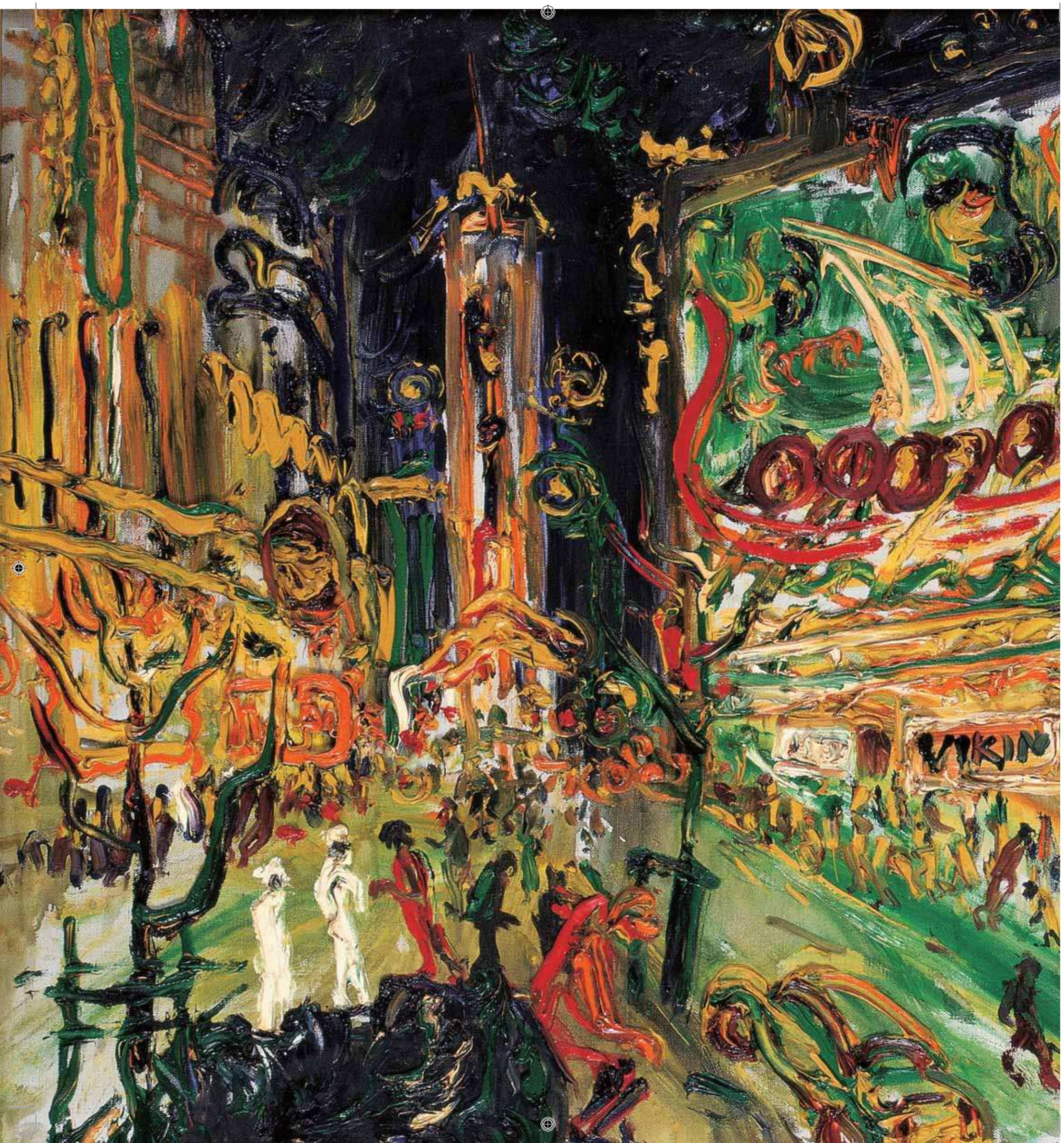

VIKING

AFFANDI IN THE AMERICAS:

By Astri Wright

BRIDGING THE GAPS WITH PAINT AND PERSONALITY

When, as a new-comer to Indonesia, I met Affandi in November 1987,[1] and he heard I was from America, his first response was: "I have many friends in America." With that simple statement, he elegantly bridged the culture gap and geographical distance between our worlds. It was a warm gesture, one which honoured and recognized both differences and the possibility of speaking between them, and of weaving narratives begun in different ways in disparate places into a single web.

This essay explores some of the experiences, encounters and works which resulted from Affandi's travels in America.[2] America was only one of the many places where he left his artistic and personal mark; the stories which follow in certain ways both relate to and differ from Affandi's journeys elsewhere. They also expand our understanding of the American journeys that contributed to his art and life.[3] Some of the works painted while in America will be discussed; the main emphasis throughout will be on reactions to Affandi's presence and work not previously recorded in depth or at all.

Visiting, studying, painting and exhibiting in Asia, Europe, North and South America and Australia, Affandi was a traveler both in geographical and cultural space.[4] Between time spent with family, fellow artists and friends in West and Central Java, Affandi also visited with peoples in parts of Indonesia distant to his own culture, non-urban people whose lives in certain ways were less similar to his own than those of people he met on other continents. This essay explores some of the encounters with people and places that engaged him while in the U.S.A., and includes some of the European reactions to his work not covered in Spanjaard's essay.

Affandi's work was first shown in America in the early 1950s. The artist himself was invited officially to visit the USA three times between 1957 and 1967 and a fourth time in 1984; he also made two personal visits there. The first and second times, he was a guest of the State Department, as a student of art education methods and as a visiting professor at Ohio State University; the third time he was a Senior Specialist Visiting Artist at the University of Hawaii at Manoa; the fourth time, he represented Indonesia at an arts and crafts exhibition in Houston, Texas.[5]

Times Square, New York (detail), 1958
Oil on canvas
64 x 76 Cm

Affandi getting on a plane for an international journey, 1950s-60s. (Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

From 1950, when Affandi left Indonesia for India with Maryati and Kartika, until late 1962, he spent more time abroad than at home. A 1953 US media article describes Affandi's travels up to then: "He had never been out of Java until three years ago, and in the next few months, he will travel to Paris. Rome, Stockholm and the U.S. with his paintings (*Time,* 1953)." After 1962, Affandi's stays at home were longer.[6]

Going abroad was for Affandi in part his response to a hunger to see the wider world, many parts of which had been implicated in Indonesia's ancient as well as recent history. Perhaps there was also an element of feeling that life in Indonesia was getting too politically divisive for Affandi after the uniting struggle for independence had ended.[7] After Independence was achieved, Affandi appears to have decided to avoid extremist political polemics,[8] and in art, he mostly steered his own independent way. But the politics of the human condition, his own and others, preoccupied him his whole life.

Affandi's Work Arrives in the USA

America's very first exposure to Affandi was by proxy, when several of his paintings were exhibited in New York in 1952. On March 2nd, Aline B. Louchheim of the *New York Times* wrote a short report with the sub-heading "From the Far East," where she mentions an exhibition of new work never seen before in the USA: contemporary art from Indonesia.

> Under the auspices of the Republic of Indonesia, a group of paintings from this Asian country are now on view at the John Heller Gallery. Almost all of them were done since Independence and many of these artists are militantly seeking to develop a "national style," or, at least, a way of painting different from the west. So far their success is questionable. There is Affandi, who works in the Van Gogh tradition, without the Dutch master's tautness and intensity; there is Otto Djaya, trying to marry early Indonesian art with modern art and arriving perilously close to almost decorative musical-comedy Bali-esque images; and Agus Djaya, consciously modernizing primitive statements. For this reviewer, the most interesting artists were Hendra, whose attenuated figures communicate deeply felt emotion, and above all, Sudyardjo, whose *Sheep-Herder* is the most personal and moving painting in the group, evocative and suggestive, a wisp of poetry despite its almost clumsy technical means (Louchheim, 1952).

From 1952-69, the John Heller Gallery, located at 108 East 57th Street, was one of New York City's most active and important galleries.[9] While online research does not recover any other items that link the gallery with modern Indonesian art or Affandi, an old crinkled brochure in the artist's album tells us which Indonesian artists participated. In addition to those mentioned by Louchheim, the artists included Emiria Sunassa and Zaini. Affandi showed three works. The dates of the works are not given in the brochure, but the title and dimensions listed are: *Bare Rice Fields* (32" x 41"); *Bridge in West Bengal* (34" x 43"); and *Market Place* (35" x 38").

One question that arises is: did the John Heller exhibition not arouse interest among New York's art critics and artists, beyond this tiny notice in the *New York Times*? Only more in-depth research into newspaper and other archives might answer this question. However that may be, the

Affandi and Maryati being interviewed by *Suara Amerika*, Jakarta, 1950s-60s.
(Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

invitation to modern Indonesian artists to exhibit in a well-connected gallery located in the center of midtown Manhattan in 1952 —the bull's eye of American modernism and its art market— offered an unprecedented level of visibility for modern Indonesian artists.[10]

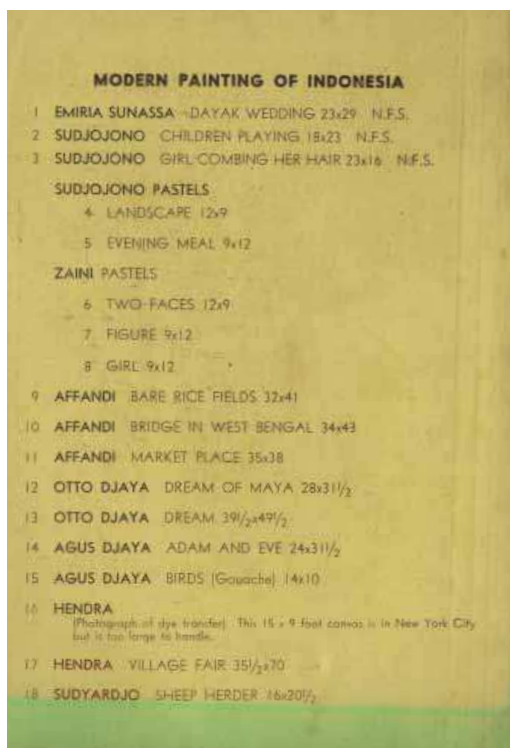
Noting that general-feature journalists rather than specialists frequently cover events in the cultural field (and thankfully so, since it often takes years, sometimes decades, till academics pay closer attention to the same events), one can ask: who was Aline B. Louchheim, to be writing with such art critical authority? It turns out that she was an art authority, indeed: from December 1948 onwards, she was a *New York Times* art critic, and by July 1956, she was *New York Times*' Associate Art Editor. Thus, her write-up, short as it is, had the power to sway the discerning reader's opinion of contemporary Indonesian art and whether or not it was worth their time to visit the exhibition.

Nineteen-fifty-two, then, marks the first appearance of "Affandi" in the USA, in a group show with fellow Indonesian artists. This coincides with Affandi's big year of being launched internationally: apart from New York, he exhibited in Belgium, London and São Paolo; the previous year, he had exhibited in India, and the next year he would exhibit in Paris and Rome.[11] Given this broad international exposure, it is important to understanding Affandi's introduction to the west to briefly examine the earliest writing about Affandi's work in Europe, which for this essay will limit itself to English-language publications.

While there are earlier media articles (also in English) about Affandi during his stay in India, the earliest mentions of him I have found in Europe are by very well-known art critics and historians. And right off the bat, the issue of stylistic terminology is fore-grounded, illustrating the centrality of stylistic nomenclature in art writing of the time. In May 1952, John Berger, one of Europe's most radical proponents of a social art history and criticism in the 20th century, and someone who would make his mark on art history over the next decades, wrote in the New Statesman:

> It would be possible to label Affandi's work Expressionist, and to point out similarities with Van Gogh and Kokoschka, but to do so would be very superficial. His work is

Affandi, his wife, Totong (Claire Holt's driver) with notebook, and the Surabaja painter Widagdo, at Affandi's house in Padang Tegal. The picture was taken a few years after his return from India and Europe, and the year before he departed for the U.S.A.



John Heller Gallery Brochure, 1952 with the list of painters. (Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

> different in kind from nearly everything being produced in Europe. And for this reason it shows a way out of the impasse now reached in Paris, New York and London: a way out which may imply a partial and necessary humiliation of "Art." Affandi's canvases, which are not even separated from their surroundings by frames, are essentially works of action. Their emotions of violence, anger, competition and tenderness have not been recollected in tranquility, but disciplined and used as they were felt. They do not present the spectator with the quintessence of their subject, but their subject with a witness (Berger, 1952a).[12]

Eric Newton, another respected art critic, reviewed a series of exhibitions of Expressionist painters around London; clearly expressionism is "all the rage" at this time.[13] Defining expressionists as "men who externalize their feelings," Newton identifies his major interest as being to identify what main attitude informs each painter's work.

Newton singles out four painters from among the ones displayed at various exhibitions in mid-June: Ivon Hitchens, Alan Reynolds, Tirzah Garwood and Affandi. Newton picked these four because each "presents his own problem in an extreme form. Each has something definite to say, each says it with extreme conviction, and each demands of the spectator a sympathetic understanding which the critic must be prepared to define."

Newton's discussion of Affandi takes up a good fifth of the article. He writes: "Affandi, at the Imperial Institute, is a Javanese artist but with no perceptible Indonesian tradition behind him. Self-taught, wilder even than Kokoschka when excited, as human and as passionate as Van Gogh, painting recklessly from the heart and ready to paint whatever moves him, … his drawings are powerful, his paintings vary from the painfully undisciplined to the restlessly volcanic. He is the perfect example

Western women viewing paintings by Affandi during an exhibition in Europe. (Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

of the Expressionist, capable of falling into every Expressionist trap and of scaling a good many of the Expressionist heights (Newton, 1952).

It is obvious that Affandi made an immediate and vivid impression on his first viewers in Europe, even though not all were as impressed as Berger, Newton and others (see Douglas Cooper's comments, below). And even his fans pointed out that Affandi's work was uneven in quality (Berger, 1952a,c). Research shows that this scenario was repeated also in the US, even well before the artist arrived there in person.

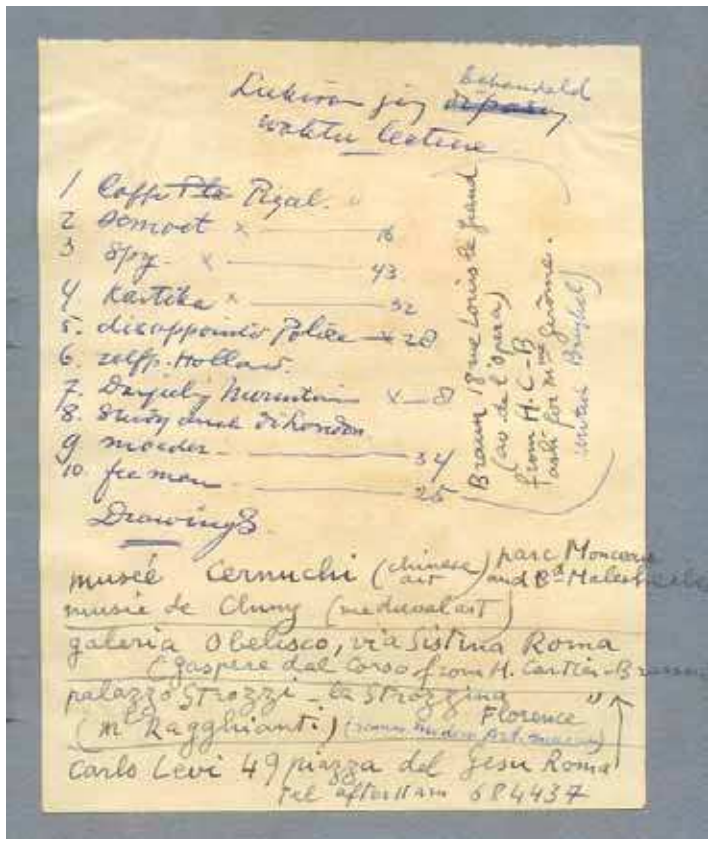
From the perspective of an American audience, a January 1953 *Time* magazine article introduces Affandi to a larger cross section of the American public than before, as well as to *Time*'s European readership. In this report from an exhibition at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Belgium, the author begins with an authoritative statement: "One of the hardest things for a new artist to do these days is [to] convince Europe's jaundiced critics that his style is 1) new, and 2) worth having. A modest 42-year-old Javanese painter named Affandi can qualify on both counts (*Time*, 1953)."[14]

The exhibition in Belgium featured both historical and modern Indonesian art, and Affandi showed forty-eight paintings. The *Time* writer goes on to cite a powerful statement by Berger: "He has never taken a formal art lesson in his life, but after his first big exhibit in London six months ago, the *New Statesman*'s John Berger flatly called him 'a painter of genius'" (*Time*, 1953).

It is also apparent in this article that Affandi had already developed his "hands-on" style of painting:

> Affandi never learned to use a palette, dislikes brushes. Instead, he squeezes paint on to his thumb, then smears it around the canvas. He will often spend a week studying a subject, but the actual painting seldom takes longer than 90 furious minutes. "After about an hour," he says, "I usually feel my emotions declining. It's better to stop then. The painting is finished (*Time*, 1953)."[15]

In the American press, reviews of Affandi and other Indonesian artists picked up as the fifties progressed. In February 1956, a short article in the *New York Times* entitled "Gallery Variety: A



Affandi's handwritten notes about which images to show during his lecture; from his preparations for one or several lectures in Europe. (Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

Round-Up of Collages —Indonesian Art" (Preston, 1956), describes "an impressive exhibition of collages". The subtitle makes readers believe, momentarily, that among the eighty-five collages by artists from seven countries are to be found also Indonesians, and one might think: "That's an impressive show of internationalism in art in America in the fifties." But alas, it turns out that the Indonesian reference is to a small Indonesian Government sponsored exhibition "of native painting" at the Carnegie Endowment International Center at the United Nations— in other words, off the beaten track, as far as art world status goes. This art is described as "less exotic than one might expect," having "its own strange character, a mixture of Western expressionism and Asian imagery." The next paragraph mentions specific artists:

> Affandi, whose paintings have made a considerable stir in Europe, is the outstanding figure here. He is an emotional realist in the manner of Kokoschka, inducing his brush to wriggle violently, thus lending his hot-coloured landscapes an air of irresistible liveliness. Derachman [sic] shows some wildly visionary pictures; Otto Odjaja [sic], a charming dreamlike figure study, and Sudjojono, a good, restlessly designed girl combing her hair. But Dullah is dull (Preston, 1956).

