Market Forces:
A Case Study of Contemporary Art Practice in Indonesia

by

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Declaration

“I hereby declare that the work here in, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master by research of the Charles Darwin University, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.”

Yuliana Kusumastuti
November 2006
Abstract

This study focuses on the development of the visual art market that emerged concurrently with the new nation state of Indonesia. The emergence of former colonies to independent nation states is generally marked by cataclysmic events and Indonesia is no exception to this rule. From an Indonesian perspective there is general agreement that this period of dramatic change from 1945 to the present can be divided into three periods. First, the Old Order of Sukarno (1945-1966). Second, the New Order of Suharto (1966-1998). Third, the Reformation that covers the economic crisis of 1998 and the political changes up to the current period.

This thesis describes the role of the individuals and institutions that have shaped the Indonesian art market within each period: art schools, galleries and museums, auction houses, collectors, kolekdol (art dealers), critics, curators and artists. The primary focus of the study is the period commencing in 1987 when the Indonesian visual art market boomed.
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For my mother and my late father who always gave me the freedom to choose what I believe, I would like to send all my deepest love to both of you. Last but not least, I would like to dedicate this thesis for Embun and Tukgunung Tan Aren, my “mountain dew”, who are always proud of me.
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Glossary and Abbreviations

Balai Lelang Indonesia (Balindo): The Indonesian Auction House.


Bataviaasche Kunskring (Dutch): The Batavian Art Circle.

Badan Penyehatan Perbankan Nasional (BPPN): IBRA or Indonesian Banking Restructuring Agency.

Cagar Budaya: Cultural Heritage.


Dialog Seni Kita: A weekly 45 minute radio program broadcast every Friday night on 104.75 FM (Unisi FM radio), Yogyakarta. Broadcast since 1999, Dialog Seni Kita is organized by the Cemeti Art Foundation to discuss current trends in art.

Galeri Nasional: The National Gallery.


Goreng-menggoreng lukisan also known as peternakan seni (literary means art farming): This refers to the purchase of a whole collection of paintings from the artist’s studio with the intention of increasing the price of individual paintings. One way to achieve this, among others, is by displaying the collected paintings in a gallery and increasing their price, while promoting the collection through the media.

Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI): The Indonesian Institute of Art.

Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB): Bandung Institute of Technology.

Jiwa ketok (Javanese): The visible soul.

Kantor Dinas Bagian Kesenian: Regional Office Arts Section.

Keimin Bunko Shidosjo (Japanese) (Pusat Kebudayaan): Cultural Centre.

Kolekdol-(kolek-dol): Kolek from the word ‘collect’ (English). The word dol (Javanese) has several meanings: (Jv) to sell, damaged or worn because of overuse, (Coll), crazy, mad.
The word *kolekdol*, is understood to have several meaning; (1) to collect (buy) and to sell in a short period, (2) to collect and then sell in a saleroom (such an auction) and re-buy the same item again with the aim to sell it again in the near future for higher price until it is “overused”, (3)“crazy” people who speculate and buy a big number of artworks with the intention to sell again with big profit.

*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* (LEKRA): The Institute of People’s Culture.

*Mooi Indie* (Dutch): The beautiful Indies, a term devised by painter and critic S.Sudjojono to describe the type of painting privileged by Dutch and Javanese aristocrats.


*Pasar Wacana*: The Market of Discourse.

*Pelukis Rakyat*: The People’s Painters.

*Pelukis sak- milyar* or *Pelukis satu milyar*: The billion *rupiah*-painters.

*Persatuan Ahli-Ahli Gambar Indonesia* (PERSAGI): The Union of Indonesian Painters.

*Pita Maha*: The Ubud Painters Club.

*Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI): The Indonesian Communist Party.

*PMIAA*: Philip Morris Indonesian Art Award.

*Pusat Tenaga Rakyat* (PUTERA): Centre for People’s Power.

*Sanggar*: Workshop/studio.

*Sanggar Bumi Tarung*: The Fighting Art Studio.

*Seni dan Budaya*: Art and Culture.

*Seniman Indonesia Muda* (SIM): Young Artists of Indonesia.

*Taman Budaya*: Cultural Centre or Art Centre.

*Wacana Pasar*: Discourse of the Market.

*Yayasan Seni Rupa Indonesia* (YSRI): The Indonesian Fine Arts Foundation.

**Currency Conversion**

The currencies used in this thesis are the Indonesian *rupiah*; Singapore dollar - $S, Australian dollar - $A, and American dollar –$US
Order of Names

Indonesian ethnic groups that already have the tradition of a family name will be referred to in the following way. Indonesians of Balinese descent, for example Wayan Sika, will be referred to as Sika in the text and listed as Sika, Wayan in the references; Indonesians of Chinese descent, for example Oei Hong Djien, will be referred as Oei in the text and Oei, Hong Djien in the reference. For others their name will be cited in full, and then they will be referred to by their usual name in the text. For example, Rain Rosidi will be referred to as Rain; Diah Yulianti will be referred to as Diah and so on. Except for Sindutomo Sudjojono or S. Sudjojono, will be referred to as Sudjojono; Agus Dermawan T. will be referred to as Agus and M Agus Burhan will be referred to as Burhan. For the spelling of names I use ‘u’ to replace ‘oe’. For example Soekarno will be written as Sukarno, following the new system of Indonesian spelling adopted in 1972. However, convention dictates that some names are still written according to the pre-1972 spelling system, for example “Sudjojono”.

Translation

Where texts and interviews are only available in Indonesian I have provided my own translations.
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Introduction

In the production of art, social institutions affect, amongst other things, who become artists, 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 (Wolff 1981, p. 40).

Aims and Objectives

The principle objective of this research is to identify how the art market operates and influences the production of visual art in Indonesia. To do so, I have focused not just on the issue of aesthetic, but also on the relationship of the artworks to society, politics and economic trends.

The main endeavour is to look at the work of artists that have had formal training and the influence that the demand for art has had on their art production since the 1980s. The discussion of visual art is mainly focused on painting. The European tradition of painting in oil on canvas is used by most of the artists in Indonesia and is widely accepted by the community much more so than other mediums, such as, acrylic on canvas or ink on paper.

To maintain this thesis at a manageable size, I have excluded some topics such as the artwork that is displayed in hotels, banks and shops, and also art forgery even though these issues are often the subject of debate.

The basis for my field study and research lies partly in published material. I have also employed interviews to examine how individual artist deals with the art market. The data collected begins with the ‘boom’ period of the late 1980s until the early 2000s. While I have provided some historical background, it is not within the
scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive history of contemporary Indonesian art.

Research Method

My primary data has come from interviewing participants. This has involved direct face-to-face interviews recorded on tape, as well as records of email and telephone conversations. Over a long period the researcher has established a close rapport with the participants, who have assisted with data collection to support the project. The number of interviews has been limited to ensure that the thesis is concise.

The participants introduced here are: artists, critics, art historians, curators, collectors, museum and gallery owners and auction committee members. The interviews with the participants are based on informal discussion between the researcher and the participants with guidance from the researcher regarding the topics and issues relevant to the art market in Indonesia. As Bailey asserts, the advantage of the interview method is flexibility (Bailey 1987, p.174) and also adaptability (Bell 1993, p.91). The interview is most frequently used as an essential source of case study evidence, because most case studies are about human affairs (Bell 1993, p. 8; Yin 1988, p.84).

However I am also aware of the disadvantages of interviews such as limitations of time, interview bias, and poor or inaccurate articulation (Bailey 1987, p.175; Yin 1988, p.85). For example the interviewer’s bias maybe unnoticed if the interviews are only conducted by one researcher (Bell 1993, p.95). However, I believe that the result of the interviews with the participants is sufficient to satisfy the standards which the thesis necessitates.

I also used case studies which are generally considered to be a form of qualitative study (Bell 1993, p.63), undertaking a one-month field trip in Indonesia to collect data and make observations. I also made appointments to interview my participants. I used my work as a journalist in a local newspaper, Bernas, based in the Special Region\(^1\) of Yogyakarta, located in Central Java, where I specialized in writing
on Art and Culture to make it easier to contact the participants, who I generally knew very well, before I moved to Darwin, Australia, in 1999.

The empirical inquiry of the case study has enabled me to investigate contemporary phenomena in real-life contexts and also the invisible boundaries between phenomena and context (Yin 1988, p. 23). As Judith Bell asserts:

The great strength of the case study method is that it allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify, or attempt to identify, the various interactive processes at work. These processes may remain hidden in a large-scale survey but may be crucial to the success or failure of system or organization (Bell 1993, p. 8).

Location of Study

I have chosen two sites, Bali and Java, among the many thousands of islands in Indonesia, as focus of my research. Bali, (in this case Denpasar and Ubud) as well as being a tourism industry island, is also an important place because it is the site of the establishment of Indonesia’s first art gallery. Pande Wayan Suteja Neka founded a gallery in Ubud in the 1960s, and later built the Neka Museum, a museum with a very good reputation. The Neka Museum collected excellent work by Balinese artists. Many established Balinese artists such as Made Wianta, Made Budiana, I Gusti Mangu Putra and Putu Sutawijaya graduated from The Indonesian Institute of Arts (ISI) in Yogyakarta. In Ubud, Wayan Sika, who graduated from ISI, founded the Contemporary Art Gallery based non-profit ideals.

Bandung, the capital city of West Java, and Yogyakarta are both very dynamic cities with a colonial influence. They are important places in relation to the art market as the birthplace of artistic creativity in Indonesia. The most important Indonesian art schools are also located in these cities: ISI in Yogyakarta and in Bandung, the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB). The most prominent artists, art critics and curators are mainly from Bandung: Jim Supangkat, Asmujo Irianto, Rizky Zaelani and Rifky Effendy graduated from ITB. Well-established artists and lecturers such as Tisna Sanjaya and Sunaryo are also from Bandung.
Yogyakarta is a place crowded by artists, not merely for the visual arts but also in dance, theatre and art performance. Yogyakarta is also known as the Culture City with the presence of the Sultan’s Palace in the inner city, a focus of many cultural events. Yogyakarta also has many galleries and it is a base for art critics. Magelang, a small city approximately 40 km north from Yogyakarta, is the home of Oei Hong Djien, an influential collector along with his followers.

Jakarta, as a capital city, is an attractive location for art auctions attended by businessmen. It is also the residence of significant art critics and curators, such as Amir Sidharta who also co-founded the Larasati/Glerum auction house, and Agus Dermawan T, the critic, art writer and committee member for visual art competitions.

Even though there is no discussion of art production in places other than these areas art happens everywhere, with a variable impact on the market. Other places such as Semarang, (the capital city of Central Java) and Surabaya, (the capital city of East Java), are nowadays more familiar with the art community through the presence of galleries and collectors.

Literature Review

For the literature review, I first conducted an intensive reading of the literature concerning contemporary Indonesian visual art with a focus on the development of the linkages between individual artists, galleries, museums and auction houses. At the same time, I concentrated on the connection between the development of Indonesia’s art market over the two decades (1985-2005) and the effects of the dramatic political and economic changes over that time.

Scholarly work on Indonesian visual art is very limited. Nevertheless some impressive and informative works have been produced. The first book on Indonesian visual art was the work of American anthropologist Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (1967). This book was based on Holt’s research in Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s, and contained the history of Indonesian art from traditional to modern. In almost every discussion of Indonesian visual art, her book is the first hand reference.
In 1981, an Indonesian scholar, the late Sanento Yuliman, gained a doctorate from Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Science Sociale, Paris in Visual Art with his dissertation “Genre de la Peinture Indonésienne Contemporaine de S. Sudjojono” (The Indonesian Contemporary Painting Style of S Sudjojono). One of his books, in Indonesian, *Seni Lukis Indonesia Baru, Sebuah Pengantar* (1976) (New Indonesian Painting, An Introduction) is believed to be the only book describing the history of styles, motifs, or genre in every period of Indonesian painting the 20th century (*Dialog* 1991: pp 3-14).

In the 1990s a number of prestigious scholars wrote on Indonesian art. Brita Lee Miklouho-Maklai published *Exposing Society’s Wounds; Some Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Art Since 1966* (1991) and translated in Indonesian *Menguak Luka Masyarakat; Beberapa Aspek Seni Rupa Kontemporer Indonesia Sejak 1966* (1998). This book has reconstructed the linkage between visual art and the political climate from 1966 to the 1970s. Astri Wright published *Soul, Spirit and Mountain: Preoccupations of Contemporary Indonesian Painters* (1994) from her dissertation of the same name at Cornell University. This work examines the Indonesian artist’s response to tradition, spirituality and mythology. Her book became the second major reference after Holt. She was followed by the Dutch scholar, Helena Spanjaard with her book *Modern Indonesian Painting* (2004) which focused on post 1900 developments, including the political events from 1965 to 1995 which generated the lively work of that period. This book was originally taken from her dissertation on “Indonesia Art: the Creation of a National Identity” in 1998 at the University of Leiden, Netherlands.

In this thesis there are a number of books I have used as very important references: *Social Commitment in Literature and the Arts: The Indonesian ‘Institute of People’s Culture’ 1950-1965,* (1986) by Keith Foulcher; *Tradition and Change: Contemporary Art of Asia and the Pacific,* (1993) edited by Caroline Turner; *Modern Asian Art* by John Clark; *The Language and Power* by Benedict R.O’G Anderson (1990) and *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya* (Le Carrefour Javanais: Essai d’histoire globale) in 1996 by Denys Lombard.
Domestic scholars are Hildawati Soemantri Sidharta, who obtained a PhD in art history from Cornell University (1995) and published her dissertation *Majapahit, The Terracota Art* in 1997; M Dwi Marianto, a PhD graduate from the University of Wollongong, NSW, published his dissertation *Surrealisme Yogyakarta* (2001); M Agus Burhan gained his doctorate from Gadjahmada University (UGM) Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 2002 with his dissertation “Seni Lukis Mooi Indie Sampai Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru Indonesia 1901-1979: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan” (Fine Arts from *Mooi Indie* to the Indonesian Art Movement 1901-1979: Continuity and Change); Mamannoor gained his PhD from ITB and published his dissertation in the book *Wacana Kritik Seni Rupa Indonesia* (Visual Art Discourse in Indonesia) in 2002.

Since the 2000s, there are also several print and electronic resources on visual art: Yayasan Seni Cemeti (Cemeti Art Foundation) published *Paradigma dan Pasar; Aspek-Aspek Seni Visual Indonesia* (Paradigm and Market; Aspect of Indonesian Visual Art) in 2002; PT Gramedia (Gramedia Publisher) published *Esei Esei Bentara 2002* (Essays from ‘The Messenger’) in 2002; Yayasan Seni Cherry Red (Red Cherry Foundation) published *Antology Seni 2003; Panorama dan Isu Dominan Seni Indonesia 1960-2003* (An Art Anthology 2003; The Panorama and Dominant Issues of Art in Indonesian 1960-2003). In other resources such as *Publikseni* (Art Public) online; the *Kompas* and *Media Indonesia* newspapers online and Tempo Magazine online there is further information about the visual arts.

Publishing monographs of artists is a recent trend. Several artists have published autobiographies: *Made Sukadana; Coping with Shock and Turmoil* (2002); *Made Wianta; Art and Peace* (2000) and Srihadi Soedarsono; *The Path of the Soul* (2003). These books discuss the existence of the artist in the midst of Indonesian’s art circle. The majority of these books rely on reproduced artworks in full color. They are like coffee table books and there is not much discussion of the artworks.

Based on these texts, I also found the article of Astri Wright, who describes the influence of the art market on modern art in Indonesia. She wrote in the journal *Southeast Asian File* that the dominant institutions in the Indonesian art market ‘combined artistic ignorance and profit making desire’ (Wright 1997). This is not the case in Europe and America where art criticism and art history, according to Wright,
makes the art market possible. She claims that these institutions collaborate more than they disagree and that although they have different agendas, the ‘Number Two’ (the art market) generally listens to ‘Number One’ (the art historians and critics). By contrast, in Indonesia, the art market does not listen to art historians and critics.

However, there is no specific written study of Indonesian visual art related to the market. This research therefore is an elementary studies of the construction the art market and the issues it raises for the public and artists of its influence on art production in Indonesia.

Organization of the Thesis

The following chapter gives an historical review to the production and consumption of visual art in the modern nation state of Indonesia. It begins with an overview of the historical development of the modern idea of the ‘artist’ in Indonesia. Along with the awakening of a nationalist spirit in Indonesia, I show how Indonesian art then moved from politics to economics and lastly to the market place.

Chapter two explores the market for modern Indonesian art which has emerged as a result of economic development. Since 1987 the number of galleries in Indonesia has increased rapidly and works of art have been sold for extremely high prices. Moreover, since the economic crisis in 1997/1998, which led to the collapse of many businesses, there has been a change in the way the wealthy view art. They believe visual art deserves to be part of their life style.

Chapter three describes the relationship of individuals and organizations that deal with market. The historical development of the Indonesian art world examines by outlining the evolution of the art schools, galleries, art centres and museums, collectors and art dealer (kolekdol), auction houses, critics and curators. This background will provide a grasp of the state of the Indonesian art world post-independence and up to the period when it enters the international market arena in the 1980s. Also describes here the influence of market demand.

The final chapter concludes the thesis bringing together the major themes to evaluate how the market operates in the production of visual art in Indonesia.
Notes

1. Yogyakarta was the capital city of Indonesia (1945-1949) during the struggle for independence from Dutch colonisation. Since 1950, the city was given provincial status as a special region.

2. The Indonesian scholar, Fajar Sidik, has observed that the paper *Sejarah Seni Rupa Indonesia*, written by Kusnadi in 1956 as a project between Gadjahmada University, Yogyakarta and UNESCO, inspired some elements in Claire Holt’s book *Art in Indonesia Continuities and Change* particularly in the chapter on modern art (“Buku Seni Rupa Kita: Di Dalam dan Di Luar Halaman”, *Dialog* 1991, p.9).
This chapter is an introduction to the production and consumption of the visual arts in the modern nation state of Indonesia. It begins with the artist, Raden Saleh (1807-1880), a pioneer of Indonesian modern art (see Supangkat 1993a), whose work still has a strong market in Indonesia. A century later, Sindutomo Sudjojono, known as Sudjojono, co-founded of the Persatuan Ahli Ahli Gambar Indonesia (PERSAGI), the Union of Indonesian Painters (1937) and led this group of nationalist artists. During the political climate created by Dutch colonization, Sudjojono rebelled against the depiction of Mooi Indie (the beautiful Indies) and painted daily life as his main subject.

