

Guests of Honor, Pendet Dance, and the Stage of Honor: Power Struggles in Indonesian Political Culture

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Abstract

The reception of US President Joe Biden with a Pendet dance performance at the 2022 Bali G20 Summit appears to be an ordinary ceremonial event. However, from a post-structuralist historical perspective, it marks his treatment as a formal guest of honor. This protocol mirrors President Sukarno's state visits in the early 1960s, though Biden was welcomed directly at the airport while Sukarno was received both at the airport and on a public stage of honor in downtown Denpasar. This study traces the historical trajectory of such state receptions, revealing that utilizing a stage of honor has roots spanning the royal era, the Dutch colonial period, and the New Order era, particularly within the Bali Arts Festival (PKB) since 1979. Methodologically, the research relies on oral history, archival studies, and literature reviews. Theoretically, it frames the analysis using Foucault's concepts of discontinuity and power-knowledge relations, postcolonialism, and Bourdieu's practice theory. The study concludes that the stage of honor has undergone a profound functional shift, evolving from a traditional welcoming ritual, political legitimation tool, and tourism commodity into a potent symbol of contemporary political representation.

Keyword: Guests of Honor; Pendet Dance; Dutch Colonial; Soekarno; Suharto

Introduction

On 13 November 2022 at 21:30 WITA, Joe Biden, the president of the United States, arrived in Bali to participate in the G20 Summit, held from 15 to 16 November 2022. Upon disembarking, Biden was greeted by several Pendet dancers, each adorned in predominantly red attire, which, from a political anthropology perspective, can be said to resemble the colors of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) flag, which had achieved political preeminence following Indonesia's 2019 general election. This color was also prominent in the attire of the governor of Bali, who secured victory in the province's 2018 gubernatorial election with the support of the PDIP.

The novelty of this article lies in tracing the transformation of the stage of honor as a technology of power representation from the colonial period to the contemporary era, with the Pendet dance serving as a cultural medium that undergoes continuous functional shifts. Meanwhile, the objective of the research is to analyze the genealogy, discontinuity, and functional transformation of the stage of honor and the Pendet dance within Indonesian political culture. The significant connections between the Pendet dance and modern politics render the historical evolution and transformation of the Balinese tradition of welcoming distinguished guests an intriguing subject for research.

Employing the historical discontinuity technique Foucault (1972) this phenomenon is traced back to its historical origins to analyze its trajectory, pinpointing ruptures, thresholds, coincidences, fractures, and transformations. In conjunction with this method, Foucault's theory of power-knowledge relations Foucault (1980) is employed to elucidate the concealed impacts of the fundamental power mechanisms. The historical lineage of Biden's welcoming ceremony originates from President Soekarno's

receptions in Bali during the early 1960s: on 25 February 1960 for Prime Minister of the Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev (document: nst.320/60), President of Czechoslovakia Antonín Novotný on 16 January 1963 (document: nst.22/1963), Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shaoqi on 18 April 1963 (document: nst.351/63), and President of the Federal Republic of Germany Heinrich Lübke on 1 November 1963 (document: nst.919/63). During each of his visits, Sukarno and his guests sat on chairs atop a two-meter-high stage of honor, where Pendet dancers welcomed their arrival.

This ceremonial formality appears to have been designed not only to honor President Sukarno but also to please those who held the exclusive power to speak on behalf of Bali. The objective was to strengthen the position of these stakeholders within the Balinese provincial government. The involvement of the Pendet dancers in the welcoming dance instilled a sense of pride and satisfaction, as they had the opportunity to perform and honor President Sukarno on behalf of their respective *banjars* (local neighborhoods).

Furthermore, this involvement provided them with an opportunity to travel to Denpasar, coastal city adjacent to Sanur, which has been known as a prominent tourist destination since the colonial era (McPhee 1990; in Vickers, 2011). On the other hand, these Pendet dancers were not 'blank slates'; they had already been exposed to oral memories of previous rituals welcoming honored guests during the Dutch colonial period (Interview with Rumanis, January 15, 2015). The Pendet dance and the stage of honor, considered a singular entity, have remained largely unexplored by Balinese historians like (Vickers, 1989; Picard, 1996; Robinson, 1995; and Nordholt, 1996).

Vickers demonstrated that the perception of Bali as a tranquil, apolitical, and peace-loving paradise was an image fabricated by the Dutch throughout the colonial period. Picard (1996) observed that, during the 1950s, the Pendet dance was performed to greet Soekarno and his esteemed guests at the airport; however, he did not reference the stage of honor in Denpasar. Additionally, Picard examined the emergence of the tourism sector and its effects on Balinese culture and society. He did not explore the creative processes by which the Balinese people enhanced the tourism regions established during the colonial period.

These individuals employed their distinct habitus and capital to establish specific inclinations in perception, emotion, action, and cognition within the domain of tourism (Harker, Maheer and Wilkes, 1990; Bourdieu, 1993; Vickers, 2011). Nordholt (1996) briefly addressed the 1918 visit of Governor-General Johan Paul van Limburg Stirum in relation to the Dutch colonial government's attempts to standardize South Bali's culture, although he omitted any reference to the stage of honor. Nordholt merely stated that the governor-general received a grand reception in front of the official residence of the assistant resident of Bali and Lombok.

Similar to other Western authors, Robinson (1995) did not employ the concept of honor as a framework to elucidate how individuals in positions of authority articulated on behalf of Bali in their attempts to sway President Suharto's decisions. Robinson exhibited an image of Suharto attired in Balinese garments during his visit to the Besakih Temple in Karangasem, East Bali. Given that this image served solely as an illustration, it is reasonable to conclude that Robinson did not recognize this staging as a component of a strategy, tactic, or maneuver for representing Bali and regulating President Suharto's actions. A historical examination of political culture is necessary to delineate the trajectory of the aforementioned occurrence, which is largely embraced by the Indonesian populace: the reception of Joe Biden with the Pendet dance.

Method

This study is a historical inquiry that adopts a postmodern historical approach, heavily supported by post-structuralist theories, particularly from Foucault and Bourdieu. The data sources consist of both oral and written data. The informant selection technique involved locating a number of women who were empirically involved in welcoming President Sukarno in the early 1960s. This process was conducted using a key informant whose grandmother happened to be one of the women involved in the event. From the information provided by the grandmother, the names of other surviving dancers were subsequently identified. Interviews were then conducted using an unstructured interview method, allowing the interviewer the freedom to query the sources without a standardized questionnaire. Meanwhile, data related to the transformation of the Pendet dance and the stage of honor during the reception of American President Ronald Reagan were gathered by interviewing the choreographer involved in that event. The research instruments utilized observation and documentation techniques. Observations were carried out to evaluate whether the health conditions of the former Pendet dancers still permitted them to serve as viable informants. Documentation served as a recording guideline to track and gather data from archives or written records available in local and national libraries. Furthermore, the data collection technique involved identifying, locating, and gathering relevant sources (heuristics) using two main approaches: literature studies and fieldwork. The final stage, data analysis, involved processing raw sources into historical facts, which were then synthesized into a historical narrative using the concepts within post-structuralist theories as the analytical framework.

Results and Discussion

This research is guided by concepts embedded within postcolonial theory to analyze the data gathered in the field. Ridwan et al., (2010) states that the term post in 'postcolonial' should be interpreted as meaning beyond, not after, which presupposes recognition of as well as efforts to overcome the continuing effects of colonialism. Per this understanding, this study views postcolonialism not as something that comes after colonialism and signifies its death but more loosely as the presence or absence of resistance to colonial domination and its legacy on the stage of honor.

Key in the transformation of the stage of honor, its forms and functions, is the concept of mimicry an important part of postcolonial theory (Ridwan et al., 2010). Mimicry (from the word mimic; admiring and resisting at the same time) can be used, for example, to gain insight into the ambivalent attitudes of the Balinese people in the post-independence era towards the practices of domination prevalent during the Dutch colonial era. Necessary here are the concepts contained within Foucault's theory of power-knowledge relations (Foucault, 1980; Haryatmoko, 2016; Kebung 2002). Using various references, a proposition has been found that requires discussion:

Individuals are not motivated by the values and norms they profess but compromise with the discourse developed by those who have the special authority to speak. In every discourse, there is knowledge considered as truth to be used as power in its understanding as a strategy, technique, tactic, and maneuver to discipline bodies to be obedient and useful to the truth hidden within it. The researcher's task is to expose the truth and the hidden effects of power in every discourse until they embarrass themselves because the neatly concealed domination behind the knowledge that shapes it is unveiled vulgarly.