The writer, Stuart Preston, obviously did not take very good notes of the artists' names from the labels (or perhaps the labels were sloppily made). Preston also did not speak with anyone who knew enough about the art or artists to discover that Affandi no longer painted with a brush. Indeed, while such was the tradition of most art critics at the time ("talk to no one, lest your critical objectivity be swayed"), there may not have been anyone knowledgeable at the exhibition for Preston to talk to;

the artists were not present. Thus, Preston had little way of knowing how to interpret the making of Affandi's marks, beyond using his eyes and his imagination to seek outside of his familiar vocabulary of art techniques.

The artworld-marginal location of the actual exhibition aside, the fact remains that Preston had the global vision to name Indonesian artists in the same article where he names Picasso, Braque, Gris, Motherwell, Max Ernst and others (the artists in the collage exhibition). Within this print-media space, they all share the map of established quality and importance in contemporary art. Also, Preston was refreshingly able to look beyond the "Van Gogh" cliché generally invoked by Euroamericans to describe Affandi's work as related to Kokoschka's aesthetic. As art critic for the *New York Times* from 1949 to 1965, Preston's voice carried weight with readers. Affandi's first in-person arrival in the USA the following year, then, was well-heralded in a few notable corners of the American press. But before his arrival in the USA, his work had made its first appearance in Brazil, and here, as anecdotal evidence has it,[17] Affandi's work made such an impression that the curator of the 1954 Venice Biennial invited Affandi to exhibit, at this high-visibility show-casing of the best in contemporary art in Europe.

Marginal in New York, Central at International Biennials

Affandi's presence at high-visibility international biennials before his arrival in the U.S.A., first in Brazil and later in Italy, illustrates some of the modern art networks active in the 1950s which completely by-passed New York, self-avowed center of the modern art world.

Soekarno and collector Joseph Borkin, with the Indonesian President's personal inscription. (Courtesy of the Borkin Family and Christie's Auction House)

Affandi,TheTraveller
(Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

The São Paolo Biennial is the second oldest Biennial in the world. Launched in 1951, the Biennial helped to transform the city from a "dull and featureless capital of finance" to what it is today, Brazil's largest city with 11 million people, and "the epicenter of Brazilian culture, where art, architecture, design and fashion are flourishing."[18]

Affandi participated in the Second São Paolo Biennial (SPB II), which was opened (later than originally scheduled) in December 1953, carrying over into 1954.[19] This was a historical year for modern Indonesian art: it was the first participation by Indonesian artists in an international biennial event, and three of them (Affandi, Kusnadi and Sholihin) went to Brazil in person.

However, today several inconsistencies remain between the Affandi Museum records, the Indonesian records, and the Brazilian data. The first is the absence of any mention of Affandi in the SPB II catalogue. "There is a painter named Usman Effendi, and not Affandi (probably is a mistake), in the catalogue of the second Biennial with two works —*House* and *Tree*," Agnaldo Farias, Brazilian art critic, curator and professor, responds to my query. Yet we know without a doubt that Affandi not only was at the Second São Paolo Biennial, but was awarded a prize, and furthermore was noticed by an Italian curator, which led to his being invited to the Venice Biennial of 1954.

The second mystery is the numbers of works reported shown by Affandi at the SPB II. According to Ana Elisa Silva at the São Paulo Biennial Foundation, Affandi participated in the "Bienal do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (1953)", the Second Biennial of the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo. This was indeed the name and venue of the SPB at the time. Here, she writes, Affandi showed two works: *Mother* and *Muntitt* —in other words, not the works listed under Usman Effendi's name, mentioned above. Was Affandi omitted from the Second SPB catalog referred to by Dr. Farias, above by mistake? Did perhaps a slightly dyslexic print-assistant reading such strange, foreign (non-Brazilian) names think that they were one and the same, with a spelling error? And is the number of works showed by Affandi at the SPB II also mis-represented in the Brazilian archives?

Indeed, Usman Effendi also participated at the SPB II, as did many other Indonesian artists. According to Kusnadi, who was there and wrote about it in an Indonesian magazine the same year, 34 works by 25 Indonesia artists, plus another 20 paintings by Affandi, were exhibited among the

Grand Canyon I, (1958)
Oil on canvas
53.5 x 84.5 cm

thousands of art works from many parts of the world. It seems clear that there is a significant gap in the Brazilian archives today, or that communication was impeded during this distance-research.

While in the above example, the Indonesian records appear to be accurate, other disjunctures occur: some Indonesian records state that Affandi also participated in the Fourth São Paolo Biennial, held in 1957.[20] However, my contacts at the Wanda Svevo Archives at the São Paulo Biennial Foundation, found no evidence of this; meanwhile, these archives do show Affandi participating, sixteen years later, in the Tenth São Paulo Biennial (1969) with five works: *Bistro in Paris* (1953, oil on canvas, 101 X 109 cm); *Suburban Scene in Mexico City* (1962, oil on canvas, 100 X 120,5 cm); *Snow over Ohio* (1962, oil on canvas, 98 X 126 cm); *Standing Nude* (1954, oil on canvas, 72 X 133 cm); and *Balinese Clown* (1961, oil on canvas, 98 X 158 cm).[21]

Affandi is also believed to have had an exhibition at the Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro, but the museum archives are now incomplete: Agnaldo Farias, who was the general curator at the Museu de Arte Moderna in Rio between 1998-2000, explained that all the archives of this museum —"the most important, almost unique space, dedicated to the modern art in Rio"— was destroyed by a fire in July 1978.[22] Did Affandi exhibit there also in 1956 or in the mid-1960s, which could explain the appearance of these years in his chronology?

The oldest Biennial in history, the Venice Biennial, was founded in 1895. A historical glance at this Biennial tradition illustrates the internationalization some branches of the European art establishment had undergone by the middle of the 20th century.

In 1895, the first year of the Venice Biennial, visitors encountered a single pavilion which housed 11 galleries, exclusively showing work by European artists. In 1954, when Affandi participated, the

Venice Biennial featured over 600 artists from thirty-two countries, exhibited in eighty galleries spread between twenty pavilions (Cooper 1954, p. 317).

Alexander Eliot, head art critic for *Time* magazine from 1945 until 1960, reported on the Venice Biennial. He singled out Affandi, even before he was selected by the jury as one of the Biennial prize-winners:

> The world's biggest and best roundup of contemporary art occurs every two years in Venice. Last week red-cockaded carabinieri paraded, a splendid procession of gilded gondolas wound across the lagoon, and officials made speeches as the 27th Biennale opened in Venice's Public Gardens. In the tree-bordered pavilions bordering the lagoon, a jury representing nearly all of the 32 participating countries mulled over the thousands of paintings and sculptures.
>
> …
>
> In general, the show boxed the compass under the four strong winds of realism, expressionism, surrealism and abstractionism. All summer there will be muttering in a dozen tongues about the jury's verdicts, for the Venice Biennale is nothing if not controversial; it attempts nothing less than a summing up of art now. And today's art, as the Biennale proves, has neither a dominant style nor authoritative quality

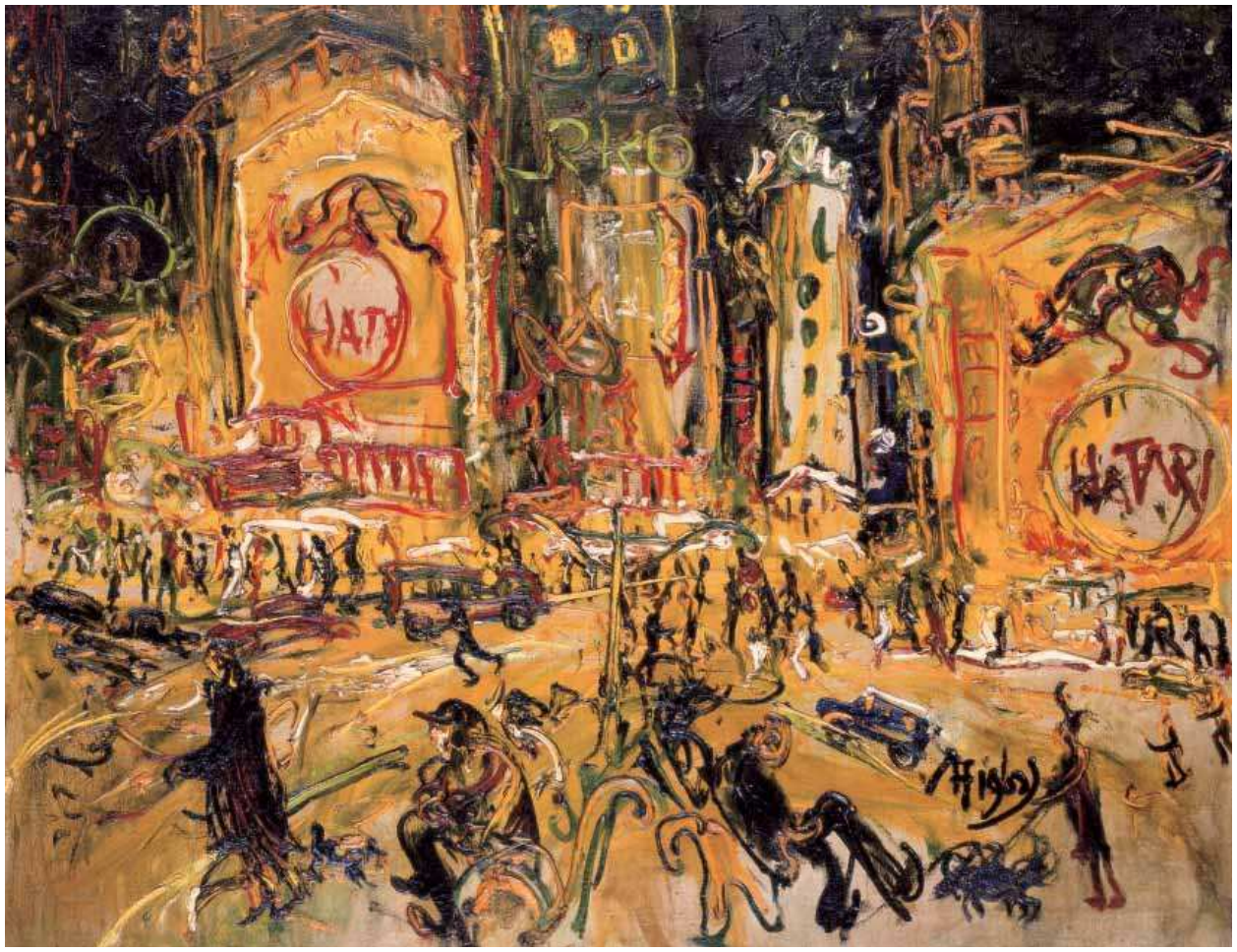
Carmel Beach, 1958
Oil on canvas
55 x 71 cm

> … Approached country by country, the exhibition demonstrated not so much national characteristics as the internationalism of modern art. Except for Indonesia, which showed a roomful of brilliant portraits and figure studies by self-trained Affandi, none of the small nations contributed any startling talents. Only the U.S., Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy offered artists of unmistakably major stature (Eliot, 1954).

Affandi's work also impressed the Italian critic Carlo Barbieri. In one of Affandi's personal albums, a passage from Barbieri's piece in Il Mattino, Napoli, of July 3, 1954, is translated into English on paper bearing the logo of the Indonesian Embassy of Rome:

> ... From Norway to Indonesia there is a long way to go; but it is suitable for us to [go] through [with] it, as we have to call on Affandi, the great painter whom the Neapolitans had the privilege to see first at the Mostra d'Oltremare last year.
>
> We find here already well-known and now classical works, together with others, driven to the extreme limit of expression in a pictorial excitement of a rare power. Affandi has drawn what was useful for his own language from the European figurative culture

Times Square, New York, 1958
Oil on canvas
64 x 76 Cm



Times Square, New York, 1962
Oil on canvas
97 x 122 cm

> (of expressionism). He has remained thoroughly oriental in the subjects he chooses, in his feeling for [the] monstrous and grotesque, sometimes terrifying, in his manner to compose [sic] the figures; but he has merged Orient and Occident in a synthesis of … irresistible charm (Carlo Barbieri, 1954).

In yet another art expert's eyes, Affandi was only reluctantly given a nearly-positive critique. The English art critic Douglas Cooper,[23] blatantly dismisses the variety, the internationalism and the avant garde nature of art shown at the 1954 Venice Biennial and laments the absence of the older modern masters. He writes:

> Beside Munch, the later expressionistic painters exhibiting —for example, De Kooning (USA), ... Appel (Holland), or F.Bacon (Great Britain)— appeared shallow, boisterous, and uncertain like their abstract counterparts, though perhaps an exception should be made for Kusuma Affandi from Indonesia, who attempts to use a quite unnatural Van Gogh-Kokoschka-like idiom, but nevertheless sometimes manages to convey something of his troubled vision (Cooper 1954, p.321).

One wonders whether Cooper had seen Affandi's work in London and/or read writings by his art writer colleagues Berger and Newton, and what kinds of lively or snubbing exchanges might ensure between these colleagues. While the latter two were either committed to, or by default could

Bay Bridge, 1958
Oil on canvas
56 x 71 cm

embrace, the process of over-turning, or at least broadening, conventional "centric/hierarchical" models of the artistic quality and value, Cooper was a committed and conservative "centrist".

This leads one to wonder how art critics and art lovers living at the fringes of the dominant modern art world institutions thought of Affandi's work; how was he received in São Paolo, Brazil? And what traces might still be found of Affandi's 1962 trip to Mexico and elsewhere in Central America? Unfortunately, language barriers and lack of access to geographically distant newspaper and museum archives prevent me from finding more data about Affandi in Brazil and Mexico at present; for now questions such as these will remain morsels to tempt future researchers with appropriate global skills.

Affandi in America: the late 1950s

We have heard above how Affandi's paintings were exhibited in New York in 1952. How did Affandi come to visit America for the first time in 1957? Kartika remembers Joseph Borkin —passionate Indonesia-supporter and Affandi-collector from the mid-1950s onwards— being introduced to her father by President Soekarno. Most likely this took place at the Presidential Palace, where Borkin would have had the opportunity to see both Affandi's and other artists' work.[24] Harvey Borkin, Joseph's son, says:

> In the process of working for Indonesian Independence. I think my dad met Affandi on his first trip to Indonesia and fell in love with Affandi the man and the artist. He became good friends with him and his wife and with Kartika ... and encouraged him to come to America. My dad arranged for the fellowship that enabled Affandi to go to Ohio State a few years later, as a visiting artist and to teach art.[25]

Affandi received American State Department funding to study arts education in America. According to the Affandi Museum website, he studied educational methods of art at the University of Ohio for four months, held an exhibition in San Francisco and at the World House Galleries in the New York Press Club, in either 1957 or, more likely, 1958.[26] During the next five years, he seems to have been in the U.S. off-and-on between visits elsewhere, including back in Indonesia. In 1962, Affandi returned to the USA as Honorary Professor of Painting at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio.[27] Documentation about Affandi's presence at OSU's College of Arts must exist in local campus or city media; his name appears in an Ohio University press release dated March 9th,1962:

> Mr.Affandi, visiting painter in the School of Fine and Applied Arts sponsored by the U.S. State Department Leader's grant is a professional painter of international reputation. He has traveled extensively … [here his travels in Europe and Brazil are listed].

Charles River, Boston, 1958
Oil on canvas
61 x 76 Cm

Affandi and Soekarno.
(Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

His work is in private and museum collections in this country and abroad. He sells from 8 to 10 paintings a year and about 1/3 of his production is in collections in his own country. Among his patrons is President Sucarno [sic].

> His work is contemporary in style. A blend of East and West, and it is calligraphic, and oriental in compositional form, with a strong flavor of Van Gogh and touches of Indonesia in some of its detail. He paints with energy and speed completing a four by five foot canvas in 1-1/2 and 2 hours, and the energy of his action is reflected in the result.
>
> He plans to travel East in April visiting in New York, and Washington in [sic] a lecture tour that will take him to Mexico City where he will study murals and visit art museums for a month before returning home to Jogjakarta Java.[28]

Affandi's first travels in the USA took him from coast to coast, from the grandest natural vistas to the most famous urbanscapes in the nation. As evident from the paintings he made during these years, Affandi was not too tied to any particular campus or study course to travel around the U.S.

The paintings dated to 1958 include ones commissioned by Joseph Borkin to help the artist out during his first stay in America. *Grand Canyon I* with its "reclining triangle" field of warm reds and orange-ochres jutting into the darker greens and blacks, is one of Affandi's more abstract works; it almost qualifies as an abstract expressionist work. Here both composition as well as individual lines show Affandi's characteristic undulating, occasionally spiraling marks, which could be interpreted as a Java-raised Indonesian modernist's revisioning of, or homage to, the Javanese *ukel* form seen in classical dancers' hand-movements and in the patterns carved, painted, batiked or woven on traditional Javanese arts (e.g. wayang puppets and textiles). *Grand Canyon II* of the same year is more abstracted yet, and darker, with reds and pinks glowing against charcoals and blacks; without the brightening intensity of the complementary orange and green tones in the first, it is a heavier work.[29]

Both paintings are deliciously dense and rich with vibrations. The art historically trained eye may venture the guess that Affandi's encounters over the preceding years with a large span of art by European and American modernists, including completely abstract works (and among these, abstract expressionists), contributed to freeing him yet a step further here, from his earlier, more realistically depicted subject-matter. However, given the painting technique he had developed in the early 1950s before reaching Europe, he was already poised to make this transition, and the very vistas of the Grand Canyon themselves inspire to abstraction. Hence, ascribing the abstract quality of these works only to Euroamerican influence is too simplistic —it is a result of Affandi's own evolving sensibilities, his accruing visual experiences (including of modern European art), and his intensive communing with the subject-matter itself. One may also find in Affandi's stylistic and expressive choices echoes of a deep belief (exercised during his Javanese upbringing and never excised by his exposure to western ways of thinking) in the "aliveness", or spirit, that infuses every kind of matter, element, and space; in this view (as in these canvases), there is no "empty", no "inanimate".

Affandi's painting entitled *Carmel Beach* painted in California is done in a style similar to the two Grand Canyon paintings. Dominated by dark blues and blacks against pinks and beiges, it ranks among Affandi's more abstracted works and is very different from his many beach scenes (often with fishing boats foregrounded) painted in Bali, Madura, and East Java. In fact, a second painting wrongly listed as *Carmel Beach* for over forty years in two previous publications (Kalb 1990, Christie's 2006), was not painted in California at all, but back in Indonesia, at Kusamba Beach in Bali.[30] The colours (Kusamba Beach is painted predominantly in yellow-orange tones, with more of the canvas covered in thin washes), the style (less abstract, with recognizable subject-matter) and the composition (a mid-canvas horizon, objects in the foreground) are all very different than the Carmel and Grand Canyon works from 1958 and more like that of Affandi's paintings of the mid-1960s onwards.