In many regions of Indonesia, there were traditions that had no connection with Western artistic traditions. They were influenced by the Hindu and Islamic cultures established prior to Dutch colonization. In the international art world, Indonesian modern art is often misunderstood as modern Indonesian art, a continuation of traditional Indonesian art (Supangkat 1997). Traditional art is still being practised alongside modern art. The late art historian, Sanento Yuliman, affirmed:

What we term ‘Indonesian modern art’ is not a continuation of any pre-existing form. Nor is it a transformation of traditional art from any particular ethnic group (Hasan 2001, p. 55).

Modern art in developing countries, including Indonesia, grew out of Western art as it was adapted during the colonial period (Turner 1993, p. 47). It began in the early 17th century in the form of souvenirs purchased by Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, (VOC), (the Dutch East Indies Company), from local authorities and included...
paintings of portraits and landscapes (Holt 1967, p. 191). In due course features of Indonesian modern art took on the Western naturalistic style of art practice, and an idealised, romanticised style, dubbed by critics *Mooi Indie*.

Art communities were established by the Dutch in many cities during the colonial period and continued after Indonesia declared independence in 1945. However, the development of nationalism in the early part of the 20th century had a strong influence over other Indonesian artists who involved themselves in the struggle for nation building and freedom. They created a different style that illustrated daily life. They were named the PERSAGI.

**Colonial to Modern**

Portuguese traders in the middle of the 16th century made the first European contact with the Indonesian archipelago. Later, the Dutch, English, Danes and French followed toward the end of 16th century and early 17th century. In 1602, *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, came to Indonesia and established powerful economic control over Java. The Dutch held economic and political power until the Japanese took control in 1942-1945. Indonesia proclaimed its independence in August 1945 (Kartodirjo, Pusponegoro & Notosusanto 1990, pp. 29-47; Ricklefs 1981, pp. 21-28).

The Western way of life influenced only a limited number of people ‘The privileged few’ adopted Western culture through education and close contact with Western society. The Dutch colonial government, whose policies maintained and exploited the feudal system, privileged this class and used this upper level of society to control the peasant classes. In contrast, most of the common people still lived a traditional lifestyle virtually without any European education.

At the same time, facilitated by an efficient centralized administration, enterprises owned and managed by Westerners grew. The number of Dutch residing in the colony, including artists, increased especially in Java. They spread their knowledge to the Indonesian nobility and to the children of administrators privileged by the Dutch (Holt 1967, p.192).

Raden Saleh Syarif Bastaman - known as Raden Saleh – is recognized as being the first Indonesian painter to receive a western education. He was able to
speak Dutch, French, and German as well as English (Holt 1967: 192). Raden Saleh traveled to and lived in Europe for 29 years, in Amsterdam, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and also Algiers (Clark 1998, p.127; and see Holt 1967, p. 329).

Raden Saleh became a celebrity painter and after he returned to Java in 1851 he created a point of contact between Indonesian visual art and Europe (Holt 1967, p. 192). Nineteen of his works, together with other works from ten European and Indonesian painters, were exhibited in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in 1883 three years after Raden Saleh died. Some of Raden Saleh’s works subsequently became part of the collection of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fisher 1990, p. 43).

Raden Saleh’s works continue to attract historical attention, as well as high prices in the international market place. For example, in 1996 at Christie’s auction house in Singapore, his painting *The Deer Hunt* (1846) (Plate 1) sold for US$ 1,915,373 (Seno 1998, p.53). Although the painting was known as the ‘masterpiece’ of the auction, no one had ever expected such a high price. The buyer, an anonymous Indonesian national, paid three times more than the expected price (Bacani 1996). It was not only the highest price for a painting by Raden Saleh but also the highest for a Southeast Asian painting at this auction.

*The Deer Hunt* is one of Raden Saleh’s most symbolic paintings reflecting the struggle of life. Other paintings from this era include: *The Lion Hunt* (1841), *The Bull Hunt* (1851), and also *Fighting the Lion* (1870). In the 1880s during his residence in France, Raden Saleh was influenced by Horace Verne (1769-1857), a Romantic painter. They visited Algiers, North Africa and painted the wildlife in parts of the French colony.
In 1851 Raden Saleh painted for the palaces of Central Java, Yogyakarta and Mangkunegara. He was promoted by the Dutch as a symbol of the intelligence of the indigenous people who had been educated by the colonizer. There were no other painters, Dutch or indigenous, who could even get close to his reputation (Supangkat 1997, p. 24). One of his monumental works captures a moment of great historical drama (Plate 2) *Historisches Tableau, die Gefangennahmen des Javanischen Hauptling Diepo Negoro* (Historical Painting, The Arrest of Diepo Negoro, Javanese Leader) (1857). This painting depicted the moment when the Dutch captured Diponegoro outside his house, surrounding by his people. *Historisches Tableau, die Gefangennahmen des Javanischen Hauptling Diepo Negoro* and *Lion Hunt* are now in possession of the Presidential Palace, Jakarta. There are only about twenty of Raden Saleh’s paintings remaining in Indonesia (Mustika 1993, p.14).

Raden Saleh’s great talent in painting was recognized through the commissioning of works by the Javanese nobility. He used this privilege and his ability to socialize in the royal communities to earn his income. He managed his talent well as a craftsman (Dermawan 2003, p.46).
There was a long gap in the history of Indonesian painting after Raden Saleh passed away in 1880. The Dutch established the Bataviaasche Kunstkring, the Batavian Art Circle in 1902. This organization aimed to be a mediator for the cultural aspirations of the rich and the intellectual in Jakarta. The Bataviaasche Kunstkring held European painting exhibitions by artists, such as Pieter Ourborg, Jan Frank and Ernest Dezentje (Wisetrotomo 1998, p.16). The activities of Bataviaasche Kunstkring inspired indigenous artists to emulate European artistic traditions.

Many of the Indonesian landscape painters described by Supangkat as ‘realistic-ideal depiction of beautiful landscapes’ (Turner 1993, p.49), had become well known, such as Abdullah Suriosubroto (1878-1941), Mas Pirngadi (1865-1936) and Wakidi (1890-1979). Holt states that the Indonesian painters had even exceeded the quality of Dutch and other European naturalists who had come to the islands to paint ‘the beautiful Indies’ (Holt 1967, p.193). Abdullah, son of the nobleman Dr Wahidin Sudirohusodo who with others founded Budi Utomo⁹, studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Holland. Holt described Abdullah as ‘one outstanding representative’ of that genre (Holt 1967, p.193; Kusnadi 1976/77, p.148). He taught students his skills, including his famous son Basuki Abdullah (1914-1994). Basuki who was also educated abroad in Amsterdam, Paris and Rome, carried on the history

Plate 2. Raden Saleh, Historisches Tableau, die Gefangenahmen des Javanischen Hauptling Diepo Negoro (Historical Painting, The Arrest of Diepo Negoro, Javanese Leader) 1857

13
of Indonesian art through the late colonial period. His paintings portrayed not just landscapes, but also portraits. He painted both the beauty of the people (usually female models) and nature. Dutch scholar, Helena Spanjaard pointed out that the ‘beautiful Indies’ still existed through the work of Basuki Abdullah, who practised this type of art until his death in 1994 (Spanjaard c1988, p.109).

Art historian Agus Burhan has observed that painters that chose to represent the Mooi Indie genre could be recognized by their family background. They were the aristocrats and families that had been educated in the Western tradition. This in turn strongly influenced their life style. They desired for harmony, a term that was appropriate for the Mooi Indie theme (Burhan, M, pers. comm., 7 April 2003).

From the late 19th to early 20th century there were many money-making painters from the lower classes who produced landscape paintings by copying the Mooi Indie style in their studios (Supangkat 1997, p. 32). These artists emulated Raden Saleh and Basuki Abdullah and worked in the same romantic spirit but were considered to have inferior skills.

The late Sukarno, Indonesia’s first president, was one of the major collectors of Basuki’s paintings (Mustika 1993, pp. 38, 224). Basuki was well known by royal families, heads of states and high-ranking officials both in Europe and Asia. He lived for fifteen years in the Philippines as a Presidential Palace painter when Ferdinand Marcos was in power. Towards the end of colonialism (1930–1940) Basuki was the most distinguished Indonesian painter. He had many exhibitions in Indonesia and abroad. In 1984 in an interview he stated he produced around 10,000 paintings that were spread over twenty-two countries (Mustika 1993, p.40). Even today, his paintings continue to circulate in the art market: *Portrait of a Lady* (Plate 3) is one of Basuki’s paintings that was offered by *Larasati/Glerum* auction house in Jakarta 2003.
The art critic Agus Dermawan argues that in his life Basuki managed his role as an idealist painter, but he also knew how to make money. Unfortunately, he was killed by robbers who broke into his house in 1993 (Dermawan 2003, p.12). In an interview with Mustika, Basuki explained his strategy for survival. He said an artist must know the business of art and the art of business (Mustika 1993, p. 40). Using this statement I shall argue that Basuki, as well as Raden Saleh, used the privilege of socializing with the elite classes to earn money through their art.

Basuki’s contemporary, the artist and art critic Sudjojono, was impressed by Abdullah’s technical ability with paint but, on the other hand, he was critical of Abdullah’s subject matter. Sudjojono observed that Basuki’s paintings were technically beautiful but failed to express the soul of the artist. As he stated:

Recently, his painting is empty and soulless. These paintings are just symbols of monetary interest. If he does more, it will be very dangerous because he only does what the market or the public demand. In addition, if he chooses to do this, he is no longer an artist; he has become a merchant … (Sudjojono 2000, p. 26). 

Plate 3. Basuki Abdullah, Portrait of a Lady, (undated)
Quoting Sudjojono’s statement Supangka affirmed Sudjojono’s claim that Basuki’s painting was ‘the beautiful Indies’ type that merely expressed a notion of an ideal and peaceful life (Tuner 1993, p.49). In reality Indonesian society was suffering and very poor. This was a contradiction to the romanticism of Basuki’s painting. Sudjojono’s criticism was understood as a political message for national awareness. Basuki was fully aware of the stigma that was attached to him. He confessed that he was not confident enough to build his own museum, even though he had many historical works in his collection. However, in the late 1990s a museum dedicated to Basuki was built (Dermawan 2004, pp. 78-81).

By contrast, PERSAGI, the Union of Indonesian Painters, was orientated to depicting the realities of everyday life. The three most significant pioneers of PERSAGI were Sudjojono (1914 – 1986), Affandi (1907 – 1990) and Hendra Gunawan (1918 – 1983). They began to introduce a style that expressed their aesthetic ideas known as ‘jiwa ketok’ (Jv), (a visible soul). This was reflected in Sudjojono’s prominent statement: “the most important thing is that people can see our heart” (Sudjojono 2000, p. 10). Burhan, called the era of Sudjojono lebih banyak bicara (more articulated) both in the concept and in the artworks (Burhan, M, pers. comm., 7 April 2003).

Sudjojono argued that beauty was no longer important. The most important aspect of the paintings was the content or theme of the painting. High quality art, according to Sudjojono, was work that comes from daily life and is then processed through the life of the artist (Sudjojono 2000, p. 5). Sudjojono believed that artists must feel free to express themselves in their art.

One of his renowned paintings that illustrated the activity of daily life, describing ‘jiwa ketok’, is a painting in oil on canvas produced in 1941, Cap Go Meh, (The 15th) (Plate 4). This painting depicts ordinary everyday people celebrating Cap Go Meh, a ritual that takes place on the fifteenth day after the Imlek, the Chinese New Year, traditionally in February. In the painting people appear very joyful in the midst of their struggle for life.
Sudjojono inspired other artists to participate and respond to the conditions of their own country. His ideas were circulated by his followers when he declared that a free heart and spirit was more significant than any technique. PERSAGI paintings were to be evidence of the struggle of people to survive. The existence of PERSAGI was an indication of the growing awareness of nationalism in Indonesian culture (Maklai 1991, p.11). In 1993, a critic, the late Kusnadi, wrote in the exhibition catalogue *Indonesian Modern Art; Indonesian Painting Since 1945*, that a social realism that depicted the everyday life of ordinary people, not the aristocracy, had became the basis for most artists as a sign of national awakening (Kusnadi 1993, p.15). This was demonstrated by the artworks of Sudjojono and his colleagues in PERSAGI.

From 1942 to 1945 during the Second World War Indonesia was invaded by Japan. With the Japanese doctrine to build ‘Eastern’ culture and to develop the Great East Asia Nation, Japan launched the Triple A movement in April 1942. The Triple A represented *Jepang Cahaya Asia* (Japan the Light of Asia), *Jepang Pemimpin Asia* (Japan the Leader of Asia) and *Jepang Pelindung Asia* (Japan the Protector of Asia). Under this propaganda, Indonesians saw the Japanese as an ‘older brother’ who would lead the country to independence against colonization (Kartodirjo,
Pusponegoro & Notosusanto 1990, p.27; Fisher 1959, p.71). The Indonesian leader Sukarno and the other politicians welcomed the Japanese. Sukarno supported the Japanese policy because it was strongly resistant to Dutch colonization (Kartodirjo, Pusponegoro & Notosusanto 1990, pp. 16-17).

The Japanese introduced *romusha*, a Japanese term that referred to the army of volunteers recruited to build infrastructure such as bridges and other facilities. In reality people were forced to work like slaves with no food and no rest. Japan sent Indonesian *romusha* to Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia as slaves to build the infrastructures required for war (Kartodirjo, Pusponegoro Notosusanto 1990, p. 38). Japan used labourers and *romusha* employees for their own interest to win the Great Eastern Asia War (Oei 1992, p. 46). The conditions in which Indonesian people worked were inhuman. It is common knowledge that Indonesian people lived in terrible conditions during this period - worse than under Dutch colonization.

However, the Japanese occupation brought advantages to the Indonesian art world with the establishment of formal art education (Clark 1998, p. 162). In 1943 the Japanese founded *Pusat Tenaga Rakyat* (PUTERA), the Centre of People’s Power, lead by Sukarno\(^\text{12}\) to support artistic activities. Artists had started to form a close relationship with *Keimin Bunka Shideisjo*, the cultural section of PUTERA, in literature and the visual arts. Under Japanese rule, the government used Japanese art teachers as tutors in *Keimin Bunka Shideisjo* to teach ordinary people how to paint. They also facilitated exhibitions by providing a gallery. Technically the tutors were Indonesian painters, such as Affandi, Sudjojono and Agus Djaya (Anwar 1995, p. 30).

During this period the Japanese government gave more attention to the development of an indigenous modern art than the Dutch government. The Japanese government allocated space for Indonesian artists to learn about modern art. They did not force Indonesians to study Japanese traditions (Holt 1967, pp. 198-199). Between 1942 and 1944, *Keimin Bunka Shideisjo* held fourteen painting exhibitions. When *Keimin Bunka Sidheisjo* held an exhibition of paintings to support the Japanese Emperor’s birthday celebrations the Japanese government purchased nine paintings by Indonesian artists (Dermawan 2004, p. 50). On one occasion *Keimin Bunka*...
Shideisjo also gave awards for the best work. The theme for the competition was romusha. Affandi’s work was selected for nomination but it was refused by the Kempetai (the Japanese Military Police) because he drew the romusha as they appeared in reality, as human skeletons (Holt 1967, p. 200).

Ironically, even though the Japanese used PUTERA for propaganda purposes, Indonesian artists used PUTERA to build nationalism (Anwar 1995, p. 31). With the coming of Independence in 1945 sanggar-sanggar (studios) were founded such as Pusat Tenaga Pelukis Indonesia (Indonesian Painters’ Centre) (1945), Seniman Indonesia Muda (Young Indonesian Artists) (1946), Seni Rupa Masyarakat (Visual Art of Society) (1946) and Pelukis Rakyat (People’s Painters) (1947). In 1945 the Dutch tried to re-colonize Indonesia. Finally, in 1949 the independent Indonesia was recognized as the result of the Round Table Conference between Dutch and Indonesian representatives held in The Hague, the Netherlands. In the period of 1945-1949, those studios produced mainly anti-Dutch and revolutionary posters depicting war themes ordered by politicians (Holt 1967, p. 201).

In summary, Raden Saleh, after receiving his education from the Dutch colonizers, started creating a painting style that was a ‘symbol of harmony’ in the 19th century. His style inspired artists such as Abdullah Suriosubroto in the 20th century and passed to his son Basuki Abdullah. At the same time during Dutch colonization there developed a visual art that was based on the spirit of humanism and patriotism. The spirit of nationalism became stronger under Japanese occupation that in some ways was more oppressive than Dutch colonization. However Japanese occupation also led to the modernization of Indonesian art. As a result of Dutch plans to re-colonize Indonesia after the defeat of the Japanese, Indonesian artists established sanggar-sanggar, studios that produced anti-Dutch posters, which responded to this second wave of colonization in 1945-1949. Indonesia was finally acknowledged as a free country by the United Nations in 1949.

Old Order and New Order

This section examines the way the visual arts have been influenced by the politics and economy of Indonesia in the period after independence. I place the
Indonesian art world into a wider social, political and historical context. As Susie Koay observes, in Southeast Asia “…culture and art, like all other activities cannot stand aloof from the economic and political, but must be included in them…”(Koay in Sabaphaty 1996, p.72). In a survey of Vietnamese contemporary art, Koay asserts that the history of a nation that is marked by wars and its struggle for Independence makes the theme of nationalism and revolution most dominant in its art (Koay in Sabapathy 1996, p.69).

Groups of artists, based in Yogyakarta were supported by Sukarno to build a nationalistic ideology using art as the vehicle. Artworks such as posters and banners were prominent in the streets of the then capital Yogyakarta. When the Indonesia capital moved back to Jakarta, Yogyakarta was known as the city for revolutionary artists. When political upheaval took place after Independence it influenced the studios greatly. Artists joined different studios depending on their political beliefs. About fifteen art workers founded LEKRA in Jakarta on August 17, 1950. Included in this group were DN Aidit (the leader of Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), The Indonesian Communist Party); MS Ashar, AS Dharta and Nyoto. A number of radical studios for instance Sanggar Bumi Tarung (the Fighting Earth Studio) belonged to LEKRA.

The domination of PKI in the Sukarno regime raised the popularity of LEKRA as well. LEKRA’s orientation was toward Marxism. The artworks of Indonesian artists, such as Sudjojono and Affandi believed in kerakyatan, (orientation to people), as practised by Soviet Union artists (Dermawan 2004, p.13; Foulcher 1986, p. 42). Hersri Setiawan, for example, quoted Basuki Reksobowo that art and politics are inseparable (Setiawan 2005).

