

A LITERARY MIRROR

V E R H A N D E L I N G E N
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

271

I NYOMAN DARMA PUTRA

A LITERARY MIRROR

Balinese reflections on modernity and
identity in the twentieth century



KITLV Press
Leiden
2011

Published by:

KITLV Press

Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

(Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)

P.O. Box 9515

2300 RA Leiden

The Netherlands

website: www.kitlv.nl

e-mail: kitlvpress@kitlv.nl

KITLV is an institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)



K O N I N K L I J K E N E D E R L A N D S E
A K A D E M I E V A N W E T E N S C H A P P E N

Cover photo: Teenagers in Balinese attire riding a bike in a contest to celebrate the anniversary of the city of Denpasar, Bali, 7 December 2009.

Photo by Komang Suryawan.

Cover: Creja ontwerpen, Leiderdorp

ISBN 978 90 6718 370 3

KITLV Press applies the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>) to selected books, published in or after January 2011.

Authors retain ownership of their copyright, but they permit anyone unrestricted use and distribution within the terms of this license.

Printed editions manufactured in the Netherlands

Contents

Abbreviations	ix	
Preface	xi	
I	Introduction; National literature, regional perspective	1
	Indonesian literature; An overview	4
	Newspaper literature	9
	Tension between national and regional literature	14
	Social commitment and mirror of identity	18
II	The development of Indonesian literature from Bali	27
	Historical overview	28
	The colonial period	32
	The national revolution period	40
	The New Order period	53
	The Reformation period	59
	Filling the space	64
III	From Balinese to Indonesian; Poetry from the colonial and national revolution periods	67
	Early poetry and the debate over traditional identity	68
	Contesting traditional status	73
	Social concern as a reflection of regional identity	
	Poems related to gender issues	86
	Shifting from regional to national identities	91
	Different types of national identities	100

IV	Reinventing Balinese cultural identity; Poetry from the New Order and Reformation periods	111
	Following the national pattern	111
	Poetry as self reflection	115
	Expressions of social concern	121
	Loss of land and identity	128
	Temple space and cultural loss	136
	Images of the human condition	140
	Voices of resistance	145
V	Contesting caste identity	149
	Literature and caste issues	149
	Intercaste marriage and status	152
	Caste in the play <i>Kesetiaan perempuan</i>	155
	Intergenerational caste conflict	160
	The tragedy of intercaste marriage	167
	The caste system and false identity	176
	Caste conflict and issues of gender	183
VI	Female identity; From repression to resistance	
	Gender issues in public discourse	191
	The representation of women as sexual objects	196
	Women as victims of progress	202
	Female identity and gender equality	207
	From repression to resistance	215
	Between male and female writing	223
VII	Balinese and Westerners	227
	Early encounters between Balinese and Westerners	230
	Between friend and intruder	233
	Stereotyping and changing perceptions	240
	Romantic relations and the possibility of intimacy	245
	Are you Mr Wayan?	253
	Romance and magic	255
	The absence of Balinese women characters	260
	Balinese identity and the 'Other'	262
	Conclusion	267

Appendices	
A Brief biographical notes on some Balinese writers	277
B Poems cited in Chapter III	285
C Poems cited in Chapter IV	305
D Poems cited in Chapter VI	329
E Sources of poems	337
F Sources of prose and plays	345
Bibliography	349
Glossary	371
Index	373

Abbreviations

GMNI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia, Nationalist Students' Movement of Indonesia
Himpi Bali	Himpunan Penulis Indonesia Bali, Association of Indonesian Writers, Bali branch
HPS	Himpunan Peminat Sastra, Literary Association
KKPI	Konperensi Karyawan Pengarang Indonesia, Indonesian Writers' Conference
Krismon	Krisis moneter, monetary crisis
Lekra	Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, Institute of People's Culture
Lesiba	Lembaga Seniman Indonesia Bali, Institute of Indonesian Artists in Bali
Listibiya	Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan, Committee for Cultural Advancement and Development
LKN	Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional, Institute of National Culture
Manikebu	Manifesto Kebudayaan, Cultural Manifesto
Manipol	Manifesto Politik, Political Manifesto
Nasakom	Nasionalisme-Agama-Komunisme, Nationalism, Religion and Communism
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia, Indonesian Communist Party
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, Indonesian Nationalist Party

USDEK Undang-undang dasar 1945 (1945 constitution),
Sosialisme Indonesia (Indonesian Socialism),
Demokrasi terpimpin (Guided democracy), Ekonomi
terpimpin (Guided economy) and Kepribadian
Indonesia (Indonesian identity)

Preface

In the mid-1920s, Balinese writers began to write new forms of literature in Malay, soon to be declared the national language of the future Indonesian nation. Their works were published in newspapers based in North Bali: *Surya Kanta* (The Beautiful Sun), *Bali Adnjana* (The Voice of Bali) and *Djatajoe* (The Messenger). Initially, most of the works written were *syair* and *pantun*, Malay poetic structures that were popular in the archipelago at that time, while short stories and plays appeared only occasionally. In the 1930s, in addition to poetry, plays and short stories, Balinese writers began to publish novels.

These new forms of literature are different from traditional Balinese literary genres, written in the Balinese or Old Javanese languages, which have developed at least since the sixteenth century (Creese 2004a:7). While traditional Balinese literature still continues to flourish, the birth of modern Indonesian literature in Bali in the 1920s not only marked a new phase in literary life on the island but also the beginning of Balinese writers taking part in the development of the national literature. This participation continues and the work of writers such as Panji Tisna (1930s), Putu Wijaya (1970s) and Oka Rusmini (2000s) has entered the Indonesian literary canon.

Since the 1950s Bali's contribution to national literature has not been limited to literary works. The island has also hosted various literary activities, and Balinese writers have attended events around the nation. A number of national literary and cultural congresses attended by representative writers from most Indonesian regions were held in Bali, as well as some international events. In 1962, for example, the left wing cultural organization Lekra (Lembaga

Kebudayaan Rakyat, the Institute of People's Culture) held its national conference in Denpasar. The conference ran successfully in terms of the number of participants taking part and the resolutions reached, and this led to Bali being selected as the venue for the executive meeting of the Asia-Africa Writers Council in the following year, 1963. In 1982 Bali hosted the Temu Puncak Penyair ASEAN (Summit for the Appreciation of ASEAN Poets) in Denpasar. More recently the International Literary Biennale was held in 2003, with some Balinese writers taking an active part.

Balinese writers have frequently been invited to participate in literary forums in Jakarta and in regional areas like West Sumatra, Lampung, West Java, Yogyakarta and Surabaya, and also in international poetry readings both in Indonesia and overseas, an example being the Winternachten Festival in the Netherlands. The sustained contributions of Balinese writers to the national literature and the lively range of literary activities on the island suffice to show that Bali is one of the major regional literary centres in Indonesia.

Despite this, Indonesian literature originating from Bali receives very little scholarly and critical attention. Although Bali has been one of the most densely studied areas in many academic fields (Schulte Nordholt 1996:vii), local and foreign scholars tend to overlook literary texts in Indonesian written by Balinese writers. It is as though this literature and its associated activities do not exist. In fact, like traditional Balinese literature and other forms of artistic representation, modern Balinese literature in Indonesian offers a rich reflection of various aspects of the social and cultural changes that Bali has experienced. In other words, it provides a mirror of how the Balinese respond to ongoing social, political and cultural changes.

This book marks the first attempt to study Indonesian literature from Bali in its immediate cultural and historical contexts. The study of Indonesian literature produced in the region is important both from the perspective of the development of the national literature and that of regional cultural and social changes. This study focuses on two general areas. It describes the development of Indonesian literature originating from Bali from 1920 to 2000 and how this literature has contributed to the national literary tradition. It then analyses the dominant themes that appear in the literature, and how they relate

to Balinese ideas about their regional and national identity. The book complements the predominantly national approach to the study of Indonesian literature, and also contributes to existing studies of Balinese society and culture through its use of literary texts and discourses.

The writing of this book was possible because of the generosity of the University of Queensland. In 1998 the university awarded me a four-year scholarship for postgraduate studies at the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies in the Faculty of Arts. In 2007, I was awarded a postdoctoral research fellowship, which allowed me to reshape my thesis into this book and also to carry out further research in areas that will lead to future publications. I want to thank the University of Queensland for all the support it has provided me.

I also wish to express my deepest thanks and gratitude to Associate Professor Helen Creese, who has encouraged me, supervised me, and supported me, for her wisdom, insight and scholarly brilliance, both during my postgraduate study and my postdoctoral research. Her deep knowledge of Balinese literature and culture has helped me in shaping this book. Without her, this book and my other projects related to Balinese literature and culture would never have come to fruition.

One focus of my research has been the issue of Balinese identities and how they are expressed in regional and national literature as well as in other texts. During the research and writing of this project, I received invaluable support and comments from many people. I would like to thank Henk Schulte Nordholt, Thomas Hunter and Keith Foulcher for their comments on this project, and Mark Hobart, Adrian Vickers, Thomas Reuters, Graeme MacRae, Michel Picard, Jeff Lewis, Belinda Lewis and Michael Hitchcock for their continued academic support and encouragement. I would like to thank my friends at the University of Queensland, including Simon Patton, Jo Grimmond, Annie Pohlman and Wijaya Herlambang, for their collegial support.

My gratitude is also due to a number of Balinese friends and authors who helped me when I was carrying out this research. They are Widminarko, IDG Windhu Sancaya, I Nyoman Wijaya,

Gde Dharna, Raka Santeri, IGB Arthanegara, Ngurah Parsua, Made Suarsa, Gde Aryantha Soethama, Frans Nadjira, Gde Artawan, Oka Rusmini, Warih Wisatsana, Tan Lio Ie, Putu Fajar Arcana, I Gusti Made Sukawidana, and Putu Oka Sukanta. I also would like to thank Prof. I Wayan Ardika, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Udayana University, Bali, for his academic and administrative support throughout my studies and the postdoctoral research program. I also thank my family – Diah, Ary and Siwi – who I always share happiness with when we are together and moments of sadness when we have to be apart, at times when we cannot all be together in either Brisbane or Bali.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my friend Christopher Dames, who read my drafts word for word on more than one occasion and improved certain weaknesses in my English. This book would have never attained its present form without his suggestions and his enthusiasm for learning more about Balinese culture, Indonesian language and literature. However, despite the significant help of many people, I retain sole responsibility for any shortcomings in this work.

A note on spelling

Titles of literary works and quotations from texts that use the old spelling system are given in the modern Indonesian spelling system, but the spelling of proper names – authors, publications, organizations, et cetera – follows the original form customarily used.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

National literature, regional perspective

Indonesia's literary world is heterogeneous, but based on language use and form its literature can be broadly divided into two sections: national literature and regional literature. National literature, also known as modern Indonesian literature, is that which is written in the Indonesian language, while regional literature is written in regional languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese and Buginese. The term 'regional literature' is ambiguous, because apart from referring to literature written in regional languages, it is also used somewhat pejoratively to refer to literature in Indonesian that originates at a regional rather than a national level. In this context, the term regional literature is defined in 'a negative way as being of appeal only to restricted audiences' (Kratz 1991:193). Similarly, the term 'regional writers' often has an inferior connotation when comparison is made with 'writers from the centre' – a term that refers to writers who live in the capital, Jakarta (formerly Batavia), have been nationally recognized or have written work regarded as part of the Indonesian literary canon. Both regional literature and its writers are considered, in post-colonial terminology, as 'an inferior Other' (Newton 1997:283).

The study of Indonesian literature continues to concentrate predominantly on its canon, a body of work written by nationally recognized writers and published in Jakarta – the political, economic and cultural centre of Indonesia. Good examples of this are the intensely studied novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and more recently those of Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Ayu Utami. Studies that focus on this canon exclude much significant work

from outside the capital and reinforce the idea that Jakarta is the centre of all literary activity (Sumardjo 1979 cited in Hellwig 1994:4; Hill 1993:246-7, 253). But, as Henk Maier (2004:494) has pointed out, although Jakarta 'has set the tone in the political as well as in the cultural arena of the Indonesian nation as whole' it remains a 'location that can in no way claim to represent life and experience' throughout the archipelago. In terms of literary life, Maier's point is that it is not possible to claim a comprehensive view of Indonesian literature without giving due attention to its manifestations at a regional level, beyond Jakarta. Will Derks' opinion (2001:369) that 'in the study of modern Indonesian literature almost all energy has been devoted to the literary work of authors published in the capital, Jakarta' clearly suggests that critics or scholars of Indonesian literature should also devote some energy to the study of national literature originating from regional centres.

A trend toward applying a regionally oriented approach to the study of Indonesian literature began to emerge in the late 1970s. Examples of this are Alberta Freidus's 1977 examination of the contribution of Sumatran writers to the development of Indonesian literature, Rosslyn von der Borch's 1987 study on art and activism in Central Java and Farida Soemargono's 1979 survey of literary groups in Yogyakarta between 1945 and 1960. Soemargono argues that while Yogyakarta is only a regional centre it is nevertheless vital to the overall development of Indonesian literature (Teeuw 1996:47). Andries Teeuw (1996:207) acknowledges the importance of Soemargono's study and suggests that similar research should be 'undertaken for other regional centres before it is too late and the materials are lost forever!'. His statement accepts that away from Jakarta, there are other centres where Indonesian literature is developing, with much literary work and activity that is worth studying. Among others, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, West Java, East Java and Bali are valid candidates to satisfy Teeuw's concept of 'other regional centres'.

Nearly two decades after the studies by Freidus and Soemargono, Derks, building on Soemargono's example, published a number of studies on the development of regional Indonesian literature (Derks 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 2001, 2002). In his essay on Indonesian *sastra pedalaman* (hinterland literature), Derks emphasizes the lively activities

of literary communities in various towns throughout the archipelago including Palembang, Pekanbaru, Bandung, Solo, Semarang, Ngawi, Malang, Denpasar, Pontianak, Banjarmasin and Makassar. Quoting Melani Budiarta, he also notes an expansion in the number of literary groups and clubs, now numbering around fifty, that has taken place in Jakarta and its surrounds, including Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi, and that they are 'only remotely connected to the literary establishment in the capital' (Derks 2002:344). This growth in literary activity in areas beyond the Jakarta 'centre' indicates that 'any endeavour to map the tradition of modern Indonesian literature in general can no longer afford to ignore or even dismiss these phenomena' (Derks 2002:344).

There has still been insufficient attention given to the development of national literature in regional centres. Among the few studies so far are those on Indonesian literature from Bali by Thomas Hunter (1998), I Nyoman Darma Putra (1998a, 1998b, 2000a), I Nyoman Wijaya (2000), Maya Sutedja-Liem (2000, 2003) and one on contemporary poems in Indonesian from West Java by Ian Campbell (2006). It is clear from the dates of these studies, and those of Derks, that they emerged during and after the last years of the centralizing New Order government, which finally gave way to a reformation movement in May 1998. The radical decentralization of government processes in the post-Reformation period and the increase in literary activities outside Jakarta has particularly encouraged these studies. Regional autonomy has made 'the region' an interesting subject of study (Aspinall and Fealy 2003; Schulte Nordholt and Van Klinken 2007), in the arts and culture as well as in the areas of politics and government, and regional studies will complement the nationally focused studies of Indonesian literature.

This book eschews a nationally oriented approach and follows the path pioneered by Freidus and Soemargono and established by Derks and others, using Bali as a case study. Bali has already proved to be a productive field for studies of anthropology, history, tourism, arts and traditional literature, but there has never been a comprehensive study of its modern literature in Indonesian. In reality, from the mid-1920s onwards the island started to produce a challenging range of work in modern literary genres, written in the national language (see

Chapter II). This study has two interrelated aims: to examine the development of Indonesian literature that comes from Bali and locate it within the totality of the national literature, through understanding the role played by Balinese writers in the progress of modern Indonesia's national literary traditions; and also to analyse how this literature reflects the changing ways Balinese have perceived their identity between the late colonial period and the end of the twentieth century.

Stuart Hall (1997:51) points out that identity is 'a "production", which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation'. This raises two points: that identity is not a fixed, final and static label for individuals or groups of people, as has conventionally been understood, but a changing, fluid, dynamic process; and that identity can be traced from a variety of forms of representation. Hall's position is supported by Simon During (2005:150) who emphasizes that 'all identities are in constant mutation'. Literature is a form of cultural representation, and can therefore be used to investigate the ongoing transformation of personal or collective identities. Following the dynamic view of identity, Jeff Lewis (2008:398) has argued that individuals 'have a degree of choice about who they are and which cultural elements they wish to mobilize in order to express their identity'.

Using these concepts of identity, this book examines how changes in identity construction are reflected in the literature that Balinese writers have written in Indonesian and how social and cultural politics influenced such identity mutation.

Indonesian literature; An overview

To understand the heterogeneous and multi-centred nature of Indonesian literature it is first necessary to present a broad overall survey of its development. Attempts to define what constituted the beginning of Indonesian literature continue. This involves a consideration of whether particular literary works should be included or excluded, the position of literature in regional languages, and works that were written by ethnic groups. The social and political situation

has always played an important role in the construction of the history of Indonesian literature. A recent attempt to include regional literature or literary work in regional languages such as Acehnese, Javanese, Sundanese and Buginese in the world of Indonesian literature, as seen in the anthology *Dari Fansuri ke Handayani* (From Fansuri to Handayani) (Taufiq Ismail et al. 2001), is closely connected to the radical shift in the Indonesian government system from central control to regional autonomy. Under the new system, regional cultures and literatures have become important and some of their literary history has undergone redefinition.

Initially, it was generally accepted that Indonesian literature emerged in the 1920s, when for the first time Indonesian writers began to use new forms of expression and articulate new social concerns, which had not customarily appeared in traditional literature (Teeuw 1967:1-2). The novels *Sitti Nurbaya* by Marah Rusli (1994, first published in 1922) and *Salah asuhan* (Wrong upbringing) by Abdul Muis (1928) are usually mentioned as examples of early Indonesian literature. These works were published by the Dutch-controlled publishing house Balai Pustaka and their subject matter centres on protests against *adat* (custom) in favour of modern values. There are two poems by Mohammad Jamin titled *Bahasa, bangsa* (Language, nation, 1921) and *Indonesia tumpah darahku* (Indonesia is my fatherland, 1928) that are also good examples because they express a new feeling of national identity.

The 1920s is usually also associated with the rise of the Indonesian nationalist movement. In 1928 the Congress of Indonesian Youth, in a famous and far-reaching symbolic gesture, relabelled the long-standing *lingua franca* of the archipelago, Malay, as Indonesian and declared it to be the national language. The poet Mohammad Jamin played an important role in formulating the Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Oath) when he included the spirit of nationalism from his poems in 'one fatherland, one nation and one Indonesian language'.¹ Just as the Indonesian language is a cultural and political adaptation of the

¹ For a critical discussion about the formulation, meanings and changes in wording in the history of the Youth Oath, see Foulcher 2000.

Malay language, so Indonesian literature has grown out of a long process of transforming Malay literature.

From its first manifestations, modern Indonesian literature developed under the patronage or control of the colonial government. A central role was played by Balai Pustaka (Bureau voor de Volkslectuur), established in 1917 with a policy of commissioning Indonesian literature in accordance with colonial practices (Teeuw 1972). Balai Pustaka had a strict rule that they would not print anything that discussed sex, politics, religion or race (Maier 2004:280). Works under consideration that did not comply with the publisher's policies were rejected or subjected to revision. For example *Salah asuhan* was only published after the author, Muis, revised the negative portrayal of one of its European characters, Corrie. In the original version she is killed by her sexual partner but after the revision she dies from cholera (Mahayana 2000:482). In another example Armijn Pane's *Belenggu* (Shackles) (1995) was rejected because apart from having political overtones, it was thought that the novel 'contains philosophical reflections about love, life, and death' aimed at adult readers, while the publisher's policy was primarily designed to 'edify and entertain secondary-school students on Java and the other islands and make them more sensitive to *literature*' (Maier 2004:281). The political goals of the colonial rulers defined what could and could not be published as Indonesian literature at that time.

Balai Pustaka was taken over by the Indonesian state after independence and still operates today, as a publisher of school textbooks as well as literature. During its period as the pre-eminent publisher, the social and political policies of successive governments strongly influenced what it published and consequently it controlled the direction in which Indonesian literature developed. To be published by Balai Pustaka was a major aim of every writer. However, from the 1980s onward, its dominant status was weakened by the emergence of many private publishers including Gramedia, Grasindo, Buku Kompas, Hasta Mitra, Indonesia Tera and Bentang. They have behaved more assertively than Balai Pustaka and have become a major factor in the publication and distribution of Indonesian literature – and except for Indonesia Tera (Surabaya) and Bentang (Yogyakarta) they are all located in Jakarta, the centre. A decrease in

government protection and subsidies rendered Balai Pustaka unable to compete with these new private publishers and caused it to lose its power over the direction of Indonesian literature. By the 1990s, the glory days of Balai Pustaka were over.

Ongoing research into Indonesian literary historiography offers a variety of insights into how the beginnings of a literary world in the archipelago are assessed. Rather than simply focusing on the relationship between literature, nationalism and the birth of the Indonesian state, researchers have looked at the nature of literary culture in the region that later became Indonesia and argued that the birth of Indonesian literature cannot be separated from a long preceding literary tradition. This research challenges the important role allocated to Balai Pustaka. Some studies, for example, have argued that modern Indonesian literature has antecedents in various forms of nineteenth-century Malay language literature written by Indonesians of mixed European-Indonesian descent (Indos) or of mixed Chinese-Indonesian descent (Chinese *peranakan*) and by other 'non-indigenous' residents of Indonesia.²

Modern literary features and deeply held social concerns had been displayed in works of Malay literature dating back to the nineteenth century (Chambert-Loir 1987, 1991; Jedamski 2002), so they were not a new phenomenon in the 1920s works published by Balai Pustaka mentioned above. Henry Chambert-Loir's study shows that there is a modern spirit and an interesting range of modern elements in the 'classic' Malay story, as exemplified in work by the Batavia-based writer Muhammad Bakir from the 1880s. Among the modern features of these stories are the inclusion of the author's name, the mode of expression used and comments made about contemporary life in Batavia. Henry Chambert-Loir's study offers an alternative way of defining modern literature in Indonesia as a continuation of earlier, late nineteenth-century literary works (Chambert-Loir 1987:147). His position is supported by Doris Jedamski's study on

² Watson 1971; Salmon 1981; Hellwig 1994. It should be noted here that the entire vocabulary of 'race' in Indonesia has been strongly influenced by colonial constructions of race and ethnicity. Important works on this subject include Maier 1993 and Stoler 1996.

the Malay translations of nineteenth-century European adventure and crime literature including *Robinson Crusoe*, *The count of Monte Cristo* and *Sherlock Holmes* and their adaptation into an Indonesian setting.

Although Jedamski's (2002:45) study emphasises the 'colonizing role' of Western popular literature in colonial society and its classrooms, it also makes clear that the enthusiastic popular response to these indigenous translations and adaptations into Malay and regional languages such as Sundanese and Javanese suggests that there was a lively literary life in Indonesia before the end of the nineteenth century. The studies by Chambert-Loir and Jedamski establish two points – that modern literary genres had been introduced to Indonesia in the nineteenth century, much earlier than had been generally accepted in the 1920s, and that the multi-ethnic origins of Indonesian literature and of its distribution across the archipelago can be confirmed.

Reprinting works that pre-dated the establishment of Balai Pustaka or were printed by other publishers is another way of redefining the beginning of Indonesian literature and the kind of work that formed it. There are a number of literary anthologies that in their own right offer new perceptions of the history of Indonesian literature. In 1982, Pramoedya Ananta Toer brought out a collection of stories from the early nineteenth century titled *Tempo doeloe* (Past times). He has termed this the literature of 'pre-Indonesia' (Toer 1982:9). Most of the works in the anthology were by writers of Indo-European descent and used the Malay language, and had been excluded from the Indonesian canon for political reasons by both the Dutch and Indonesian governments. For example, the Dutch colonial government labelled them *bacaan liar* (wild reading), considering them to be written in an inferior language style and not attuned to colonial moral standards and sensibilities (Tickell 1987:31). This also applies to works written by Chinese *peranakan* from the early twentieth century, which were usually published outside Balai Pustaka. The publication of *Tempo doeloe* aimed both to put early modern Malay writing back into public consciousness and to revise the history of modern Indonesian literature (Maier 2002:473).

The literary anthology *Dari Fansuri ke Handayani* (2001), aims at providing a 'snapshot' of Indonesian literature starting with the seventeenth-century writer Hamzah Fansuri and ending in the early 2000s with works by Handayani, a high school student who has produced one poetry collection, three novelettes and two plays (Taufiq Ismail et al. 2001:6). In his introduction, the editor states that the writing of Indonesian poetry began with Hamzah Fansuri, an Acehnese poet of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century who used the Malay *syair* form. The editor considers Fansuri as a 'great poet' and places his name in the title of the anthology to mark the beginning (*titik awal*) of Indonesian literature (Taufiq Ismail et al. 2001:5). Despite a lack of critical argument, the inclusion of works from the seventeenth century onward indicates that the book intends to redefine the history of Indonesian literature. It not only rejects the 1920s as the starting point but also includes literature in regional languages such as Javanese and Buginese in the corpus of national literature, reinforcing the heterogeneous nature of Indonesian literature.

Since 2000, work by writers of Chinese *peranakan* from the early twentieth century have been edited by A.S. Marcus and Pax Benedanto (2003) and reprinted in a series of books under the overall title *Kesastraan Melayu Tionghoa dan kebangsaan Indonesia* (Malay Literature by Chinese-Indonesian writers). Ten volumes have so far been published, each containing several items, mainly novelettes and plays. Among its many goals is to promote an acknowledgment of this group's contribution to the formation of the Indonesian nation, culture and literature. During the colonial period, these works were ignored, criticized for using low Malay and considered 'wild reading' but their current reprinting is evidence of the richness and variety of Indonesian literary life outside the Balai Pustaka mainstream in the 1920s and 1930s.

Newspaper literature

Indonesian national literature, which to some extent has developed like other world literatures through the publication of novels, poetry

anthologies and short stories, is still regarded by some critics as *sastra koran* (newspaper literature), because a major proportion of literary work first appears in newspapers and magazines.³ In the 1930s, Indonesian writers including Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana and Armijn Pane published *Poedjangga Baroe* (New writers), which became an important medium for writers who wanted to make their literary works and essays on arts and culture more available to readers. After independence, there were a number of magazines on literature and culture such as *Mimbar Indonesia*, *Sastra* and *Horison*. Along with Balai Pustaka, these relatively widely circulated journals became pillars of Indonesian literature.

Ulrich Kratz's *Bibliography of Indonesian literature in journals* (1988) clearly indicates the important role of newspapers and magazines as outlets for Indonesian literature. His volume was based on a survey of periodicals published between 1922 and 1982, where he identified more than 27,000 poems and stories as well as a smaller number of plays (see also Kratz 1987). From all this material, little ever appeared in books (Derks 1996b:342-3). Similarly, many important literary debates have taken place in newspapers and magazines. The ease and speed with which literary works can be published in these media, and the limited accessibility to commercial publishers before the early 1990s (Salleh 1991) are factors which have contributed to Indonesian literature being *sastra koran*. In regions like Sumatra and Bali, where commercial considerations were not the main motivation driving the production of literature, literary life and publication depended heavily on newspapers and magazines. In his *Sumber terpilih sejarah sastra Indonesia abad XX* (Selected sources for the history of Indonesian literature in the twentieth century, 2000), Kratz once again proves the important debt Indonesian literature owes to the print mass media, because most of the essays in this book were

³ 'Sastra Indonesia bukan sastra Buku', *Kompas* 25-9-1997. www.sriti.com is a website that was especially created to defend and celebrate the characteristics of Indonesian literature as *sastra koran*. Among other things, the site posts poetry short stories and other work from the main Indonesian newspapers published every week. From 2002 until October 2008, the site has uploaded 2,741 short stories. It also uploads new anthologies, containing poetry or short stories, which contain material that has been published in newspapers.

reproduced from magazines and newspapers such as *Poedjangga Baroe*, *Siasat*, *Horison*, *Star Weekly*, *Kompas* and *Suara Karya*.

The growing number of commercial publishers in Jakarta and in the other major cities of Java since the late 1990s who have been prepared to publish novels, short story collections and poetry anthologies has not necessarily meant an end to the *sastra koran* nature of Indonesian literature. This is because most prose and poetry anthologies and even novels published as books first appeared in newspapers. In addition, many literary figures work as editors or journalists for these newspapers or magazines, which helps to maintain the strength of *sastra koran*.

Nowadays, almost every respected newspaper and magazine in Indonesia contains a literary section with poetry, short stories and literary essays, which is usually included in the Sunday edition (Damono 2000:638; Ajidarma 1997:19). Until recently, newspapers like *Kompas*, *Republika* and *Media Indonesia* serialized stories (*cerita bersambung*), while women's magazines such as *Femina* continue to hold annual competitions for short stories or novelettes with the winning and highly commended works appearing in the magazine. Since 1991 *Kompas*, the biggest and most influential newspaper, has shown its commitment to arts and literature by selecting around 15 stories from those that have been published during the year and compiling them into a short story collection under the generic name *Cerpen pilihan Kompas* (The *Kompas* short story selection). The title of the best short story of the year is used for each collection and its writer receives a monetary award.

In addition to the best short story award, *Kompas* also gives an award for *kesetiaan berkarya* (writing loyalty) to a writer who has shown considerable achievement and has contributed many stories to the newspaper. Besides demonstrating the commitment of *Kompas* to literature, these long-standing awards also reinforce the image of Indonesian literature as *sastra koran*. The *Cerpen pilihan Kompas* anthologies form an excellent example of the variety of styles and themes used by both senior and junior writers as well as providing samples of the best contemporary Indonesian short stories. In his speech on receiving the 'writing loyalty' award in 2003, the prominent critic and short story writer Budi Darma commented that newspapers

have changed the status of the short story from a genre of *remeh* (no significance) to one of major importance.⁴

The limited space available in the print mass media obviously cannot accommodate all contributions sent to editors. Writers whose works are rejected are often disappointed and accuse editors of being in collusion with established writers or close friends when selecting the work they will print. The critic Saut Situmorang, as quoted by Maier (2004:499), attacked the editors of newspapers who give limited opportunities to young writers. Motivated by a desire 'to evade or resist the hegemony of those who control publications' (Maier 2004:498), in early 2001 a group of writers who were rarely selected by newspapers launched Cybersastra.net.com. It was relatively easy to publish work on this Cybersastra site, but doubts about the quality of this work emerged because it was not subjected to the same standards used by the print media (I. Campbell 2002:64). The literary editor of *Republika*, was quoted by Maier (2004:502) as saying that Cybersastra is no better than a rubbish bin, because poems that are accepted there (including Cybersastra.net.com) are those rejected by newspapers. Saut Situmorang considered this comment 'fascist' (Sambodja 2008:25). In a manifesto, he declared that cyber writers wanted to break the literary hegemony that he believed had been in the hands of editors of newspapers and their culture sections (Maier 2004:498-9).

To explain the intentions of Cybersastra and to prove the quality of work published on the web, Cybersastra.net.com issued printed anthologies of poetry, essays and short stories selected from what had been on the internet.⁵ But in 2008, Cybersastra.net.com can no longer be accessed, meaning that writers have to continue to look at the conventional print mass media as an outlet for their work. There are many internet sites such as Sriti.com and other personal blogs that continue to publish literary works but most of them are taken

⁴ See 'Djenar Mahesa Ayu, cerpenis terbaik Kompas 2003', *Sinar Harapan* 23-6-2003. <http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0306/23/hib03.html> (accessed 16-8-2008).

⁵ The poem anthology is *Graffiti gratitude* (2001), the essay anthology, *Cyber graffiti* (2001) and the short story anthology, *Graffiti imaji* (2002).

from works which have already appeared in newspapers,⁶ so they are not in competition with *sastra koran*.

A recent addition to the annual literary prizes is Pena Kencana (The Golden Pen), which commenced in 2008 and also highlights the important role currently played by newspapers in Indonesian literature. Nominations for these awards, one for the best short story and one for the best poem, were selected from 12 newspapers throughout Indonesia: *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Koran Tempo*, *Media Indonesia*, *Republika*, *Suara Merdeka*, *Jawa Pos*, *Lampung Post*, *Riau Pos*, *Bali Post*, *Pontianak Pos* and *Pikiran Rakyat*. The wide area covered by these newspapers confirms the multi-centred character of national literature. A judging panel of seven members including the respected critics Budi Darma and Sapardi Djoko Damono chose 20 of the best short stories and 100 of the best poems, which were then published by Gramedia as *20 cerpen Indonesia terbaik* (The best 20 Indonesian short stories) and *100 puisi Indonesia terbaik* (The best 100 Indonesian poems). Readers were invited to select the best work from each book and to vote for it via SMS, and as an incentive were given a chance to win three substantial prizes.⁷ The short story and poem that received the highest number of votes won the award. The winners of these inaugural Pena Kencana Awards were Seno Gumira Adjidarma's short story *Cinta di atas perahu cadik* (Love on an outrigger canoe) and Jimmy Maruli Alfian's poem *Kidung pohon* (The tree song), which each received Rp 50 million. Although this system of giving out literary awards, similar to voting for pop idols, was highly criticized,⁸ this scheme nevertheless reinforces the image of Indonesian literature as *sastra koran*.

⁶ For an example see the Putu Wijaya blog at <http://putuwijaya.wordpress.com> (accessed 20-9-2010) which contains those of his short stories that have appeared in various newspapers.

⁷ The committee provided Rp 50 million in prizes divided into three amounts: Rp 25 million, Rp 15 million and Rp 10 million. In 2008 there were only 3.172 SMS entries, a relatively small number, but perhaps this reflects the number of literary readers in Indonesia. <http://penakencana.com/pemenang-kuis-sms-pembaca-147.php> (accessed 10-10-2008).

⁸ For example, see Isbedy Setiawan ZS 'Anugerah Pena Kencana; Gak usah serius amat!', *Jawa Pos* 5-10-2008. <http://www.jawapos.co.id/mingguan/index.php?act=detail&nid=27365> (accessed 5-10-2008).

The awards will be given out annually and works will continue to be nominated from newspapers. The director of the Pena Kencana Award program, Triyanto Triwikromo, is himself a short story writer and journalist and during the launch of the 2008 Pena Kencana Award books was quoted by *Kompas* as saying that 'one cannot deny that today literature is *sastra koran*'.⁹

Tension between national and regional literature

Jakarta has been the main centre for the development of modern Indonesian literature since the 1920s and the mass media and publishers have always been more accessible there than in any regional city. Data provided by the Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia (IKAPI, Indonesian Publishers Association) shows that in the early 1990s, almost half of the publishing houses in Indonesia were located in Jakarta. The rest, while scattered throughout Indonesia, were still mainly located in Java (Sen and Hill 2000:25-6). Literature produced by Jakarta-based groups usually attracts national and international attention much faster than that printed by regional publishers, who do not have access to nationwide distribution networks. Recent evidence of this tendency can be seen in the publication of an anthology of English translations of Indonesian poetry, *Secrets need words; Indonesian poetry, 1966-1998* (Aveling 2001), which 'largely ignored regional poetry in favour of the work of poets in Jakarta and Yogyakarta' (Maier 2002:360). Similarly, most of the work included in Korrie Layun Rampan's anthology (2000) *Angkatan 2000 dalam sastra Indonesia* (Generation 2000 in Indonesian literature) was selected from periodicals based in Jakarta or other Javanese centres.

The tension between supporters of Cybersastra and literary editors of Jakarta-based newspapers and publishers is not a new phenomenon. There have been a number of similar protests launched by groups of writers who loosely identified themselves as regional

⁹ 'Sastra (koran) semakin diapresiasi', *Kompas* 3-8-2008, <http://cetak.kompas.com/read/xml/2008/03/08/02131156> (accessed 5-8-2008).

writers as opposed to national writers, and felt that their access to publishing houses with nationwide distribution was being blocked by editors who were thought more likely to give consideration to established national writers who mainly lived in the capital.

In the early 1970s, this centralization of Indonesian literature began to cause dissatisfaction among regional writers, particularly those living elsewhere in Java. In 1974, a group of them gathered in Bandung to carry out what they called a *pengadilan puisi* (trial of poetry). In this 'trial' they attacked the editorial members of the leading national literary magazine *Horison* and the literary editors of many Jakarta-based newspapers for giving no attention to work submitted by regional writers. In 1982, Jakob Sumardjo, a prolific regional critic from West Java, pointed out the arrogance of writers in the capital, who as a powerful clique could control the Jakarta-based arts centre Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM) and block the advancement of regional writers (Hill 1993:250).

Disillusionment with 'the centre', this body of so-called established writers, among young and regional writers continued during the 1980s and 1990s. In the mid-1990s, tensions between 'the centre' and 'the regions' resurfaced in discussions about *revitalisasi sastra pedalaman* (the revitalization of regional literature) provoked by Kusprihyanto Namma, leader of the literary community in Ngawi, a small city in East Java (Namma 1994; Faruk 1994). This polemic had more to do with access to publishers than with matters of aesthetics or literary quality. Regional writers felt that their access to publication was limited and this led them to complain about the dominance of 'the centre'.

The complaints resembled those aired in 'the trial of poetry' in Bandung almost two decades earlier. The difference in the 1990s was that a number of literary clubs in areas that supported the revitalization of regional literature were by then publishing alternative literary journals to accommodate their members' work, minimising their dependency on the Jakarta mass media. For example the Ngawi literary community issued a periodical *Jurnal Revitalisasi Sastra Pedalaman* (Journal for the Revitalization of Hinterland Literature), and a literary group in Bali called Sanggar Minum Kopi (The Coffee Drinkers' Literary Club) published the literary journal *CAK* (*Catatan*

Kebudayaan or Cultural Notes). Although these two periodicals did not last long, with *CAK* ceasing after five editions, mainly due to poor management and a lack of finance, they each illustrate the dynamic level of regional literary activity and regional writers' disappointment with 'the Jakarta centre'.

It is difficult to prove whether 'the centre' really did have the power to control and restrict publication of work by younger and regional writers and it is also hard to measure whether this 'centre' actually belittled them. Literary journals like *Horison* (since 1967) and *Kalam* (since 1994) and nation-wide newspapers like *Kompas* and *Media Indonesia* have all continued to publish works written by such writers. The Dewan Kesenian Jakarta (Jakarta Arts Council) has regularly invited regional authors, including some from Bali, to take part in the annual literary forums held by Taman Ismail Marzuki.

Although these achievements are all incremental improvements, the debate over 'the emergence of regional literature' remains of considerable importance. The suggestion is that while there has been real development of national literature at a regional level, it has never been granted much recognition. In addition the debate has clearly defined an important change in the nature of modern Indonesian literary discourse, by reintroducing the regional issue into national focus and drawing it to the attention of critics. For example, after studying the development of national literature in works from regions such as Riau (Sumatra), Semarang and Solo (Central Java), Ngawi, and Denpasar (Bali), Derks (2002:338) concluded that:

modern Indonesian literature is a heterogeneous, multi-centred literature and any approach or endeavour to understand it cannot afford to neglect this heterogeneity in which Jakarta is just one of the centres that contribute to a larger totality.

The acknowledgment of the value of the regions and their writers to national literary life as a whole has increased remarkably since the Reformation period started. National and international poetry festivals held in Jakarta have also held sessions in regional cities to allow regional poets to participate, and other festivals have been held entirely outside Jakarta. The 2002 International Poetry Festival headed by the poet W.S. Rendra, for example, held sessions in Bandung,

Makassar and Solo (I. Campbell 2002:57-62) and the International Literary Biennale, organized by Utan Kayu, Jakarta, since 2001, has been spread between Jakarta and two or three other cities. In 2003, Denpasar was one of the host cities, reinforcing Bali's reputation as a regional literary centre. Literary book launches in regional cities like Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya and Denpasar now take place as frequently as in Jakarta, confirming the multi-centred nature of contemporary Indonesian literature.

Recent radical changes to the Indonesian system of government and politics, through the implementation of regional autonomy and other decentralization measures, have provided an environment conducive to this renewed regional focus. For example, a seminar on local voices in Indonesian literature took place in Surabaya in 2003 and a literary seminar sponsored by Mitra Praja Utama (The Group of Major Provincial Governments),¹⁰ first held in Banten in 2004, was then followed by a second session in Bali in 2006 and a third in Bandung in 2008. It is also clear that Jakarta-based arts institutions and clubs do not monopolize literary initiatives involving writers from Indonesia's regions, as they are also being undertaken by local literary groups.

The Jakarta Arts Council's publication of regional short story and poetry collections under the series name *Cakrawala sastra Indonesia* (Horizons of Indonesian literature) in 2004 attests to a more positive attitude toward the promotion of regional Indonesian literature. There are three collections of each genre, each representing an individual region – the poetry of West Java, Bali and Makassar and short stories from Riau, Yogyakarta and East Java. This project helped readers to understand that Indonesian literature was not solely the product of

¹⁰ Mitra Praja Utama is an organization of ten Indonesian provincial governments whose aim is to foster close cooperation in various development sectors which include arts and culture. Its members are the provinces of Jakarta, Banten, West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, Lampung, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara and East Nusa Tenggara. A literary conference has been included in its program. This is intended to provide a forum for representative literary figures, critics and students from each province to meet and discuss the local development of literature and its relationship to Indonesian literature as a whole. Hosting this event will rotate between provinces. Bandung hosted the 2008 meeting at which a decision was taken for the conference to become an annual event.

Jakarta-based writers and assisted in bringing regional issues to their attention.

Further recognition of 'non-centre' writing came with the presentation of the most prestigious annual Indonesian literary award, 'Hadiah Sastra Khatulistiwa' (The Khatulistiwa Literary Award),¹¹ to a short story collection entitled *Mandi api* (Bathed by fire) by the Balinese writer Gde Aryantha Soethama in 2006. This award was first given in 2001. He and the Sumatran Gus Tf Sakai are the only writers among more than 12 who have received the award up to 2008 who do not live in Jakarta or one of the other major Javanese cities,¹² and the granting of their awards acknowledges the improving quality of regional writing and the greater recognition deserved by the work of regional writers. So, gradually, the status of regional Indonesian literature as an 'inferior Other' is diminishing.

Social commitment and mirror of identity

Indonesian literature, especially that which has appeared since the early twentieth century, has always been heavily concerned with social commitment and issues of regional and national identity. Writers have used it to spread the spirit of nationalism and to promote other social and political ideas that reflect the most important experiences of the Indonesian people. The poems by Mohammad Jamin referred to above, *Bahasa, bangsa* (1921) and *Indonesia tumpah darahku* (1928),

¹¹ The Khatulistiwa Literary Award was initiated by the entrepreneur Richard Oh in 2000 to encourage high quality in Indonesian literature and criticism. Selection of the winner involves a tightly 'audited' process of jury deliberation. For example, for the 2006 award there were three rounds of judging involving 43 judges with a variety of literary taste and expertise. The successive rounds used 21, 15 and 7 of these judges (*Suara Merdeka* 18-11-2006, <http://www.suamerdeka.com/harian/0611/18/bud05.htm> (accessed 10-11-2008)).

¹² Some of the other writers who have received the awards are Goenawan Mohamad, Remy Sylado, Hamzad Rangkuti, Seno Gumira Ajidarma, Lina Chrystanti, Sapardi Djoko Damono, Joko Pinurbo, Dorothea Rosa Herliany, Acep Zamzam Noor, Ayu Utami, Nirwan Dewanto and Wa Ode Wulan Ratna. On the various forms of literary awards and their role in the development of Indonesian literature since 1998, see I. Campbell 2002.

provide early examples of identity politics in Indonesian literature. While the first poem deals with the idea of nation in the restricted context of Sumatra, the later one expresses the idea of an Indonesian nation, reflecting an important shift in identity construction from regional to national identity. The novels *Sitti Nurbaya* and *Salah asuhan* both defend the importance of Minangkabau tradition in Sumatra and display a strongly anti-colonial sentiment (Salam 2003:17).

The main characters in the two novels both have a Dutch educational background, and their behaviour reflects their ambition to become Dutch. They are shown as trying to stay away from their culture. At first they appear to be symbols of modernity, but by the end of the stories they are portrayed as examples of a divided self, uprooted from their own society but failing to obtain European identity. Samsul Bahri in *Sitti Nurbaya* is portrayed as a traitor when fighting on the colonial side against his own people, while Hanafi in *Salah asuhan* fails to realize his ambition to become Dutch. When he dies his body is at first refused burial in the village cemetery because he is considered to have become Dutch ('*karena ia sudah masuk Belanda*'). After a meeting of the village elders, they finally sanction a cemetery burial; this indicates both the importance of Minangkabau *adat* and that being Dutch offers him no protection (Hunter 2002:140). The moral message of the two novels is the importance of cultural and ethnic identity.

Literature and essays on culture in *Poedjangga Baroe* in the 1930s also show a consistent sense of the significance of being Indonesian. This journal was important as an outlet for publishing literary work and also mediated an important *polemik kebudayaan* (cultural polemic) where nationalist activists exchanged ideas about the ideal culture for the proposed new Indonesian nation (Mihardja 1977; Foulcher 1991). While Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana asserted the importance of Indonesian culture being developed using modern and Western culture, Sanusi Pane and others argued that traditional culture and Eastern values should be used as the foundation of this new culture. Despite their different perceptions of the future Indonesian culture, writers from this period, known as Angkatan Pujangga Baru (The New Writers Generation), named after the journal in which they published, undoubtedly showed great concern about the national

issues that would affect the Indonesian nation which did not formally exist until 1945.

They were collectively or individually obsessed with a new language, a new literature, a new culture and eventually a new nation (Maier 2004:306). Literary works by poets of the 1920s and members of the *Poedjangga Baroe* circle of the 1930s show a strong tendency to express a political concept of Indonesian nationalism (Foulcher 1977:39, 1991).

The idea of identity politics continued to provide subject matter for Indonesian literature both during the 1940s and after independence. Chairil Anwar's poems *Diponegoro* (1943) and *Kerawang Bekasi* (1948) express the levels of nationalism and heroism demanded in the struggle to achieve and maintain independence. In *Diponegoro*, Chairil recalls the heroic spirit of Prince Diponegoro, a Javanese hero who fought against the Dutch in the Java War of 1825-1830, by saying: *maju, serbu, serang, terjang* (move forward, attack, invade, strike). The early writings of Pramoedya Ananta Toer such as *Keluarga gerilya* (Guerilla family, 1950), *Di tepi kali Bekasi* (On the bank of Bekasi river, 1951), and *Percikan revolusi* (Fragments of the revolution, 1957) are all set during the national revolution. These novels explore various aspects of the independence struggle and evoke a feeling of anti-colonialism akin to that underlying literature from the 1920s. Writers, artists and cultural activists of the 1940s came together in a group later labelled Angkatan 45 (The 1945 Generation) by H.B. Jassin (1964, 1968), who modelled the term on Angkatan Pujangga Baru, but gave it the name of Indonesia's year of independence. One of the important goals of Angkatan 45 was to bring the idea of Indonesian independence to realization (Mihardja 2000), but writers differed sharply on whether this idea should be articulated through literature as direct propaganda or by more subtle methods. These differences led to a debate about 'art for the people' or 'art for art's sake'.

This conflict between 'art for art's sake' and 'art for social and political propaganda' came to dominate Indonesian literature during the 1950s and 1960s. This debate was intensified by the emergence of the left wing cultural organization Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (Lekra, the Institute of People's Culture), an arm of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) which openly used

literature for political propaganda. By the early 1960s, Lekra had become one of the strongest cultural organizations, labelling those who rejected its principles as anti-revolutionary artists. According to Budi Darma (1989:1), Lekra was very effective in its attacks on non-communist artists and writers. Some writers who felt uneasy with its propositions eventually organized themselves and proclaimed a dissenting position on the arts and literature, under the name *Manifesto Kebudayaan* (Manikebu, Cultural Manifesto). While Lekra promoted social realism from the left, from the right Manikebu became associated with universal humanism. Conflicts between Lekra and Manikebu were unavoidable and closely paralleled those in the broader political situation.¹³

The social, political and economic crisis during this period had encouraged poets to write on the theme of identity crisis, as for example shown in Taufiq Ismail's poetry anthology *Tirani dan benteng* (The tyrant and the fortress, 1993).¹⁴ While aware of the crisis, in one of the poems in his collection, *Kita adalah pemilik sah republik ini* (We are the legal owners of this republic, 1966), he encourages people to move forward and develop the republic. The opening lines of the poem are provocative: 'There is no other choice / we have to keep going / because to stop or take backward steps / means to perish.'¹⁵ Although Taufiq Ismail was a supporter of Manikebu, his work was not characteristic of that group and did not reflect its values of universal humanism.

The reaction to the alleged communist coup attempt of 1965 brought an end to the PKI and Lekra. The New Order Government banned these and all other left-wing organizations, and their key figures and followers were killed or imprisoned. The banning of Lekra brought Manikebu to a position of literary dominance and

¹³ For a detailed study of Lekra, see Yahaya Ismail (1972) and Foulcher (1986), and for the conflict between Lekra and the Cultural Manifesto group see Foulcher (1969, 1994a) and Mohamad (1988). For the clash between the Bali branch of Lekra and its local opponent, see Putra (2003).

¹⁴ This anthology combines two collections which had been originally published in the 1960s, *Tirani* (1966) and *Benteng* (1968).

¹⁵ 'Tidak ada pilihan lain / Kita harus / Berjalan terus / Karena berhenti atau mundur / Berarti hancur.' (Taufiq Ismail 1993:113.)

the New Order government promoted their preferred universal humanist approach as the mainstream Indonesian literary style. Goenawan Mohammad (one of the signatories to the Cultural Manifesto), Sapardi Djoko Damono and Sutardji Calzoum Bachri are among those who wrote obscure poetry in the 1970s and 1980s, using a poetic style that expresses universal or abstract themes and lacks explicit connection to the socio-political reality of the country. In prose Danarto, Budi Darma and Putu Wijaya were grouped in this anti-realist category. Their short stories and novels were notable for absurdist themes.¹⁶

Dissenting from the 'obscure poetry' mainstream, a few writers including the poet and dramatist W.S. Rendra continued to write in a realistic style, directly confronting the New Order's social, political and economic policies. This is evident in his poem *Potret pembangunan dalam puisi* (A portrait of the developments in poetry, 1974) and his play *Kisah perjuangan suku Naga* (The struggle of Naga tribe), written in the 1970s and still being performed in the 1980s in several cities including Jakarta and Bandung. The play is an allegory of greedy and corrupt Indonesian officials who exploit natural and cultural resources while closing their eyes to the community's needs.¹⁷ Because of this play and various other works filled with sharp social criticism, Rendra and his theatre group, Bengkel Teater, were rarely granted permission to perform plays or poetry readings when the New Order regime was at the height of its power.

Although there had been some literary works dealing with social issues, critics stated that Indonesian literature was still dominated by universal humanism themes, pointing to obscure poetry and the absurdist style of stories and plays. Contextualist critics like Ariel Heryanto and Arief Budiman rejected the dominant concept of universal humanism (Heryanto 1985; Foulcher 1987). They encouraged writers to write about real, contemporary issues faced by

¹⁶ Teeuw 1996:182-90; Foulcher 1993:31. While it is widely accepted that Putu Wijaya should be included in the non-realist category of writers, it should nevertheless be borne in mind that some of his early works, which are discussed in this book, (see Chapters V and VII) and some later works can be classed as realist writing as they are set in Bali and explore changes in the social and cultural lives of the Balinese people.

¹⁷ For a review of the text of the play, see Anderson 1981:428-30.

Indonesian society instead of escaping to the realm of the imagination. Their suggestions provoked a debate on *sastra kontekstual* (contextual literature) during the second half of the 1980s. This debate was also partly inspired by the 1980 publication of *Bumi manusia* (This earth of mankind) the first volume of Pramoedya's quartet of socio-historical novels, following his release from prison (Foulcher 1987; Allen 1999b:29). Many writers rejected the idea of *sastra kontekstual* because they thought that it would encourage the use of literature as social propaganda in the manner of left wing writers of the 1960s (Foulcher 1994b:66).

Apart from Pramoedya's Buru tetralogy, many other novels also deal with social change and national identity, such as those written by Y.B. Mangunwijaya including *Burung-burung manyar* (The weaverbirds, 1980) *Durga Umayi* (1991), and *Burung-burung rantau* (Wandering birds, 1993). Critics argue that these novels attempt to deconstruct Indonesian history by showing it from the perspective of common people rather than national heroes (Allen 1999a; Keeler 2002). Mangunwijaya's novels, especially *Burung-burung rantau*, also offer ideas about *pasca*-Indonesia (post-Indonesian) identity as opposed to the narrow-minded nationalism expressed in the slogan 'my country right or wrong' (Sindhunata 1999; Allen 1999a). An expression in *Burung-burung rantau* that says that 'Our generation are wandering birds who are flying off to other continents'¹⁸ presents a clear message about the importance of post-Indonesian identity. Ideas of global identity that show enthusiasm for Western values remind us of the ideas that Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana expressed during the 1930s cultural polemic.

Socially and politically themed poetry began to appear in the early 1990s in *Horison* and the newspapers *Media Indonesia* and *Kompas* and this continued until the downfall of the New Order administration on 21 May 1998 (Aveling 2001). Poets like Sutardji Calzoum Bachri and Sapardi Djoko Damono, who had been closely associated with abstract or obscure poetry, began to articulate social concerns in their poems. Sutardji's poem entitled *David Copperfield realitas '90* (David

¹⁸ 'Generasi kita adalah burung-burung rantau yang sedang terbang ke benua-benua lain.' (Mangunwijaya 1993:297.)

Copperfield's reality '90) (*Horison*, July 1993:14) associates Indonesia with the well-known magician David Copperfield and portrays it as a magical and corrupt country, full of illusions. Sapardi's poem entitled *Dongeng Marsinah* (Marsinah's tale) (*Kalam* 8, 1996:58-60) features a character named Marsinah, a lower class labourer from East Java, who is tragically killed while struggling for her rights as a worker. Younger poets such as Esti Prabowo and Wiji Thukul also began to write poems protesting against the New Order regime (Herlambang 2005).

Wiji Thukul wrote many anti-government poems and one of his works has a popular line that runs '*maka hanya ada satu kata: lawan*'.¹⁹ The word '*lawan*' ('resist'), as a reminder of that popular line, was frequently quoted in the public protests that took place during the movement to overthrow the authoritarian New Order regime. This and his other poems, which were published in the anthology *Aku ingin jadi peluru* (I want to be a bullet, 2000), were still popular throughout Indonesia for some years after the fall of the New Order. Presumably because of these critical poems and his involvement with the workers' rights struggle, Wiji Thukul disappeared in 1996. As no trace of him has ever been found, the public assumption is that he was probably kidnapped and killed. Although many other poets have written with social and political motivation and criticized the Indonesian government, Wiji Thukul has become the best-known literary figure of the transition from the New Order to the Reformation period.

Another important development has been the emergence of women writers whose works attract wide attention. They include Ayu Utami, Dee Lestari, Oka Rusmini, Dorothea Rosa Herliany and Djenar Maesa Ayu, most of whom are included in *Angkatan 2000 dalam sastra Indonesia* edited by Korrie Layun Rampan. One distinctive characteristic of their work is the explicit discussion of sexuality (Marching 2007; Bodden and Hellwig 2007), and their writing is starting to rectify the perceived gender imbalance within Indonesian literature from a situation of dominance by male writers

¹⁹ '[T]hen there is only one word: resist'. This poem is quoted in full in Derks 1996c:42-52. For a discussion of Wiji Thukul's works, see also Sen and Hill (2000:42-4) and Herlambang (2005).

(Hatley 2002; I. Campbell 2002:45-52). *Saman* (1998) by Ayu Utami is one of the most prominent works by women writers. Besides challenging the sexual taboos against women, *Saman* also delivers 'an explicit socio-political critique of the oppressive and violent nature of the Suharto regime, relating how Saman, a Catholic priest, stands side by side with South Sumatran plantation workers in their struggle for social justice' (Bodden and Hellwig 2007:1). Such critical ideas were impossible to express when Suharto's power was at its height. Oka Rusmini's *Tarian bumi* (The dance of the earth, 2000), set in Bali, assigns dominant roles to female characters who challenge the right of the local caste system and its values to define traditional Balinese ideas of identity (see Chapter IV) and also contains an explicit sexual discussion including a brief description of lesbianism. Women who identify as more assertive, outspoken and independent have replaced the succession of submissive female characters in earlier works.

All these significant changes in the Indonesian literary landscape coincide with radical changes in Indonesian political life and freedom of expression following the fall of President Suharto in 1998. The debate about *sastra kontekstual* as a writing strategy is now outdated since many contextual literary works have been published during the post-Reformation era. Apart from encouraging authors to focus more on social and political changes, the political atmosphere in contemporary Indonesia also provides a situation in which they can explore their creative power with almost unlimited freedom and with little concern about possible censorship. Indonesian poets continue to be interested in writing about national identity, as shown by a well-known Taufiq Ismail poem titled *Malu (aku) jadi orang Indonesia* (I'm ashamed to be an Indonesian, 1998). This poem was written in 1998, when the *krisis moneter* (monetary crisis) and political turmoil that forced Suharto to step down was occurring. The tone and theme of this poem echoes the same poet's *Kita adalah pemilik sah republik ini* (We are the legal owners of this republic, 1966), written during the economic and social crisis in the mid-1960s. Both reflect Indonesian writers' sensitivity in responding to situations of financial, social and political crisis, and using these situations to reconstruct their national identity.

It is clear that social concerns and identity have been consistent themes in Indonesian literature and therefore it is accurate to say that the national literature is a mirror of the ways in which Indonesians define and redefine their identity across different periods of time and in different social and political situations. How the topics of identity construction and identity negotiation are reflected in Indonesian literature written in Bali is discussed in Chapters III to VII, but the next chapter will present an historical sketch of Indonesian literature from Bali in order to provide a general background.

CHAPTER II

The development of Indonesian literature from Bali

Balinese have been part of the national literary endeavour throughout the twentieth century, but scholarly discussion of their contribution tends to be limited to acknowledging well-known names like Panji Tisna from the 1930s and Putu Wijaya from the 1970s. Panji Tisna, the first author from Bali to be given recognition as a national figure in Indonesian literature, is included in the Angkatan Pujangga Baru or 'New Writers Generation'. In the early 1930s, Balai Pustaka published two of his novels, which are still widely read and studied. Like many of the other early novels published by Balai Pustaka, Panji Tisna's novels continue to be reprinted, reinforcing his reputation as a famous novelist from Bali on the national literary stage. Putu Wijaya started to gain national recognition in the 1970s, and since then has become one of Indonesia's most prolific writers. His output includes novels, short stories, dramatic work and cultural essays, as well as writing and directing films. He also founded his own theatre and directed plays there, and has been invited to perform and give theatre workshops in countries as varied as Japan, Greece and the United States. He has always been identified as Balinese, even though he moved to Yogyakarta in the 1970s, and has lived in Jakarta since the late 1970s.

Besides these two well-known writers, Bali has produced many other writers whose works and literary activities have played a significant role in the development of Indonesian literature since the 1920s. They include poets, novelists and short-story writers who have appeared in both the local and national mass media. Some of them have received national recognition or won prestigious national literary awards. In addition, many of them have been invited to

attend international, national or regional literary activities held either in Indonesia or in other countries such as Malaysia, the Netherlands and France. There are also many Balinese writers who have remained unknown at the national level, but have nevertheless contributed to the large body of Indonesian literature from Bali. Bali is often selected as the venue for national or international literary festivals, which provide important chances for Balinese writers to participate and establish networks with writers from elsewhere and also reaffirm Bali's position in the life of national literature.

The significant impact made by Balinese writers on the long-term development of Indonesian literature has been more widely appreciated recently (Bachri 2000; Rampan 2000). In his introduction to a special *Kompas-Bentara* edition of poems from Bali (1 September 2000), the 'president of Indonesian poetry', Sutardji Calzoum Bachri, noted that as well as in poetry, Balinese writers have also made an important contribution to the development of Indonesian literature in prose and other literary forms. Korrie Layun Rampan has included a number of young Balinese writers as part of Angkatan 2000 or the 2000 Generation of Indonesian literature, reminiscent of the inclusion of Panji Tisna in Angkatan Pujangga Baru.

What follows is an overview of the progress of Indonesian literature in Bali from the 1920s to 2000, highlighting its distinctive features. This time span covers four broad periods: the colonial (1920s to 1945), national revolution (1945-1965), New Order (1965-1990s) and Reformation (1990s to the present) periods. Although these dates are approximate, as activities in some cases overlapped, the literature of each period displays particular characteristics that define it. The significant social and political currents that have influenced the writing of this literature in Bali in important ways also mark each period and are also discussed.

Historical overview

As indicated previously, Indonesian-language literature began in Bali in the 1920s through the medium of the periodicals *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana*. While modern literature in Malay or Indonesian

had been in existence elsewhere in the archipelago in the nineteenth century, in Bali there is no evidence to suggest the existence of any modern Indonesian literary works by Balinese writers before the 1920s. Publication in newspapers and magazines therefore started as, and remains, the main medium for literary production. Only a few works have appeared in books, and most of these had been published earlier as *sastra koran*. So there is no doubt that Indonesian literature originating from Bali should be considered *sastra koran*.

Table 1 shows an almost unbroken series of significant twentieth-century Balinese publications in which literary works appeared and illustrates how important newspapers and magazines were for Balinese authors.

Table 1. Balinese publications since the 1920s

Name	Place	Publisher	Affiliation	Year(s)
Shanti Adnjana	Singaraja	Shanti	all four castes	1924-1925
Bali Adnjana	Singaraja	IGP Tjakra Tenaja	upper caste	1925-1931
Surya Kanta	Singaraja	Surya Kanta	lower caste	1925-1928
Bhawanegara	Singaraja	Lieftrinck-Vander Tuuk Foundation	Dutch-sponsored	1931-1935
Djatajoe	Singaraja	Bali Darma Laksana	unknown	1936-1941
Suara Indonesia*	Denpasar	Board of Suara Indonesia	unknown	1948 -1965
Bhakti	Singaraja	Unknown	unknown	1952-1954
Damai	Denpasar	Yayasan Kebhaktian Pejuang	nationalist	1953-1955
Imbangan	Denpasar	Partai Sosialis Indonesia	socialist party	1954 - ?

Name	Place	Publisher	Affiliation	Year(s)
Harapan	Singaraja	unknown	unknown	1958- ?
Harian Bali Dwipa	Denpasar	PKI	communist party	1964-1965
Mingguan Fajar	Denpasar	PKI	communist party	1964-1965
Suluh Indonesia* (Bali edition)	Denpasar	Gesuri Foundation	nationalist party	1965-1966
Suluh Marhaen* (Bali edition)	Denpasar	Gesuri Foundation	Nationalist Party	1966-1971
Harian Angkatan Bersendjata**	Denpasar	Kodam Udayana	armed forces	1966-1978
Bali Post*	Denpasar	PT Bali Bali Post	independent	1971-present
Nusa Tenggara**	Denpasar	Kodam Udayana	armed forces	1978-1998
Cak	Denpasar	Yayasan Cak	independent	1995-1997
Nusa / Nusa Bali**	Denpasar	Kodam Udayana	armed Forces	1998- present

* *Suara Indonesia* changed its name to *Suluh Indonesia* in 1965, to *Suluh Marhaen* in 1966, and to *Bali Post* in 1971.

** *Harian Angkatan Bersendjata* changed its name to *Nusa Tenggara* in 1978, to *Nusa* in 1998 and to *Nusa Bali* in 2004.

The colonial period saw five periodicals published in Bali by social organizations whose members were mainly educated Balinese, such as teachers and administrative officials in the Dutch bureaucracy. They included *Shanti Adnjana* (The voice of peace), *Bali Adnjana* (The voice of Bali), *Surya Kanta* (The beautiful sun) from the 1920s, and *Bhawanegara* (The expression of nationhood) and *Djatajoe* (The Messenger) from the 1930s. They all used the Malay or Indonesian

language, but occasionally included articles in Balinese or in Dutch. Among these periodicals, *Surya Kanta* and *Djatajoe* were the most prominent in promoting modern Indonesian literature in addition to traditional Balinese literature, while *Bali Adnjana* published only one Indonesian poem and no traditional Balinese literature at all. No archive of *Shanti Adnjana* is available, so it is impossible to know whether it contained any literary works, and *Bhawanegara*, published by the Dutch-sponsored Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation,¹ showed no interest in modern Indonesian literature. Instead, its aim was to present to the general public traditional Balinese literary works and summaries of traditional texts in Indonesian as part of an effort to preserve traditional Balinese literature, which up until then was written on palm leaves.

During the first decade of the national revolution, the outlets for national literature from Bali were the daily newspapers *Suara Indonesia* (The voice of Indonesia) and *Imbangan* (Balance), the magazines *Bhakti* (Devotion) and *Damai* (Peace), and the weekly *Harapan* (Hope). During the early 1960s, two publications that also published literature appeared in Bali, the daily *Bali Dwipa* (Bali island) and the weekly *Fajar* (The sun). All of these publications had links to political organizations, in line with the Sukarno government's dictates in the 1960s, so Balinese writers published their creative writing in these locally circulated publications.

While Panji Tisna had published work in periodicals outside Bali in the early 1930s, regular opportunities to publish in national periodicals did not arrive until after independence. Some Balinese writers from the 1950s, such as Nyoman S. Pendit, Putu Shanty and Made Kirtya, began to publish their literary work outside Bali, mainly in Jakarta periodicals that included the weekly *Siasat* (Strategy) and the monthly *Mimbar Indonesia* (Indonesian forum), as

¹ This foundation was named after two scholars, F.A. Lieftrinck and H.N. van der Tuuk, who worked in Bali for the colonial government in the mid-nineteenth century. This foundation established a *lontar* library, Gedong Kirtya, in 1928 in North Bali. Indonesian summaries of texts from this library were published in *Bhawanegara* with the aim of attracting public attention. If members of the public were interested, they could borrow a text or read the full version at the library. Gedong Kirtya still exists and maintains its collection as well as possible.

well as publishing locally. This national exposure increased in later decades with Balinese writers appearing in national publications such as *Harian Rakjat* (The people's daily), the magazines *Zaman Baru* (New era), *Sastra* (Literature) and *Horison* (Horizon), the newspapers *Kompas* (Compass) and *Media Indonesia* (Indonesian media), and the monthly cultural journal *Kalam* (Pen).

Writers took advantage of every available outlet for publication, including popular magazines such as *Varia* (Variant), *Sarinah* (Sarinah), and *Femina* (Femina). These magazines often held prose-writing competitions with qualified judges (academic and literary figures), and published short stories and novelettes of considerable quality. By the 1990s, the work of Balinese writers was appearing ever more frequently in national publications, reinforcing the idea that Balinese literature had become part of the national literature or that national literature was already flourishing in Bali.

The background and motivation of Balinese writers from the colonial and the national revolution periods contrasts with those from the New Order and Reformation periods. Writers from the earlier two periods were members of social or political organizations and their work reflected the goals of those organizations, whereas writers from the New Order and Reformation periods were comparatively independent and wrote as individuals. The main difference in socio-political context was that the earlier times of struggle and revolution gave way to periods of relative stability and order. This caused a significant shift in the direction of literary life, as literature no longer served or needed to serve the political ends it once did.

The colonial period

Balinese literature in Indonesian began with the publication of literary works – mainly poetry – in the periodicals *Bali Adnjana* and *Surya Kanta* during the 1920s, and in the magazine *Djatajoe* in the 1930s. No earlier evidence can be found of modern literary texts written by a Balinese author. These periodicals, particularly *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana*, provided a forum for debates about issues such as religion, caste, education, and modernity. Caste became the most sensitive

issue, because it drew a quick emotional reaction through its direct relation to each individual's status and self-esteem. *Surya Kanta* was a progressive and modernist publication with a strongly anti-caste standpoint, while *Bali Adnjana* was its conservative opponent and instead promoted the caste system as an integral and essential part of Balinese culture and tradition. The issues of caste, tradition and modernity became the most hotly debated topic between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* (Picard 1999a; Putra Agung 1983, 2001).

The Hindu-based caste system allots Balinese at birth into one of a hierarchy of four groups, namely *brahmana*, *ksatria*, *wesya*, and *sudra*. The three higher castes are collectively called *triwangsa*, while members of the lowest caste group, *sudra*, who make up the remainder of the population, are called *jaba*. The *triwangsa* only constitute about 10% of the population, but they enjoy special privileges relating to ritual practices, language, etiquette and inter-caste marriage. With the support of the *triwangsa*, the Dutch made caste distinctions more rigid and gave them additional privileges. The *triwangsa*, who were predominantly former rulers, were given legally protected privileges in education and employment and were freed from corvée labour duties (Schulte Nordholt 1994:96) in addition to the traditional privileges that they already held. *Jaba* people, on the other hand, rejected the caste system as the sole determinant of status. Instead, they proposed that education, intellectual achievement and character (*budi*) should form the basis for status.

During the debates between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* (from 1925 to 1928), new styles of creative writing in the form of poetry, short stories and plays began to appear. These early publications have very clear intertextual connections between literary and public discourses. As the central social controversy of the time, caste became the dominant theme for writers. *Bali Adnjana's* support for caste competed with *Surya Kanta's* promotion of the issues of education, modernity and equality.

The most popular poetic genre published in this early period was the *syair*. This traditional Malay form consists of four-line stanzas with an a-a-a-a rhyming pattern. Many Balinese writers were teachers who were familiar with Malay, and it is probably because of this influence that early writers used the *syair* form. Other Balinese

probably encountered Malay literature when Javanese teachers working in Bali introduced them to it (Agung 2001:131), or when they were studying in Java. Panji Tisna, for example, began to write poetry and *syair* when he continued his studies in Batavia (now Jakarta), where he had become immersed in the Malay language in the early 1920s (Caldwell 1985:58). In addition, there was a linkage between genre and language so that *syair* was the form in which Malay poetry was written, in the same way that *kakawin* were always written in Old Javanese and *kidung* in Middle Javanese.

The first work to appear was the poem *Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali Adnjana* (Happy New Year to *Bali Adnjana*), written by Gd. P. Kertanadi and published in *Bali Adnjana* on 1 January 1925. Kertanadi's poem is a *syair* in acrostic form, meaning that the title of the poem can be read sequentially from the initial letters of the lines or stanzas. It promoted the ideas of the periodical and its aspirations of bringing enlightenment to Balinese society. This, however, is the only poem *Bali Adnjana* ever published. It is noteworthy that although *Bali Adnjana* opened a library that contained traditional literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata for the public to borrow, showing that it had an interest in literary works, it did not publish any other original literary works either in Malay (Indonesian) or Balinese.

While *Bali Adnjana* printed the first literary work, *Surya Kanta* had a far more significant role in the development of Balinese literature, as it published many poems, one short story and one play. *Surya Kanta*'s poetry generally emphasized the importance of education and progress and the irrelevance of caste in the modern era, and expressed its admiration for modernity as opposed to backwardness, themes which reflected its principles. Many poems also promoted the newspaper itself. Two good examples are KK's poem entitled *Berlanggananlah surat bulanan SK* (Please subscribe to the monthly *Surya Kanta*), which encouraged the public to subscribe, and Soekarsa's poem *SK (Surya Kanta)*, which emphasized that the newspaper published information that was relevant to the public's desire to pursue progress. Progressive ideas were given prominence in *Surya Kanta* because the periodical's publisher, writers and readers all supported them.

The poetry published in *Surya Kanta* came from contributors who were also members of the organization. These writers, some of whom

are not now identifiable, included A. Kobar, MAR, KK, WL, M. Gama, and Soekarsa. Some lived in Bali, others in Lombok. Given that most of the leadership and membership of *Surya Kanta* – the organization that published *Surya Kanta* – were teachers, it is quite probable that these contributors were themselves teachers. They contributed articles as well as literary works, and their themes in the two areas frequently overlapped (Sutedja-Liem 2003:155-7). Readers of *Surya Kanta* could hardly have avoided the impression that they were often encountering the same ideas in different guises.

Surya Kanta only published one short story, *Gagak dan ular sawah* (The crow and the snake) by Nr.² This is an animal fable, but can be read as an allegory dealing with rank and identity, both issues close to *Surya Kanta*'s ideological heart. As with the poetry, the writer uses this short story to promote the goals of the organization, especially the ideas of progress and equality. This, and the social themes of the *syair* published in *Surya Kanta*, suggest strongly that early Balinese literature was highly committed to social issues, which was characteristic of Indonesian literature from the colonial period.

In May 1925 HUDVO,³ an organization of Balinese students studying in Malang (East Java), came to Bali to perform a modern play in Singaraja and Denpasar. Balinese people, especially those who lived in urban areas, were already accustomed to watching the popular Malay theatre form known as *stambul*, as *stambul* troupes from Java had been calling into Bali since the late nineteenth century, on their way to eastern parts of Indonesia such as Sulawesi and Maluku (Putra 2007). HUDVO performed three times in total: twice in Singaraja and once in Denpasar. The first performance in Singaraja was delivered in Dutch and English for an audience who were mainly foreigners, and included Dutch, Chinese and local intelligentsia who spoke both languages.⁴

² *Surya Kanta* 3 (1927):103-4.

³ I am unable to work out what the abbreviation HUDVO stands for. Articles about the activities of this organization published by *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* do not provide any information about the meaning of HUDVO.

⁴ As the first part of the island to experience Dutch colonization, Singaraja was the most cosmopolitan town in Bali and had a sizeable multi-ethnic element of Chinese, Arabs, Javanese, Madurese, Europeans and other groups, see Caldwell 1985:57.

The performance included *stambul*, martial arts, gymnastics and music. The general theme of the play is not clear, but according to newspaper reports from *Bali Adnjana* and *Surya Kanta*, it was full of messages encouraging parents to send their children to school and urging young Balinese to pursue further education. The aims of this performance were twofold – to promote the importance of modern education, and to raise funds for scholarships. Both *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* published reviews of the overall performance. An article in *Bali Adnjana* praised HUDVO's attempt to entertain the public while encouraging further education, but criticized the group's decision to stage a performance using European style, language and costume, as this raised questions about whether the performers 'had forgotten their Balinese Hindu identity'.⁵

Likewise, an article in *Surya Kanta* stated that the audience did not understand the meaning of the performance, and consequently suggested that HUDVO should use Malay or Balinese and 'choose stories more familiar to a Balinese audience'.⁶ This criticism implies that the performance lacked any real connection with the public's main concerns and interests. In fact, the second performance was delivered in Balinese, aimed at the local people, and was free of charge – although the audience was encouraged to give a donation to assist the troupe with travel expenses.

Within two years of the HUDVO performance, *Surya Kanta* published an anonymous play entitled *Kesetiaan perempuan* (A woman's fidelity) in serial form between March and June 1927. The HUDVO performance might have inspired the melodramatic character of *Kesetiaan perempuan*, but unlike the non-contextual nature of HUDVO's performance, alleged in a review in *Surya Kanta*, the play *Kesetiaan perempuan* consciously dealt with issues relevant to its time. This play is the most important work of this period, from both an aesthetic and a thematic point of view. It deals with caste conflict in the context of inter-caste marriage, an important theme explored by Balinese writers in all periods up to and including the 1990s (see Chapter V). The author's name is not mentioned. It

⁵ 'Melupakan SESANA tuan sebagai orang Bali Hindu.' (Soetawiria 1925:3.)

⁶ 'Memilih pertunjukan lakon-lakon yang tiada jauh dari pemandangan dan pengertian bangsa kita umum.' (Balier 1926:82-3.)

appears that for *Surya Kanta*, the content of the play – attacking the caste system and promoting new ideas of Balinese identity based on personal achievement – was more important than the identity of the writer. There is no information as to whether the play was ever performed. During the inter-war period, however, it was quite common to use plays like this, containing strong messages and social commentary on Indonesia as propaganda tools or as a medium for communicating ideas of modernity and nationalism (Bagus 1996:103; Bodden 1997:332-3).

After the dissolution of *Surya Kanta* under pressure from the colonial government in 1928 (Picard 1999b:87-8; Schulte Nordholt 2000:104), the development of Balinese literature in newspapers experienced a lengthy hiatus until the emergence of the magazine *Djatajoe* in February 1936. It is worth noting here the role that Panji Tisna played in filling the gap between the closure of *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* and the appearance of *Djatajoe*. In this period, he published short stories and poems in magazines outside Bali, such as *Terang bulan* (Surabaya) and *Poedjangga Baroe* (Jakarta). This was followed by the publication of his novels *Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang* (Ni Rawit, matchmaker and slavetrader, 1978), originally published in 1935, *Sukreni gadis Bali* (Sukreni, a Balinese girl, 1983), originally published in 1936, and *I Swasta setahun di Bedahulu* (I Swasta, a year in Bedahulu, 1938). Like other Indonesian writers of the 1930s, Panji Tisna was included as a member of the Angkatan Pujangga Baru. His national publications and his writing skill paved the way for him to assume the position of editor-in-chief of *Djatajoe*.

Djatajoe was a monthly magazine published by Bali Darma Laksana (Righteous action in Bali), an organization of Balinese intellectuals based in Singaraja, founded in 1932. In common with HUDVO in the 1920s, its founders were Balinese students who had continued their studies at a Dutch school in Malang, East Java. In 1936, two other educational and cultural organizations, Bali Eka Laksana (United Action for Bali) and Balische Studie Fonds (Bali Scholarship), both based in Singaraja, merged with Bali Darma Laksana (Djelantik 1997:70; Vickers 2000:95). The main goal of Bali Darma Laksana was to develop Balinese culture and provide basic education to the Balinese people (Agung 1983:70).

Membership of Bali Darma Laksana included people from all four castes, a symbol of reconciliation between the lower and upper-caste intellectuals who had divided their support between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* in the mid-1920s. By 1938, Bali Darma Laksana had a total membership of 505, with branches throughout Bali as well as in Lombok, Makassar, Malang, Surabaya and Jakarta.⁷ Although it had branches in places outside Bali, Bali Darma Laksana remained an organization committed to local concerns. Its activities focused on education and culture rather than on politics and nationalism. Observing that Bali Darma Laksana's program had been male-dominated and male-oriented, some of its active women members established an organization called Putri Bali Sadar (Be aware, Balinese girls) (Setiari and Rai 1937:263-4). Members of Bali Darma Laksana and Putri Bali Sadar used *Djatajoe* as a medium for spreading messages such as their objections to polygamy and the use of images of bare-breasted Balinese women on postcards and for promoting tourism (Putra 2007:29-36).

Panji Tisna, *Djatajoe*'s first editor, had a personal connection with editorial members of *Poedjangga Baroe*, like Armijn Pane and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana. When the first edition of *Djatajoe* appeared in February 1936, *Poedjangga Baroe* welcomed the new magazine by way of a brief review.⁸ The amiable intellectual exchanges between the two magazines suggest that *Djatajoe* was a Balinese equivalent of *Poedjangga Baroe* (Jakarta). An obvious and significant difference between the two magazines is that the great concern of *Poedjangga Baroe* was the ideal national culture for Indonesia, while *Djatajoe* focused more on local issues. *Djatajoe* reprinted some articles and a short story from *Poedjangga Baroe* – an exchange that gave Balinese writers an opportunity to follow the development of national literature, gave Balinese literature a greater prominence in Indonesian literature as a whole. Panji Tisna's successor as editor of *Djatajoe* was I Gde Panetja, assisted by Nyoman Kajeng (a former editor of *Surya Kanta*) and I Wayan Bhadra. They decided that the magazine should focus more on local issues, especially those of concern to the publisher, Bali Darma Laksana.

⁷ 'Notulen dari congress BDL yang pertama', *Djatajoe* (25-9-1938):35-45.

⁸ 'Majalah baru', *Poedjangga Baroe* 4 (November) 1936:61-3.

Djatajoe published poems and short stories in the Indonesian language, and one novel in Balinese, entitled *Mlancaran ka Sasak* (Travelling to Lombok, 1978) by Gde Srawana, a pen-name of I Wayan Bhadra. It also published many *gaguritan*, traditional Balinese poems consisting of a fixed number of lines in one verse with a particular syllabic ending to every line, which suggests a strong commitment to Balinese culture. Among contributors who submitted literary works in Indonesian to the magazine were members of Bali Darma Laksana with both lower and upper-caste backgrounds, including M. Oke, K. Kandia, I Gusti P. Matharam, I Gusti Ngurah Sidemen and Bhadrapada. A number of Putri Bali Sadar activists including Gusti Ayu Rapeg, Wajan Sami and Made Tjatri wrote articles and poetry on women's issues.⁹ Poems published in *Djatajoe* still often used the *syair* form that had been standard in *Surya Kanta*, but there was also a shift towards the modern poetic styles used in *Poedjangga Baroe*.

The themes of the poems varied, but most were concerned with regional issues, such as poverty, inequality, tourism, and the importance of education and of Balinese culture. However, when the caste issue reappeared, the approach was different. Rather than representing caste as a source of conflict, the works promoted the importance of brotherhood between people of all castes, as evidenced by the poem *Syair seruan Djatajoe* (Djatajoe's appeal, 1935), which is discussed in Chapter III. Short-story themes included gender issues, education, modernity and Balinese identity, an example being the story *Kurban* (see Chapter VI) by Bhadrapada, another pen-name of I Wayan Bhadra.

During the colonial period, *Surya Kanta* and *Djatajoe* published a substantial number of Indonesian literary works. Indonesian literature originating from Bali closely followed the development of national literature in terms of form, as evidenced by the shift from *syair* to modern poetry; but in terms of themes, Balinese literature during the colonial period generally dealt with local issues, modernity and ethnic identity.

⁹ Almost all of the articles published in *Djatajoe* by Balinese women are reproduced in *Wanita Bali tempo doeloe perspektif masa kini* (Putra 2007).

The national revolution period

The development of modern Indonesian literature at the national level gained significant momentum during the post-colonial period, from the 1940s to the 1960s. Encompassing the Japanese occupation, the declaration of Indonesian independence, the arrival of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) to restore Dutch colonial rule, the anti-colonial war and the national revolution, and its associated political and ideological conflicts, these decades formed an important chapter in the history of Indonesian literature and saw the publication of many significant works.

Among the writers who flourished at this time were the well-known poet Chairil Anwar, the acclaimed short-story writer Idrus and the prominent prose writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Together with many other artists residing in Jakarta, they were given the name Angkatan 45 (The 45 generation) and their works focused on the themes of revolutionary spirit, nationalism and anti-colonialism. A distinguishing feature was reflecting the social conditions of the time. Cultural clashes between left and right-wing artists at this time were an extension of wider political and ideological conflicts. The national revolution period became the most dynamic in Indonesian literature at the national level.

The development of Indonesian literature in Bali, particularly during the 1940s, was somewhat different from the national level. Literary life throughout the 1940s was very quiet and marked by the writing and publication of few works, not all of them still available. Panji Tisna wrote the novel *I Putra dan I Gde Arka* (I Putra and I Gde Arka) as an entry in a writing competition held by Balai Pustaka in 1940 (Sukada 1982:11). It failed to win a prize in the competition and, probably for that reason, never appeared as a book. In 1942, the Japanese army burned Panji Tisna's private library, which led to the loss of most of his books and manuscripts. He was imprisoned by the Japanese for some years, and after his release chose to be active in education rather than writing. He subsequently joined the revolutionary movement (Sukada 1972:45-6; Caldwell 1985:67).

Other writers include Made Otar, who wrote two novels,

Purnamawati and its sequel *Asmara karma* (Love and fate),¹⁰ which were published in Medan in 1940, and Mas Wirjasoetha, a former activist in *Surya Kanta* and Bali Darma Laksana, who published a play entitled *Matahari terbit* (The sun rises) in 1941. All of these works are currently unavailable.¹¹ Apart from these examples, no trace of other literature from the 1940s can be found.