In contrast to his first grand American landscapes, Affandi's 1958 *Times Square, New York* is a jazzy, funky tribute to what was and is one of America's most famous urban scenes. One wonders whether Affandi saw the City, the Big Apple, as human-made rock-faces and towering responses to the grand eroded stone columns and canyons he saw out West. In contrast to the timeless vistas of the Grand Canyon, this image is not only a portrait of a bustling metropolis, but of that part of the city associated with theatre, musicals, bars, and sex-business —the throbbing popular-culture heart of the city.

Times Square has "the status of an iconic world landmark and has become a symbol of its home city. …[and] is principally defined by its lighted and animated advertisements."[31] Affandi's painting captures the neon lights and the large advertisements with such energy and movement, we can almost see them blinking on and off. Movement is further enhanced by the many people of all colours on streets and sidewalks (the simplified figures literally painted in different hues) and by the huge viking ship which dominates the upper right, symbol of colourful, dramatic pre-European-American history and long voyages which take people far from home.

Affandi painted Times Square again four years later, but it would seem that the freshness of the experience of being there for the first time enlivened his first work more: the 1962 painting is darker in hues and more static in composition; perhaps he was exploring a different mood —in the place, in himself.

Affandi with toddler Jody and Tjandra, two of Louise and Sudjana Kerton's three children, 1962.
(Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

Two other masterpieces from Affandi's first visit to America are *Charles River, Boston* and *Bay Bridge*. These paintings, splendid in execution, energetic involvement and composition, depict encounter- and transition-points between land and water, and between human-made and primal, natural elements. These works are powerful metaphors for departures, arrivals and encounters. We experience in these canvases something akin to the element of atmospheric vividness in classical Chinese landscape paintings, along with the sense that every part of the canvas (and the world) is alive as expressed in the space-time continuum spanning primary religions and quantum physics.

Like so many of his European works, Affandi's early paintings in America can, on the one hand, be read like sophisticated postcards: "See? I was here! At this famous place (wish you were here)!" A more interesting reading is that they are moments in Affandi's "diary"—a diary not in the conventional sense of "record of external events", but in the Jungian sense of tracking the stages of one's inner-life journey. Along with his appetite for life, Affandi's "hunger to paint" arose in response to his desire to merge with his chosen subject, both imprinting and being imprinted. By painting this process, he left behind the residue of these experiences on canvases of brilliance, such as these. These early American works continue new trends in his work seen in some of his European paintings, which show him discovering new angles from which to view the world and embracing new perspectives.

Affandi in America: the early 1960s

In April 1960, in an article in the *New York Times*, the readership of one of America's most important newspapers again encountered the Indonesian painter Affandi, in a somewhat patronizing manner described as "a middle-aged cherub from Yogyakarta." More importantly, he is "the best known, most respected and highest priced" Indonesian artist (Kalb, 1960).

Bernard Kalb, at various times foreign correspondent for CBS, NBC and the New York Times, Indonesia supporter, and later assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and spokesman for the State Department,[32] continues: "His expressionist canvases are ablaze with colours and bold lines as though they were in rebellion against the traditional concept of Javanese sweetness and passivity." A

photo shows Affandi next to a painting entitled *Drinking in Paris*, which resonates with echoes of Edvard Munch. The painting is described as "the kind of work that Soekarno considers not of his world."

Kalb's article opens with the following lines from Soekarno: "This is my command: Return to our own culture! Return to our own identity!" Kalb goes on to quote President Soekarno's response to Affandi's work: "I liked his early realistic paintings. —But lately he has gone crazy. Spiritually, he has left Indonesian soil. He is no longer an Indonesian.[33] I don't say his work —or some other 'modern' Indonesian art I have seen recently —is ugly. But it is not my world" (Kalb, 1960).[34]

An Indonesian artist is quoted as saying: "There is no such thing as patriotic art. … An artist paints what he sees, not what he ought to see. We are still young, still experimenting —trying expressionism, impressionism, abstraction. Anyway, you cannot return to an identity. You have it all the time— and it is always changing" (Kalb, 1960). While the speaker is unnamed in the article, the ideas expressed could well be ones shared by Affandi.

In September 1961, after about a year back in Indonesia, Affandi returned to America again with his wife Maryati, to tour, lecture, and paint. They journeyed from Columbus, Ohio to Buffalo, Cornell University/Ithaca and Syracuse, New York; to Wilmington, Indiana; to New York City, to Connecticut, and to Washington, D.C.[35] While it is once again difficult to reconstruct a full narrative of this visit, a few glimpses emerge from the haze of time past.

The family of Sudjana Kerton, well-known from his nationalist and artistic work in Indonesia in the late 1930s and 1940s, who had gone to Europe and then the USA for art studies, was living in Brewster, 60 miles north of Manhattan.[36] On June 4th, 1962, readers of the *Danbury Times* could read

Affandi and Louise Kerton with toddler Tjandra, Jody, and Affandi's new car.
This is a rare photo of Affandi, who generally preferring comfort to style, is looking very dapper and stylish in a suit. Here posing in front of the 1957 Chevrolet Affandi bought on this visit, and kept with the Kerton's till it could be shipped back to Java —which, according to Kartika, it never was, though later cars he bought were. Photograph: Sudjana Kerton. (Courtesy of Tjandra Kerton and the Sanggar Luhur Archives, Bandung)

Affandi, Self portrait
Watermelon Eater, 1962
Oil on Canvas
120 x 100 cm

Sudjana Kerton
Affandi Eating Watermelon
(Courtesy of Tjandra Kerton and the Sanggar Luhur Archives, Bandung)

the following under the heading "Top Diplomats Visit Indonesian Painters":

> High diplomatic officials and art collectors were the guests of Sudjana Kerton of Tonetta Lake yesterday afternoon on the occasion of the arrival of the painter Affandi, who enjoys national fame in his native Indonesia and is visiting the U.S. on an invitation of the State Dept. Affandi is the guest of Kerton.

Affandi and Sudjana Kerton had known each other from 1939[37] on. Louise and Sudjana's daughter, Tjandra Kerton, offers an interesting piece of oral history not included in the accounts of Affandi's early years I have seen: "I think you know the story of my father's cousin Kendar being visited by Affandi in the 1930's in Bandung? Affandi would come with his paintings rolled up under one arm to show Kendar and ask for his opinions. I don't know how Affandi knew Kendar, but apparently at that time Kendar was pretty well known among the Bandung art circles as one of the most talented young and upcoming Indonesian artists, as young as he was, and before his tragic death at the age of 22, had already had some exhibitions —this is according to my father's account." [38]

These nationalist era artists were learning to paint on their own, as peers, fellow pioneers and occasionally as competitors, with only occasional advice from European and later Japanese artists; there were no art schools in Indonesia till the late 1940s. Thus it was common practice to share and discuss each other's work. Affandi's main training ground for painting was the experience he gained from painting film-billboards in Bandung from 1935-39. With these, he was one of the very first Indonesian painters to be exhibiting his work publically —and very popular/populist work this was, given their medium and function.

Here are two examples of artists painting Affandi as signs of friendship and homage and, in the earlier case for sure, as a chance to work with a living model.

Affandi, (1946)
This fine portrait by Hendra is one of the earliest known examples of another artist painting Affandi. As attested to by Affandi on the back of the canvas, it was painted during the early years of an acquaintance which matured into a mutually admiring friendship lasting until Hendra's death in 1983. A visit by Affandi to Hendra in his studio in Bali can be seen in Yasir Marzuki's film on Affandi, "Hungry to Paint."

Affandi, (1985)
Courtesy of Round Kelana and the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), University of Copenhagen, Denmark.
This painting was destroyed, along with many other works, in Aceh during the 2004 tsunami. The existence of this image on the Internet is one example of how scholarship sometimes saves historical data that was destroyed: NIAS was in the fortunate position to have, and be able to post, a number of Kelana's works online as a virtual exhibition after their desctruction. Unfortunately, due to the low resolution of the image available, the text written by the artist in light green on dark green in the upper right corner, cannot be deciphered.

Affandi and Kerton also knew each other in Jakarta in the early 1940s and moved more consistently in the same circles in Yogyakarta in the mid-1940s, where both were involved with the nationalist struggle and with shaping the first Indonesian artist organizations. They also occasionally painted together. Hence it was only natural that the Affandis stayed with the Kertons when they came to the U.S. Tjandra Kerton remembers: "Affandi visited us in the late '50's and then again in the early '60's. I remember much joking and joshing around —I seem to remember that a lot of the joking was at my Dad's expense! There was about a 15 year age difference between my Dad and Affandi, if not more…"[39]

Rarely does one read children's memories of famous artists or hear children's voices used as historical documentation; the following is one of three such memories of Affandi included in this essay. Tjandra, a pre-schooler in 1962, reflects further:

> I vaguely remember sitting on his knee/lap when he came visiting us in New York, which he did on more than one occasion, at least once with his wife Maryati. I remember thinking what an ugly face he had, with a wispy beard and scraggly teeth in his mouth! On one of his visits in the early 60's he bought an American car … . He and my father went to Mexico in the early '60's but apparently not at the same time.
>
> In 1962, when he visited my family in New York (we were still living in the town of Brewster, near a lake), he and my father went to the market and bought lobsters and watermelons. Then after they came back to the house, they cooked up everything, and

> we had a picnic on the lawn (or maybe near the lake) and my father and Affandi also had a painting session, during which Affandi painted several pictures and my father did as well, painting the one called "Affandi eating watermelon," as well as others. The lobster and watermelon picnic I have no memory of at all —my mother supplied most of the info. In 1964, when my father made a six-month trip to Indonesia, he and Affandi went to Bali and painted there.[40]

Sudjana Kerton's painting of Affandi eating watermelon reproduced here is an example of the cubist experiments he learned at the Art Student's League in New York City in the 1950s.[41] This work also illustrates the practice of painting together often undertaken by this generation of Indonesian artists —embodying the collective, collaborative and fun spirit that sometimes surrounded the creation of individual or collaborative art works— a way of relating and/or paying homage to colleagues and friends.

The experiences of the two World Wars, the last one of very recent memory to people Affandi met on his visits to the USA, had made Americans more acutely aware of the world as a whole. Perhaps as a reaction to the Cold War (1946-56), the 1950s and early 1960s also witnessed many instances of international exchanges in America. It was also a time when art was embraced more actively than before as an important part of the building of relations between nations new and old. The purpose of Affandi's 1961-62 visit to the USA, as explicitly stated in many sources as well as by the artist himself, was "to create a better understanding for Indonesian cultural expression" (*Danbury Times*, 1962b).

The US government was keeping a close eye on Soekarno's policies of pursuing nationalist, democratic, communist, and anti-American policies and sentiments at home, both in the region and

Brooklyn Bridge, Manhattan,
1962
Oil on canvas
76 x 122 cm

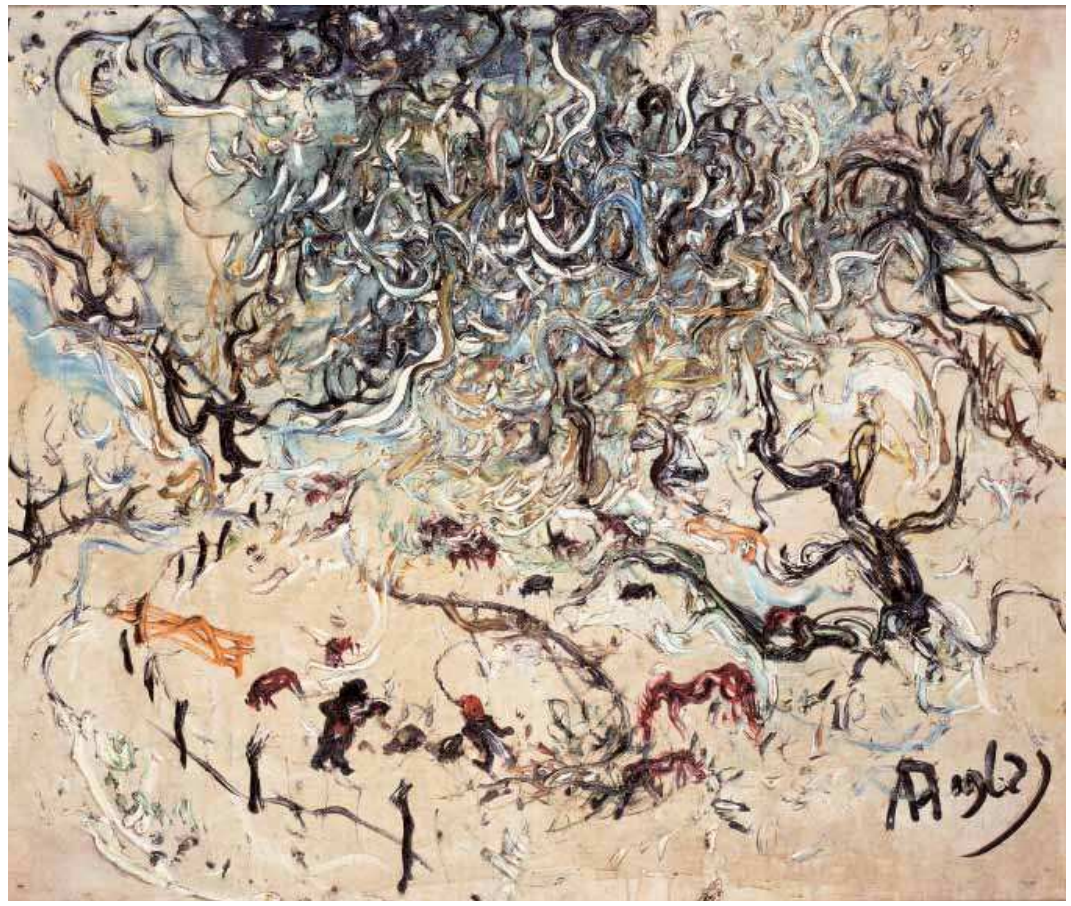
Wall Street, New York, 1965
Oil on canvas
120 x 96 cm

across the world.[42] Among more phobic members of the U.S. government, who saw the Unaligned Movement under Soekarno's leadership (with the historic 1955 Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung) beginning to spread also to Latin America, nervousness was growing. Both sides —hawkish conservatives and apologists for American world leadership as well as those with more radical views of democracy and global community— saw how art and artists could be used (as they often have been and always will be attempted) as the "lubricant" in geo-political games (Apinan, 1996). Still, dimensions of inter-personal enjoyment and interest were also factors during both unofficial and more official gatherings such as the one at the Kertons' during Affandi's visit, described below.

Among those present at the party were B. A. Masfar, first secretary to the Indonesian delegation to the U. N., the delegation's press attaché, Jusuf Ronodipuro, Jan Beharka of Radio Free Europe, V. MacVicker, director of the Ford Foundation in Indonesia and well known art collector, Lionel Landre, former cultural attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, and Bernard Kalb, who recently returned from Jakarta where he represented the *N.Y. Times.* (*Danbury Times*, 1962b)

Media notes like this one illustrate how Affandi was becoming increasingly well-connected and more visible at the centres of power and art in America.

Affandi and Joseph Borkin



Ranch During Winter, 1962
Oil on canvas
104 x 125 cm

In November 2006, Christie's Auction house in Hong Kong put up for auction eleven Affandi paintings in the Borkin collection.[43] The catalogue states that the collection "testifies both to the collector's passion and also to the profound talent of the artist."[44]

Joseph Borkin (1912, was an American economist, legal scholar, humanist, educator, populist, fighter of corruption, and international net-worker who became involved with the fledgling nation Indonesia in the early 1950s.[45] Borkin got to know President Soekarno in his capacity as an American economic advisor to the President during the early years of Indonesian independence, "marshalling support within the United States Congress as well as among the American press corps." (Christie's, 2006). Passionate about the young nation, he worked tirelessly in support of the complete realization of Indonesian Independence.[46] This involvement, and his ensuing close friendship with President Soekarno, who liked to gather artists around him at the Palace both for official state functions and for less formal occasions, set the stage for Borkin and Affandi to meet.

> The first meeting with Affandi left such an indelible impression on the collector that upon his return to the United States Joseph Borkin excitedly declared to his wife and son, "I have just met the worlds' next Van Gogh". Joseph Borkin was convinced that Affandi possessed a unique talent and was the bridge that connected the best of eastern and western art (Christie's, 2006).

Borkin's son, Harvey Borkin, fleshes out the story:

> My dad fell in love with the country. He went to Indonesia first in 1955, I think it was, and he became very close friends with Soekarno. I got a call from Soekarno's daughter 5-6 yrs ago —Dewi's daughter, who lives in London now— and she just wanted to say how much her father had appreciated the friendship with my dad. He'd always said to her: "Your best friend in America is Joseph Borkin." I have an autographed picture Soekarno gave to my Dad, which reads: "To Joe, When everybody else forgets you, I never will." It was always seen as amazing, that the one, being Jewish, and the other, being Muslim, could be best friends.
>
> I'll tell you one funny story: My parents would go to the Indonesian Embassy's Independence Day party each year. One time, sitting around drinking hot soup (both spicy and warm), Soekarno looked over at my Dad and said: "Joe, you're crying!" And my Dad said: "I always cry when I'm happy."[47]

Borkin's enthusiasm for Affandi's work led to his becoming, over the next several years, the largest American collector of the artist's work. Harvey Borkin says: "The first year my dad bought some of Affandi's paintings was in 1958, to help fund him, a young struggling artist." During Affandi's visits to the USA from 1957 onwards, Affandi and Borkin cemented their friendship.[48] Borkin junior continues:

> I was a teenager the first time I met Affandi. He was a delight, such a cheerful, positive,

Snow in the Sun, USA, 1962
Oil on canvas
98 x 127 cm

Joseph Borkin, 1962
Oil on canvas
89 x 71.5 cm

upbeat man. My dad often had students from the embassy come and cook Indonesian food at our house, for dad's friends —professionals, politicians, people who could help Indonesia— who would come and eat Indonesian food at our house. He was promoting Indonesia all the time. Affandi was a big part of our lives growing up.[49]

While Affandi often said that he was not interested in politics, his position as an active, committed and democratic humanist made an impact on people dedicated to the work of improving the world for everybody.[50] Analyzing the historical fabric of this era, which has been duly criticized by numerous analysts, it is important to remember also the idealism pursued by certain groups and individuals. Art was seen by many as an active and positive agent in the work of crossing and uniting geo-political and cultural divides and resisting racial and other forms of discrimination. Harvey Borkin says:

My dad felt that Affandi incorporated the East with the West —that he was that great bridge that everybody was always looking for. Like Elvis Presley —a white singer who had that black spiritual tone; he felt that Affandi did the same thing for art. When my dad said this to Jake Kainen, a curator at the Smithsonian,[51] Jake burst out saying something to the effect of: "Oh my god, that absolutely captures it."