LEKRA articulated their concept of cultural struggle in its Mukadimah, (Manifesto). This manifesto accepted different styles as long as they remained committed to truth and justice. Later there was conflict within LEKRA’s membership around misunderstandings with this manifesto. Included in this conflict was Politik adalah panglima (Politic is commander) (Dermawan 2004, p.15; Bujono 2005, p. 85; Miklouho-Maklai 1998) the major slogan introduced by Nyoto in his speech to the Kongres Nasional Pertama (the First National Congress) in 1959 in Solo, Central
Java. In this speech Nyoto presented a self-confident counter to accusations that LEKRA artists failed in their art because they refused to separate aesthetics and politics. Politics were seen as the major way of shaping the new Indonesia culture (Foulcher 1986, p. 107-112).

One of the PKI’s statements in the 1955 national election campaign was that “for artists, voting PKI means freedom to create and an improvement in working conditions” (Foulcher 1986, p. 43). The production of painting and sculpture, unlike literature for example, is an expensive undertaking, quite apart from questions of an artist’s day-to-day income. LEKRA offered financial support and a network to support the practise and the creative expression of artists (Foulcher 1986, p.43).

Some groups were leftist, like *Seniman Indonesia Muda* (SIM), the Young Indonesian Artists, and *Pelukis Rakyat* (People’s Painters). However, others such as the *Pelukis Rakyat* studio were not involved in politics even though they had a *rakyat* (people) oriented ideology. Later the studio became engaged in politics when the members embraced a communist ideology. This willingness to engage with politics could happen, as Burhan observes, for economic reasons as artists need a foundation to support their daily life (Burhan, M, pers.comm., 7 April 2003).

As Dermawan has suggested, the vision centred on politics and nationalism was still dependent upon economic support. For example, Sudjojono with his *SIM* organization in Solo, Madiun and Yogyakarta received allowances for members. These allowances were given by the government through an institution called *Biro Perjuangan* (Struggle Bureau) (Dermawan 2003, pp. 48-51) which aimed to help painters be independent and avoid becoming commercial (Dermawan 2000). Later, when Sudjojono had a different view and he was no longer able to make SIM part of his political beliefs the government stopped his allowance (Dermawan 2003). As a result, Dermawan said many painters entered the art market, including Otto Djaya, Hendra Gunawan and even Sudjojono himself. Some of the paintings (Plate 5), such as *Seruni*, (Chrysanthemum), painted by Sudjojono in 1963, later turned up in international auction houses such as Christie’s in the 1990s. I shall argue that *Seruni* was not part of Sudjojono’s ‘*jiwa ketok*’, because it does not depict daily life. These artists did not always paint according to their political beliefs.
All this happened before the ‘new era’. This new era of dramatic change in the Indonesian political climate was called the ‘New Order’, a term used to describe the time after the fall of President Sukarno in 1965, until the fall of President Suharto in 1998. Any effort to mix politics and the arts was viewed with suspicion by the Suharto regime as somehow associated with the now-banned PKI.

Consequently artists did not want to talk about politics anymore. The researcher Brita L. Miklouho-Maklai has called this era, kebudayaan bisu, (culture of silence) (Miklouho-Maklai 1998, p.24). FX Harsono, the outspoken artist, stated that the ‘silence’ to create art with a social or politic theme was as a result of politic trauma (Harsono 1992, p. 62). Even though the government never banned or issued a directive banning the type of art which described poverty-stricken masses in their
works, many of the painters and sculptors who had joined LEKRA or worked under it were arrested and imprisoned (Harsono 1993, p.52)

As evidence, some of the works of sculptor and painter Amrus Natalsya whose works were collected by President Sukarno and other famous collectors was destroyed. He was then jailed for five years as a member of LEKRA (Sidharta 2000). Another artist, the late Hariyadi Selobinangun, a sculptor and painter whose works were also part of President Sukarno’s collection, had been told to stop progress on a major work, a large relief, with the figure of Sukarno as a central theme. He was asked to change the figure of Sukarno but he refused and left the artwork unfinished. Later, after the fall of Suharto in 1998, people restored the work that had remained covered in moss for years (Larasari, l, pers. comm., 12 April 2003).  

In the period from 1966-1975 at the start of the New Order abstract expressionism, based on personal contemplation and spiritual belief, together with a new decorative art and an exploration of traditional arts flourished and dominated Indonesian modern art. As Harsono noted, this happened because in the Old Order era abstract style was banned because of its stigma as ‘Western art’ (Harsono 1992, p.62). For individual artists who were not involved with the Old Order power of the Sukarno regime it was an opportunity for them to express their individualism. This included artists who joined with non-LEKRA studios, such as Lembaga Seniman Budayawan Muslim Indonesia (LESBUMI); Institute of Indonesian Moslem Artists and Cultural Figures affiliated to Nahdatul Ulama, the Moslem Party; Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional (LKN); the National Institute of Culture attached to Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) and the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Maklai 1998, p.15). The history of visual arts in Indonesia therefore moved from the domination of nationalist art against Dutch colonization, through social-realism, to individual aesthetic expression either in abstract-expressionism or decorative art.

In 1975 there was a big response to a painting competition held in the Yogyakarta art school Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia (ASRI), the Indonesian Academy of Visual Art (now Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI), the Indonesian Institute of Arts). The judges had given the award to a new decorative style of painting. Some vocal students from ASRI, Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB), the Institute of
Technology Bandung and Institut Kesenian Jakarta (IKJ), the Jakarta Art Institute, suspected that success in the competition was linked to the marketability of the work (see also Competitions in chapter two). They petitioned the judges to accept a greater degree of pluralism in the visual arts. This event has become known as Desember Hitam, (Black December). Students who joined this movement, particularly those from ASRI, were suspended indefinitely from the institution. By contrast, ITB and IKJ put the petitions on poster boards.

Some of ASRI’s students including Sudarisman, Suatmadji, Agustinus Sumargo, Samikun, I Gusti Bagus Widjaya, Wardoyo, Kristianto and Agus Dermawan T reacted with another exhibition, called Nusantara, Nusantara (Archipelago, Archipelago). They wanted ASRI’s lecturers to be more open to criticism. However, instead of the lecturers offering discussion, the students had to sign a letter of forgiveness, if they didn’t want to get ‘hard punishment’. Only Dermawan refused to sign the letter. As a consequence, Dermawan had to leave ASRI (Supangkat, Sumartono, J Irianto, Zaelani & Marianto 2000, p.31). Then he became known as a critic.

Desember Hitam (Black December) stimulated the establishment of a Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru (GSRB), the New Art Movement (from 1975 to 1979). Students began to create free artworks. They developed many kinds of artistic expression including multimedia and installation art and also socio-political themes. Significant members of this group held several exhibitions (Turner 1993, p.55; Supangkat, Sumartono, Irianto, Zaelani & Marianto 2000, pp. 27-36). Even though GSRB only survived for a couple years the spirit of resistance inspired many contemporary artists. Beginning in the 1990s many Indonesian artists were involved in international exhibitions as a result of the emergence of contemporary art forms such as installation.

In 1966 the New Order of the Suharto regime began rehabilitating Indonesia’s economy by introducing their economic policies. As a result a new wealthy class emerged which created a bigger and deeper gap between the rich and the poor (Suryadinata 1998, p. 99). Also, as affirmed in Suharto’s autobiography, Sukarno was shown to have had ambitions to be a world figure. As a consequence he focused only
on politics, even though the domestic economy was collapsing\textsuperscript{15} (Dwipayana and Ramadhan 1989, p. 180). By contrast the New Order government followed economic growth from the West as a model for development. Economic growth, which began with the new Suharto regime slowly opening up to foreign investment, created a growing middle class\textsuperscript{16} in Indonesia. By the 1980s, the state was being forced to rely more heavily on private domestic capital as a source of investment and revenue. It was also dealing with a domestic capitalist class of much greater substance than it was in 1965 (Robison 1986, p. 395). In the 1981 to 1990 period growth slowed after oil export prices fell. However, a series of policy reforms designed to improve incentives for non-oil export producers led to accelerated output growth after 1987, and this continued into the 1990s (Booth 1998, pp. 86-87).

In summary, in the Old Order era, artists engaged in politics and this was reflected in the sanggar they joined: such as LEKRA, the cultural section of PKI. The domination of PKI as a party supported LEKRA as well. When the Old Order collapsed and changed to the New Order era, artists involved in politics, especially those related to LEKRA, found themselves in danger. Many artists and politicians, as well as ordinary people, disappeared and were killed and jailed without trial.\textsuperscript{17} Human rights was no concern. Instead the New Order regime focused on economic development. The government depended on foreign investment and domestic conglomerates. As a consequence, a big gap emerged between the rich and the poor which put the nation into an unstable condition both in economic and political terms.

The \textit{Desember Hitam} movement was the motivation for the GSRB, a new vision for Indonesian art. The GSRB endorsed new art forms such as installation, and socio-political art. Even though GSRB only survived for a short time, in the following decades, the spirit of GSRB lent support for many artists who were then recognized in international art events.

Conclusion

Raden Saleh, Basuki Abdullah and S. Sudjojono worked in different social and political circumstances and therefore they developed different philosophies about art. The important contribution made by their artworks, both commercial and non-
commercial, is recognized today as a part of the historical journey of Indonesian art. Their artworks are still in demand today. Tracing the development of Indonesian art it is clear that there has been a strong connection between socio-political human factors and visual art expression. Artists have made a great response to politics, the economy, society and culture through various forms of artistic expression.

The politics of the Old Order and the economics of the New Order led to very different responses from artists. Some artists were involved in politics through art for propaganda because the government supported their livelihoods. Others avoided the political scene and struggled to sell their work as craft. They had the opportunity to express themselves in the New Order. The New Order, focusing on economic development, has given more opportunity to new rich businesses which support the art industry. The progress of modern art in Indonesia has also been influenced by Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru (GSRB), the New Art Movement in the 1970s, which was followed by mushrooming of galleries, art dealers and museums and increased public recognition.

Notes

2. The name Indonesia was first used by PI (Perhimpunan Indonesia), (the Indonesian Association), an Indonesian political organization in the 1920s, and then the first time ‘Indonesia’ was used for the nation was as a result of the Youth Declaration in October 1928 in Batavia (now Jakarta). The Indonesian Association formulated the vision of three commitments, which were then known as the Sumpah Pemuda, (Youth’s Oath; that they belonged to one undivided Indonesian nation, that Indonesia was their motherland, and that Indonesian was the common language.
3. Raden is the name given by Royalty to refer to a person who is part of a noble family.
4. There are varying reports on the date of Raden Saleh’s birth, (Sudarso 1993, pp.85-96), I have chosen the date by John Clark who lists Raden Saleh’s important years. (Clark 1998, pp.125-127).
5. The chairman of PERSAGI was Agus Djaja. The members were, among others: S. Sudjojono, Abdul Salam, Sumitro, Sudibio, Sukirno, Suromo, Surono, Setyoso, Herbert Hutagalung, Syuaib and Emiria Sunasa. Sudjojono graduated from Taman Siswa, The Youth Garden, a progressive nationalist private school, which promoted critical and free thought amongst its students (Fischer 1990, pp. 199, 202, 204, 209, 217).
6. “Apa yang kami namakan ‘seni rupa modern Indonesia’ bukanlah lanjutan dalam bentuk apa pun juga jadi bukan transformasti dari seni rupa tradisional, baik seni rupa tradisional salah satu maupun semua kelompok etnis.”
7. In Den Haag in 2002, Kwik Kian Gie, economist and Minister for the National Development Plan who was invited by the Dutch to give a speech for the celebration of 400 years of VOC, stated that the Western form of government created by VOC was benalu yang menghisap, (a parasite) http://www.indonesia.nl/articles.php?rank=6&art_cat_id=20&status=archive Retrieved 25/08/2005.
8. The number of Indigenous students at High School level, AMS (Algemene Middelbare School) and HBS (Hogere Burger School) were limited. In the entire nation there were only eight schools. In 1940 there were 1,786 Indigenous and 5,688 European students (Anwar 1995, p. 1).

9. An association of Javanese aristocrats which aimed to protect and promote high Javanese culture. In 1908 students of the School for Training Native Doctors in Batavia established an association, Budi Utomo (Noble Endeavor), which is considered by many historians to be the first modern political organization in Indonesia.


11. “Yang paling penting orang melihat hati kita.”

12. In 1963 another cultural movement, Manifes Kebudayaan, (the Culture Manifesto), emerged in opposition to the LEKRA manifesto (Muljanto & Ismail 1995).

13. Personal communication with Ireng Larasari (Hariyadi’s daughter).

14. Involved in this movement were Bonyong Muni Ardi, Dede Eri Supria, FX Harsono, Hardi, Jim Supangkat, Nanik Mirna, Nyoman Nuarta, Pandu Sudewa, Ris Purwono, and others.


16. Robison stated in the 1950s and 1960s that Indonesia’s middle class and its bourgeoisie were small and without political and economic influence of any real substance. Also he affirmed that an important aspect of Indonesia’s social structure has been the absence of a large landowning class, as in much of Europe and Latin America, where they dominated culture and politics and formed alliances with bureaucrats and the rising bourgeoisie (Robison & Goodman 1997, pp. 79-81).

17. It is estimated that between 500,000 and 2 million people were slaughtered in the massacre that had been known as G30S (30 September Movement).
Chapter Two
The Phenomena of the Boom in Painting Prices

In 2003, the Indonesian painter, Djoko Pekik stated:

My principle is that people should not be subjugated by material possessions
(Pekik, D, pers.comm.,14 April 2003).

This chapter explores the market for modern Indonesian art which has grown as a result of economic development. Together with economic progress, the art market has grown rapidly since 1987. It was stimulated by the booming price of paintings in the United States in the 1980s, particularly by the record price achieved by Van Gogh’s *Sunflowers* paid by a Japanese businessman in March 1987. The number of galleries in Indonesia has increased rapidly and works of art have been sold for extremely high prices. As there are no clear standards for appraising prices, art purchases have been based on speculation. Moreover, since the economic crisis in 1997/1998, which led to the collapse of many businesses, there has been a change in the way the rich view visual art. They believe artworks deserve to be part of their lifestyle.

Art Boom

This section explores the development of the art boom. As the nation was a centre of attention during the period of economic development Indonesia had access to the global market. The art boom in the United States of America in the 1980s also influenced the domestic market. Indonesian collectors searched for Indonesian art or paintings with Indonesian themes. Their motive was mainly to treat the arts as an investment.

From time to time throughout the last 350 years there have been ‘art booms’ since the first art ‘boom’ in Britain in the 1680s. However, since World War II, society has gradually placed more emphasis on the visual arts and people have
become more aware of the speculative benefits of art. This shift has been attributed to better education and a more efficient system of distributing price information (Conklin 1994, p. 432). Beginning in 1975 through to the early 1980s art prices increased little by little. Then in 1985 the price of art, in particular Impressionist painting, began to grow more rapidly. Soon after the price of other artworks rapidly followed. This period was known as the ‘boom’ in art (Heilbrun & Gray 2001, p. 165).

Nancy Sullivan has pointed out that by the mid - 1980s, artists and art professionals had ‘become polarized by the idea that money was the driving force, even the focal idea of an art system’ (Sullivan 1995, p. 266). It was the Japanese corporation Yasuda Fire and Marine Insurance that purchased Van Gogh’s *Sunflowers* (Plate 6), in March 1987 for US$ 39.9 million (Conklin 1994, p. 391). This record price for a European painting was a beginning of the art market boom in the Asia Pacific region. The impact of the price that the Japanese paid for *Sunflowers* and the economic blossoming that stimulated price increases for painting in the region made sure *Sunflowers* became icon in the art market.

The political observer Leo Suryadinata states that since the 1950s Indonesia, like most Third World nations, has had to stabilize its domestic economic and political systems. When the Old Order ended and the New Order of Suharto commenced, the urgent task of the new regime was to rehabilitate Indonesia’s economy. Economic development therefore became the major objective of the Suharto government (Suryadinata 1998, p. 121). In his 1976 state address, Suharto admitted ‘the growth of the total and per capita gross national product (GNP) does not necessarily mean that every member of the Indonesian society will have the same improved standard of living’ (Suryadinata 1998, p. 120). In reality, the only groups that improved their standard of living were the groups who were close to his power. During his authoritarian regime Suharto used his power to enrich himself, as well as his family and his cronies. This continued until he stepped down in 1998.

The development of economic progress included a number of factors: a powerful growth in domestic and foreign investment, a shift from the public to the private sector, and a move toward an outward-looking economy increasingly based on low-cost manufactured exports. The numbers of skyscrapers, new housing estates, and shopping malls could be seen as indicators of wealth. Also credit card use since the 1990s indicated the increasing development of a middle class (Robison 1986, 1995; Robison & Goodman 1996, pp. 79-80; Booth 1998, p. 77).

Although in reality the art boom started in 1987 some preconditions were apparent in the mid 1970s. This coincided with the New Order further opening up the national economy to global markets\(^3\) and foreign investment. The result is that Indonesia’s GDP has increased, along with a widening social and economic gap as some benefited more than others from the rapid economic growth (Gunawan, Priyanto, Sukapti & Nuraini 1999).

This phenomenon was not restricted to Indonesia but can be seen in all the so-called ‘tiger economies’ of Southeast and Eastern Asia that were looking towards the ‘miracle’ of Japan\(^4\) as the cultural and economic model to follow. The *Arts of Asia* edition of May-June 1999 reported that since the late 1980s, the booming economies of the Asian region facilitated the conversion of art into an investment commodity in countries such as Indonesia and the Philippines along with the growth of collectors.
and galleries servicing the art market (Jay 1999: pp 128-135). In other countries in the region it has shown that the market flourished. In China the art market has been strong since late 1991 (Chang 1993). In Thailand, the art historian Poshyananda observed that the art industry has also developed in 1990s. "Artists, dealers and collectors have been smiling as the recent art boom has meant cash flows and sold-out shows” (Poshyananda 1993).

As noted, the growing sense of history that accompanied the purchase of an iconic artist’s works such as Van Goghs, could be seen in the art market. For Singaporean-Malaysian art, the artists who began to sell well are Lee Man Fong (1913-1988) and Georgette Chen (1906-1993). Their oil-on canvas works are very much sought after. In the category of contemporary-modern Indonesian artists, there are Hendra Gunawan (1918-1983), Affandi (1907-1990), Sudjojono (1914-1986). Among painters from the Philippines are Amorsolo (1892-1972) and Ang Kiu Kok (1931-2005). Rising prices for Chinese artists included the work of Luis Chan (born 1905), Yu Bun (born 1905) and Lu Shou-kun (1919-75).

