

## How the Public in the US Responded to Javanese and Balinese Performing Arts?

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### Abstract

After declared independent, Indonesia had to deal with the question of its national identity. It was pertaining to the debate on the national culture, particularly arts. As Indonesia had diverse traditional arts, the debate was a dilemma. Many people disagreed if the traditional arts became the national identity. Meanwhile, Indonesian traditional arts, especially Javanese and Balinese ones, had been appreciated abroad. During Sukarno's regime, Indonesia sent several art missions to present itself to the world. They performed mostly traditional arts from several regions, including Java and Bali. By employing the historical method, this study aims to discuss Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows in the United States. It is of importance that from 1950s to 1960s, Indonesia had to adapt to the Cold War, which forced the developing countries to choose the Western or Eastern bloc in their foreign policy. Until the beginning of the 1960s, Indonesia tended to be with the Eastern bloc. Subsequently, there was a tendency to be with the other bloc. Therefore, in this article the response to the Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows in the US after two eras was analyze.

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### Introduction

After the independence, Indonesia struggled to discover its identity. The decades of 1950s and 1960s in the Indonesian history can be seen as "an era" with "many eras". The view refers to the perspectives used to conceptualize a number of events, from the decolonization, federalism to unitarianism, regional conflicts, constitutional democracy, political factionalism, autocratic government, international relations, economic downturn, to Cold War interventions (Lindsay, 2011) Under these circumstances, Indonesia also dealt with the question of its national identity. One of the representations of the national identity to which attention was paid was culture. According to Lindsay (2011), culture plays a key role to understand Indonesia at that time. Furthermore, the events and mainstreams underlying Indonesian historical narratives from 1950 to 1965 are worth recalling.

In 1950s, intellectuals paid attention to national culture. In defining the national culture, they were engaged in considerable debate, but they could not reach any consensus until the end of Sukarno's rule in 1965 (Bogaerts, 2011). The debate raged on the Indonesian diverse culture. The diversity encompasses, among others, arts as

the most tangible culture. Many artists had their articles published in *Mimbar Indonesia*. They aimed to find what Indonesian national arts really were (Bogaerts, 2011, p. 274).

Amir Passaribu, J.A. Dunga, Sutan Kalimuda, and L. Manik were columnists for *Mimbar Indonesia* articulating their thoughts on "ethnicity" and "authenticity" in arts. "Traditional music" from ethnic groups was also the center of attention. For instance, Javanese *gamelan* had achieved international recognition. According to Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Javanese *gamelan* should be designated as national music heritage for its high value and degree. However, for some people, it merely represented a particular ethnic group, i.e. the Javanese. Moreover, *gamelan* was deemed feudal. Therefore, it could not necessarily be designated as national music (Bogaerts, 2011, p. 277).

As this article focuses on Javanese and Balinese performing arts, not only their music, emphasis is put on the debate over ethnic values of an art, including Indonesian music. The refusal of Javanese *gamelan* the music representing national culture can be interpreted as the refusal of other traditional arts deemed not to represent the national identity. Meanwhile, during the Sukarno's era, traditional performing arts were performed abroad to show Indonesia's existence. The performances were delivered more frequently during the era of Soeharto.

Beside dealing with the question of its national identity, newly independent Indonesia also had to adapt to the Cold War. The ideological contestation between two superpowers, i.e. the United States (US) and Soviet Union, had its impacts on the politics in Indonesia. Sukarno embraced anti-imperialism, tending to avoid Western countries. One of them was the US. He even refused economic aid from the US (Weinstein, 2007, p. 19).