The concepts embedded within Bourdieu's theory are also crucial to use as an analytical tool. The emphasis on the importance of Bourdieu's theory Bourdieu (1993); Harker, Mahar and Wilkes (1990) stems from the fact that Foucault's theory does not

clearly and explicitly explain how the influence of power enters into bodily dispositions—something that can be seen more clearly in Bourdieu's work. Therefore, the concepts ingrained in Bourdieu's theory can assist in identifying data related to practices, which serve as the foundation for the formation of habitus and capital (resources), both collective and individual.

Bourdieu's concepts facilitate the researcher's efforts to uncover data on why the Balinese people, particularly the commoners, tend to be compliant and useful to those who possess the exclusive power to speak on behalf of their respective *banjars*. The formation of habitus in this manner is the result of learning through parenting, play activities, and broader societal education. This learning occurs subtly, unconsciously, and appears as a natural part of life, as if it were inherent or given by nature. Habitus can also be described as the cultural unconsciousness, the influence of history that is unconsciously considered natural (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990).

A combination of Foucault's power-knowledge relations theory and Bourdieu's theory of habitus is thus crucial in this study. In the Foucauldian approach, knowledge forms a discourse (language in action) that provides the basis for a person's actions. As such, every discourse unites with knowledge and has a relationship with the power hidden behind it, which is a product of the practice of power. The power referred to by Foucault is plural, growing from various peripheral spaces; it is not centralised, but everywhere (Piliang, 2004). Utilizing the aforementioned theoretical framework facilitates the analysis and discussion of the research findings, which are elaborated below.

1. Balinese Obedience to Power

Each individual may experience different parenting processes and game-playing activities according to the choices, tastes or subjectivity of their respective caregivers, but the way people think, say and act will be different from one another. Balinese people collectively can get the same education in a broad sense, but they are still different individuals. This difference occurs because after interacting with the surrounding environment when they are eight years old and above, the Balinese are not only stuffed with obligations and prohibitions based on the traditions and mythic beliefs of their respective families, but also education in a broad sense that they get in society, such as in the *banjar* environment, traditional villages, schools, and workplaces.

Unlike Balinese males, obedience in Balinese females in ancient times was formed from the age of six or seven. At that age they started working, going to the market with their mother, carrying heavy loads on their heads or doing things according to their business instincts Cock-Wheatley, in (Vickers, 2012). In the learning process, they may have different capital (resources), according to their daily habits, but due to the unconscious influence of obligations and prohibitions, the Balinese have the same interpretation about *dewa* (gods), *batara*, and *kala* (evil spirits).

They believe that *dewa* and *batara* will be able to drive away *kala* and bring prosperity to the family. Therefore traditional ceremonies must be performed regularly. Belief in *betara*, *dewa*, and *kala* has a significant role in shaping people's obedience to power in whatever form it is manifested. *Dewa* and *batara* are two slightly confusing and overlapping concepts. Both are often interpreted as a manifestation (embodiment) of *Hyang Widhi* (God), but specifically for *batara* they are also equated with holy spirits which are sometimes anonymous, including the designation for ancestral spirits that have been purified and placed in one of the family worship altars, which must be worshiped.

And given an offering. Obedience to the *dewa* and *batara* is manifested by giving various kinds of offerings, including various artistic creations so that they are always protected from the disturbances of the evil spirits (*kala*), so that some people say all

Balinese are artists (Covarrubias, 1937; in Vickers, 2012). At the same time, the Balinese are also obliged to maintain harmony with *pemangku* (at the local level) and *pedanda* (at a higher level). The Balinese are also obliged to comply with restrictions, including not being able to leave the house during the day and during the transition from dusk to night (Friederich, 1959; in Vickers, 2012).

Therefore, the formation of social order in Balinese society is not solely due to the policies of a regime in formulating and manifesting power in the practice of people's lives, but it is also due to the habitus of obedience that has been ingrained in them. On the other hand, the dialectical relationship between collective thought and social reality makes the Balinese always compromise with discourse McCullagh (2004) developed by people who have the power to speak at the village level, both the traditional villages and official villages (Warren, 1991).

However, what stands out most prominently is the compliance of the common people toward individuals who possess the exclusive power to speak on behalf of the *banjar*. Prior to the advent of the crematorium-model *ngaben* (cremation ritual) seen today, the compliance of ordinary folk toward those with the distinct power to speak at the *banjar* level was absolute. Not a single commoner dared to absent themselves when their labor was required for collective activities carried out in the name of the *banjar*. In several villages, absence from collective *banjar* activities was often penalized with a monetary fine. Repeated acts of defiance could even result in sanctions such as *kasepekang* (social ostracization) or the revocation of their recognition as a member of the *banjar*.

The sanction most feared by the Balinese, particularly among ordinary folk both men and women occurs when a family member passes away. Commoners who maintain good standing with the *banjar* will receive standard customary services. However, this is not the case for individuals who have conflicts with the *banjar*; they will experience constant anxiety during the *ngaben* (cremation) ceremony. Under normal conditions, the ritual tower (*wadah* or *bade*) where the corpse is placed would be carried to the cemetery peacefully by the *banjar* villagers while singing mournful songs. Yet, for those who had issues with the *banjar* during their lifetime, their families will face numerous challenges.

For instance, villagers might douse the *bade* with sewage water, shake it violently from side to side and up and down, abandon it in the middle of the street, or divert it away from the direction of the cemetery. On this basis, it is understandable that Dubuis Kraan (1985); in Vickers (2012) notes that within the *ngaben* ceremony, there is shock, horror, and awe. Driven by this habitus of compliance, if a policy reflects the interests of the customary *banjar* and official institutions, it will inevitably be realized. This includes participating in the Pendet Dance performance on the stage of honor during the Sukarno era, as such participation would bring honor to the name of their respective *banjars* (Interview with Sardi, January 15, 2015).

2. Pendet Dancers Welcoming Soekarno

Together with the Rejang, Sanghyang, and Baris Ceremony dances, Pendet is included in the *Bebali* (sacred) dance category, performed to welcome the coming of the gods. Its function is also to accompany ceremonies, both in temples and in family shrines. Tari Pendet is performed in temples by dancers carrying flowers, rice, and incense as a tribute to the deities (Picard, 1996). Along with several other dances such as *Brutuk*, *Sanghyang Dedari*, *Rejang*, *Baris Gede*, *Prosesi*, *Gabor*, *Memendet*, and *Baris Pendet*, it belongs to a category of dances intended to invite the presence of the gods during a ritual (Bandem and de Boer, 2004). The *Sanghyang Dedari* dance, for instance which is one of the 24 genres of *Sang Hyang* dance utilizes pre-pubescent girls in a state of possession as

mediums for the presence of the Divine Goddess (Bandem and de Boer, 2004). In Ubud during the early 1970s, the performance of the *Sanghyang Dedari* dance was triggered by a crisis within the community, such as an outbreak of disease or a problem requiring an immediate solution.

Approximately one month prior to the day of the ceremony, the *pemangku* (low-ranking priests who lead temple rituals) would enter a trance and choose two pre-pubescent village girls who had never danced before. From that moment on, the two girls were trained to enter a trance state by singing and inhaling incense smoke (Hilbery, 1975). On the day of the ceremony, both girls wore white dresses with white and gold-painted sashes. Frangipani flowers were tied around their heads as adornments. The entire audience sat; no one was permitted to stand. The *kulkul* (wooden slit-drum) beat at a very slow rhythm.

The women chanted *kidung* (sacred hymns), and there was no light except for a small lamp held by the priest. The two girls' eyes were closed, and their bodies swayed gently. The *pemangku* instructed them to take flowers from their headpieces and sprinkle holy water upon themselves. This incense-smoking process lasted for over an hour (Hilbery, 1975). Suddenly, the two girls rose with fans in their hands. The crowd that had gathered earlier parted to open a narrow path for them to walk toward two mat-covered chairs placed on the ground.

As they walked, the two girls danced gracefully, waving their fans and moving with closed eyes through the narrow passage to their seats. Their attendants sat around them expectantly. Afterward, the ritual continued with a procession to a holy spring located quite a distance from the temple site. For safety, the girls were immediately secured and lifted onto shoulders. Upon returning to the temple, as the gamelan began, the two chosen girls rose and started to dance. Initially, they performed only simple steps, yet somehow they remained in perfect unison; no one could tell who was leading. Their eyes remained closed the entire time, but both danced with identical steps in complete harmony (Hilbery, 1975).

