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The Dr. Walter Angst and Sir Henry Angest Collection of Indonesian Puppets: The Structure of the Conjunction

Matthew Isaac Cohen

The world's largest collection of Indonesian puppets (wayang), assembled between 1973 and 2011 by Swiss collector Walter Angst and now in the Yale University Art Gallery, is a product of a zoological passion for preserving the diversity of an art form, the ongoing modernization of puppetry in Indonesia, and the active involvement of Angst's agents in Indonesia—including both dealers and some of Indonesia's most famous puppeteers. Drawing on Marshall Sahlins' concept of "structure of the conjunction," this article looks at the Dr. Walter Angst and Sir Henry Angest Collection of Indonesian Puppets (as the Angst collection is now known) as both structure and event. In a period of increasing standardization due to the influences of media, education, and globalization, Angst endeavored to capture the variety of traditional puppet forms in western Indonesia and salvage endangered and extinct wayang arts through his collecting of representative sets of figures. His collection defines the different styles and substyles of puppetry practiced in the twentieth century, and also maps out his personal relationships with Indonesian practitioners—who were often both his employees and personal tutors in the art. While Angst expressed little interest in wayang's experimental offshoots, the collection nonetheless demonstrates how wayang has constantly responded to social change over two centuries.

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Between 1973 and 2011, the Swiss collector Walter Angst (1942–2014) assembled the world’s largest collection of Indonesian puppetry (*wayang*), comprising approximately 20,000 puppets from western Indonesia—including shadow puppets (*wayang kulit*), rod puppets (*wayang golek*), and flat wooden puppets (*wayang klithik*, also known as *wayang krucil*)—along with several thousand related objects ranging from *wayang* silverware to masks, lamps used in shadow puppetry, traditional weapons such as *keris*, paintings, and gamelan musical instruments (Fig. 1). Angst was a zoologist by profession. *Wayang* for Angst was essentially a hobby, supported financially by his brother, the London-based banker Sir Henry Angest. Angst’s collecting was fueled by intellectual curiosity about the diversity of the art and a passion to save endangered forms from the predations of time and antique dealers. Angst took a natural history perspective on the field, looking to establish a phylogenetic tree for *wayang*. He took it upon himself to construct a study collection whereby major and minor regional styles and forms, and the experimental offshoots of these traditions, could be archived, documented, and preserved for posterity. Most collectors are drawn to *wayang* because of the visual aesthetics of puppets. In her book on *wayang golek*, American collector Mimi Herbert (2002: 10) confesses “I fell in love with the puppets themselves, as sculpture.” In contrast with other European collectors, who tended to collect isolated examples of strikingly beautiful puppets, Angst

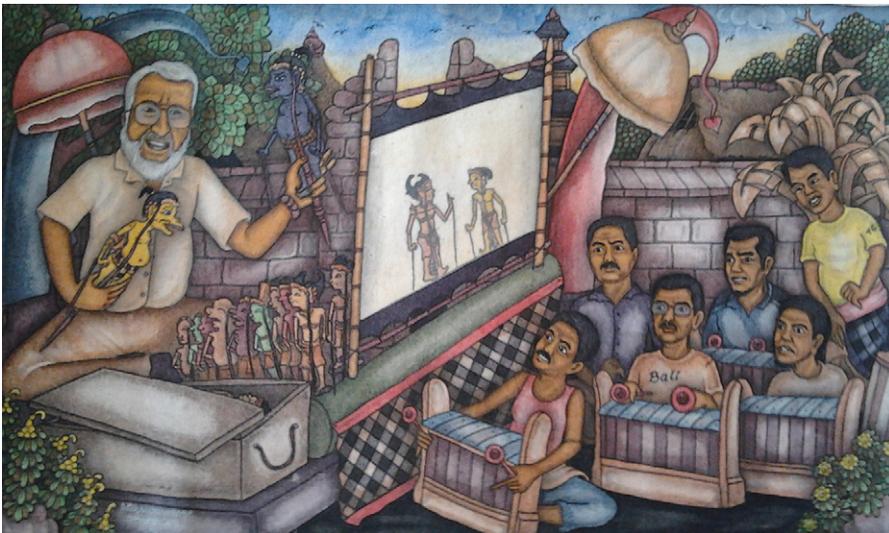


FIGURE 1. Balinese portrait of Walter Angst performing *wayang kulit*. (Photo: Matthew Cohen)

acquired, when possible, entire sets of puppets in their original boxes. As field biologists understand that a specimen cannot be studied in isolation from its environment, so he was convinced that an individual puppet could only be properly understood in relation to a larger apparatus of performance. Since 2017, the collection has been housed at the Yale University Art Gallery, where it has been designated The Dr. Walter Angst and Sir Henry Angest Collection of Indonesian Puppets, in honor of the collector and his brother, the donor.

Collections of theatrical artifacts amassed by private individuals and rehoused in international museums are critical research tools and important means for disseminating knowledge about theatrical cultures. But in contrast to Western art collectors such as Peggy Guggenheim, it is rare for collectors of non-Western arts to be studied by scholars. Building on the work of Sally Price and James Clifford, a recent sociological study of French collectors of so-called primitive art notes that “as a category, primitive art collectors, often discredited for their ‘received ideas,’ were targeted as emblematic figures of the neocolonial tendency of the West to appropriate the world and to shape ‘non-Western arts in its own image’” (Derlon and Jeudy-Ballini 2014: 93). This disdain has contributed to scholars neglecting collectors and their considerable roles in shaping the fields of art, which are their passions. Among the many European and American collectors of *wayang*, only T.S. Raffles, who collected more than 400 puppets while ruling Java during the British interregnum (1811–1816), has received serious scholarly scrutiny (cf. Cohen 2017b: 365–370).

Angst’s collection merits attention for its scope, depth, and reach. It is both a four-decade-long event involving Angst along with Indonesian puppeteers, puppet makers, dealers, informants, and a number of European colleagues, and also a structure aiming to represent *wayang* as it existed at the time of collecting. In considering the collection as both structure and event, involving both Western and non-Western categories and a variety of interested parties, I find it useful to work with Marshall Sahlins’ concept of “structure of the conjuncture,” defined as “the practical realization of . . . cultural categories in a specific historical context, as expressed in the interested action of the historic agents, including the microsociology of their interaction” (Sahlins 1985: 14). In this line, I propose to examine the practice of collecting and the category of collection, inspecting the specific historical context in which the collection came into being, the interested actions of particular historical agents (not only Angst but also his Indonesian and European colleagues), and the microsociology of their interactions. I begin with historical context.