While several of the 1958 paintings discussed above found their way into the Borkin collection,

Joseph Borkin and me, 1966
Oil on canvas
101 x 132.5 cm

Me and Raka, 1982
Oil on canvas
110 x 132 cm

another series of works painted in America dated to 1962 enrich Affandi's oeuvre, though to my eyes, many of them fail to reach the level of intensity as the paintings done during Affandi's first encounter with the new continent. Also these show Affandi painting both urban and rural areas as well as portraiture. The *Times Square* painting of this year has been discussed above. A similar, restful (if less dynamic) style and muted colour-scheme is seen in *Wall Street, New York* —both of these paintings are more "closed" in their expression than usual for Affandi. In *Brooklyn Bridge, Manhattan*, we see a very different view of the bridge, land, and water motif than in the 1958 paintings from San Francisco and Boston. Here the artist is standing on the bridge itself rather than looking down at it from afar; he is thus separated from both nature and city, which are seen through the "bars" of the bridge cables. The canvas communicates a more hemmed-in feeling compared to the earlier works, yet the sense of freedom and dynamism in the curving, curling atmosphere, lifts and enlivens the subject— until one realizes that both artist and viewer are separated from it.

Both Affandi's vistas and colours open up in *Ranch During Winter*, and *Landscape with Snow*.[52] We feel the artist reveling in the more limited but vibrant colours against the white snow and in the free play of sun over the cold lands. The sun being the prime symbol of Affandi's energy-persona, as seen in his cartoon-like signature where the sun is his head, its presence is an affirmation of the life-force, which Affandi painted in its various phases and in both familiar and unfamiliar places. He had, it seems, a rare ability to find "the constant" beneath the differences.

Like many artists, Affandi alternated between working freely, according to his own heart, and accepting commissions from patrons.[53] In 1962, Affandi was commissioned by Joseph Borkin to "paint scenes in America and … portraits of the American leaders who helped champion the cause for Indonesian independence. Thus he painted Drew Pearson who was, at the time, the most famous American newspaper columnist and radio commentator, Judge Thurman Arnold whose law firm, Arnold and Porter is one of largest and most prominent in the world today, Mr. Leo Bernstein the Washington banker, and finally Mr. Borkin himself" (Christie's, 2006, Ibid).

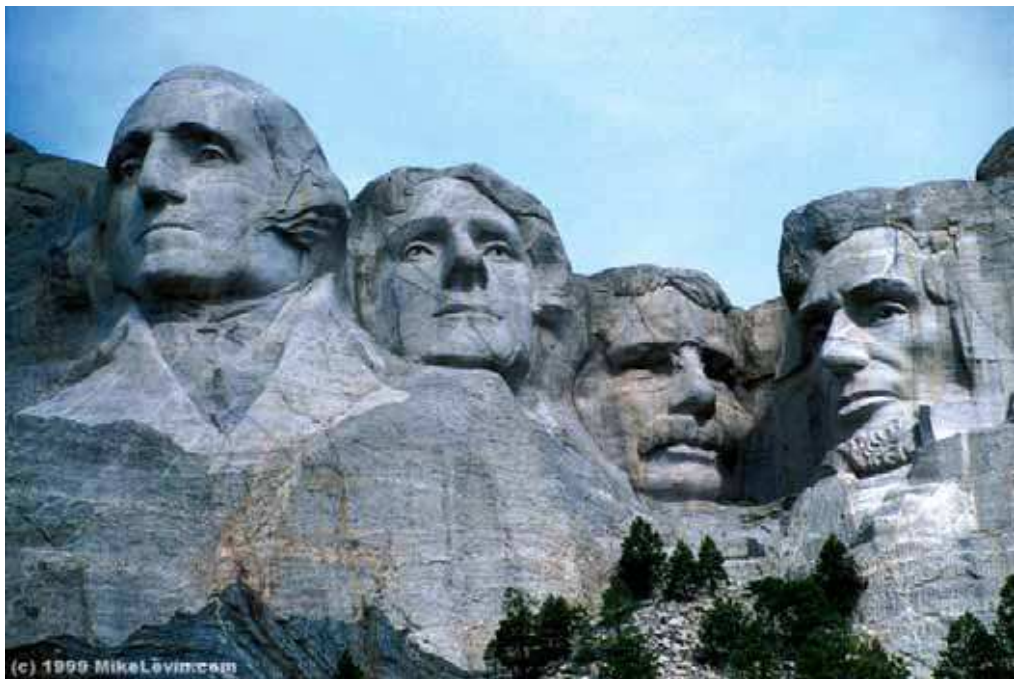
Affandi's 1962 *Joseph Borkin* reveals a man with a razor sharp mind and a confident, even intimidating gaze which nails the viewer with a double dose of challenging skepticism.[54] This portrait shows Affandi's occasional tendency towards an exaggeration of features that is so extreme that it approximates caricature; both feature-wise and expression-wise, it is hard to believe this is the same

man Affandi painted next to himself, four years later. This caricaturistic bent is seen clearly also in the face of the white woman in *Lady Walking Her Dog* (1962; Christie's, 2006, lot 106), who looks like she could be Pinocchio's mother, and more extremely yet in Affandi's *Mt. Rushmore* (1966; Christies, 2006, lot 107).[55]

In Affandi's painting of this all-(Euro-)American monumental icon[56] carved into a mountainside in South Dakota's Black Hills,[57] the granite hewn faces of presidents George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln are virtually unrecognizable. Yet this cannot be explained by the artist's inability to paint good portraits —Affandi's numerous portraits of Indonesians of many ethnic backgrounds and of various European-descent people demonstrate that he had no trouble creating an expressive, yet recognizable likeness as well as capturing some of the spirit of the sitter. Thus we can only conclude that the Indonesian artist has here substituted the faces of the four presidents with those of others with a specific reason in mind.

One comparative glance at a photograph of Mount Rushmore and Affandi's painting confirms this conclusion and reconfirms the question: what was he thinking, when he chose to paint four faces unknown to both American elementary school students and most university history students, in the style and with the name he chose? To a Euroamerican viewer, the prominence of the nose on the head on the right makes one think of anti-semitic caricatures of Jewish people, both before and since but particularly during the Hitler era, echoed in many places in the world. By extension, this image reminds us of all racist depictions and descriptions in any time and place —this is a wide-spread genre of inter-communal commentary not limited to anti-Semitism. Looking at the Mount Rushmore painting, causes a distinctly uncomfortable viewer's reaction. This is, at least to me, an unusal one in relation to Affandi's work. What is going on here? The work is rendered all the more mysterious since no discussion or description,

Mt. Rushmore, 1966
Oil on canvas
107 x 183.5 cm



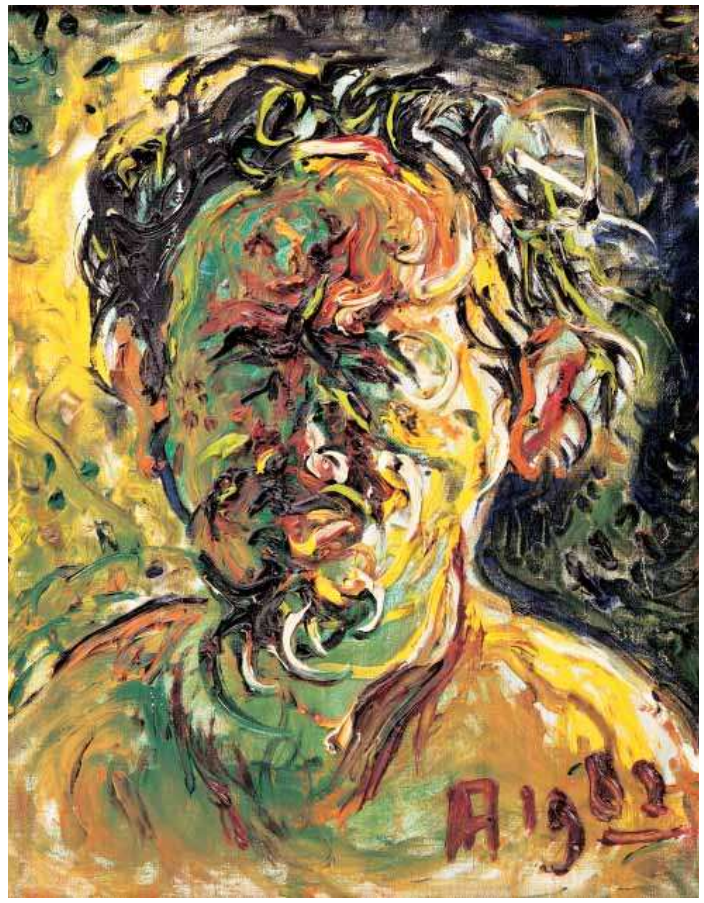
"Mt. Rushmore"
Photograph ©1999 Michael Levin

beyond the basic identifying details, accompanies its reproduction in Christie's 2006 catalogue. This is in stark contrast to most of the other Borkin-paintings up for auction, which are well-buffeted with verbiage.

My concern here is that people who see this painting could read it from a "western"/ "caricature-ish" perspective as a racist portrayal of American Jews or of a specific group of Jewish-American individuals (at least one of whom, to my eyes, remarkably resembles Joseph Borkin) —a reading which my gut-instinct (developed over twenty-five years of studying Affandi's work, person and culture) refutes.[58] But why? What is going on in my sub-conscious, here?

While there can be no single interpretation of any work of art, I believe there are more and there are less "relevant" interpretations. One of the variables of interpretation is found along the lines of what an artist's intentions were. I believe that relevant critiques should always, at least at the out-set, take into consideration what the artist's vision or aim was, to measure how successfully s/he achieved it; it is not fair for critics to measure works against some ideal of their own which may be completely off-target from what the artist was trying to do. Finally, I believe that one arrives at insight into the artist's motivations and intentions through building up as rich a picture as possible, of the individual and his/her cultural conditioning and oeuvre. What, then, in regard to Affandi would be some more relevant and meaningful directions to consider in regard to the free-wheeling exploration and exaggeration of Jewish features in Affandi's Mt. Rushmore painting?

An observation I have made over the last many years in regard to both Affandi's and Kartika's art is how it sometimes pushes exaggeration towards the grotesque and caricaturistic. The current conundrum now makes me ask: is there a difference between what might broadly be called a Euroamerican use/perception of caricature and an Indonesian one?[59]



Self-Portrait, 1962
Oil on canvas
51.5 x 41 cm

Musing on this painting against the backdrop of Indonesian, Javanese, and Affandi's personal culture, it strikes me that, yes! "Caricature" and "cartoon", specific kinds of stylization, are used, seen and understood differently in Indonesia than in Euroamerica. In the west, the caricature/cartoon mode generally implies disrespect and disagreement with what is depicted, whereas in Indonesia, "fun/ridicule" and "respect/awe" are often seen employed together as mutually inclusive in many popular approaches to art which use formalist conventions that look similar to "caricature". In Java, Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia, such stylization and its use in both religious and political allegorical narratives (often seen as one and the same thing), can be seen in many of the most ancient as well as popular and sacred art forms such as *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet plays), masks, and *wayang beber* (painted story scrolls). For example, the chief of the clowns in the shadow puppet play, Semar, is at once the funniest and silliest looking of all the clowns and the representative/form of the divine, but depicted completely unlike Krishna, who is represented by a refined-looking puppet.

Affandi's culture, then, taught him about degrees of stylization that are meant to be comic and which superficially resemble the approach to form used in western cartoon and caricature traditions, but which at a deeper level are more complex. When you add to this the frequent use of moral and (in eras of censorship) political allegory, historically as well as in modern Indonesian art (for examples, look to the work of Affandi's peers, Hendra Gunawan and Sudjojono), interesting relevant readings of this work open up.

A sociological perspective reminds us that Affandi was acculturated to a context where some of his most educated, financially talented (Chinese-Indonesian) countrymen were, by force of their ethnicity, barred from holding public office yet were badly needed as advisers, funders, and/or hard workers behind the scenes —or, to use an Indonesian metaphor, on the *dalang*'s side of the shadow play's screen. The parallel to Borkin's own situation, and that of so many Jewish American advisors, lobbyists, professionals, and funders, may very well have struck Affandi, as he came to understand America better and saw Borkin and his colleagues in action under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. Finally, when we look at Affandi's own self-portraiture, the frequent use of what to western eyes look like caricatures of himself (also evident in portrayals of Affandi during his Centennial celebrations in Yogyakarta in May, 2007), nails home the point that there need be no contradiction or mutual exclusivity in Indonesian "formography" between "humorous/ridiculous" and "respected/beloved" or, indeed, between political and cultural, or personal and political.

Based on the above lines of reasoning, I argue that in Affandi's painting of the Rushmore portrait, there is likely a mixture of mischievousness, political observation, and respect present during the making of this work. And possibly also a desire to unmask a not-unfamiliar socio-political dynamic at work, which at times involved the vilification of a particular (ethnic) group of educated professionals and others who were absolutely necessary to the running of the nation —and who, to Affandi, represented the vanguard of accepting and promoting the artist's own new nation. This reading of the work is also congruent with its title, where the word "heroes" figures, I would argue, tongue in cheek but with serious under-tones. If then, as Harvey Borkin said after I approached him about this possibility, all four faces in this painting indeed are portrayals of his father, Joseph Borkin,[60] the interpretations of the work and the artist's intentions while conceiving of and executing it would make this one of Affandi's most humorous and sharply political allegorical statements about

Robert Kennedy and Affandi, unknown photographer, 1962. Robert Kennedy and Affandi are here shown with the painting Affandi gave to Robert Kennedy; present location unknown, possibly still in one of the Kennedy art collections. Sardjana Sumichan observed the following about this historical photo: "The background is a Balinese Rangda or Kala, it looks like a stage background. I would guess this was taken at an Indonesian night in Washington DC, perhaps at the Indonesian Embassy. The way Affandi dressed with a formal jacket was a rare thing." (Courtesy of Sardjana Sumichan)

Affandi posing before the completed painting, *Four Girls* painted for the Bernstein family in 1962. (Photograph: Norman Bernstein)

America, as well as a tongue-in-cheek and deep-felt homage to Borkin and his ancestry. Affandi may have decided not to engage directly in polemics with political authority after the mid-1950s, but he could not turn off his long-honed capacity for political analysis and reactions to injustice.

It was during the same private visit to the USA in 1966 when Affandi painted the Rushmore work, that the artist made the gesture that signifies a relationship more meaningful than mere economic exchange between artist and collector. In an act I have come to see as a modern art variant on an Indonesian-style affirmation of relationship —a painterly version of *foto bersama* (taking a photograph together)— Affandi painted a double portrait entitled *Joseph Borkin and Me*.[61]

By all accounts, and as evidenced by this painting, Joseph Borkin and Affandi enjoyed a close friendship. That said, I read this painting as a fairly formal double-portrait, with the two faces placed evenly, side by side. The main sign of less-formal closeness is how some of Affandi's hair overlaps with Borkin's left temple and eyebrow. Beyond that, my art historical eye finds less of the old, easy friendship here that I see in Affandi's later, remarkable double-portrait *Me and Raka* (1982). Here, Affandi has painted himself and Raka Sumichan, his longest-standing and most avid collector[62] and has recorded, poetically and symbolically, the long-standing relationship with this collector. Affandi and Raka are seated, relaxed, in natural surroundings, perhaps in a garden or by a swimming place, wearing very little if anything at all. Compositionally, there is no obvious statement of closeness—neither the heads nor the bodies are placed in proximity to each other. But the whole situation (both

Four Girls, 1962
127 x 147 cm
(Photograph: Greg Staley
Foxhall Gallery, 2007)

men looking at the viewer, through the veil of time and place which the canvas penetrates) conveys both the depth and the naturalness of longstanding mutual familiarity. This feeling is reinforced by the natural, Eden-like or non-threatening-wilderness setting.

Interpretation aside, the oral history record is eloquent about how, whether at home or abroad, Affandi could engender a sense of familiarity in strangers within a short time. At the same time, a shared history of exchanges over decades, in one's native language and taking place on one's home turf, will tend to grow stronger and deeper roots than those made abroad. Perhaps there is no contradiction or hierarchy here —the banyan tree's roots range from thread-like whisps to column-thick new trunks; they are all part of the process of making connections from one place to the next. And through all of his time abroad, through all of his work, Affandi's constant stream of self-portraits kept him —and now keeps us— in touch with the artist self as subject, and as canvas, upon which his experiences were painted and recorded.

Affandi and the Bernsteins

Through his connection with Joseph Borkin in Washington D.C., Affandi met many important people in the closely intersecting worlds of politics, professions and business. One of the most notable encounters Borkin organized was Affandi's invitation to dinner by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who also visited the Affandi museum in Yogyakarta with his wife while on a goodwill mission to Indonesia in 1964.[63]

Self-Portrait, Eating Crabs, 1962
Oil on canvas

Affandi also met Norman Bernstein in 1962. One of the stories one hears about Affandi is how much he loved good cars, and during his visit to the US in the early 1960s, the purchase of a car became one of his goals. It was hard for Affandi to come up with enough cash to buy himself the Chevrolet Impala he had set his heart on. But then Norman Bernstein offered to help him buy it in return for some paintings. Thus it was arranged that Mr. and Mrs. Affandi went to the Bernsteins' Chesapeake Bay summer house for an overnight visit. Here they talked, ate, enjoyed each other's company, and Affandi painted the Bernstein family.

"I have movies of him painting, 16 mm films with close-ups of his hands," Norman Bernstein, now 86, tells me over the phone. "He had this special way of painting, directly from the tube, applying the paint with his thumb."[64]

The paintings which resulted were a portrait of Norman Bernstein; a portrait of his four daughters; a still life of a table-full of Chesapeake Bay steamed crabs; and a portrait of Bernstein eating said crabs. The theme of food, abundance, eating and painting runs through many of Affandi's visits to America, and can perhaps be seen as signifying Affandi's appetite for life and art in its fullest, most intensely literal forms.

One of the Bernstein daughters, Marianne, vividly remembers Affandi painting herself and her sisters that sunny day; she was six years old.[65] "I am the girl on the far right, in the blue dress, with my hand on my hip," she writes. "Here's my memory, permanently etched into my brain —in the form of a poem."