The *Sang Hyang Dedari* dance differs from the sacred Pendet dance. The sacred Pendet dance is performed during *piodalan* (temple anniversaries), which occur every 210 days. This dance is performed in the innermost courtyard of a temple. Its performance is supported by the *pancagita* (the five sacred sounds: the ringing of the priest's bell, mantras, gamelan, *kidung*, and the sounding of the *kulkul*). There is no incense-smoking process as in the *Sanghyang Dedari* dance, but the dancers frequently enter a trance. The number of dancers ranges from 8 to 10 people, and can even be more.

While in a trance, the dancers are in a semi-conscious state and perform improvised movements. This is followed by the Baris Pendet dance, performed by the *pemangku* (priests) or villagers wishing to present a dance offering. The *Sang Hyang Dedari* dance differs from the sacred *Pendet* dance. The sacred *Pendet* dance is performed during *piodalan* (temple anniversaries), which occur every 210 days. This dance is performed in the innermost courtyard of a temple. Its performance is supported by the *pancagita* (the five sacred sounds: the ringing of the priest's bell, mantras, gamelan, *kidung*, and the sounding of the *kulkul*).

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social lives (Interview with I Made Bandem, January 20, 2019). *Pendet* dancers are not limited to young girls; adolescents are also allowed to participate. In fact, all members of the *banjar* may take part. If they do not join the dance, residents simply present offerings and participate in the rest of the ceremonial proceedings (Interview with I Made Dibia, January 10, 2016).

In 1950, I Wayan Rindi and Ni Ketut Reneng adopted the *Pendet* dance as the *Bebalihan* (entertainment) dance. The *Bebalihan* dance is one of three genres of Balinese dance whose function is solely for entertainment. The other two genres are the *Wali* dance, which is sacred, and the *Bebali* dance, which is reserved specifically for ceremonial purposes (Bandem and deBoer, 2004). Gradually, *Pendet* developed into a guest welcoming dance (*bebalihan* dance). It was widely developed in Bali with its variants as seen in Kerambitan village, which is called Tabanan *Pendet* Dance. This dance was performed to welcome President Soekarno visiting Bali (Interview with Arwini, January 15, 2015).

The other three districts are Penarukan, Klanting, and Tista. Kerambitan is one of the four districts in the Tabanan region. The Kerambitan District includes the villages of Samsam and Kukuh. In Kerambitan, there are two centers of political power at the *punggawa* level, relics from the pre-colonial era, namely Puri Anyar and Puri Gede, which are the centers of arts in the district (Interview with Sardi, Januari 15, 2015). The fact that Kerambitan district was selected as a supplier of *Pendet* dancers cannot be separated from the role of the two twin brothers from Puri Anyar who had strategic positions in the local government of Bali.

They were Anak Agung Oka Gunada and Anak Agung Rai Giri Gunadi. Both of them had good relationship with the Governor of Bali Sutedja Wijaya (2019) and were often assigned to prepare welcoming ceremonies for President Sukarno and other state guests (Interview with Arwini, January 15, 2015). The selection of the dancers was entrusted to the *bendesa* [village head], formerly called the district head. He searched, selected, and determined who would represent his village. Of one hundred people selected, there were two people from Banjar Pangkung Karung. Not all of them were students.

There were also those who did not finish elementary school, but they could read and write. Even though it was not a requirement, a dancer would feel uncomfortable if she could not read and write (Interview with Rumanis, January 15, 2015). The feeling of discomfort also made quite a number of girls who were much more beautiful did not join the group welcoming Sukarno. In the end, only people who had high self-confidence joined the group, even though their faces were below the standard of beauty (Interview with Rumanis, January 15, 2015)

Courage was not enough. Dancing dresses had to be provided. They had to be in uniform, which includes yellow *kamen* [long cloth] like the color of *aasan sandat* [ylang-ylang flowers], yellow shawl, yellow *prada*, *ngoncer* [soaring] flowers. The total price was worth fifty kilograms of rice. That is why some dancers borrowed or got help from other parties, one of whom was Sardi. She received help for the dress because she was willing to accompany Rumanis. Rumanis was eager to participate, but she had to be with Sardi. Both of them happened to be relatives (Interview with Sardi, January 15, 2015).

Apart from Rumanis and Sardi, there were a hundred and fifty people who were interested to join. The dancing practice took place on the side of the road, right in front of the *jaba* (outer part) of Puri Jero Anyar Kerambitan, forming three lines. All the trainers were male. The training lasted for one month. The distance between Banjar Pangkung Karung and Puri Jero Anyar Kerambitan was about five kilometers. Participants whose homes were far from the practice site received shuttle service using taxis. The practice

started at around three o'clock in the afternoon, lasted for two hours (Interview with Sardi, January 15, 2015). There were quite a number of participants who could not dance Pendet yet, so they had to learn it from the beginning. Those who had already mastered this dance came from the aristocratic circle of Puri Anyar Kerambitan. Most of them were Legong dancers (Hobart, 2007; Davies 2006, Davies 2008, Vickers, 2009). Even though some could not yet perform the Pendet dance, a relatively large number of people still wished to participate.

This cannot be separated from the habitus of compliance toward individuals holding exclusive power on behalf of the *banjar* and the district, which had become deeply ingrained within the common folk, as explained above. A day before their departure, the dancers were busy preparing themselves. They were given make-up by trained people. Soot was used to shape the eyebrows. The material was made from the smoke of a kerosene lamp taken with the fronds of a banana tree coated with coconut oil. Foundation powder was made by mixing water and powder. The color of the lipstick was from red Japanese paper (Interview with Arwini, January 15, 2015).

Before leaving, the dancers first had breakfast at their respective homes, then they were picked up by Gita Bali Bus. There were five buses, each of which accommodated between twenty and twenty five people. In terms of appearance, there was a difference between the dancers of the aristocratic environment and of the commoners. The most striking difference was in their footwear. Dancers from the nobility wore sandals, while those from the commoners were barefooted (Interview with Sardi, January 15, 2015). At 8:00 AM, the bus departed from *Pangkung Karung*. Upon arriving in Denpasar at around 10:00 AM, they were dropped off at the Bali Hotel Pavilion.

At about 10.00 AM, the group of dancers arrived in Denpasar, and they were dropped off at the front of Bali Hotel Hall. They were served with a glass of sweet tea. As soon as they got information that President Soekarno had arrived, the dancers immediately marched to the south, turning left for about 15 meters. Arriving at the reception location, the sound of the gamelan was heard. Soekarno, the state guests, and other important officials were already seated on the stage of honor and the spectators were crowded near the stage, with a distance a road wide apart, guarded by the police (Interview with Rumanis, January 15, 2015).

Ten selected dancers ascended to the stage of honor via a ladder made of bamboo. There were two ladders on the left and right side of the stage. Their job was to welcome by spraying flowers. At first the flowers were sprinkled to the president, then to all the distinguished guests sitting on the stage of honor. Then the dancers cleaned Soekarno's clothes by taking the flowers still sticking to his clothes. After completing their duties, they returned to their original line to rejoin the other dancers. Then they continued dancing and sprinkled flowers under the stage of honor facing Soekarno. Once the first group finished, the second group followed, and finally the third (Interview with Rumanis, January 15, 2015).

After that, Sukarno gave a speech. The dancers returned to the Pendopo Bali Hotel, sitting around drinking tea. As soon as Sukarno finished his speech, ten selected dancers stepped onto the stage of honor. His job was to sprinkle flowers on Sukarno and his entourage, following the sound of the gamelan. One by one, the dancers descended from the stage of honor, joining their fellow dancers. They returned to the Pendopo Bali Hotel, but they could also get on the bus or watch the traditional parade until the end of the event. The traditional parade began with lines of school children carrying red and white paper flags, followed by a drum band player, and followed by a parade depicting a life cycle in Balinese tradition, starting from the baby in the womb, birth, *telung bulanan* (welcoming the age of 105 days), *otonan* (welcoming the age of 210 days), *mesangih*

(tooth-cutting ceremony), marriage, entering old age, and death. Then it was followed by Legong and Prembon dance performances (Interview with Rumanis, January 15, 2015). The historical trajectory of welcoming guests during Soekarno era can be searched and found during the Dutch colonial era when welcoming the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies to Bali.

3. The Stage of Honor in the Dutch Colonial Era

The Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies visit to Bali was first made by Johan Paul van Limburg Stirum in 1918. He was welcomed in Singaraja, the capital city of Buleleng, where Buleleng Kingdom stood. Buleleng Kingdom was conquered by the Dutch in 1849 (Colonial Verslag 1850; The Bali-Dutch Wars, 1846-1849 Dirk Teeuwen MSc, Holland). The Governor General was welcomed with great fanfare. The spectators crowded to see the Governor General's directly, some even crossed the border line. The police even used violence, punches and kicks to control the masses (Bali Adnjaya, April 11, 1925).