The Historical Context of Collection

Angst's collecting was conducted during a crucial point in the development of *wayang* as an art form in Indonesia. *Wayang* as an art form is the shared cultural heritage of the Indonesian–Malay world dating back at least 1000 years. It has historically been practiced throughout the western Indonesian islands of Java, Bali, Lombok, Madura, parts of Sumatra and Borneo, as well as the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian diasporas in Suriname and Cocos (Keeling) Islands. Oral versions of the Indic epics of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* have been the primary sources for plays. At the same time, *wayang* is inflected in a quite profound way at the local level. There are numerous stories and story cycles that are particular to certain regions. While the core protagonists might be the same in different cultural areas, they will be known by different names or accompanied by a different set of faithful retainers (the ubiquitous clown-servants who provide comic relief). The visual styles of puppets, musical accompaniment, dramaturgy, language, puppet blocking and movement, the spatial configuration of performers and audience, performance context, ritual offerings, and incantations differ from place to place, and even from village to village. The various building blocks or practices assembled anew into a performance edifice with each *wayang* performance (cf. Mrázek 2005: 4) are transmitted as an ensemble.

For example, the local style (*kaol*, to use local parlance) generally known as *wayang kidulan* (“Southern” *wayang*) in the Cirebon region which I studied in the 1990s was distinguished from neighboring styles by its own style of puppets, dramatic repertoire, gamelan repertoire, mood songs sung by the puppeteer, and form of vocal delivery for character voices and narrations (Cohen 1997). In a recent visit to Cirebon, my primary informant and colleague, the puppeteer Purjadi (b. 1969), reflected that the *kidulan* style he espouses is even distinguished sartorially—puppeteers in this local tradition will change from their civies to their puppeteer dress onstage while the musical overture is being played, while puppeteers in other parts of Cirebon either arrive fully costumed or change clothes in a more private fashion. While *wayang* styles emerged and developed over time (the creation of the *kidulan* style was attributed to a particular puppeteer named Cita Janapriya [d. 1945] who was actively recollected by elders), the art form was characterized by what Paul Radin once called a “tacit theory of immutability” (Radin 1927: 48)—a widely shared belief that there is one proper way to perform *wayang*. As traditionally *wayang* is both entertainment and ritual drama addressing and placating invisible spirits and ancestors, deviance from the “correct version” (Radin 1927: 49)

risked not only alienating spectators but also a performance becoming “unhappy” or “infelicitous,” to import Austin’s (1962) terms.

The regional variety and autonomy of different *wayang* styles were severely challenged starting in the late 1960s. This was due to a variety of inter-related factors that can be adumbrated. *Wayang*, like other traditional performing arts, had been politicized in the 1950s and used as a megaphone for political ideologies. Many puppeteers were associated with the Indonesian Communist Party and LEKRA (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, The Institute for People’s Culture), its cultural arm. The 1965–1966 mass killings hit *wayang* and the puppeteer community hard. *Wayang* took a nosedive in popularity due to its political tendencies and those puppeteers who survived the killings were often stripped of their licenses to perform. Established patterns of transmission of techniques and performing equipment from parent to child thus were disrupted in much of Indonesia. When the smoke cleared and *wayang* performance regained popularity in the early 1970s, many of the most prominent puppeteers had nontraditional or partial training, and tended to be less invested in maintaining localized “correct versions.”¹

There was also a push toward standardization starting in the 1970s due to the mass mediation of *wayang*, governmental policy, influential neo-governmental national bodies, and education. A degree of standardization had occurred in the late colonial period due to the publishing of playtexts, many coming out of the central Javanese principalities of Solo and Yogyakarta, and the founding of courses of study in these two court cities, which were famous for their refined culture (Clara van Groenendael 1985: 30–36). These modes of standardization went into high gear during the Japanese occupation, when *wayang* was utilized as a medium for disseminating war propaganda, which involved setting up mass courses for professional puppeteers around Java (Cohen 2016). Truncated performances on 78 rpm disc records and the broadcast of these records and live performances on radio also were impactful. But it was only with the onset of the era of audiocassettes—a cheap “kitchen sink” technology—that full-length *wayang* recordings were produced in significant numbers. Producers favored puppeteers practicing *wayang* in well-established regional styles with devoted audiences and broad geographic reach. Thus populist Bandung puppeteers such as Asep Sunandar Sunarya (1955–2014) and Dede Amung Sutarya (1954–2014) were preferred over other Sundanese practitioners of *wayang golek*—and when a Sundanese audio cassette *wayang golek* recording proved to be a hit, it was the standard practice of Dian Records, the major recording company for West Javanese arts through the 1990s, to have a

puppeteer from the adjacent Cirebon region issue the same story adapted for *wayang kulit*. These recordings were widely imitated by aspiring puppeteers (Cohen 1997; Weintraub 2004).

National and local governments under Sukarno had limited interest in regional art forms—there was much more focus on developing national arts for the purpose of nation building and artistic diplomacy. In contrast, as has been analyzed by John Pemberton (1994) and others, a form of neo-traditionalism flourished under Suharto, oriented above all to the pomp and ceremony of the Solo court. Centralized neo-governmental organizations had strong regulatory roles under the military dictatorship. The *wayang* associations Pepadi and Senawangi held national festivals every five years to coincide with the military regime's five-year plans.² Puppeteers and puppetry experts were addressed by the nation's president, who charged them to act as *juru penerangan* (information officers) by inserting government propaganda into their performances. There were exhibitions, contests, academic papers, and shortened performances of both traditional regional forms and modern and experimental *wayang*. Experts associated with Pepadi and Senawangi produced authoritative guides to local styles of *wayang* puppetry, and were judges at regional competitions, such as West Java's Binojakrama (Festive Gathering), in which puppet troupes were evaluated according to their degree of adherence to rigidly defined aesthetic norms (Weintraub 2004: 66–75). Senawangi also produced so-called Safari Dalang, or Puppeteer Safaris, which took government-favored *wayang* troupes on tours to the regions. This contributed to the decline of the variety of *wayang*, as local troupes were unable to produce shows that could compete with subsidized spectacles. In some parts of Java, *wayang* transformed from a popular art to a "carriage-trade item," with prestige troupes imported from afar by local elites to mark important occasions (Geertz 1990: 92).

