

Gallery: Supporter, Distributor, and Market

By Bambang Bujono

Such view is common in various art galleries in Ubud, Bali. In a room a painting by Srihadi Soedarsono is hung—he is one of the leading painters in Indonesia. The work cannot be considered bad. Next to it is a painting by Widayat, also one of the painters with good reputations, and the painting is also a good one. Next to it, however, a painting of a Balinese dancer from an unknown painter, and the painting is not at all convincing: inappropriate anatomy, and this does not seem to be intentional.

Take a look, then, to an art gallery in Jakarta. In a room an exhibition is held displaying works of the younger generation worth noticing in the Indonesian art world. This is a commendable effort of the gallery. But enter the next room where picture postcards and (foreign) art books are sold: You will find paintings of flowers, of a girl sitting under a blue sky—two works that can be found in many souvenir shops in Kemang, South Jakarta, or in painting shops in Ubud.

What, then, is offered by the many galleries in Ubud and Jakarta, which have been mushrooming since mid eighties? A Dutchman, who claimed to be an art dealer with connections to a London gallery that opened a branch in Singapore, and who is looking for paintings in Ubud last November, 1993, answered spontaneously: “A mix-mash.”

Seeing pictures of the works he was going to exhibit in Singapore, I think the Dutchman was not a highly qualified art dealer. But his comments on galleries in Ubud cannot be said as mistaken. And actually, gallery owners in Ubud, who generally also act as the curators in their galleries, indirectly admit that they have to have works that sell aside from choosing the painters they like.

Take Agung Rai, for example, one of the gallery owners in Ubud who is commercially successful. Not only is he fluent when talking about the paintings' *taksu* (the weight or depth) and character that he holds as criteria in choosing paintings for his collection, but he also frankly admits of buying paintings for “souvenirs.” His experience as a painting seller in the tourism areas of Bali before he set up the gallery in 1978, has taught the Peliatan-born man what kind of paintings tourists usually like. Those are the paintings he calls “souvenir” paintings. When he buys paintings of this kind to sell them again, he no longer thinks about *taksu*, and neither does he care whether he likes the paintings or not.

Meet Suteja Neka, too. He is the owner of Neka Gallery and Neka Museum, and one of the receivers of the Art Award from the National Department of Education and Culture in 1993. Aside from buying paintings “with high aesthetic,” Neka also offers paintings “for decorations and souvenirs.” Similar stories will be met as we talk to Rudana, an ex-tour guide who has changed his profession and become a gallery owner. He also makes a distinction between “paintings that deserve to be in the gallery” and “paintings that can be accepted by the public.”

It is still the same story with Billiantana Firmansyah, the owner of Hidayat Gallery in Bandung. He knows that many visitors to his gallery are looking for “the pretty, the decorative.” He, however, also holds in his collection nonfigurative paintings from Srihadi from 1962. At the end of 1992, the gallery even sponsored an exhibition titled

“Instalasi 5” (“Installation 5”) from five Bandung artists who presented installation works, the latest tendency of Indonesian arts (the exhibition is then held in Neka Museum in Ubud, early February 1993). What says Bill? He gets most of his satisfaction when he held the “Instalasi 5” exhibition: Although it did not sell well, but it received most visitors among all the other exhibitions the gallery has ever sponsored.

In the galleries of Ubud, according to the gallery owners, it is not a difficult feat to distinguish which works “have high aesthetics,” and which ones are merely “for souvenirs.” Usually the works displayed in the front room are the ones considered as souvenirs. Usually the paintings shown here are works with the traditional Balinese styles and created by still-unheard-of artists.

As we move to the back room, we will meet works personally chosen by the gallery owners—these are usually not as many as the works displayed in the front rooms. At a first glance, the works are indeed ones considered by art observers as “exclusive.” Still, even in this private collection, as has been mentioned in the beginning of this essay, there are two or three works whose presence in the collection do not seem appropriate.

It is important to note that aside from building a gallery, successful gallery owners then go on establishing museums. It is there they display permanently the works they truly like, works with “high aesthetic.” At the end of 1993, Agung Rai and Rudana have finished the final phase of setting up their museums. Their predecessor, as has been said, is Suteja Neka. In July 1982, Neka Museum was formally opened. Neka is also the first gallery owner in Ubud who actively manages his gallery. He set up this gallery in 1966 in Ubud, when there were only a few small galleries.