Ode to Affandi

I don't remember him coming or going, just being—

part madman, poet, dreamer

hands like lightning, exploding tubes of paint

in front of crashing endless blue.[66]

It is clear from the above that watching Affandi in action while painting, a process so often described by Affandi himself as well as onlookers as a near-trance or an emotional catharsis, was not only fascinating to adults. Norman Bernstein captured several moments in the process of the painting's creation with his camera and also of the artist afterwards, energy spent, relaxing before the finished canvas. The end result, *Four Girls*, is a snapshot-like image of the Bernstein girls intently following the progress of the painting with their blue eyes. Each girl seems to be harboring different thoughts about what she is watching. The "see-through" young girls' legs outlined in thick strings of paint evoke the feeling of summer breezes, salty air and long-ago. The angle of the bay, the choreography of the crabs, and the rococo bracketing of the blue chairs make *Crab Feast at Table* (also known by the title *Chesapeake Bay*) into another sun-filled summer's eye-dance. Affandi sure was busy, those two days he and Maryati spent with the Bernsteins: two portraits of Norman Bernstein ensued, one of him devouring the crabs and the other, a more traditional portrait,

Affandi's straight portrait of Norman Bernstein shows him dressed formally. The person with the very large forehead and somewhat soft-focus, intense eyes who looks out at you, conveys the impression of determination and intelligence matched by great sensitivity. Bernstein seems to be leaning forward, on his way out of the canvas, about to say something compelling. The highlights under the receding hairline are bold white, yellow and pink swirling lines, not unlike abstracted crab-claw designs, or the revolving hooks of flaming light that often makes up Affandi's sun.

There is a phenomenon we could call, tongue-in-cheek, collectoritis (a sub-category of the observable fact that human beings are fashion-prone by nature). This describes what happens when one respected, influential person decides on a certain course of action: his or her peers follow.[67] Thus, when someone decides to collect something (for example, modern art, in a culture where

Sketch Of Jean Charlot,
Scan from original sketch.
(Courtesy of the Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawaii at Manoa Library, Honolulu)

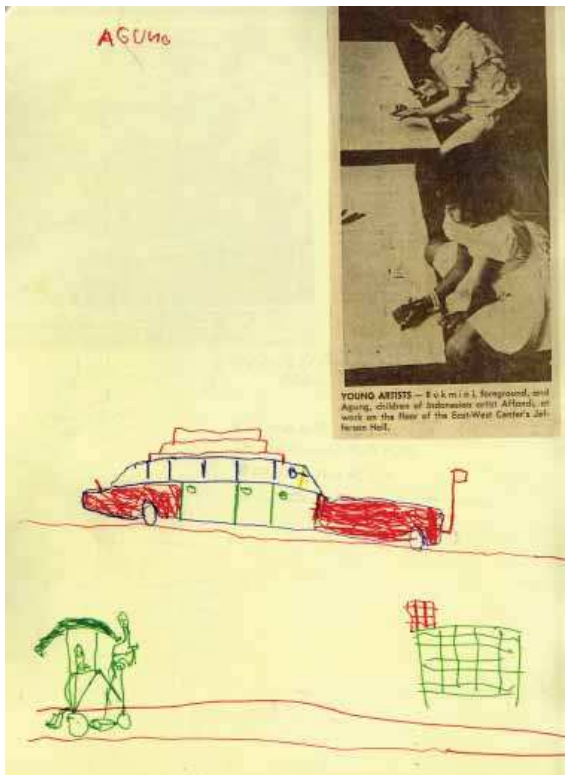
Chancellor Howard P. Jones (left), Affandi, and Jean Charlot (right),1967. (Photograph: Miyamoto. Miyamoto Photograph Collection, C67:062, # 33, University of Hawaii at Manoa Library, Honolulu)
It is likely that Jones knew Affandi from Indonesia, as he was the American Ambassador there from 1958-65 and he may have been the go-between for Affandi and the East-West Center in facilitating Affandi's visit in Honolulu.

this has not been done, commonly or at all), others will emulate them; similarly, when a respected collector decides to collect the work of a certain artist unknown to his peers, many of them will follow suit. We have heard above how this happened around Affandi's visits with Borkin —his circle of fans and collectors expanded.

In 1966, an exhibition of Affandi's work was held in Washington D.C., featuring works in several private collections in the area as well as at the Indonesian Embassy collection. Apart from works owned by Borkin and Bernstein, other collectors named are: Ladd Johnson, Sargent Shriver, Subagio and Prahasto. The list of twenty-seven paintings exhibited include the paintings of the Grand Canyon and Carmel,[68] the Charles River and Times Square, paintings of Chicago, plus Indian and Indonesian subjects, as well as several self-portraits.[69]

Affandi in Hawaii, 1967

Affandi's third major period in the U.S.A. is marked by his most monumental work created abroad (and possibly anywhere), the giant mural entitled *Wisdom of the East* painted in Honolulu.[70] Not only is this the largest of the only two murals I know to have been painted by Affandi,[71] but it represents the slowest artistic medium he ever worked in and the most long-drawn out technical process he encountered during his artistic life. Rather than subjects painted before the model, or already-familiar ones painted from memory,[72] the mural also represents some of the most intensively



Newspaper clipping with photo of Affandi's children, Agung and Rukmini, from a page in Charlot Family Guest Book 1964-1969. Scan of colour copy of guest book page. (Courtesy of the Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawaii at Manoa Library, Honolulu)

imagined subject-matter in his *oeuvre*. It is also Affandi's most intensive collaboration with another artist. This gigantic undertaking occurred during a stay in America when Affandi was accompanied not only by his wife Maryati but also by their then-adult daughter Kartika and Affandi's younger children, Rukmini and Agung. Kartika, and then son-in-law and artist Saptohoedojo, both artists, were Affandi's assistants on the mural project.

On September 29th, 1967, the newspaper reading public in Honolulu could read the following in the *Star Bulletin*:

> Artists Jean Charlot of Honolulu and Affandi of Indonesia have completed two large frescoes on the walls of the East-West Center's Jefferson Hall. The murals "speak in a universal language, to the universal mind," Chancellor Howard P. Jones said today in accepting the frescoes on behalf of the Center. (*Star Bulletin*, 1967).[73]

At the time of this writing, we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the two companion murals which still grace the second-floor stairwells of the Thomas Jefferson Hall, at the East-West Center (EWC) at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in Honolulu. The two artists were commissioned to, through process and subject matter, symbolize the idea of cultural exchange between "east" and "west," and the knowledge —or wisdom-traditions of both.

The decision in 1967 to commission two large public murals for the Jefferson Hall reflected a conscious and active attempt to incorporate artistic dimensions into the East-West dialogue fostered by the Center.[74] Affandi was asked to paint the mural on the south side of the hall, and Charlot was designated the north side.[75] Reflecting the mandate of the fellowship that brought him to the East-West Center, Affandi is quoted as saying about his mural: "It represents the wisdom

of the East and the struggle across turbulent seas to come together for study at the Center" (Ampersand, 1968, p.8).

The idea for this artistic event was born the year before. In a November 29, 1966 letter to recently retired professor of art Jean Charlot, Minoru Shinoda, Director of the East-West Center's Institute of Advanced Projects, wrote:

> Dear Professor Charlot,
>
> For as many years as the East-West Center has been in existence, I have been disappointed at the lack of attention to the arts and the humanities which has characterized the Senior Specialist Program. To date, we have had only one senior specialist who may be called a creative artist. This was the composer Allan Hovhaness.
>
> There has been a healthy change of policy here, partly due to persistent queries from our friends in Asia. At the time of your retirement from the University earlier this year, I was on the verge of approaching you to discuss the possibility of inviting several artists here and of asking you to participate.
>
> It happens now that a prominent Indonesian artist, Affandi by name, is interested in stopping here from March to June, 1967, enroute to the Montreal Fair to exhibit his paintings.[76] He is interested in picking up Hawaiian themes and in meeting and talking with artists here.
>
> In this connection, I wonder if you would be available for a Senior Specialist grant on a part-time-basis during the period of Affandi's visit…[78]

Ten months after this letter was written, the two large murals at the East-West Center were finished.

Mangoes, 1967. Small portable mural Missing from Jean Charlot's art collection. (Photograph: Garrett Solyom) This work was stolen from the open porch at Jean Charlot's home in late 2005 or early 2006; location currently unknown. Bronwen Solyom thinks the thief may have thought it was a Jean Charlot painting.

Affandi was invited to the East West Center with two other artists under the Senior Specialist program.[79] In addition to working closely with French-American artist and writer Jean Charlot on the murals, Affandi met Chiang Yee, author-artist of the *Silent Traveller* series of travel books.[80]

Jean Charlot's 1967 Pocket Diary is filled with annotations that witness to the intensely international and intercultural life one could live in Honolulu in the 1960s. An entry for Friday June 9th mentions a coffee at the East-West Center where the Indonesian ambassador and others were present; Wednesday June 14th notes the name Chiang Yee next to more short hand notes illegible to me. Sunday June 25th mentions "Affandi + 2 children"; Thursday June 29th, Charlot met with Kwock, Affandi, and Chiang Yee; Thursday July 6th and Friday July 14th, he met with Affandi.

On Monday July 17th, there is a note pertaining to the work they will soon be doing together: "EW [East-West] Ctr fresco wall w.Affandi at Jefferson Hall."

Affandi had never worked in the mural form before. Charlot asked his assistant, artist-craftsman Evelyn Giddings, to do the hands-on teaching of the buon fresco technique to Affandi. This was to prepare him for the creation of his large mural. Under Wednesday July 26th, 1967, we read in Charlot's pocket diary: "w. Evelyn get portable fresco from Tani house. To EW —Affandi w. my colours. Paints 'mangoes'. "[81]

The small painting of mangos Affandi painted that day was his first attempt at mural-painting. To my question about what she remembers about meeting and teaching Affandi the fresco technique, Evelyn Giddings, now 82, responds:

At the time [when I first met Affandi] I didn't realise his stature —his world stature. The thing about working with Charlot— friends always said to me, why don't you just do your own art? But working with Charlot, you met so many interesting people. Affandi and Jean both had offices in Lincoln Hall as resident artists, so they'd been interacting, and talking about their mural designs … and they both seemed to want [to feature] hands in their frescoes.

On the morning when Affandi was to do his practice piece, Charlot had had prepared what he called a portable fresco panel made of canek; made from fibres left over after they press the juice out of sugar cane, kind of like particle board —very light weight. One side has a chalky finish on it, which takes the paint when used in construction; on the back-side, it's just plain light brown coloured fibre.

The idea was to take a fork and scratch it up so the matted fibres were sticking up, take your first layer of plaster mixed with sand and work it into the fibres, like shampoo into your hair —you want to get a strong bond. Then you put another 1/4" layer of plaster and sand onto the first, trowel it till all the sand particles [are embedded]. Charlot preferred to use the local volcanic cinders rather than rubber sand or beach sand —because it mixes nicely with the plaster— the volcanic cinders have corners in them, so they lock together firmly and make a skin.

The second layer is done before the 1st layer is dry, you want both to mesh into one single layer. Then you trowel newspaper onto it, which sucks up the water. Next you trowel it again without the newspaper, and as more water rises, you soak this up.

> When the plaster is dry enough but still moist, you take your cartoons —the design traced onto best quality tracing paper— and lay the paper on the wet plaster. Charlot liked to use a blunt nail to scratch along the lines of the design, which presses it into the plaster, but doesn't break the surface because of the paper (you want paper which won't pop under the nail).
>
> So it's like a colouring book: you take the paper off and you have the design, then you fill in the areas between the lines with colour. Two colours meet on either side of the groove [created by the nail], which has a slight raise on either side, where the plaster was pushed aside by the nail.
>
> For the pigments, Charlot used a dinner plate instead of a palette where a little of the pigment was floated, and to paint, he liked to use sude, Japanese paint brushes, which hold a lot of water.[82]

These, then, were the techniques Affandi learned in Honolulu. To my question about what Affandi's reaction to this new technique was, Evelyn Giddings answered: "Oh, he was very happy, experimenting, trying [all] the different things he could think of —he was happy as a clam."[83]

From late July onwards, Charlot's pocket diary notes indicate that he and Affandi met more frequently. On Friday, July 28th, he mentions Chiang Yee, Affandi and others. On Friday August 4th, we read: "Affandi gives us fresco and pen and ink self portrait." On Wednesday, August 9th: "EW [East-West Center] -see Affandi show." The next day he wrote: "Affandi talk."

Affandi and Saptohoedojo, studying mural in progress. Honolulu, 1967.

Affandi, Kartika, and Saptohoedojo, on the mural scaffolding, with Jean Charlot standing below. Honolulu, 1967.

Wisdom of the East, 1967
East-West Center Mural
In situ, in the Jefferson Hall,
East-West Center, University of
Hawaii at Manoa.
(Photograph: Shayne Hasegawa,
2006)

Transferring his new knowledge of fresco painting to the large mural, which was to measure 13 feet high by 16 feet wide, involved an additional set of skills: the painting of the surface, which would be completely different from how he was used to painting.[84] The mural artists also faced two additional technical challenges: how to transfer their smaller sketches to the much larger wall maintaining the same proportions, and how to divide up the work into daily segments. This had to be done because the pigment must be applied to the plaster while it is still wet; thus, fresco painters have to plan their work on the mural in sections no larger than what can be finished in a day's work. The Italian term for a day's work on a mural is giornata, and afficionados can tell by comparing the size of the finished work with the size of what is doable in a day just how many days went into the painting of it.[85]

On the progress of the frescoes, we can read in Charlot's diary: Fri Aug 18th: "Talk w Shinoda [Director of the Institute of Advanced Projects] on frescos Jefferson Hall." On Monday Aug.21st: "See Shinoda with Affandi on frescos." Wednesday Aug 23rd he wrote: "EW = sketch wall for Jefferson Hall" before a note about a chop suey lunch at the EW center. Two days later we read: "EW —see Shinoda on mural … see Affandi sketch mural." Aug 28th, a cryptic note mentions the EWC, Evelyn and the scaffold.

Affandi, then, began to sketch the composition of his mural onto the wall on August 25th and the work progressed from there till it was finished at the latest by September 28th, when the *Star Bulletin* article cited above went to press.

Jean Charlot, ***Wisdom of the West***
1967, East-West Center Mural
In situ, in the Jefferson Hall, East-West Center, University of Hawaii at Manoa.
(Photograph: Shayne Hasegawa, 2006)

Soon Affandi and Charlot were both busy working on their respective murals at their opposite ends of the building. Evelyn Giddings says: "We were so busy painting on the other [Charlot's] mural that I didn't pay much attention to Affandi's work." She does recall one exchange between the two master artists during this work: Affandi, who painted with his right hand, painted God's hand using his own left hand as the model. Charlot, seeing this, joked: "God must be left handed."

According to Kartika, her father was not comfortable with heights. While he did work high up on the scaffolding, he wanted to shorten the work time by employing assistants, so Affandi asked his daughter and son-in-law to help him with the work. Giddings remembers that, towards the completion of the mural, there was "one little change Affandi wanted done after the scaffolding was down —I had to go up on a ladder, as he didn't want to do that."[86]

A photo on p.A9 in the Saturday, Sept.16th edition of the *Honolulu Advertiser* shows Affandi seated with one leg crossed, one knee up, on the top scaffold, working on the upper part of his mural. Another photo in a newspaper-clipping pasted into the Charlot family guest book, perhaps from the *Honolulu Advertiser* or the *Star Bulletin*, shows Jean Charlot standing beneath the scaffolding for Affandi's mural. Affandi is smiling broadly down at the photographer. Charlot looks up at them, one of his hands raised as if in salute, directing the viewer's gaze upward. This photo was much reproduced in Honolulu-based media around that time. The caption reads: "French-born Jean Charlot shouts

encouragement to Indonesian-born Affandi, left, as he and his assistants work on their mural for the East-West Center in Honolulu."[87]

The East-West Center murals garnered a lot of attention locally, both within and outside of the university. Their creation was followed with great excitement by many people in Honolulu.

A steady stream of visitors watched, fascinated, as the work began. Large sheets of paper were attached to the walls, measuring 13 x 16 feet, and the artists began drawing cartoons —enlarging their scale-drawings grid-section by grid-section.

It soon became obvious that the focal point for both murals would be hands of heroic size. But there, similarity ended. Charlot's drawing had a strong, chiseled look. Affandi's lines swirled and curved musically. … The colours in the frescoes are as different as the artists themselves. Working quickly and thoughtfully (*East-West Center Magazine*, 1968, p.9).

Here, in a foreign land, Affandi was completely at ease working in public, out in the world, not behind studio walls; this was the way he had always worked and always would. One could say that Affandi's art was always a "public art", until purchased by a collector and secluded away in private homes all over the world. Yet on these walls, his work was and remains truly public both in form and intent, as it speaks to anyone who ventures into the building, telling of intersections between specific histories as well as the greater energies that pervade the universe.

Affandi's East-West Center Mural

Since late 1967, the two murals, *Wisdom of the East* and *Wisdom of the West* have sung their visual songs through symbols, composition and colours, like brackets or books-ends to the East-West Center's Jefferson Hall.[88] Affandi had never to my knowledge worked this large before. Nor had he painted a companion piece to another artist's work, each depicting complementary subjects meant to be read both as separate and intertwined.[89]

Jean Charlot's mural, *Wisdom of the West*, painted in the North stairwell of the Jefferson Hall, depicts the West's contribution to world wisdom: two huge hands, one palm up, one palm down, cradle and protect a vibrant fire Charlot intended as the representation of creativity. The setting is a plain architectural interior of stucco and beams with the air of a simple Mexican dwelling.

In a classic triangular composition, the flame-embracing hands are flanked in the lower corners by two figures who by gesture and accessories are clearly personifications of specific qualities. The one on the left represents Inspiration and the one on the right, Study. Gazing intently up at the hands around the fire, Inspiration symbolizes "the poetry or genius in all discovery" and is poised to write in the tablet resting in her lap. Study, his face buried in a book, signifies human beings' "factual research and sense of history" (Charlot's ideas, presumably, echoed in the *East-West Center Magazine*, 1968, p.8).

While the *EWC Magazine*'s anonymous writer correctly identifies echoes of Italian renaissance perspectives in the setting and the triangular composition, the figures do not primarily, to my eyes, "suggest the classical arts of Greece and Rome" in form, only in their employment as personifications. Painted like statues made of rough-hewn granite or terracotta, they bear the stylistic hallmark of

indigenous sculpture in clay and wood, echoed in modernist adaptations (for example, by Picasso), with traces of social realism, particularly in the large hands: these are the hands not of an effete monk or intellectual, but of a working man. Charlot's style is a hybrid one, developed through his own intensive study of indigenous arts in several parts of the world; it is also in part a result of the simplification and monumentalizing of form that spring from the techniques of mural painting. It is easy to see the continuum between European renaissance mural traditions, Euroamerican modernism, and Charlot's Mexican muralist connection here.