The control of global wealth was no longer the monopoly of European-American businesses. Sotheby’s, Christie’s and other international auction houses were now focusing their marketing on the Asia-Pacific region. The art boom in the international market drove the growth of galleries in Indonesia. There was a lag of some five years, however. Indonesian businessmen, trading overseas and gaining international experience returned with an increasing awareness of art as an investment (Supangkat 1997, 58c-d). Sanento Yuliman asserts that the main reason for this explosion of the painting boom was the demand generated by new buildings and banks in Jakarta eagerly acquiring artworks to decorate offices (Hasan 2001, pp. 110-112).
The cartoon above (Plate 7), which appeared in *Pikiran Rakyat*, a daily newspaper in Bandung, West Java, shows a man entering a prestigious art gallery, displaying the ‘boom’ paintings. Without paying any attention to the individual paintings, he orders the gallery employee to “send to my house and my office, two paintings the only condition being….that they are expensive ones” (*Kirim saja ke rumah dan ke kantor dua lukisan pokoknya yang……asal mahal sajaalah*). This type of cartoon, criticizes the ‘capital owner’ who wants to build their status with the possession of artworks. In particular for those demanding high prices, they do not care if they really like the work or not. It is merely a symbol of their wealth.

As Alison Taylor points out the status of artists over the last few decades has also changed as art is produced for sale. ‘The artist’s success can be measured in monetary terms and they can acquire status in the community through their success as an individual’ (Taylor 1991, p. 24). Further evidence of the art boom is the increasing number of exhibitions since 1985. From mid 1985 to mid 1986 there were no less than 160 exhibitions held in the main art centres of Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and Denpasar (‘Kritik Seni Indonesia Dalam Perangkap Penjaja Karya’, 1999, p.5). Since 1993 there have been at least 120 fine art exhibitions per year in Jakarta, almost double the previous number (Dermawan 1993, p. 61).
In the 1980s, the Indonesian government promoted a policy that saw the non-oil export sector as an important pathway to Indonesian economic growth. As a result, the development of a manufacturing and industrial non-oil sector was attractive to foreign investment (Robison 1986). This investment required local partners who created a rich business class, locally called the ‘conglomerates’. They needed to spend money on art to support their status and promote their business.

Beginning in 1985, the Indonesian mass media increased the flow of information from overseas about art trading. This new knowledge fueled the growth of the business of painting, both in its production and its consumption. In 2003 more than 1000 people claimed the status of artist, the majority of those being painters (Dermawan 2003, p. 40). Many people started to invest their money in paintings. As the poet Sutardji CB observed this is the new reality that cultural workers must face in their contemporary life (Sutardji 2000). However, it is important to note that many artists’ lives have improved considerably since the mid 1980s. The demand for paintings is high and the income obtained is an advantage for those artists in demand.

Critic and lecturer at the Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB), The Institute of Technology Bandung, Rizky Zaelani, has observed that in the 1980s Indonesian art practice was split into two streams. Firstly, there were art practices that produced artworks representing the establishment and picturing the prosperity of national economic progress. This was known as the Indonesian ‘boom in painting’. Secondly, art that was perceived as being critical and with a strong commitment to socio-political issues. This second stream was not recognized. In the 1990s however both forms of art practice progressed in parallel with the globalization of the economy (Zaelani 2001, pp. 12-30).

Jim Supangkat, an Indonesian critic who graduated from ITB, observes that there was a sudden and fast growing art market in the late 1980s, a result of the booming prices for painting in the United States of America. The art business was not based on real knowledge of investment: high prices were launched speculatively by art dealers (Turner 1993, p.54). Furthermore, Supangkat states:

Art, especially the art of painting, was widely recognized to a degree never seen before in Indonesian history. But this surge of activity cannot be said to have brought real progress in art. The appreciation of art in general is still
poor. There has been almost no achievement in nonpainting art expression since nearly all of the galleries tend to exhibit commercial decorative paintings (Turner 1993, p.54).

In Indonesia, as Sanento Yuliman argues, it is difficult to understand why certain artists become more popular than the others in the market. This is because critical standards have not yet developed. The artistic standards require information about the artworks, the painter, and the interpretation of the artwork (Hasan 2001, p.110). These standards have not developed in Indonesia because artists and buyers have limited knowledge about the Indonesian art world. As a result, there no basis for the critical judgment of painting and therefore there is no basis for determining the price. When a collector buys a painting from a particular artist, it does not mean that the artist has a good reputation. Collectors often favour certain paintings because of the market interest and the artist’s personality.

The critic, Hendro Wiyanto raised the issue of quality in the work of Nasirun, a young painter who is in demand:

His name now appears like a ‘trade mark’ in the Indonesian market for paintings. For the collector and kolekdol (art dealer), the most important thing seems to be that the work is by Nasirun, no matter what the quality (Wiyanto 2000, p. 149).

Oei Hong Djien, a reputable Indonesian collector seen as a mentor by many new collectors, argues that the interest in painting depends on the artists themselves. According to him, there are artists who are capable of ignoring the influence of market demands, but there are some, who are compromised by market demands. Another collector, Simon Tan Kian Bing (Tan KB, Simon 2002), argues that most Indonesian collectors bought paintings for investment. That means they anticipate selling them for a higher price in the future just as businesses speculate in shares. However, Agung Tobing, one of those businessmen who turned to collecting art claims, “I chase the money not from the painting but in the shares” (“Kanvas-kanvas Milyaran Rupiah”, 2002, pp.67-80). According to Agung his collection is just a hobby and not an investment like his activities in the share market. These statements show collectors have diverse motives for acquiring art; they collect not just as an investment. Likewise, as Oei mentions, artists have various reasons for selling their
work. For some it is important to maintain their reputation even though this means a reduced market. It always depends on the situation that shaped the artist’s character.

In summary, since Indonesia entered the global trade, the business in arts became popular as the new rich had money to spend on art. The main reason was to use art as a status symbol. There was a tendency for the new collectors to follow senior collectors as mentors. The result was that the selection of paintings sometimes depended on the collecting trend of senior collectors, to confirm that they also had knowledge of art. As long as the price is high, they buy to increase their social capital. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that certain artists will be in very high demand. Some artists were able to avoid making art for collectors, for others this was not possible.

Market Demand

In this section I want to examine what is the greatest demand in the market in term of medium and theme. Also this section examines if art competitions influenced in the market demand.

Medium

Painting, particularly oil painting has been praised as the ‘noble’ medium, whereas other mediums have been ignored (Hasan 2001, p.118). The value given to oil paintings reflects the influence of Western artistic traditions. The problem is that collectors are all of the same opinion; they all collect oil painting on canvas. Visual art is then defined only as oil painting. Take for example the sell out exhibition of Agung Mangu Putra’s paintings at Bentara Budaya Jakarta in September 2003. This indicates that collectors still like to buy paintings. Mangu Putra exhibited sixteen oil paintings of which only four were not for sale. Although there was discussion in the media about this exhibition the same response occurred in his next exhibition in Ubud on December 28, 2003. The exhibition was a great success; one of his paintings was in high demand by tens of collectors. This indicates that collectors were in favour of Mangu Putra’s works, just as they liked the work of other painters such as Nasirun, Sukadana and also Heri Dono.
Exhibitions held in galleries display more oil on canvas than any other medium: such as watercolor, ink or pencil on paper, printmaking, ceramic, or sculpture. While auction houses in Indonesia, such as Balindo make available small pieces of sculpture at their auctions they place them into the category of painting and art collections. The late Widayat, the Indonesian painter and sculptor, confirmed that compared to painters, a sculptor needs more time to make artworks. A painter can make a masterpiece in only a few hours, and can demand fantastic prices (Widayat 1995). In the international market it is also the case that sculpture is not really admired. However, the number of sculpture collectors is increasing (Kasperek 2002). The sculpture market experienced a huge boom from 1998 to 2002, with record prices recorded at auction for sculpture by Rodin, Matisse, Brancusi and Giacometti (Loots 2003). By 1995 Indonesian collectors also began to focus on sculpture (Anusapati 1995).

However, for young sculptors the situation is still difficult. Basrizal Bara, a young sculptor who graduated from ISI Yogyakarta in 2000, has found that the majority of exhibitions in galleries are of paintings. Bara does not yet dare stage a solo exhibition because the cost of making sculpture and the cost for gallery hire is relatively expensive. He is also not certain if collectors are interested in his work (Bara, B, pers.comm., 1 April 2003).

Watercolor, ink and pastel technique (works on paper) are also not popular. Burhan claims that drawing has diminished in importance as a result of the boom in painting. A boom that was not related to creativity or the appreciation of art but related to the incredible rise in the price of paintings (Burhan 2004, pp.66-71)

Similarly, there are only few Indonesian collectors interested in collecting installation art. Heri Dono’s work is well liked by local collectors and commands high prices. But collectors only buy his paintings, not his installations. However, in foreign countries, well-known museums and art galleries collect his installation work. One reason why Indonesian collectors are not interested in buying installation art is because of the size of the artwork: the space they have available is limited. Also it is assumed that the concept of contemporary installations is much more sophisticated and therefore more difficult to understand.
In the mid 1990s, Oei started to collect installation works and objects. The growing appreciation of socio-political themes has influenced broad-minded collectors. These collectors, including Oei, are aware that Indonesian artists are becoming involved in various international art events. These events allow them to improve their talent and engage with developments in the global art world, such as installation work.

In summary, painting as oil on canvas, has proved the major focus of collectors compared to other mediums. They consider that painting is easy to sell and will reach higher prices in the near future. Painting therefore becomes a promising investment. However, beginning in the 1990s, collectors have begun to show interest in other mediums, such as sculpture and installation. A growing appreciation and the impact of the international art world will give global collectors more understanding.

Themes

In the 19th century, Raden Saleh starts the themes of landscape, animals and portraiture. A century later, Abdullah Surio Subroto and his son Basuki Abdullah then popularized the genre of Mooi Indie (the beautiful Indies). Basuki’s works are good examples of the landscapes and photographic themes based on paintings that are still popular at auctions. From the 1930s to the 1960s, realism was considered to be the basic mainstream style. However, artists who did not want to be involved in socio-political themes chose a more decorative style of painting.

Painters working in this style felt they found a position of legitimization. That is, decorative painting could be a promising alternative style to that of realism. As a result many painters chose the decorative style. From this trend an assumption can be drawn that the decorative style is different because it offers painters greater freedom (Wisetrotomo 1998). From the 1950s on decorative art therefore became the major trend. This trend has continued to be a favourite style for the most famous Indonesian painters. In the decorative style it seemed that painters found broader themes, compared to realism, to express and present their visual ideas. Artworks resulting from this style often take the form of stylized objects or artworks derived from the
painter’s imagination. The booming of painting prices in Indonesia has also been stimulated by the decorative style.


Srihadi Soedarsono’s paintings are an example. With their decorative style and themes, such as *Penari Legong* (*Legong Dancers*) or *Bedhaya Ketawang* his paintings have become a target for collectors. One of the paintings, *Two Dancers*, illustrating Balinese dancers, was made in 1975. At auction in Jakarta, three of his paintings illustrating figures of dancers were sold for 2.3 billion *rupiah* (see *Balindo* catalogue 2001, 2002). Srihadi Soedarsono’s paintings are always in demand by the public. His painting *Dinamika Legong (The Dynamic of Legong)*, from 1997 was auctioned for 520 million *rupiah* in 2002. Another painting of the same title produced in 1996 was sold for 381 million *rupiah* in 2003. The price increase for Srihadi’s work is indicated by the size of the painting. In 1998, *the Spirit of Bedaya Ketawang* was sold for 190 million *rupiah* at a 2001 auction. A work of the same title sold at 2003 auction for 650 million *rupiah*. Initially it may seem that there is a very significant price gap between the two paintings with the same title. But the second painting was slightly larger and shows that the market increased in value.
Social themes that focus on human social issues always emerge at some point in each generation. Without exception political situations affect the works produced by painters. Oei affirmed that the visual art market has recently become interested in social themes. This is evidenced by the result of auctions and exhibitions in this style, while decorative and realist work is still very much in demand. Social themes find their context in real issues and respond to the politics of their time.

The 1960’s and 1970’s were marked by the development of various kinds of abstract art (Yuliman 1990/91). The abstract work by Popo Iskandar is still very much in demand (Dermawan 2000). Along with abstract art Islamic themes (calligraphic style), and surrealist art developed as well (Wisetrotomo 1998, p.32). Ivan Sagito is recognized as one of the leaders of Surrealist work. He now commands the top prices. One of his works sold for 800 million rupiah at auction (Sagito, I, pers.comm., 8 April 2003). The calligraphic style has a long history in Indonesia; it is
as old as the history of Islam in this country. In the 1970s there was a revival of Islamic calligraphy as an artistic form in Indonesia, as proven by numerous exhibitions during that time (Yahya 1980). Until the late 1970s calligraphy painting was also booming. AD Pirous, a scholar and artist from Bandung, is representative of this style, among others. His work is one of the most sought after at auctions nowadays.

In summary, Indonesian collectors acquired paintings in the form of oil on canvas, more than any other medium. Their motive is to collect and sell again in the near future at a higher price. However, as time passes collectors are beginning to have more knowledge and appreciation of mediums other than painting. For subject matter the decorative style is still in demand together with the styles of Realism, Abstraction and Surrealism. The changing politics in the nation has also generated a response by artists who have introduced social and political themes.

Art Competitions

In this section, I investigate the question of whether if there is a significant connection between competitions, such as the Philip Morris Indonesian Art Award (PMIAA) and Indofood Art Award, and market driven prices by the winners. The results of these competitions indicate that some participants were inspired by or, adapted the works of the previous finalists as a model. Also I examine the themes that are evident in the works entered in these competitions.

I first looked at the situation in countries such as Thailand as an entry point to understand how competitions are involved in the artist’s strategies for developing a demand for new work. As Posyananda observes, Thai artists who want their works to be accepted by corporate patrons must be successful in a prestigious art competition. Once the circle of active collectors recognizes them it appears that they are heading down the road to financial success and critical acclaim (Posyananda 1992, p. 174). However, in his view it was necessary for artists to compromise to create ‘safe’ art. To create ‘safe’ art means not including erotic, social protest, political, anti religious or anti-government themes or any experimental work such as conceptual art and installation.
The Philip Morris Indonesian Art Award (PMIAA) supported by the ASEAN Secretariat and 33 national art institutions throughout the region was introduced in Indonesia in 1994. It has become one of the most popular competitions to gain attention of the painters. Compared to the local competitions conducted by art institutions with very small prizes, such as the Pratisara Affandy Award, PMIAA had a great response with approximately 800 painters participating selected from more than one thousand entries. This annual painting competition is conducted in cooperation with Yayasan Seni Rupa Indonesia (YSRI), the Indonesian Fine Arts Foundation.

It is believed that this competition is one of the prestigious events that makes a great painter and is related to the rising price for the painter’s work in the future. A young Balinese artist, Mangu Putra (who used to work for an advertising company) committed himself to being a full time artist after his painting was chosen as one of the nominations in the PMIAA in 1994. His career as a painter has blossomed since then because, along with the collectors’ demand, the price of his work increased rapidly (I Gusti, MP, pers. comm., 4 April 2003). Arin Dwihartanto who graduated from ITB was chosen as one of the nominations for the PPMIA in 1999. He states, that since he participated in this award, he has been invited to exhibit by domestic galleries as well as from abroad (Dwihartanto, A, pers.comm., 20 April 2003).

In 1997, by contrast Yuswantoro was selected for five nominations in the Indonesian Art Awards and won the Grand Prize in the Philip Morris ASEAN Art Awards. In the following year a lot of painters chose a similar theme to Yuswantoro in the effort to win the competition. In reality, Yuswantoro’s reputation was not boosted nor did his work demand surprising prices. The price of his works in the studio, in the gallery or at auction showed no significant difference (Adi, Y, pers. comm., 14 April 2003). The Masterpieces of Indonesia by Yuswantoro Adi illustrated Indonesian children from various ethnic groups in a playground made of the Indonesian currency, rupiah. The subject matter paralleled the political atmosphere in Indonesia at that time and the chaos prior to the fall of Suharto. Yuswantoro is recognized as a very dedicated painter who speaks out about social conditions in his work.
Critic Agus Dermawan, co-founder of PMIAA, claims the result of PMIAA in the first, second and third year were gratifying because Indonesian artists always won the prize at the ASEAN level. Later, according to Agus, there was a conflict of interest inside the committee that he believed caused *kekacauan nilai*, (a confusion of standards) (Dermawan, A, pers.comm., 22 April 2003). Agus has observed that PMIAA had a minimum of participants in 1997. In the previous competition there were 2100 works and 1200 participants, whereas in 1997 there were 1246 works and 890 participants. The decrease was almost thirty percent. A number of painters felt that they would not take part again because they failed to understand the jury’s approach, which was considered to be too modern. This attitude was reinforced when they saw the selected works on display. They were unimpressed with the strangeness, absurdity and political nature of the work (Dermawan 1997a).

However Agus’s statement about the confusing judgment is challenged by Mamannoor, who was involved twice on the jury at the national level and once for judging at the Asian level. Mamannoor claims that there were no games or dishonest
strategies in the judgment. If the theme of society and kritik kekuasaan (criticizing those in power) was dominant it was because the numbers of entries on that theme were enormous and of excellent quality, compared to the other themes of which there were only a few representatives (see Mamannoor 2004/2005, pp. 48-50).

In 2000, Agus Dermawan promoted the Indofood Art Award, which places emphasis more on the artistic matter instead of the concept behind the visualization. The goal to be achieved by Indofood through this prize event was to offer new parameters in the quality of the visual arts since its value has been abused by what are called “market” and “non-market” issues. These two terms have distracted and monopolized debates about art significantly over the last fifteen years. Therefore it was reasonable that the competition wanted to encourage artists to review their visual art practice and take into account factors influencing the development of Indonesian fine art. As one of the judges, Agus stated:

The competition is not an indicator of the development of Indonesian visual art. But, interestingly, collectors have monitored the painters, or painting that can be collected from the event (Dermawan, A, pers.comm., 22 April 2003).

Some observers believe that the award has ‘another agenda’ which is to build up the price for some individual painters. I personally would argue that in competitions the juries, who are mostly made up of academics and reputable art critics, truly work very hard to choose the winner based on merit. If there has been a tendency of kolekdol to play upon this event to build prices favouring the artists in their collections, it is difficult to see.