But why museum? Neka, who specifically sets up one room in his museum devoted to display works of Nyoman Lempad, thinks that this is his contribution for the public. “As paintings were bought by collectors, especially foreign collectors, it will be difficult for us to view them again,” he says. There needs to be, therefore, a museum that permanently displays works so that people can have a look at them from time to time. Neka, who was once a teacher in a junior high school but resigned in the sixties to manage his gallery fully, also says that museum is a “means to strengthen the art appreciation among the public.”

Agung Rai even plans to make more than a museum. At the three-hectare land, he builds a cultural center, complete with an art guesthouse, a restaurant, and studios for any artist to work there, either from Indonesia or abroad. He visions an art complex that will trigger “cultural exchanges” which will create new works. It seems that he wants to see happening again what has happened in the time of Rudolf Bonnet and Walter Spies when the two artists were living in Bali. Not only the works of the Dutch and German artists were changed and influenced by the traditional Balinese paintings, but several Balinese painters were also influenced by those first two artists.

It can therefore be said that some of the people who are involved in dealing with art works are actually not merely trading. They also have a sort of sensitivity or feeling to discern works that are “exclusive.” They manage the galleries with the combination of money and highly qualified works. They were pulled and pushed by two measures: the market and the art.

There is not much we can do when what develops more is the market side. In this case, the public taste, or the taste of the art buyers to be precise, is dominant. A painting bought with the ten million rupiah price tag is clearly more real compared to a painting praised by art critics but unpopular in many art galleries in Indonesia today.

However, the pulse for our art world also comes from these galleries. Albeit only in small numbers, these galleries also bought works of Sudjojono, Rusli, Affandi, Mochtar Apin, Fadjar Sidik, Srihadi, and even Krisna Murti, Heri Dono, Faisal, and Eddie Hara. The last four names are a part of the current generation of Indonesian artists who are forming the latest tendency of our art world. Indeed, I do not find their works in Ubud, but in the galleries of Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Bandung.

Of course you can ask, How much benefit do these galleries give to Rusli or Krisna Murti, for example? Wouldn't our young artists, some of them are mentioned above, continue working and creating, even if the galleries had not existed? And don't the museums owned by gallery owners serve only to support their business? By owning a museum, which relatively displays highly qualified works, the prestige of the gallery owner (and that of the gallery itself) will increase, therefore strengthening the trust to the gallery among the buyers. Added to that, if we calculate the value of the mix-mash quality of the museum collection, the advantage received by the gallery owners well exceeds the benefit they give to our art world.

Let us just say that all that is true. But it is also true that not many of our artists dare to act like Ida Bagus Made. The Balinese painter, born in 1915, has also been "selling high," he does not easily give his works if he is not sure that the buyer is not going to use his works for some commercial use, no matter how high the offer he receives. It is said that one or two works by Ida Bagus Made found in galleries in Ubud found their way there through third hands. Neka, Agung Rai, and others admit that they cannot come to Ida Bagus Made's house, choose some paintings, and pay. Chances are the painter, who certainly knows who Neka and Agung Rai are (Ida Bagus Made also lives in Ubud), will reject them.

As for the museums owned by gallery owners, the above-mentioned hypothesis can indeed be true. But considering the fact that the art infrastructure in this country is still unformed, or at least not fully formed (museums, media, critics, cultural centers), it is better to take advantage of the existence of these galleries, rather than to reject them, however small their contribution might actually be.

That is why I prefer to read the world of galleries in contemporary Indonesia from the point of view of what chances and opportunities that can be taken into advantage by the serious artists and art observers. The galleries nevertheless provide the opportunity for the public to view the works of our creative artists—notwithstanding the mix-mash quality of the galleries. This is especially true for galleries who also have a museum.

Indeed, the emergence of galleries in the eighties has to do with the economic growth and the rise of public interest in buying art works, paintings in particular. Still there were other triggers that existed not merely to take advantage of the situation at that time.