There are at least two reasons for this period of stagnation in Balinese literary life. Many Balinese intellectuals, including Panji Tisna, Nengah Metra, a former writer and *Surya Kanta* activist, and I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, a pre-war writer interested in traditional literature, became involved in the national revolution (Bagus 1996:103; Vickers 2000), and consequently had no time for writing. The only publication allowed during the Japanese occupation was the Japanese-controlled newspaper *Bali Shimbun*, printed in Indonesian, which also published poetry.¹²

There is evidence, however, that the modern theatre genre known as *sandiwara* was popular during the Japanese occupation. In 1944, for example, the Japanese assembled 'twenty experienced theatre folk' to create a repertoire to tour the island and perform in many of its districts, but instead of using a Balinese gamelan orchestra, they used the Japanese military musical corps as their accompaniment (Robinson 1995:82-3). A teacher and cultural expert, I Ketut Sukrata, led this Singaraja-based theatre group, Sandiwara Bintang Bali (Bali Star Sandiwara),¹³ which staged performances until the Japanese surrender in 1945.

The first Balinese publication to appear after independence was *Suara Indonesia*. Making its debut on 16 August 1948, it eventually became the *Bali Post*, after first changing its name to *Suluh Indonesia* and then to *Suluh Marhaen*. Ketut Nadha, who had worked for *Bali*

¹⁰ There is no information available to explain why these works were published in Medan, rather than Jakarta or somewhere else closer to Bali.

¹¹ The play of Mas Wirjasoetha is mentioned, but not discussed, in Schulte Nordholt 2000, while Made Otar's novels are listed in Stuart-Fox 1992:480. According to Schulte Nordholt, Wirjasoetha's play is not available (personal communication, 12-11-1998).

¹² Nyoman S. Pendit, interview, Jakarta, 17-1-2000. Pendit stated that he published several poems in *Bali Shimbun*. The archive of this newspaper is not available.

¹³ 'In memoriam I Ketut Sukrata tokoh kebudayaan Bali', *Suluh Marhaen* 17-9-1967.

Shimbun, founded the newspaper. During the struggle to maintain Indonesian independence against the NICA, Ketut Nadha joined the nationalist movement and used *Suara Indonesia* to encourage revolutionary feelings.¹⁴ The name *Suara Indonesia* is interesting, as it directly reflected the spirit of national identity. The two name changes to *Suluh Indonesia* and *Suluh Marhaen* complied with mid-1960s Old Order political policy, which declared that all newspapers must be affiliated with a political party. The New Order government instituted a new policy in the early 1970s which fused the existing multiple parties into three parties, and ended the affiliation of newspapers to political parties. Under the new policy, the paper wanted to change its name back to its old name *Suara Indonesia*, but was unable to do so because it was already the name of a newspaper in the East Javanese town of Malang. The newspaper then changed its name to *Bali Post*, a new name that has reflected a gradual shift from national to regional identity. As archives from the earliest years of this newspaper are unavailable, it is difficult to assess its contribution to the development of Balinese literature at that time. Since the 1960s, however, it has played an important role.

Balinese publications that emerged during the 1950s and the early 1960s show that significant developments in Balinese literature were taking place. The first, *Bhakti*, appeared in 1952. While veterans of the revolution founded this periodical, it was not the official magazine of any specific veterans' organization. *Bhakti* was published three times a month, edited by Putu Shanty with the initial support of a staff that included Nyoman S. Pendit, Ketut Surawan and Nyoman Wisade (an illustrator), although the personnel changed over time. *Bhakti* had correspondents in Jakarta, Bandung, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Malang, Banjarmasin, Pontianak, Lombok and Sumbawa. Most of them were Balinese students who had continued their studies in those places. Their contributions were not limited to news about the Balinese diaspora, but also included details about political, economic, social and cultural changes at the national level. *Bhakti's* circulation was not restricted to Bali – it also reached Indonesia's major cities, through the contributors listed above. In this way, the

¹⁴ K. Nadha, interview, Denpasar, 20-12-1998.

magazine became a two-way bridge between Bali and the nation.

Bhakti bore the slogan '*majalah untuk umum – non-partai*' (the magazine for the public – non-party), and based itself on the Pancasila philosophy. Although it declared itself 'non-party', anonymous sources accused *Bhakti* of aligning with the communists (Sukada 1982:12). In response to this accusation, the editorial of 15 June 1954 stated that the magazine was for all groups. 'So, it does not mean', read the editorial, 'that *Bhakti* is the voice of the Communists if we publish an article which criticizes capitalism and feudalism.' Because it accepted articles from all sources, *Bhakti* sometimes included short stories which illustrated class conflict or were dismissive of the traditional customs and religion adhered to by most Balinese. The magazine published many pieces upholding the Hindu religion, and even traditional literature such as *Gaguritan megantaka*, accompanied by a translation into Indonesian. It is noteworthy that *Bhakti* also contained a literary page called 'Gelanggang Remaja' (Youth Forum), which provided a place for young writers to publish their works. The forum's editor encouraged young writers to keep writing and publishing, since this could unlock opportunities for them to become established writers like Idrus, Pramoedya Anta Toer and Mochtar Lubis.¹⁵ The mention of these Indonesian writers as role models demonstrates that Balinese writers were conscious that the development of Balinese literature was aligned with that of national literature.

In the edition of 15 February 1954, *Bhakti* announced the formation of a group called Seniman Rakyat (The People's Artists), which had been established on 24 January 1954 in Singaraja, with N. Wisade as chairman. No documentary evidence is available about its activities. In an interview in 1999, Putu Aswin, who contributed to and also distributed *Bhakti*, revealed that left-wing activists established this group and invited young artists who did not know much about politics to become members as well as leaders of the organization.¹⁶ Putu Shanty, who later became active in the leadership of Lekra Bali and Lekra Indonesia, was not yet included on the committee of

¹⁵ *Bhakti* 16 (15-8-1954):16.

¹⁶ Putu Aswin, interview, Singaraja, 28-6-1999.

Seniman Rakyat. Nevertheless, as *Bhakti* announced the organization's foundation, the support of its editor-in-chief, Putu Shanty, was implicit.

As well as literary works by Balinese writers such as Panji Tisna, Putu Shanty, Windhya Wirawan and Made Kirtya, *Bhakti* also published works by writers from outside Bali, including W.S. Rendra, Iwan Simatupang and Pramoedya Ananta Toer. These writers were already national literary figures. This suggests that *Bhakti* succeeded in making itself one of the national Angkatan 45 and Angkatan 66 literary journals by incorporating the work of prominent non-Balinese writers. *Bhakti* also published translations of the poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson and the fiction of O. Henry, John Steinbeck and the Dutch writer Jef Last, who had once lived in Bali. These provided chances for *Bhakti's* readers to sample prose and poetry by writers of world class.

Damai first appeared on 17 March 1953, a year after *Bhakti* began publication. The magazine's publisher was Yayasan Kebhaktian Pejuang Bali (The Bali Freedom-Fighters' Service Foundation) with the motto 'majalah umum untuk rakyat' (the magazine for the people). Initially *Damai* appeared on the seventeenth of each month, a 'sacred' date chosen to recall 17 August, Indonesian Independence Day, but from August 1953, this became twice a month (on the first and seventeenth). The principal backer and general manager of *Damai* was I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, a teacher and writer best known for his work on classical Balinese literature, who was also an important figure in Balinese religious reform. *Bhakti* was published in Singaraja, and *Damai* in Denpasar.

Damai encouraged the younger generation to write, and in particular to write literary works. Unlike *Bhakti*, *Damai* was mainly an outlet for the work of Balinese writers such as Sana, I Gusti Ngurah Bagus, Gangga Sila, Eren, Dharmapada, L. Selasih, and I Gusti Ngurah Oka. According to Ngurah Oka,¹⁷ most contributors to *Damai* were students of I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa. In general, the poetry and fiction in *Damai* were set against the background of the revolutionary struggle and the need to protect the masses. There were also love

¹⁷ I Gusti Ngurah Oka (Diputhera), interview, Jakarta, 16-1-2000.

stories connected with the struggle or with social changes that were affecting the younger generation. Although it carried many modern poems and short stories, *Damai* also published traditional Balinese literature such as the *kakawin* (Old Javanese poem) *Dharma sunya*, translated into Indonesian by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa.

During the brief time they appeared, *Bhakti* and *Damai* printed over one hundred short stories, many more poems, and some plays.¹⁸ This gave a major impetus to Balinese literature in Indonesian and granted a wide community of writers access to publication. The writing in these magazines covered issues such as poverty, frustration with the political leadership, inflation, problems of finding employment, and the need to maintain the revolutionary spirit. In *Damai*, gender issues, particularly as they related to teenagers experiencing adolescence in an environment of modernity, and the emerging influence of Western values, formed the dominant theme for short stories. The frequent appearance of these themes in *Damai* is probably attributable to the fact that contributors to the magazine were often high school students who were excited about freedom and modern values. *Bhakti* focused much less on these adolescent concerns, and instead dealt with the more serious issues of poverty and the hardships of life. An important feature of the literature published in *Damai* and *Bhakti* is that it demonstrates the strong social commitment that Indonesian literature from Bali has always possessed.

Besides stimulating literary life and providing a showcase for writing, *Bhakti* and *Damai* also served as forums for literary debates. The attitudes that Balinese writers adopted in formulating their critical responses can be seen in a number of debates and reviews of artistic activities. In 1953, *Bhakti* published a poem by Suchica Danty entitled *Sebuah dongengan tentang dewa-dewa* (A legend concerning the gods) with the subtitle *untuk menyambut Nyepi*.¹⁹ This poem triggered intense debate when it drew an immediate response from P.N. Oka

¹⁸ *Bhakti* was published three times a month and *Damai* twice a month. These magazines published at least one short story, sometimes two or three, in every issue.

¹⁹ 'To welcome Nyepi'. This poem was published in *Bhakti* (10-3-1953):10, and published again with Chairil's poem in *Bhakti* (20-4-1953):14. Nyepi is the Balinese New Year, which falls between March and April and is usually celebrated with several days of religious festivities and parades.

in a critical essay entitled 'Dunia sastra chaos di dalam',²⁰ in which he claimed that the poet had plagiarized a poem by Chairil Anwar, *Cerita buat Dien Tamaela* (A tale for Dien Tamaela). However, it appears that, while Suchica Danty used Chairil's poem as a framework, he overlaid it with different content and gave it a different context (Putra 2000b:150).

An interesting aspect of P.N. Oka's response is that even though he bases his argument on a poem written in Bali, he attempts to locate this alleged plagiarism in the context of all Indonesian literature, rather than solely in the world of Balinese writers. Oka also claimed that not long before this incident, another of Chairil's poems had been plagiarized and published in the magazine *Siasat* by O.K. Rachmat.²¹ Such actions, Oka asserted, would reduce Indonesian literature to chaos. This long debate not only centred on plagiarism in Chairil's work, as Darmansjah Zauhidhie (1953) also attacked H.B. Jassin for defending Chairil against claims that Chairil himself had 'modified' or plagiarized a number of poems. Gusti Ngurah Bagus also took part in the argument. In an article published in *Damai*, he praised Chairil effusively, both as a man and as a poet, and strongly asserted that Chairil was not a plagiarist (Ngurah Bagus 1954). Chairil has always commanded great respect in Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia. On 28 April 1953, Balinese writers commemorated the anniversary of his death in Singaraja with the staging of plays, literary discussions and competitions in reading his poetry (Shanty 1953:12-3).

This upsurge in literary publications, debates and other activities is indicative of the dynamic development that national literature underwent in Bali in the 1950s. After the closure of *Bhakti* in 1954, and *Damai* in 1955, *Imbangan* and *Harapan* took over their role as literary sites. The archive of *Imbangan* is not available, but it is known that this newspaper published literature, including poetry.²² Poets who published their works in *Imbangan* occasionally dedicated their poems to Chairil Anwar, indicating that they remained proud of Chairil's

²⁰ 'Chaos within the literary world'. The essay was published in *Bhakti* (20-4-1953):13-4.

²¹ *Siasat* 1-2-1953.

²² I would like to thank Made Sanggra for providing me with a copy of his own poems and those of his contemporaries that were published in *Imbangan*.

standing and his works. *Harapan* was published during the late 1950s in Singaraja, managed by M. Rasjid and Wayan Daging, with Panji Tisna later joining them as a general adviser. This newspaper was intended to cover the whole Nusa Tenggara region. Aimed at this wider readership, *Harapan* carried news from Lombok, Sumbawa and other areas of eastern Indonesia.

Harapan contained a literary section for young writers called 'Lembar teratai' (Lotus petals). This had N. Ridha as its editor, and mainly published poetry. Writers who often appeared in Lembar Teratai included Ketut Suwidja and Massa (a pen-name for Made Sanggra, who continued writing until his death in June 2007), as well as Apip Mustofa, Lingga P., Noor AB, Sutarna Tusan Tanaja, I Made Tojamerta, S. Gereh, Jaim R. Aziz, Ara, L. Suwarni, Tan Ay Mm. and Fuchenwen. The last two authors were apparently of Chinese ethnicity. A number of the others have clearly Balinese names ('L' is probably 'Luh'; and Made and Ketut are Balinese birth-order names), but many probably came from other parts of Nusa Tenggara.

Since most of these writers were young at this time, their works were dominated by love stories and expressions of self-discovery and therefore differ from works published in *Bhakti* and some of those in *Damai*, which are more concerned with social issues. Social issues increased in importance in the 1960s, when the ideological conflict between left and right wing politicians and artists reached a peak in Indonesia.

In the first half of the 1960s, the politicization of arts and culture throughout Indonesia resulted in the increasing integration of literary life in Bali with that at the national level, which involved the sometimes violent opposition of left and right-wing cultural groups (Foulcher 1986, 1994a; Mohamad 1988). Nationally, the clash occurred between Lekra and Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional (LKN, Institute of National Culture – affiliated to the PNI) on one side, against Manikebu. In Bali, however, the conflict was instead between Lekra and LKN. The reasons why Lekra and the LKN – allies at the national level, both strongly supported by Sukarno and sharing the same revolutionary spirit – should become enemies in Bali are outlined in the following brief discussion of the emergence of Lekra Bali and other cultural organizations there.

The formal establishment of Lekra Bali took place in Denpasar in January 1961,²³ just over a decade after the foundation of the national organization in 1950. Lekra Bali rapidly came to dominate cultural and literary activities in Bali. In February 1962, Lekra Bali hosted the well-attended Lekra National Conference in Denpasar, which attracted left wing writers from all over Indonesia. The following year, in July 1963, Lekra Bali acted as the local organizing committee for the Executive Committee Meeting of African and Asian Writers. This meeting took place in Denpasar, attended by writers and artists from a variety of African and Asian countries. Pramoedyana Ananta Toer and Sitor Situmorang were co-chairmen of the national committee for this meeting. These two meetings provided unprecedented opportunities for Balinese writers to develop national and international contacts and after this Putu Shanty and Putu Oka Sukanta became involved in the national organization of Lekra.²⁴ Their involvement contributed to the integration of the Balinese branch into the national body and consequently Lekra Bali became involved in the conflict between Lekra and Manikebu.

Competition for supremacy among cultural institutions in Bali had its own history, form and contenders. It began at an institutional level in the early 1960s, when some right-wing Balinese and non-Balinese writers and painters such as Raka Santeri, Judha Paniek, IGB Arthanegara, Apip Mustofa, Muchamad Lucky Besar, Bambang Sugeng and Theja first established Himpunan Peminat Sastra (HPS, Literary Association).²⁵ It is worth noting that these writers and artists

²³ 'Laporan Lekra Bali', *Harian Rakjat* 7-4-1962. This report was presented by the general secretary of Lekra Bali, Wardjana, at the Lekra National Conference held in Bali in 1962. The report, however, does not say much about the *konferensi daerah* (regional conference), but in such conferences there were usually three important agenda items: a formal declaration of the organization's aims, the inauguration of its elected leaders, and proposals for the adoption of specific programs.

²⁴ 'Pleno P.P. lembaga sastra Indonesia', *Harian Rakjat* 11-8-1963, and 'PPH dan SPP Lestra', *Harian Rakjat* 8-9-1963.

²⁵ HPS deserves to be known as the first and most important artists' organization in Bali in the 1960s because it served as a model for subsequently established right-wing writers groups, such as Himpi Bali (Association of Indonesian Writers – Bali) established in 1969 and Lesiba (Institute of Indonesian Artists – Bali), established in 1971 and still in existence. Members of both organizations were predominantly, though

were from numerous ethnic backgrounds. HPS began as a politically unaffiliated, independent group, but in order to gain political support for its members, it eventually joined LKN, the cultural arm of the PNI. There was little difference between the groups since most LKN-Bali members had also been members of HPS.

The Central LKN was established in Solo on 20 May 1959 during a three day congress and a performing arts week. Among the delegation from Bali were a PNI Bali leader, IGG Subamia, and the artists Nyoman Kaler, Nyoman Rembang and Made Sila Adnyana.²⁶ The Bali branch of LKN was established immediately after the Solo congress. Tension with Lekra grew in Bali, when in 1963 some 'right wing' writers in HPS-LKN showed open support for the new Jakarta-based Manikebu. Although the cultural movement supporting Manikebu had been widely publicized, Kirdjomuljo was the Yogyakarta-based writer who brought it to the attention of Balinese artists.²⁷ Young Balinese writers and literary activists such as Raka Santeri and Judha Paniek became interested in Manikebu because they could see that this group would support them in their opposition to Lekra Bali.²⁸

not exclusively, former members of HPS. For a brief account of Lesiba and Himpi activities, see Eddy (1997) and Sutedja-Liem (2000).

²⁶ 'Kongres pertama dan pekan kesenian front marhaenis', 20-22 May 1959 (no publication date or publication details). I would like to thank Jenny Lindsay for lending me a copy of the congress documentation which included the text of a speech by President Sukarno, a speech by the PNI chief of the Central Java province, papers discussed in the congress and a list of the committee members. The names of the Balinese representatives can be found under the committee list.

²⁷ The relationship between Kirdjomuljo and Balinese writers had begun in the 1950s when he spent some time in North Bali and produced collaborative theatre with local dramatists such as Made Kirtya and I Gde Dharna (Sutedja-Liem 2000:162-3). In 1968, Kirdjomuljo spent some months in Bali travelling from one district to another watching his play entitled *Teratai berajun* (The swaying lotus) being performed by local theatre groups. See 'Teratai berayun akan dipentaskan di Singaraja', *Suluh Marhaen* 17-3-1968. During his trip, he either stayed with or was accompanied by LKN members.

²⁸ 'Seniman 15 kota menyokong Manifes Kebudayaan', *Sastra*, No. 9/10, Th. III-1963, quoted in Moeljanto and Taufiq Ismail 1995:436-7. In addition, Raka Santeri in interviews in Denpasar, 18 December 1998 and 4 January 1999, confirmed his support for the Cultural Manifesto, although he cast doubt on whether he signed the actual document.

Raka Santeri, Judha Paniek and apparently Gde Mangku received a mandate to promote and popularize the principles of Manikebu in Bali.²⁹ In addition, they were appointed as the Balinese regional co-ordinators for the Konperensi Karyawan Pengarang Indonesia (KKPI, Indonesian Writers' Conference), which was to be held in March 1964 by Manikebu and right wing political groups.³⁰ As soon as Raka Santeri, Judha Paniek and Gde Mangku showed their support for this group they came under strong attack from Lekra and at a meeting in Denpasar in February 1964, they were forced to sign a petition repudiating it. They had believed the meeting was a forum in support of Manikebu, but Lekra had in fact convened the forum to attack it.³¹ An order to withdraw support from Manikebu was also issued by LKN-Jakarta. This intense opposition eventually forced Raka Santeri, Judha Paniek and Gde Mangku to withdraw their support – an action they took not simply to distance themselves from it but also as a criticism of its anti-revolutionary aspects.³² In short, left-wing groups managed to silence Manikebu supporters in Bali as they had done in other regions.

The suppression of open support for Manikebu in Bali, however, did not alleviate the underlying conflict between left and right wing cultural institutions. Instead, it contributed to growing resentment and conflict between Lekra and LKN. The conflict arose primarily as a local dispute between members of the two organizations but was also an extension of escalating political polarization between the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party) and Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Party) – the two main political factions in Bali which had emerged in the mid-1950s.

²⁹ 'Tiga pengarang menolak jadi koordinator KKPSI', *Bintang Timur* (2-3-1964), quoted in Moeljanto and Taufiq Ismail 1995:308-9. Gde Mangku was an interesting figure because it was understood that he was later killed for allegedly being a member of Lekra.

³⁰ 'Tiga pengarang menolak jadi koordinator KKPSI', *Bintang Timur* (2-3-1964), quoted in Moeljanto and Taufiq Ismail 1995:308-9.

³¹ IGB Arthanegara, interview, Denpasar, 19-6-1999.

³² 'Tiga pengarang menolak jadi koordinator KKPSI', *Bintang Timur* (2-3-1964), quoted in Moeljanto and Taufiq Ismail 1995:308-9.

The tension between the PKI and PNI arose due to the poor implementation of Nasakom (Nasionalis, Agama dan Komunis; Nationalism, Religion and Communism), the political strategy designed by Sukarno to reconcile the interests of the three main political factions at that time. Social and political structures and activities at all levels had to comprise elements of Nasakom through a political strategy known as Nasakomisasi. In reality, both Sukarno and the governor of Bali, Anak Agung Bagus Sutedja, favoured the communists over the nationalists, thus upsetting an already precarious political balance (Robinson 1995:208-9). The government's promotion of members of left-wing groups to the central committee, rather than simply as participants at the Executive Committee Meeting of African and Asian Writers held in Bali in 1963, is evidence of this imbalance, as it related to cultural activities. Meanwhile the Nationalist wing, supposedly one element of Nasakom, was completely excluded from this international meeting.³³ Tension between the two groups of artists developed when, in reprisal, right-wing groups excluded left-wing activists from the activities they organized and dominated.

Unfortunately, very little evidence of the writing and other literary activity from 1963 and 1964 survives, as much of the work from this period was burned during the later eradication of left-wing groups. The few surviving works include some poems by Gde Mangku, published in *Zaman Baru* in 1964 (see Chapter III).

The events following the alleged coup attempt in 1965 handed victory to former Manikebu artists and their supporters in Jakarta and led to the elimination of Lekra, but in Bali this triumph extended to right-wing LKN members. Many of the key figures in Lekra, such as Putu Shanty and Oka Derty, were killed and others such as Putu Oka Sukanta were imprisoned (from 1966 to 1976). In the following months, LKN continued to attack Lekraism and Manikebuism (Cultural Manifesto-ism). They promoted *sastra Marhaenis* (Marhaenist literature) instead.

Marhaen is a term coined by Sukarno in the 1920s to describe the Indonesian peasant class, to replace the Marxist term 'proletariat', which he felt was inappropriate for the non-industrial situation

³³ IGB Arthanegara, interview, Denpasar, 19-6-1999.

in Indonesia (Penders 1974:46-8). In a seminar on the theme held on 26-27 July 1966, LKN activists discussed ways of implementing Marhaenism in cultural practice (Warna 1966a, 1966b). This seminar was an important one because it occurred just after the termination of the conflict between Lekra and LKN.

During the conflict between left and right-wing artists, literature and performing arts productions had tended to be revolutionary and to promote 'the people's struggle'. Works of left wing writers promoted communist ideology and were generally found in local left wing newspapers such as *Bali Dwipa* and *Mingguan Fajar*,³⁴ as well as the national newspaper *Harian Rakjat* or the magazine *Zaman Baru*. By contrast, right-wing writers expressed anti-communist sentiments and promoted a form of national unity based on Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology. Their works appeared in local newspapers such as *Suara Indonesia* and *Harian Angkatan Bersendjata* (Armed forces daily). The Armed Forces established the latter in mid-1966 to provide more space for artists to promote anti-communist sentiment. The short story entitled *Matinya seorang merah* (The death of a red) by Sunartoprajitno, a Javanese writer, in *Harian Angkatan Bersendjata*, tells of a left-wing political activist who was optimistic about becoming a *bupati* (district head) but died after a public attack.³⁵ This short story describes and celebrates images of the attacking and killing of left-wing activists or followers.

Writers such as Putu Wijaya, Judha Paniek, Raka Santeri, IGB Arthanegara, AA Aju Sulastri, Nyoman Bawa, Ngurah Parsua and Ida Bagus Pudja wrote poems or short stories that used the revolution as their social background or main theme. A number of poets even still dedicated their poems to President Sukarno as the leader of the Indonesian revolution. *Suara Indonesia*, which changed its name to *Suluh Indonesia* (Bali edition) in 1965, was the newspaper most willing to publish their work. Having a PNI affiliation, it was therefore not simply an intermediary but rather an active supporter of the

³⁴ Archives of these newspapers are not available; they were probably burnt during the purge of communists in 1965, but they did publish news and articles on culture, see Widminarko 2001:32.

³⁵ *Angkatan Bersendjata* 10-4-1966.

revolution and of Marhaenist ideology (Sutedja-Liem 2000:162). This was evident in the work of Balinese artists who were sympathetic toward President Sukarno's Marhaenism, which remained strong in Bali until 1966. The literary column in *Suluh Indonesia* entitled 'Banteng muda' (The young ox) was closely associated with PNI.

Unlike writers from the colonial period, with their concerns about local issues and strong Balinese identities, writers from this period discussed political and national issues in their works and identified themselves as Indonesian rather than Balinese. In addition, they also involved themselves in national literary and cultural organizations, suggesting that Bali's literary life during the national revolution period had become an integral part of national literary life.

The New Order period

Sukarno's effective loss of power in 1966 and the transfer of authority to Suharto and his New Order regime gave Indonesia a totally different political, social and cultural setting. As soon as Suharto took power, he prohibited the affiliation of cultural institutions to political parties and in addition, they had to be formed under government supervision and control. The Suharto government imposed heavy-handed regulations to establish its influence over literature and other creative art forms. Literary publications, although not directly censored, were subject to close surveillance. To some degree, this quasi-censorship was not just a political tool but also represented a psychological reaction to the chaos of the 1950s and early 1960s – and there was a perception that literature had contributed to this more than any other sector of the creative arts. Right-wing writers, former supporters of Manikebu, re-emerged and established the magazine *Horison* in July 1966. This was the first literary magazine to take an anti-communist stance and therefore to gain the support of the New Order government (Hill 1993:252-3).

The new national political situation had a major impact on Balinese artistic and literary life. A local organization, Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan (Listibiya, The Committee for Cultural Advancement and Development), was set up in Bali on 21 August

1966. Its establishment and progress is a good illustration of the method by which the regional arms of the New Order government began by engaging with the arts, and then took over full control of the development and activities of arts and culture organizations. Listibiya focused on traditional arts and culture and showed little interest in the field of modern literature, which had previously been the dominant cultural area. It is worthy of note that Listibiya is still in existence under government control, and because of its authority is still the main cultural organization in Bali.

Although members of Listibiya Bali were predominantly former members of LKN, this new organization was not an LKN replacement, since LKN continued to be an active cultural organization until the 1970s. LKN's activities, supported by Listibiya, involved competitions for spoken Balinese drama (*drama gong*), poetry reading and for dance and Balinese *gamelan* orchestras (Putra 2008). Most of this artistic activity avoided political content in order to conform to the new government's cultural policies.

Some other organizations also underwent depoliticization in the early New Order years. In 1971, the PNI-affiliated Himpunan Pengarang Indonesia – Bali (Himpi Bali, Association of Indonesian Writers, Bali branch), established in 1969, was merged with a politically neutral organization known as Lembaga Seniman Indonesia Bali (Lesiba, Institute of Indonesian Artists in Bali), which was already in existence, having been established on 18 February 1968 (Parsua 2001:1). The literary column in the *Bali Post* (formerly *Suluh Indonesia*) changed from 'Banteng muda' to 'Taman muda remaja' (A garden for young people) and then to 'Taman budaya' (A cultural garden). While the term 'the young ox' was closely associated with the symbol of Sukarno's Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Party), the other two terms have more neutral overtones. In 1979, there was another change, this time to 'Pos remaja' (Youth post) and 'Pos budaya' (Culture post), terms devoid of any direct political connotations.

Before its remodelling, Himpi Bali had published *Penyair Bali* (Balinese Poets, 1969), a collection of poetry written entirely in Indonesian, which deserves mention because it was the first such anthology by Balinese writers in Balinese literary history. The

thematic focus of this collection was the spirit of national revolution and anti-colonial sentiment, but it also included some obligatory anti-communist poems. These themes also predominated in the Himpi poems that appeared in *Suara Indonesia* and *Angkatan Bersendjata*. Many Himpi members tried to publish their works nationally in order to get broader recognition, but only a small number, notably Rasta Sindhu, Faisal Baraas and Putu Wijaya, were successful. Their works appeared in national newspapers and magazines such as *Kompas*, *Sinar Harapan*, *Selecta* and *Horison*.

In 1969, *Horison* selected Rasta Sindhu's *Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar* as the best short story of the year.³⁶ This story, like many other works by Rasta Sindhu, deals with caste conflict – a regional issue. The early novel by Putu Wijaya, *Bila malam bertambah malam* (As the night grows darker, 1971), shares this theme, which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter V, while his *Tiba-tiba malam* (Night falls suddenly, 1977) covers another regional issue, conflict between Balinese and Western values arising from tourism, dealt with in Chapter VII. The representation of regional and cultural issues, instead of national and revolutionary ones, reflects a shift in the thematic and aesthetic approach from the socialist realism so heavily promoted by Lekra and LKN members in the 1950s and 1960s. The New Order regime preferred universal humanism, a newly formulated mainstream aesthetic approach that conformed to its cultural and artistic policies.

Members of Lesiba published their work in the *Bali Post* and in *Nusa Tenggara* – the new version of *Angkatan Bersendjata* – in the 1970s and 1980s. I Made Sukada, the head of Lesiba and a lecturer in the Faculty of Letters at Udayana University, also worked as the editor of the cultural section of the *Bali Post*. In addition to former Himpi members who were by now middle-aged, many members of Lesiba were students in the Faculty of Letters and were encouraged by I Made Sukada to write literature and criticism for the *Bali Post* (Suarsa 2001:1-2). These two institutions – the faculty and the newspaper – played, and continue to play, important roles in the development of Balinese literature. A small number of Sukada's students such as

³⁶ 'Hadiah Horison 1969', *Horison* 5 (December) 1970.

Jiwa Atmaja and I Made Suarsa were writers and announcers for a private radio station in Denpasar, which broadcast poetry readings every Sunday morning for several years in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The participants in this poetry reading were mainly members of Lesiba. Sukada's role at this time paralleled that of I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa in the 1950s, in that they both commissioned their students to contribute to the media they edited.

During the same period, Lesiba also frequently held literary discussions at the Bali Arts Centre. Sometimes members met with nationally recognized writers including Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, who often spent time in his villa on the shores of Lake Batur in Bali in the late 1970s and 1980s, and Nh. Dini, who occasionally came to Bali and met with Balinese writers. Reports of events like these often featured in the local press. Established poets including Sutardji Calzoum Bachri and Taufiq Ismail came to Bali for a single poetry reading in 1982, which helped to strengthen links between Balinese and established national writers; in the same year three Balinese writers, Wirawan Sudewa, Mahar Effendy and Bawa Samargantang attended the *Pertemuan Dunia Melayu* (Meeting of the Malay World) held in Kuala Lumpur. In the following year, 1983, Lesiba and Sanggar Semu (The Pseudo Literary Club) which was established by some members of Lesiba, co-hosted the Summit for the Appreciation of ASEAN Poets in Denpasar. Both these events provided Balinese writers with opportunities to contact and introduce their work to writers from the rest of Indonesia and from overseas.

Lesiba published a number of poetry collections up to the early 1980s, generally featuring two or three poets in each one. Of these, *Antologi puisi Bali 1980* (1980 anthology of Balinese poetry) is the most important because it appeared in conjunction with Lesiba's twelfth anniversary. The anthology contains 15 poems, each written by an active member of Lesiba, and was designed as a special contribution from the group to highlight its role as an artistic and cultural institution. Reviewing this anthology in the *Bali Post*, Putu Arya Tirtawirya (1980) said that he considered it incomplete because it excluded the work of other established poets who lived in Bali like Cok Raka Pelayun, Faisal Baraas and Gerson Poyk. Its dominant themes are those of universal humanism – personal experience and

reflection, and the appreciation of beauty. Lesiba also re-published Panji Tisna's 1930s novel *Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang* to make it more widely available. Although Lesiba still formally exists, by the late 1980s it was practically defunct. Its leader, I Made Sukada, unfortunately suffered a stroke in the early 1990s and died in 2003.

Ngurah Parsua, Lesiba's most active member, continued to write and publish, mostly in local newspapers. Balai Pustaka published his short story collection *Anak* (Children), and a local publisher printed his novel *Sembilu dalam taman* (Grief in the park) (Parsua 1986a, 1986b). Despite this, and the inclusion of works by Lesiba members in national collections such as *Cerpen Indonesia mutakhir* (Latest Indonesian short stories [four volumes], 1983) by Satyagraha Hoerip and *Tonggak, antologi puisi Indonesia* (Milestones, Indonesian poetry anthology [four volumes]), 1988) edited by Linus Suryadi, the contribution of Balinese writers to the development of Indonesian literature at the national level in the 1980s was scarcely acknowledged. In that decade Indonesian literature was still heavily Jakarta-centred, while regional writing was considered marginal or an 'inferior Other'.

By the early 1980s a new generation of young writers had appeared, signifying a positive shift in the progress of Balinese literature. This would not have happened without the pivotal role played by Umbu Landu Paranggi and the *Bali Post*, where he has been literary editor since 1979. Before coming to Bali, Umbu Landu Paranggi, who was born in 1945 on the island of Sumba in West Nusa Tenggara, spent almost ten years in Yogyakarta in the 1970s. He initially studied law at Gajah Mada University and later worked as literary editor of *Pelopop* (Pioneer), a Yogyakarta newspaper. While there he established the Persada Study Club, a literary group that held a 'street poetry reading' every night in Jalan Malioboro, in the heart of Yogyakarta, where poets, people who appreciate literature and artists could gather for informal discussions and poetry readings which often lasted all night. The role that Umbu Landu Paranggi played during his time in Yogyakarta has been widely acknowledged by poets such as Emha Ainun Nadjib (1983) despite the fact that he left the city a long time ago.³⁷

Umbu Landu Paranggi started his job at the *Bali Post* in 1979 and

³⁷ See also Arcana 1996.

immediately renamed the newspaper literary columns 'Pos remaja' and 'Pos budaya' to instigate a new competitive strategy between the two groups. He divided the youth section into several sub-sections, such as 'Parade', 'Competition' and 'Promotion', each one indicating a distinct level of writing quality. It was open to contributions by fledgling writers of poetry, literary analysis, commentary and even personal reflections. Seen in hierarchical terms, the youth section clearly ranked lower than the culture section, and young contributors had to undergo a strict selection process before their work could appear in the culture section (Putra 1994:391-5). Editors of the *Bali Post* earlier in the 1970s and of *Bhakti* and *Damai* in the 1950s had used similar editorial strategies to try to provoke competition among young writers. The difference is that Umbu Landu Paranggi proved to be more successful at producing serious and committed writers than previous editors.

It would take a minimum of five years for writers to gain promotion to the culture section, depending on their level of talent and rate of progress. In the early 1980s, he added a student section to encourage more high school students to write. In order to widen young writers' knowledge of literature, Umbu Landu Paranggi conducted frequent literary appreciation programs on an irregular basis throughout the 1980s and 1990s, both during the day and at night, moving from one city or school to another all over Bali. In doing this, he was repeating to some degree what he had done in Yogyakarta. All this has reinforced the *sastra koran* nature of Balinese literature.

Umbu Landu Paranggi's tireless efforts have shown results, particularly in the development of poetry. During his editorship, Bali has seen the emergence of young poets with a strong commitment to the promotion of Balinese literature, such as Alit S. Rini, Oka Rusmini, Cok Sawitri, A.A. Mas Ruscitadewi, Tan Lio Ie, Wayan Arthawa, Sindhu Putra, Ketut Landras Syaellendra, Warih Wisatsana, and Fajar Arcana (see Chapter V). Their work has appeared in the national journals *Horison* and *Kalam*, in *Kompas*, *Republika* and *Media Indonesia*, and has been included in a number of contemporary Indonesian poetry collections such as *Mimbar penyair abad 21* (Twenty first century poets' forum, 1996) and *Cakrawala sastra Indonesia* (Indonesia's literary horizon, 2004) both published by Dewan Kesenian Jakarta,

and Angkatan 2000 (Rampan 2000). They have dominated national poetry-writing contests, and are frequently invited to national, regional (ASEAN) and international literary forums.³⁸

Young Balinese poets established literary groups such as Sanggar Minum Kopi (The Coffee Drinking Studio) in 1984, and Pusat Olah Seni dan Teater Indonesia (Posti, Centre for Indonesian Arts and Theatre) soon after that. These groups have conducted literary activities with both local and national range, such as national poetry writing contests, poetry reading contests, literary forums and theatre performances (Hunter 1998:2-4). Sanggar Minum Kopi printed the winning poems in short editions such as *Taksu, antologi puisi 1991* (Charisma, 1991 poetry anthology) and *Kulkul, puisi terbaik 1992* (Wooden drum, 1992's best poetry). In addition, Sanggar Minum Kopi has published volumes of works by single authors, such as *Kita bersaudara* (We are all one, 1991) by Tan Lio Ie along with an English version, *We are all one* (1996) translated by Thomas M. Hunter, and anthologies of its members' poems such as *Teh gingseng* (Ginseng tea, 1993). *Teh gingseng* was designed as a wedding present for two members of Sanggar Minum Kopi, which changed its name to Yayasan Cak (The Cak foundation) in 1995. It put out *Cak*, its own literary magazine, which was significant even though it only ran for five editions (1995-1997), because it coincided with the emergence of the regional literary movement (*gerakan sastra pedalaman*) in Indonesia (Derks 1998:16). Thus, *Cak* and Balinese writers in general contributed to strengthening the regional literary movement, although later developments suggest that their most desired outcome is still national publication.

The Reformation period

During the Reformation period, the *Bali Post* newspaper has continued to play a dominant role in the advancement of national literature in

³⁸ Tan Lio Ie 1997; see also 'Penyair Bali diundang ke Belanda', *Kompas* 26-2-1998; 'Dari festival puisi internasional, orang disadarkan, puisi itu multikultural', *Bali Post* 27-5-2001.

Bali. While some older Balinese writers benefit from Jakarta-based national publication, the majority of arts and literary activities remain in the hands of members of the literary club, Yayasan Cak. In 1998, members of Yayasan Cak, having no regular gathering place, established Warung Budaya (The Cultural Cafe) in Denpasar's Bali Arts Centre. This new environment created an atmosphere that encouraged regular literary activities and arts performances. Poets, writers and academics from Bali and elsewhere received invitations to come and talk about literary and cultural matters – a scene reminiscent of the one centred around Lesiba a decade earlier. Several contemporary performances, which received wide public attention and press coverage, took place – for example, one by the prominent Balinese artist and painter Nyoman Erawan. Unfortunately, the revitalized political situation leading up to the 1999 general election diverted the public's attention elsewhere.

New subject matter and aesthetic approaches have also marked recent Balinese literature, as well as the emergence of new poets. Unlike their predecessors in the 1980s, with their themes of universal humanism, in the late 1990s poets began to discuss the social changes that Bali was undergoing. Writing about social issues became possible because a civil society that demanded greater levels of democracy in government had emerged. The New Order regime had initiated the idea of relaxing its hold on society and the arts in 1989 with its 'Keterbukaan' (Openness) program. Although there were no clear parameters for this 'openness', it did encourage public demonstrations and rallies, exemplified by the demonstrations against the rejection of Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadiah (SDSB, National Charity Lottery) from 1991 to 1993, and the rejection of national traffic laws that carried high fines for offenders. In Bali, the beginnings of a new civil society appeared when strong protests against a mega-project proposing a tourism precinct that incorporated the Bali Nirwana Resort and the Garuda Wisnu Kencana (Golden Garuda Monument) took place between 1993 and 1996.

The public directed their concern at both the scale and impact of this development on such a small island, and at the fact that the mega-project could undermine the sacred values attached to the island's environment and Balinese religious beliefs (Suasta and Connor 1999).

Many of the poems of the 1990s are about local concerns – particularly the commercialization and desecration of the island's culture, the deterioration of the environment and the alienation felt by Balinese in the face of modernization and the rapid development of tourism, which will be discussed in Chapter IV. The poems also reflect the widespread radical social and political changes in Indonesia that led to the fall of the New Order regime in May 1998. Although set in a local context, many of the poets articulate disappointment with the development policies of the central and provincial governments. While these poets are engaging in social protest, they do it in a lyrical and poetic manner, using symbols and metaphors that prevent the works from becoming crude propaganda similar to that written in the 1960s.

Prose writing also developed significantly in the early 1990s. Many writers continued to see their work appear in national publications such as *Kompas* and women's magazines such as *Femina* and *Sarinah*. The themes of caste conflict and the clash between traditional values and modernity, which have been popular since the 1920s, continue to appear. These local issues, in fact, attract national audiences. Two short stories by Oka Rusmini about caste conflict and inequality, *Putu menolong Tuhan* (Putu helps God, 1995) and *Sagra* (Sagra, 1998), have won first prize in national competitions held by the women's magazine *Femina*. They will be discussed in Chapter V.

Another interesting and widely used theme in Balinese fiction during the last three decades is the interaction between Balinese and 'the Other' (mostly Westerners, rarely Asians) in the context of mass tourism. Faisal Baraas, Rasta Sindhu, Putu Wijaya, Ngurah Parsua and Aryantha Soethama have all written works based on this interaction, which will be analysed in Chapter VII. Given that the caste system and the impact of tourism remain central to Balinese life and the discourse about Balinese identity, these themes will probably continue to be prominent in Balinese literature for the foreseeable future.

A striking feature of Indonesian literature of the late 1990s is the emergence of a number of women writers such as Ayu Utami and Dee Lestari. This phenomenon also took place in Bali with important Balinese women writers such as Alit S. Rini, Oka Rusmini, Mas

Ruscitadewi and Cok Sawitri. The first three were graduates of the Faculty of Letters at Udayana University and now work as journalists at the *Bali Post*. Cok Sawitri studied economics at a private university in Bali, and she too worked at the *Bali Post* before taking a job in local government in 1999. In addition to publishing work about the impact of development on politics and tourism, these writers also articulate women's voices in their work. Their contributions have marked a significant shift in theme and the representation of women in Balinese literature. In the past women were depicted as lacking a voice, but in the work of contemporary women writers they are shown as characters who both question and challenge some of the socially mandated gender roles for women.

Currently, the most active Balinese female writer is Oka Rusmini who has published dozens of poems, short stories and novels. Her major works are the novel *Tarian bumi* (The dance of the earth, 2000) and an anthology of short stories, *Sagra* (2001). In 2003, she published her poetry collection titled *Patiwangi*.³⁹ Her writing enabled her to be included in the Angkatan 2000 group of Indonesian writers, along with two other poets from Bali, her husband Arief B. Prasetyo and Wayan Arthawa (Rampan 2000).

Although not part of any permanent organization, Balinese writers collectively have continued to contribute to the development of Indonesian literature at the national level. In 2000, for example, they held a national poetry-writing contest in conjunction with an 'end-of-the-millennium art happening' called Arts and Peace. The contest, with the theme 'Peace', invited Indonesian writers to reflect both on the political turmoil in Indonesia during the Reformation era, and on the wars occurring in many parts of the world. Around 400 poets from 117 cities throughout Indonesia submitted 1208 entries in total. The winning poems were issued as an anthology under the title *Kumpulan puisi art and peace* (The art and peace poetry collection, 2000) by Warih Wisatsana. Commenting on the quality and themes of the entries in the introduction to this collection, the judges, led by

³⁹ 'The death of fragrance' is the literal translation of *patiwangi* but it can also mean an offering made during a ritual to release someone from their caste status. For further discussion of this, see Chapter V.

Umbu Landu Paranggi, stated that many of the entries emphasize the importance of peace and the value of freedom in human life. They add that writing poetry is not just an aesthetic activity but also a way to celebrate diversity and pluralism (Wisatsana 2000:ix), an idea that revisits the concept of contextual literature.

Another interesting recent development in Balinese literature is the interest shown in translating Balinese works into English. Vern Cork has translated and published three books of Indonesian literature by Balinese writers – a short story collection, *Bali behind the seen* (1996), a poetry collection, *Bali the morning after* (2000) and a collection of short stories by Oka Sukanta, *The sweat of pearls* (1999). The Lontar Foundation in Jakarta has published *The rape of Sukreni* (1998), a translation of Panji Tisna's 1936 novel *Sukreni gadis Bali* by George Quinn. They also issued *Menagerie 4, Indonesian fiction, poetry, photographs and essays* (McGlynn 2000) one of a series of anthologies of contemporary Indonesian fiction and poetry that includes works about Bali by both Balinese and non-Balinese Indonesian writers. The issues discussed form the primary criterion for inclusion of most of the pieces included in the above anthologies. In his foreword to *Menagerie 4*, McGlynn (2000:vi) states that the book 'offers its reader the *insiders* view of Bali'.

Whatever the intent of these English translations, they have made it possible for Balinese literature to reach a much wider audience than ever before, and provide that audience with a window on the development of Indonesian literature. This adds weight to Sutardji Calzoum Bachri's acknowledgment of the contribution that Balinese writers have made to the development of Indonesian literature in prose, poetry and other literary activities (Bachri 2000). There are various reasons for thinking that this contribution has a promising future. Local newspapers, especially the *Bali Post*, continue to provide a forum for the publication of literature and to facilitate artistic and literary activities. In addition to some works by Panji Tisna and Putu Wijaya remaining in print, mature writers like Sunaryono Basuki, Frans Nadjira, and Gde Aryantha Soethama still write and publish. Younger writers who began their creative efforts in the mid-1980s under the influence of Umbu Landu Paranggi have now generally entered their productive period, with their work appearing in

newspapers, magazines and books. Also notable is the annual Ubud International Readers' and Writers' Festival held since 2004, which always gives Balinese writers priority, enabling them to take part alongside other established Indonesian authors and to present both their work and their individual outlook on Indonesian literature to an international audience.

It is clear from the outset that Bali's role in the development of Indonesian national literature has a relatively long history and serves as one of the important links in the chain of this development. It can be said that if Indonesian literature is a poem, Bali contributes a line; if Indonesian literature is a play, Bali contributes a scene. There is no doubt that in the world of Indonesian literature, to borrow Derks' term, Bali is emphatically a 'regional centre'.

Filling the space

In spite of its lively history, there has been no comprehensive study of Balinese literature since its emergence in the 1920s. A few studies began to appear in the 1980s, but these focused on specific writers and served as introductions to their work, or else surveyed the development of a brief period in the progress of Balinese literature. This book aims to overcome the limitations of those studies by considering Balinese literature in its entirety, discussing it as part of the national literature and relating it to social and cultural changes in Bali.

I Made Sukada's article 'Perkembangan sastra nasional di Bali' (The development of national literature in Bali, 1982),⁴⁰ analyses Balinese literature (which he terms 'national literature in Bali') by dividing its development into two periods: pre-1949 and post-1949. While this division has a certain validity, through using independence as the point of change, when dealing with the pre-1949 period I

⁴⁰ I Made Sukada's article appeared in a booklet specially printed for *Pertemuan Dunia Melayu* (Meeting of the Malay world) in Kuala Lumpur in 1982. It contains three other short articles about Indonesian literature in Bali and Balinese arts and culture written by I Made Sukada, Ngurah Parsua and Wirawan Sudewa.

Made Sukada mentions only Panji Tisna and his works. Although he includes a list of Balinese publications from the colonial period as an appendix, he completely overlooks the writers and literature that appeared in periodicals like *Surya Kanta* and *Djatajoe*. Similarly the major developments of the early 1950s, when the magazines *Bhakti* and *Damai* and the tabloid *Harapan* published many works and served as sources for news of literary activity in Singaraja and Denpasar, go unnoticed. The important role that these periodicals played in 1950s Balinese literature remains unstudied in I Made Sukada's article.

There are three studies on the development of Balinese poetry that focus only on narrow areas of post-independence writing, particularly the 1990s when the quantity and aesthetic standards of poetry increased at a remarkable rate (Putra 1994; Eddy 1997; Hunter 1998). My own study emphasizes the role played by newspapers in stimulating poetry writing in the 1980s and 1990s, centring on the *Bali Post*, its editorial policy and its literary programs. I Nyoman Tusthi Eddy's article provides a sketch of the development of Balinese poetry from the 1960s to the 1990s and also stressed that the recent upsurge owed much to the *Bali Post* and its literary editor, Umbu Landu Paranggi. Hunter (1998) discusses in detail the development of Balinese poetry in the 1990s, canvassing topics such as the emergence of young poets and the influence of traditional poetry on modern poetry, and giving a brief analysis of the thematic focus of poetry written in both the Indonesian and Balinese languages. All three studies shed light on the recent development of Balinese poetry but they all omit discussion of any literature from before the 1960s.

Other studies of Balinese literature deal with the works of individual writers or concentrate on single periods. Foulcher (1983:33-4, 1986) introduces the poetry of the left-wing Balinese writer, Putu Oka Sukanta, by emphasizing how his poems reflect social and cultural changes in Bali. Gusti Ngurah Bagus (1996) analyses the play *Kesetiaan perempuan*, published in *Surya Kanta* in 1927, by relating the text to the caste conflict occurring in Balinese society at that time. Unlike Foulcher, who locates Oka Sukanta's poems within the context of national literature, Bagus shows no interest in situating the play in relation to other works of the same period or to the general history of Balinese literature. Other studies on individual Balinese writers,

like those on Panji Tisna by Ian Caldwell (1985) and George Quinn (1998) and on Putu Wijaya by Ellen Rafferty (1988) and Goenawan Mohamad (1994) treat them in isolation from the Balinese literary world.

I Nyoman Wijaya (2000), who uses a historically based approach, conducts a close examination of the changing lifestyles of the populace of Denpasar in the 1950s by looking at a number of short stories from *Damai* and *Bhakti*. I Nyoman Wijaya regards literary texts as sources of historical information rather than of aesthetic representation. Information on the general progress of literature in the 1950s is missing from his study. The most interesting study of an individual writer's work is Sutedja-Liem's analysis (2000) of the poems and short stories of Rasta Sindhu from the 1960s. This study analyses the dominant themes of Rasta Sindhu's works and also locates him and his works in the wider context of the development of both Balinese and national literature. Sutedja-Liem later included a significant part of this study of Rasta Sindhu's works in her dissertation *The turning wheel of time; Modernity and writing identity in Bali 1900-1970* (2003). Her study encompasses the change among Balinese intellectuals to writing in the new language, Malay. After placing this historical shift in literature within the context of progress, she discusses the work of individual writers, starting with the work of Tjokorda Denpasar, Panji Tisna and Rasta Sindhu, emphasizing the issues of modernity and identity. Sutedja-Liem's study ends at the year 1970, whereas the present study extends to the year 2000.

All the above studies certainly make valuable contributions to our understanding of Indonesian literature from Bali, and prove that Bali is an important regional centre of national literature, but because they focus on distinct periods or themes, undocumented spaces remain which this book attempts to fill. Apart from relating the history of national literature from Bali to that of Indonesian national literature as a whole, this book offers a reading of Balinese literature as it reflects Balinese notions of modernity and identity by drawing on the interplay of literary and public discourses throughout the twentieth century.

CHAPTER III

From Balinese to Indonesian Poetry from the colonial and national revolution periods

Poetry has always been the dominant genre in the Indonesian literary tradition, and this is also true of Indonesian literature originating from Bali. Besides being relatively easily to publish, poetry is also a forceful form of writing which can express almost every level of feeling in an aesthetic way. As already outlined in the previous chapter, during the colonial and national revolution periods, poetry was the most common literary form used by Balinese writers – this remains true to the present (Hunter 1998; Putra 1994, 2004). *Syair* and *pantun*, although old poetic structures by Malay standards, were new to Balinese writers in the 1920s (Sutedja-Liem 2003:143). Their language medium, Malay, was clearly more egalitarian than the hierarchical levels of speech used in Balinese, and by using it many new concepts could be considered (Vickers 1996:6; Schulte Nordholt 2000:103).

Another new aspect of the use of *syair* and *pantun* during the 1920s was that they appeared in the modern Malay language publications, *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana*, which added a new dimension to Balinese literary tradition. At the turn of the twentieth century, Balinese writers only dealt with modernity in indigenous literary genres such as *gaguritan*, *kidung*, and *kakawin* with the outside world only occasionally mentioned. By the 1920s, access to these new literary forms and to printed periodicals had created significant pathways towards comprehending modernity and negotiating identity ‘far beyond earlier boundaries’ (Creese 2007:754). These new perceptions of modernity and identity found expression in various genres but

poetry has always remained the primary mode. What follows is an examination of how poetry from the colonial and national revolution periods represents Balinese notions of modernity and identity. It also explores how shifts in identity construction took place from one period to the other and to what extent the social and political situations influenced such change.

Early poetry and the debate over traditional identity

Poetry in the Indonesian language first emerged in Bali in the second half of the 1920s, at the height of a debate over traditional identity between *jaba* (lower caste) and *triwangsa* (upper-caste) people through the medium of *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana*. The *jaba* group, who took a progressive stance against the caste system, supported *Surya Kanta*. *Bali Adnjana*, by contrast, became the mouthpiece of the *triwangsa* and was dedicated to maintaining existing Balinese culture, including the caste system (Vickers 1989:152; Picard 1999b). Before the mid-1920s, Balinese intellectuals from all caste groups had in fact achieved a degree of unity in their mutual efforts towards modernity, but they later split again, along caste lines (Putra Agung 2001:101-4). Colonial caste policy that granted privileges to *triwangsa* contributed to the disharmonious relationship between the two groups.

Surya Kanta often complained about the arrogance of *triwangsa*, who wanted respect from *jaba* in social relationships, but did not return it. This disappointment in everyday relations led them to reject the caste system and propose its eradication, while at the same time praising instead the importance of the status and titles provided by modern education. Contributors to *Surya Kanta* were outward looking and often proudly referred to education in Europe and Japan. For them, academic titles were more relevant than caste titles, as the following quote from an article based on the minutes of a meeting of *Surya Kanta* suggests:

We of the *jaba* caste don't need to seek out (and should not expect) the titles *Ida*, *Dewa*, *Gusti*. *Jabas*, let us always give priority to good character

[*budi*], and try our hardest to pursue titles such as Mr, Dr, Ir, and Professor, because it is character and intelligence which can uplift us.¹

Articles published in *Bali Adnjana*, by contrast, rejected the propositions regarding education put forward by *Surya Kanta*. An article in *Bali Adnjana* in August 1926 argued that it was completely wrong for the Balinese to imitate Japan and America, because the Balinese live on a small island with a tiny population.² Another article in *Bali Adnjana* emphasized that Balinese youth had forgotten ‘the knowledge of their ancestors’, and suggested that they had lost the essence of *kebalian* (being Balinese) because they tended to speak Malay and Dutch to their Balinese friends to display that they were educated people.³ *Bali Adnjana* was not necessarily anti-modern, but wanted to counter the ways in which *Surya Kanta* belittled the caste system and spread hostility between castes. In an article entitled ‘Percakapan’ (Dialogue), published in 1926, *Bali Adnjana* warned:

if these *sudra* [lower caste people or *jaba*] continually cause offence to *triwangsa* people, [if] the seed of animosity grows in the mind of *jaba* people who are easily influenced and are provoked to challenge *triwangsa*, it will only cause conflict.⁴

The debate between these two publications extended to political issues. *Bali Adnjana* saw *Surya Kanta*’s idea of giving lower and upper-caste people the same status as a move to create a classless as well as casteless society (*sama rata sama rasa*) in the communist sense. In a

¹ ‘Kita kaum *jaba* tidak perlu mencari (jangan berharap) gelaran Ida, Dewa, Gusti. Marilah kita kaum *jaba* selalu mengutamakan budi, dan marilah berusaha sekuat-kuat kita, kejarlah gelaran Mr, Dr, Ir, dan Prof karena budi dan kepandaian itulah yang dapat meningkatkan kita kaum *jaba*’, *Surya Kanta* 2 (1926):60-3. An editorial note to the article ‘Angan-angan’, *Surya Kanta* 2 (1926):17-8, makes a similar point. ‘Ir’ (insinyur) is equivalent to ‘Engineer’ a title equivalent to the English M.Sc. used in the Netherlands and Germany.

² ‘Resident Bali Lombok’, *Bali Adnjana* 10-8-1926:1-2.

³ ‘Percakapan A dan B’, *Bali Adnjana* 20-8-1926:2-4.

⁴ ‘[...] kalau terus menerus si *sudra* itu menyakitkan hati si *triwangsa* dan benih kebencian itu hingga menjalar di otaknya kaum *sudra* yang masih gampang diabui dan diasut itu lalu terus menentang kaum *triwangsa*, tentulah barangkali juga akan terjadi keributan’, *Bali Adnjana* 10-12-1926:5.

further criticism, the editor of *Bali Adnjana*, Tjakra Tenaja mocked the abbreviation of *Surya Kanta*, 'SK', claiming that it stood for 'Sarang Komunis' or a 'lair of communists' (Picard 1999b:47). *Bali Adnjana* urged Balinese society to be aware of the 'Red Peril' that would put the very foundations of Balinese culture and religion at risk.⁵

The debate between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* ended in the late 1920s after both newspapers closed due to financial difficulties and colonial repression. Despite this, the issue has still not been resolved, and caste inequality continues to dominate public discourse into the twenty-first century.

Much of the subject matter of the early Balinese poems is a product of the debate between *Bali Adnjana* and *Surya Kanta*. Almost all early Indonesian poetry by Balinese writers promotes the aims and ideological position of the newspaper in which it was published. The single poem in *Bali Adnjana*, *Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali Adnjana* (Happy New Year to *Bali Adnjana*) by Gd. P. Kertanadi, expresses *Bali Adnjana's* ideal of guiding Balinese people to embrace the future era. The fact that the poem was printed on the journal's front page on 1 January 1925, in its first edition of the year, suggests that the newspaper endorsed the poem as a statement of its mission.

The poem *Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali Adnjana* is interesting for both its form and content. It is a *syair*, so the poem has a clear rhyme scheme with the same final sound, a-a-a-a, in each stanza and its style is acrostic, in that the initial letters of the stanzas (and their component lines) when read in sequence downwards form the expression 'Bali Adnjana'.⁶ This title contains 11 characters, equal to the number of stanzas that form the *syair*. As an example, the first four verses quoted below begin each line with the letters B, A, L and I respectively, to form the word 'Bali'.

⁵ 'Agama dan adat Bali terancam bahaya merah', *Bali Adnjana* 10-2-1929:2-5. See also Robinson 1995:34.

⁶ The full version of this poem is included in Appendix B.

Bali Adnjana taman jauhari	<i>Bali Adnjana</i> is a garden of
Buat pengerah putra dan putri	diamonds
Bersinar bagaikan matahari	For mobilizing men and women
Bagi suluh BALI negeri	Shining like the sun
	As a torch for the land of BALI

Akan penerang di tempat gelap	It will brighten dark places
Akan pembangun si tidur lelap	It will wake those who sleep
Anak negeri masih terlelap	deeply
Agar jangan selalu disulap	Children of the nation who are
	still sound asleep
	So they will not always be
	tricked

Lara rakyat telah diperhatikan	The people's suffering has been
Laki perempuan tak	observed
disingkirkan	Men and women are not to be
Lalim penindas disapukan	pushed aside
Laksana bola dapat sepakan	The cruel oppressor is swept
	away
	The way a ball can be kicked
	away

Inilah pertama pembela kita	This is our first defender
Isinya penuh dengan mestika	Its contents are precious stones
Ikhtiar jujur tidak terkata	Its honesty needs no explanation
Ikatan AGAMA hendak direka	We intend to achieve unity in
	RELIGION

This poem announces the existence of *Bali Adnjana* and its goal of bringing enlightenment to people living throughout the island of Bali. The poet uses two similes, 'sun' and 'torch', to explain how *Bali Adnjana* will light 'the darkness' and wake up those who are 'still asleep' which can be interpreted respectively as symbols of 'backwardness' and 'laziness'. What *Bali Adnjana* intends to do is to uplift those people from these states so that they will not become unnecessary victims of acts of trickery or deception (*Agar jangan selalu disulap*). A further

goal of *Bali Adnjana*, as stated in the third verse, is to protect suffering people from the possibility of exploitation and oppression. The poem also declares that *Bali Adnjana* helps people with great honesty, and always encourages them to refer to religious teachings for guidance. It is clear that the enlightenment and religious teachings that *Bali Adnjana* is referring to are those based on Hinduism.

From the sixth to the tenth verses the poem elaborates the importance of religious teachings by saying that *Bali Adnjana* has printed many books including the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics and is selling them at affordable prices. Related to the importance of traditional literature, *Bali Adnjana* regularly advertised two things: one was the availability of new books on traditional literature for the public to purchase; the other was the promotion of a lending library located next to the editorial office of the newspaper. According to the poem, traditional literary texts like the Ramayana and Mahabharata are full of advice, which is regarded as medicine for curing feelings of uncertainty or confusion and for blocking evil desires. The poem then praises the role and services provided by *Bali Adnjana*. The eleventh and last verse of the poem contains feelings of gratefulness and apology. Such expressions of humility are common in traditional literature, written in the opening verse if the concluding verse was used to state the date when the writing was finished.

Amin tak putus kami ucapkan	We will say Amen without end
Akhirulalam kami serukan	In conclusion we will proclaim
Agihan madah salah onggokan	Parts of the verses are filled with mistakes
Abang dan adik sudi maafkan	Brothers and sisters will agree to forgive

The ideas of *Bali Adnjana* for enlightening the people of Bali stated in this poem are similar to the dreams of its opponent, *Surya Kanta*. The difference is that while for *Bali Adnjana* progress must be in accordance with religious teachings and traditional values, *Surya Kanta* proposed advancement based on Western values and modern knowledge as will be shown in the poems analysed below.

Contesting traditional status

Subjects that promote a form of modernity quite different from *Bali Adnjana's* dominate poems published in *Surya Kanta*. The 17 poems listed in Table 2 are primarily addressed to lower-caste people. Poets urge this group to achieve the highest level of education that they can, because status from modern education is more relevant to the modern era than that bestowed by the caste system. As the poems were written at the height of the conflict between *jaba* and *triwangsa*, they not only reflected but also intensified the tension between the two groups. They are blatantly polemical in nature, even in their titles. Many of the contributors to *Surya Kanta* and later to *Djatajoe* used their initials, rather than their full names, and cannot be identified.

Table 2. Poems published in *Surya Kanta* between 1925 and 1927

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
1	Assalamualaikum (Peace be with you)	1925	WD	Greetings and introducing the mission of <i>Surya Kanta</i>
2	Ilmu (Knowledge)	1925	AWD	The importance of knowledge as a source of happiness
3	Tachyul (Superstitions)*	1926	MAR	Modernity versus superstition and caste
4	O! Zaman (Oh! These times)	1926	M.T.	A call to support <i>Surya Kanta</i> in improving the fate of <i>jaba</i> and promoting <i>budi</i>
5	SK (Surya Kanta)*	1926	Soekarsa	Promotion of the SK newspaper
6	Hiduplah SK (Long live SK)	1926	MAR	Propaganda for SK; knowledge of progress
7	Rukunlah Surya Kanta (Be harmonious, Surya Kanta)	1926	WL	Balinese religion

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
8	Kemanusiaan (Mankind)	1926	A. Kobar	The importance of education
9	Sadarlah (Be aware)	1926	Md.	A call to pray for a long life for <i>Surya Kanta</i> and to discard uncivilized <i>adat</i>
10	Berlanggananlah surat bulanan SK (Please subscribe to the monthly SK)	1926	KK	Promotion for the SK newspaper and the importance of <i>budi</i>
11	Cermin (Mirror)	1926	MDr	? (incomplete)
12	Darma (Duty)*	1926	Sinar	Comparison between caste and <i>budi</i>
13	Ilmu padi harus dituntut (We must strive for knowledge with humility)*	1926	L	The importance of knowledge and being humble
14	Surya Kanta bersinar (Surya Kanta is shining)	1926	WT	The importance of <i>budi</i> as opposed of caste
15	Syair SK (Poem of SK)	1926	M. Gama	The importance of Western knowledge
16	Setia pada SK (Loyal to SK)*	1927	Soekarsa	Call for lower caste groups to unite; the importance of Western education
17	Kiasan (Lesson)	1927	A. Kobar	Moral advice

*Acrostic poem

A typical example of a *Surya Kanta* poem, in terms of form and content, is *Setia pada SK* (Loyal to *Surya Kanta*, 1927) written by Soekarsa. This *syair* comprises 11 verses, each of which either encourages public support for the organization or outlines a different aspect of its goals, such as the importance of good character (*budi*), of Western education (*onderwijs*) or of a positive attitude towards the modern era. The poet,

Soekarsa, was one of the most productive contributors to *Surya Kanta*. Besides this poem, he also published a two-stanza *syair* entitled *SK* (1926) and several articles emphasizing that if Balinese were to cope with the inevitable onset of the modern era, education would play a vital role.

Setia pada SK articulates the ideas of *Surya Kanta* in a propagandist style that the text emphasizes constantly by the use of exhortations such as *teruskanlah* (please continue), *sokonglah* (please support), *haruslah ingat* (it must be remembered) and *kami berseru* (we beseech). Although published two years after the poem *Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali Adnjana*, this poem is both acrostic and of exactly the same length, and is thus open to interpretation as a direct repudiation of *Bali Adnjana's* principles, while clearly stating those of *Surya Kanta*. The opening stanza of the poem *Setia pada SK* addresses the *jaba* group to remind them of the importance of unity and progress.⁷

<i>Surya Kanta</i> datang berperi	<i>Surya Kanta</i> urges you now in poetry
Sepakat Jaba menyatukan diri	For all <i>jaba</i> are now fully agreed
Satunya bangsa selalu dicari	Being united as one nation is always the goal
Sebab hendak memajukan diri	As they always want to improve themselves

The word '*bangsa*' (nation) is frequently used in poetry published in *Surya Kanta*, in *Djatajoe* in the 1930s and in poems by non-Balinese Indonesians from the 1920s. A good example is the poem by Mohammad Jamin, a Jakarta-based Sumatran poet, entitled *Bahasa, bangsa* (Language, nation), first published in *Jong Sumatra* (Young Sumatra), in February 1921. It uses the sonnet form and is regarded by some as 'the first expression of a modern Indonesian literature' for its 'unconventional form as well as its original content' (Teeuw 1967:10-1). The use of *bangsa* in this poem clearly refers to Sumatra, not Indonesia, as the expression '*Dimana Sumatra, disitu bangsa*'⁸

⁷ The full version of this poem is included in Appendix B.

⁸ 'Wherever Sumatra is, there is my nation.' The translation is taken from Teeuw 1967:257.

makes explicit. Similarly, the expression '*satunya bangsa*' (being united as one nation) in Soekarsa's poem refers specifically to lower-caste Balinese people. Mohammad Jamin's and Soekarsa's poems are typical examples of Indonesian literature from the colonial period that display more concern with regional than with national identity.

Soekarsa's poem *Setia pada SK* also shows a clear orientation towards the modern era, reflecting the modernist vision of both *Surya Kanta* and the writer. He makes a sharp contrast between the past as 'backward' and the present as 'modern'.

Dahulu lain dengan sekarang	The past and present are different
Dalam SK [<i>Surya Kanta</i>] ada dikarang	It is stated in <i>Surya Kanta</i>
Dahulu kolot modern sekarang	The past is backward, the present is modern
Demikianlah kenang-kenangan orang	That's what people always remember
Aliran zaman turut selalu	Follow the current of this era
Adat kuno zaman dahulu	Disdain old customs and traditions
Arus dipilih mana yang perlu	Choose only what is needed
Adat yang baik teguhkan selalu	Good customs should be retained

The clear message of the poem is contained in the line 'follow the current of this era'. It expresses a critical stance towards Balinese customary practices that do not necessarily remain relevant. Although it articulates the need to select and maintain some positive elements of traditional culture, it is more interested in embracing modernity than in refining the old customs. This idea is reinforced in the poem *Sadarlah!* by a poet known only by the initials Md., which urges readers to 'throw away bad and uncivilized customs' (*Singkirkan adat buruk biadab*). One of the major 'old customs' that *Surya Kanta* wanted to 'throw away' was the caste system.

Just as the poem *Setia pada SK* urges *jaba* to embrace modern education by using the Dutch word *onderwijs*,⁹ M. Gama's poem *Syair SK* (SK poem, 1926) advises *jaba* people to pursue Western knowledge (*Kepandaian Barat harus dikejar*). This is a most progressive idea by the standards prevailing among Balinese intellectuals in the 1920s. Gama lived in Lombok and his poem and other articles published by contributors to *Surya Kanta* from that island indicate that Lombok too shared the desire to pursue progress. Western Lombok was colonized by the Karangasem kingdom in the early eighteenth century and thus for cultural and literal purposes the contributors from Lombok were in one sense the 'colonized' linking into the 'metropolis' of Bali itself. *Syair SK*, like other poems in *Surya Kanta*, is only concerned with the interests of *jaba*. It urges *jaba* to use modern education in order to raise their status to a level equal to that enjoyed by upper-caste people and people of other nations.

The idea of aspiring to *budi*, or 'good character', is also important for *Surya Kanta*. *Surya Kanta* believed that status should be definable by moral standing, not by birth. In M.T.'s poem *O! Zaman* (Oh! These times, 1926), this idea is expressed when the poet says: 'Tingkatan budi tingkatan kasta' (the level of character defines caste). The poem *Ilmu padi harus dituntut* (We must strive for knowledge with humility, 1926) in which the poet states that true nobility is not defined by skin, but radiates from *budi*, reinforces this idea. This is another illustration of *Surya Kanta's* clear standpoint of rejecting ascribed status in favour of achieved status. For *Surya Kanta* writers, being modern meant being educated and equal, and it seems that they understood that the education advocated by colonial modernity was one of the best solutions to *jaba* problems, in sharp contrast with 'the knowledge of the ancestors' proposed by *Bali Adnjana*.

Although they differ in theme and orientation, the poems in *Bali Adnjana* and those in *Surya Kanta* share some similar Islamic expressions. The poem *Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali Adnjana* contains the words *Allah*, *amin* and *akhirulalam*. The first poem in the first edition of *Surya Kanta* was entitled *Assalamualaikum* (Peace be with you), an Islamic greeting. Other terms such as *Insya Allah* (God

⁹ *Kejar onderwijs buat aman* (Pursue education for peace).

willing) and *Alhamdulillah* (Praise be to God) also appear in most of the other poems. This is not the case in the poetry from the national revolution period onwards.

The frequent use of Islamic expressions in poems by Balinese poets is not just because those words are part of the Malay vocabulary, but relates as well to a Balinese perception of modernity in the context of religion. In the eyes of 1920s Balinese intellectuals, Islam appeared to be a modern religion. Articles in *Surya Kanta* often made references to Islam and Islamic organizations, and leaders who were active in conveying religious values to their adherents. These articles asserted that Balinese Hindus needed to imitate the enthusiasm of Islam, in order to develop the Hindu religion and improve Balinese knowledge of Hinduism.¹⁰ In addition, there were many Javanese Muslim teachers working in Bali in the 1920s which led to the adoption of Javanese-style education, in that schools remained closed during the Muslim month of fasting while staying open during Hindu holidays (Sutedja-Liem 2003:86). Various Islamic ethnic groups including Arabs, Bugis, Javanese and Balinese Muslims lived in the regions of North Bali and Lombok, where the periodicals were distributed. All these factors enabled Balinese writers to be familiar with Islamic expressions used in formal education and social relations and so they entered their writings naturally. While the use of Islamic expressions in the poems aims at conveying a particular sense of modernity, it also reflects, to some extent, ambivalence in Balinese opinion about the idea of establishing Hinduism as their regional identity marker.

Social concern as a reflection of regional identity

Progress and the importance of education, *Surya Kanta's* dominant poetic themes, were still major concerns in the poetry published in *Djatajoe* in the 1930s. However, *Djatajoe* had a different and more complex approach to these themes. Unlike the high optimism for a bright future that characterized the poetry published in *Surya Kanta*, *Djatajoe* adopted a pessimistic tone on the topics of education and

¹⁰ R.M. 1925.

progress. It focused more on social problems such as the experience of backwardness, poverty and hopelessness that Balinese people had to confront in the name of progress. The picture of Bali and the Balinese presented in the poetry of the 1930s is a generally gloomy one. Women's issues, absent in poems from the 1920s, began to appear in the poetry of the 1930s (see Table 3).

Table 3. Poems in *Djatajoe* between 1936-1939

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
1	Harta (Wealth)	n.d.	K. Kandia	Material orientation
2	Ke taman BDL (Going to BDL park)	1936	Ktut Gde Maroete	Promotion of Bali Darma Laksana's park; symbol of education resources
3	Arjuna	1937	M. Oke	Portrait of Arjuna as a hero
4	BDL (Bali Darma Laksana)	1937	K. Maroete	Propaganda for Bali Darma Laksana
5	Karena berpahala (Because it will bring merit)	1937	K. Kandia	The importance of being good to others
6	Ke arah nan maha kuasa (Toward the supreme God)	1937	Ida Bagus Tugar	Dedication to the supreme God (Iswara)
7	Kenangan (Memory)	1937	IG Ng Sidemen	Memory of love
8	Kodrat cinta (The destiny of love)	1937	IG Ng Sidemen	Love
9	O putriku (Oh, My sisters)	1937	Ni Wayan Sami	Encouraging women to pursue progress
10	Pitua dengan contoh harus bersama- sama (Advice and examples should come together)	1937	I Gde Geria	Propaganda for Bali Darma Laksana's activities

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
11	Syair seruan <i>Djatajoe</i> (<i>Djatajoe's</i> appeal)	1937	I G Ng Sidemen	A call for people of different castes to unite
12	Wahai kama (Oh, desire)	1937	K. Kandia	The positive and negative impact of desire
13	Ya dharma (Oh, duty)	1937	K. Kandia	The value of good attitudes
14	Di tepi samudra (At the edge of the ocean)	1938	Kedasih/Nj P. Mudelare	Reflection on life and the Supreme God
15	Hiduplah Badala (Long live Bali Darma Laksana)*	1938	Kt Djeloen	The importance of knowledge and <i>budi</i>
16	O Ibuku (Oh, my mother)	1938	I Gusti Putu Matharam	The burden of Bali being a tourist destination
17	Och Ratna (Oh, Ratna)	1938	M. Oke	The fame of Bali and the impact of progress
18	Oh Bali (Oh, Bali)	1938	P. Windia	Contrasts Balinese poverty and the island's fertility
19	Seruan (An appeal)	1938	Ni Tjatri	The importance of education for women
20	Kampungku (My village)	1939	Nj Merati	Longing for the island of Bali
21	Di rantau (Away from home)	1939	Mara Ati	Concern about the backwardness of Balinese
22	Dilamun maha yogi tanah Bali (On a daydream with Yogi in the land of Bali)	1939	Tone Indara	Propaganda for the Bali Darma Laksana movement
23	Tuhan dan manusia (God and humans)	1939	IMA	The greatness of God

* Acrostic poem

In the 1930s, the issue of caste is no longer central. The only poem that deals with it is *Syair seruan Djatajoe* (Djatajoe's appeal, 1935), written by I Gusti Ngurah Sidemen. As its title suggests, this poem uses the *syair* form. Although written by a *triwangsa* poet, the poem displays respect for all caste groups, and urges them to unite and help each other to achieve social dignity.¹¹ The fading of caste difference and inequality as a poetic theme might be a result of Balinese intellectuals developing a growing sense of social responsibility and increased sensitivity to the various hardships faced by the community because of its backwardness and the worldwide depression of the 1930s.

A first indication of the disheartened state of Bali and the Balinese in the poems of the 1930s can be gained from the frequent use of interjections such as 'oh' or 'och' (oh!) in both the title and body of the poems. The meaning of this interjection depends greatly on its context and it can be used to express a sense of either joy or sadness. However, in Balinese poems, *oh* and *och* are always meant to convey sadness or social concern. Examples of this are the poems *Oh Bali* (Oh, Bali) by P. Windia, *Och, Ratna* (Oh, Ratna) by M. Oke, *O putriku* (Oh, my sisters) by Ni Wayan Sami, and *Oh, Ibuku* (Oh, my mother) by I Gusti Putu Matharam. This style was also used in poems by other Indonesian writers who appeared in Jakarta's magazine *Poedjangga Baroe* – a source of influence for Balinese poets.

Most of the prominent Pujangga Baru poets were profoundly influenced by the Dutch *Beweging van Tachtig* (Eighties Movement), a late flourishing of nineteenth-century European Romanticism (Foulcher 1977:42), so it follows that the Balinese poetic style of the 1930s received a partial, if indirect European influence. However, whereas in poems of the Pujangga Baru group, the interjection 'oh' is often used to denote either joy, sadness, romanticism or powerlessness, in *Djatajoe* poems it generally reinforces a bleak image of Bali and the Balinese. The great economic depression that started in late 1929 affected Bali, as part of the Dutch East Indies (Schulte Nordholt 1996:286-8) and probably contributed to the cheerless imagery of 1930s Balinese poetry.

In presenting these negative images of Bali, its poets appear to

¹¹ The full version of this poem is included in Appendix B.

draw on a pattern that contrasts the idea of Bali as a beautiful tourist destination with the anxiety this caused to the Balinese people. From the first decade of the twentieth century onwards, there was a colonial government initiative to promote Bali as a destination for tourists (Vickers 1989; Picard 1996). While Balinese people supported this venture by participating, for example, in providing the cultural entertainment required by visitors, at the same time they complained about the unrepaired road damage caused by transporting them around (Hitchcock and Putra 2007:17). There were also complaints related to moral and cultural issues voiced by leaders of the Balinese women's organization Putri Bali Sadar who urged authorities to prevent tourists from taking photos of bare-breasted women and to stop the use of such photos on tourism postcards (Putra 2007:33-7). Tourism, from its earliest days, became something of a double-edged sword for the Balinese people.

The negative impact of tourism had already become a matter of public discussion in the 1920s, although it did not become a theme for poets. This is probably because the use of such material did not comply with the editorial policies of *Surya Kanta* and the eponymous organization controlling it, which banned its members from criticizing government policy.¹² By the 1930s, however, poets had generally begun to display more concern and criticism about social issues such as the helplessness of the populace in facing economic hardship. They were bold enough to discuss the problems inflicted on Bali and its inhabitants by developments related to tourism, while diplomatically refraining from displaying any anti-Western feeling. *Och Ratna* by Oke and *Oh Bali* by P. Windia are good examples.

In *Och Ratna* (1938), Ratna – meaning jewel, pearl or the name of flower – is the name given to Bali as a tourist destination. The poem describes Bali as a beautiful young woman whose fame has spread to America, Europe, Japan, Africa and other places. She attracts many visitors who come to Bali to relieve their tiredness, even though it is extremely expensive for them. This is the first Balinese poem in Indonesian from the colonial period that refers directly to the

¹² This prohibition is stated in 'Statuten SK', article 4, *Surya Kanta* 1 (1925):16 and 'Huishoudelijk-Reglement Surya Kanta', *Surya Kanta* 2 (1926):114-7.

continents and major countries of the world, indicating the open-minded outlook of the poet.¹³ Without directly blaming the colonial government or the visitors, the poem explicitly describes the anxiety and inability to cope that Balinese people feel towards the social and cultural changes and the modernity that outsiders have brought with them,¹⁴ as the stanzas below suggest.¹⁵

Och, och Ratna, Ibuku, barulah tampak cacatmu	Oh, Oh Ratna, my Mother, only now can I see all is not well
Diribaanmu gelisah, beribu-ribu putra dan putrimu	Your heart is worried because thousands of your sons and daughters
Sakit mata menentang cahaya natuur dan dunia sekitarmu	Are dazzled by the light of nature and the world around you
<i>Djatajoe</i> putra bungsu, terbang kian kemari mencari jamu	<i>Djatajoe</i> , the younger son, flies everywhere in search of medicinal herbs
Ke hadapan Sang Hyang Akasa, ia menunggalkan hati	To the Lord of the Heaven, he prays with all his heart
Bermohon tirta kamandalu yang amat sakti	Asking for some powerful holy water
Sebagai simbul tiada lain dari Sang Hyang Saraswati	As the symbol of Sang Hyang Saraswati
Itulah obat termanjur telah pasti	That is the only efficacious medicine

¹³ In traditional Balinese literature there is at least one poem, *Kakawin atlas bumi* (World atlas poem), written in the early 1900s by Cokorda Denpasar, that deals with cities and places around the world. For a comprehensive analysis of *Kakawin atlas bumi* and other related works from the point of view of modernity, see Creese 2007.

¹⁴ The complexities of this subject were examined more deeply, and from a variety of approaches, by Balinese poets in the 1980s and 1990s (see Chapter IV) and by Balinese prose writers from the 1960s onwards (see Chapter VII).

¹⁵ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix B.

The image of the Balinese suffering from eye diseases implies that they lack a clear vision of the current reality. This sickness, as the poet states, is only curable by the holy water of Saraswati, the goddess who symbolizes the importance of knowledge and education for the Balinese. Akasa and Saraswati are the names of Hindu gods and the use of these names and of other specifically Hindu expressions here and in many other poems indicates that Balinese intellectuals were developing a growing consciousness of their own religion. As with the poems in *Surya Kanta*, *Och Ratna* asserts that only education can equip the Balinese for progress into the so-called modern era. In addition to that, the poem reflects a growing move to reify Balinese religion and culture that started poetically with the *Bali Adnjana* poem, *Selamat Tahun Baru Bali Adnjana*.

Oh Bali, by Windia, published in *Djatajoe* in 1938, provides another example of the paradox of Balinese living on an island of remarkable beauty and fertility while remaining ignorant and poor, despite their endless hard work. The following verses express this paradox and the writer's concerns:

Oh Bali
Oh, Bali pulau yang molek
Letakmu tidak pula jelek
Tanahmu terberita subur
Perihal alam pun masyur

Oh Bali
Oh, Bali, beautiful island
Your location is ideal
Your land is fertile
You are famous

Hidup marhaenmu sederhana
Makan, berpakaian sederhana
Tetapi ta' terbilang kaya
Sebab kurang daya upaya

Your peasants live simply
They eat and dress simply
But indeed they are not rich
As they lack power and
knowledge

Ia bekerja bukan untukmu
Bagi kapitalis sudah tentu
Hanya ada satu yang nyata
Perut gembung itu dicipta

They do not work for you
But really for the capitalist
Only one thing is certain
Creating his bloated stomach

The use of the word '*marhaen*' in Windia's poem is interesting. Sukarno invented this term during the late 1920s to refer to the class of poverty-stricken peasantry who equate to the Marxist 'proletariat'. It became an important part of Sukarno's political vocabulary during his presidency (1945-1966). During the late colonial and national revolution periods the word *marhaen* appeared frequently in Indonesian poems, including some written in Bali.¹⁶ This gives an indication of the close relationship between the arts and politics and the early impact of nationalist ideas on Balinese intellectuals. The New Order government discouraged the use of the word as part of its program to purge traces of communism from Indonesian life, but since its fall in 1998, the word *marhaen* has been widely used again in the political arena as Sukarno's popularity revives. One clear example of this is the re-establishment of the political party Partai Nasional Indonesia Marhaenisme (PNI Marhaenisme, Indonesian Nationalist Party of Marhaenism) lead by Sukmawati Sukarnoputri, one of Sukarno's daughters.