As a super power, the US tries to exert its influence on countries in the world. The 20th century is known as The American Century due to its military, technology, and cultural power (McPherson & Krastev, 2007, p. 2). In terms of its relations with Indonesia, Wardaya (2012) says that since the beginning of the Cold War (1953-1962) until the early 1960s, the US foreign policy on Indonesia was ambiguous, sometimes antagonistic. There were ups and downs in their relations, indicated by the Sukarno's refusal of US aid. Likewise, the West regarded him as a communist owing to his anti-Western policy. Indonesia and the US forged close relations during the administration of John F. Kennedy, but they worsened when Lyndon B. Johnson served as the president (Jones, 2002, pp. 249-281). The relations got worse due to Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia.

Nevertheless, the end of Sukarno's era marked a shift in Indonesian foreign policy, despite still adhering to the free and active principles. In contrast to Sukarno's Anti-Western foreign policy, Soeharto's regime was friendlier to the Western countries. Consequently, there were no longer relations with the Eastern bloc. During Soeharto's 32-year regime, the West was the political and economic orientation of Indonesia (Murphy, 2010, p. 362-387). Close relations were fostered with the Western countries, the US in particular, by means of programs launched by the government to stabilize the economy. In addition to providing economic aid, the US also benefited from the New Order's (Orba) foreign investment policy which allowed American

companies to make investments in Indonesia. Amid the reciprocal relations, Javanese and Balinese performing arts were performed in the US.

The relations between Indonesia and the US have been studied by international relations and history scholars. Most of the studies have focused on the political and economic aspects of those two countries. For example, Wardaya's analysis (2012) only takes account of the ups and downs in Indonesia-US relations during the administration of Sukarno. He was suspected of being a communist because of his firm anti-imperialism stance. Soekarno's policy was associated with his personality and background as a Javanese. The first president's political thought and stance were profoundly influenced Javanese culture and tradition. The Javanese culture influenced Sukarno's thought not only on domestic issues, but also global ones, including relations with the US (Wardaya, 2012, pp. 1051-1061). Similarly, the research conducted by Murphy (2010) is unsatisfactory as it examines US political and economic interests in Indonesia and its view on Indonesia's potential. Indonesia is deemed able to cooperate in enhancing its people's welfare. In terms of Indonesian performing arts shows abroad, studies have been conducted by Lindsay (2011) and Cohen (2019). Lindsay (2011) has addressed performing arts shows by Indonesian art missions in numerous countries during Sukarno's period. He emphasizes that those missions were sent abroad to show Indonesia's presence in the global politics. On the other hand, Cohen (2019) has focused on arts as a manifestation or part of cultural diplomacy. Nonetheless, Lindsay and Cohen have not focused on a particular country or art performed.

As there is little published data on the two fundamental problems above, i.e. the national identity and Indonesia-US reciprocal relations, this study provides new insights into Javanese and Balinese performing arts in the US. It is of interest because of two paradoxes. Amid the struggle for the national identity, traditional arts from regions in Indonesia received a mixed reaction. However, Javanese and Balinese performing arts were exhibited more frequently in the US and won acclaim, making Indonesia better known. They continued to be performed in spite of the ups and downs in the relations between both countries. This study aims to analyze how Javanese and Balinese performing arts were initially performed in the US, how the public responded to them, and why they acclaimed those arts. It is of importance to discuss the first interactions between the public in the US and Javanese and Balinese performing arts to construct a whole narrative and facilitate the analysis.

## Method

This article was prepared according to the historical method. The critical historical method is a systematic set of principles and rules to assist effectively in collecting historical sources, critically assessing and then presenting a synthesis of the results in the form of scientific historical writing (Garaghan, 1957, p. 33). Most of the sources are articles in newspapers from the same period. The newspapers were all published in the US. For instances *The Times*, *The Courier*, *The Sacramento Bee*, *Oakland Tribune*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, etc. The newspapers are mostly from the US. The author chose

newspapers published by the US to obtain information about Javanese and Balinese traditional performing arts performances there. The benefit of this approach is that they reflect the situations at that time. Moreover, some events are described in detail. To explain the context and analyze matters not mentioned in the sources from the same period, the latest journal articles and relevant books were referred.