In Bali, which has been a tourist destination since a long time ago, the birth of galleries must have been triggered by tourism. In Jakarta, meanwhile, gallery owners are usually indeed paintings collectors. Hadiprana Gallery in Kebayoran Baru area, for example, was established in 1962 under the name of Galeri Prasta Pandawa. The founders are the Hadipranas, who indeed have long been keen on paintings. The same is true for Santi Gallery in Kemang area, founded by a senior collector, Joseph Suleman. The former owner of a shipping company has been collecting paintings and sculptures since before the birth of The New Order in Indonesia. When he first opened his gallery, he rented a place in the Duta Merlin shopping center in Harmoni area, Central Jakarta. At that time, he owned more than 600 paintings by our leading painters: Affandi, Hendra, Sudjojono, Zaini, Srihadi, and many more. Some he still keeps until now, some are already in the hands of others.

With Joseph Suleman, there was a sad story that served also as the trigger for his decision to set up a gallery. When he was still active in his business, he often went abroad. He left his collection in the hands of his relatives. As it was impossible for them to hang all of the paintings on the wall, around 70 paintings by Hendra were rolled and put in a porcelain vase, kept in the storage room. These paintings, dear readers, were then found broken eaten up by termites. One of the functions of his gallery, therefore, is to keep his collection well kept. “In terms of storage, it is expensive to own a painting collection,” he says.

Consider now Galeri Hidayat in Bandung, just established in 1990, the owner is someone who has indeed been involved in the art world: Billiantana Firmansyah, an architect who is also an agent for Windsor oil paint. As an architect he knows that the rise of housing complex, hotels, and office buildings opens the opportunity for art trade. As a seller of oil paint, he has also been in touch with a lot of painters.

Similarly, Galeri Siswanto in Yogyakarta, owned by Siswanto, the owner of Mirota shopping chains, was born out of Siswanto’s penchant for buying paintings.

Does this mean that when the Indonesian economy subsides, the galleries will change or be changed into other enterprises that will be more profitable, or perhaps the galleries will simply be closed? Owner of Galeri Santi is convinced that it will be so. “Because paintings are not primary needs,” Suleman says. He then says that when the Indonesian economy was bad during the fifties and early 1960s, he did not see any Indonesian buying paintings—the only one who did was Bung Karno, the first Indonesian president. Without passion for paintings, and without money, it will be impossible for someone to buy works of arts, Suleman says.

So won’t the galleries disappear without a trace, then?

Edwin Raharjo, founder of Edwin Gallery in Jakarta, is optimistic. Edwin Raharjo, who has a background in photography, believes that with good management, a gallery will survive any season. Without good management, he says, any gallery will not survive for long. “Galleries that only follow the market will die slowly.”

Edwin points out that in 1993, around six years after the painting boom, “many galleries have found it difficult already.” He means that the owners of those galleries have started to change his business or add more works to sell, no

longer paintings or sculptures. Actually, he says, no matter how bad the Indonesian economy becomes, there will always be someone with money and opportunity to buy paintings. Edwin is sure that the painting boom will not simply disappear without traces in the future. Someone who has experienced the “advantage” of having a painting will try buying more. And in the family of a painting buyer—not necessarily a serious collector—there is always the chance that a son or daughter will also learn to love paintings, and therefore become another painting buyer.

Regarding galleries that then move to diversify their business, it has actually taken place. In 1969, six years after its inception, Galeri Hadiprana in Jakarta started to turn parts of its rooms into boutiques and batik outlet. “It is not yet possible to depend on selling painting for a living,” said Mrs. Hadiprana in 1979 (see TEMPO magazine, February 17, 1979). When the painting boom took place in mid-eighties, according to an employee at Galeri Hadiprana, there was indeed an increase in the sales of paintings, but it was still unable to support the gallery.

In 1993, after six years after the beginning of the painting boom, Galeri Braga in Bandung started to feel the difficulties of selling paintings. According Mrs. Maya Budi Raharjo, manager of Galeri Braga, in 1993 she could only sell paintings at Rp 3.5 million at most. In the beginning, meanwhile, Galeri Braga was able to sell a painting at Rp 30 million. “Luckily there is still some profit left from the painting boom, so we can still survive,” she said.

It is hard to deny that the selling and buying of paintings also follow rules of trading. The problem, however, is that the price of a painting is not determined by the calculation of how much the painter has spent in making the painting, with the sales price being the sum total of the cost plus some percentage as the profit. The price of a painting is determined more by the name of the painter, by how much the buyer likes the painting, and how smart the seller promote the painting.