Public courses of instruction, above all the puppetry department (*jurusan pedalangan*) of Surakarta's university for the arts (founded 1974), have also had significant roles in the dampening of local traditions. Students come from all over Indonesia to study at these prestigious training institutes where they memorize set playtexts and are evaluated on their understanding and practice of certain aesthetic norms. Students are indoctrinated in the idea that other styles are *ndesa* or *kampung*, rustic or "hick" residuals of archaic performance styles, which might be studied (at a distance) for an undergraduate thesis or research commission, or quoted (usually ironically) in performance. The academic arts promulgated by the universities retain considerable symbolic cachet, even if the norms they promote are not consistently heeded in performance.

The possibility of discarding old performance styles and picking up the dominant styles (above all the *wayang kulit* of Solo and the *wayang golek* of Bandung) was facilitated to a large extent by changes in the production of *wayang* puppets. The anthropological research of Ann Dunham in rural central Java has shown how the industrialization of agriculture or the “green revolution” that began in Indonesia in the late 1960s freed up large numbers of farmers from the agrarian sector, who shifted to work in cottage industries, including metal working, leatherwork, ceramics, bamboo work, and textiles (Dunham 2009). Villages came to specialize in particular crafts, with dozens of workshops, each typically headed by a senior craftsman and his/her spouse. The village of Manyaran in drought-prone Wonogiri specialized in the production of shadow puppets in the style of the Mangkunegaran royal house of Solo. In turn, the villages of Pucung and Gendeng in Bantul produced Yogyakarta-style shadow puppets, while Gemampir village in Klaten specialized in the production of *wayang klithik*—a rare *wayang* form using flat wooden puppets.³ Some of the workshops produced souvenir puppets for tourists, but others created high-quality (though standardized) puppets suitable for performance. Before the 1970s, performance puppets were treated with reverence, carefully handled in performance and maintained and repaired over generations of use. With falling prices due to economies of scale, puppets became disposable and (particularly in Central and East Java) could be roughly handled in performance with assurance that they were easily replaced. Antique dealers from Jakarta, Paris, and other metropolises swooped in to exploit this disinvestment in maintaining old puppets, acquiring unique puppets for sale to private collectors and museums. Some of these figures had served makers as *bibit* (exemplars, literally “seeds”) for reproducing local puppet styles for generations.

On top of these drives toward standardization, modernization—including competition from other modern media forms (film, television, and latterly video games, internet, and smart phones) and the increasing orientation to Wahhabism and disregard for local forms of Islam and other spiritual practices—have resulted in an overall decline in *wayang*’s popularity, despite the emergence of dynamic “post-traditional” (Cohen 2014, 2017a) variants in recent decades. Faced with declining audiences and frequently children more interested in owning a motorcycle than inheriting and maintaining an heirloom set of puppets, puppeteers had few options other than selling off their performing equipment.

Angst stepped into the breach opened up by standardization and modernization. His initial exposure came around 1970 during an eighteen-month field study of monkeys and rhinoceroses in the Ujung

Kulon nature preserve of West Java, when he observed his Sundanese colleagues spending their Saturday nights listening with ardent attention to radio broadcasts of *wayang golek*. He was able to see a live *wayang golek* performance during this trip, and live *wayang kulit* in 1972 when he returned to Indonesia as a tour guide, and purchased a handful of puppets on these occasions. In the introduction to his book *Wayang Indonesia: The Fantastic World of Indonesian Puppet Theatre*, Angst notes that his intellectual curiosity was piqued only in 1973, after returning to Europe with a set of shadow puppets purchased from the Yogyakarta *wayang* dealer Moeljosoehardjo, who has run a shop for selling new and antique puppets near the tourist destination of the Tamansari water palace, along with the standard illustrated handbook, Hardjowirogo's *Sejarah Wayang Purwa* (History of Traditional Shadow Puppet Theatre). In the comfort of home, Angst read up on each puppet and systematically compared the Yogyakarta-style puppets he had purchased with the Solo-style puppets illustrated in Hardjowirogo's book. "This is how I came across the subject matter of regional styles which was soon to become one of the main themes of my collecting efforts" (Angst 2007: 30). Angst traveled annually from Germany to Indonesia in years thereafter, saving up his holiday allowance and spending 1 to 2 months during Germany's wintertime traveling around Java, Bali, and Lombok in order to see performances, meet with puppeteers and puppet experts, purchase puppets, and arrange for his acquisitions to be shipped to Germany.

Angst became convinced that it was urgent to salvage the diversity of *wayang* traditions, which he saw as under attack by the forces of globalization, education, mass media, and Islamization. As the inside dust jacket blurb of *Wayang Indonesia* relates, "it has been his aim to create as near perfect a record as possible of the rapidly diminished diversity and stylistic purity of . . . puppet tradition before it is too late" (Angst 2007)—familiar rhetoric from the environmental and biological sciences.

Angst's Dealers and Agents in Indonesia

Angst's collection proceeded with the active assistance and collaboration with many of the best-known *wayang* experts and puppeteers of Java, Bali, and Lombok. These men served as agents and tutors in the history of the art form and its diverse local inflections. They seemed to have shared Angst's conviction that his collecting was a salvage operation. Raden Mas Sajid, the great *wayang* expert and maker associated with the Mangkunegaran court, who sold Angst many of his manuscripts and books along with a unique set of 182 *wayang kulit* he carved and painted in 1935, wrote to Angst how each *wayang* he made

was based on an existing puppet with particular characteristics known as *wanda* that once could be discerned by knowledgeable experts (Fig. 2). “Now there are no *wayang* experts left as times have changed. Thankfully, you have the books on *wayang* from me as with those books you can study about *wayang* and puppetry.”⁴

Early sets purchased in the 1970s and 1980s were obtained from urban antique dealers like Moeljosoehardjo in Jakarta, I Gede Netje in Singaraja (North Bali), and Machfud in Surabaya. Angst attempted to get these dealers to identify each figure and provide information on provenance, but this was possible only to a limited extent. Some of the sets purchased were also missing key figures, or were a mishmash of puppets coming from different sets. As his network expanded, Angst thus increasingly relied on puppeteers for sourcing sets of puppets, brokering deals with owners, repairing puppets as needed, identifying figures and providing background information, and arranging for shipping.