The poem *Oh Bali* uses the socialist realism style. Foulcher (1993:28) defines socialist realism, as later espoused by Lekra, to be an approach to literary writing that aims to expose 'the social contradictions that dispossessed the poor and the powerless in society, and to point towards their resolution in a socialist society of the future'. The early appearance of this style is not surprising, as the concepts of Marxism, communism and socialism had been introduced to Bali in the 1920s and these ideas became one of the topics debated between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana*. *Djatajoe*'s contributors also occasionally discussed socialism. In the 1937 article 'Sosialisme dan haluan sosial bagi kita' (Socialism and the social direction for us) in *Djatajoe*, for example, Maroete discusses socialism in Bali.¹⁷ In this article, he first glosses Karl Marx's theories, emphasizing the gap between workers and employers, and then goes on to describe his own notion of how

¹⁶ See for example Sanusi Pane's poem *Marhaen* and Tutul Singgalang's poem *Marhaen Indonesia* (An Indonesian peasant). Both poems are discussed in an article by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (1938).

¹⁷ This article was published in *Djatajoe* (February 1937):183-5. This is the second of two related articles, the first of which was published in *Djatajoe* (January) 1937. I am unable to locate the first article because the January 1937 issue can not be found.

socialism could be adapted to Balinese conditions. Because many people in Bali were living and suffering in conditions of poverty, he urges Balinese to co-operate to assist those in need. Maroete's concept of socialism was not concerned with class antagonism between industrial workers and employers, which was barely relevant to the Balinese situation, but simply with ways of giving moral and material support to the poor.

Whereas Maroete's article did not intend to invoke anti-capitalist sentiment, *Oh Bali* deliberately tries to arouse antagonism between the peasant and capitalist classes. Although expressing differing attitudes towards capitalism, both the poem and the article – and other articles quoted below – reject scholarly accounts that described Bali and the Balinese as being 'wasteful of food' or having 'plenty of rice' during the 1930s (Schulte Nordholt 1994:115).

Articles published in *Djatajoe* frequently discussed the economic and personal hardships that the Balinese underwent in the 1930s. A.A. Gde Poetra's article (1939) 'Sosial problem masa ini' (Today's social problems) states that economic conditions in Bali had been very poor and consequently many parents were unable to send their children to school, particularly if this involved travel to Java. In an earlier article, 'Menengok ke zaman yang datang' (Looking towards the future), Minderawan (1938) describes how Balinese people were lagging economically far behind the rest of Indonesia. Outsiders monopolized or dominated almost all the important sectors of the Balinese economy, such as drink factories and businesses exporting goods and livestock. Only 1% of Balinese people were involved in those business sectors (Minderawan 1938:371), meaning that most of the population were either peasants or labourers. In the 1990s, the issue of the marginalization of the Balinese people resurfaced, despite the boom in tourism. While Bali was a Dutch colony in the 1930s, by the 1990s it had become a colony of Jakarta (Aditjondro 1995).

Poems related to gender issues

There are two interrelated advances in the development of poetry in the 1930s that are worthy of note. These are the beginnings of female

participation in writing and the frequent discussion of gender issues. Although gender was absent from poems in *Surya Kanta*, it gained considerable attention as a theme for writers in *Djatjoe*, to the extent that matters relating to women in the areas of education, domestic affairs and caste were repeatedly discussed in newspaper articles. A strong gender perspective informed *Surya Kanta's* play *Kesetiaan perempuan*, although its major theme was caste conflict (see Chapters V and VI), but the complete absence of female writers or activists in the 1920s may be the major reason for the neglect of gender issues and female identity in that decade.

Educational opportunities for girls only became available in the 1920s, leaving them at a disadvantage compared to boys. In general, the rate of literacy on Bali and Lombok according to the 1920 census as quoted by Lyn Parker (2000:59) was very low. The percentage of male literacy was 8.01%, while for females it was virtually non-existent, at 0.35%. The census also recorded the number of students at the end of December, which shows 6.78% of boys and only 0.25% of girls attending school (Parker 2000:59). The lack of numbers of women receiving education in the early decades of the twentieth century was not because of limited access to schools or economic constraints but rather, the failure of Balinese parents to grasp the significance of education for women. Unlike boys, who had a possibility of gaining clerical work, it was assumed that girls were destined to undertake household duties, thus education for them was pointless.

This attitude towards keeping women away from formal education did not go unchallenged. A primary school teacher, Made Pasek, through an interesting short story in the Balinese language that appeared in school textbooks in 1916, for example, indirectly criticized the backwardness of parents who had discouraged their girls from going to school. The story, titled *Ayam mepalu* (The chicken fights its reflection in the mirror), portrays a teenage girl who bravely argues with her mother on the importance of education. She tells her mother that she wants to study not for status or rank but to become a knowledgeable person. Thus, she is aware of what she needs to know.¹⁸

¹⁸ The short story *Ayam mepalu* is reproduced in Putra (2000b), together with other stories by Made Pasek and another writer from the 1910s.

One point of the story that refers back to its title is that people should not be as foolish as chickens who see their reflection in a mirror as a threat. Its clear message is that women should be encouraged to get education. The concept of providing education for women developed significantly among educated Balinese in the following years.

In 1923, an organization called Shanti (Peace), who published a newspaper *Shanti Adnjana*, established a school for girls (Sekolah Perempuan Shanti) in Singaraja. The Dutch colonial government assisted the school with building and writing materials (Parker 2000:53). This school only operated for three years as Shanti split because of conflict between its two leaders, the *triwangsa* IGP Tjakratenaya and the *jaba* Ketut Nasa. While IGP Tjakratenaya continued to publish *Shanti Adnjana* under the new name *Bali Adnjana*, Ketut Nasa and his *jaba* colleagues started *Surya Kanta*. The two periodicals published a small number of articles dealing with women's issues, but their main concerns lay elsewhere.

Concern about encouraging women to become educated and discussing women's issues became more prevalent in the 1930s through *Djatajoe*. The upsurge of interest that writers of the 1930s showed in bringing gender issues to public attention is closely associated with the emergence of women's movements in Bali and particularly with the establishment of Putri Bali Sadar in 1938. Most of the Balinese women who established this organization had received a modern education at Dutch schools in East Java in the early 1930s and had worked as teachers on returning home (Parker 2000:54-6; Putra 2007).

As the sister organization of Bali Darma Laksana, Putri Bali Sadar paid special attention to the condition of Balinese women, the first time that a women's organization had involved itself in this area. Activists from Putri Bali Sadar contributed several articles and poems to *Djatajoe* that were sympathetic to its general content.¹⁹ Although they were relatively few in number, their writings gave a strong sense of the difficulties facing early Balinese feminists. They encouraged women to stand up and pursue progress, ideas

¹⁹ A number of articles written by women published in *Djatajoe* have been reproduced and discussed in Putra 2007.

expressed in Ni Wayan Sami's poem *O putriku* (Oh, my sisters, 1937) and Ni Tjatri's *Seruan* (An appeal, 1938). As well as writing, Balinese women undertook community projects such as providing various extra-curricular literacy courses for women, and raising funds to pay for these activities.

O putriku encourages all women – whether young or of mature age – to engage actively in serving their motherland and to leave behind any inclinations to laziness, as expressed in its opening section.²⁰

O putriku	Oh, my sisters
O, putriku, kaum bangsaku Marilah kita beramai-ramai! Turut mengabdikan Ibu Pertiwi O, kakakku, O, adikku!	O my sisters, people of my nation Let us get together joyfully! Join in serving Our Motherland O, my older sisters, my younger sisters!
Gerakkan badan yang lemah lunglai	Bring your weak, exhausted bodies back to life
O, putriku, sejawat bangsaku Lepaskan sifat bermalas-malas!	O, my sisters, my friends Give up your tendency to take it easy!

This poem is interesting because it does not use the *syair* form, but instead is modern poetry in the Pujangga Baru style. Using a more free verse form allows the poet to articulate her ideas with a better flow. It seems that she does not want to restrict herself by fulfilling the rhyming conventions demanded in *syair*, but instead prefers to use a form that gives better expression to the explosion of her ideas. The frequent use of the exclamation marks indicates that for the poet the content is more important than the form. The poem's content gives spirited encouragement to women and girls to engage in self-improvement and to help to develop the 'motherland' – Bali. Before

²⁰ The full version of the poem *O putriku* is printed in Appendix B.

publishing this poem, Sami (under the name Ni Loeh Sami) had published an article in *Djatajoe* that urged women to progress, like the poem. Describing Balinese women as staying at home with the 'doors and windows closed' and giving themselves no opportunity to experience 'the era of progress', she demanded that the doors be opened for them 'so that within a short time our motherland will be flooded with educated girls who can stand equal to men' (Sami 1936:138).

Ni Tjatri's *Seruan* is a *syair* with 18 verses, one of the longest poems in *Djatajoe*; this allowed her enough space to elaborate and emphasize her messages. The first half of the poem opposes gender discrimination, saying that God created women and men in a state of equality. The second part encourages educated women to help illiterate women to become literate – at least to the extent that they can read, write and count.²¹ In the same year, 1938, Ni Tjatri published an article titled 'Putri Bali' (Balinese girls) in *Djatajoe*, which contained similar messages to her poetry. In both poetry and prose, she encouraged educated women to help young girls and women to become literate as she restates in her article:

Finally, I appeal to all of us, girls and mothers alike, especially those who have some expertise and experience, please organize and reinforce unity, and besides that do not forget to give enlightenment and education in whatever way as long as the aim is to improve the spiritual and physical nature of the sisters and mothers of our nation.²²

It is undeniable that during the 1930s, women's issues and gender equality were among the dominant topics in the Balinese media. There were discussions about them in both prose and poetry. There are close textual connections between these two genres. Often the same idea, for example about the importance of women pursuing education and progress, was articulated in both forms, which suggests that creative

²¹ 'Mereka ingin tahu membaca / Berhitung, menulis dan yang lain juga' (They want to know how to read / Count, write and everything else).

²² 'Pada akhirnya saya pun berseru-seru kepada bangsaku putri-putri, kaum ibu sekalian, lebih-lebih yang mempunyai sedikit kepandaian dan pengalaman, adakanlah dan perkuatkanlah persatuan, dan disamping itu jangan lupa memberikan penerangan dan pendidikan secara apa saja, asal maksudnya untuk memperbaiki rohani dan jasmani kaum putri dan ibu bangsa kita.' (*Djatajoe* (25-2-1938):203-4.)

writing played as important a role as journalism in attracting the public's attention to women's issues and gender equality. In other words, poetry had become an important choice of genre for discussing social concerns.

This increased participation of women activists and writers in speaking about the need for women to be educated was striking when contrasted with previous decades. Women writers were very sharp and straightforward when discussing women's issues and the right of women to respect as human beings. Writers like I Gusti Ayu Rapeg, Wayan Sami and Ni Tjatri, leaders of *Putri Bali Sadar*, were continuously showing their commitment to this struggle and became the defenders of women against those who humiliated their dignity. With some influences from Western feminist thought, for example, they urged the colonial government to speed up the plan to rectify the marriage law that would eventually end the practice of polygamy (Rapeg 1937). Balinese women proved that they were not simply restricted to the domestic sphere as commonly understood, by stating their opinions in the media. In summary, Balinese women writers of the 1930s actively struggled for and constructed their female identity.

Shifting from regional to national identities

There is a significant shift in theme, form and style in Balinese poetry between the colonial and national revolution periods. Caste status, the importance of education and the conflict between traditional and modern values, the concepts that had dominated poetry from the colonial period, found themselves displaced by ideas of revolution, populist struggle, nationalism and anti-colonialism as shown by the works in Table 4. This new engagement with outward looking, externally driven political ideologies gained its inspiration from the hyperactive nature of the war against the Dutch and the early years of independence. Adopting these new themes meant that Balinese poets were now seeing themselves as Indonesians, interested in national issues and behaving like the Indonesian people as a whole, rather than speaking from the inward-looking Balinese perspective they had previously occupied.

Table 4. Selected poems of the 1950s and 1960s

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
1	Rakyat dan pemimpin (The people and the leaders)	n.d.	Nyoman Bawa	Immoral leadership
2	Cerita tentang burung (A story about birds)	1952	Made Kirtya	Revolution, orphans and poverty
3	Dharmaku (My duty)	1952	Windhya Wirawan	The people's struggle
4	Aku dan kakak (Me and my brother)	1953	Ketut Putu	The powerlessness of gods
5	Sajak di hari Nyepi (On New Year's Day)	1953	KP (Ketut Putu?)	Negative images of gods
6	Ayo... !!! (Come on... !!!)	1953	Arief Hidayat	Revolution, Sukarno's spirit
7	Marhaen (The proletariat)	1953	I.D. Gema	Criticism of careless leaders
8	Nasib rakyat (The fate of the people)	1953	Ngurah Bagus	The fate of lower class people
9	Pengakuan (Confession)	1954	P. Shanty	Personal sadness, suffering
10	Pemilihan umum (General election)	1955	Wayan Yarsa	Exhortation to choose good leaders for Indonesia
11	Suara rakyat, sampah kering (The voice of the people, dry rubbish)	1955	Djelantik	The people's suffering
12	Sajak untuk Bung Karno (Poem for Bung Karno)	1960	Nyoman Bawa	The revolution and Sukarno
13	Kemerdekaan- kebebasan (Independence - freedom)	1960	Anijah	The revolution

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
14	Usdek dan Manipol (Usdek and Manipol)	1960	I Wayan Rugeg Nataran	Sukarno's political manifesto
15	Suara-suara hidup (Living voices)	1964	Gde Mangku	The people's solidarity
16	Kerja (Work)	1964	Gde Mangku	The people's struggle
17	Pasir putih (White sand)	1964	Gde Mangku	The people's struggle
18	Bali (Bali)	1964	Oka Sukanta	Propaganda for the Communist Party
19	Pahlawan petani (The farmer as hero)	1965	Kt Suwidja	A farmer's struggle
20	Anak marhaen (Children of the proletariat)	1966	Ngurah Parsua	Marhaenism, revolution and Sukarno
21	Catatan 23 April 1965 (A note on 23 April 1965)	1966	I.B. Pudja	Anti-imperialism
22	Revolusi (Revolution)	1966	Raka Santeri	Revolution and Sukarno
23	Bicara (Speak out)	1967	Nyoman Bawa	Revolution and moral decline
24	Catatan buat anakku Sari (A note for my daughter Sari)	1969	Raka Santeri	Pancasila and criticism of the Old Order
25	Laut (The sea)	1969	IGB	Pancasila and anti- Arthanegara colonialism

Despite this array of new ideas, poets from the national revolution period retained a didactic, propagandist style reminiscent of poetry from the colonial period. This style continued to suit the new themes, and the intentions of writers wanting to use their art as a vehicle for social and political commentary. Although most poets were by now using modern poetic forms, the influence of the *syair* was occasionally still apparent. Whatever form was used, the content of poetry from this period was clearly intended to be revolutionary and nationalist. However, although Balinese poets shared the same general socio-political direction, this did not mean that they had a common idea of what constituted revolution and national identity. This is particularly true of the 1960s, when Balinese writers and artists divided into separate groups according to political orientation.

The poem *Dharmaku* (*My duty*, 1952), by Windhya Wirawan has an interesting form and content. The style is typical of the poetry of the 1920s with a strict rhyme scheme, but the content and word selection are typical of the 1950s. Terms such as ‘farmer’, ‘labourer’ and ‘soldier’, for example, were uncommon in poetry of the colonial period, but frequently used in poetry from the national revolution period. The intention was to convey an association with proletarian and peasant consciousness, hard work and oppression, and to urge involvement in the revolutionary struggle.

Dharmaku

My duty

Bila aku petani
kutulis sejarah
dengan padi
talas dan ubi

If I were a farmer
I'd write history
with rice
taro and yam

Bila aku buruh
kutulis sejarah
dengan peluh
membasahi tubuh

If I were a labourer
I'd write history
with sweat
drenching my body

Bila aku prajurit
kutulis sejarah

If I were a soldier
I'd write history

dengan darah membasahi tanah	with blood drenching the ground
Bila aku pemimpin kutulis sejarah dengan lidah dibalut tingkah	If I were a leader I'd write history with a tongue wrapped in action
Bila aku pujangga kutulis sejarah dengan pena penyedar bangsa	If I were a writer I'd write history with a pen that arouses the nation
Bila aku seniman kutulis sejarah dengan tari lukisan patung dan nyanyian	If I were an artist I'd write history with dance, painting sculpture and song

The use of the first person pronoun '*aku*' (I) in this poem is important in two respects. Firstly, *aku* does not refer to a particular person, people or ethnic group. *Aku* here refers to 'an Indonesian', so the word '*bangsa*' refers to the Indonesian nation. Secondly, it is uncommon to find such familiar pronouns in colonial poems, where the narrative voice is usually that of an organization (such as Surya Kanta or Bali Darma Laksana) and indicates that the poet is speaking as a Balinese and as a member of a specific faction. In *Dharmaku*, although the poet is Balinese and writes from a Balinese perspective – as the word *dharma* is from the Balinese cultural vocabulary – the overall content is also relevant to an Indonesian context.

Dharmaku encourages various classes of people to contribute to maintaining the spirit of revolution and popular struggle. The repeated use of the conditional phrase '*bila aku*' (if I were) as the opening sentence of each verse is an emphatic and effective poetic device. However, in an article in *Bhakti* a contemporary critic, S. Mardi (1952), criticized the form, the use of the conditional phrase and the content of the poem. He claimed that using the *syair* form indicated the poet's attachment to past poetic traditions, and argued

that artists should express their feelings in an original manner and avoid imitating the styles of previous generations. This criticism is understandable because by the 1950s, *syair* no longer had credibility as a modern form. Mardi felt that the use of the phrase 'if I were' reflects a lack of commitment to the spirit of popular struggle expressed in the poem. His precise objection was that the poet should have declared both his class and what kind of service he might have personally contributed. This critic apparently wanted to see the poet give an unambiguous personal commitment to the people's struggle. Some of Mardi's criticism is unwarranted because the poem explicitly expresses messages about the duties of people with different professions and it is noteworthy as a precursor of the propagandist style that became the hallmark of the left-wing writers' group, Lekra, in the early 1960s.

Windhya Wirawan's poem appeared in the early 1950s, when Bali was encountering severe social and economic problems. There were major harvest failures in 1949 and 1950, resulting in high inflation and shortages of necessities, which in turn fuelled criminal activity and theft (Robinson 1995:236). *Bhakti* and *Damai* frequently published editorials and articles about crime, social disturbances, the economic crisis and the moral decline of leadership at both the local and national levels.²³ Such crises showed that the national revolution had not fulfilled its promise of making people's lives happier and more prosperous. The wasteful lives of the leaders were frequently contrasted with tragedies in the lives of ordinary people brought about by this failure of the revolution.

Feeling unhappy with the condition of their oppressed fellow citizens, Balinese poets tried to give these voiceless people a voice, while at the same time launching sharp criticism at ineffectual leaders. Two examples from many poems that share the subject matter of people suffering are poem *Suara rakyat, sampah kering* (The voice of the people, dry rubbish; 1955) by Djelantik and *Nasib rakyat* (The fate of the people, 1953) by Ngurah Bagus. These poems describe the deprivation and suffering of the people, and show distress at the

²³ For example, see *Bhakti's* editorial 'Sekali lagi keamanan di daerah', *Bhakti* 1-9-1953 and Sila 1953:4-5.

gap between them and their leaders. The former portrays the masses as ‘rubbish’, lacking a voice, while the latter describes an even more tragic picture in which the populace is suffering and near death because of poverty. *Nasib rakyat* describes the leader, addressed as ‘*Bapak*’ (Mister or boss), as closing his eyes and blocking his ears when he encounters the poor.

The wide gap between the leadership and the people is also central to I.D. Gema’s poem *Marhaen* (The proletariat, 1953). As in Ngurah Bagus’ poem, the leaders are addressed as ‘*tuan-tuan*’ (bosses), who are careless towards the people that they are supposed to help. Below is the closing stanza of *Marhaen*, which describes the hungry, waiting in vain for help from their leaders who are celebrating in a lavish manner:

Kini tuan-tuan sudah sama senang	You bosses are all happy now
pada ini zaman anggur + whisky	in this time of wine + whisky
tambah pula tawa besar	laughing heartily as well
Hanya kami marhaen!	We are only peasants!
pada nunggu tuan-tuan punya sisa	waiting until tomorrow morning
sampai esok pagi	for your leftovers

Similarly, in Nyoman Bawa’s undated poem *Rakyat dan pemimpin* (The people and the leaders), the leaders are shown drinking beer, having parties in restaurants and associating with loose women. In other poems, mostly published in *Suara Indonesia* between 1957 and 1960, Nyoman Bawa exposed the large number of people who claimed leadership positions after independence despite lacking any connection with the revolutionary struggle.²⁴ The general impact of this was to reinforce the public’s disappointment in leaders who lacked legitimacy. The connotations of the term ‘leader’ changed over

²⁴ More than 50 revolutionary poems by Nyoman Bawa were in his private collection *Album hati* (Album from the heart). This collection was to be published, but the poet died in Denpasar in late 1999 before this could be achieved.

the period under discussion, as 'leaders' in the formal, conventional sense did not come to prominence until the national revolution period. Periodicals essentially fulfilled the role of leading public opinion in colonial times. The use of the word '*marhaen*' also changed over time. Whereas in Windia's 1938 poem *marhaen* depicts a passive victim of capitalist exploitation, in the poems from the national revolution period it refers to people who were brave enough to speak out against leaders who lack their trust.

The freedom of expression that was allowed during the period of the 'liberal democratic republic' (1949-1959) provided writers with a fertile environment for open criticism of their careless and corrupt political leaders. The terms *krisis kepemimpinan* (leadership crisis) and *krisis moral* (moral crisis) were popular in social and political discourse, and the two provided plentiful literary subject matter. However, while leadership was more often referred to in poetry, the *krisis moral* provided a more abundant source for short stories with its themes of teenage permissiveness, pre-marital sex and pregnancy. These were blamed on the young being overwhelmed by the freedoms bestowed by so-called Western-style modernity, and are discussed in Chapter VI.

Wayan Yarsa's poem *Pemilihan umum* (General election) published in *Damai* (1955) also declares disappointment in the leadership. Wayan Yarsa's poem, however, adopts a different tone from the ones cited above, urging its audience to become personally engaged in finding a solution to the social and political crisis faced by the nation. The opening verses of *Pemilihan umum* illustrate this point.²⁵

Wahai warga negara Indonesia	O Indonesian citizens,
Yakinlah kita semua karena	Give us all confidence, for
Waktu pemilihan umum telah	The general election is
dekat	approaching
Pergunakanlah kesempatan	Please use your opportunity
saudara	
Dengan tenang dan budiman	Peacefully and wisely

²⁵ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix B.

Here, the use of the pronoun '*kita*' (we) is worthy of comment because it refers to Indonesian citizens. Although the poet is Balinese, the use of 'we' with its referential meaning of 'Indonesian' no doubt reflects his intention to identify as an Indonesian. While the use of 'we' fits the subject of the poem, it also indicates a growing consciousness of Indonesian identity among Balinese poets, which was also a frequent feature of the overall content of Balinese publications. An editorial entitled '*Damai dan pemilihan umum*',²⁶ for example, appeared in *Damai* (1955) a few months after Yarsa's poem was published. It emphasizes the importance of a 'peaceful' atmosphere to enable the election to come to a successful conclusion.

The poem *Pemilihan umum* was written before Indonesia's first post-independence general election in 1955. One of the strategic aims of the election was to contain and channel the energies and disappointments of dissident groups and separatist rebels who had emerged as threats to the unity of the newly created nation due to weak national leadership (Anderson 1998:279). The poem clearly reflects its immediate social and political context. Among its messages, it urges the people to participate peacefully and wisely in the general election, and asks them to understand the problems that the nation is facing. The last verse of the poem compares the newborn Indonesia to a home without a roof 'leaking here, leaking there', a metaphor that still equates today with 'widespread corruption'.

Negara kita memang muda	Our nation is indeed young
Segala-galanya belum teratur	Everything is not yet properly arranged
Ibarat rumah belum beratap	Like a house not yet roofed
Bocor kemari bocor ke sana	Leaking here, leaking there

Wayan Yarsa's poem acknowledges that Indonesia's problems are too numerous to be solved by the elected leaders alone, so the additional support of the people is essential. On this point it is possible to see similarities between Wirawan's *Dharmaku* and Wayan Yarsa's

²⁶ '*Damai and the general election*'. The title can also be interpreted as meaning 'Peace and the general election'.

Pemilihan umum – both emphasize the need for the Indonesian people to work together to solve the manifold problems facing their nation. Half a century later, this idea is still relevant in an Indonesia engulfed by political, economic and social crises since the late 1990s. The major difference is that while a strong spirit of nationalism and unity and a proud sense of being Indonesian characterized the 1950s and 1960s, the promotion of regional autonomy in the Reformation period has caused the former spirit of nationalism to be subsumed in ethnic conflict and regional or separatist sentiment. As will be seen in Chapter IV, Balinese poets from the Reformation period are no longer interested in expressing national issues and identity, but rather are preoccupied with local issues either as direct result of the national decentralization policy or global influences brought about by the impact of tourism.

Different types of national identities

Throughout the national revolution period, left-wing ideas and political debates became increasingly central to Balinese literature, reaching a peak in the mid-1960s. Cultural conflict between Lekra and LKN broke out in Bali as an extension of the wider conflict between the PKI and PNI. During this conflict, Balinese writers adopted differing approaches to writing that reflected their political and cultural affiliation – Lekra or LKN. Where Lekra adopted the slogan 'Politik adalah panglima' (Politics is the commander), LKN adopted 'Marhaenisme sebagai panglima' (Marhaenism is the commander) (Warna 1966a; Santeri 1966).

Despite the similarity of the phrasing, the two slogans highlighted significant differences in ideology – Lekra's basis was communist, while LKN's was Sukarno's Marhaenism. Their primary point of difference occurred in their attitudes towards the state philosophy, Pancasila. While LKN incorporated its principles as part of its platform, Lekra did not, since Pancasila included the acknowledgment of a single omnipotent deity as the first of its five principles. This led to the PKI and Lekra being associated with atheism – a contentious position in a deeply religious society like that of Bali. This ideo-

logical difference led writers from Lekra and LKN to take separate approaches to the notions of revolution and national identity (Warna 1966a, 1966b; Putra 2003).

In *Bhakti* there are early examples of Balinese works, written by poets who later joined Lekra, that admit religious doubt and make negative comments about the traditional gods, while expressing concern for the oppressed and the poor. In his poem *Sajak di hari Nyepi* (On New Year's Day, 1953), Ketut Putu writes 'the gods too are suffering from hunger'. In another poem, *Aku dan kakak* (Me and my brother, 1953), he comments on the powerlessness of gods. None of the creative writing of Ketut Putu, Oka Derty and Putu Shanty after they joined Lekra in the early 1960s is traceable, and therefore it is not possible to assess its ideological tone. Indeed, it is hard to find any traces of work by Lekra members in Bali because books and newspapers like *Bali Dwipa* and *Mingguan Fajar* that can be assumed to have contained their works were burned during the killings of alleged communist adherents in 1965 and 1966. In addition, there is nothing in the archives of *Suara Indonesia* from the 1960s, because its ideological bias did not permit the printing of work by left-wing writers. Works by other Lekra writers, including Gde Mangku and Oka Sukanta, explicitly supporting left-wing ideology, appeared in national publications and are therefore available.

Gde Mangku's early work focuses on universal themes such as the beauty of nature, love and family and some of his poems make specific reference to Bali as a background. A change in his approach became apparent when Gde Mangku began to publish work in *Zaman Baru*, a left-wing magazine. His poems in this magazine deal with issues which lend themselves to the socialist realism style, such as anti-colonial sentiment, revolution and the struggle of the masses, as represented by the poems *Kerja* (Work), *Pasir putih* (White sand) and *Suara-suara hidup* (Living voices), all published in 1964.²⁷ When he refers to the 'people' in his poems, he means farmers, fishermen, labourers or revolutionary heroes within a national context. In the poem *Kerja* (Work), Gde Mangku declares: 'di sini kami bekerja / petani yang bangkit / di tanah air' (we work here / farmers who

27

The full versions of all three poems are included in Appendix B

struggle / in the homeland). The spirit of revolution and anti-colonialism, typical of the poetry of left-wing writers, is obvious in Gde Mangku's poem *Pasir putih*.

kita saling mendekap	we embrace each other
karena bersahabat	because we're friends
lebih dari itu	even more so
karena kita revolusi	because we're revolutionaries

kujinjing keranjang kerang	I carry a basket of sea shells
untaian hati nelayan	the garland of a fisherman's heart
ah bocah kecil berbibir mungil	oh little child with such tiny lips
mata terpencil dari sekolah rendah	with an isolated view from low-level schooling
dibelenggu sisa-sisa kolonial	shackled by the remains of colonialism

Oka Sukanta (born 1939) is the most productive of the Lekra writers of Balinese origin and is still writing actively. He began writing in his home town of Singaraja in 1954 when he was still at senior high school. He joined the National Lekra Congress in Denpasar in 1962, where he met a number of Lekra writers from elsewhere in Indonesia. Oka Sukanta continued his studies in Yogyakarta and finally became involved in the Lekra organization, gaining election to its literary leadership board. Within this organizational structure, he represented the Yogyakarta branch of Lekra, rather than its Bali branch.²⁸ He was a prolific contributor of poetry, short stories and other features to *Zaman Baru*.

Between 1966 and 1976, the New Order Government jailed Oka Sukanta, along with other Lekra writers and activists. Before and after this detention, he wrote many poems and short stories.

²⁸ Putu Oka Sukanta's name is on a list of 65 names of the committee members of Lekra's literary institution along with well-known figures like Sobron Aidit, Agam Wispi and Pramoedya Ananta Toer. In this list, Putu Oka Sukanta was a representative of Yogyakarta, not Bali. The list was published in *Harian Rakjat* 11-8-1963:1.

Political critiques and descriptions of the poverty of workers and the oppression of peasants permeate his work. Oka Sukanta's poem *Bali* (1964), published in *Harian Rakjat* – the mouthpiece of the PKI – is described by Foulcher (1986:138) as a standard Lekra poem because of its strong PKI propaganda content, which is reflected in the following quote.²⁹

betapa ulet kawan-kawan bekerja – menggarap kemiskinan jadi keyakinan ketakacuhan jadi ketekunan – padanya terpancang papan Partai Komunis Indonesia.	how tirelessly the comrades are working – turning poverty into conviction and indifference into perseverance – before them stand the signs Communist Party of Indonesia.
---	--

Oka Sukanta's poem opens with a Balinese youth coming home after spending time in Java with other communist cadres and continues with party propaganda. It can be read as a reflection of the poet's personal experience – his pleasure and pride in once again seeing Bali and his Balinese friends – on a visit home from Java. The poem details how Bali has changed, not simply in terms of the new physical infrastructure built by its hard-working people, but also through the emergence of young, dedicated communist followers who are not afraid to die. By 1964, when the poem appeared, the number of PKI followers in Bali had increased because of sustained political propaganda, some achieved through cultural activities such as the 1962 National Lekra Congress. The fact that there were only two significant parties in Bali at that time, the PKI and the PNI, made it easier for Bali to become a PKI stronghold. The optimistic impression given by Oka Sukanta in this poem reflects the situation in Bali at that time.

Although the character of the poem *Bali* is happy to return to his home, he also stresses that he feels at home not only there but also on the major islands of Indonesia – Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan,

²⁹ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix B. The translation is taken from Foulcher 1986:147-8.

because on those islands and elsewhere in the country he can meet comrades with a similar desire for communist oriented struggle. Bali in this poem is seen as an integral part of the overall PKI structure, so that the Balinese are being included in a new 'brotherhood' within the communist network. This poem very clearly lives up to Lekra's slogan: 'Politics is the Commander'. Here and in several other poems by left-wing poets discussed above political consciousness transcends ethnic origin and nationality in defining identity. The poem *Bali* explicitly asserts that in terms of identity, being communist is more important than being Balinese or being Indonesian. Oka Sukanta wrote many poems about Bali and his ideas of anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism continue to retain their power in the works that he wrote after his release from jail.³⁰

Unlike revolutionary poems by Lekra writers, which received inspiration from the communist party and its supporters, those by LKN writers promoted a different form of national integrity based on Pancasila. Most LKN poems express sympathy for the oppressed masses, support for anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, and admire the spirit of Sukarno's revolution, which regarded the integrity of the nation as more important than regional or political sentiment. The figure of President Sukarno, *pemimpin besar revolusi* (the great revolutionary leader), is often present in poems by LKN writers. A major distinguishing feature between the two groups is that LKN poems often contain unambiguously religious overtones, something that is almost unimaginable in Lekra poems. While the Sukarno cult was obviously part of a national tendency among LKN writers, it had a special meaning in Bali because of Sukarno's particular relationship with the island and its people. It was well known that Sukarno had a Balinese mother, but his manifestation of genuine pride in Balinese art and culture (Vickers 1989:175) made Balinese people see him as a true leader. During Sukarno's period as leader, his name and teachings appeared in most Balinese poems and dominated public discourse. A pop song composed by a Balinese composer in the early 1960s expressing similar feelings of pride in

³⁰ See, for example, Sukanta 1999.

Sukarno added weight to his popularity among Balinese artists.³¹

One of the early poems by an LKN writer that blends a promotion of Sukarno's ideas for national integrity with religious belief is *Usdek dan manipol* (Usdek and manipol, 1960) by Rugeg Nataran, published in *Suara Indonesia*. 'Manipol' stands for *manifesto politik* (political manifesto), the name given to Sukarno's speech of 17 August 1959 in which he introduced a new series of terms. These were compounded into USDEK: Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 ([return to] the 1945 Constitution), Sosialisme Indonesia (Indonesian Socialism), Demokrasi Terpimpin (Guided Democracy), Ekonomi Terpimpin (Guided Economy) and Kepribadian Indonesia (Indonesian Identity). The five elements of USDEK became new pillars for Sukarno to accumulate full power over the process of nation building according to his vision. Every step and movement of nation building elements had to be based on Manipol's USDEK principles. Social organizations, schools and universities were among the various channels used to indoctrinate or socialize the ideology of Manipol and USDEK and its principles had to be properly implemented in the areas of culture and the arts. As with many other terms or acronyms introduced by Sukarno, the terms Manipol and USDEK quickly became popular and widely used even at a personal or family level. In Bali, where Sukarno's popularity was very high, parents used terms such as USDEK and Marhaen as names for their children.³² Sukarno's political propaganda clearly inspired Rugeg Nataran's poem *Usdek dan manipol*. The poet refers to Sukarno's political manifesto as 'the light of the Gods', a phrase that reflects a religious tone and is used to legitimize and sanctify the principles involved.

³¹ I Gusti Putu Gde Wedhasmara, a Balinese composer of national reputation, composed a song in the 1960s entitled 'Dirgaayulah Bung Karno' (Long live Sukarno), which expressed feelings of pride and gratitude towards Sukarno as a leader. Brigita Isworo Laksmi's article (2002) 'Suatu ketika saat Bung Karno "dicekal"' in *Kompas* reports that part of the phonograph recording containing the song is damaged, meaning that at present the song cannot be played again.

³² For example, a member of the Bali Provincial parliament for the period 1999-2009 is named Usdek Maharipa. He was also a leader of the PDI-P Party. In my own village, a former PDI party leader named his son Anak Agung Marhaen. Both PDI and its replacement PDI-P are reincarnations of the PNI which was established by Sukarno.

Usdek dan manipol

Usdek and manipol

Lahirlah dia dengan wajah
gemilangThey were born with shining
facesDalam hamparan caya
dewanggaOn a field bright with the light
of the godsMerangkaki dada-dada
MarhaenThey crept over the chests of the
Proletariat

Memberi senyum pada hatinya

Bringing a smile to their hearts

Dan menyanyilah mereka

And they sang

Lagunya dengan nada-nada
lembut:A song with soft, measured
tones:'Berilah kami kehidupan yang
adil'

'Give us a life that is just'

'Berilah kami bahagia dan
damai abadi''Give us happiness and eternal
peace'

'Rakyat Indonesia'

'The Indonesian people'

'Dari Sabang sampai ke
Meraoke'

'From Sabang to Merauke'

'Itulah cita-cita kami'

'Those are our dreams.'

The pronoun '*kami*' (we or us) is used to refer to the *rakyat Indonesia* (Indonesian people) in the same way as in Wayan Yarsa's *Pemilihan umum*, again indicating that the poet speaks on behalf of Indonesian people or as an Indonesian rather than as a Balinese. The term 'Indonesia' is defined here as a nation whose territory extends from Sabang (a small island off the northern tip of Sumatra) in the west, to Merauke (in the south-east of West Papua) in the east. The expression 'Dari Sabang sampai ke Merauke' (From Sabang to Merauke) is the title of one of the Indonesian *lagu wajib* (patriotic songs) that refers to the extent of Indonesia's territory from west to east. The song was written to inspire Indonesians to support the takeover of *Irian Barat* (West Papua) occupied by the Dutch until 1963. West Papua was the last part of contemporary Indonesia that Sukarno's government retrieved from the Dutch, who had continued to occupy it since Indonesian independence in 1945. Fighting the Dutch for control of West Papua became one of the most important elements of Sukarno's

revolutionary, anti-colonial, nation building propaganda program that dominated public discourse in the early 1960s. The religious element in Rugeg Nataran's poem is significant because it reflects one of the specific characteristics distinguishing LKN poems from Lekra poems.

Some poets who joined LKN were activists in Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (GMNI, the Nationalist Students' Movement of Indonesia), an organization affiliated to the PNI. Active writers in LKN included IGB Arthanegara, Ngurah Parsua, Judha Paniek and Raka Santeri. These young poets published their work in *Suara Indonesia*, which later changed its name to *Suluh Marhaen* to indicate its affiliation to Sukarno's PNI party. To emphasize their nationalist loyalties, these Balinese poets frequently mention Sukarno, Pancasila, Indonesia's territorial integrity and the common people in their works. Like Rugeg Nataran, they were very obsessive in their use of words like Pancasila, revolution and Sukarno or Bung Karno.³³ A good example is Ngurah Parsua's poem *Anak marhaen* (Children of the proletariat, 1966), quoted in part below.³⁴

Kita adalah anak-anak marhaen	We are children of the
	proletariat
anak-anak revolusi yang hidup	revolutionary children who live
demi revolusi	for the revolution
anak yang harus hidup berjuang	children who must live to
	struggle
segema derunya marhaenisme	an echo of the roar of Sukarno's
bung karno	proletarianism
yang kita lagakan demi	for which we struggle for
kemanusiaan	humanity

The name of Sukarno is also prominent in other poems by Balinese poets such as *Sajak untuk Bung Karno* (Poem for Sukarno) by Nyoman Bawa, *Revolusi* (Revolution) by Raka Santeri and *Catatan 23 April 1965*

³³ Bung Karno was a widely used nickname for President Sukarno.

³⁴ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix B.

(A note on 23 April 1965) by Ida Bagus Pudja. *Catatan 23 April 1965* warns of the danger of the return of imperialism and urges people to always obey Sukarno's commands and ensure they are carried out, whether on land or sea or in the air. Earlier, Chairil Anwar had occasionally mentioned the names of Sukarno and other political figures in his work.³⁵ While politics was the primary motivation for the frequent appearance of Sukarno's name in poems by Balinese poets, the influence of Chairil canvassed in the previous chapter cannot be totally ignored. An example of a Balinese poem that uses a combination of revolution and religion is Raka Santeri's *Revolusi*, which defines revolution as an instruction from God. Again, such an association would be most unlikely in the strongly secular, communist and populist Lekra poems.

During the transition of power from Sukarno's Old Order to Suharto's New Order following the alleged communist coup on 30 September 1965, Indonesian literature in Bali displays some interesting characteristics. After the banning of PKI and Lekra and the killing or jailing of left-wing activists and writers, LKN writers continued to attack their former opponents by writing work infused with anti-communist sentiment. However, they expressed this anti-communism with a degree of ambivalence. While describing the communist followers as being wicked, deceitful and the killers of several generals, they also acknowledged them as sisters and brothers. This approach can be seen in Raka Santeri's poem *Catatan buat anakku Sari* (A note for my daughter Sari, 1969), quoted below.³⁶

ketika kami pulang dari padang	when we returned home from
perburuan kaum komonis	hunting down the communists
mereka adalah saudara-saudara	they were all our sisters and
kami juga	brothers too,
sebangsa dan setanah air	from the same nation, the same
	homeland

³⁵ In several of his poems, for example *Kerawang Bekasi* and *Persetujuan dengan Bung Karno* (An agreement with Sukarno), Chairil Anwar mentions Sukarno. These poems are in the anthology *Derai-derai cemara* (Anwar 1999:65, 80-1)

³⁶ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix B.

Another interesting phenomenon of this transitional period is that Balinese poets who used to devote their poems to Sukarno understandably felt uncomfortable about continuing to do this after he lost power in 1966. However, while poets did criticize his regime ('away with you, Old Order!' as *Catatan buat anakku Sari* says), they made no specific reference to the name Sukarno, probably as a strategic way of preserving the image of the leader that they had admired for so long. This indicates the close connection between the way in which Balinese poets interpreted social reality and negotiated their identity and the contemporary political landscape at the national level.

The notable feature of Balinese poetry from the colonial and national revolution periods is that it illustrates the complex variety of discourses that have emanated from the groups of writers who experienced these different periods and changing political situations. The important shift that Balinese poetry reflects here in is the approach to identity, which moves from regional (being Balinese) to national (being Indonesian). Nevertheless, as Chris Barker (1999:3) and Jeff Lewis (2008:398) state, in the context of identity construction there has never been a single, simple or fixed form of regional or national identity. Under colonial rule, Balinese defined themselves according to caste difference, a concept that recurs in the 1990s, when it is again used frequently as a theme, particularly in the context of intercaste marriage. This will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter V. However, after independence Balinese people aspired to national identities – but ones based on political ideology that was nationalist or communist. All these different approaches to identity construction suggest that Balinese identities are neither static nor singular, but rather dynamic and pluralist. A significant dynamic shift reflecting a return from national identity to regional sentiment will be seen in the poetry from the New Order and Reformation periods.

CHAPTER IV

Reinventing Balinese cultural identity Poetry from the New Order and Reformation periods

Following the national pattern

Balinese poetry of the New Order and Reformation periods generally follows the Indonesian pattern in terms of theme and style. After a period of propaganda poetry by right-wing writers in the late 1960s, themes of universal humanism emerged as the mainstream in the 1970s and continued into the next decade. Most Balinese poets who conformed to this pattern had experienced the tension between left and right-wing writers in the 1960s and had survived the purges of 1966. These poets, who include I Made Sukada, I Gusti Ngurah Parsua, Bawa Samar Gantang, Wayan Sumantri, and I Nyoman Tusthi Eddy, were mainly members of Lesiba. Writing under the tight controls instituted by the New Order regime, these poets concentrated more on personal matters than on social or historical themes. The poetry found in anthologies, individual collections and local publications from the 1970s and 1980s illustrates this tendency.

Although Lesiba members began to employ themes of universal humanism as their subject matter, this did not mean that they, and other Balinese poets, were reluctant to discuss social issues. Evidence of this can be seen in the winning poems from a 1976 poetry contest held by the *Bali Post* to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Chairil Anwar (28 April) and celebrate Hari Pendidikan Nasional (National Education Day, 2 May). Most of the six winning poems have social themes and deploy the social realism style (Sukada 1976:3-4). The winner was *Hidup ini memang begini* (Life right now is indeed

like this) by Agung Putu Mayun, which discusses the ongoing social disputes and conflicts over land in society that can become so serious that they end in death. A line in the poem cynically says: 'Sempurnalah kelaparan dengan tumpukan bangkai!' (The poverty is perfectly covered by piles of corpses) which can be read as a criticism of the failure of both the government and the community to create harmony and prosperity. One of the highly commended poems, *Sawah tandus dan petani tua* (A barren rice field and an old farmer), by Perry Kurniawan, describes the tragic death of an old farmer caused by poverty, a theme typical of Lekra and LKN writers in the 1960s. The winning poems, published in the *Bali Post*, undeniably defied the universal humanist mainstream.

The strengths and weaknesses of the winning poems were discussed in a judges' report prepared by I Made Sukada, the chief judge, who was also the leader of Lesiba at that time. The report was published on the same page as the winning poems in the *Bali Post* of 16 May 1976 on pages three and four. It focused only on the formal structure of the poems and provided no analysis of the social issues and any political connotations implied in the themes of the poems. This analysis can be seen as an obedient act by critics to conform to the New Order's preference for separating literature from politics.

Other poems on social issues continued to appear, but rather than grappling with potentially contentious topics such as politics, farmers or poverty, they transferred their focus to problems from external sources such as the impact of tourism on Bali. Because they dealt with issues affecting people, these poems could not be categorized as conforming to the universal humanist style; and in most cases, the themes paralleled concerns of the government – diminishing the possibility of censorship. Examples can be found in the work of I Gusti Ngurah Parsua, Cok Raka Pemayun and Oka Sukanta, who all wrote poetry about the same subject: Kuta Beach. As the most popular tourist destination, it experienced tourism's most intense impact.

However, universal humanism regained popularity in the mid-1980s through poems by younger Balinese poets such as Nyoman Wirata, Ketut Yuliarsa Sastrawan, Widiyazid Soethama, Alit S. Rini, Adhi Ryadi, Hartanto and Wayan Arthawa. They were heavily

influenced by Umbu Landu Paranggi, literary editor of the *Bali Post*, who originally encouraged a contemplative style, which emphasized the beauty of sound as feeling (Eddy 1996). The early works of this group were largely romantic or idyllic and introspective in tone, as were poems by other young writers such as Oka Rusmini, Fajar Arcana, Warih Wisatsana and Ketut Landras Syaelendra who all began to write in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Apart from Umbu Landu Paranggi's influence, the political atmosphere prevailing when these young poets were beginning to write helped to dictate their choice of themes dealing with personal matters and individual experiences. However, while still under Umbu Landu Paranggi's guidance, by the mid-1990s the same writers were leading the aesthetic shift from a mood of inward-looking self-reflection towards a reflection of social issues within a Balinese context. This change resulted from a fortunate coincidence, with writers reaching a more mature and independent stage in their creative output at the same time as the public was displaying increasing resentment towards the New Order regime. This indicates that a significant critical movement was already underway in Bali before the Reformation started.

Bali is relatively distant from Jakarta, but by the mid-1990s, strong anti-government feeling was being experienced there. While the Jakarta protests were directed against corrupt officials and were calling for a more democratic society, in Bali resentment was mainly directed at local matters: the increased levels of development for tourism, land appropriation, and the excessive commercialization of cultural life.¹ With a wide base of support from the *Bali Post* newspaper, between 1993 and 1998, groups of academics, intellectuals, farmers, NGOs and writers became involved in street protests and petitions to the local parliament and government offices to emphasize their objections to the damaging mega-project proposed by the Bali

¹ Earlier dramatic representations of the impact of land appropriation for tourism development in Bali were raised in *sinetron* (television dramas) such as *Aksara tanpa kata* (Characters without words), which appeared in 1991. This *sinetron* tells the story of a lower-class Balinese family who are forced to sell their land to a corporation that wants to build a hotel and golf course on the site. For a discussion of this *sinetron* from a feminist point of view, see Aripurnami 1996:249-58.

Nirwana Resort and golf course. As well as this there were protests against another mega-project, the Garuda Wisnu Kencana (Golden Garuda Monument) (Suasta and Connor 1999:98-111). The protest against the Bali Nirwana Resort project which started in 1993 was the biggest to take place in Bali during pre-*reformasi* years of the New Order period.

While *reformasi* protests were part of a national movement, the protest against the Bali Nirwana Resort project was locally based. During this protest and at other public meetings, statements of objection were read, and some of them were followed by poetry readings.² The governor of Bali, Ida Bagus Oka, was forced to cancel the original permit for the building of Bali Nirwana Resort because it was too close to the Tanah Lot temple. Nevertheless, the overall project eventually proceeded with minor design adjustments made to placate the protesters.

Many poems published in the *Bali Post* during this period were inspired by this public discourse and by resistance to the Bali Nirwana Resort project and other similarly large projects in Bali. Some Balinese poets also had anti-development poems printed in the national media, notably *Horison*. The same issues were represented pictorially in cartoons and comic strips by Balinese cartoonists in the same newspapers, *Bali Post* and *Nusa Tenggara* (now *Nusa Bali*). These cartoons take a cynical view of Bali under threat from capitalism and globalization (Warren 1998:88-98; Suasta and Connor 1999). The development of Indonesian literature in Bali illustrates that the two major concepts underpinning poetry, namely universal humanism and social realism, always co-exist. Each serves a specific purpose. The consistent presence of the two styles suggests that literature is not just written to fulfil aesthetic needs but is also necessary for

² Poets Tan Lio Ie and Warih Wisatsana said that they both read poems on a number of occasions as a part of public protest meetings. Tan Lio Ie described singing a poem by Umbu Landu Paranggi which expressed the holiness of the Tanah Lot temple, while Warih Wisatsana read the poem *Rakyat* by Hartoyo Andangjaya. Besides that, writers and NGO activists often held discussions to write public statements rejecting tourism mega-project developments that destroyed aspects of Bali and caused suffering to farmers who lost their land. Tan Lio Ie and Warih Wisatsana, personal communication 22-6-2007.

commenting on social issues – a defining characteristic of Balinese poetry since the colonial period.

Poetry as self reflection

While social and political issues had to be avoided, nature, the mystery of life, inner spirituality and death became prominent themes among the many used in Balinese poems of the New Order period. This change in poetic style reflects a period of relative stability after the violence and political and economic turmoil that occurred under the previous government. Poets often presented personal meditations or a form of self-reflection in which themes were blended. This constitutes the subject matter of most poems by Lesiba members found in poetry collections or newspapers during the 1970s and 1980s, some of which are listed in Table 5.

Table 5. Selected poems from the 1970s and 1980s

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
1	Suatu malam sunyi (One silent night)	1970	Ngurah Parsua	Reflections on silence
2	Perjalanan (Journey)	1970	Ngurah Parsua	Reflections on life and death
3	Bedugul	1972	Ngurah Parsua	Reflections on nature, loneliness and the secrets of love
4	Setelah angin senja berhembus (After the dusk wind blows)	1973	Ngurah Parsua	Condolences and reflections about death
5	Kuta	1975	Ngurah Parsua	Concerns about sin, world civilization and peace
6	Samadhi (Meditation)	1976	Djelantik Santha	Meditation and a prayer to God

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
7	Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur (Good morning Mr Governor)	1978	Aryantha Soethama	Expressions of hope in a new governor
8	Kuta	1979	Raka Pelayun	Concerns about the impact of tourism on local culture
9	Aku (I)	1980	Abu Bakar	Self-reflection
10	Gempa (Earthquake)	1980	Bawa Samar Gantang	The destructive power of nature
11	Sebuah pemandangan (A view)	1980	Wayan Sumantri	Describing the tragic life of an eagle
12	Telaga (Pond)	1980	Made Sukada	Reflections on nature and loneliness
13	Tat twam asi (You are me and I am you)	1980	Jiwa Atmaja	The idea that human beings are all the same
14	Pantai Kuta (Kuta beach)	1982	Oka Sukanta	Reflections on nature and loneliness
15	Bali dalam puisi (Bali in poetry)	1985	Oka Sukanta	Concerns about the commercialization of Balinese culture

I Gusti Ngurah Parsua's collection *Setelah angin senja berhembus* (After the dusk wind blows, 1973) and poems in the collection *Antologi puisi Bali 1980* (1980), both published by Lesiba, provide examples. Almost all the poems in these collections focus on human beings as individuals who try to understand their relationships to other human beings, nature and the Gods within their own private sphere. The content and message of their poems appears to be very personal and to have little connection with historical or political public matters.

Two poems in I Gusti Ngurah Parsua's collection, *Bedugul* (1972) and *Setelah angin senja berhembus* (1972) express his personal feelings about nature, loneliness, death and the meaning of life. In the poem

Bedugul – Bedugul is a mountain village on the shore of a lake, located on the border of North and South Bali – the poet expresses feelings of loneliness, sadness and the desire to feel the secret of eternal love, as shown by the following quote.³

di sinikah sepi abadi, yang misteri	is this eternal solitude, that lies mysteriously beside the lake
di seberang danau sana? Sepi Ia menunggu	over there? Alone He waits
sedihku sendu menunggu pertemuan rasa	my sadness deepens, and awaits a meeting of eternal love in
cinta abadi dalam rahasia	secret

I Gusti Ngurah Parsua dedicates *Setelah angin senja berhembus* (1972), the poem that gives the collection its title, to his close friend Rasta Sindhu, a prominent Balinese poet and short-story writer who died in 1972.⁴ This poem relates to the concept shared by Hinduism and Buddhism of release from the cycle of suffering through the attainment of heaven or nirvana. According to the poem, the eternal is located in the after-world, where there is no sadness, loneliness or longing, and space and time are one. The poem suggests that only death can bring people to the eternal world. It emphasizes that besides marking the end of sadness, death is a journey to a perfect end.

These two poems are both included in *Tonggak* (Milestones) edited by Linus Suryadi (1987:316-7), an anthology of modern Indonesian poetry published when the New Order's power was at its height, and marked a significant shift in I Gusti Ngurah Parsua's aesthetic conception. In the 1960s, he had published poems promoting Sukarno's political ideology, such as *Anak marhaen*,⁵ but in the 1970s, he adapted to the New Order's preference for universal humanism

³ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

⁴ Some of Rasta Sindhu's short stories are discussed in Chapters V and VII. For a detailed discussion of Rasta Sindhu's literary standing and his works including short stories and poems, see Sutedia-Liem 2000 and 2003.

⁵ 'Children of the proletariat'. The poem *Anak marhaen* is included in Appendix B.

(Adi Riyadi et al. 1995:85). In general, the change in I Gusti Ngurah Parsua's poetic style also reflects a contemplative time after the chaos of the national revolution. But it needs to be emphasized that during this time he also wrote poems about local issues, as evidenced by his poetry on Kuta beach.

The poetry in *Antologi puisi Bali 1980* is also dominated by universal humanism. As with the work of I Gusti Ngurah Parsua, these poems emphasize the inner, spiritual dimension of human existence. The difference is that whereas I Gusti Ngurah Parsua is concerned with life, death and the notion of the eternal, the poems in *Antologi puisi Bali 1980* are more interested in nature and individual self-reflection. Jiwa Atmaja's *Tat twam asi* (You are me and I am you) and *Aku* by Abu Bakar, for example, focus on the subject (*aku* or I) as an individual human being rather than as a member of society. The identities and social backgrounds of neither '*aku*' nor those being addressed in the poems are clarified. This contrasts strongly with poems from the colonial and national revolution periods in which individual subjects are clearly identified as supporters or members of specific groups or political ideologies (lower or upper caste, communist, left nationalist, proletarian, et cetera). The concealment of subject identity in *Tat twam asi* and many other poems in this collection gives a strong impression that under the New Order Balinese poets, particularly members of Lesiba, wanted to avoid any possibility of being accused of writing literature that could be interpreted as social or political propaganda.

The upsurge of interest in nature, apparently another method of eschewing social and political issues, can be read in Wayan Sumantri's *Sebuah pemandangan* (A view), Samar Gantang's *Gempa* (Earthquake), and Made Sukada's *Telaga* (Pond) all poems are published in 1980. Although aspects of nature are the common theme, each poet has a different approach. *Sebuah pemandangan* takes the point of view of an individual subject, describing the tragic life of an eagle without feathers falling into a blue sea,⁶ while *Telaga* focuses on the atmosphere surrounding a lake in an endless forest. Neither poem provides any clue to the possible social context of the work, as illustrated by *Telaga*.

⁶ The full version of *Sebuah pemandangan* is included in Appendix C.

Telaga	A pond
Adalah sebuah rimba belantara	There is a vast forest
Sebuah telaga sunyi terlindung dalam bayangannya	A quiet pond is sheltered by its shade
Kilat putihnya menyorotkan cakrawala	Its white sheen illuminates the heavens
mendukung bimbang semesta	which support the anxious earth
Tiada prahara selain lembah- lembah	There is no tempest away from the valleys
mengendapkan lumpur dunia	which conceal the world's mud

It is hard to identify any immediate background to the poem, as it simply conveys a personal contemplation of nature. It is highly subjective, individualist and escapist.

The earthquake that shook Bali in 1977 and caused considerable damage and casualties in North and West Bali may have inspired *Gempa*. But the poem itself is not interested in the victims or the social dimensions of this natural disaster, instead trying to create from it a mythical form or image. According to the poem, an earthquake has no hands, spirit or body. From a realistic viewpoint, this description is inconsistent because while the poet has said that the earthquake has no body, he also describes it placing its feet on the earth. However, this may just reflect Bawa Samar Gantang's preference for dramatic aural and magical effects rather than a literal narration of events. This can be seen in the opening lines of his poem.⁷

Dengan diam	Silently
Kukenal kau tanpa angin tangan roh dan badan	I know you are without wind, hand, spirit and body

⁷ The full version of *Gempa* is included in Appendix C.

Tanah di mana kau pijak
Gelisah

Where you tread the earth
is nervous

Gemetar rumput, rumah,
pohonan

Grass, houses, trees tremble

Universal humanism also dictated the themes of many poems which appeared in the *Bali Post* at this time. An example is *Samadhi* (Meditation), by Djelantik Santha, published in the *Bali Post* in 1976. This poem, as its title suggests, expresses self-reflection and submission of the individual (*aku*) to God.

Samadhi

Meditation

apakah aku harus berteriak
atau melototkan mataku
atau menggapai-gapai
atau menangis merayu
memohon kasihMU
atau apakah amalku, cintaku,
bhaktiku hanya untuk imbalan
sorga?
Kau maha sempurna
aku menghadapMU dalam
pasrah
dalam segala kerjaku kudiam
dan
dalam diam kubekerja
samadhi

Do I have to shout
or make my eyes bulge
or wave my hands
or crying, beg to seek
YOUR love
or are my dedication, love and
devotion the price I pay for
heaven?
You are perfect
I appear before YOU in
submission
in all my works I am silent and
in silence I work
meditation

The individual subject (*aku*) of the poem refers to no one but 'the self' that speaks. This poem and others by Djelantik Santha such as *Akuku sepanjang sungai* (My ego is as long as a river, 1976) share the theme of analysing self-worth.⁸ While in *Samadhi* the self prays to a great God,

⁸ The full version of *Akuku sepanjang sungai* is included in Appendix C. This poem is written in lower case.

in the poem *Akuku sepanjang sungai* the self metaphorically expresses the relationship between river and ocean to explain the existence of an individual in relation to other human beings – every individual is differentiated from others by an ego, but as human beings we are all the same. The theme of this poem is similar to Jiwa Atmaja's *Tat twam asi*, which also stresses that human beings are equal. So the idea of equality that is presented in the 1980s differs from that understood by the poets of the colonial era; earlier it is discussed in terms of caste and socio-economic status, later in terms of human beings in general. As with other members of Lesiba, Djelantik Santha's poems display typical characteristics of New Order poems, centring on the personal contemplation of nature, meditations on God and avoiding sensitive social and political issues. Although they cannot be classed as obscure poetry because they express their topics clearly, they are certainly very individualistic and subjective, and so fulfil the defining characteristics of the universal humanist style.

Expressions of social concern

Alongside these mainstream universal humanist themes, a number of poems concerned with contemporary Balinese social issues appeared. Such themes had already been seen in a few poems from the colonial period, but had disappeared during the national revolution era because poets were caught up in the euphoria of Sukarno's enthusiastic promotion of nationalism. These poems usually have tourism and its accompanying social problems as a backdrop. The negative impact of tourism on Balinese culture, the social divisions between urban and rural, between the economically advantaged and the poor, and between indigenous people and outsiders are popular issues addressed by Balinese poets at this time. In the colonial period tourism was discussed in the context of poverty and backwardness, while during the New Order it was discussed in the context of cultural dislocation and social alienation.

There are three poems on the subject of Kuta beach by different poets – I Gusti Ngurah Parsua, Cok Raka Pelayun and Oka Sukanta. They were written in the mid-1970s and early 1980s when the area

was beginning to experience mass tourism. This included a sub-culture of young adventure travellers locally referred to as hippies, who were often associated with drug use and free sex.⁹ These poems and others dealing with tourism reflect the growing awareness of its dangers among Balinese intellectuals. This consciousness of the negative side of tourism contradicts the often government dominated discourse on the economic benefits it brings.

I Gusti Ngurah Parsua's *Kuta* (1975) is concerned with the hedonistic behaviour of tourists at Kuta beach, being topless or even totally naked.¹⁰ The poem considers this to be sinful and morally unacceptable behaviour that consigns those who engage in it to hell ('sins have caused people to lose their way and plunge into hell'). The term *neraka* (hell) is also used in Oka Sukanta's *Pantai Kuta* (Kuta beach, 1982), from his poetry collection *Selat Bali* (Bali strait). This poem focuses on sprawling topless bodies at Kuta Beach. The last two lines of his three couplets say – 'sprawling bodies clothing discarded / you could ask: heaven, or hell?'¹¹ As in *Kuta*, this poem also strongly criticizes the deplorable attitude of tourists that is threatening Balinese culture. As a former member of Lekra, Oka Sukanta had been closely involved in the pre-1965 debate about the dangers tourism posed to society (Foulcher 1983:34). Because he continued to hold these ideas in the New Order period he was able to find a niche in one of the dominant public discourse issues of that time.

Raka Pemayun's *Kuta* (1979) also focuses on the vulnerability of Balinese culture when it encounters Western culture, and the values imported by foreign tourists. The poet was a university student who also worked for the *Bali Post* as a music, arts and culture correspondent. Although the poem is brief, consisting of only one stanza, it powerfully expresses the impotence of local tradition when it encounters global culture through tourism.

⁹ See Picard 1996:79, especially the cartoon reproduced from the *Bali Post* that features hippies talking about marijuana and sexual pleasure while sunbathing on the beach.

¹⁰ The full version of Ngurah Parsua's *Kuta* is included in Appendix C.

¹¹ This translation is taken from Foulcher 1983:34.

Kuta	Kuta
Dari laut	From the sea
Datang gadis	A girl emerges
Menebar Budha	Scattering dope
Dylan bersenandung	Humming Dylan
Dan angklung	And the music of the gamelan
Terkubur di depan pura	Is buried in front of the temple

In this poem, the term 'Budha' can be interpreted either as a reference to the Buddha or alternatively, in Kuta beach slang, to 'buddha sticks', a form of rolled cannabis closely associated with the hippy lifestyle. The poem suggests that this hippy phenomenon was already in existence in Bali. Behaviours associated with this lifestyle were considered a negative influence on Balinese culture and society (McKean 1971; Vickers 1989:20). While continuing to promote the importance of tourism, both the national and regional governments considered hippies a threat to local cultural and moral values.

Raka Pemaayan's *Kuta* diverges significantly from the universal humanist standard. His poem explicitly confronts a real social problem faced by Balinese society: the growing influence of Western culture and values. In the 1970s, Bali was inundated with Western music, played on local radio stations and in Kuta pubs and discotheques. Performers like Bob Dylan and The Beatles were very popular and became symbols of modernity, particularly among Balinese youth.¹² Attracted to modern music, many young Balinese began to consider traditional arts and music old-fashioned and abandoned them. This gradually contributed to the marginalization of some of the traditional Balinese arts, as the lines 'Humming Dylan / And the music of the gamelan / Is buried in front of the temple' clearly suggest. The poem seems to support the government view that tourism could diminish local culture.

Concern about social issues and the changes wrought by tourism can also be seen in other another work by Oka Sukanta. He wrote a

¹² The popularity of Western musicians and singers is mentioned in Rasta Sindhu's short story *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter* (1969). This story is discussed in Chapter VII.

number of poems about Bali, many of which have the word 'Bali' in their title (Sukanta 1999:7, 64-6). The poem *Bali* written in 1963, for example, approaches Bali from two different viewpoints, displaying pride in the island's arts and traditions and voicing concern over the death of a Balinese farmer caused by poverty. This poem and the similarly titled *Bali* (1964), already discussed in Chapter III, share the social realist technique of using images of oppressed lower-class people, a typical concern of left-wing writers. *Bali dalam puisi* (Bali in poetry, 1985), written during the New Order period, shows similar concerns, depicting the sense of alienation of a poet who visits the island which he calls 'home' to find that Balinese tradition has succumbed to tourist-oriented commercialization.¹³

aku menyeruak masuk ke dalam	I pushed my way inside
rumahku	my home
pulau bali	the island of Bali
tapi begitu asing, hampir tak	but it was so alien, almost
terpikirkan	unimaginable
begitu banyak yang telah	so much had changed
berubah	
seperti sebuah dongeng yang	like a fairy story
sulit	
dipercaya kebenarannya	you can't really believe in

His feelings of alienation are closely linked to despair at the commercialization of Bali's arts and traditions.

aku terperangah	I caught my breath
di rumah-rumah seniman	in the homes of artists
aku terengah-engah di toko	I gaped in surprise in the art
kesenian	shops
semua telah engkau pajang	you've put out everything
untuk pendatang	for the visitors
tertinggal apa untuk dirimu	what do you have left for
sendiri?	yourselves?

¹³ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C. The translation is taken from Keith Foulcher, see Putu Oka Sukanta 1986:89, 91.

The poet criticizes the Balinese for offering all their belongings to 'visitors' and leaving nothing for him and for themselves. As in the poems discussed above, he wishes to convey the idea of tourism as an obvious threat. Although the speaker of the poem is an individual (*aku*), his personal responses to the transformation of Bali undoubtedly coincide with important public concerns.

Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur (Good morning Mr Governor, 1978) by Aryantha Soethama is another example of a New Order poem that addresses social problems faced by the Balinese community, this time from the growing number of development projects proposed by the government. These problems include the social divisions outlined above and other serious social problems such as prostitution, the growing number of children failing to complete school and the poor quality of flood-damaged roads. Expressing his support for the newly elected governor, the poet explains the problems and simultaneously encourages the governor to solve them. When he wrote this poem, Aryantha Soethama was a freelance journalist for local newspapers, so he would have had ample opportunities to observe the social and political scene closely.

This poem was published in the *Bali Post* in 1978, when Bali had just 'elected' a new governor, Ida Bagus Mantra, an ethnic Balinese, to replace the previous Javanese governor, Sukarmen. The phrase '*putra daerah*' (local figure) emphasizes the elected governor's ethnic origin. The idea of the 'local figure' was significant in the context of the New Order policy of selecting regional leaders, which involved promoting a 'local civilian figure' as governor in some provinces and a 'military figure' in others. Among other things, the policy aimed to ensure both regional and military loyalty. To show consideration for its Hindu majority, its unique culture and traditions and its status as a tourist destination, Bali was assigned a 'local civilian figure' as governor, one who was highly competent in religious and cultural matters.

Ida Bagus Mantra was, in fact, the first Balinese to govern the island during the New Order regime. He had a wealth of experience in the central government bureaucracy, having served as director-general of Cultural Affairs in the Department of Education and Culture and was also known as a man of culture. After graduating

from an Indian university, he had become a lecturer at Udayana University in Bali and during his time as director-general had in 1978 established the Bali Arts Centre in Denpasar, a project that demonstrated his commitment to Balinese culture. The Balinese people, not unexpectedly, placed great hope in his administration. While the public were happily welcoming Ida Bagus Mantra to his new position, their hopes raised by his being Balinese,¹⁴ Aryantha Soethama was ready to greet him with a range of problems.

The poem repeatedly uses the expression 'Good morning Mr governor' as a device to draw attention repeatedly to the tasks facing the governor. Below are the two opening stanzas of the poem, each stanza beginning with 'Good morning Mr Governor'.¹⁵

Selamat Pagi Pak Gubernur	Good Morning Mr governor
Telah tersedia sebuah kursi	A chair is provided
Tumpukan map dan bising	A pile of maps and the jangling
dering telpun menunggu	noise of telephones are waiting
Kami tahu itu semua kau	We know that you'll handle all
tangani untuk kami	this for us
Untuk tandusnya bukit Pecatu	So the barren Pecatu hill may
agar hijau dan banyak ternak	become green and much
bisa merumput di sana	livestock may graze there
Untuk Ketewel, Seraya, Nusa	For Ketewel, Seraya, Nusa
Penida dan desa terpencil nun	Penida and distant, isolated
jauh	villages
Di mana deru teknologi, televisi	Where the rumbling of
super color tinggal angan-angan	technology and super colour
	television remain a fantasy
Agar mereka nikmati serpih	So that they can benefit from
dollar dari Sanur, Kuta dan	snippets of the Sanur, Kuta and
kelak Nusa Dua	future Nusa Dua dollars

¹⁴ The poet states that hopes were raised because the new governor was Balinese, Aryantha Soethama, email communication, 8-5-2002.

¹⁵ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

Selamat Pagi Pak Gubernur	Good Morning Mr governor
Pasar bertingkat, sampah, traffic light macet dan pelacuran menunggu	Multi-storeyed markets, garbage, traffic jams and prostitution are waiting
Pedagang acung menuntut: pariwisata bukan monopoli pemilik artshop.	Street-stall owners demand: no monopoly on tourists for artshop owners
Kaum pendatang, pribumi terdesak dan anak putus sekolah	Visitors, local people are pushed aside and children drop out of school
Banjir, lalu jalan pun terukir	Floods happen, and then the roads are all carved up
Kami yakin akan kau selesaikan untuk kami.	We're confident you'll solve it for us.

The tone of the poem is very direct and bold given the political circumstances which were far less tolerant of criticism than they are today. The voice of *Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur* is 'kami' (we) which suggests that the speaker speaks on behalf of the wider community and highlights social rather than personal concerns. The poem uses simple linguistic structures and everyday expressions instead of a condensed, symbolic style. The declamatory manner resembles that of Balinese poems from the national revolution period but the content is slightly different. Where poems from the earlier period contained propaganda and promoted political struggle, *Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur* politely reminds the government of the need to use its power to serve society.

Several issues are covered in the quote above, such as the contrast between the facilities available in the most barren and isolated areas (Ketewel, Seraya, Nusa Penida) and the most developed tourist areas (Sanur, Kuta, Nusa Dua) and some common problems in urban areas such as traffic jams, prostitution, immigrants and the marginalization of local people. To overcome these complex problems, the poem first asks the governor to ensure that isolated villages – though today most of those mentioned are no longer isolated – can enjoy the benefits of income from tourism. This shows a positive attitude to the tourist industry, which reverses the way it is viewed in the

poems discussed earlier that directly or indirectly blame tourism for social change and see the modern culture that accompanies it as a threat. Like other poems from the New Order period, *Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur* approaches social issues with moderation, avoiding direct confrontation with the government while still permitting the poet to articulate deep concerns.

Loss of land and identity

Bali in the 1990s was not the Bali of peace and harmony so often described in tourist promotions. After a long period of silence, many public protests and student demonstrations condemning the pro-investment policies of the regional government took place during this decade. The government was accused of being too acquiescent in permitting investors to develop grandiose hotels, resorts and golf courses (Picard 1997:203-4; Suasta and Connor 1999:100-1). These developments forced many poor landholders to sell their sole asset, their land, resulting in ever-increasing numbers of landless, jobless farmers. Land plays an integral role in Balinese religion and culture, and the transfer of land ownership from local people to national or multi-national conglomerates causes significant problems for Balinese social and cultural practices (Pitana 1999b:121-2; MacRae 2003). A major example is the manner in which hotels now reserve many beaches for their guests and restrict public access, which is essential for the frequent purification rituals basic to Balinese Hinduism.

Community concern about the development of Bali is also shown by the widespread popularity of the expression 'Kembalikan Baliku padaku' (Bring back my Bali to me). This is taken from the lyrics of a popular song from the early 1990s written by Guruh Sukarnoputra – son of the late Indonesian president and of Balinese descent – and sung by Jopie Latul. Cynical appeals to 'bring back my Bali to me' still occasionally appear in the media to this day with the meaning changing according to the context in which it is used. Similar concerns dominated Balinese poems of the 1990s. By this time Balinese poets were no longer as interested in speaking about national issues, national identity or being Indonesian, as they had been during the

national revolution period. Nor were they interested in discoursing on personal ideas, but instead focused on the relationships between land, space, culture and Balinese identity. Balinese poets of the 1990s traverse complex themes, simultaneously addressing topics such as the loss of land, the decline of culture, alienation, anxiety and disillusionment with the contemporary situation in Bali (see Table 6).

Table 6. Reformation period poems on tourism and land alienation

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
1	Sakit (Sick)	1993	Ketut Yuliarsa	Materialism as a disease
2	Di pura Tanah Lot; Bersama Aix (In Tanah Lot temple; With Aix)	1994	Landras Syaelendra	Feelings of alienation because of tourism
3	Mana tanah Bali (Where is the land of Bali)	1994	Widiyazid Soethama	The commercialization of culture
4	Tanah leluhur (Ancestral land)	1994	Wayan Arthawa	The younger generation who distance themselves from their ancestral land
5	Di depan arca Saraswati (In front of Saraswati's statue)	1994	Fajar Arcana	Feelings of alienation because of lack of spiritual space
6	Benda-benda lahir menjadi Dewa-Dewa (Material goods become Gods)	1994	Widiyazid Soethama	Materialism
7	Upacara kepulauan tanah (Ceremony for returning to the land)	1995	Oka Rusmini	Culture and civilization threatened by the loss of land
8	Tanah sengketa (Disputed land)	1995	Alit S. Rini	Land appropriation and spiritual decline

No.	Title	Year	Author	Theme(s)
9	Catatan tentang Ubud (Notes on Ubud)	1996	Sukawidana	Cultural commercialization
10	Halaman kapur Bukit Pecatu (The limestone field at Bukit Pecatu)	1996	Fajar Arcana	Appropriation of land for tourism
11	Lelaki kuburan Badung (The man of Badung graveyard)	1996	Nyoman Wirata	The lack of space for local people
12	Manusia patung (Human statue)	1996	Alit S. Rini	Feeling powerless in the face of growing development
13	Nyoman urban (Urban Nyoman)	1996	Nyoman Wirata	Feeling alienated
14	Jalan ke Tanah Lot (Paths to Tanah Lot)	1998	Warjih Wisatsana	Feelings of alienation because of tourism development
15	Tanah pesisir Padanggalak (Coastal land at Padanggalak)	2000	Sukawidana	The appropriation of beachside land

The poetic Bali of 1990s reveals an anxious, threatened and gloomy island. One of the first poems to articulate this bleak outlook was *Tanah leluhur* (Ancestral land, 1994) written by Wayan Arthawa, from Karangasem in eastern Bali. Eastern Bali has suffered sharply from the depopulation of its villages as its young people move to Denpasar and other areas seeking work. The only major tourist development in the region occurred at Candi Dasa around the time the poem was written. It became one of the most graphic illustrations of the negative consequences of the rapid development which began around the late 1980s. A quiet lagoon with a small stretch of beach and a meditation centre was suddenly transformed into a ribbon of hotels

and restaurants, and this quickly led to the erosion of the beach that had provided the initial attraction. The growth of discos there was also associated with increased violence, with fights breaking out between gangs of youths from different areas of East Bali. A sense of loss and deterioration is conveyed in religious terms, stating that 'all the children are fleeing / leaving their ancestral lands'.¹⁶

In his poem, which was published in *Horison* in 1994, Wayan Arthawa takes as his overt subject the movement of young Balinese away from their villages and their traditions. While critical of them, he nevertheless presents the perceptions of those who leave – that the land is dry and polluted because the water from *subak* (irrigation systems) on which they depend has been redirected to new projects. Likewise, people feel drained of the possibility of retaining their traditions. However, the work does not explore what other possibilities exist. It is possible to see the poem as representative of the state of alienation experienced by young Balinese in the modern era. They deliberately abandon their existing traditional identity, while at the same time not achieving the modern condition to which they aspire.

Poets specifically express the idea of decline and loss as a spatial concern. Agriculture and religion are inextricably linked with the ancestral lands, which are being emptied of traditional activities and filled instead with tourist developments. Ngurah Bagus (1990: 1-5) analyses the shift from an agrarian to an industrial society, with tourist development shaping that change, as rice fields become golf courses. These changes have also been a potent source of imagery for many Balinese cartoonists, both those who published in the *Bali Post* and those who exhibited privately (Warren 1998:83-101). The messages they seek to convey centre on the increased pace of land speculation and the pressure put on poorer farmers to sell land. Between 1987 and 1990, agricultural land was converted to other functions at the rate of 1,000 hectares per year (Pitana 1999b:121-2; Wiranatha 2001:134-5). This trend has continued, primarily for the creation of residential and tourism facilities, despite a government

¹⁶ Anak-anak semuanya berlari / meninggalkan tanah leluhur. The full version of Wayan Arthawa's *Tanah leluhur* is included in Appendix C.

ban on the conversion of rice fields since the early 1990s.¹⁷

There are abundant examples of disputes over land ownership, the point of contention often being the specific ceremonial or sacred function of the land. For most Balinese, every piece of land has a defined spiritual role, with a number of temples or shrines connected to spirits or deities of place all being required for the performance of ceremonies. The Balinese perform a variety of these ceremonies on the land on which they live, to ensure safe lives and fertile fields. For this reason, when land they possess or land in the area where they live falls into the hands of an outside landowner, a serious problem arises – where should the temples on such land be moved to, and where should its people hold their rituals in the future? The ownership and use of land, and the fate of Balinese culture remain dominant themes of local newspaper debates, and the general tone is typically pessimistic. The poem *Tanah sengketa* (Disputed land), by Alit S. Rini, a *Bali Post* journalist, illustrates these problems and this mood. The use of the word ‘*tanah*’ (land or earth) in the title recalls Wayan Arthawa’s *Tanah leluhur* and both poems stress the importance of land and space.

Tanah sengketa develops different aspects of the issues raised by Wayan Arthawa. Its language is more cryptic, playing on the idea that both loss of access to the water and loss of land are linked to spiritual decline, as seen in the first two stanzas.¹⁸

Pertarungan panjang ini	This long battle has left me
membuatku terpana	stunned
sudah ribuan kali kita	Thousands of times we have
percakapkan	discussed
laut yang tak lagi leluasa kita	the sea which we no longer can
datangi	freely reach
jukung-jukung kembali	the old log canoes return
melayari sungai rohani yang	sailing up a spiritual river
kian keruh	grown ever more murky

¹⁷ See ‘Bali larang konversi sawah untuk pariwisata’, *Kompas* 1-2-1997:2. Here it is stated that between 1989 and 1995, Bali lost an average of 900 hectares of agricultural land each year.

¹⁸ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

Kata yang berhamburan itu takkan pernah jadi sabda tertimbun ia di bawah tanah gusuran	Words scattered here and there can never become truths buried under a pile of confiscated land
---	---

The poem appeared in the *Bali Post* in 1995, during the ongoing public protests against various tourism projects triggered by the Bali Nirwana Resort dispute. It conveys the idea that ritual space is diminished because roads leading to the sea have been closed. Spiritual flow and movement is stopped by the clearing or levelling of land. The enclosure of free spaces, of water as well as earth, is linked to emotional and physical suffering. For Balinese people, the sea is a place where vital rituals are performed. The series of *ngaben* (cremation ceremonies) always ends at the sea, with the scattering of the ashes of the body. This process provides a symbolic link which speeds the progress of the person who has been cremated to the next world.

Balinese Hindus also perform *melasti* ceremonies – a series of ceremonies to purify *pratima* (statues of the gods) in preparation for the Nyepi religious holiday – by the sea. So the sea cannot be separated from Balinese society's ritual needs, and the withdrawal of free access to allow the completion of these rituals causes people to feel that they have offended their ancestors by severing communication with them. An example of this is the disputed area of Padanggalak beach, next to the popular tourist resort of Sanur. In 1997, the Balinese regional government was forced to retract permits given to an investor to build hotels on the beach after strong protests from the community who use it for purification rituals. The reclamation project for the small coastal strip at Padanggalak was cancelled and the beach was returned to the community (Suasta and Connor 1999; Warren 2000:5-6). *Tanah sengketa* functions as an allegory of the contemporary condition of Bali, which has become a 'disputed land' – the dispute being between the Balinese people and government-backed investors (Picard 1997:202; Lewis and Lewis 2009:59-61).

The idea that Balinese attachment to the land is ancestral and ceremonial is also central to *Upacara kepulangan tanah* (Ceremony for returning to the land, 1995) by another *Bali Post* journalist, Oka

Rusmini, who has also written a number of short stories and novels.¹⁹ Like the poems of Wayan Arthawa and Alit S. Rini, Oka Rusmini's work depicts the Balinese as totally alienated because they have lost control over their own land and are no longer free to perform the necessary rituals, as the following excerpt emphasizes:²⁰

bahkan untuk mencium tanah	and just to smell the land
para pemilik peta, pemilik kali	the owners of the map, the
Badung, pemilik laut	owners of the Badung river, the
	owners of the sea
bahkan dewa-dewa	even the gods
harus membayar bau tanah	have to pay for the scent of the
miliknya	earth that is theirs

The poem describes a set of embedded ties, making oblique references to the birth ceremonies during which the afterbirth, part of the self, is buried in the earth, and to the ritual of the third month when Balinese children take their first steps on the earth. Its lines go beyond the notion of nostalgia into a deep sense of loss, of land and water, which implies a further fundamental loss of identity. The poem describes, with great sadness, outsiders taking land owned by Balinese and the gradual extinction of Balinese civilization, as stressed in the opening line of the poem: '*Ini peradaban yang menghilang*' (This is a disappearing civilization).

Upacara kepulangan tanah is a series of four poems each with the title *Tanah Bali*.²¹ The poem can be read as a metaphor for the Hindu concept of *catur yuga* (the cycle of four ages). *Catur yuga* comprises *kertha*, *treta*, *dwapara* and *kali yuga*, and explains the cycle of human civilization from its birth and harmonious state in the first age to

¹⁹ Some of Oka Rusmini's works are also discussed in Chapters V and VI.

²⁰ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

²¹ 'The land of Bali, I-IV'. I quote this poem from the *Bali Post* (5-3-1995), as a single text, but when it was republished in the poet's own collection, *Monolog pohon* (Tree monologue), it was divided into four different poems which stand autonomously (Rusmini 1997:32-6). An English translation by Cork is included in *Bali the morning after* (Cork 2000:12-5) and one by Hunter in *Bali living in two worlds; A critical self-portrait* (Ramseyer and Tisna 2001:45-9).

its instability and ruin in the last age (Wiana and Santeri 1993:61-2). *Kertha yuga*, the dawning of civilization, is an era marked by public prosperity, peace and a populace adhering to religious values. By contrast, *kali yuga*, the last era of civilization, is an era of chaos in which religious duties are neglected, people lose their way and society becomes barbaric.

The present era is always referred to as *kali yuga*, although its beginning and end are uncertain. Evidence for this can be found in the spread of corruption, greed and moral decay, the political and social conflicts that cause war, the death of other human beings, commercialization, the neglect of religious values and many other social problems. Although *catur yuga* is a concept from Hinduism, the term is usually used by the Balinese to refer to the state of civilization in the world at large. The opening reference to 'civilization' indicates that the idea of *catur yuga* is at work in the poem *Upacara kepulauan tanah*. Another sign is the division of the poem into four sections, suggesting the progressive transformation of Bali from harmony to instability. The last stanza, which contains the idea that the only land remaining to people will be the grave ('how many plots of land will you set aside for the burial'), allegorizes the *kali yuga*.

In one way or another, the idea of *kali yuga* or chaos, is also expressed in both *Tanah leluhur* and *Tanah sengketa*. Wayan Arthawa conveys an element of *kali yuga* in the sense that religious values have been abandoned, while Alit S. Rini declaims her vision with more radical imagery, with chaos arriving in a season of epidemics and a rain of blood. These representations accentuate the powerlessness of Balinese people, leaving them with the options of hollowness, becoming like 'a scarecrow' or dying – both implying a complete loss of human identity.²²

²² 'Aku telah menjelma jadi orang-orangan sawah / membawakan tari beku dicabik-cabik angin' (I've already taken birth as a scarecrow / Performing my mute dance as I'm shredded by the wind).