### **Javanese and Balinese Performing Arts in the US: Early Encounters**

Javanese and Balinese performing arts have existed in the US from way back. At the end of the 19th century, the National Museum, Washington got rod and leather puppets as Christmas presents. As reported by *The San Francisco Call* and *Portland Daily Press*, they were believed to originate from Java, which was under the rule of Dutch East Indies. The puppets looked scary, but there was painting which resembled glamorous clothing on their surface. Their various forms captured public attention in the US. Nevertheless, both *The San Francisco Call* and *Portland Daily Press* did not provide information on who gave the puppets (“Curious Javanese Puppets,” 1898, p. 20; Bache, 1898).

In addition to the *wayang kulit purwa* (shadow puppets), those articles looked into traditional performing arts in Java. It was said that Java had a performing art resembling pantomime. The art had developed for centuries and constituted Javanese intellectual property (Bache, 1898, p. 3). Hence, Java is known to be the oldest home to pantomime. The art was called pantomime as there were no dialogue between the performers and they merely danced to the music played by 5-10 musicians. They played percussion instruments, mostly made of bronze. Meanwhile, the dialogue was read by a man sitting in front of those musicians and represented the storyline. On the right side of the man was a wooden box occasionally knocked using a wooden mallet. However, the articles did not contain the art's name. From the features mentioned, the art was probably *wayang wong* dance. Furthermore, the man reading the storyline was the *dhalang* (puppeteer).

Eight years after *Portland Daily News* published an article about Javanese arts, *Waterbury Evening Democrat* released an article about Javanese and Balinese dances. The article, the title of which is “Dancers of Java”, was written based the experiences of several American people during their visits in Java and Bali. They were interested in *topeng* (mask) dance and *wayang wong* dance (“Dancers of Java,” 1907).

In the 1930s, Devi Dja, a Javanese dancer, performed Javanese and Balinese dances in the US. She joined Dardanella touring theater company in the Dutch East Indies. Devi Dja embarked on a world tour which was ended in the US. After she joined, Dardanella always performed Javanese and Balinese dances. One of her most interesting performances in the US was delivered in Manhattan on 3-4 January 1940. Devi Dja performed *ketjak* dance accompanied by Balinese gamelan. The performance in Manhattan was one of 12 shows run in New York and all of them were appreciated by the public there (“Javanese Dancers Welcomed Warmly by New York,” 1940).

In the subsequent era, or after the decolonization, Java become the parts of Indonesia. According to Brandon, Indonesia and Thailand are two Southeast Asian

countries with positive development of performing arts. Further, of the thousand islands in Indonesia, Java and Bali are the center of the oldest performing arts (Brandon, 1974, pp. 42-44). Hence, Javanese and Balinese performing arts were exhibited abroad amid the debate over traditional arts which were not deemed to represent Indonesia. Beside shows initiated by the government of Indonesia through art missions, there was interest in learning Javanese and Balinese performing arts in higher education in the US. Several Javanese performing arts include: *gamelan*, *wayang kulit purwa*, *wayang wong*, and dances. Meanwhile, Balinese performing arts are *gamelan*, *wayang*, *legong* and *topeng dances*, etc.

### **The Development of Javanese and Balinese Performing Arts Learning Centers in the US**

The first university in the US showing an interest in Javanese and Balinese performing arts is the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). The performing arts were introduced by Mantle Hood, an ethnomusicologist who initially learned Javanese gamelan. He began to know gamelan when pursuing his doctoral degree in the Netherlands. He studied under another ethnomusicologist, Jaap Kunst. After finishing his dissertation, Mantle Hood taught at UCLA. Around 1954, he brought Javanese *gamelan* to UCLA and founded the *Gamelan Study Group*, comprised of 15 students ("UCLA Group," 1956). Two years later, he received the Fullbright Fellowship. Funded by the Ford Foundation, Mantle Hood deepened his knowledge and skills in Java and Bali ("UCLA Music," 1956). Meanwhile, the Javanese gamelan group was designated as an extracurricular activity. The group was known as *Udan Mas*.