Principally, therefore, a gallery will not care much for new names with no reputations. To put it harshly, talent searching is not the job of the galleries. Should there be a gallery daring enough to hold a solo exhibition, or a duo-exhibition for example, of works by unknown artists, the gallery is taking huge risks. Galeri Duta in Jakarta, established in 1986, has taken the risk. Here works by Heri Dono, and also Faisal and Ahmad Sopandi, have been displayed. The three of them are young artists whose works are difficult to sell, especially Heri Dono’s works.

Aside from that, there is another factor which may not happen in the United States or Europe, and which has to do with relationship between the gallery and its artists. In Indonesia, there has yet to be a binding ethic between the gallery and the painter. Many galleries, therefore, are reluctant to promote new artists. Should the effort prove unsuccessful, that is the business risk. On the other hand, should the effort prove successful, there is no guarantee that the artist will keep selling his or her work through the gallery as a repayment. If then another gallery exhibits the works of this particular artist with no extra effort as the artist is now well known already, the first gallery who has made all the effort can only “suffer in silence.”

Another disadvantage comes when the artist then opens his or her studio for future buyers. When this happens, the price of the painting is generally cheaper than that determined in the gallery.

That is why Edwin Raharjo is reluctant to hold exhibitions of artists who have never been recognized before. He does not want to deal with the effort of “making new artists.” True, Edwin Gallery sometimes exhibits works of young artists, but at least they have displayed their works in previous exhibition before, or their works have been publicized by the media before.

It can be said, therefore, that the galleries in Indonesia have no specialty yet. They are even reluctant to display works that are not paintings. Try searching for graphic arts in the galleries of Jakarta—it is a rather difficult feat. So far, two-dimensional art works aside from paintings that have been seriously exhibited are lithograph works in Oets Gallery in Jakarta. They were works by the world’s eccentric maestro: Salvador Dali.

With the spirit that tends to be more in the sales side, it is understandable if the galleries, in Ubud or in Jakarta, are managed solely by the owners. Should there be a gallery that consults or asks for the assistance of an art observer or critic, usually the relationship is merely incidental in nature. When Andi’s Gallery held the solo exhibition for Jeihan, for example, they asked Jim Supangkat to help choose the works and write an article for the catalogue about the artist.

It can be said, therefore, that the policies of these galleries are determined solely by their owners. Hence it is to be expected that if there are exhibitions in a gallery that show the latest tendency in our art world (such as the “Instalasi 5” exhibition mentioned above, or sculpture exhibitions from unknown sculptors), they are merely accidental and not a part of an integral program of the gallery.

The quality of a gallery, in this case, will depend mainly on how far the owner is ready to keep learning. So far, many gallery owners have been trying to do just that by visiting various galleries and museums in Europe and United States. Agung Rai admits that he usually goes to Europe and United States seven times every year. The tours abroad, however, seem to leave no impact on his collection.

One gallery owner who understands the importance of a curator to choose and arrange the collection in his museum is Rudana. Until 1993, however, he still has not decided who will be the curator of his museum. Gallery owners, who until now also act as the curator of their gallery and museum, find it difficult to choose a curator. The thing is, there are not many who are indeed capable, ones who can be depended on. Many artists offer their help. But one gallery owner says he fears that the artist will only choose works that agree with his or her own style. In terms of curators, therefore, the gallery owners are not totally at fault.

Such is the colors and gravity of galleries in Jakarta to Ubud. Naturally, in the midst of all that, one or two galleries have not been mentioned. These galleries have tried to give room to young, creative artists, it does not matter whether the works of these young artists will sell or not.

In 1988, Galeri Cemeti was established in Yogyakarta, founded by the couple Nindityo Adipurnomo and Mella Jaarsma. It can be said that this is a gallery that creates new tendencies for young artists in Yogyakarta, who exist outside the mainstream of art in Yogyakarta. The first exhibition of Galeri Cemeti in 1988 displayed works of artists

whose creations were indeed different. They, for example, no longer made any distinctions among the arts of painting, sculpting, movie making, graphic arts, or even theatre.

It was different with their senior who also painted and sculpted. These senior artists still built separating walls between the various disciplines of arts—when they painted, they would solely paint, using only the elements of this two-dimensional art. When they sculpted, they used only three-dimensional elements. Those who also created graphic arts will work solely in this realm if they had initially intended to create some graphic arts.