Temple space and cultural loss

Besides dealing with the concept of land as a material entity, all the above poems deal with issues of the spiritual or inner self. A number of works expand on this meeting of the interior and exterior through discussions of alienation and relationships specific to the spiritual space of temples. Balinese temples, which are holy places for Hindus, have been promoted as tourist attractions, and to take advantage of this, investors have felt encouraged to build hotels and resorts in improper proximity to temple sites. The manipulation of temples as tourist attractions has become a matter of public debate, particularly during the late 1990s. Opponents of this have called for the removal of pictures of temples from tourist brochures and have forced the government to reject the building of hotels too close to temples (Pitana 1999b:102; Warren 2000:5).

Through his poems that have a Balinese context, Fajar Arcana, a journalist with the national newspaper *Kompas*, tries to appear as a 'spokesperson for ordinary people [...] fighting for others' (Putra 1998b:163). He can do this because he feels that he experiences the same things as ordinary people, and when he walks around Kuta, Nusa Dua or Candi Dasa, he feels alienated and foreign in the midst of this outburst of tourism. This can be seen in his poem *Di depan arca Saraswati* (In front of Saraswati's statue), published in the *Bali Post* in 1994 and then included in his poetry collection *Bilik cahaya* (Room of light, 1997). *Di depan arca Saraswati*, addressed to the goddess of wisdom and knowledge, continues the theme of the lack of ritual space commented on by the other contemporary poets quoted above.

Di depan arca Saraswati	In front of Saraswati's statue
Dewi, pelataran pura ini	Goddess, in this temple courtyard
tak cukup buatku menari	there's not enough space for me to dance
Terasa ruang kian menghimpit	More and more I feel that space is closing in
penuh ditumbuhi pohonan	planted full of trees
yang tidak kita kenal	that we do not recognise

Dewi, gerak mana lagi mesti kumainkan Langit telah jadi dinding pembatas bagi kelihatan burung-burung dan rumputan yang menghamba di kaki peradaban makin mengasingkan puja kita	Goddess, what movements should I play out? The sky has become a wall to cut us off from the sight of wild birds and grass which bows down at the feet of civilization separates us more and more from our worship
Garis yang kau gores di atas debu diterbangkan angin ke awan	The line which you scratch in the dust is borne up by the wind to the clouds
Kita sedang bertamu di pelataran sendiri Tak bebas lagi memetik bunga atau terlentang di pasir mencium hangat matahari	We are guests now in our own courtyards No longer free to pick flowers or stretch out on the sand to kiss the warmth of the sun
Dewi, harus kutunjukkan ke mana sembah ini? di sekeliling pura telah tumbuh pohonan yang tidak kita kenal!	Goddess, where should I direct this prayer? all around the temple have grown trees we do not recognise!

Bali is often called the 'island of a thousand temples' because there are so many in locations all over the island. As they are so numerous, the expression 'temple courtyard' in this poem can be taken to refer not to one particular area but to all public spaces in Bali. Similarly the phrase 'planted full of trees' can be read as a metaphor for 'multi-storied buildings', particularly the hotels and shopping complexes around tourist resorts in Kuta and Sanur and in the city of Denpasar. In the mid-1980s, the Bali regional government brought in regulations aimed at preventing the island from becoming a concrete jungle, fixing the height of buildings at a maximum of 15 metres or the equivalent of three stories.

The rapidity of recent development, however, has caused Bali to become overcrowded and has led to a loss of green spaces as well as open areas, and as other poets have indicated, there is no longer sufficient room for the performance of social and religious activities. There are other layers of meaning in Fajar Arcana's poem. It voices public complaints about places considered sacred that no longer provide an atmosphere conducive to prayer or ritual, a concern also expressed in the poems of Alit S. Rini and Oka Rusmini. Fajar Arcana seeks to unite this concern about spiritual space being closed off with a similar concern about the loss of living space. A strong sense of distance and alienation is also emphasized in his poem. People now feel like 'guests' in their own space ('We are guests now in our own courtyards'). The word '*tamu*' (guests) is the officially preferred word for foreigners and tourists and *Di depan arca Saraswati* clearly suggests that the 'tourists' are the Balinese themselves, not the foreigners, thus implying that the Balinese have lost their identity.

The poet identifies with those who are estranged and those under pressure, 'no longer free to pick flowers'. Many flowers are used in Balinese offerings and prayers, so losing the right to gather them implies that opportunities to practise tradition and religion – both essential elements of Balinese identity – are lost. The poem suggests that the sole avenue of recourse is a plea to the Goddess Saraswati. This is not the first time Saraswati's name has been invoked poetically to address a problem. An earlier example occurs in Oke's *Och, Ratna* (1938), the poem discussed in Chapter III about the importance of knowledge for Balinese in coping with modernity brought about by tourism in the late colonial period. The mention of Saraswati in Fajar Arcana's poem is relevant because it is used to highlight the Balinese people's ignorance of what is happening around them.

Other poems that use the idea of the Balinese being alien in their own land are Fajar Arcana's *Halaman kapur Bukit Pecatu* (The limestone field at Bukit Pecatu, 1996) and Nyoman Wirata's poem *Nyoman urban* (Urban Nyoman, 1996). Nyoman Wirata extends the concept of Balinese as 'guests' by referring to them as *wong sunantara*, which is Balinese for 'foreigners' or people from far away, while in *Halaman kapur Bukit Pecatu*, Fajar Arcana describes the Balinese as being 'powerless' and 'backed further and further into a corner'.

Halaman kapur Bukit Pecatu took its inspiration from the case of Bali Pecatu Graha, a luxury housing estate complete with golf course owned by a son of former President Suharto, Hutomo (Tommy) Mandala Putra. The project is unfinished due to the economic and political crises of 1997 that precipitated the *krismon*, a dramatic fall in the relative value of the Indonesian currency. Due to this and the unfairness involved with many land transactions a lot of problems regarding land ownership remain unresolved. The accumulated effect of this, combined with some forced land sales, is to make Balinese the true *wong sunantara*.

A more explicit statement of this latter form of alienation comes in the poem *Di pura Tanah Lot* (At Tanah Lot temple), by Ketut Landras Syaendra, which was first published in *Horison* in 1994 and later included in his poetry collection *Mata dadu* (The eyes of the dice, 1998). As with the poems of his colleagues, the subject matter of Ketut Landras Syaendra's poems is heavily oriented towards the issues discussed above, that is, the effects of the rapid growth of tourism on Balinese life. The feeling of alienation is shown in the opening stanza of the poem.²³

Kami memasuki kawasan asing ini	We enter this strange territory
di antara tiang-tiang beton dan lalu lalang tubuh-tubuh telanjang	between concrete pylons and the coming and going of naked bodies
Kenanganlah yang selalu mempertemukan kami	It is memories that always unite us

Written at a time when opposition to the Bali Nirwana Resort mega-project was at its most vocal, between 1993 and 1996, the poem comments directly on the threat posed to the Tanah Lot temple. As a poet, Ketut Landras Syaendra captures this moment by showing that the sacred Tanah Lot temple has become defiled by its popularity as a tourist attraction and its image as a temple or home of the gods has thus been diminished (*Tak ada lagi tarian dewa di puncak meru*

²³ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

ini, The gods will dance no longer on the peak of this *meru*). Ketut Landras Syaendra, however, avoids engaging in the controversy over the development and the granting of the permit, and the collusion between the local administration and the Jakarta-based Bakrie conglomerate.²⁴ Instead, he takes an easy, safe option and shifts the blame onto the tourists themselves. His decision to avoid direct criticism of the government in this manner illustrates that poets could still be overawed by the shadow of government power. Poets of the colonial era had used a similar strategy.

Like his contemporaries, Ketut Landras Syaendra clearly shows the connections between the disappearance of land for agricultural use, the enclosure of sacred space and the loss of sanctity within it, and the sense of alienation of the Balinese. He sees the gods departing. Temples are no longer places where people can connect with gods and ancestors and as a result the Balinese social order loses its equilibrium. Other poets – I Nyoman Tusthi Eddy, Gusti Made Sukawidana, Warih Wisatsana, Hartanto, Sindhu Putra and Umbu Landu Paranggi – have all written one or more poems on Tanah Lot. Apart from expressing disappointment about the Bali Nirwana Resort controversy, their poems also convey general concern for the overall Balinese social situation with its over-commercialized and desecrated culture. In their poems, Bali is portrayed as having undergone a major change – one which means it is no longer the place of spiritual comfort much stereotyped in guidebooks.

Images of the human condition

The emotions emerging from these poems present a disturbing image of the human condition in Bali. The happy, joyful, content Balinese people of the outsider's imagination are absent. Instead the poems deal with various levels of emotion, and link personal feelings to a spiritual experience which is being lost, resulting in

²⁴ Bakrie is a company with interests in several areas, such as construction, mining, communication and tourism. Recently the owner of the company Aburizal Bakrie became involved in politics and was elected chairman of Golkar.

images of Balinese people who are alienated, gloomy, repressed and marginalized. These powerless images of the Balinese are directly attributed to the rapid growth of tourism – an industry that is seen as a source of economic opportunity by governments, but as a socio-cultural threat in the eyes of poets.

A poem that illustrates this notion of tourism as a threat which leaves poorer people in tears rather than in a state of joy is Gusti Made Sukawidana's *Catatan tentang Ubud; Aku teringat Isma Sawitri* (Notes on Ubud; Remembering Isma Sawitri, 1996). Gusti Made Sukawidana was born in Ubud, but spends most of his time in Denpasar where he works as a junior high school teacher, teaching Indonesian language and literature. Under his supervision, the school's drama and literary clubs have been very active and they often dominate local drama and creative writing competitions. Oka Rusmini, one of his students, was active in the literary club in the mid-1980s. Although he lives in Denpasar, Gusti Made Sukawidana often returns to his village near Ubud, less than an hour's drive north, either for personal visits or to attend various traditional ceremonies and social functions – something that is common among Balinese. These visits have given him an opportunity to observe the rapid changes occurring in Ubud.

Ubud is a well-known tourist town in south-east Bali, which has long been a home for foreign artists and expatriates (Picard 1996:83-9; MacRae 1999:123-8). The town is famous for its performing arts and the fine quality of its visual arts. Most of the inhabitants of Ubud earn their living from businesses related to tourism, ranging from luxurious hotels to budget class accommodation, from fine arts shops to cheap souvenir stalls. However, not all inhabitants of Ubud are fortunate enough to become rich, or even to benefit, from tourism – some are forced to face a bitter reality, as reflected in Gusti Made Sukawidana's poem.²⁵

Di Ubud sekarang ada pasar
bertingkat

In Ubud nowadays there is a
multilevel market

²⁵ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

pada lantai atas dijual souvenir untuk para turis	on the top floor they sell souvenirs for tourists
sedang pada lantai bawah yang becek dan kotor	while in the mud and filth of the ground level
ibuku menawarkan air mata kepedihannya	my mother offers her tears of pain

The changes in Ubud mentioned here are representative of the changes in Bali as a whole, as described by other poets. Gusti Made Sukawidana uses a similar metaphor to one used by Fajar Arcana when he associates the growth of hotels with that of weeds, growing rapidly in river valleys. Both poets also use the expression ‘temple courtyard’ to refer to the sacred space or inner core of Bali. The important aspect of Gusti Made Sukawidana’s poem is his differentiation between upper- and lower-class people, between tourists and local people, and between artists and brokers. Almost everything is for sale to satisfy outsiders, tourists and brokers, reducing Balinese culture to the status of ‘nothing more than a spectacle’ for the entertainment of these outsiders, ideas shared by Oka Sukanta’s poem *Bali dalam puisi* discussed above.

Isma Sawitri, who is specifically mentioned in the subtitle of the poem, is a national poet of Acehnese origin who wrote a poem entitled *Ubud* in 1974.²⁶ Isma Sawitri emphasized the religious, traditional and romantic images of Ubud and its inhabitants, whereas Gusti Made Sukawidana’s piece depicts the depth of sadness of people at the time he was writing. It can therefore be seen as a critique of Isma Sawitri’s poem, written more than 20 years earlier. If the two poems are read together, they present a summary of the changes that have been taking place not just in Ubud, but throughout Bali. If in Fajar Arcana’s poem, Balinese are depicted as ‘guests’, in Gusti Made Sukawidana’s poem they are portrayed as part of a ‘spectacle’, extending the image of Bali as a ‘museum’.

²⁶ Isma Sawitri’s poem *Ubud* is included in *On the verandah*, a bilingual anthology of modern Indonesian poetry edited and translated by Iem Brown and Joan Davis (1995:76-7). See Appendix C.

Balinese intellectuals used the term 'museum' in the 1920s in *Surya Kanta* to reject the colonial construction of Balinese culture. Despite independence, even now, in the twenty-first century, the image of Bali as a 'museum' is very much alive, particularly in the discourse of tourism and culture. Gusti Made Sukawidana's poem suggests how powerless and hurt Balinese people feel in trying to overturn the 'museum' concept.

The Balinese are also depicted as worshippers of material goods, worshippers who have become commercialized. These characteristics are inseparable from the development of tourism and the advances of technology. The need of tourists for commodities has enabled the Balinese to sell their art, but this involves selling part of themselves as well. The poem *Mana tanah Bali* (Where is the land of Bali, 1994) by Widiyazid Soethama²⁷ questions where some important Balinese cultural traditions like performing arts, dance, and traditional and religious songs have gone. As in Oka Sukanta's *Bali dalam puisi, Mana tanah Bali* makes it starkly clear that many Balinese are powerless to resist the powerful lure of money, as evidenced by the changes in their lifestyle. In *Benda-benda lahir menjadi Dewa-Dewa* (Material goods become Gods, 1994), Widiyazid Soethama describes an attitude to life which makes commodities into gods and gods into commodities, another characteristic of *kali yuga*.²⁸

Paduka yang mulia benda- benda dunia	His Excellency worldly goods
melukai prajuritMu dengan mimpi-mimpi buruk	wounded Your soldiers with bad dreams
tinggalkan dirinya dari kemuliaan hati	they abandon the goodness in their hearts
untuk pesta pora dan mabuk sepotong nikmat	for partying and getting drunk on slices of pleasure,
pada benda lahir yang menjadi dewa-dewa	from material things that have become gods

²⁷ Widiyazid Soethama is the younger brother of Aryantha Soethama whose poetry is discussed above.

²⁸ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C.

The Balinese people in this poem are portrayed as being part of a society that is becoming deeply materialistic. Those who have enriched themselves enormously by selling their land, or have profited from tourism through jobs, capital investment and other means are part of this materialism. While this assessment is hard to reject, it is also true that many economic benefits gained from tourism have been spent in positive ways, such as sending children to study overseas and fulfilling spiritual needs by building grander ancestral household shrines, renovating temples and making pilgrimages to India (Vickers 1996:30; Santeri 1992:98).

Ketut Yuliarsa also focuses on materialism in contemporary Bali in his poem *Sakit* (Sick, 1993), published in the *Bali Post*.²⁹ The poem takes its themes from lifestyles centred on materialism and consumerism. 'Sickness' here is defined in phrases such as 'desire for prestige compels people to buy new houses and cars, even without enough money'. According to Ketut Yuliarsa, this sickness is not just caused by a yearning for prestige but also by simple greed, the foul cultural atmosphere and a season of uncertainty. These factors all fit the idea of a reign of chaos or *kali yuga* found in other poems discussed above. Here modernity is understood as either failing to provide happiness or as the cause of sickness for those who pursue it obsessively. It extends the negative images of modernity expressed in poems, short stories and plays by Balinese writers since the colonial period.

While *Sakit* makes no specific reference to the problems of space, land and excessive development on the island, the changes in the overall lifestyle of the people he refers to are intertwined with the other ongoing upheavals in Balinese society and culture. As we have seen, change in Bali is attributed to external influences and accelerated by tourism and contact with foreigners.

²⁹ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix C. The translation is taken from Cork 2000:78-9.

Voices of resistance

The overt tone of pessimism and gloom in these Balinese poems results from the unease poets feel about the rapid pace of change in their island. Alit S. Rini, when interviewed, argued that the changes around her have made her feel 'not at peace' (Putra 1998a:164). She stated that many of her poems reflect the powerlessness of the people, their sense of being *manusia patung* (human statues) or 'scarecrows'. In her opinion, no poetry, even that written by world-class poets, will ever bring about change. However, although she feels 'not at peace' and 'powerless', Alit S. Rini refuses to stand aside or give up. She wants to stay at the centre of things and to continue to write poetry, because she is convinced that people around her want to hear others speaking out in protest.³⁰ She does this through her poems and the articles which have appeared in the *Bali Post*, which emphasize the importance of the need to maintain Balinese culture, religion and identity in the face of external pressures.

Other journalist-poets such as Raka Pemayun, Oka Rusmini and Fajar Arcana share this position. In his role as a journalist, for example, Fajar Arcana has often written news items and articles detailing his observations of the oppression of lower-class people and farmers who are struggling to keep their land. In such situations, he states, it is easy for him to identify with the victims, because he has witnessed the alienation caused by the decreasing amount of spiritually intimate open space caused by excessive development in Bali (Putra 1998a:163).

Some non-Balinese poets like Ajip Rosidi, Rendra, Isma Sawitri and Radhar Panca Dahana have tried to emulate Balinese voices, but Fajar Arcana argues that these poets simply acquire images of Bali from a 'bus or aeroplane window' or as 'tourists'. According to him, in this latter role, non-Balinese poets can only express romantic images of Bali and fail to convey the real problems facing the Balinese.

³⁰ Alit S. Rini published her first poetry anthology titled *Karena aku perempuan Bali* (Because I am a Balinese woman) in 2003. Her poem *Tanah sengketa* discussed in this chapter is included in this anthology. Her poems that deal with women's issues are discussed in Chapter VI.

Fajar Arcana's claim is valid, the exception being Rendra's *Sajak pulau Bali* (Poem of the island of Bali, 1978), which openly protests against the intrusion of capitalism into Bali through tourism and the commercialization of Balinese culture. The poem *Mohammad Rukman Kartawinata di Bali* (Mohammad Rukman Kartawinata in Bali, 1957) by Ajip Rosidi (1993) and *Bali di ufuk teru-menyanyan* (Bali on the horizon, a fragrant tree; 1994) by Radhar Panca Dahana are good examples in support of Fajar Arcana's claim. Ajip Rosidi's poetry portrays its character as *pelancong sejati* (truly tourist), while Radhar Panca Dahana's describes how its subject looks at Bali from the aeroplane window.³¹ Ajip Rosidi and Radhar Panca Dahana see Bali with a tourist's eye, resulting in a series of romantic images of the island. Coming from outside, these poets are not really concerned with understanding the deep-seated factors contributing to a distinctive Balinese identity.

Unlike Radhar Panca Dahana and Ajip Rosidi, who see Bali as visitors, Balinese poets describing their homeland are not just observers but also actors experiencing what they are expressing. When they write poetry, they combine the creative manipulation of language with a desire for that language to intervene in the changes that are affecting them so deeply. Balinese poets do not create poetry as tourists but as indigenous people who are concerned and anxious, living amidst the cultural and developmental problems that surround them. They therefore feel they have the authority to describe these changes, both physical and non-physical. Physical change is causing land in Bali to be gradually used up and to fall into the hands of outsiders, with the result that Balinese spiritual space is being increasingly restricted. Non-physical change inflicts feelings of alienation and powerlessness, stemming from the diminished sacredness of temples and the decline of ceremonial space in general. When Balinese poems of the Reformation era are read as a whole, they seem to cry out with one voice: 'Bring back my Bali to me'.

³¹ 'Waktu berangkat di jendela pesawat, lagi kau kulihat' (When leaving, from the aeroplane window I look again at you).

Reading many Balinese poems, from the colonial and national revolution periods through to the New Order and Reformation eras, makes it clear that Balinese identity has continually altered according to the tempo of the general political, social and cultural changes occurring within the island. National revolutionary concerns in the 1950s and 1960s became part of this identity but this was transitory and the focus quickly returned to specifically Balinese issues. For the reader, there is no fixed, single Balinese identity to be found but rather a fluid, multiple one. The changes, as the poems show, are the result of an ongoing struggle among the Balinese between controlling the dynamic of their own society and responding to powerful national and global forces.

CHAPTER V

Contesting caste identity

Literature and caste issues

Caste is one of the dominant themes in Indonesian literature from Bali, and issues to do with caste recur in all literary genres including poetry, prose and drama.¹ In the 1920s and 1930s, caste was the foremost subject matter used in poetry, which was the most common genre during this period. During the national revolution period, caste based-themes continued to appear, but less frequently, because during this period Balinese writers, like those elsewhere in Indonesia, were concerned with more compelling issues such as the national revolution, poverty, morality, the leadership crisis, and national identity. Preoccupied with these national social and political issues, Balinese writers rarely wrote about local subjects such as caste.

However, during the New Order period, when the regime prohibited the use of the arts and literary works for social and political propaganda and particularly for criticism of itself, Balinese writers returned to exploring local issues, especially the impact of the development of tourism and the conflict between modernity and local customs, such as the caste system. Almost every Balinese writer has written about caste, which in the Reformation period is still a leading topic. It has been used by recent Balinese writers as a basis for short stories, novels and poetry written in Indonesian, and is also

¹ The structure of the caste system in Bali and its terminology were outlined in Chapter II. For a detailed bibliography of short stories and plays discussed in this chapter, see Appendix F.

a dominant topic in modern literature in the Balinese language.² Reading works about this issue in either language helps provide an understanding of how the Balinese manage the ongoing tension between maintaining and opposing the traditional social hierarchy. It also highlights the deep flaws in the image of Balinese harmony so commonly featured in tourism promotion.

There are a number of reasons why Balinese writers continue to discuss caste. Since the first debates about this issue between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* in the 1920s, caste differences have remained one of the most significant controversies in Balinese public discourse.³ Caste disputes can begin as intellectual debates, but then extend into social conflicts, sometimes going so far as to involve destruction of property. This can result in substantial comment in regional newspapers.⁴ Given the ongoing caste conflict in public life, it is natural that Balinese writers have chosen to write about what is happening around. In addition, disputes between people of different castes provide a ready-made conflict formula for writers to access when creating a narrative structure,⁵ and Balinese writers are strongly motivated to write about caste because stories dealing with this topic receive encouraging responses from readers and publishers of Indonesian literature.

² For a history of modern literature in the Balinese language and a discussion on themes regarding caste in this literature, see Putra 2000b.

³ Wiana and Santeri 1993; Pitana 1997, 1999a; Howe 1995, 2005; Schulte Nordholt 2007.

⁴ See P. Wirata 2007. The article comments on a caste-based conflict that involved a violent attack on a number of *brahmana* houses in Klungkung, East Bali, on the night of the Hindu Nyepi holiday, 19 March 2007. The attack was a continuation of a conflict that had begun two years earlier (2005) when 24 *brahmana* families declared their intention to resign from customary village membership and form their own exclusive customary village organization. See also 'Nyepi di Klungkung, rumah dilempari batu', *Bali Post* 21-3-2007 and 'Massa hancurkan puluhan rumah, tiga sepeda motor dibakar', *Bali Post* 22-3-2007.

⁵ Aryantha Soethama, interview, Denpasar, 15-12-1999. Aryantha Soethama published an article in the *Bali Post* in 1996 (which I have not been able to locate) in which he stresses his point that caste conflict is still an interesting subject for Balinese writers. He included three stories based on issues related to caste in his award winning short story collection *Mandi api* (2006), which are discussed here: *Tembok puri* (The palace wall), *Bohong* (Lies) and *Sekarang dia bangsawan* (He is an aristocrat now).

Many works on caste conflict by Balinese writers have secured the attention of national publishers or have appeared in national newspapers, literary journals and popular women's magazines. The distinctive caste-based nature of works by Rasta Sindhu, Aryantha Soethama and Oka Rusmini has contributed to their winning national literary awards. These and other works having caste as their main theme expand the contribution Balinese writers have made to the development of the national literature and their uniquely Balinese themes. For non-Balinese readers of Indonesian literature, prior knowledge of Balinese culture is not necessary, because the theme is often discussed within a universal context such as a conflict between tradition and modernity or intergenerational disagreements.

The following analysis focuses on ways in which Balinese writers of novels and short stories have approached the matter of caste.⁶ This discussion focuses on selected short stories, novels and a play published by Balinese writers between 1920 and 2000. They are written by people from both *triwangsa* and *jaba* backgrounds, whose status can be clearly identified through the title in their name: for example, the titles Ida Bagus, Ida Ayu, Cokorda, Agung and I Gusti denote *triwangsa* status. Writers from the 1920s were commoners who joined the exclusively *jaba* organization Surya Kanta and felt the need to articulate the interests of lower-caste people. Their works can be seen as a voice struggling for equal status for those belonging to the lowest caste. Writers of the revolutionary, New Order and Reformation periods consisted of equal numbers of *triwangsa* and *jaba*, but most of their works, regardless of the author's own caste, express a strong anti-caste sentiment. Balinese prose writers of these periods share the view that the hierarchy and inequality imposed by caste is irrelevant to modern values. As much of the literature about caste revolves around caste conflict and status difference in the context of intercaste marriage, a brief background to intercaste marriage is provided here.

⁶ Poetry is not included, as it has already been discussed in Chapter III.

Intercaste marriage and status

Intercaste marriage, a union between a man and a woman from different castes, has social and religious consequences, especially for the bride. There are two types of intercaste marriage. The first is a marriage between a lower-caste woman and an upper-caste man – hypergamy – in which the status of the woman is raised, but not to her husband's level. Despite her uplifted status, she is regarded as a second-class *triwangsa* because she has achieved her status by marriage and not by birth. Nevertheless, her new status means that she now deserves particular respect from relatives of her natal family, for example in the way she is addressed. As the Balinese language has several social registers, her maternal parents and other family members will have to speak 'up' to her and to her husband in a higher register. Because of her higher status, she does not have automatic permission to pay homage to her parents when they die, which is generally a cause of deep sadness.

The second type of intercaste marriage is one between a high-caste woman and a man of lower caste – hypogamy – which results in the woman losing her caste status and being disowned by her parents. In these marriages, the bride's family asks the groom's family to perform a ritual called *patiwangi*, which will release her from her caste, before the wedding ceremony to ensure that the bride and the groom have equal status. Although *patiwangi* is no longer compulsory since the 1951 reform of the marriage laws, many upper-caste families still prefer it, or else the groom's family perform it voluntarily to ensure that the wedding ceremony goes smoothly. Hypogamous couples who choose not to perform a *patiwangi* ritual may hold one later on, for instance because they have suffered a series of misfortunes such as incurable illnesses or an inability to conceive after a considerable period of marriage. In these cases, the reason for performing the ritual is a practical one, and not simply to release the woman from her caste status.

In both hypergamous and hypogamous marriages women are refused permission to pray at their family temples (Parker 2003:167), meaning that there is a loss of spiritual connection with their ancestors. As women have to bear most of the consequences

of intercaste marriage, they suffer gender inequality as well as caste discrimination. Because of this, both *triwangsa* and *jaba* people prefer marriage within their caste group – endogamy – so that status change and all its complex consequences can be avoided. However, modern education, employment and other social connections between people of different castes make it much more difficult to prevent intercaste marriages nowadays than was the case in the past.

In pre-colonial Bali, hypergamy was always permitted, but hypogamy was prohibited. Creese's recent study on Balinese pre-colonial law codes discusses the harsh punishments possible in hypogamous cases, but suggests that these penalties were negotiable and that money could be paid as substitution (Creese 2008:19). During the colonial period, this long-standing prohibition of intercaste marriage was reinforced by a council of Balinese kings through a Paswara 1910 (1910 Regulation). This still carried a severe penalty, including a fine and exile from Bali. Upper-caste people, especially *brahmana*, supported this regulation and wanted exile to be kept as a punishment (Bagus 1996:114). Lower-caste people, by contrast, challenged it strongly. During the debate between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana*, an editorial note in *Surya Kanta* in 1926 complained that the 1910 marriage law was unfair because it only applied to *jaba*.⁷ A writer using the nom-de-plume Kobar supported this point, stating that if a male commoner married an upper-caste woman, he would be fined or exiled to Jembrana (West Bali) or Lombok.⁸

The Dutch colonial government wanted to remove exile as a form of punishment because it was no longer seen as acceptable in a modern system of government (Bagus 1996:114), but they wanted to do it gradually so that it did not disturb Balinese *adat*, which had strong roots in the community (Putra Agung 2001:127). When a leader of *Surya Kanta*, I Nengah Metra, married a woman of the highest caste, Ida Ayu Mas Mirah, the case was not filed in court, but the couple were relocated to Lombok as if they were being exiled. They were not genuinely 'exiled', because in Lombok Nengah Metra was allowed to continue working as a teacher (Putra Agung 2001:127), and from

⁷ See 'Kaum jabakah yang tiada tahu membalas guna', *Surya Kanta* 2 (1926):92-3.

⁸ *Surya Kanta* 2 (1926):130-1.

there he continued to promote his ideas of equality and modernity by writing for *Surya Kanta*. He also established social organizations such as Clubhuis Ekatjita (Solidarity Clubhouses), which was dedicated to education and among its various activities ran reading groups (Vickers 2000:97), once again promoting modernity.

The debate about marriage law led to the replacement of the 1910 Regulation by the 1927 Regulation. This new regulation, ratified by the Dutch colonial government, contained much lighter penalties. For example, offenders would not be exiled outside Bali but on the island for a maximum of ten years, and they could be fined between 25 and 100 rupiah, or imprisoned for six weeks to six months.⁹ Objections from lower-caste people about the discriminatory aspects for the social hierarchy in terms of *triwangsa* against *jaba* continued through the 1930s and after independence (Schulte Nordholt 2000). The long struggle to end the caste-based social hierarchy finally bore fruit in 1951, when the Balinese provincial government issued Regulation no. 11/1951 (Pitana 1997:95). This regulation completely removed the prohibition against intercaste marriage. The reasons given for this major change were that the law was no longer relevant in the post-independence era and that discrimination against particular groups should be avoided (Wiana and Santeri 1993:119). This new regulation formally legalized intercaste marriage and was also an acknowledgment that *triwangsa* and *jaba* were equal.

Although the prohibition on intercaste marriage no longer exists, meaning that the *patiwangi* ritual is no longer compulsory, in reality parents often perform the ritual in hypogamous marriages. There has been recent discussion of this, some of which has been published in the local newspapers, calling for the abolition of *patiwangi*.¹⁰ This public outcry forced the Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (Parisada, highest Hindu Council) at its meeting on 26-29 October 2002, in Mataram, Lombok, to issue a decree revising what they understood to be a long-standing misunderstanding of the caste

⁹ 'Peswara 1927 (19/20 January)', *Surya Kanta* 3 (1927):82-3.

¹⁰ See 'Perkawinan dan pati wangi', *Bali Post* 4-10-1998:5; 'Mengintip perkawinan warga Bali di Lombok (3), anaknya dibuang, itu terjadi kalau tak direstui', *Bali Post* 1-8-2003.

system. The decree, called Pengamalan Catur Warna,¹¹ contains 11 clauses including those confirming the withdrawal of the ban on hypogamy and the abolition of *patiwangi*.¹² There is a reference to the removal of the prohibition against intercaste marriage in the 1951 law. This reference emphasizes that this attempt to abolish the traditional social hierarchy does not set a new precedent. The way Balinese literary works approach caste is the subject of the following discussion.

Caste in the play Kesetiaan perempuan

The play *Kesetiaan perempuan* deserves detailed analysis because it uses caste as its main theme and is the only dramatic work published in the 1920s, when the most popular genre was poetry. The play was serialized in three parts in *Surya Kanta* between March and June 1927. It takes the form of *tooneel*, or realist theatre, as indicated by its subtitle – ‘a tooneel in three parts’ (*tooneel dalam 3 bahagian*). In the 1920s, performances of modern theatre forms like *tooneel* and *stamboel* (Malay musical theatre) were common in Bali and attracted large Balinese audiences (Putra 2008). These performances might have inspired the writing of this play, but no information is available as to whether it was ever staged.

Kesetiaan perempuan was published during the most heated period of the debate between *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* over caste issues.

¹¹ ‘The Implementation of Four Warna’. See ‘Bhisama catur warna dan kemerdekaan beragama’, *Bali Post* 30-10-2002. The decree intentionally uses the term ‘warna’ (which literally means ‘colour’) to change incorrect uses of the caste system. Unlike the caste system, ‘the warna system’ defines someone’s status by their duty or profession. Under this system, status is achieved, not ascribed, and can change accordingly. For example, the title *brahmana* is only for those who perform duties as priests and so children of priests do not necessarily hold the title *brahmana*. Members of one family could hold different *warna* identities according to their profession.

¹² See the Decrees of the Central Council of Parisada Priests, X/2002. The withdrawal of the ban on hypogamy is stated in article 9 (Perkawinan yang disebut kawin nyered harus dihapuskan), while the total abolition of *patiwangi* is stated in article 10 (Upacara adat Patiwangi harus dihapuskan sejalan dengan hapusnya tradisi Asumunding dan Karang hulu oleh Dewan Pemerintah Bali Tahun 1951).

A footnote to the play suggests that it had been written before the replacement of the 1910 Regulation by the 1927 Regulation, which means that it was written when the more severe penalties were still in place. The theme of the play and the timing of its publication indicate that it was used by *Surya Kanta* to protest about the unfairness of the caste system and intercaste marriage penalties.

The play presents the reader with a courageous upper-caste woman who challenges her father after his refusal to approve her marriage to her lower-caste boyfriend because of the status difference. The main characters in the play, whose names are all based on former Balinese kingdoms, are Gusti Made Sekowati, a *triwangsa* woman, her father Gusti Ngurah Tabanan, a *punggawa* (district head) and her boyfriend Ketut Badung, a *jaba* man who works as a police officer and is soon to receive a promotion to district head. The play gives the arguments that Ngurah Tabanan uses to try to stop his daughter from marrying Ketut Badung, saying that it will make his daughter lose her nobility and bring shame on him and his extended family.

In order to prevent the marriage, Ngurah Tabanan attempts to break up the relationship. He locks Sekowati in her room, so that she and her boyfriend cannot contact each other. Sekowati is upset and bravely argues with her father, leading to a conflict in which caste and self-esteem, rank and character, and the consequences of intercaste marriage from a *triwangsa* viewpoint are debated. The following conversation takes place in Sekowati's room.

GUSTI NGURAH TABANAN: (*angrily*) So, you are in love with Ketut Badung. Oh, my child! This love of yours will destroy you, this love for someone who is not a noble, but is a commoner!

GUSTI MADE SEKOWATI: Father! If I am standing up to you today, you yourself, father, have caused me to do so. Ketut Badung is not a commoner, not a lowly person. His character (*budi pekerti*) is no lower than that of any noble. And what do you consider, father, to be the measure of high or low rank other than character – wealth? Oh, father! I have made a promise to Ketut Badung, if I broke that promise, would I still be a noble person?

GUSTI NGURAH TABANAN: (*increasingly angry*) Be quiet, rebellious child! Do you have so little affection for me that you will expose yourself to shameful behaviour that will destroy your reputation and your caste position? And besides, it will not be you alone who will suffer, but I, too,

and all your relatives will be degraded and shamed, as a result of your actions.¹³

It is interesting that the protest is presented through the female *triwangsa* protagonist, while the male character, her *jaba* boyfriend, has comparatively little to say. Sekowati is depicted as having a modern view of caste. She rejects the conventional idea of defining rank by caste or wealth but proposes instead that it should be defined by *budi pekerti* (moral character). The term *budi* was a key concept promulgated by *Surya Kanta* during the caste debate with *Bali Adnjana* and was employed in arguing the importance of achieved rather than ascribed status. The ways the term is used in *Kesetiaan perempuan* indicate its writer's intention to echo *Surya Kanta's* anti-caste spirit. In the argument with her father, Sekowati insists that although Ketut Badung was born a commoner, he is 'not a lowly person'. He has achieved a relatively high position in the Dutch colonial bureaucracy.

By contrast, Sekowati's father, I Gusti Ngurah Tabanan, is represented as a person with a conventional view of caste. Although Ketut Badung has gained considerable status, Ngurah Tabanan continues to consider him a commoner, someone whom Sekowati should not marry because by doing so she will lose caste rank and bring shame to her extended family. These opposing attitudes to

¹³ GUSTI NGURAH TABANAN: (*marah*) Jadi masihlah juga kau menaruh cinta kepada Ketut Badung. O, anaku! Tiadakah sayang kamu akan merusak dirimu, bercinta kepada seorang yang tak berbangsa, seorang sudra.

GUSTI MADE SEKOWATI: Bapak! Jikalau hamba sekarang ada berani kepada ayahnda, ayah sendirilah yang menyebabkannya. Ketut Badung bukannya seorang sudra, bukannya seorang yang hina. Tentang budi pekerti tiadalah kalah ia dari kaum *triwangsa*. Dan apakah dalam pendapatan ayahnda, harta itukah yang menjadi ukuran tinggi rendahnya derajat budi manusia? Oh ayahnda! Hamba telah berjanji dengan pasti kepada kanda Ketut Badung. Apakah jika anaknda tiada menepati janji, kesatriakah namanya?

GUSTI NGURAH TABANAN: (*bertambah marah*) Diam, engkau anak durhaka! Engkau tiada sayang akan terjun dalam kubangan yang mengoyak-oyakkan nama dan kebangsaanmu. Dan lagi tiada hanya engkau saja yang akan menderita celaka ini, akan tetapi aku dan sekalian sanak saudaramu dihina-hinakan dan dipermalukan karena perbuatanmu. *Surya Kanta* 3 (1927). The translation is taken from Bagus (1996:107-8) with minor revisions.

caste are the cause of the conflict between father and daughter, and remain unresolved.

At the climax of the story, Ketut Badung smuggles Sekowati out of her room so that they can elope. *Ngerorod* (elopement) is a romantic form of marriage to which couples resort when approval from the woman's parents is not forthcoming. It was one of the legal forms of marriage in pre-colonial times and is still practised in present-day Bali.¹⁴ It is a way of resolving intercaste marriage situations, and also marriages between people of the same rank, where permission has been denied by one or both sets of parents. Predictably, Ngurah Tabanan interprets the elopement of Ketut Badung and Sekowati as an act of personal humiliation. As a district head, the angry Ngurah Tabanan discusses this violation with the members of his Raad Kertha (Court of Justice) and supports their decision to punish the couple.

When the couple come to Ngurah Tabanan to seek his forgiveness, their apology is rejected and instead they are punished. Ngurah Tabanan terminates Ketut Badung's employment as a police officer and consequently Ketut Badung loses any chance of being promoted to district head. In addition, the couple are exiled: 'Both of you, leave this country!'¹⁵

¹⁴ The other two kinds of marriage are *melegandang* (marriage by forced abduction) and *memadik* (arranged marriage). *Melegandang* is a form of marriage which results from a woman being captured and abducted by the potential groom. Although the bride may not love the groom, she is expected to gradually accept the new reality, as the alternative of returning home would only cause her and her family shame. *Memadik* involves set procedures, from the delivering of the marriage proposal to the final wedding ceremony. The bride's parents usually prefer this 'arranged' type of marriage because it is a way for them to show that they are a respected family. However, since this type of marriage is frequently complicated, many people choose to elope and then make sure that the proper ceremonies are carried out afterwards. This often occurs because a high-caste family is ashamed to accept a marriage proposal from a low-caste family, leaving elopement as the best path. Creese (2004a:89) includes elopement as a form of 'capture marriage'. Abduction is clearly another form of 'capture marriage' and both types are common in classical Balinese literature. For a detailed description of types of marriage and the procedures used in Bali, see Pitana 1997:96-101.

¹⁵ 'Enyahlah engkau kedua dari negeri ini!', *Surya Kanta* 3 (1927):76.

As the couple depart, Ngurah Tabanan begins to cry and to regret his decision, because in his heart he still acknowledges Sekowati as his daughter.¹⁶ The story concludes with the three main characters all suffering. This tragic ending illustrates how the intercaste marriage laws had an impact on both *jaba* and *triwangsa*, and the play indirectly reveals how the elimination of the intercaste marriage prohibition and caste differences also affect the interests of *triwangsa*.

The naming of the characters in *Kesetiaan perempuan* is very interesting. The names Badung, Sekowati (Sukawati), Tabanan, and Gianyar (Tabanan's brother) are those of former kingdoms of Bali. The wars between these kingdoms meant that Bali was far from united in the pre-colonial era. In 1808 the kingdoms of Tabanan and Badung engaged in a war, and from the 1820s onward war broke out again between the kingdoms of Gianyar and Badung and other kingdoms (C. Geertz 1980:44). These wars caused deep suffering to the populace, particularly to *jaba* people. Thus, in the play, the conflict between Tabanan and Gianyar on one side and Badung and Sekowati on the other can be taken as an allegory of inter-kingdom rivalries. Alternatively, the allegory can be seen as a negative portrayal of upper-caste Balinese rulers.

Although the text was published anonymously, the content of the play echoes the personal experience of I Nengah Metra (see above), a prominent *jaba* leader of *Surya Kanta* who married a *brahmana* woman, Ida Ayu Mas Mirah, in 1926. It is possible that Nengah Metra wrote or contributed to the writing of *Kesetiaan perempuan* before his relocation to Lombok (Bagus 1996:103). But what is more important than the name of the writer is the play's message, which clearly articulates strong anti-caste sentiment. Like the poetry that *Surya Kanta* also published, this play was used as a vehicle for attacking the discriminatory character of the caste system and stating its preference for modern identity.

¹⁶ 'Akan tetapi, meskipun dibagaimanakan juga, ia masih anakku! O, Sekowati, jantung hatiku!', (However, whatever happened, she is still my daughter, O, Sekowati, my heart).

Intergenerational caste conflict

The intergenerational conflict about caste in *Kesetiaan perempuan* became a narrative model frequently used by Balinese writers between 1960 and 2000. A selection of stories from this period shows that almost two-thirds of them use the theme of intergenerational conflict in the context of intercaste marriage (see Table 7). Through the issue of the conflict between *triwangsa* and *jaba*, caste and equality as well as tradition and modernity are discussed. The stories depict contrasting views and attitudes concerning traditional status between parents and their children. The parents are presented as representatives of an old-fashioned generation who have strong convictions about maintaining the traditional hierarchical social structure, while the children are shown as a young generation with modernist views who find traditionally defined status discriminatory and think it should be abolished. Opposition to the existing caste system is usually voiced by narrators through these younger characters, regardless of their caste. Elopement is a common way of challenging parental disapproval of intercaste marriage chosen by young people of different castes.

Table 7. A list of short stories and novels dealing with caste

No.	Title	Year	Author / caste	Theme(s)
1	Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar (When the alarm bell was sounded in the community hall)	1969	Rasta Sindhu / <i>jaba</i>	An upper-caste man is rejected by his father after marrying a commoner, and refuses to attend his father's cremation as a form of protest
2	Bila malam bertambah malam (As the night grows darker)*	1971	Putu Wijaya / <i>triwangsa</i>	A hypocritical upper-caste woman finally confesses that her son's biological father is a commoner
3	Kawin lari (Elopement)	1972	Faisal Baraas / Balinese-Muslim	An upper-caste father tells a commoner to elope with his daughter while pretending to disapprove

No.	Title	Year	Author / caste	Theme(s)
4	Mega hitam pulau khayangan (Black clouds over the isle of gods)	1978	Putu Oka Sukanta / <i>jaba</i>	A <i>brahmana</i> woman and a commoner elope to Jakarta to overcome local disapproval of their marriage
5	Sembilu dalam taman (Grief in the park)*	1986	Ngurah Parsua / <i>triwangsa</i>	Conflict between a <i>triwangsa</i> father and son, caused by the son's intention to adopt his baby from his former commoner girlfriend
6	Mendung di kuri gede (Clouds over the kuri gede)	1991	Oka Rusmini / <i>triwangsa</i>	A <i>brahmana</i> woman who married down encourages her daughter to marry up to end her feelings of guilt to her ancestors
7	Tembok puri (The palace wall)	1993	Aryantha Soethama / <i>jaba</i>	A commoner woman who has married up faces a dilemma when she wants to take part in a ritual in her parents' house
8	Hunus (Unsheathed)*	1994	Sunaryono Basuki/ Javanese Muslim	A <i>triwangsa</i> woman is rejected by her parents after marrying a British man
9	Bohong (Lies)	1994	Aryantha Soethama / <i>jaba</i>	The parents of a commoner man refuse to provide a <i>patiwangi</i> offering in an intercaste marriage
10	Putu menolong Tuhan (Putu helps god)	1994	Oka Rusmini / <i>triwangsa</i>	An intercaste marriage brings misfortune to the couple's family

No.	Title	Year	Author / caste	Theme(s)
11	Sekarang dia bangsawan (He is an aristocrat now)	1996	Aryantha Soethama / <i>jaba</i>	A man purchases noble status after success in his tourism business
12	Gurat-gurat (Scratches)*	1996	Oka Rusmini / <i>triwangsa</i>	A <i>brahmana</i> woman who gives birth outside marriage allows her baby girl to be brought up by a commoner family. The woman adopts her daughter as her servant but she retains commoner status.
13	Kenanga*	2003 [1996]	Oka Rusmini / <i>triwangsa</i>	This is a revised version of <i>Gurat-gurat</i> (see 12 above)
14	Sagra	2004 [1998]	Oka Rusmini / <i>triwangsa</i>	A commoner woman finally discovers that her biological father was a <i>brahmana</i> man
15	Tarian bumi (The dance of the earth)*	2000	Oka Rusmini / <i>triwangsa</i>	A <i>brahmana</i> woman engages in hypogamy and commits to leaving the caste she never wanted to be born into

* novels

As in *Kesetiaan perempuan*, in the works discussed below, disputes over caste take place between parents and children from *triwangsa* families. These disputes provide plentiful narrative material about how people from the same caste background can still argue about status, self-esteem, love and humanity. The heroine of Putu Oka Sukanta's short story 'Mega hitam pulau khayangan' (Black clouds over the isle of gods, 1978) is a *brahmana* woman, Ida Ayu Sumartini, who opposes her parents when they oppose her plan to marry her

commoner boyfriend because of the caste difference. Dayu Sumartini is a modern woman whose parents send her to continue her studies in Jakarta, where she meets her boyfriend, Nyoman Astawa, a lower-caste man. Her parents try to terminate her relationship with her boyfriend through various means, including the use of a shaman's mystical power, but all their efforts fail.

Dayu Sumartini argues resolutely with her parents, asking why her elder brother is allowed to marry a person of lower caste while she is constantly denied permission to do the same. Her objections include ideas of humanity and gender inequality as well as caste. After emphasizing that human beings are equal before God, she points out that the caste system is just like an uncomfortable traditional costume that should be discarded. Her mother is upset and sarcastically asks if her radical attitude towards custom is caused by education. She finally flies off to Jakarta with her boyfriend, leaving her parents in Bali devastated. From the plane, the couple look down and see 'black clouds hanging over the island of Bali'. The conclusion of the story is well connected to its title, which is a metaphor for the taint imposed on Balinese culture by the caste system.¹⁷

The Indonesian poet and critic Toeti Heraty Noerhadi (1991), in her introduction to Sukanta's short-story collection *Keringat mutiara* which includes 'Mega hitam pulau khayangan', emphasizes the heroine's bravery in leaving the family and culture that have constrained her freedom through the caste system. Simultaneously, she raises questions about the future of the young heroine and her husband, uprooted from the security of their culture in Bali, whose life in Jakarta, a completely new place and context, is held together only by love (Noerhadi 1991:xi). Toety Heraty Noerhadi's comments are valid, but the central idea of the story is not how the couple will face the future but rather how they have opposed and overcome the traditional values that have interfered with their current lives.

A conflict over caste between a mother and her daughter is also a focus of Sunaryono Basuki's novel *Hunus* (Unsheathed, 1994). But alongside this theme, the novel gives almost equal weight to

¹⁷ The expression 'cloud' is also used with a similar meaning in Oka Rusmini's story *Mendung di kuri gede* (Clouds over the kuri gede, 1991) discussed below.

exploring the magical power of the Indonesian *keris* (dagger). Both ideas are suited to its general theme of cross-cultural conflict between East and West. As in the previous story, in this novel the female character is an upper caste *ksatria* woman, Agung Ari Maharani, whose parents threaten to cast her out if she marries a lower-caste man. She is presented as a modern Balinese woman who goes to university in Jakarta and completely rejects traditional values such as the caste based social hierarchy. Her determination to elope with her boyfriend, a British man named Anthony Wright, upsets her family who subsequently disown her. Ultimately, her punishment is of no significance because Maharani and Tony move to London, far away from Balinese caste complications. In both stories, the central characters are young women who have modern education and who are used by the authors to voice objections to traditional values that are irrelevant to the modern era. The women evade their difficulties by leaving Bali. In addition, these stories illustrate that there are specific problems that women have to face in intercaste marriage and that they have ample reason to protest.

While these two stories describe the way parents reject *triwangsa* women who oppose the caste system by entering hypogamous relationships, Rasta Sindhu's story 'Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar' (1969), by contrast, depicts a father disowning his son after he marries a commoner. Expulsion of a man as a result of intercaste marriage is uncommon, but here the writer uses this theme to show the difference in attitudes toward caste between a father and his son, respectively representing the old, traditionalist generation and the young, modernist generation. The conflict begins when the father urges his son, Anak Agung Gde Lila, to marry a *bangsawan* (noble woman), and warns that if he marries Sulastri, a woman of lower rank, no wedding ceremony will be held and he will be expelled from the family. Sulastri's family find out about the tensions between Gde Lila and his father and understandably feel offended. At this point, the conflict expands from one between Gde Lila and his father to one between the two families. Sulastri's father considers Gde Lila's father *kolot* (backward) and withdraws his permission for Sulastri to marry Gde Lila: 'Just abandon your plans to marry Gung Gde Lila. You've heard the decision of his family, haven't you? They all

disparage our status. But we do have status, although it is not that of nobility. We have status, that is the status of being human.¹⁸ As Gde Lila and Sulastri are deeply in love with each other, they elope. Gde Lila picks up Sulastri from her school, rather than from her home, and they stay temporarily at the house of one of Gde Lila's friends. Although the couple realise their desire to marry, they are denied complete happiness because they both suffer expulsion from their families. Because he does not receive any allowance from his rich father, Gde Lila suffers economically. He has to borrow money to live but nevertheless refuses to seek financial help from his family members who continue to humiliate him.

Hostility between Gde Lila and his family over the issue of rank continues. At the climax of the story, he refuses to attend his father's cremation. This is a quite extreme decision in terms of Balinese religious and cultural values. It is a social obligation in Bali for children to carry out a cremation for their parents. This is a way of paying their last respects to the deceased parent, but it is also socially incorrect for them to stay away from this ritual when other members of the community have come and given their support to carry out the ceremony. Speaking to the messenger who brings news of his father's death, Gde Lila reiterates his refusal to attend by declaring: 'he has no longer been my father since he disowned me'¹⁹ and replies to his wife, who encourages him to return to his *puri* (palace) to attend the cremation: 'I am no longer part of the palace family.'²⁰ He is actually very distressed at being unable to attend the cremation, as it will be his final chance to pay respect to his father. The unreconciled tension of the ending continues the strong sense of conflict in this story, which won the *Horison* award for best short story in 1968.

In 1993, *Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar* was made into a *sinetron* by the regional arm of the state channel, TVRI Denpasar. When this *sinetron* was replayed on 11 May 2002, it still received a

¹⁸ Kau urungkan saja niatmu untuk kawin dengan Gung Gde Lila. Kau sudah dengar keputusan keluarganya, bukan? Semuanya merendahkan derajat kita. Kita pun punya derajat, walaupun bukan derajat bangsawan. Kita punya derajat, yaitu derajat kemanusiaan. (Rasta Sindhu 1969.)

¹⁹ Beliau bukan ayah saya lagi sejak beliau membuang saya.

²⁰ Aku bukan keluarga Puri lagi.

positive response (I. Wirata 2002) There was even a suggestion that the *sinetron* should be re-broadcast or a play performed live at the Bali Arts Festival, because this would be an excellent way to remember Rasta Sindhu as one of Bali's most talented modern writers. One reason that the story has been able to maintain public attention so strongly, many years after its initial publication, is that caste conflict remains a major point of contention in Balinese public discourse, even in the twenty-first century.

Each of the stories discussed above features intergenerational caste disputes within families from upper-caste backgrounds. Older people vehemently maintain the caste system out of self-interest and protect caste privileges by anchoring them to *adat*, while their children oppose it because it deprives them of the essential freedom to choose their spouses and the future course of their lives. One exception to this uniform approach is Faisal Baraas's *Kawin lari*. The main character is a man of *triwangsa* rank, Gung Semara, who describes himself as living in two contrasting worlds: traditional and modern. Being an educated man who has travelled around Europe, he is aware of being part of the modern world – but being a member of an upper-caste family and a village leader, he must also honour traditional practices even when he does not necessarily agree with them. When a young professional man, a doctor, who is nonetheless only of commoner status, comes to him to ask permission to marry his daughter, Gung Semara advises the young man to elope, even though he knows his extended family members are going to deliver a marriage proposal for his daughter later that day. To avoid upsetting his extended family and to save face in front of them, Gung Semara sets out a scenario for his prospective son-in-law to follow: 'Come back later. Make an announcement about what you've done, when our entire family is gathered, in the way that people who've eloped usually do. It might be better if you come with your village headman. So that you'll be safe. I might need to hit you afterwards!'²¹ The young man agrees. The story ends with Gung

²¹ Datanglah kembali nanti. Memberitahu peristiwa itu, ketika seluruh keluarga kami berkumpul, sebagaimana dilakukan oleh orang yang kawin lari. Sebaiknya Anda datang dengan didampingi oleh Kepala Banjar. Agar engkau selamat. Barangkali aku perlu memukulmu nanti!

Semara well-satisfied, releasing a long slow breath, a symbol of his freedom from this caste related burden. Gung Semara's willingness to compromise represents the attitude of many modern *triwangsa* who are psychologically conflicted by the requirements of caste based customs and traditions but choose not to oppose them openly. As increasing numbers of educated *triwangsa* find themselves in situations like that of Gung Semara, the experience of confronting his dilemma has become more common. All of the stories above, whether dramatically or calmly, oppose any differentiation between *jaba* and *triwangsa* people because this distinguishes human beings according to their birth and is incompatible with the spirit of modernity. The characters who oppose the caste system are those with a high level of modern education, who are living in cities and recognize how the traditional hierarchy imposes more restrictions on modern life than alternative ways do.

The tragedy of intercaste marriage

Other Balinese writers contest the caste system through stories about the unhappy lives experienced by women in both forms of intercaste marriage. One Balinese writer who writes extensively about the tragedy inherent in intercaste marriage is Oka Rusmini. She was born in Jakarta into a *brahmana* family in 1967, but lives in Bali. She is married to a Javanese-Muslim poet and essayist, Arief B. Prasetyo, but this union 'so upset her family on account of his ethnicity and religion that they disowned her' (Allen 2001:32).

Oka Rusmini has published three poetry collections, two novels, and a collection of short stories,²² most of which focus on caste. Two of these stories, *Putu menolong Tuhan* and *Sagra*, won awards in a national literary competition held by the women's magazine, *Femina*, in 1994 and 1998 respectively. *Horison* selected another story, *Pemahat abad* (The carver of the century), which deals with the theme of

²² Her publications include the poetry collections *Monolog pohon* (Tree Monologue, 1997), *Patiwangi* (2003) and *Warna kita* (Our colour, 2007), the novels *Tarian bumi* (2000) and *Kenanga* (2003a), and a short story collection entitled *Sagra* (2001).

hypergamy, as the best short story for the period 1990-2000. Her novel *Tarian bumi* (2000) has also been extremely popular, as evidenced by its seven printings totalling 33,000 copies between 2000 and 2007,²³ a significant success by Indonesian standards. A German translation, *Erdentanz*, was published in 2007, further widening its readership. All of these achievements have brought Oka Rusmini national recognition, as evidenced by her inclusion in *Angkatan 2000* (Generation 2000), an anthology of significant contemporary Indonesian writers (Rampan 2000). She is one of a growing number of women writers who write from a female perspective and who have risen to prominence since the fall of the New Order. Her works reflect the lack of harmony in the relationship between her and the *brahmana* family who disowned her, while they also provide prominent roles for female characters, especially so that they can voice their opposition to the caste system.

Tarian bumi is a novel that focuses on the tragic consequences of intercaste marriage for four generations of a family. This novel has an interesting cyclic plot that describes the movements of women's lives from the lowest to the highest caste (*jaba* to *brahmana*) and then back to *jaba*. Initially a commoner woman marries into a higher caste *brahmana* family. Later her *brahmana* daughter marries a person of *jaba* origins. The four generations of women are Ida Ayu Telaga or Dayu Telaga,²⁴ aged in her thirties, her grandmother, her mother (Luh Sekar) and her daughter. Each of these women holds different attitudes toward caste status and all that it is assumed to imply. Luh Sekar represents marrying up, while her *brahmana* daughter Dayu Telaga represents marrying down. Because of status differences, neither is welcomed by her husband's family members and so both suffer personal discrimination.

Luh Sekar is born into a poor family, which suffers social exclusion

²³ Oka Rusmini, personal communication, 23-7-2007. The first printing of the novel was by the publisher Indonesia Tera which then reprinted the novel another five times, with each print run of 5000 copies (between 2000 and 2006). In July 2007 Gramedia, one of the biggest publishers in Indonesia, printed the novel for the seventh time in a run of 3000 copies. Before appearing as a book, the novel was serialized in the daily newspaper *Republika* from 4-3-1997 to 8-4-1997.

²⁴ Ida Ayu is often shortened to Dayu, thus Ida Ayu Telaga is called Dayu Telaga, Ida Ayu Bulan becomes Dayu Bulan and so on. The term Dayu is used here.

and political suppression as a result of her father being killed in 1965 for his alleged involvement in the communist party. Luh Sekar is urged by her mother to improve their lives and to enhance the status of the family by marrying a rich man of the highest caste. Luh Sekar, who is described as a beautiful and talented dancer, accepts her mother's advice and becomes obsessed with the idea of marrying a man of the highest caste, as she explains to a friend: 'I'm tired of being poor, Kenten. You must know that. Please, help to find me an Ida Bagus [a man of the highest caste]. Whatever price I have to pay, I will do it!'²⁵ Luh Sekar's ambition to marry a *brahmana* is clearly motivated by economic need as well as the desire to release her family from social exclusion and political oppression. This story gives an image of the *brahmana* as economically better off and politically powerful, although in contemporary Bali they are not necessarily dominant in either area. By depicting them as having extraordinary economic and political power, the author is able to create a gap between the highest and the lowest caste so that the process of upward status mobility seems more desirable. Being a talented dancer, Luh Sekar is able to attract a *brahmana* man who eventually marries her. Her mother is delighted, congratulates her on being born as a new woman, and gives her a special present, a *tusuk konde* (hair pin) (Rusmini 2000:44).

Tusuk konde and other items of jewellery are treasures that almost every Balinese mother is proud to possess and wishes to pass on to her daughters as a symbolic expression of fondness. They can either be inherited from their own mother, or be acquired during life. This holds deep symbolism for all Balinese women, who hope to receive *tusuk konde*, whether inherited or not, to pass on to their own children. Towards the end of the story, readers see that the same *tusuk konde* is passed on by Luh Sekar to her daughter. Far from being trivial information, in this story the *tusuk konde* is highly significant and is cleverly used by the author to describe the special relationship between mother and daughter, and also to strengthen the cyclic plot of the novel by using it as a repeated narrative element. In some of Oka Rusmini's other works *tusuk konde* recurs as a motif.

²⁵ Aku capek miskin, Kenten. Kau harus tahu itu. Tolonglah, carikan aku seorang Ida Bagus. Apa pun syarat yang harus kubayar, aku siap! (Rusmini 2000:17.)

Once she is the wife of a *brahmana*, Luh Sekar's name is changed to Jero Kenanga and her world changes irrevocably. This new identity severs all her spiritual links with her family members and ancestors. She can no longer pray in her family temples and consume the food and fruit left over from the family offerings or share meals with her family. Change in status pushes her to the margins of social and religious interaction. She is considered as 'Other' from both sides. In her husband's family, she is considered a lower-caste person, while in her own family she must be considered a *bangsawan tulen* (true noble woman) (Rusmini 2000:45). When her mother dies, Jero Kenanga is not allowed to touch her mother's corpse or pray over it because her status as the wife of a *brahmana* is higher than that of her dead mother (Rusmini 2000:47). It is a cause of great sadness not to be allowed to pay last respects to one's parents, as discussed in the case of Gde Lila, although the context here is different.

Her new status and identity do not bring Jero Kenanga any happiness. On the contrary, she feels humiliated and oppressed and her husband does not love her at all. He continues to sleep with prostitutes and even sexually propositions her younger twin sisters. Eventually, her husband dies a fitting death in a brothel (Rusmini 2000:14), a disgraceful end for a noble person. Although Jero Kenanga has been the wife of a *brahmana*, has given birth to a *brahmana* daughter, and has lived in a *brahmana* house, known as a *geria*, for 20 years, her husband's family members have never considered her a true member of their caste. Of course she never can be, because she was not born a *brahmana*. Despite this discrimination, Jero Kenanga maintains a pretence of happiness and acts as an even stronger defender of the caste system than a true *brahmana*. She tries hard to raise her only daughter, Dayu Telaga, as an ideal *brahmana* and is conscious that Dayu Telaga has two of the attributes which she herself once possessed, thought to be most important for this status – she is beautiful and also a talented dancer.

Dayu Telaga, however, has different aspirations. In fact, she wants to discard her *brahmana* status and has many reasons for doing so. She resents all the suffering that her mother has undergone, through living in a *geria*, and is angry at the unfounded gossip in the *geria* that her mother, following the death of her husband, had engaged

in a sexual relationship with her father-in-law (Rusmini 2000:122-3). Dayu Telaga rejects her *brahmana* status because she has seen much immorality among that caste, including adultery. In addition, she has learnt that life as a *brahmana* in the *geria* is made oppressive by the heavy responsibilities of *adat*, such as making daily offerings and being involved in other regular religious and cultural ceremonies. All these factors help destroy her respect for caste status and make her confident about her decision to marry a commoner who she loves, a painter who is also her dancing partner, Wayan Sasmitha.

Dayu Telaga's hypogamous marriage distresses both her mother and her mother-in-law. This highlights the fact that disapproval of intercaste marriage cuts across all castes. Her mother disapproves of Dayu Telaga's marriage because she wants her to marry a person with the same status. Her mother-in-law Luh Gumbreg's disagreement is based on two factors: she believes that the marriage will destroy the long and good hierarchical relationship between the two families, and there is also a superstition that a hypogamous marriage is *panes* (hot or dangerous) and will bring misfortune. This belief tragically becomes reality when Wayan Sasmitha dies suddenly from a heart attack in his painting studio (Rusmini 2000:121). In her state of unhappiness Luh Gumbreg insists that the *panes* nature of intercaste marriage is like this:

'I said many times that marriage with a *brahmana* woman would certainly bring misfortune. Now, my son is dead! Wayan would never understand this. This is not a fairy tale. This is the truth. But now it has happened there is nothing more I can say!' Luh Gumbreg beat her breast. Her eyes were fixed unhappily on Telaga.²⁶

The death of her husband leaves Dayu Telaga a widow with a daughter, Luh Sari, born on 30 September, which symbolically coincides with the date of the alleged communist coup in 1965. While Luh Sari's date of birth has no direct relationship to the tragic 1965 event,

²⁶ 'Berkali-kali *tiang* berkata, menikah dengan perempuan *Ida Ayu* pasti mendatangkan kesialan. Sekarang anakku mati! Wayan tidak pernah mau mengerti. Ini bukan cerita dongeng. Ini kebenaran. Kalau sudah begini jadinya aku harus bicara apa lagi!' Luh Gumbreg memukul dadanya. Menatap Telaga tidak senang. (2000:120.)

it can be interpreted as a metaphor for the lives of Dayu Telaga and Luh Sari being thrown into chaos, as Indonesia was. Parallelling her mother's experience, becoming a widow makes Dayu Telaga's life difficult, especially since her mother-in-law does not welcome her. As an 'outsider', she is blamed for all the family misfortunes. Dayu Telaga is then asked by her mother-in-law to do two things to prevent any further misfortune from blighting all their lives – to take spiritual leave from her *brahmana* ancestors and to perform *patiwangi* (Rusmini 2000:129). This story is set in the period from the 1960s onward, when the *patiwangi* ritual was no longer obligatory. Yet while it is not uncommon to still see *patiwangi* conducted in contemporary Bali, the way the author describes it helps to explain how the caste system is deeply rooted in *adat* or religious practices and demonstrates how these practices could not easily be abolished by formal government regulation.

After ten years of marriage and a series of misfortunes that has engulfed her family including the sudden death of her husband, Dayu Telaga returns for the first time to her *brahmana* place of birth. When she and her daughter Luh Sari arrive, her mother Jero Kenanga refuses to see them. She locks herself in her room and merely gives Dayu Telaga a *tusuk konde*, which she had received from her own mother when she married, by throwing it underneath the door. Jero Kenanga's action in passing the *tusuk konde* to Dayu Telaga is a symbolic acknowledgement of the daughter she has expelled for her determination to marry down. This passing of *tusuk konde* contrasts sharply with the original transfer, which happened on a happy occasion because Luh Sekar's mother was pleased to see her daughter marrying up. By contrast, the second one occurs in a depressing situation because Jero Kenanga is devastated to see Dayu Telaga marrying down. If Jero Kenanga had had other daughters, she might not have chosen to pass the *tusuk konde* to Dayu Telaga but to the daughter she loved most.

In the ceremony that marks the conclusion of the story, Dayu Telaga prays for the last time in the *brahmana* compound temple where the *patiwangi* ritual to release her from her caste is also held. Dayu Telaga allows her grandmother, the senior woman in the compound, to place a foot on her head to symbolize her transformation from *brahmana*

to commoner (Rusmini 2000:139). The act of having someone step on one's head is regarded as extremely insulting, but in this case Dayu Telaga accepts dishonour as a way of abandoning her caste and all its complexities and burdens. This novel expresses strong opposition to the caste system but at the same time it also confirms how closely this system is connected to *adat* practices. Those who want to abandon their caste status must follow the *adat* procedures that in fact perpetuate its existence, exposing the repetitive nature of these changes.

Oka Rusmini explores similar themes in some of her other works such as *Mendung di kuri gede* and *Putu menolong Tuhan*. The female characters in both of these stories are involved in intercaste marriage, and in the name of *adat* they too become the subjects of status discrimination from the members of their husband's families. The short story *Mendung di kuri gede* tells of a commoner woman, named Kendelan, who is made an object of humiliation by her sisters-in-law after marrying a *brahmana*. Although Kendelan was born of a mother with *brahmana* blood – her mother was a *brahmana* who had married someone of lower caste – and has the ability to perform all the tasks and duties related to *adat* that most *brahmana* women carry out, she can never truly be part of her new *brahmana* family. Like Jero Kenanga in *Tarian bumi*, Kendelan is accepted as a member of this *brahmana* family but not regarded as a real *brahmana* – that is, she is just a second-class *brahmana*. She is always the subject of status discrimination.

Putu menolong Tuhan shows a family in disarray over caste and the dangers of intercaste marriage. In this story, Dayu Ratih, who has married down, receives a bleak welcome from the women in her new family. She is accused of being a witch, of practising black magic and using spells (*guna-guna*), which together are considered to be the causes of the ongoing bad luck in their family. Dayu Ratih's daughter, Putu, understands the lack of harmony in the relationship between her mother and her grandmother and begins to hate her grandmother. Putu considers her grandmother an evil person hated by God and so, wishing to assist God, she takes justice into her own hands and pushes her grandmother into a well, where she is later found dead. This fatal incident involving an innocent little girl emphasizes the

strong superstition: that intercaste marriage, especially with a *brahmana* woman, is always *panes*.

The distress caused to women's lives as a result of intercaste marriage also appears as the subject matter of some of Aryantha Soethama's short stories. One of them is *Tembok puri*.²⁷ As in Oka Rusmini's novels and stories, the manipulation of *adat* in the name of caste, and ambivalence towards modernity becomes the source of problems in this story. *Tembok puri* describes a marriage between a *triwangsa* man with modern ideas, Ngurah Parwatha and a commoner, Kadek Sumerti. From the beginning, Ngurah Parwatha has explained to his prospective wife that nowadays living in a *puri* is not too different from life outside and that his family members are all modern people who like to watch satellite television, have laser discs, a refrigerator and speak in Indonesian, the national language.

There is no problem with the marriage itself, but one arises when Kadek Sumerti has to take part in a tooth-filing ceremony at her parents' home. Because marrying into a *brahmana* family has raised her status, she is only allowed to attend the ceremony on condition that her family provide her with a special platform, higher than that used by her brothers and sisters. Kadek Sumerti's parents reject this condition because they still consider their daughter to be of their status, particularly in the context of the tooth-filing ceremony, which is the responsibility of the birth family. Kadek Sumerti faces the dilemma of whether to follow the wishes of her husband or her parents, but she knows that taking either path will arouse opposition from the other party. Her husband threatens her with divorce if she obeys her parents' wishes. Finally, Kadek Sumerti decides not to participate in the ceremony, but comes to her parents' house just to watch. The pain that this conflict has caused is expressed as follows: 'Kadek Sumerti's eyes were full of tears, her breast was as though pressed between two pieces of iron as cold as ice, and her mind was flying far away behind the palace walls. Did they realize her

²⁷ 'The palace wall'. This story was first published in *Kompas* 3-12-1993. It was included in Aryantha Soethama's short story collection *Mandi api* (2006). For its English translation, see Lingard 1995:12-9.

heart was in agony, as though it had been sliced by a blade of split bamboo?'²⁸

The sad ending of this story provides a strong message about the discriminatory impacts of the caste system, something that modern Balinese writers oppose because they support the principles of equality and modernity. In another story titled *Bohong* (Lies, 1994), Aryantha Soethama uses an explicit rejection of discrimination based on caste status as his theme. Compared to the previous story, this one contains a clear, direct critique of the caste system and *adat* practices used to maintain the social hierarchy. *Bohong*²⁹ tells the story of Sagung Mirah, a distressed *triwangsa* bride, before her wedding ceremony with a *jaba* husband. Her father insists that unless a *patiwangi* offering takes place, he will not permit the wedding to proceed, while her father-in-law sees the request as a humiliation and therefore refuses to do it. To ensure the *patiwangi* is provided, Sagung Mirah's father sends his female servant to witness the ritual. To this witness, Sagung Mirah insists: 'My husband's family will not provide *patiwangi*. They do not want their self-respect to be belittled.'³⁰ As in the stories discussed above, here again, it is the bride rather than the groom who faces the difficulties in an intercaste marriage. During this mediated dispute between the two sets of parents, Sagung Mirah takes the side of her father-in-law and asks the witness to lie by saying that the *patiwangi* offering has been provided and that the wedding ceremony has proceeded smoothly. This story tries to explain that *patiwangi* is not obligatory and that *triwangsa* may manipulate it to protect their status and all their assumed caste privileges. In order to strengthen this point, the narrator creates an authoritative figure, a priest, who in fact does not ask at all about *patiwangi* during the wedding ritual. Unlike *Tarian bumi* where a long overdue *patiwangi*

²⁸ Mata Kadek Sumerti terus-menerus basah, dadanya bagai dihimpit dua bilah besi sedingin es, dan pikirannya menerawang jauh ke balik tembok puri. Adakah mereka tahu hatinya yang perih seperti diiris-iris sembilu? (Soethama 2006.) The English translation is taken, with minor revisions, from Lingard 1995:19.

²⁹ The story is included in Aryantha Soethama's short story collection *Mandi api* (2006:80-5).

³⁰ Keluarga suami tak akan menyediakan *patiwangi*. Mereka tak ingin martabat mereka direndahkan. (Soethama 2006:83.)

ritual is performed, in this story it is explicitly rejected with a combination of ridiculous lies and trustworthy arguments from the priest. But, the different ways in which Balinese writers deal with the issue of *patiwangi* should be seen as a reflection of the absence of uniformity in Balinese society in dealing with the practice of *adat*. What is certain is that their stories illustrate the inability of Balinese to detach themselves from *adat* and that that consequently hinders and thwarts their adoption of a modern identity.

The caste system and false identity

One important principle of the caste system is that status is defined by birth, with caste descending through the paternal line. The offspring of *brahmana* must have the same status as their parents, and similarly children of *jaba* parents will automatically be commoners. But, when children who were born out of wedlock are involved, identity becomes a complex question: should they be granted the status of the biological father, the mother or the nurturing family? Writers who tackle this aspect of caste are Putu Wijaya in the novel *Bila malam bertambah malam* (As night grows darker, 1971), Ngurah Parsua in the novel *Sembilu dalam taman* (Grief in the park, 1986) and Oka Rusmini in the short story *Sagra* (1998) and her novel *Gurat-gurat*.³¹ Although these three writers are *triwangsa*, they use their writing to promote the importance of equality and humanity. In their work, they approach caste status as either a false or an inconsequential way of defining identity. Their concern is not whether a true identity is necessary but rather, if caste status can be false, why should efforts be made to rigorously maintain it.

Bila malam bertambah malam tells the story of a hypocritical *triwangsa* woman who marries a man of the same rank while continuing a love affair with the commoner servant she has refused to marry because

³¹ 'Scratches', Rusmini 2003c. This novel was originally serialized in the *Bali Post* in 1996. After some revisions, including the names of characters, it was republished in serial form in the newspaper *Koran Tempo* in 2002, and then published as a book by Grasindo with the title *Kenanga* (Rusmini 2003). This analysis is based on the serial published by *Bali Post*.

of caste difference. The woman, Gusti Biang and her husband I Gusti Ketut Mantri, have a son called Ngurah. According to caste theory, Ngurah's status is *triwangsa*, the same as his parents. Towards the end of the novel, however, it is disclosed that Ngurah's father, Gusti Ketut, who was killed in the revolution, was in fact impotent. The question then arises – who is really Ngurah's biological father? Gusti Biang's servant and former lover, Wayan Tua, gives the answer directly to Ngurah.

'He [Gusti Ketut Mantri] had fifteen wives', Wayan continued, 'but that was only to cover up his impotence. When he had to perform his duties as a husband, I was the one who did most of that. But this was kept secret, until, until...', the old man said nervously, 'until y-y-you... were born, Ngurah, and considered him to be your real father. Why don't you ask your mother who your real father actually is?'³²

Living in the same house as a servant enables Wayan Tua and Gusti Biang, who actually still love each other, to establish a sexual relationship, which continues until after Gusti Ketut Mantri is killed during the revolution. Wayan Tua reveals that he himself shot Gusti Ketut Mantri because he spied for the Dutch and leaked plans to them, causing the deaths of dozens of members of the Balinese guerrilla movement. For Wayan Tua, killing Gusti Ketut serves the dual function of removing a traitor to the revolution, and reopening the path to his lover. The depiction of a *triwangsa* as a traitor and sexually powerless clearly demonstrates the author's intention of undermining the stereotypical image of the nobility of the upper caste. Comparisons can be made here with traditional literature, in which members of the *ksatria* caste were expected to combine military, political and sexual prowess.

Caste conflict occurs between Gusti Biang and her son Ngurah,

³² 'Dia memiliki lima belas orang istri', kata Wayan melanjutkan, 'tapi itu hanya untuk menutupi kewangduannya. Kalau dia harus melakukan tugasnya sebagai suami, tianglah yang sebahagian besar melakukannya. Tetapi itu tetap menjadi rahasia, sampai, sampai...', kata orang tua itu dengan gugup, 'sampai kkkk-ka-ka-ka lahir, Ngurah, dan menganggap dia sebagai Ayahmu yang sebenarnya. Coba tanyakan kepada Ibu Ngurah, siapa sebenarnya Ayah Ngurah yang sejati.' (Putu Wijaya 1971:103.)

particularly when Ngurah tells his mother that he is going to marry Nyoman Niti, Gusti Biang's maid. Portrayed as a stereotypical narrow-minded *triwangsa*, Gusti Biang rejects Ngurah's marriage plans. Like most upper-caste people who prefer endogamous marriage, Gusti Biang wants Ngurah to marry a woman of the same rank and has already chosen someone for him. As an educated person, Ngurah, who has studied in Yogyakarta for five years, defends his freedom to choose and affirms that he will marry his girlfriend, regardless of her rank. Once again the author uses leaving Bali as a means of resolving an argument over caste differences, a device used in several stories discussed above. Gusti Biang, who is depicted as an arrogant *triwangsa*, threatens her son: 'If you really want that commoner woman to satisfy your lust, well, it's up to you. You can keep her as your concubine. You can do whatever you like to her, because I have looked after her since she was a little girl. But marry her in a ceremony – you can't do that!'³³ At this point, the dispute between Gusti Biang and her son can be reduced to the kind of intergenerational conflict already discussed. But in *Bila malam bertambah malam* being old does not necessarily equate with being conservative. At the height of the argument, the author imposes an authorial voice through the figure of Wayan Tua (Tua literally means 'old' or 'adult'). He urges Gusti Biang to forget her concerns about caste and permit Ngurah to marry. He says: 'We have already suffered enough because of caste' and reminds her that 'now the world has changed'. Finally, Gusti Biang accepts Wayan Tua's reasoning and gives permission for Ngurah to marry Nyoman Niti, but the novel ends without the marriage having taken place. It is not the aim of the novel to go further and explore the consequences of intercaste marriage, but to make the point that caste status is illusory and irrelevant to the modern world.

In Ngurah Parsua's novel *Sembilu dalam taman* (1986), the fate of a child born outside of marriage is the source of caste conflict between a *triwangsa* father and his son. The father prevents his son, Gusti Made

³³ Kalau kau ingin juga kepada perempuan *sudra* itu karena nafsumu, itu terserahlah. Kau boleh memeliharanya sebagai selir. Kau boleh berbuat sesukamu terhadap dia, sebab aku telah memeliharanya sejak kecil. Tetapi untuk mengawininya dengan upacara, itu tidak bisa! (Putu Wijaya 1971:83).

Lodra, from adopting his biological child born to a commoner. Gusti Lodra is an anthropology student who meets and falls in love with Suastini while doing fieldwork in her village in North Bali. Suastini becomes pregnant by him, but he is unable to marry her because he has to continue his studies in Jakarta, another example of the way youth and modern education are used by Balinese writers to justify opposition to caste and other irrelevant traditional values in recent times. In Balinese society it is unacceptable for a woman to have a baby without a husband, so an arrangement is made for Otar, a villager whose life Lodra has saved in a fight, to marry Suastini. After completing his studies, Lodra visits the couple and expresses his willingness to adopt the child who will be born to Suastini. The couple agrees, but Lodra's commitment is strongly rejected by his father: "Don't be crazy. The community here will laugh when they see what you're doing. We are descendants of real *ksatria*. Our ancestors were once great kings. Don't disgrace them with this", his father said sternly.³⁴ Using exactly the same line of argument, Lodra counters his father: "But then wouldn't it mean that I have sinned by abandoning my ancestors, whose spirit lives in the child? So, will our ancestors return to life in a commoner?" Lodra asked.³⁵ The birth does not take place until the end of the story and the matter of the child's status remains unresolved. In the meantime, the disagreement between Lodra and his parents touches on several aspects of caste identity and descent. In the conflict, the father is portrayed as belonging to an old-fashioned generation, proud of his caste status but lacking humanity, while the son is shown as a young educated person who believes that *adat* should be abolished because it violates humanity.

Humanity is linked to the traits of good personality, behaviour and *budi* (character), which Lodra considers more important than birth or descent in defining status. This emphasis on *budi* in *Sembilu dalam taman* indicates that the ideas disseminated by *Surya Kanta*

³⁴ 'Jangan gila! Masyarakat di sini akan tertawa melihat perbuatan itu. Kita adalah keturunan *ksatria* asli. Leluhur kita pernah menjadi raja-raja besar. Jangan nodai dengan perbuatan itu,' kata ayahnya keras. (Parsua 1986:129-30.)

³⁵ 'Bukankah berarti saya telah berdosa menelantarkan leluhur saya yang menjiwai anak itu. Jadi, leluhur kita akan lahir sebagai seorang sudra?' tanya Lodra. (Parsua 1986:129.)

when they opposed the caste system in the 1920s continued to be relevant and unresolved in the 1980s. In both Ngurah Parsua's and Putu Wijaya's novels, the rejection of status defined by birth or descent is explained through interesting examples of children born from adulterous relationships.

A more complex view of the caste identity of a child born out of wedlock and her relationship with her biological parents is presented in two works of Oka Rusmini, *Gurat-gurat* and *Sagra*. While the subject matter of these works is complex, this intricacy is also partly a result of the generally increased sophistication of fiction writing in Indonesian in the 1990s. In the novel *Gurat-gurat*, Ida Ayu Jingga, a *brahmana* woman, engages in an unusual relationship with her maid and daughter, Intan, and her former lover, a *brahmana* doctor, Ida Bagus Palguna. Dayu Jingga and Palguna love each other but decide not to marry. Instead, Dayu Jingga's family arranges a marriage between Palguna and Dayu Jingga's sister, Dayu Bulan. Dayu Jingga remains unmarried and develops a career as a university lecturer while continuing her relationship with Palguna. While she is in Yogya undertaking postgraduate study, Dayu Jingga gives birth to a baby fathered by Palguna and asks a local family to look after her. It is socially unacceptable for a woman to give birth without a husband in Bali and when that happens it causes great shame to her family. In this novel, the author has deliberately chosen a place outside Bali for Dayu Jingga to give birth secretly so that her family and community in Bali hardly know about it. Moreover, it makes it possible for Dayu Jingga to ignore caste principles; for example, she does not add an appropriate caste title to her daughter's name, Intan. After some years, she employs her daughter, as her maid. Intan does not know the truth about her birth, but feels that Dayu Jingga loves her as a real mother would.

The relationship between the 'employer' Dayu Jingga and 'the orphan maid' Intan provides opportunities for Intan to search for her identity. Dayu Jingga tries to reveal her relationship to Intan gradually and carefully in a way that avoids hurting either her own feelings or Intan's. In reality, Intan has commoner status and never imagines having *brahmana* parents. Nevertheless, despite being a commoner, Intan possesses all the presumed *brahmana* character traits – she is

beautiful, wise and bright. Psychologically and physically, Intan is depicted as a true *brahmana*, but socially, her caste is *jaba*. The process of achieving her 'true' caste, by becoming a *brahmana* woman, is very complicated. When Dayu Jingga gives Intan a *tusuk konde*, which implies that she is indirectly acknowledging her daughter, and that Intan's status is equal to her own, Intan does not take this to mean that Dayu Jingga is her biological mother – this realization only comes at the end of the story. In this story, as in *Tarian bumi*, Oka Rusmini again interestingly uses the motif of passing on a *tusuk konde* to emphasize the special relationship between mother and daughter.

Oka Rusmini's *Sagra* highlights even more detailed and alarming images of the *brahmana* attitude toward extramarital affairs than those that occur in her other works or in those by Putu Wijaya and Ngurah Parsua. As a woman, Oka Rusmini offers a female insider's view of the problem. *Sagra* describes a situation in which a *brahmana* couple, Ida Bagus Baskara and Ida Ayu Pidada, and a commoner couple, Jegog and Sewir, exchange partners. The story is told from the point of view of Sagra, the daughter of Jegog and Sewir. Sagra has a similar life history to Intan, surrounded by identity mysteries that she wants to solve. Although giving an important emphasis to the universal theme of life as a great mystery or puzzle,³⁶ both works present an image of *triwangsa* behaviour as arrogant and selfish throughout the stories.