Affandi's mural, *Wisdom of the East*, is dominated by a great hand, palm facing the viewer, held up against the blue-green swirls of what could be either a gigantic ocean or the cosmic firmament — or both.[90] The hand is gnarled and strong, with short powerful fingers curving slightly inward, as it gently supports three figures. Jean Charlot joked about there being a link between Affandi and God, with the reference to God being left-handed. Charlot wrote in his pocket diary on August16th: "Affandi new fresco = self portrait." Had Affandi mused or joked about this or was this Charlot's own interpretation? Did he mean by this that the fresco as a whole was a symbolic self-portrait or that just the hand was? Or that Affandi had depicted himself as one of the three figures? If so, which one? Here is meat for the art historical mind, in another place and time.

The large hand of Affandi's non-sectarian, humanist "God" can be seen as foreshadowed in some respects in Affandi's 1944 sketch of hands as well as, more pertinent to his mural style, in his 1963 painting, *Holding a Crab*. In both of these works, the hand is a primary motif, and Affandi has lavished acute attention to the details of this most versatile of human limbs to a greater extent than

Study of the Hand, 1944
Crayon on paper
27.5 x 10.5 cm

Holding a Crab, 1963
Oil on canvas
80 x 135 cm

seen earlier in his work, a degree of attention which is echoed again in the mural. But the hand in *Holding a Crab* and the hand in the Hawaii mural are completely different — the first is claw-like, emaciated, and with destructive intent, the other is fleshy, and gently, non-violently supportive.

Against the thigh of the thumb of the giant hand, Gandhi leans back, relaxed, in conversation, his left hand raised as if making a point. He may be speaking to both of his companions, but the one in the middle, who looks like a Buddhist monk or Taoist immortal, seems lost in thought or perhaps meditation. Hence the conversation seems to be taking place between Gandhi and the figure on the right, who leans towards Gandhi with an eager expression. Recognizable to every Indonesian, at least from Java, this is Semar.

Here we have, then, framing the trio of wise men, on the left, a historical, 20th century figure from India and, on the right, an ancient mythological figure from Java —one of the indigenous Javanese additions to the characters borrowed from India with the arrival in Java of the gigantic Hindu epic, the Mahabharata. While Gandhi is a historical hero of enormous stature, and the monk in the middle either a generic figure or a more specific historical reference (both of them in different ways symbolizing non-violence), Semar is, in the wayang shadow puppet repertoire of Java, both the lowliest and the highest, both ancestral and contemporary, both servant and teacher to the Pandavas, and imbued with both male and female characteristics —in short, to many minds, God.

When Affandi was developing the composition of this mural, he knew the image of Gandhi would be known to all visitors to the East-West Center. With Gandhi's figure, then, he offers to his audience a plank of familiarity and that of a historical figure, dead only two decades before the

mural's creation. Against the tide of the twentieth century, marked as the century in which more people had been violently killed than during any other century in human history, stood a handful of great leaders of non-violence, like Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and nameless Buddhist monks and nuns in Vietnam, who sacrificed themselves as beacons of fire to stop the American war. No doubt our common history texts fail to report many others like these men and women, but some of the iconic figures are known to all. And in a century known in the western world as the secular century, perhaps a hero whose battle is not identified with any particular religious dogma, but with the concern of human rights, carries the greatest resonance.

Regarding the figure of the monk: after providing his audience with the familiar icon of Gandhi, who many see as a secular saint or magnum hero, Affandi goes on to paint two other figures, less familiar to American audiences of 1967. The least known is Semar, discussed above. The figure in the centre, in the Honolulu media around the time of the mural's creation referred to simply a wise man of the East, a Buddhist priest, and by a few, a Zen priest, is, I would argue, none other than Bodhidharma, the Indian teacher who founded the Chan school of Buddhism in China.

It is hard to tell which of the forms of Bodhidarma, also referred to as Daruma, Affandi would have seen, since they span classical Chinese and Japanese art to pan-Asian and increasingly global pop culture. The portrait of this historical and much mythologized man began to become a known counter-culture icon in America in the 1960s and -70s, because his fusion between Buddhism and Chinese Taoism that resulted in Zen Buddhism was embraced and popularized by counter culture figures like Alan Ginsburg and Jack Kerouac. But the main reason why Bodhidarma amplifies the message of Affandi's Hawaii mural, is that he crossed major land-masses as well as oceans to bring his message to other cultures, like a human shuttle weaving disparate parts of the world together, effecting inter-cultural exchange.

The audiences to the EWC murals were, likewise, intensely international in provenance. Dr.Khalid Mahmud, an artist and art educator from Pakistan, was one of the people who witnessed the creation of these murals, from the first sketches till completion, and who was touched by the artist from Indonesia. "His every stroke of paint, not brushed but squeezed and smeared on the canvas, is a result of energy in motion —a fitting illustration of the spirit of the man (Khalid Mahmud, ca.1981)."[91]

No one seems to have written more about Affandi's time in Hawaii than his fellow-muralist, French-American artist and writer Jean Charlot. One of the anecdotes he told in print about Affandi, upon his arrival in Honolulu, follows:

> On arrival, he was shown to his office, de luxe by American standards —swivel-chair, steel desk, file cabinet, bookshelves, table lamp, pearl gray telephone— the whole immaculately clean. … Affandi surveyed it all. "Don't you have anything else?" he said.
>
> Confusion at the Center. Deans, ambassadors, college presidents, philosophers, all had been satisfied. What did Affandi expect?
>
> He elucidated his thought in an English both hesitant and crisp, "I want a place I can be dirty in."[92]

At the time, Affandi preferred to make simple bamboo frames for his canvases, described by Charlot as "the democratic frames that underline his intent more than would frames of gold" (Charlot, 1967a). Charlot continues:

> Even at home in Indonesia, Affandi does things somewhat differently. When he was U.S. ambassador there, Chancellor Howard Jones was a guest in the artist's home. He describes admiringly how Affandi built it in the shape of a banana, or so I inferred. …
>
> Affandi denies this: "I do not live in a banana, but in a banana leaf." And he proves his point by showing me, in one of his sketchbooks, delicately detailed architectural renderings. … The walls are wood and glass. The thatched roofs curve and swell with a botanical sort of logic.

After having worked with him on their respective but thematically linked murals, Jean Charlot wrote:

> There is something about Affandi that suggests none of the laissez-faire that goes with the popular concept of what an artist should be. / Instead there is an air of decision, an aura of hard work. / The artist's muscular body is that of an artisan. One would guess that his tools are saw and hammer rather than brush and paint tube. / Affandi reminds me of some among my Mexican colleagues, who gloried more in a well-filled cartridge belt than in all the salon awards that came their way. … Affandi has appointed himself painter to the people, to his people. That he fights for them with paint instead of a gun makes things in no way easier for him (Charlot, 1967a).

Affandi's last stand in America

Affandi's last in-person visit to America was in 1984, for his solo exhibition in Houston, Texas, in conjunction with an Indonesian Arts and Handicrafts Festival.[93] His last documented appearances in the USA during his lifetime was, once again, like his first: by proxy. In 1990, the year Affandi died, his art traveled to America without him, on two occasions. One of these was his participation in the large group exhibition curated by the Indonesian and American KIAS curatorial team, which showed in five venues in the USA.[94] The second was a solo exhibition called "Affandi in America" in Washington D.C., hosted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Art Society and held in the atrium of the IMF building. Preparations for these exhibitions began before the artist breathed his last breath, and it opened four months after, as part of the Festival of Indonesia in the USA (KIAS; Kebudayaan Indonesia di Amerika Serikat), 1990-91.

Abdul Rachman Ramly, Indonesian Ambassador to the United States, wrote in the Foreword for the small IMF exhibition catalogue, Affandi in America, that the artist, through his painting, "gave the world an insight into Indonesian folk life." This foreword is followed by a short essay by Anthropologist Paul Michael Taylor of the Smithsonian Institution and a longer essay by Claudia Kalb.

Useful as this catalogue is in regard to a very small selection of some of the themes Affandi painted during his life-time,[95] it is also an example of two things one sees in general writing history of any kind: (1) how the things a few pioneering voices write or say about an artist get repeated numerous times in years to follow, without much additional information offered and often without checking or reconfirming the facts; and (2) how, with very scant historical documentation available,

Bodhidharma, after Zen-style painting, on A 1980s T-Shirt sold in a museum shop. (Photograph: Astri Wright)

the inaccuracies which creep into the written record are themselves perpetuated.[96]

Discussing Affandi's 1958 paintings in America, I suggested that Affandi's experiences since leaving Indonesia in 1950 inspired new experiments in perspective in some of his compositions. This new way of seeing his subject matter is signaled in several of the European paintings. His cropping off of the top part of the head in *London Street Painter* (1952) is unusal for his earlier work, in which the whole head was most often included; *Olive Tree* (1954), has a dramatically tilted perspective, the painter (and hence his audience) looking down at the clearing between the dizzily dancing trees. In contrast, *Eiffel Tower* (1953) teases us with its dramatically low painter's eye level, forcing viewers to crane our "necks" (a perspective not present in Affandi's 1961 version of the Eiffel Tower, and far less pronounced in the 1977 version). The absolutely vertiginous perspective in *Seascape, Italy* (1972) has the viewer looking down at sea and town, as if from the back of a seagull or the tip of a flying witch's hat. In America in the late 1950s, the two Grand Canyon canvases show Affandi (and have us) hovering high above the giant gorge, scanning it from a bird's eye perspective; similar vantage points of high suspension are to be seen in *Charles River, Boston* and *Bay Bridge*.

Did Affandi's first experiences of flying in airplanes inspire him to try reproducing these bird-like or god-like, views? Did he compete with his kids to sit next to the plane-window every time he flew with the family? And was this exhilarating to him, or did the experience of travel leave him feeling out of touch with the ground, the earth?

Pictorial perspective symbolizes positions and shapes of ideas: a shift in one's expression is

not merely an external, technical thing. If you can depict it (paint it, write it, speak it), it is only because you now see it. During his twelve most intensive years of travel, Affandi's world views were expanding and diversifying. He was no longer content to paint just the straight-on, same-level-ground-as-the-subject view. At the same time, a decade later, he had settled into a more stable, level vantage point in his pictures. The dizzy experimenting with the new had matured into the constancy of the known.

Euro-Centric vs. Globally Receptive Art Historical Frames

As seen in this discussion, journalistic sources about Affandi and his work are far more numerous than scholarly ones during his visits to the US.

As quoted in the beginning of this essay, we know that after Affandi's first big exhibition in London in mid-1952, John Berger, leftist art historian who wrote extensively for the New Statesman, referred to him as "a painter of genius" (*Time*, Jan. 12, 1953).

A more tempered assessment of Affandi's art is given by John Guy, art historian and curator of the Southeast Asia collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, in his 1990 Obituary for Affandi. Writing about the 1940s, Guy says:

> Affandi's painting was driven by two forces at this time; an awareness of twentieth-century European art, particularly the work of Post-Impressionists and Expressionists, and an ideological commitment to produce a "People's Art". This was art as an expression of nationalist sentiment. Nonetheless, his painting did not fall victim to its overt political purpose. Indeed his work is more vulnerable to the criticism which has plagued post-war European and American art, namely that on occasions it lapses into an indulgent form of expressionism not redeemed by sufficient internal rigour and formalist discipline.

Estimating Affandi's oeuvre at about 4,000 paintings in his lifetime, Guy says: "… at best the works display a robust energy and passion which only occasionally lapsed into theatricality. —Unlike other twentieth-century painters to emerge from similar colonial experiences,…Affandi avoided a reliance on the imagery of popular and folk art; nor did he attempt to sentimentalise Indonesia's past" (Guy, 1990).

Like well-trained European art historians of his and earlier generations (and unlike more radical innovators like John Berger), Guy writes from a foundation of specific assumptions and criteria for quality which are posited as "universals" in art. From the lines above, while mostly complementary of Affandi's work, we can deduce the following principles typical of western art history: (a) art with too clear a political message will never be good art; (b) too much expressivity, too much feeling, and too little discipline in conception, composition, brushstroke, etc, will result in bad art; (c) theatricality is bad or of lower value than restrained expression; (d) there is no meaningful link to be made between popular/folk art and the "high" art of the salons and the academies; and (e) a variation on (b), good art is restrained of sentiment, sweetness, and nostalgia.

But what about other criteria for good art, held in sub- or other-cultures where the political is not segregated from what is deemed appropriate for artistic attention, and/or where the intent of the artist is to pursue the expression of vibrant energy (present as feeling, on the psychological level; movement and dynamism, in the world)? And/or a culture, or an individual, where the theatrical, and

theatricality, is understood and respected as a vehicle of symbolic-dramatic codes, to encapsulate, dignify and memorialize the grand and small struggles, losses and gains in people's lives?

And what about the many examples of art, even well-known art works proclaimed masterpieces (in the Prado, the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum, to mention only some of the shrines to Western art's Masters and a very few Mistresses), dating to different periods in the history of European art, which fail in one or more of these categories?

Guy's writing hints of a tradition that has been challenged by artists and scholars over the last few decades, particularly ones positioned in contemporary art practices or beyond-European scholarship. Yet, even as he references outmoded European-centric art historical principles, John Guy opens up the framework to new possibilities informed by a greater global awareness, which enable him to give Affandi's work very high marks:

> It is too easy to be dismissive of the art born of the independence struggles of this century, preoccupied as it often is with ideological and social purpose rather than with aesthetic concerns. The 50 years of Affandi's artistic output clearly demonstrate that it was possible to travel the road of international art while not losing sight of the social, even political, role that art can serve (Guy, 1990).

The discussion of Affandi's work by a fellow artist of international repute more closely echoes Berger's unqualified art historical assessment of him. Jean Charlot had rich experience of working with artists less fettered by European-derived academic values and frameworks, during his time working with the Mexican muralists in the 1930s and -40s and with indigenous art traditions in Guatemala, Hawaii and Fiji.[97] Thus having developed an understanding for multiple kinds of modernist interventions involving both indigenous and Euroamerican traditions, Charlot could better grasp the contexts and philosophies which informed Affandi's art and set him apart from European and American modernists.[98] Charlot writes:

> His technique in oil painting is unusual. His one tool is the tube of colour itself. The pigment is squeezed directly onto the canvas in its ribbon shape, without benefit of brush or palette knife.
>
> What could become a working mannerism is never flaunted as an end in itself. The bold formula remains subordinate to Affandi's goal —to be, in his art, a mouth-piece for his people. … By his presence among us, Affandi affirms the concept of the artist as a socially responsible being, accepting his full share of tasks in a community.
>
> And his work proves that, to achieve this goal, he has plunged as deeply into problems of pure esthetics as have other art-makers, hid in the privacy of their studios (Charlot, 1967a).

Rounding Off, a Century After his Birth

Wherever he went, whomever he met, and however strongly he at times voiced his opinions, Affandi left charmed people and colourful anecdotes in his wake. But not all Affandi's experiences in America were happy and straightforward. Every nation has its xenophobia and American racism has been documented in many ways ever since the arrival of the first European settlers. And racism in any one place and time must always be noted with

This sculpture of Affandi was made by artists and students for the Affandi Centennial Celebration Parade, held on 20 May, 2007. (Photograph: Astri Wright, 2007)

the understanding that some degree of denigrating difference seems to characterize human collectivities everywhere.

By the end of the 1960s, Affandi and his family expressed having felt most at home in Hawaii than in any other place in the USA. This was because of the mixed population there, with its strong presence of both indigenous and Asian heritages and the interest in these shown by a small group of European-background Americans whom the Affandis encountered there. The experience which shocked and hurt the Affandis occurred when Maryati took ill in San Francisco in the late 1950s. Because they did not understand the racialized spatial boundaries in operation in American urban space, and thus between one hospital and another, they took Maryati to the "wrong" hospital, where they were treated very poorly because they were "coloured". Shocked, the family traveled all the way to Washington D.C. for Maryati to recover from her illness and the family to heal from this rare experience which so contrasted with most of their experiences, surrounded by world-minded American and Indonesian friends in America.

In the end, Affandi's memories of the welcoming spirit he met, dominated his interactions with Americans, as seen in the vignette with which this essay opens.

Affandi embraced the reality of "abroad"; he sought knowledge of the world beyond the home; he welcomed contacts and experiences of people everywhere. But this all remained on the experiential level. As an Indonesian with the blood of several ethnic histories running in his veins, he also sought growth as a human being: Affandi had no evident desire to "westernize" and never sought to assimilate. Partha Mitter, responding to the Euro-centric bias and assumptions in western art historical writings about modern

artists from other parts of the world in the 1950s and till recently, locates: "…an undue emphasis on western influence … [which] blurs individual choices and conflicting objectives in any given situation."[99]

Affandi had his own objectives and he followed them without wavering. Two examples illustrate this. President Soekarno's criticism of his work in the late 1950s as "un-Indonesian" did not phase him. What was important was how he felt about his work. About the expressively realistic portrait he had painted of his mother in 1941, Affandi said later that he had painted it in that style to demonstrate that he mastered it. "It was good, I suppose, and they liked it. But I didn't. And I never painted realistic again."[100]

This, however, does not mean that he felt his art did not express his culture of origin. Based on his many conversations with Affandi during their collaboration in Hawaii, Jean Charlot writes: "… while others flush with pride at the thought that art has become international, he wishes it to remain racial and regional" (Charlot, 1967a).

Affandi, then, walked a middle line which was very much his own. On the one hand, he resisted a more illustrative or narrative "nationalist" style that would have pleased President Soekarno; on the other, he had seen the work of fellow American abstract expressionists as well as European artists. As Jean Charlot, wrote: "Affandi, himself an art teacher, is thoroughly informed as concerns modern art" (Charlot, 1967a). Affandi had often-enough heard the comparison of his work to Van Gogh's, to which he replied (as captured in both visual and audio print, in Yasir Marzuki's 1980s film, "Hungry to Paint") that he did not intellectualize, he just painted what he felt.

Affandi had little sense of being a "borrower" or "emulator" of "western styles"; his main concern was his own art in the context of that of his nation and what he/they could offer the world.

Affandi as Sukrosono
Photographed against North American foliage and light.
(Photograph: Astri Wright, 2007)

In 1962, he is reported as saying that "the expressionistic art forms that have developed in his country during the last 10 years, seem to appeal very much to Americans" (*Danbury Times*, 1962). Affandi had larger things that drove his art than tracking influences and genealogies of ideas in art. During a conversation I had with him two and a half years before he died, Affandi said suddenly, with emphasis: "I am the luckiest man in the world. Because when I paint, I am completely happy. When I paint, the only things that exist are God, the subject, and myself" (Wright, 1994, p.111).