The Economic Crisis

During 11-13 May 1998, when Suharto confronted the riots that forced him to step down from power, an economic and social crisis occurred in Indonesia. For the rich they had the chance to shift their business to other areas. The new speculation in business was painting. Ironically this speculation happened at a time of economic collapse and lasted until the economy returned to normal.

Although Asian countries generally experienced the economic collapse, Indonesia had to face not only the economic crisis but also political chaos. The economic crisis in Indonesia was initially a regional flow-on effect from Thailand.
The bad debt burden had caused a stagnancy of credit. The stack of private foreign
debt (US$ 90 billion) and a currency that was overvalued led to the Thai government
decision to float the baht on 2 July 1997. The over-investment phenomenon and the
foreign debt made the creditors force Indonesia to pay its bills. Through Bank
Indonesia, the Indonesian government bank, Indonesia decided to wipe out the
‘intervention band’ on 14 August 1997 and the rupiah floated from 3,500 to 17,000
against the US dollar (Prasetyiantono 2000, p. 156).

In 1997 when Indonesia was hit by the so-called Asian economic crisis it was
mainly the ordinary people who lost their jobs and struggled for survival. Those from
middle classes were less affected. For example, the economic and business reviews in
Tempo magazine from November 1998 to January 1999 pointed to the continuing
prosperity of the middle classes. This was reflected in the numerous advertisements
on television and on billboards aimed at the consumption of expensive new cars,
mobile phones, the use of international express cargo and overseas travel.

Initially there was an assumption that the painting boom would collapse with
the economic crisis in 1997. However, the economic collapse affected many sectors
of potential investment, such as banking and manufacturing. This had the result of
many business people turning to the domestic art market, particularly that of painting,
as a new field for speculation. Along with this new area of investment came an
increasing interest, knowledge and level of appreciation of Indonesian art. New
opportunities opened up with buyers and collectors quickly taking up the challenge of
developing businesses dealing in artworks. Painting became a commodity in demand
and to be freely traded in Indonesian galleries (Hasan 2001, p.111).

Some critics claim that the painting boom began towards the end of 1985 and
lasted until the economic crisis of 1997. However, the establishment of the new
auction houses since the crisis: PT Balindo in 1998 and Larasati/Glerum in 2000 has
supported the continued existence and development of the market for Indonesian
painting. The establishment of these auction houses gives proof of the existence and
development of the market

Critic Amir Sidharta thinks that, since the economic crisis in 1997-1998,
painting collectors no longer belonged to the ‘first-layer’ of the society but the
‘second-layer’.\textsuperscript{11} He gave examples: one of his friends cancelled the purchase of a painting before the crisis occurred due to the high price. Later, after the crisis, when the price was much higher his friend decided to buy. Another businessman, also an art collector, has stated that his collection of paintings saved his company because he could sell them more easily than property such as land or houses (Sidharta, A, 2001).

The collectors were therefore more active than in the Suharto era. Despite the fact that the economic crisis struck Indonesia from 1997 to 2002 about 4000 paintings were sold in the sales room each year (Dermawan 2003, p. 40). Even as riots were taking place in Jakarta for three days in May 1998 dozens of Indonesian buyers were present at Sotheby’s auction in Singapore. An unidentified European collector offered $S 608,750 for a large Balinese oil painting by the Belgian-born Adrien Jean Le Mayeur. This was a record price for the artist’s work. Ben Dolven states, “Nowhere has the boom been as pronounced as in Indonesia” (Dolven 1998, pp.56-57).

Since the economic crisis in 1997/98 there has been a change of vision in the way that the rich think about the visual arts. They think that the visual arts deserve to part of their lifestyle. The Indonesian art market therefore rose between 1984 and 1994 along with the rising middle class. Luxury private houses and buildings needed decoration. This created new opportunities for the ‘painting businesses’ that many people were not interested in previously. Galleries, art dealers and painting rentals businesses were mushrooming. At the same time people’s appreciation of the visual arts grew rapidly. This can be seen from the emergence of new collectors.

The contemporary phrase of the global market in the development of Indonesia’s visual arts is a true statement of reality. Almost all aspects of the Indonesian art world: exhibitions, catalogues, book publication and also art discussions and seminars, have something to do with market interest (Sidharta, A 2001, p.28).

Many current painters have become rich, and some extremely rich. It is common knowledge that such painters are referred to as \textit{pelukis sak-milyar}, (the billion \textit{rupiah}-painters). This was the price of one of Djoko Pekik’s paintings in 1998. This is despite the fact that Djoko Pekik was once was a member of LEKRA and affiliated with the Communist Party in the 1950s and 1960s and outlawed during the
New Order period. Pekik’s painting, *Indonesia 1998; Berburu Celeng (Indonesia 1998: Boar Hunt)* (1998) (Plate 9), was sold for one billion *rupiah* in 1998. This was because the work was ‘special’. *Indonesia 1998: Berburu Celeng* was part of a trilogy depicting the journey of boar hunters who successfully bring a big boar to the city. The boar is a symbol of the people’s enemy dead. So everyone gathers to celebrate. Djoko Pekik prepared this painting for exhibition in *Bentara Budaya* Yogyakarta, to celebrate Indonesian Independence Day in 1998 (Pekik, D, pers.comm., 14 April 2003).


In the 1960s during the New Order, Djoko Pekik was imprisoned for seven years. Afterwards he started his life all over again with painting. When the political condition changed the public gave him support. Supangkat claims that artistic success can be related to politics. In Djoko Pekik’s case the fact that he had been a prisoner caused his paintings to be “hunted” by collectors. Nevertheless, this is a benefit for the artist because public opinion on Pekik has changed (Supangkat, J, pers.comm., 14 April 2003). According to Djoko Pekik, he always uses the canvas as a medium to
reflect his personal expression and memory. It is interesting to follow Pekik’s idea that ‘the independent mind and independent creativity are very important’ (Pekik, D, pers.comm., 14 April 2003). With the market demand for his work Djoko Pekik is now extremely wealthy. At a glance people can see how wealthy he is from his material possessions. Djoko Pekik explains his process of dealing with the market, especially how he retains his creativity, he has made it a rule that collectors cannot have more than ten of his paintings in their collection. He does not want his works restricted to one person (Pekik, D, pers.comm., 14 April 2003).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the emerging market for Indonesian visual art since 1985 as a result of economic development together with the emergence of a class of ‘new rich’ able to invest in artworks. Since 1997 the business for the visual arts has still continued even though economic crisis struck Indonesia - marked by the fall of Suharto regime – and Asian countries in general. Indonesian businessmen attended overseas auction houses to purchase Indonesian art. Some painters benefited from the crisis. For example, the artist Djoko Pekik sold one of his paintings for 1 billion rupiah, the highest price for any Indonesian painting at that time by a living painter. There are two reasons for the continuation of the painting boom in the economic crisis: firstly, the rich needed an alternative form of investment and secondly, they needed painting as a status symbol.

Notes

1. “Prinsip saya, orang hidup itu jangan ditaklukan harta benda.”
2. In the 1980s Japanese collectors returned to the art market as the result of Japanese economy. The yen doubled in value between 1985 and 1990 (Conklin 1994, p. 30). For Japan the price of Sunflowers was lower than expected. Forbes magazine has observed that if Sunflowers was bought in February 1985 when the currency was weak, they would have paid the equivalent US$ 70 million (Lee 1988, pp. 65-70).
3. The United States still has substantial interests in Southeast Asia after their involvement in Indochina in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Bresnan 1994, p.1). America’s interests are centred in the five major non-communist states of the region: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand which along with Brunei, make up ASEAN (See Bresnan 1994, p. 4). The collapse of socialism as an ideology and as an economic-socio-political system has opened
the way to western capitalist domination, throughout many societies of today’s world, both as a superstructure as well as an infrastructure.

4. In 1985, as a result of the strong Japanese currency, Japanese companies invested heavily in Asia. This has had a big impact on the economic development of the Asian countries. The supply and demand side of the business in Asia was prompted by Japanese heavy investment that contributed to the so-called the Asian ‘economic miracle’ (Lim, Hua Sing 1999, pp. xii-xiii).

5. Among the 500 works in the collection by Oei, most are paintings by young artists who sell well.

6. For example, since 2000-2003, Nadi annual gallery program included almost 90 percent paintings. The successful artists were Erica H Wahyuni, Heri Dono, Agus Suwage and IGK Muriasih. This pattern is reflected in other galleries including Bentara Budaya Jakarta.

7. Larasati mainly sell paintings. The price for sculpture is variable. For example, in August 2003, Homo Homini Lupus by Nyoman Nuarta sold for 65 million rupiah, its estimated price, whilst the sculpture Sejoli (Couple) by G Sidharta, the well-known sculptor, sold for 18 million rupiah only.

8. The national competitions are a forum where local artists can meet and learn from each other. They also compete for cash prizes and a chance to enter the ASEAN final. The decision to make the ASEAN Award biennial was underpinned by the organizer’s desire to allow time for the artists to meet and learn from each other and to build cross-cultural bridges. In the final, a panel of internationally renowned judges nominated by participating countries and art organizations assesses the artworks. All the judges have a deep understanding of art and its development in the ASEAN area. They choose the winning works, award the Grand Prize and Select five juror-choice prizewinners. The art competition was once an annual event, then every two years, starting in 1994. Indonesia has twice held the ASEAN final in Jakarta (1995) and in Bali (2002). The purpose of the Art Award is to discover artists with potential to place Indonesian on the international stage. This art award is always judged by some of the most powerful curators, galleries and tastemakers in the art world.

9. Indofood, or PT Indofood Sukses Makmur Tbk, is a big processed food company producing items such as instant noodles.


11. The ‘first layer’ is conglomerates, and ‘second layer’ are the new rich, but not public figures.

12. For example he has several Citroen cars and a Mercedez Benz bus on which he has painted the title pemberontak revolusi (revolution rebel). His house, with an expansive garden situated on the bank of the Bedog River, is being continually renovated and contrasts with the simple houses of the local villagers. His hobbies include collecting gamelan, traditional music instruments, and also many kinds of expensive domestic pets.
...both individual and institutional collectors play important roles in determining the value of art. If no one wants to buy a work of art at any price, it has no market value. If there is much demand for artworks that are in short supply, market value will be high and apt to appreciate over time. An understanding of the value of art thus requires attention to the various reasons that institutions and individuals buy art (Conklin 1994, p.21).

This chapter describes the relationship of individuals and organizations that deal with the art market. I follow the historical development of the Indonesian art world by outlining the evolution of the art schools, galleries, art centers and museums, collectors and art dealer (kolekdol), auction houses, critics and curators. This background will provide a grasp of the state of the Indonesian art world post-independence and up to the period when it enters the international market arena in the 1980s. This chapter also will also give an overview of the trend of market demand.

Art Schools

This first section explores the development of professional art schools in Indonesia and the interrelationship between the art curriculum and the idea of individual expression in art education. In this research, I examined the Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI), The Indonesian Institute of Arts in Yogyakarta, and Insitut Teknologi Bandung (ITB) in Bandung. ISI is recognized as an institution born from the lessons of the nationalist movement whilst ITB, the Institute of Technology Bandung, is sometimes known as ‘laboratorium barat’, the ‘Westernized lab’ (Supangkat 2000, p.10; Clark 1993, p.93), because in the past it was generally staffed by Indonesian nationalists who received their training abroad. ITB has also retained the legacy and influence of Dutch teachers such as Ries Mulder.

Helena Spanjaard, a Dutch scholar, observed that from the beginning there was a great difference between the art academies in Bandung and Yogyakarta
The Bandung Art Academy had its origins in 1947 within a Dutch teacher-training course in drawing in the Faculty of Technical Science in the University of Indonesia. During the years 1945-1949, (from the end of World War II to the recognition of Indonesian independence), the Dutch drawing teacher Simon Admiral and the Dutch painter Ries Mulder designed a curriculum for a teacher-training course in drawing for Indonesian students (Clark 1993, p. 93). Mulder introduced Cubism, which had an enormous influence on his indigenous students. The introduction of this Western style of art practice shaped the laboratorium barat (Supangkat 2000, p.12). The representative Bandung style was still life, figure studies and landscape, subjects that were typical of the more conservative and far-flung art schools at that time.

Later, in 1950, Akademi Seni Rupa Indonesia (ASRI), the Academy of Fine Art, was founded in Yogyakarta in the midst of an existing group of painters. Typically Yogyakarta’s style involved the spirit of nationalism that showed the daily environment in a social realistic style (Holt 1967, p. 215). There were three ideas that shaped the thinking of students at the time of struggle against colonial rule: corak, the Indonesian character; cap, an Indonesian stamp and rakyat, the people (Clark 1993, pp. 45-50). The stylistic and conceptual development of the students in each institution therefore differed as a result of the curriculum. Helena Spanjaard also argues that the painters of Bandung were strongly influenced by the Dutch and they adopted Dutch manners: language, clothes, food and house decorations were what she called ‘white’ Indonesian. Meanwhile Yogyakarta searched for an ‘Indonesian’ art (Clark 1993, pp. 94-95).

However, the ‘laboratorium barat’ concept also influenced the ISI students. Along with their improved knowledge of Western art idioms: Impressionism, Expressionism, Realism, Cubism and Western genres such as portraiture, still life and landscape, came the desire to expand the use of various mediums in their artworks. This can be seen in contemporary visual arts practice from 1970s until today. The ISI students were aware that their knowledge of other disciplines such as philosophy had not improved as much as the ITB students (Supangkat, Sumartono, J Irianto, Zaelani & Marianto 2000, p.27). Tisna Sanjaya, artist and lecturer at Faculty of Fine Arts ITB
asserts that the differences between the two institutions could be seen in the teaching objectives, the lecturers’ backgrounds and also the art atmosphere of Bandung and Yogyakarta. Those aspects have had a big impact on the art world in each respective area. He said that in the exploration of printmaking, ITB is more powerful, while ISI is more interested in exploring painting at the practical level (Sanjaya, T, pers. comm., 19 May 2003).

Generally speaking the students graduating from ITB are more articulate about their art practice. Asmudjo Irianto, Rizky A Zaelani, Aminuddin TH Siregar, Heru Hikayat, Agung Hujatnikajenong, and Rifky Effendy are amongst this group. By contrast the students from ISI are recognized more for their ‘artistic’ practice. The critic, Raihul Fadjri stated that most of the students of ISI became professional artists (Supangkat, Sumartono, J Irianto, Zaelani & Marianto 2000, p. 4). Artists such as Made Wianta, Nyoman Gunarso, Ivan Sagito and Yuswantoro Adi all graduated from here. At the same time eminent dealers in the market are generally from ISI. These include Made Wianta, Made Sukadana, Erica H. Wahyuni and Nasirun.

John Clark in his book *Modern Asian Art* has described the types of artists as: aristocracy, plebeian and professional matriculated (Clark 1998, pp. 117-164). The professionally matriculated art school graduate is the one who drives the Indonesian art market today. The professional type is usually from the middle classes, who use their knowledge of the workings of the art world to introduce their work to the market (Clark 1998, pp.155-164). Agus Burhan, art historian at the Faculty of Fine Arts ISI, states that if students of the Fine Arts Faculty of ISI are prepared to be professional artists, they should be able to produce quality works which are technically and conceptually mature. Therefore the education in art at ISI focuses on how to train ideal artists. With this aim Burhan states:

Many students become frustrated with the imbalance between the way of thinking and the outside reality. They quit and start to face the real world to become either real artists or artists who want to be rich by harnessing their technique and conceptual skills in the market place” (Burhan, M, pers.comm., 7 April 2003).

However, Burhan has confidence that more ISI students will pursue a concept-driven art practice than those who pursue the market’s interest. Besides the economic
interest, Rain Rosidi, another lecturer at ISI, claims that there is a gap between the number of art workers and the lack of art historians. He stated that ISI needs a department of art history or art criticism, or a special department of arts management. The art producers need partners who know about art management³ (Rosidi, R, pers. comm., 6 April 2003).

In summary, these two institutions, each with its own character, can still be seen today. The general conclusion is that artists dealing with the art market have an ISI background and the ‘thinkers’ of the art world are those from ITB. When this evidence is examined it can be shown that the artists who have gained excellent reputations are generally from ISI. On the other hand the articulate students who have gained a reputation in art theory and criticism generally come from ITB, and have taken up careers as professional curators and art critics.

Galleries

This section describes the establishment of art galleries in Indonesia. This development begins with Bataviaasche Kunstkring, the Batavian Art Circle in the 1930s and also with the development of galleries in Bali. The Art Circle played a significant role in creating collectors for the art market. Along with economic progress, galleries have proliferated and works of art have been sold for high prices. This section will also discuss the emergence of galleries focused on contemporary art.

The growth of galleries in Indonesia was stimulated by the emergence of Bataviaasche Kunstkring in 1930s because it became a space for art lovers to meet. As the number of people interested in art grew a ‘collector’ class was created. The Art Circle then grew in popularity and established itself in other cities such as Bandung, Semarang and also Surabaya.

Similarly, Pita Maha, the Ubud Painters Club founded by Tjokorda Agung Gde Sukawati and three European artists; Walter Spies, Rudolf Bonnet and H. W. Hofker in the 1930s, was responsible for the development of a collector class in Bali. Pita Maha provided a forum for discussion where artists could gather to examine each other’s works and discuss relevant issues. The membership included Anak Agung Gde Sobrat, I Gusti Nyoman Lempad, Ida Bagus Made, I Gusti Deblog, Anak
Agung Gede Turas, Ketut Regig, Dewa Nyoman Leper and Ida Bagus Nadra. The *Pita Maha* ended with Japanese occupation in 1945. In the 1950s Bonnet returned to Bali and encouraged artists to continue practising *Pita Maha*. Walter Spies, Hans Snell, Arie Smit and Antonio Blanco who was born in the Philippines, were among the foreign artists who were committed to living in Bali and held Indonesian citizenship (Taylor 1991: pp.20-23). At this time, with the arrival of tourism in Bali, artworks from Balinese artists who lived and worked in Bali were selected for exhibition and sale. Later, artists who had their works selected also joined *Pita Maha* (Taylor 1991:20).

Since the 1950s visual art has been brought into public attention by murals or reliefs such as at the airport, and later on in the 1960s hotels, such as Hotel Indonesia (Jakarta), Hotel Ambarukmo (Yogyakarta) and Hotel Bali Beach (Bali). Hotels had been chosen by Soekarno as the ideal place for introducing visual art to the public (Sidharta 2000a). This period is recognized as important phase for the development of Indonesian visual arts (Saptono 2000).