As the story unfolds, Sagra reveals that her 'official' father and mother – Jegog and Sewir – have each been involved sexually with the *brahmana* husband and wife, Baskara and Dayu Pidada. Sagra was born as a result of the affair between Baskara and Sewir, who works as a maid in Dayu Pidada's *geria*, while Dayu Pidada and Jegog have produced a daughter, Ida Ayu Cemeti. Sagra must have *brahmana* blood because her biological father is a *brahmana*, while in contrast, Cemeti's *brahmana* status is questionable because despite being born

³⁶ In *Sagra*, a character says to Sagra that 'Sagra, hidup ini adalah tumpukan rahasia. Bila kau mampu memecahkan rahasia itu, bukan hidup lagi namanya! (Sagra, this life is a great mystery. If you could overcome that mystery, it is no longer called a life) (Rusmini 2001). In *Gurat-gurat* or *Kenanga*, two of the main characters say: 'Rasanya hidup ini seperti teka-teki yang tak ada habisnya [...] / 'Dan kita bagiannya'. (Rusmini 2003a:292.) ('This life feels like a never ending puzzle[...] / 'And we are part of it.')

from a *brahmana* mother, her biological father is a commoner. In a revealing statement, Dayu Pidada confesses that she has 'anointed her daughter with fake nobility'.³⁷ She also confesses that she has lied to her family members, and that her marriage to a *brahmana* man (Ida Bagus Baskara) was simply a ruse to enable her baby to have a *brahmana* title. Both male characters, Baskara and Jegog, die mysteriously as if they have been cursed for what they have done. This is another example of the belief in *panes*. In a reflective mood, Dayu Pidada acknowledges the secret sexual affairs between herself and Jegog and between her husband and Sewir in the following declaration:

'I have paid for all your misfortune, Jegog. Luh Sagra, the girl who was born from an affair between your wife and my husband, is with me now. I knew she was the one who was actually a noble woman. Our daughter, Cemeti has died, Jegog.'³⁸

Here Dayu Pidada makes it clear that she is aware of the false caste identities of both Sagra, who should be a *brahmana*, and Cemeti, who is in fact a commoner. However nothing at all will change because she keeps these matters secret to protect the dignity of her own status and that of her extended family members. Dayu Pidada is a yet another modern, educated person who has studied business in Boston and made business trips to places including Japan, France, Germany and America. But unlike the other educated characters discussed above who oppose caste hierarchy, Dayu Pidada's attitude to caste status is very traditional. Not wanting to hurt her family by marrying the commoner lover who has made her pregnant, she instead marries a *brahmana* man chosen for her by her mother. By marrying a *brahmana*, she ensures her child will have the same status as her husband. In the stories already discussed, central characters, including Ngurah in *Bila malam bertambah malam*, the unnamed son of Gusti Lodra in *Sembilu dalam taman* and Sagra and Dayu Sewir in *Sagra*, all have false caste identities. However, these stories do not establish that status should rightfully be allotted according to birth;

³⁷ Telah mengoleskan kebangsawanan palsu. (Rusmini 2001:196-7.)

³⁸ Sudah kubayar seluruh kesialanmu, Jegog. Luh Sagra, anak hasil hubungan gelap istrimu, Luh Sewir, dengan suamiku, sekarang bersamaku. Kutahu dialah yang sesungguhnya seorang bangsawan. Anak kita Cemeti telah mati, Jegog. (Rusmini 2001:197.)

they show instead that the seemingly inviolable caste system can, in fact, always be manipulated. The basic principles of the caste system are made to look ridiculous in these stories.

Another story that makes a mockery of the principles of the caste system is Aryantha Soethama's *Sekarang dia bangsawan* (He is an aristocrat now, 1996). It tells the story of a poor *jaba* farmer who, after becoming a successful businessman in the tourism industry, raises his rank to *triwangsa*. He changes his name from I Ketut Linggih by adding an appropriate *triwangsa* title and becomes Gusti Agung Linggih. His splendid house is no longer called a 'house', but a *puri* or palace. Through a character who is one of Linggih's employees, the narrator shows that Linggih can lift his status to whatever level he wishes because he is rich. In his study on status mobility in Bali, Leo Howe (1995) mentions wealth as one of the motivating factors, and this story shows caste status as something that can be purchased, not an identity ascribed by birth. *Sekarang dia bangsawan*, along with the stories discussed previously, ridicules and treats with cynicism the rigid principle of caste-based identity. Rather than offer solutions which could promote equality, Balinese writers simply generate negative depictions of the caste system which illustrate how Balinese struggle with traditional concepts of identity.

Caste conflict and issues of gender

This analysis highlights the dominant role allocated to female characters in the conflicts arising from intercaste marriage. In intercaste marriages, women suffer more than men, regardless of their caste status. This relates to the fact that women are always required to reconfigure their identities in intercaste marriages, while the identity of men is not threatened or altered. Women with upper-caste status, for example, risk being disowned by their parents or made unwelcome by members of their husbands' families. The mothers-in-law of Dayu Telaga in *Tarian bumi* and Dayu Ratih in *Putu menolong Tuhan* even accuse them of being agents of misfortune. Similarly, commoners who marry up face discrimination as second-class *triwangsa* from members of their husbands' families and also face dilemmas when

they have to attend religious rituals or traditional ceremonies in their original homes because they are prohibited from mixing with their own family members. Jero Kenanga in *Tarian bumi* is not allowed to pray in her family temple, meaning that her spiritual contact with her ancestors is broken. Likewise, Kadek Sumerti fails to participate in an overdue tooth-filing ceremony, an essential element of the life cycle rituals for Balinese, which should be carried out before marriage. The caste system strongly underpins gender inequality and opposition to this is what the writers want to highlight through the female characters in their stories.

As opposed to the generally accepted images of Balinese women as powerless and submissive, in these stories the women whose lives are rendered miserable because of the restrictions and discrimination imposed on them by caste are portrayed as assertive figures. Their criticism of the unfairness of the caste system is depicted as brave, while male characters support them in the background. In *Kesetiaan perempuan*, *Mega hitam pulau khayangan*, *Hunus* and *Tarian bumi* upper-caste women strongly criticize the suffering that they have had to endure because of the negative impact of the caste system on their lives, using different arguments such as status discrimination, gender inequality, their lack of freedom and the burden of *adat*. Because they have their own aspirations as young, educated people expecting a spirit of freedom, these women leave behind their caste status with no regret and are ready to face any consequential risks. Perhaps a major reason that Balinese writers frequently articulate their anti-caste feelings through female characters is that women are the major victims of caste discrimination and therefore it is more sensible and convincing for them to voice opposition to it, but there are also examples where caste differences are well displayed through the sufferings of male characters.

Female characters are also important because they are the bearers of the spirit of modernity in that they are depicted as educated people who have a strong preference for modernity, equality and freedom. Agung Ari in *Hunus* and Dayu Sumartini in *Mega hitam pulau khayangan* are both university students who continue their education in Jakarta. Dayu Jingga in *Gurat-gurat* and Dayu Ratih in *Putu menolong Tuhan* are lecturers. Their educated background allows

them to oppose traditional values and to support their arguments with discourses on modernity. Dayu Sumartini uses the metaphor of equating the caste system to a badly fitting traditional costume, implying the need to discard a way of life which is no longer relevant. Dayu Telaga protests radically that she never expected to be born a *brahmana* and rejects the identity allotted to her at birth, while Dayu Sumartini makes a similar complaint and displays a preference for being a commoner:

'Why did I have to be born as *Ida Ayu* Ketut Sumartini? Why not just as Ketut Sumartini? Why must I bear the title *Ida Ayu*? Why?'³⁹

Gung Ari in *Hunus* expresses her dismay at caste restrictions by drawing on the figure of the Indonesian feminist, Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) who fought for female emancipation but sadly, finally accepted an arranged marriage organized by her parents. Gung Ari reflects:

'Kartini had long gone, but have I become her successor? Indeed I have been given education to tertiary level and stayed in the capital city, but I have never enjoyed the freedom I expected.'⁴⁰

While Kartini lived long ago, she is still regularly used as a point of reference, although she is sometimes parodied rather than used in a positive context, as in this story and others discussed in Chapter VI. Like other female characters whose wish to marry down has been opposed, Gung Ari also makes her own decision. She takes advantage of the modern options available, which are quite different from the late nineteenth-century values Kartini faced, and ignores her parents' desire for her to marry a person of the same caste. She chooses elopement instead, abandoning her caste with pride, as a young modern educated woman. Her decisive attitudes and the courage she shares with other female characters in the stories are examples of progressive ideas on the long path of struggle to social and gender equality within Balinese culture.

³⁹ Mengapa aku harus lahir sebagai *Ida Ayu* Ketut Sumartini? Mengapa tidak sebagai Ketut Sumartini saja? Mengapa harus pakai *Ida Ayu*? Mengapa? (See Sukanta 1978.)

⁴⁰ Kartini telah lama pergi, tetapi, apakah aku sudah menjadi penerusnya? Memang aku telah disekolahkan sampai ke perguruan tinggi, tinggal di ibu kota, tetapi aku tidak pernah menikmati kebebasan yang kuhendaki. (Basuki 1994:180)

As noted in Chapter III, the struggle against the caste system began as early as the 1920s and continues until the present. Endeavours to remove the caste system have always been matched by those fighting to maintain it. Amidst strong attacks on the caste system and the social hierarchy, there has been one unusual phenomenon: namely that of both *jaba* and *triwangsa* wishing to raise their status. In his study on this phenomenon, Howe (1995:41) has aptly argued that 'the preoccupation with status and hierarchy was and is in no sense limited to the *triwangsa*, but is instead pervasive throughout all levels of Balinese society'. Social hierarchy is universal and a part of every society. In Bali, however, it is predominantly defined by, among all other factors, the caste system. The caste system and the social inequality that it perpetuates continue to be a site of status struggle and symbolize the ambivalence of contemporary Bali. Many social conflicts in Bali that were exposed by the local mass media have actually been triggered by caste difference (P. Wirata 2007). These social conflicts are often named caste conflict. The literary works discussed here can be seen as part of the ongoing phenomena of caste conflicts and status inequality.

The stories are written by writers from both *triwangsa* and *jaba* backgrounds. Their personal caste status, however, really does not seem to determine the position they take against the caste system. Putu Wijaya, Ngurah Parsua and Oka Rusmini are all *triwangsa*, but along with their *jaba* counterparts such as Rasta Sindhu, Putu Oka Sukata, and Aryantha Soethama, they overtly criticize the caste system. Instead of showing a preference for the caste-based social hierarchy in which they as *triwangsa* are placed at a higher level, these upper-caste writers, through their works, instead support the idea of social equality and propose the removal of the caste system. The works of upper-caste writers consistently describe how the caste system discriminates between human beings at birth and show that it works against a state of equality and modernity. By continuously showing the dark side of the caste system Balinese writers, regardless of their rank, demonstrate antipathy to it. Instead of exhibiting pride in their traditional status and the *adat* practices that perpetuate it, Balinese writers show a strong preference for the humanity and equality that make up a modern identity.

CHAPTER VI

Female identity From repression to resistance

The role of women and issues relating to women's sexual identity are recurrent themes in Indonesian literature emanating from Bali.¹ In Chapter V the centrality of women's roles in Balinese social relationships that are narrowly defined in caste terms was discussed. While issues relating to caste generally enable the construction of female identity in traditional terms and in a domestic context, a variety of other, more modern models of female identity in public contexts are allocated to women in Balinese society and literature. They are portrayed as rape victims, slave traders, prostitutes, pre-marital sexual partners, social and political activists, and symbols of oppression.

There is a significant change in the way female characters are depicted in Indonesian literature from Bali throughout the twentieth century. With few exceptions, in works from the colonial and national revolution periods most female characters are depicted as being powerless under a male dominated social and cultural hegemony, whereas in works from the late New Order and reformation periods they fearlessly challenge this oppression. The shift in the representation of women from repression to resistance challenges the widely accepted image of Balinese women as being subservient and sexualized objects and also proposes a new way of defining Balinese female identity. In the introduction to a special issue of *Rima* devoted to women writers and women's issues in recent Indonesian literature,

¹ For a detailed bibliography of short stories and plays discussed in this chapter, see Appendix F.

Tineke Hellwig and Michael Bodden (2007:5) summarize a new trend in women's writing that began to question gender relations within New Order Indonesian society. They refer to the work of writers such as Ayu Utami, Ratna Sarumpaet and Djenar Maesa Ayu that explicitly articulates women's issues and rights in terms of sexual politics and gender relations from a female perspective. Works by Balinese women writers are in line with this national trend.

This chapter draws on works from all genres including prose, plays and poetry from the late colonial to the reformation periods. The long time span covered in this chapter means that the works traverse several generations of writers and a variety of social and political contexts (See Table 8 and Table 9). It is noteworthy that male authors focus more on female protagonists than on male characters. There were few women authors from the colonial and national revolution periods and they were more concerned with exhorting female characters to become active than with creating dramatic tension in their work. The female characters in works by men are more fully developed than those created by women writers. It is not until the 1990s that female authors start to show a revived interest in women's issues, and to create female characters of greater complexity in their works. Examination of whether the gender of the author affects the representation of female identity is given in the last section of this chapter.

Table 8. Works that focus on the role of women and women's issues

No.	Title	Genre	Date	Writer	Role of female characters
1	Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang (Ni Rawit, matchmaker and slavetrader)	novel	1935	Panji Tisna	A woman as matchmaker and slave trader who sometimes engages in sex outside of marriage as a way to make money

No.	Title	Genre	Date	Writer	Role of female characters
2	Sukreni Gadis Bali (Sukreni, a Balinese girl)	novel	1936	Panji Tisna	A young woman is a victim of rape in which an older woman plays a complicit role
3	O putriku (O, my sisters)	poem	1937	Wayan Sami*	Encourages women to pursue progress
4	Kurban (Victim)	short story	1938	Bhadrapada	A young woman receives a modern education but is still proud of her Balinese identity
5	Seruan (An appeal)	poem	1938	Ni Tjatri *	A call for women to be educated
6	Si Lin Merah, bagi air mata Kartini (Miss Red Ribbon, for the tears of Kartini)	short story	1953	Made Kirtya	A wife commits herself to a life of prostitution after being sold by her husband
7	Ratni gadis pesakitan (Ratni, convict girl)	short story	1954	Ngurah Oka	A woman has to appear in court because she killed a man who was going to rape her
8	Di sarang pelacuran (In a brothel)	short story	1955	Ngurah Oka	A prostitute is helped to return to a normal life by a man
9	Tangan sebelah (Divided hand)	short story	1964	Oka Sukanta	A love triangle involving two men and one woman who are active in the struggle for national independence

No.	Title	Genre	Date	Writer	Role of female characters
10	Cintanya untuk api repolusi (Her love is for the fire of revolution)	short story	1966	IGB Arthanegara	A young woman is active in a revolutionary movement but gives this up to enter a marriage arranged by her parents
11	Lisa	short story	1967	Wienarty Raken *	A young woman has to choose between an acting career and a jealous boyfriend
12	Tajen (Gambling on cockfighting)	short story	1971	Faisal Baraas	A wife is sold by her gambler husband
13	Pulau penyu (Turtle Island)	play	1984	Aryantha Soethama	Young village women are sold as sexual objects by a procurer; set against tourism development
14	Namaku Dirah (My name is Dirah)	poem	1997	Cok Sawitri*	A widow who is a witch takes revenge on the ruler who oppressed her
15	Api Sita (The fire of Sita)	short story	1999	Oka Rusmini*	A young woman kills the boyfriend who turned her into a comfort woman
16	Pesta Tubuh (Body party)	short story	1999	Oka Rusmini*	Young village girls are forced to be comfort women by the Japanese army
17	Rahim (Womb)	short story	2000	Cok Sawitri*	A woman is accused of supporting anti-government movements by having a hysterectomy

No.	Title	Genre	Date	Writer	Role of female characters
18	Perempuan dari awan (A woman from the clouds)	poem	1999	Alit S. Rini*	A woman who is a symbol of oppressed people receives social and political support
19	Perempuan yang jadi lambang (A symbolic woman)	poem	2000	Alit S. Rini*	A woman who symbolises people's suffering struggles for freedom of expression
20	Karena aku perempuan Bali (Because I'm a Balinese woman)	poem	2000	Alit S. Rini*	Images of the suffering of Balinese women

* Female writer

Gender issues in public discourse

Gender equality and women's issues have become one of the major topics in Indonesian public discourse (Suryakusuma 1996). Factors influencing this attention include the widespread impact of feminist ideas from around the world, the collapse of the centralist and authoritarian New Order regime, and the re-birth of Indonesian democracy, which has actively promoted the participation of women in political life.² Megawati Sukarnoputri was elected as the first female Indonesian president in 2001 to fill the remainder of the term of the impeached President Abdurrahman Wahid. Her time in power ended in 2004, but it brought about a new focus and sense of hope to the discourse on gender equality in the domain of politics (Robinson and Bessell 2002). The allocation of a quota of 30% of parliamentary seats for female representatives at all levels of government, designed to diminish the previous domination by men, was another significant factor that promised new prospects of making gender equality a

² Sen 2002a, 2002b; Budianta 2002; Creese 2004b.

reality. Although the clause validating this quota was annulled from the election law a few months before the 2009 general election to equalize the chances of men and women candidates, by then it had in fact increased the participation of women in the political process as candidates for local, regional and central parliaments.

In Bali, as elsewhere in Indonesia, the traditional patriarchal culture which treated women as lower-class citizens compared to men and assigned them domestic rather than public roles has always been very strong but it did not go totally unchallenged. This is exemplified by the attention and effort intellectuals have shown periodically in their attempts to improve women's rights and assert their roles in society. The nature of the public discourse differs through time, depending on the socio-political situation. Topics have varied from the importance of education for women, considered crucial during the colonial period, to a recent heated discussion about the discriminatory position of Balinese women in relation to local tradition or *adat*.

The first significant step towards the education of women in Bali was the establishment of a school for girls in Singaraja in 1923, almost half a century after the Dutch had opened the first modern school there in 1874 (Sutedja-Liem 2003:81). There had been strong social pressures discouraging female students from attending school, as it was feared that their ability to execute their primary domestic role might be impaired, while no such impediment was placed in the way of men wishing to pursue a public career. The opening of a school for girls was indeed progressive and although it was only open for about three years (1923-1926), the level of support for it indicated that significant community interest in educating girls existed (Parker 2001:58-9). This interest continued to develop during the 1930s, when Balinese women activists, with strong support from their male counterparts, began to encourage girls to undertake modern education. Women who were active in this movement established their own organizations such as Putri Bali Sadar in 1936.

Most leaders and members of Putri Bali Sadar came from the first generation of Balinese women who graduated from Dutch schools in Blitar, East Java (Putra 2007:21-4). In 1931, the Dutch sent 25 girls from Bali and Lombok to Blitar, where they met girls from

other Indonesian islands such as Kalimantan and Madura. After finishing their studies in Blitar, they returned to Bali and most of them became school teachers (Parker 2000; Vickers 2005:82). As they spoke Dutch they must have had access to, and read, books on education and women's issues. They were profoundly influenced in both thought and action by the pioneer Indonesian feminist Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) who had struggled for women to be equal to men particularly in regard to education. Dewi Poernamasasih, for example, in her article in *Djatajoe* (1938) entitled 'Majulah putri Bali' (Go forward, young Balinese girls), quoted Kartini's thoughts in Dutch saying that education was essential for women because the future of children, which equated to the future of the nation, depended on them.

Putri Bali Sadar's members did not only talk about women's issues and their rights but also took concrete steps to help Balinese women receive education. They co-operated with other organizations such as the Perkumpulan Guru-Guru Denpasar (Denpasar Teachers Association) by providing extra basic reading course materials for literacy programs. Five hundred illiterate people, mainly women, were helped to achieve literacy in one four-month period in 1938 (Indra 1938). In the following year, 1939, with support from the Dutch government, women activists were able to open a school for girls in Denpasar.³ This can be seen as a reinstatement of the girl's school operated briefly in Singaraja in the previous decade.

Besides education, issues relating to marriage, particularly polygamy, became important concerns for Balinese women during the late colonial period (Parker 2001:71). A striking illustration of the extent of this practice can be seen in the 1930 census, which shows that 38% of Balinese men practised polygamy (Panetja 1937). Ironically, according to Panetja, most of the men who had more than one wife were educated people. The leader of Putri Bali Sadar, I Gusti Ayu Rapeg opposed the practice of polygamy and supported the promulgation of the 1937 marriage ordinance because it prevented men from having more than one wife (Parker 2001:66; Vickers

³ The opening ceremony of the school for girls is recorded in the traditional literary poem *Gaguritan mlaspas sekolah putri Denpasar*.

2005:83). Members of Putri Bali Sadar also called on the government to stop using photos of bare-breasted women for promoting tourism. Thus, like women in Java and Sumatra in the late colonial period (Hatley and Blackburn 2000:45-65), Balinese women of the 1930s were active in redefining their household, marriage, workplace and public space roles according to new ideas of modernity.

After independence, particularly during the 1950s, there was a considerable change in tone from curiosity about modernity to suspicion of it in the Balinese media's treatment of women's issues. While the importance of education for both male and female teenagers was still emphasized, the issue of a *krisis moral* (moral crisis) blamed on a modern lifestyle and value system, overshadowed this. The term 'moral crisis' referred particularly to the growing problem of unwanted pregnancies among teenage schoolgirls (Nadhyana 1954). One female writer, Elok Setiti, reflected public feeling that this increasing number of teenage pregnancies resulted from girls being able to associate freely with males (*pergaulan bebas*) while not under parental control (Setiti 1954). This problem and others were blamed on negative cultural influences from imported factors: Western films, Western values and the 'modern' lifestyle.

Schools were also criticized for their failure to prevent students from being excessively influenced by this modern lifestyle. This concern was voiced by Dewata (1954:2) in an article entitled 'Surat tak bersampul, dari seorang ayah' (An open letter, from a father) in *Damai*. Dewata discusses parental concern over the growing number of teenage girls who become pregnant unintentionally and subsequently marry before finishing their education and without telling their parents. Girls or women are always blamed for their failure to understand modernity properly (Oka 1953:7-9), while no such criticism is directed at men. Girls are assumed to have become sexually irresponsible if they break traditional taboos or become too modern and westernized. In the twenty-first century this is still a relevant issue in contemporary public discourse (Bellows 2003). While teenage girls were the focus in the 1950s, these images projected by local periodicals should not be taken as representative of all images of women at that time.

During the early years of independence, Balinese women also

played important roles in the revolutionary and nationalist movements (Hardi 1983:104-5). They had first been exposed to ideas of nationalist sentiment when they went to Blitar to study (Vickers 2005:81-2). Some women like I Gusti Ayu Rapeg (former leader of Putri Bali Sadar) were active in politically-affiliated women's organizations like Wanita Marhaenis (Marhaenist Women) associated with the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) and Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Nasional Indonesia, The Indonesian National Women's Movement) associated with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (Dwyer 2004). Nyonya Rai Puger, the wife of the leader of the PKI Bali regional branch, I Gde Puger, was the leader of the Bali branch of Gerwani. In the 1950s there were three women among the 41 members of the Bali regional parliament (Merta 1953). Although they were appointed, not elected as representatives of political parties, this was nevertheless a significant step forward for Balinese women in politics.

With the development of tourism in Bali during the New Order, increasing numbers of women entered the workforce in jobs either directly or indirectly linked to that industry. However, the intensity of ritual activity in Bali amplifies the difficulties Balinese women face in performing multiple roles. Ayami Nakatani's (1999) study of female weavers in a village in East Bali, where fewer men have jobs in tourism or in government offices, shows that women still have to give priority to ritual and household related activities before going to work to generate the income that is needed to fund these traditional responsibilities. But 'the relative autonomy of women in economic activity secures women nothing like equality in the political and ritual spheres of action' (Miller and Branson 1989:110).

The unfairness of Balinese *hukum adat* (customary law) to women, particularly regarding family inheritance rights, is another issue debated in contemporary Bali. This issue was discussed during a seminar in Denpasar in April 2002, which was held in conjunction with the commemoration of Kartini Day (21 April). This seminar received wide coverage both locally and nationally because a discussion on the violation of the rights of women in the context of the family that was included in the seminar was considered rather controversial.⁴ Unlike

⁴ See Ole 2002; ISW 2002; Ruscitadewi 2002; Putra 2002.

men, women are not entitled to any of the family property such as *sawah* (rice fields) and houses. The reason usually put forward for this is that men will stay in the family home and take responsibility for the social, cultural and religious obligations of the family while women will move away after marriage. However, this lack of entitlement also applies to women who are not married or who are forced to return to their natal homes because of divorce. Customary law disempowers women within the family while also treating them separately from men. An appeal in the seminar to provide women with the right to inherit had no impact on customary law, but some open-minded parents usually make private arrangements to ensure that their daughters receive some benefit.

Although discrimination under *adat* dominates contemporary public debate, emphasis on the importance of education for women continues.⁵ The tone is different from debates in the colonial period where the focus was on raising the levels of women's literacy and domestic skills. In recent years, it has moved to the importance of intellectual development and the understanding of Hindu philosophy. The reason for this, as argued by Alit S. Rini, is that women are taking more responsibility than men for performing most rituals and other religious practices.⁶ Even though they carry out most of the ritual duties, women's full participation in decision-making continues to be restricted (Parker 2003; Creese 2004b), which illustrates the dominance of the culture of patriarchy in Balinese society. The discussion below illustrates how various issues relating to Balinese women are reflected in Indonesian literature from Bali over time.

The representation of women as sexual objects

One recurrent aspect of the treatment of female identity in all periods of Balinese literature is the representation of women as a site for the discussion of sexual politics. They are shown in a range of roles which involve their exploitation as sexual objects, with their responses to

⁵ Rini 2000a, 2000b; Suryani 2000, 2001.

⁶ Rini 2000b.

these situations varying between powerlessness and aggressive resistance. Writing from both male and female authors tends to use stereotypical women in these roles.

The earliest work to depict a woman as a rape victim is Panji Tisna's classic 1936 novel *Sukreni gadis Bali*, in which the female protagonist, Sukreni, is the victim. When translating it into English, George Quinn inappropriately changed the novel's title to *The rape of Sukreni* (1998). The novel concerns much more than just a rape, leading to the suspicion that this new title was designed for marketing purposes. Although the story was written in the mid-1930s, during a period of emerging consciousness about the importance of education for women and of gender equality among Balinese intellectuals, of whom Panji Tisna was one, he seems to have preferred to avoid the issues being debated by his contemporaries in local journals such as *Surya Kanta* and *Djatajoe*. His novel reinforces traditional images of Balinese women being powerless either as sexual objects or submissive figures in a male-dominated cultural system.

Sukreni gadis Bali is set in the late colonial period and describes the tragic life of a young Balinese woman, Sukreni, who is raped by Gusti Made Tusan, the local head of police in the colonial bureaucratic structure. Besides Sukreni, the other significant female character of the novel is Men Negara, the owner of a *warung* (food stall) who uses her beautiful daughter, Ni Negari, to attract customers. She also tries to win the heart of Gusti Tusan, by promising him Negari in marriage. By doing so, Men Negara succeeds in influencing the corrupt policeman both to spend his money in her *warung*, and also to protect her business against competition from other nearby *warungs*. He suspends a case of slaying a pig without a permit against Men Negara, so that it does not proceed to court.

The collusion between Men Negara and Gusti Tusan comes to a climax when they concoct a conspiracy for him to rape Sukreni, a beautiful young girl from East Bali who is staying overnight in Men Negara's hut, located next to the *warung*. Sukreni is on her way to meet the man she loves, Ida Gde Swamba, who has gone to Surabaya. Men Negara's motive for her involvement in this action, which will destroy Sukreni's life, is revealed the day after the rape, when she and the police chief share their pleasure:

‘Thanks for the help’, he said to Men Negara. ‘It wasn’t easy, but... in the end I got my way. I’ll be back to pay you tomorrow.’
Men Negara could only grin. The girl had been defiled. Who would ever want her now? And her daughter was still a virgin, so there was no longer any competition. Hi, hi, hi!⁷

Although Men Negara has particular goals in the conspiracy, namely protecting her daughter Negari and hence her business, she is actually acting to serve the interests of the police officer, Gusti Tusan. The novel depends for some of its dramatic effect on the characters’ multiple identity changes, which have occurred because of re-marriage. Because Sukreni was formerly called Widi, Men Negara, formerly known as Men Widi, does not realize that Sukreni is actually her eldest daughter by her first husband, from whom she is separated.⁸ She does not become aware of this until the end of the story but the narrator describes her as still being unrepentant for what she has done to Sukreni. It is clear by this point that Men Negara is intended to be identified as a materialistic figure who engages in evil acts for economic benefit, while Sukreni has a powerless, voiceless identity.

The story ends with a series of incidents that suggest that the Balinese concept of *karma* (*karma phala*) is at work – those who have committed evil will have evil visited upon them. This starts with a bloody fight between the police officer and a group of criminals who are robbing Men Negara’s *warung*. The criminals are lead by I Gustam, who is actually Gusti Tusan’s son from his night with Sukreni, but each is unaware of the other’s identity. Both father and son are killed in the fight, while the *warung* is engulfed by fire, causing Men Negara to lose all her possessions as well as the community trust

7 ‘Terima kasih, Men Negara, atas pertolonganmu itu. Hampir hampir tak berhasil, tetapi ... sudahlah. Besok aku datang ke mari mengantarkan upah engkau.’ Men Negara tersenyum-senyum saja. Senang hatinya karena gadis itu sudah rusak, sudah tentu takkan dihiraukan orang lagi. Jadi anaknya takkan mendapat saingan, anaknya yang masih perawan. Ha, ha, ha! (Tisna 1983:61.) The translation is taken from Quinn 1998:72.

⁸ In the Balinese naming system, after the birth of a child a father or mother is usually called by a new nickname which is made up from the short form of ‘dad’ or ‘mum’, followed by the name of their first child. For example, the father of a child named Widi will have the nickname Pan Widi (Widi’s Dad) or Men Widi (Widi’s Mum).

she once enjoyed. The narrator ends the story by showing that those who behave wickedly are eventually punished – a very moralistic conclusion.

Images of women as objects of sexual desire and slavery are also the main subject matter of another Panji Tisna novel, *Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang* (1978 [1935]). The principle of *karma phala* is also used in this story to justify the oppression of female characters. This novel is set in the mid-nineteenth century against the backdrop of slave trading on the island. Trading in slaves and opium was a significant source of revenue for Balinese kings. It is estimated that 1,000 slaves, both male and female, were taken from Balinese society between 1650 and 1830 (Schulte Nordholt 1996:41).

The female protagonist of the novel is Ni Rawit, an unfaithful wife, twice married, a gambler and an opium addict, all attributes considered to constitute an unacceptable identity for a Balinese woman. The novel is divided into two parts, each of which focuses on different aspects of Ni Rawit's life and emphasizes her materialism. She is shown working for commission. The first part depicts her as a matchmaker who helps a *brahmana* man, Ida Wayan Ompog, approach a woman of the same caste, Ida Ayu Kenderan, to be his wife. Ni Rawit knows that Kenderan does not love her suitor, but she keeps giving Ompog false hope in order to extract as much money as possible from him. She also fulfils Ompog's sexual desires and is happy to receive the money she needs for gambling in return.

The second part of the novel depicts Ni Rawit in a new role, as a slave-trader. As part of this trade she and her second husband have a commission to abduct women to be sold as slaves, which often involves some violence. A male broker, I Gusti Gde Putra, controls this general slavery business. When Ni Rawit sells a slave to him, she is disappointed because he offers her an unsatisfactory price. Refusing this offer, Ni Rawit instead tries to deal directly with the captain, whose ship is anchored off Kuta. The local broker, having apparently heard of her attempted dealings, double-crosses her and sells Ni Rawit herself to the captain. The ship sets sail as soon as Ni Rawit, the man and the slave arrive on board and Ni Rawit is confused when the captain tells her that the local broker has sold her and her companion to him as slaves. Although she is not raped,

Ni Rawit's fate is as tragic as that of Sukreni. She dies when the ship, which is trying to smuggle over a hundred Balinese slaves, is attacked by a Dutch naval patrol off the South-east coast of Bali.

One interesting aspect of the women characters in both of Panji Tisna's novels is that the characters Men Negara, Sukreni and Ni Rawit are all portrayed in the public domain, rather than in the domestic sphere, as happens in most of the stories discussed in Chapter V, but their identities are still defined by their relationships to men and they become helpless when these relationships come to an end. In addition, in Panji Tisna's novels, women are portrayed as being complicit in destroying the hopes or lives of other female characters.

Work from the national revolution period continues to use images of women as sexual objects, but unlike stories from the colonial period, these stories show women as spirited and willing to take revenge. Two stories published in the 1950s, *Si Lin Merah; Bagi air mata Kartini* (Miss Red Ribbon, for the tears of Kartini) by Made Kirtya, published in *Bhakti* (1953), and *Ratni gadis pesakitan* (Ratni, convict girl; 1954) by Ngurah Oka, published in *Damai* in 1955, provide examples of female characters who courageously take revenge against their oppressors. Ratni in *Ratni gadis pesakitan* is a young woman who has to appear in court because she killed a man who was going to rape her. Unlike Sukreni in *Sukreni gadis Bali*, Ratni is shown as bravely defending her self esteem from the possibility of becoming a victim of sexual assault.

The female character in *Si Lin Merah* is a young woman called Ratmi, also known as 'Miss Red Ribbon', who is determined to become a prostitute so that she can wreak vengeance on all men. Her resentment results from her husband selling her, without her consent, for his own benefit. She does not reveal how much she was sold for, but it is manifestly clear that after this experience Ratmi has become determined to exact revenge by continuing to sell her body for profit, saying: 'I have sworn to be able to sell my beauty for myself alone.'

Si Lin Merah, Ratmi, is proud to be a prostitute and wants to have a destructive effect on the lives of all the men with whom she comes into contact. She identifies herself with the mythical figure of Sita in the Ramayana epic who brings about the ruin of the demon Rawana.

According to the epic, Sita is kidnapped and imprisoned by Rawana. When her husband Rama goes to her rescue, he kills Rawana and with the support of a vast army of monkeys destroys his kingdom, Lengka. The subtitle of the story, *Bagi air mata Kartini* (For the tears of Kartini), links the story to the historical figure of an Indonesian feminist. The phrase *emansipasi wanita* (emancipation of women) is often associated with Kartini's ideas, which have been and continue to be central to Indonesian social and political discourse that centres on gender issues. Made Kirtya's story reflects sadness over the failed realization of Kartini's ideals of fighting for the right of women to achieve a status equal to that of men. Kartini would never have expected her struggle to end with women prostituting themselves, so seeing women in this state may have reduced her to tears.

At the time *Si Lin Merah* was written, when anxiety about the 'moral crisis' was at its height, prostitution had become a major public concern. There are other stories which have prostitutes as female protagonists, such as *Kalah* (Defeated, 1953) by Sana and *Di sarang pelacuran* (In a brothel, 1955) by Ngurah Oka. Several articles in *Bhakti* and *Damai* discussed the problem of prostitution from various points of view and condemned the practice (I Nyoman Wijaya 2000:128). Rachmadie's article 'Masalah pelacuran' (The prostitution problem), published in *Damai* in 1954, argued that prostitution is a 'social disease'. He identified several causes including polygamy, 'free association' and promiscuity, and the negative influence of Western culture. The Indonesian term *pergaulan bebas* (free association) includes behaviour such as young men and women spending time together or dating at night without adult supervision and also implies some sexual activity. According to Rachmadie (1954), wives who were abandoned when their husbands took a second wife could turn to prostitution, as could women deserted by the men who impregnated them outside marriage. *Si Lin Merah* and other stories about prostitution illustrate the close connection between the literary and mass media discourses, especially on the issue of the 'moral crisis' of the 1950s, while also reflecting how the stereotyping of female identities as sexual objects began to be challenged. They are, however, insufficient to overcome the images of women as powerless sexual objects which occur in many other stories from the 1950s.

Women as victims of progress

When modern values are discussed in stories of the 1950s, women are always viewed negatively and presented as victims of progress. Many stories, for example, describe young women who are attempting to create modern identities for themselves but suffer negative consequences for wanting freedom. Mainly published in *Damai*, these stories were most frequently written by male writers and presented a male-oriented moral outlook (see Table 9). The stories *Pergaulan bebas* (Free association, 1953) by Sana and *Korban kemajuan* (A victim of progress, 1954) by Eren,⁹ both published in *Damai*, are two examples taken from many stories of the 1950s that feature teenage girls who are excited about their modern lifestyle but unintentionally become pregnant and need to undergo an abortion. By the time these stories were published the concept of modernity had been redefined to include habits from Western culture such as wearing new styles of clothing, watching movies, engaging in 'free association' and dating at night – all strong markers of a new identity.

Table 9. Short stories of the 1950s that portray women who experiment with modernity

No.	Title	Author	Year	Theme(s)
1	Gadis modern (Modern girls)	Sambang Marga	1952	Two modern girls who are proudly promiscuous
2	Gagal (Failure)	Sana	1953	A junior high school student becomes desperate because her boyfriends always abandon her
3	Kalah (Defeated)	Sana	1953	A young woman is accused of being a prostitute because she keeps changing partners

⁹ Eren is probably a pen-name of Ray Nadhyana who also wrote articles in *Damai*. Pen-names quite frequently used in 1950s periodicals as they were in *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* in the 1920s.

4	Pergaulan bebas (Free association)	Sana	1953	An unmarried young woman has an abortion after becoming pregnant
5	Persimpangan jalan (Crossroads)	Nurachim	1954	A woman commits suicide because she is forced into an arranged marriage
6	Hasil ujianku (My exam result)	Arief Hidayat	1954	A teenage couple fail at school and are forced to marry after the girl becomes pregnant
7	Korban kemajuan (A victim of progress)	Eren	1954	When a schoolgirl becomes pregnant, the men who have used her abandon her
8	Kisah di jembatan Badung (A tale of Badung bridge)	Gangga Sila	1954	A materially minded wife leaves her husband and children to seek a more luxurious lifestyle
9	Korban kepuasan (A victim of satisfaction)	R.S.	1955	A wife is considered to be a prostitute because she keeps changing partners
10	Karena uang suap (Because of a bribe)	Lara Susila	1955	A materialistic wife forces her husband to be corrupt
11	Amelegandang (Forced marriage)	Sana	1955	A man abducts a woman who does not love him
12	Denpasar kota persimpangan (Denpasar, a transit city)	Unknown	1955	A girl in a forced marriage meets her former boyfriend who she loves, and wants to return to him

The women characters in *Pergaulan bebas* and *Korban kemajuan* are educated teenagers who become pregnant as a result of having sexual relationships with more than one man. Although male characters are important in the plot construction, acknowledgment of their existence is kept to a minimum. What is emphasized in these stories is the fate of the women, who are unable to avoid being carried away

by their attitudes toward modernity. The narrators use their female characters to explore two themes simultaneously: the negative impact of modernity, which corrupts women's lives, and their powerlessness when confronted with modern values.

In these stories, and indeed in most stories of the 1950s, there is no lurid emphasis on descriptions of sexual activity, but rather an emphasis on two interrelated points. These are the powerful attraction of modern lifestyles that permit girls and women to mix freely with men, and the inability of teenage girls to resist engaging in these lifestyles to excess. The female character in *Pergaulan bebas* is Wati, an educated teenage girl who has been temporarily separated from her much-loved boyfriend, Sur, a civil servant who is in Jakarta for six months for an administrative course. Although they are apart, they continue to correspond to sustain their relationship. Its nature is shown in this quote from Sur:

I was proud to have a beautiful and educated girlfriend. I had been associated with her for a year, since she graduated from high school. In my opinion – she *mixed too freely with other people* – behaving in a Western way. I was reluctant to reprimand her about this because she was not yet truly mine.¹⁰

As an educated girl, Wati is supposed to have sufficient sensibility and knowledge of modern values to filter their potential negative impact. However, her strong preference for a Westernized style of social interaction during adolescence leads her to behave promiscuously, an act that later has both moral and physical consequences for her. One female character comments on her condition:

She is now very sick. The news I've heard is that two days ago she was forced to kill the innocent baby in her womb through an abortion. Maybe she was ashamed. And people say she had been defiled by more than two men [...].¹¹

¹⁰ Aku bangga mempunyai kekasih yang ayu, berpendidikan. Telah setahun aku bergaul sejak ia lulus dari sekolah tingkat menengah. Hanya ada suatu cacatnya, menurut pandanganku – *pergaulannya terlalu bebas* – mencontoh cara Barat. Aku enggan menegurnya karena dia belumlah kepunyaanku benar-benar. (Sana 1953.)

¹¹ Dia sekarang dalam keadaan sakit keras. Kabar yang kudengar ialah bahwa dua hari yang lalu ia terpaksa membunuh anak yang tak berdosa, yang masih di dalam

The men who may have made her pregnant are not identified in the story, nor are they condemned for any moral culpability, and her boyfriend distances himself from her. The story tries to show the dangers involved when a woman *membabi buta* (blindly) imitates a Western lifestyle. Its theme is not only the negative impact of progressive Western values but also more importantly the dangers which can befall a woman who succumbs to these values.

Korban kemajuan describes the tragic life of another teenage girl who has mixed too freely with men. The main character of the story is Widarti, a seventeen year old village girl who goes to the city to further her education but then finds the freedom there intoxicating. The narrator focuses the story on her experience of being *dimabuk modern* (drunk on what is modern).

Now Widarti was able to dress according to her own tastes. She was already socializing, not only with her own group, with women, but was also well known among a circle of young men. With all these people and in her own mind, Widarti felt that she had progressed, had become a modern girl.¹²

Widarti represents a typical teenage girl of that time who is excited by modernity. While she thinks of herself as having already become a 'modern girl', according to the apparently male narrator she is only able to understand 'the skin of progress' not 'its essence'. This narrator openly calls her a *kaum yang lemah* (weak human being) who is eventually unable to protect herself from the negative consequences of her modern lifestyle. The evidence for this accusation is an unintended pregnancy that causes her to fail in her studies. The story ends on a very didactic note, marked by the narrator's message: 'Biarlah Widarti sendiri menjadi contoh yang tak harus ditiru [...]' (Let no one follow Widarti's example).

kandungannya, digugurkan. Mungkin karena malu. Dan yang mencemarkan dia kabarnya lebih dari dua orang [...].

¹² Kini Widarti sudah pandai berbandan memantas diri menurut dugaannya sendiri. Telah pandai bergaul bukan hanya dengan kaum sejenisnya, kaum wanita, tetapi juga Widarti terkenal di kalangan pemuda-pemuda. Dengan semua itu, Widarti telah merasa diri mendapat kemajuan, telah menjadi gadis modern, pikirnya.

The two stories discussed above, and many others published in the 1950s, show that the pursuit of modernity causes serious problems for women rather than men. The stories suggest that different standards apply to men and women and that women are morally weak when adopting modern values. The message of these and many other similarly themed stories is well summarized in the joke below, published in *Damai* in 1955.

PROGRESSIVE TIMES

MOTHER: My child, you have to be careful in these progressive times, so they say.

CHILD: Mother, why are you so old-fashioned, not wanting to see the reality of the advances women have made. Almost all young women can already ride motorbikes, sit in meetings with men, and are no longer shy like in the old days. We can economize because dresses are above the knee and don't have sleeves. In short, progressive women don't lose out to men.

MOTHER: My child, women and men are always different. Their progress too must be different. Do you know why? If a man is too progressive it won't ruin him, but if a woman is too advanced... she will get potbellied... even though she diets to maintain her shape, and the village head will have to worry about a citizenship issue. This is the difference (SOS).¹³

The joke warns women not to imitate men in adopting a modern lifestyle, because what is good for men is not always good for women. It is typical of the jokes of its period, in that it underestimates the ability of women to adopt a modern lifestyle and misinterprets the attitude with which they approach it.¹⁴ By including the international distress call 'SOS' at the end, the writer is probably saying that he or she finds the eagerness of women to be as progressive as men an alarming phenomenon. This joke and the two stories cited strongly reject women who identify themselves as modern, and in a broader interpretation, this reflects the struggle between new lifestyles and traditional gender roles during the period when Indonesia was

¹³ *Damai* 17-1-1955:10. The Indonesian version of the joke is included in Appendix 4.

¹⁴ See jokes 'Modern', *Damai* 1-5-1954:20, and 'Gerakan anti you can see', *Damai* 17-2-1955.

making the transition towards becoming a modern nation (Vickers 2005:130).

The depiction of women's inability to differentiate between the positive and negative impacts of modernity continued during the New Order period. While in the previous period modernity was seen as resulting from modern education, in this period the global tourism industry was the cause. The development of mass tourism on Bali from the early years of the New Order provided substantial job opportunities but also led to women in fiction being turned into objects of sexual pleasure. The problem here is not modernity but the patriarchal attitudes towards modernity which see women as unrestrained and liable to succumb to their emotions.

Aryantha Soethama's play *Pulau penyu* (Turtle Island, 1984) portrays a group of Balinese women who are too gullible to comprehend the potentially negative impacts of tourism development. The play is set against the background of a 1980s tourism development on Pulau Serangan, a small island in South Bali that in the mid-1990s was joined to the main island. The female characters in the play are fooled by a man who promises them jobs, when his real intention is to sell them to an international prostitution network. The play can be read as an allegory of slavery in modern Bali. While slavery in the past was a product of colonialism, as portrayed in Panji Tisna's novel *Ni Rawit*, the twentieth-century sex slavery represented in Aryantha Soethama's play is inseparable from the tourism industry. While the two works appeared about 50 years apart, and deal with events even further apart the identification of women as marketable sexual objects is very similar. This is also true of some of the stories of the 1950s.

Female identity and gender equality

The majority of the stories discussed in this chapter have shown female identities constructed in sexual contexts, but there are many works which locate women in the public domain in non-sexual contexts. These works appear occasionally in the colonial and national revolution periods, giving women identities as social and

political activists, and they appeared at the same time or even within the same media as the campaigns intended to encourage women to pursue education and progress while consciously questioning the unsatisfactory state of gender equality. This writing has become increasingly frequent in recent times, as the number of Balinese women writers has grown.

The earliest literary works that encouraged Balinese women to take an active role in public life were written by activists from Putri Bali Sadar and appeared in *Djatajoe*. These writers had studied in Java where they were exposed to modern education and values, and their work was intended to promote the importance of education and to convey their experience of modernity. Two poems by women, one by Ni Wayan Sami, *O, putriku* (O, my sisters; 1937) and one by Made Tjatri, *Seruan* (An appeal, 1938) express the ideas of Putri Bali Sadar, encouraging Balinese women to dedicate themselves to the development of the *ibu pertiwi* (motherland). In addition, they emphasize that the time they are living through – the 1930s – is a new and modern era. In this new period, women are supposed to rise above the harsh reality of their daily existence and strive for the common good, as this excerpt from *O, putriku* shows.¹⁵

Tetapi, di mana kaum putriku?	But, where are all my sisters?
Sampai payah, tak dapat dicari,	I grow weary searching for you
Sunyi, sepi	Desolate, lonely
Masih bermimpi?	Are you still dreaming?
Aduhai, kenapa masih	How sad, why are you still
berpangku?	doing nothing?
Apakah ini zaman bahari?	Is this the distant past?

This poem does not explicitly say what women can do to help develop their homeland nor to which class of women its message is addressed. In Made Tjatri's *Seruan* those issues are clarified – the poem appeals to educated Balinese women to help uneducated urban and rural women with basic education such as reading, writing and numeracy. This reflects the poet's concern about the high levels of

¹⁵ The full version of the poem is included in Appendix 2.

female illiteracy. Using the first person pronoun *kita* (we), the poet identifies herself as an educated women saying:

Kita harus mengajar mereka,	We must teach them,
Dengan hati yang amat rela,	With generous compassion;
Dengan tiada memikir laba,	Without expecting profit;
Kemudian tentu mereka merasa.	Then they will know what we've done.

Women activists at this time encouraged participation in voluntary work. Made Tjatri was an active member of Putri Bali Sadar, who published several articles in *Djatajoe*, particularly about women and education, in addition to her social work. Her articles highlight the organization's desire to raise the status of Balinese women. In the article 'Putri Bali' (Balinese Girls) she appeals to Balinese women, including those who have become housewives but nevertheless possess particular skills and experiences, to establish organizations and strengthen unity among women by bringing education and enlightenment (*penerangan*) to those who require it (Tjatri 1938a, 1938b). Her article is followed by a note from the editor of *Djatajoe*, which ends with a question: 'When will such organizations be established within Bali Darma Laksana?' This implies that the editor supported Made Tjatri's point of view on the need to establish women's organizations and was calling for this to be done by other groups as well as Putri Bali Sadar.

Made Tjatri's poem *Seruan* is one of the important early works about gender issues. Although these issues had been raised in earlier works, none of them had explicitly stated a belief in the equality of men and women, meaning that this poem raised the consciousness of equality among Balinese women to a new level. The two opening verses of the poem emphasize that men and women were created without differences and now, as human beings, have similar roles, rights and abilities, which they can put to use for a common good. References to a God or to specific Hindu gods such as Saraswati (the goddess of knowledge) and Brahma (her consort, a creator god) were common in poems from the 1930s.

Alangkah mulia dan bijaksana.	How sublime and wise.
Tuhan kita membentuk manusia.	Our God created human beings.
Laki perempuan diciptakan sama.	Created men and women the same.
Guna untuk mengasuh manusia.	To look after humanity.
Sedikit pun tiada dibedakan.	Not in the least different.
Laki perempuan disama ratakan.	Men and women are equal.
Alat panca indra cukup diberikan.	Given all five senses.
Untuk akan menuntut kebajikan.	To search for goodness.

The poem is in the *syair* form regularly used in poems in *Surya Kanta*, and its content and manner of expression are also similar. It promotes in a didactic way the coming of a *zaman baru* (new era) and the need for women to welcome and participate in it, and so displays awareness of both gender equality and also modernity.

These ideas are also central to a short story that appeared in *Djatajoe, Kurban* (Sacrifice, 1938) by I Wayan Bhadra (Bhadrapada), an editor of the magazine. The story was published in three parts but only the first two are still available, so the full content of the story is not known.¹⁶ The female character in the story is an upper-caste woman, Gusti Ayu Amba, who receives a Western education in Java but is very keen to maintain her traditional values when she returns to Bali. Although she is shown as a modern woman who drives a car, often wears Western styles of clothing and plays tennis, she is also a talented Balinese dancer, and a lover of traditional Balinese literature with an interest in studying the Balinese language. In other words, although modern, she is also proud of the culture and traditions which constitute her Balinese identity. Amba represents the ideal Balinese woman referred to in Made Tjatri's poem, but is the creation of a male writer.

¹⁶ Bhadra 1938a:359-62, 1938b:110-2.

The images of Balinese women shown in the works of *Djatajoe's* contributors are very different from those conveyed by Panji Tisna, the journal's initial editor-in-chief. In his novels, from the same period, he was more concerned with religious values such as the law of *karma* and with the powerless images of women referred to above in *Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang* and *Sukreni gadis Bali*, while contributors such as Made Tjatri and Bhadra focused on education and modernity, two of the overriding interests of Balinese intellectuals in the 1930s. The idea of gender equality became more apparent in the works of writers published in *Djatajoe*, in contrast to the perpetually negative images of Balinese female identity found in Panji Tisna's work.

Different images of women in public roles and alternative forms of gender relations can also be found in stories from the 1960s. This difference is illustrated in three stories, *Tangan sebelah* (Divided hand, 1964) by Putu Oka Sukanta, *Cintanya untuk api revolusi* (Her love is for the fire of revolution, 1966) by IGB Arthanegara, and *Lisa* (1967) by Wienarty Raken. Unlike the stories discussed above from the 1950s, in which women are subjected to male sexuality and control, the stories of the 1960s show women being dominant in their relationships with men. Despite both periods having romantic plots in common, the stories of the 1960s place no emphasis on sexual relationships or even romance. Gender relations in these stories are discussed in the context of national revolution, politics and theatre. As well as representing a new direction in the portrayal of female identity in Balinese literature, these stories reflect the different social and political situation in Bali when they were written.

Tangan sebelah, published in the 'revolutionary stories' column in the left-wing Jakarta based publication, *Zaman Baru*, tells of the relationship between a girl, Luh Sari, and two men – one a traitor, the other a freedom fighter. The freedom fighter is never named, but is referred to throughout the story as the 'old man', an expression that implies both age and wisdom. He and Sari have been together in the struggle since the Japanese occupation. Sari loves him as much as he loves her, but he has never expressed it.

Actually I have long intended to express this, but I thought that you understood it without my needing to say it. But the fact is, you don't.

I love you because I'm convinced that I will be able to work with you forever to finish this struggle.¹⁷

When he finally says this it is too late, because Sari, who lacks patience, has already decided to engage in a relationship with another man, named Intaran, but often referred to as the 'new man'. He appears to be a traitor. Despite this new relationship, Sari maintains her friendship with the 'old man' who sometimes comes to visit her, and on these occasions they talk about the revolution and their relationship. The 'old man' tells Sari that if she marries Intaran, she should encourage her husband not just to be a hero to her family, but to be 'the freedom fighter of our people' as well. The female protagonist has the most important role, as she is in a pivotal position in relation to the two male characters. She has the freedom to choose what is best for her and in addition, the fate of the male characters depends on her. The representation of a female character with choice and greater freedom contrasts directly with the stories discussed in the previous sections.

In the end, Sari does not marry Intaran because the Dutch shoot him after he refuses a command to attack a group of Indonesian youth fighters. The killing of Intaran for disloyalty provides evidence that Intaran was fighting on the colonial side. The story finishes with a reunion between Sari, who is sad about Intaran's death, and the 'old man' who praises Sari for her success in influencing Intaran to change his attitude from one of 'traitor' to that of 'freedom fighter'. They then both go into exile in the mountains, presumably to continue to wage guerrilla warfare and to re-establish their relationship. The story illustrates a relationship in which the woman is treated as an equal partner to the man – a far more positive female identity than those encountered in the 1950s.

As in *Tangan sebelah*, Arthanegara's short story *Cintanya untuk api repolusi*, published in *Suara Indonesia*, promotes the revolutionary spirit. The difference between the two stories lies in the setting.

¹⁷ Memang telah lama aku berniat menyampaikan hal ini, tapi akupun mengira bahwa dengan tak usah berkata kau sudah mengerti. Tapi nyatanya tidak. Aku mencintaimu karna aku punya keyakinan bahwa kau akan selamanya bisa kuajak untuk menyelesaikan perjuangan ini.

While the previous story is set during the war of independence, this one takes place during the succeeding years, when the campaign to maintain the spirit of the revolution was continuing. President Sukarno, with support from the nationalist and communist parties, was attempting to bring his ideas of national revolution to realization. Although Suharto deprived Sukarno of real power following the alleged communist coup in 1965, the spirit of national revolution continued until the end of the 1960s. It is therefore not surprising that the minds of Balinese writers were still imbued with this spirit and that this informed their literature.

The main character in *Cintanya untuk api repolusi* is Mini, a strong and dedicated woman with a dedicated commitment to the revolutionary movement. She tirelessly walks for long distances, on cold rainy nights, to get to isolated villages where crowds of people are waiting for her. She often goes from one village to another to give speeches, an activity typical of members of Gerwani or Wanita Marhenist in the early to mid-1960s.¹⁸ Ar, a boyfriend who has accompanied her to a political rally for the first time, gives a description of Mini and her group's commitment to revolution.

[..] Mini and her friends continued to sing those lively revolutionary songs. That night the drizzle soaked them as they headed for the place where she would give an indoctrinatory speech to people who would welcome her arrival in their midst [...] and once again, Mini never gave in. She continued the struggle because she had indeed already dedicated her love to winning the national revolution.¹⁹

At the rally, they sing political songs that promote Nasakom, the political strategy designed by Sukarno to combine nationalism, religion and communism, and thus reconcile the interests of the three main political factions in the late 1950s. From this point, Mini begins to undergo a psychological conflict between her identity as a member

¹⁸ For a discussion of Gerwani in Bali, see Dwyer 2004.

¹⁹ [...] Mini dan kawan-kawannya masih tetap bernyanyi menyanyikan lagu-lagu revolusioner yang semarak itu. Malam gerimis itu ditembusnya menuju tempatnya memberikan indoktrinasi kepada masa yang tengah mengelu-elukan kedatangannya [...] dan sekali lagi Mini tidak pernah menyerah. Dia berjuang terus karena cintanya memang telah ditumpahkan untuk kemenangan revolusi bangsanya.

of a high caste family (*anak istana*), and the spirit of Nasakom that she promotes, particularly the communist element which disregards class differences. As a dedicated activist, Mini promotes socialism and *menentang feodalisme* (attacks feudalism). But as the oldest child in her family, she also loves her father who would probably want an arranged marriage for her, presumably with a man of similar caste.

The story finishes on an unresolved note, with no clear indication as to whether Mini will submit herself to her parents or her boyfriend, or continue to dedicate herself to the revolutionary movement. Her boyfriend, Ar, can only hope that Mini will accept modernity and reject the old traditions of her society. Here, the female character is active in both public and political spheres and also occupies a more prominent position than the male characters whose ideas and demands are trying to sway her. Like Sari in the previous story, Mini has a significant degree of freedom to choose what is best for her life, but this freedom is overshadowed by male voices.

Lisa, is written by a woman – Wienarty Raken – and is a story about an actor and university student, Lisa, whose decision to continue to act results in her being abandoned by her boyfriend, Budi, who is also a dramatist and director. He is a jealous man and will not permit Lisa to act any more, as he does not want her to be a star of the stage, praised by the public. In the following excerpt Lisa describes the problem she faces and her decision:

I was faced with two really bitter options. I could either lose the one that I love or lose the public's confidence in me, which would at the same time ruin the good name of our group. Finally I chose the first option. I chose to lose him.²⁰

It is impossible for Lisa to withdraw from the play without the performance being cancelled, as she is playing the main character. Lisa ignores her boyfriend, which suggests that she is not a submissive

²⁰ Aku dihadapkan pada dua pilihan yang teramat pahit. Kehilangan orang yang kukasihi atau kehilangan kepercayaan masyarakat terhadap diriku dan yang sekaligus menjatuhkan nama kita semua dalam-dalam. Akhirnya aku memilih yang pertama. Aku memilih kehilangan dia.

woman. The performance goes ahead and is a major success, receiving great applause from the audience and attention from the university photo-journalist. After losing her boyfriend, Lisa becomes engaged to the play's director. While the story has a happy-ever-after ending it contains no sense of gender inequality. Thus, the positive ending and the absence of equality contrasts sharply with the stories by male authors just discussed.

These three stories all depend on romantic plots but associate female characters with their personal achievements. Sari is a supporter of guerrilla fighters against both the Japanese and Dutch during the 1940s, Mini has a leading role in a revolutionary movement and Lisa is a talented actor. They are individuals with distinct identities. They appear much closer to achieving gender equality than the female characters in stories of the 1950s, who are stereotyped according to their physical appearance, beauty and style of clothing, sexual identity, their problems with modern lifestyles, and their powerlessness in fighting for their honour against men. In stories from the 1960s female characters emerge from men's domination, and become central figures who play specific roles in public life.

From repression to resistance

The representation of women in a political context becomes more common in works published during the reformation period. In these works, female characters are more conscious of women's roles and their contribution to the reformation movement. In the patriarchal Indonesian culture, women's involvement in social and political affairs is often inadequately recognized. It is this lack of acknowledgement of women's involvement in social and political affairs which is challenged by a number of Balinese writers including Cok Sawitri, Alit S. Rini and Oka Rusmini. Whereas in most of the works from before the 1960s discussed above female characters are shown as apolitical, in the works by these writers and others discussed below female figures display far more political consciousness about female identities. They want to show through their stories and poems that

women played significant roles in the reformation movement that forced President Suharto to step down after more than three decades in power.

Cok Sawitri's *Rahim* (Womb, 2000) illustrates the violent and authoritarian behaviour of the New Order government through one woman's tragic experience. The story concerns a thirty year old woman who is kidnapped and interrogated by unnamed officers who charge her with supporting an anti-government movement. The main character, Nagari – which literally means 'motherland' – is a cancer sufferer who has had a tumour in her womb. To save her life and for purely medical reasons, Nagari has had a hysterectomy. She has two contrasting professions, entertainer (closely associated with prostitution) and writer (connected with activism). However, the reason for her treatment by these unnamed officers is neither of these professions, but the fact that she has had a hysterectomy. While she has heard many stories about the kidnapping of male activists for their involvement in movements critical of the government, she does not understand why she has been kidnapped just because she has had a hysterectomy.

During her interrogation, Nagari is accused of having had a political motivation for the operation because her act shows support for a movement *direkayasa oleh kekuatan luar* (engineered by an external power), which aims to stop women from having babies. This movement is regarded as part of a new pattern of spreading terror and dissent, to question the ability of the government to provide adequate food for its citizens. The phrase '*direkayasa oleh kekuatan luar*' was frequently used by the New Order regime when in power to attack its opposition. Accusations of having been infiltrated by an external power, sometimes one easily associated with communism, gave the regime an excuse to crush opposition groups in the name of 'the national interest'. Nagari does not completely understand what is going on. All she knows is that her operation has been manipulated as a political issue and has become a major story in newspapers and on the television news. The story ends inconclusively with Nagari watching a television news story showing long queues of women at all the main hospitals in major cities as if they are waiting for their names to be called out to go in for operations. Unexpectedly, Nagari

hears her own name and age called out and sees a face that looks strange to her on the television screen. The story has an absurdist plot, a narrative style rarely found in works by Balinese writers.

Although it may be influenced by absurdist theory, the story certainly has political connotations. The date of the kidnapping (22 December) and the number of the rented room (2212) from which the kidnapping took place coincide with the foundation date of the first Indonesian women's movement, 22 December 1928.²¹ The date is commemorated every year as Hari Ibu (Mothers' Day), particularly by Dharma Wanita (The Women's Duty Group), an organization whose main membership consists of female civil servants and wives of male civil servants. The repetition of this date links the personal struggle of Nagari with the ongoing women's movement in Indonesia. The story seems to suggest that in Indonesia, women are still experiencing social and political oppression even though the women's movement has been active for more than seven decades.

The process of kidnapping and interrogation in the story closely parallels the actions of the New Order government, which kidnapped a number of activists and students in order to suppress anti-government movements. Some of the kidnapped students or activists were released, while the fate of others such as the poet Wiji Thukul (Chapter I) has never been revealed and remains unknown. Most of those released have been afraid of revealing their experiences publicly, presumably because they still feel under constant threat. Moreover, the timing of *Rahim's* publication suggests that it was inspired by the outbreak of regime-inspired activist kidnappings that took place in the mid-1990s, towards the end of the New Order. This means that the story can be read as a critique of that regime, which was able to crack down on any action that was considered to be a threat to its power. Here the writer uses a woman as the figure who has become a victim during the process of political reform in Indonesia. This representation is probably intended to emphasize the

²¹ The establishment of the Indonesian women's movement on 22 December 1928 took place just two months after the Youth Congress, which had been dominated by young male activists. On this date, a number of women's organizations gathered for the first time to establish a national organization for women.

frequently unacknowledged reality, that women also played a part in confronting the authoritarian regime.

Similarly, the suggestion that women's contribution to Indonesia's struggle for independence be acknowledged is also articulated in Oka Rusmini's *Api Sita*.²² This story is set in the early 1940s during the transition from Dutch colonization to Japanese occupation and depicts images of women being used as 'comfort women'. During the Japanese occupation, Indonesians were compelled to perform 'obligatory service' or 'forced labour' (*romusha*) for the occupiers. The worst outcome for women was to become a 'comfort woman' or *ianfu*.²³ Bali was treated like other parts of Indonesia, with Japanese officers or army personnel asking local authorities or kings to provide both *romusha* and 'comfort women' (Agung 1993:91-2). The matter of 'comfort women' never became as significant a social and political issue in Bali as it did in Java or Sumatra. Beside *Api Sita*, Oka Rusmini also published *Pesta tubuh* (Body party, 1999) that details the traumatic experience of a group of young Balinese village girls who are confined in a small room and each forced to have sex with 10 to 15 Japanese soldiers every day. These two stories by Oka Rusmini are the first by a Balinese writer that emphasize the sexualization of the female image through the theme of the 'comfort women', and exhibit the vindictiveness of the colonial armies through their appalling sexual behaviour.

The female character in *Api Sita* has a mixture of complex identities in the public domain – a combination of being a spy for a nationalist guerrilla association, a sex slave and a killer. The depiction of a woman as a killer provides a significant shift in the representation of women from being oppressed to fearlessly taking revenge. The main female character, Sita, is handed over by a guerrilla fighter to a

²² 'Sita's fire'. *Rahim* and *Api Sita* are both included in *Sagra* (2001), the first collection of stories by Oka Rusmini.

²³ Lucas 1997:53. In mid-1993, almost half a century after the Japanese occupation ended, the wartime rape victims became a political issue in Indonesia, as they had previously in South Korea and Taiwan. Many former *ianfu* added their voices to the general request for compensation, which had to that point been rejected by the Japanese government (Lucas 1997:78). For a detailed study of 'comfort women' in Asia, see Hicks 1995.

high ranking Japanese army officer to be used sexually. The guerrilla fighter is Sawyer, the man Sita loves, but he exploits her love for him.

'Sita, you love me, don't you?' Sita nodded.

'If you could win over Hosikaga Watagama, you would save all the men in this island. You'll be remembered by history as a great woman.'

'What's history, I don't want to be remembered. Living with you would be reward enough for me.'²⁴

As soon as Sita agrees to undertake the role of 'comfort woman' for the Japanese army personnel, her village returns to normal and is not attacked by the occupiers. In addition, she can continue to supply the guerrillas with secret information, which proves crucial in helping them to destroy several Japanese strongholds and to steal weapons.

The dialogue between Sita and Sawyer quoted above implies that initially Sita does not understand the political imperatives for herself and is willing to be manipulated. But, when Sita hears that Sawyer is going to marry another girl she is devastated. Here the story moves from a political conflict between the invader and the subjugated to a personal conflict. Because Sita feels betrayed she decides to kill Sawyer. He visits her at the comfort house and is served sake, the most popular Japanese form of alcohol, until he gets drunk. When he is unconscious, Sita takes a sharp samurai sword and stabs him in the chest repeatedly until he is dead. The story ends tragically because Sita then stabs herself and dies. The beautiful but powerless image of Sita in the Ramayana epic is reversed in this story. Although Sita's decision to commit suicide at the conclusion of the story is paradoxical compared to her acts of resistance, as a personal act it does not undermine her contribution towards helping the guerrilla fighters during the war against the colonizer. With minor reservations, this story provides a good example of female identity moving from repression to resistance.

Images of oppressed but courageous women also dominated

²⁴ 'Sita, kau sayang padaku, kan?' Sita mengangguk.

'Kalau kau bisa taklukkan Hosikaga Watagama, kau telah menyelamatkan seluruh laki-laki di pulau ini. Kau akan dicatat sejarah sebagai perempuan luar biasa.'

'Apa itu sejarah, tiang tidak perlu dicatat-catat. Hidup bersamamu saja sudah anugrah' (Rusmini 2001:86.)

poetry by Balinese writers during the reformation period, as can be seen from the works of two poets, Cok Sawitri and Alit S. Rini. Like the subject matter of the stories discussed above, the themes of their poems also deal with women's issues and their identities. Cok Sawitri's poem *Namaku Dirah* (My name is Dirah, 1997) also focuses on women through whom a radical challenge to a ruler is articulated. Unlike her short story *Rahim*, which is set amidst the social and political changes of contemporary Indonesia, the poem is based on the *Calon Arang*, a classical sixteenth-century text. The text tells of a widow of that name, a witch who is defeated by a representative of good – a holy priest called Mpu Baradah. In the older text, the opponent of the widow is the king, Airlangga, but in *Namaku Dirah* the challenge is to an unnamed power. However, because the poem was written during the final years of the New Order regime, it can easily be identified as this 'unnamed power'. Dirah is the name of the village where Calon Arang lives and is used as an alternative name for her. In Bali and Java, the position of a widow was extremely difficult and widows were often associated with Calon Arang and considered as dangerous as her. Cok Sawitri's poem begins with a description of public prejudice towards the widow Dirah.²⁵

Ketika wanita menjadi janda	When a woman becomes a
Mulailah sudah prasangka	widow
Melucuti kemurnian rahim	Prejudice begins
Rumah-rumah menanam	Stripping her womb of its purity
pandan di pintu	Households plant pandanus
Anak-anak menutup lubang	trees in their doorways
pusar	Children cover their navels
Lelaki menggosok-gosok	Men preen their moustaches
kumisnya	

Unlike the women in the stories discussed above who accept the identities assigned to them, Dirah strongly rejects the negative

²⁵ This poem is included in the Balinese poetry collection *Bali the morning after* (2000:18-9) translated by Vern Cork. The translation of the poem is taken from this collection with minor revisions. The full version of the poem is included in Appendix 4.

reputation attributed to her. She challenges the ruler whom she thinks is responsible for spreading hatred of her. Rulers symbolize power holders in Indonesian politics.

Sampaikan:	Tell them:
Semua benteng memiliki celah	Every stronghold has a breach
Begitupun keangkuhan	Pride and power
Tak terkecuali kekuasaan retak	are shattered
Oleh lirik mataku	At a glance from me
Karena namaku Dirah	Because my name is Dirah
Hanya seorang janda	Just a widow
Bukan tubuh di atas tahta	Not a body on a throne
Di mana senjata adalah	With weapons for company
kaumnya	

Cok Sawitri sympathizes with her struggle against the prejudice directed at her and so uses Dirah as a figure to attack the cowardice of those with greater power than her. There is another sympathetic representation of Calon Arang in the Jakarta-based poet Toeti Heraty Noerhadi's recent prose lyric entitled *Calon Arang, kisah perempuan korban patriarki* (Calon Arang, story of a woman as a victim of patriarchy, 2000). Toeti Heraty's prose lyric uses the oppressed figure of Calon Arang to put forward a feminist reinterpretation of gender relations in contemporary Indonesian society and politics. Cok Sawitri was invited to Toeti Heraty's book launch to read her poem *Namaku Dirah*. Pramodya Ananta Toer also published a novel entitled *Calon Arang* in 1952, which was republished in 1999. Cok Sawitri's recent novel *Janda dari Jirah* (A widow from Jirah, 2007) is yet another based on the *Calon Arang* story. The repeated use of the *Calon Arang* story indicates that this traditional tale has become a source of inspiration in modern Indonesian literature and also continues to provide a context for modern analysis of female social identity. Calon Arang has become a symbol for women who continue to struggle against a society dominated by political and cultural oppression based on patriarchy.

Alit S. Rini's poem *Perempuan yang jadi lambang* (A symbolic woman, 2000) articulates an image of oppressed but courageous

women in a political context. The title of the poem and the lines in it that read 'for whom the fists are clenched / and thousands of people sway / red-robed / with blackened faces and darkened eyes' suggest an association with the figure of Megawati Sukarnoputri and her political party Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle). Megawati marked her appearances at political rallies with a trademark gesture of raising a fist with an accompanying cry of '*Merdeka!*' (Freedom!), while red and black are the official colours of the party and are seen in the attire of its adherents. The association with Megawati is further emphasized in the following verse:

Engkau pernah	You have been
dipapah tertatih di lorong waktu	unsteadily supported along the
	pathway of time that connects
yang menghubungkan karma	the act
dan pahala	and its reward
diteguhkan mengawal rasa getir	strengthened by an escort of
	bitter feelings

During the New Order regime, Megawati was considered the major opposition symbol of an emblem of the Indonesian people's resistance to oppression, the 'symbol of the undercurrent of struggle'.²⁶ Even after the fall of the New Order in 1998, Megawati continued to be seen in the same light. Although her party gained the largest percentage of the vote – around 30% – in the 1999 election, her valid attempt to gain the presidency was repudiated on the basis of her gender. This rejection was engineered by a coalition of Islamic-based political parties who asserted that choosing a woman as leader would be considered a breach of Islamic principles (Machali 2001:14). In addition, Megawati's Muslim faith was questioned because newspapers had reported that she had prayed at her Hindu grandmother's shrines in North Bali. Megawati was then appointed

²⁶ Hasrullah 2001; Sen 2002b. In the review of Hasrullah's book entitled: 'Sekilas sejarah perjalanan politik Megawati' by Kholilul Rohman Ahmad, *Kompas* (19-1-2001), the role of Megawati as a symbol of the people's struggle is emphasized.

to the vice-presidency under Abdurrahman Wahid to both please and pacify her angry supporters (Sen 2002b). After serving almost two years as vice-president, in August 2001, Megawati was elected by these same members of parliament to replace President Abdurrahman Wahid, whose rule had been clouded by allegations of corruption.

Alit S. Rini wrote a number of poems that were inspired by Megawati's struggle and her oppressed figure. The political connotations of these works are straight-forward as can be seen in *Perempuan yang menggerakkan reformasi* (The woman who drives reformation, 1999), *Ritual di bawah mega* (Ritual beneath the clouds, 1999), and *Perempuan dari awan* (A woman from the clouds, 1999). The word 'awan' is synonymous with 'mega', the short name of Megawati. These poems along with Alit S. Rini's other published works from the *Bali Post* were combined into an anthology entitled *Karena aku perempuan Bali* (Because I'm a Balinese woman, 2003). Alit S. Rini's interest in portraying Megawati as a symbol and making her the subject of her poems probably stems from Megawati being a female politician and also regarded by many Balinese as having a Balinese identity, which was of no value in the overall context of Indonesian politics. But this interpretation does not still have the same validity, after various significant changes in Indonesian politics, including Megawati's period as president, which mean that Megawati is no longer considered a symbol of the oppressed. Alit S. Rini's poems are characterized by a single area of subject matter that assigned central roles to those played by women in the public sphere which reflect both a deep consciousness of gender equality as well as female identity politics.

Between male and female writing

The long standing male dominance of Balinese literature has been gradually balanced by a group of women writers and journalists who often publish articles on inequality and women's issues. Their gender, education and profession make it possible for them to be sensitive and critical in their approach to these issues. Prominent

among these are Alit S. Rini, Oka Rusmini, and Cok Sawitri. These writers have received university educations and work as journalists for the *Bali Post*.²⁷ Coincidentally, these three women come from upper-caste families where the unfairness of the treatment of women is often more noticeable than elsewhere.²⁸ Thus, although they are all modern women, from an early age these writers have also become very familiar with the gender inequalities that were occurring in or around their extended families. In their works, however, these women writers are also very much inspired by the debate on gender relations in the broader Indonesian political discourse as can be seen from the subject matter of the poems *Namaku Dirah* by Cok Sawitri and *Perempuan yang jadi lambang* by Alit S. Rini. These poems, which question and challenge the male-dominated power structure in society, are a step on the path towards rectifying the imbalance caused by the early male domination of the discourse on gender.

As male and female writers have shared an interest in women's issues, one important question is how male and female writers differ in representing women and discussing gender issues. In general, works by male writers have tended to portray female identity in sexual contexts defined by men and to represent women as serving the interests of male characters. They are depicted as defenceless and voiceless, as seen in the figures of Sukreni who is raped in *Sukreni gadis Bali*, the teenage characters who are abandoned by men in *Korban kemajuan* and *Pergaulan bebas* in the 1950s, and the women deceived and sold in *Pulau penyuu*. Images of women as sex slaves also appear in works by women writers such as *Api Sita* by Oka Rusmini, but in this story, the fate of the woman, Sita, has a different context and message. When she finds out that her lover has manipulated her, she kills him before committing suicide. Unlike the voiceless victim Sukreni, Sita rejects the role assigned to her. In poems by Cok Sawitri and Alit S. Rini women are also shown as fearlessly articulating their voices

²⁷ While Alit S. Rini, Oka Rusmini and Mas Ruscitadewi were still working at the *Bali Post* at the time of writing, Cok Sawitri had resigned to become a civil servant at a local government office.

²⁸ Ruscitadewi 2002.

and concerns, thus refuting the conventional images of women as voiceless and subservient.

While some works by male writers such as Oka Sukanta's *Tangan sebelah* and Arthanegara's *Cintanya untuk api repolusi* can be seen as sympathetic to the cause of women, this sympathy is much more evident in works by women. In the colonial period, Made Tjatri contributed works that proudly promoted the spirit of equality between men and women, which was only implicitly expressed in works by men. More than that, many women characters in works by women have the courage to challenge the power of men, as in *Namaku Dirah* and *Api Sita*. In general, female writers construct female identities which are independent from men and also defy the stereotype of the powerless woman in a male dominated social order.

What are the unique aspects of the models of female identity used by Balinese authors and to what extent does this work and its articulation of women's rights fit the concept of feminism? When analysing Malay novels written by women, Christine Ann Campbell (2000) discusses the idea of 'Eastern feminism' compared to 'Western feminism'. She describes 'Eastern feminism' as meaning the controlled and restrained expression of a woman's point of view (C. Campbell 2000:170). She found that in novels by Malay women, women characters rarely voice their complaints about inequality, in order to avoid accusations of being un-Islamic. Acceptance of a fundamental difference between Eastern and Western feminism allows gender stereotyping and inequality to go unchallenged in literature, as in society. Balinese literature conformed to this pattern of 'controlled and restrained expression' until the recent works of Cok Sawitri, Oka Rusmini, and Alit S. Rini began to break the mould. Since they have an excessive burden of traditional and religious obligations, and society is still heavily orientated in favour of men, Balinese women enjoy limited access to the modern and Western worlds. This is clearly suggested in many stories which describe interactions between Balinese and Westerners, from which Balinese women are largely absent. In those stories, mostly written by male authors, Balinese men become the focus, because they have more opportunities to connect with Westerners and global culture. The issues of identity involved in such interactions will be discussed in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII

Balinese and Westerners

Since mass tourism to Bali began in the late 1960s, Balinese writers have regularly written about interactions between Balinese and Westerners.¹ The Western characters are usually tourists who come to Bali on holiday, although in the end it is often disclosed that some of them are not genuine holiday makers. The Balinese characters take the roles of tour guides, journalists, students, or simply ordinary people who want to meet tourists for work, to learn English or for other personal reasons. Their encounters take place on beaches, at tourist attractions, or at local traditional events such as cremations. In male-female relationships, the encounter between a tourist and a Balinese person often continues into romance and they promise to marry. In real life, mixed marriages between Balinese and foreigners are quite common and socially acceptable, but in fiction by Balinese writers such unions are avoided either by revelations that the relationship is based on a falsehood or by killing off the Western character. Rather than passively reflecting a social reality about mixed marriage, Balinese writers seem to offer an ethnocentric interpretation of the way relationships between Balinese and Westerners should function.

This chapter examines Balinese literary works that draw on the theme of interactions between Balinese and foreigners in the context of tourism. The works discussed here were published between the

¹ Parts of this chapter were previously published as 'Global-local encounters' in *Tourism, development and terrorism in Bali* by Hitchcock and Putra 2007:75-94. For a detailed bibliography of short stories and plays discussed in this chapter, see Appendix F.

1960s and the 1990s (see Table 10), a period when tourism developed rapidly. The analysis focuses on how Balinese relationships with Westerners are represented, and the motives that inform the formation, development and termination of each relationship. It also examines Balinese writers' perceptions of Westerners, their tendency to stereotype Westerners as the 'Other', how writers deal with the significance of these interactions in the context of the Balinese social system, and the implications for Balinese identity.

Table 10. Literary works based on interactions between Balinese and Westerners

Balinese and Westerners	Title	Genre	Date	Author	Feature(s)
1	Sahabatku Hans Schmitter (My friend Hans Schmitter)	short story	1969	Rasta Sindhu	A friendship between a Balinese villager and a German tourist
2	Sanur tetap ramai (Sanur is still crowded)	short story	1970	Faisal Baraas	A romance between a Balinese man and an American tourist who agree to marry but fail in the end
3	Saya bukan pembunuhnya (I am not his killer)	short story	1972	Rasta Sindhu	International police shoot an American criminal posing as a scientist in front of his Balinese tour guide
4	Tiba-tiba malam (Night falls suddenly)	novel	1977	Putu Wijaya	A Western tourist forms a friendship with a Balinese man and tries to influence him to reform his village customs

5	Liak ngakak (The laughing <i>léak</i>)	novel	1978	Putra Mada	A relationship forms between a Balinese sailor and an Australian woman studying black magic in Bali
6	Tugu kenangan (Memorial)	short story	1986	Ngurah Parsua	The romance between a Balinese man and an Australian student who dies in a plane crash in Bali
7	Suzan	novelette	1988	Aryantha Soethama	Romance between a Balinese journalist and an American girl who is shot by an American business rival
8	Dasar (Typical)	short story	1993	Putu Wijaya	A Balinese man and an American man who lives in Jakarta fall out through mutual misunderstanding
9	Don't forget John!	short story	1995	Ngurah Parsua	An American tourist befriends a Balinese man and then commits suicide because he is actually a criminal about to be caught
10	Lukisan Rinjin (Rinjin's painting)	short story	1996	Aryantha Soethama	A local arts broker exploits both a rich American tourist and a poor local artist

11	Apakah Anda Mr Wayan? (Are you Mr Wayan?)	short story	1998	Wayan Suardika	A young American girl comes to Bali to meet her Balinese father and declares her intention to become Balinese
----	--	----------------	------	-------------------	--

In Balinese cultural discourse from the 1960s to the 1990s, 'Westernization' and 'globalization' have been major themes, and many of the authors cited here are attempting to come to terms with these concepts through the theme of interaction with foreigners. This discussion also seeks to answer the question of what kinds of cultural awareness Balinese authors seek to create or reproduce in depicting the interactions between Balinese and foreigners. A brief description on the relationship between Balinese and foreigners is given as background.

Early encounters between Balinese and Westerners

Close contact between Balinese and Westerners started before colonization began in the mid-nineteenth century and has continued since then, intensifying with the development of mass tourism in the late 1960s. The experiences of artists, anthropologists and other foreign scholars who conducted research in Bali in the first half of the twentieth century included many positive interactions. Painters such as Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet in the 1930s, Antonio Blanco in the 1950s, and Arie Smit in the 1960s were accepted into the Ubud community. But these positive responses coexisted with overtly negative Balinese images of Westerners. Many Balinese painters and sculptors depicted Europeans as *raksasa* (demons), while others showed them as ambiguous figures of fun (Vickers 1998).

During the struggle for independence in the 1940s, the expression *bojog putih* (white monkey) became a general expression to describe Westerners, a very negative one that implied that they were magically dangerous, since white monkeys are associated with witches

(Wirawan 1995:102; Vickers 1998:2). The term 'Westernized' has had negative connotations in Indonesia since the 1950s, and the anti-Western ideas propagated by President Sukarno during a campaign attacking the United States with the slogan 'Go to hell with your aid' in the 1960s added to this (Vickers 2005:150).

Sexual contact and marriage is another important dimension of these interactions. Sexual liaisons between Balinese and Westerners have been a reality since before the colonial period (Lindsey 1997:29-34), but to maintain a division between colonizer and colonized, mixed marriage was officially disapproved (Maier 1993:44). K'tut Tantri's widely translated autobiography *Revolusi di nusa damai* (Revolt in paradise, 1982 [1956]) describes how the Dutch colonial government discouraged Western women from having close contact with native men.²

Once mass tourism was underway, more opportunities were created for Balinese and Westerners to meet, love and intermarry. The usual term for a marriage between a Balinese (or other Indonesian) and a Westerner is a *pasangan kopi susu* (white coffee couple) because of the contrast of their skin colours. Although mixed marriages were one of the noticeable results of the social and cultural changes of the 1970s, a small number of such marriages had already occurred in the colonial and national revolution periods. An early example is the 1935 marriage between a Belgian painter named Le Mayeur and a Balinese dancer, Ni Pollok, who had been his model for three years.³ Another is that of the dancer Ni Rondji and the Spanish painter Antonio Blanco.⁴ Because these two relationships were open and

² K'tut Tantri 1982:36-8. This book was first published in 1956 (with the old Indonesian spelling) and has been translated into many languages. In this study, I refer to the new Indonesian version, reprinted by Gramedia in 1982, which appears under the title *Revolusi di nusa damai*.

³ Ni Pollok's romantic life with her Belgian husband can be read in a biography *Ni Pollok, model dari desa Kelandis* (Ni Pollok, a model from Kelandis, 1976) written by Yati Maryati Wiharja.