At the official residence of the Resident of Bali and Lombok, in front of regional officials and invited guests, *pedanda* (Shiva priest) prayed and made offerings to welcome the Governor General. Welcome greetings were read from a lontar translated by the head of the local government, De Kat. In his prayer, among other things, he paid tribute to the Governor General, who was full of wisdom and ruled over all the countries in the Dutch East Indies as an invincible commander-in-chief. On behalf of Sedahan Agung, especially the Punggawa and all those glorified, all the people of Bali, *pedanda* welcomed the Governor General (De Sumatra Post, 25/7/1918).

In Denpasar the Governor General's welcoming ceremony took place in front of the official residence of the Bali and Lombok Assistant Resident, the same place as Sukarno's welcoming ceremony. A *pedanda* was given the opportunity to deliver a speech. He said that this memorable event made the Balinese feel as if Batara Mahadéwa, the ruler of Besakih Temple had descended from the peak of Mount Agung and bestowed upon them with immense joy and pleasure. It felt like receiving holy water. As if with a breath of his majesty, the Governor General bestowed new life on the people of Bali (Bali Adnjana, March 11, 1925).

This fact is also revealed in Nordholt (1996), as mentioned above. Nordholt (1996) doubted the Governor General's statement as if he had been Batara Mahadéwa. He considered it to be the result of carefully designed plans fabricated by the Dutch colonial government. The aim was to cover up the fact that the Governor General was no longer able to give new life, but the visit gave the impression of a new policy towards Bali. They were ripening the idea that the colonial government's control of Bali would be more secured if the old royal dynasty was revived.

The idea came up because the Governor General received a report that the Dutch colonial government had not been formed yet in Bali. The controllers did not know what was happening in their respective areas. They were preoccupied with administrative work, so they did not know that the district heads (*punggawa*) were not as reliable as the previous officials. Many of them were young and Western educated, but they were repeatedly transferred for new positions or relocated to other regions. If this condition continued, the Dutch colonial government was worried that it would lose control of its apparatus.

They did not want the experience in Java to be repeated in Bali. In Java, such conditions and situations had given birth to large-scale political mobilization carried out by political parties and protest movements among the masses (Nordholt, 1996). Nordholt's statement contradicts the reality. It seems that the courtiers of Singaraja

grasped the motive behind the Governor General's visit. They seemed worried about losing their positions. This tendency generally applies to officials, so that it can be said that the assumption of the Governor General as Batara Mahadéwa was not a systematic manipulation by the Dutch colonial government, but a form of power which functioned as a strategy, tactic, technique and maneuver by people who had the power to speak on behalf of Bali at that time.

The aim was to discipline the governor-general's body, the historical similarity of which can be found in welcoming Sukarno, as described above. Sukarno was highly respected, not only because his mother was from Bali, he also contributed to helping the Balinese fight for the status of Hinduism, so that Hinduism could be recognized as a legal religion in the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (KAGRI) (Picard, 2011). Sukarno is also believed to be a figure full of miracles, so that he was positioned as the reincarnation of Vishnu, the god of rain. To Cindy Adam, Sukarno said, even though he came in the dry season, the Balinese associated it with rain (Adams, 1966).

Some people even dared to testify that once while Sukarno was in Bali, the weather was always cloudy and rainy. However, the rain did not fall on the road Sukarno was going to pass. The entourage and procession which were only about 20 meters away from the rain did not get wet (Interview with Dibia, Januari 10, 2016). Unlike Sukarno, who was only personified as Dewa Wisnu (the embodiment of God as the guardian god), Governor General Dirk Fock was considered the personification of *Sang Hyang Widhi* (God), the Trinity (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, creator, preserver and destroyer) both in the universe and in the eternal life.

Such respect indicated a higher level of anxiety for the courtiers at that time compared to the time of Van Sitirum's visit in 1918. The courtiers of Singaraja also provided the best service to Governor General Dirk Fock. On the road that would be passed, young women (girls) were required to stand on the side of the road carrying *canang* (offerings in the form of flower arrangements) (Bali Adnjana, March, 10, 1925). The facts above show that elements of myth and legend are integrated into the history of Indonesian political culture.

In Serat Pararaton, for example, Ken Arok, positioned as the ancestor of the Javanese kings (Singasari and Majapahit), is believed to be a descendant of Lord Brahma. There were also previous kings who were said to represent Lord Shiva and Vishnu descending from heaven to rule the earth. The term Ken Arok as a representation of Lord Brahma is associated with the magic he had and extraordinary qualities as a human being (Makin, 2016). The knowledge hidden in the legend of the king was captured by people who had the power to speak on behalf of Bali to be used as power which functioned as strategies, tactics, techniques and maneuvers to discipline the Governor General's body.

This was revealed in the individual facts of the controllers and courtiers. Together with the controller, the *punggawa* built or renovated everything he deemed necessary, including the condition of the road that would be passed by Governor General Dirk Fock (Bali Adnjana, 10 Mar 1925). Temples were also renovated, for example the Dalem Temple in Buleleng, which was planned to become one of the objects of the Governor General's visit (Bali Adnjana, March 20, 1925). On April 9, 1925, upon the arrival of Governor General Dirk Fock, hundreds of Dutch flags were hoisted along the way.

Upon arriving at Dangan Peken Village, Singaraja, the Governor General was welcomed by thousands of people holding spears and Balinese cloth umbrellas. Upon arriving at the Bali and Lombok Resident office, Dirk Fock was welcomed by a clergyman, Pedanda Putu Gria, a member of Raad Kerta Singaraja. Welcome greetings were read in Balinese taken from a lontar whose cover is made of engraved silver. The greetings, which were the expressions of welcome and joy of the Balinese people, were

translated into Dutch by the controller (Bali Adnjana, April 11, 1925). In accordance with the schedule, the Governor General visited Tejakula Village, via Banyuning, Penarukan, Sangsit Village, and so on. Arriving at *Pesanggrahan* (the resting place for Dutch officials), near Pancoran Village, Singaraja, Governor General Dirk Fock was welcomed by a line of little girls dressed in gold, demonstrating their tradition and religion. When Dirk Fock entered the Guesthouse, the girls remained standing in their respective places (according to the order given earlier by the courtier), even though the sun was getting hotter.

They just sat down to take shelter after they were told to do so by an official. As soon as Governor General Dirk Fock left the Guesthouse, the girls returned to their previous position (Bali Adnjana, April 11, 1925). In the afternoon, the Governor General's entourage returned to the city of Singaraja (Bali Adnjana, April 11, 1925). Governor General Dirk Fock also visited Pura Dalem Singaraja, where he was welcomed by adult women. They demonstrated ways to perform religious rituals such as *makidung* (singing poetry in Balinese or Central Javanese). It was also demonstrated how Balinese women wore golden clothes.

The performers were girls, two of whom were teenagers. At Munduk Village, Governor General Dirk Fock was welcomed by several dozen teenaged girls dressed in gold, standing in orderly lines. Next, the Governor General headed to the Craft House, where he was given various kinds of handicrafts from the Balinese people. After arriving back at the residency office, in the evening, the Governor General received guests who had been invited earlier (Bali Adnjana, April 11, 1925). Governor General Dirk Fock was treated the same during his visit to South Bali from 11 to 14 April 1925.

In South Bali, Badung, Tabanan, and Klungkung were the three kingdoms that were conquered by the Dutch through wars in 1906 and 1908 (Col, 1914). In Bangli, the Governor General was welcomed with great enthusiasm, as could be seen from the gifts he received. In Denpasar, the Governor General was picked up by the controller and staff and his entourage with a festive ceremony. The members of welcoming team from Tabanan who had already been in Denpasar, wearing their traditional attire, had to go home because their presence was not listed in the program, despite the fact that they came to Denpasar because of the Tabanan Controller's order.

At 6 pm Governor General Dirk Fock was welcomed with a *maped* program (traditional parade), as an insinuation made by Denpasar Punggawa to the Governor General. The procession was made unorderly as if no one coordinated it. The participants walked freely, as they wished. After that *adrah* procession, a typical Islamic art, appeared (Bali Adnjana, April 20, 1925). In the border areas of Klungkung and Karangasem, hundreds of people stood in an orderly manner while holding tricolor flags and spears to welcome the Governor General.