The first gallery established by James Pandy in Sanur (Bali) in the 1950s, followed the growth of collectors. Later in the 1960s, Bali, especially in Ubud, was full of art shops and art galleries. Agus Dermawan states that the mushrooming of galleries then appeared in Java with increasing numbers of exhibitions (Dermawan, A, pers.comm., 22 April 2003).

Critic Bambang Budjono has observed that, since the middle of the 1980s, owners of galleries in Ubud and Jakarta have in addition to what he called *estetika yang tinggi* (high aesthetic painting), also offered painting for *dekorasi dan cenderamata* (decoration and souvenirs). The aesthetic paintings are permanently exhibited in their own collection, while the decoration paintings are produced for sale. Budjono concludes that the owners of the galleries are not just focused on trading, they also have sensitivity and feeling for very fine artwork. They manage galleries both in a money-oriented way as well as collecting quality artwork for themselves. They are attracted by two factors: the market and the art. However, they are not in total control when the market develops faster than the art. In this case, the public taste,
or more precisely the taste of the market, plays a bigger role (Budjono 1993, pp. 29-37).

Beginning in 1987, there was a mushrooming of galleries in Indonesia, such as Santi Gallery (Jakarta), Duta Fine Art Gallery (Jakarta) and Mon Décor Gallery (Jakarta). Later in 1988, in Yogyakarta, the artist couple Mella Jaarsma and Nindityo Adipurnomo, established a gallery called Ruang Pameran Cemeti (Cemeti Exhibition Space) later known as Cemeti Modern Art Gallery and then Cemeti Contemporary Art Gallery (1994). The gallery was dubbed as ‘alternative’ and commercial because artists could exhibit in any medium not just painting as typical of conventional galleries. This made the image of the gallery different because it was perceived that the gallery’s orientation was not merely for money (Susanto 1998; see also Hananto 1996, p.50).

For collectors like Oei, Cemeti is an ideal gallery (Wicaksana, Wiyanto, Kurniawan, Susanto, Hilal & Utari 2003, pp. 171-187; Fadjri 2003, p.18) because the gallery focuses on contemporary art. This phenomenon inspired galleries in other places, such as the Lontar Gallery (Jakarta) and the Padi Gallery (Bandung). Padi Gallery was founded in 1997 but only survived until 1999; Barak Gallery (Bandung) lasted from 1997 until 2001; Fabriek Gallery (Bandung) opened for one year only in 2002. However several other galleries in Bandung still survive. They include Selasar Sunaryo established in 1998, Rumah Proses established in 2002 and Jeihan Studio established in 1999. In 1973 some senior artists from ITB formed Decenta (Bandung) to introduce printmaking. However, it was not successful. In 1993, Decenta reopened under the management of AD Pirous. There are currently about 20 galleries in Bandung (see http://www.geocities.com/bandungcity/art.htm).

In 1999, the renamed Rumah Seni Cemeti, (the Cemeti Art House) in Yogyakarta, developed a wider scope of activities including film screenings and theatre. However they still rely primarily on selling art works to survive (“Jaarsma Mulai dari Nol”, 2001).

In reality, galleries cannot survive merely on the money they make through art sales. Even though an exhibition can be sold out, it doesn’t mean that the gallery is successful in the market place. The sale of artworks sometimes happens prior to the
exhibition. For example, the artist Diah Yulianti said that sometimes collectors visit the artist’s studio to buy artworks before an exhibition. When the exhibition is held, certain works are not for sale anymore, only for display. There is no ‘red’ tag signalling that the works are sold but instead the caption will say ‘Collection of…’ (Yulianti, D, pers. comm., 5 April 2003). As Oei affirmed;

“Galleries traditionally want the collectors to purchase from them directly. So collectors try to find information about artists from their colleagues in order to visit the artist’s studio, because the price will be lower than at the gallery”16 (Oei, HJ, pers.comm., 1 April 2003).

A similar circumstance occurs with travelling exhibitions for example. In one gallery the work sells well and then the exhibition travels to another gallery but just for display as a collection because the work has already been sold. Heri Dono’s solo exhibition at Nadi Gallery, Jakarta, in 2002 is an example of this phenomenon. The exhibition sold well. Several months later the same work was exhibited at Bentara Budaya Gallery, Jakarta, under the names of the collectors.

For collectors to buy from an artist’s studio means the price is much cheaper, as a gallery will charge about 30 to 40 percent gallery commission. In some cases the visit of a collector to an artist’s studio before an exhibition has advantages for the artist as it assists with costs, such as the catalogue, art materials or gallery hire. This happens because there is lack of the agreement between the gallery and the artist. This is the reason the collectors play the dominant role. However, Edwin Rahardjo of Edwin Gallery in Jakarta claims that with good management a gallery can survive these conditions (Budjono 1993, p.32). Edwin has proved his words continuing to hold both local and international exhibitions in his gallery since its establishment in 1984. Edwin’s strategy is to sell other art products and art souvenirs in addition to artworks (http://www.geocities.com/livingcolors_2000/edwingaleri.htm). Following Edwin’s example many galleries have developed other strategies for making money, such as hiring space for functions while displaying artworks at the same time (Njaro 2005, pp.77-80).

In summary, the mushrooming of galleries in Indonesia was an important step in the development of the visual arts. Some galleries relied purely on the sales of artworks and some called ‘alternative’ focused more on contemporary art. In
conjunction with galleries, collectors also played a significant role dealing in artworks. Due to the lack of information on the value of artworks, this has put collectors in a preeminent position to bargain, since many galleries do not have written agreements or contracts with the artists. Collectors prefer to visit artists’ studios to benefit from cheaper prices.

Museums and Art Centres

In Indonesia there are almost 150 museums established by the government. However only one museum in Jakarta, the Museum of Visual Art and Ceramics, has a modern art collection. The other museums are for traditional arts or for non-art purposes (Supangkat 1993a, pp. 20-24). Together with these museums there are also both government and private-owned art centres.

In addition to commercial galleries, government art institutions, such as Taman Budaya, the Art Centre, (literally the ‘Culture Garden’) also function as places for art exhibitions. The institutions are located in almost every province in Indonesia. They are available not only for visual art exhibitions but also for performance art along with seminar rooms. Artists who want to use space in the art centre have to make a proposal to get support from the institution as part of the annual program. If the application is not successful, and the artists still want an exhibition they can pay a daily rental to hire the space. Taman Budaya Yogyakarta, for instance, charges 750,000 rupiah (approximately AUD $125) per day, for hire of the space.

In Jakarta, there is Taman Ismail Marzuki, Cultural Centre (literally the ‘Ismail Marzuki Garden’). The Cultural Centre is a government owned cultural facility and is financed by an independent foundation and run by an art council. Major exhibitions, such as the national biennale and retrospective exhibitions, are held here. But this institution is not well managed because of financial problems (Supangkat 1993a, pp. 20-24).

Also there are many private art institutions which have been supported through sponsorship. For instance, in 1982, the newspaper company Kompas founded Bentara Budaya (literally the Cultural Herald) located in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. In Jakarta at least 500 paintings and 652 ceramics have been collected, including artists’
d Donations (Purnama Sidi, I, pers. comm., 23 December 2003). This institution is essentially non-profit, but takes 20 percent commission on works sold. As Ipong Purnama Sidi, artist and manager of Bentara Budaya Jakarta states:

If Bentara Budaya obtains a 20 percent commission that’s fair and appropriate as it goes towards building maintenance expenses. This would clearly not cover a year’s maintenance, and so it cannot be said that Bentara Budaya is commercial. Furthermore, in reality, there are many Bentara Budaya exhibitions where no paintings are sold (Purnama Sidi, I, pers. comm., 23 December 2003)

Similarly in Jakarta places such as the Komunitas Teater Utan Kayu (literally the Forest Theatre Community) holds visual art exhibitions in its Lontar Gallery. Also there are other important foreign cultural institutions in Jakarta and some regional capital cities that regularly hold visual art exhibitions and activities. These include the German Goethe Institute, the Alliance Francaise Cultural Centre, the Dutch Cultural Centre Karta Pustaka and also the Japan Culture Foundation. Like the Art Centres the activities of the public museums are dependent on a very small budget because the government is focused on other areas of the economy (see “Akhirnya Museum Senirupa Menggelar Pameran”, 2003). Since the government formed Kantor Dinas Bagian Kesenian, (Regional Office Arts Section of the Education and Culture Ministry) in Yogyakarta in 1946 there has been a drive to collect artworks from many painters and sculptors. When the Kantor Dinas moved to Jakarta in 1950s the artworks became an important historical collection owned by the government. In the collection there are 1500 paintings including works by Raden Saleh, S.Sudjojono, Affandi, Basuki Abdullah and Ahmad Sadali. In addition there are works by European painters such as Kandinsky and Sonia Delaunay acquired as a donation from the French government in the early 1950s (“Menyambut Galeri Nasional”, 1999).

Pande Wayan Sutedja Neka, an art teacher, started collecting paintings in 1960 and set up the Neka Gallery (Ubud), in 1966. He went to artist’s studios and bargained for the prices of paintings. He called this harga kompromi (bargaining price). He would ask for 60 percent discount on the price (Neka, PWS, pers. comm., 24 July 2003). In 1975 he had 45 paintings in his collection and twenty years later
this had grown to 312 paintings. In 1995 he opened the museum called Neka Museum, for the public. His museum has collections of reputable paintings that are related to the painting history of Bali and includes works by artists such as Rudolf Bonnet, Arie Smith and Ida Bagus Made and also paintings by the Australian artist, Brett Whiteley made when he stayed in Bali in 1980 (Neka 1995). When rumours circulated that Neka was selling art from his museum in his gallery (Suryawan 2003) he denied the rumours declaring that there was no connection between the management of the museum and the management of gallery (Neka, PWS, pers.comm., 24 July 2003).

There are also museums built and owned by collectors. Traditionally these museums are in the same grounds as the collector’s home. Collectors such as Ciputra, Yusuf Wanandi, and Oei Hong Djien display their collections as part of their daily life. The collections are only open for special occasions for colleagues and for research. They began collecting artworks at least twenty years ago. Together with these collections, they have also financed publications such as A Collector’s Journey: Modern Painting in Indonesia by Yusuf Wanandi (1996); Exploring Modern Indonesian Art; the Collection of Dr Oei Hong Djien (2004) published by SNP International Singapore and Hendra Gunawan: A Great Modern Indonesian Painter (2001) published by the Ciputra Foundation.

These collections, which are either private museums or artists’ museums, are enriching knowledge of the visual arts in Indonesia. They contribute more than the limited collections in government art institutions. As Helena Spanjaard states, even though the government has developed a new cultural policy since 1998 (the reform government), the funding for the promotion of modern art is still limited (Spanjaard 2004, p.13). As art historian Astri Wright asserts, there is a lack of expertise in the visual art area in Indonesia. This expertise should form the basis of the practice of art history and art criticism that has not yet developed. She identified some scholars in Indonesia, such as the late Hildawati Sumantri and the late Sanento Yuliman who had expertise in visual art. However, she points out that ‘people like those mentioned do not receive the time, resources and technical support they need to continue their research and writing and to start educating museum people, gallery owners, collectors, and publishers’ (Wright 1997).
In summary, the existence of museums in Indonesia is important to the development of the visual arts as a means of bridging knowledge between art works and the audience that includes collectors, critics and curators as well as the public. I would argue that government art institutions not only lack a decent budget but they also lack trained human resources with skill and knowledge of the art world. Perhaps the government institutions should cooperate with private art institutions to support each other.

The Collectors and Dealers (*Kolekdol*)

The terms ‘amateur’, ‘connoisseur’ and ‘collector’ have different meanings but they are not entirely separable. Amateurs respond to works of art but they are not necessarily knowledgeable, nor are they collectors. Connoisseurs have expert knowledge of works of art but may lack any personal interest in them. Collectors may also be amateurs and connoisseurs. They may buy and sell works of art for example to expand or upgrade their collections, but they do not usually treat works of art as commodities as do dealers (Turner 1996, p 561).

In the Indonesian art world, the critic Supangkat identified four categories of people who buy art. First, the person who starts collecting as a hobby but then becomes an art lover who buys expensive artworks, including antiques. Second, the person who buys artworks for prestige at an affordable price with a view to keeping 50% and selling the other 50%. Third, the person who buys artworks to sell. They keep 20% of the collection and sell 80%. Fourth, the person buys artworks for profit only (Supangkat, J, pers. comm., 19 April 2003). I argue the second, third and fourth categories should be seen as dealers who fit the description of *kolekdol*.

The word *kolekdol* is initially a made up word that referred to art dealers. The role of *kolekdol* became more important following the establishment of galleries during the painting boom. It is not documented who first used the term. The word *kolekdol*, is understood to have several meaning; (1) to collect (buy) and to sell in a short period, (2) to collect and then sell in saleroom (such as the auction) and re-buy the same item again with the aim to sell it again in the near future for a higher price.
until it is “overused” (3)“crazy” people who speculate and buy a big number of artworks with the intention to sell again with big profit. It is a spontaneous word that is used widely in the art community, especially in Java, to mock a person who exhibits this “crazy” behaviour in the art market. Those who are called kolekdol are anonymous.9 They are mostly from Jakarta and Magelang (Central Java).10

Deddy Irianto, an art worker, who calls himself an art ‘trader’, has a more cultural vision about the collector: he believes that in Indonesia there is no clear distinction between collector and kolekdol. Nevertheless Deddy argues that collectors are traders who are more fanatic with a long-term vision whilst kolekdol are more aggressive”11 (Irianto, D pers.comm, 11 November 2003).

The Indonesian collector and kolekdol, I would argue, play a dominant role of patronage that ‘encourages’ the setting of the price of artworks from the artist’s studio to the gallery and auction houses in Indonesia. The particular need for private collectors and kolekdol in Indonesia can be understood in relation to the lack of support from government institutions for the purchase of contemporary artworks, whilst in other countries art institutions such as museums or government-funded art galleries regularly buy artworks. For artists who are internationally recognized, such as Agus Suwage, Dadang Christanto, FX Harsono and Heri Dono, the opportunity to have their works bought or owned by state museums or galleries abroad is important. For the majority of Indonesian artists, however, the only expected appreciation of their art is when collectors or kolekdol buy their works.

Oei asserts that collectors and artists used to have a good relationship. Art collectors in the 1950s, such as Bergas K.Widjaya preferred to go straight to the studio and have a long conversation with the artist (Njaro 2004, pp.8-11). Thus the collector and the artist met in many arenas, not only in the gallery when the paintings were on display. The collectors would go to the artist’s studio for many reasons. But now collectors only go to the studios to buy artwork. One of the reasons is that the bargaining position of prominent artists has become more powerful. An artist like Djoko Pekik, for example, is extremely rich and he can reject the advances made by collectors.
A young promising artist like Erica Hestu Wahyuni was initially in a powerful bargaining position to reject collectors because her work was in fashion. This was the result of her enormous productivity in painting. Sidharta suggests that Wahyuni’s painting style is reminiscent of children’s art. Her paintings are simple, naïve and stylized (Erica Hesti Wahyuni, exhibition catalogue, 2000). However, later when Erica had a lot of works in circulation, no one was willing to buy any more because there were too many artworks in the market in a short period time and the public had become bored with her work (see “Kanvas-Kanvas milyaran rupiah”, 2000, pp.67-80; “Dari Kerancuan hingga Pemalsuan”, 2002, pp.64-79).

![Plate 12. Erica H Wahyuni, Akan Panen (Sebentar Lagi), Nearly Harvest (Soon), 1990](image)

I would argue that Erica was dealing with the kolekdol, who collected her works for re-sale in a very short time that caused her works to flood the market. There was not a collector that was willing to collect many works from one single young artist.

By contrast other artists, who are not yet known by collectors because their work is not yet recognized, struggle to live. This is one of the negative outcomes of
the emergence of *kolekdol* who only buy popular work. Many *kolekdol* are buying according to trends rather than the quality of artworks. As mentioned in chapter two, Nasirun’s works have become so sought after and fashionable that people always look for his work. This has led to a slogan in the industry ‘no one but Nasirun’ (Wiyanto 2000, p.149). This infers that *kolekdol* were willing to buy his works without regard to the quality of individual works.

As another example, *Nadi* gallery in Jakarta, established in 2000 by the collector Biantoro, exhibited a solo exhibition of Heri Dono. Those who were interested in buying art works had to register in advance. Because the number of paintings was fewer than the number of buyers, the gallery took the decision to ask those on the list to write their names on a piece of paper. The papers were shuffled. The first name in the draw had the right to choose the paintings they wanted to buy. From twenty paintings (seven of those in the artist’s collection), the gallery collected 700 million *rupiah* in one night. Biantoro stated that 80 percent of the buyers were believe to be *kolekdol* (“Heri Memprovokasi Heri”, 2002).

The *kolekdol* buy Heri’s work because of his name as a reputable artist both inside and outside Indonesia. Heri can also sell art installations that are so-called ‘non-marketable’ art. In this case the *kolekdol* play an important role in showing the public that Heri’s paintings are popular so the public is keen to buy. These examples demonstrate the enormous influence of *kolekdol* upon the art market. As the collector Simon Tan Kian Bing, states, even if the work is good, if there is no response from collectors, the artwork will only fetch a very low price (Tan KB, S 2002).

It is reasonable to argue that *kolekdol* set market ‘trends’ that become the indicators for buying work. For these people the motive for purchasing a collection is often just for an investment. However Jane Turner asserts motives for collecting can be many: a genuine love of works of art, to gain social status, or for ‘greed’ and the interest in profit (Turner 1990, p. 561). *Kolekdol* fit in the last category. For example Conklin argues ‘people like what they collect and they collect what they like’ (Conklin 1994, p. 23). Some Indonesians collect only what they like as well, such as the head of the conglomerate Ciputra, who has dozens of Hendra Gunawan’s works.
By contrast, Oei states the great names are not necessarily in his collection because what he wants are great artworks (Spanjaard 2004, p. 9).

