese symbol, especially a Sanskrit one, reveals the syncretic nature and Java-centrism apparent in the central government. "Unity in Diversity" has been included in the state ideology since Sukarno declared Indonesia's Independence on August 17, 1945. It is a national symbol of Indonesia's multi-cultural population.

**4** Virginia Matheson Hooker in *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia* states that "in the widest sense, culture embraces spiritual life, values, morality, education, and political processes." (1993), 2.

**5** The term "recontextualization" in the field of art history theorizes that art and ethnographic museums often divorce an indigenous object from its original historical and cultural context. This newly decontextualized object then can be given a new historical and cultural context. For the purpose of this paper, I have used the term to argue that regional material objects in Indonesia can be subsumed and given a context within the national culture. Therefore, the original meaning and function, as well as the object's place in history, have been altered.

**6** In the context of this paper, "material culture" implies all culturally specific plastic forms of expression (e.g., painting, weaving, sculpture) created in the region. I am reluctant to use the term "art". Although the term is increasingly used in Indonesia, it is not clear to me if it is used as freely as in the West.

**7** Paul Taylor, "Introduction" in *Fragile Traditions: Indonesian Art in Jeopardy*, ed. P. Taylor (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994); Shelly Errington, "Unraveling Narratives" in *Fragile Traditions: Indonesian Art in Jeopardy*; James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture" in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 215-252; and Hatley, "Cultural Expression," 216-262.

**8** The idea or understanding of cultural aesthetics can generally be defined as a community's mutual and habituated sense of what is beautiful and what is ugly.

**9** In this paper, I use the terms "traditional art" and "material culture" to denote material objects created in the outer regions of Indonesia. Although traditional arts also includes the refined arts of Hindic Java through the 16th century, I am limiting the subject to those marginalized areas, mainly the outer islands and smaller villages of Java.

**10** The term "selective tradition" was initially coined in the Marxist cultural theory of R. Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" in *Problems of Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso, 1980), 39. Although a term used to express the theoretical behavior of the Modernist museum in the West, I find his definition of the process of selective tradition to be

quite applicable to the process of assimilation of regional cultures into the Indonesian national culture.

**11** In Postmodernist art historical and cultural theory, the "other" denotes marginalized peoples either ignored or dominated by a mainstream and elitist culture. Historically the "other" consisted of colonized natives dominated by European colonizers. I use the term "other" here to imply that the Indonesian central government on Java marginalizes and dominates its outer regions.

**12** Christine Kreps, "Museum Mindedness in Indonesia," *SEASPAN* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 7-10. Kreps employs this term to suggest that Western museum practices of rational categorizing, collecting and redefining of cultural objects established a particular mindset and theoretical framework. She calls this framework and mindset "museum-mindedness."

**13** "Gaze" in art historical terms generally refers to the dominance of the white male objectification of the female body in art. I employ this term to imply that the domestic and international gaze objectifies and influences the direction of traditional art forms in Indonesia. For more information about the "gaze" as discussed in art history please see John Berger, *The Look of Things: selected Essays and Articles* (New York,: Penguin, 1972).

**14** Aside from the amazing demographic preponderance of Javanese (multiple ethnic groups) in the country, the great flowering of Indic culture occurred on Java. The trade expansion with the Portuguese and Dutch was centered on Java's north coast. Additionally, the rise of nationalism and subsequent revolution against the Dutch took place initially on Java.

**15** Through personal conversations with Indonesians in Bali, Sulawesi and Java, it is my impression that many Indonesians throughout Indonesia feel that Java has heavily influenced the rest of the country, both in terms of behavior and traditional structures of politics. Many jokes about the President of Indonesia refer to him as the Javanese Raja.

**16** Clifford Geertz, "The Year of Living Culturally," *The New Republic* (October. 21, 1991): 36.

**17** Hatley, "Cultural Expression," 253.

**18** "Fossilize" in this case refers to the ideas of traditional life and customs as backward. In Indonesia, if something is considered "backward" it is not as viable as the system of modernity. In this case modernity is a sign of development presented to the international community. Kessler, "Archaism and Modernity in Malay Political Culture"; and Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University, 1983). The authors painstakingly argue that traditional "pasts" are invented contemporary creations of both ethnic and national projects.