Those younger artists, however, were different. As they initially worked with two-dimensional elements, the works might then evolve into three dimensional works, or vice-versa. They were different from their seniors who started with an initial intention to create a painting, then worked following the process to create a painting, and ended with, indeed, a painting. On the other hand, as these youth started working, in the process they did not think whether they were creating a painting, a sculpture, or a work of graphic arts. Their intention was to create, or probably it is more precise to say that their intention was to make real what it was they wanted to make real, in any possible form.

It is hard to imagine that works like those are accepted by one of the galleries mushrooming in Ubud, for example. Even five years thence, none of their works have appeared in any of the galleries in Ubud.

Actually, Nindit and Mella's way in choosing works to be displayed in Galeri Cemeti is not much smarter than Suteja Neka's way, or those of Rudana or Joseph Suleman, for example. The important thing is, say both Mella and Nindit, "I like the work." Isn't this also what the gallery owners in Ubud had said? And in Jakarta? And in Bandung?

If what is displayed in Galeri Cemeti appears different, that is because what the owners like is different. In this respect, it appears that Nindit and Mella, two young artists born in 1961 and 1960 who deviate from the mainstream of modern Indonesian art, are consequent. Galeri Cemeti not only presents works with new tendencies, but in principle works that they "like." This is proven in 1994, when Galeri Cemeti presented the solo exhibition of Nashar, a painter whom we could not classify as one creating new tendencies in art. Nashar's concept, which according to the artist himself is a non-concept, can still be traced to the concept of Persagi (Persatuan Ahli-ahli Gambar Indonesia, or The Union of Indonesian Painters) motored by Sudjojono: Paintings are the painters' soul revealed.

Galeri Cemeti, which according to Nindit needs around Rp 600 thousand per moth, indeed operates in ways that are different from other similar Indonesian gallery: they put more emphasis on solo exhibitions. The gallery also creates posters, invitations, and other publication methods for the exhibition, but by asking the artist whose works are being exhibited to pay Rp 100.000. The prices of the works in the exhibition are mainly determined by the artist, sometime with Nindit's suggestions if, for example, the price is too high. The gallery will receive 20 per cent of the sales of the works. This way, from 1988 until 1993, there have already been 33 exhibitions held by Galeri Cemeti.

Galeri Cemeti's physical appearance is also much different from Galeri Rudana or Edwin Gallery: it is very simple, consists of two rooms turned into one bigger room for exhibition, plus two rooms where Nindityo works. The rooms are small, only around 25 m². And they still rent the place, too.

In terms of collection, they only have tens of works; some are owned by the artists who did not have the chance to take their works back. Compare this, for example, with what we encounter in Agung Rai Gallery. The latter have seven large rooms, and paintings are hung covering almost all the walls. There are even paintings on the floor, and in one or two rooms, more paintings are piling up. There are thousands of works stored in the collection of the gallery here.

Despite its limitations, Galeri Cemeti brings fresh air to our art world. At least the gallery is quickening the appearance of the young artists who, without galleries that are far from commercial calculations like this, will probably need longer to be able to exhibit their work in public. Nindit and Mella dared to establish the gallery based on simple thought: to provide a space for the younger generation of artists with no capital, no access to sponsors, and who are not yet accepted by the established galleries because their works do not agree with the “taste” of our galleries in general.

With that effort and as both Nindit and Mella keep creatively working, five years after its opening, Galeri Cemeti manages to gather enough money to buy land and build a more suitable gallery—at least they would no longer need to rent houses.

In 1990, Galeri Cemeti was no longer alone. With similar “ideology,” Galeri C-Line was established in Jakarta. Teguh Ostenrik, his founder, is also an artist. There is not only one Galeri C-Line: in Kuta, Bali, there is also another Galeri C-Line, managed by Sandy Ramali. They are indeed collaborating. Most of the programs in the two “sister galleries” are also the same.

Several artists who have exhibited their works in Galeri Cemeti then also display their works in C-Line. Slightly different with Cemeti, C-Line does not ask the artists to pay anything. What if none of the works sells? “Well then [when the exhibition is over], it’s over, just like that,” says Restu Imansari, who daily manages Galeri C-Line in Jakarta. However, says Restu, who is a dancer, almost all artists who have displayed their works in C-Line give one of their works as a repayment of sorts for the gallery, which needs around Rp 1.5 million per month.