A major source for *wayang golek* was the Jakarta-based dealer and artist Tizar Purbaya (1950–2015), who had studied (Western) theatre at



FIGURE 2. The business card of Raden Mas Sajid. He holds a *kayon* shadow puppet and wears a shirt with an emblem of a mousedeer. The text reads “Mousedeer *wayang* puppeteer and painter R.M. Sajid, 23 Hadiwidjajan Street, Paintings and *wayang kulit* puppets available.” Crossed out are words indicating that he also receives orders for *wayang orang* costumes. (Photo: Matthew Cohen)

Institut Kesenian Jakarta (Jakarta Institute of Arts) and worked as an actor for auteur playwright-director Arifin C. Noer (1941–1995) before applying himself to directing and performing puppet theatre and setting up shops in flea markets on Jalan Surabaya in Central Jakarta and the amusement park Ancol in North Jakarta (Herbert 2002: 170–189; Smith 2015). Tizar was autodidactically trained in traditional Sundanese-style *wayang golek* and better known as the creator of modern, Indonesian-language puppet productions, especially *wayang lenong Betawi*, which fused the stories and music of the *lenong* folk theatre with rod puppetry derived from Sundanese *wayang golek*. Tizar was both a dealer and collector, as described by Mimi Herbert, who bought much of her own collection from him. *Wayang* dealers combed the villages for Tizar, searching “for *wayang* sets that are no longer in use. Tizar resells most of these puppets to foreign collectors, but he keeps special pieces for his own collection. Less interesting puppets he gives to his brother Sasmedi to sell at their shop in Ancol” (Herbert 2002: 174). Tizar also employed a number of *wayang golek* carvers who produced replica puppets of rare *wayang* genres and new puppets of various levels of quality. A number of Angst’s antique sets of Cirebonese *wayang kulit* and *wayang golek*, brand-new and old sets of Sundanese *wayang golek*, a full set of the Chinese–Indonesian glove puppet form *wayang potehi* (including musical instruments and a stage) that had been used since 1960 by a puppeteer named Gunawan from Blitar, and other miscellaneous puppets were acquired from Tizar.⁵ During the so-called “monetary crisis” of the late 1990s, Tizar sold Angst much of his private collection—including a replica set of puppets, carved by Tizar’s craftsman Encang in 1984, of *wayang Pakuan*, an experimental realist *wayang golek* offshoot invented by puppeteer Elan Surawisastra in 1964 to enact plays from Sundanese history and legend (Fig. 3).

Angst’s main informant and agent in Central Java and Yogyakarta was Ki Sutarko Hadiwacana (b. 1943), a well-respected puppeteer from Kutoarjo, Central Java, known for his detailed knowledge of *wayang* history. Sutarko tutored Angst on how to delineate and distinguish the different regional styles of *wayang* iconographically. Angst presented Sutarko with photographs of sets previously purchased for identification and dating. He shared with Sutarko a passion for *wayang Kedu*, a shadow puppet variant from the central Javanese residency of Kedu that had gone extinct in recent times but had once rivaled the *wayang* of the principalities of Yogyakarta and Solo for its refinement. Sutarko hunted down some of the oldest and most precious sets of *wayang kulit* for Angst and would spend months making repairs to insure that they were in good working condition. Angst rewarded him with commissions, gifts (including a



FIGURE 3. *Wayang Pakuan* puppet of a Dutch army officer carved by Encang under the supervision of Tizar Purbaya, ca. 1984. (Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery)

Rolex), and a trip to Germany to work with him on organizing and documenting the collection.

Angst took a particular liking to the *wayang kulit* of Cirebon, which he felt were the most dynamic and colorful of the classical

shadow puppet styles of Java. His primary agent in this field was the puppeteer and artist Ki Sudarga (known generally as Leseq; d. 1999) from the town of Gegecik, outside of Cirebon. Ki Leseq had earlier worked with another European, the Dutch-born ethnomusicologist and musical producer Suryabrata (1926–1986, “Brata”), producing reverse paintings on glass (*lukisan kaca*) for Brata to sell in his Jakarta studio, performing in Brata’s concerts, and going on tour with Brata to Europe.⁶ Leseq sought out sets of shadow puppets from around the Cirebon area and spent up to a year fixing them up—repainting puppets as needed, replacing or repairing broken rods, filling in missing parts by inserting chiseled hide (a procedure known as *sopakan*)—in anticipation of Angst’s annual visits. Sets acquired for Angst tended to be in poor condition when purchased by Leseq, but were well carved and were sensitively repaired in a manner that maintained their antique feeling.⁷

Another important broker on the north coast following Leseq’s death in 1999 was the puppeteer and Islamic preacher Ki Enthus Susmono (1966–2108), who served at the *bupati* (regent) of Tegal from 2014 until he died of a heart attack in 2018 (Boonstra 2014: 191–218; Cohen 2017b: 376–380). Enthus was Java’s most popular puppeteer famous for his sometimes-outrageous innovations in the field of both *wayang kulit* and *wayang golek*. But he was also a dedicated puppet collector, and many of most inventive puppets were in fact derived from older precedents. Most of the puppets Angst acquired from Enthus were *wayang kulit* from Java’s northern littoral (Cirebon, Cilamaya, Pekalongan) along with a collection of 98 puppets (94 *wayang kulit* and 4 *wayang golek*) designed by Enthus himself—including many of the *wayang planet* created in the 1990s (figures used in a play cycle, which sent the main characters of *wayang* into outer space); a dinosaur from *Jurassic Park*; Osama bin Laden and George W. Bush (Fig. 4); bug-eyed aliens; Batman; a sumo wrestler and a famous boxer; the *punakawan* (clown-servants) in the garb of the Teletubbies; various military vehicles and soldiers; portrait puppets of members of Enthus’ gamelan group; a Japanese television superhero; a brass band, and rod puppets of the *punakawan* in a mix of Islamic, Chinese, and designer dress. In a 2016 conversation in Tegal, Enthus recollected Angst’s tenacity and curiosity as a collector, and reported that he depended on his patronage, selling puppets to Angst whenever he needed money.

In Bali, Angst came to rely on I Wayan Nartha (b. 1942), a Sukawati puppeteer who has served as teacher and informant for many foreign students of Balinese shadow puppetry and related arts. Nartha was a lecturer in the university for the arts in Denpasar, Bali, and is a puppet carver and designer, known for both his traditional figures and



FIGURE 4. Osama bin Laden and George W. Bush designed by Ki Enthus Susmono, 2001. (Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery)

innovations, and operates a shop selling puppets near Sukawati's Pasar Seni (Art Market). Angst does not appear to have purchased many figures from Nartha, with the possible exception of a set of *wayang gambuh*, a rare *wayang* form in which shadow puppets enact Panji stories, a dramatic cycle normally associated with a human dance-drama known as *gambuh*. Instead, Nartha acted as Angst's informant, providing names of figures and identifying the provenance of sets already acquired.