Perhaps if we liken "personality" to a lotus seed-pod of potential, in which most people (formed both genetically and socio-culturally, as we all are) only activate a small number of seeds, Affandi's heart-mind was open to having more of his seeds sprouted by exposing them to the light and vibrations of many different settings and interactions. Maybe exposing oneself to the new and the different, always weaving back and forth in one's conscious and subconscious reflections between noticing the familiar in unfamiliar garb ,and the unfamiliar in the familiar, is predicated upon finding ways to use more of the proverbially unused parts of our brains. Perhaps finding the ways to activate all of these seeds in one's lotus-pod is what makes a person Enlightened.

When traveling, Affandi did not stop with the simple level of bodily dis-/re-placement: decades before "hybrid", "transnational", "fusion", and "globalization" became academic and curatorial buzz-words for identity and creative output, and well before art history began to sniff at the idea of a global art history (still in its very preliminary stages), Affandi embodied these qualities in his practice, ideas and transnational professional and personal connections.

When in public, meeting and mixing with people of all kinds and status with ease, whether with world leaders like Soekarno or Nehru, high-ranking diplomats in Washington D.C. or London, university leaders and scholars in Honolulu or Paris, or with fellow artists, regular citizens and working people at home and abroad, Affandi seems to always have remained himself: open but centered, enjoying the theatre of life but rarely blinded by its materials of display, status and power. And like many famous travelers throughout history, he recorded his journeys —in paint and in the impressions people made on him and he on them.

Like the much revered *waringin* (banyan tree), Affandi was rooted both in soil and in air, drawing nurturance from within and without —both from the multi-ethnic whispers in his blood and from his personal history of growing up in Java in times of colonial occupation, world war, nationalist struggle, revolution and nation building. Through it all, Affandi became a world-minded Indonesian and an internationally known, celebrated artist and cultural ambassador for Indonesia, all the while creating a vast body of art and providing for a large and creative family, some of whom learned how to travel the world on his coat-tails.

What, in the end, did all of Affandi's travels, including those in America, give him, artistically? It gave him the chance to "to look around a bit and see what the Western world has been doing in art," as the journalist he spoke with in Belgium in 1953 reports (*Time*, 1953). In his lecture at the Sorbonne after his year-and-a-half long stay in Europe, he said: "I have seen so many things, but frankly speaking, I must say that I am disappointed at what I have seen in the West. When I was in Indonesia, I heard so much about the West through the publicity of books on art. I had seen reproductions only, I had never seen the originals. They were so praised that I had a rather high idea of the art of the West. So when I came here and saw it, I felt disappointed because I had expected more."[101]

In his 1953 interview with *Time*, Affandi finished by saying: "If I'd never left Java, … I would never have seen where I stand as a painter." He adds thoughtfully: "I'm certainly above average."

In addition to the power of his art, and his incisive, critical mind which refused to buy into other people's ethnocentrisms and hierarchies, this humorous, humble charm is part of the charisma by which so many people in America and around the world —artists, people from all walks, and children— remember this strong individual, passionate artist and committed Indonesian.

In his 1959 book, *Sight and Insight*, Alexander Eliot describes "a Chinese painter who, upon completing his masterwork, paints a door in the foreground, opens that door - walks through and is never seen again."[102] Similarly, in the final scene of the 1978 Swedish film Picassos Äventyr (Picasso's Adventures),[103] the enfant-terrible painter leans towards a blank canvas and proceeds to melt into it, disappearing from biological reality. In the same way, on levels of both poetic metaphor and recorded art history, Affandi's travels in America and beyond, his responses to the world and to the people he met and painted, all live on in his work —and, as the Affandi Centennial Celebrations showed us, sometimes in new and unexpected ways. ■

Endnotes

1. The author, a Norwegian-American-Australian now Canadian citizen, had come from upstate New York to do her PhD research. For more on Affandi, see Wright, 1994.

2. This kind of research is a delightfully collaborative process which takes some of the loneliness out of the solitude needed to write for publication. I owe thanks to many people who have gone out of their way to help me uncover obscure, ephemeral research materials, including newspaper clippings and personal and archival photos, for this essay. Introducing beyond the name only those who are not in the essay's text or footnotes, my warm gratitude goes to: in Indonesia, Kartika Affandi; Sardjana S.; Tjandra Kerton; in Honolulu, Hawaii: Bronwen Solyom; Garrett Solyom; Evelyn Giddings; Michael Schuster and Bill Feltz at the East-West Center; in Ohio, Kevlin C. Haire at the The Ohio State University Archives; in Washington, D.C., Joshua Eli Margolis at the Indonesian Embassy; Harvey Borkin; Norman Bernstein; Liz Bernstein Norton; Marianne Bernstein; Shim Trusso, Mr.Bernstein's dedicated email writer; Jerry and Twila Eisley of Foxhall Gallery; Abdullah Balbed, who served with the Indonesian Embassy for 50 years; in Norway, to Mari Lund Wright for sharp-eyed proof-reading; and in B.C., Canada, to Frank Tresidder for providing writer's retreat and technical assistance. As always, to Ken Seidman for stepping in on the homefront while I was writing, and to Ariel and Taliya for putting up with a sometimes-absent mom. Any interpretations of materials in this essay not cited as someone else's opinion are mine; any factual mistakes based on the sometimes sketchy nature of available data (which in itself may not always be historically accurate), will hopefully be amended by later research/ers.

3. With 'American experiences' I am referring mainly to Affandi's time in the U.S.A. He did, however, also visit South America and later Central America, which will only be briefly discussed due to the difficulty in uncovering more ample data on these visits.

4. The chronology given me by his daughter, who accompanied him or met up with him on many of these trips in the 1950s and 1960s, is as follows: Affandi left for India in late 1949 and stayed there till late 1951, when he went to Europe, staying in London for about a year till late 1952; in 1953 he was in Amsterdam and Rome, also visiting Paris, returning to Indonesia in late 1954. Later he visited Thailand and Japan (see Bambang Bujono's essay), and in 1978, he visited Australia (Kartika Affandi, Personal Communication, 31 May, 2007). At the Affandi Museum website, the date given for the Australia visit and exhibition is 1979. See Biografi Affandi, The Affandi Museum. 2003. http://www.affandi.org/en/data/ebgrafi2.html .

5. Affandi's 1984 visit to the US (which I do not discuss further in this essay as available documentation is confusing), was in connection with "a solo exhibition in Houston, Texas, in connection with the Indonesian Arts and Handicrafts Festival." Kartika Affandi, Personal Communication, 31 May, 2007. For future researchers: was this organized by the American Federation of Arts? The AFA records, now in the Archives of American Art (AAA) at the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C. (see http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/findingaids/amerfeda.htm), one finds under "List of Artists Exhibiting with the American Federation of Arts," the note: "Affandi: 58-42."

Katie Kashmiry, an intern for Marisa Bourgoin at the Archives, writes: "In box 34 of the American Federation of Arts papers is a folder titled "Exhibition Files 58-42: Crosscurrents." This folder contains mostly correspondences regarding the exhibition. There are many letters to and from the secretary for exhibitions, who at the time was Virginia Field. I found no letters regarding Affandi; however I found his name on a typed document titled "Crosscurrents request list". There are two paintings listed under Affandi's name. The first listed is an oil painting (42 x 48 3/4, 1957, World House Galleries, New York, New York) titled "Beggar," and an oil painting (33 1/2 x 42 1/2, 1957) titled "Mountain Landscape." There is a handwritten line through the last item, suggesting that it was deleted from the exhibition." Katie Kashmiry, Reference Department, Intern, Archives of American Art, personal communication, June 29, 2007. It is not clear if this is the Houston Exhibition referred to by Kartika Affandi and the Affandi website.

6. In 1963 Affandi began building his home on the land which today houses the Affandi Museum in Yogyakarta; it was a simple house of bamboo, situated where Gallery II currently stands.

7. The 1950s in Indonesia were characterized by intense and increasingly polarized party politics. In the field of

culture there was an overall lack of resources to fund artists, projects and art-spaces; at the same time, individuals and organizations participated in the lively debate about national vs. international styles (see Holt, 1967, "The Great Debate"; Holt, 1970, p.179). Meanwhile, Yogyakarta was vibrant with active and very politicized art-/ist associations.

8. Documentation shows that Affandi was a high-profile member of LEKRA (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, the Institute for People's Culture, affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party but members did not have to hold party membership) in the 1950s; see Raja:danendro, "Setelah Affandi dan Keaffandian," Opinion Piece, TempoInteraktiv, 11 Juni 2007, http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/opini/2007/06/11/opi,20070611-124146,id.html (15 June 2007). In the decades since 1965, history has been written to emphasize how the Communist Party attempted to dominate the art scene in the 1950s and early 1960s, despite resistance from many artists (for example, see Chij Secondary School, Singapore, http://www.chijsectoapayoh.moe.edu.sg/departments/web%20archive/Aesthetics/wil-kie/indo/affandi/communist&affandi.htm (15 June 2007)). One always hears about Sudjojono leaving Lekra for specific, personal reasons but Affandi's involvement and disengagement is less clear and requires more research once these historical issues are deemed less sensitive. However, one theme that reoccurs is how Affandi's acceptance of a USIS (the U.S. Information Service) offer to exhibit in the mid-1950s caused criticism from other Lekra artists (for example, see Yuyuk Sugarman, "Seratus Tahun Affandi: Lahirnya Grand Maestro Seni Lukis Indonesia," Sinar Harapan, 26 May 2007, http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0705/26/hib07.html (15 June 2007), which may have led to his distancing himself from such a polemical political positioning at this time.

9. These dates for the gallery are given on a Museum of Modern Art webpage; see www.moma.org/research/archives/EAD/ArtLendingb.html. However, the gallery is listed as already in existence in 1950 in the artist's resume of Nahum Tschacbasov; see http://higginsmaxwell.com/Tschacbasov.htm. This typifies the kind of historical inaccuracies rampant on the Internet as well as in printed sources, which are very difficult to unravel. Apart from Roy Lichtenstein, who had solo exhibitions at the John Heller in 1952, '53, '54, and '57, the Heller Gallery's roster of artists included a wide variety of artists' backgrounds, such as the first black faculty member at the Arts Students' League, Charles Henry Alston (who had solo shows there in 1953, '55, and '58), Danish-Guatemalan-American Alfred Jensen (who had his first solo exhibition there in 1952), and Italian-American Edward Giobbi (who had solo shows there in 1957,'58), Russian-American Nahum Tschacbasov (1950, '51, and '53), 'and German-born Eva Hesse (1961). In 1969, the John Heller Gallery turned into the Amel Gallery, devoted to showing avant-garde art, or more accurately, a new generation of the avant-garde.

10. Indeed, it was a level of high-visibility art world sponsorship modern Indonesian artists could not achieve in the late 1980s, when none of the high-profile art gallery or art museum venues in New York or other major U.S. cities would host the Festival of Indonesia's modern art exhibition (which included several works by Affandi). For more information, see footnote 94.

11. This intensive 'launching' must be understood in the context of a world just beginning to find its footing again after the Second World War, and, on the basis of fresh insight into the horrors of war, having acquired a new understanding of the need to build relationships and alliances throughout the world. Different groups sought to build different kinds of relationships; even within groups working together, people often had dissimilar motivations. Some groups and individuals were genuinely interested in cultural exchange; others cynically launched programs that used 'art as a lubricant' to smooth the machine of new forms of economic and political imperialism.

12. John Berger also spoke on BBC radio about Affandi's work in his "The Arts-Talk," produced by Mary Treadgold (Direction: O.T.M.) and aired on the General Overseas Service (now known as the BBC World Service) on May 19th and 21st, 1952. Typescript or transcript from Affandi's personal Album. At the end of May, a second piece by Berger appeared in the New Statesman (31 May, 1952), where the ideas in his radio talk were presented in more formal language.

13. The above quotes are from Newton's article, "Round the London Art Galleries," *The Listener.* London, June 19, 1952. Newton also gave a speech at the opening of an exhibition by Affandi at the Imperial Institute in London. Undated typescript or transcript from Affandi's personal Album.

14. I have not been able to find out whether the article about Affandi in Belgium appeared also in the US edition of TIME. As to the identity of the writer, it is likely Alexander Eliot, head art critic for TIME from 1945-60, whose

pieces were often printed with no byline.

15. Affandi, in his lecture at the Sorbonne the same year, under the auspices of the international cultural study group, Cercle Paul Valéry, described his artistic process in detail. Presumably he carried with him a write-up of this narrative which he handed out as needed, as journalists henceforth repeat the same information throughout Europe and America.

16. Jackson Pollock was already known for his 'action painting,' but more for dripping and splashing rather than working, literally, hands-on, as Affandi did, hence Preston may very well not have known how to interpret the marks in oil he was seeing before him. Alternately (and this is part guess work without access to seeing the actual paintings exhibited on this occasion), it is possible that the exhibition consisted of older work actually painted with brush and palette.

17. Jim Supangkat, Personal Communication, 18 May 2007.

18. Jeffries Blackerby, "São Paulo's Concrete Jungle," March 25, 2007; http://travel.nytimes.com/2007/03/25/travel/tmagazine/25well.paolo.t.html?ref=tmagazine (14 June 2007)

19. The date given in some sources for Affandi's participation in the Second São Paolo Biennial as 1952 is inaccurate. Dr. Farias explains that the postponement of the Second São Paolo Biennial's opening until December 1953 was part of the strategy to incorporate that event into the commemoration of the city of São Paulo's Fourth Centennial. Agnaldo Farias, Personal Communication, 27 June 2007.

20. The Affandi Museum website indicates that Affandi participated in the Fourth São Paolo Biennial in 1956 (see Biografi Affandi, http://www.affandi.org/en/data/ebiografi.html). First of all, the Fourth SPB was held the following year, 1957. Agnaldo Farias, Personal Communication, 27 June 2007; see also São Paulo Art Biennial, Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A3o_Paulo_Art_Biennial). Second, there is no record in the SPB archives of Affandi having participated this year. Adriana Villela Carneiro, Arquivo Historico Wanda Svevo, Fundaçao Bienal de São Paulo; Personal Communication, 9 August, 2007.

21. Ana Elisa de Carvalho Silva of the São Paulo Biennial Foundation; Personal Communication, 25 June, 2007.

22. Agnaldo Farias, Professor and Curator, São Paulo; Personal Communication, 27 June 2007.

23. In one book review, Cooper is described as "the high-strung and acerbic English art critic and Cubism expert"... whose "reputation as a brilliant critic and scholar" and his "acid-tongued and cantankerous personality"; see David Ebony, "The Sorcerer's Apprentice: Picasso, Provence and Douglas Cooper. - Review - book review", *Art in America,* April 2000. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1248/is_4_88/ai_61755619 (12 June 2007).

24. Kartika Affandi, Personal Communication, 14 November 2006.

25. Harvey Borkin, Personal Communication, 21 April 2007.

26. Biografi Affandi. The Affandi Museum. 2003. http://www.affandi.org/en/data/ebgrafi2.html . The degree of an artist's participation in what kind of exhibition (i.e. group, or solo) is often not clear from entries such as the above. I have been unable to find more information about either the World House Gallery exhibition or the San Francisco one. (The World House Gallery today located in South Orange, New Jersey, has a thin historical connection to the one located in the New York Press Club in the late 1950s-early 1960s: in 1998, the current gallery owner, Donald Taglialatella, was given permission to use the name of the no-longer-active New York gallery by Herb Mayer, Jr, son of the owner. Donald Taglialatella, Personal Communication, 9 August, 2007).

27. The Affandi Museum, Ibid., says he was "Visiting Professor," a less permanent title.

28. I am grateful to Kevlin C. Haire, Archives Assistant at the The Ohio State University Archives in Columbus for locating this document.

29. Harvey Borkin confirms that these two Grand Canyon paintings were formerly in the Joseph Borkin Collection; Personal Communication, 2 May, 2007.

30. In Claudia Kalb's small exhibition catalogue, *Affandi in America,* published in connection with the 1990 IMF sponsored solo exhibition in Washington, D.C., both paintings —the true Carmel Beach and the mislabeled one, are

given the date 1958. However, the yellow-orange painting (published as Lot 102 in Christie's Nov.26, 2006 Auction Catalogue) is in fact dated 1966; the signature and date are clearly visible even in the reproduction, and the earlier mistake is pointed out by Christie's catalogue entry writer. However, where both sources go wrong is in identifying the subject of both paintings as 'Carmel Beach'. As Sardjana S. suggests, the boats in the foreground are typical Bali boats (Sardjana S., Personal Communication, 1 May, 2007).

31. "Times Square," Wikipedia, 2007; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Times_Square

32. For a brief biography of Kalb, see: "Bernard Kalb." The Harry Walker Agency, Inc, 2006. http://www.harrywalker.com/speakers_template.cfm?Spea_ID=135

33. It is not only leaders of newly established post-colonial nations who feel that art should reflect national identity and do it in the 'right way'. During the McCarthy years in the US (1946-56), the American Abstract Expressionists were intensively criticized as un-American by members of the government. David Craven cites an example from 1949, when Congressman George A.Dondero, in a speech entitled "Modern Art Shackled to Communism," claimed that modernist art undermined American values. The Congressman elaborated: "I call the roll of infamy without claim that my list is all-inclusive: dadaism, futurism, constructivism, suprematism, cubism, expressionism, surrealism, and abstractionism. All these 'isms' are of foreign origin, and truly should have no place in American art" (Craven, 1991, p.47). Craven's article analyses the many ways that contradictory political positionings and ideologies have used and abused specific art movements to their own ends and demonstrates the broad base of ideas which, in the US and elsewhere in the world, have been and can be subsumed under the single rubric 'abstract expressionism'.

34. Like most collectors, President Soekarno had his own particular pictorial taste and it was not one highly educated as far as modern art was concerned. It ran particularly to sweetly figurative and sentimental works of art, from landscapes to soft porn. Furthermore, by 1960, Soekarno was deeply into his increasingly authoritarian and reactive leadership style, both at home and in the world. Meanwhile, the debates about what a properly Indonesian and nationalist form of modern art would look like, had been raging in Indonesia throughout the 1940s and 1950s, with active and vociferous artists in many different camps, from the neo-traditionalists to the syncretists to the frontier explorers.

35. At Cornell, he was hosted by among others, Claire Holt, whom he had met during her research in Indonesia in the late 1950s.