Prior to its fifth anniversary, *Udan Mas* had performed in several events. One of them was the Javanese dance performance by Djoko Sanjoto and his wife at Magnolia School Auditorium, River-side on 8 November 1956 ("News of The Island Empire," 1956). He was the Cultural Attache at the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia (KBRI). He learned to dance since his childhood and performed in numerous events in Indonesia, Singapore, and the US. Djoko Sanjoto's presence in the concerts of *Udan Mas* showed the attention paid by the Indonesian government to Indonesian traditional arts in the US despite the group's status under the UCLA. Not only performed, did he also train *Udan Mas* ("Java Concert Toninght," 1956).

After establishing the Javanese gamelan group at the UCLA, Mantle Hood began to introduce Balinese *gamelan*. During his time in Indonesia, he learned Balinese arts too. In the 1960s, he and Garry Margolis and Robert Garfias recorded a video featuring I Wayan Gandera and Tjikorda Mas (Ethnographic Film Collection of California, Los Angeles, Ethnomusicology Archives, 2020). Besides, Mantle Hood recorded sounds on a cassette. The cassette labelled *Ki Mantle Hood-Tjikorda Mas dan Wajan Gandera* contained several songs, i.e. *Baris Bapan*, *Sekar Sungsan*, *Tabuh Teluh*, *Rebong*, *Legong*, *Lagu Dalem*, *Sellir*, *Pemungkah*, *Gamelan Gong Kebyar*, *Sekehe Gambuh Seker Leret*, *Gamelan Gong Barong Dance*, *Lullaby*, and *Gamelan Angklung Mergapati*.

California Institute of the Arts also developed Javanese and Balinese performing arts learning. The prominent figure was a Mantle Hood's student. Moreover, Javanese

and Balinese *gamelan* was taught at the University of California Berkeley (UC Berkeley) ("An Outsider Peeks in on CalArts," 1978). As *gamelan* learning centers were founded, in 1964, the Indonesian government sent a set of Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* to a pavilion at the New York World's Fair. The *gamelan* was placed in a spacious dedicated room. As the interior designer, President Sukarno tried to show Indonesian rich and diverse culture. However, in March 1965 the *gamelan* was not at the New York World's Fair owing to Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia. The support the US gave to Malaysia had an impact on the *gamelan*. As a consequence, the *gamelan* was sold. Wesleyan University bought a set of Javanese *gamelan* and the University of Michigan bought another set of Javanese *gamelan*. Meanwhile, a set of Balinese *gamelan* was bought by Carroll Music (Hatch, 2008: 6). Based on the information, it can be known that Javanese *gamelan* has been taught at Wesleyan University and the University of Michigan since the mid-1960s.

Javanese and Balinese performing arts were also learned on the east coast of the US, including at Cornell University. There, a *gamelan* group was founded in 1972, initiated by Martin Hatch. He was a PhD student of the Cornell's Modern Indonesia Project (CIMP). Upon arriving at the Cornell University campus, he saw a spacious room with *gamelan* inside it. The *gamelan* was property of Harrison Parker (a Cornell University alumnus having worked in Indonesia) and played occasionally as a part of entertainment in activities conducted by the Southeast Asia Program (SEAP). Ben Anderson was central to the group. He played *gender*, which he had learned in Java. Beside Ben Anderson, two linguistics students from Yogyakarta, Supomo Poedjosoedarmo and Subandi Djajengwasito, joined that grup (Hatch, 2008, p. 6).