In every village a *penjor* (a piece of bamboo, decorated with a symbol of elements of the universe, which was used when celebrating holy days) was erected. Before entering the city of Karangasem, a number of children dressed as soldiers stood up waving flags as a sign of honor to welcome the Governor General. In front of the Karangasem Palace, an ornate gate was built. All the way from the outer door to the palace where the banquet was being held stood a woman dressed in gold. Inside the palace, a number of carpenters, gold, weavers and so on demonstrated their skills (Bali Adnjana, April 20, 1925). The welcome ceremony was given by the children of *Stedehouder* (Wali) Karangasem, aged around 7-8 years. After both parties delivered speeches, Governor General Dirk Fock returned to Denpasar. At 6 pm Governor General Dirk Fock paid a visit to the Pura Museum (now the Bali Museum), in Denpasar. After that, he visited the square to watch various performances such as Legong and Barong Bandem and DeBoer (1981), played in

the open field, but he did not watch it to the end because of technical problems with lighting (Bali Adnjana, April 20, 1925). On the way to Tirta Empul Temple via Pejeng Village, Governor General Dirk Fock was greeted by a number of women (Panggar Ayu) and spear and flag bearers standing on the sides of the road holding up offerings. Next, the Governor General headed to Pejeng Village, then to Gianyar.

At this place Governor General Dirk Fock was greeted with cannon shots, picked up by the committee and then escorted into the palace. On the outermost courtyard within the palace grounds, several *pedandas* (brahmin priests) performed *maweda* (reciting Vedic mantras). In the inner courtyard of the palace, where the event was held, a number of weavers, carvers and other artists demonstrated their skills. Governor General Dirk Fock was entertained in a Balinese-style building, full of carvings and gilded with gold prada (Bali Adnjana, April 20, 1925). In Ubud, which was included in the Gianyar region Col (1914); MacRae (1997); Hilbery (1979), Dirk Fock was welcomed by the local courtiers with their families and servants, and he was immediately escorted to *pamerajan* (the family's temple). In a *bale piasan* (where the priests offer prayers) there were table chairs and other items to entertain the Governor General (Bali Adnjana, April 20, 1925). The Governor General Dirk Fock's visit to a number of former kingdoms confirmed the colonial government to reintroduce eight representatives of the old dynasties as state administrators in Bali, which was implemented in 1938 (Nordholt, 1996).

During that period, social organizations were allowed to emerge and develop in Bali. At the same time, nationalism was growing increasingly radical in Java. The Balinese took advantage of this opportunity not to promote national awareness, but instead, they used it as a medium to show their respective self-identities and social groups, as seen from the emergence of caste polemics in North Bali (Bagus, 1969, 1975; Agung, 2001; Dwipayana, 2004). In 1935, it was the turn of Governor General B.C. de Jonge to visit Bali. The welcoming procedure was revealed when visiting Puri Gianyar. He was officially welcomed by the King of Gianyar (Gde Agung, 1993). Then Governor General Tjarda Strakenborg Stachhouwer visited Bali in 1937. He was also officially welcomed by the King of Gianyar.

By the end of his rule in Indonesia, the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies took time to visit Bali. During that period, from 1928 to the 1930s, the Dutch colonial government was carrying out a process of balinization to return Bali to its perfect state. The process began with the construction of Gĕdong Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk (September 1928) to save lontar manuscripts (*Bhāwanāgara, proefnummer*, 1931). Bali Museum was also established to save archaeological artifacts. In 1938 *Baliseering* emerged to practice the balinization process in the field of education, which later became the foundation for the birth of *Ajeg Bali* movement in the history of political culture in subsequent periods as revealed in (Nordholt, 2007; and Wijaya, 2004).

4. Stage of Honor During the Suharto Era

Mainstream journalists during the New Order era merely reported that Suharto and his entourage arrived in Bali on November 26, 1967, at exactly 9:00 AM, where they were welcomed by Commander Brigadier General Soekertijo, Governor Soekarmen, other members of the Regional Leadership Coordination Council (Muspida), and invited guests (Wijaya, 2018). Along the road leading to Besakih Temple, it was clear that the public enthusiastically welcomed his arrival. In fact, along every village road he passed, people crowded together while shouting the slogans 'merdeka' (freedom) and 'ampera' (the mandate of the people's suffering). As he was about to enter the temple courtyard, crowds of people dressed in diverse traditional attire packed the area to welcome his arrival, accompanied by the beautiful sounds of the gamelan.

Suharto did not hesitate to alter his appearance by wearing full Balinese traditional attire, complete with a kris dagger tucked into his waist. Similarly, his wife also wore traditional clothing, just like a Balinese woman. Accompanied by the Regent of Karangasem, Anak Agung Gede Karang, Suharto and his entourage witnessed the *peed*-a traditional procession featuring an array of diverse and colorful offerings. This parade involved communities from the sub-districts of Rendang, Manggis, Bebandem (Bungaya Village), Karangasem Town (Asak), as well as Gianyar and Bangli Regencies.

Following the traditional procession, a collective prayer was held at the Penataran of Besakih Temple, attended not only by Hindu residents from the Karangasem Regency but also from almost all over Bali. Suharto and his wife were seen sitting in the front row, and they even prayed along to the sound of the priest's bell and mantras. Afterward, the *mejaya-jaya* ceremony was conducted. Suharto was then sprinkled with holy water by Shiva-Buddha priests for his personal safety, as well as for the safety of the nation and the state.

The next event clearly revealed its intersection with the welcoming of colonial governor-generals there was always a practice of bodily disciplining embedded within it. Those holding exclusive power on behalf of Bali wished to apply the historical precedents of welcoming Dutch East Indies Governor-Generals and Sukarno to Suharto as well, but this was rejected. The rejection was led by a student named Mahar Effendy J.S. Mahar did not want Indonesia to become a kind of kingdom with a thousand and one deification ceremonies, sacred figures, sacred symbols and mottos and all kinds of amulets like in Sukarno's era.

Sukarno had made people accustomed to superstitions and myths, as seen in Bali. Sukarno was positioned as the reincarnation of a god. Now they thought that they had lost the figure of Sukarno, but there was a replacement, a simple and humble general. Suharto won the great war against the totality of Sukarno and quietly but surely took over the power (Suluh Marhaen, Januari 29, 1968). Mahar questioned why the tradition during Sukarno era was applied to Suharto? This question needed to be asked because Sukarno was not Suharto. Mahar screamed in his heart when Hindu priests cast a spell on Suharto in front of a yellow stage of honor.

Mahar was afraid that in the end Suharto would think of himself as a king, and of course Sukarno's history with all its bitterness would repeat itself. Suharto would be accompanied by thousands of concubines, and no one would be able to protest, because it was a custom of the kings which was also a common practice in Sukarno's era. All of that would certainly endanger the homeland and the people of Indonesia. Mahar and his group requested that the welcoming of the leaders with the Pendet dance and mantras be stopped. If allowed to continue, it would definitely damage the mentality of leaders who lack strong faith.

They demanded to return Pendet dance and the ceremonies to their original function and not be abused to bind and manipulate leaders. Mahar's resistance created a controversy. It began with a statement by Anak Agung Made Djelantik, the second son of the King of Karangasem, through an open letter at Suluh Marhaen on January 29, 1968. Djelantik tried to convince Mahar that the participants in the welcoming ceremony, including the Pendet dancers, were not subjected to any coercion. Most of them were willing and even happy to have the good opportunity to see Suharto up close. This was of course because for the first time they could see exponent of the New Order's struggle, and they did not want to see a god. If it was true that some of them felt compelled, such people may need to be educated to have the courage to express their problems or objections fairly. Such matters would certainly get full attention. Djelantik's statement contradicted the testimony of Anak Agung Gde Agung, the son of the King of Gianyar, who witnessed

the Governor General's visit to Puri Gianyar. Gde Agung said that behind the glittering clothes they wore when welcoming the Governor-General and the resident at Puri Gianyar, people suffered. The welcomers of the Governor General had been mobilized the day before. They came from villages far from the road the Governor General and his entourage passed. They waited for him under the heat of the sun with hungry stomachs. They did not have the right that guaranteed that they would not be treated arbitrarily by colonial officials (Gde Agung, 1993).

Djelantik also regretted the words of Pindha (Bali Deputy Governor), who stated "that's how we traditionally welcome kings." According to Djelantik, Pindha's words could easily lead to misunderstanding that Suharto was deliberately going to be made king. Djelantik also regretted Mahar's interpretation of the scene where Suharto stood in front of the stage of honor and the *pedanda* recited the Vedas in front of him. According to Djelantik, the aim was not to deify or give the royal throne to Suharto, but only to ask that in performing his duties, Suharto would always receive the blessing of God Almighty.