⁴ The life of Blanco and Ni Rondji was shown in the television series *Api cinta Antonio Blanco* (The burning love of Antonio Blanco) in 1998-1999. This film won a number of awards at the Festival Sinetron Indonesia (Indonesian TV Film Competition) 1998, including the category for best music arranged by a Balinese musician. See Ruscitadewi 1999.

publicly acknowledged, they could be referred to as the 'legendary' mixed couples who paved the way for such marriages in Bali.⁵

By the late twentieth century, marriages between Balinese and foreigners had become quite common and more socially acceptable than ever before, but there was widespread recognition that not all these marriages would succeed, as differences in culture and identity, as well as divided loyalties, could be potential sources of friction. A marriage that grew out of a holiday romance was seen as particularly fragile, especially when it involved a young man from Bali (or elsewhere in Indonesia) moving to the bride's country of origin, only to discover that he had lost the social standing that he had taken for granted in his homeland. The popularly held belief is that marriages between foreign men and Balinese women generally succeed much better.

Given tourism's intense intrusion into Balinese social and cultural life, it is not surprising that themes and sub-themes relating to tourists and the results of their behaviour have become a powerful source of inspiration for modern Balinese writers. This applies equally to Balinese prose writers and poets. Social interactions originating from tourism form the basis of many short stories and novels by Balinese writers written during the peak period of tourism in the 1980s and early 1990s. Their work reflects the impact of Western culture on Bali's social and cultural life, and also reveals how the Balinese see foreigners and find another source of identity formation through the 'Other'.

Relationships between local people and foreigners have long been a staple of the Indonesian novel and short story, as is seen in the work of Abdul Muis, Nh Dini, and Titie Said, but the context in which their characters meet is usually not connected to tourism. However, in fiction by Balinese writers tourism provides the main background for the contact. Here, 'foreigners' refers specifically to Westerners – Australians, Europeans and Americans. Asian 'foreigners' are rarely portrayed in recent prose, but an earlier example can be found in

⁵ 'Kawin campuran di Bali', *Bali Post* 15-9-1978:4. This article reports on the issues raised by mixed marriages – both between Indonesians from differing ethnic groups and between ethnic Indonesians and foreigners – from a positive point of view.

Sukreni gadis Bali (1983 [1936]) by Panji Tisna, which has an Indian journalist Chatterjee as the 'Other', although his character is really introduced to facilitate a discussion about Hinduism and the caste system. Since it has little to do with tourism or the general ideas discussed in this chapter, this novel has been excluded. The major concern of this chapter will be short stories and novels published between the 1960s and 1990s, which discuss tourism-driven meetings between Balinese and foreigners.

Between friend and intruder

Fiction by Balinese writers depicting specific meetings between Balinese and Westerners presents a more complex picture than occurs in public discourse. The writers mentioned here use tourism as the main conduit for close encounters with Westerners. The main Western characters in these works are always tourists, not government envoys, crews of expeditions or traders. Some of the characters may be researchers (university students, intellectuals), but these still fall into the category adjudged 'tourist' by the Balinese characters. This is probably related to the fact that the initial contact with these Westerners generally occurs at locations such as art shops and beaches, or at public events such as cremations and wedding ceremonies.

The different locations, atmospheres and backgrounds of the meetings and the status assigned to characters are used to suggest different motives and intentions. While encounters occasioned by colonialism and commerce involve relations of profit, those originating from tourism contain additional motives ranging from pleasure and desire for friendship and love to specifically sexual motives, which are highlighted from the Balinese side. Although the works chosen for this study deal with many aspects of close contact between Balinese and Westerners, they vary in their focus and intensity and their handling of the interactions. Some stories focus primarily on personal relationships involving friendship or romance, while others use tourism simply as a backdrop for narratives driven by themes of corruption, modernization, cultural commercialization and religious practice.

The first short story from the 1960s that depicts Balinese-Westerner interaction is *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter* (My friend Hans Schmitter) by Rasta Sindhu, published in *Horison* in July 1969. At the time Rasta Sindhu was a young journalist who occasionally wrote feature-stories on the impact of tourism on Balinese people and their culture. This story must have been based on his experiences of meeting ordinary tourists in the course of his work. The Balinese character here is an unnamed first-person narrator and the Westerner is a German tourist named Hans Schmitter, bearded and long haired, a 27-year-old botany student at a German university. Although rough and very hippy-like in appearance, Hans is highly educated. His travel to Bali is part of a three-year holiday that is more an adventure for him than an act of leisure. The narrator and Hans first meet at Badung cemetery in Denpasar, where both are watching a cremation ceremony. During this encounter, the narrator invites Hans to his house for a conversation.

The relationship between the two characters flows smoothly, starting with their mutual interest in language learning: the narrator wants to learn English, while Hans wants to learn Indonesian. This form of 'barter' enables the relationship to develop warmly. The same motive is also used in other stories, such as Aryantha Soethama's novelette *Suzan* (1988) and Ngurah Parsua's short story *Tugu kenangan* (Memorial, 1986), which are discussed below. Hans becomes so familiar with the narrator that he is treated like a member of his family.

And I brought him home to chat. After that Hans often came to my house by himself. Sometimes he came just for the day, because he needed to do his washing at my house. For the whole day he lay down in the back room reading. Or sometimes we would chat on throughout the day while learning each other's language.⁶

⁶ Dan ia kuajak pulang ke rumah untuk sekadar cerita-cerita. Dan semenjak itu pula Hans sering pulang ke rumahku. Kadang-kadang ia pulang hanya untuk sehari saja, sebab hari itu dia mau mencuci di rumahku. Dan seharian itu pula ia tiduran di kamar belakang, membaca-baca. Atau, terkadang pula kami sering ngobrol-ngobrol di siang hari. Sambil belajar bahasa masing-masing. (Sindhu 1969.)

There is no reason apart from language exchange to explain why the two characters should become so comfortably close, but their conversations touch on all kinds of issues – Indonesia’s wealth of natural beauty, poverty, the *budaya korupsi* (culture of corruption) and especially music. For Balinese at that time, Western music by, for instance, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and Bob Dylan symbolized what was interesting, new and exciting about Western culture. The discussion about various social issues is the most important part of the story, as it gives the narrator the opportunity to criticize social and political conditions in Indonesia. Eventually, Hans blends into the Balinese scene, and the two are described as very close:

And the atmosphere of taking snacks together was so pleasant, that none of us ever gave much thought to the fact that we were being so friendly with Hans, a Westerner from Germany, whose attendance in the midst of traditional ceremonies was something that went without notice, we had become so friendly and close.⁷

When Hans leaves, the narrator gives him a piece of authentic Balinese fabric as a memento, in return for a camera that Hans had given him. The fabric can be read as a symbol of tradition, while the camera is a symbol of modernity, and this exchange of gifts gives this cross-cultural encounter meaning. Their parting is described as a small tragedy, marked by tears dropping from Hans’s eyes.

This story was written in 1968. The year is significant, as it coincides with the rapid onset of mass tourism, whose major precursors were the opening of the famous ten-storied Bali Beach Hotel in 1966 and the opening of the Ngurah Rai International Airport in 1969 (Picard 1990:5). During the late 1960s, the total annual number of tourists to Bali rose from 10,000 to 23,000 (Vickers 1989:186; MacRae 1992:xii). Young Westerners, generally known as ‘hippies’ in Southeast Asia, also began to discover Bali at that time and many of them preferred to live with Balinese people and

⁷ Dan suasana makan-makan kecil itu begitu meriah, dan kami tidak menyangka bahwa persahabatan kami dengan Hans seorang kulit putih berkebangsaan Jerman yang terkadang kami lupakan kehadirannya di tengah-tengah upacara adat seperti itu, menjadi betul-betul rapat dan akrab. (Sindhu 1969:216.)

experience the culture directly.⁸ Besides the attractions of its culture and natural beauty, the low cost of holidaying in Bali at that time was a major factor that drew many hippies to the island (Vickers 1998:20). Some characteristics commonly associated with them were long hair, strange clothing, an unkempt appearance, and frequent use of drugs (McKean 1971:21-2). Apart from any association with drugs, Hans fits this stereotype well.

The hippy phenomenon sparked a controversy in Indonesia. In March 1971, the Indonesian government announced that visas would not be granted to these so-called hippies (McKean 1971:21). In addition, they put up posters displaying the appearance of a typical hippy and announcing that they were not allowed into government offices or any other government buildings, as was the case in other parts of Southeast Asia (Vickers 1998:2). One of the government's worries was apparently that ever since hippies had started arriving in Bali, many local young people had started to socialize with them – befriending them, acting as their tour guides or becoming their lovers. They therefore considered hippies a danger to national morals (Picard 1996:79, 226). Between the late 1960s and the 1980s the *Bali Post* contained various reports with negative images of hippies, using phrases such as 'nauseating gangs', 'penniless guests', 'drug addicts' and 'practitioners of free sex'.⁹

Balinese poets adopted the same negative images of hippies, with Raka Pelayun's *Kuta* (1979) connecting hippies to drugs, and Ngurah Parsua's *Kuta* (1975) and Ketut Landras Syaelendra's *Di pura Tanah Lot; Bersama Aix* (1994) portraying hippies as having alien attitudes and wandering about topless or naked. Made Sanggra's Balinese-

⁸ McKean 1971; MacRae 1992. The term 'hippies' is problematical. There have been few works that deal with the impact of the international backpacker phenomenon that reached a peak in the 1970s and 1980s. An entire generation of popular travel writing has grown up around this. One of the most prominent success stories in the genre has been the Lonely Planet publishing company. At the same time few critical works to date deal specifically with the growth of backpacker tourism, leaving it as an area which deserves further study. Some important works on the impact of travellers and tourists on the construction of local identities include Picard (1996) and Vickers (1998).

⁹ Images of 'hippies' as 'nauseating gangs' are discussed in 'Bali dan pembangunan', *Suluh Marhaen* 10-9-1969; 'penniless guests' are discussed in 'Kuta yang pernah dihebohkan tamu-tamu tak berduit' published in the *Bali Post* in 1972.

language poem *Denpasar sane mangkin* (Denpasar nowadays, 1978) contains similar subject matter, with images of hippies who roam the streets of Denpasar in inappropriate dress and engage in un-Balinese behaviour dominating the images disseminated by the government.

Rasta Sindhu dissents from this generally unremitting negative view of the hippy presence in Bali. His character Hans is to some degree a 'hippy' but he is depicted positively, lacking any association with drugs or sex. This positive image was reinforced by Rasta Sindhu's newspaper articles, such as 'Kuta yang pernah dihebohkan tamu-tamu tak berduit' (Kuta in unprecedented uproar over moneyless guests) and 'Mereka telah bersahabat' (They became friends), both published in the *Bali Post* in 1972.¹⁰ In these articles he argues that in spite of their appearance, many young travellers were well-educated people and could even be millionaires in their own countries.

Moreover, Rasta Sindhu praises hippies for their friendliness and as people who liked to socialize with ordinary Balinese. To stress his point, he criticizes high-class tourists who stay in luxurious hotels and behave arrogantly. Although his arguments – particularly those related to the economic and social background of hippies – are not really convincing, they were clearly intended to challenge the negative stereotypes of hippies propagated by the government and the public.

His articles also reinforce the positive view of the hippy phenomenon that he projects in his short story. The friendship between Hans and the narrator in *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter* represents mutual friendship between a hippy and a Balinese man in which neither sees the other as a threat. Although the narrator becomes close to Hans, he maintains his identity without in any way becoming 'Westernized'.

On the other hand, Putu Wijaya's novel *Tiba-tiba malam* (Night falls suddenly, 1977) provides a contrasting image of a Westerner by showing a Western man as a threat. This novel illustrates the

¹⁰ I found a file of Rasta Sindhu's manuscripts at Balai Penelitian Bahasa Denpasar (The Denpasar Language Centre) which had commissioned the re-typing of all his works. Unfortunately, the publication details are not always included in the re-typed copies of published articles.

changing dynamics of a village society in Tabanan (southwest Bali) that has to confront the intervention of 'new, Western, foreign, different or critical' values introduced by foreign tourists. Subali, who is holding a wedding for his son, meets David, a foreign tourist of unspecified origin, who has a clear agenda for changing Bali from a traditional to a modern society. David imbues Subali with new values, to the point where he neglects such traditional village values as *gotong-royong* (cooperation), and asks his Balinese friend to reform village society. Subali is the only character in the story with a positive attitude towards David, while his children and the other villagers are suspicious of David's behaviour. Here the Western character is shown as an intruder who imposes Western values upon Balinese traditions, resulting in a symbolic conflict between traditional and modern values.

This novel is of considerable interest in that the conflict is multi-layered but still focused on a villager who is so carried away by foreign influences that he is finally excluded from his village. Because of David's influence, Subali becomes lazy about performing his village duties, failing to go to the temple and to take part in village communal work. When the village is carrying out communal work, David takes Subali to Denpasar and persuades him to *ayahana* (pay a fine) instead of working. For the Westerner this is related to the fact that the village is poor and underdeveloped – someone has to open up the minds of the villagers and be a hero of progress by abandoning traditions and customs which are not profitable. David wants Subali to become the agent of this reform in his village.

Subali, an ambitious man who is frustrated because of his failure in business and has even considered transmigration, foolishly does exactly what David tells him to do. He often stays at home and never actively participates in village events. A crisis occurs when the village is carrying out another project. David again takes him to Denpasar. To show off, they deliberately pass the villagers who are doing the work.

Subali slowly approached the head of the village. When he spoke, his voice was very soft, but almost everybody could hear him. 'I am really sorry for not being able to take part in the community project. I've got

something to do in Denpasar, I'm ill and I have to get some medication there. Now I'd like to pay the fine.' He handed over the fistful of money that David had put in his pocket. The head of the village was stunned. Everybody was stunned.¹¹

This event shows traditional values and the social system of a particular village being undermined by external influences through the power of money. Subali has lied; he is not ill. While in Denpasar, he becomes a tourist at David's expense, going to Sanur and Kuta, eating at restaurants, getting drunk and seeking out prostitutes. Just when Subali has become fully engrossed in this new life, feeling free of traditional burdens, David disappears, returning to his home country. David's departure constitutes a significant plot shift. Subali is alone again and often reflects on what David has said.

He thought again about what David had said. There was a lot that he could agree with. The words of this foreigner were always in his mind – he was just like his guru. For a long time he had really wanted to do something in that village. Start reforms. Because it was too difficult to preserve the traditions, while daily needs were getting greater and greater.¹²

The village community, however, rejects the proposed reforms. Due to his antisocial behaviour, Subali is expelled from his community. He is not allowed to use the village facilities – the waterspout, streets and cemetery. His family members are also subjected to the extreme social sanction of *kasepèkang* – no one may talk to them, which means the village community considers that Subali's family does not exist. Anyone found speaking to them will be fined. The saddest outcome is that when Subali's wife dies, the village community refuses to bury

¹¹ Subali perlahan-lahan mendekati Kepala Desa. Waktu ia berbicara, suaranya liris sekali, tapi hampir semuanya bisa mendengarkan. 'Maaf sekali ini saya tidak bisa ikut bekerja. Ada keperluan di Denpasar, saya sakit saya harus berobat ke sana. Ini saya membayar uang ganti diri saya bekerja.' Ia mengeluarkan segenggam uang yang tadi disisipkan oleh David. Kepala Desa terpaku. Semua orang terpaku. (Putu Wijaya 1977:81.)

¹² Ia memikirkan kembali kata-kata David. Banyak yang bisa ia setuju. Makin lama ia makin masuk ke dalam pikiran orang asing itu – seakan-akan mendapat seorang guru. Sebenarnya sudah lama ia ingin melakukan sesuatu di desa. Membuat perubahan-perubahan. Karena terlalu sulit untuk mempertahankan adat, sementara kebutuhan hidup makin berat. (Putu Wijaya 1977:107.)

her and will not allow the family to bury her in the village cemetery. This major tragedy is the fate of a family who abandon the social norms and customs of the society they live in. Social sanctions such as the ones faced by Subali and his family are still imposed in some villages in contemporary Bali, as has been reported in the *Bali Post*.¹³

One of the distinguishing features of Putu Wijaya's prose is the use of shock tactics to rethink or deconstruct certain accepted social assumptions. Through the characters of Subali and David, he calls into question the tradition-based harmony of the village community by confronting it with new Western values. Despite the fact that Putu Wijaya can freely criticize aspects of this communalism through David and Subali, in the end he crushes the new values that he has introduced through the characters by illustrating how deeply traditional values are entrenched in Balinese society and how strongly they are adhered to (Mohamad 1994). From this viewpoint, Putu Wijaya's *Tiba-tiba malam* can be read as a critique of progress which has originated in the West and is not based on indigenous values – another important ongoing issue in Balinese discourse.

Depicting different kinds of relationships, both *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter* and *Tiba-tiba malam* share the view that in interactions with Westerners, Balinese should never try to become Westerners nor should they in any way become Westernized. They can be open-minded towards Western influence but at the same time, and more importantly, they must maintain their Balinese identity.

Stereotyping and changing perceptions

Balinese writers always stereotype tourists – they are generally represented as having a lot of money, even if they are not really

¹³ In 2002, in a village in Bangli, a family was not allowed to bury the body of a family member because they had been excluded from society after failing to meet community obligations. The family kept the corpse at home for about a month before the community finally granted them permission to use the public cemetery upon the payment of compensation. See 'Pengabenan Nengah Prapti terkatung-katung', *Bali Post* 12-4-2002 and 'Akhirnya, jenazah prapti dikubur di Banjar Lebah', *Bali Post* 27-4-2002.

wealthy or affluent people. These images are reflected in much Balinese literary writing that employs a combination of Balinese and Western characters as its subject. In *Tiba-tiba malam*, David represents the affluent tourist. Regardless of his undisclosed agenda for reforming Balinese tradition, he is sufficiently financial to be able to have his holiday in Bali while also creating a new lifestyle for Subali by paying his community fines and all his expenses while he is behaving like a tourist in Denpasar. During Hans Schmitter's holiday in *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter*, Balinese or other Indonesians that he meets often ask where he got the money to pay for his holiday, a question that reinforces the stereotype of tourists as wealthy. This exposes a cultural gulf in that the questioners cannot conceive ordinary people having enough to live on without obviously working.

The character Anderson in Aryantha Soethama's story *Lukisan Rinjin* (Rinjin's painting, 1996) is another example of the rich Western tourist stereotype.¹⁴ *Lukisan Rinjin* is a story that uses the development of the tourist industry as its background. It details the relationship between a gallery owner (Ketut Geria) and a Balinese painter (Wayan Rinjin). Like many of his fellow painters, Rinjin is dependent on gallery or art-shop owners like Ketut Geria who have the capital to control the price and marketing of paintings. Geria buys Rinjin's painting for US\$50 and resells it for US\$800 to Anderson, an American computer businessman. Wayan Rinjin only receives Rp 125,000 from Geria, equivalent to US\$50 using the exchange rate applicable at the time the story was written (1996). In this story, the Western character is depicted as affluent and also a person with a good appreciation of art and of Balinese artists. When Anderson makes the purchase he asks about the artist, but Geria meanly feigns ignorance despite the artist's presence.

'What's his name [English in the original]?'

Geria thought for a moment. He almost didn't have the wit to lie, because he felt Rinjin's eyes boring into his back. 'But I'm the rightful owner of

¹⁴ The short story *Lukisan Rinjin* is included in both the Indonesian and English versions of Vern Cork's collection *Bali; So many faces* (1996a:95-102) and *Bali behind the seen* (1996b:109-20). This short story was also included in Aryantha Soethama's own short story collection entitled *Mandi api* (Bathed by fire) published in 2006.

this work', he said to himself, 'I have control of it now.'
 'Sorry, I forget his name. But if you would like to order another one, you can do it through me.'¹⁵

Wayan Rinjin, a struggling artist, is left sad and badly hurt. The true alienation of artists from their art is represented here, and the artist is shown as a figure oppressed by the cruel commercial structure of the tourist industry. Tourists who are willing to pay a high price for Balinese art are also found in short stories written in the Balinese language, such as *Tukang gambar* (Painter, 1974) by Made Sanggra, and *Togog* (Sculpture, 1978) by Nyoman Manda. These images of tourists are contrasted with commercially-oriented Balinese art-shop owners and tourist guides who have a purely exploitative attitude towards art and artists. *Lukisan Rinjin* is a critique of the commercial pressure to which Balinese culture is subjected. But the Balinese art shop owners and guides are the greedy agents of capitalism here, and the Balinese artists are the ones oppressed during this process. The Westerners involved are relatively innocent. They are also being financially manipulated, and dispense money freely, but at least they show an appreciation for the artists which the over-commercialized Balinese do not. In these stories it is automatically assumed that the tourists are wealthy.

Contrasting with the generally positive, rich and affluent image of tourists, there are a small number of stories with negative, criminal tourists such as a bank robber and a member of drug syndicate. These include *Saya bukan pembunuhnya* (I am not his killer, 1972) by Rasta Sindhu and *Don't forget John!* (1996) by Ngurah Parsua.¹⁶

Saya bukan pembunuhnya is a story about an unnamed American tourist posing as a zoologist who is in Bali to do fieldwork on local

¹⁵ 'What's his name?' Geria termenung sesaat. Ia hampir kehilangan akal untuk berbohong, karena dirasanya mata Rinjin menusuk bokongnya. 'Tapi ini kan milik saya yang sah', kata harinya lagi. 'Saya yang berkuasa akan lukisan ini.' 'Maaf saya lupa namanya. Tapi kalau Mister Anderson hendak memesan lagi, cukup lewat saya saja'. (Cork 1996a, 1996b; Soethama 2006.)

¹⁶ This is the original title. This story was originally entered in a short story writing contest held by the newspaper *Nusa Tenggara* in 1995. Failing to win a prize, it was later published in *Bali Post* in 1996. In this analysis, the unpublished text is used.

animals.¹⁷ He is travelling around the island with a large sum of money and accompanied by a tour guide. The images of this American tourist as a scientist and a wealthy person presented throughout the story are all revealed to be false, because he is in fact a criminal, a bank robber. This duplicity is not exposed until the end of the story when he is shot dead by international police who have pursued him to Bali.

Similarly, John in *Don't forget John!* is initially portrayed as a rich person, as evidenced by the exclusive bungalow he rents in an expensive area of Kuta beach. However, at the end of the story, John commits suicide by throwing himself into the Indian Ocean and drowning. The Balinese character, who witnesses this act, knows nothing of John's motive for committing suicide, until he is told by police that John was a member of an international narcotics syndicate who has also been tracked down by international police. The interpretation of these two stories can be either that Bali is a safe hideout for international criminals or that Balinese people should be encouraged to be more vigilant when socializing with tourists whose identity is unclear.

Harmonious relationships between Balinese and Westerners are a characteristic of all the stories discussed above. The absence of cross-cultural conflict between characters in those stories means that they fail to convey the true complexity of relationships between people from very different cultural backgrounds. Only two works, both written by Putu Wijaya, the novel *Tiba-tiba malam* and the short story *Dasar* (Typical, 1993), emphasize conflict between the Balinese and Western characters.

Putu Wijaya's story, *Dasar*, details the relationship between an American man, John, who lives in Jakarta, and a Balinese, Wayan, who lives in Bali. They are old friends. When John is holidaying in Bali, Wayan accompanies him around the tourist spots. John even stays in Wayan's house and is considered part of Wayan's family – a close friendship that resembles that between the narrator and the German tourist in *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter*.

¹⁷ This story was published in *Kompas* 12-8-1972.

Knowing that John will be returning to America, Wayan invites him to come to Bali for a farewell visit because Wayan cannot afford to come to Jakarta. John does not have enough time to come to Bali so instead he invites Wayan to come to Jakarta and buys him an airline ticket. When Wayan comes to Jakarta he brings his nephew as well, without informing John – an act that is socially unacceptable according to Western standards. John is disappointed, and then shocked when Wayan asks him to pay for the nephew’s ticket. To avoid conflict, John pays for the ticket and accepts the uninvited guest. He tries to be a good host, but Wayan is so occupied with his nephew while he is in Jakarta that he completely forgets that the purpose of his visit is to farewell John. John is patient and would like to be rid of Wayan, but Wayan insists on remaining in John’s house for a few more days as his nephew, who is also his prospective son-in-law, still wants to visit several other tourist attractions in Jakarta.

Conflict between the two arises not only because of different expectations, but also because Wayan begins to exploit John. While in *Tiba-tiba malam* the source of the conflict is the incompatibility between traditional and Western values, in *Dasar* it is mutual misunderstanding. At the end of the story, John forces Wayan to leave his house by giving him one overnight bus ticket. On his way home, Wayan curses John: “*You ugly devil* [Balinese in the original], John. You’re a typical white and you always will be. You want to be the boss and walk all over everybody and get your own way”, Wayan cursed as he sat in the bus.¹⁸

The expression of ‘*leak barak*’ (ugly red devil) in Balinese is used to express disappointment or anger. Meanwhile, at his house, John is also complaining: ‘*My God* [English in the original], how could anyone behave like that! He’s a typical native! A typical ex-colonial! He’s still got the mentality of a slave!’¹⁹

This story represents a change in perceptions and stereotypes, particularly in regard to the Balinese character. The image of the

¹⁸ ‘*Leak barak*, si John! Dasar bule, tetap saja bule! Mau jadi tuan! Mau menjajah! Mau enaknya sendiri’, umpat Wayan dalam bus. (Translation is taken from Lingard 1995:98.)

¹⁹ *Oh my God!* Kok ada orang begitu? Dasar pribumi! Dasar bekas jajahan! Tetap saja berjiwa budak! (Translation is taken from Lingard 1995:98.)

Balinese as always friendly and helpful, as advertised in the world of tourism, is here negated by this picture of stubborn deceitfulness. But criticism is also directed at the Westerner who, although having lived in the country for some time, still fails to understand Indonesian or Balinese culture. As in *Tiba-tiba malam*, in this story Putu Wijaya emphasizes the formula 'East is East, West is West': good relations are simply not possible.

In the article 'Dari etsa sampai zat' (From etching to essence), published in *Horison*,²⁰ Putu Wijaya writes that 'Balinese people are basically very receptive to outside influences' (quoted in Allen 1999b:123-4). While in the fields of art and technology his opinion may hold true, the two works discussed here put forward opposing views. Subali in *Tiba-tiba malam* represents those Balinese who accept Western influence too easily. In Subali's case this causes his community to exclude him. By contrast, the protagonist Wayan in *Dasar* represents the kind of Balinese person who finds it too difficult to adapt to Western social behaviour. This, in turn, epitomizes the Balinese who show an unwillingness to enter the globalized world. By refusing to change, they remain ethnocentrically Balinese.

Romantic relations and the possibility of intimacy

Language exchange and mutual assistance also constitute the initial reasons for tourism bringing Balinese men and Western women together. However these relationships generally progress beyond linguistic barter and develop into romantic situations, yet despite the resulting sexual contact, marriage is always avoided. Separation and death are often used as narrative devices to prevent assimilation. There is one story, *Apakah Anda Mr Wayan?* (Are you Mr Wayan?, 1998) by Wayan Suardika, in which children result from a sexual encounter, but here again no formal marriage has taken place. In this story, both the complexity of interactions between Balinese men and Western women and the problems involved in determining the identities of children born out of wedlock are explored.

²⁰ The original article was published in *Horison* 18/19 (1984):289-306.

The first story that depicts a romantic relationship between a Balinese man and a Western woman is *Sanur tetap ramai* (Sanur is still crowded, 1970), written by Faisal Baraas. This story was originally published in the popular Jakarta-based magazine *Varia* (1970) and later included in the author's short story collection *Léak* (Baraas 1983:47-53). It describes a relationship between a Balinese man, I Wayan Sumerta, the narrator, and a Western woman, Joice. Sumerta is a university student who is spending his holiday as a freelance tourist guide to practise his English. Joice is a university student from the United States who has come to Bali with Karla, her lesbian lover, to conduct research. She is interested in Balinese culture, history, and tourist attractions that warrant visiting but the story does not explicitly mention the area or the topic of her research, suggesting that the meeting between the two is more important.

The story begins with a flashback to the original meeting and romance between Sumerta and Joice two years earlier as Sumerta reflects on meeting Joice again. Their first encounter takes place in Sanur, and in the opening scene, Sumerta demonstrates his sophistication by driving a car to the Hotel Bali Beach and being mistaken for a Jakartan by the hawkers at Sanur beach who invite him to buy souvenirs. He regards the hotel as *megah* (luxurious), a common impression among Balinese since the hotel is both modern and also the tallest building in Bali. Sumerta offers to assist Joice in conducting her research as a way of improving his English proficiency. The contact between Sumerta and Joice develops quickly and smoothly, with no cultural or linguistic hindrances. But here, the whole relationship is romantic. Joice declares her wish to become a Balinese, which Sumerta is pleased to hear, because he loves her.

The writer explores the details of the sexual relationship between Sumerta and Joice. Sumerta sees Joice as another 'Western woman who is free, open and pleasing' so he cannot understand why his sexual overtures are rejected. Once he realizes that Joice has lesbian tendencies, Sumerta changes the way he approaches her. Rather than being masculine, he projects the softness of a woman. Eventually, Sumerta and Joice consummate their relationship and she rejects lesbianism.

You're not just my *guide* [English in the original], you are my doctor. You made me understand the reality of life. You have cured me of my illness. I was a victim of modern American life. Lesbianism is just like an epidemic there. Lots of women, like me, are attracted to it. And that night, you surprised me, then I realised, that this is the truth, this is what is simply natural.²¹

The relationship between the two becomes very close and they agree to marry in two years time, because Joice has to go back to America to finish her studies, while Sumerta plans to return to university to do the same. They agree to meet at Sanur beach, at the place of their first encounter.

Two years later, they make their separate ways to Sanur beach with serious doubts, as they have both married since their last meeting. As Sumerta sits on the beach he is thinking, 'She would be a complete fool to come here as we promised. Love has to give way to reality: it's too difficult for East and West to meet.'²² Joice and her sister can see him from the seventh floor of the Hotel Bali Beach as he leaves. 'He would be a fool to wait for me as we agreed',²³ thinks Joice to herself, having been told by her sister that Sumerta was waiting for her. He is in fact going back to his wife and child, while Joice has a husband in America.

This relationship between a Balinese and a Westerner, which starts as a harmonious friendship, develops into a romance. Although they are supposedly deeply in love and prepared to marry, they go their separate ways. Perhaps, in spite of everything, it is just a holiday romance and this 'love' is superficial. Here we see Western culture presented as corrupt and decadent through the writer's naive view of lesbianism. The ending has a cynical feeling and the two women

²¹ Bukan *guide* saja. Kau dokter saya. Kau membuat saya mengerti tentang realitas hidup ini. Kau telah berhasil mengobati penyakit saya. Saya adalah salah satu korban dari kemelut kehidupan modern di Amerika. Lesbianisme bagaikan wabah di sana. Banyak gadis-gadis menyenangkannya, termasuk aku. Dan malam itu, kau telah membuat kejutan yang tiba-tiba padaku, sehingga aku menyadari, itulah yang benar, itulah yang wajar. (Baraas 1983:51.)

²² Alangkah bodohnya bila Joice benar-benar datang ke sini untuk janji dulu. Cinta memang harus tunduk pada realitas: antara timur dan barat menang sulit bertemu.

²³ Alangkah bodohnya ia, bila menantiku tadi, karena janji yang dulu.

looking down from the height of their luxury hotel symbolize a vast material and cultural gap which cannot ultimately be bridged – the hope of bridging it, and Sumerta's own hopes of gaining material benefit, come to nothing.

In early 1970s the main tourist centres, particularly Sanur and Kuta, became well known for offering sexual opportunities to young Balinese men (Sabdon and Danujaya 1989:163-7). In that period, 'free sex' was associated with Westerners, and Western women were regarded as much 'easier' than their Balinese counterparts. This concept was reinforced by the film *Bali connection*, made in 1978,²⁴ which portrays a 'free sex zone' populated by Kuta gigolos who seek out Western girls. Balinese village men who come to Kuta to find jobs but instead find that they become gigolos or sex workers are also depicted in *Aksara tanpa kata* (Characters without words), a *sinetron* made and televised in the early 1990s. The image of Kuta as a place to seek out Western tourists for sex remains very strong even now, and this behaviour has also emerged in other coastal areas of Bali, such as Lovina in the north.²⁵ In *Sanur tetap ramai*, Faisal Baraas seems to be offering a cautionary tale about the limits of such new found sexual freedoms.

Romances between Balinese men and Western women are dealt with in a number of other works such as *Tugu kenangan* (1986) by Ngurah Parsua and a novelette by Aryantha Soethama, *Suzan*, originally serialized in the popular women's magazine *Sarinah* in 1988. This novelette was republished as a book in 2002 with the new title *Wanita Amerika dibunuh di Ubud* (An American woman killed in Ubud), which seems to reflect the content of the story more closely.

²⁴ "'Bali connection" mulai digarap di Bali', *Bali Post* 18-3-1978:3.

²⁵ Jennaway 1998. For an in-depth coverage of the gigolo phenomenon in Kuta in an Indonesian publication, see the magazine *Tiara* 41 (8-12-1991):52-60. In this issue, the magazines published five articles on gigolos such as 'Kuta, Wisman and Gigolo Bali', 'Pengakuan Gigolo Bali', and 'Bibit-bibit Gigolo Bali'. For a comment that rejects the negative image of 'Bali Gigolo', see Agung Gede Dhyana Putra 'Gigolo di Bali hanya faset remontik' in *Nusa Tenggara* 2-3-1996:6. In this article, Putra argues that money or payment forms only one element in the relationship between local men and Western tourists, since most of them turn their relationships into marriage. But this is the social environment in the 1990s, an environment different from that which existed in 1970s when marriages were far less common.

The romances in *Suzan* and in *Tugu kenangan*, like that between Sumerta and Joice, end in separation.

Tugu kenangan describes a love affair between Sudarma, a medical school dropout, and Elizabeth Yane, an Australian student holidaying in Bali. They meet at Kuta beach. Motivated by sexual desire and love, Sudarma makes the initial approach, impressed by Elizabeth's beauty.

She's a young girl whose beauty really hits you right between the eyes. 'I'm sorry, but I can speak only a little English' [English in the original] I replied awkwardly. She laughed, while I stared at her with my heart pounding. This white-skinned girl looked even more beautiful with her smile and lively laughter.²⁶

Sudarma's passion and spirit might not have been so ardent if Elizabeth had not been so beautiful. Nevertheless, they quickly fall in love, develop a trusting and passionate relationship and decide to marry. However, Elizabeth is killed in a plane crash, so this marriage never takes place. The plane crash mentioned in the story and the memorial built to remember its victims recall the crash of a Pan-American airliner in North Bali in 1972 which killed all 107 passengers on board. They are commemorated by a memorial built at Padanggalak beach, north of Sanur.²⁷ At the end of the story, Sudarma is shown visiting the monument, indicating that he still loves Elizabeth although she is dead. The writer of this story is unwilling to allow a Balinese and a Westerner to marry, even though they love each other – and is willing to go to dramatic extremes to prevent it.

In the novelette *Suzan*, a Balinese journalist, Bram, and an American posing as a detective holidaying in Bali, Suzan Hayes,

²⁶ Nampaknya ia seorang gadis muda yang berparas cukup menggiurkan hatiku. 'I am sorry, but I can speak only a little English,' kataku dengan ucapan bahasa Inggris yang kaku. Ia tertawa. Ketika gadis itu tertawa aku menatap dengan perasaan gairah yang menggebu. Gadis kulit putih itu bertambah cantik dengan senyum dan tawanya riang. (Parsua 1986c.)

²⁷ Even though the crash happened in North Bali, the memorial for the victims was built in the south of Bali at Padanggalak, the place where some of the bodies recovered from the accident came to be buried. I cannot ascertain why Padanggalak was chosen as the site for the memorial since at that time (1974) it was a still a quiet, largely empty town 'outside' of Denpasar.

form a complex relationship. They too fail to realize their dream of living together. Bram meets Suzan for the first time when, as a tourist, she comes to watch a cremation. In exactly the same way as Sudarma in *Tugu kenangan*, Bram is motivated to make an approach to Suzan both for sexual and romantic reasons and to learn English from her. Indeed, one of Bram's friends sees assistance with language acquisition as the primary role of Western women. Most of the first part of the narrative describes Suzan's beauty and the appeal that she radiates, and how much Bram is attracted to her. Suzan is attracted to Bram because he seems like a suitable companion. As a 'detective' it suits her to be with a journalist, a fellow investigator. After their initial meeting, they continue their relationship in Ubud, where they finally make love: 'Her hand goes under my shirt, caressing my chest. Her fingers start to play, slowly scratching softly. "Bram", she whispers in my ear, "Are you sleeping?" I pretend to stretch for a second and then stay quiet again. Suzan kisses my neck.'²⁸

At the peak of their intimacy, Bram has to accept the crushing reality that Suzan is actually a member of an American weapons smuggling syndicate. An American business rival assassinates her and once again, the reader witnesses a writer's apprehension about allowing Balinese and Westerner characters to come together permanently. They are shown as being capable of love but there is always an impediment to marriage – personal decisions, accidents or murder. Ultimately the relationships are deemed inappropriate and fate has to intervene. From another point of view, the deaths of the criminal American characters like John, the bank robber and Suzan are linked to the theme of *karma*, already mentioned in relation to the two early novels of Panji Tisna (see Chapter VI).

The death of Suzan does not end the story, as it followed by the revelation of her identity by a local police officer, a close friend of Bram, who is in charge of the investigation into her death. It transpires that Suzan studied anthropology and went on an expedition to Irian

²⁸ Tangannya menelusup masuk ke bawah bajuku, mengusap-usap dadaku. Jarinya bermain-main, menggaruk-garuk tak pasti. Pelan-pelan. 'Bram', bisiknya dekat telingaku. 'Kau tidur?' Aku berpura-pura menggeliat sesaat. Lalu diam lagi. Suzan mencium tengkukku. (Soethama 1988.)

Jaya when only eighteen years old. This experience made it possible for her to get a job in an American intelligence agency at the age of twenty. She then worked as a spy, travelled abroad and supplied information to the intelligence agency. After this, she became involved in a syndicate supplying weapons to various countries undergoing internal conflicts such as Cambodia, Libya, Nicaragua and the Philippines. During her journey to Bali, she was followed by someone from a rival syndicate. By providing such detailed personal information, the narrator seems to suggest that the identity of foreign tourists, particularly women, cannot simply be judged from their beauty and sex appeal, or from their willingness to become practice partners in English conversations.

The narrator also uses the death of Suzan to introduce two relevant yet crucial contemporary issues related to Balinese custom and religious practices. The first is whether people who are not Balinese Hindus can be given a Balinese cremation. Suzan has left a will with some money (US\$500) for Bram and wants her body to be cremated as though she were Balinese. She has already mentioned this in a sentimental way at the time of their first meeting at the cremation ceremony. Here the significance of the cremation ceremony watched by Suzan at the beginning of the story is revealed and it becomes an important plot element.

To mediate the discussion, the writer introduces a new character, a modernist Hindu priest who believes that the more people wish to be cremated as Hindu adherents, the more they will feel that Hinduism is a religion providing a peaceful way to heaven. Most of Balinese society believes that only Hindu adherents can be cremated in the Balinese way, but the writer uses the supposedly authoritative character of the priest to challenge this orthodoxy. However, there is evidence of a cremation ritual for a prominent foreigner being accepted. Rudolf Bonnet, the Dutch painter mentioned earlier, who set up Pita Maha with Walter Spies and a group of Balinese artists in the 1930s and founded the Puri Lukisan Museum, was cremated alongside Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati from Puri Ubud in 1979. Balinese Hindus saw this cremation for Bonnet as a way to pay tribute to his lifelong dedication to Balinese arts and culture (Vickers 1989:113). Perhaps drawing inspiration from Bonnet's cremation, in

the story Aryantha Soethama goes further by suggesting that anyone who wants to be cremated in the Balinese way should be welcomed.

The other issue relates to the cost of cremations and the amount of labour involved. Cremation is the most costly and labour intensive ritual in Balinese tradition and often leaves families in debt. The process can last for several weeks or months and is felt by most Balinese to be a burden imposed by tradition. A movement whose aim was to simplify Balinese rituals while still complying with Hindu teachings had begun in the colonial period, pioneered by intellectuals who published articles in *Surya Kanta*. After independence, this movement continued with the promotion of two strategies: the promotion of standardized holy references and religious procedures for cremations and encouraging the public to perform collective cremations (Connor 1996). The movement would enable the cost for cremation to be minimized and shared between those involved, but while it has received widespread acceptance this has not stopped the traditional performance of massive and elaborate cremations among the affluent classes who see the ritual as a way of asserting and maintaining their prestige (C. Geertz 1980:177).

In the story, the author has Bram perform a simple cremation ritual for Suzan officiated over by a priest with her parents and her former husband in attendance. It is possible for Bram to perform this small scale cremation for Suzan because she was not a member of a local community who would normally all attend a Balinese cremation. But, if the story is read as part of the ongoing debate about Balinese ritual practices, Aryantha Soethama's *Suzan* is a critique of laborious and costly Balinese rituals and also suggests the need for Balinese society to reinterpret the relationship between the Hindu religion and Balinese custom and tradition in the context of the inevitable arrival of globalization.

The focus of these three stories, *Sanur tetap ramai*, *Tugu kenangan*, and *Suzan*, is the impossibility of intimacy between Balinese and Westerners developing into a permanent relationship. The encounters all begin with indications that friendship is already there, and that such friendships can rapidly develop into romance. But in the end the characters have to accept the bitter reality of separation. Although marriage between Balinese and foreigners, both Westerners and

Asians, is common, Balinese writers seem unwilling to allow their Balinese characters to marry Western characters. This suggests that Balinese writers are less interested in analysing assimilation between Balinese and Western cultures than in exploring other social and cultural issues.

Are you Mr Wayan?

In the late 1990s, there was a change in the representation of foreigners in narratives about Balinese and Westerners. This change is important and inseparable from improvements in global communication and the advent of commercial television. Wayan Suardika's story *Apakah Anda Mr Wayan?* (1998), the short story that features children resulting from intimate relationships between a Balinese man and foreign female tourists. Its theme makes it distinct from the others discussed above, particularly in its depiction of exchanges between Balinese and Westerners. Although there are children resulting from these relationships, marriage between the Balinese man and a foreign woman is still avoided. The male protagonist of the story is Wayan, a 45 year-old Balinese writer who works as a cultural guide for foreign students doing fieldwork in Bali. He is clearly a womanizer. However, it is not his sexual activities which are the focus of the story, but the meetings between Wayan and the children resulting from these encounters.

Apakah Anda Mr Wayan? begins with the question 'Are you Mr Wayan?' put to Wayan in his house in Denpasar by a teenage American girl from Chicago, Anna Winslet. This is a somewhat ironic question, since Wayan is an extremely common name in Bali. Anna introduces herself to Wayan as his daughter and recounts all the details of the personal relationship he had with her mother, from their first meeting in a gallery in Ubud up to their one intimate encounter in his room 18 years ago. Wayan is completely surprised by this strange girl but it is hard for him to deny her account.

'Is it all true?' she asked, seeking confirmation of the story about me and her mother.

'Whatever', I [Wayan] replied, still doubting.

'Why?'

'So many foreign women have been my friend...'

'Not just your friend, but your lover?'

'Yeah something like that.'

'Wow! I didn't know my father was so interesting!' she exclaimed, and then smiled, whether sincerely or in mock, or I don't know. Then she embraced me again.

'Whoever you are, you are still my father. At least I have a father. All my life in Chicago, how I have missed you!'²⁹

Finally Wayan accepts Anna as his daughter. As Anna shows her intention to be a Balinese, Wayan takes her to his home village where a series of traditional Balinese ceremonies are initiated for her as if she is a newborn baby. She is quickly accepted as a member of the family, but her grandparents continue to refer to her as 'tourist', an identity that has been universally applied to white people by the Balinese since the rapid upsurge of tourism in the 1970s.

As soon as they return to Denpasar, Anna invites her father to stay in a hotel at her expense – another affluent image of a Westerner – but Wayan wants her to stay in his house with him, to demonstrate his responsibility to his daughter. While both of them are at home, a Japanese teenager comes to see him and asks him the same question that Anna posed: 'Are you Mr. Wayan?' The story does not explain the identity of this Japanese girl or her relationship with Wayan. But, the implication of her arrival and the nature of her question is that she is probably also Wayan's daughter from one of his other lovers.

In addition to dealing with the romantic aspect of the relationship, the story explores issues surrounding the identity of its characters, particularly the Western protagonist. Anna's identity is shown as rather problematic, especially from the Balinese point of view. For while Anna is accepted as a Balinese woman; she is still considered a 'tourist' largely because of her physical appearance, which obviously cannot be changed. This ambivalent view is shown through the

²⁹ This quote is taken from the English version of the story, translated from Indonesian by Emma Baulch and published in *Bali Echo* 38 (December/January 1998/99):74-7. I am unable to locate the Indonesian version of the story. While it is clear that the translation lacks fluency, it is still useful in gaining an understanding of the theme of the original story.

character of the grandmother who conveys the strongly conventional view of the Balinese towards Western people. Anna, however, is shown to be firmly committed to changing her identity from American to Balinese, as reflected in the following dialogue between Anna and her father:

'In essence', I replied straight away, 'do you want to be Balinese or American?'

'I want to be the first one', she answered firmly.

'That's what your grandparents want.'³⁰

As a Balinese woman, she is expected to be able 'to dance and make offerings'. Here it is shown how closely Balinese identity is associated with art and culture. In fulfilling these requirements, particularly dancing, Anna has an idea that allows her a promising compromise. In America – as it happens – she had learned ballet and now she wants to do 'something experimental by combining Balinese dance with ballet'. How Anna realizes her intention of becoming a Balinese is not explored further, but the story clearly shows the willingness of a Westerner to become Balinese, rather than the reverse. Thus, Wayan Suardika not only shares the view of the other Balinese writers discussed here who are unwilling to marry their Balinese and Western characters but also affirms the superiority of a Balinese identity over a Western identity.

Romance and magic

Another pattern of romantic relationship between a Balinese man and a Western tourist appears in the novel *Liak ngakak* (The laughing liak, 1978) written by Putra Mada. Unlike the stories already discussed, the romance in *Liak ngakak* between a Balinese man and a Western woman takes place in an unusual context: namely, in the

³⁰ This quote is taken from the English version of the story, translated from Indonesian by Emma Baulch and published in *Bali Echo* 38 (December/January 1998/99):74-7.

tension between black and white magic. *Léak*³¹ is a transformation performed by people who practise black magic. The *léak* can take the form of a demon, a fireball, a monkey or a pig. It may also appear as a bodiless face or in other terrifying forms. Stories about *léak* can be found in a large number of both modern and traditional Balinese texts, but *Liak ngakak* appears to be one of the most interesting of these because it has a Westerner as its central character. As this figure in the story is seeking and practising black magic, it reinforces an image of Westerners as fire-breathing demons or white monkeys.

A belief in magic (black and white) is central to Balinese belief systems (Covarrubias 1937; H. Geertz 1994) and both *kesaktian* (sorcery) and *léak* play a part. Although this belief dates back many hundreds of years and infiltrates most aspects of Balinese life, it still retains significant mystery. Issues surrounding magic are full of contradictions. Ordinary people often avoid talking about *léak* because they believe it could be very dangerous, but they always enthusiastically watch whenever traditional performing artists perform a story on black and white magic, partly out of curiosity.

The novel *Liak ngakak* tells of an Australian woman, Catherine (Cathie) Dean, who comes to Bali to investigate *léak* after studying the Indonesian language for two years in Yogyakarta. Her ambition is to publish a book that will disclose all the secrets of Balinese black magic to the world at large. At a party in Denpasar, she meets Pusaka Mahendra, a Balinese man who lives in East Java and works as a sailor – as did the author. He then helps her to find a *léak* guru. Both Cathie and Pusaka are identified as adventurers, so they share interests and personalities. From the beginning, very little hinders their relationship. Cathie needs Pusaka to help her to find a *léak* guru, while Pusaka is attracted to Cathie's charm and beauty. Love and romance between a Balinese man and a Western woman adds an additional level of interest to a story about *léak*.

Within two days, under the guidance of the *léak* guru – an old woman from Sanur – and with some help from Pusaka, Cathie is already able to transform herself into a *léak* taking the shape of a pig, a bird, a monkey and a fireball. Here is Cathie's description of her

³¹ *Léak* is sometimes also spelt *liyak* or *liak*.

feelings after transforming herself into a fireball, one of the most popular forms of *léak*.

I feel that I am sitting on top of the fireball, but I don't feel any heat. Strangely, I can control the movement of the fireball as I like. I can drive it backwards, forwards, up and down, flying, gliding, diving, in short it all depends on what I want to do.³²

The relationship between Cathie and Pusaka develops into a romance. During the day, they go around Bali behaving like tourists. Pusaka and Cathie agree to avoid sightseeing in Sanur, Kuta and Nusa Dua because hippies populate those beaches. This reflects the reality of the tourist world in Bali in the 1970s, when the novel was written, and also makes a passing negative comment on the hippie phenomenon.

To help develop the cohesiveness of the plot, Pusaka and Cathie are shown on one occasion during their touring watching a *Barong* dance, a performance for tourists that depicts the unending war between black and white magic. During the night, while Cathie goes out to practise black magic with the guru, Pusaka sneaks a look at the *léak* lesson to assuage his curiosity, a dangerous thing to do as the *léak* guru may attack him. To protect himself, Pusaka consults his grandfather who is an expert in both black and white magic but who has chosen only to practise the latter. After this discussion, Pusaka becomes fully convinced of the existence of *léak*, and his knowledge of the secrets and dangers of black and white magic has increased. His grandfather gives him a *keris* (mystical dagger) for self-protection.

The contrasting powers of the two characters – black and white magic – then overshadow the romantic relationship between them. This unusual state of affairs forces Pusaka to ask himself whether he should maintain his love for Cathie. When his official leave finishes, Pusaka returns to Surabaya, and leaves Cathie in Bali. As in the other stories cited, the romantic relationship between a Balinese man and a Western girl in this story is temporary. At the end of the story, Cathie

³² Rasanya aku duduk di atas sebuah bola api yang berpijar namun aku sama sekali tidak merasa kepanasan. Yang lebih ajaib lagi bola api itu dapat kukendalikan sesuka hatiku. Bisa kuatur maju mundur, naik turun, terbang, meluncur, menukik, pokoknya bergantung sepenuhnya kepada kemauanku. (Mada 1978:133.)

dies as a *léak*. Pusaka accidentally kills her and her guru, when he has actually come to save her life when both are struggling and unable to resume their human forms, because their bamboo shrines have been swept into the sea following heavy rain. These shrines are an essential element in the process of transformation from human being to *léak* and back again.³³

This novel was made into a film in 1981 by a Jakarta-based film producer under the title *Mistik, punahnya rahasia ilmu iblis léak* (Mystique, the extinction of the secret of black magic) and was widely watched in Bali. The film differs from the novel in some scenes. In the novel, Cathie and the guru are killed by Pusaka, while in the film they die in a fight against a witch-doctor, Pusaka's grandfather, who is supported by Pusaka and a crowd. The presence of the crowd and their help in attacking the *léak* in the film stresses the idea that black magic is the people's enemy and should be destroyed. Cathie's dream of writing a book about Balinese black magic has come to nothing, an indication that she is merely used by the narrator to disclose certain aspects of the Balinese belief systems regarding white and black magic.

The plot of the novel is full of repetitive events. These events, however, are represented from different points of view without disturbing the flow of the narrative. The process of transforming into a *léak* is shown through the eyes of both Pusaka and Cathie. When Pusaka is spying on the lessons, we are given his description of how Cathie transforms herself into a *léak*, what she looks like, and what she does before and after the lesson. At this point, Cathie herself has not explained what she does and readers do not have access to what she feels. Cathie relates her version of the session to Pusaka later, during the daytime when they are sightseeing as tourists. Her way of describing the experience suggests that she is unaware that Pusaka already knows of the previous night's events. The dialogue between Pusaka and Cathie is not simple repetition but provides

³³ There were frequent images of *léak* dancing before a bamboo shrines during the process of transformation in traditional Balinese painting by Batuan painters of the 1930s, works which were collected by Margaret Mead. For the publication and discussion of these paintings and the issue of sorcery, see H. Geertz 1994.

the narrative structure around which the story continues to develop.

The repetitive plot is suited to this novel, because it can adequately present the complex process of becoming a *léak*, as well as providing space for the main protagonist to relate her experiences, giving readers first-hand information such as detailed step by step accounts of learning how to become a *léak*. In the film, this element – and the fighting between more than one *léak*, and between a *léak* and the practitioner of white magic – become much more effective scenes. For a Balinese audience, these are the most anticipated parts of the story – they are impossible to see in real life since *léak* cannot disclose facts about their practices. Two demonstrations of how a man becomes a *léak* were attempted; one during the 1930s and another in 1997, but both were unsuccessful.³⁴ Although the transformation scenes are the most interesting and entertaining aspects of both the novel and the film, the story has a meaning which far transcends these mechanical details. At a surface level the novel can be read as a primer for young Balinese who do not initially believe in the ‘existence’ of *léak*. Its most important feature, however, is the description of *léak* and Balinese black magic through the eyes of a Western woman. This is a strategic act of representation, as it circumvents violation of the law of *ajawera* (literally ‘powerful lore cannot be disseminated’). *Ajawera* means in practice that people are not free to talk about certain topics such as *léak*. Fewer complexities occur when the writer uses a Westerner as the *léak*’s pupil, rather than a Balinese, as by doing so the writer can easily manipulate the *ajawera* law as it applies to foreigners – should the law take effect, the Westerner will be the victim, and no Balinese will be harmed. This device is familiarly known within social science literature as ‘projection’, in which unacceptable feelings about the self are projected on to other ethnicities.

³⁴ In the 1930s, as noted by Covarrubias (1937:322), a *léak* demonstration was going to be carried out and people had to pay to see it. This demonstration failed because a spectator retained his flashlight, something that frightened the *léak*. A similar accident occurred in 1997 in Bangli, where the demonstration failed because of the flash of a tourist’s camera. A few days after that, a rumour spread that the same *léak* was going to do another demonstration, but this rumour was denied by a local government official. See also ‘Tak benar ada demonstrasi “Léak” di Bangli’, *Bali Post* 5-8-1997:3.

The novel, however, goes much further than this since it illustrates an underlying unease about tourists' interest in Balinese traditions and their ability to understand them. Cathie's death not only illustrates the dangerous consequences of practising black magic and tampering with a Balinese secret but also reflects unwillingness on the part of Balinese writers to accept that foreigners might master one of the most specifically Balinese traditions. This is a central message of the novel. It emphasizes that the Balinese must defend their traditions, and with them their identity, since globalization and contact with the Western world are unavoidable. The author acknowledges that it is impossible to reject all external influences and that the Balinese do need to catch up and modernize, but also that specific local traditions that underpin identity need to be defended at all costs, even if the price is distraught friends, heartbroken lovers and the occasional dead Westerner.

The absence of Balinese women characters

Most of the principal characters in the stories discussed above are Balinese men and Western women, while Balinese female characters are largely absent. Minor exceptions occur in the stories *Liak ngakak* and *Apakah Anda Mr Wayan?*. However, even here the Balinese women are not the protagonists of the stories. They are either marginal figures, like the grandmother in the story, *Apakah Anda Mr Wayan?*, or negative characters, like the *léak* guru in *Liak ngakak*, who meets a tragic death at the end of the story. In the works discussed in Chapter VI, female characters are central to the narrative, but this is not the case in stories about Balinese and Westerners interacting within the context of tourism. In order to understand why Balinese writers prefer to use Balinese men rather than Balinese women characters in such stories it is important first to examine the involvement of Balinese women in the tourism industry, which provides them with a space to make contact with Westerners.

During the early development of the tourist industry in the late 1960s, the number of women working in the industry was relatively small. This absence was related to social and moral issues. Jobs in

tourism, especially those that involved work as waitresses, room-maids or tour guides were considered by the public to be socially and morally unsuitable for women. Women who worked in the industry were regarded negatively, as if they were immoral, or as if their interaction with foreigners would lead to sexual contact.³⁵ By the early 1980s, when tourism had become one of the biggest job providers, more and more people, men and women, found themselves working in the industry. Now that it has become common for women to work as waitresses, hotel room-maids and tour guides, the disapproval once surrounding this work has gradually disappeared.

All the works discussed above are written by men. The dominant featuring of men, having more access to the modern world through activities related to tourism and having the ability to protect themselves from pernicious or undesirable Western influences clearly reflects a strong gender bias. This literature clearly suggests that Balinese men are the true guardians of Balinese culture during the process of modernization, a competence not attributed to Balinese women. In other words, the ability of Balinese women to enter the modern world is underestimated in literary representation. This in itself may reflect the structural social realities relating to the greater restrictions that are placed upon women in accessing not just the tourism industry but the public domain in general.

This view is not new in the world of Balinese literature because it was almost universal among Balinese short story writers of the 1950s. In their work, Balinese women were discouraged from pursuing progress or becoming modern people. Women characters were always depicted as being unable to protect themselves from the negative impacts of Western values. In their struggle to gain equal status with men in modern society, they were depicted as being eventual victims of their ambition (see Chapter VI). Although Bali has become an increasingly modernized society now that we are entering the twenty-first century, unequal perceptions of

³⁵ Ni Wayan Taman, interview, Denpasar, 10-7-2004. Ni Wayan Taman (b. 1937) is a professional woman in the tourism sector. She began to work in the industry in the 1960s as a tour guide and then went on to establish and manage her own travel company. In 2004, she was presented with an award by the Bali Provincial Government for the significant role she has played in the development of tourism in Bali.

gender roles and the position of women in modern affairs remain a very strong current flowing through Balinese social studies and literature.

Balinese identity and the 'Other'

This analysis of Balinese literary fiction by writers who examine Balinese-Westerner interactions involves several forms of stereotyping which either reinforce or counter the prevailing images. Balinese characters are portrayed as outgoing and ready to cope with change and new experiences in these interactions. On the other hand, Westerners, particularly men, are stereotyped as hippies and Western women as beautiful, charming and sexually seductive. In poetry, the image of the Westerner as a hippie closely associated with drugs and sexual pleasure also makes an occasional appearance. All of these images are far more complex than the term *tamu* (guest, visitor) reflects. This is the term usually used by tour guides and hoteliers and others employed in tourism to refer to foreigners who deserve a particular service.

Meetings between Balinese and Westerners begin and develop smoothly despite differences in language and culture. The relationships are full of excitement and surprise. They often start with the Balinese character being motivated by a desire to learn English, but as events proceed, friendship turns into romance, intimacy and sexual contact. One striking aspect of male-female relationships is an authorial tendency to kill off the female characters when the relationship approaches permanence, Suzan in Aryantha Soethama's story, Elizabeth in Ngurah Parsua's story and Catherine in Putra Mada's novel are all examples.

The consequence of these sad endings is not just the end of the friendship and romance, but also of any prospects of marriage. It is clear that in Balinese fiction, marriage between Balinese men and Western women is an event to be avoided. Friendly relations between male characters are also not long-lasting, ended either by the departure or death of the Western character. Balinese writers never allow their Balinese characters to assimilate Western characteristics

either through the direct passing on of values or through marriage. Separation truly finalizes the story.

Numerous literary works by Indonesian writers that deal with the subject of relationships between Indonesian and Western characters do allow them to reach marriage. This can be seen in Abdul Muis' *Salah asuhan* (The wrong upbringing, 1928), Nh. Dini's *Pada sebuah kapal* (On a ship, 1973) and Titie Said's *Selamat tinggal Jeanette* (Goodbye, Jeanette, 1986), among others. Although these marriages end in separation for various reasons such as adultery and unresolved cross-cultural conflicts, the temporary unions between Indonesian and Western characters make it possible for the writers to explore, and therefore for readers to comprehend, the complexities and limitations of the meeting between two different sets of cultural values.³⁶ Separation in these novels is nevertheless unavoidable, so the eventual outcome is similar to that of most of the stories by Balinese writers discussed here.

Why are Balinese writers so unwilling to allow Westerners a place in Balinese society? Why are they so keen to kill off their Western characters when the relationships become too intimate? In order to answer these questions, we should ask why Balinese writers are interested in depicting Balinese-Westerner interactions in the first place.

Balinese writers from the 1960s onwards have wanted to comprehend and at the same time respond to the new phenomenon of mass tourism and its impact on their society. Mass tourism has meant that Westerners, as the first and most prominent group of tourists, have been the focus of Balinese debates about the consequences of modernization through tourism. According to Picard (1996:185), over this period an official discourse has arisen about tourists as a group who must be managed, a discourse beginning with anxieties about 'hippies' as a source of cultural debasement. Picard regards the official discourse as being one of 'us' – Balinese and other Indonesians – versus 'them' – Westerners.

³⁶ For a discussion of *Salah asuhan*, see Hunter 2002, *Pada sebuah kapal* see Teeuw 1979:176-7, *Selamat tinggal Jeanette*, see Foulcher 1990.

The writers examined here show how this discourse has entered into other cultural forms, but not all of them necessarily convey ideas which fit neatly into Picard's analysis. His view of the official discourse posits a single hegemonic language of tourism which is specifically Indonesian. In these stories we move between Indonesian, English and Balinese, with some of the stories in Indonesian making use of Balinese language expressions at strategic points, such as the expression '*léak barak*' (red devil) in *Dasar* and '*bojog putih*' (white monkey) used in every day conversation. *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter*, for example shows how the meeting between people of different language backgrounds can create a harmony of its own which is quite outside any official view of hippies or Western culture.

Balinese writers have chosen Balinese-Western interactions as a vehicle for evaluation, criticism and response to issues in Balinese culture. The Western characters created by the writers largely function as instruments for articulating conservative views on Balinese customs, traditions and culture. Rasta Sindhu uses his character Hans Schmitter to raise many issues, including corruption, backwardness and poverty. Putu Wijaya uses his character David to pit traditional values against ideas of progress, although ultimately it is the forms of 'progress' which become the problem. Putra Mada uses his Australian female character, Cathie, to disclose Balinese black magic, one of the most mysterious aspects of Balinese culture.

In Balinese culture, criticism, or even compliments from other Balinese, are not considered to be polite or a normal part of discourse. People are taught that they should not make comments about themselves, as in a line from the well-known traditional poem *Gaguritan basur*: '*eda ngaden awak bisa, depang anake ngadanin*' (Do not judge yourself, let others do it for you). Using an 'Other' to present such views is much more meaningful and appropriate, so foreigners – who are considered outspoken, if not gauche – provide a vehicle for saying what Balinese characters cannot say. It is important then that English-speaking Westerners are used in these works because they are at a greater cultural distance than members of other cultures such as Asians or members of other Indonesian ethnic groups.

Thus, despite the recent high number of Japanese tourists who have come to Bali – including people who have married Balinese –

there are as yet no works of fiction depicting Japanese characters. Likewise marriages between Westerners and Balinese which have occurred and which have lasted for long periods of time are outside the frame of reference of these stories – that is, the depiction of their reality does not necessarily accord with the ‘realities’ of Balinese life. Balinese-Western interactions in fiction are not about acculturation or even marriage but are part of a process by which Balinese authors try to comprehend what is good about Balinese culture or what is good for Balinese culture. The objective is not to understand, let alone to promote Western culture, because their authority to depict Western values through their characters does not necessarily bear close scrutiny – as in Faisal Baraas’s simplistic view of lesbianism. In several of these works the characters are very artificial, and their role as instruments for the writers to express their personal and social ideas and experiences is obvious.

Hence, what is more important in fictional Balinese-Western interactions is the process by which Balinese people comprehend and interpret their culture, rather than issues pertaining to the unity of Balinese and Westerners. There is a common view among these writers that ideal Balinese are those who are open in their socialization with Westerners, but who do not become Westerners. In short, Balinese writers want the Balinese to preserve their Balinese identity.

Conclusion

Since its emergence in the 1920s, Indonesian literature produced by Balinese writers has constantly contributed to the corpus of national literature. In addition to the body of texts, literary activities in Bali, as elsewhere in Indonesia, have added to the liveliness of the national literary tradition. Bali has no doubt become, to use Derks' expression, 'a regional literary centre' amidst the wider landscape of modern Indonesian literature. Bali's contribution, however, has rarely been acknowledged because of the canonical nature of Indonesian literature and the fact that most studies are nationally oriented. Such studies mainly pay attention to canonical works and writers and consequently overlook literary texts published and circulated in the regions. The adoption of a regionally contextualized approach to national literature emanating from Bali has enabled this study both to provide evidence of the sustained contribution Bali has made to the development of the national literary tradition, and also, importantly, to examine the major subject matter used by Balinese writers in response to the ever present social, cultural and political changes throughout the twentieth century. In addition, the regionally contextualized approach provides a point from which to explore the multi-faceted and heterogeneous character of the national literature – thus complementing the predominant nationally oriented studies.

The significance of regional sensitivity in the study of national literature has been recognized among scholars of Indonesian literature since the 1970s; however, until well into the 2000s, the number of actual studies of this type has been very small. The nationally oriented approach still forms the mainstream, whereas

studies using a regional approach only appear occasionally. There is no single model for a regionally oriented study of national literature. According to their differing focuses, there are at least three different models of studying Indonesian literature utilizing a regionally contextualized approach. There are studies based on the writers' ethnic origins, exemplified by Freidus's study (1977) on the contribution of Sumatran writers to Indonesian literature. There are also studies on the development of literary works and activities in a particular region during a particular period, such as Farida Soemargono's study (1979) on literary movements in Yogyakarta and Ian Campbell's study (2006) on recent Indonesian poetry from West Java. Finally come studies on the significance of regional centres in the dynamic of national literature, as shown in Derks's studies on *sastra pedalaman* where he discusses literary growth and activities in various regions throughout Indonesia (Derks 2002).

By combining these three models, the present study shows the dynamic life of national literature in Bali from the 1920s to 2000, Bali's contribution to the development of the national literary tradition, and how Bali justifies its standing as an active regional literary centre in Indonesia. A close examination of the literary activities and texts originating from Bali makes it possible to reject the uncritical acceptance of Jakarta as the sole literary centre. In the context of Indonesian literature from West Java, I. Campbell (2006) argues that there has been a sustained intersection between the local and the national as can be seen through national or international literary activities and publications. The inclusion of numbers of Balinese writers invited to literary festivals and the choice of Bali as the venue or co-host of such activities from time to time shows that this also holds true for the national literature coming from Bali. Balinese writers have responded with great enthusiasm and increased achievement.

As the analysis has shown from the outset, the representation of modernity and identity has been a recurrent theme in Indonesian literature by Balinese writers published throughout the twentieth century. It follows a tendency in Indonesian literature in general in which the themes of nationalism and being Indonesian have been constantly examined. Early examples of this from the 1920s are Mohammad Jamin's poems *Bahasa, bangsa* and *Indonesia tumpah*

darahku while more recently there is Taufiq Ismail's 1998 poem *Malu (aku) jadi orang Indonesia*. The difference is that while Indonesian literature in general is concerned with national identity and identity in crisis, literature originating from Bali focuses on how Balinese identity is expressed within the context of changing national politics, a dynamic local culture and ambivalent perceptions towards modernity. For Balinese writers modernity is usually associated with modern education and Western values. Although modernity is identical with progress, there has been an ongoing duality among Balinese writers in their understanding of modernity. On one side, it is considered a key value for opposing traditional customs and constructing modern identity in terms of equality and individual self-esteem. On the other hand, modernity is often described as a source of moral degradation, especially for women, who are considered unable to protect themselves from its negative impacts. Texts studied here provide rich traces about this ambivalence of Balinese writers in approaching modernity.

The works analysed have been selected from the entire body of Balinese literature in Indonesian published since the 1920s, that is, from Bali's early introduction to modern ideas to its recent encounter with globalization. It falls into four broad periods, labelled here as colonial, national revolution, New Order and reformation. Dramatic social and political changes have occurred in Bali during this time. It has moved from being a Dutch possession to incorporation into the Indonesian state, from political turmoil before and during the purge of communist ideology to rigid state control during the New Order, from an undeveloped island to an over-developed tourist 'paradise' and now into a period of liberal democracy. During these transformations, Balinese have engaged in a continuing process of re-examining their identities in a wide range of contexts. When this process has formed part of the public discourse, it has also been reflected in Balinese literature.

Because of the close connection between the discussion of issues of concern in public forums and in literature, Balinese literature has been analysed here as part of the social and cultural discourse rather than within a specific literary or aesthetic framework. From the perspective of immediate social contexts it is possible to examine

how particular themes continue to arise from one period to the next. It has been shown that throughout the four periods, Balinese writers have been constantly occupied with the ideas of modernity and identity and that these two ideas occur across the whole body of work in all genres – poetry, short stories, novels and drama. As the analysis has demonstrated, there is a clear shift in identity formation from regional to national identity and back to a different form of regional identity in poetry from the four periods. This shift is inseparable from the social and political conditions pertaining when the poems were written. During the colonial period Balinese poetry was dominated by local concerns such as caste, equality, modern education, religion and ethnicity, all factors which provided important foundations for the formation of regional Balinese identities.

In the early days of the independence movement the spirit of nationalism influencing Indonesia meant that it was no coincidence that, on 16 August 1948, two or three young Balinese journalists published a newspaper under the name *Suara Indonesia*. This name contrasts noticeably with names from the colonial era such as *Surya Kanta* and *Bali Adnjana* which used local terms or contained the word 'Bali'. The establishment of *Suara Indonesia* in Bali had a profound impact in helping Balinese to imagine themselves as part of the new nation (Anderson 1991). So, it was only after the inclusion of Bali into the nascent Indonesian state and its national political structure that a Balinese discourse about nationalism, being Indonesian and anti-colonialism arose. The daily newspaper *Suara Indonesia*, now the *Bali Post*, has played a significant role in promoting the spirit of nationalism and also in the development of Indonesian literature in Bali. The last change of name in 1971 also reflected a shift of Balinese identity back from being Indonesian to being Balinese.

Balinese poets began to show increased interest in national issues during the national revolution period. This resulted from intensified contact between Balinese and national writers. The vehicle for this was the publication of Balinese works in national publications such as *Mimbar Indonesia* and of national literature in Balinese publications like *Suara Indonesia*, *Bhakti*, *Damai* and later, politically affiliated artistic and cultural organizations like Lekra, LKN and Manikebu. During this period, Balinese literature and literary life became more

closely integrated into the national literature, and in addition many Balinese writers begin to identify themselves as both Indonesian and Balinese, representing a wholly different outlook from that prevailing in the colonial period. Poems from this period contain themes about revolution, nationalism and anti-colonialism and clearly promote national integrity.

Balinese poetry from the New Order and reformation periods, whether published locally or nationally, followed new directions in subject matter. During the New Order period poets adopted government preferred universal humanist themes such as loneliness, death, reflections on nature and other personal experiences, as evidenced in works published in the *Bali Post* and by members of Lesiba. In the Reformation period, by contrast, poets have begun to discuss the real social issues faced by Balinese society. They voice their desperation at seeing their island and culture threatened by the contemporary global commercial forces that have turned the land, the arts and the culture of Bali into commodities. The nostalgia and frustration that motivates recent Balinese poetry is a potent force. Poems that deal with land either as a physical entity or as a symbol of cultural space display the prevailing concern that without land, Balinese become detached from their culture and tradition – for Balinese poets loss of land equates to loss of identity. It is clear that in such cases they consciously speak as Balinese and on behalf of Balinese people, not as Indonesians, hence their regional identity is more important than their national one.

Although writers of the 1990s and those of the colonial period both tend towards the concept of a regional Balinese identity, the two groups imagine and construct quite different identities, each reflecting the political climate and the socio-cultural mores of the time when they were writing. Poems of the colonial period define Balinese identity in terms of modernity, education, caste equality and ethnicity, issues which dominated public debate at that time. During the 1990s, space and culture are important because they are threatened by the rapid encroachment of tourism and commercialization, meaning Balinese identity was constructed around these and associated themes. In poems from both periods, although religion only occasionally becomes an overt theme, the spirit of Hinduism frequently echoes

in the background. Jeff Lewis (2008) has discussed the way people can select the elements of their culture that they want to import into their identity. Making choices about tradition, culture and religion is always part of the Balinese way of mediating and negotiating regional identity. The continuing but shifting identity construction expressed in Balinese poetry suggests that poetry has been the most effective form for voicing the feelings and emotions of Balinese society in the face of the continuing social, cultural and political changes wrought by internal pressures and external influences.

Unlike its poets, the prose writers and playwrights of Bali show hardly any interest in articulating national identity. Instead, they concentrate on aspects of Balinese identity within the context of a regional society. These are demonstrated by their portrayals of caste, gender inequality and interactions with outsiders, particularly Western tourists. While caste and gender have been issues since the colonial period, interactions with the 'Other', particularly Westerners, only gained intensity in the New Order period, in the wake of mass tourism. Tension between modernity and tradition became one of the central issues in the discussion of Balinese identity formation.

Caste issues are presented in prose in different ways from poetry. In poetry, the expression of caste involves ideas of changing a traditional identity to a modern one, from an ascribed to an achieved status. In prose and drama, issues of caste-based identity are represented with greater complexity. Besides dealing with the need to remove the parts of the caste system irrelevant to the modern era, these works also highlight the suffering that caste divisions can cause to both lower and upper-caste people, particularly in the context of intercaste marriage. Caste conflict arising from intercaste marriage is often used by Balinese writers as a basis for discussing the negative consequences of the caste system. Such conflicts enable writers to present contrasting views of the caste system, between older and younger generations, and modernist and traditionalist factions. Although generally writers express a modern view and want to remove caste-based identity, there are also stories that reflect a traditionalist view and want to maintain the existence of caste. Overall, the discussion of caste in literary works reflects the continuing ambivalence within Balinese society, which is at

a crossroads where choices between maintaining local customs or unreservedly embracing modern values have to be made.

This ambivalence also appears in stories about teenage girls who pursue modern education, something that had been strongly encouraged as part of the 'era of progress', but often unwanted pregnancy befalls them, because of their inability to protect themselves from the negative impact of Western values. Teenage girls and women in general are discouraged from being modern, but the same disapproval does not apply to men – a conspicuously gender biased situation. Here the acceptance of modernity is limited and is being subjected to a quite critical moral view.

Balinese writers, both male and female, have shown great interest in discussing women's issues, gender equality and female identity. In the stories where women are in the public domain, images of oppressed and sexually objectified figures, in roles which serve the interests of male characters, have gradually been balanced by representations of women who stand and fight for gender equality. Images of women as idealized figures who are modern but maintain their traditional identity appear occasionally in works from the colonial and national revolution periods, but become more common in works from the Reformation period. This significant shift in the representation of female identity from oppression to resistance has resulted from various factors: the increasing number of women writers, the growing public discourse on gender equality in social politics at a national level and the influence of global feminist movements. Rather than importing models from external feminist movements, Balinese writers prefer to manipulate figures from traditional texts, like Calon Arang or Sita, to present the modern struggle for gender equality. Such representations make their treatment of gender issues unique, and also directly relevant to the local context.

Another way in which Balinese writers discuss identity is through the representation of Balinese in their interaction with Westerners, mainly tourists. While the government often presents tourists as threats to local culture and tradition, these stories put forward more complex images. Friendship and romance are two frequent forms of interaction between Balinese and Western characters. Friendship provides a site for Balinese writers to discuss and

criticize the conservative nature of Balinese culture and tradition. In these relationships, Western characters provide a vehicle for voicing criticism, because from a Balinese point of view both critical and complementary comments on their culture should come from the 'Other'. In this context, the 'Other' holds up a mirror in which Balinese can find their own cultural identity reflected.

Romance is another form of relationship, almost always between Balinese male and Western female characters. Although such relationships contain the possibility of eventual marriage, Balinese writers avoid such unions and prefer to keep their Balinese characters as Balinese rather than allowing them to assimilate with Westerners. Separating couples or killing the Western character are techniques often used by Balinese writers to avoid letting their characters marry. In such stories, Balinese are open to socialize with Westerners but never to become Westernized and similarly, Balinese writers also provide no place for Western characters to settle into Balinese cultural life. Such representation is in sharp contrast with reality, where mixed marriages between Balinese and Westerners have become common and Balinese people welcome Western visitors to stay and holiday on their island in a friendly manner. This fact indicates that Indonesian literature by Balinese writers does not passively reflect reality, but actually proposes particular cultural values which accord with their own ideas.

As well as Balinese writers, other writers living outside the island create Indonesian literature with Bali as its subject. Their work has been appearing regularly since the 1930s, with poetry by Imam Supardi, Ajip Rosidi, Rendra, Isma Sawitri, Radhar Panca Dahana and Noorca Massardi. Generally they wrote about Bali after visiting the island only briefly. With the exception of Rendra, whose poem *Sajak pulau Bali* (1978) expresses sharp criticism of the excessive commercialization of Bali's art and culture for the sake of tourism and global capitalism, most of the poems on Bali by other poets were written from a touristic viewpoint. Their works generally feature romantic images of Bali as an attractive paradise with beautiful scenery and well preserved traditions. While these romantic images are valid as poetical impressions, this work should be treated as representing the views of outsiders. They either do not intend to,

or fail to capture the dark side of Bali and the anxiety of its people which is so much better articulated by Balinese poets such as M. Oke, Alit S. Rini, Oka Rusmini and Fajar Arcana.

Indonesian literature emanating from Bali, like the national literature, can be labelled *sastra koran* because most of the works and literary debates first appeared in newspapers and magazines – a status that was essentially forced on both areas of literature as a result of limited access to commercial publication. Although by the late 1990s, the number of commercial publishers nationally had grown at an unprecedented rate, it was still the case that few Balinese writers could get their work published in book form, and generally those that did appear as books had already appeared in newspapers and magazines. For example, the novel *Tarian bumi* by Oka Rusmini had previously been serialized in the daily newspaper *Republika*, and the 2006 Khatulistiwa Award winning short-story anthology by Aryantha Soethama titled *Mandi api* consists of stories that had almost all been published in newspapers and literary magazines including *Bali Post*, *Kompas* and *Horison* between 1992 and 2003. *Sastra koran* remains an important characteristic of Balinese literature and continues to be the main outlet for Balinese writers. Nevertheless, there is much evidence that newspapers are more than just a place for literary publication because aspects of public discourse which are debated in newspapers intersect with themes of Balinese literature – examples being the caste system and the negative impacts of mass tourism and its associated developments. This demonstrates that the inherent nature of literature from Bali is *sastra kontekstual* and it remains so to this day.

As socially committed literature, Indonesian literature from Bali has reflected and continues to reflect the concerns of Balinese in both regional and national contexts. The political transformation of Indonesia since Suharto's fall in May 1998 has refocused Balinese ideas of identity towards the regional. At the same time the hopes of Balinese for a democratic and modern future make Balinese more 'Indonesian' than ever. But, the Bali bombings of 2002 and 2005 gave a radical boost to putting regional identity back in the foreground while still keeping a commitment to the unity of Indonesia in the background.

This has been demonstrated by the popularity of the social and ideological movement called *ajeg Bali* (Keep Bali standing strong), which was launched by the Bali Post Media Group in May 2002 as a means of preserving local culture. The October 2002 bombings gave it a renewed social, cultural and political vigour. *Ajeg Bali* encourages the Balinese to be vigilant about ensuring the safety and security of their island, but also calls on them to strengthen their sense of Balinese identity based on custom, religion, culture, language and ethnicity (Allen and Palermo 2005; Schulte Nordholt 2007). Many non-Balinese living in Bali consider themselves excluded by the *ajeg Bali* movement. They have criticized it as an ethnocentric move to make Bali for Balinese only. After criticism of its chauvinistic tendencies, the *ajeg Bali* movement expanded its idea of nationalism by promoting the idea of *bhinneka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity) and committing Balinese to defend both Bali and the unity of the Indonesian state. It will be interesting to see what the content of the literature inspired by this new social and cultural dynamic will be.

APPENDIX A

Brief biographical notes on some Balinese writers¹

I Putu Fajar Arcana

(born 1965, Negara, West Bali), holds a degree from the Indonesian Department in the Faculty of Letters, Udayana University and has been working as journalist for more than ten years. He started on the local newspapers *Karya Bhakti* and *Nusa Tenggara*, then moved to the weekly news magazine *Tempo* and has been working for *Kompas* since 1994. He writes poetry and short stories and has recently begun to paint as well. He was one of the active members of Sanggar Minum Kopi and Yayasan Cak, who published the now defunct literary journal *CAK*. In 1996 he attended the Indonesian young poets' forum 'Mimbar penyair abad 21' and several of his poems were published in the collection resulting from this forum. His own poetry collection *Bilik cahaya* was published in 1997. One of his poems was included in *Menagerie 4* (2000) and *Bali the morning after* (2000). The works discussed here are two poems, *Di depan arca Saraswati* and *Halaman kapur Bukit Pecatu*. Fajar has published two short-story collections, *Bunga jepun* (2003) and *Samsara* (2005), and one essay collection on Balinese culture *Surat merah untuk Bali* (2007).

I Gusti Bagus Arthanegara

(born 1944, Singaraja) graduated from the Anthropology Department of Udayana University and studied Sinology in Beijing in 1965-1966, specializing in Chinese literature. He was one of the most active figures in literary and arts activities in Bali in the 1960s when he was involved in arts and literary groups like Himpunan Peminat Sastra (HPS) Denpasar, Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional (LKN) Bali, Himpi Bali and the Nandi Gumarang group. He published short stories, poems and drama. Most of his works were published in the local newspapers *Suara Indonesia* and *Suluh*

¹ Very little biographical data for writers from the early periods is available.

Marhaen (now the *Bali Post*). Besides writing in the Indonesian language, he also wrote poems in the Balinese language. His works appear in the collection *Penyair Bali* (1969) and his individual collection *Surat Senja* (1970). He worked as a school teacher and university lecturer before retiring as an officer at the Department of National Education (Bali region). The work discussed here is the poem *Laut* (1969). In 2007, he published his first novel, *Dunia kampus yang lain*, set in Beijing in the mid-1960s.

I Wayan Arthawa

(born 1963, Karangasem, East Bali) began to have his poetry published in the *Bali Post* in the 1980s. He is among the young Balinese poets whose works were published in *Horison* (1994) and *Kompas* (2000). His works are included in the anthology *Angkatan 2000* (The 2000 generation) and the anthology *Bali the morning after* (2000). The work discussed here is the poem *Tanah leluhur* (1994).

Faisal Baraas

(born 1947, Negara, West Bali) is a doctor who studied at the Faculty of Medicine, Udayana University, who now lives and works in Jakarta. He has published poems, short stories and essays on the arts, culture and health. His writing have been published in the literary and cultural magazines *Sastra*, *Horison*, and *Zaman* and in *Kompas*. In 1969, his poem *Tunjukilah kami jalan yang lurus* won a prize from *Sastra*. His short-story collection titled *Lèak* was published by Balai Pustaka in 1983. Two of the short stories from this collection, *Sanur tetap ramai* and *Tajen* are discussed in this study.

I Gusti Putu Bawa Samar Gantang

(born 1949, Tabanan) began to publish poems in 1968 when he was still a high school student. He was also active in broadcasting literary appreciation programs on state and private radio stations in Denpasar and Tabanan. He was an active member of Lesiba and had three of his collections of poetry published by this organization – *Hujan tengah malam* (1974), *Kisah sebuah kota pelangi* (1976) and *Kabut abadi* (1979). He teaches Indonesian language and literature at a junior high school in Tabanan and is known for a unique poem that adapted a Hindu spell *Modre*. Recently, he has also written modern work in Balinese. His poem *Gempa*, included in Lesiba's *Antologi puisi Bali* (1980), is discussed in this study.

Putra Mada

(born 1948, Denpasar), works as a sailor and has lived in East Java and in Jakarta. Although he has published several poems and stories in both local and Jakarta-based newspapers and magazines, he is not a well known

literary figure in either Indonesia or Bali. The novel *Liak ngakak* (1978) is the only major work he has written, but because it was published by a 'popular' publisher, it has never been considered a 'serious' work in modern Indonesian literature. The fact that its theme is a rather sensational one also contributes to this perception. In 1981, however, when this novel was filmed, his popularity increased, particularly in Bali.