As a musicology student, Martin Hatch proposed his plan to establish an official *gamelan* study group to the department head. The proposal was approved. In the summer of 1972, Cornell *Gamelan* Ensemble was founded (Hatch, 2008, p. 6). Six years later, Cornell University got a complete set of Javanese *gamelan* from the Metropolitan Museum of Art on long term loan as the present from the Indonesian government. In 1980, *gamelan* was included in the curriculum of Cornell University and performed twice in a semester at Barness Hall or Arts Quad (Kahin, 2020, pp. 65-66).

Moreover, dance groups or Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* groups periodically came to universities to run shows and workshops. In collaboration with the Music Department dan Arts College, SEAP sponsored activities involving Cornell University students and Indonesian artists. Visiting Group, museum exhibitions, and traditional dance performances were integral to SEAP missions at Cornell University (Kahin, 2020, pp. 65-66). In the 1970s, the University of Hawaii also opened Javanese *gamelan* studies. In 1970, Hardja Susilo bought a set of Javanese *gamelan* from Yogyakarta to support the studies. Since then, Javanese *gamelan* has been taught at the University of Hawaii (Diamond, 1984, pp. 4-19).

In terms of Javanese and Balinese performing arts venues, KBRI and the Consulates General of the Republic of Indonesia (KJRI), as the representatives of Indonesia, may not be forgotten. Based on the information collected, KJRI staged arts shows i.e. Javanese and Balinese classical dances, accompanied by Javanese

gamelanon a monthly basis Sometimes, KJRI run wayang kulit purwa performances (“Javanese Dance,” 1986, p. 3). Activities pertaining to *gamelan* at KBRI were better recorded. Furthermore, KBRI has the cultural attache responsible for promoting culture through arts. Beside routine rehearsal, Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* at KBRI were played routinely. In major events, *gamelan* and dances were performed when the Ambassador of RI delivered speech or visited numerous parts of the US. If *gamelan* could not be brought, only the dancers joined. For instance, on 31 May 1967, two talented dancers from Indonesia, Ninuk Suhartini and Moeljadi, joined Ambassador Suwito Kusumowidagdo when visiting J. Frank Faust Junior High School to deliver speech. They performed *Bambangan Cakil* dance (*Arjuna* and *Cakil* dance) Suhartini played as Arjuna, and Moeljadi as Buta Cakil. Their performance was accompanied by a recording made by the KBRI Javanese *gamelan* group (“Native Dancers to Perform Here,” 1967).

Besides, the KBRI *gamelan* and dance groups performed at Indonesian festivals organized by KBRI, KJRI, or the other hosts. The festivals were effective in promoting Indonesia (Ritter, 1969). The *wayang kulit purwa* show held every month at KBRI Washington attracted public attention in the US (“Buffalo-Hide,” 1980). Javanese and Balinese performing arts developed in the US as centers for Asian, Southeast Asian, and even Indonesian studies, were established, for instance Asian Studies, South East Asian Studies (SEAP) and Indonesian Project at Cornell University with its Cornell’s Modern Indonesia Project (CMIP).

Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows were also supported by the Indonesian artists sent to the US. They were sent to, among others, to pursue their education and teach *gamelan*, dances, and the other Javanese and Balinese performing arts. Many Indonesian artists were involved in a program called Artist in Residence. During the Old Order, several artists were sent to the US. More artists were sent there by the New Order.

During the Old Order, Wasisto Surjodiningrat and Hardja Susilo were sent to the US (“Folk Dance Festival Features 20 Nations,” 19 March 1965). Their departure for the US was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1958. In addition to studying at the Music Department of UCLA, they were involved in workshops on *gamelan* in museums, schools, and campuses in the US. They were to be the influential pioneers in the development of Javanese *gamelan* in the US. Since 1960, UCLA helped other universities in the US, such as Wesleyan University, the University of Hawaii, the University of Michigan, etc develop ethnomusicology learning programs. Hardja Susilo and Wasisto Surjodiningrat were involved in the technical aspect as the universities decided to develop Javanese *gamelan* (Witzleben, 2020, pp. 135-166). Hardja Susilo became an assistant professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Hawaii in 1970. Since then, Hardja Susilo began to teach Javanese *gamelan* at the University of Hawaii. Meanwhile, his wife, Judy Mitona, a Javanese and Balinese dancer, also taught at the University of Hawaii.