In Bandung, in 1992, a group was founded with a studio and a place for an exhibition. This is the Studio R-66, founded by Heyi Ma’mun, also an artist. However, Heyi is reluctant to call Studio R-66 a gallery as according to her the word has commercial connotation.

A gallery or not, Studio R-66 holds exhibitions, and although Heyi is still thinking about the selection criteria, in fact the works displayed are closer to those exhibited in Galeri Cemeti and C-Line. In September 1993, Studio R-66 presented an exhibition called “12 Hours in The Life of Agung Rai The Dancer.” This is an art exhibition that besides presenting pictures is also showing video recording and installation works.

One other gallery that needs to be mentioned due to its quality is Decenta, founded by seven senior artists from the Art Department of Bandung Institute of Technology. In 1973, Decenta was founded with the main goal of introducing graphic arts to the Indonesian public, as the art then was not yet popularly known. Unfortunately, after being active for

several years, Decenta seems to subside and some founders resigned. In 1993, managed by A.D. Pirous, the expert painter-calligrapher, Decenta rises again.

It cannot be denied that the emergence of galleries has to do with the painting boom of the eighties. According to Agus Dermawan, an art observer who wrote about galleries in Indonesia in *Art Link* magazine, Australia, the art boom was triggered by, among others, the exhibition held by Galeri Santi in Jakarta. In 1987, the gallery exhibited the works of several senior painters such as Affandi and Popo Iskandar. At that time, Joseph Suleman, owner of Galeri Santi, thought that the prices of paintings in Indonesia was much too cheap compared to the prices in United States and Europe. Therefore he set the price for a work by Affandi, which was at that time usually sold at Rp 5 million to Rp 6 million, at Rp 20 million.

It was extraordinary. The exhibition held at the lobby of BCA Building on Jalan Thamrin, Central Jakarta, was a success. The works are bought, sold at prices four to five times the usual prices. From then on, the prices of paintings went raging. Not only paintings by well-known painters were sold much higher, but even unknown painters also reaped notable profits. Hence the late Sanento Juliman, an art critic, was worried if raging commercialization and impoverishment of creativity would happen to our art world, as price became the main focus of interest for a lot of people.

An article in the *World and I* magazine, October 1990 edition, told of how works in the seventies no longer sell because the concept art that dominated the art world in the US at that time was more of a concept and document, rather than a work of art that can actually be seen. Only at the end of the seventies, the buying and selling of paintings rose up again and became stable since 1984 when a collector named Charles Saatchi, an owner of an advertising company in London, went shopping for art works.

What might have driven rich Indonesians to an art-buying spree, however, was perhaps what happened in Japan. At the end of the eighties, the value of yen against the dollar became stronger, up to twice its former value. This makes the Japanese find it easy to shop for Western art works. In 1989, according to the article in *World and I*, the Japanese had spent US\$ 6 trillion, around a third of the sales value of art works all over the world during that year.

One fantastic event took place in 1987, when the insurance company Yasuda Kasai bought a painting of sunflowers by Van Gogh, with the price of US\$ 39 million, the highest price at that time. Yasuda Kasai chose the painting as it was created in 1887, the year the insurance company was born. The company then devoted one office room to display the work and the public might visit. The visitors were indeed queuing in a long line. The ones with humorous attitude might remark that people are not coming to see Van Gogh's sunflowers but instead to see the 39 million dollars.

For Yasuda Kasai itself, the money was naturally quite a sum—the reward, however, was also extraordinary. Almost overnight, the name of the company became known all over the world. The price was then was not felt as expensive, compared with what the company needed to do if it wanted the world to know their name.

The tendency in the capitalistic market, which considers paintings as an investment asset, appears to be catching hold in Indonesia. In the West, people buy paintings and sculptures like they do stocks. Nowadays, such belief is slowly entering Indonesia as the Indonesian economy, especially the market, behave more or less as capitalistic.

Edwin Raharjo thus says, what is important for the galleries now to survive, is to make their buyers believe that the value of the works they buy will increase in the years to come. Should this remark be true, the art market in Indonesia seems to be able to survive. In principle no one wants to use his or her money for nothing: the reward may be fame as in the case of Yasuda Kasai, or the hope that the money will return some-folds.

(The essay can be finished with the help of some journalist friends at TEMPO: Putu Fajar in Bali, Asikin and Ahmad Taufik in Bandung, and R. Fadjri in Yogyakarta.)

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