I Gusti Ngurah Parsua

(born 1946, Singaraja) holds a degree from the Agriculture Department at Udayana University. Ngurah Parsua was an active member of Lesiba. He has been writing poetry since the 1960s and is still an active writer. His poetry collections *Matahari* and *Setelah angin senja berhembus* (1973), *Manusia perkasa* (2007) and *Sembilan puluh sembilan puisiku* (2008) were all published by Lesiba, while his short-story collection *Anak-anak* (1987) was published by Balai Pustaka. He has also published a novel *Sembilu dalam taman* (1986). The works discussed here are *Anak marhaen* (poem), *Setelah angin senja berhembus* (poem), *Sembilu dalam taman* (novel), *Tugu kenangan* (short story), and *Don't forget John* (short story).

Ida Ayu Alit S. Rini

(born 1960, Denpasar) obtained a degree in English Literature from Udayana University. Since the early 1990s, she has worked as an editor for the *Bali Post*, where she has published many poems and essays on literature, Balinese culture and women's issues. She has received invitations (which she has so far been unable to accept) to attend writers forums and to write for national publications. Her works are included in *Bali living in two worlds; A critical self-portrait* (2001). The works discussed here are the poems *Tanah sengketa* (1993), *Karena aku perempuan Bali* (2000) and *Perempuan yang jadi lambang* (2000). In 2003, she published a poetry collection titled *Karena aku perempuan Bali*.

Anak Agung Sagung Mas Ruscitadewi

(born 1965, Denpasar) holds a degree in archaeology from Udayana University. Her poems and short stories have been published in the *Bali Post*, where she now works as a journalist. One of her short stories is included in *Menagerie 4* (2000), while her poems have been published in the poetry anthology *Teh ginseng* (1993) and *Bali the morning after* (2000). In 1999 she published her own trilingual poetry collection (Indonesian, English and Japanese) entitled *Hana bira*.

Ida Ayu Oka Rusmini

(born 1967, Jakarta) holds a degree from the Indonesian Department in the Faculty of Letters, Udayana University. She now works as a journalist for

the *Bali Post*. She attended the ASEAN writers' workshop (1996) and the Indonesian International Poetry Festival in 2002. Her works are included in *Angkatan 2000 Sastra Indonesia* (2000), *Menagerie 4* (2000), *Bali the morning after* (2000), and other collections of work by Indonesian writers. Her major works are the poetry collection *Monolog pohon* (1997), the novels *Gurat-gurat* (1997), *Tarian bumi* (2000) and *Kenanga* (2003, the rewriting of *Gurat-gurat*), and the short story collection, *Sagra* (2001). Recently, she has published three more poetry collections including *Patiwangi* (2003), *Warna kita* (2007) and *Pandora* (2008). The works discussed here are the poem *Upacara kepulauan tanah*, the novels *Tarian bumi* and *Gurat-gurat* and some stories from the collection *Sagra*.

I Made Raka Santeri

(born 1941, Denpasar) graduated from teacher training school but preferred to work in journalism. He wrote poems, short stories and essays on the arts and religion, which were published in the local newspapers *Suara Indonesia*, *Suluh Marhaen* (now *Bali Post*) and *Angkatan Bersenjata* (now *Nusa*) in the 1960s. At the same time, he was active in literary and arts groups like Himpunan Peminat Sastra (HPS) Denpasar and Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional (LKN) Bali, and religious organizations. He was an active participant in the clash between Lekra and LKN in the mid-1960s. He has spent most of his time as a journalist, working first for *Bali Post* and *Nusa Tenggara*, then as the Balinese correspondent for the national newspaper *Kompas*, until his retirement in 1997. He has published two books on Balinese customs, *Kasta dalam Hindu* (1993) (with Ketut Wiana) and *Tuhan dan berhalala* (2000). The poems discussed here are *Catatan buat anakku Sari* (1966) and *Revolusi* (1966).

I Ketut Yuliarsa Sastrawan

(born 1960, Denpasar) began by publishing poems in the *Bali Post* and has been active in the theatre since he was at senior high school in Denpasar. He studied English literature at Udayana University and then lived and worked in Sydney for most of the 1980s. Since returning to Bali, he has continued to write poetry and drama. He published his bilingual (English-Indonesian) collections of poems, *Suara malam* (Night voices, 1996) and *Jatuh bisu* (To fall silent, 2006). His poetry is included in *Bali the morning after* (2000). One of his poems entitled *Sakit* (1993) is discussed in this study.

Cok Sawitri

(born 1968, Karangasem, East Bali), after graduating from Pendidikan Nasional University (Denpasar), worked as a journalist for the *Bali Post*, where she has published many of her poems. She now works as a civil servant in Denpasar, while continuing her writing and poetry reading activities.

Her poems appear in the anthologies *Bali the morning after* (2000) and *Bali living in two worlds; A critical self-portrait* (2001), to which she also contributed an essay on the role of Balinese women in traditional performing arts. The works discussed here are *Namaku Dirah* (poem) and *Rahim* (short story). Sawitri's first novel *Janda dari Jirah* was published in 2007.

I Putu Shanty

(born 1925, East Java – died 1965) published poems, short stories and plays in the early 1950s when he worked as the editor-in-chief of *Bhakti* magazine, where some of his creative writing appeared. He also published works in national literary journals such as *Mimbar Indonesia*. By the early 1960s, he was active in the left-wing organization, Lekra at both the regional and national levels. He was killed during the anti-communist purge in 1965.

I Nyoman Rasta Sindhu

(born 1943, Denpasar – died 1972) studied archaeology first at Gajah Mada University (Yogyakarta) and later at Udayana University, but did not complete a degree. He was an active member of right wing writers groups in Bali in the 1960s, first with Himpunan Peminat Sastra (HPS) and later with the Balinese branch of Himpunan Pengarang Indonesia (Himpi Bali). His work was widely published in newspapers and literary magazines such as *Kompas* and *Horison*. His short story *Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar* was the *Horison* Short Story of the Year in 1969. Besides working as a journalist, Rasta Sindhu was one of the most prominent and prolific Balinese writers in the 1960s and 1970s. In this study two of his short stories are discussed, *Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar* and *Sahabatku Hans Schmitter*.

I Gde Aryantha Soethama

(born 1955, Klungkung, East Bali) obtained a degree in Zoology from Udayana University. He began writing actively in the 1970s, with works published in both local and national publications. He works as editor-in-chief for the newspaper *Karya Bhakti* and *Nusa Tenggara*, and now operates his own printing company which has published the monthly magazine *Sarad* since 1999. He has published short stories, plays and novels. His short stories have been included in *Bali behind the seen* (1996), *Diverse lives* (1996), *Menagerie 4* (2000), and in the *Kompas* short-story selection *Lampor* (1994). The works discussed here are *Pulau penyu* (drama), *Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur* (poem), *Tembok puri* (short story), *Lukisan rinjin* (short story), *Bohong* (short story) and *Sekarang dia bangsawan* (short story). In 2006, his short-story collection titled *Mandi api* was published by Buku Kompas and won the 2006 Khatulistiwa Literary Award, the most prestigious award for Indonesian literature. *Mandi api* was translated into English by Vern Cork and published as *Ordeal by*

fire (2008). Aryantha has published a series of collected essays on Balinese culture, including *Basa basi Bali* (2002), *Bali is Bali* (2003), *Bali tikam Bali* (2004) and *Bolak balik Bali* (2006).

I Ketut Widiyazid Soethama

(born 1958, Klungkung, East Bali) holds a degree from the Faculty of Agriculture at Udayana University, and now works as a civil servant at the Office of Agricultural Technology Development in Denpasar. He is also a musician and has written many poems, most of which have been published in the *Bali Post*. The poems discussed here are *Mana tanah Bali* (1994) and *Benda-benda lahir menjadi dewa-dewa* (1994).

I Wayan Suardika

(born 1963, Gianyar) has been writing since he was a high school student. He studied Indonesian literature at Udayana University, and then moved into journalism. Between 1994 and 1996 he worked as arts editor for *Nusa Tenggara*, and then as editor-in-chief of the short-lived magazine *Bali Lain* (1999). His short stories have been published in *Bali Post*, *Nusa Tenggara*, *Karya Bhakti*, *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Mutiara*, *Gadis* and *Bali Echo*. He is now a freelance journalist and recently pioneered the establishment of the Matahati Cultural Working Group, while continuing to write short stories. The story discussed here is *Apakah Anda Mr Wayan* (2000). Suardika's short-story collection *Orang kalah* was published in 2008.

I Made Sukada

(born 1938, Denpasar – died 2003) studied Indonesian literature at the University of Indonesia, Gajah Mada University and Udayana University where he later worked as a lecturer. He was one of the founders of Lesiba in the early 1970s, and used to work as editor in the literary and cultural section of the *Bali Post*. His poetry was published in *Bali Post*, *Salemba*, and *Kompas*, while some of his books on literary theory were published by Lesiba, one of which, entitled *Masalah sistematisasi analisa cipta sastra* was republished by Angkasa, Bandung (West Java) in 1987. The poem discussed in this study is *Telaga* (1980).

I Putu Oka Sukanta

(born 1939, Singaraja, North Bali) began to develop his writing career when he was sixteen. In 1958 he won the first prize in a poetry reading competition in Bali. He continued his tertiary education in Yogyakarta where he later became involved with Lekra. This led to his being imprisoned for nearly ten years between 1966 and 1976. A prolific writer, he continues to create poetry, short stories and novels. Two of his significant works since his release from

prison are the poetry collection *Perjalanan penyair* (1999, A poet's journey) and the novel *Merajut harkat* (1999, Knitting dignity). Some of his work has been translated into English, including his poetry collection *Tembang jalak Bali* (The song of the Balinese starling) and a short story collection *Keringat mutiara* (Pearls of sweat), while other works have been included in international collections. He has toured Australia and the United States to read his works. Since 2001, he has acted as an adviser for the monthly arts and cultural magazine *Latitude* published in Bali for international audiences. His works discussed in this study are the poems *Bali* and *Bali dalam puisi*, and the short story *Mega hitam pulau khayangan*.

I Gusti Made Sukawidana

(born 1960, Ubud) now works as a teacher at a junior high school (SMPN I) in Denpasar, where he teaches Indonesian language and literature and runs Sanggar Cipta Budaya, the studio at the school used for writing workshops and play performances. His works have mainly been published in the local newspapers *Bali Post* and *Nusa Tenggara*. He has published two collections of poetry, *Upacara tengah hari* (1992, A midday ritual) and *Upacara senja upacara tanah moyang* (2000, A twilight ritual, ritual for the land of the ancestors). The poem discussed in this study is *Catatan tentang Ubud* (A note on Ubud).

Ketut Landra Syaelendra

(born 1965, Gianyar) has published his works in the *Bali Post*, *Nusa Tenggara*, *Merdeka Minggu*, *Cak* and *Horison* and has often won awards in poetry writing contests. He works as a civil servant in the Health Department of the Bali regional government. His poetry collection *Mata dadu* (The eyes of the dice) was published in 1998. One of his poems, *Di pura Tanah Lot*, included in the anthology *Bali the morning after* (2000), is discussed in this study.

Anak Agung Panji Tisna

(born 1908, Singaraja, North Bali – died 1978) was the son of a Balinese king. After graduating from a Dutch school in Singaraja, he continued his studies in Jakarta and Surabaya where he learned English. He was an important Balinese intellectual figure during the colonial period. Besides establishing a private school, he ran an inter-island business and was active in organizations like Bali Darma Laksana. When this organization published its cultural journal, *Djatajoe*, in 1936, Panji Tisna was appointed as its editor-in-chief. By that time he had already written two novels, both published by Balai Pustaka: *Sukreni gadis Bali* and *Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang*, which are both discussed in this study.

I Gusti Ngurah Putu Wijaya

(born 1944, Tabanan) studied law at Gajah Mada University and has lived in Jakarta since 1970, first working as a journalist with *Tempo* and *Zaman*, and later concentrating on writing fiction and theatre and directing films. He has toured and read his works in Japan and Australia, and held several literary workshops and overseen performances of his plays in the United States and Japan. He is one of the most prolific Indonesian writers and has published many short-story collections, novels and plays. He is known as a non-realist writer in the Indonesian literary world, but some of his works, both early and recent, is clearly realist and deals with aspects of contemporary Balinese life. These include *Bila malam bertambah malam* (1971), *Tiba-tiba malam* (1977) and *Dasar* (1993). *Dasar* was published in the *Kompas* short-story selection (1994) and translated into English in *Menagerie 4* (2000). The works mentioned are all discussed in this study.

APPENDIX B

Poems cited in Chapter III

Gd.P. Kertanadi

Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali
Adnjana

Happy New Year to Bali Adnjana

Bali Adnjana taman jauhari

Bali Adnjana is a garden of
diamonds

Buat pengerah putra dan putri
Bersinar bagaikan matahari
Bagi suluh BALI negeri

For mobilizing men and women
Shining like the sun
As a torch for the land of Bali

Akan penerang di tempat gelap
Akan pembangun si tidur lelap
Anak negeri masih terlelap

It will brighten dark places
It will wake those who sleep deeply
Children of the nation who are still
sound asleep

Agar jangan selalu disulap

So they will not always be tricked

Lara rakyat telah diperhatikan

The people's suffering has been
observed

Laki perempuan tak disingkirkan

Men and women are not to be
pushed aside

Lalim penindas disapukan
Laksana bola dapat sepakan

The cruel oppressor is swept away
The way a ball can be kicked away

Inilah pertama pembela kita Isinya penuh dengan mestika Ikhtiar jujur tidak terkata Ikatan AGAMA hendak direka	This is our first defender Its contents are precious stones Its honesty needs no explanation We intend to achieve unity in RELIGION
Agama SIWA-BUDA itu dianya Akan disusun apa mestinya Aksarawan menyetujuinya Allah pun memberkatinya	That religion is indeed SIWA-BUDA It will be arranged as it should be Intellectuals will agree God too will bless it
Dicetaknya banyak pustaka Di antaranya PARWA mestika Dan RAMAYANA kanda purwaka Dengan harga murah belaka	They have printed many books Among them are the jewels of the PARWAS ¹ And the beginning of the RAMAYANA At a very reasonable price
Nurnya mengkilat bagaikan mutu Nasihat disebar sepanjang waktu Negeri putra senanglah tentu Nasibnya sudah ada membantu	Its light shines like a pearl Advice is given out all the time The nation and its people are certainly content Their destiny has been attended to
Yakinlah kita akan jasanya Yang telah disembarkannya Yojana dibentang dengan luasnya Yogia dibaca dengan rajinnya	We are convinced about this service That has been distributed To reach across a great distance It is worth reading diligently
Agar dapat timbang menimbang Angan yang sesat lekas tertumbang Arsa yang suci tentu berkembang Akan penyuluh si hati bimbang	In order to be able to weigh things up Thoughts that go astray must be controlled Pure thoughts will indeed blossom To light the way for those who are confused

¹ A Parwa is part of the Indian epic, the Mahabharata.

Nasihat itu laksana obat	That advice is like medicine
Nafsu jahat tentu tersumbat	Evil desires will be blocked
Nista caci juga terhambat	Insult and abuse will also be stopped
Nakal lenyap karenanya tobat	repentance will cause wantonness to disappear

Amin tak putus kami ucapkan	We will say Amen without end
Akhirulalam kami serukan	In conclusion we will proclaim
Agihan madah salah onggokan	Parts of the verses are full of mistakes
Abang dan adik sudi maafkan	Brothers and sisters will agree to forgive

(*Bali Adnjana*, 1 January 1925, p. 1)

Soekarsa

Setia pada SK	Loyal to SK
<i>Surya Kanta</i> datang berperni	<i>Surya Kanta</i> urges you now in poetry
Sepakat Jaba menyatukan diri	For all <i>jaba</i> are now fully agreed
Satunya bangsa selalu dicari	Being united as one nation is always the goal
Sebab hendak memajukan diri	As they always want to improve themselves
Esa tujuan kepada Budi	The ultimate goal is goodness
Endak menyebarkan agar terjadi	We need to distribute it to make it happen
Erat mufakat pemandang budi	What is righteous respect
Esa diharap selamat terjadi	The only true hope is peace

Teguhkan SK harapan beta	To strengthen Surya Kanta is my hope
Tetapkan setia terus kecita	Steadfast loyalty will attain this ideal
Teruskanlah sokong Surya Kanta Terutama liden wajib sekata	Continue your support Surya Kanta The obligation to all is the same
Ini zaman nama kemajuan Ideran zaman punya haluan Ingat bangsa mengejar kemajuan Itulah SK punya tujuan	This is an era of progress Each time in its season Pursue goodness and progress That is Surya Kanta's aim
Awas sinarnya Surya Kanta Akan menyinari gelap gulita	Be guarded by Surya Kanta's light Shining bright in the pitch-black of night
Agar terang semata-mata Apa artinya empat kasta	Making it precisely clear What the four caste system really means
Penduduk Bali Lombok sekalian Pimpinlah diri kejar kemajuan Pegang kuat keteguhan pertalian Peredaran zaman pakai tujuan	To all people of Bali and Lombok Strive ever onward Stay firmly united A season of change is at hand
Ayolah turut kemajuan zaman Agar pikiran menjadi aman Agar berjalan menurut zaman Akan meniru langkah budiman	Follow the current of this era Your mind will surely find peace Be part of this cycle of turning Follow the path of the wise
Dahulu lain dengan sekarang Dalam SK ada dikarang Dahulu kolot modern sekarang	The past and present are different It is stated in Surya Kanta The past is backward, the present is modern
Demikianlah kenang-kenangan orang	That's what people always remember

Aliran zaman turut selalu	Follow the flow of this era
Adat kuno zaman dahulu	Disdain old customs and traditions
Arus dipilih mana yang perlu	Choose only what is needed
Adat yang baik teguhkan selalu	Good customs should be retained
Saudaraku Jaba haruslah ingat	My brother <i>Jaba</i> please know
Surya Kanta teguhkan semangat	Surya Kanta strengthens your spirit
Sokonglah S.K. buktinya ingat	Support Surya Kanta and see the outcome
Sebab gunanya besarlah sangat	It will be very meaningful
Kami berseru pada sekalian	All of you now we beseech
Kepada bangsaku turut kemajuan	My people, be part of this progress
Kejar <i>onderwijs</i> buat aman.	Pursue education for peace
Karena berguna untuk keperluan	It will be useful for your needs.

(*Surya Kanta*, March-April 1927, p. 36)

I Gusti Ngurah Sidemen

Syair seruan <i>Djatajoe</i>	<i>Djatajoe's</i> appeal
Hai Brahmana, Ksatria, Wesya dan Sudra	Hey you, Brahmana, Ksatria, Wesya and Sudra
Putra Brahma dalam cerita	The son of Brahma as the story goes
Dikitab Brahmokta ada tertera	In the holy book Brahmokta it is written
Bersatulah tuan didalam negara	You must unite yourself for the country
Jangan memikirkan diri sendiri	Don't think just of yourself
Hendaklah persatuan selalu dicari	It's unity that you must always seek
Kerjakan itu setiap hari	Make this effort every day
Sebelumnya dapat janganlah lari	Don't ever give up until it is achieved

Tolong menolong sesama bangsa! Nan bersama-sama merasa Janganlah tuan berputus asa ' <i>Djatajoe</i> ' berseru dengan sentosa	Help each other as fellow citizens Who feel unified Don't give up hope <i>Djatajoe</i> exclaims peacefully
Hai, putra putri sastrawan Ya, manusia sungguh rupawan Tampak budimu yang muliawan Teguhkan iman, memimpin kawan	Hey, sons and daughters of poets Yes, human beings are beautiful Show us your dignity Strengthen your belief, lead your friends
Itulah kewajiban yang utama Tercantum dihati terlalu lama Kini hamburkan dari sukma! Untuk kemuliaan kita bersama	That is the foremost obligation Plant it firmly in our hearts for eternity Now spread it widely from your deepest soul For the sake of our common dignity.

(*Djatajoe*, Februari 1937, p. 185)

Ni Wayan Sami

O putriku	O my sisters
O, putriku, kaum bangsaku Marilah kita beramai-ramai! Turut mengabdikan Ibu Pertiwi O, kakakku, O, adikku!	O my sisters, people of my nation Let us get together joyfully! Join in serving Our Motherland O, my older sisters, my younger sisters!
Gerakkan badan yang lemah lunglai	Bring your weak, exhausted bodies back to life
O, Putriku, sejawat bangsaku Lepaskan sifat bermalas-malas!	O, my sisters, my friends Give up your tendency to take it easy!

Ya, ke laut	O, to an ocean
Nan larut	that is far away
Gerakkan tangan yang berpangku	Be motivated out of your idleness
Gerakkan jiwa yang lebih bebas	Set your free spirit in motion.
Sekian ganas gema mendesau	The rustlings of ferociousness echo
Gelisah, rancak, derak menderu	Anxious, disturbing, a snapping sound
Menggema	Reverberating
Mendiang sukma	A former spirit
Membelai alam yang menghimbau	Caresses an appealing realm
Menyerak awan mendung nan biru	Scattering blue clouds
Tetapi, di mana kaum putriku?	But, where are all my sisters?
Sampai payah, tak dapat dicari,	I grow weary searching for you
Sunyi, sepi	Desolate, lonely
Masih bermimpi?	Are you still dreaming?
Aduhai, kenapa masih berpangku?	How sad, why are you still doing nothing?
Apakah ini zaman bahari?	Is this the distant past?

(*Djatajoe*, 23 March 1937, p. 226)

M. Oke

Och, Ratna	O, Ratna
Ratnaku, mungil, cantik, manis, dan jelita	Ratna, my love, dear, beautiful, sweet and charming
Yang mengenal, tak seorang pun dapat menista	Those who know will not be able to cast insults
Bahkan kebanyakan silau hampir- hampir buta	In fact most will be dazzled and almost blind
Karena cahayanya cemerlang menentang mata	Because her shining brilliance violates their eyes

Kedua kakinya lempang bukan alang-kepalang	Her legs are unbelievably straight
Yang melihat ngiler tak dapat dibilang	Those who see will doubtlessly drool
Betisnya goyang, jalannya agak malang	Her calves shake, her gait is a little unsteady
Beberapa kali dipandang dan selalu diulang	Never tiring of seeing her again and again
Rambutnya tebal, panjang sampai di lututnya	Her dense hair hanging down to her knees
Licin, hitam dan mengkilat rupa warnanya	Glossy, dark and dazzling in its shape and colour
Sisir bertabur berlian dipasangkannya	Combed and spangled with polished diamonds through it
Sungguh mati, siapa tak birahi melihatnya?	Without a doubt, who would not feel passion on seeing her
Och Ratna jika saya tak salah sangka	Oh, Ratna, if I'm not mistaken
Rambutmu terurai ditiup angin tida di Amerika	Your loosened hair is blown as far as America
Suaramu dibawa radio ke Eropa, Jepang dan Afrika	Radio takes your voice to Europe, Japan and Africa
Pula kelain-lain benua, itulah mudah diterka	Also to other continents, it is easy to surmise
Kecantikanmu menarik penduduk itu negeri	Your beauty attracts the people of those countries
Kemolekanmu meresap di dalam sanubari	Your elegance is absorbed in to their hearts
Tiap-tiap tahun berdyun-duyun datang menghampiri	Every year they come to visit you Exhausted, tired and with wealth
Jerih, lelah dan bermilyun harta hamburkan tak dipikiri	worth millions to waste without a thought

Yang terpaksa berlalu meninggalkan dirimu	Those who must go and leave you
Ada yang pilu bercampur sedih karenamu	Filled with longing and sadness because of you
Selalu dikenangkan, rindu hendak lagi bertemu	They always remember, longing to see you again
Ya Allah, ya Robbi, rahasia apa tersimpul ditubuhmu	Oh my God, what secrets are hidden in your body
Och, Ratna juwita jiwaku, jantung hatiku	Oh, Ratna, my spirit, my heart, my love
Bali aliasmu, Bali ibuku, dan buah mataku	You are Bali, Bali is my mother, and my love
Bali atau luh, baik artinya, rayu hatiku	Bali is excellent, good, seduces my heart
Pagi sore, siang dan malam padamu menuju hormatku	Every day, day and night, I express my honour to you
Segala yang baik pada ibuku telah dipaparkan	Everything about you my Mother, is spelt out
Kehendak dunia dan kemauan natuur harus diperhatikan	The world and the rule of nature must be considered
Ukir di batu kepala dan di hati lekatkan	Put them in your head and a place in your heart
Neraca atau timbangan keadilan, layak diibaratkan	Just think it is like the weighing of justice
Siapa bertentangan pada kehendak natuur, tak aman hidupnya	Those who reject the laws of nature, their lives will not be safe
Siapa tak menurut kemauan zaman surut pendiriannya	Those who do not join the era of progress will be left behind
Dengan jalan bagaimana harus di ikhtiarkannya	Every attempt must be made
Agar supaya dapat menurut kehendak keduanya?	To be able to follow both the laws of nature and the era progress

Och, och Ratna, Ibuku, barulah tampak cacatmu Diribaamu gelisah, beribu-ribu putra dan putrimu	Oh, Oh Ratna, my Mother, only now can I see all is not well Your heart is worried because thousands of your sons and daughters
Sakit mata menentang cahaya natuur dan dunia sekitarmu	Are dazzled by the light of nature and the world around you

<i>Djatajoe</i> putra bungsu, terbang kian kemari mencari jamu.	<i>Djatajoe</i> , the younger son, flies everywhere in search of medicinal herbs
--	--

Ke hadapan Sang Hyang Akasa, ia menunggalan hati Bermohon tirta kamandalu yang amat sakti Sebagai simbul tiada lain dari Sang Hyang Saraswati Itulah obat termanjur telah pasti.	To the Lord of the Heaven, he prays with all his heart Asking for some powerful holy water As the symbol of Sang Hyang Saraswati ² That is the only efficacious medicine
--	---

(*Djatajoe*, 25 May 1938, pp. 317-8).

Wayan Yarsa

Pemilihan umum	General election
Wahai warga negara Indonesia Yakinlah kita semua karena Waktu pemilihan umum telah dekat Pergunakanlah kesempatan saudara Dengan tenang dan budiman	O Indonesian citizens, Give us all confidence, for the general election is approaching Please use your opportunity Peacefully and wisely

² Sang Hyang Saraswati is the goddess of knowledge.

Hendaklah tiap-tiap orang Bersifat bijaksana Memilih segala bakal pemimpin Yang memang dapat dipergunakan	Demand that everyone Behaves wisely Choose future leaders Who will really be useful
Jangan hendaknya saudara mengeluh Pabila pemimpin telah terpilih Itulah karenanya insyaflah Sebelum memilih Agar kebaikan dapat tercapai	Don't start complaining Once a leader is chosen This must be considered Before voting If we are to achieve good
Pabila pemimpin telah terdapat Belumlah kita merasa bebas Karena kewajiban masih banyak Dalam mengemudikan Negara Yang baru saja timbulnya	Once we have a leader We cannot relax Our duties are still many Steering this country Which has only just emerged
Negara kita memang muda Segala-galanya belum teratur Ibarat rumah belum beratap Bocor kemari bocor ke sana	Our nation is indeed young Everything is not yet properly arranged Like a house not yet roofed leaking here, leaking there

(*Damai*, 17 January 1955, p. 16)

Gde Mangku

Kerja

tanah ini kami gali
tersebab ia milik kami
setepelak cuma

Work

we dig up this soil
because it's our property
like the soles of our feet

tanah ini kami bangun
 tersebut ia milik kami
 adakah kianat membangun
 kehidupan bagi bersama?
 adakah durhaka menegakkan
 manusia
 di atas lumpur keringat dan kerja?

we develop this land
 because it's our property
 is it treason to develop a life
 collectively?
 is it rebellion to raise human beings
 above the level of mud sweat and
 work?

tanah ini kami gali
 tersebut ia milik kami
 ia adalah tanah
 ia adalah sawah
 ia adalah darah
 di tubuh

we dig up this soil
 because it's our property
 it's the soil
 it's the rice fields
 it's the blood
 in the body

di sini kami bekerja
 petani yang bangkit
 di tanah air

we work here
 farmers who struggle
 in the homeland

(*Zaman Baru*, 5-6, 1964. p. 7)

Gde Mangku

Pasir putih

White sand

anggun perahu dengan aneka
 warna
 tapi masih lebih indah hati nelayan
 yang berjuang di lautmu

an elegant multi-coloured canoe
 but more beautiful is the heart of
 the fishermen
 who struggles in your sea

kita saling mendekap
 karena bersahabat
 lebih dari itu
 karena kita revolusi

we embrace each other
 because we're friends
 even more so
 because we're revolutionaries

<p>kujinjing keranjang kerang untaian hati nelayan ah bocah kecil berbibir mungil mata terpencil dari sekolah rendah</p> <p>dibelenggu sisa-sisa kolonial</p>	<p>I carry a basket of sea shells the garland of a fisherman's heart oh little child with such tiny lips with an isolated view from low- level schooling shackled by the remains of colonialism</p>
<p>kutancapkan tubuh di sini berakit dalam pasir, laut dan jaring</p> <p>untuk sama-sama mau perang karena di laut juga, kita pasti menang</p>	<p>I plant my body here firmly alongside the sand, the sea and the nets so we can go to war together because on the seas, as well, we will certainly win</p>

(*Zaman Baru*, 5 June 1964, p. 7)

Gde Mangku

<p>Suara-suara hidup</p> <p>sekali di musim hujan hujan apakah yang turun sekali di musim bunga bunga apakah yang kembang</p> <p>pagi yang datang aneka suara mengguang ah sahabat hujan yang turun dan bunga yang kembang adalah suara setiakawan terhadap seluruh pekerja karena hidup yang nafas bersama Rakyat</p>	<p>Living voices</p> <p>when it's the season for rain what kind of rain falls when it's the season for flowers what kind of flower blooms</p> <p>morning comes different voices echo o my friend the rain that falls and the flowers that bloom are voices showing solidarity towards all workers because they live and breathe with the People</p>
---	--

(*Zaman Baru*, 5 June 1964, p. 7)

Putu Oka Sukanta

Bali

I.

Seperti tangan seorang kawan
bergetar
lidah ombak meraih ujung jariku
dan angin segar menyambut
sebagai
seorang ibu bapak mengenali
anaknya
selat bali.
anak rantau pulang kampung

di mana pun juang kan terus
berlangsung
sejenak kuarahkan mata ke bukit-
bukit pulau jawa
terbayang perumahan yang
kutinggal, kawan-kawan, rasa cinta

(kw musayid, gunoto, waseso
masih banyak lagi yang menempa

kusni sulang, afif, timbul masih
banyak lagi kawan sebaya)
ah, kupalingkan muka
melepaskannya
rasa haru memanggil-manggil
cepat kembali
kendatipun meninggalkan rumah
datang ke rumah
di mana-mana pun itu rumahku
di jawa, sumatera, kalimantan, bali
dan di mana saja
sebab ke mana-mana aku pulang
kepadanya

Bali³

I.

Like the trembling hand of a friend

the ripples reach for my fingertips
and the cool breeze welcomes me

like a parent recognising a son

the straits of Bali.
the wandering son is coming back
home
but wherever he is the struggle will
go on
I turn my eyes toward the hills of
Java
and I see again the home I'm
leaving behind,
friends, and the love I feel for them
(KW Musayid, Gunoto, Waseso and
many others steeling themselves in
the struggle
Kusni Sulang, Afif, and so many
more of my own age)
ah, I look away and leave them
behind
emotions calling me to come back
soon
and though I leave one home
behind yet I am coming home
wherever I go I am at home
in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Bali,
everywhere
because everywhere there awaits
me

³ Translated by Keith Foulcher (1986:147-8).

kawan tercinta, perjuangan, hati dan tekadnya.	beloved friends, and our struggle, devoted and determined all along the road
sepanjang jalan	between the kapok trees and the village huts
di celah pohon-pohon randu dan gubuk aku berjumpa perumahan baru, yang dulunya tanah-tanah rengkah angin laut dan gunung menyuluk- nyuluk di batang jagung	I see new settlements where once was only cracked and broken ground breezes from the sea and the mountains slip between stalks of corn
betapa ulet kawan-kawan bekerja — menggarap kemiskinan jadi keyakinan ketakacuhan jadi ketekunan —	how tirelessly the comrades are working -turning poverty into conviction and indifference into perseverance —
padanya terpancang papan partai komunis indonesia	before them stand the signs Communist Party of Indonesia
II.	II.
semakin remaja kampung tempatku pulang kendatipun ibu jadi nenek, abang jadi ayah	the village I return to seems more youthful than it did though mother is now a grandmother and my brother is a father
tapi kebencian telah lebur jadi kebangkitan dan kegairahan berjuang menyemarakkan partai.	but all hatreds have gone, dissolved into love and apathy has melted into a resurgence of life, and enthusiasm to struggle
mereka bukan tenaga-tenaga dulu lagi dilihatnya, di hati kawan-kawan satu pikiran satu tekad	for the party, its fame they are no longer the workers they once used to be they have seen, in the hearts of the comrades

bagi kembangapi-kembangapi
 revolusi
 mereka komunis yang tak takut
 mati

one mind and one determination
 like fireworks of the revolution
 they are communists who do not
 fear to die.

(Harian Rakjat, 29 March 1964)

Ngurah Parsua

Anak marhaen

Children of the proletariat

kita yang cinta pada kerja
 juang tanah maupun laut
 adalah marhaen
 anak-anak buruh, nelayan dan tani

we who love work,
 who struggle on land and sea
 are the proletariat
 children of labourers, fishermen
 and farmers

kita adalah anak-anak marhaen
 anak yang cinta pada kerja
 yang membina masa datang yang
 gemilang

we are children of common folk
 children who love work
 who cultivate a bright future

pewaris kepahlawanan yang 'lah
 datang
 untuk diteruskan dan
 dimenangkan

the heirs of heroism have arrived
 to press forward and win

demi masyarakat marhaenistis
 yang keemasan

a golden proletarian society

hari ini siap dengan cangkul
 pena dan senapan biar kegaris
 depan

today we are ready with mattock
 pen and gun to go to the front line

karena semua itulah sebenarnya
 pengabdian
 yang harus kita pupuk dengan
 segala keberanian

we are dedicated
 encourage each other with bravery

kita adalah anak-anak marhaen
 anak-anak revolusi yang hidup
 demi revolusi

we are children of the proletariat
 revolutionary children who live for
 the revolution

anak yang harus hidup berjuang segema derunya marhaenisme bung karno yang kita lagakan demi kemanusiaan kita adalah anak marhaen yang pasrah biar darah membasah untuk ampera yang berarti sosialis marhaenisme yang mesti hidup abadi di tanah ini.	children who must live to struggle an echo of the roar of Sukarno's proletarianism for which we struggle for humanity we are children of ordinary people blood may flow for the people's suffering which means socialist proletarians will live eternally in this land.
---	---

(*Suluh Indonesia*, 7 May 1966, p. 3)

Raka Santeri

Catatan buat anakku Sari	A note for my daughter Sari
Sari, apabila nanti engkau dewasa dan membaca sajak ini kenanglah suatu zaman di mana kami telah memutuskan segala belunggu yang dibuat para pemimpin kemudian dengan lantang kami berteriak: "enyalah orde lama" maka suramlah seketika para pemimpin berdujun dujun mereka menghadap tangga peradilan atau tercengkram kuku-kuku kezaliman berduyun-duyun mereka tanggalkan mahkota setengah dewa lalu menuju kepenjara atau keneraka.	Sari, when you grow up and read this poem remember the time when we decided to break open all the shackles imposed by our leaders then we shouted in a piercing tone: "away with you Old Order" and in a flash the sun dimmed the leaders stepped down they faced the court in vast numbers or were caught fast in the claws of cruelty In vast numbers they hung up their godlike crowns then surrendered to prison or to hell

Ujung-ujung masa datang seperti sudah terenggam di tangan	The sharp points of the future had arrived, as if already held in the hand
ketika kami pulang dari padang perburuan kaum komunis mereka adalah saudara-saudara kami juga sebangsa dan setanah air	when we returned home from hunting down the communists they were all our sisters and brothers too, from the same nation, the same fatherland
tapi mereka adalah orang-orang jahat bagi Bapa dan Ibu, Sari karena mereka telah curang dalam suatu debat kebenaran serta memaksakan jalan merah yang terbasuh dengan darah para jendral dan darah kanak2 seusiamu.	but for us, your Father and Mother, they were wicked people, Sari because they cheated in a debate about the truth and imposed a red way washed in the blood of generals and the blood of children your age
Dengan begitu lalu kami bangunkan sebuah orde Sambil membelenggu mereka yang jahat dalam penjara kami yakin di negeri ini masih dapat ditegakkan Pancasila	That was why we raised up a new order While locking up those wicked people in prisons we believed that we must continue to uphold the Pancasila in this country
jang telah kami pertahankan untukmu, Sari dan untuk berjuta anak-anak sepertimu.	that we had defended for you, Sari and for thousands of children just like you.
Sari, Apabila nanti engkau dewasa dan membaca sajak ini Kenanglah bahwa sesudah zaman itu masih banyak yang terjadi di negeri ini	Sari, When you grow up and read this poem Remember that after that time many things happened in this country

<p>ada para pemimpin yang menggadaikan wilayah negeri ada pula para ulama yang berkelahi dan korupsi merekapun adalah musuh-musuh Bapa dan Ibu dalam suatu orde yang telah kami bangun tapi betapa lemah tangan Bapakmu ini, Sari betapa!</p>	<p>there were leaders who pawned the very earth of the country and there were religious leaders who quarreled one with the other and there was corruption they were the enemies of your parents in the order that we created but how weak was your Father's arm, Sari how weak!</p>
---	---

<p>semoga engkau yang menikmati masa datang akan dapat memberi maaf kepada kami karena begini kami membangun sebuah negeri.</p>	<p>I hope you who are going to enjoy the future will forgive us because this is how we built our country.</p>
--	---

(Himpi 1969:30)

APPENDIX C

Poems cited in Chapter IV

Ngurah Parsua

Bedugul

cemara yang menyongsong
bayangan
kemuning sunyi, redup diderai
angin
temaram meru terkatup kabut,
terkatup dingin
hujan lagi gerimis menggigil di sini
semua bebas dalam dekapan hari
kan bersua dalam rumah batu sejati

kerystal sepi angin meluluhkan
bayangan
kemuning sunyi danau lengang
tenang
semua asik bersiul sendiri-sendiri

Bedugul ¹

The casuarina welcomes the
shadow
of a solitary *kemuning*,² fading and
scattered by the wind,
a dark *meru*³ wrapped in mist and
cold,
shivers in the drizzling rain here
all freed within the day's embrace
we'll meet in a genuine stone house,
won't we?

The silent icy wind dissolves the
shadow
of the solitary *kemuning* by the still
quiet lake,
everything is absorbed in whistling
to itself

¹ A small town near Lake Bratan located on the border between North and South Bali.

² A tree that produces yellow flowers and beautiful yellow wood. The root word of *kemuning* is *kuning*, meaning 'yellow'.

³ A *meru* is a multi-storied roof of a shrine in a Hindu temple. The height of the temple's *meru* reflects the size of the temple.

luruh gemersik daun dari kelopak hati	stirred by the sound of rustling leaves fallen from the sheath of the heart
di sinikah sepi abadi, yang misteri di seberang danau sana. Sepi Ia menunggu sedihku sendu menunggu pertemuan rasa cinta abadi dalam rahasia	is this eternal solitude, that lies mysteriously beside the lake over there? Alone He waits my sadness deepens, and awaits a meeting of eternal love in secret.

1972

(Suryadi 1987:316)

Ngurah Parsua

Setelah angin senja berhembus <i>Buat almarhum Rastha Sindhu</i>	After the dusk wind blows <i>For the late Rastha Sindhu</i>
setelah angin senja berhembus berderai angin musim dukamu lampus topan dan badai tidur di tangan berani baju coklat pena terlena sunyi	after the dusk wind blows with the coming of the seasonal wind your sadness is over typhoons and hurricanes sleep over your bold hand brown cloth and a pen fall asleep quietly
blous segala pakaian makam bumi	the loose shirt and all the burial clothes
tidur menyendiri, dibebaskan sepi di dalam ruang waktu tak terbagi	sleep alone, freed from silence in undivided space and time
di sinikah tempat tentram abadinya pikiran lelap senyap tak terusik bayangan mati tidur abadi dibebaskan hari rindu dimamah waktu sedih duka angin berlalu	is this the peaceful place of eternal thought sleeping deeply without being teased by shadows death is eternal sleep freed from the day longing is chewed by time sadness and wind are passing by

setelah angin senja berhembus	after the dusk wind blows
padang-padang gembala tandus	the shepherd's grass is barren
dimakamkan di atas bayangan	buried under the shadow of your
wujudmu	body
dari gema sekapan rumah fanamu	in the echo of your eternal home
tidurlah hatimu gelisah	let your restless heart sleep
menghadap ke ruang waktu akhir	facing the perfect ending of space
sempurna	and time

Wayan Sumantri

Sebuah Pemandangan

A View

Seekor elang mengepakkan sayap
Terbang perlahan-lahan
membentuk kenangan:-Biru

An eagle flaps its wings
Flying slowly
forms a memory:-Blue

Lalu langit dan laut
biru pula
di sana

Then, the sky and the ocean
are also blue
over there

Dan sayap-sayap elang
Berguguran
Jatuh perlahan-lahan bagai kabut
Lalu diterkam laut

And the eagle's wings
Fall
Dropping slowly like mist
Then are pounced on by the ocean

Malamnya
Aku menatap langit
Aku menatap laut

In the night
I stare at the sky
I stare at the ocean

Kosong

Empty

Tak ada apa-apa

There's nothing there

Tinggal ombak bergulung-gulung
Aku tertidur

Only waves rolling in
I fall asleep

(*Antologi Puisi Bali* 1980:17)

Bawa Samar Gantang

Gempa

Earthquake

Dengan diam

Silently

kukenal kau tanpa angin
tangan roh dan badanI know you are without wind,
hand, spirit and bodyTanah di mana kau pijak
gelisahWhere you tread the earth
is nervous

Gemetar rumput, rumah, pohonan

Grass, houses, trees tremble

Luka pun terus berdarah
mengalir
ke sungai
mengalir ke laut
mengalir ke langit
Kembali pada tanah
menatap kuning matahariThe wound keeps bleeding
flows
to the river
flows to the ocean
flows to the sky
Returns to the earth
staring at the sun's yellowness

Dengan diam

Silently

kukenal kau tanpa angin
tanpa roh dan badan
tanpa ajalI know you are without wind
without spirit and body
without soul*(Antologi Puisi Bali 1980:13)*

Djelantik Santha

akuku sepanjang sungai

my ego is as long as a river

bila kunilai akuku
aku sungai gangga jernih bergelora
tentu juga kau kan berucapif I measure my ego
I am the Ganges, clear and seething
of course you may say

<p>aku sungai nil panjang dan syahdu dan dia akan tiada mau ketinggalan aku amazona luas dan dalam serta berbuaya tetapi bila telah lewat dari muara-muara akunya, akumu dan akuku tiada lagi menepuk dada kita... samudera raya tiada bertepi</p>	<p>your ego is the Nile, long and serene and he will not want to be left behind his ego is the Amazon, wide and deep, with crocodiles, but once they have they passed through their estuaries his ego, your ego, and my ego will no longer show off we will be... the great borderless ocean</p>
---	--

(Bali Post, 9 April 1976)

Ngurah Parsua

Kuta

Nenek adam dan hawa kembali
mengulang cerita?
bukan, ombak gemuruh dibakar
dada telanjang
seorang anak berjalan manja
menggendong beban
bernyanyi kecil bersiul-siul
“peradaban dunia telah bersatu
menghancurkan segala sengketa”
“Mereka telah memulainya
perdamaian”
sialan, orang pun berbicara tentang
dosa
Seorang pendeta berkotbah
memandang
paha berbulu pirang
tergiur hatinya, namun katanya
lantang

Kuta

Have our ancestors Adam and Eve
come back to repeat their story
No, bare breasts are arousing the
thundering waves
A child walks casually by carrying
a load,
whistling and singing a little song,
“world civilization has united
crushing all conflict”
“They have promoted peace”
damn it, people also talk about sin.
A holy man preaches whilst gazing
at the blond hairs on a thigh
He is aroused, yet his words are
clear,

“dosa-dosa telah membawa orang
kesasar nyemplung ke neraka”

“sins have caused people to lose
their way and plunge into hell”.

1975

(Suryadi 1987:320)

Oka Sukanta

Bali dalam puisi

Bali in poetry⁴

aku menyeruak masuk ke dalam
rumahku
pulau bali
tapi begitu asing, hampir tak
terpikirkan
begitu banyak yang telah berubah
seperti sebuah dongeng yang sulit
dipercaya kebenarannya

I pushed my way inside my home
the island of Bali
but it was so alien, almost
unimaginable
so much had changed
like a fairy story
you can't really believe in

aku terperangah
di rumah rumah seniman
aku terengah engah di toko
kesenian
semua telah engkau pajang
untuk pendatang
tertinggal apa untuk dirimu
sendiri?

I caught my breath
in the homes of artists
I gaped in surprise in the art shops
you've put out everything
for the visitors
what do you have left for yourselves?

aku mencarimu
di laut dan pantai
di liuk dan alur jejak pahat
di sapuan kuas
di lenggok penari
dan hentak denyar gambelan
di pura dan peninggalan kuno
di tegur sapa orang di pasar

I looked for you
in the sea and on the beaches
in the curves and grooves of the
stone carvings
in the strokes of the paintbrush
in the sway of the dancers
and the pounding of the gambelan
in temples and in ruins
in the greetings of people in the
market

⁴ This translation is taken from Keith Foulcher (Sukanta 1986:89, 91).

oh baliku
 aku merasa rabun
 oh baliku
 aku merasa pekak
 oh baliku
 aku bagai berkaca
 pada lembaran uang kertas
 yang melayang layang di langitmu
 dan bayangan gapai dan lambai
 tangan penari kecak
 tidak pernah mencapainya
 aku merasa sesuatu telah hilang
 dan kujumpai di gedung museum
 ketika kesedihan telah siap
 diabankan

oh my bali
 it's as though I cannot see
 oh my bali
 I cannot seem to hear
 everywhere there just seems to be
 staring back at me
 a bank note
 flying right across your sky
 and the shadows of the kecak
 dancers
 as their arms reach out and sway
 never quite get hold of it
 I felt that something had gone
 and I found it again in the museum
 just as I made ready
 to cremate my sorrow on the funeral
 pyre.

Gde Aryantha Soethama

Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur

Good morning Mr. Governor⁵

Selamat Pagi Pak Gubernur
 Telah tersedia sebuah kursi
 Tumpukan map dan bising dering
 telpun menunggu
 Kami tahu itu semua kau tangani
 untuk kami
 Untuk tandusnya bukit Pecatu
 agar hijau dan banyak ternak bisa
 merumput di sana
 Untuk Ketewel, Seraya, Nusa
 Penida dan desa terpencil nun jauh
 Di mana deru teknologi, televisi
 super color tinggal angan-angan

Good Morning Mr. Governor
 A chair is provided
 A pile of maps and the jangling
 noise of telephones await you
 We know that you'll handle all this
 for us
 So the barren Pecatu hill may
 become green and much livestock
 may graze there
 So that Ketewel, Seraya, Nusa
 Penida and distant, isolated villages
 Where the rumbling of technology
 and super colour television remain
 a fantasy

⁵ Translated by Christopher Dames.

<p>Agar mereka nikmati serpih dollar dari Sanur, Kuta dan kelak nusa Dua</p>	<p>Can benefit from snippets of the Sanur, Kuta and future Nusa Dua dollars</p>
<p>Selamat Pagi Pak Gubernur Pasar bertingkat, sampah, traffic light macet dan pelacuran menunggu Pedagang acung menuntut: pariwisata bukan monopoli pemilik artshop. Kaum pendatang, pribumi terdesak dan anak putus sekolah Banjir, lalu jalan pun terukir Kami yakin akan kau selesaikan untuk kami. Berat, tapi di sini ujian dan kebanggaan seorang pemimpin Yang tidak mesti terbuai oleh singgasana dan kesempatan.</p>	<p>Good Morning Mr. Governor Multi-storeyed markets, garbage, traffic jams and prostitution are waiting Street-stall owners demand: no monopoly on tourists for artshop owners Visitors, local people are pushed aside and children drop out of school Floods happen, and then the roads are all carved up We're confident you'll solve it for us It's difficult, but here's a challenge and something a leader can be proud of One who's certain not to be carried away by the throne and the occasion</p>
<p>Kami tahu, penjor berjajar, suara gamelan dan tari sakral melembaga di sanubari dan abadi, Di tengah gemuruh polusi jalan Denpasar-Gilimanuk tak pernah selesai Kau akan memulainya yang baru, semangat melangkah putra daerah Yang semoga lebih mencintai kesadaran dan disiplin kerja daripada instruksi atau lembaran surat perintah dan keputusan.</p>	<p>We know, <i>penjor</i> are lined up, the sound of <i>gamelan</i> and sacred dance have become part of our inner way of life and are enduring Amidst the never ending polluted thundering of the Denpasar-Gilimanuk road You'll start something new, have enthusiasm to step forward as a son of the land Who, we hope, loves to be aware and loves the discipline of work better than instructions or a letter with orders and decisions</p>

Selamat Pagi Pak Gubernur
Kursi tersedia bagimu adalah
tantangan
Dering telepon bagimu adalah kerja
dan kerja kerut merut
Tapi kami tahu langitmu bening
Anginmu bersih dan lautmu
bergelora senantiasa
Demi kami tanganmu tak akan
pernah terkulai patah
Mengisi art centre, menghimpun
sekeha gong dan arja

Bagimu kelak tak satu pun ruang
waktu ke luar dan lewat
Setiap noktah yang kau genggam
semacam mandat tanggung jawab
Membenah pulau ini dan rakyat
yang mencintainya
Kepada siapa lagi kau labuhkan
angan-angan?
Kepada siapa lagi kau ciptakan
pemerataan, kesejahteraan,
keadilan dan kemajuan?
Jika tidak untuk kami?

Selamat buatmu adalah dambaan
berjuta mulut, perut dan mata.
Untuk mencicipi masa depan
gemilang pulau kami
Dengan jalan berliku, gang sempit
dan jejalan garis patah-patah.
Kami membantu kau dengan
seteguk air.
Sampai tiba.

(*Bali Post*, 2 September 1978, p. 4)

Good Morning Mr. Governor
The chair provided for you is a
challenge
The telephone jangling for you is
work and work that causes a frown
But we know your sky is clear
Your wind is clean and your sea
always tempestuous
For us, your hands will never hang
limply or be broken
To fill the Art Centre, bring together
dance and drama groups

For you not one element of space
and time is wasted and passes by
Every dot that you hold is a kind of
mandate and responsibility
To clean up this island and the
people
that love it
Who else do you pour out your
dreams to?
Who else do you create equality,
wealth, justice and progress for?
If not for us?

Your wellbeing is a hope for
millions of mouths, stomachs and
eyes
To taste the bright future of our
island
With winding streets, narrow lanes,
and a mass of broken lines
We will help you with a mouthful
of water
Until we get there.

Wayan Arthawa

Tanah leluhur	Ancestral land
Menggrurat aksara di daun lontar kidung mana yang harus dialirkan mengendapkan bathin dalam semadi anak-anak semuanya berlari meninggalkan tanah leluhur	Scratching characters on palm leaves from where the poem must flow forth to let the mind settle in meditation? all the children are fleeing leaving their ancestral lands
melebur tanah kehidupan terasa kosong di pohon-pohon gamelan puncak candi berendam keperihan leluhur kita	destroying the land you live in leaves an empty feeling in the spirit trees ⁶ the towers of the temple submerge the pain of our ancestors.
seperangkat canang dan dupa menggigil di keheningan jagat tak bertuah untuk menyegarkan kandungan kesetiaan bagi kehidupan bagi kita anak-anak dan cucu-cucu	a set of betel nut offerings and incense shivers in the clear stillness of the world powerless to revive the inner sense of loyalty to a way of life for us for our children and our grandchildren.

Horison 1994

⁶ Initially I could not translate the meaning of 'gamelan' in the line "di pohon-pohon gamelan" into English. In a personal communication (3 January 2003), the author Wayan Arthawa, told me that the word 'gamelan' in the poem symbolises 'jiwa' or 'spirit'. I am grateful to Wayan Arthawa for this insight.

Alit S. Rini

Tanah sengketa

Disputed land

Pertarungan panjang ini
membuatku terpana
sudah ribuan kali kita percakapkan
laut yang tak lagi leluasa kita
datangi
jukung-jukung kembali
melayari sungai rohani yang kian
keruh

This long battle has left me stunned
Thousands of times we have
discussed
the sea which we no longer can
freely reach
the old log canoes return
sailing up a spiritual river grown
ever murkier

Kata yang berhamburan itu
takkan pernah jadi sabda
tertimbun ia di bawah tanah
gusuran
sebagian ia menyihir seperti jampi
orang-orang limbung dibuatnya
mondar-mandir di pematang dan
pantai
memanggil langit dengan wajah
berkeringat

Words scattered here and there
can never become truths
buried under a pile of confiscated
land
one group of them casting a spell
like an incantation
by which people are disoriented
walk aimlessly back and forth
between rice field walkways and
the beach,
summoning the sky with their
sweaty faces

Ketika ada yang berteriak ada
gerhana
bukankah sudah lama bulan tak
bercahaya
dalam langit rohani kita yang
kelam

When someone screams there is an
eclipse.
Is it not true that the moon hasn't
shone for a long time
in the overcast sky of our souls?

Ini musim hujan darah
perihnya tak terkira

This is the season of a rain of blood
its pain beyond imagining.

Berapa yang seperti kau dan aku
yang hirau dan mengigau tentang
jalan-jalan
menuju ke laut yang hilang
lalu terhalang hubungan dengan
nenek moyang
yang kita yakin bisa terketuk
lewat upacara laut

How many are like you and I
who take notice and rave about the
roads
to the sea that have disappeared
that cut off communion with our
ancestors
who we are sure can be contacted
through ceremonies of the sea.

Rasa tak berdaya ini kematian
jalanan batin lengang
kutahu asal dan tujuan kelelahan
ini
mirip penyerahan paling sempurna

This feeling of hopelessness is death
the roads of the inner self are
empty.
I know the cause and purpose of
this fatigue
the exact image of the most perfect
surrender

Tulang-tulang yang masih berjajar
sekokoh apa ia
jika musim penuh wabah menggigit
setiap kibasan lunglai

What kind of strength have
the bones which still line up
when the season of pestilence bites
every swaying movement will be
one of exhaustion.

Aku telah menjelma jadi orang-
orang sawah
membawakan tari beku dicabik-
cabik angin.

I've already taken birth as a
scarecrow
performing my mute dance as I'm
shredded by the wind.

(*Bali Post*, 19 February 1995)

Oka Rusmini

Upacara kepulangan tanah

Ceremony for returning to the land

ini peradaban yang menghilang
diserap pecahan debu
upacara mengendap pagi-pagi
selagi bunga-bunga mengawinkan
kelopaknyanya

This is a disappearing civilization,
sucked up
by fragments of dust
a ceremony of furtive sorties in the
early morning
as flowers marry their calyxes.

TANAH BALI 1

THE LAND OF BALI 1

mungkin tanah Bali tak punya peta
 leluhur di matamu
 atau hidup tak pernah mengajari
 keindahan
 daun-daun yang sering dipetik para
 leluhur di pinggir kali Badung
 tak pernah mendongengkan silsilah
 padamu

Perhaps the land of Bali has no
 ancestors map in your eyes
 or life hasn't ever taught you beauty
 the leaves the ancestors used to pick
 on the edge of the Badung river
 never told our ancestors genealogies
 to you

aku ingat
 ketika kanak-kanak, air kali itu
 bercerita banyak padaku
 dan leluhur duduk dekat kali
 menjulurkan kaki-kaki mereka
 kain mereka dibiarkan basah
 air kali memandikannya dengan
 riang

I remember
 when I was a child, the river water
 told me stories
 and the ancestors sat near the river
 with their legs stretched out
 letting their sarongs get wet
 the river water bathed them with
 joy

aku sering berlari dengan sepeda
 roda tiga
 mengitari kali, pohon kelapa yang
 tumbuh juga mengajakku bermain
 katanya, aku harus tahu silsilah
 sebuah tanah, beratus tumbal telah
 diciptakan para pemilik tanah

I often ran with my tricycle
 along the river, the coconut trees
 there inviting me to play, I must
 know the genealogy of a piece of
 land, they said,
 how many hundreds of amulets
 have been created by the owners of
 the earth

Bali-ku harum, darah para penari
 telah jadi api membakar kesuburan
 bunga-bunga tanahku

My fragrant Bali, the blood of the
 dancers has become fire
 that burns away the fertile flowers
 of my land

nak-anak tetap bermain
 dekat tepi kali, seorang perempuan
 menunggu cucunya

children still play
 near the edge of the river, a woman
 awaits her grandchild

ikan-ikan kecil, juga bau tanah
basah memberi kemudahan bagi
nafasnya

the small fish, the small of wet earth
gives ease
to her breath

TANAH BALI 2

THE LAND OF BALI 2

Pahamkah kau arti jadi tanah?
pertanyaan ini mungkin tak pernah
kau kenal
langit yang melindungimu dari
busur matahari
membuatmu lupa pada darah
leluhur yang sering menyiram
bentukmu

Have you considered what it means
to become earth? Perhaps this
question has never crossed your
mind. The sky sheltering you from
the curve of the sun
has made you forget the blood of
your ancestors that often washed
over your form

suara delman, yang
membangunkan perempuan-
perempuan pasar
hanya terbungkus jadi dongeng
jauh di seberang, laut juga mulai
kau musuhi
tak ada karang dan buih yang bisa
dipahat jadi peradaban

The sound of a buggy, which woke
up the women of the market
is packaged now as a legend
far across the way, the sea becomes
something you begin to make your
enemy
there is no rock or foam which
could be chiselled into a civilization

pribumi tololka yang menempati
sepetak tanah
keterasingan membungkus setiap
bumi yang dipijak

Is it stupid indigenes who have
occupied this square of land
exile envelops every earth they trod

kita mungkin masih punya
pura yang kau lirik jadi tempat
permainan
ke mana leluhur penari Sang Hyang
akan mementaskan keakuannya
tak ada upacara yang bisa memikat
para leluhur pulang

Perhaps we still have a temple that
you
glance at, thinking to make it too a
place of entertainment
where can the ancestors of the
Divine
dancers go now to perform the
ritual of their confession,⁷ no

⁷ The Sang Hyang dance referred to here is one in which young girls go into a trance and are believed to be possessed by divinities.

air di tepi kali Badung
tak ingin disentuh tanganmu
dan perempuan tua yang sering
mengantar cucunya, kehilangan
kalinya

ceremony can charm the ancestors
into coming home, the water on the
edge of the Badung River
doesn't want to be touched by your
feet, and the old woman who often
brought her grandchild here has
lost their river

berapa silsilah tanah yang kau
pahami?
siapa yang kau percaya
menanggung kesalahan ini

How many genealogies of the land
do you want to consider?
who do you believe will take
responsibility for this error

kalau kau punya pohon
atau tanah-tanah yang tak lagi
memiliki keharuman bunga padi
pada siapa kau akan bercerita
tentang kebesaranmu?

If you have a tree
or earth which no longer has the
fragrance of rice flowers
who will you tell of your greatness?

orang-orang tanpa mata, hati, dan
kepala
hanya berani memining keindahan
tanahmu
kau menari di atas tanah mereka
katakan padaku, tarian apa yang
kau pahami?

people without eyes, hearts, or
heads
dare only proposition the beauty of
your land
you dance on their land
tell me, what dance do you
understand?

TANAH BALI 3

THE LAND OF BALI 3

Selagi para perempuan menitipkan
doa-doanya lewat bunga-bunga
Pura-pura menggigil, muntahannya
mengalir ke sudut patung-patung
tangan-tangan asing menjamah
asing
tanah menceritakannya pada hujan
tak lagi akan melahirkan benihnya

As long as the women pass along
their prayers through flowers
the temples shiver, their vomit
flowing out at the corners of statues.
foreign hands fondle what is foreign
the earth tells the rain
that it will no longer give birth to
its seed

beratus tarian yang hanya dipahami para dewa luntur patahannya membunuh bunga- bunga padi	hundreds of dances only understood by the gods have faded their fractures kill the flowers of rice
upacara tak lagi memiliki suaranya sendirinya para perempuan yang sering dibangunkan para delman tak lagi tahu keindahan tubuh padi	the ritual no longer has its own sound the women who were often woken by the buggies no longer know the beauty of the body of rice
asap membungkus setiap tanah yang kupijak kulihat darah mengalir deras kulihat luka batu karang di lautan kulihat langit pecah bahkan tak lagi bisa kubedakan warnanya	Smoke envelops every earth I tread I see blood flowing swiftly I see the wounds of the coral on the ocean I see the sky split and indeed I can no longer tell its colours
orang-orang dari pesisir menyebrang menanam beratus bangkai-bangkai baru pribumikah yang menangis di sudut-sudut kota tak lagi bisa merangkai upacara dengan bau tanah miliknya	people of the coast cross over the sea planting hundreds of new corpses is it a native who cries at the edge of the city no longer able to join in the ceremony with the scent of the earth that is hers
bahkan untuk mencium tanah para pemilik peta, pemilik kali Badung, pemilik laut bahkan dewa-dewa harus membayar bau tanah miliknya	and just to smell the earth the owners of the map, the owners of the Badung river, the owners of the sea even the gods have to pay for the smell of the earth that is theirs

TANAH BALI 4

mana tanahku yang sempat
 mengotori kaki kecilku
 mana upacara kelahiranku
 lengkap dengan beragam bunga
 dan daun-daun hutan
 yang membasuhku jadi pemilik
 tanah ini
 mana para leluhurku
 yang sering mendongengkan
 nyanyian silsilah kebesaran
 manusia
 mana para penari
 yang khusus, meminjam malam
 untuk mempelajari taksu para dewa
 tari

sejarah ini tak lagi memiliki
 kebesaran
 karena tanah tak lagi kau kenali

selagi daun-daun mempersiapkan
 kematiannya
 berapa petak tanah yang kau
 sisakan untuk penguburan ini

Ketut Landras Syaelendra
 Di pura Tanah Lot; Bersama Aix

Kami memasuki kawasan asing ini
 di antara tiang-tiang beton
 dan lalu lalang tubuh-tubuh
 telanjang

THE LAND OF BALI 4

where is my earth which can soil
 my little feet?
 where is the ceremony of my birth?
 complete with uniform flowers and
 jungle leaves
 that wash over me to become the
 owner of this land
 where are my ancestors
 who often sang the legendary
 genealogy of the greatness of
 humanity
 where are the dancers, who deep in
 the trance of devotion borrowed the
 night to study inspiration from the
 gods of dance

this history will no longer have
 greatness
 because you no longer know the
 land

as long as the leaves prepare for
 their death
 how many plots of land will you set
 aside for the burial?

In Tanah Lot temple; With Aix

We enter this strange territory
 between concrete pylons
 and the coming and going of naked
 bodies

<p>Kenanganlah yang selalu mempertemukan kami Dulu suka sekali kami bermain di pasir di sini; menggambar dewa-dewa yang menjaga tanah kami di bawah kilatan cahaya senja di antara siraman kembang dan tirta pendeta sambil memandangi puncak meru di mana dewa-dewa menari Tangan cintalah yang membimbing kami kemari Duduk di atas sisa-sisa batu karang membaca-baca keagungan sejarah tanah Bali di bawah matahari asing dan tubuh-tubuh telanjang berkeringat anggur dan alkohol</p> <p>“Tak ada lagi tarian dewa di puncak meru ini ... Mari pulang,” katanya tiba-tiba ketika senja mulai turun.</p> <p>Lalu kami pun pulang dengan rasa kecewa sambil berharap menemukan jejak para dewa di antara sorak sorai orang-orang menyaksikan matahari senja sambil menari telanjang.</p>	<p>It is memories that always unite us We used to be so happy playing on the sand here; drawing the gods who guarded our land under the flashes of light at sunset between a shower of flowers and the holy water of the priests, while viewing the peak of this <i>meru</i>⁸ where the gods dance It is the hand of love that guides us here to sit on the remains of reefs and read the glory of the history of Bali; under a strange sun and naked bodies sweating wine and alcohol.</p> <p>“The gods will dance no longer on the peak of this <i>meru</i> ... Let’s go home,” he said suddenly when the twilight had just begun to fall.</p> <p>So we left for home feeling disappointed while hoping we’d come across the footsteps of the gods amid the cheering and shouting of people witnessing the sunset while dancing naked.</p>
---	--

⁸ See note 3.

Gusti Made Sukawidana
Catatan tentang Ubud:
aku teringat Isma Sawitri

Di Ubud sekarang ada pasar
bertingkat
pada lantai atas dijual souvenir
untuk para turis
sedang pada lantai bawah yang
becek dan kotor
ibuku menawarkan air mata
kepedihannya

di Ubud sekarang
sawah ladang bahkan sampai
tebing-tebing
telah digarap dan tumbuh subur
hotel megah
siapa yang mencari mimpi disini?
(tidak aku!)
kanak-kanak tidak lagi
mengembalikan ternaknya
dan musim panen tak pula
tergantungan pada hari baik

di sepanjang jalan menuju Ubud
bahkan sampai lorong lorong
sempit
art shop art shop memajang karya
seni yang dijual dengan harga
melangit
tetapi tidak dinikmati oleh
senimannya
calo-calo disini berwajah manis
tetapi hatinya selicik serigala!

Gusti Made Sukawidana
Notes on Ubud:
remembering Isma Sawitri

In Ubud nowadays there is a
multilevel market
on the top floor they sell souvenirs
for tourists
while in the mud and filth of the
ground level
my mother offers her tears of pain

in Ubud nowadays
rice fields and even river valleys
have been grown and sprouted
luxury hotels
Who is it that looks for dreams
there? (not me!)
children no longer look after their
livestock
and the harvest no longer relies on
the cycle of the seasons

along the road to Ubud
even in the narrow lanes
art shops exhibit handicrafts
that are sold at astronomical prices
which are never enjoyed by their
creators
the brokers there have sweet
faces
but their hearts are as cunning
as wolves!

di Ubud ketika malam turun	in Ubud when night falls
restoran restoran yang	restaurants serve all kinds of food
menyediakan berbagai masakan	and breed fireflies in bamboo
menangkar kunang kunang dalam	lanterns
lampion lampion bambu	to create a romantic atmosphere of
agar tercipta suasana romantis alam	rural charm
pedesaan	so that tourists who pay high prices
dan para turis yang membayar	can wine and dine in peace
mahal	
dapat makan dan minum dengan	
tenang	

di Ubud	in Ubud
odalan di pura pura	temple festivals
upacara kematian	cremations
jadi tontonan yang menarik	become interesting shows
“aku sedih dan menangis jadi	“I am sad and weep at becoming
tontonan!”	something people look at”

sementara sebagian telah	so a part of it has been pawned
tergadaikan	does I Made still play the <i>gamelan</i>
masihkah i made teruna menabuh	to accompany Ni Nyoman as she
gamelan	dances the sacred <i>rejang</i>
mengiringi ni nyoman bajang	in the courtyard of the great
menari rejang	temple?
di pelataran pura agung?	

Widiyazid Soethama	Widiyazid Soethama
Benda-benda lahir menjadi Dewa-	Material goods Become Gods
dewa	

Paduka yang mulia benda-benda	His Excellency worldly goods
dunia	wounded Your soldiers with bad
melukai prajuritMu dengan mimpi-	dreams
mimpi buruk	

tinggalkan dirinya dari kemuliaan hati untuk pesta pora dan mabuk sepotong nikmat pada benda lahir yang menjadi dewa-dewa	they abandon the goodness in their hearts for partying and getting drunk on slices of pleasure, from material things that have become gods
Rahmat bahagia ada pada anggaran belanja yang hadir dari televisi ke televisi dalam kemasan kelim dan mengancam "akan kutikam kau dengan luka dari penyakit asing tanpa tanda- tanda satu paket dalam nyanyi merdu menuju mimpi"	Blessings and joys are found in shopping lists that call on us from television to television in obscure packaging, threatening "I will stab you with wounds of a foreign illness with no symptoms in a package of sweet songs and approaching dreams."
Paduka yang mulia benda-benda dunia telah berdiri di atasMu menguasai setiap desa hadir di dalam tujuan dengan keinginan menjadi anak panah yang dilepas diantara jemari membunuh perlahan serupa bakteri	His Excellency worldly goods is already standing above You, in control of every village calling out with goals and desires which become arrows fired through the fingers killing slowly like a bacteria
menjangkiti pikiran jiwa hingga lemah dan terpana di gurun sunyi "beginilah jika kupelihara nanah ditusuk-tusuk jarum pemuja benda- benda yang menempatkan semeja dengan Dewa-Dewa".	infecting mind and spirit until you're weak and stupefied in a silent desert "That's how it is when I care for my wounds repeatedly stabbed by worship of worldly goods who place things at the same table as the Gods."

Ketut Yuliarsa
Sakit

Pak Dokter, saya sakit
Coba periksa suhu keinginan,
barangkali itu
yang menyebabkan organ-organ
meradang
terlalu banyak mengeluarkan cairan
kedengkian dan iri di hati
Lambung mengembung,
salah makan, karena saluran
kesederhanaan tersumbat oleh
keserakahan.

Cuaca kebudayaan sedang
buruk. Gengsi memaksa orang
untuk membeli rumah dan mobil
baru, meskipun tenaga uang tak
memadai. Maka, peredaran nafkah
tak seimbang, tekanan harga darah
meninggi.
Coba periksa stabilitas niat dan
kepedulian.
Masihkah ada rasa cinta pada
sesama?

Musim tak menentu. Kadang
dingin, harus pakai jas tebal, agar
terhindar dari tembusan peluru dan
tikaman celurit yang mengancam
dari kepanasan hati orang yang
kalah bersaing dalam usaha.

Kadang debu kecantikan mengotori
mata, pandangan jadi tak jelas

Ketut Yuliarsa
Sick⁹

Doctor, I feel sick
Please check how hot is my desire,
maybe that's what causes my organs
to be inflamed
excreting too much liquid spite and
envy into my heart
My stomach has swollen up from
consuming the wrong things
because my simplicity canal has
been blocked by greed

The cultural climate is bad. Ego
forces people to buy new houses
and cars despite a lack of financial
strength. So income distribution is
not well balanced, price pressure
raises blood pressure.
Check the stability of will and
sympathy
is there still any feeling of love for
one's own kind?

The seasons are unpredictable.
Sometimes the cold forces us to
wear a protective jacket, against
the threat of bullets and sickles and
the hot hearts of people defeated in
business competition.

Sometimes the grit of beauty has
got into our eyes, and obscured the

⁹ Translated by Vern Cork (2000:79)

antara kemauan baik dan keinginan berzina. difference between good and lustful desires and the heart beats too hard as we pursue our passion. But if it's not consummated, nervous break down.

Jantung berdebar terlalu cepat waktu mengejar kenikmatan nafsu. Bila tak tercapai, putus asa saraf.

Mulut juga sering diserang bakteri omongan busuk yang menular dan memuakkan Our lips are often attacked by bad mouthing bacteria infecting others and causing nausea making people vomit and shit.

Menyebabkan orang muntah berak Maka kata Dokter, Then the doctor says, "Harus beristirahat. Tenangkan batin. Selalu periksa kemampuan diri. Minum tablet kesabaran secara tetap. Bersihkan lingkungan kehormatan pengertian dan niat sebelum berbuat. Jangan sampai sakit terlalu parah, sebab bisa masuk ke rumah hidup sakit." "You must rest. Calm your spirit. Keep checking your capacities. Take patience pills regularly. Clean all around you with honor, understanding and will before doing anything. Don't let yourself get seriously ill, or you may enter the living-sick-house"

(*Bali Post*, 24 October 1993)

Isma Sawitri
Ubud

yang emas adalah padi
yang hijau adalah padi
yang bernas sesungguhnya padi
yang bergurau kiranya padi
inilah kebenaran pertama sebelum
yang lain lain

Isma Sawitri
Ubud¹⁰

the gold is rice
the green is rice
the fully shaped in fact is rice
to jest I guess is rice
this is the first truth before others

¹⁰ Translated by Iem Brown and Joan Davis (1995:76-7).

karena laparlah yang pertama sebelum yang lain lain sebelum berdirinya pura sebelum tersusun doa sebelum raja bertakhta	because hunger is the first before others before shrines are built before prayers are formed before kings rule
Dewi Sri membenihkannya di atas bumi di sinilah tempatnya ke mana ua harus datang di sinilah manusianya kepada siapa ia harus datang setiap musim berganti setiap musim beralih	Dewi Sri ¹¹ seeded it upon the earth it is here she has to come here are the people to whom she must come each season turns each season changes
Dewi Sri tetaplah pelindung pengasih bagi mereka yang tabah dan tahu berterimakasih yang emas adalah padi	Dewi Sri is the protector, the compassionate for those who are steadfast and thankful the gold is rice
Dewi Sri membenihkannya di atas bumi sepanjang usia bumi sepanjang hidup khayali yang bernas seungguhnya padi Dewi Sri adalah warisan abadi maka tercipta dongeng atas kenyataan tercipta keyakinan pada kehidupan	Dewi Sri seeded it upon the earth throughout the ages of earth throughout the life of the imagination the fully shaped in fact is rice Dewi Sri is an eternal legacy so tales are produced from realities and faith created in living

¹¹ Dewa Sri is the rice goddess.

APPENDIX D

Poems cited in Chapter VI

Cok Sawitri
Namaku Dirah

Cok Sawitri
My name is Dirah the witch ¹

Ketika wanita menjadi janda
Mulailah sudah prasangka
Melucuti kemurnian rahim
Rumah-rumah menanam pandan
di pintu
Anak-anak menutup lubang pusar
Lelaki menggosok-gosok kumisnya

When a woman becomes a widow
Prejudice begins
Stripping her womb of its purity
Households plant pandanus trees in
their doorways
Children cover their navels
Men preen their moustaches

Namaku Dirah
Aku mencangkul tubuhku
Hujan telah mengirim hati dan
jantung ke tanah
Sedang harapan ada di luar
kenyataan hidup
Pagi itu aku bertanya pada diri: raja
mana itu?
Kematian suamiku menjadi aniaya
Kesendirian itu menjadi kamar
hukuman
Tetapi apa kesalahan anakku

My name is Dirah
I have furrowed my body
The rain has sent heart and soul to
the ground
But hope lies outside the reality of
life.
That morning I asked: what ruler
has done this?
The death of my husband tortures
me
Loneliness is a prison cell
But what did my child do wrong

¹ Translated by Vern Cork (2000:18-21). In Chapter VI the English title used is "My name is Dirah".

Namaku Dirah	My name is Dirah
Aku hanya seorang janda	I am just a widow
Sia-sia bila kukirim pertanyaan: apa salahku?	It's useless for me to ask what I have done
Kekuasaan telah menasibkan kekhawatiran	Some power has destined me to fear High walls
Tembok-tebok tinggi	The guards who no longer have eyes
Penjaga-penjaga yang tak lagi memiliki mata	Day and night they silence
Siang malam membisukan	Everyone who wishes to speak
Siapa saja yang hendak bicara	Everything is fenced in
Apapun namanya yang dipagari	Within rows of fortifications
Berlapis benteng-benteng	Month long ceremonies
Berbulan-bulan pesta upacara	Made fertile with oaths of fidelity
Disuburkan sumpah janji kesetiaan	Disturbing my whisper; my name is Dirah
Terusik bisikku: namaku Dirah	is Dirah
Tanah yang telah berakar buah	The earth has roots which bear fruit

<i>Seperti diterjang seribu anak panah</i>	<i>As though pierced by a thousand arrows</i>
<i>Tubuh ramping terbalut kain putih itu</i>	<i>The slender body wrapped in white cloth</i>
<i>Luruh tersangga batang pohon kepuh</i>	<i>Laid on a tree trunk</i>
<i>Matanya memancarkan hati yang bebas</i>	<i>It eyes shining its soul free</i>
<i>Ketika tubuhnya merosot ke bawah</i>	<i>When the body slides to the ground</i>
<i>Rumput-rumput menegak menyediakan dirinya</i>	<i>The tall grass stands erect preparing itself</i>
<i>Menanti kedatangan tubuh ibunya</i>	<i>To receive its mother's body</i>

Namaku Dirah	My name is Dirah
Dengan darah kuruwat duka lara	With blood I exorcise sorrow
Berkalung usus di leher	With intestines around my neck
Aku menari sepuas hati	I dance till satisfied
Kepedihan ini	This pain
Kemarin di tengah malam	Yesterday at midnight
Aku sejenak merasa takut	I felt afraid for a moment
Kandung telurku diserang usikan dingin	My womb had been attacked by cold fear

Menisik bayang ayahmu andai dia masih	Recreating the shadow of your father as if he was still here
Kecengengan senantiasa	Always weeping
Menawarkan riwayat luka	Telling of a wounded life
Aku cangkul tubuhku	I hoe at my body
Kerna namaku Dirah	Because my name is Dirah

<i>Ribuan prajurit terpuruk</i>	<i>Thousands of soldiers are buried</i>
<i>Membelalak menyambut kematin</i>	<i>Staring wide-eyed in death</i>
<i>Seperti tak percaya</i>	<i>As though they cannot believe</i>
<i>Kekuasaan tidak melindungi nyawanya</i>	<i>No power had been able to protect them</i>
<i>Selambar kain putih</i>	<i>A sheet of white cloth</i>
<i>Leher berkalung usus</i>	<i>A necklace of intestines</i>
<i>Rambut gimbal berbau amis darah</i>	<i>Tousled hair smelling of blood</i>

Sampaikan:	Tell them:
Semua benteng memiliki celah	Every stronghold has a breach
Begitupun keangkuhan	Pride and power are shattered
Tak terkecuali kekuasaan retak	At a glance from me
Oleh lirik mataku	Because my name is Dirah
Kerna namaku Dirah	Just a widow
Hanya seorang janda	Not a body on a throne
Bukan tubuh di atas tahta	With weapons for company
Di mana senjata adalah kaumnya	

Alit S Rini	Alit S Rini
Perempuan yang jadi lambang	A symbolic woman²

Untuk siapa mengepal tangan dan ribuan yang tergerak	For whom the fists are clenched and thousands of people sway
Jubah-jubah merah	Red-robed

² Translated by Christopher Dames.

Wajah legam bermata kelam seperti ingin menenggak intisari kehidupan yang memberi rasa leluasa	With blackened faces and darkened eyes as if they want to gulp down an essence of life which offers a taste of freedom
Resah puluhan tahun Ketika terperangkap kesepian semu Dia menebar kesadaran Tentang kehidupan yang tercabik Dari takdirnya kemerdekaan Ada ruang-ruang terbuka Ada kata untuk bertanya Seperti kanak-kanak Yang tak khawatir rasa bersalah	Restless for decades When trapped in apparent solitude She spreads awareness About a life torn From its destiny of freedom There are open spaces There are words for asking questions Like little children Who don't worry about feelings of guilt
Tapi hari-hari Makin dipenuhi Orang-orang menari Saling silang kata Euforia	But the days Are increasingly filled with People dancing Exchanging words with each other Euphoria
Ini musim apa Masih saja keberanian terselip Di balik dada-dada menggelegak Oleh keinginan Menggapai menara atau apa	What season is this Despite everything courage is still enclosed Within the seething chests By the desire To reach some high point
Panggil getar lubuk hatimu Yang selembut ibu Jangan-jangan ini cara Mencuri kelengahan kita Di tengah jeda nyaris lupa	Call from the depths of your trembling hearts The one as gentle as a mother Maybe this is a way To take away our ignorance

Memelihara hubungan Yang di lingkaran Yang di pinggir-pinggir arena Pikiran-pikiran sudah terbuka Kehidupan belum terbebas dari dusta? Nyaris kita percaya ini kemalangan Takdir negeri tanpa persemaian angan-angan	During our rest we came close to forgetting To take care of our relationship with those in the inner circle those at the arena's edges Our opinions have come out in the open Is life yet free from lies? We almost believe that to be struck by disaster is the fate of a country without a nursery of illusions
Panggil pulang para pejalan Yang tak pernah takluk Cuaca berangin liar Mungkin akan dipaparnya kesejatian Tentang hidup kita yang terjebak Melingkar-lingkar Di pusaran kata Sebuah arena dengan para petaruh	Call home the travellers Who have never been subjected To wild windy weather Perhaps they will explain the real truth About our life of entrapment Going round and round In a vortex of words An arena with gamblers
Engkau pernah dipapah tertatih di lorong waktu yang menghubungkan karma dan pahala diteguhkan mengawal rasa getir	You have been unsteadily supported along the pathway of time that connects the act and its reward strengthened by an escort of bitter feelings

(*Bali Post*, 31 December 2000:11)

Alit S. Rini

Karena aku perempuan Bali

Begitu banyak kegundahan
 lebih mengganggu
 sejak kesadaran memberi ruang
 terbuka
 bagi pikiran-pikiran yang bertanya
 ini demamku
 seperti mengikuti tiap tarikan
 nafas
 puluhan tahun meminjam dari
 kesadaran
 perempuan-perempuan yang
 menyediakan
 rahimnya tanpa kuasa menjatuhkan
 pilihan
 bagaimana orang memberi
 keputusan
 atas nasib untuk sengsara
 sedang kupilih percintaan paling
 telanjang
 dengan percakapan bahasa hati
 kuingat mata-mata yang luka
 bagaimana engkau memahami
 kasih sayang
 dengan mengganggu kehidupan
 yang merdeka
 bagaimana orang-orang
 yang kauputuskan menderita
 memelihara keturunan
 yang senantiasa bertanya
 selain menyuarakan dukacita
 dengan kepasrahan yang
 dipaksakan
 menekan kehidupan

Alit S. Rini

Because I'm a woman of Bali³

So much despair
 that disturbs all the more
 since awareness made an open
 space
 for thoughts that question
 such is my fever
 that seems to follow every
 breath
 for decades I've been borrowing
 from the awareness
 of women who prepare
 their wombs with no power to make
 a choice
 how can anyone make a decision
 about the destiny to suffer
 whereas I've chosen the most naked
 of loves
 and the words of the language of
 the heart
 I recall the wounded eyes
 how could you ever comprehend
 affection
 while disrupting a life that is free
 how can the people
 that you've chosen for suffering
 nurture their descendants
 who are forever asking
 questions
 or give voice to grief
 with a forced resignation
 repressing life

³ Translated by Thomas Hunter (Ramseyer and Panji Tisna 2001:139-41).

dengan bibir yang selalu gemetar	with lips that never cease to quiver
menjaga geram	keeping watch over fury
agar ia tak meledakkan huru-hara	lest it explode into pandemonium
mengapa terpelihara musim	why nurture the season
yang meyerahkan kebijakan pada	that surrenders its wisdom to time
waktu	so long as this
begini lama	for a decision that must be taken
untuk keputusan yang harus	women, givers of love
dijalani	as if by an indistinct destiny
perempuan-perempuan pencinta	believe they suffer pain by necessity
seperti takdir yang semu	are those in the wrong
mengira seharusnya jadi pesakitan	because they allow themselves to be
kumpulan yang bersalah	led by the words of the heart
karena membiarkan diri dituntun	whereas quarrels
kata hati	are tiresome
sedang pertikaian-pertikaian	and we are not moved
melelahkan	to close again the space once
dan kita tak bergerak untuk	opened perforce
menutup ruang yang telanjur	for everyone
terbuka	and we do not ask
bagi tiap orang	whether someone is from the womb
dan kita tak bertanya	of the gods
ia dari rahim dewa-dewa	or whatever
atau apa	don't make allies or enemies
jangan bersekutu atau berseteru	because I've already emptied out
karena sudah kubikin martabat ini	the matter of status
kosong	if you embrace
jika kau rangkul	or rain down war
atau hujamkan peperangan	I will wound the season
akan menyakiti cuaca	so that it is aroused in silence
yang terbangun diam	too polluted to create any
tercemar untuk membangun	connection at all
hubungan-hubungan	

(*Bali Post*, 30 July 2000, p. 11)

ZAMAN KEMAJUAN

IBU : Nak, berhati-hatilah kau di zaman kemajuan ini, katanya.