**19** Clifford Geertz, "Popular Art and the Javanese Tradition," *Indonesia* 50 (October 1990): 79.

**20** David Brown, "Immanent Domains: Cultural Worth in Bone, South Sulawesi" *Social Analysis* no. 35 (April 1994): 84.

**21** Hatley, "Cultural Expression," 217; and Kessler, "Archaism and Modernity in Malay Political Culture," 136.

**22** "Regional/local cultures" possess their own unique history, values, language, concepts of politics, and sometimes cosmic and world views apart from the hegemonic culture I defined earlier. Culturally specific aspects such as animism and mysticism often oppose the state ideology because they do not conform to the official national definition of religion. For further clarification see sections on Pancasila and Cultural Policy.

**23** Kessler, "Archaism and Modernity in Malay Political Culture," 133.

**24** Kessler, "Archaism and Modernity in Malay Political Culture," 133.

**25** For more information regarding this topic see Virginia Matheson Hooker, ed., *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993).

**26** Hooker, *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*, 135.

**27** Kenneth Hall, *Maritime Trade and state Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1985), 88.

**28** Personal communication with Uri Tadmor, Indonesian language instructor at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

**29** In the last decade, certain pre-religions or *agamas* have been unofficially accepted into the Pancasila religious categories. For instance the Torajan pre-Christian and Muslim religion of Aluk to Dolo, and the Kejawen pre-Islamic tradition of mysticism on Java. For a concise, discussion on the Kejawen in the central government see Margot Lyon, "Mystical Biography: Suharto and the Kejawen in the Political Domain," in *Search of Cross-Cultural Understanding*, ed. Andrew McIntyre, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, no. 28 (Clayton, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1993), 211-238.

**30** Virginia Matheson Hooker, ed., "Glossary" in *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*, 1993, xix.

**31** The requirement to claim a religion was reinforced and became mandatory after the communist insurgency of 1965. Every Indonesian must claim a religion or be suspected of harboring communist political views. After 1965, the Chinese changed their names into either Indonesian or Christian names. The Chinese were thought to be a major factor in the spread of

communism in the early decades. Religious affiliation is placed on one's ID cards.

**32** Both Dutch and Indonesian governments advocated missionary work. Missionaries were not allowed to go into already established Muslim areas. The missionaries in the early twentieth century either burned or confiscated almost all material cultures that appeared to possess a sacral purpose, for example, ancestor figures of Nias and Toraja. These objects were deemed in opposition to Christianity. Large collections of confiscated objects became permanent holdings of the major museums in the West.

**33** James Clifford, "Introduction: The Pure Products Go Crazy," in *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 17.

**34** The deeper implications of Pancasila will not be expressed here. For a detailed, and short reading see Aryn Sajoo, *Pluralism in Old Societies and New States* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1994), 31-42.

**35** Hooker, "Introduction," 3.

**36** Paul Taylor, "Collecting Icons of Power and Identity: Transformation of Indonesian Material Culture in the Museum Context" *Cultural Dynamics* 17, no.1 (Fall 1995): 117. This is a play on words. The motto "Unity in Diversity" is here reversed to suggest the diversity of the many local cultures are incorporated into the unified whole of the nation state.

**37** Hooker, "Introduction," 4.

**38** Hooker, "Introduction," 4.

**39** Haryati Soebadio, *Cultural Policy in Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985), 13-14.

**40** Soebadio, *Cultural Policy in Indonesia*, 18-19.

**41** Taylor, "Introduction"; and Takaishi Fujii, "Approach to New Values" in *Art and the Future: Collected Papers of the First International Conference on Art and the Future*, ed. Margaret Alisjahbana, (Bali: Art Center Toyabungkah, 1978), 65.

**42** Hatley, "Cultural Expression," 218.

**43** Bambang Soebadio, *Sejarah Direktorat Permusiuman* (Jakarta: Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1987), 87; and Indonesia Departmen Pedidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Cultural Policy of Indonesia*, (Paris: UNESCO, 1973), 25.