A more active agent was the Sasak puppeteer Lalu Nasib (b. 1947), who sold puppets he had used along with some of the most valuable and vulnerable sets of puppets on Lombok. A collector as well as

Lombok's most famous puppeteer (cf. [Harnish 2003](#)), Nasib shared Angst's vision that sets needed to be retained as complete entities—rejecting overtures that came from antique dealer for old sets in his possession, as he knew these would be broken up and sold individually. Unlike Sutarko, Lesek, and some of Angst's other agents, Nasib did not repair puppets in his possession—instead retaining them in their original condition.⁸ *Wayang* in Lombok is a folk art and there is much variation in the island—with different clown-servants and dramatic repertoires. Nasib sought *wayang* in the most isolated of locations. In a letter, Nasib recollected “The place I found these *wayang* was far away. I had to travel by sea and over mountains to a place where motor vehicle can't enter, and I was forced to hand carry it to [get it back to my home in] Gerung.”⁹ It is a common practice for sets of *wayang* to be sold along with the gamelan ensembles that accompany the puppets in performance. Angst rarely took on gamelan instruments, and when it was necessary to purchase a gamelan in order to acquire a rare set of puppets, he would sometimes gift the instruments to his Indonesian agents in the field. But two of the sets acquired from Lalu Nasib were transported to Germany along with all their accompanying gamelan instruments. While much has been written about *wayang* in Java and Bali that Angst could read in books, Lombok's *wayang* has been understudied, and Lalu Nasib thus played an important role as Angst's teacher. The field notes that are filed along with descriptions of each puppet in the set are full of Sasak *wayang* terminology and detailed notes on the stories enacted by puppets, including which language each puppet speaks in (Sasak, Balinese, Malay, Old Javanese).

Wayang in Lombok today is an atrophied art. Puppet carving tends to be crude and few if any puppeteers other than Lalu Nasib make a full-time living from performing. With Lalu Nasib's assistance, Angst was able to recover a past *wayang* scene that produced puppets of considerable refinement and with much local variation. Alongside the main heroes and villains, sets acquired in Lombok include a squadron of soccer players, a pipe-smoking prostitute riding a pedicab, Indonesian–Chinese elites, colonial agents and officers, and a huge variety of clowns to articulate subaltern perspectives ([Fig. 5](#)). These puppets show how *wayang* was highly integrated and articulated with everyday life in the accelerated culture of colonial modernity. Groups of decapitated heads cast light on Lombok's violent past and constant antagonism between Sasak and Balinese before the island was “pacified” by the Dutch colonizers.

Among the many other dealers, vendors, and middlemen who worked with and for Angst in Indonesia, worth singling out are two “super-star” puppeteers who provided Angst with some key puppets—Ki Manteb Soedharsono (b. 1948) and Ki Purbo Asmoro (b. 1961). Angst



FIGURE 5. A pair of entertainers as depicted in an old *wayang Sasak* set purchased via *Lalu Nasib*, late nineteenth to early twentieth-century. (Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery)

was introduced to Manteb by Manteb's disciple, the French puppeteer Jeff Cottaz, in 1990. Manteb was then at the peak of his popularity, performing *wayang kulit* in excess of 325 times a year and commanding the highest fees among his peers. He was best known for his highly acrobatic fight scenes, and to a lesser extent for his innovative puppet designs and play structures (Abbas and Subro 1995). Like Enthus and other puppeteers of his stature, he was also a puppet collector, and used older puppets as models for new figures. During the 1980s and 1990s, he typically designed a full set of puppets each year, and sold the puppets he had used the previous year at a profit. Angst's relation with Manteb appears to have been fairly close—to the extent that Angst brokered an invitation for Manteb to perform in Switzerland and Germany in 1993. In 2000, Manteb sold Angst a set of approximately 100 shadow puppets designed by Manteb exclusively for *Ramayana* stories, along with an assortment of old and unusual puppets in Manteb's collection—*punakawan* that had once been used by Manteb's principal rival, Ki Anom Suroto (b. 1948); puppets attributed to nineteenth-century court puppet makers; a version of the female clown-servant Limbuk who is the very model of consumerist fashion; a

comical army officer fitted with plastic tubing so that it can exhale smoke; a long-haired soldier with a pair of pistols in a realist style indicating that it might be a *wayang suluh* puppet once used for anti-Dutch propaganda in the 1940s (Mylius 1961: 96–103); a Chinese dragon. Angst also approached Manteb to help him acquire a set of *wayang kulit Banjar* from South Kalimantan, but was not successful in this endeavor.

From Purbo Asmoro, Angst acquired a set of *punakawan* used by Purbo in 1986–1996, which were based on the costume and makeup of the live actor *punakawan* in the popular television series *Ria Jenaka*, broadcast weekly on the Indonesian state television channel TVRI starting in 1981, and also a group of 34 *wayang kulit* from Madura that Purbo had restored with Solo-style rods and minor repairs to the hide. From a Buddhist temple in Pamekasan, Angst had already acquired a full set of Madurese *bajang kole*—a shadow puppet style that is no longer practiced today—with an especially fine set of gods. But the Madurese puppets purchased from Purbo are of a very high standard of carving, and further proof that the island of Madura once possessed the most refined *wayang* carving east of Solo, which no doubt comes as a surprise to those who stereotypically associate Madura with crudity, violence, and an intolerant strain of Islam.

Puppets used or owned by famous puppeteers have a certain aura to them that make them uniquely attractive to puppeteers and *wayang* experts. These puppets from Purbo and Manteb exude such an aura. Angst also went to some effort to collect the puppets of the late Sragen puppeteer and puppet maker Ki Gondodarman (1933–1994)—considered the puppeteer’s puppeteer for his highly inventive puppet movement, wild comedy, frequent asides, frame-breaking antics, and metatheatrical commentary.

Living with the Puppets

The puppets acquired in Indonesia were annually conglomerated in a central location (typically Jakarta) and shipped to Angst’s residence in Germany. In a peak year of collecting, 1998, following the monetary crisis that sent the rupiah soaring and the price of *wayang* (in terms of Deutsche Marks) plummeting, Angst shipped back some 13 boxes of puppets. Angst worked as the director of an animal park in Affenberg Salem from 1980 and had plenty of space to store his puppets on site. After his retirement, his brother purchased for him a converted mill house in the nearby resort town of Überlingen, a short stroll to Lake Constance, for Angst to cohabit with his puppets, stored in over 150 boxes and cases, and other collections. In a 1993 letter to a friend in Jakarta, Angst wrote “every night I enjoy looking at the *wayang* and also

making lists of names and other information about each and every puppet. My collection is the largest *wayang* collection in the world. More importantly: there are examples of nearly every form and regional style with the necessary documentation. I hope that after I retire I might open a *wayang* museum. Or move to Indonesia?”¹⁰

Most collectors of primitive art, in the analysis of [Derlon and Jeudy-Ballini \(2014: 95\)](#), make considerable effort to domesticate their collected objects through mounting, display in cabinets, lighting, and exhibition with other objects. In this way, an object is valued as “a singular and unique artifact” or brought into conversation with other objects, a conversation, needless to add, scripted by the collector herself. At the same time, collectors also maintain the exoticism and “wildness” of objects through ritual and ritualistic practices, including even exorcism. Angst’s treatment of his puppets differed significantly from the practices of many *wayang* collectors, who use them as wall ornaments or as props in images of self-fashioning. As already noted, Angst collected the puppets along with their boxes and for the most part kept them ordered in these boxes in the manner of their original owners.