36. For more information about Sudjana Kerton's work, and perspectives on the context which also applies to Affandi's first decades as an artist, see Hilda Soemantri, M.Dwi Marianto, Astri Wright, *Revolusi & Evolusi Sudjana Kerton/The Revolution & Evolution of Sudjana Kerton.* Bandung: Sanggar Luhur, 1999; Sanggar Luhur, *Sudjana Kerton; Changing Nationalisms.* Retrospective Exhitibition Catalog, Jakarta: National Gallery, November 22-Dec 12, 1996.

37. Kartika Affandi, Personal Communication, 31 May, 2007.

38. Tjandra Kerton, Personal Communication, 17 November, 2006.

39. Sudjana was the younger one. Tjandra Kerton, Personal Communication, 18 and 20 December, 2006.

40. Tjandra Kerton, Personal Communication, 17 November, 2006.

41. From the photo in the Danbury Times 1962a article, where another portrait of Affandi eating watermelon is shown, it would seem that Sudjana around the same time also painted another work in a playfully "affandiesque" style which a novice to modern Indonesian art might mistake for a selfportrait by Affandi.

42. "Soekarno called this the "century of the awakening of the coloured peoples," as they threw off the shackles of Western colonialism. He played a leading role in the process…" (Pramoedya, 1999).

43. On Nov.26th 2006, the Borkin collection paintings sold at prices that way exceeded the estimates. Some examples follow: Affandi (Indonesia 1907-1990), "Times Square, New York," was sold for US$ 248,560 (sold to Asian private); "San Francisco Bay Bridge," was sold for US$ 187,200 (Asian trade); "Charles River, Boston," was sold for US$ 187,200 (Asian private); "Carmel Beach," was sold for US$ 179,400 (Asian private); and "A lady walking with her dog," was sold for US$ 140,400 (Asian trade). For more details, see: http://www.christies.com/presscenter/pdf/11282006/9186.

pdf (18 April 2007).

44. Christie's, 2006, has no pagination; this quote is between lot 98 & 99.

45. For a brief bio and list of achievements, see Christie's Hong Kong, 2006, between lot 98 and 99. Borkin's son, Harvey, said: "Dad had a law degree, he was an attorney, but he never really practiced law, he was always involved in causes; he taught ethics at law school -- it's because of my dad that ethics is now a part of the regular curriculum in law school." Personal Communication, 21 April 2007.

46. Indonesian Independence was proclaimed in 1945 and the Republic established in 1949, but full economic decolonization was only achieved in 1957-58, when the Indonesia government ousted the remaining Dutch businesses and assets. Jasper van de Kerkhof, "Dutch Enterprise in Independent Indonesia: Cooperation and Confrontation, 1949-58." *IIAS Newsletter,* #36, March 2005, pp.18.

47. Harvey Borkin, Personal Communication, 21 April 2007.

48. Based on this and other evidence, Marie McNair's statement in the 1962 Washington Post article that Borkin and Affandi had "met for the first time only a few days ago" appears to be wrong. (McNair, 1962).

49. Harvey Borkin, Personal Communication, 21 April 2007.

50. It was for this active attitude that he was awarded the International Peace Reward from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in 1977.

51. Jacob Kainen was a prints curator and printmaker at the Smithsonian from 1959-1978; see Inventory of the E. Maurice Bloch Papers, 1925-1989, Getty Research Institute, The Online Archive of California (OAC), The Regents of The University of California, 2006, http://content-backend-a.cdlib.org/view?docId=tf5k40049j&chunk.id=c01-1.3.6.2

52. I suspect this may be the painting exhibited in Sao Paulo in 1969 with the title "Snow over Ohio" (1962, oil on canvas, 98 X 126 cm), made the same year and measured the same but for 1 cm less wide. This may reflect a frequently occurring difference in whether the painting is measure on the front, up to where the frame starts, which will be the smaller measurement than when it is measured on the back, to the outer perimeter of the stretcher-frame. However, since Affandi often painted several works under the same conditions, and in the course of a few days, only comparing a photo of the work shown in Brazil with the present one can resolve this issue.

53. The dominant anatomy of the modern in people's minds, with the idea of the independent, freely exploring and working artist beholden to noone but his or her own inner vision, has led to widespread forgetting about or belittling of the longest-standing pattern for artists all over the world: that of working on commission. It is interesting to see how, in recent years, curators have revived this idea, putting out calls for art to be made according to particular themes.

54. This portrait is lot 109, reproduced in Christie's, 2006.

55. Cartoons of Mt Rushmore are nothing new. Ten cartoons featuring Mount Rushmore can be seen at Cartoonstock.com, see http://www.cartoonstock.com/search.asp?Boolean=Or&Category=Not+Selected&Artist=Not+Selected&x=a&keyword=Rushmore&submit=+Search+ (13 June 2007).

56. The 'EuroAmerican' label here refers to the absence of any reference to the Native American cultures which inhabited the continent for between 15,000 to 30,000 years before the arrival of the Europeans, peoples who had developed features of democratic governance that inspired Jefferson in his drafting of the American Constitution. See for example, Donald A. Grinde, Jr. and Bruce E. Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy*. Los Angeles, Calif.: American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991.

57. This enormous (feet high) public sculpture, sculpted by Gutzon Borglum and his crew of stone carvers, was left in its nearly-finished state upon his death in 1941 after fourteen years in the works; the site for the monumental project was dedicated by President Calvin Coolidge in 1927. http://travel.howstuffworks.com/40005-mount-rushmore-memorial-what-to-know-before-you-go.htm (13 June 2007).

58. While scholarly ideas are often spun from the fabric of earlier ideas, i.e. a kind of work that takes place mostly

in the head, sometimes (perhaps, often) ideas germinate in the gut first and only secondarily find verbal discursive form. In this case, some of my thinking around Affandi's Rushmore painting has been a matter of discovering the reasons for my gut-feeling, to test the latter, knowing I might need to reject it if the reasons did not hold up adequately. I chose to reflect this process of discovery in the writing of this section.

59. The line between expressionist exaggeration and distortion and caricature is hard to define and the distinction is perhaps partly made subjectively. At the same time, one would fall into unnecessarily individualist ratiocinations if one rejected the idea of any degree of cultural patterning at work in the shaping of perception and behaviour. One would fall into western-centrism, and an art historical black hole, if one did not reflect here around Affandi's cultural programming in regard to formal expression.

60. Harvey Borkin, Personal Communication, 14 June 2007.

61. This work was one of the eleven paintings from the Borkin collection up for auction at Christie's Hong Kong on 26 November, 2006. Christie's, 2006, Lot 108.

62. See Raka Sumichan and Umar Kayam, 1987.

63. Kartika Affandi, Personal Communication, 16 December, 2006.

64. Norman Bernstein, Personal communication, 18 April, 2007.

65. I am grateful to Liz Bernstein, not yet born when this event occurred, for connecting me with her sister Marianne and for sending me the image of Affandi's portrait of her father, shown below.

66. Marianne Bernstein, Personal Communication, 26 April, 2007. Today, that little girl is a mature photographer and award-winning film maker; see "From Philadelphia to the Front," The National Center for Jewish Film, http://www.brandeis.edu/jewishfilm/Catalogue/films/FromPhilly.htm.

67. See my 1991 Cornell University dissertation, of the same title as my 1994 book, where Part I is about collecting modern art in Indonesia (a part which my editors felt did not belong in the 1994 Oxford University Press book).

68. The question remains which Carmel painting this was, the one correctly or the one erroneously titled? See footnote 28 above.

69. Thanks go to Norman Bernstein, who found and scanned this flier for me. For the record, the full printed list (of titles only, no dates or dimensions) reads: 1. Golden Gate Bridge; 2. Carmel, California I; 3. Carmel, California II; 4. Grand Canyon I; 5. Grand Canyon II; 6. Chicago; 7. The Charles River, Boston; 8. Times Square; 9. Selfportrait; 10. Self-Portrait with Lobster; 11. Two Girls; 12. Cock Fight; 13. Chesapeake Bay; 14. Bridge in West Bengal; 15. Buffalo (Kerbau); 16. Snow Scene; 17. Snow Scene; 18. Volcano; 19. Co-Ed; 20. Norman Bernstein; 21. Balinese Girl; 22. Four Girls; 23. Crab-Eater; 24. Wild Boar; 25. Self-Portrait III; 26. Portrait of Subagio; 27. Goat Head in My Hand. Next to No. 13, Norman Bernstein has written: CRAB FEAST AT TABLE, a correction to the title printed.

70. I am grateful to Bill Feltz at the East-West Center for arranging quality photographs of both Affandi's and Charlot's murals for this publication. Also, warmest thanks to long-time Indonesian textile and art scholar, Bronwen Solyom, now Curator of the Jean Charlot Collection of archives at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa Libraries, for her enthusiastic and expert assistance in locating archived materials about the East-West Center murals and the collaboration between Jean Charlot and Affandi.

71. One of the exciting things about an art historically pioneering publication like this book is that the collective knowledge presented exceeds what each of the authors know individually; hence, I look forward to discovering the rest of what is offered in other chapters -- and perhaps finding that there is another Affandi mural elsewhere; it was certainly an art form that interested him and several of his peers intensely, inspiring his 1962 trip to Mexico, about which I have found hardly any data.

72. Although it is widely known that Affandi preferred to paint before his subject and only occasionally painted from memory, sometimes Affandi did paint an Indonesian subject while in the United States. One such instance is attested to in a February 12, 1962 piece in the Washington Post. At a gathering Joseph Borkin held in his home in D.C. to introduce friends to Affandi and his wife, and show off his collection of Affandis, the journalist writes: "His

latest oil was still wet yesterday. He had painted in an hour and a half a 4-foot-long canvas of a cock fight, brilliant in colour and movement" (McNair, 1962). I doubt that Borkin arranged a real-live cock-fight for the occasion in Washington D.C.; thus this work was most likely painted from memory. Whether he had been asked to do another version of this subject (one imagines a seasoned or would-be collector saying to his new Indonesian acquaintance over a bourbon or cognac: "Oh *do* paint me a cock fight, won't you?")

73. The article reproduced both murals, but the captions were mixed up, so Charlot's mural sports Affandi's name, and vice-versa.

74. From July 1967 to end of June 1968, ten art exhibitions were held in the Jefferson Hall gallery. Listed on p.17 of the EWC's 1968 Annual Report, these exhibitions show the context in which visitors to the gallery also encountered Affandi's work. The ten exhibits were: Festival of the Arts of This Century; Paintings by Affandi; Prints by Gail Pike; Photos of Korea by Robert Ebert; Exhibition of Sumi Paintings by Hirose Soan; AIA Western Award Show; Indonesian Batik Exhibit; Flora Pacifica; Honolulu Printmakers Annual Exhibit; Students of Visual Design.

75. In light of later shifts in terminology to describe the power-imbalances and negotiations in the world as a whole, it is interesting that Affandi's mural was painted on the South side of the building. This directional symbolism parallels the use in development studies and political science terminologies of the terms "north" and "south" to denote the northern hemisphere as 'developed, industrialized' and the southern hemisphere as 'non-/under-industrialized, underdeveloped'. Like all terminologies, also these were only adequate as short-hand description, needing closer definition for specific case-studies.

76. According to my research, and to Kartika, Affandi did not make it to Montreal. It is unclear from the record what the Indonesian presence there was, if any. The Canadian Centre for Architecture Archives in Montreal has no evidence of an Indonesian Pavilion at Montreal's Expo 67; they do have photos of the India and Thailand pavilions. (I am grateful to Ms. Anne-Marie Sigouin Collections Reference Assistant at the CCA for checking their archives in Montreal for me). Considering the visibility of the Indonesian pavilion in the 1964-65 World's Fair in Flushing, New York, and at EXPO '86 in Vancouver, it is possible that the political turmoil after Soekarno withdrew Indonesia from the United Nations in 1965, and of the next two years in Indonesia, prevented Indonesian participation in EXPO '67.

77. Minoru Shinoda, Director, Institute of Advanced Projects, E-W Center for Cultural and Techincal Interchange between East and West. Letter to Jean Charlot, November 29, 1966, Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawaii at Manoa Library [Mural no.59].

78. The terms of the Senior Specialist Awards, for the most part given to scholars, stipulate that Senior Specialists are expected to devote their time to scholarly and creative pursuits pertinent to the project which brings them to the center.

79. Chiang Yee (Jiang Yi, pinyin), was a Chinese poet, writer, painter and calligrapher. Born in 1903, he passed away in 1977, after a varied life, serving as a magistrate in three counties in China, before leaving for England in 1933. His best known work is the "Silent Traveller" series of books.

80. Evelyn Giddings (known during Affandi's visit as Evelyn Beveridge) was Jean Charlot's technical assistant. She was already then also an accomplished artist in her own right; both in fresco painting and in metal-work, from small scale jewellery to sculpture. When she first started working with Charlot, she was set to grinding pigments, and gradually took over other functions, including the technical work for Charlot's two metal sculptures. I am grateful to Bronwen Solyom for facilitating the opportunity to interview her.

81. Charlot, 1967. Working with archival materials offers a special gift: that of perceived closeness to people no longer with us, and to events distant in time, through the intimacy of the marks of their hand writing, such as the often-cryptic notes in Charlot's pocket diaries.

82. Evelyn Giddings, Personal Communication, 18 April 2007. All quotes of her to follow are from this conversation. The clarity with which she explained this process demonstrates her skills as a teacher.

83. This was not the only time Affandi sought to study new art techniques and media: in 1977, he went to Belgium to study the lithography, ecthing and serigraphy; works produced as a result of this late-life learning were exhibited

at Gallery Gedung dua8 in Jakarta in 2003. See JakArt@2003 Visual Arts, http://www.luluk.com/jakart@2003/JakArt@2003%20visual%20arts.htm (12 JUNE 2007).

84. In the Jefferson Hall building where the murals were to be done, the final coat of the wall finish is wood float, a rough surface to which they would put any kind of plaster.

85. Bronwen Solyom, Personal Communication, 18 April 2007.

86. Evelyn Giddings, Personal Communication, 18 April 2007. Wishing she could remember more more details, Evelyn Giddings added: "As Charlot would say, 'Since then I have passed too much water under the bridge'! He would sometimes pretend to not speak very good English…"

87. Other unidentified local paper-clippings in the guest book show Affandi's two children by his second wife, Rukmini and Agung, seated on the floor of the Jefferson Hall, each of them busy drawing on large sheets of paper; in a short article by Lois Taylor entitled "East Meets West," is a photo of Maryati ("Mrs.Affandi") in kain-kebaya next to a woman from Vietnam and a woman from Samoa, both in colourful elegant garb from their respective nations.

88. On page 55 in Kusnadi's essay in the Indonesian Heritage Encyclopedia, Affandi's mural is titled "God's Hand" (Kusnadi, "Affandi, A Solitary Phenomenon," pp.54-55, *in* Hilda Soemantri, Ed., *Visual Art*, Vol.7 of 15 volumes entitled *Indonesian Heritage*, a cultural encyclopoedia. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia; Editions Didier Millet, Singapore, 1998). This title is not supported by the historical documents in Hawaii; it also misses the *raison-d'etre* for the commissioning of the mural and for Affandi's choices in creating it.

89. Kusnadi (1999), for example, does not mention Charlot's mural at all.

90. An art historian trained in South and Southeast Asian iconography, immediately connects the idea of creator with the ocean-like background here; it is quite possible that Affandi, while in Santiniketan or traveling in India, heard the well-known Hindu creation myth where the Supreme Being (often depicted as Vishnu) in his pre-form state, before creating the universe and the world, slumbers on the Cosmic Ocean.

91. In January 1982, when Khalid Mahmud sent his paper for consideration for publication in *Cultural Climate* (published by the Arts Council of Hawaii), to the editor Warren Iwasa, he was Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at Punjab University, in Lahore, Pakistan.

92. Jean Charlot, "Art," *Star Bulletin* (Honolulu), Wednesday August 9, 1967, B1.

93. Kartika Affandi, Personal Communication, 3 May, 2007. Further information about this event requires further research; see footnote 5.

94. From the Euroamerican side, the curatorial team consisted of Joseph Fischer and the author, and Kusnadi, Soedarmadji, and Sudarso SP, from the Indonesian side. The exhibition showed at the Mills College Art Gallery, in Oakland, California; Rice University Art Gallery in Houston, Texas, the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle, Washington, and the Academy of Art in Honolulu, Hawaii.

95. As Paul Michael Taylor writes in the catalogue: "Only a sampling of the truly amazing range of his paintings is included in this exhibition. Most of these works were created while he was living in the United States and belong almost exclusively to Washington-area collections." (Taylor, 1990, no pagination).

96. For example, the 1990 exhibition at the International Monetary Fund building is said to be "Affandi's fifth in the USA," after New York (1957), Washington D.C. (1960), Hawaii (1968), and Houston (1984). The exhibition he is said to have had in San Francisco in the late 1950s, for example, is not counted; the year he exhibited in Hawaii was 1967, not '68; and other exhibitions held as much outside of established art world venues as the IMF building are not mentioned.Academic research is like detective work: it is an attempt to assemble the most historically accurate set of data; the next stage, writing and publication, is the attempt to present this in a meaningful and intelligible form to a broader public. Often important parts of the 'story' under investigation has not been documented. Furthermore, because information embedded in newspaper articles, even in books, sometimes includes errors, the scholar sometimes has to make choices about what version of events to present. When discrepancies are evident in the available information, and there is no opportunity for the scholar to verify what is the correct information, this can only be noted. In this sense, every scholarly work is a work-in-progress, to be refined as more data becomes available

and as different minds consider the whole from new angles.

97. "…Charlot was one of the painters of the Mexican Renaissance who rediscovered pre-Columbian art." By 1967, forty-plus Charlot murals could be seen in the USA, Mexico and Fiji (East-West Center Magazine, 1968, p.7)

98. One scholar who develops ideas of dialogue between equal artistic partners across gaps of culture and power, and provides sound documentation and analysis, is David Craven. His work on Latin American abstract expressionists provides a model of great relevance to the study of an artist like Affandi. See Craven, 1991, available online as a PDF file.

99. Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922.* Cambridge university Press, 1994, p.7.

100. While it is not clear what year or to whom Affandi said this, or who the 'they' refers to (Kalb does not reference her quotes in the exhibition catalogue), his voice rings true to his feelings and actions over decades.

101. Quote to be found on p.56, *in* "Affandi's Opinion About Painting" (published on pp.52-57 in an unidentified book chapter or magazine section, entitled "Art:" at top left of first page, which has the text of Affandi's Sorbonne lecture—one source with no year on it says March 23, another source says 1953). I would be grateful to anyone who can identify the name, place and date of publication of this article.

102. Chadwick, Ibid.

103. Picassos Äventyr was made by Hans Alfredson and Tage Danielsson, popularly known in Scandinavia as "Hasse & Tage." It is a visually told comedy with an existential ending.