Novice collectors and *kolekdol* often make mistakes by selecting paintings that are initially not valuable. These have come to be known as ‘school fees’. In fact, failure to make the right choice not only happens to new collectors (Soetrijono 2002, p. 245). Oei has had the same experience (Oei, HJ, pers.comm., 1 April 2003). Oei started to collect paintings twenty years ago. He enjoys visiting foreign art galleries as an art lover. He began his collection by buying reproductions of famous paintings which he bought cheaply from various galleries. He never thought of becoming a collector at that time. In the early 1980s he started to buy Affandi’s works, paying in instalments. When Affandi was preparing an exhibition in Yogyakarta, Oei bought three paintings: *Potret Diri* (Self Portrait), *Perahu Madura* (Maduran Boat) and *Adu Ayam* (Fighting Cock). He bought them for 7 million rupiah. Once Affandi said to him, “it is better to pay me several times than to pay the full amount, because if I am paid in full right away, I will spend all the money at once” (Oei, HJ, pers.comm., 1 April 2003)

Oei says that he always looks for a good painting for a reasonable price. Some young artists like Nasirun and Ugo Untoro usually trust Oei to decide the price. Oei compares the work with other paintings first before he finally sets the price. Now he has identified many newcomers in the collecting of art who have become *kolekdol*. As he points out:

*They emphasize quantity over quality, with investment as their prime motive. In my view, this is the wrong method of collecting, and building a high quality collection this way is hardly possible* (Spanjaard 2004, p.9).

Even though the economic crisis has devastated Indonesia, in the art business it is a ‘blessing in disguise’. The rich buy paintings as speculation as they need to invest money (“Galeri dan Lukisan; Mainan Baru, Kolektor Baru”, 2000). For these people, when faced with financial problems, selling art is much easier than other assets such as property. Before the crisis, the Indonesian collectors were heads of conglomerates, such as Ciputra and James Riyadi. Since the economic crisis, the numbers of collectors has decreased. Some believe that they became collectors or
kolekdol because of the ‘influence’ of Oei (also from Magelang) as a patron. They are also concerned about the quality of their colleague’s advice.

There are an estimated 133 collectors, including kolekdol, from various backgrounds. In the 1980s ninety percent of these had no direct involvement with the art world. Some are in the shipping business, some are ex-photographers, graphic designers, company employees, and trainee priests. However there is also the late Widayat who was a lecturer at ISI as well as a famous artist. Widayat had a museum in which he used to show his collection and his students’ work in the 1980s (Dermawan 2003, p. 41).

In summary, there are two important issues related to the existence of collectors and kolekdol. On the one hand, there is the positive impact on the consumption of art through the increasing number of collectors and kolekdol at a time of crisis. On the other hand, the negative impact of the existence of kolekdol is that their money dictates to the artists. For the artists who they really like money will flood into their studio, in contrast to the artists who they do not like. It depends on the artists what response they make to the demands of the market. Some follow what the market says but some do not.

Auction Houses

This section will describe the establishment of Indonesian auction houses. It will be argued that they emerged as a response to the booming art business and were facilitated by the globalization of the Indonesian economy.

Auction houses became official institutions facilitating the transaction of goods three hundred years ago. Sotheby’s founded by Samuel Baker, in March 1744 in London, held the first sale under his name. Now there are more than 100 Sotheby’s offices around the world.16 Next came James Christie of London who conducted his first auction in December 1766 (http://www.christies.com/history/overview.asp). Since the middle of the 1880s, the art auction has become part of the artists’ existence and community (Harris 1982, pp.254-255). Conklin asserts that all the auction houses
have developed new methods for commercializing art to force artists to sell their work at auction rather than in their studio (Conklin 1994, p. 191-192).

Both Christie’s and Sotheby’s, two internationally significant auction houses have substantially expanded their marketing strategies. Christie’s moved to New York in 1977 and Sotheby’s have been there since 1964. These moves resulted in a shift in the volume of business across the Atlantic and activated the rich and sophisticated business sectors that had not previously dealt with art or, if they had, not directly with the saleroom.

Since 1952, when the United States government made donations of art to museums tax-deductible, the practice of buying art in New York has been growing. Art collecting is becoming a profitable pastime of big businessmen (Conklin 1994, p.192). In London, while Christie’s maintained its conservative image and continued to emphasize sales of old masters, it was Sotheby’s who instituted sales devoted entirely to Impressionist paintings following the lead of the affluent American market. Sotheby’s also expanded the idea of bringing the general public into the saleroom, which meant that ordinary people could afford art and go to the auction house to find out its current value. The auction openly showed the best possible price to the buyer and seller (Conklin 1994, pp.193-196).

In Holland before 1991, Indo-European paintings attracted little interest from buyers. If paintings were sold, they sold for hundreds of guilders only. However a work by Willem Gerard Hofker (1902-1981) who worked in Indonesia, sold for 31,000 guilders at Christie’s Amsterdam auction in 1991. This marked the beginning of an increasing appreciation of Indo-European art. As the Western art world moved towards valuing works as a commodity, Indonesian art also became a commodity in this globalizing environment. Arguably there are now more similarities than differences between the commodification of Indonesian and Western art.

In Indonesia painting auctions have existed since 1996 when Yayasan Seni Rupa Indonesia (YSRI), the Indonesian Fine Arts Foundation sold 95 paintings and collected 2.6 billion rupiah. However, this sale was merely the result of a special relationship between the institution and the government of the time. The wives of Indonesian bureaucrats, such as President Suharto’s daughter, Titik Hediati Prabowo,
organized the event. So those who were invited bought the paintings because they wanted to be closer to the power brokers, a common strategy in an authoritarian regime.

In 1998 PT Balai Lelang Indonesia (Balindo), the Indonesian Auction House\textsuperscript{18} was commissioned by Badan Penyehatan Perbankan National (BPPN), Indonesian Banking Restructuring Agency\textsuperscript{19} to conduct a painting auction. Since the success of the first auction that raised 2.5 billion rupiah, Balindo has routinely conducted fine art auctions twice a year. They source the paintings from galleries, collectors and speculators. In 2000, another auction house was established in Jakarta, Larasati/Glerum.\textsuperscript{20} After only three years the increased amount of total sales shows that the auction business is running well.\textsuperscript{21}

Auction houses as institutions have changed the pattern of buying artworks. Traditionally collectors would go to studios to browse the paintings and bargain if they were interested. This was a private activity where nobody else would know the agreed price. Auctions, however, are open transactions which are reported in the media thereby providing information about the auction to the public. Those who visit auction houses, including collectors and kolekdol are people who know the value of the artworks.

Conklin states that the auction process makes the collectors feel that they have to pay more for the artworks compared to what they might have paid prior to auctions (Conklin 1994). However, it assures the buyer that someone else has the same appreciation of a certain work. If they resell they will get the same price or possibly a higher price for the work. But this assumption may be wrong. In fact, the auction price is not always the highest price for an artist’s work. In Indonesia, for example, the price of work by Mangu Putra set in the Indonesian auction house is less than his studio price.

Articles on the visual arts in the Indonesian mass media discuss the swift exchange of money in auction houses. Auction houses, as institutions, set the price for collectors if they are interested in buying artworks. In fact, prices can be arranged there. However, in reality, the prices from the artist’s studios are often three or even four times more expensive than the real value of the works. Some collectors who
send their work to auction buy back their own paintings at inflated prices even though nobody else bids for the works. They do this to increase the public price for the artworks in their own collections. For example, the paintings of I Made Sukadana usually sell between 17-20 million rupiah. At auction on 25 March 2001, two paintings *Barong Sae* and *Jatayu*, sold for 48 million rupiah and 44 million rupiah.

George Gunawan, the managing director of *Balindo*, denied the accusation that collectors were buying back their own collections to stabilize the prices. At an auction, the seller is charged ten percent and as a buyer they must also pay ten percent. Therefore it would cost 20 percent on top of the price of the painting if they wanted to buy back the artworks ("Kucing Hitam Popo Jadi Rebutan", 1999). However, in informal conversation with the writer in Sydney in September 2003, Yudi Wanandi, the co-founded of *Larasati*, suggested that it is possible that people are willing to sell an artwork at auction then buy the same artwork back. To avoid speculation around art works that have not been sold, the seller must wait for two years before he can offer the same artworks again.

Dermawan also says that the possibility of a collector buying their own collection is believable. It is not unusual in international auctions worldwide, even though the practice is considered unethical. The purpose is to maintain the price or even to raise the price of a particular artist’s work ("Kucing Hitam Popo Jadi Rebutan", 1999). Amir Sidharta is optimistic that the auction would become the standard pricing mechanism for artworks in Indonesia. One of the purposes of *Larasati* was to set a price that was transparent, leading to greater stability. Collectors would learn by observing the price at a certain time and use this benchmark to place a value on an artwork (Sidharta, A, pers.comm.23 April 2003).

Collectors ‘hunting’ have not been put off by recent political turbulence. Even though Jakarta in 1998 was marked by instability, the Indonesian collectors fled to Sotheby’s in Singapore. The painting transaction business in Southeast Asia has attracted Sotheby’s and Christie’s to the region (Seno 1998, p.53; Lenzi 2002, pp.80-81, Bacani 1996). The arrival of Sotheby’s and Christie’s illustrates the public acceptence of Indonesian paintings for their quality and marketability; two inseparable factors. This domination of the market has continued. In fact, it should be
noted that the best and the most expensive paintings in the region have always been from Indonesia. During the recent economic crisis, the three-hour Christie’s Singapore auction in 1999 sold up to 80 percent of the paintings made available (Seno 1999).

To summarize, instead of the gallery, the auction house apparently offered a new way to determine art prices more openly. Sotheby’s and Christie’s have set a pattern for auction houses around the world as they have in Indonesia. As new businesses, the auction houses in Indonesia have not yet established standard prices. Prices remain unstable. Sometimes they are higher than the original price from artist’s studio, sometimes they are lower. Although the situation is not yet clear it seems that there is corruption in the auction system. The sellers and the art dealers manipulate this system to keep their collections highly priced within the market.

The Critics

This section will look at role of the critic in the development of art institutions, such as galleries, museums, art centers, collectors, kolekdol and auction houses. In reality, a reporter’s piece in the media is more popular and easy to access than academic journals. It illustrates of the dynamic development in visual arts toward the market.

The discussion concerning the market

Art continues to be made and put on display for public consumption and market interest (see Smith 1989, p. 185; Gimpel 2000, pp. 51-55). It can be consumed through electronic media, such as television, the internet and radio and also newspapers and magazines as well as galleries and auction houses. A common question often asked when Indonesian collectors or dealers buy artworks is, “what do art critics say and write about the work?” The Indonesian scholar and art critic, Mamannoor, wrote positively that journalistic criticism invites the reader to develop a critical awareness towards creative art works (Mamannoor 2002: 44).

Whilst aspects of the idea of investing in a work of art have been practised since the 19th century (Robert 1990), the past decade has seen the Indonesian visual
arts community deliberate about the word ‘market’. In Indonesia the appearance of the ‘market’ has been marked by a flourishing number of exhibitions in galleries particularly in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Bali. The phrases ‘pasar wacana’ (discourse market) and ‘wacana pasar’ (market discourse) have become significant points of discussion.

Artists’ expresses are not merely stimulated by the needed of commodity market but the intellectual responses toward the social phenomena. The discourse market has been shaped by all elements that support, which are artists, artworks, curators, exhibitions, galleries, mass media, and audiences. The present of collector that represented market then becomes not important in the interaction between each element that support discourse market (Fadjri, R, 2000, p.5).

Amir Sidharta thought ‘wacana pasar’ was proposed as a cynical term in the discussion of the development of the visual arts based on market forces. In this case the intended market is kolekdol (Kristanto & Arsuka 2002, p. 266). Therefore ‘pasar wacana’ the term in the discussion based on art discourses was the opponent of ‘wacana pasar’. Both terms, ‘discourse market’ and ‘market discourse’ evolved as a consequence of the painting boom that affected Indonesia (see Art Boom chapter two) when an artwork, usually a painting, became an investment. Prior to this period, the writings or opinions of visual art observers were limited to discussion of the aesthetics and concepts of art practice (discourse market) as Fadjri mentioned previously.

Nevertheless, from the time of the painting ‘boom’, the increasing amount of writing in the mass media not only focused on discussion about the ‘discourse market’ but also about ‘market discourse’ where the role of kolekdol, who purchased a painting as an object of investment, also enriched the discussion about visual arts.

For the proponents of ‘discourse market’, discussion of ‘market discourse’ or anything related to money was regarded as taboo. While art discourses became a hot topic of debate within art communities among critics there was an indication of a conflict of interest evident to all members of the art world. Art workers who were directly or indirectly involved with the ‘market’ were considered to be carried away
by market manipulation, which in turn, was perceived as reducing the quality of the artwork.

More recently however, critic Hendro Wiyanto has claimed that the aesthetic practice of contemporary visual art does not attract the attention of Indonesian ‘observers’ and ‘collectors’. They are more interested in market practice (Wicaksana, Wiyanto, Kurniawan, Sutanto, Hilal and Utari 2003, pp.7-25). Adi Wicaksono explicitly uses the term ‘commercial art’ for ‘market discourse’, (i.e money exchange), where the ideas, concepts and discourse of the art world are ‘miskin’, (poor in quality and very minimal) (Wicaksono 2002d). He also states that increasing market demand forces art-workers to speed up their productivity, so that in some cases art becomes mass produced and mechanical. On the other hand, art-workers insist that an artwork is not an instant and mass product but it is a product which is creative, unique, mysterious, and unchangeable (Wicaksono 2002d).

The discussion of ‘discourse market’ and ‘market discourse’ has arisen due to the mushrooming business of painting sales in the studio and the gallery. The question of which one dominates in the Indonesia art world has generated different responses from art critics. Some critics accept as factual that the ‘market discourse’ is part of arts development and support artistic creativity by providing financial security. These critics support any demands made by the market. Arif Bagus Prasetyo, a young critic, responds wisely to these debates. In the end the role of critic, with their creative writing, will participate to shape the market even though the market has not been influenced by critics. The critic has to suggest rational ideas (Prasetyo, AB, pers.comm., 3 April 2003).

‘Direct’ statements come from Agus Dermawan T. For instance, in an interview, Agus said: “If a collector wants to buy a painting with a very high price, it’s okay. It is the collector’s money so it is their business”22 (Dermawan, pers.comm., 22 April 2003). But others such as Supangkat, believe that Indonesian artists need to recognize ‘market discourse’ and ignore ‘discourse market’ because it is a bad influence on their creativity. Supangkat has remarked:

For the established artist, there is no place to speculate. But also there is the consideration that productivity is a challenge. High productivity does not
always mean the result is bad, but it is a challenge to keep developing it\(^{23}\) (Supangkat, J, pers.comm., 19 April 2003).

For artists the dispute about the art market produces various responses. A Balinese artist, Made Budiana agrees that artists need the ‘market’ but cautions against making the market rebound on the artists themselves (Budiana, M, pers.comm., 3 April 2003). Sunaryo, a senior lecturer at ITB and a reputable artist states that an artist has to maintain *api kesenimannya* (the spirit of his art), if he does not want to be involved and trapped in the market arena (Sunaryo, pers.comm, 20 April 2003). Putu Sutawijaya, another Balinese artist, states that when an artist makes artworks ordered by a collector or *kolekdol*, it is very hard to say that the work is part of their creativity (Sutawijaya, P, pers.comm., 10 April 2003).

On the other hand some artists are pleased with market demand because it means that they can produce more paintings if collectors or *kolekdol* are willing purchase the work. Some just disregard these debates because they already have good long-term connections with their collectors. For others it is a dilemma because they lack the skills to approach collectors, yet they truly need financial support. One collector, Oei, has responded to the argument about the art market thus: it really depends on the artists. If the artist has a strong personality, the market cannot take advantage of him/her (Oei, HJ, pers. comm., 1 April 2003).

Since the only patrons for artists are the individual collectors and *kolekdol*, I think that those debates are reasonable. The artist needs to be recognized as a creative person but also, has to face the reality that he/she needs the market to survive. When the artist can’t manage him or herself and becomes a slave of the demand of the market, it is the result of many issues, for instance, there are critics who remain artist to maintain their creativity. Also there are critics who remain artists to overcome their financial problems. The only problem is how they manage ‘creativity’ and ‘the market’ simultaneously.

The following example will give an idea of what occurs in the market place. According to the young artist, I Made Sukadana, he never tried to chase the market but the market chased him. He regularly produces ten paintings a month with an average price of 9 to 17.5 million *rupiah*. These paintings are always sold. This
happened also to Erica Hestu Wahyuni who sold fifteen paintings in a month, the cheapest being 25 million rupiah. Erica was called ‘pabrik uang’ (money factory). But in 2001, her popularity decreased dramatically due to lack of interest by collectors (see also Chapter Three). Similarly Adi has described the activities of artists such as Sukadana as pabrik seni (an art factory) (see Wicaksana 2002a, 2002b). In answering his critic Sukadana believes that the creative process is not based on price and money but in reality, hopes and dreams: if the manifestation of dreams and hopes is realized in artworks that sell for a high price, it is another issue. Don’t blame the artist (see Sukadana 2002a, 2002b).

Of course Sukadana is extremely rich from selling his art. He believes that once a painting is finished, it belongs to the public. Then it is for business people to figure out the price (Arcana 2003). He denies that he is part of the goreng-menggoreng (“art manipulated”) practice (Arcana 2003; Mulyadi 2000). This refers to the practice of “art manipulated” by kolekdol who buy the painter’s work in a large quantity and sell to other (kolekdol) prior to the exhibition to raise the price of the paintings. The exhibition indicates the works are sold out. These particular paintings came to be in demand. This happens because everything is conditioned in accordance with the promotional ‘news’ provided by other kolekdol or critics. (Sidharta, A 2000).

Tempo in September 1999, listed the artists included in the category of “art manipulated”. Names such as Nasirun, Sukadana, and Erica came to the fore. In fact the number of the artists caught in this trap is far more. Burhan views the problem of ‘manipulation’ in terms of a bargain between artistic effort and aesthetic codification. “Surely there is no economic motive when an artist sells the artworks. However, the problem in this capital exchange is that there is no balance. There is only domination”24 (Burhan, M, pers.comm., 7 April 2003). In this case, kolekdol assume the dominant role in the bargaining process.

However, Arahmaini, a painter, installation artist, curator, poet, and writer sees the role of the market as, not only negative but also, having positive elements. To achieve positive outcome further change is needed. She points out that the market would not be just a low and shameful matter if it was managed well to monitor its
negative effects and manipulate its features, [so that it] developed in accordance with
the needs and guidelines of creative development and the artists’ intelligence
(Arahmaiani 2002).

Jane Conklin and Meyer Greene agree that art dealers make similar judgments
about attribution and reputation but they also accept the judgments of art historians,
critics, dealers, and other collectors and museums. That is, dealers listen to the
statements made by art historians and critics (Conklin 1994: 20; Greene 1962). To
identify critics in Indonesia is complicated. They include artists, collectors or
kolekdol, lecturers in visual art, art workers who write not only about visual arts but
also literature, graduate students from visual art departments, and more recently, art
historians. The outcome is generally a conflict of interests. Sometimes the critic is
also a collector or kolekdol so when this person writes an article they promote their
own interests. Sometimes the critic intends to raise the market for an artist’s work.
Sometimes it’s the opposite, the critic may criticize artists out of personal interest.
However, some critics are involved in objective critical debate.