Angst was aware of the ritual power attributed to puppets in Indonesia. He recounts in his book *Wayang Indonesia* an anecdote about a “very beautiful and old” set of *wayang* he acquired from Parakan, Central Java after four years of negotiation. When this set was transported to Yogyakarta, the car broke down, which the driver’s wife attributed to a *setan* (demon) accompanying the puppets (Angst 2007: 31). He also had heard that some in Indonesia attributed the cancer, which eventually killed him, to malignant spirits haunting his puppets. Angst showed a keen awareness of the *kramat* (sacred) values of puppets in his notes, his book *Wayang Indonesia*, and in the affordance of puppets in their boxes. So for example, Javanese sacred puppets are often enclosed in silk sleeves and a number of the Balinese sets are wrapped in sacred white cloth. At the top of Javanese sets, Angst placed *kayon*—the all-purpose “tree of life” puppet that is often considered to be the most sacred puppet in the set, and usually the most time-consuming to carve and paint. Balinese boxes were topped by sacred *kayon*, revered Pamurtian figures depicting the demonic aspects of divinities ([Hooykaas 1971](#)), and august puppets of the high god Acintya.

Two of the Javanese sets Angst collected were associated with courtiers and particularly potent—Kyai Nugroho from the royal house of Tejakusuman ([Fig. 6](#)) and Kyai Drajat, which contains puppets from the *wayang* workshop of Pakubuwana X of Surakarta (r. 1893–1939). Powerful heirlooms—such as *keris* and other bladed weapons, European-made carriages, and regalia—often are distinguished by



FIGURE 6. The meditating Arjuna, from the royal set Kyai Nugroho of the princely house of Tejakusuman, 1910s. (Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery)

the title of *kyai* and given special reverence. Angst recognized the significance of these two sets, which are at the highest level of artistry and with the finest quality of materials, and treated them with special

care, with more *eplet* (dividing layers) than is typical in the collection and with many puppets contained in silken, brightly colored bags. These were the first sets that Angst showed me when I visited his house in 2011.

The arrangement of *wayang* in Angst's house in Überlingen, which I visited again in 2015 after Angst's death, was not designed to impress visitors, but rather was a very practical place for home study. The Swiss Bali expert Urs Ramseyer notes in the foreword to Angst's book *Wayang Indonesia*,

Even though Walter Angst also views this collection as an inexhaustible source of cultural, historical and mythological knowledge, as well as aesthetic pleasure and playful fun, in the final analysis he utilizes the collection in its vast entirety rather like a scientific archive and laboratory in order to study new generic and stylistic correlations, based wholly on material research of the puppets themselves. The collections serves as an instrument to gain new understanding and knowledge by systematically studying as many representative play sets as possible. (Ramseyer in Angst 2007: 6)

A Balinese portrait of Angst depicts him as if he were puppeteering, but Angst was not trained practically in puppetry. While he could make minor repairs of puppets as required, and had a



FIGURE 7. A floor in Angst's house in Überlingen, full of puppet boxes, *wayang* paintings on wood (*tlawungan*), and other collections. (Photo: Matthew Cohen)

gamelan se permanently installed in the ground floor of his house in the event that one day a Javanese puppeteer might rehearse there, he did not stage plays with his *wayang*:

The ground floor of Angst's house, in addition to the gamelan, contained a variety of Indonesian artwork, and an ornately carved puppet box from Sukoharjo, Central Java, used by Angst to store puppets that had yet to be assigned to a permanent place in the collection. The most impressive feature of this floor—to me at least, as a devotee of Cirebonese *wayang*—were two life-sized wooden statues representing characters from the masked *wayang wong* theatre of Cirebon, backed by an enormous *kayon* in Cirebon style on batik. This was the most museum-like feature in the house. The garage on this floor had glass cabinets shelving second-rate *wayang golek* puppets that Angst envisaged might be of use one day as a handling collection for a museum.

The second floor was Angst's living space, which contained his bedroom, study, library, living room, and kitchen. While much art, including numerous *wayang* paintings, decorated the walls, no puppets were stored on this floor. The two floors above were completely full with boxes of Javanese and Madurese puppets—including *wayang kulit*, *wayang golek*, and *wayang krucil*. Boxes were arrayed end-to-end, with just enough room to open them up (Fig. 7). The attic of the house contained the smallest boxes—mostly from Bali and Lombok. Around the walls were other artifacts related to *wayang*—reverse paintings on glass and paintings on wood (*tlawungan*), cabinets full of masks, *wayang* lamps, and an ornately carved front of a Kudus house. Even in the rafters one could see *wayang*—including most notably illustrations from a Cirebonese palm leaf manuscript version of the Old Javanese *Kakawin Bharatayuddha* transposed onto wooden planks.¹¹

Dissemination, Crisis, and the Afterlife of the Collection

With retirement, Angst established his life among the puppets, but serious art collectors understand that they possess objects only temporarily; their possessions have lives and agency exceeding human capacities. As Derlon and Jeudy-Ballini (2012: 531) argue, “ownership is thus not experienced as a complete appropriation: purchasing an object is nothing more than a form of rental—i.e., payment for the right to enjoy the object for the duration of a lifetime.” Angst understood well that his custodianship was temporary. His plan from at least 1993 had been to make a lasting contribution to the world of *wayang* by selling his collection to an interested institution or creating his own museum, believing that the snapshot of the archaic, residual, dominant, and emergent forms still to be found in situ at the turn of the century would be of broad interest to *wayang* scholars and artists

internationally. But lacking disciples who could carry on his collecting or formal affiliation with an academic or artistic institution, Angst was not well positioned to create a channel for the maintenance of his collection for posterity. His location in the far south of Germany (closer in fact to Zurich than to Germany's academic and artistic centers) meant that experts visiting him in Salem or Überlingen were few and far between. One of the most constant visitors at the end of his life was the Dutch scholar-puppeteer Hedi Hinzler, a Leiden-trained philologist and expert in Balinese *wayang kulit* (see [Hinzler 1975, 1981](#)), who urged Angst to create a foundation to preserve his legacy in Überlingen.