Djelantik also stated that it was not true that the ceremony could be interpreted as a way of exaggerating respect, because it was solely the duty of *pedandas* to carry out their function of maintaining formal relations between the community and God Almighty. Likewise the Vedas, which Mahar called mantras, did not mean praise to the person being sung, but to God. As well as convincing that humans without God's blessing cannot do anything. Reciting, not reading, Vedas was not meant only for kings, but anyone in Bali could experience it, including Suharto.

Apparently something had escaped Djelantik's attention. The welcoming of Suharto was an internalization of the values (collective habitus) of the Balinese people which had been formed through a long history. At the same time, it was also a form of mimicking the practice of welcoming the Governor-General during the Dutch East Indies era. As revealed in Gde Agung (1993) efforts to discipline the body in the Dutch colonial era were performed by residents. As the deputy governor general in the Bali and Lombok, the resident was the number one person in his territory. He used his power as tactics, techniques, and maneuvers to discipline the bodies of his superiors and subordinates.

Furthermore, the resident always wanted to show himself as the most powerful person who had to be deified and respected by all the people and kings and their ranks in Bali. Therefore, as seen when visiting Puri Gianyar, the resident was always officially received by the king with a protocol of greatness in the same manner as welcoming other kings in precolonial times. On the border of the cities of Gianyar and Badung, the district head, the *punggawa* Gde Agung (1993) had been waiting for the resident. The resident, at the same time, was also the leader of the spearhead group with around 30 members.

They wore red clothes, with a *poleng* (black and white) colored *saput* (long cloth cover) and a white headband. They carried spears decorated with the king's pure gold and royal gold umbrellas (Gde Agung, 1993). The atmosphere was even more lively when the Governor General came. As soon as they arrived in front of the Gianyar palace, the Governor General and his entourage were welcomed with a traditional Balinese ceremony. The series of ceremonies were more magnificent than the ceremony welcoming the resident. The members of the spear group were more numerous and the sound of the gamelan was louder, so that the atmosphere became more lively and authoritative (Gde Agung, 1993). The Governor General and members of his entourage were immediately welcomed by the King of Gianyar at Jeroning Ancak Saji (the front yard of the palace).

The king wore his royal regalia, including the honorary stars he had received from foreign heads of state such as the King of Siam and the President of France. All the courtiers and other community leaders were also present, wearing their respective royal

attire. According to the protocol in the royal era, six *pedanda* were also waiting at the outer side of the gate, wearing their royal clothes. Their job was to welcome the Governor-General and his entourage and at the same time perform a *segeh agung* (cleansing ceremony) using mantras and the Vedas. This ceremony was performed before the distinguished guests were invited to enter the *Palebahan Loji* (main yard) of Puri Gianyar.

After that the Governor General and members of his entourage were invited to enter the Puri Gianyar area, where the reception of state guests took place, which had been specially built for this purpose. After they enjoyed the meal, food and drink, the Governor-General and his entourage were invited to the stage of honor, which was a ward, a large house specially made for viewing performing arts. The historical trajectory of this event can be found in the welcoming of Sukarno's visit. Djelantik does not seem to have learned from the history of the colonial era, when the Governor General was positioned as Mahadeva and Sang Hyang Widhi. Similarly, as seen in history, during the resident's visit, he was always welcomed using the welcoming protocol of the kings. During the colonial era, the resident also considered himself an omnipotent being, so he could do as he pleased without any limits or moral responsibility. Such attitude and wisdom was shown by the Resident when he made preparations for the visit of Governor General Tjarda van Starckenborg Stachower to Bali in mid-1937. Behind all this, the Resident wanted to show the Governor General how disciplined, obedient and useful the Balinese people were to the Dutch colonial government.

At the same time he also wanted to please the Governor General in order to get attention and appreciation for promotion (Gde Agung, 1993). The practice of welcoming state guests in the colonial era imitated the procedures for welcoming state guests during the royal era, as explained by Gde Agung above. However, the reception procedure underwent a transformation, a change in form during the Sukarno and Suharto eras. This phenomenon is not only found in Bali, but in almost all regions of Indonesia, such as in Poso Regency. At first the ceremony of welcoming guests in this district was called Mokole, carried out to welcome the arrival of the king in a territory under his authority.

Mokole was then used as the basis for the grand guest welcoming ceremony, called Pakesiwia, and then it was promoted as one of the cultural packages in Poso Regency (Tabasi, 2010). In Batam, Riau Islands, there is *Tari Makan Sirih* (betel leaf-eating dance), which originates from the tradition of the Malay kingdom. In the XVIII century, betel leaves were presented by Malay kings to countries as a way to glorify or honor them. This tradition developed into a dance to welcome guests, which contains movements of presenting betel leaves and accessories to the guests.

This dance has been inherited until now and it is performed in major events such as traditional meetings, traditional ceremonies, welcoming guests, inaugurations, wedding ceremonies, and it is even performed at the celebration of the Republic of Indonesia's Independence Day every August 17 and also at dance festivals (Ningsih and Hernanda, 2022). Tolaki people has Mondotambe dance, which has been passed down from generation to generation. This dance was born around the XVIII century to welcome Tamalaki or royal soldiers who had just returned from the battlefield with victory. In the course of time this dance developed, not only to welcome the Tamalaki but also Konawe royal guests. The sacred values in the dance make this dance also performed at traditional events, but without losing its function as a welcoming dance (Mardin et al., 2019).

In the end, as it happened in Mokole, the procedure for welcoming honorable guests in Bali underwent a transformation into a cultural package, along with the development of tourism. The interests of tourism even managed to overcome political actions as seen in Mahar and his friends' refusal to welcome President Suharto through a stage of honor and Pendet dancers. Political interests lasted for only a short time before

they were replaced by the increasing importance of the tourism industry. The expansion of Bali's tourism interests occurred during the Suharto era after the inauguration of the Bali Beach Hotel and Benoa Harbor in the mid-1960s (Wijaya, 2020). It is interesting to examine the context of this political contestation further to understand the relationship between the anti-Sukarnoist groups who promoted Suharto's image as a modest general and the subsequent changes regarding the format of the stage of honor. However, historical facts to support this are difficult to obtain because the individuals involved in the polemic did not manifest a distinct political identity. They appeared to compromise with the discourse of those holding exclusive power during the New Order era.

Nonetheless, an anthropological symbolic analysis, as articulated by Suryawan (2009), can seemingly be employed to interpret this phenomenon. Quoting Santikarma, a fellow anthropologist, Suryawan argues that following the 1965 events, grand discourses, conflicts, and violence were neatly compartmentalized. Members of the *banjar* (customary/*pakraman* village) presented themselves as ostensibly rational. They concealed conflict through discourses such as 'casting' the conflict, whereby violence would result in the depersonalization of the conflict. This means that politics separates the issue from ego, emotions, or personal attacks, shifting the focus from 'who is wrong' (attacking the individual) to 'what the issue is,' so that conflicts can be resolved objectively and constructively without damaging relationships. Consequently, subjectivity and internal complexities vanished.

Analyzed from a cultural studies perspective, Foucault's theory of discourse and power, alongside Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and habitus, would be immensely helpful in understanding or at least interpreting this phenomenon more deeply. Foucault's (1977/1995) theory of Discourse, Power, and Knowledge paves the way to observe that a power-knowledge relation is embedded within this phenomenon. This implies that the link between local discourse or the labeling of post-1965 conflict at the *banjar* level is not a pure reality, but rather merely a mechanism for the disciplining or normalization of the social body.

Through the discourse of rationality and depersonalization, the *banjar* community produced a new 'truth' to normalize the suppression of the history of mass violence. This was accomplished by establishing the Council for Cultural Consideration and Development (*Listibya*), which brought together artists and served as a developmental forum that played a vital role in preserving, developing, and supervising various artistic and cultural activities in Bali (Wijaya, 2020). An analysis using Bourdieu's theory (1977) provides an opportunity to employ the concepts of habitus and symbolic violence to highlight how social structures are reproduced through it.

The concept of symbolic violence can be used to understand how the practice of separating issues from emotions was subtly carried out through *drama gong* performances, where the audience was entertained by the humor of the *punakawan* (clown-servant) characters without disrupting the court-centric storyline (Lestari, 2023). This was, of course, further complemented by the transformation of tourism on the other hand (Picard, 1996). Drawing on Bourdieu's analysis, the discourse of rationality and political depersonalization post-1965 can also be identified as a strategy of social reproduction. This implies that *banjar* residents unconsciously adopted 'subtle' ways of thinking and discoursing to avoid personal attacks. On the other hand, this strategy unintentionally maintained the hegemony of power that perpetuated the structural trauma of 1965. The Balinese habitus was thus conditioned to appear harmonious, rational, and peaceful, thereby masking internal complexities to preserve the group's code of conduct. Following the golden era of *drama gong*, the structural trauma of 1965 was lulled into dormancy by transformations within the tourism sector, as explained below.