There were more artists involved in Artist in Residence during the New Order regime. They are I Made and Swasthi Bandem, Sumarsam and Urip Sri Maeny,

Wasitodipuro, Soedarsono, and I.M. Harjito. They landed in the US in the end of the 1960s. In the next period, i.e. from the 1970s to 1980s, several Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* and dance teachers from Indonesia were known. They are I Wayan Dibia, I Nyoman Wenten and Nanik Wenten, Midiyanto, Joko Sutrisno, etc. The participants of Artist in Residence learned in the US, mostly funded by Ford Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation. Later, they played an active role in the missions sent by the Indonesian Government.

### ***Budaya Troupe in the US***

In the end of the 1960s, the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia sent an art mission to the US. They were the best Javanese and Balinese artists sent to go on tour in the US. A story depicting the atmosphere of the performance was published on 5 October 1969. The Javanese *gamelan* sound familiar to the people of California echoed at the University of California, Davis. There was something special in the show. On the stage, someone performed difficult moves, in tune with the sound of *gamelan*. He is Sardono, playing as *Rahwana*. Afterwards, a female dancer appeared as *Sinta*, followed by *Rama*, played by a dancer named Wayan Rindi, while Ketut Sukarni played as *Sinta*. At that time, Ketut Sukarni was 17 years old. Ketut Sukarni performed *legong* dance with other very young dancers, accompanied by *gamelan* *legong*. Their performance had been anticipated since the beginning of the rainy season in the end of 1960s.

In September 1969, several media in the US, i.e. *The Times*, *The Courier*, *The Sacramento Bee*, *Oakland Tribune*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, etc reported that the Department of Education and Culture of RI was going to send 16 finest artists to the US. The troupe consisted of dancers and *gamelan* players (“Indonesia Dancers Show Charm,” 1969). Americans called them *Budaya Troupe*. The dance group was led by Wayan Rindi, while the *gamelan* was led by Wasitodipuro (“Budaya Troupe Dancers,” 1969). Adi Darminto and Taryana were also in the troupe (“Indonesian troupe,” 1969). The first performance was staged at Veterans’ Auditorium, San Francisco on 4 October 1969 (“Indonesian Dancers,” 1969). However, cited from a source, *Budaya Troupe* had performed on channel nine in the US before going on tour. The show was aired on 17 September by WMVS-TV (Educational) at 8 p.m. (“Television Schedule,” 1970). *Budaya Troupe* had set a show schedule prior to leaving for the US, but they received many invitations to perform during their tour, including from Paul Cracroft, the University of Utah. He thought that he had to invite *Budaya Troupe* to perform, as their performance was stunning (Lundstrom, 1969). Therefore, on Wednesday, 28 October *Budaya Troupe* performed at Kingsburry Hall, Kingsburry Hall, the University of Utah. Before their performance at the University of Utah, Wayan Rindi and co. performed at Thorne Hall, Occidentall College on 24 October; Royce Hall, the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) on 26 October; and De Jong Concert Hall of Harris Fine Arts Center, Brigham Young University on Monday, 27 October (“Dance Troupe,” 1969). There were many more performances of *Budaya Troupe*. All of them left lasting impressions, as said by the people of Hudson Valley. They felt deeply indebted to



Vassar College for inviting the stunning performers (“Hindu Epic Makes for Fantastic Entertainment at Vassar,” 1969).

*Budaya Troupe*, sent in the end of the 1960s, really left positive impressions. Due to the success of *Budaya Troupe* in 1969, the government sent *Budaya Troupe* to the US again in the early 1970s. The Department of Education and Culture of RI sent another art mission to go on tour in the US. However, it was slightly different from *Budaya Troupe*. The artists in *Budaya Troupe* were sent from Indonesia, but the artists in this mission were already in the US. The group is Widjaja Dance Company, led by I Made Bandem (Rockwell, 1970).