ANAK : Bu kok masih kolot saja, tak mau melihat kenyataan-kenyataan kemajuan wanita. Hampir gadis sudah bisa naik sepeda, sudah bisa berrapat dengan laki-laki, dan tidak masih malu-malu kayak dulu. Menghemat sudah bisa dengan adanya rok-rok di atas dengkul dan tidak memakai lengan. Pendeknya kemajuan wanita tidak kalah dengan laki-laki.

IBU : Nak, wanita dan lelaki tetap berbeda. Kemajuannya pun tetap berbeda juga. Sebab apa Nak? Kalau lelaki terlalu maju tidak akan merugikan dirinja, tetapi andai kata wanita terlalu maju... perutnya menjadi gendut... walaupun sudah memakai peraturan makan untuk menjaga potongan dan perbekel akan susah dalam urusan kewarganegaraan. Ini bedanya (SOS).

(*Damai*, 17 January 1955, p. 10)

APPENDIX E

Sources of poems

No.	Title	Poet	Source
1.	Aku	Abu Bakar	Lesiba 1980:2
2.	Aku dan kakak	Ketut Putu	<i>Bhakti</i> , 1-3-1953:18
3.	Akuku sepanjang sungai	Djelantik Santha	<i>Bali Post</i> , 9-4-1976
4.	Anak marhaen	Ngurah Parsua	<i>Suluh Indonesia</i> , 7-5-1966:3
5.	Arjuna	M. Oke	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-10-1937:19
6.	Assalamualaikum	WD	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , October 1925:7
7.	Ayo... !!!	Arief Hidayat	<i>Damai</i> , 17-10-1953:21
8.	Bali	Putu Oka Sukanta	<i>Harian Rakjat</i> , 29-3-1964
9.	Bali dalam puisi	Putu Oka Sukanta	<i>Inside Indonesia</i> , July 1985:31.
10.	Bali di ufuk teru- menyan	Radhar Panca Dahana	Radhar Panca Dahana 1994:53
11.	BDL	Ktut Gde Maroete	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-3-1937:250
12.	Bedugul	Ngurah Parsua	Linus Suryadi 1987:316
13.	Benda-benda lahir menjadi Dewa-Dewa	Widiyazid Soethama	<i>Bali Post</i> , 5-6-1994

No.	Title	Poet	Source
14.	Berlanggananlah surat bulanan SK	KK	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , June-July 1926:88-9
15.	Bicara	Nyoman Bawa	<i>Suara Indonesia</i> , 6-9-1957
16.	Bladvulling, kampungku	Nj Merati	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-2-1939:262
17.	Catatan 23 April 1965	I.B. Pudja	<i>Angkatan Bersendjata</i> , 17-4-1966
18.	Catatan buat anakku Sari	Raka Santeri	Himpi 1969:30
19.	Catatan tentang Ubud	GM Sukawidana	<i>Bali Post</i> , 8-9-1996:7.
20.	Cerita tentang burung	Made Kirtya	<i>Bhakti</i> , 1-12-1952:18
21.	Cermin	MDr	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , September-October 1926:155
22.	Darma	Sinar	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , September-October 1926:150
23.	Denpasar sane mangkin	Made Sanggra	Bagus and Ginarsa 1978:104
24.	Dharmaku	Windhya Wirawan	<i>Bhakti</i> , 20-10-1952:15
25.	Di depan arca saraswati	Putu Fajar Arcana	<i>Bali Post</i> , 14-8-1996
26.	Di pura Tanah Lot; Bersama Aix	Landras Syaelendra	<i>Horison</i> , June 1994
27.	Di rantau	Mara Ati	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-2-1939:244
28.	Di tepi samudra	P. Mudelare / Nj Kedasih.	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-9-1938:51
29.	Dilamun maha yogi tanah Bali	Tone Indara	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-11-1939:113
30.	Gempa	Bawa Samargantang	Lesiba 1980:13

No.	Title	Poet	Source
31.	Halaman kapur Bukit Pecatu	Putu Fajar Arcana	Putu Fajar Arcana 1997:45
32.	Harta	K. Kandia	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-11 (?): 116-7
33.	Hidup ini memang begini	Agung Mayun	I Made Sukada 1976:6
34.	Hiduplah Badala	K. Djeloen	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-3-1938:239
35.	Hiduplah SK	MAR	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , May 1926:74
36.	Ilmu	AWD	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , November 1925:3
37.	Ilmu padi harus dituntut	L	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , September-October 1926:131-2
38.	Jalan ke Tanah Lot	Warih Wisatsana	Hartanto 1998:113-4
39.	Karena aku perempuan Bali	Alit S Rini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 30-6-2000:11
40.	Karena berpahala	K. Kandia	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-6-1937:309
41.	Ke arah nan maha kuasa	Ida Bagus Tugar	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-3-1937:270
42.	Ke taman BDL	Ktut Gde Maroete	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-12-1936:138
43.	Kemanusiaan	A. Kobar	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , August 1926:103-4
44.	Kemerdekaan-kebebasan	Anijah	<i>Suluh Indonesia</i> , 8-10-1960:2
45.	Kenangan	IG Ng Sidemen	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-6-1937:328
46.	Kerja	Gde Mangku	<i>Zaman Baru</i> , 5-6-1964:7
47.	Kiasau	A. Kobar	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , May 1927:47-8

No.	Title	Poet	Source
48.	Kodrat cinta	IG Ng Sidemen	<i>Djatajoe</i> , January 1937:173
49.	Kuta	Ngurah Parsua	Linus Suryadi 1987:320
50.	Kuta	Raka Pemayun	Pemayun 1979:11
51.	Laut	IGB Arthanegara	Himpi 1969:4
52.	Lelaki kuburan Badung	Nyoman Wirata	<i>Bali Post</i> , 3-3-1996:11
53.	Mana tanah Bali	Widiyazid Soethama	<i>Bali Post</i> , 20-2-1994:7
54.	Manusia patung	Alit S. Rini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 15-9-1996:11
55.	Marhaen	ID Gema	<i>Damai</i> , 17-8- 1953:21
56.	Mohammad Rukman Kartawinata di Bali	Ajip Rosidi	Ajip Rosidi 1993:113-4
57.	Namaku Dirah	Cok Sawitri	Cork 2000:18-21
58.	Nasib rakyat	Ngurah Bagus	<i>Damai</i> , 17-5- 1953:60
59.	Nyoman urban	Nyoman Wirata	<i>Bali Post</i> , 3-3-1996:11
60.	O Ibuku	I Gusti P. Matharam	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-5-1938:318
61.	O! Zaman	M.T	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , March 1926:35
62.	Och Ratna	M. Oke	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-5-1938:317-8
63.	Oh Bali	P. Windia	<i>Djatajoe</i> , February 1937:197
64.	Oh putriku	Wayan Sami	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 23-3-1937:226
65.	Pahlawan petani	Ketut Suwidja	<i>Suara Indonesia</i> , 14-3-1965:3
66.	Pasir putih	Gde Mangku	<i>Zaman Baru</i> , 5-6-1964:7
67.	Pemilihan umum	Wayan Yarsa	<i>Damai</i> , 17-1-1955:16

No.	Title	Poet	Source
68.	Pengakuan	Putu Shanty	<i>Bhakti</i> , 15-1-1954:10
69.	Perempuan yang jadi lambang	Alit S. Rini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 31-12-2000:11
70.	Perjalanan	Ngurah Parsua	Linus Suryadi 1987:318
71.	Pitua dengan contoh harus bersama-sama	I Gde Geria	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-10-1937:84
72.	Rakyat dan pemimpin	Nyoman Bawa	Album Hati, (unpublished collection)
73.	Revolusi	Raka Santeri	<i>Angkatan Bersendjata</i> , 17-4-1966
74.	Rukunlah Surya Kanta	WL	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , August 1926:106-8
75.	Sadarlah	M	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , August 1926:114
76.	Sajak di hari Nyepi	Ketut Putu	<i>Bhakti</i> , 10-3-1953:11
77.	Sajak pulau Bali	W.S. Rendra	Rendra 1974:72-4
78.	Sajak untuk Bung Karno	Nyoman Bawa	<i>Suara Indonesia</i> , 9-8-1960
79.	Sakit	Ketut Yuliarsa	<i>Bali Post</i> , 24-10-1993
80.	Samadhi	Djelantik Santha	<i>Bali Post</i> , 19-12-1976
81.	Sangeh	Agus Vrisaba	Lesiba 1980:4
82.	Sawah tandus dan petani tua	Perry Kurniawan	I Made Sukada 1976:9
83.	Sebuah dongengan tentang dewa-dewa	Suchica Danty	<i>Bhakti</i> , 10-3-1953:10.
84.	Sebuah pemandangan	Wayan Sumantri	Lesiba 1980:17
85.	Selamat pagi Pak Gubernur	Aryantha Soethama	<i>Bali Post</i> , 2-9-1978:4

No.	Title	Poet	Source
86.	Selamat Tahun Baru untuk Bali Adnjana	Gd.P. Kertanadi	<i>Bali Adnjana</i> , 1-1-1925:1
87.	Seruan	Ni Made Tjatri	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-9-1938:51
88.	Setelah angin senja berhembus	Ngurah Parsua	Linus Suryadi 1987:317
89.	Setia pada SK	Soekarsa	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , March-April 1927:36
90.	SK	Soekarsa	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , March 1926:45
91.	Suara rakyat, sampah kering	Djelantik	<i>Damai</i> , 17-10-1955:16
92.	Suara-suara hidup	Gde Mangku	<i>Zaman Baru</i> , 5-6, 1964:7
93.	Suatu malam sunyi	Ngurah Parsua	Linus Suryadi 1987:320
94.	Syair seruan Djatajoe	IG Ng Sidemen	<i>Djatajoe</i> , February 1937:185
95.	Syair SK	M. Gama	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , January-February 1927:19
96.	Tachyul	MAR	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , February 1926:19-20
97.	Tanah leluhur	Wayan Arthawa	<i>Horison</i> , December 1994:37
98.	Tanah pesisir Padanggalak	GM Sukawidana	Sukawidana 2000:17-18
99.	Tanah sengketa	Alit S. Rini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 19-2-1995:7
100.	Tat twam asi	Jiwa Atmaja	Lesiba 1980:29
101.	Telaga	Made Sukada	Lesiba 1980:19
102.	Ubud	Isma Sawitri	Brown and Davis 1995:76-7

No.	Title	Poet	Source
103.	Upacara kepulangan tanah	Oka Rusmini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 5-3-1995
104.	Usdek dan Manipol	I Wayan Rugeg Nataran	<i>Suara Indonesia</i> , 25-10-1960:2
105.	Wahai kama	K. Kandia	<i>Djatajoe</i> , January 1937:168-9
106.	Ya dharma	K. Kandia	<i>Djatajoe</i> , February 1937:186

APPENDIX F

Sources of prose and plays

No.	Title	Author	Source
1.	Akibat cinta palsu	S.E. Negara	<i>Damai</i> , 1-9-1953:24-8
2.	Amelegandang	Sana	<i>Damai</i> , 17-6-1953:52-5
3.	Apakah Anda Mr Wayan?	Wayan Suardika	<i>Bali Echo</i> , 38 December 1998/ January 1999:747
4.	Api Sita	Oka Rusmini	Oka Rusmini 2000:73-91
5.	Bohong	Aryantha Soethama	Aryantha Soethama 2006:80-5
6.	Cintaku bukan karena uang	Sudarsana, I Gst Bg	<i>Damai</i> , 17-4-1953:17-8
7.	Cintanya untuk api repolusi	IGB Arthanegara	<i>Suara Indonesia</i> , 8-5-1966:3
8.	Dasar	Putu Wijaya	<i>Kompas</i> , 18-10-1992
9.	Di sarang pelacuran	Ngurah Oka	<i>Damai</i> , 28-2-1955:12
10.	Disaksikan oleh Sungai Ayung	Selasih	<i>Damai</i> , 17-4-1955:12-4
11.	Don't forget John!	Ngurah Parsua	1995 unpublished
12.	Gadis modern	Sambang Marga	<i>Bhakti</i> , 20-10-1952:18-9
13.	Gagal	Sana	<i>Damai</i> , 17-4-1953:46-7
14.	Ganti masa ganti kasih	S. Tha	<i>Damai</i> , 1-5-1955:16-7

No.	Title	Author	Source
15.	Gurat-gurat	Oka Rusmini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 8-6-1996 (55 series)
16.	Hasil ujianku	Arief Hidayat	<i>Damai</i> , 17-11-1954:13-4
17.	Hotel Partikelir di gang gelap	Gangga Sila	<i>Damai</i> , 1-5-1955:17-8
18.	Itu akibatnya	Anonymous	<i>Bhakti</i> , 10-12-1952:16-24
19.	Kalah	Sana	<i>Damai</i> , 17-9-1953:30-2
20.	Karena uang suap	Lara Susila	<i>Damai</i> , 17-4-1955:4-5
21.	Kawin lari	Faisal Baraas	Faisal Baraas 1992:54-61
22.	Kepala dan kaki	Mas Ruscitadewi	<i>Bali Post</i> , 4-1-1998:18
23.	Kesetiaan perempuan*	Anonymous	<i>Surya Kanta</i> , March-April 1927:42-3; May 1927:61-4 and June 1927:75-6
24.	Ketika kentongan dipukul di bale banjar	Rasta Sindhu	<i>Horison</i> , IV /1, January 1968:27-9
25.	Korban kemajuan	Eren	<i>Damai</i> , 17-6-1954:17-8
26.	Korban kepuasan	R.S.	<i>Damai</i> , 17-3-1955:4-6
27.	Kurban	Bhadrapada	<i>Djatajoe</i> , 25-7-1938:359-62; 25-9-1938:118-20
28.	Lisa	Wienarty Raken	<i>Angkatan Bersendjata</i> , 30-4-1967:2
29.	Lukisan Rinjin	Aryantha Soethama	Cork 1996:95-102
30.	Matinya seorang merah	Sunartoprajitno	<i>Angkatan Bersendjata</i> , 10-4-1966:2
31.	Mega hitam pulau khayangan	Putu Oka Sukanta	Putu Oka Sukanta 1978:21-31

No.	Title	Author	Source
32.	Mendung di kuri gede	Oka Rusmini	<i>Bali Post</i> , 11-8- and 18-8-1991:6
33.	Pergaulan bebas	Sana	<i>Damai</i> , 17-3-1953:55-7
34.	Persimpangan jalan	Nurachim	<i>Damai</i> , 17-12-1954:12-4
35.	Pesta tubuh	Oka Rusmini	Oka Rusmini 2000:54-72
36.	Pulau penyu*	Aryantha Soethama	Aryantha Soethama 1984:42-71
37.	Putu menolong tuhan	Oka Rusmini	Oka Rusmini 2000:152-68
38.	Rahim	Cok Sawitri	<i>Kompas</i> , 24-9-2000
39.	Ratni gadis Pesakitan	Ngurah Oka	<i>Damai</i> , 17-2-1954:15-6
40.	Sagra	Oka Rusmini	Oka Rusmini 2000:93-124
41.	Sahabatku Hans Schmitter	Rasta Sindhu	<i>Horison</i> , July 1969:215-7
42.	Sanur tetap ramai	Faisal Baraas	Faisal Baraas 1992:47-53
43.	Saya bukan pembunuhnya	Rasta Sindhu	<i>Kompas</i> , 12-8-1972
44.	Sekarang dia bangsawan	Aryantha Soethama	Unpublished, 1996
45.	Si Lin Merah	Made Kirtya	<i>Bhakti</i> , 10-5-1953:16-8
46.	Suzan	Aryantha Soethama	<i>Sarinah</i> , 4 series, Nos. 151 (4/17-7-1988:56-9,74); 152 (18-7-1988:56-9,79), 153 (1/14-8-1988:56-9, 72-3), 154 (15/28-8-1988:68-71, 94-5)

No.	Title	Author	Source
47.	Tajen	Faisal Baraas	Faisal Baraas 1992:35-41
48.	Tangan sebelah	Putu Oka Sukanta	<i>Zaman Baru</i> , 1964
49.	Tembok puri	Aryantha Soethama	Lingard 1995:12-9
50.	Tugu kenangan	Ngurah Parsua	Ngurah Parsua 1986:48-56

* Play

Bibliography

- Aditjondro, George Junus
1995 *Bali, Jakarta's colony; Social and sociological impacts of Jakarta-based conglomerates in Bali's tourism industry.* [Murdoch, Western Australia: Asia Research Centre, Special Research Centre on Social, Political and Economic Change in Asia, Murdoch University.] [Working paper Asia Research Centre 58.]
- Agung, Ide Anak Agung Gde
1993 *Kenangan masa lampau; Zaman kolonial Hindia Belanda dan zaman pendudukan Jepang di Bali.* Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Ahmad, Kholilul Rohman
2001 'Sekilas sejarah perjalanan politik Megawati'. *Kompas*, 19 January.
- Ajidarma, Seno Gumira
1997 *Ketika jurnalisme dibungkam sastra harus bicara.* Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya.
- Alisjahbana, Sutan Takdir
1938 'Puisi Indonesia zaman baru', *Poedjangga Baroe* 9:204-8.
- Allen, Pamela
1999a 'Kebangsaan dan pencitraan dalam tiga roman Mangunwijaya', in: Sindhunata (ed.), *Menjadi generasi pasca-Indonesia*, pp. 161-203. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- 1999b *Reading matters; An examination of plurality of meaning in selected Indonesian fiction, 1980-1995.* PhD thesis, The University of Sydney.
- 2001 'Marrying up in Bali', *Inside Indonesia* 66:32.
- Allen, Pamela and Carmencita Palermo
2005 'Ajeg Bali; Multiple meanings, diverse agendas', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 33:239-55.

Anderson, Benedict R.O'G.

- 1981 'The struggle of the Naga tribe; A play by W.S. Rendra', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 40-2:428-30.
- 1991 *Imagined communities; Reflection on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Revised edition. London: Verso. [First edition 1983.]
- 1998 *Spectres of comparison, nationalism; Southeast Asia and the world*. London: Verso.

Anwar, Chairil

- 1999 *Derai-derai cemara*. Jakarta: Horison.

Arcana, Putu Fajar

- 1996 'Jalan sunyi Umbu Landu Paranggi'. *Kompas*, 15 January.
- 1997 *Bilik cahaya*. Denpasar: Sanggar Minum Kopi Bali.

Aripurnami

- 1996 'A feminist comment on the sinetron presentation of Indonesian women', in: Laurie J. Sears (ed.), *Fantasizing the feminine in Indonesia*, pp. 249-58. Durham: Duke University Press.

Aspinall, Edward and Greg Fealy (eds)

- 2003 *Local power and politics in Indonesia; Decentralisation and democratisation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. [Indonesia Update Series.]

Aveling, Harry

- 2001 *Secrets need words; Indonesian poetry, 1966-1998*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies.

Bachri, Sutardji Calzoum

- 2000 'Puisi dari Bali'. *Kompas*, 1 September.

Baraas, Faisal

- 1983 *Lèak ; Kumpulan cerpen*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Bagus, I Gusti Ngurah

- 1990 'Masalah equilibrium dalam proses pembangunan dan tantangannya di Bali', *Widya Pustaka* (April):1-5.
- 1996 'The play "Woman's fidelity"; Literature and caste conflict in Bali', in: Adrian Vickers (ed.), *Being modern in Bali; Image and change*, pp. 92-114. New Haven, CT: Yale Southeast Asia Studies. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph 43.]

Bagus, I Gusti Ngurah and I Ketut Ginarsa

- 1978 *Kembang rampe kasusastran Bali anyar; Wewidangan 2*. Singaraja: Balai Penelitian Bahasa, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Balier, Jong

- 1926 'HUDVO, Perkoempoelan moerid-moerid MULO Bali di Malang', *Surya Kanta* 2:82-3.

- Barker, Chris
1999 *Television, globalization and cultural identities*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Basuki, Sunaryono
1994 *Hunus*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Bellows, Laura J.
2003 "'Like the West'; New sexual practices and modern threats to Balinese-ness', *Rima* 37-1:71-105.
- Bhadra, I Wayan
1938a 'Kurban'. *Djatajoe* (27 June):359-62.
1938b 'Kurban'. *Djatajoe* (25 November):110-2.
- Bodden, Michael
1997 'Utopia and the shadow of nationalism; The plays of Sanusi Pane 1928-1940', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 153:332-55.
- Bodden, Michael and Tineke Hellwig
2007 'Introduction', *Rima* 41-2:1-24.
- Brown, Iem and Joan Davis
1995 *On the verandah*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Budianta, Melani
2002 'Plural identities; Indonesian women's redefinition of democracy in the post-Reformasi era', *Rima* 36-1:35-50.
- Cakrawala sastra Indonesia*
2004 *Cakrawala sastra Indonesia*. Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian Jakarta and Angkatan 2000.
- Caldwell, Ian
1985 'Anak Agung Panji Tisna, Balinese Raja and Indonesian novelist, 1908-78', *Indonesia Circle* 36:55-60.
- Campbell, Christine Ann
2000 *Contrary vision; Women and work in Malay woman-authored novels after the independence period (1960-1995)*. PhD thesis, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Campbell, Ian
2002 'Some developments in Indonesian literature since 1998', *Rima* 36-2:35-80.
2006 *National literature, regional manifestations; Contemporary Indonesian language poetry from West Java*. M. Phil thesis, School of Languages and Cultures, University of Sydney.
- Cerpen Indonesia terbaik*
2008 *20 cerpen Indonesia terbaik*. Jakarta: Gramedia.

Chambert-Loir, Henry

1987 'Hikayat nakhoda asyik; Jalan lain ke roman', in: Sapardi Djoko Damono (ed.), *HB Jassin 70 tahun*, pp. 135-47. Jakarta: Gramedia.

1991 'Malay literature in the 19th century; The Fadli connection', in: J.J. Ras and S.O. Robson (eds), *Variation, transformation and meaning; Studies on Indonesian literature in honour of A. Teeuw*, pp. 87-114. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 144.]

Connor, Linda H.

1996 'Contestation and transformation of Balinese ritual; The case of *ngaben ngirit*', in: Adrian Vickers (ed.), *Being modern in Bali; Image and change*, pp. 179-211. New Haven, CT, Yale Southeast Asian Studies. [Monograph 43.]

Cork, Vern

1996a (ed.) *Bali; So many faces*. Sydney: LARC Materials in Indonesian.

1996b (trans.) *Bali behind the seen; Recent fictions from Bali*. Sydney: Darma Printing.

1999 (trans.) *The sweat of pearls*. Sydney: Darma Printing.

2000 (trans.) *Bali the morning after; Poems about Bali by Bali's major poets*. Sydney: Darma Printing.

Covarrubias, Miguel

1937 *Island of Bali*. New York: Knopf.

Creese, Helen

2004a *Women of the kakawin world; Marriage and sexuality in the Indic courts of Java and Bali*. Armonk, NY; London: Sharpe.

2004b 'Reading the Bali Post; Women and representation in post-Suharto Bali', *Intersections; Gender and sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue10/creese.html> (accessed 12-1-2008).

2007 'Curious modernities; Early twentieth-century Balinese textual explorations', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66-3:723-58.

2008 'The regulation of marriage and sexuality in precolonial Balinese law codes', *Intersections; Gender and sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue16/creese.htm> (accessed 21-9-2008).

Dahana, Radhar Panca

1994 *Lalu waktu, sajak dalam tiga kumpulan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus.

Damono, Sapardi Djoko

2000 'Dapatkah kita menghindarkan diri dari cerpen', in: Ulrich Kratz (ed.), *Sumber terpilih sejarah sastra Indonesia abad XX*, pp. 638-44. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia. [First published 1975.]

- Derks, Will
1996a "‘Because I am a Malay’"; Taufiq Ikram Jamil between nation and region’, in: Paul van der Velde and Alex McKay (eds), *New developments in Asian studies; An introduction*, pp. 234-51. Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies.
- 1996b "‘If not to anything else’"; Some reflections on modern Indonesian literature’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 152:341-52.
- 1996c "‘Sastra perjuangan’ literary activism in present-day Indonesia’, in: Paul van der Velde (ed.), *IIAS year book 1995*. Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies.
- 2001 ‘A literary mycelium; Some prolegomena for a project on Indonesian literatures in Malay’, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 32:367-84.
- 2002 "‘Sastra pedalaman’ local and regional literary centres in Indonesia’, in: Keith Foulcher and Tony Day (eds), *Clearing a space; Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, pp. 325-48. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 202.]
- Dewata
1954 ‘Surat tak bersampul, dari seorang ayah’, *Damai* (17 June):2.
- Dini, Nh.
1973 *Pada sebuah kapal*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Djelantik, A.A.M.
1997 *The birthmark memoirs of a Balinese prince*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.
- During, Simon
2005 *Cultural studies; A critical introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Dwyer, Leslie
2004 ‘The intimacy of terror; Gender and the violence of 1965-66 in Bali’, *Intersections; Gender, history and culture in the Asian context*. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue10/dwyer.html> (accessed 20-1-2008).
- Eddy, I Nyoman Tusthi
1996 ‘Peta perjalanan kepenyairan Bali’. *Bali Post*, 21 April.
1997 ‘Puisi Bali, selintas-pintas’, *Horison* 31-3:27-9.
- Faruk
1994 ‘Kabut sastra pedalaman’. *Kompas*, 25 September.
- Foulcher, Keith
1969 ‘A survey of events surrounding “Manikebu”’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 125:429-65.
- 1977 ‘Perceptions of modernity and the sense of the past; Indonesian poetry in the 1920s’, *Indonesia* 23:39-58.

- 1983 'Another side of Bali; The poems of Putu Oka Sukanta', *Inside Indonesia* 1:32-4.
- 1986 *Social commitment in literature and the arts; The Indonesian 'Institute of people's culture' 1950-1965*. Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- 1987 'Sastra kontekstual; Recent developments in Indonesian literary politics', *Rima* 21-1:6-28.
- 1990 'The construction of an Indonesian national culture; Patterns of hegemony and resistance', in: Arief Budiman (ed.), *State and civil society in Indonesia*, pp. 301-20. Clayton, VIC: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- 1991 *Pujangga Baru; Kesusasteraan dan nasionalisme di Indonesia*. Bandung: Girimukti Pasaka.
- 1993 'Post-modernism or the question of history; Some trends in Indonesian fiction since 1965', in: Virginia Matheson Hooker (ed.), *Culture and society in New Order Indonesia*, pp. 27-83. Oxford University Press.
- 1994a "'The manifesto is not dead"; Indonesian literary politics thirty years on'. Monash University, Australia. [Working paper 87.]
- 1994b 'Beranjak dari paradigma lama; Imbasan postmodernisme dalam kajian budaya Indonesia di Australia', *Kalam* 1:65-70.
- 2000 'Sumpah Pemuda; The making and meaning of a symbol of Indonesian nationhood', *Asian Studies Review* 24-3:377-410.
- Freidus, Alberta Joy
1977 *Sumatran contributions to the development of Indonesian literature, 1920-1942*. Honolulu: Asian Studies Program, The University Press of Hawaii.
- Geertz, Clifford
1980 *Negara; The theatre-state in nineteenth-century Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Geertz, Hildred
1994 *Images of power; Balinese paintings made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Ginarsa, Ketut
1985 *Paribasa Bali*. Denpasar: CV Kayumas.
- Hall, Stuart
1997 'Cultural identity and diaspora', in: Kathryn Woodward (ed.), *Identity and difference*, pp. 51-9. London: Sage Publication.
- Hardi, Lasmidjah (ed.)
1983 *Sumbangsihku bagi ibu pertiwi; Kumpulan pengalaman dan pemikiran, buku 3*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.

- Hasrullah
2001 *Megawati dalam tangkapan pers.* Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta.
- Hatley, Barbara
2002 'Postcoloniality and the feminine in modern Indonesian literature', in: Keith Foulcher and Tony Day (eds), *Clearing a space; Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, pp. 145-82. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 202.]
- Hatley, Barbara and Susan Blackburn
2000 'Representation of women's roles in household and society in Indonesian women's writing of the 1930s', in: Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg and Ratna Saptari (eds), *Women and households in Indonesia; Cultural notions and social practices*, pp. 45-67. Richmond: Curzon. [NIAS, Studies in Asian Topics 27.]
- Hellwig, Tineke
1994 *In the shadow of change; Women in Indonesian literature.* Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California at Berkeley. [Monograph series 35.]
- Herlambang, Wijaya
2005 *Exposing state terror; Violence in contemporary Indonesian literature.* M.Phil thesis, The University of Queensland.
- Heryanto, Ariel
1985 *Perdebatan sastra kontekstual.* Jakarta: CV Rajawali.
- Hicks, George
1995 *The comfort women, sex slaves of the Javanese imperial forces.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Hill, David
1993 "'The two leading institutions"; Taman Ismail Marzuki and Horison', in: Virginia Matheson Hooker (ed.), *Culture and society in New Order Indonesia*, pp. 245-62. Oxford University Press.
- Himpi
1969 *Penyair Bali.* Denpasar: Himpi.
- Hitchcock, Michael and I Nyoman Darma Putra
2007 *Tourism, development and terrorism in Bali.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hoerip, Satyagraha
1983 *Cerpen Indonesia mutakhir.* Jakarta: Gramedia. Four vols.
- Howe, Leo
1995 *Status mobility in contemporary Bali; Continuities and change.* Hull: The University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies.

- 2005 *The changing world of Bali; Religion, society and tourism*. London: Routledge. [The Modern Anthropology of South-East Asia.]
- Hunter, Thomas
1998 'Figures in the carpet; A selection of modern Indonesian poetry of Bali, Section I, *Rima* 32-1:1-23.
- 2002 'Indo as other identity, anxiety and ambiguity in "Salah asoehan", in: Keith Foulcher and Tony Day (eds), *Clearing a space; Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, pp. 185-82. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 202.]
- Indra, Ida Bagus
1938 'Onderwijs', *Djatjoe* (25 March): 240-2.
- Ismail, Taufiq
1993 *Tirani dan benteng; Dua kumpulan puisi*. Jakarta: Yayasan Ananda.
- Ismail, Taufiq et al.
2001 *Dari Fansuri ke Handayani; Sastra Indonesia dalam program SBSB 2001*. Jakarta: Horison.
- Ismail, Yahaya
1972 *Pertumbuhan, perkembangan dan kejatuhan Lekra di Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- ISW
2002 'Perempuan Bali, antara realitas dan agama'. *Kompas*, 22 April.
- Jassin, H.B. (ed.)
1964 *Gema tanah air; Prosa dan puisi 1942-1948*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- 1968 *Angkatan 66; Prosa dan puisi*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- Jedamski, Doris
2002 'Popular literature and postcolonial subjectivities; Robinson Crusoe, the Count of Monte Cristo and Sherlock Holmes in colonial Indonesia', in: Keith Foulcher and Tony Day (eds), *Clearing a space; Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, pp. 19-47. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 202.]
- Jennaway, Megan
1998 'Passage frustrated; Alice's looking-glass and the gendered access to global domains of knowledge in rural North Bali'. Paper, Conference: Asia in Global Context, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 28 September-1 October.
- Keeler, Ward
2002 "'Durga Umayi" and the postcolonial dilemma', in: Keith Foulcher and Tony Day (eds), *Clearing a space; Postcolonial*

- readings of modern Indonesian literature, pp. 349-69. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 202.]
- Kratz, Ulrich
1987 'Data statistic tentang daerah asal para pengarang Indonesia', in: Sapardi Djoko Damono (ed.), *H.B. Jassin 70 tahun; Kumpulan karangan*, pp. 97-109. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- 1988 *Bibliography of Indonesian literature in journals*. Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press.
- 1991 'Criticism and scholarship; The study and teaching of Indonesian literature in a non-Indonesian context', in: J.J. Ras and S.O. Robson (eds), *Variation, transformation and meaning; Studies on Indonesian literature in honour of A. Teeuw*, pp. 191-209. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 144.]
- 2000 (ed.) *Sumber terpilih sejarah sastra Indonesia abad XX*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Laksmi, Brigita Isworo
2002 'Suatu ketika saat Bung Karno "dicekal"'. *Kompas*, 12 April.
- Lesiba
1980 *Antologi puisi Bali 1980*. Denpasar: Lesiba.
- Lewis, Jeff
2008 *Cultural studies; The basics*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Lewis, Jeff and Belinda Lewis
2009 *Bali's silent crisis; Desire, tragedy and transition*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.
- Lindsey, Timothy
1997 *The romance of K'tut Tantri and Indonesia*. Oxford University Press.
- Lingard, Jeanette
1995 *Diverse lives; Contemporary stories from Indonesia*. Translated and introduced by Jeanette Lingard. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Lucas, Anton
1997 'Images of the Indonesian woman during the Japanese occupation 1942-1945', in: Jean Gelman Taylor (ed.), *Women creating Indonesia; The first fifty years*, pp. 52-90. Clayton, VIC: Monash Asia Institute. [Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 44.]
- Machali, Rohayah
2001 'Women and the concept of power in Indonesia', in: Susan Blackburn (ed.), *Love, sex and power; Women in Southeast Asia*, pp. 1-15. Clayton, VIC: Monash Asia Institute.

- MacRae, Graeme
 1992 'Tourism and Balinese culture'. MA thesis, University of Auckland.
 1999 'Acting global, thinking local in a Balinese tourist town', in: Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda Connor (eds), *Staying local in the global village; Bali in the twentieth century*, pp. 123-54. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
 2003 'The value of land in Bali; Land tenure, land reform and commodification', in: Thomas A. Reuter (ed.), *Inequality, crisis and social change in Indonesia; The muted worlds of Bali*, pp. 143-65. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Mada, Putra
 1978 *Liak ngakak*. Jakarta: Selecta Group.
- Mahayana, Maman S.
 2000 'Menafikan sastra koran', in: Korrie Layun Rampan (ed.), *Angkatan 2000 dalam sastra Indonesia*, pp. 479-83. Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Maier, Henk
 1993 'From heteroglossia to polyglossia; The creation of Malay and Dutch in The Indies', *Indonesia* 56:37-56.
 2002 'Secrets need words; Indonesian poetry, 1966-1988' (book review), *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 32:359-61.
 2004 *We are playing relatives; A survey of Malay writing*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Mangunwijaya, Y.B.
 1980 *Burung-burung manyar*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
 1991 *Durga Umayi*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
 1993 *Burung-burung rantau*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Marching, Soe Tjen
 2007 'The representation of the female body in two contemporary Indonesian novels; Ayu Utami's *Saman* and Fira Basuki's *Jendela-jendela*', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 35:231-45.
- Marcus, A.S. and Pax Benedanto (eds)
 2003 *Kesastraan Melayu Tionghoa dan kebangsaan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia bekerjasama dengan Yayasan Adikarya IKAPI dan the Ford Foundation. Ten vols.
- Mardi, S.
 1952 'Kepalsuan', *Bhakti* (1 December):10-1.
- McKean, Philip Frick
 1971 'Pengaruh-pengaruh asing terhadap kebudayaan Bali; Hubungan "hippies" dan "pemuda internasional" dengan masyarakat Bali masa kini', in: I Gusti Ngurah Bagus (ed.),

- Bali dalam sentuhan pariwisata*, pp. 21-7. Denpasar: Fakultas Sastra Unud.
- McGlynn, John (ed.)
2000 *Menagerie 4; Indonesian fiction, poetry, photographs and essays*. Jakarta: Lontar Foundation.
- Merta, I Gusti Putu
1953 'Dewan perwakilan rakyat daerah Bali 3 tahun', *Damai* (17 September):11-6.
- Mihardja, Achdiat K.
1977 *Polemik kebudayaan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
2000 'Angkatan 45 Angkatan Chairil Angkatan Merdeka', in: Ulrich Kratz (ed.), *Sumber terpilih sejarah sastra Indonesia abad XX*, pp.153-65. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia. [First published 1949.]
- Miller, D.B. and Jan Branson
1989 'Pollution in paradise; Hinduism and the subordination of women in Bali', in: Paul Alexander (ed.), *Creating Indonesian culture*, pp. 91-112. Sydney: Oceania Publication, University of Sydney.
- Mimbar penyair abad 21*
1996 *Mimbar penyair abad 21*. Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian Jakarta.
- Minderawan, Nj.
1938 'Menengok ke zaman yang datang', *Djatajoe* (July):369-72.
- Moeljanto, D.S. and Taufiq Ismail
1995 *Prahara budaya; Kilas-balik ofensif Lekra/PKI dkk.; Kumpulan dokumen pergolakan sejarah*. Bandung: Mizan/Republika.
- Mohamad, Goenawan
1988 *The "Cultural Manifesto" affair; literature and politics in Indonesia in the 1960's; A signatory's view*. Clayton: Monash University. [Working paper, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University 45.]
1994 'Sekedarnya tentang Putu Wijaya', in: *Putu Wijaya, BLOK, antologi cerita pendek*, pp. xi-xv. Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus.
- Muis, Abdul
1928 *Salah asuhan*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Nadhyana, Ray
1954 'Pendidikan dan achlak', *Damai* (1 January):3-4.
- Nadjib, Emha Ainun
1983 'Ustadz Uumbu'. *Tempo*, 26 February.
- Nakatani, Ayami
1999 "'Eating threads"; Brocades as cash crop for weaving mothers and daughters in Bali', in: Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda

- Connor (eds), *Staying local in the global village; Bali in the twentieth century*, pp. 203-30. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Namma, Kusprihyanto
1994 'Kekacauan identifikasi "sastra pedalaman". *Kompas*, 18 September.
- Newton, K.M. (ed.)
1997 *Twentieth-century literary theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Ngurah Bagus, I Gusti
1954 'Binatang jalang', *Damai* (17 August):7-8.
- Noerhadi, Toeti Heraty
1991 'Kata pengantar', in: Putu Oka Sukanta, *Keringat mutiara*, pp. ix-xv. Jakarta: Yayasan Kalyanamitra, Pusat Komunikasi dan Informasi Perempuan.
2000 *Calon Arang, kisah perempuan korban patriarki*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Oka, P.N.
1953 'Dunia sastra chaos di dalam', *Bhakti* (20 April):13-4.
- Ole, Adnjana
2002 'Kehormatan perempuan hanya terselip di kitab-kitab lama'. *Bali Post*, 20 April.
- Otar, Made
1940a *Purnamawati*. Medan: n.n.
1940b *Asmara karma*. Medan: n.n.
- Pane, Armijn
1995 *Belunggu*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat. [First published 1938.]
- Panetja, I Gde
1937 'Kedudukan atau keadaan istri di dalam masyarakat Bali', *Djatajoe* 25(March):216-21.
- Parker, Lyn
2000 'The introduction of Western-style education to Bali; Domination by consent?', in: Adrian Vickers, I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michel Ford (eds), *To change Bali essays in honour of I Gusti Ngurah Bagus*, pp. 47-69. Denpasar: Bali Post and Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong.
2001 'Domestic science and the modern Balinese woman', in: Susan Blackburn (ed.), *Love, sex and power; Women in Southeast Asia*, pp. 57-74. Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute.
2003 *From subjects to citizens; Balinese villagers in the Indonesian nation-state*. Copenhagen: Nias Press.

- Parsua, I Gusti Ngurah
 1986a *Anak*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
 1986b *Sembilu dalam taman*. Denpasar: Kayumas.
 1997 *Setelah angin senja berhembus*. [Denpasar]: Lesiba.
 2001 'Konsep di belakang ikrar kebudayaan lembaga seniman Indonesia Bali'. Paper presented to the seminar in the commemoration of the 32th Lesiba Anniversary, 29 March, Denpasar.
- Penders, C.L.M.
 1974 *The life and times of Soekarno*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Picard, Michel
 1990 'Kebalian orang Bali; Tourism and the uses of "Balinese culture" in New Order Indonesia', *Rima* 24:1-38.
 1996 *Bali; Cultural tourism and touristic culture*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
 1997 'Cultural tourism, nation-building, and regional culture; The making of a Balinese identity', in: Michel Picard and Robert E. Wood (eds), *Tourism, ethnicity, and the state in Asian and Pacific society*, pp. 181-214. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
 1999a 'The discourse of kebalian; Transcultural constructions of Balinese identity', in: Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda Connor (eds), *Staying local in the global village; Bali in the twentieth century*, pp. 15-49. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
 1999b 'Making sense of modernity in colonial Bali; The polemic between Bali Adnyana and Surya Kanta 1920s', *Dinamika Kebudayaan* 1-3:73-91.
- Pitana, I Gde
 1997 *In search of difference; Origin groups, status and identity in contemporary Bali*. PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.
 1999a 'Status struggle and the priesthood in contemporary Bali', in: Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda Connor (eds), *Staying local in the global village; Bali in the twentieth century*, pp. 181-201. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
 1999b *Pelangi pariwisata Bali*. Denpasar: Bali Post.
- Poernamasasih, Dewi
 1938 'Majulah putri Bali', *Djatjoe* (1938):376-8.
- Poetra, A.A. Gde
 1939 'Sosial problem masa ini', *Djatjoe* (25 September):64-7.
Puisi Indonesia terbaik
 2008 *100 puisi Indonesia terbaik*. Jakarta: Gramedia.

- Putra Agung, Anak Agung Gede
 1983 'Dampak pendidikan terhadap perubahan sosial di Bali'. MA thesis, Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta.
 2001 *Perubahan sosial dan pertentangan kasta di Bali utara*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan untuk Indonesia.
- Putra, I Nyoman Darma
 1994 'Kebangkitan puisi Indonesia modern di Bali', *Basis* 43:384-96.
 1998a 'Space and person in recent Balinese poetry', *Rima* 32-1:179-214.
 1998b 'Sajak protes penyair Bali 1990-an', in: Aron Meko Mbeté et al. (eds), *Proses dan protes budaya*, pp. 143-65. Denpasar: Bali Post.
 2000a 'Bali and modern Indonesian literature; The 1950s', in: Adrian Vickers, I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michel Ford (eds), *To change Bali; Essays in honour of I Gusti Ngurah Bagus*, pp. 135-53. Denpasar: Bali Post and Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong.
 2000b *Tonggak baru sastra Bali modern*. Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press.
 2002 'Perempuan Bali; Dulu dan kini, pendidikan dan warisan'. *Kompas*, 5 May.
 2003 'Literature and politics; The development of Lekra in Bali, 1950-1966', in: Thomas Reuter (ed.), *Inequality, crisis and social change in Indonesia; The muted worlds of Bali*, pp. 54-85. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
 2004 'Mencari Bali dalam Malaikat biru kota Hobart', in: Agus R. Sarjono, Halvy Tiana Rosa, Jamal D. Rahman, and Maman S. Mahayana (eds), *Malaikat biru kota Hobart; Suara dari Bali*, pp. 360-91. Jakarta: Jakarta Arts Council and Logung Pustaka.
 2007 *Wanita Bali tempo doeloe, perspektif masa kini*. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan.
 2008 'Modern performing arts as a reflection of changing Balinese identity', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36:87-114.
- Quinn, George
 1998 'The rape of Sukreni, Balinese theatre in novel form', in: Anak Agung Pandji Tisna, *The rape of Sukreni*. Translated, introduction and afterword by George Quinn, pp. 111-8. Jakarta: Lontar Foundation.
- Rachmadie, A.F.S.
 1954 'Masalah pelacuran', *Damai* (17 June):11-2.
- Rafferty, Ellen
 1988 'The new tradition of Putu Wijaya', *Indonesia* 49:103-16.

- Rampan, Korrie Layun (ed.)
 2000 *Angkatan 2000 dalam sastra Indonesia*. Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Ramseyer, Urs and I Gusti Raka Panji Tisna (eds)
 2001 *Bali living in two worlds; A critical self-portrait*. Switzerland: Museum der Kulturen Basel.
- Rapeg, I Gusti Ayu
 1937 'Ordonansi Perkawinan', *Djatajoe* (25 November):121-3.
- Rendra, W.S.
 1974 *Potret pembangunan dalam puisi*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Rini, Alit S.
 2000a 'Perempuan Bali'. *Bali Post*, 20 April.
 2000b "'Revolusi pemikiran" di Bali bisa dimulai dari perempuan'. *Bali Post*, 30 June.
- 2003 *Karena aku perempuan Bali*. Denpasar: Arti Foundation.
- Riyadi, Paulus Adi et al.
 1995 'Representasi dan signifikansi humanisme I Gusti Ngurah Parsua'. Unpublished research report, Balai Penelitian Bahasa, Denpasar.
- R.M.
 1925 'Berusahalah mempelajari agama', *Surya Kanta* 1:7-8.
- Robinson, Geoffrey
 1995 *The dark side of paradise, political violence in Bali*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell.
- Robinson, Kathryn and Sharon Bessell (eds)
 2002 *Women in Indonesia; Gender, equity, and development*, pp. 13-27. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Rosidi, Ajip
 1993 *Terkenang topeng Cirebon*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Ruscitadewi, Mas
 1999 'Kadek Suardana, penata musik api cinta Antonio Blanco'. *Tokoh*, 25-31 January.
- 2002 'Balinese women fight for their rights'. *The Jakarta Post*, 25 April.
- Rusli, Marah
 1994 *Sitti Nurbaya; Kasih tak sampai*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka. [First published 1922.]
- Rusmini, Oka
 1997 *Monolog pohon*. Denpasar: Griya Budaya.
 2000 *Tarian bumi*. Malang: Indonesia Tera.
 2001 *Sagra*. Malang: Indonesia Tera.
 2003a *Kenanga*. Jakarta: Grasindo.
 2003b *Patiwangi*. Yogyakarta: Betang Budaya.

- 2007 *Warna kita*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Sabdon, Don and Budiarto Danujaya
1989 'Kisah cinta seumur visa', in: P. Kitley, R. Chauvel and D. Reeve (eds), *Australia di mata Indonesia; Kumpulan artikel pers Indonesia 1973-1988*, pp. 163-7. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Said, Titie
1986 *Selamat tinggal Jeanette*. Jakarta: Alam Budaya.
- Salam, Aprinus
2003 'Identitas dan nasionalitas dalam sastra Indonesia', *Humaniora* 15-1:15-22.
- Salleh, Muhammad Haji
1991 'Oral elements in contemporary Indonesian poetry', *Indonesia Circle* 54:3-18.
- Salmon, Claudine
1981 *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International. [Études insulindiennes-archipel 3.]
- Sambodja, Asep
2008 'Peta politik sastra Indonesia (1908-2008)'. Paper presented at Konferensi Internasional Kesusastraan XIX/Hiski, Batu, 12-14 Agustus.
- Sami, Ni Loeh
1936 'Pintu dan jendela masih tertutup', *Djatajoe* (25 December):136-8. [Pseudonym for Ni Wayan Sami.]
- Sanggar Minum Kopi
1991 *Taksu; Antologi puisi 1991*. Denpasar: Sanggar Minum Kopi.
1992 *Kulkul; Puisi terbaik 1992, Sanggar Minum Kopi*. Denpasar: Sanggar Minum Kopi.
- Santeri, Raka
1966 'Watak "kiri" tari-tarian Bali', *Angkatan Bersenjata*. 6 March:2.
1992 'Hindu di Bali; arah dan tantangannya', in: Putu Setia (ed.), *Cendekiaawan Hindu bicara*, pp. 98-116. Denpasar: Yayasan Dharma Naradha.
- Sawitri, Cok
2007 *Janda dari Jirah*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk
1994 'The making of traditional Bali; Colonial ethnography and bureaucratic reproduction', *History and Anthropology* 8-1/4:89-127.
1996 *The spell of power; A history of Balinese politics; 1650-1940*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 170.]

- 2000 'Localizing modernity in colonial Bali during the 1930s', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 31:101-14.
- 2007 *Bali; An open fortress 1995-2005; Regional autonomy, electoral democracy and entrenched identities*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk and Gerry van Klinken (eds)
2007 *Renegotiating boundaries; Local politics in post-Soeharto Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 238.]
- Sen, Krishna
2002a 'Gendered citizens in the new Indonesian democracy', *Rima* 36-1:51-65.
- 2002b 'The Mega factor in Indonesian politics; A new president or a new kind of presidency', in: Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell (eds), *Women in Indonesia; Gender, equity, and development*, pp. 13-27. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Sen, Krishna and David T. Hill
2000 *Media, culture and politics in Indonesia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Setiari, Ni K and Ni G Aju Rai
1937 'Putri Bali Sadar', *Djatajoe* (24 April):263-4.
- Setiti, E.
1954 'Berbuah sebelum masa', *Damai* (17 November):38-9.
- Shanty, Putu
1953 'Chairil Anwar binatang jalang', *Bhakti* (1 May):12-3.
- Sila, Gangga
1953 'Menengok ke belakang', *Damai* (1 September):4-5.
- Sindhu, Rasta
1969 'Sahabatku Hans Schmitter', *Horison* 4:215-7.
- Sindhunata (ed.)
1999 *Menjadi generasi pasca-Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Soemargono, Farida
1979 *Le 'groupe de Yogya' 1945-1960; Les voies javanaises d'une littérature indonésienne*. Paris: Association Archipel. [Cahier d'Archipel 9.]
- Soetawiria, M.
1925 'Pertunjukan murid Bali dari MULO School di Bali', *Bali Adnjana* (10 May):3.
- Soethama, Gde Aryantha
2002 *Wanita Amerika dibunuh di Ubud*. [Denpasar]: Arti Foundation. [Originally published as *Suzan* in *Sarinah* 1988.]
- 2006 *Mandi api; Kumpulan cerpen*. Jakarta: Buku Kompas.

Srawana, Gde

[1978] *Mlancaran ka Sasak*. Bali: Yayasan Saba Sastra. [Pseudonym for I Wayan Bhadra.]

Stoler, Ann Laura

1996 *Race and the education of desire; Foucault's history of sexuality and the colonial order of things*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Stuart-Fox, David J.

1992 *Bibliography of Bali; Publications from 1920 to 1990*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Bibliographical Series 19.]

Suarsa, I Made

2001 'Kilas balik "Lesiba" dalam pasang surut jagat seni dan ilmu sastra di Bali (Sebuah catatan ringan)'. Paper, seminar Commemoration of the 32th Lesiba Anniversary, Denpasar, 29 March.

Suasta, Putu and Linda Connor

1999 'Democratic mobilization and political authoritarianism; Tourism developments in Bali', in: Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda Connor (eds), *Staying local in the global village; Bali in the twentieth century*, pp. 181-201. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Sukada, I Made

1972 'Anak Agung Panji Tisna sebagai manusia dan pengarang serta analisa cipta sastranya'. Undergraduate thesis, Faculty of Letters, Udayana University, Denpasar.

1976 'Pokok-pokok pikiran pertanggung jawaban juri lomba mengarang puisi'. *Bali Post*, 16 May.

1982 *Catatan kebudayaan dari Bali*. Denpasar: Lembaga Seniman Indonesia Bali.

Sukanta, Putu Oka

1982 *Selat Bali; Sajak-sajak buat burung camar*. Jakarta: Inkultura Foundation Inc.

1986 *Tembang jalak Bali / The song of the starling*. Translated by Keith Foulcher. Kuala Lumpur: Wira Karya.

1991 *Keringat mutiara*. Jakarta: Yayasan Kalyanamitra.

1999 *Perjalanan penyair; Sajak-sajak kegelisahan hidup*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Sukawidana, GM.

2000 *Upacara senja upacara tanah moyang*. Denpasar: Yayasan Keropak Ental.

Suryadi, Linus (ed.)

1987 *Tonggak, antologi puisi Indonesia modern*. Jakarta: Gramedia. Four vols.

- Suryakusuma, Julia I.
 1996 'The state and sexuality in New Order Indonesia', in: Laurie J. Sears (ed.), *Fantasizing the feminine in Indonesia*, pp. 92-119. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Suryani, Luh Ketut
 2000 'Bangga menjadi perempuan Bali'. *Sarad*, 3 March.
 2001 'Perempuan Bali, maukah berjuang untuk Bali'. *Bali Post*, 19 December.
- Sutedja-Liem, Maya
 2000 'Nyoman Rastha Sindhu; Humanity in Balineseness', in: Adrian Vickers, I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michel Ford (eds), *To change Bali; Essays in honour of I Gusti Ngurah Bagus*, pp. 155-82. Denpasar: Bali Post and Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong.
 2003 *The turning wheel of time; Modernity and writing identity in Bali 1900-1970*. PhD thesis Leiden University.
- Syaelendra, Ketut Landras
 1998 *Mata dadu*. Denpasar: Sanggar Minum Kopi.
- Tan Lio Ie
 1991 *Kita bersaudara*. Denpasar: Sanggar Minum Kopi.
 1996 *We are all one*. Translated by Thomas M. Hunter. Denpasar: Yayasan Cak.
 1997 'Mengenang perjalanan ke Ranah Minang, pertemuan sastrawan ASEAN dan Nusantara di Padang'. *Bali Post*, 30 November.
- Tantri, K'tut
 1982 *Revolusi di nusa damai*. Jakarta: Gramedia. [First published 1956.]
- Teeuw, A.
 1967 *Modern Indonesian literature*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Translation Series 10.]
 1972 'The Impact of Balai Pustaka on modern Indonesian literature', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35:111-27.
 1979 *Modern Indonesian literature*. Vol. 1. Second edition. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Translation Series 10.] [First edition 1967.]
 1996 *Modern Indonesian literature*. Vol. 2. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Translation Series 10/2.] [First published under the same title. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1979.]
- Thukul, Wiji
 2000 *Aku ingin jadi peluru*. Magelang: IndonesiaTera.

- Tickell, Paul
 1987 'The writing of Indonesian literary history', *Rima* 21-1:29-43.
- Tirtawirya, Putu Arya
 1980 Antologi puisi Bali 1980'. *Bali Post*, 22 June.
- Tisna, Anak Agung Panji
 1938 *I Swasta setahun di Bedahulu*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
 1978 *Ni Rawit ceti penjual orang*. Denpasar: Lesiba. [First published 1935.]
 1983 *Sukreni gadis Bali*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka. [First published 1936.]
 1998 *The rape of Sukreni*. Translated and introduced by George Quinn. Jakarta: Lontar Foundation.
- Tjatri, Made
 1938a 'Putri Bali', *Djatajoe* (27 February):203-4.
 1938b 'Sambutan', *Djatajoe* (25 March):233-5.
- Toer, Pramoedya Ananta
 1950 *Keluarga gerilya*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pembangunan.
 1951 *Di tepi kali Bekasi*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
 1957 *Percikan revolusi*. Bukittinggi: Nusantara.
 1982 *Tempo doeloe*. Jakarta: Hasta Mitra.
 1999 *Dongeng Calon Arang*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya. [Originally published as *Calon Arang* in 1952.]
- Utami, Ayu
 1998 *Saman*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Vickers, Adrian
 1989 *Bali a paradise created*. Ringwood: Penguin.
 1996 'Modernity and being 'modern' in Bali', in: Adrian Vickers (ed.), *Being modern in Bali; Image and change*, pp. 1-36. New Haven, CT: Yale Southeast Asia Studies. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph 43.]
 1998 'Selling the experience of Bali, 1950-1971'. Paper, Commodification Seminar Series, University of Wollongong, 20 August.
 2000 'I Nengah Metra, 1902-1946; Thoughts on the biography of a modern Balinese', in: Adrian Vickers, I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michel Ford (eds), *To change Bali; Essays in honour of I Gusti Ngurah Bagus*, pp. 89-112. Denpasar: Bali Post and Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong.
 2005 *A history of modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

- Von der Borch, Rosslyn Marie
 1987 'Art and activism; Some examples from contemporary Java'. BA honours thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide.
- Warna, Wayan
 1966a 'Menuju sastra marhaenis'. *Suluh Indonesia*, 8 May.
 1966b 'Menuju sastra marhaenis'. *Suluh Indonesia*, 15 May.
- Warren, Carol
 1998 'Mediating modernity in Bali', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 1-1:83-108.
- 2000 'Adat and the discourses of modernity in Bali', in: Adrian Vickers, I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michel Ford (eds), *To change Bali; Essays in honour of I Gusti Ngurah Bagus*, pp. 1-14. Denpasar: Bali Post, Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong.
- Watson, C.W.
 1971 'Some preliminary remarks on the antecedents of modern Indonesian literature', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 127:417-33.
- Wiana, Ketut and Raka Santeri
 1993 *Kasta dalam Hindu, kesalahpahaman berabad-abad*. Denpasar: Yayasan Dharma Naradha.
- Widminarko
 2001 *Tantangan profesi wartawan, berita kisah*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tokoh.
- Wiharja, Yati Maryati
 1976 *Ni Pollok, model dari desa Kelandis*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Wiranatha, Anak Agung Putu Agung Suryawan
 2001 *A systems model for regional planning towards sustainable development in Bali, Indonesia*. PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane.
- Wirawan, A.A. Bagus
 1995 'Puputan sebagai swadharmaning negara, persepsi sejarah', in: I
- Wayan Supartha (ed.), *Dharma agama dan dharma negara*, pp. 95-112. Denpasar: PT Bali Post.
- Wirata, I Gede
 2002 'Fragmen TVRI di PKB'. *Bali Post*, 15 May.
- Wirata, Putu
 2007 'Reinkarnasi konflik 1920-an'. *Kompas*, 8 April.
- Wisatsana, Warih
 2000 *Kumpulan puisi art and peace*. Denpasar: Buratwangi.

Wijaya, I Nyoman

- 2000 '1950s lifestyles in Denpasar through the eyes of short story writers', in: Adrian Vickers, I Nyoman Darma Putra and Michel Ford (eds), *To change Bali; Essays in honour of I Gusti Ngurah Bagus*, pp. 113-34. Denpasar: Bali Post, Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wollongong.

Wijaya, Putu

- 1971 *Bila malam bertambah malam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.

- 1977 *Tiba-tiba malam*. Jakarta: Cyprus.

Zauhidhie, Darmansjah

- 1953 'Reaksi dari Kandangan; Chairil and Jassin', *Bhakti* (1 May): 13-4.

Glossary

Angkatan 2000	the 2000 Generation
Angkatan 45	the 1945 Generation
ayahan (ngayah)	obligation to take part in ritual-related works
bacaan liar	wild reading
bale banjar	Balinese community hall
bhinneka tunggal ika	national motto means unity in diversity
brahmana	the highest caste in the Hindu caste system, bearing the title <i>Ida Bagus</i> (male) and <i>Ida Ayu</i> (female)
budi	character, especially good character, mind, reason
catur yuga	Hindu concept of the cycle of four ages (<i>kertha yuga</i> , <i>treta yuga</i> , <i>dwapara yuga</i> , and <i>kali yuga</i>) from the harmonious state to the instability
caturwangsa	all four caste groups (see <i>brahmana</i> , <i>ksatriya</i> , <i>wesya</i> , <i>sudra/jaba</i>)
drama gong	dramatic performance accompanied by a <i>gamelan</i> or <i>gong</i> ensemble
gaguritan	song or poem, generally in ordinary Balinese
geria/geriya	<i>brahmana</i> compound
guna-guna	black magic-based spells
hukum adat	customary law
kakawin	song or poem written in Old Javanese (<i>kawi</i>) and uses Sanskrit-influenced syllabic metres
karma phala	the law of karma or deeds
kasepèkang	banishment
kebalian	Balineseness
kidung	song or poem using indigenous Balinese metrical patterns, usually in refined Balinese register
ksatria	the second caste from which the king and warrior are supposed to originate; it includes those with the title <i>cokorda</i> , <i>dewa</i> , <i>anak agung</i>

leak	devil, evil spirit
marhaen	the name of a farmer, adopted by President Sukarno to describe the Indonesian peasant class
marhaenisme	the spirit of marhaen (see marhaen)
melasti	purification procession and ritual held on beach or in spring water
melegandang	marriage by force or abduction
memadik	arranged marriage or marriage by proposal
meru	a multi-storied roof of a shrine in a Hindu temple
ngaben	cremation ceremonies
ngerorod	Balinese for 'kawin lari', elopement
pantun	a Malay poetic structure consists of four lines in one verse with rhyme pattern a-b-a-b (see also syair)
patiwangi	offering or ritual process to release the bride from her caste
peranakan	a term that refers to a mixed Chinese-Indonesian descent
pratima	statues of the gods kept in temples
punggawa	sub-district head
puri	ksatria house
Raad Kertha	Court of Justice in Bali's colonial period
sandiwara	modern drama performance, theatre
sastra kontekstual	contextual literature
sastra koran	newspaper literature; literary works that published in newspapers and or magazines
sastra pedalaman	literary from small town in the hinterland
sinetron	sinema elektronik, television drama
subak	the Balinese irrigation system
sudra, jaba	the fourth caste
syair	a Malay poetic structure consists of four lines in one verse that ends with rhyme pattern a-a-a-a
tat twam asi	Hindu concept meaning 'You are me and I am you'
triwangsa	the three higher castes
tusuk konde	a hair pin
wesya	the third caste with the title I Gusti
wong sunantara	foreigner

Index

- acrostic 70, 74-5, 80
adat 5, 19, 70, 74, 76, 153, 155, 166,
171-6, 179, 184, 186, 192, 195-6,
235, 239, 289, 371
ajeg Bali 276
Ajidarma, Seno Gumira 1, 18
Allen, P. 23, 167, 245, 276
Angkatan 2000 (The 2000
Generation) 14, 24, 28, 59, 62,
168, 278, 280
Angkatan 45 (The 1945 Generation)
20, 40, 44, 359, 371
Angkatan Pujangga Baru (The New
Writers Generation) 19, 20, 27-8,
37 *see also Poedjangga Baroe*
Anwar, Chairil 20, 40, 46, 108, 111,
365
Arthanegara, IGB xiv, 48, 50-2, 93,
107, 190, 2011, 277, 340, 345
Arthawa, W. 58, 106, 112, 129-32,
134-5, 278, 314, 342
Asia-Africa Writers Council xii
Atmaja, M.J. 56, 116, 340
Ayami, N. 195
Ayu, Djenar Maesa 24, 188
Bachri, S.C. 22-3, 28, 56, 63
Bagus, I. G.N 37, 41, 65, 131, 153,
157, 159
Bali Adnjana 28-38, 67-72, 75, 77,
84-5, 88, 150, 153, 155, 157, 202,
270, 285, 287, 342, 365
Bali Darma Laksana 29, 37-9, 41,
79-80, 88, 95, 209-283
Bali Nirwana Resort 60, 114, 133,
139, 140
Bali Post 13, 30, 41, 54-9, 62-3, 65,
111-4, 120, 122, 125, 131-4, 136,
144-5, 150, 154-5, 176, 223-4, 232,
236-7, 240, 242, 248, 259, 270-1,
275-6, 278-80, 282-3, 309, 313,
316, 327, 333, 335, 337-9, 340-3,
346-7
Bandung 3, 15-17, 22, 42 *see also*
West Java
Baraas, Faisal 55-6, 61, 160, 190, 228,
246, 248, 278, 346-8
Basuki, Sunaryono 63, 161, 185
Bhadra, I.W. (Bhadrapada) 38-9,
189, 210-1, 346 *see also* Srawana,
G.
Bhakti 29, 31, 42-7, 58, 65-6, 95-6,
101, 200-1, 270, 281, 337-8, 341,
345-7
Blanco, A. 230-1 *see also* Rondji, N.
Blitar 192-3, 195
Bodden, M. 24-25, 37, 188
brahmana 33, 150, 153, 155, 159,
161-2, 167-74, 176, 180, 182, 185,
199, 289, 371 *see also jaba and*
triwangsa
budi 33, 69, 73-4, 77, 80, 156-7, 179,
289, 371
Budiman, Arief 22
CAK (*Cultural Notes*) 15-16, 30,
59-60, 277
Cakrawala sastra Indonesia 17, 58, 351

- Caldwell, I. 34-5, 40, 66
 Campbell, C.A. 225, 351
 Campbell, I. 3, 12, 17-18, 25, 268, 351
 caste 25, 29, 32-4, 36-9, 55, 61-2, 65, 68, 69-70, 73-4, 76-77, 81, 87, 91, 109, 118, 121, 149-87, 199, 210, 214, 224, 233, 270-2, 275, 288, 350, 371-2 *see also* intercaste
 Chambert-Loir, H. 8, 352
 colonial 4-9, 19, 28, 30-2, 35, 37, 39-40, 53, 55, 56-8, 70, 76-7, 82-3, 85, 88, 91, 94-5, 98, 101, 107, 109, 115, 118, 121, 138, 140, 143-4, 147, 153-4, 157-9, 187-8, 192-4, 196-7, 200, 207, 212, 218, 225, 231, 244, 252, 269-73, 283
 Connor, L. 60, 114, 128, 133
 Cork, V. 63, 134, 144, 220, 242, 281, 326, 329, 340, 346
 Creese, H. xi, xiii, 67, 83, 153, 158, 191, 196, 352
 Cultural Manifesto 21, 22, 49, 51 *see also* Manikebu
 Cybersastra 12, 14
 Dahana, R.P. 145-6, 274, 337
Damai 29, 31, 44-7, 58, 65-66, 96, 98-9, 106, 194, 200-2, 206, 270, 295, 336-7, 340, 342, 345-7
 Damono, Sapardi Djoko 11, 13, 18, 22-3, 352
 Darma, Budi 11, 13, 21, 22
 Denpasar xii, 3, 16-17, 29-30, 35, 42, 44, 48-51, 56, 65-6, 83, 97, 102, 126, 130, 137, 141, 150, 165, 193, 195, 203, 234, 237-89, 241, 249, 253-4, 256, 261, 277-83, 312, 338
 Derks, W. 2, 3, 10, 16, 24, 59, 267-8, 253
 Dewan Kesenian Jakarta 16, 58
 Dini, Nh. 56, 232
Djatajoe xi, 29-32, 37-39, 65, 73, 75, 78-79-80, 83-88, 90, 193, 197, 208-11, 283, 289-91, 294, 337-43, 346, 351, 356, 359-61, 363-5, 368
 During, S. 4, 354
 Eddy, I Nyoman Tusthi 49, 65, 111, 113, 140
 Fajar Arcana, Putu xiv, 58, 59, 113-4, 130, 136, 138, 142, 145, 275, 338, 339
 female 25
 female characters 25, 164, 168, 173, 183-5, 187-9, 190-1, 197, 199, 200, 204, 107, 210, 212, 214-5, 215, 218, 260, 262, 264, 274
 female identity 87, 91, 187-9, 196, 207, 211-2, 219, 223-4, 273
 female writers 62, 191, 194, 224-5
Femina 32, 61, 167
 Foulcher, K. xiii, 5, 19-23, 47, 65, 81, 85, 103, 122, 124, 263, 298, 310, 353, 355-6, 366
 Freidus, A. 2-3, 354
 Garuda Wisnu Kencana (Golden Garuda Monument) 60, 114
 Gedong Kirtya 31
 gender 24, 39, 45, 86-8, 90-1, 153, 163, 183-5, 188, 191, 197, 201, 206-11, 215, 221-5, 265, 272-4
 GMNI (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia) 9, 107
 Goenawan Mohamad 18, 21, 47, 66, 240, 359
 Hadiah Sastra Khatulistiwa 18
 Hall, S. 4, 354
Harian Rakjat 32, 48, 52, 102-3, 300, 337
 Hartanto 112, 140, 339
 Hatley, B. 25, 194
 Hellwig, T. 2, 7, 24-5, 188, 351, 355
 Heryanto, Ariel 22
 Hill, D. 2, 14-5, 24, 53, 355, 365
 Himpi (Himpunan Penulis Indonesia) ix, 48-9, 54-5, 277, 281, 301, 338, 340, 355
 hippy (hippies) 122-3, 234-7, 257, 262-4
Horison 10-1, 15-6, 23-4, 32, 53, 55, 58, 114, 131, 139, 165, 167, 234, 245, 275, 278, 281, 283, 314, 338, 342, 346-7, 350, 353, 355-6, 365.

- HPS (Himpunan Peminat Sastra) ix, 48-9, 277, 280-81
- Hunter, T. xiii, 3, 19, 59, 65, 67, 134, 263, 334, 356-7
- hypergamous 152
- hypogamous 152-4, 164, 171
- identity xiii, 4-5, 18-21, 23-26, 35-37, 39, 42, 61, 66-8, 78, 87, 91, 94, 99, 100-1, 104-5, 109, 111, 113, 118, 128-9, 131, 134-5, 138, 145-7, 149, 151, 153, 159, 170-1, 173, 175-6, 179-81, 183-9, 191, 196, 198-9, 201-2, 207, 210-3, 215, 219, 221, 223-5, 228, 232, 237, 240, 243, 250-1, 254-5, 260, 262, 265, 268-7, 354, 356, 361-2, 367
- Ie, Tan Lio xiv, 58, 59, 114, 367
- independence 6, 10, 20, 31, 40-1, 42, 44, 64-5, 91-2, 97, 99, 156, 109, 143, 154, 189, 194, 213, 218, 230, 252, 270
- intercaste 109, 151-6, 158-61, 164, 167-8, 171, 173, 174-5, 178, 183, 272
- International Literary Biennale xii, 17
- Ismail, Taufiq 5, 9, 21, 25, 49-50, 56, 356, 359
- Ismail, Yahya 21, 356
- jaba* 33, 68-9, 73, 75, 77, 88, 151, 153-4, 156-7, 159-62, 167-8, 175-6, 181, 183, 287, 289, 371-2
see triwangsa
- Jakarta 34, 37-38, 40-2, 44, 49-51, 60, 63, 75, 86, 113, 140, 161, 163-4, 167, 179, 184, 204, 211, 221, 229, 243-4, 246, 258, 268, 278-9, 283-4
- Jakarta Arts Council 16, 361
- Jamin, Mohammad 5, 18, 75
- Jassin, H.B. 20, 36, 357
- Jedamski, D. 7, 8
- Jurnal Revitalisasi Sastra Pedalaman* 15
- Kalam* 16, 24, 32, 58
- Kandia, K. 39, 79, 80, 339, 343
- Kartini, R.A. 185, 189, 193, 195, 200-1
- Kertanadi, G.P. 34, 70, 285, 342
- Kirtya, M. 31, 44, 49, 92, 189, 200, 338, 347
- KKPI (Konperensi Karyawan Pengarang Indonesia) ix, 50
- Kompas* 11, 13-4, 16, 23, 28, 32, 55, 58-9, 61, 105, 132, 136, 174, 222, 243, 275, 277-8, 280-1, 284, 345, 347
- Kratz, U. 1, 10, 352, 357, 359
- krismon (krisis moneter)* ix, 139
- Kuta 112, 115-6, 118, 121-3, 126-7, 136-7, 199, 236-7, 239, 243, 248-9, 257, 309, 312, 340
- Le Mayeur 231 *see Pollok, N.*
- Lekra (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat) ix, xi, 20-21, 43, 47-52, 55, 85, 96, 100-4, 107-8, 112, 122, 270, 280-2, 356, 359, 362
- Lekra Congress 102-3
- Lesiba (Lembaga Seniman Indonesia Bali) ix, 48-49, 54-57, 60, 111-2, 115-6, 118, 121, 271, 278, 279, 282, 337-8, 341-2, 357, 361, 366, 368
- Lewis, J. xiii, 4, 109, 133, 272, 357
- Lindsey, T. 231
- Listibiya (Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan) ix, 53-4
- LKN (Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional) ix, 47, 49-52, 54-5, 100-1, 104-5, 107-08, 112, 270, 277, 280
- MacRae, G. xiii, 128, 141, 235-6
- Mada, P. 229, 255, 257, 264, 278
- Made Sukawidana, I. G. xv, 140-2, 283, 323
- Mahayana, Maman S. 6, 358, 362
- Maier, Henk 2, 6-8, 12, 14, 231, 358
- Makassar 3, 17, 38
- Malang 3, 35, 37-8, 42
- Mangku, G. 50-1, 93, 101, 295-7, 334, 340, 342
- Mangunwijaya, Y.B. 23
- Manikebu (Manifesto Kebudayaan) ix, 21, 47-51, 53, 270, 353

- Manipol (Manifesto Politik) ix, 93, 105-6, 343
- Mantra, I.B. 125-6
- Maroete, G.K. 79, 85, 337, 339
- Mas Ruscitadewi, A.A. 58, 224, 279, 346
- Matharam, IGP. 39, 80-1, 340
- McGlynn, J. 63
- McKean, P. 123, 236
- Media Indonesia* 11, 13, 23, 32, 58
- Megawati Soekarnoputri 191, 222-3
- Metra, N. 41, 153, 159
- Mihardja, A. 19, 20, 359
- Mimbar Indonesia* 10, 270, 281
- Mimbar penyair abad 21* (Twenty first century poets' forum) 58
- Mitra Praja Utama 17
- modernity 17, 32-4, 37, 39, 45, 61, 66-8, 73, 76-8, 83, 98, 123, 138, 144, 149, 151, 154, 160, 167, 174, 175, 184-6, 194, 202, 204-8, 210-11, 214, 235, 268-73
- Muis, Abdul 5, 232, 263
- Nadha, K. 41-2
- Nadjira, Frans xiv, 63
- Namma, Kusprihyanto 15, 360
- Nasa, K. 88
- Nasakom (Nasionalisme Agama Komunisme) ix, 51, 213-4
- Nataran, Rugeg. 93, 105, 107, 343
- national identity xiii, 5, 18-9, 23, 25, 42, 76, 94, 101, 109, 128, 149, 269-70, 272
- national language xi, 3, 5, 174
- national literature v, xi-iii, 1-4, 9, 13, 16, 26, 28, 31-2, 38-9, 43, 46, 59, 64-6, 151, 267-8, 270-1, 275, 351
- nationalism ix, 5, 7, 18, 20, 23, 37-38, 40, 51, 91, 100, 121, 213, 268, 270-1, 276
- New Order 3, 21-4, 28, 32, 42, 53-5, 60-1, 85, 102, 108-9, 111, 113-5, 118, 121-2, 124-5, 128, 147, 149, 151, 168, 187-8, 191, 195, 207, 216-7, 220, 222, 269, 271, 272, 302
- Newton, K.M. 1, 360
- Ngawi 3, 5, 16
- Ngurah Bagus, I. G. 44, 46, 96-7
- Ngurah Oka, I.G. 44, 189, 200-1, 345, 347
- Ngurah Parsua, I.G. xiv, 52, 57, 61, 64, 93, 107, 111-2, 115, 117-8, 121, 161, 176, 181, 186, 229, 242, 248, 279, 300, 305-6, 309, 337, 340-2, 345, 348, 363
- Oka Rusmini, I.A. xi, xiv, 24, 58, 61-2, 113, 129, 138, 141, 145, 151, 161-2, 167-8, 173, 176, 180-1, 186, 190, 215, 218, 224-5, 275, 279, 316, 343, 345-7
- Oke, M. 39, 79-80, 81-2, 275, 291, 337, 340
- Panetja, I.G. 38, 193
- Paniek, Yudha 48-9, 50, 52, 107
- Panji Tisna (Anak Agung Panji Tisna) xi, 27-8, 31, 37-38, 40-1, 44, 47, 63, 65-66, 188-9, 197, 199, 211, 233, 250, 283, 351, 366
- Panji Tisna (I Gusti Raka Panji Tisna) 363, 334
- Pantun xi, 67, 372
- Paranggi, U.L. 57-8, 63, 65, 113-4, 140, 350
- Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia 154
- Parker, L. 88, 152, 192-3, 196
- pasangan kopi susu* (white coffee couple) 231
- patiwangi* 62, 152, 154-5, 161-7, 172, 175-6, 280, 372
- Pemayun, T.R. 56, 112, 116, 121, 145, 340
- Pendit, N.S. 31, 41-2
- Penyair ASEAN xii
- peranakan* 7-9, 372
- pergaulan bebas* 194, 201-4, 224, 347
- Picard, M. xiii, 33, 37, 68, 70, 82, 122, 128, 133, 141, 235-6, 263
- Pitana, I.G. 128, 131, 136, 150, 154, 158
- PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia) ix, 20-1, 30, 50-1, 100, 103-4, 108, 195, 359

- PNI (Partai Nasionalis Indonesia)
 ix, 47, 49-54, 85, 100, 103, 105,
 107, 195
- Poedjangga Baroe* 10-1, 19, 19, 20,
 37-9, 81, 349
- Pollok, N. 231
- post-colonial 1
- Pramoedya Ananta Toer 1, 8, 20, 40,
 44, 44, 48, 102, 221
- prostitution 125, 127, 189, 201, 207,
 216, 312
- puri* (palace) 150, 161, 165, 174-5,
 183, 251, 281, 348, 372
- Putra Agung, A.A. 33, 68, 153
- putra daerah* 125, 312
- Putri Bali Sadar 38-9, 82, 88, 91,
 192-3, 194-5, 208-9, 365
- Quinn, G. 63, 66, 197, 198
- Raka Santeri, M. 48-52, 93, 107, 280,
 301, 338, 341, 369
- Rampan, K.L. 24, 28, 59, 62, 168
- reformation 3, 16, 24-5, 28, 32, 59,
 62, 100, 109, 111, 113, 129, 146-7,
 149, 151, 187-8, 215-6, 220, 223,
 269, 271, 273
- regional
- regional centre(s) 2, 3, 64, 66, 268
- regional identity 42, 78, 270-2, 275
- regional language 1, 4, 5, 8, 9
- Regional literature v, 1, 5, 14-6 *see*
also regional perspective
- regional perspective 1, 5, 14, 16
- regional writers 1, 15-6, 18
- Rendra, W.S. 16, 22, 44, 145, 274, 341
- repression 70, 187, 215, 219
- Republika* 11-3, 58, 168, 275
- resistance 114, 145, 187, 197, 215,
 219, 222, 273
- revolution 20, 28, 31-2, 40-2, 52-3,
 55, 67-8, 78, 85, 91-6, 98, 100-2,
 104, 107-9, 118, 121, 127-8, 147,
 149, 177, 187-8, 190, 200, 207,
 211-3, 231, 269-71, 273, 300.
- Rini, Alit. S. 58, 61, 112, 129-30, 132,
 134-5, 138, 145, 191, 196, 215,
 220, 223-5, 275, 279, 315, 331, 334,
 339, 340-2
- Robinson, G. 41, 51, 90, 191
- Rondji, N. 231
- Rosidi, A. 145-6, 274, 340
- Salah asuhan* 5-6, 19, 263
- Salleh, M.H. 10, 362
- Samar Gantang, B. 111, 116, 278, 358
- Sami, N.W. 39, 79, 81, 90-1, 189,
 208, 290, 340
- Sanggar Minum Kopi* (The Coffee
 Drinking Studio) 15, 59, 277,
 350, 364, 367
- Sanggra, M. 46-7, 242, 338
- Santha, D. 115, 120, 308, 337, 341
- Sanur 126-7, 133, 137, 228, 239,
 246-9, 252, 256-7, 278, 312, 347
- Sarinah* 32, 61, 248, 347
- Sastra koran* (newspaper literature)
 10-1, 13-4, 29, 58, 275, 358, 372
- Sastra pedalaman* (hinterland
 literature) 2, 15, 59, 268, 353,
 360, 372
- Sawitri, C. 58, 62, 190, 215, 220-1,
 224-5, 280, 329, 347
- Sawitri, I. 141-2, 145, 274, 323, 327,
 342
- Schulte Nordholt, H. xii-iii, 3, 33,
 37, 41, 67, 81, 86, 150, 154, 199,
 276, 364-5
- Sen, K. 14, 24, 191, 222-3
- Seniman Rakyat 43-4
- Setiti, E. 194
- Shanti Adnjana* 29-31, 88
- Shanty, P. 31, 42-4, 46, 48, 51, 92,
 101, 281, 341
- Sidemen, I.G.N. 39, 79-81, 289, 339-
 40, 3942
- Sindhu Putra 58, 140
- Sindhu, Rasta 55, 61, 66, 117, 151,
 160, 165-6, 186, 228, 234, 237, 242,
 264, 281, 346-7
- Singaraja 29-30, 35, 37, 41, 43-4,
 46-7, 49, 65, 88, 102, 192-3, 277,
 279, 282-3
- Sitti Nurbaya* 5, 19
- Situmorang, Saut 12
- Soekarsa 35, 73-5, 287, 342
- Soemargono, F. 2, 365

- Soethama, G.A. xiv, 18, 63, 281, 311
 Solo 3, 16-7, 49
 Spies, W. 230, 251
 Srawana, G. 39
Suara Indonesia 29, 30-1, 41-2, 52, 55, 47, 101, 105, 107, 212, 270, 277, 280, 338, 340-1, 343, 345
 Suardika, A. 230, 245, 255, 282, 345
 Suasta, Putu 60, 114, 128, 133
 Sugriwa, I.G.B. 41, 44, 45, 56
 Suharto 25, 53, 139, 213, 216
 Sukada, I.M. 40, 43, 55, 57, 64-5, 111-2, 116, 282, 339, 341-2
 Sukanta, Putu Oka xiv, 48, 51, 65, 102, 124, 161, 211, 282, 298, 310, 337, 346, 348, 354, 360, 366
 Sukarno 31, 47, 51-2, 85, 92-3, 104-5, 107-9, 213, 231, 372
Surya Kanta xi, 28-39, 41, 65-70, 72-78, 82, 84-85, 87-88, 95, 143, 150-51, 153-59, 179, 197, 202, 210, 252, 270, 287-89, 337-42, 346, 361, 363
 Sutedja-Liem, M. 3, 35, 49, 53, 66-8, 117, 192, 367
 Suwidja, K. 47, 93, 340
 Syaelendra, K. L. 58, 113, 129, 139-40, 321, 338
syair xi, 9, 33-5, 39, 67, 70, 74-75, 77, 80-1, 89-90, 94-6, 210, 289, 342, 372
 Tantri, K. 231
 Thukul, W. 24, 217
 Tjakratenaya, I.G.P. 88
 Tjatri, N.M. 39, 80, 90-1, 189, 208-9, 211, 225, 342
 Toer, Pramoedya Ananta 1, 8, 20, 40, 44, 102, 221, 368
tooneel 155
 tourism 3, 38-9, 55, 60-2, 82, 86, 100, 112-4, 116, 121-3, 125, 127-31, 133, 136, 138-41, 143-4, 146, 149-50, 162, 183, 190, 194-5, 207, 227-8, 230-6, 245, 254, 260-4, 271-2, 274-5
triwangsa 33, 68-9, 73, 81, 88, 151-7, 159-62, 164, 166-7, 174-8, 181, 183, 186, 372
tusuk konde 169, 172, 181, 372
 Ubud 64, 130, 141-2, 230, 248, 250-1, 253, 283, 323-4, 327, 338, 342
 USDEK x, 93, 105-6, 343
 Utami, Ayu 1, 18, 24, 25, 61, 188
 Utami, Ayu 1, 18, 24-5, 61, 188
 Vickers, A. xiii, 41, 67-8, 82, 104, 123, 144, 154, 193, 195, 207, 230-1, 235-6, 251
 violence 115, 131, 199
 Wahid, A. 191, 223
 Warren, C. 114, 131, 133, 136
 Wedhasmara, IGPG 105
 West Java xii, 2, 3, 15, 17, 268, 282, 351
 Widiyazid Soethama, K. 112, 143, 282, 324, 337, 340
 Wijaya, I.N. xiii, 3, 66, 201
 Wijaya, Putu xi, 13, 22, 27, 52, 55, 61, 63, 66, 160, 176-8, 181, 186, 228-9, 239, 240, 243, 245, 264, 284, 345, 359, 362
 Windia, P. 80-2, 84, 340
 Wirata, N. 112, 130, 138, 340
 Wirawan, W. 44, 94, 338
 Wisatsana, Warih xiv, 58, 62, 113-4, 130, 140, 339
 Yogyakarta xii, 2, 6, 14, 17, 27, 42, 49, 57-8, 102, 178, 256, 268, 282
 Yuliarsa Sastrawan, I. K. 112, 129, 144, 280, 326, 341
Zaman Baru 32, 51-52, 101-2, 210-1, 296-7, 339-40, 342, 348