I shall give an example here; in 2002 one of the discussions in the media was
between the essays of Adi Wicaksana and the painter, Made Sukadana (Wicaksana
2002a, 2002b; Sukadana 2002a, 2002b). Wicaksana criticized Sukadana for spending
a great deal on his exhibition and for launching his monograph with the aim of
increasing market interest, even though in Wicaksana’s opinion the paintings were
repetitious and of poor quality. Sukadana made an emotional reply suggesting that
Wicaksana wrote his article because Wicaksana once asked Sukadana for money and
Sukadana didn’t give it to him. The debate was more personal rather than a discussion
of the art itself.

I have also noticed other debates between critics on their different so-called
‘ideologies’ such as that between Agus Dermawan T. and Jim Supangkat, in Tiras in
1997 (Supangkat 1997; Dermawan 1997b); Agus Dermawan T. and Saut Situmorang
in Media Indonesia Online (Dermawan 2003a; Situmorang 2003); Agus Dermawan
T. and Toni Herlambang in Media Indonesia Online (Dermawan T. 2003b;
Herlambang 2003) and Dwi Marianto and Aminudin TH Siregar in Kompas (see
and so on. Mostly the arguments are about the personality of the critic.

According to the collector, Oei, Agus Dermawan T is the only critic who knows the market well. Jim Supangkat, an internationally known critic, is also considered to know about the market. However, collectors like Oei find it too difficult follow Supangkat’s academic based writing (Wicaksana 2002, p. 171). Dermawan goes to exhibitions frequently because he is a collector and chooses to use popular language in his articles. However the art historian, Sumartono, takes another view. He argues that Dermawan lost his strength as a critic as the painting market boomed. Dermawan slavishly followed market interests in his articles (Sumartono 2002). Sidharta goes further and has argued that there is a gap between market discourse and scholarly interest. The fact is according to Sidharta, when the market has a taste for a particular painter, the money will be there. It means that the market has the ability to ignore scholarly statements as very little scholarly work has been focused on market analysis. The scholars need to be forced into engaging more with art market trends. (Sidharta, A 2000).

The problem of criticism in Indonesia is getting worse because there are few writers. Consequently, a personal statement appears and it influences the writing. When there is a conflict of interest it is difficult to separate the person writing from the art critic, curator, artist, collector or kolekdol. The same phenomenon occurs in academic art journals, where the number of writers is also limited, especially in the visual arts. But presumably the judgments are more objective because they need to pass the editorial board. Critic Soedarso Sp says that artists do not like to be criticized. They think that being criticized means their weaknesses are exposed (Soedarso 1994). But Tisna Sanjaya hopes that art criticism can help the self-evaluation of the artists under review (Sanjaya, T, pers.comm., 19 May 2003). As Smith stated, criticism is the price artists pay for the right to live in a free society (Smith 1989, p.185).
The Curators

The presence of curators in the organizational structure of galleries flourished in the 1990s. The success of an exhibition relied on the ability of curators. It is considered important that curators be hired to select, gather and display the artworks that will be exhibited in the galleries.

At first, foreign curators were regularly visiting Indonesia to choose Indonesian artists for international exhibitions. Later, public and private galleries in Indonesia began to use curators as part of their exhibition organization. However, the role of the curator in Indonesia is not professionally developed: it is the first step in curatorship for the Indonesia art world. There is no standard yet for a curator. As Tisna Sanjaya states, it is very difficult to find an ideal curator, that is, a person who is always engaged in creative process and is always able to improve their knowledge in both regional and international trends in culture, economic and politics (Sanjaya, T, pers.comm., 19 May 2003).

The curator could be an artist, a visual art graduate who has the expertise to organize an art event, or an artist who runs a gallery. Asmujo Irianto, a lecturer and ceramicist in the Faculty of Fine Arts at ITB, acts as an independent curator and also as the curator for Galeri Soemardja, a gallery run by ITB. Irianto states that the catalogue essay written by the curator assists the public to appreciate the artist’s works and the critic has opportunity to judge the artwork including its value. He states, “When I am acting as an exhibition curator, I will not choose my own works to be exhibited.”25 (Irianto, A, pers.comm., 19 April 2003)

I shall argue that is very difficult to find the ideal critic who is independent, because of the potential conflict of interest as a curator in a private gallery or a collector. In fact the role of the critic is a mediator between the artist’s idea and audience. This also happens through the role of the curator, since there are no curators with scholarly expertise. Galleries now regularly involve curators especially for group exhibitions. Bentara Budaya Jakarta for example, welcomes guest curators on request from artists even though the gallery itself has a curatorial team.
Conclusion

It is very clear there is no standardization of prices in the Indonesian art market. As Sanento Yuliman mentioned there is price disorder (see Hasan 2001). This has happened because on the one hand the collection of painting is now seen as a new alternative asset. Therefore there is a huge demand for painting. On the other hand, following market demand, young painters have put higher prices on their work than experienced painters. This has created a chaotic situation driven by a lack of information and knowledge of a price ethic and no price standardization.

The collector and kolekdol have the power to control galleries, artists, and auction houses. Commercial galleries expect collectors to buy from their saleroom, but collectors and kolekdol prefer to go to the artists’ studios which are free of gallery commissions. Public galleries and art centres have failed in their responsibility to develop the visual arts due to lack of funds to support artists’ exhibitions.

If the gallery has a relationship of trust with the artists, as a contract agreement that benefits both parties, the collector will not go to the artist’s studio to purchase at a lower price than in the gallery. This means that artists are no longer expected to be merely craftsmen who are at the mercy of collectors. In this case too, the artist’s background, whether the ITB or ISI School, also influences their relationship with the market. The ISI students are more aware of the workings of the market. The curator is a new professional field that need develop due to the lack of scholarly expertise.

Along with the existence of the market, the debate in the art market leads to the conclusion that the market is a new form that has elicited many different responses, both supportive and negative. Its supporters hope that the emergence of the market will shine light on the dark side of art practice: surviving as an artist with no prospects, something that has haunted this profession. For artists it is impossible to pass up the market, because of their need to live and purchase art materials. For the kolekdol, the artworks could be seen just as status symbols for the middle classes. The artworks are treated as commodities.
Notes

1. John Clark described the ‘aristocrats’ as comprising artists who are privileged because of the power of their social group in society. Typically aristocratic artists produce not for money but for status. He pointed out that Raden Saleh was included this group (Clark 1998, pp. 117-119). After Raden Saleh, the famous artist included in this category is Basuki Abdullah. Most plebeian artists are engaged in artisan ateliers, often in graphic design. The plebeian product is usually sold for money to anonymous patrons of the mass market and often in multiples. A plebeian artist functions as one who serves a mass market for images but who has very little recognized status as an independent producer. The plebeian artist works much more directly with the patron or aristocrat and demand follows the mass market (Clark 1998, pp. 135-137).

2. “Banyak mahasiswa yang menjadi frustasi karena ketidakseimbangan antara cara mereka berpikir and kenyataan yang ada di luar. Banyak diantaranya yang keluar dan mencoba untuk menghadapi dunia nyata dengan menjadi seniman yang sesungguhnya atau seniman yang ingin menjadi kaya melalui ketrampilan yang sudah dimilikinya.”


5. Goenawan Mohamad, a prominent cultural figure, founded Komunitas Utan Kayu in 1996 in Jakarta, to facilitate art activities, such as theatre, music and film forums.

6. Due to the lack of financial support from the government, Galeri Nasional had the same fate as Museum Nasional (see relevant articles about the National Gallery in Chandra 2004; Christanto 2004, Harsono 2004; Hasan 2004; Sidharta 2004; Wahono 2004 & Siregar 2004). The Museum Nasional needed 60 billion rupiah, but only received 1.5 billion rupiah a year (“Museum di Indonesia Memprihatinkan” Media Indonesia online 1 March 2002). The museum is for Cagar Budaya (The Cultural Heritage) but lacked a security system (www.dki.go.id/jakartaku/museum). In contrast in 2003, Singapore provided funds and facilities to one Indonesian collector, Cahyadi Kumala, to run a private museum in Singapore (see Fadjri 2003, p. 98).

7. Before the Galeri Nasional (The National Gallery), was officially opened in May 1999, the collections were kept in three places: Gedung Galeri Nasional Indonesia (The Indonesian National Gallery Building); Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Kantor Direktorat Kesenian (The Art Section of Department of Education and Culture); and Museum Nasional (The National Museum) (http://www.gni.or.id/index.asp/id=about).

8. Other rich artists have had the same idea of having a museum or similar repository, such as Affandi (Museum Affandi), Popo Iskandar (Rumah Seni Popo Iskandar), Nyoman Gunarsa (Museum Nyoman Gunarsa), Dullah (Museum Dullah), Agung Rai (Agung Rai Museum) and Widayat (Museum H Widayat).

9. They are not famous or popular as public figures, such as the heads of conglomerates, but they are rich.

10. The city is close to mount Sumbing, which is rich in tobacco plantations. Collectors such as dr Oei inherited his parents’ skill as a tobacco taster for a tobacco company in Indonesia. Also Deddy Irianto, who owned a successful tobacco business, also lives in Magelang.

11. “Kolektor adalah pedagang yang lebih fanatic dan lebih bervisi longterm. Art dealer dan kolekdol Cuma lebih agresif dalam memasarkan karya”

12. Heri Dono’s interaction with the market started in the middle of 1986, when expatriates in Jakarta and other foreigners began to collect his paintings. When I first interviewed Heri Dono he told me that his involvement in the art market began in 1986. However, when I subsequently wrote to Heri Dono he withdrew his participation for this research stating that “This is because, as it happens, my works lose their way in things to do with the market”. (“Ini karena kebetulan saja karya-karyaku nyasar di masalah pasar”). This suggests that Heri Dono wants to separate himself from the market. Heri Dono is a well-known artist, especially in installation works which have been
collected by reputable museums and galleries, such as the Queensland Art Gallery in Australia, Museum Fukuoka in Japan, Singapore Art Museum.

13. “Lebih baik bayar beberapa kali daripada semuanya karena kalau dibayar sekaligus juga akan langsung habis juga,”

14. One of Oei’s brothers who works in the stock exchange asked him to recommend a good young painter. Oei said “Nasirun”. After he introduced his brother to Nasirun, the brother bought around 70 paintings. Agung Tobing, another of Oei’s relatives, did the same.

15. Critic Agus Dermawan T. named collectors starting with patronage of the Indonesian president, Soekarno in 1950s, followed by a high ranking member of the Indonesian army. Since 1969 the major collectors were Tjio Tak Djien, Toni Sulaiman, Oei Boen Po, Hendra Hadiprana, Alex Papadimitriou, Mardanus, Sunaryo Umar Sidik, LS Mantiri, Raka Sumichan, Joseph Sulaiman, Wing Hun Po, Ida Bagus Tillem, Sutedja Neka, Oei Boen Po, Kosasih, Nie Swan Tie, Tan Sioe Hong, Oesman Laban, Adam Malik, Santana, Hendra Hadiprana, Harris and Alex Papadimitrou, Joseas Leao (The Embassy of Brazil staff). In the 1970s-1980s, the major collectors were: Oei Hong Djien, Saiman Ernawan, Tjokroatmodjo, Arifin Panigoro, Somala Wiria, Omar Abdala, Putu Rabin, Budi Setiadharmo, Fauzi Bowo, Abdul Gani, Pia Alisyahbana, Tossin Himawan, Agung Rai, Ebed Winata, Gilbert, Sofjan Ismail, Robby Djoohan, John Mamesah, Henry Prabdi, Ida Bagus Tillem, Suteja Neka, Siti Hediati, Soehardjo and Sudwikatmono (Dermawan 2004 : 200). During the 1980s, especially the boom era approached the economic crisis of 1998, many were no longer active as collectors, however, many others filled in the gap, such as Edwin Rahardjo, Deddy Kusuma, Chekong, Tan and Deddy Irianto.

16. When Baker died in 1778, his corporation then belonged to George Leigh and his nephew, John Sotheby. Decades later the Sotheby family dominated the firm (http://www.search.sothebys.com/about/corporate/as_corphistory.html).

17. YSRI was established on 8 June 1994 to respond the painting boom. It is a non-profit organization that runs art activities such as art competitions, especially painting and organizes visual art exhibitions. (http://www.art-ysri.or.id/profil.asp)

18. Balindo was formed by George Gunawan. George and his partners approached troubled banks seeking to liquidate their assets, including paintings. They conducted fine art auctions, along with the regular auctions for goods, such as property and cars which they had previously owned, twice a year.

19. Many banks were faltering after incurring bad debts from the mismanagement of high-risk loans given to individuals in power as favors. BPPN has the task of collecting their assets including works of art. The most valuable paintings came from the collection of Bank Umum National, the National General Bank. This also includes here, for example the Bank Umum Nasional, Modern Bank, Hokindo Bank, Bank Sentris, Bank Subentra, Bank Dagang Nasional Indonesia and Bank Pelita (Mulyadi 1999).

20. Larasati was founded by Amir Sidharta, Yudi Wanandi and Daniel Kumala. This auction house is entrenched as the city’s leading auctioneer of Indonesian painting formed as strategic partnership with Glerum, the largest independent art and antique auction house in Holland. (http://www.larasati.com/larasati_about_us.htm;).


23. “Bagi yang berspekulasi itu bukan soal seorang seniman mapan. Tetapi juga perlu diingat, produktivitas itu sebuah tantangan. Produktivitas tidak selalu berarti menghasilkan karya yang jelek, tetapi menjadi sebuah tantangan untuk mengembangkannya.”


25. “Kalau saya mengkuratori pameran saya tidak akan memilih karya saya untuk dipamerkan,”
Conclusion

The globalisation of the market economy and the economic boom has had an impact in the way people look at art. The market for visual art, especially painting, in the international art market has flourished. The prices of paintings have jumped to record heights. Sotheby’s, Christie’s and other international auction houses and galleries have concentrated their marketing in the Asia-Pacific region as well. The works of ‘Asian’ old masters, Indonesian, Thai, and Filipino are in demand at the Singapore and Hong Kong auctions by collectors who have been collecting for years. The Indonesian Old Masters such as Raden Saleh, Sudjojono, Affandi and Hendra Gunawan are highly desired by Indonesian collectors. *The Deer Hunt* (1846) of Raden Saleh reached $US 1,915,373 in 1996, the highest prices ever at Christie’s auction house in Singapore for the work of a Southeast Asian artist.

In Indonesia, along with economic development, the art market has grown rapidly. Local galleries flourished especially in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and Bali. The number of exhibitions and the establishment of auction houses is evidence for the development of the Indonesian visual art boom since 1987. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of artists involved in the art market and an extraordinary increase in the price of paintings. Also it is believe supported by demand from the existence of middle classes concerned with picturing the prosperity of national economic progress.

While the economic collapse affected most businesses sectors in 1997, the domestic art market flourished as businessman turned to art as a new field for investment. Indonesian investors tended to purchase only Indonesian paintings at the Singapore and Hong Kong auctions with an interest in establishing their own art market in Indonesia.

There has been the establishment of a well-networked business in painting between the gallery, painter, curator, critic, collector and art dealer (*kolekdol*). Because there is no state support in Indonesia the patrons of artist are the individual collector and *kolekdol*. The *Kolekdol* have grown to be more dominant in the market. *Kolekdol* becomes the trendsetter. Many contemporary painters
with both good and dubious reputations have become rich; and some extremely rich.
Their works sell well both in domestic auctions and galleries. Certain artists become more popular than others in the market. This state of confusion happens because, as Yuliman contends, there is no standard. Standards are based on information and agreement; that is information about the artwork, the artists and the art world agreement with the information. Until now these standards have never developed in Indonesia.

In the development of the visual arts, art historians/critics and curators need to play a more important role. Their participation should support the art world’s development of its infrastructure and its development of ideas. This need extends to intellectual mentoring and guidance. This does not happen in Indonesia because most art critics and curators lack a basic understanding of art criticism. Generally, the Indonesian art critic and curator are not supported by sound academic achievement. Good curatorial practice can present a greater impact on audiences and attract more media attention. It is suggested that the debate of the price of paintings is more dominant than the discussion about the art itself. As reported in the media critics prefer criticising other critics with different points of view or ‘ideologies’. I believe the critics should write more balanced criticism on visual art itself. They should give information to the public and function as a ‘translator’ between artists and their audience. In practice, critics and curators have become the spokesmen for galleries promoting the interests of the galleries over the interests of the artists.

Another issue for artists in Indonesia is the lack of infrastructure, bureaucracy and funding bodies. For artist it is a serious problem. The museums, galleries and art facilities run by the government are very ‘poor’ institutions; poor in funding and poor in management. Development of the visual arts must parallel the development of any social institution through the building of an appropriate infrastructure. It is easy to understand that without this infrastructure government art institutions do not have power to influence ‘market’ practice. At this stage, I think, there is a need to increase the numbers of collectors that have more knowledge of art. Therefore, the domination of taste over speculation will spread.
In reality, the price of paintings continues to be dominated by kolekdol. This is the case because the establishment of art values in Indonesia still has a long way to go.

Indonesian auction houses such as Balindo and Larasati/Glerum that started some years ago, expected to form the standard for pricing paintings. It is argued that auctions houses are the only institutions where the public can find the true value of the work. When auction houses in Indonesia are well established, speculators who offer unreasonable prices and attempt to manipulate the market will not survive. Time will prove that quality painting will survive. To achieve this we surely need educational programs that support art-buying strategies.

Indonesia needs reputable art academics that become trendsetters to inform artists and the ‘market’. The curriculum of art schools requires some adjustment to include art management and professional practice subjects that will prepare students for an independent future in the international art world. Art students also need to develop their knowledge of the other side of art such as how to deal with the market. Art schools nowadays need to prepare students to be entrepreneurs and intellectuals as well, not merely to be teachers or bureaucrats. The artist has the central part to play in responding to and bargaining with the galleries, museums, art critics, curators, collectors and kolekdol and they need the skills to do so.

Novices will need to learn from established artists, like a baby learning how to crawl. The Indonesian visual art world will experience phases of growth to its maturity. The willingness of those who are for and against the market to find a meeting point and complement one another is crucial. This is necessary to achieve a unity of dialogue for the sake of the visual art world. In such conditions it would be expected that the position of artists would be ‘number one’, followed by the art historians and art critics and both collectors and kolekdol.
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