**44** Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaam , *Cultural Policy of Indonesia* (Paris: UNESCO, 1985).

**45** Geertz has described this "Javanology" as the revived scholarly enterprise of applying "scientific" methods of analysis to "indigenous" cultural phenomena: "The scholarly studies consist mainly of efforts to demonstrate the compatibility of the conceptions incarnate in classical art forms (dance, drama, music, textiles, and most especially the shadow play) with those of modern physics, genetics, psychology, or medicine; attempts to develop 'Javanese economics', 'Javanese jurisprudence', 'Javanese pedagogy', 'Javanese linguistics', or 'Javanese psychoanalysis', out of the same materials; evaluations of Javanese folk therapies, excavations of pre-Islamic Javanese archaeological sites, interpretations of Javanese history...." Geertz, "Popular Art and the Javanese Tradition," 89.

**46** Barbara Arendt quoted in Geertz, "The Year of Living Culturally," 34. For a history and psychology of early Colonial collecting practices see Carol Breckenridge, "The Aesthetic and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs" *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, 56, no. 3 (1989): 195-216. Breckenridge traces Western collecting behavior as beginning out of a need to rationalize and scientifically categorize material culture.

**47** Susan Vogel, "Introduction" in *Art/Artifact* exhibition catalogue (New York: Center for African Art, 1988), 13.

**48** In this sense "Us" refers to the cultural community the viewer associates themselves with. "Them" suggests an outsider, not of the "Us" community. In relation to European museum exhibitions, "Us" refers to the European culture influenced by old colonial ideologies that distinguished racially between "Us" the colonizer, and "Them" the colonized.

**49** John Young, "Artworks and Artworlds" *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 35, (October 1995). Young discusses theoretical problems of distinguishing what is or is not art. Historically, a small elite group of art history experts distinguished what was "art". "Arthood" of an object depended upon arbitrary and personal criteria. Since material cultures have been collected, the distinction between art object and artifact has been vague. The dichotomy of art/artifact continues to be debated between art history and ethnography.

**50** James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," in *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 135.

**51** Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

**52** For more detailed discussion on this idea see: Rasheed Araeen, "From Primitivism to Ethnic Arts," in *The Myth of Primitivism*, ed. Susan Hiller (London: Routledge, 1993), 159-182; and Annie E. Coombes, "Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art* ed. Susan Hiller (London: Routledge, 1994), 190-213).

**53** Araeen, "Primitivism to Ethnic Arts," 160.

**54** Edward Said coined the phrase "Empire era ideology" in *Culture and Imperialism*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1993).

**55** Taylor, "Collecting Icons," 112.

**56** In regards to previous methods of collecting, exhibiting, etc., Taylor suggests that current practices have been decolonized. In other words, the practices have been reevaluated and those deemed detrimental to an interregional or cross-cultural exchange have been changed.

**57** Taylor, "Collecting Icons," 112.

**58** Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

**59** In the exhibition catalog *Primitivism in 20th Century Art* the "primitive" art pieces that inspired modern art are labeled not by the artist or function but by the collector.

**60** By the mid 17th century, Islam was the primary religion in Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi. Islamic tenets forbid the representation of recognizable living figures, and the adherence to syncretic religious elements of Hindu or Buddhism. Although mysticism still persists today, the monuments created by the earlier dynasties of religiously syncretic Java were abandoned and left to the jungle until the late 19th century.

**61** The Dutch did not originally begin the restoration of Borobudur temple in Central Java. The English governor Raffles, during his short tenure as British governor, unearthed Borobudur. The Dutch did, however, continue Raffles' archeological work on Borobudur, as well as other unearthed complexes, including on the island of Sumatra. The research was written in the Dutch, German, and English Languages.

**62** Taylor, "Collecting Icons," 110. A local and/or Indonesian cultural framework was combined with Western museum practices.

**63** Mattiebelle Gettinger, *Splendid Symbols: Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Paul Taylor and Lorraine Aragon, *Beyond the Java Sea: Art of Indonesia's Outer Islands* exhibition catalog (Washington: Smithsonian 1991).