5. The Stage of Honor: Transformation in the Tourism Industry

At the end of the 1960s, the rise of hotels such as the Bali Beach Hotel drove increased interest in developing various cultural packages based on traditional Balinese dances. Graduates from art schools, Kerawitan Conservatory (KOKAR) Bali, and the Indonesian Higher School of Arts, Denpasar, were needed to meet these needs, so it could be said that the tourism sector created a space where dancers who practised individually and mass dancers were able to meet, but also were kept separate. In the end, tourism provided an opportunity to resume the welcoming of Suharto through the stage of honour and different forms of Pendet dance.

This manifested through the *Pesta Kesenian Bali* (Bali Arts Festival), which lasted for a full month during the end-of-school holidays (Picard, 1996). The Bali Arts Festival was developed, based on instructions from the central government, by Governor of Bali Ida Bagus Mantra to address a decade-long stagnation in the tourism sector. This time, the people who had the power to speak in Bali became the objects of bodily discipline perpetrated by the New Order regime. The stage of honour was free from the Pendet dancers' flower showers; *pedandas* (Brahmana priest) were no longer involved; and Vedic mantras were no longer recited. The stage of honour was transformed into a cultural package.

It was only limited to the head of state, central/local officials, and their respective entourages during the opening ceremony of the Bali Arts Festival. Under Suharto, the welcoming address of the head of state became one-way communication. The president, or the official appointed to represent him, read the remarks without engaging in dialogue with the public. Therefore, it can be said that de-Soekarnoisation extended to the delivery of official speeches. The key points of these speeches were summarised by journalists and then published in the mass media. Conversely, Soekarno created a dialogue with the public in his every speech.

This allowed him to communicate extensively about himself and the political policies of the government. When welcoming Minister Khrushchev, for example, Soekarno created a dialogue with his audience. Some even dared to interrupt his speech; he is recorded as having said, "[...] I beg your pardon, brothers and sisters. I can't hear you." in responding to an audience member (document nst. 302/60.). When welcoming President Luebke, the following dialogue took place: "Should I take off my glasses or not?" (President Soekarno continued his speech).

"Take them off" (responded the audience-ed). "Brothers and sisters, who am I?" "Bung Karno" (answered the audience-ed). "In Jakarta, my name is Soekarno, but in Bali my name is Ida Bagus Made Karna, Ida Bagus Made Karna, because my mother is Ida Ayu Nyoman Rai from Bale Agung, and I am the second child, Ida Bagus Made Karna" (document nst....919/63). When welcoming the President of Czechoslovakia, Sukarno said. "It's raining, dear audience. I'll just give a short speech. If it's long, you will get soaking wet. (The audience screamed "go on, go on, go on, Sir" -ed) (Document nst..22/63). While welcoming the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao Chi, Sukarno alluded to the political policies taken by his government. "And 15 minutes ago you heard that People's Republic of China opposed the formation of Malaysia, which is the trick of the neo-colonialism.

Now we know, as brothers and sisters, that we oppose the formation of Malaysia in the strongest possible terms, and I can honestly say this to the whole world that in the eyes of the Indonesian people, in the eyes of the Republic of Indonesia, Malaysia is a form of neo-colonialism. And therefore, Indonesia does not agree with Malaysia. Indonesia will work hard, fight hard to prevent the formation of this Malaysia" (document: nst. 351/63). In Suharto era, desukarnoization also happened in the

performing arts of dance. In its newest format, the procedures for welcoming state guests during the New Order era no longer had socialist realist dance performances, such as Tari Tenun, Tari Nelayan, and Tari Tani as performed in the 1950s until the end of the Guided Democracy era in 1966 (Argenti and Dias, 2018; Suwito and Rohmah, 2021). During Sukarno era, in accordance with the political orientation of his government, influenced by Socialism and Communism Wijaya, Putra and Vickers (2021) cultural diplomacy with Eastern European countries based on the Socialist-Communist ideology was built.

Therefore, dances with populist economic nuances were often performed by Legong dancers at the request of people who had the power to speak on behalf of Bali. In Sukarno era, the Legong dancers were also given an additional task of welcoming the president and other state guests at Tampaksiring Palace. After the welcoming ceremony in Denpasar, Sukarno went to Tampaksiring Palace in Gianyar, where he was welcomed by Legong dancers. The Legong dancers were the dancers of Tampaksiring Palace, one of whom was a prima donna dancer.

This dancer was once selected as the winner of a Legong dance competition at the district level. After that she was invited to dance at the Tampaksiring Palace. Since then the Primadona dancer had always been invited to Tampaksiring Palace by Sukarno on every visit to Bali (Interview with Gordi, January 15, 2015). The Primadona was not even 20 years old yet at that time. In every performance she always appeared as the main dancer, accompanied by six bodyguards who played as chaperones. They were taken from members of the Pendet dancers' troupe welcoming President Sukarno, who had a special closeness to the impresario, the coordinator of the Legong Kerambitan, who had special speaking power to arrange the performance, welcoming Sukarno at the Tampaksiring Palace.

The impresario had a special relationship with the Primadona dancer, who later became one of his wives (Interview with Gordi, January 15, 2015). Thus, when performing at the Tampaksiring Palace, the top Pendet dancers were not only assigned to accompany the lead dancer during the performance, but were simultaneously tasked with spying on her. Often, these top dancers did not join the welcoming party for Bung Karno at the Denpasar City Square; long beforehand, the impresario had already directed them to accompany the principal dancer straight to Tampaksiring Palace.

They would depart from Kerambitan Village by car while Sukarno and his state guests were still in Denpasar. The Legong Kerambitan dancers performed Tari Tani (the Farmer's Dance), a piece with socialist realist nuances commonly performed across Bali. In this piece, the star dancer played the male farmer, while the other six performers played female farmers harvesting rice (Interview with Gordi, January 15, 2015). Usually, ahead of Indonesia's Independence Day on August 17, the Legong dancers of Kerambitan were also invited to perform at the Merdeka Palace in Jakarta and the Bogor Palace.

"If invited to dance in Jakarta, everyone is happy. Clothing is never an issue for Legong dancers." During breaks between scheduled performances, Sukarno often danced with his guests to the rhythm of Lenso music. A dedicated team prepared meals for Sukarno, and the lead performer along with her accompanying dancers frequently had the opportunity to dance the Lenso with him. Meanwhile, the impresario and his staff waited expectantly at the hotel. Upon the dancers' return, the staff would interview them about what they had witnessed at the palace, specifically focusing on the actions of the principal dancer.

However, the dancers did not always recount everything they saw and knew exactly as it happened (Interview with Gordi, January 15, 2015). Both at Merdeka Palace in Jakarta and at Bogor Palace, the Legong dancers from Kerambitan Village performed Tari Tani. Other dancers, such as Bulan Trisna Djelantik who was then a high school

student performed the Oleg dance, representing Sekeha Peliatan, Ubud, where she trained. Apart from Peliatan (Gianyar), there were also dancers representing Tampakgangsul and Jagaraga (Buleleng). Their roles as palace dancers brought international fame to the Kerambitan Legong, prompting a Japanese director to make a film about their lives (Interview with Arwini, January 15, 2015). The film depicted Balinese villagers going to the rice fields and walking past a fountain, featuring the lead dancer alongside her accompanying Legong troupe. They demonstrated Balinese women carrying water jugs, collecting water from a spout, and returning home to Puri Anyar Kerambitan, where they served the water and demonstrated traditional prayers. In return, the dancers received not only their honorariums but also several personal gifts from the film crew.

These included beauty make-up kits and face powder, marking the very first cosmetic products owned by the Legong dancers (Interview with Gordi, January 15, 2015). In New Order era, as seen in the PKB procession, dances tended to be presented with feudalistic and liberal nuances as a result of American influence in the practice of political culture in Indonesia. The life experience of I Made Bandem, one of the creators of PKB, shows that there was Americanization process in Balinese art. It began with an opportunity for academic artists in Indonesia to continue their studies in the United States.

Mantle Hood, a Professor in the field of Ethnomusicology in Indonesia was assigned by The John D. Rockefeller III Foundation, a non-profit foundation based in New York. His job was to recruit Indonesian students who wanted to study the methodology of preserving national or ethnic music in the United States. Bandem was one of the people selected in the project (Interview with Bandem, January 20, 2019). Bandem arrived in Bali in August 1980 with a Doctor of Philosophy degree in ethnomusicology at the age of 35. At that time, PKB had only run three times. Still like in the first year, Suharto, high state officials, and the Governor of Bali were still sitting on the stage of honor.