Angst had previously considered seriously gifting or selling his collection to an Indonesian institution but was badly burned by false insinuations made by his former friend and agent Manteb Soedharsono that circulated widely in the Indonesian media that Angst was behind a 2011 theft of puppets from Solo's Radya Pustaka Museum.¹² Discussions with his brother Henry about the rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism, which had contributed to the destruction of *wayang* statues in public spaces and the threat of violence against *wayang* performers and audiences since 2011, also made Angst wary of entrusting his collection to Indonesia.¹³ Hinzler fed Angst with reports about Indonesian government demands for the repatriation of cultural artifacts, including Angst's precious *wayang*, fueling his anxiety and wariness. Angst had provided intimations of his collection's richness and its possibilities for analyzing the development of *wayang* as an art form in his lushly illustrated book *Wayang Indonesia* and the accompanying exhibition "Wayang: Licht und Schatten," (Wayang: Light and Shadow) which ran at the Historisches und Völkerkundemuseum St. Gallen in Switzerland in 2007–2008. But the promised follow-ups to this—books and exhibitions on *kayon* and clown-servants—were not realized before his death by cancer in 2014.

One of the few international *wayang* scholars or practitioners initially aware of Angst's death was Hedi Hinzler. Hinzler urged Henry Angst, Walter Angst's sole heir and thus the owner of the collection after his death, to keep a lid on the news. She reported that there were unscrupulous *wayang* dealers and collectors who might raid the house in Überlingen if they knew it was no longer occupied. While Angst opened a channel of communication with the Victoria and Albert Museum in London to see if they might accept the collection as a gift, Hinzler scrambled to complete her documentation of the collection, and locate a Dutch institution that might take on the collection. She also discussed with colleagues the possibility of founding a Walter Angst foundation to keep the collection intact.¹⁴

Word of Angst's death inevitably reached Indonesia, resulting in demands for repatriation. These came mostly from Chinese-Indonesian cultural activists who were after one of the key sets in Angst's collection—a modern Chinese-Indonesian hybrid set referred to as *wayang thithi* or *wayang Cina-Jawa*, created in the 1920s by the Chinese-Javanese puppeteer Gan Dhwan Sing (d. 1967; see Fig. 8). This was one of the only two known sets in this style, which is a product of the intense dialogue between Chinese artists and intellectuals and Javanese tradition in the late colonial period. Angst had purchased this



FIGURE 8. Shadow puppet in the *wayang thithi* or *wayang Cina-Jawa* style, a hybridization of Chinese opera and Javanese *wayang kulit* puppetry. (Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery)

set from the German collector and scholar Friedrich Seltmann in 2001, who had acquired it from the son of the form's puppeteer-inventor in Yogyakarta in the late 1960s (Seltmann 1976). With funding from the German Academic Exchange Service, it had been thoroughly documented and partially published by a team of Indonesian researchers led by Dwi Woro Retno Mastuti (Mastuti 2008, 2014). Neither the V&A nor Hinzler were in the end able to come up with a satisfactory plan for keeping the collection intact, and Sir Henry agreed finally to gift the collection to the Yale University Art Gallery, which has a growing Department of Indo-Pacific Art under the stewardship of curator Ruth Barnes, with recently acquired, world-class collections of Indonesian textiles and ancient Javanese gold. In March 2017, all of Angst's puppets (with the exception of the handling collection in the garage), manuscripts, books, and masks, along with a selection of other artifacts, arrived at the Collections Study Center located on Yale's West Campus. With the brokerage of Hedi Hinzler, the remaining materials (including dozens of paintings on wood and glass of *wayang* characters) were gifted to the private Poppenspe(e)lmuseum in the Dutch village of Vorchten.

There is much work to be done on Angst's collection of Indonesian puppets. Yale is committed to the full digitalization of the collection, with high-resolution images made available for free downloading on the Yale University Art Gallery's online catalogue. As an educational institution, Yale is keen to see the puppets being used for instruction in Asian culture, religion, and history, as well as world theatre and puppetry. There is a desire to see the puppets put into practice and to explore their potential for supporting both traditional and contemporary performances and practice-as-research productions. Yale is also exploring the possibility of long-term loans of puppets and sets of puppets to interested institutions, including the Ballard Institute and Museum of Puppetry at the University of Connecticut and the Center for Puppetry Arts in Atlanta, Georgia. Finally, there are plans for traveling exhibitions and publications.

While Angst's primary interest was in typologies and classifications, the collection also can be mined for many other purposes as well. Angst manifested limited interest in the often-ephemeral modern *wayang* forms and modern developments within tradition. Modern and contemporary *wayang* feature only in passing in his book (van der Meij 2010: 109) and the figures and sets he collected are the least-documented parts of his collection. Yet the collection is replete with exemplars and often full sets of modern forms, including puppets designed to tell anti-colonial and revolutionary stories; two full sets of the short-lived *wayang keluarga berencana* (family planning *wayang*)

shadow puppet theatre created by the Ministry of Health in the late 1970s; motorcycles, radio transmitters, and helicopters.¹⁵ It is a historical repository, showing how *wayang* responded to and stoked changes in society, economy, and religion over the last two centuries. The collection shows further the vital creativity operating within the tradition of *wayang*, such as the macabre punishments of sinners in hell found in a number of North Balinese sets. *Wayang* is a composite medium that taps into and represents aspects of other art forms, including popular music, social dance, television and film, and related theatrical forms. *Wayang*'s conglomerative tendencies disturbed the composer and gamelan musician Rahayu Supanggah to the extent that he famously criticized popular *wayang* performances of the 1990s as "trash receptacles" (*keranjang sampah*) for the detritus of popular culture (Supanggah qtd. in Murtiyoso 2004). But at its best, *wayang* synthesizes and provides new perspectives on art forms old and new, close at hand and far away. Through studying puppets representing marching bands, dancers, and masquerade performers, there is the possibility of a more nuanced understanding of the entire artistic ecology of western Indonesia, far beyond the confines of *wayang* itself.