**64** Taylor, "Collecting Icons," 111.

**65** Kreps, "Museum Mindedness in Indonesia," 7-9; and Ivan Karp, "Introduction" in *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Lavine, Steven (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Inst. Press, 1991), 1-16.

**66** The exhibitions consist of those items acquired during, and after the Colonial era. The

objects displayed are items previously considered "primitive". In other words objects thought to be created for function over form. For various methods of appropriation used by the Dutch see Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

**67** Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*.

**68** Theory of authenticity is too involved to discuss in the confines of this paper. For the purpose of this paper, authenticity depends on an object existing as a unique form. Authentication requires that object be created and used for a specific purpose. Duplicates made for the tourist trade are deemed *not* authentic; they are relegated to the status of craft. Although art museums maintain a certain tendency to decontextualize objects, the actual act of an object functioning in a ritual imbues the piece with power. This contradictory demand of authenticity incorporates notions of expectations that impose immobility on an object. Evolution of style or materials is unacceptable. For further information on how ideas of authenticity affect traditional arts, rituals, exhibitions and the art market refer to: Brian Wallis, ed., *Art After Modernism* (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995); Spencer Crew and James Sims, "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue" in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and politics of Museum Display* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 159-175.

**69** See note 11 above.

**70** Taylor, "Introduction".

**71** There are several classes in Museology taught in the academies, and the system of conservation is getting better. However, the central government is not allotting much revenue for museums. Private foundations often take up the task.

**72** Paul Taylor, "The Nusantara Concept of Culture," in *Fragile Traditions: Indonesian Art in Jeopardy*, ed. P. Taylor (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 71.

**73** James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 222-225.

**74** It is ironic that the missionaries carried out their own versions of cultural genocide. The introduction of Christianity created dissonance for the local cultures who found they had to alter their perceptions of material objects which previously held great spiritual power. For instance the Torajan Tau-tau, or ancestor sculptures, no longer house the spirit of the deceased. Now the Tau-tau is merely an effigy. The missionaries also carried out extensive persecution exercises in which much of the local material culture was burned. That which survived became either the property of the colonial museums or was exported to Europe.

**75** Other tools of unification are the national language of Bahasa Indonesia; the depiction of various regional cultural aspects, such as costume, dance, local architecture, on the national

paper currency; and short television documentaries highlighting particular cultural expressions from around Indonesia's 27 provinces.

**76** For a more detailed study of the contents and history of the Ternate Palace Museum see Taylor, "The Nusantara Concept of Culture," 83-86; and National Museums of Singapore, ed., *Directory of the Museums of ASEAN* (Singapore, 1988).

**77** The use of "palace" here is quite intentional. Although the palace is now a museum, the building continues to function in its original role as the center of local life. Many local people continue to view the palace in its original context.

**78** David Brown, "Immanent Domains: Cultural Worth in Bone, South Sulawesi," *Social Analysis*, no. 35 (April 1994) : 84-101. According to Brown, oral traditions of regions such as Bone, in South Sulawesi, state the first regalia was given by the God-rulers. The collection is considered supernatural residue. Regalia of Java, Sulawesi and possibly other regions, originally possessed *keris* (a dagger used in several regions of Indonesia, namely Bali, Java, and Sulawesi. *Keris* are believed to possess supernatural power that may be manipulated by the owner). At times, as in the case of the Ternate Palace, there is conflict between the state, which claims ownership of the regalia, and villagers who maintain that they are the rightful heirs.

**79** Taylor, "The Nusantara Concept of Culture," 71-74.

**80** The *Kraton* (palace) in Yogyakarta remains a special case. Although lacking concrete political power, its religious duties are still performed, its royal gamelan orchestras continue to play for the officials of state, and it remains the residence of the royal family. The central Javanese palaces were given special status after Independence for their loyal support of the revolution.

**81** For more information on the *Kerajaan* (sultanate) system, see A.C. Milner, *Kerajaan: Malaya Sultanate on the Eve of Colonialism*, The Association for Asian Studies monograph, no. 40 (Arizona: The Association for Asian Studies, University of Arizona Press, 1982).