The first performance of Widjaja Dance Company upon the request of the Department of Education and Culture of RI was on 22 June 1970. The group led by I Made Bandem performed at the Mark Taper Forum with Irwin Parnes as the producer. The first performance was decisive. If they could satisfy the audiences, they would be able to perform at the Mark Taper Forum several times. Beside Widjaja Dance Company, several participants of Artists in Residence from Indonesia working at the Institute of Ethnomusicology of UCLA performed that night (Rockwell, 1970).

Widjaja Dance Company performed before the art group from Hollywoodish. Indonesian arts, i.e. dances, performing arts, and music, were performed before the break. At first, the audiences did not seem satisfied. They talked about the stunning performance of *Budaya Troupe*. Luckily, in the end I Made Bandem saved the show that night. Swasthi Bandem played as *Sita* and Ratna Setiawati as *Rama*, making the audiences transfixed. Their performance was supported by I Made Bandem's agile move as *Hanuman*. On that night, a nationwide tour in the US was begun (Rockwell, 1970).

In October 1973, the Department of Education and Culture of RI sent I Made Bandem in another art mission. He was trusted in leading a topeng dance company. They went on tour in the US for almost one year. They did not only perform, but also taught dances. The enthusiasm of the public in the US meant that the Indonesian government was successful in promoting Indonesia (“Freshmen Get Lessons,” 1978).

Javanese and Balinese traditional arts were performed again in the US throughout the winter of 1973. The tour was sponsored by the American Society for Eastern Arts (ASEA) in collaboration with the Department of Education and Culture of RI. To open the Autumn Series, wayang kulit purwa was performed at St. Presbyterian Church, 2640 College Ave on 21 September 1973. To enjoy the performance of *dhalang* Oemartopo and the *gamelan* group he trained, audiences paid \$3, but students and community members only paid \$2. Another wayang kulit purwa show was held at Berkeley Church on 13 October. In the end of October, several dancers performed Javanese and Balinese dances at St. John's Presbyterian Church, 2640 College Ave. They are Maridi, I Nyoman Wenten, and Nanik Wenten. Their performances were accompanied by the Javanese *gamelan* group led by Wasitodipuro. They also performed at Trustees' Auditorium, M.H. de Young Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows at Festival Indonesia continued until the end of the year (“Shadow Puppets of Java,” 1973). The lasting

impressions left by *Budaya Troupe* can be seen from performance recordings aired by television stations in the US for educational purposes.

The event initiated by the Department of Education and Culture inspired KBRI in the US to organize such event. Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* groups from KBRI performed in a massive formation with the gamelan group and participants from Artist in Residence in several universities. Below are Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows initiated by KBRI and reported by media. In addition, KBRI held routine rehearsals and shows of Javanese and Balinese *gamelan* and dances. KBRI also held a *wayang kulit purwa* show once a month.

KBRI performed *gamelan angklung* and Javanese *gamelan* at Fine Arts Recital Hall on 6 May 1978. The show was organized in collaboration with the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. The open performances and concerts were staged at least once in a semester. Another performance was staged at Walters Arts Gallery from March to April 1980. Javanese *gamelan* was played to accompany a *wayang kulit purwa* show on 27 April. Previously, I Made Bandem had performed with Swasthi Bandem to represent KBRI on 23 March. Both of them performed *topeng* and *kebyar* dances. The festival of Explorations in the Walters was a part of the National Endowment for the Humanities Learning Museum Program (grants for humanities education) ("Exploring Eastern Culture at Walters," 1980). The next performance, including Balinese *gamelan*, was reported by international media. The show was staged at Wind Gap School Auditorium on 19 May 1984. It was a part of a seminar organized in collaboration between KBRI and Slate Belt Performing Arts Council ("Gamelan Performance Planned in Wind Gap," 1984).