Angst's interests were strictly in puppets made and used in Indonesia. But the relocation of his collection to Yale opens up possibilities for intercultural dialogues and cross-cultural comparison. The California-based puppeteer Larry Reed, who inspected the Balinese puppets in the collection in a visit to Yale in October 2017, quickly spotted a resemblance between the ogre puppets from old North Balinese sets with ogre puppets in the *wayang Siam* tradition of Kelantan, Malaysia. There is also a possibility, suggested by puppet scholar and curator John Bell at a *wayang* workshop at Yale the same month, of bringing the Angst collection into fruitful conversations with the American puppetry inspired by or rooted in Indonesian traditions. American and European puppeteers have generally assumed that *wayang* in Indonesia is a static and monolithic art form, with little change over the centuries—this is consonant with a colonial model, which Richard Schechner (1990) has criticized as the "normative expectation" of *wayang*. Showing that *wayang* is an always-changing tradition, with many local inflections and individual expressions, and that innovation is not only to be found outside of Indonesia, is a salutary rejoinder to the appropriative intercultural puppetry that can be traced back to Richard Teschner's *wayang golek*-inspired theatre of fin-de-siècle Vienna (Cohen 2007).

While earlier studies have tended to demonize collectors of "ethnic" and "primitive" art for wanton destruction of indigenous cultural practices and myopic assimilation of cultural difference to

Western aesthetic norms, the Angst collection is a structure of the conjuncture revealing complex complicities with Indonesian actors and agents and an evolving hybridity in collecting as a cultural practice. The collecting not only produced a material *product*—a collection to be conserved, stored, exhibited, and transported—but served, in sometimes subtle ways, to transform the *practice* of *wayang* in Indonesia, with potential to transform likewise the representation and understanding of *wayang* internationally.

NOTES

1. The most popular puppeteer during the early 1970s was Ki Nartosabdho who had worked previously as a musician, composer, and the leader of the famous Ngesti Pandawa dance–drama (*wayang wong*) troupe. While based in Semarang, Nartosabdho espoused the puppetry style of Solo and was famous for combining musical features from around Java (and Bali). On Nartosabdho’s legacy, see [Petersen 2001](#).

2. Pepadi is an acronym for Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia, The Union for the Art of the Dalang. There are chapters at the *kabupaten* (regency) and *kotamadya* (municipality) levels—some more active than others—as well as a national superstructure. Puppeteers associated with the ruling political party under Suharto, Golkar, were favored by Pepadi during the Suharto regime, though Pepadi is now more open to different political persuasions. Senawangi, an acronym for Sekretariat Nasional Wayang Indonesia (Indonesian National Wayang Secretariat), was founded in 1975 to preserve and “develop *wayang* to become of force in the field of national culture” (www.senawangi.org). It counts government ministers, high-ranking generals, and Indonesia’s business elite among its key members, and has successfully lobbied both the government and business interests to support *wayang*, principally Surakarta-style *wayang kulit*. On the beginning of the national *wayang* festivals, see [Clara van Groenendael 1985](#): 142–145.

3. Dunham conducted research on craft activity in Pucung and Gendeng, including *wayang* making, but this research has yet to be published.

4. “Sekarang orang ahli *wayang* sudah tidak ada, sebab sudah lain jamannya. Untung tuwan dapat buku-buku pengetahuan *wayang* dari saya, itu buku dapat untuk mempelajari tentang hal-hal ilmu pengetahuan *wayang* dan pedalangannya.” Letter from R.M. Sajid to Walter Angst, 30 June 1987. The Walter Angst and Sir Henry Angst Collection of Indonesian Puppets, Kor. Indonesia file.

5. *Wayang potehi* is a localization of the Chinese glove puppet tradition known in Mandarin as *budaixi*, imported to Java in the eighteenth or nineteenth century by migrants from the southern Fujian province of China. For a recent comparative study, see [Fushiki and Ruizendaal 2016](#).

6. Suryabrata, born Bernard IJzerdraat, was a gamelan musician and protégé of Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst who operated as one of the most important cultural brokers in post-independence Indonesia through the

1970s. His Jakarta studio Bakti Budaya (founded 1956) was an important meeting place for Indonesian and non-Indonesian artists and arts scholars.

7. I resided in Gegecik from 1994 until 2000, and was able to observe Lesek regularly refurbishing *wayang* for Angst during those years.

8. In a letter from H. Lalu Nasib to Walter Angst dated 27 October 1986, Nasib refers to “*wayang lama belum pernah dirobah catnya masih orisinil asli*” (old puppets unaltered with the original paint).

9. “*Tempat saya dapat wayang ini jauh sekali. Lewat gunung dan lautan dan kendaraan tidak bisa masuk, terpaksa dipikul sampai di Gerung.*” Letter from H. Lalu Nasib AR to Walter Angst, 27 October 1986.

10. “*Saya sekarang setiap malam menikmati melihat wayang2 tsb. Dan juga membikin daftar dengan nama2 dan informasi macam2 tentang tiap buah wayang itu. Koleksi saya adalah koleksi wayang yang terbesar di dunia. Yang lebih penting lagi: ada contoh2 hampir semua gaya dan daerah dengan dokumentasi sperlunya. Saya harap bahwa setelah saya pension saya bisa membuka museum wayang. Atau saya pindah ke Indonesia?*” Letter to “Sonny” Charson, 19 June 1993.

11. This *kakawin* (Old Javanese narrative poem), known in Cirebon as *Prang Jaya*, was transmitted across generations of Cirebonese puppeteers into the 1960s. It relates the war (*yudha*) between the Kurawa and Pendhawa clans, both descended from the common ancestor Bharata, concluding the *Mahabharata* epic in a bloodbath. Phrases and sentences are quoted (and sometimes translated) by puppeteers in performance. A number of manuscripts illustrated with *wayang* figures still survive in the Gegecik area and are the subject of current research by the philologist and artist Rafan Safari Hasyim.

12. See e.g. <http://www.solopos.com/2011/02/08/ki-manteb-yakin-wayang-di-museum-radya-pustaka-palsu-85151>, accessed 24 January 2018.

13. See <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/356852/empat-patung-wayang-di-purwakarta-dibakar-massa> and https://www.kompasiana.com/arrie_boediman_laede/nggilani-pagelaran-wayang-di-solo-dihentikan-secara-paksa-oleh-sebuah-ormas-keagamaan_5500d83ca333119a7251216d, accessed 24 January 2018.

14. Hinzler’s plans for the foundation are noted in the announcement of her winning the Professor Teeuw Award in 2015. See <http://www.kitlv.nl/professor-teeuw-awards-2015/>, accessed 24 January 2018.

15. Indicative of Angst’s lack of interest in modern *wayang* is the fact that the family planning *wayang* are misidentified as *wayang suluh* and not individually named in the Angst catalogue.

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