After Bandem was involved in the program as a consultant, in 1981 the appearance of the parade changed. There was a shift towards Pasadena Flower Parade (Interview with Bandem, Januari 20, 2019). The president and important officials sat in the chairs on the stage of honor. Although the shape of the stage of honor was still the same, made of bamboo, its function had undergone a transformation. The stage of honor was more like a king's throne, there was no more interaction between the dancers and the President, like in Sukarno's era. The clothes worn by the dancers were dominated by yellow. Visual data from that era indicate that Yellow was also the dominant color of the properties of the cultural arts parade, which was in accordance with the colors of the Golongan Karya flag. Golongan Karya was the ruling party at that time. The dances performed also changed. They were more varied. They were not only from Bali but also from other regions in Indonesia, and some were even from abroad. This is something which is similar to the dominant color of red when welcoming Biden, as previously mentioned. Its digital footprints can easily be found on several websites up to the present day. The transformation of the stage of honor took place during the arrival of United States President Ronald Reagan to Bali in April 1986. As soon as he got off the airplane, Reagan was welcomed by the Pendet dance with the shortest possible duration.

Reagan was welcomed with the version of Welcoming Pendet dance performed in the 1962 Asian Games Opening, which was different from the Pendet style of Tabanan or Wayan Rindi's work. The Pendet dance used to welcome Reagan was specially created by Balinese Kerawitan Conservation (KOKAR) teachers, including I Gusti Nyoman Panji, Ketut Arini, Gusti Ayu Raka Astuti, and the gamelan music was composed by I Wayan Beratha (Interview with Bandem, Januari 20, 2019). The duration of the Pendet dance for welcoming guests was generally ten minutes, but it could be shortened to seven minutes, even to 5 minutes.

However, the White House was not satisfied. They wanted it to be made as concise as possible. Finally, it only lasted two minutes. The footage of the Pendet dance welcoming Reagan became a piece of evening television news in America (Interview with Bandem, Januari 20, 2019). After the welcoming ceremony, from the international airport I Gusti Ngurah Rai, Reagan and his entourage were escorted to Nusa Dua Hotel complex, a symbol of capitalist hospitality. The hotel was inaugurated three years earlier. As the Chairperson of the Indonesian Dance Academy (ASTI) Denpasar, Bandem was appointed to be person in charge of the Organizing Committee and the Artistic Director as well.

His responsibility included preparing a Gala Dinner performance at the Putri Bali Hotel featuring the Rejang Dewa and Legong Kuntul dances. At the request of the Governor of Bali, Ida Bagus Mantra, Reagan and his wife were placed in a new-styled stage of honor, a president suite facing the beach with armor and a tunnel from the back street to his room. It was planned that Reagan could watch the Kecak dance performance on the beach from his room. Because Reagan was busy attending a bilateral meeting, the Kecak dance performance was cancelled (Interview with Bandem, Januari 20, 2019).

Previously, the Governor of Bali, Ida Bagus Mantra, asked Bandem, as the organizer and person in charge of the event, to prepare a cultural package imitating traditional ceremonies and artistic performances. The cultural package was a follow-up from the central government to entertain state guests. More specifically, the Governor of Bali wanted an amenity core (core facilities such as a central meeting room) to be built in Nusa Dua area, located between Nusa Dua Hotel and the Club Med Hotel. In this way, the honor stage underwent a transformation into a core amenity (Interview with Bandem, Januari 20, 2019).

The amenity core was built in a Balinese style, consisting of *parahyangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan*, divinity, humanity, and the environment. It was equipped with a *wantilan*, a multi-purpose hall where imitation activities of traditional ceremonies related to Balinese rites of life took place. This *Wantilan* was filled with Balinese decorations as if a traditional ceremony was taking place with the decoration materials made from coconut leaves, or other fresh leaves. The kind of traditional ceremony chosen was *matatah*, a tooth-cutting ceremony completed with the necessary offerings such as *gebogan* and other related offerings.

This traditional ceremony was included in the *ladies program* which was attended by Nancy Reagan and Tien Suharto (Interview with Bandem, Januari 20, 2019). When Joe Biden arrived in Bali to attend the G20 Summit, there seemed to be something contradictory. Reagan came to Indonesia when President Suharto was in power, where security and order was under control. On the other hand, Biden came after the collapse of Suharto's power, which was said to be a fertile period for the practice of identity politics and even repeated acts of terrorism in the form of bomb explosions in strategic places considered to be the symbolism of America (Pedersen, 2016). However, there was no news regarding the armored rooms and the stage of honor in the core amenities. All the state guests were welcomed in the Garuda Wisnu Kencana area which used certain technology so that it could be turned into a renewable stage of honor, but the traces of the previous era's raptures of welcoming ceremony were still noticeable.

Even though there was no stage of honor in balcony style like in the past, and the state guests and other invitees sat on equal terms with the dancers and entertainers, the performance looked like traditional PKB performances. The clothes worn by dancers and entertainers were predominantly red, following the color of the election winner's flag. So it resembled the dominant yellow color of the Golkar flag in every art performance during the Suharto era. Its continuing historical trajectory can be seen in the welcoming of the Pendet dancers, which was typical of the welcoming procedures of the Suharto and

Sukarno eras. The Pendet dance performance was not found in every visit of the Governor General in the Dutch colonial era, because the Pendet dance at that time was still the purest sacred dance.

6. Closing

The welcoming of Biden by the Pendet dancers was mimicry in the sense that it imitated and opposed the welcoming of guests in the era of President Sukarno. The imitation lies in the use of the Pendet dance. Welcoming guests during the Sukarno era was also a reflection of welcoming guests during the Dutch colonial era. The performers were people who had special power to speak on behalf of Bali to secure their own political interests. In the Sukarno era, the welcoming ceremony for honorable guests was accompanied by a modified Pendet dance, something that was not found in the Dutch colonial era, during which Pendet dance was a pure ritual dance.

Welcoming guests in the Dutch colonial era was a mimicry of welcoming guests in the royal era. The process of mimicry in the procedures for welcoming honorable guests during the royal era was not only found in Bali, but it was also found in a number of other regions in Indonesia. However, not all of their historical trajectories can be told until now. The problem lies in the distance between the kingdom period and the colonial period which is too far from the era of independence, some even starting from the eighteenth century. It's different in Bali.

In general, Bali was conquered by the Dutch in 1908, so that in the 1950s many eyewitnesses could describe the procedures for welcoming guests in the royal era, complete with rituals and symbols. The mimicry of welcoming guests during the Dutch colonial era was also seen during the Suharto era when US President Ronald Reagan visited Bali. The form of the mimicry was very subtle, where the stage of honor was transformed to an Amenity core. During the time of President Jokowi, when welcoming the United States President Joe Biden, the form of mimicry was even more subtle, almost invisible, where the seats of the distinguished guests and state guests were almost parallel, not using the balcony model.

However, they still used Pendet dance as the medium. From this, the hidden interests were revealed. There were two interests in the performance of the Pendet dance to welcome Biden. On the one hand, it was the effort of those who had the power to speak on behalf of Bali to discipline the party that won the election (2019-2024), as seen from the domination of the red color on the clothes of the dancers. This was related to the political interests of the election of regional head which would take place in Bali in the near future (2023).

The obedience of those who had the power to speak on behalf of Bali to PDIP, a political party in the 2019-2024 election, was very much felt in the atmosphere of welcoming Biden, as seen from the choice of clothing color and the properties of the dancers, which were dominantly red. On the other hand, the welcoming ceremony using the Pendet dance was also Bali's effort to discipline Biden's body, which was used as a medium to revitalize Bali tourism after it had been temporarily inactive due to Covid-19.

Conclusion

The primary synthesis of this research is that the Pendet dance and the stage of honor are not merely cultural expressions, but instruments for the representation of power that continuously shift in alignment with political regimes, tourism interests, and the legitimization of both local and national elites. The welcoming protocols for Biden, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, can be characterized as a duplication or mimicry of the receptions customarily provided by those holding the exclusive power to speak

during the royal era such as in Gianyar which then persisted through the Dutch colonial period, the Sukarno era, and the Suharto era. Similarly, the stage of honor inextricably linked to these events has been utilized since the royal era, continuing through the Dutch colonial period and the Suharto era. However, when welcoming American presidents, both Reagan and Biden, the form and function of the stage of honor no longer resembled those from the Dutch colonial period, the Sukarno era, or the Bali Arts Festival (PKB) stage during the Suharto era.

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