**82** Ministry of Culture. "Indonesian Cultural Policy" (1973): 19; and Taylor, "Collecting Icons," 81-83.

**83** Kreps, "Museum Mindedness in Indonesia," 5.

**84** Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rogers, "Introduction: Indonesian Religions in Society," in *Indonesian Religion in Transition*, eds. Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rogers (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1987), 1-29; and Toby Alice Volkman, "Mortuary Tourism in Tana Toraja," in *Indonesian Religion in Transition*, eds. Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rogers (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1987), 161-192. Often, elements of traditional culture are politically placed under the label of "*adat*". This practice has been very useful in preserving many traditional practices deemed by world religions as paganism. One of the main reasons traditional material objects



may be displayed in authentic ways in the regional museums is because of the tricky definition of *adat*. *Adat*, in the simplest terms, encompasses all the pre-Islamic custom and ritual of a culture. This traditional component has recently been dissected by the world religions. Indonesian Islam and Christianity have separated those elements of *adat* deemed religious and those that are traditional custom. The *adat* elements are preserved; the religious elements are recontextualized.

**85** Patrick Guinness, "Local Society and Culture" in *Indonesia's New Order*, ed., Hal Hill (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 282.

**86** Shinji Yamoshita "Manipulating Ethnic Traditions: The Funeral Ceremony, Tourism, and Television among the Toraja of Sulawesi" *Indonesia* 58 (October 1994): 80.

**87** Ministry of Culture, *Apa dan Siapa itu Indonesia* (Jakarta: 1975), 43.

**88** The catalog does not go into detail over various obstacles experienced in the building of the park. One can assume that some of the obstacles were the student protests instigated against the state's controversial appropriation and use of this land. The land disputes became a deeper debate of class issues as the land used for the park was to be zoned for landowners to farm.

**89** Ministry of Culture, *Apa dan Siapa itu Indonesia*, 43. The catalog suggests that every province is represented in the park. This is not quite true. In response to being excluded from the park, Andanao has created its own "mini-zation" of itself, displaying its traditional cultural wealth.

**90** Ministry of Culture, *Apa dan Siapa itu Indonesia*, 43-50. In the 1970's the state implemented the Cultural Tourism Policy. The policy focused on the economic value of tourism in Indonesia. Policies of tourism, as a topic of research, cannot be adequately discussed in this paper. For further reading on tourism's impact on indigenous culture see Kathleen Adams, "Making-up the Toraja? The Appropriation of Tourism, Anthropology, and Museums for Politics in Upland Sulawesi, Indonesia" *Ethnology* 34 (Spring 1995): 143-53; and Miriam Kahn, "Heterotopic Dissonance in the Museum Representation of Pacific Island Cultures" *American Anthropologist* 97 (1995): 324-338.

**91** Crew and Simms, "Locating Authenticity," 174.

**92** Patrick Guinness. "Local Society and Culture," 300-302.

**93** Patrick Guinness. "Local Society and Culture," 281. Through personal communication with several Balinese dancers in the city of Ubud in 1996 I received the consensus that dances had indeed changed due, in large part, to an attempt to preserve the ritual from the effects of tourism. In the 1970's, a welcoming dance, initially reserved for temple ritual, was performed for the tourist. A dissonance occurred and a new non-religious welcoming dance was created and

performed by specially trained dancers. Ironically, the pure ritual form has been usurped in the ritual by this new form of dance.

**94** Secularization occurs when the original function of a ritual object is removed. For example, Statues of the Catholic Virgin and Christ were not created for a museum. The "art" was created for a specific, spiritual location. Inside the church, the statues retained their supernatural meaning and function. As soon as these objects are removed from their intended location, their meaning is altered. The object is now serving a secular purpose as a non-spiritual object within a secular context of museum or gallery.

**95** Williams, "Base and Superstructure," 39.

**96** Theron Nunez, "Tourist Studies in Anthropological Perspective," in *Hosts and Guests* (Penn: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 207-216.

**97** Max Stanton, "The Polynesian Cultural Center," in *Hosts and Guests* (Pennsylvania: University Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 196.

**98** Max Stanton, "The Polynesian Cultural Center," 196.

**99** S.T. Alisjahbana, *Indonesia in the Modern World* (New Delhi: Office for Asian Affairs, Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1961).