### Responses from Mass Media

Despite the ups and downs in the relations between Indonesia and the US in the mid-1950s, Indonesian culture, represented by Javanese gamelan, was warmly welcomed. It can be seen in the Javanese *gamelan* concert and Balinese cultural exhibition organized by Mantle Hood and his students at Church of Hollywood. At the same time, a discussion was held in the opening of Javanese Music Program at UCLA ("UCLA Group Plans Javanese Music Program," 1956, p. 11). Moreover, Javanese *gamelan* concerts organized by UCLA, as mentioned earlier, showed that Javanese *gamelan* was genuinely appreciated in the US.

A token of appreciation for Javanese and Balinese performing arts was shown in an article titled "Indonesian Make Plans to Expand Tourist Trade". It said that Indonesia had a variety of exotic traditional performing arts which could attract foreign tourists. The arts mentioned are *legong*, *srimpi*, *gamelan*, and *wayang* (Kim, 1957, p. 13). According to Yong Hyum Kim, traditional arts are property.

On the other hand, Goldberg expresses his opinion on Javanese *gamelan* teaching programs into an article "Unique Oriental Music Courses at UCLA". The title is a token of appreciation for Javanese *gamelan*. In summary, he outlines the Javanese gamelan teaching programs offered by UCLA. He also mentions Balinese performing arts (Goldberg, 1959, p. 5). In the next decade, particularly in the end of 1969, several

articles were published as performances were organized by *Budaya Troupe*.

News titled “Java Dance Is Charming” was published on 11 October 1969. The news reviewed the traditional performing arts show by a group called *Budaya Troupe* at UC Berkeley Zellerbach Auditorium. The audiences could perhaps only enjoy the performance from the scenes they watched and the sounds they listened. Nevertheless, in the Western mass tradition, the performance cannot be made in a usual manner. According to Fried (1969), the performance given by the Indonesian art group represented the style of a tradition refined in such a long period with artistic packaging. This is an excerpt from news about the impression of *Budaya Troupe* performance.

“The performance had charm, daintiness, humor and wonderment. Its dance-actors and mimes made strange movements with delicacy and finesse. Their poses were picturesque. Their animation was delightful. Their costumes, including masks, were picturesque as that artfully lovely.”

An enthusiastic response was also elicited from the event organizer at Kingsbury Hall, on Wednesday, 29 October 1969. The show attended by 500 audiences was funded by the Division of Continuing Education, the University of Utah. As the chair of the organizing committee, Paul Cracroft conveyed a positive impression as *Budaya Troupe* had been able to entertain the audiences. He praised the packaging of the show, from the costumes to the story told in English. On that day, *Budaya Troupe* featured Ketut Sukarani and two other teenage dancers. They appeared on the cover of National Geographic. He said that *Budaya Troupe* had prepared the performance well and in great detail. According to him, they chose perfect costumes and colors. Moreover, there were characters of monkeys, exotic birds, deer, cats, and the other animals that night. They showed how serious *Budaya Troupe* crew were (Lundstrom, 1969, p. 21).

## Conclusion

In the US, Javanese and Balinese performing arts were an alternative to fine arts appreciated for their aesthetic values. In this vein, traditional arts are classified into fine arts. Amid the development of popular arts, Javanese and Balinese performing arts were a breath of fresh air for those longing for traditional arts. In addition, as discussed earlier, Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows offered them a number of new and unique things. Despite the ups and downs in the relations between Indonesia and the US, Javanese and Balinese performing arts still exist in the US due to its ability to directly touch the people's hearts. For Indonesia, Javanese and Balinese performing arts shows abroad have proven that traditional arts are recognized as its cultural heritage. Java and Bali, as well as Indonesia, are known by the public in the US for their uniqueness.

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